Experience Effects on Wall Street vs. Main Street: Field and Lab Evidence of Context Dependence

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Abstract

We examine how and why context influences experiential learning, comparing professional- and private-context stock market experiences. We find opposing patterns: In professional contexts, a *primacy effect* causes underreaction to new experiences, allowing early experiences to dominate and entrench belief biases. In private contexts, a *recency effect* leads to overreaction and excessive fluctuation over time. To identify the causal effect of context and the underlying cognitive mechanisms, we combine (i) panel data on the dynamics of context-specific experiences and forecasts of finance professionals and (ii) experimental data on induced context-specific experiences and investment choices. We provide a dual-channeled explanation with implications for financial regulation and education.

JEL classification: C9, D83, D9, G17, G4.

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People often acquire new information through a sequence of experiences. The way in which they process these experiences may vary across different contexts. For example, a person going for a walk may appreciate that the weather is good or that it has improved compared to the previous day. In contrast, a meteorologist not only appreciates the positive short-term trend but also evaluates whether their forecast was accurate. Similarly, a stock market analyst may become concerned if market movements deviate from their forecasts for too long, regardless of direction. In contrast, for a private investor, the *sense of failure* connected to an unexpected outcome may be less salient as long as the market movement is profitable because they do not communicate any formal forecasts. In professional contexts, people generally engage in additional activities that are absent in private contexts. How does this set of *professional activities* change the way people *process* experiences and, consequently, learn from them?

We study how and why the context — private versus professional — affects experiential learning. Using both field evidence from finance professionals' stock market forecasts and experimental data on investment choices, we document a robust yet contrasting pattern. While experiential learning occurs in both private and professional contexts, it exhibits a *primacy effect* — a persistent tendency to overreact to early-career experiences and underreact to subsequent experiences — only in *professional* settings. Among the various professional activities that could lead to primacy effects, we identify *forecasting* as the relevant one— where people's experiences are accompanied by simultaneously making explicit predictions and receiving timely feedback.[1] We experimentally identify the differences in the dynamic processing of experience sequences, with and without simultaneous forecasting, that drive the context dependence.

The occurrence of experiential learning has been demonstrated repeatedly before, and it deviates from neoclassical models of rational expectations (for a summary see Malmendier, 2021; Malmendier and Wachter, 2024). Positive theoretical models, which we discuss in detail later, incorporate various cognitive mechanisms to predict both recency effects and primacy effects, both under realistic assumptions. However, field evidence in the contexts that have previously been

[1] This is distinct from an unconditional recency effect in extrapolative behavior, independent of one's individual window of experience (see, e.g., Greenwood and Shleifer, 2014). Any form of experiential learning, including those with a primacy effect, inherently leads to an unconditional recency effect. This is because the overweighted window of experience always includes the most recent subset of the data sequence, regardless of how individual data points within that subset are weighted relative to each other.

studied points overwhelmingly to recency effects, while evidence of primacy effects in the field is scarce. This gap may be due to the predominant emphasis on private-context over professional-context experiences in prior research.[2] Examining the conditions for the occurrence of primacy effects is important because of its implications. While a recency effect causes beliefs and choices to fluctuate over time, a primacy effect implies a slowly-resolving overreaction to early-career experiences causing learning of the true parameters to be very slow. For example, the primacy-effect estimates in our field setting imply that the first-year career experience alone receives 67% weight after two years of tenure, 50% weight after four years, 28% weight after 21 years (which is the median tenure in our field setting) and 20% weight after 55 years. As a result, beliefs and choices may remain systematically biased for a long time , especially when first-year career experiences are extreme and unlikely. For example, based on our field estimates of the primacy-effect, finance professionals who experience first-year stock market returns above 20% or below -20% —about half of our survey participants—are unlikely to fully overcome the resulting optimism or pessimism bias before retirement.

An ideal experiment would isolate the causal impact of context on experiential learning by randomly assigning individuals to either a private or professional context while they undergo the same sequence of experiences. Ideally, this would involve randomly assigning individuals to work in or outside the finance industry or randomly instructing them to perform relevant professional activities, assuming that these activities were well-defined. In this study, we approximate this ideal design in two ways. First, in our *field setting*, we use a novel dataset of finance professionals that allows us to exploit within-subject variation of the context. Second, in our *lab setting*, we use a between-subject design to randomly assign subjects to various structured representations of potential private-context and professional-context activities.

We begin by analyzing context-dependent experiential learning using a field dataset of 330 finance professionals surveyed over 178 months. Importantly, we observe how the same subject experiences a data sequence of the same underlying stock market index in both their private or

[2] Prior research has demonstrated the occurrence of experience effects among professionals from their private-context experiences (Malmendier et al., 2021, 2011) and professional experiences (Schoar and Zuo, 2017; Dittmar and Duchin, 2016). However, previous studies do not provide any estimates of tenure-dependent differences in the weighting of past experiences in the professional context.

professional context. To measure experienced returns in the private and professional context, we use data on subjects' birth year and career start in the finance industry. Importantly, experiences in the private and professional context are empirically distinct due to the large variation in career start ages among the professionals in our sample. Leveraging within-subject expectation dynamics in our longitudinal panel, we identify the type of experiential learning — the relative over- or underweighting of the experienced sequences. Following Malmendier and Nagel (2011), we calculate the weighted average stock market return that each professional has experienced since their career start (i.e., professional-context experience) and throughout their lifetime (i.e., private-context experience).

Our findings reveal strong context dependence in experiential learning. Finance professionals extrapolate from their experience in both the private and the professional contexts.[3] A 1 percentage point decline in the weighted average of experienced *professional-context* stock market returns predicts a roughly 1 percentage point reduction in expected returns. *Private-context* experiences also influence expectations: a 1 percentage point decrease in private-context returns predicts an expected return reduction of approximately 0.25 to 0.5 percentage points. This suggests that the cumulative effects of experiences across contexts have a far greater impact on beliefs and choices than earlier studies, focused primarily on private contexts, would imply. Second, regarding the dynamics of learning, we analyze how different episodes of the past are weighted relative to each other in the private and the professional context. For private-context experiences, finance professionals show a recency effect in line with the literature on retail investors (see, e.g., Malmendier and Nagel, 2011; Kuchler and Zafar, 2019). Specifically, finance professionals overweigh their recent private-context stock-market experiences when forming stock-market expectations. In contrast, in the professional context, the early experiences finance professionals happen to have at the beginning of their careers leave a particularly strong mark on their expectations. We rule out that the context dependence is driven by differences in informativeness of experienced returns in the different contexts.

The financial setting is unique because experiences in both the private and professional context

[3] Note that the documented experience effect is inconsistent with associative memory, which suggests that individuals recall past information based on its similarity to new information (see, e.g., Wachter and Kahana, 2024; Enke et al., 2024). Assuming that similarity depends on the context in which information is learned (private vs. professional), our finding of cross-context effect of private experiences in professional forecasts is inconsistent with associative learning.

are plausibly exogenous — according to the Efficient Market Hypothesis both the birth year and career start decision are orthogonal to subsequent experience sequences of the stock market.[4] To identify how and why professional activity drives the context dependence we conduct an online experiment with retail investors (N=741). Our experimental design is as follows. Participants experience a random sequence of returns from the distribution of a risky asset and are consequently asked to make an investment decision. Using a between-subject design, we randomly vary the *context* — the activity that the participants perform during the experience stage. Our design thus allows us to rule out context-dependent informativeness of returns, risk preferences and wealth effects as potential confounding factors. In the *Forecast Value* treatment, subjects are asked to assume the role of professional forecasters to provide forecasts of future value. Alternatively, in the *Forecast Sentiment* treatment participants are asked to forecast the consensus forecast of the other investors in the experiment. Finally, participants in the *Observe & Recall* treatment are prompted to recall the most recent experience without being asked to actively engage in any type of formal forecasting, thus closely resembling experiential learning in the private context. All experience-stage activities are incentivized to ensure that differences between private-context and professional-context treatments are not driven by skin in the game. Furthermore, the experience-stage returns are drawn randomly for each subject and are therefore orthogonal to the context treatments. This experimental design allows for a clean identification of the context dependence and isolation of potential confounding factors.

We find that a primacy effect emerges only in the *Forecast Value* treatment. Notably, this treatment simulates a structured representation of professional forecasting— participants make regular incentivized forecasts of a future value and receive immediate feedback once the actual value is revealed. Our experimental design allows us to distinguish between potential underlying cognitive mechanisms, we find that context dependence in experiential learning is most consistent with a dual-channeled explanation combining differences in mental representation and in the dynamic processing of sequential experiences. In particular, experiential learning in the *private* context (i.e. Observe & Recall treatment) correlates with the *salience* of experienced returns and investors'

[4] In addition, we analyze survey non-response behavior and attrition from the survey or exit from the industry, and we do not find any evidence that they are related to professionals' expectations, as we discuss in greater detail in Online Appendix B.

attention, consistent with salience-channeled attention as a micro-foundation of overreaction to new information (see Ba et al., 2024; Bordalo et al., 2024). In contrast, neither salience nor attention play any role in the *professional* context. The differential role of salience and attention in the private and professional contexts is consistent with the growing body of literature documenting a stronger correlation between attention and financial decisions of retail investors than professional investors (see, e.g., Barber and Odean, 2007; DellaVigna and Pollet, 2009).[5] In this paper we show that susceptibility to exogenous salience and attention variations is not necessarily a function of financial expertise per se or a higher cognitive capacity of professionals, as is typically assumed in prior literature. Instead, our findings suggest that differences in the susceptibility to salience-channeled attention may vary within-subject depending on the context in which the information is processed.

In terms of the mechanism driving the primacy effect, we find that the relative weighting of experiences in the *Forecast Value* treatment is driven by the forecast error attached to the experiences. Specifically, experiences which occur *as expected* are overweighted, while surprising experiences are underweighted independent of the sign of the surprise. The impact of the forecast error is a distinguishing characteristic of *model-free reinforcement learning*. Barberis and Jin (2023) formally develop a hybrid theoretical framework of dynamic information processing as an interplay of both model-based and model-free learning algorithms. The framework predicts that only model-free reinforcement learning could result in a primacy effect. The intuition for this lies in the inherent inefficiency of model-free reinforcement learning — on average it underreacts to new information because it does not learn from the entire available data but only learns about the value of the outcomes of its previous actions. Coupled with context features that limit the decision-makers' tendency to explore different options, they may strive to quickly find a satisfactory action early on and then stick to that action for a very long time, ultimately underreacting to new information. In other words, they learn fast at first, then slow. This is exactly the dynamic implied by the estimated weighting function in the professional context *Forecast Value* treatment. This mechanism implies inefficiency in data processing caused by inherent features of a specific professional activity —

[5] It should be noted that effects of attention and salience are also evident in studies of finance professionals (see, e.g., Lu et al., 2016; Fedyk, 2024).

financial forecasting.[6] Specifically, it is only in the professional-context treatment that subjects' experiences are coupled with simultaneous *forecast error* cues, which are a necessary condition for reinforcement learning.

The notion of inefficiency is intuitively at odds with professional expertise. However, it is consistent with a growing body of literature showcasing the susceptibility of finance professionals to behavioral biases and learning mistakes (see, e.g., Ben-David et al., 2013; Glaser et al., 2019; Linnainmaa et al., 2021). Against this backdrop, it is important to recognize that true expertise in financial forecasting — particularly in stock market forecasting — may be unattainable, as argued by Kahneman and Klein (2009). This is arguably due to fundamental characteristics of the learning environment that likely hinder the learning process and, thus, the development of expert intuition, namely insufficient regularity of the underlying and lack of diagnostic feedback on forecast quality.

Related Literature. Our paper contributes to the strand of literature on experience effects. Prior studies have documented robust experience effects in the beliefs and choices of retail investors (see, e.g., Malmendier and Nagel, 2011, 2016) and professionals (Schoar and Zuo, 2017; Malmendier et al., 2021). On the empirical side, experience effects can be rationalized with information search costs (Kuchler and Zafar, 2019; D'Acunto et al., 2021), memory encoding and retrieval (Laudenbach et al., 2019; Das et al., 2020; Gödker et al., 2025). On the theoretical side, experience effects are widely explained by context-dependent memory (Gilboa and Schmeidler, 1995; Mullainathan, 2002; Bordalo et al., 2023; Wachter and Kahana, 2024), which gives rise to recency effects (see, e.g., Bordalo et al., 2019). The theory is supported by experimental work on context-dependent expectations among finance professionals (Cohn et al., 2015; Guiso et al., 2018), retail investors (Laudenbach et al., 2021), and online experimental subjects (Afrouzi et al., 2023; Enke et al., 2024). Our contributions to this strand of literature are twofold. First, we suggest that different cognitive mechanisms may drive experience effects in different contexts. In particular, our findings suggest that salience-channeled attention plays a role in the weighting of experiences in the private context but not in the professional context. Second, in addition to previously proposed mechanisms related to memory and information retrieval, which make use of the time spacing of experiential information

[6] Our evidence is consistent with Carlos Alos-Ferrer (2023), who show that incentives induce model-free reinforcement learning. In our experiment, both the professional-context and the private-context treatments are incentivized but the incentives structures are inherently different.

and choices, we highlight potential cognitive mechanisms related to the mental representation of information sequences and the sequential nature of information processing (see, e.g., Ba et al., 2024; Barberis and Jin, 2023). Since neither mechanism is unique to experience effects per se, our study contributes by to the understanding of experience effects as a domain-general manifestation of bounded rationality.

We also add to a growing body of literature on asymmetric and context-dependent learning. Along these lines, prior studies have suggested differences in learning in the gain versus loss domain (Kuhnen, 2015), in booms versus bursts (Ke, 2024), depending on ownership of the stock (Hartzmark et al., 2020), for buy versus sell decisions (Akepanidtaworn et al., 2023), for beliefs versus choices (Barberis and Jin, 2023), from numerical information versus qualitative information (Graeber et al., 2024), with our without incentives (Carlos Alos-Ferrer, 2023). We contribute to this literature by adding the context of sequential information processing — private versus professional. Importantly, we identify the type of incentives and the frequency of feedback as aspects of the professional environment which interfere with the efficiency of the information processing.

Context dependence in information processing, as evidenced in this study, provides important insights for modeling. Notably, the co-existence of primacy and recency effects in the field cannot be accounted for by model-based learning alone, as shown by Barberis and Jin (2023), emphasizing the need for dual-system or hybrid models of learning (see, e.g., Thaler and Shefrin, 1981; Camerer et al., 2004).

The rest of the paper proceeds as follows: Section I introduces our field setting and methodology and outlines our findings from the field of finance professionals. Section II outlines our experimental design and results, while Section III discusses potential mechanisms. In Section IV we illustrate the implications of primacy and recency effects for the dynamics of experiential learning over time. Finally, Section V concludes.

I. Experience Effects by Context: Evidence from the Field

We start by analyzing how context-specific experiences of finance professionals—defined as the stock market returns that they have experienced and mentally encoded as typical within their private and professional environments—affect the dynamics of their stock market expectations. To this end, we

exploit within-subject variation in context. In both contexts, we examine how different episodes of past experience are weighted relative to each other, allowing us to assess whether the temporal structure of experience—such as recency or primacy—matters differently across domains. In what follows, we outline the study design and estimation approach, and discuss our main findings.

A. Study Design: Finance Professionals' Expectations and Experiences

We use a longitudinal dataset of stock market expectations and context-dependent experiences of finance professionals from the German Center for European Economic Research (hereafter ZEW) Financial Market Survey.[7] The survey is conducted monthly since December 1991 among roughly 300 financial professionals. Numerical stock market forecasts, which are our main dependent variable, is elicited since February 2003. Participants provide forecasts on a sequence of macroeconomic and financial variables. The survey results influence highly liquid financial markets (see, e.g., Entorf et al., 2012) and rank among the top three indicators for institutional investors in Germany.[8] Most survey participants are financial and economic forecasters — economists, analysts, and financial advisors at banks, insurance companies, and employees in financial departments of large corporations. They regularly conduct stock market forecasts as part of their occupation as well as within the scope of the monthly ZEW survey. Senior professionals are slightly overrepresented in the sample, reflecting the ZEW's subject pool management strategy: participants remain in the pool when they change jobs within the financial sector and are only removed upon leaving the industry. The average tenure is 21 years (10th percentile is 9 years). Typically, the expectations of these professionals serve as input for the investment decisions of others. Self-reported data available for 122 of the survey participants indicates that 55% of them have external clients using their forecast, and for 79% the forecasts (additionally) support the institutional trading strategy. Hence, biases in the professionals' expectations potentially pose a negative externality to investors who use them.

This dataset has two important advantages. First, it allows us to use a *within-subject variation in the context* of experiences. This is because of a large cross-sectional variation of age at career

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[7] Recent survey data and information on the survey can be found at `https://www.zew.de/en/research-at-zew/projects/zew-financial-market-survey`.

[8] More than 95% of institutional investors interested in Germany subscribe to announcement alerts of the ZEW survey results on Bloomberg. For data on Bloomberg users' attention to the ZEW survey, see Online Appendix A.

start among the subjects in our sample (see Figure 1), which allows us to empirically distinguish between the private and the professional context. The second advantage is its *longitudinal structure*, which allows us to identify experience effects against potential plausible confounding factors from the within-subject dynamics of expectations. Our monthly panel covers 330 individual finance professionals. The panel structure is unbalanced, with the average professional submitting 71.2 responses over the entire sample period of 178 months.

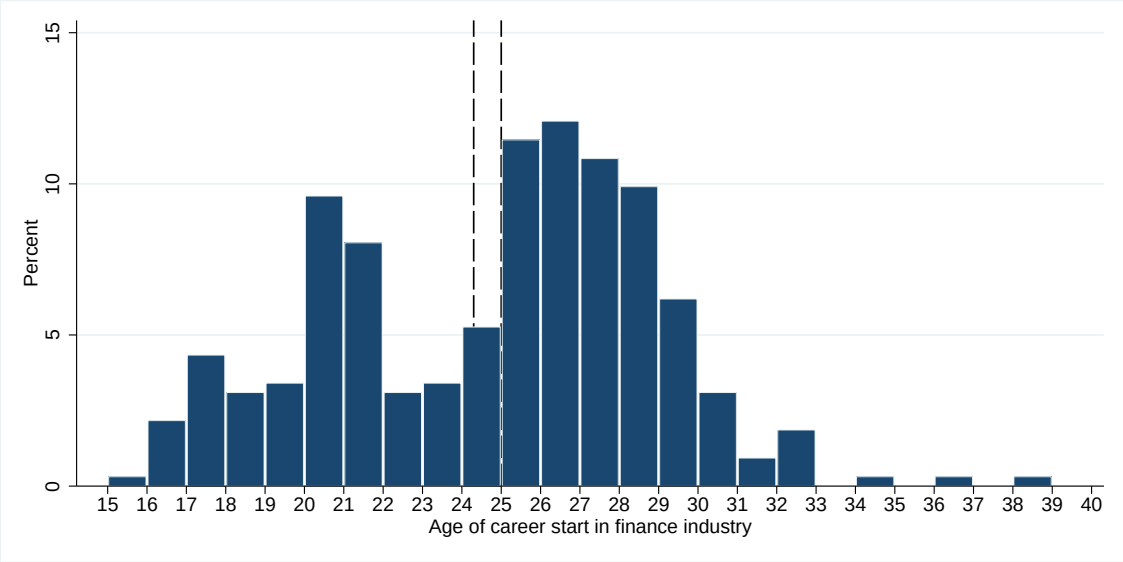


Figure 1. Sample distribution of age of professionals' career start in finance. This figure displays the distribution of ages at career start among the 323 professionals for whom both the year of birth and the year of career start is known. We use the difference between the year of career start and the year of birth as a proxy for age at career start. The reference lines indicate the sample average (24.3) and median (25).

Professionals who have left the panel during the sample period are included in our analysis to avoid survivorship bias. To assuage concerns about potential endogenous non-responses and attrition, we proceed as follows. First, Online Appendix B provides a direct empirical test of endogenous attrition. Second, in Section II we replicate our findings in an experimental study with retail investors, where responses are mandatory and overall attrition is below 5%.

Stock Market Forecasts. We examine professionals' six-month ahead numerical DAX expectations in the period February 2003 until December 2017. DAX stands for the German stock market total return index. The wording of the survey question is as follows:

"I expect the DAX in 6 months to be at ... points."

To avoid traditional reasons for strategic response behavior (see, e.g., Lamont, 2002; Hirshleifer and Hong Teoh, 2003), the ZEW publishes the results strictly anonymously, no rankings, and there are no monetary incentives for survey participation. We convert the survey responses into expected stock market returns using the DAX opening level on the day of the response.[9] Responses are winsorized at the 1% and the 99% levels. Table I provides descriptive statistics. The average expected semi-annual return is 2.85%, which is close to the historical average semi-annual DAX return of 2.94%.

[Insert Table I approximately here.]

Experiences. We measure experienced returns as the weighted-average stock market returns from the beginning of the experience window until time t of the survey response. For private-context experiences, we follow Malmendier and Nagel (2011). To this end, we use self-reported information on the professionals' birth year. For professional-context experiences, we consider their entire career in the finance industry (similar to Dittmar and Duchin, 2016), not only their current position. This is why we leverage self-reported information on the year of career start in the finance industry. Taken together, our measure of experienced stock market returns varies on the level of subject×time×context.

We aggregate experienced returns using two weighting functions: a single-parameter monotonic weighting function following Malmendier and Nagel (2011) and a two-parameter non-monotonic weighting function suggested by Prelec (1998), which further allows for plausible U-shaped or J-shaped functional forms.[10] The individually experienced period of subject i begins at a starting point s_i and ends at time t. The monotonic weighting function comprises of only one parameter, λ, the *recency parameter*, which determines the difference between the primary episodes of the

[9] While asking for expected index level instead of expected returns amplifies an unconditional recency effect (Glaser et al., 2019), any framing effects from the elicitation are orthogonal to the within-subject context dependence we document.

[10] The two-parameter non-monotonic weighting function by Prelec (1998) is given by:

$$\bar{w}_j(n;\vec{\theta}) = \tilde{w}_j(n;\vec{\theta}) - \tilde{w}_{j-1}(n;\vec{\theta}) \qquad 1 \leq j \leq n$$

$$\tilde{w}_j(n;\vec{\theta}) = \begin{cases} 0 & j = 0 \\ \exp\left(-\left(-\log(j/n)\right)^{\gamma}/\delta\right) & 0 < j < n \\ 1 & j = n \end{cases} \tag{1}$$

experienced period and the most recent episodes. The non-monotonic weighting function is defined by two parameters: δ, the *primacy parameter*, which determines the relevance of primary relative to recent episodes analogously to the parameter of the monotonic function; γ, the *hump-shape parameter*, which determines the relative relevance of intermediate episodes compared to the two extreme periods (primary and recent episodes) jointly.

Estimation Approach. We estimate non-linear models given by:

$$y_{it} = \beta f\left(s_i, t; \vec{\theta}\right) + \vec{\zeta}^{\top} \vec{x}_{it} + \epsilon_{it} \tag{3}$$

where y_{it} is the expected DAX return of subject i at time t converted from semi-annual to average monthly returns. β and $\vec{\zeta}$ are slope coefficients. $\vec{x}_{it}$ refers to covariates in the model (including an intercept and subject-fixed effects), and ϵ_{it} are iid noise terms. The function f aggregates the weighted average stock return over the individually experienced period of subject i.

$$f\left(s_i, t; \vec{\theta}\right) = \sum_{j=1}^{t-s_i} \bar{w}_j(t - s_i; \vec{\theta}) R_{s_i+j-1} \qquad\qquad t > s_i \tag{4}$$

We estimate $\vec{\theta}$, β, and $\vec{\zeta}$ in Equation (3) jointly using maximum likelihood following Golub and Pereyra (1973).[11] Two-way clustered standard errors are computed following Zeileis (2006), with a cluster on the individual and time and with the standard cluster bias adjustment (Cameron et al., 2011). We include month-year fixed effects and subject-fixed effects to circumvent potential endogeneity arising from a correlation of experienced returns with time-level variables and subject-level variables. Specifically, subject-fixed effects cover personal traits such as risk aversion, optimism, overconfidence as well as potential selection effects that result from an interaction between personal traits and market history prior to the career start (e.g., if optimists were more likely to start a career in finance after a bust than pessimists).

The single-parameter monotonic weighting function by Malmendier and Nagel (2011) is given by:

$$w_j(n; \vec{\theta}) = \frac{j^{\lambda}}{\sum_{k=1}^{n} k^{\lambda}} \qquad\qquad 1 \leq j \leq n \tag{2}$$

[11] We restrict the parameters δ and γ to be positive by maximizing the log of the parameters. The Wald-tests we provide in Section I are on the log scale.

All regressions include day-of-week fixed effects that capture possible calendar effects, which are not covered by the month-year fixed effects. Such additional calendar effects arise because, in each monthly survey, professionals do not respond on one day, but instead, the responses are typically spread over 11 trading days. To take out any potential effect of macro experiences, we provide two approaches: (i) we take out the impact of inflation expectations (as previously documented by D'Acunto et al. (2021); Malmendier and Nagel (2016); Malmendier et al. (2021)), using excess returns over the risk-free rate; (ii) we control for macro expectations assuming that any other macro experiences affect macro expectations directly and stock market expectations indirectly through macro expectations. We measure excess returns as weighted average monthly DAX returns in excess of the money-market rate.[12]

It should be noted that the fixed effects also capture two extreme scenarios of the relevance of experienced returns, hence our model setup identifies a lower bound of the potential effect of experienced returns: Firstly, month-year fixed effects cover recent returns, which are experienced by every professional in the sample. Hence, extreme cases where the professional bases his predictions entirely on returns realized over the past several months are not identifiable as they are subsumed by the time-fixed effects. Secondly, subject-fixed effects cover returns that are observed at the start of the career and are never forgotten and never fade. Hence, our analysis captures only the remaining effect of experienced returns which varies within-subject over time.

B. Experienced Returns in the Professional Context

We start by examining the effect of experienced returns in the professional context on the dynamics of professionals' stock market forecasts.

[Insert Table II approximately here.]

We find a statistically and economically significant effect of professional experiences on professionals' forecasts (see Table II). This result is robust across model specifications and holds for both the non-monotonic weighting function in Panel A and the monotonic weighting function in Panel B. According to the coefficient estimate β in the fully specified model in Column (ii), a decrease in

[12] For 1959–2012, we use the Deutsche Bundesbank's money market rate (code BBK01.SU0104). For data on a risk-free rate after May 2012, we use the 1-month Euribor, as available on Datastream.

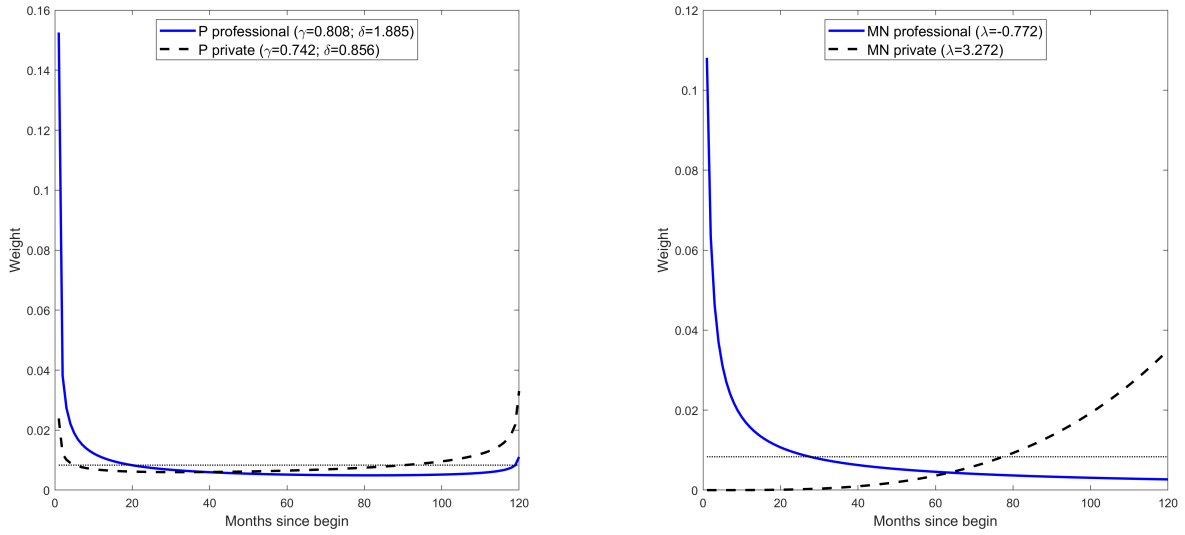
the weighted average experienced returns by 1 percentage point predicts a lower expected return of around 1 percentage point. This interpretation applies to both weighting functions. With subject-fixed effects and time-fixed effects, the coefficient estimate for β captures the effect of within-subject variation of experienced returns. All model specifications include time-fixed effects, which means that experienced returns impact expected returns over and above the impact of any public information available to all professionals. Such information includes but is not limited to the entire history of stock market returns.

Furthermore, the effect of experienced returns is robust to including subject-specific macroeconomic expectations and assessments. Macroeconomic experiences may confound stock market experiences. Stock market expectations, however, should only be indirectly affected by macroeconomic experiences. Macroeconomic experiences should primarily affect macroeconomic expectations, which in turn can affect stock market expectations. Therefore, we control for macroeconomic expectations to isolate the effect of experiencing the stock market from a potential effect of macroeconomic experiences, which might be reflected in experienced stock market returns. We find an effect of macroeconomic expectations on stock market expectations, which is strong and consistent with previous studies.[13] The effect of stock market experiences is qualitatively unchanged after controlling for macroeconomic expectations and, hence, not driven by macroeconomic experiences.

Our results in Table II are consistent with previous experimental evidence that information learned from experience, observation, or simulation prevails over information learned from data or description (see, e.g., Hertwig et al., 2004; Kaufmann et al., 2013). Our findings validate that the experimental results apply to the field for sophisticated and experienced investors such as the professionals in our sample.

Figure 2 illustrates the estimated *shape of the weighting function*. As the exact weights depend on tenure, for the purpose of illustration, we assume 10 years (120 months) of tenure. Figure 2 shows that for both weighting functions, compared to an equal-weighting benchmark, professionals put higher weight on the primary episodes in the first months of their careers. This primacy effect is captured by the parameter λ in the monotonic weighting function and jointly by the parameters

[13] Although it contradicts traditional asset-pricing theory, the empirical link between macroeconomic expectations and expected returns is consistent with previous literature on expectation formation of investors (see, e.g., Greenwood and Shleifer, 2014; Amromin and Sharpe, 2014).



a. Non-monotonic weighting function

b. Monotonic weighting function

Figure 2. Weighting functions by context - professional versus private. This figure compares the weighting functions resulting from the different model specifications displayed in Table II, Columns (ii) and (iv) in Panel A and B for a subject with a tenure of 10 years (120 months). Panel A illustrates the estimates based on the non-monotonic weighting function by Prelec (1998) and Panel B displayes the estimates for the monotonic weighting function by Malmendier and Nagel (2011).

δ and γ in the non-monotonic weighting function. Even though the non-monotonic function allows for various functional forms, it confirms the evidence favoring a primacy effect.

A primacy effect contradicts previous experimental evidence of recency and salience effects (e.g., Langer et al., 2005; Ariely and Zauberman, 2000) as well as previous empirical findings of a recency effect in the expectations and financial risk-taking of retail investors (e.g., Malmendier and Nagel, 2011). This difference may either reflect heterogeneous experience effects across investor types—retail investors versus professionals—or suggest that individuals learn differently from experiences in their private versus professional contexts. To assess which of these explanations is more likely, we next examine how the same subjects respond to stock market experiences in a different context—the private context.

C. Experienced Returns in the Private Context

Private context stock market experiences are defined as the typical returns subjects have experienced since a certain age. We treat it as an empirical question to determine the age since when

subjects begin experiencing returns and to estimate the starting age of the experience window with the best fit.

Our results, displayed in Table II, show that in the private context professionals exhibit a recency effect as indicated by a positive λ estimate (also see Figure 2). The estimates are statistically significant at the 10% level. The recency effect in private-context experiences is consistent with previous findings on the risk-taking of retail investors (Malmendier and Nagel, 2011), and findings on housing and inflation expectations (Kuchler and Zafar, 2019). Hence, we confirm these previous results for (i) a direct measure of expected stock market returns and (ii) professionals. In contrast to previous results that capture a joint effect of cross-cohort variation and dynamics of expectations within a cohort, our identification relies exclusively on the dynamics of expectations.

Given that primacy and recency vary within-subject, the contrast between private and professional contexts likely arises from differences in how experiences are encoded and retrieved in these contexts. Private-context experiences start in times that are exogenous to the person's motivation and attention to learn about the stock market, favoring a recency effect. In contrast, professional experiences begin at a defining milestone in life—the start of one's career—when people are particularly attentive and engaged with their first experiences, promoting a primacy effect. This interpretation aligns with evidence on early-career imprinting on managerial style (Schoar and Zuo, 2017) and the lasting influence of early-life socioeconomic conditions on economic expectations (Das et al., 2020). In Section II, we present evidence for a dual-channel explanation of context dependence.

D. Robustness

One channel through which personal experiences affect beliefs and choices is information. For example, experienced returns can be information if data access to objective information is restricted or costly (see, e.g., Kuchler and Zafar, 2019). However, in our setting, experienced returns have no marginal value as an information source. This is because we analyze subjects who have abundant information at their disposal, including information on the complete history of stock market returns, which is more data than the subset they could have personally experienced. By estimating models with month-year fixed effects, we control among other things for the effect of the long-term average DAX return, which constitutes the objective base rate. Hence, our results show that experiencing

the past has an effect over and above the objective information on the past, which is available to everybody. The effect of experienced returns, which we trace in this study, is an effect of non-informative observations. When exhaustive descriptive information is available and personal observations are non-informative, one would not expect subjects to resort to the subsample of experienced observations, because they cover only a short period of the past, leading to a small sample bias and under- or overweighting of the probability of rare events.

Even though experienced returns are non-informative in the long run, in a small sample they could have a positive correlation with realized returns by chance. Following this line of reasoning, it can be hypothesized that professionals may have come to appreciate their experienced returns because they might have coincidentally been an accurate predictor of future returns over the relatively short period of their careers. To test this hypothesis, we analyze whether the professionals in our sample have observed a positive correlation between their experienced returns and actual realized returns over the course of their careers.

[Insert Table IV approximately here.]

Specifically, in Table IV we calculate the aggregate experienced return for all professionals in our panel in a given year and examine its correlation with the realized return. For stability, we require that at least 50 subjects from our pool of professionals have already started their finance career for a year to be considered. The results do not provide any evidence that the correlation over time is positive. In the long run, the correlation is negative and statistically significant at the 1% level. This finding is consistent with the theoretical prediction of an asset-pricing model with agents who extrapolate from personal experiences (Nagel and Xu, 2022).

Another way in which past returns might affect investment behavior is through risk preferences. Guiso et al. (2018) elicit the risk aversion of retail investors and report a significant decrease after the 2008-2009 financial crisis. Differences in risk aversion may be linked through experienced returns, e.g. through wealth effects, if our proxy for experienced returns is correlated with the income and/or portfolio returns of the professionals. At the same time, the professionals' risk aversion may affect their expected returns (i) through a required risk premium, assuming that professionals understand expected returns as required returns, or (ii) through a risk-adjustment, assuming that professionals understand expected returns as risk-neutral returns (Cochrane, 2011). With respect

to the latter, Adam et al. (2021) show that survey expectations are inconsistent with the risk-adjustment hypothesis. With respect to the former, previous evidence suggests that professionals do not think about the required risk premium when thinking about expected returns (Kaustia et al., 2009). To account for the potential effect of risk preferences, as well as other potential confounding factors, we design an experimental study, which is described in detail in the next section.

II. Context-Dependent Experience Effects in the Lab

Results from the field, outlined in Section I, suggest a context dependence of experience effects — finance professionals extrapolate from the *most recent* returns experienced in the *private context* but from the *initial* returns experienced in the *professional context*. While the field setting enables us to identify a context-dependence, it limits our ability to test for potential explanations. An open question remains: How do individuals experience stock market developments differently in private versus professional contexts, and which of these differences are relevant for the shift between *recency effect* and *primacy effect*? We designed an experimental study to identify and explain how the context in which experiences accumulate causally influences their effect on subsequent choices.

A. Experimental Design

The aim of the experiment is to (i) establish a *causal* link between the context of the experience and the shift between "recency" and "primacy", and (ii) to test for alternative *cognitive foundations* of the context-dependence. People face an incentivized allocation decision between a risky and a zero-interest risk-free asset. Importantly, people learn about the properties of the risky asset by sequentially drawing (i.e., "experiencing") 10 random observations from its distribution (see, e.g., Hertwig et al., 2004; Bohren et al., 2024, for an overview of experiential learning in experiments). The random sequences consist of independently and identically distributed draws from a normal distribution with parameters matching the sample distribution of the MSCI World index ($\sim N(0.11, 0.15^2)$ *iid*). The random sequences are drawn individually for each subject. To enhance external validity, we present the sequence of random draws in the experiencing stage using a value format, as prior evidence suggests that retail investors and finance professionals predominantly rely on values or prices rather than returns (see Glaser et al., 2019).

In a between-subjects design, we manipulate the *context* of the experience — that is, the activity participants engage in while *processing* each random draw. These activities are incentivized in all context treatments. The experiment consists of three context treatments, that are outlined in Figure 3 and described below.

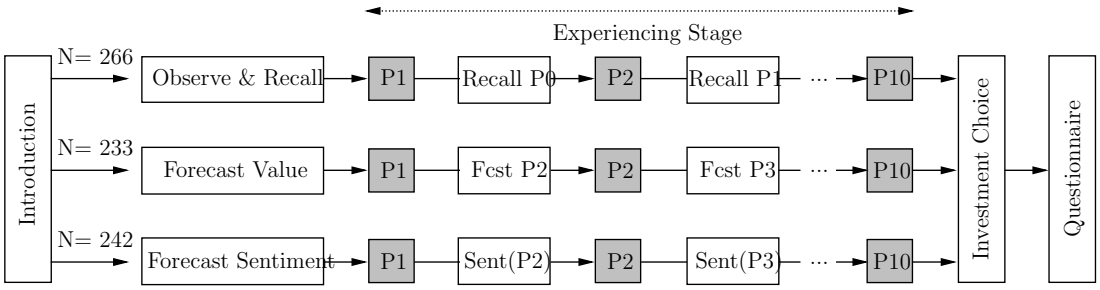


Figure 3. Experimental design and sample size.

In the "*Forecast Value*" treatment, we ask subjects to state their expectation for the next draw after observing each draw. This treatment is representative of the professional environment of professional forecasters. It also aims to capture any activity which requires a decision to be made after each new piece of information. This context treatment is motivated by recent neurophysiological evidence suggesting that the formation of expectations is initiated in the process of decision-making and does not happen inherently in the process of information acquisition (Nursimulu et al., 2016). We assume that the frequency of expectation formation — whether explicitly through forecasting or implicitly as part of decision-making — is higher in the professional context than in the private context, making it more aligned with the frequency of information updates. Put differently, a professional investor who frequently makes forecasts or decisions processes stock market experiences differently from an investor who, while attentive and with skin-in-the-game, remains mostly passive.[14] Another inherent feature of step-by-step expectation formation is the immediacy of feedback, particularly hit-or-miss feedback. As a recent study by Carlos Alos-Ferrer (2023) demonstrates, hit-or-miss feedback facilitates model-free reinforcement learning — a learning algorithm

[14] It is important to note that a high frequency of expectation formation and decision-making is not exclusive to the professional context (see, e.g., Heimer and Imas, 2022; Heimer et al., 2025, for examples of high-frequency trading by retail investors in the "private" context). However, since retail participation in high-frequency trading strategies surged only toward the end of our sample period, we argue that it is unlikely to have significantly influenced the private-context experiences of the subjects in our field dataset.

in which successful choices are likely to be repeated, while unsuccessful ones prompt exploration of alternatives. Barberis and Jin (2023) theoretically demonstrate that, unlike Bayesian learning, model-free learning can generate a primacy effect. At the very least, it predicts a weaker recency effect than model-based Bayesian learning.

Another key distinction between the professional and private contexts is the degree to which individuals form second-order expectations about other investors' beliefs and choices. Specifically, second-order beliefs are more likely to emerge in the professional context, where the prevalence of rankings and tournament incentives in the finance industry plays a significant role (see, e.g., Kirchler et al., 2018). Consistent with this, Camerer et al. (2004) suggests that prompting individuals to consider others' responses enhances their k-level thinking, with professional stock market portfolio managers exhibiting more advanced k-level reasoning than non-professionals. [15] To test whether second-order belief formation contributed to the recency-primacy-shift in experience effects, we ask subjects in the "*Forecast Sentiment*" treatment to predict the average forecast of others.

The "*Observe & Recall*" treatment most closely captures the experience of the stock market in a private context. The main challenge in designing this treatment is to isolate potential confounding factors. One factor that has been extensively studied in prior theoretical and empirical literature on experience effects is memory (see Malmendier and Wachter, 2024, for an overview). While memory processes related to the encoding and retrieval of experiences mostly predict a recency effect in the weighting of past experiences, they have the potential, under certain conditions, to also generate a primacy effect (see Section III for a discussion). In the experiment, our focus is on other potential factors of the recency-primacy shift, which is why we need to make sure that the effect of memory is possibly small and symmetric in all treatments. Moreover, we need to ensure that incentives during the experiencing stage do not confound the between-subject treatment effects. To this end, subjects in the private-context "Observe & Recall" treatment, like the participants in both other treatments, perform an incentivized task while processing the sequence of experiences. Specifically,

[15] Given the composition of our panel of finance professionals, which is by construction dominated by analysts, we consider this a useful generalization. However, it is important to note, that thinking of others is neither inherent to nor exclusive for the "professional" context. Specifically, a qualitative study by Andre et al. (2024) measures the mental models of finance professionals and retail investors. The study shows that (i) within the group of finance professionals, financial advisors often think about other investors' reactions and fund managers largely do not, and (ii) some retail investors also think about other investors' reactions.

we ask them to actively recall the experience immediately preceding the most recent one. This activity mirrors how a reasonably attentive non-investor engages with the stock market in the real world — learning about recent stock market performance and rehearsing the information over a couple of subsequent days through social interactions or media channels. The assumption of a reasonably attentive non-investor is particularly fitting for the early-life private-context experiences of individuals who later become finance professionals such as the subjects in our field dataset. By mirroring these naturalistic informational processes, the treatment also provides a more ecologically valid framework for examining how past experiences shape decision-making in a private context.

The experiment (N=741, 49% male, average age of 42 years) was pre-registered[16], programmed in Qualtrics and administered among investors[17] on Prolific in January 2025. We use further sample selection criteria based on location (US) and approval rate ($> 90\%$). Participants received approximately $23 per hour for their participation in the experiment, which is twice the typical amount offered on Prolific.[18] Before the beginning of the experiment, subjects underwent a bot check, as well as attention and comprehension checks (see Figure D1 in Online Appendix C). Only subjects who passed all checks were allowed to proceed with the study. Fewer than 5% of participants exited the experiment after being randomized into treatments, which assuages concerns about selective attrition.

It is essential to verify that the between-subject context treatments are effective, meaning that participants do not respond randomly but instead engage in the respective activities as intended during the experiencing stage. Effort is most easily verified in the "Observe & Recall" treatment, where the recall question has a definitive correct answer. Among participants, 89.1% made no more than two mistakes (mostly towards the end, possibly due to fatigue effects), and 60.1% answered all recall questions accurately.[19] We expect both professional-context treatments to be

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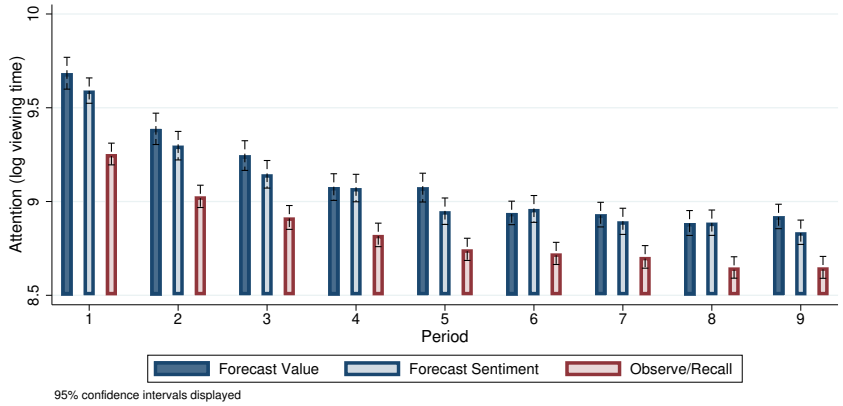
[16] The pre-registration report is available at https://aspredicted.org/ftpm-fkv9.pdf

[17] An *investor* is defined as anyone who responds affirmatively to the question "Have you ever made investments (either personal or through your employment) in the common stock or shares of a company?"

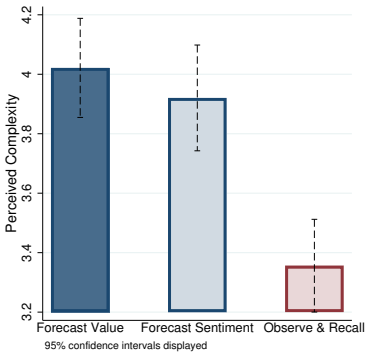
[18] Online platforms, such as Prolific, are increasingly used in economics, finance and the broader social sciences to recruit subjects for experiments. Studies have shown that laboratory results broadly replicate on these online platforms (e.g., Horton et al., 2011; Snowberg and Yariv, 2021).

[19] The analyses of the "Observe & Recall" treatment presented below are robust to exclusion of the participants who have made at least one mistake in the recall-question sequence.

more effortful than the "Observe & Recall" treatment, as they require participants to engage in an expectation-formation task. Unlike the information-processing task present in all context treatments, expectation formation does not occur automatically and demands additional cognitive effort (see Nursimulu et al., 2016). Consistent with this hypothesis, Figure 4 shows that subjects in both professional-context treatments (i) spend more time per period during the experiencing stage and (ii) rate the task as more mentally demanding, as measured by perceived complexity following Maynard and Hakel (1997) (see Online Appendix C for details and wording). The difference between the "Observe & Recall" treatment and each professional-context treatment is significant at the 5% level, while no significant difference is observed between the two professional-context treatments.



a. Dynamics of Attention by Treatment



b. Perceived Complexity by Treatment

Figure 4. Measures of effort by experimental task. This figure compares the effort exerted by the subjects in each experimental treatment. First, in subfigure a, we plot the attention to the individual experienced returns period by period. Attention corresponds to the logarithmized viewing time in each period. Logarithmizing is appropriate as the distribution of viewing time is positively skewed. Second, in subfigure b, we show the perceived complexity of the investment task using the measure of Maynard and Hakel (1997).

B. Context-Dependent Experience Effects in the Lab: Results

Our results, outlined in Table V, indicate that participants extrapolate from past returns across all between-subject treatments. However, subjects in the "Forecast Value" treatment, in particular, assign roughly twice as much weight to experiences from the first half of the sample (cumulative weight = 67.9%) compared to those from the second half (cumulative weight = 32.1%). Notably, the most recent period is significantly underweighted (assigned weight = 1.2% vs. an equal-weighting

benchmark of 10%, p-value < 0.001), as is the second-most recent period (assigned weight = 3.5%, p-value = 0.021). Table V and Figure 5 display estimates of the non-monotonic weighting function by Prelec (1998). The table shows that the estimates are robust to the inclusion of risk preferences and other demographic control variables. Taken together, these findings suggest that, in the "Forecast Value" treatment, participants exhibit a systematic and robust primacy effect.

[Insert Table V approximately here.]

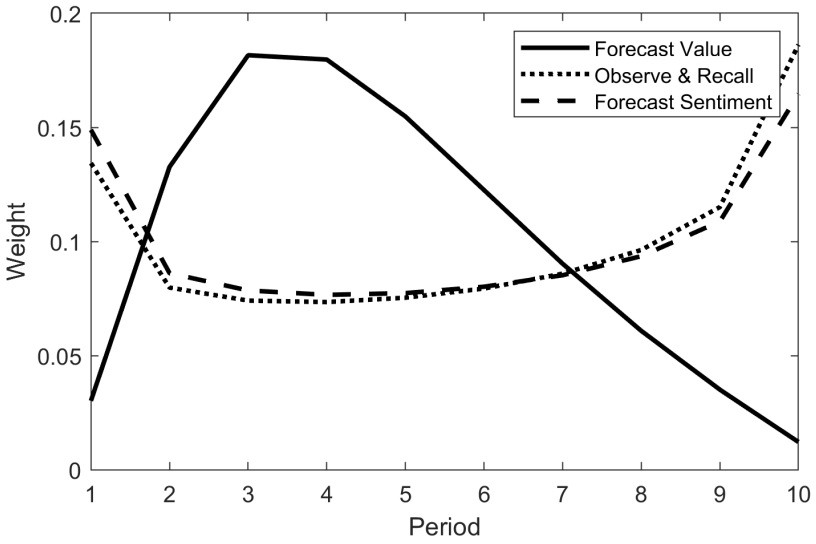


Figure 5. Weighting functions by experimental treatments. This figure illustrates the weighting functions by context treatment, as reported in Table V, Columns (i), (iii) and (iv).

In contrast, participants in the "Observe & Recall" treatment extrapolate equally from both recent and initial observations. The cumulative weight of the second half of the sample is 56.3%. The estimated weighting function is statistically indistinguishable from an equal-weighting function at the 10% significance level. This finding is consistent with previous experimental studies on passive sequential observations, which are most closely linked to the design of the "Observe & Recall" treatment (see, e.g., Ungemach et al., 2009).[20] Similarly, the weighting function in the

[20] It should be noted that our experimental design of the "Observe & Recall" treatment deviates from the traditional experiential learning paradigm in two important aspects, which may mitigate potential recency effects. First, the length of the sequence of experiences is exogenous. Hertwig et al. (2004) shows that this design choice makes the reliance on salience cues more likely, as we show in Section III.A. Second, the participants are asked to actively "rehearse" past experiences, which may result in their re-encoding in memory and consequently reduce the recency effect (see Mullainathan, 2002; Wachter and Kahana, 2024). Both design choices are necessary to preserve the internal validity of the treatment

"Forecast Sentiment" treatment is not distinguishable from equal weighting at the 10% level. Even though both the "Forecast Value" and "Forecast Sentiment" treatment simulate activities, which are more characteristic of the professional than the private domain, a primacy effect in experience effects, similar to the one in the field data, emerges only in the "Forecast Value" treatment.

Is it reasonable to expect that the activities in the "Forecast Value" treatment reflect those performed by finance professionals in their professional domain? A one-time survey question administered in June 2013 to 194 respondents from the ZEW panel indicates that 58% regularly engage in the same activity as in the "Forecast Value" treatment — regularly and explicitly forecasting stock market values. This supports the validity of the assumption. However, it remains unclear why this particular activity, unlike other professional or private-context tasks, leads to a primacy effect. To fill this gap, Section III delves into the cognitive mechanisms underlying the primacy effect.

III. Cognitive Mechanisms of the Context-Dependence

Experiential learning is characterized by *sequential* observations and *dynamic* updating of beliefs. In what follows, we explore potential drivers of context- dependence related to both processes.

The first set of potential explanations comes from the fact that past experiences unfold as a sequence of events that are committed to memory. Consequently, beliefs and choices are shaped by the encoding and retrieval of the memories of these events rather than the objective data. As a consequence, memory processes are proposed to be major drivers of biases in experiential learning (see Malmendier, 2021; Malmendier and Wachter, 2024, for a review of memory-based explanations). To the extent that memory drives experience effects, a *recency* effect is implied by one of the fundamental laws of human memory, the Law of Recency (see Kahneman et al., 1993; Kahana, 2012, for an overview). Furthermore, a recency effect may result from imprecise memory due to memory constraints (Azeredo da Silveira et al., 2024). In contrast, potential explanations of a systematic *primacy* effect are few and far between. Distant memories could be retrieved when the decision context shares more features with the context of distant memories than the context of recent memories, thus creating stronger associations with distant memories (e.g., Bordalo et al.,

comparison.

2023; Enke et al., 2024). Alternatively, distant memories may interfere with the encoding of new memories (see, e.g., Das et al., 2020; Laudenbach et al., forthcoming). Last but not least, distant memories may play an increasingly stronger role over time if they are re-encoded, or "rehearsed", each time they are retrieved (Wachter and Kahana, 2024; Mullainathan, 2002). Taken together, memory-based explanations formulate a set of conditions for the retrieval of distant memories over recent memories. However, such explanations do not incorporate an unconditional prioritization of the retrieval of distant memories over recent memories, which does not depend on other features of the distant experience other than its timing.

The second set of explanations focuses on the *dynamic* updating of beliefs, given perfect memory about past experiences. Even with precise memory, salience (see, e.g., Tversky and Kahneman, 1973) and salience-channeled attention may distort the mental representation of the data (see, e.g., Griffin and Tversky, 1992; Bordalo et al., 2020, 2024). A study by Ba et al. (2024) identifies two main complementary cognitive mechanisms of belief updating. One mechanism — salience-channeled limited attention — distorts the mental representation of the data, resulting in overreaction to new information, consistent with a recency effect. This mechanism is in line with prior literature explaining the recency effect in experience effects with salience and limited attention (see, e.g., Malmendier and Nagel, 2011, 2016). The other mechanism — a cognitive imprecision distorting the processing of complex data in the absence of salience cues — results in underreaction to news, as implied by the primacy effect. Importantly, the conditions for over- and underreaction in complex environments are factors that may vary exogenously with features of the decision context.

In addition, the recency-primacy shift in the weighting of past experiences may occur as a result of the application of different dynamic algorithms of learning. A hybrid model of learning by Barberis and Jin (2023) accounts for an interplay of model-free reinforcement learning and model-based learning. The study predicts both recency and primacy effects in the weighting of past experiences and specifies conditions under which each effect occurs. A primacy effect, as in the professional context, can only arise as a result of model-free reinforcement learning. Model-free reinforcement learning is governed by past experiences of actions and their outcomes without the formation of a mental model of the world. If a subject has experienced a high reward of a given action in the past, they are more likely to repeat that action in the future (see, e.g., Sutton and

Barto, 1998, for an overview). A distinguishing feature of model-free reinforcement learning is that subsequent choices depend on the past reward prediction error — the experienced reward of a past action relative to the anticipated reward. Importantly, whether or not reinforcement learning is at play may vary exogenously with features of the decision environment (Carlos Alos-Ferrer, 2023) and may thus depend on the context.

In the following, we discuss several tests of the above-mentioned cognitive mechanisms. In summary, our results suggest a double-channeled explanation—while *attention and salience* govern the weighting of past experiences in the *private* context, they are irrelevant in the professional context. In contrast, the weighting function in the professional context depends on the prediction errors of past experiences and, thus, displays the traces of *model-free reinforcement learning*.

A. Salience and Attention in the Private Context

First, we explore attention and salience as potential drivers of the context-dependence in experience effects. Attention is likely to vary systematically over time in both our lab and field settings. Junior finance professionals reportedly work excessively long hours compared to professionals in senior positions.[21] Similarly, participants in the "Forecast Value" treatment exhibit a similar time-trend of attention, spending more time early in the experiencing stage (see Figure 4, Panel A). Moreover, attention is often assumed to be driven by salience (see, e.g., Barber and Odean, 2007; Engelberg and Parsons, 2011), even for highly-attentive finance professionals (see Fedyk, 2024). In the following, we investigate whether salience and attention contribute to context dependence in the weighting of past experiences.

Our lab setting allows for a direct measure of *attention*. We use a proxy of attention given by the viewing time of each observation during the experiencing stage. To test for attention as a driver of the primacy effect, we replace the weighting function from our main model specification with a weighting function which ranks experienced returns based on the subject's attention to it, from the return that attracts the least attention to the return that attracts the most attention. We find evidence of a context dependence in the role of attention. Table VI and Figure 6, Panel A, illustrate the corresponding weighting functions in the private-context "Observe & Recall" treatment and the

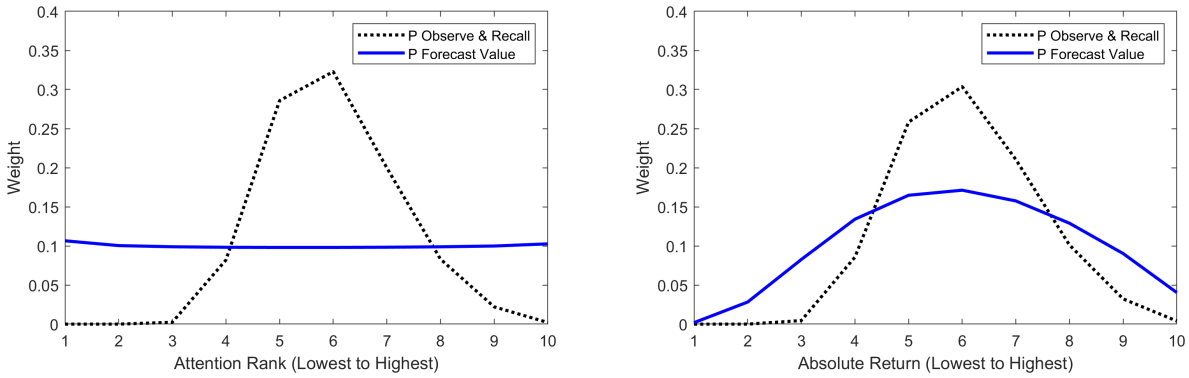
[21] For anecdotal evidence on excess working hours of junior finance professionals, see, e.g.: `https://www.wsj.com/finance/banking/bank-america-jpmorgan-overtime-work-hours-f9f204a7`

professional-context "Forecast Value" treatment. While in the private context experience returns are weighted significantly differently according to subjects' attention, the estimated weighting function in the professional context is flat. The weight subjects put on professional-context experiences that they pay most attention to is the same as the weight they put on experiences that they pay the least attention to.

[Insert Table VI approximately here.]

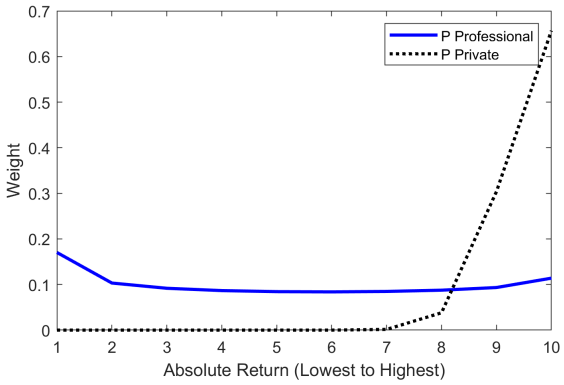
In addition, we test for the role of attention for the professional-context experience effect in our field setting by examining variations in the effect around the career start. To this end, we assume that prospective finance professionals start paying more attention to financial markets before their actual career start, already at the time of their job market entry. Accordingly, if the primacy effect is driven by attention, we expect to observe the professional-context experience effect already in the years before their career start in the finance industry. Table III shows results when shifting the starting points of experiences to years prior to the actual career start in the finance industry (s). The table shows that the experience effects are smaller and not statistically significant when extending the experience window to include the job-market years before the actual entry in the finance industry. This result indicates that characteristic features of the professional occupation rather than excess attention to financial markets are what drives professional-context experience effects.

Analogously, we can test for *salience* as a potential driver of experience effects across contexts and studies. Table VI and Figure 6, Panel B, illustrate the estimated salience-ranked weighting function of experienced returns. The corresponding within-subject salience ranks are calculated based on absolute returns. The results show no significance of the salience-based weighting of experienced returns at the 10% level in the professional-context treatment (see Column (iii)). In contrast, in the private-context treatment, subjects significantly underweight extremely moderate experienced returns. Analogously, we test for salience as the driver of experience effects in our field data of finance professionals. The results are illustrated in Table VII and Figure 6, Panel C. Consistent with the experimental setting, we estimate the salience-based weighting function in the professional context to be flat, while the weighting function in the private context to overweight extreme returns.



a. Attention (Lab)

b. Salience (Lab)



c. Salience (Field)

Figure 6. The role of salience-channeled attention in experience effects by context and study. This figure plots the Prelec (1998) estimates of alternative weighting functions of experienced past returns. Unlike the main regressions, the returns are not sorted along the time dimension. To test for the effect of *attention* on the weighting of experienced returns in the experiment, Panel (a) sorts experienced returns according to their corresponding viewing time (1 indicates lowest/fastest; 10 indicates highest/slowest). The weighting functions are displayed separately for the "Observe & Recall" and the "Forecast Value" treatments, which mirror the private and the professional context, respectively. The corresponding regression results are displayed in Table VI. To test for the effect of *salience*, in Panel (b) and (c) we estimate the weighting of returns based on their salience rank. We use the salience definition with the highest explanatory power in the experimental data, which defines salience as the absolute return (1 indicates return closest to 0 — positive or negative; 10 indicates most extreme return). Panel (b) displays the corresponding weighting functions in the Observe & Recall (private) and the Forecast Value (professional) treatments in the experiment (see Table VI). Panel (c) displays the corresponding weighting function estimates in the private and professional context in the field data with professionals (see Table VII).

Taken together, our findings suggest that experience effects in different contexts may be driven by different cognitive factors. First, we find experimentally that both attention and salience explain the weighting of experienced returns in the private context but not in the professional context. Second, private-context experiences, but not professional-context experiences, display a significant salience-weighting also in our field setting of finance professionals. These findings reinforce previous studies assuming that investment decisions by retail investors are more likely governed by salience-channeled attention because retail investors face more binding attention limitations than institutional investors (see, e.g., DellaVigna and Pollet, 2009; Barber and Odean, 2007). Interestingly, the context-dependent occurrence of salience-weighting is inconsistent with previous explanations of salience-channeled attention effects in finance. This is because by design the difference between the private and professional contexts in our experiment cannot be explained by different incentives or time constraints, as suggested in previous studies.

Our experimental findings on the impact of attention and salience in the professional context together with our field evidence challenge the notion that these factors drive the overweighting of primary returns. Absent salience-channeled attention, Ba et al. (2024) suggest that people form more unbiased mental representation of the decision environment. Instead, the study suggests that potential distortions in belief updating are rather overtaken by biases in the processing of information. In cases where the information is complex, such as the information in both our field and lab setting, these distortions predict an underreaction, consistent with a primacy effect.

B. Reinforcement Learning in the Professional Context

To trace potential reliance on model-free reinforcement learning in the professional context, we use a direct measure of the prediction error of past experiences in the "Forecast Value" treatment. For each subject, we rank the experienced returns according to the subject's corresponding prediction error, which is given by the difference between the actual return and the subject's respective incentivized forecast. Table VI, Column (i) displays the parameter estimates and Figure 7 illustrates the corresponding weighting function. We find that participants significantly underweight past returns that they failed to predict (both extremely overestimated and extremely underestimated returns) and overweight past returns when their forecasts were relatively accurate. This result contradicts Bayesian learning, which relies solely on the sequence of experienced returns rather

than prediction errors.[22] The finding is consistent with an experimental study by Carlos Alos-Ferrer (2023), showing that the reliance on model-free reinforcement learning varies within-subject and is induced by hit-or-miss incentives, such as the experience-stage incentives in the "Forecast Value" treatment.

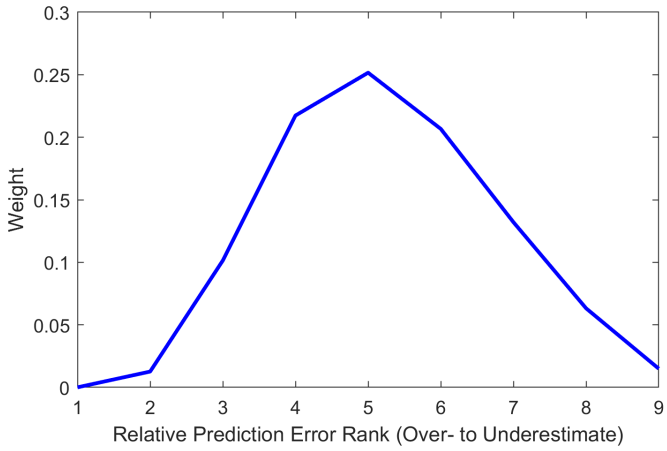


Figure 7. The role of prediction error in the professional-context experience effect. To test for the impact of *reinforcement learning* in the weighting of experienced returns in the "Forecast Value" treatment, this figure plots the weighting function depending on their relative prediction-error rank (1 indicates most extreme overestimation/negative surprise; 10 indicates most extreme underestimation/positive surprise). The prediction error is computed as the relative surprise (in percent) relative to the subject's forecast in the previous round. The corresponding regression results are displayed in Table VI.

To provide an intuition why reinforcement learning is related to greater overweighting of primary returns relative to model-based (Bayesian) learning, it is useful to think of the different types of weighting functions in terms of the dynamics of beliefs that they imply. Section IV illustrates the expected dynamics of beliefs conditional on different parameter combinations of the weighting function of past returns. Taken together, a slower speed of convergence is observed for weighting functions that are characteristic of reinforcement learning, whether due to a weaker recency effect or the presence of a primacy effect. This is because model-free reinforcement learning is inherently inefficient — it updates beliefs only based on direct experience rather than drawing from the full range of available data. Furthermore, environmental factors that limit random exploration of new

[22] While it could be argued that latent subjective beliefs are inherently driven solely by model-based approaches grounded in probabilistic reasoning, incentivized forecasts can result from a decision-making process similar to the allocation decision, as such forecasts may be governed both by model-based and model-free reinforcement learning.

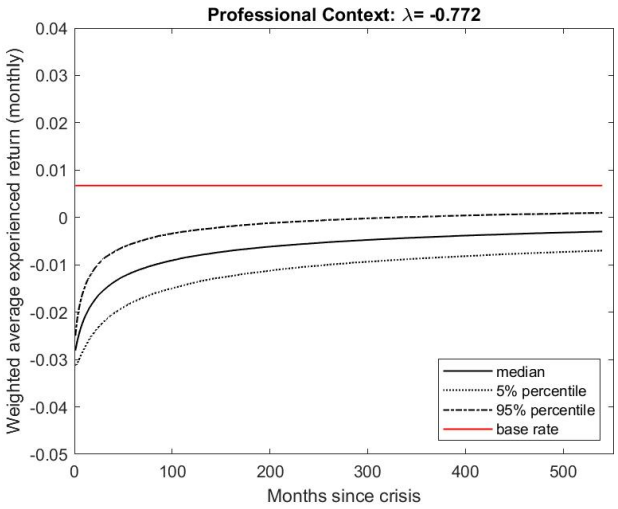
actions can reinforce early choices to the point that the decision-maker sticks with an early action for a substantial period of time, hence exhibiting a primacy effect. Barberis and Jin (2023) demonstrate that exploration levels below a certain threshold result in a functional form of the weighting function similar to our estimate in the "Forecast Value" treatment. Among the discovered factors that limit exploration are high frequency of feedback and high cognitive load (see, e.g., Brown et al., 2022). These factors notably distinguish the "Forecast Value" treatment from the "Observe & Recall" treatment, where no feedback is provided and cognitive load is perceived to be lower. In the field setting, additional factors that are characteristic of the professional environment may further contribute to the primacy-effect inducing features of the environment (e.g., higher cognitive load due to a larger choice set than in the private context, see Brown et al., 2022).

IV. Implications: Overreaction vs. Underreaction to News

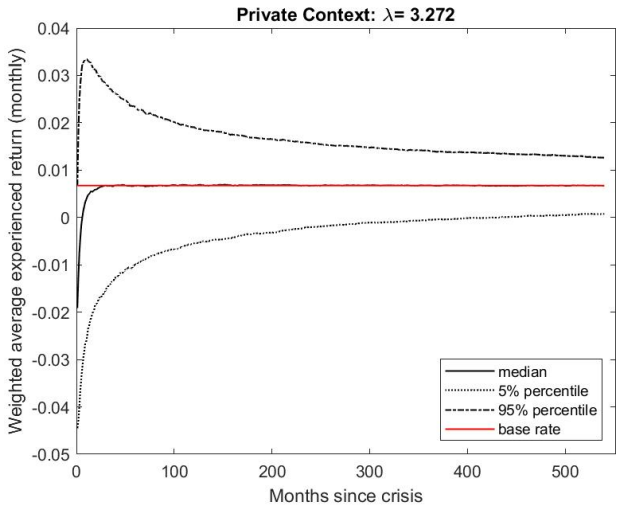
Why is it important to know when a primacy effect or a recency effect occur? To understand the implications of primacy and recency effects, it is useful to think about the two effects in terms of the dynamics of beliefs they imply.

Learning with a *primacy effect* implies coining one's beliefs to a few observations experienced early on and sticking with these beliefs for a long period of time, hence *underreacting* to new information. A primacy effect implies that the individual learns quickly at first and then very *slowly* — their beliefs take a long time to converge to the base rate. How slowly exactly is illustrated in Figure 8. The figure shows the expected dynamics of weighted-average experienced returns of an individual who has experienced a crisis at the very beginning of their experiencing stage and exhibits the parameter estimates in our field study.[23] The figure shows that the primacy effect results in a systematic underestimation of the true base rate. The scope of the underestimation decreases gradually with time and would eventually be fully resolved given a long enough horizon. However, as the figure shows, a primacy effect as pronounced as in our field data, is unlikely to be fully resolved 45 years into one's career, which is when most finance professionals would have already exited the finance industry.

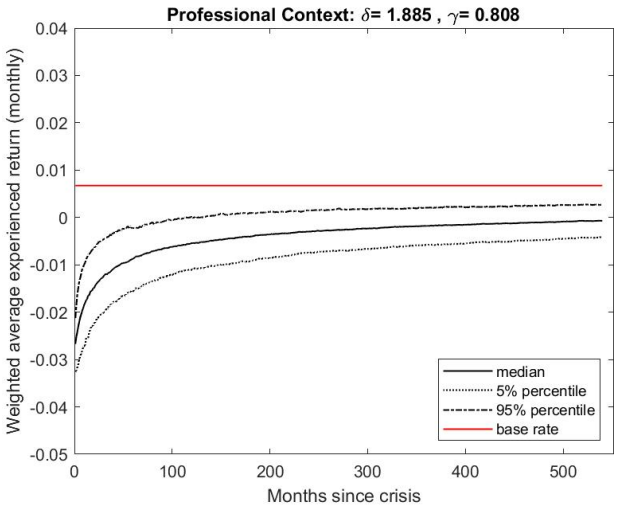
[23] The dynamics are similar for a stock-market boom of similar magnitude. Figure A1 shows that a substantial part of the professionals in our panel experience either a large positive or a large negative return in the first year of their tenure.



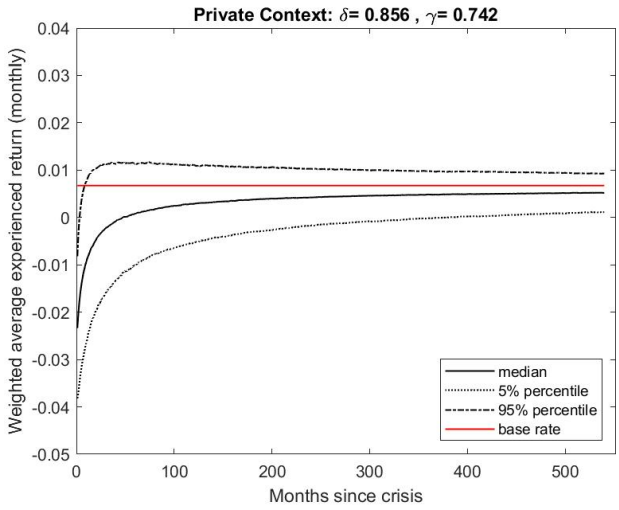
a. Professional context / Monotonic weights



b. Private Context / Monotonic weights



c. Professional context / Non-monotonic weights



d. Private context / Non-monotonic weights

Figure 8. Belief dynamics following a stock market crash experience. This figure illustrates the expected dynamics of weighted average experienced returns using the weighting parameters estimated in our field setting. At the beginning of the experiencing stage, we introduce an exogenous stock market crash of -30% p.a., similar to the financial market crash of 2008. The subsequent dynamics of the distribution of weighted average experienced returns are based on 1,000 simulations of 45-years long stock-market return sequences. For the purposes of the simulations, we assume that stock market returns $R_i \sim N(0.084, 0.19^2)$ *iid*, following the historical sample distribution of the German DAX total return index. Panels a and b display the expected dynamics based on the estimated weighting parameter, λ, of monotonic weighting function by Malmendier and Nagel (2011). Panels c and d display the corresponding context-dependent dynamics based on the weighting parameters δ and γ of the non-monotonic weighting function by Prelec (1998).

In contrast, learning with a *recency effect* implies overreacting to new information and *underweighting* distant past experiences to the point of almost completely ignoring them. In contrast to the primacy effect, a recency effect implies that the individual learns and un-learns very *fast*. In expectation, their beliefs align with the true base rate shortly after an exogenous crisis experience. However, they fluctuate excessively around it. Figure 8, Panel b and d, show that the recency effect in the private context causes more belief fluctuation than the professional-context primacy effect in the months following the crisis experience.

Both overreaction to new information, resulting from a recency effect, and the underreaction, driven by a primacy effect, imply that beliefs are inaccurate for a long time. If the individuals learned and made decisions *in isolation*, the temporary inaccuracies, caused by either one of the two effects, would vanish with experience ultimately leading to correct asymptotic beliefs. However, in our field setting, learning in isolation is an implausible assumption for most finance professionals. By the nature of their occupation, they make their forecasts observable to other investors, while the source of their inaccuracy remains largely private information. The latter hinders other investors from accounting for any potential bias, when updating their own beliefs after observing the professionals' forecasts and recommendations (see, e.g., Hirshleifer et al., 2009, for social learning in financial markets). Bohren and Hauser (2021) analyze the dynamics of beliefs in *social learning* environments, like the real-life environment of the professionals in our field study. The study shows that, unlike individual learning in isolation, in social learning environments underreaction to news — such as that induced by a primacy effect — can result in incorrect asymptotic learning.

V. Conclusion

We show that context affects the way people learn from sequences of stock market experiences creating a contradictory pattern. In the private context, people are quick to let go of past experiences and appear to overreact to new ones, thus changing their beliefs and choices excessively over time. In contrast, in the professional context, people *learn fast, then slow*—early experiences leave a lasting trace on both beliefs and choices, effectively anchoring them. While this anchoring can provide stability, in most cases it introduces a bias that is difficult to overcome—particularly when initial experiences are unrepresentative.

The context dependence of experiential learning can be explained by the way people process experiences in different contexts. In particular, we find that forecasting—an activity that is frequently performed in the professional but not the private context—changes the way people process the experience. As a result we suggest a double-channeled explanation of the context dependency in experiential learning. In the private context, experience effects are driven by salience-channeled attention, whereas in the professional context, salience appears irrelevant. Instead, the observed experience effect is consistent with a form of model-free information processing. Our results challenge standard models of experience-based learning that assume context-invariance and focus on memory as the main driver of experience effects. Instead, our evidence of a double-channeled explanation suggests that experiential learning mechanisms are context-sensitive and warrant the development of hybrid theoretical frameworks.

Our findings also have important implications for financial regulation and financial education. First, the persistent, individual-level biases arising from experiential learning among professional forecasters and financial advisors may generate negative externalities for their clients, influencing portfolio choices and contributing to systematic investment mistakes. Financial regulation has addressed investor protection primarily by mitigating conflicts of interest in financial advice—for example, through the MiFID II and MiFIR frameworks in Europe. However, to the extent that client outcomes are shaped by advisors' own experience-based biases rather than by incentive misalignments, such regulations can only partially mitigate the resulting externalities.

Second, experience-based regulatory interventions may offer an effective and efficient mean of promoting financial literacy, but they must be designed with care, as experience effects are not equally persistent or necessarily beneficial. Recent initiatives have emphasized "learning by doing" during a child's formative years, such as the proposal by the German Council of Economic Experts to provide financial assets from the age of 6, the Savings for Every Child program in Israel, and the now-discontinued Child Trust Fund in the United Kingdom. Our results suggest that for experiential learning effects to be lasting, people need to engage with their early financial experiences in a structured, forward-looking way akin to forecasting—for example, by aligning the timing of such interventions with school curricula. Moreover, for these interventions to be universally beneficial and reduce potential unintended adverse effects, the content of these experiences should be carefully managed to avoid reinforcing beliefs based on extreme outcomes, for instance, by limiting available

choices or using simulations instead of real investments.

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Table I
Descriptive Statistics

The panel data of forecasts runs from February 2003 to December 2017. Our sample includes all subjects who provided information on their career start in the finance industry or their birth year within the scope of the ZEW survey. Expected returns are semi-annual returns calculated from six months ahead expected DAX index level and the DAX level on the day of the response. Market data are from Datastream.

	N	Mean	Std.	10^{th} pct	Median	90^{th} pct
Birth year	323	1964.50	8.80	1952	1965	1976
Year of career start	330	1988.90	9.50	1975	1990	1999
Age at career start	323	24.30	4.10	19	25	29
# of survey responses per forecaster	330	71.20	54.30	10	57	159
# of participants per survey-wave	178	133.30	21.20	108	132	163
Tenure	23507	21.04	9.13	9	21	34
Expected semi-annual return	23507	2.85%	9.43%	-6.47%	3.18%	11.72%

Table II
Expected Returns and Experienced Returns Professional vs. Private Context

This table presents regressions of expected returns on experienced (excess) returns. Experienced returns are weighted average monthly DAX returns (in excess of the money-market rate). Columns (i) to (iii) show results for experienced returns in the professional context since the professional's career start in the finance industry. For private-context experiences in columns (iv) to (vi), we aggregate experienced returns since the "best starting age." The best starting ages result from the maximum-likelihood estimation. Expected returns are DAX return expectations winsorized at the 1% and the 99% level and converted to average monthly returns. All regressions include calendar effects (survey wave and day-of-week FE) and subject-level fixed effects. Columns (ii), (iii), (v), and (vi) include the professionals' economic expectations and their assessment of the current economic situation. *Panel A* provides results for the non-monotonic weighting function, *Panel B* shows results for the monotonic weighting function, which are both described in Section **??**. Standard errors are double-clustered. t-statistics or F-statistics are provided in parentheses. Significance levels are indicated as *** (p<0.01), ** (p<0.05), * (p<0.10).

	Panel A (non-monotonic): $y_{it} = \beta f(\gamma, \delta) + \vec{\zeta}^{\top} \vec{x}_{it} + \epsilon_{it}$					
	Professional Context			Private Context		
	(i)	(ii)	(iii)	(iv)	(v)	(vi)
β	1.103***	1.058***	1.048***	0.525**	0.488	1.343**
	(2.852)	(2.771)	(2.731)	(2.100)	(1.512)	(2.160)
Hump-shape parameter (γ)	0.840	0.808	0.809	0.730	0.742	0.696
Primacy parameter (δ)	1.837	1.885	1.879	1.234	0.856	1.505
F-test ($\gamma = 1 \wedge \delta = 1$)	(4.242)**	(4.433)**	(4.270)**	(1.156)	(1.604)	(1.457)
Economic expectations		0.004***	0.004***		0.004***	0.004***
		(12.127)	(12.124)		(11.980)	(11.954)
Economic assessment		0.001***	0.001***		0.001***	0.001***
		(3.873)	(3.871)		(3.842)	(3.823)
Returns	raw	raw	excess	raw	raw	excess
Subject FE	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Calendar FE	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Adj. R^2	0.346	0.382	0.380	0.346	0.383	0.381
N	23507	23507	23507	22949	22949	22949
Estimated starting age				26	25	20

	Panel B (monotonic): $y_{it} = \beta f(\lambda) + \vec{\zeta}^{\top} \vec{x}_{it} + \epsilon_{it}$					
	Professional Context			Private Context		
	(i)	(ii)	(iii)	(iv)	(v)	(vi)
β	1.078***	1.049**	1.024**	0.268*	0.244*	0.247*
	(2.700)	(2.353)	(2.324)	(1.868)	(1.916)	(1.897)
Recency parameter (λ)	−0.703***	−0.772***	−0.763***	1.243	3.272*	3.103*
	(-3.151)	(-3.258)	(-3.111)	(1.098)	(1.702)	(1.654)
Economic expectations		0.004***	0.004***		0.004***	0.004***
		(12.108)	(12.106)		(11.895)	(11.892)
Economic assessment		0.001***	0.001***		0.001***	0.001***
		(3.909)	(3.909)		(3.949)	(3.949)
Returns	raw	raw	excess	raw	raw	excess
Subject FE	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Calendar FE	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Adj. R^2	0.345	0.381	0.380	0.346	0.382	0.381
N	23507	23507	23507	22949	22949	22949
Estimated starting age				25	23	23

Table III
Expected Returns and Experienced Returns Around the Career Start

This table presents regressions of expected returns on experienced returns calculated using different starting points. Experienced returns are weighted average monthly DAX returns since the individual professional's career start in the finance industry, s, as well as since the year $s-2$, and delayed up to the year $s+2$. Expected returns are DAX return expectations winsorized at the 1% and the 99% level, and converted to average monthly returns. All regressions include subject-level controls and calendar effects (survey wave and day-of-week FE), as well as the professionals' economic expectations and their assessment of the current economic situation (in line with column (ii) in the main Table II. *Panel A* provides results for the non-monotonic weighting function, *Panel B* shows results for the monotonic weighting function, which are both described in Section **??**. Significance levels are indicated as *** (p<0.01), ** (p<0.05), * (p<0.10).

	Panel A (non-monotonic): $y_{it} = \beta f(\gamma, \delta) + \vec{\zeta}^{\top} \vec{x}_{it} + \epsilon_{it}$				
	$s-2$	$s-1$	s	$s+1$	$s+2$
β	0.235	1.050**	1.058***	0.788***	0.461*
t-stat	(0.878)	(2.141)	(2.771)	(3.040)	(1.659)
Adj. R^2	0.380	0.382	0.382	0.381	0.381
N	23389	23437	23507	23504	23262
Economic exp. & assess.	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Subject FE	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Calendar FE	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes

	Panel B (monotonic): $y_{it} = \beta f(\lambda) + \vec{\zeta}^{\top} \vec{x}_{it} + \epsilon_{it}$				
	$s-2$	$s-1$	s	$s+1$	$s+2$
β	0.385	0.779**	1.049**	0.602**	0.454*
t-stat	(0.838)	(2.386)	(2.353)	(2.494)	(1.955)
Adj. R^2	0.380	0.381	0.381	0.380	0.381
N	23389	23437	23507	23504	23262
Economic exp. & assess.	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Subject FE	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Calendar FE	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes

Table IV
Predictability of Future Returns with Experienced Returns

This table test the predictability of future returns with experienced returns. The dependent variable is the average monthly realized DAX return within the next six months. We focus on realized returns over a semi-annual horizon to ensure consistency with the forecast horizon of the ZEW survey (which is six months). Experienced returns are the weighted average monthly returns since the beginning of the professional's finance career weighted with $\lambda = -0.772$ (i.e., primacy in professional context), or since the age of 23 weighted with $\lambda = 3.272$ (i.e., recency in private context). The weighting parameters correspond to the estimates from Table II, Panel B, columns (ii) and (v) respectively for the different contexts. For each month, we calculate the average experienced return among all professionals who have already started their career (professionals are weighted equally). We exclude the periods before 1982 because we have less than 75 professionals who had started their career at this point. If a professional leaves the ZEW panel, we assume that he has left the finance industry. This is a plausible assumption, since the ZEW follows-up with professionals who change positions/employers and keeps them in the survey pool for as long as their occupation is in the field of finance. We report Newey-West standard errors to account for autocorrelation in the error term for up to 5 lags. t-statistics are provided in parentheses. Significance levels are indicated as *** (p<0.01), ** (p<0.05), * (p<0.10).

	(i)	(ii)	(iii)	(iv)	(v)	(vi)
(Sub)sample	02/1982-12/2017	02/1982-05/2000	06/2000-12/2017	02/1982-12/2017	02/1982-05/2000	06/2000-12/2017
Experienced return (professional context)	-1.715*	-0.660	-7.897***			
(Recency parameter $\hat{\lambda} = -0.772$)	(-1.693)	(-0.657)	(-3.029)			
Experienced return (private context)				-0.434	-0.638	-1.286*
(Recency parameter $\hat{\lambda} = 3.272$)				(-1.277)	(-1.596)	(-1.796)
Adj.R^2	0.022	0.002	0.151	0.012	0.033	0.055
N	417	208	209	417	208	209

Table V
Experienced Returns and Investment Choices in the Lab

This table presents regressions of investment choices on experienced returns by treatment. The dependent variable is the portfolio share of the risky asset. Experienced returns are the weighted average of the 10 sequentially displayed, randomly drawn observations from the distribution of the risky asset. We estimate the non-monotonic weighting function by Prelec (1998). Demographic control variables are included if indicated: age, gender, statistical skills (self-reported). t-statistics or F-statistics are provided in parentheses. Significance levels are indicated as *** (p<0.01), ** (p<0.05), * (p<0.10).

	$y_{it} = \beta f(\gamma, \delta) + \vec{\zeta}^{\top} \vec{x}_{it} + \epsilon_{it}$					
	Forecast Value		Observe&Recall		Forecast Sentiment	
	(i)	(ii)	(iii)	(iv)	(v)	(vi)
β	1.669***	1.450***	1.172***	1.097***	0.700*	0.619*
	(4.476)	(4.322)	(3.376)	(3.237)	(1.865)	(1.844)
Hump-shape parameter (γ)	1.834*	1.912*	0.738	0.748	0.765	1.475
F-test ($\gamma = 1$)	(2.850)	(2.800)	(0.970)	(0.760)	(0.430)	(0.300)
Primacy parameter (δ)	1.319	1.290	0.922	0.897	0.994	0.332*
F-test ($\delta = 1$)	(0.610)	(0.470)	(0.070)	(0.140)	(0.000)	(3.060)
Risk preferences		0.035***		0.037***		0.020***
		(4.966)		(4.800)		(2.555)
Demographics	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes
Adj. R^2	0.080	0.178	0.028	0.127	0.003	0.029
N	233	233	266	266	242	242

Table VI
Cognitive Mechanisms of Context-Dependence in the Lab: Salience, Attention and Reinforcement Learning

This table presents non-linear regressions of investment choices in the lab on weighted average experienced returns using the Prelec (1998) weighting function in the "Forecast Value" and the "Observe & Recall" treatments. Unlike the main regressions, the returns are not sorted along the time dimension, but along different return rankings. The resulting weighting functions are illustrated in Figures 6 and 7. To test for the impact of *reinforcement learning*, in Column (i) experienced returns are sorted according to their prediction-error rank (1 indicates most extreme overestimation/negative surprise; 10 indicates most extreme underestimation/positive surprise). The prediction error is computed as the relative surprise (in percent) relative to the subject's forecast. To test for the effect of *attention* on the weighting of experienced returns, in Columns (ii) and (v) we sort experienced returns according to their corresponding viewing time (1 indicates lowest/fastest; 10 indicates highest/slowest). To test for the effect of *salience*, in Columns (iii) and (vi) we sort experienced returns according to their salience rank. The salience definition with the highest explanatory power defines salience as the absolute return (1 indicates closest to 0 — positive or negative; 10 indicates most extreme return). Significance levels are indicated as *** (p<0.01), ** (p<0.05), * (p<0.10).

$$y_{it} = \beta f(\gamma, \delta) + \vec{\zeta}^{\top} \vec{x}_{it} + \epsilon_{it}$$

	Forecast Value			Observe & Recall		
	Predict. Err	Attention	Salience	Predict. Err	Attention	Salience
	(i)	(ii)	(iii)	(iv)	(v)	(vi)
β	1.535***	1.653***	1.484***	-	0.952***	0.978***
	(4.590)	(4.160)	(3.160)	-	(3.660)	(3.530)
Hump-shape parameter (γ)	2.226*	0.982	1.627	-	3.266*	2.958
F-test ($\gamma = 1$)	(2.730)	(0.010)	(0.249)	-	(3.230)	(1.810)
Primacy parameter (δ)	0.568	1.013	0.620	-	0.304***	0.321**
F-test ($\delta = 1$)	(2.510)	(0.000)	(0.348)	-	(15.490)	(5.120)
Adj. R^2	0.084	0.060	0.069	-	0.048	0.042
N	224	233	233	-	266	266

Table VII
Cognitive Mechanism of Context-Dependence in the Field: Salience in the Private vs. Professional Context

This table presents non-linear regressions of investment choices in the field on weighted average experienced returns using the Prelec (1998) weighting function as in Table II. Unlike the main regressions, the experienced returns are not sorted along the time dimension, but instead we sort returns according to their salience rank, where salience is defined as the absolute return (rank 1 indicates closest to 0% — positive or negative; the highest rank indicates the most extreme return). In column (i), we present results for professional-context return experiences for the same model specification as in Table II, column (ii). Column (ii) contains results for private-context experiences for the same model specification and starting age as in Table II, column (v). Standard errors are double-clustered. Significance levels are indicated as *** (p<0.01), ** (p<0.05), * (p<0.10).

	$y_{it} = \beta f(\gamma, \delta) + \vec{\zeta}^{\top} \vec{x}_{it} + \epsilon_{it}$	
	(i) Professional Context	(ii) Private Context
β	0.504	0.146**
	(0.856)	(2.231)
Hump-shape parameter (γ)	0.870	1.473
Primacy parameter (δ)	1.167	0.034
F-test ($\gamma = 1 \wedge \delta = 1$)	(0.023)	(7.292)***
Economic expectations	0.004***	0.004***
	(12.092)	(11.933)
Economic assessment	0.001***	0.001***
	(3.953)	(4.078)
Returns	raw	raw
Subject FE	yes	yes
Calendar FE	yes	yes
Adj. R^2	0.380	0.384
N	23507	22949
Starting age		25

Online Appendix for "Experience Effects on Wall Street vs. Main Street: Field and Lab Evidence of Context Dependence"

Benjamin Christoffersen

Arvid Hoffmann

Zwetelina Iliewa

Lena Jaroszek

The contents of this Online Appendix are as follows:

Online Appendix A provides additional details about the field data.

Online Appendix B provides tests of potential endogenous attrition in the field data.

Online Appendix C contains the experimental instructions.

Online Appendix A. Field Data

Online Appendix AI. Survey Expectations

As dependent variable in our analyses, we examine professionals' six-month ahead expectations regarding the main German stock market index DAX. The question on the expected DAX returns was included in the survey in February 2003. We gather data until December 2017. Specifically, the numerical question on DAX expectations reads:

"I expect the DAX in 6 months to be at ... points."

We convert the responses to the above survey question into expected stock market returns using the DAX opening level on the day of the response.[24] If the response is submitted during a bank holiday or during the weekend, we use the preceding trading day's closing level. Daily market data is obtained from Thomson Reuters' Datastream. To prevent extreme outliers from affecting our results, we winsorize expected returns at the 1% and 99% levels. To have all data on the same frequency, we convert semi-annual return expectations to average monthly returns.

Online Appendix AII. Experiences

Our measure of stock market experiences follows Malmendier and Nagel (2011), in that information on subjects' past investments is unavailable. Instead, the measure relies on the period the subjects have personally experienced. For our data as well, we cannot know which kind of first-hand experiences our professionals have from their private investments or their professional activity. For example, in their professional context, they might not trade at all. If they trade, they are not constrained to long-only investments in stocks but may also take short positions or positions in other asset classes. However, all surveyed professionals follow the DAX development closely; otherwise they would neither be invited to the survey nor feel proficient in providing their

[24] It is common practice in real-world surveys to elicit expected price/index levels and convert them to expected returns (see, e.g., Livingston Survey of the Federal Reserve Bank of Philadelphia). However, asking for expected prices instead of expected returns induces more pessimistic expectations and amplifies the recency effect, as Glaser et al. (2019) experimentally show based on the subject pool of the ZEW Financial Market Survey. For the study at hand, as the questionnaire design is the same for all subjects, we conjecture that both effects are orthogonal to the experienced returns. The type of recency effect documented in the study concerns extrapolation from commonly used charts of past performance and constitutes a time-fixed effect which we control for in this study.

forecasts. Since previous research suggests that less direct involvement weakens the impact of experiential learning (Andersen et al., 2019; Simonsohn et al., 2008), our results likely understate the effects of experienced returns on expectations.

Table AI below provides the definitions of the variables that we draw from our survey of finance professionals.

Table AI
List of Variables

Expected returns	Expected returns are DAX return expectations elicited on a monthly basis. The survey question is given as follows: *"I expect the DAX in 6 months to be at ... points."* DAX level forecasts are converted into expected returns based on the DAX 30 performance index opening value on the day of the response submission. If the response was submitted on a bank holiday or a weekend we use the last available DAX level (closing level on the last trading day). Market data is downloaded from Datastream. Expected returns are winsorized at 1% and 99% levels. The 6 month horizon return expectations are converted to average monthly returns.
experienced return, $f\left(s_i, t; \vec{\theta}\right)$	experienced returns are the weighted average monthly DAX returns. We consider experienced returns in two different contexts: private context (i.e. since particular age, which we estimate to best fit the data) and professional context (i.e. since the beginning of the career in finance). We use two weighting functions for the weighted experienced returns. The first is a monotonic weighting function following Malmendier and Nagel (2011). The second is a non-monotonic weighting function suggested by Prelec (1998).
Economic expectations	Responses to the question: "In the mid-term the economic situation in Germany will: ... " *improve* $= 1$, *stay the same* $= 0$, or *worsen* $= -1$
Economic assessment	Responses to the question: "I assess the current economic situation in Germany as: ... " *good* $= 1$, *normal* $= 0$ or *bad* $= -1$

Online Appendix AIII. Professionals' Career Starts

Our panel of professionals covers a broad range of professional cohorts with diverse early career experience. For illustration, Figure A1 shows market returns at different cohorts' career start in the finance industry. The figure plots the number of career starts over time, where the green (red) bars indicate positive (negative) market returns in the year of the career start.

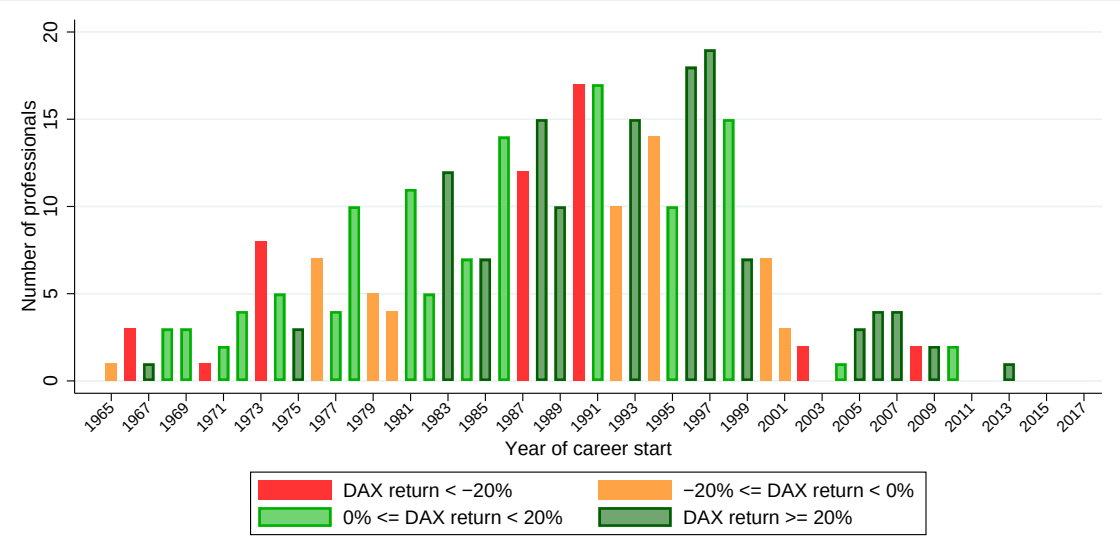


Figure A1. Timing of professionals' career start in finance. The bars show how many professionals in the ZEW survey started their career in the finance industry in a given year. The bars' color indicates the DAX returns in the respective years. The correlation of the number career starts and the contemporaneous DAX return is 0.19 (p-value of .192). The correlation of the number of career starts and the average DAX return over the last five years is 0.33 (p-value of .031).

Importantly, many subjects at their career start have experienced a crisis (e.g., the 1973-74 stock market crash, the Black Monday stock market crash of 1987, the early 1990s recession, or the collapse of the dot-com bubble of 2000-2003) or a boom of similar magnitude (e.g., the boom years 1993, or 1997). The number of professionals from the ZEW panel starting their careers increases until 1997 and drops thereafter. This increase is in line with the historical growth of the finance industry during this period. The drop after 1997 can be attributed to the ZEW survey targeting professionals with a long tenure in the finance industry. The figure shows a positive correlation between the number of career starts and the average DAX return over the three-year preceding horizon. The positive correlation is around 0.2 but not statistically significant at the 10% level. A positive correlation might indicate that the demand or the supply of finance positions is pro-cyclical. It does not mean, however, that the decision to start a career in finance is related to the subsequently experienced returns. This form of potential endogeneity is precluded in efficient financial markets where past returns are no predictor of future returns.

Online Appendix AIV. External Validity and Attention to the ZEW Index Announcements

Figure A2 shows that the age structure in the ZEW survey resembles the age structure in the overall German finance industry.

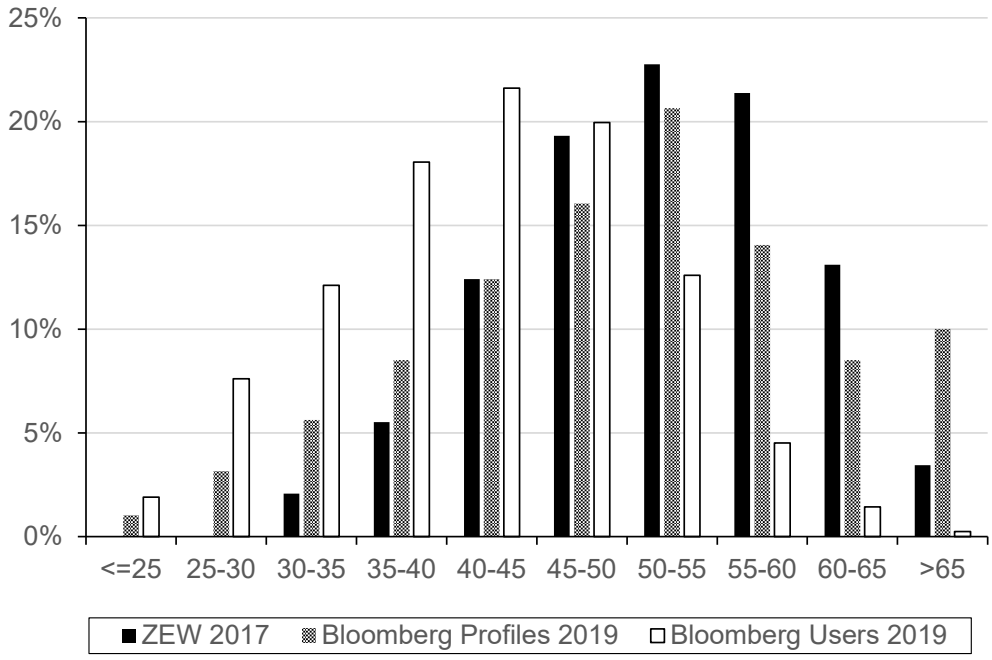


Figure A2. Participants' age-cohort distribution. The figure compares the ZEW survey professionals' age cohort distributions to those of German finance professionals for whom Bloomberg provides biographical data. Professionals' age cohorts are depicted on the x-axis. The y-axis shows the share of professionals in the respective age cohort in the three samples. Patterned bars show the distribution of all 1458 German finance professionals for whom Bloomberg provides biographical data. Framed bars show the distribution of 421 German finance professionals who have a biography and furthermore use Bloomberg as a financial trading platform. Solid black bars show the distribution of 145 finance professionals with birth year information in the ZEW survey.

In Figure A2, the data for the age distribution in the German finance industry stems from biographic profiles on Bloomberg. Specifically, we compare the ZEW survey professionals' five-year age-cohort distributions as of the information from 2017 to those of German finance professionals for whom Bloomberg provides biographical data as of 2019. Bloomberg provides biographical data for 1458 German finance professionals overall (patterned bars). A sub-sample of 421 professionals have a biography and furthermore use Bloomberg as a financial trading platform (framed bars). This latter group of professionals who also use the platform for trading are younger and without requirements on their tenure. The distribution of 145 finance professionals with age information in

the ZEW survey (solid bars) compares better to the overall sample of Bloomberg users (patterned bars) because the ZEW survey specifically targets professionals with long tenure in the finance industry. Comparing ZEW and Bloomberg profile data, the patterns in retirement or job switches out of the finance industry appear very similar.

The scheduled announcements of the ZEW survey results attract the attention of institutional investors, as indicated by Bloomberg attention data. Bloomberg measures the attention of institutional investors (Bloomberg users) by tracking their alert subscriptions for the press release of the survey results. Figure A3 shows that among the institutional investors who are interested in the German market, 96.7% have set up an alert for the ZEW survey results.

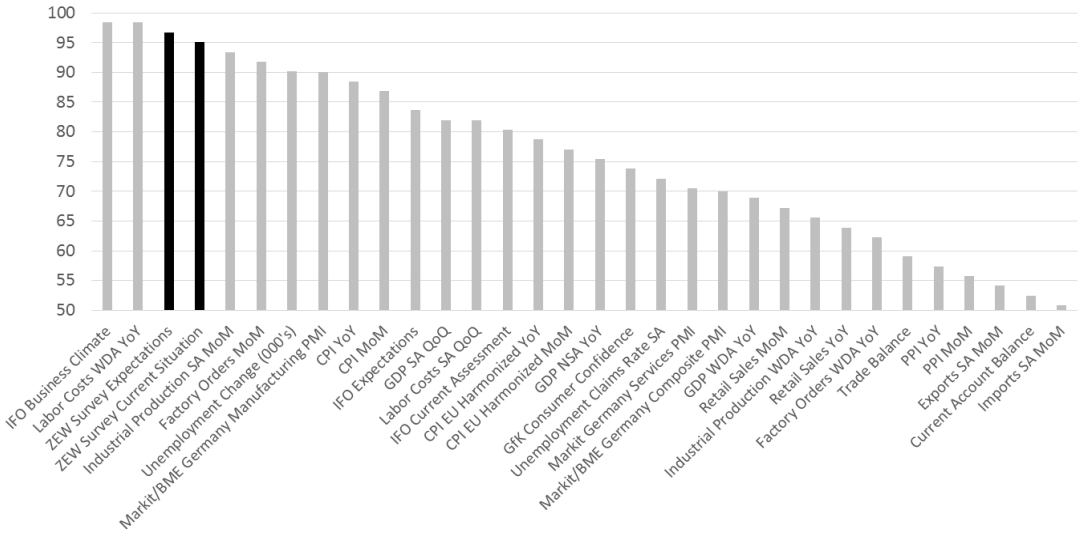


Figure A3. Institutional investors' attention to the ZEW Financial Market Survey. This figure displays international institutional investors' attention to the ZEW Financial Market Survey in comparison to other scheduled-release indicators for Germany. Attention is measured by the Bloomberg relevance index. It measures the percentage of alert subscriptions for the respective indicator among all Bloomberg users who have subscribed to any alerts regarding Germany. Displayed are scheduled-release indicators with a relevance index above 50. Bloomberg data is as of January 21st, 2019.

Online Appendix B. Endogenous Attrition

For a formal analysis of endogenous attrition, we write n for the number of professionals with an expectation about the future stock return at each time t which we denote by $Y_{it} \in \mathbb{R}$. The ZEW survey runs from time $1, \ldots, T$. The professionals participate in the survey in some interval $\{t_i^{(L)}, t_i^{(L)} + 1, \ldots, t_i^{(U)}\}$. However, a professional may choose to not reply to the survey and we let $D_{it} \in \{0, 1\}$ be an indicator which is zero when we do not observe the professional's expectation. We further consider the covariates in the model (such as the professional's experience, economic assessments, or fixed effects) which we denote by $\vec{x}_{it}$.

The question is whether the professional's survey expectation Y_{it} is missing completely at random, missing at random, or not missing at random. One may suspect that people may not reply to the survey e.g., when they are busy due to poor performance of their firm in adverse time periods and that such subjects may have a more pessimistic expectation of the stock index. Such effects may be unrelated to the covariates in our model and thus problematic. On the other hand, some may not reply e.g., as they are on holiday which should be unrelated to their expectations.

We will test whether subjects who do not reply are not different in their previous observed responses with a test like the parametric approach suggested by Ridout and Diggle (1991). We use this test because it has the advantage that it easily allows to account for other covariates. We will cover the method in the sequel.

Each subject i has c_i uninterrupted sequences of observed responses to the DAX expectation question (a consecutive period where $D_{it} = 1$) and a dropout for a period between each sequence (a consecutive period where $D_{it} = 0$). Further, we let m_{ik} be the length of the kth uninterrupted sequence of observed expectations by subject i. Then we define the sets

$$R_j = \{(i, k) : m_{ik} \geq j\}$$
$$r_j = \{(i, k) : m_{ik} = j\} \subseteq R_j$$

as respectively the set uninterrupted sequences of observed expectations with j or more observed expectations and the set with exactly j observed expectations. The question we pose is whether there is a partial association between the observed expected stock return and whether we observe

the next expectation by comparing the $R_j \setminus r_j$ observations to the r_j observations. To do so, we estimate a conditional logistic regression of the form

$$\text{logit}\left(E(D_{i,t+1} \mid \vec{x}_{it})\right) = \alpha_{J(i,t)} + \vec{\gamma}^\top \vec{x}_{it} + \beta y_{it} \tag{5}$$

where $J(i,t) : \{1,\ldots,n\} \times \{1,\ldots,T\} \to \{1,\ldots,T\}$ is a map from the time t observed expectation of subject i to the length of the sequence of consecutive observed expectations of subject i at time t. E.g., if we have observed 3 consecutive expectations from subject i at time t then $J(i,t) = 3$. The hypothesis we are interested in is $H_0 : \beta = 0$. Evidence against this hypothesis suggests that expectations are not missing at random. We will also allow for a more general association with the model

$$\text{logit}\left(E(D_{i,t+1} \mid \vec{x}_{it})\right) = \alpha_{J(i,t)} + \vec{\gamma}^\top \vec{x}_{it} + g(y_{it}; \vec{\beta}) \tag{6}$$

were g is a natural cubic spline using 5 degrees of freedom. The null hypothesis in this case is $H_0 : \vec{\beta} = \vec{0}$. As in our main regression, we winsorize the expected stock return. The covariates that we will use are the same as in our main regression. Further, we also include a so-called tensor product spline between the career start year and the experience length in months at time t of subject i. This way we will be able to estimate an effect similar to the weighted past experienced returns which we use in our main regression, since the weighted past experienced return is a function of the experience length and the career start year.[25]We use natural cubic spline with 3 degrees of freedom for each of the two marginal splines in the tensor product spline.

The likelihood ratio tests are shown in Table BI. We only have weak evidence of a partial association between the last observed expectations and whether we observe the next in spline models (i) and (ii) in Panel B in Table BI. This is mainly driven by a higher tendency to reply when expectations in the previous period were high as shown in Figure B1. However, we cannot reject that there is no association after including the other controls. Thus, these results provide no evidence that expectations are not missing at random.

[25] We do not include this tensor product spline in the conditional logistic regression models with subject fixed effects for numerical reasons.

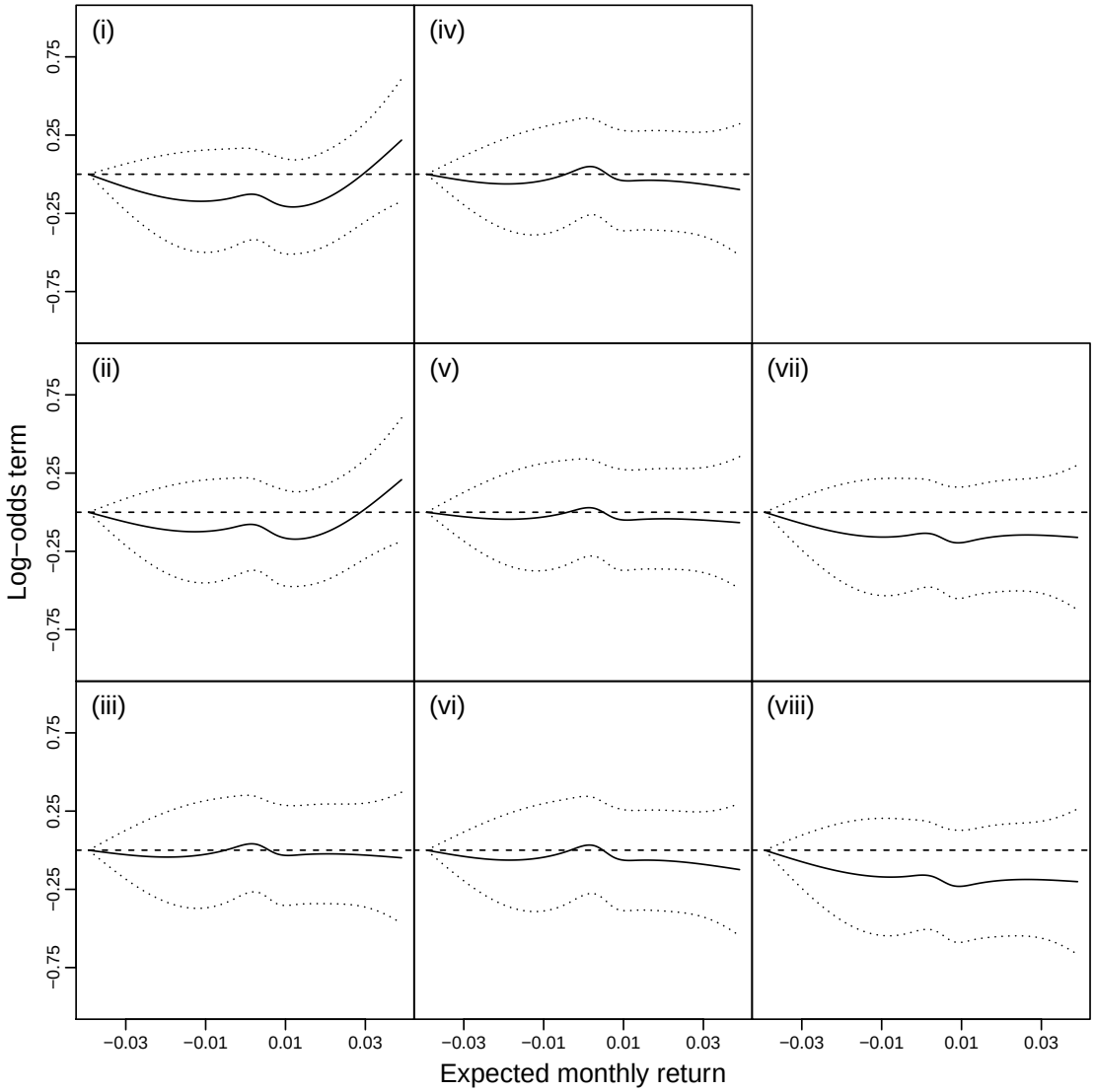


Figure B1. Estimated splines. This figure illustrates the estimated splines from the model in Equation (6). The x-axis shows the winsorized expected monthly return of the previous month and the y-axis shows the estimated partial effect on the log-odds scale of whether we observe the next expectations. Dotted lines are 95 pct. confidence bounds. The labels in the top left corresponds to Table BI. The narrow confidence bounds on the left-hand side are due to the boundary constraints of the natural cubic spline.

Table BI
Potential Endogenous Attrition

Panel A shows the likelihood ratio tests for $H_0 : \beta = 0$ in the models with a linear association shown in Equation (5) and Panel B shows the likelihood ratio tests for $H_0 : \vec{\beta} = \vec{0}$ for the models shown in Equation (6). Respondent level controls in columns (iv) and (vi) are described in Table AI. Columns (v), (vi) and (viii) include the subjects' economic expectations and their assessment of the current economic situation. Columns (vii) and (viii) include subject-level fixed effects. Columns (iii) to (viii) include calendar effects (survey wave and day-of-week FE). Columns (ii) to (viii) include a spline for the career start year, and columns (ii) to (vi) include a tensor-product spline for the present experience length and career start.

Panel A

	(i)	(ii)	(iii)	(iv)	(v)	(vi)	(vii)	(viii)
Test statistic	0.33	0.05	0.05	0.14	0.20	0.49	0.44	1.09
Df	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
p-value	0.5637	0.8212	0.8285	0.7102	0.6549	0.4858	0.5051	0.2964
Subject-level controls	no	no	no	yes	no	yes	no	no
Economic assessments	no	no	no	no	yes	yes	no	yes
Subject FE	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes	yes
Calendar FE	no	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Career start	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Experience × career start	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	no

Panel B

	(i)	(ii)	(iii)	(iv)	(v)	(vi)	(vii)	(viii)
Test statistic	12.29**	9.83*	2.05	3.54	2.16	3.77	1.66	2.42
Df	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
p-value	0.0310	0.0803	0.8422	0.6176	0.8270	0.5837	0.8943	0.7890
Subject-level controls	no	no	no	yes	no	yes	no	no
Economic assessments	no	no	no	no	yes	yes	no	yes
Subject FE	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes	yes
Calendar FE	no	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Career start	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Experience × career start	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	no

Online Appendix C. Experimental Instructions

Online Appendix CI. Attention Checks (All Treatments)

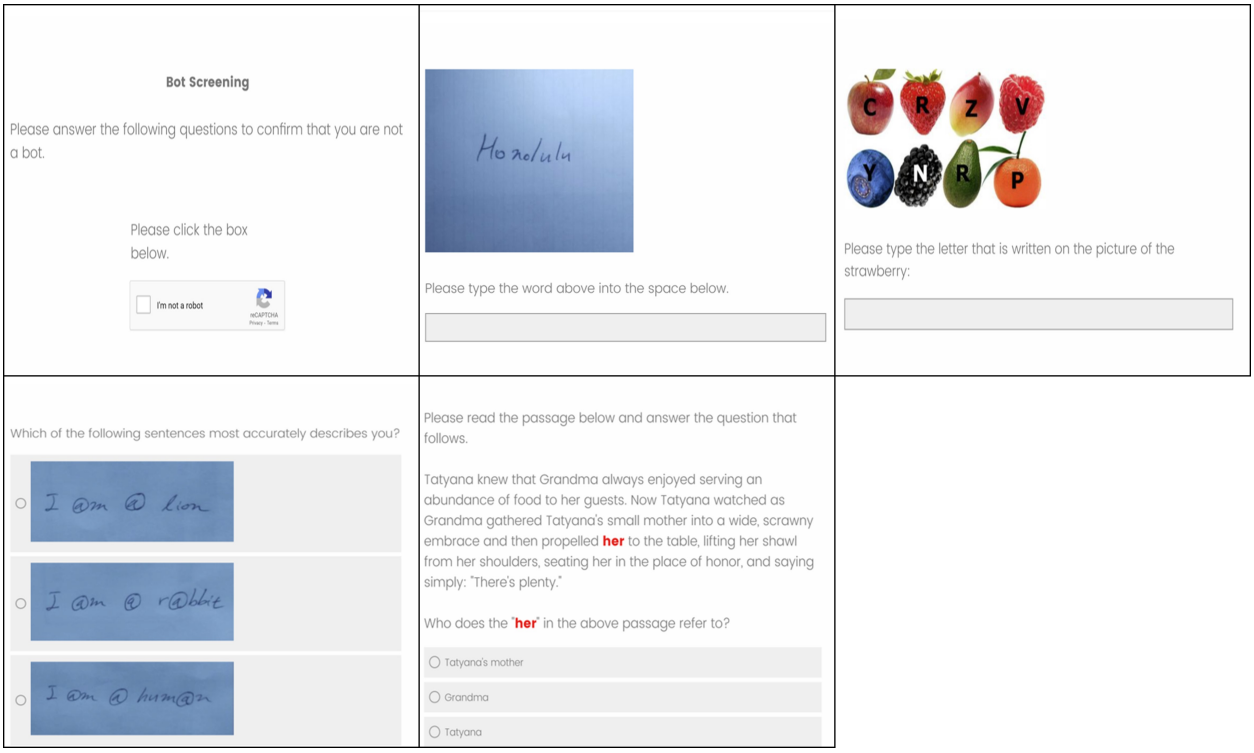


Figure D1. Screenshots of bot, attention and comprehension checks To participate in the experiment subjects need to pass all checks.

Online Appendix CII. Welcome Screen (All Treatments)

Dear Participant,

Thank you for taking the time to participate in our study. The aim of this study is to gain insights about financial forecasts and investment choices. The study takes approximately 6 minutes to complete. It consists of 2 parts:

- In Part 1 you will learn about the properties of a financial asset and will subsequently make an investment choice. - Part 2 is a questionnaire

You will receive a fix payment of $1.2 for participating. Additionally, you will earn a bonus.

To receive your remuneration you need to complete the entire study. At the end of the study, you will receive a completion code you need to submit on the Prolific platform.

Click "Next" to proceed.

Online Appendix CIII. Demographics (All Treatments)

Before we start with the experiment please answer the following questions. [Note: Your participation does not depend on your answers.]

- Your age
- Your gender
- Your highest level of education
- How would you rate your statistical knowledge? Please choose a category between 1 ("very bad") and 6 ("very good").

Online Appendix CIV. Past Performance in "Forecast Value" Treatment

`Screen: Instructions`

In this task, you will review the past performance of a financial asset over the last 10 periods. Each observation represents the simulated historical value of a $100 invested in this financial asset 10 periods ago. At the end of the task, you will decide whether or not to invest in the asset for the next period.

The future value of the financial asset will be simulated subsequently. Its characteristics will remain unchanged, and your investment decision will not influence its future value. Your investment bonus will depend on your investment decision and the future value of the financial asset. More details will be provided at the beginning of the investment task.

You will also have the chance to earn a forecasting bonus. As you observe the past performance, we will ask you to predict the value of the financial asset for the next period. At the end of the task, one of your forecasts will be selected randomly. If your forecast is close enough to the actual value, you will earn a bonus of 25 cents, otherwise your bonus will be 0.

Click "Start" to see the past performance of a $100 investment in the financial asset period by period.

`Screen: Period: -10 (ten periods ago)`

Value: 100

`Screen: Period: -9 (nine periods ago)`

Value: [the value is randomly drawn for each subject.]

What do you expect the value to be in the next period?

`Screen: Period: -8 (eight periods ago)`

Value: ...

What do you expect the value to be in the next period?

...

`Screen: Period 0 (today)`

Value: ...

Online Appendix CV. Past Performance in "Forecast Sentiment" Treatment

`Screen: Instructions`

In this task, you will review the past performance of a financial asset over the last 10 periods. Each observation represents the simulated historical value of a $100 invested in this financial asset 10 periods ago. At the end of the task, you will decide whether or not to invest in the asset for the next period.

The future value of the financial asset will be simulated subsequently. Its characteristics will remain unchanged, and your investment decision will not influence its future value. Your investment bonus will depend on your investment decision and the future value of the financial asset. More details will be provided at the beginning of the investment task.

You will also have the chance to earn a forecasting bonus. After this study, we will conduct a survey of 100 Prolific participants with some financial market experience. These participants will be shown the same asset performance you are about to see and asked to predict the asset's next value in each period. Your task is to guess what the average forecast of these participants will be as accurately as possible. At the end of the task, one of your guesses will be randomly selected. If your selected guess is close enough to the average forecast from that survey, you will earn a bonus of 25 cents, otherwise your bonus will be 0.

Click "Start" to see the past performance of a $100 investment in the financial asset period by period.

`Screen: Period: -10 (ten periods ago)`

Value: 100

`Screen: Period: -9 (nine periods ago)`

Value: [the value is randomly drawn for each subject.]

What is your guess for the average forecast of the next value?

`Screen: Period: -8 (eight periods ago)`

Value: ...

What is your guess for the average forecast of the next value?

...

`Screen: Period: 0 (today)`

Value: ...

Online Appendix CVI. Past Performance in "Observe & Recall" Treatment

`Screen: Instructions`

In this task, you will review the past performance of a financial asset over the last 10 periods. Each observation represents the simulated historical value of a $100 invested in this financial asset 10 periods ago. At the end of the task, you will decide whether or not to invest in the asset for the next period.

The future value of the financial asset will be simulated subsequently. Its characteristics will remain unchanged, and your investment decision will not influence its future value. Your investment bonus will depend on your investment decision and the future value of the financial asset. More details will be provided at the beginning of the investment task.

You will also have the chance to earn an attention bonus. As you observe the past performance period by period, we will ask you to recall and report the previous value of the financial asset from the last period. At the end of the task, one of your responses will be selected randomly. If your response is correct, you will earn a bonus of 25 cents, otherwise your bonus will be 0.

Click "Start" to see the past performance of a $100 investment in the financial asset period by period.

`Screen: Period: -10 (ten periods ago)`

Value: 100

`Screen: Period: -9 (nine periods ago)`

Value: ...

What was the value of the financial asset in the previous period?

`Screen: Period: -8 (eight periods ago)`

Value: ...

What was the value of the financial asset in the previous period?

...

`Screen:Period: 0 (today)`

Value: ...

What was the value of the financial asset in the previous period?

Online Appendix CVII. Investment Choice (All Treatments)

The current value of the financial asset is [VALUE].

Suppose you will receive $100 as an additional payment. You can choose to invest a certain amount of the $100 in the asset for the next period. You can invest any amount between $0 and $100. The remaining amount will stay in your current account, where it will not earn interest or incur any fees.

The future value of the financial asset will be simulated subsequently. Its characteristics will remain unchanged, and your investment decision will not influence its future value.

Your bonus payment will be 1% of the future value of your total assets. This includes:

- The future value of your investment in the financial asset (based on the amount you invested and the simulated future value of the asset).
- The amount you kept in your current account.

For example, let's denote the amount of your investment in the financial asset with $X and the actual future value of the financial asset one period from now with $F. Hence, you will purchase (X/[VALUE]) shares of the financial asset, which will be worth (X/[VALUE]]*F) one period from now. Any amount you do not invest (i.e. (100-X)) will stay in your current account.

Please indicate the amount (in $) you wish to invest in the financial asset.

[Slider from 0 to 100, no default]

Online Appendix CVIII. Questionnaire (All Treatments)

`Screen: Questionnaire 1/2`

Please answer the following questions about your perception of the task you just performed. Please choose a category between 1 ("Totally disagree") and 7 ("Totally agree").

- I found this to be a complex task.
- This task was mentally demanding.
- This task required a lot of thought and problem-solving.
- I found this to be a challenging task.

`Screen: Questionnaire 2/2`

Please answer the following questions:

- How do you see yourself: are you generally a person who is fully prepared to take risks or do you try to avoid taking risks? Please choose a category between 1 ("not at all willing to take risks") and 11 ("very willing to take risks").
- People may behave differently in different domains: How do you see your willingness to take risks in financial matters? Please choose a category between 1 ("not at all willing to take risks") and 11 ("very willing to take risks").