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When brain beats behavior: Neuroforecasting crowdfunding outcomes

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Abstract

1
2 Although traditional economic and psychological theories imply that individual choice
3 best scales to aggregate choice, primary components of choice reflected in neural activity
4 may support even more generalizable forecasts. Crowdfunding represents a significant
5 and growing platform for funding new and unique projects, causes, and products. To test
6 whether neural activity could forecast market-level crowdfunding outcomes weeks later,
7 30 human subjects (14 female) decided whether to fund proposed projects described on
8 an internet crowdfunding website while undergoing scanning with functional magnetic
9 resonance imaging (fMRI). Although activity in both the nucleus accumbens (NAcc) and
10 medial prefrontal cortex (MPFC) predicted individual choices to fund on a trial-to-trial
11 basis in the neuroimaging sample, only NAcc activity generalized to forecast market
12 funding outcomes weeks later on the internet. Behavioral measures from the
13 neuroimaging sample, however, did not forecast market funding outcomes. This pattern
14 of associations replicated in a second study. These findings demonstrate that a subset of
15 the neural predictors of individual choice can generalize to forecast market-level
16 crowdfunding outcomes – even better than choice itself.
17

18 **Significance Statement:**

19 Forecasting aggregate behavior with individual neural data has proven elusive -- even
20 when successful, neural forecasts have not historically supplanted behavioral forecasts. In
21 the current research, we find that neural responses can forecast market-level choice and
22 outperform behavioral measures in a novel internet crowdfunding context. Targeted as
23 well as model-free analyses convergently indicated that nucleus accumbens activity can
24 support aggregate forecasts. Beyond providing initial evidence for neuropsychological
25 processes implicated in crowdfunding choices, these findings highlight the ability of
26 neural features to forecast aggregate choice, which could inform applications relevant to
27 business and policy.

28 **Introduction**

29 Traditional economic and psychological theories (such as revealed preferences and
30 behaviorism) imply that an individual's previous choices should provide the best index of
31 their future choices (Bernheim, 2008). Recent research using techniques capable of
32 resolving deep brain activity at second-to-second resolution (i.e., functional magnetic
33 resonance imaging or fMRI) suggest, however, that neural activity might complement
34 behavioral predictions of future choice (Tusche et al., 2010; Genevsky and Knutson,
35 2015). Although brain activity collected with these methods can predict individual
36 choice, its added value in forecasting choice at the aggregate level of markets remains
37 less clear (Ariely and Berns, 2010). The growing availability of internet market-level
38 choice data, however, opens new opportunities for researchers to test whether brain
39 activity in an experimental sample can be used to forecast aggregate choice (Berns and
40 Moore, 2012; Dmochowski et al., 2014; Genevsky and Knutson, 2015).

41
42 Some components of individual choice might provide more general information about
43 aggregate choice than others. For example, according to an "Affect Integration
44 Motivation" (or AIM) framework, ascending neural circuits first affectively evaluate
45 objects, then integrate these evaluations, and then translate evaluations into motivated
46 approach or avoidance (Samanez-Larkin and Knutson, 2015). Even if affective reactions
47 generalize across individuals, value integration may incorporate more specific
48 multidimensional considerations (e.g., probability, risk, time), which may enhance choice
49 consistency within an individual (i.e., thus "rationalizing" choice) (Camille et al., 2011),
50 but paradoxically decrease generalizability across individuals (Kim et al., 2007). Thus,

51 whereas both affective evaluation and value integration might predict individual choice,
52 affective evaluation might more broadly generalize to forecast aggregate choice.

53

54 Although neural activity reliably predicts a broad range of individual choices including
55 purchasing (Knutson et al., 2007; Levy et al., 2011) and financial risk taking (Kuhnen
56 and Knutson, 2005), only a few studies have used neural activity from groups of
57 individuals to forecast aggregate market-level behavior (Falk et al., 2011; Berns and
58 Moore, 2012; Genevsky and Knutson, 2015; Venkatraman et al., 2015) (henceforth,
59 “predict” refers to individual choice, while “forecast” refers to aggregate choice). For
60 instance, researchers have used nucleus accumbens (NAcc) activity to forecast aggregate
61 song downloads (Berns and Moore, 2012), but medial prefrontal cortex (MPFC) activity
62 to forecast call volume in response to health-related advertisements (Falk et al., 2011). In
63 these studies, however, researchers did not elicit or compare choice at both individual and
64 aggregate levels of analysis. Thus, researchers have yet to explicitly identify which neural
65 predictors of individual choice generalize to forecast aggregate choice. Here, we sought
66 to use neural activity to both predict individual choice as well as forecast aggregate
67 choice in an internet crowdfunding market.

68

69 The global crowdfunding market is extensive (e.g., having raised over \$34.4 billion in
70 2015 (Massolution, 2015)), and expanding. Some researchers have begun to explore
71 aspects of crowdfunding transactions, including the influence of personal networks
72 (Mollick, 2014), motivations of project creators (Gerber and Hui, 2013; Belleflamme et
73 al., 2014), and dynamics of project funding cycles (Agrawal et al., 2013; Kuppuswamy

74 and Bayus, 2015), but researchers have not yet examined individual funders' motives or
75 whether their behavior can be used to forecast aggregate funding success.

76

77 Our preliminary goal was to determine whether brain activity in affective circuits predicts
78 individual choices to fund novel crowdfunding projects. Consistent with previous work,
79 we predicted that neural activity in circuits associated with positive arousal (i.e., the
80 NAcc) and value integration (the MPFC) would predict individual choices to fund. Our
81 critical goal, however, was to determine whether neural activity could also forecast
82 crowdfunding outcomes at the aggregate level in an internet market. Unlike individual
83 choice prediction, but consistent with the AIM framework, we hypothesized that circuits
84 implicated in anticipatory affect (e.g., the NAcc) might forecast market outcomes better
85 than those implicated in value integration (e.g., the MPFC) -- and possibly even better
86 than individual choice itself. We tested these predictions in a study using fMRI, followed
87 by a replication study designed to verify the findings' generality.

88

89 **Materials & Methods**

90 *Experimental design and statistical analysis.* In the main and replication studies, pictures
91 and text associated with 36 crowdfunding appeals were presented to 30 subjects, who
92 chose whether or not to fund each project as they were scanned with FMRI (described in
93 Subjects, Crowdfunding tasks, and Project selection sections). Subjective ratings of each
94 appeal were then collected immediately after scanning (described in the Liking, success,
95 and affect ratings section). For individual choice prediction analyses, FMRI data were
96 preprocessed and extracted from volumes of interest (or VOIs) for comparison with

97 behavioral choice and subjective rating predictors (described in FMRI acquisition and
98 analysis, Functional connectivity analyses, and Classification analyses sections). For
99 aggregate forecasting analyses, group averaged choice, rating, and FMRI VOI data were
100 submitted to classification analyses forecasting eventual internet funding (or not) of each
101 appeal (described in the Classification analyses section).

102
103 *Subjects.* Thirty healthy right-handed human adults participated (14 female, mean
104 age=23.32). Along with typical magnetic resonance exclusions (e.g., metal in the body),
105 subjects were screened for psychotropic drug use and substance abuse in the past month
106 and for a history of neurological disorders prior to collecting informed consent. None
107 were excluded for excessive head motion (i.e., greater than 2 mm from one scan
108 acquisition to the next). Subjects received \$20.00 per hour for participating, plus an
109 endowment of \$5.00 cash prior to scanning for use in the crowdfunding task. All
110 procedures were approved by the institutional review board of the Stanford Medical
111 School. The sample in the replication study was similar, but thirty-five subjects were
112 recruited and three were excluded for excessive head motion, leaving a total of 32
113 subjects' data for analysis (17 female, mean age=23.57).

114
115 *Crowdfunding task.* Subjects were informed that during scanning, they would make
116 funding decisions regarding a number of actual projects which had been posted online on
117 a crowdfunding website (www.kickstarter.com), one of which would be randomly
118 selected and actualized after the session. This funding task was therefore incentive
119 compatible and designed to simulate the experience of making online crowdfunding

120 choices as closely as possible, while controlling for potential confounds (e.g., related to
121 others' choices and progress towards a funding criterion) and simultaneously facilitating
122 measurement of neural responses to different elements of each funding appeal prior to
123 choice (Genevsky and Knutson, 2015) (Figure 1a). During each funding task trial,
124 subjects first viewed a photographic image from the project page (2 secs), followed by a
125 screen depicting the remainder of the project's text description (6 secs). Subjects were
126 then asked to indicate whether or not they would like to fund the project using spatially
127 counterbalanced (i.e., left or right) 'Yes' or 'No' prompts by pressing one of two
128 corresponding buttons (4 secs). After indicating their choice, a colored border highlighted
129 the choice until the choice period ended. Finally, subjects viewed a centrally presented
130 fixation cross (variable 2–6 secs) until the beginning of the next trial. Total trial duration
131 (including inter-trial interval) thus averaged 16 sec (range = 14–18 secs).

132

133 Subjects encountered a total of 36 funding requests, each of which presented a unique
134 project selected from the crowdfunding website. After scanning, one trial in the funding
135 task was selected at random. If subjects had agreed to fund the randomly selected appeal,
136 that amount was removed from their payment and contributed online to the appropriate
137 project – otherwise, subjects retained their full endowment. Subjects were also informed
138 that if their selected project was subsequently funded on the internet, they would be able
139 to view the associated film once it had been completed. The procedure in the replication
140 study followed the same format.

141

142 *Project selection.* Projects were selected from the most recently posted documentary film
143 projects on the Kickstarter website (www.kickstarter.com) to control for variation
144 between different project categories. The actual internet outcomes of these projects had
145 not yet occurred at the time of stimulus identification and data collection – only after the
146 funding windows for all projects had elapsed were funding outcomes available for
147 collection. Of the 36 selected projects, 18 were eventually funded by groups of internet
148 contributors, while the remaining 18 did not reach their funding threshold, and so expired
149 at the end of the funding period. Of the 36 selected projects in the replication study, 14
150 were eventually funded, whereas the remaining 22 were not.

151

152 Project stimuli were derived from appeals presented on the kickstarter.com website. Each
153 stimulus included the project's title, creator's name, a static image designed by the
154 creator, and a text description of the associated film's content. Based upon the depicted
155 images, projects were evenly sampled from three content categories (i.e. face, places, and
156 text). Thus, the focal points of 'face' images included an individual or group of people,
157 'place' images featured either an inanimate object or landscapes, and 'text' images were
158 primarily composed of text titles. Selected appeals therefore included one of three types
159 of evenly distributed project images (i.e., face, place, or text). Selected appeals in the
160 replication study contained only two types of evenly distributed project images (i.e.,
161 'face' or 'place').

162

163 *Liking, success, and affect ratings.* After scanning, subjects rated how much they liked
164 each project and their predicted likelihood that each project would reach its funding

threshold (i.e., project campaign success) on 7-point scales (Genevsky and Knutson, 2015). After scanning, subjects also rated their own affective responses to each project proposal using two 7-point scales (one indexing valence from positive to negative and the other indexing arousal from highly arousing to not arousing). Written instructions and spoken clarifications delivered by the experimenter first described the nature of each scale and provided detailed examples (as described in Knutson et al., 2005). While rating projects, subjects indicated their affective responses based on how they previously felt “when presented with this project”. Since positively and negatively aroused affect most closely align with approach and avoidance motivational states (Knutson et al., 2014) as well as activity in relevant neural circuits (Knutson and Greer, 2008; Knutson et al., 2014), valence and arousal ratings were then transformed into positive-arousal and negative-arousal scores by projecting within-subjects mean-deviated valence and arousal scores onto axes rotated 45° (i.e., positive-arousal = $(\text{arousal}/\sqrt{2}) + (\text{valence}/\sqrt{2})$; negative-arousal = $(\text{arousal}/\sqrt{2}) - (\text{valence}/\sqrt{2})$; (Watson et al., 1999; Knutson et al., 2005). The rating procedure for the replication study was similar, but since many ratings were highly correlated in the main experiment, subjects only rated their affective responses to each of the stimuli (i.e., with respect to valence and arousal).

FMRI acquisition and analyses. Images were acquired with a 3.0 T General Electric MRI scanner using a thirty-two channel head coil. Forty-six 2.9 mm thick slices (in-plane resolution 2.9 mm cubic, no gap, interleaved acquisition) extended axially from the mid-pons to the crown of the skull, providing whole-brain coverage and good spatial resolution of sub-cortical regions of interest (e.g., midbrain, NAcc, orbitofrontal cortex).

188 Whole-brain functional scans were acquired with a T2*-weighted gradient echo pulse
189 sequence (TR = 2 s, TE = 24 ms, flip = 77°). High-resolution structural scans were
190 acquired with a T1-weighted pulse sequence (TR = 7.2 ms, TE = 2.8 ms, flip = 12°) after
191 functional scans, to facilitate their localization and co-registration.

192

193 Whole brain analyses were conducted using Analysis of Functional Neural Images
194 (AFNI) software (Cox, 1996). For preprocessing, voxel time series were sinc interpolated
195 to correct for non-simultaneous slice acquisition within each volume, concatenated across
196 runs, corrected for motion, slightly spatially smoothed to minimize effects of anatomical
197 variability (FWHM = 4 mm), high-pass filtered (admitting frequencies with period < 90
198 s), and normalized to percent signal change with respect to each voxel's average over the
199 entire task. Visual inspection of motion correction estimates confirmed that no subject's
200 head moved more than 2.0 mm in any dimension from one volume acquisition to the
201 next.

202

203 For whole brain analyses, regression models included eight regressors of no interest (i.e.,
204 six indexed residual motion and two indexed activity associated with cerebrospinal fluid
205 and white matter intensity) (Chang and Glover, 2009). For analysis of sensory input,
206 regressors of interest orthogonally contrasted face versus place stimuli and text versus
207 face and place stimuli. For analysis of individual (i.e., laboratory sample) funding
208 choices, the regressor of interest orthogonally contrasted trials in which subjects chose to
209 fund the projects versus those in which they did not. For neural forecasting analysis of
210 group funding choices on the internet, the regressor of interest orthogonally contrasted

211 trials in which subjects viewed projects that were later fully funded on the internet versus
212 those that did not eventually receive funding. Prior to inclusion in the models, all
213 regressors of interest were convolved with a single gamma-variate function that modeled
214 a canonical hemodynamic response (Cohen, 1997). Maps of *t*-statistics for the regressor
215 of interest were transformed into Z-scores, coregistered with structural maps, spatially
216 normalized by warping to Talairach space, and resampled as 2 mm cubic voxels. Group
217 maps were initially voxel-wise thresholded (at $p < 0.005$) and then cluster thresholded
218 using a gray matter mask (cluster size > 17 contiguous 3 mm cubic voxels) to yield a
219 corrected threshold for detecting whole brain activation ($p < .05$ corrected). Cluster size
220 was derived via 15,000 Monte Carlo iterations using AFNI program 3dClustSim (version
221 16.0.06).

222
223 Regionally targeted analyses were conducted by specifying volumes of interest (VOIs) in
224 regions associated with anticipatory affect (NAcc and AIns; Knutson & Greer, 2008) as
225 well as value integration (MPFC; Knutson et al., 2007; Plassmann, O'Doherty, & Rangel,
226 2007; Samanez-Larkin & Knutson, 2015) in previously published research. Specifically,
227 spherical VOIs (8 mm diameter) were placed in foci in bilateral value processing targets
228 in the NAcc (Talairach coordinates: $\pm 10, 12, -2$), AIns ($\pm 34, 24, -4$), amygdala ($\pm 24, -5,$
229 -15), and MPFC ($\pm 4, 45, 0$). We further identified VOIs associated with sensory input
230 relevant to project images in regions implicated in processing faces (Kanwisher et al.,
231 1997), places (Epstein and Kanwisher, 1998), and text (Poldrack et al., 1999; Vigneau et
232 al., 2006). Based on independent meta-analytic analyses from the Neurosynth database
233 (<http://www.neurosynth.org>), foci for these sensory input VOIs were placed in the

234 fusiform gyrus (FG; $\pm 40, -50 -18$), parahippocampal gyrus (PG; $\pm 22, -42, -6$), and left
 235 inferior frontal gyrus (left IFG; $-46, -14, 28$). fMRI activity (percent signal change) was
 236 first averaged within each VOI, then averaged across bilateral VOIs, and finally extracted
 237 to derive activity timecourses.

238

239 *Functional connectivity analyses.* A psychophysiological interaction (PPI) analysis
 240 identified context-dependent modulation of functional connectivity between regions
 241 implicated in sensory input (i.e., the FG, PG, and IFG) and anticipatory affect (i.e., the
 242 NAcc) (Friston et al., 1997; McLaren et al., 2012; Cisler et al., 2014). Activity
 243 timecourses were first extracted and averaged from bilateral NAcc VOIs and
 244 deconvolved using a gamma-variate function modeling a canonical hemodynamic
 245 response (Cohen, 1997). An interaction timecourse was then created by multiplying the
 246 deconvolved NAcc timecourse with a vector indicating trial-by-trial funding choices
 247 (with +1 and -1, respectively) and then reconvolved with a gamma-variate function to
 248 account for the hemodynamic response before inclusion in the model (Gitelman et al.,
 249 2003). The associated general linear model thus included eight regressors of no interest
 250 (six indexed residual motion, and two indexed activity associated with cerebrospinal fluid
 251 and white matter intensity (Chang and Glover, 2009)), in addition to the NAcc VOI
 252 timecourse, a convolved regressor representing individual choices to fund or not, and the
 253 psychophysiological interaction of the NAcc VOI timecourse and individual choices to
 254 fund. Voxel-wise regression fits were then submitted to group level *t*-test contrasts to
 255 identify correlated activity across individuals. Finally, normalized voxel-wise values

256 from these group fits were averaged across sensory input VOIs in the bilateral FG, the
257 bilateral PG, and the left IFG.

258

259 *Classification analyses.* For classification analyses, trial-level data were first randomly
260 divided into training (80%) and testing (20%) sets. Classification models were
261 implemented using logistic regression and the R caret package (Kuhn, 2008). Model
262 selection and parameter optimization were conducted on the training set using repeated
263 10-fold cross-validation with 3 repeats such that the training data set was further
264 randomly subdivided into 10 blocks. Model feature selection and optimization were
265 conducted by training the classifier on 9 of the 10 blocks and testing on the one held-out
266 block. This process iterated over all 10 training blocks, and the entire procedure was
267 repeated 3 times. Model accuracy was evaluated by applying the resulting final model on
268 the remaining independent 20% of trials in the testing set that had not been used in any
269 phase of model training. To assess model accuracy, 95% confidence intervals were
270 constructed around derived estimates and compared to a no-information rate. Reported p -
271 values represented the proportion of these distributions that exceeded a null hypothetical
272 value of chance prediction (50%).

273

274 For classification of individual funding choices, trials involving “yes” and “no” choices
275 were evenly downsampled (i.e., creating a 50%-50% split). After downsampling, subjects
276 contributed an average of 25.10 (of 36 total) trials ($SD = 8.76$, range = [3, 36]) to the
277 classification analysis. The number of data points that each subject contributed to the
278 classification analyses was not significantly associated with their predictive accuracy ($r =$

279 .279, $p = .142$). Individual choice classification analyses were conducted on a trial-to-trial
280 basis, and included subjects' self-report ratings of liking, perceived likelihood of success,
281 positive arousal, negative arousal, and brain activity in the VOIs. For the classification
282 models that included brain activity, percent signal change was first averaged within each
283 VOI, and then averaged bilaterally.

284

285 For whole brain classification analyses, fMRI activity was extracted from each spatially
286 normalized voxel for each of the four brain image volume acquisitions preceding choice
287 on each trial in each subject. Features were selected using recursive feature elimination,
288 such that 5% of remaining voxels with the lowest fits were removed on each iteration
289 until 1% of the total voxels remained (a threshold which demonstrated the highest
290 classification accuracy using the fewest features). Remaining voxel weights were then
291 back-projected into normalized brain space over time to identify where and when features
292 significantly classified funding choice. For whole-brain classification of individual
293 funding choices, accuracy was assessed with leave-one-subject-out cross-validation. On
294 each testing iteration, one subject's data was held out and classified using the model
295 derived from training on the remaining subjects. Accuracies in predicting trial-by-trial
296 choices over thirty subjects were then averaged to predict accuracy in funding choices
297 out-of-sample. Finally, for whole-brain classification of project-level funding outcomes
298 on the internet, accuracy was assessed using leave-one-project-out cross-validation. On
299 each testing iteration, one project's data were held out and used to assess the accuracy of
300 the model derived from training on the remaining projects. Accuracies in classifying
301 project outcomes over thirty-six projects were then averaged to generate an overall

estimate of accuracy in classifying project outcomes. Forecasts therefore targeted project outcomes (which depended more on funders' choices), rather than amount funded (which depended more on proposers' initial goals).

Results

Predicting individual choice

Behavioral correlates of individual funding choices. Individual subjects chose on average to fund 14.3 of the 36 presented projects ($SD = 5.96$, range = [3, 27]). Similarly, in the replication study, individual subjects chose on average to fund 13.3 of the 36 presented projects ($SD = 5.34$, range = [2, 28]). Behavioral analyses first tested associations between individual self-report measures of project liking and funding choices.

Independent hierarchical logistic regression models which included subject as a random effect and predicted trial-to-trial funding choices indicated that ratings of liking ($z = 14.57$, $p < .001$) and perceived likelihood of success ($z = 11.72$, $p < .001$) were associated with individual choices to fund. Thus, subjects rated projects that they chose to fund as both more likeable (bootstrapped t -test difference est. = 2.64, 95% CI = [2.48, 2.79], $t = 33.04$, $p < .001$) and more likely to successfully receive their full funding requests (bootstrapped t -test difference est. = 1.12, 95% CI = [.96, 1.28], $t = 13.05$, $p < .001$).

Liking and perceived likelihood of success ratings were then separately averaged across subjects for each project. Bootstrapped correlations (5,000 iterations) indicated that ratings of both project liking ($r = .91$, 95% CI = [.83, .95]; $p < .001$) and perceived likelihood of success ($r = .65$, 95% CI = [.35, .84]; $p < .001$) correlated with individual choices to fund.

325

326 Similar analyses examined associations of self-reported affect ratings with choices to
 327 fund. Positive arousal ratings were strongly associated with individual choices to fund (z
 328 = 13.16, $p < .001$), but negative arousal ratings were not ($z = .174$, $p = .861$).

329 Accordingly, subjects rated projects they chose to fund as evoking more positive arousal
 330 ($t = 16.25$, $p < .001$), but not differential negative arousal ($t = 1.57$, $p = .115$). Positive
 331 arousal and negative arousal ratings were then averaged across subjects for each project.

332 A bootstrapped correlation (5,000 iterations) indicated that project positive arousal
 333 ratings correlated with individual funding choices ($r = .61$, 95% CI = [.34, .78]; $p < .001$).

334 Individual funding choices did not significantly differ, however, as a function of project
 335 image type (face = 40%, place = 44%, text = 32%; $F = 1.09$, $p = .35$; replication study:
 336 face = 42%, place 36%; $F = .979$, $p = .329$).

337

338 *Whole brain predictors of individual funding choices.* Whole brain analyses contrasted
 339 brain activity during project presentation (i.e., 8 secs) in trials in which subjects
 340 subsequently chose to fund versus trials in which they did not. Averaged group brain
 341 activity revealed significant clusters that predicted individual choice in the bilateral NAcc
 342 and MPFC (Figure 1b).

343

344 *Volume of interest (VOI) predictors of individual funding choices.* Consistent with whole
 345 brain findings, NAcc activity was greater prior to choices to fund versus not to fund.
 346 Activity timecourse plots (Figure 1c) indicated temporal specificity, with significant
 347 differences appearing during the initial part of the project presentation period before

348 subjects could manually indicate their choices. MPFC activity was also greater prior to
 349 choices to fund versus not to fund, but during the latter part of the presentation period.
 350 Consistent with these patterns, a logistic regression indicated that both NAcc ($z = 2.73$, p
 351 $< .01$) and MPFC ($z = 2.49$, $p < .05$) activity at these points significantly and
 352 independently predicted trial-by-trial individual choices to fund (Table 1). To address
 353 whether sensory processes might also directly contribute to funding choices, a second
 354 model incorporated activity from sensory regions (Figure 2a), including the fusiform
 355 gyrus (FG), parahippocampal gyrus (PG), and left inferior frontal gyrus (left IFG).
 356 Neither FG ($z = .07$, $p = .94$) nor PG ($z = 1.10$, $p = .27$) activity predicted choices to fund,
 357 but left IFG activity did ($z = 3.23$, $p < .01$; Figure 2b; Table 1). Thus, although a better fit
 358 and lower Akaike Information Criterion (AIC) suggested that adding left IFG activity
 359 improved predictions of individual choices to fund, this influence did not interact with
 360 activity observed in anatomically distinct affective circuits. This pattern of results did not
 361 change after controlling for project image type.

362

363 *Functional connectivity.* Functional connectivity analysis contrasted correlated activity
 364 between the NAcc and the three input processing region (FG, PG, left IFG) VOIs
 365 independently for each of the three project image types (i.e., face, place, and text). A
 366 psychophysiological interaction (PPI) term assessed the degree to which connectivity
 367 between these project image regions and the NAcc was associated with individual
 368 choices whether or not to fund projects (Figure 2c). Correlated activity between the NAcc
 369 and FG was significantly associated with individual choices to fund only in the face
 370 condition ($t = 2.136$, $p < .05$), but not in the place ($t = 1.547$, $p = .133$) or text conditions

371 ($t = 1.726, p = .100$). Similarly, correlated activity between the NAcc and PG was
 372 significantly associated with individual choices to fund only in the place condition ($t =$
 373 $2.310, p < .05$), but not in the face ($t = .711, p = .483$) or text conditions ($t = .460, p =$
 374 $.649$). Correlated activity between the NAcc and left IFG, however, was not significantly
 375 associated with individual choices to fund in any condition (Figure 2c).

376
 377 *Classification of individual funding choices.* Classification analyses further tested
 378 whether different combinations of behavioral and neural data could predict individual
 379 funding choices. Logistic regression classifiers were trained on 80% of choice trials
 380 (randomly selected) across all subjects and tested on the remaining 20% of trials to
 381 classify funded versus unfunded individual choices. Consistent with logistic regression
 382 analyses, a first classifier including behavioral self-report ratings of liking, perceived
 383 likelihood of success, and affect classified individual funding choices (86.4% accuracy, p
 384 $< .001$; chance = 50%). A second classifier using neural VOI data alone also significantly
 385 predicted individual funding choices (57.8% accuracy, $p < .05$). A third classifier
 386 combining behavioral and neural data predicted individual funding choices with 85.7%
 387 prediction accuracy ($p < .001$). A fourth classifier using whole brain (rather than VOI)
 388 neural activity during the project presentation phase also significantly predicted
 389 individual funding choices (58.7%, $p < .05$). The amount of data that each individual
 390 contributed to classification analyses after even downsampling (see Methods) was not
 391 significantly associated with variation in predictive accuracy ($r = .279, p = .142$).

392

Whole brain maps were then reconstructed to visualize selected predictive features in space and time. Consistent with focused univariate predictions, the largest clusters of predictive voxels appeared in the NAcc and MPFC preceding choice (Figure 1d). These features both spatially overlapped with volumes of interest used in univariate analyses (Figure 1b), and temporally overlapped with periods of discrimination identified in timecourse activity analyses (Figure 1c). Thus, NAcc features appeared to predict choice before MPFC features, consistent with an account in which anticipatory affect precedes value integration (Samanez-Larkin and Knutson, 2015).

Forecasting aggregate choice

Behavioral forecasts of aggregate choice. Logistic regression analyses next tested whether behavioral and self-report measures from the laboratory sample could forecast aggregate funding outcomes on the internet, which occurred weeks after the experiment (Table 2). Neither average ratings of project likeability ($z = -1.171, p = .242$), nor of perceived likelihood of success were associated with internet funding outcomes ($z = .249, p = .803$). Similarly, average funding choices were also not significantly associated with internet funding outcomes ($z = .645, p = .519$). Point-biserial correlations specifically verified an absence of significant associations between average ratings of likeability ($r = -.231, p = .879$), perceived likelihood of success ($r = -.061, p = .394$), and funding choices ($r = -.151, p = .932$) with internet funding outcomes (Table 2). Further, average self-reported affect ratings also did not forecast internet funding outcomes (Table 2), since both positive arousal ratings ($z = -1.254, p = .210$) and negative arousal ratings ($z = .279, p = .780$) were not significantly associated with internet funding outcomes. Image

category, however, was associated with internet funding outcomes ($F = 6.95, p < .001$), such that appeals depicting face images received more funding (83%) than did those depicting place (17%; $t = 4.20, p < .001$) or text images (50%; $t = 1.78, p = .091$, trend). The pattern of reported results did not change, however, after controlling for image category in the models.

Neural forecasts of aggregate choice. Activity timecourses were extracted from previously-identified VOIs (i.e., NAcc, MPFC; see Method), as well as VOIs identified in meta-analyses (i.e., left IFG) -- all based on published anatomical coordinates rather than current results of individual choice predictions (although coordinates overlapped with those identified in individual choice analyses). Activity in these VOIs were averaged across the laboratory sample for each project, and compared for projects that were either eventually funded or not funded on the internet (Figure 3a). Averaged time points with significant activation differences were entered into the model predicting funding on the internet (or all averaged time points, if none significantly differed). During the period preceding choice, only NAcc activity significantly differed for projects that were eventually funded on the internet versus those that were not. Logistic regression analysis verified that only NAcc activity could forecast internet funding outcomes ($z = 2.19, p = .029$; Table 2). Although MPFC and left IFG activity had predicted individual choice in the laboratory sample, activity in these regions did not forecast internet funding outcomes. Accordingly, the fit of the neural model (pseudo $R^2 = .236$) exceeded that of either models including behavioral choice (pseudo $R^2 = .106$) or affect ratings (pseudo $R^2 = .089$; Table 2). [Direct model comparisons indicated that the neural model classified](#)

439 aggregate choice outcomes better than the behavioral model (χ^2 deviance = 6.49, $p =$
 440 .039). Similarly, in the replication study the neural model classified aggregate choice
 441 outcomes better than the behavioral model (χ^2 deviance = 10.19, $p = .037$).
 442
 443 A combined logistic regression model then aimed to forecast internet funding outcomes
 444 by combining behavioral, affective, and neural measures (Table 2). Of these variables,
 445 only NAcc activity was significantly associated with internet funding outcomes ($z = 2.15$,
 446 $p = .032$). The combined model, however, produced an AIC value greater than the neural
 447 model, suggesting that after imposing penalties for additional predictors, the neural
 448 model provided a more parsimonious forecast of internet funding outcomes. To verify
 449 that NAcc activity alone could explain significant variance in internet funding outcomes,
 450 we checked independent regression models for activity in each neural region. Consistent
 451 with the combined model, only NAcc activity was significantly associated with internet
 452 funding outcomes ($z = 2.04$, $p = .041$), whereas both MPFC ($z = -0.34$, $p = .731$) and left
 453 IFG ($z = .412$, $p = .680$) activity were not. A permutation test in which NAcc activity was
 454 randomly assigned to funded and unfunded trials (across 10,000 iterations) verified that
 455 the observed distribution of NAcc activity significantly differed from a randomly
 456 constructed null distribution (CI = [.034, .044], $p = .039$).
 457
 458 A second set of logistic regressions applied to data from the replication study yielded
 459 similar results. Specifically, behavioral and affective models did not forecast internet
 460 funding outcomes. However, the neural model in general and NAcc activity in particular

461 did forecast internet funding outcomes, and this effect also trended towards significance
462 in the combined model (Table 2).

463

464 *Classification of aggregate funding outcome.* Classification analyses tested the
465 generalizability of the internet funding forecasts. Logistic regression classifiers were
466 trained on 80% of all projects (randomly selected) and tested on the remaining 20% of
467 projects to classify funded versus unfunded projects. The behavioral model included
468 average ratings of liking, perceived likelihood of success, affect, and funding choices.
469 This behavioral model classified funding outcomes with only 52.9% accuracy, which did
470 not significantly exceed chance ($p = .259$), suggesting that behavioral measures of
471 individual choices from the laboratory sample could not forecast internet funding
472 outcomes. A second targeted neural model then tested whether average VOI activity
473 could classify internet funding outcomes. This targeted neural model classified internet
474 funding outcomes with 59.1% accuracy, which exceeded chance ($p = .008$), consistent
475 with the notion that neural activity in these regions alone could forecast internet funding
476 outcomes. A third whole brain neural model included whole brain activity during the
477 project presentation phase of each trial. Cross-validation was achieved by training the
478 model on neural activity from all but one project and then testing on the held-out project.
479 This model classified internet funding outcomes at 67% (for model comparisons see
480 Figure 3b). Replication study classification models yielded similar accuracy rates for the
481 behavioral (accuracy = 55.8%, $p > .05$) and neural (accuracy = 61.1%, $p = .002$) models
482 (Figure 3b).

483

484 Models based only on single subject VOI data also consistently classified internet
485 funding above chance (50%; range = 55.5% – 80.5%; SEM = 1.3%), suggesting that the
486 predictive accuracy of whole brain classifiers was not driven by outliers, such as a small
487 group of “superforecasters” (Mellers et al., 2015). Maps were reconstructed from the
488 whole brain model to visualize predictive brain features in space and time. Consistent
489 with regression analyses forecasting internet funding outcomes, the largest cluster of
490 predictive voxels appeared in the NAcc during the period preceding choice. These
491 features spatially overlapped with those identified in the whole brain analysis of the
492 laboratory sample (Figure 1b), and temporally overlapped with discriminant activity in
493 timecourse analyses of internet funding (Figure 3a).

494

495 **Discussion**

496 This research aimed to test whether neural activity could predict individual crowdfunding
497 choices as well as forecast aggregate crowdfunding outcomes on the internet weeks later.
498 Whereas neural activity in both the NAcc and MPFC predicted individual choices to fund
499 in the laboratory sample, only NAcc activity generalized to forecast aggregate market
500 funding. Further, neural forecasts of market-level outcomes outperformed models that
501 included self-reported ratings of liking, perceived likelihood of success, affective
502 responses, and even individual choices of the laboratory sample. These neural forecasts
503 of aggregate choice replicated in a second study. Together, the results provide an initial
504 demonstration that a subset of the neural features that predict individual choice can also
505 scale to forecast market-level outcomes.

506

507 *Predicting individual crowdfunding choices.* This work makes several novel
 508 contributions. First, the findings demonstrate that neural affective measures can predict
 509 individual choice in a crowdfunding context, since greater activity in the NAcc and
 510 MPFC predicted individual choices to fund. Importantly, this activity occurred before the
 511 choice phase of each trial and preceded neural activity associated with the act of
 512 indicating a choice. Activity timecourse analyses also suggested that NAcc activity
 513 predicted individual choices to fund before MPFC activity, consistent with accounts like
 514 the Affect Integration Motivation (AIM) framework (Samanez-Larkin and Knutson,
 515 2015), which invoke sequential processes of affective evaluation (Knutson et al., 2014)
 516 and value integration (Knutson et al., 2007; Plassmann et al., 2007; Levy and Glimcher,
 517 2012). Convergent evidence verified the robustness of these neural predictions, since
 518 anatomically targeted regressions as well as model-free classifiers implicated both NAcc
 519 and MPFC activity in individual choices to fund.

520

521 *Forecasting aggregate crowdfunding outcomes.* Second, the findings suggest that some –
 522 but not all – features associated with individual choice may scale to forecast aggregate
 523 choice at the market level. Sequentially assessing both neural activity and choice in the
 524 neuroimaging sample allowed direct comparison of variables that could forecast
 525 aggregate choice in an internet market. Both traditional psychological (i.e., behaviorist)
 526 and economic (i.e., revealed preferences) theories imply that behavior in a representative
 527 sample of individuals should provide the best forecast of that same behavior at the
 528 aggregate level. Thus, if sampled individuals' behavior does not forecast aggregate
 529 behavior, then neither should processes that generate that behavior. In the present

530 findings, however, while individual choice in the laboratory could not forecast aggregate
531 behavior, some neural components of choice could.

532

533 *Dissociation from sensory input and motor output.* Third, the findings illustrate that
534 decision processes can be distinguished from sensory input and motor output.
535 Presentation of crowdfunding appeals with varying visual content and counterbalanced
536 left versus right motor response requirements allowed dissociation of processes
537 contributing to choice ranging from visual input, to affective evaluation and integration,
538 to motor output. Although the appeals' visual content increased activity in relevant
539 sensory regions (i.e., fusiform gyrus for face stimuli, and parahippocampal gyrus for
540 place stimuli), these increases did not forecast funding choices. Functional connectivity
541 of activity in these distinct processing regions with NAcc activity, however, did vary as a
542 function of funding choices. Thus, specific images associated with funding requests may
543 have indirectly promoted funding decisions by evoking correlated NAcc activity. These
544 findings suggest that affective activity can flexibly incorporate -- but cannot be reduced
545 to -- diverse types of sensory input or motor output when supporting choice.

546

547 *Generality of neuroforecasting.* While crowdfunding offers an increasingly popular
548 platform for supporting new market ventures, the generalization of these findings to other
549 types of aggregate choice remains unclear. Growing evidence, however, has begun to
550 implicate affective neural activity not only in predicting individual choice, but also in
551 forecasting market outcomes. For instance, research suggests that NAcc activity during
552 passive exposure to novel songs can forecast internet downloads two years later (Berns

553 and Moore, 2012), that NAcc responses during passive exposure to advertisements can
554 forecast advertising-induced increases in sales demand (Venkatraman et al., 2015), and
555 that NAcc responses during exposure to microloan appeals can forecast the success of
556 those appeals on the internet (Genevsky and Knutson, 2015). While these studies suggest
557 that forecasts from NAcc activity may generalize across diverse market scenarios, only
558 the last study directly compared individual and aggregate choice. Although findings from
559 that study indicated that NAcc activity could add value to forecasts based on affective
560 ratings, they did not demonstrate that brain activity could supplant forecasts based on
561 behavioral data, as we do here. Since most of these internet markets lack strategic
562 concerns found in traditional financial markets (e.g., auctions, stock trading), future
563 research will need to determine which market conditions are most conducive for
564 application of neuroforecasting (Smith et al., 2014).

565

566 The present findings raise the question as to why both NAcc and MPFC activity predicted
567 individual choice, while only NAcc activity forecasted aggregate choice. Other findings
568 have suggested that MPFC activity can provide information about which antismoking
569 advertisements increase calls to a help line (Falk et al., 2012). *NAcc activity may play a*
570 *more prominent role in choices primarily involving “goods,” but activity in other regions*
571 *(like the MPFC) may also play roles in choices involving mixtures of “goods” and*
572 *“bads,” or more complex self-relevant concerns (e.g., including considerations related to*
573 *probability or time). Future research might systematically explore and manipulate choice*
574 *scenarios to determine whether and when different neural components support*
575 *neuroforecasting.* The present results provide preliminary support for an account in which

576 affective neural responses generalize more broadly across individuals than processes
577 implicated in value integration.
578
579 *Deconstructing choice to improve forecasts.* Conceptually, these findings move beyond
580 accounts that focus solely on choice behavior by seeking to deconstruct processes that
581 underlie choice. The current pattern of results suggests that some choice components of
582 individual choice might generalize more broadly to aggregate choice than others. This
583 suggests a compromise between accounts in which no individual choices scale to the
584 aggregate versus accounts in which all individual choices scale to the aggregate, by
585 implying that some – but not all – choice components might improve aggregate forecasts.
586 Theory may help to guide further research, since a multistage, hierarchical, neurally-
587 situated account of choice (like the AIM framework) counterintuitively but accurately
588 implies that affective components might generalize more broadly than more precise but
589 also more idiosyncratic value integration components. Such evidence may eventually
590 inform applications by indicating that neural activity can not only add value to behavior
591 in aggregate choice forecasts, but also in some cases may reveal “hidden information”
592 (Ariely and Berns, 2010). After demonstrating that brain activity can improve aggregate
593 forecasts, investigators’ focus may shift towards understanding both the potential and
594 limits of neuroforecasting.

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697

698 **Table 1: Logistic regressions predicting individuals’ trial-by-trial funding choices.**

699

	Main Study		Replication Study	
	Decision VOIs	With Input VOIs	Decision VOIs	With Input VOIs
NAcc	.787** (.261)	.723** (.265)	.963** (.260)	1.050** (.266)
MPFC	.333* (.133)	.321* (.135)	.476** (.129)	.496** (.131)
Insula	-.178 (.354)	-.492 (.369)	-.556 (.362)	-.557 (.387)
Amygdala	-.923* (.358)	-1.209* (.380)	-.318 (.402)	-.045 (.433)
FG		.025 (.097)		-.555* (.215)
PG		.202 (.180)		-.612 (.408)
IFG (left)		.554** (.164)		.845** (.252)
Pseudo R ²	.142	.163	.140	.158
Akaike Inf. Crit.	1338.0	1323.5	1405.5	1394.4

700

701 Statistics are standardized coefficients and standard error. Models include fixed effect of

702 stimulus image category. **Bold** indicates predicted associations.

703 Significance: ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$.

704 NAcc: nucleus accumbens; MPFC: medial prefrontal cortex; FG: fusiform gyrus; PG:

705 parahippocampal gyrus; IFG: inferior frontal gyrus.

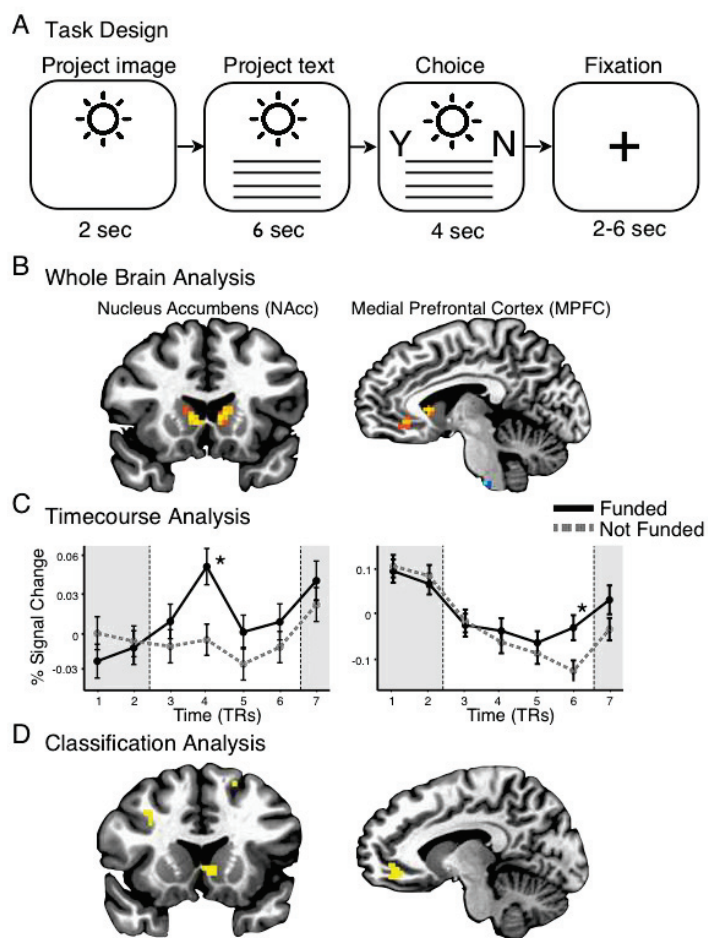
Table 2: Logistic regressions forecasting aggregate funding outcomes on the internet for main and replication studies.

	Main Study				Replication Study			
	Behavioral	Affective	Neural	Combined	Behavioral	Affective	Neural	Combined
Funding Choice	.572 (.886)			.761 (1.302)	.515 (1.632)			1.826 (1.421)
Liking	-1.154 (.985)			-1.090 (1.564)	--			--
Success likelihood	.131 (.528)			.068 (1.127)	--			--
Positive arousal		-.489 (.390)		.045 (.749)		-.729 (.439)		-3.026 [†] (1.657)
Negative arousal		.110 (.392)		.087 (.523)		-.536 (.405)		-1.337 [†] (.689)
NAcc			1.691* (.774)	1.751* (.816)			2.098* (.940)	3.872[†] (2.199)
MPFC			-.991 (.723)	-.673 (.830)			-.593 (.509)	-.557 (.747)
IFG (left)			-.729 (.667)	-.616 (.778)			-.687 (.457)	-1.217 (.789)
Amygdala			1.068 (.702)	.973 (.817)			.126 (.527)	-.049 (.646)
Insula			-.601 (.828)	-.733 (.932)			-.665 (.609)	-.188 (.998)
Pseudo R ²	.106	.089	.236	.257	.092	.183	.304	.517
Akaike Inf. Crit.	54.63	53.46	52.14	59.07	49.70	47.28	47.51	43.22
Classification Acc.	52.9	51.8	59.1*	56.5*	55.8	55.2	61.1*	59.3*

Statistics are standardized coefficients and standard error. Models include fixed effect of stimulus image category. **Bold** indicates predicted association. Significance: [†] $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$.

712 **Figure 1. Neural predictors of individual funding choices.**

713 A) Neuroimaging task trial design. Subjects saw a project image (2 secs), project
714 description (6 secs), and spatially counterbalanced prompts to indicate their choice to
715 fund or not (4 secs), followed by a variable intertrial fixation interval (2–6 secs).
716 B) Whole brain maps indicating neural activity associated with subjects' choices to fund
717 projects. Warm-colored voxels are positively associated with choices to fund (versus not
718 fund; $p < .05$, corrected). Significant clusters of voxels were observed in the bilateral
719 striatum, including the nucleus accumbens (NAcc), as well as in the medial prefrontal
720 cortex (MPFC).
721 C) Timecourses of neural activity extracted from bilateral NAcc (left panel) and MPFC
722 (right panel) VOIs during the intertrial interval preceding each trial (TR 1–2, 4 secs),
723 project presentation (TR 3–6, 8 secs), and choice period (TR 7, 2 secs). Separate lines
724 indicate trials in which subjects chose to fund (black, solid) versus not to fund (gray,
725 dashed). Both regions show increased activity while viewing the project associated with
726 subsequent choices to fund.
727 D) Classification of individual funding choices. Whole brain maps illustrate the top 1%
728 of voxels that predicted individual choices to fund (highlighted in yellow). As with whole
729 brain univariate analyses, this model-free classifier identified predictive voxel clusters in
730 the NAcc and MPFC.



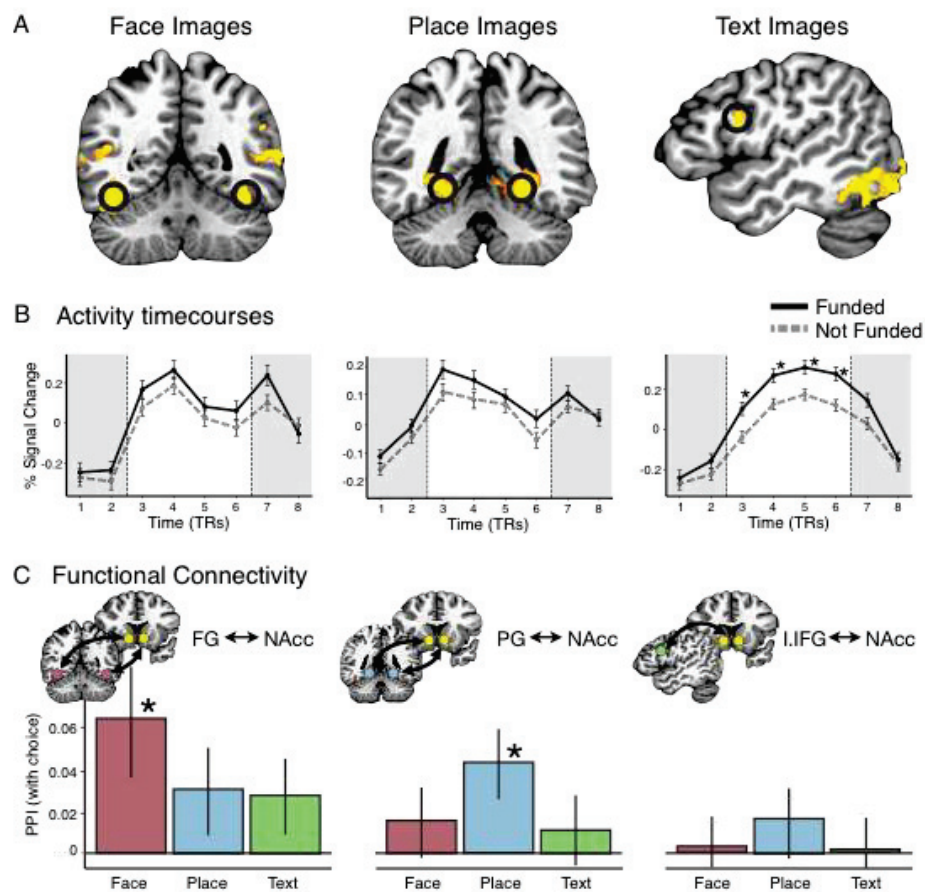
731

732 **Figure 2. Association of neural activity elicited by project images with individual**
733 **choices to fund.**

734 A) Whole brain activation maps indicating regions associated with processing project
735 images including face (vs. place), place (vs. face), and text (vs. face + place; $p < .05$)
736 stimuli ($p < .05$, corrected). Superimposed black circles indicate predefined volumes of
737 interest based on foci drawn from Neurosynth meta-analyses.

738 B) Activity timecourses extracted and averaged over predicted volumes of interest
739 (shown in Panel A). Fusiform gyrus (FG; left panel) and parahippocampal gyrus (PG;
740 middle panel) activity did not predict eventual choices to fund. Left inferior frontal gyrus
741 (left IFG; right panel) activity, however, did predict eventual choices to fund.

742 C) Psychophysiological interactions between activity from FG, PG, IFG, and NAcc VOIs
743 differentially predict choice for stimuli with different image content. Functional
744 connectivity between the FG and NAcc was associated with choice for face stimuli only,
745 while functional connectivity between the PG and NAcc was associated with choice for
746 place stimuli only. Functional connectivity between the left IFG and NAcc, however, was
747 not associated with funding choices in any condition.



748

749 **Figure 3. Neural features that forecast internet funding outcomes.**

750 A) Volume of interest activity timecourses show that NAcc activity in the laboratory
 751 sample significantly classified between projects which were funded (solid black) or not
 752 (dashed grey) on the internet weeks later. MPFC activity, however, did not classify
 753 funding outcomes.
 754 B) Classification of internet funding outcomes. Accuracy rates for classification models
 755 on main and replication study measures, including behavior and self-report data, neural
 756 volume of interest activity (NAcc) data, and neural whole brain data.

757

758
 759

