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**Working Paper**

## Discrimination as Favoritism: The Private Benefits and Social Costs of In-group Favoritism in an Experimental Labor Market

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# **Discrimination as Favoritism: The Private Benefits and Social Costs of In-group Favoritism in an Experimental Labor Market**

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## ABSTRACT

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# **Discrimination as Favoritism: The Private Benefits and Social Costs of In-group Favoritism in an Experimental Labor Market**

In this paper, we examine labor market favoritism in a unique laboratory experiment design that can shed light on both the private benefits and spillover costs of employer favoritism (or discrimination). Group identity is induced on subjects such that each laboratory “society” consists of eight individuals each belonging to one of two different identity groups. In some treatments randomly assigned employer-subjects give preference rankings of potential worker-subjects who would make effort choices that impact employer payoffs. Though it is common knowledge that group identity in this environment provides no special productivity information and cannot facilitate communication or otherwise lower costs for the employer, employers preferentially rank in-group members. In such instances, the unemployed workers are aware that an intentional preference ranking resulted in their unemployment. Unemployed workers are allowed to destroy resources in a final stage of the game, which is a simple measure of the spillover effects of favoritism in our design. Though we find evidence that favoritism may privately benefit a firm in terms of higher worker effort, the spillover costs that result highlight a reason to combat favoritism/discrimination. This result also identifies one potential micro-foundation of societal unrest that may link back to labor market opportunity.

**JEL Classification:** C90, C92, J15, J16

**Keywords:** discrimination, experimental economics, social identity, conflicts

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## NON-TECHNICAL SUMMARY

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Policy makers have an interest in reducing or eliminating labor market discrimination. In this laboratory experiment study, we show that employers who favor certain individuals (who belong to their identity group) are likely to reap benefits in terms of increased effort from these (presumably) grateful workers who were shown favoritism. Thus, this type of discrimination (against those not belonging to the employer's identity group) may benefit employers in a narrow sense. However, our experimental design also allows unemployed workers to destroy resources of employers and other employed workers. We find that when unemployment is caused by favoritism towards others, the unemployed destroy significantly more resources (i.e., burn others' payoffs). Our results therefore highlight a key spillover cost on society of discrimination that employers may fail to take into account.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Since the publication of Gary Becker's *The Economics of Discrimination* in 1957, the subject of discrimination has been of particular interest to labor economists. The literature on labor market discrimination is large, and has benefitted from the complementary efforts of empirical econometric, field experimental, and controlled laboratory studies. In this paper we aim to contribute to this existing literature by investigating discrimination in a unique experimental design that can help shed light on both the private incentives and spillover impacts of discriminatory practices. In other words, there may be instances where favoring one group of workers over another may privately benefit the firm, but yet generate spillover costs to society.

According to Becker, taste-based discrimination leads to suboptimal recruiting decisions. Thus, competitive markets should help eliminate this type of employer discrimination as prejudiced employers face higher production costs. In contrast, other models have considered that taste-based discrimination is driven by efficiency considerations such as reduced costs of communication (Lang, 1986; Athey et al, 2000; Efferson et al, 2008; Feng et al, 2012). Yet another alternative is that employers may benefit from in-group favoritism in terms of reciprocal effort. Specifically, in-group workers may provide high effort both in response to in-group employment favoritism as well as in-group wage favoritism. In either case, this implies that not all taste-based discrimination is detrimental from the perspective of the firm's private cost/benefit analysis. In this current paper we attempt to isolate the extent of reciprocity induced by in group favoritism.

In addition to providing evidence that addresses the issue of favoritism and reciprocity between in-group employers and workers, our paper's second objective is to generate unique data on spillover effects of discrimination/favoritism. Specifically, our experimental design allows us to measure one type of spillover cost of discrimination on society by allowing unemployed worker subjects (who may or may not be able to attribute their unemployed status to in-group favoritism) to destroy resources (i.e., burn money) of others. While there are limitations to how much laboratory money-burning choices can teach us about true societal costs like fragmentation and increased conflict, our data may be viewed as providing at least some evidence of one micro-foundation of increased societal tension and riots. Such costs of discrimination on society are typically ignored in existing research.

The potential for disgruntled societal groups to engage in costly anti-social behavior (and, at the extreme, riots) is real. For example, significant costs to society were incurred in France in 2006 when proposed labor laws upset young workers who viewed the new laws as

unfair or discriminatory towards new workers. In Paris alone, more than 500,000 protestors gathered, and the media coverage showed evidence of explicit societal costs as store fronts were vandalized and cars torched by a few dozen rioters.<sup>1</sup> Even recent civil unrest in the U.S. that is not specifically connected to labor market outcomes (e.g., the Baltimore riots of 2015) show the potential societal costs of tension between identity groups (e.g., racial groups) and real or perceived in-group favoritism. In our experimental design the subjects in our experimental “society” who are not hired are deemed unemployed, and these subjects are given an opportunity to destroy resources of others (i.e., what we call “burn money”). Thus, the inclusion in our design of an avenue for spillover effects to manifest is an important contribution to the existing literature. In short, while our results document evidence of private benefits to employers of discriminating against out-group (or favoring in-group) workers, we also find significant increases in money burning by unemployed workers in our experimental setting, which highlights that society as a whole has an interest in addressing systematic favoritism.

## **2. BACKGROUND**

Labor market discrimination may exist for a variety of reasons. In Becker’s model, discrimination in hiring or wages is caused by a ‘taste for discrimination’, which leads the employer to hire or pay higher wages to members of her/his own group (henceforth, “in-group”). Other models predict workplace segregation but consider that in-group biases are driven by efficiency considerations, such as reduced costs of communication (Lang, 1986; Athey et al., 2000). Communication costs, in general, are lower among individuals with a common group identity of some sort. This may be a contributing factor in understanding how in-group favoritism evolves (Efferson et al, 2008; Feng et al., 2012), which may then help explain segregation of informal networks (Marsden, 1987). In-group networks have been found to impact hiring decisions (Granovetter 1995; Holzer, 1996; Bayer et al., 2008; Hensvik and Nordström Skans, 2016; Gee et al, forthcoming). For example, researchers have found that work places with black supervisors or owners are significantly more likely to employ black

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<sup>1</sup> For instance, significant costs to society were incurred in France in October and November 2005, when a series of riots occurred in the French suburbs, involving the burning of cars and several public buildings. The riots resulted in three deaths of non-rioters many police injuries and nearly 3000 arrests. A state of emergency was declared on 8 November, later extended for three weeks, and the government announced a crackdown on immigration. This event was an expression of frustration and real or perceived discrimination on the labor market from immigrant communities with Arab or otherwise Muslim background.

workers (Bates, 1994; Carrington and Troske, 1998; Stoll et al., 2004; Giuliano et al., 2009). This suggests that in-group favoritism may be key component of the discriminatory outcome.

An alternative to taste-based discrimination is statistical discrimination (Phelps, 1972; Arrow, 1972). According to this approach, employers have incomplete information about the worker's potential performance. Imperfect information arises either because minority groups emit noisier signals (Phelps, 1972; Aigner and Cain, 1977; Cornell, and Welch, 1996; Pinkston, 2003) or because negative prior beliefs about members of a particular group may become self-fulfilling in equilibrium (Lundberg and Startz, 1983). In the environment we study, we remove the potential that discrimination or favoritism results from anything *other* than group identification (i.e., no reduced communication costs, no extra productivity information on workers due to group affiliation, etc). Thus, we view laboratory methods, in this instance, to be a particularly attractive approach for generating primary data that is relatively free from confounds typically present in field data.

An exhaustive account of the different types of discrimination is beyond the scope of this paper, but it is worth noting what laboratory methods have contributed to the study of discrimination. Examples of laboratory studies aimed at studying the determinants of discrimination include: Holm, 2000; Anderson and Hauptert, 1999; Fershtman and Gneezy, 2001; Fryer *et al.*, 2005; Dickinson and Oaxaca, 2009, 2014; Slonim and Guillen, 2010; Castillo and Petrie, 2010; Rödin and Özcan, 2011; Falk and Zehnder, 2013; see also Anderson *et al.* 2006 for a survey). As noted above, laboratory data generation is a methodological alternative intended to facilitate the ability to identify determinants of discrimination (Giuliano et al., 2009, is an exception). In general, controlled laboratory environments allow one to isolate a key variable of interest in an otherwise complicated labor market environment, thus facilitating causal inference. Laboratory research has shown that statistical discrimination may result from risk aversion, mistaken stereotypes, incomplete information, or assessment bias (Anderson and Hauptert, 1999; Davis, 1987; Fershtman and Gneezy, 2001; Dickinson and Oaxaca, 2009; Castillo and Petrie, 2010). A recent laboratory study also found that discrimination based on statistical differences in worker productivity-types may lead to hiring as well as wage-based discrimination (Dickinson and Oaxaca, 2014).

Our current focus is the in-group favoritism of workers by employers, where the nature of group identity carries no relevant information content at all. As such, in-group preference or the expectation of reciprocity by workers are the only identifiable reason to show favoritism by group identity in such instances. Thus, a final relevant stream of literature worth noting involves laboratory research on group identity formation and its effects on behavior. Research



has found that the more salient the in-group membership status, the larger the impact on behavior (Charness et al, 2007). Our use of a gift-exchange environment to study employer-worker decisions is related to cooperation and reciprocity concerns. Eckel and Grossman (2005) reported that group identification increased cooperation in a public goods game, while Chen and Li (2009) found that in-group members were more forgiving and more interested in maximizing welfare of their particular group.<sup>2</sup> Other recent research also reports significant in-group favoritism (e.g. Chen and Chen, 2011; Chen *et al*, 2014; Currarini and Mengel, 2016). Of particular relevant to our work is the Chen and Chen (2011) result that effort coordination increased to high levels when group identity was made more salient. Their result suggests positive reciprocity by in-group workers in gift-exchange effort environments, which would make employers rationally choose to favor in-group workers (i.e., discriminate against out-group workers). Our experimental design will highlight how we intend to identify the spillover effect on society that may result from such privately rational favoritism.

### 3. EXPERIMENT DESIGN

#### 3.1 Preliminary Phase—*Social Preference Elicitation and Group Identity Induction*

Before the main hiring and effort experiment, subjects participated in a 2-part preliminary phase. In the first part, we use an existing procedure to generate common measures of social preferences (Blanco et al, 2011). Specifically, a measure of disadvantageous inequality aversion (i.e., “envy”) is derived from ultimatum game responder choices, and a modified dictator game is used to generate a measure of advantageous inequality aversion (called “guilt” by Blanco et al, 2011, but can be considered a proxy for altruism. See instructions in Appendix A for further detail on these social preference tasks).<sup>3</sup> Decisions in the social preference elicitation tasks were incentivized<sup>4</sup>, but participants were not informed of the preliminary task outcome until the end

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<sup>2</sup> Others have shown that trust may increase in groups, which points to another potential benefit of showing preferences towards one’s own group (Glaeser et al, 2000; Eckel and Wilson, 2004; Bernhard et al, 2006; Goette et al., 2006; Falk and Zehnder, 2007; Buchan et al., 2008; Fiedler et al., 2011). This points to another rationale for discrimination, namely the increase social capital within the group.

<sup>3</sup> Inequality aversion stipulates that individuals care about the distribution of monetary payoffs in addition to their own payoff. Specifically, an inequality averse individual prefers equal monetary payoffs for all players, though some may have a differential aversion to inequality depending on whether it benefits (advantageous inequality) or harms oneself (disadvantageous inequality). Models of inequality aversion were first proposed by Bolton (1991) and refined by Fehr and Schmidt (1999) and Bolton and Ockenfels (2000). Using the Blanco et al (2011) tasks, we calculate the  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  parameters for each subject described in Fehr and Schmidt (1999) as measures of disadvantageous and advantageous inequality, respectively.

<sup>4</sup> More specifically, one row of the payoff matrix is randomly selected from each game for payoff.

of the experiment in order to avoid wealth effects. Furthermore, the lack of context in these preliminary tasks helped avoid the potential for behavioral spillovers into the main experiment.

During a second part of this preliminary phase, we induce group identities. These group identities are a relevant variable of interest in our design. Each experimental “society” consists of 8 subjects divided into two groups of 4 subjects each. Groups are formed based on similarity of choices in a movie preference task— drama or comedy film were the options given to subjects. Then we increase the saliency of group identity by asking matched participants to choose a group name from among a predefined list of sea/ocean name options to represent the group’s “identity” (e.g., group “Atlantic”, group “Baltic”).<sup>5</sup> Our choice to induce otherwise meaningless group identities rather than use subjects’ natural identities (e.g. gender, ethnicity or social background) was intended to increase control over the group assignments and limit selection concerns in the data. Thus, throughout the experiment subjects are assigned to a *society* that includes two different *identity-groups*.

### **3.2 Main Experiment Phase**

An experimental “society” consists of a group of 8 subjects: 2 employers, 4 workers, and 2 unemployed. The experimental treatments consist of several stages involving distinct decisions. In Stage 1 (present only in half the treatments), each subject makes decisions in the role of an employer who must hire two workers who will each make an effort choice affecting the employer’s monetary payoff (e.g. Sutter and Weck-Hannemann, 2003). As a potential employer, subjects rank the other 7 members of his/her society from most (rank=1) to least (rank=7) preferred. Information on the group identity of each subject is common knowledge when making one’s ranking decisions, and these rankings are then used to form firms within the society for some treatments.<sup>6</sup> Subjects were fully aware that these rankings would be binding should the subject be randomly assigned as an employer in the following stage of the experiment.

Once all employers submit their rankings, firms composed of an employer and two employees are formed using a two-step mechanism similar to the one suggested by Bogomolnaia and Jackson (2002) (see also Castillo and Petrie, 2010). In step one, the first

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<sup>5</sup> Group name choice was accomplished using a 3-minute chat feature in the computer interface such that participants could only interact with other members of their identity group. It was forbidden to reveal one’s true identity. At the end of the 3-minute chat, group name was selected by majority rule.

<sup>6</sup> Specifically, subjects are told that those assigned a preferred rank are more likely to be recruited as a worker for that subject, should he/she be randomly assigned as an employer.

employer (called A1) is randomly chosen by the computer and is matched with her/his two preferred employees based on her/his ranking. Thus, a first firm is formed with this employer and her/his two best ranked workers (called worker B1 and B2). In a second step, the second employer (called A2) is matched with her/his two most preferred employees (called B3 and B4) from among the remaining four participants who have not yet been assigned to the first employer in step one. The two participants not assigned to a firm are assigned the role of unemployed workers (unemployed worker C1 and unemployed worker C2 respectively). The two unemployed workers in each group do not take part in Stage 2 of the game and receive a fixed payment of 5 EMU (Experimental Monetary Units), which is analogous to unemployment insurance.

The second experimental stage (Stage 2), which is present in all treatments, consists of a gift-exchange game between employers and their respective workers. Employers assign (potentially unequal) wages to the workers of their respective firm. Wage options are  $w = 16$  or  $w = 32$ , for the employer. We use the strategy method to elicit employers' decision for each potential identity-group composition of the firm. Workers then choose an integer level effort  $e \in [1, 4]$  for each potential wage distribution within the firm and for both of the possible employer identity-groups. Unemployed participants do not participate to this stage. Employer profits are a function of the two employee effort levels  $e_1, e_2$  and the wages paid to each employee,  $w_1, w_2$  according to the following function:

$$(1) \quad \Pi(e_1, e_2, w_1, w_2) = 32(e_1 + e_2) - w_1 - w_2.$$

Our examination of societal spill-over costs involves the final Stage 3 in all treatments, which allows unemployed participants take part in a money-burning game. Here, unemployed workers can either target specific individuals in the society (at a relatively high cost — 1 EMU paid burns 5 EMU of a specific target individual) or burn money of both employers and workers without distinction (for a relatively low cost — 1 EMU paid burns 2 EMUs of other employer and worker payoff).<sup>7</sup> This Stage 3 money burning game allows unemployed workers to express their dissatisfaction in a way that is costly to the society, which we consider important in evaluating the overall impact of discrimination or favoritism in the labor market.

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<sup>7</sup> A subject choosing the “burn with no distinction” option was not allowed to individually target subjects for additional money burning.

### 3.3 Experimental Treatments

We implement four treatments in a 2x2 factorial design. The first factor varied is the process of worker employment assignments in Stage 1 of the main experiment. In the *Ranking* treatments, subjects take part in the Stage 1 rankings described above. In contrast, in the *Random* treatments Stage 1 randomly assigns subject roles. The comparison of these two treatments identifies how hiring discrimination or favoritism affects individual behaviors of employed and non-employed participants. The second factor in our 2x2 design varies the cost of effort of subjects. In the *Homogeneous Cost* treatments, all workers face the same marginal cost of 5 EMU for each effort unit. The total effort cost function for all subjects is:

$$(2) \quad C(e)=5e-5$$

In the *Heterogeneous Cost* treatments, a society is divided in highly productive (low effort cost,  $C(e)=3e-3$ ) and low productivity (high effort cost,  $C(e)=5e-5$ ) workers. By comparing individual decisions in *Homogeneous* and *Heterogeneous Cost* treatments, we investigate whether productive individuals who face discrimination are willing to retaliate by providing less effort (if employed) or burning money (if unemployed). Recall that unemployed workers earn a fixed payoff of 5 EMU, while the range of possible payoffs to workers is [1,32] EMU for high cost of effort workers, and [7,32] EMU for low cost of effort workers. The range of possible payoffs for the employers are [0,224] EMU.

### 3.4 Procedures and Parameters

The experiment consists of 8 sessions conducted at the CREM-CNRS (LABEX-EM) institute of the department of Economics of the University of Rennes 1 in France. Summary information about the 8 sessions is shown in Table 1.

**Table 1. Experimental Sessions**

Sessions	Treatment	# Participants
1 ; 2	Homogeneous Ranking	48
3 ; 4	Homogeneous Random	48
5 ; 6	Heterogeneous Ranking	48
7 ; 8	Heterogeneous Random	48
Total number of participants:		192

A total of 192 undergraduate students in management, economics, law, medicine, arts and sciences were recruited via the ORSEE software (Greiner, 2004). Participants earned on average 15.52€, including a show-up fee of 5€. During the experiment, all payments were

expressed in experimental currency units (EMU), and are converted to Euros at a predetermined conversion rate of 5 EMU = 1€. Some of the participants may have participated in experiments before but, to our knowledge, none had experience in any experiment similar to ours. No individual participated in more than one session of this study.<sup>8</sup> On average, sessions lasted about 75 minutes including instructions and payment of participants. The experiment was computerized using the Z-tree software package (Fischbacher, 2007).

### 3.5 Hypotheses

Consider first the hiring decisions in the *Ranking* treatments. If participants do not have discriminatory or favoritism based preferences, they should view group identities as irrelevant when assigning ranks — they should assign ranks randomly. However, one may conjecture that employers may have distaste for hiring people not belonging to their own group (Becker, 1957; Lang, 1986; Athey et al., 2000), or a preference for hiring in-group members as research has documented (Bouckaert and Dhaene, 2004).<sup>9</sup> In addition, one may also reasonably expect that individuals may be more likely to hire in-group individuals if they anticipate reciprocal higher effort in the gift exchange game (i.e., higher effort than out-group workers). Note, however, that this in-group favoritism may be offset in the *Heterogeneous Ranking* treatment if employers care more about high productivity (i.e., low effort cost) workers than they care about group identity. Our conjecture is summarized below in H1:

**H1a:** In *Ranking* treatments, preferred ranks will be assigned to in-group subjects.

**H1b:** In-group favoritism in rankings will be lower in *Ranking Heterogeneous* compared to *Ranking Homogeneous* due to worker productivity differences.

Our second set of hypotheses describe the expected impact of in-group favoritism (or out-group discrimination) on wage choices. The fact that there may be a trade-off between hiring and wage discrimination is also quite intuitive and was found by Dickinson and Oaxaca (2014).

**H2a:** Across all treatments, wages offered to in-group subjects will be higher than wages offered to out-group subjects.

**H2b:** Wage favoritism towards in-group subjects will be higher in the *Random* treatments, where there is not an additional opportunity to show favoritism in hiring.

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<sup>8</sup> The ORSEE recruitment software allows us to clearly identify students who have already participated to a similar game. However, we acknowledge that we cannot totally rule out the fact that they might have played a similar game in another university/institution, though we consider this very unlikely.

<sup>9</sup>In-group favoritism and out-group discrimination have been very robust findings in the social psychology literature (Tajfel *et al.* 1971; Billig and Tajfel, 1973; Turner and Brown, 1978; Vaughan *et al.* 1981; Diehl, 1988; Pratto and Shih, 2000).

These first two sets of hypotheses focus on in-group favoritism impact on the dimensions of subject rankings and wage offerings. The remaining two sets of hypotheses focus on positive and negative reciprocity effects of the workers (hired and unemployed). A large body of research documents positive reciprocity in numerous settings (including gift exchange experiments, see Fehr et al, 1997), but recent research also finds that individuals display more positive reciprocity towards in-group members (Chen and Li, 2009). This leads to hypotheses H3:

**H3a:** In-group workers will choose higher effort levels than out-group workers.

**H3b:** The wage-effort reciprocity effect will be stronger between in-group employer-workers.

Finally, our last hypothesis stems from the assumption that being unemployed creates dissatisfaction, which is heightened when the unemployment is the result of the intentional ranking choices in the *Ranking* treatments. Furthermore, money burning should be disproportionately directed towards employers in *Ranking* treatments given the intentionality of rankings that lead to unemployment. And finally, We consider that money burning may be higher in societies with heterogeneous productivity across workers. In this case, employed workers who are low productivity (i.e., high cost of effort) may be a particular target for money burning given that employers would not reasonably hire a low productivity worker unless favoring one's group identity more strongly than one's productivity (and profit) potential.

**H4a:** Money burning will be higher in *Ranking* compared to *Random* treatments.

**H4b:** Money burning in *Ranking* treatments will more often target employers than individuals in general.

**H4c:** Money burning will be higher in *Heterogeneous* treatments and will more often target low productivity (employed) workers, rather than high productivity workers.

#### 4. RESULTS

We first investigate whether participants show favoritism towards in-group members (i.e., discriminate) in hiring, wage and effort decisions. These outcome measures inform our understanding of the private incentives firms may have to show favoritism. After analysis of the employer and worker decisions, we then investigate the social costs of favoritism in the form of unemployed worker money-burning choices.

## 4.1 Discrimination and its Rationale

### 4.1.1. In-group favoritism in hiring

Our data show that participants tend to rank in-group members more favorably (i.e., lower ranks). In the *Homogeneous Ranking* treatment, in-group members are assigned an average rank of 2.35 whereas out-group members are assigned an average rank of 5.24 (Wilcoxon signed-rank,  $p < 0.001$ ). The additional information on productivity heterogeneity in the *Heterogeneous Ranking* treatment lowers this gap—the average in-group ranking is 2.98 compared to 4.77 for out-group members, which is a significantly reduced gap compared to *Homogenous Ranking* gap (Wilcoxon Mann-Whitney,  $p < 0.001$ ). However, preferential ranking of in-group members remains significant (Wilcoxon signed-rank,  $p < 0.001$ ). These findings support both hypotheses H1a and H1b.

**Result 1a.** *In Ranking treatments, in-group members are ranked significantly better, on average.*

**Result 1b.** *The extent of in-group favoritism is lower - but still existing – in Heterogeneous treatments (i.e., some out-group members have lower effort costs than some in-group members, which makes them more desirable workers to the employer)*

**Support for results 1a and 1b.** Table 2 reports the results of rank-ordered logit models (Beggs et al., 1981) on the determinants of the employer’s ranking decision. The dependent variable  $Rank_{ij}$  corresponds to the rank employer  $i$  assigns to each potential job candidate  $j$ . The independent variables include candidate’s identity group, as well as a control for candidate’s productivity in the heterogeneous ranking treatment (column 3). All models indicate that in-group members are ranked significantly better than out-group members (i.e., *lower* rank value). Model (3) of Table 2 indicates that low productivity (i.e., high effort-cost) workers are ranked worse than high productivity workers, holding identity group constant.

**Table 2. Ranking Decisions**

Rank attributed by player $i$ to player $j$ – Rank-Ordered Logit estimates			
	(1) Pooled regression	(2) Homogenous Treatment	(3) Heterogenous Treatment
Player $j$ is from same group	-1.725*** (0.126)	-2.604*** (0.244)	-1.210*** (0.153)
Player $j$ has high effort cost	---	---	0.394** (0.154)
Observations	672	336	336

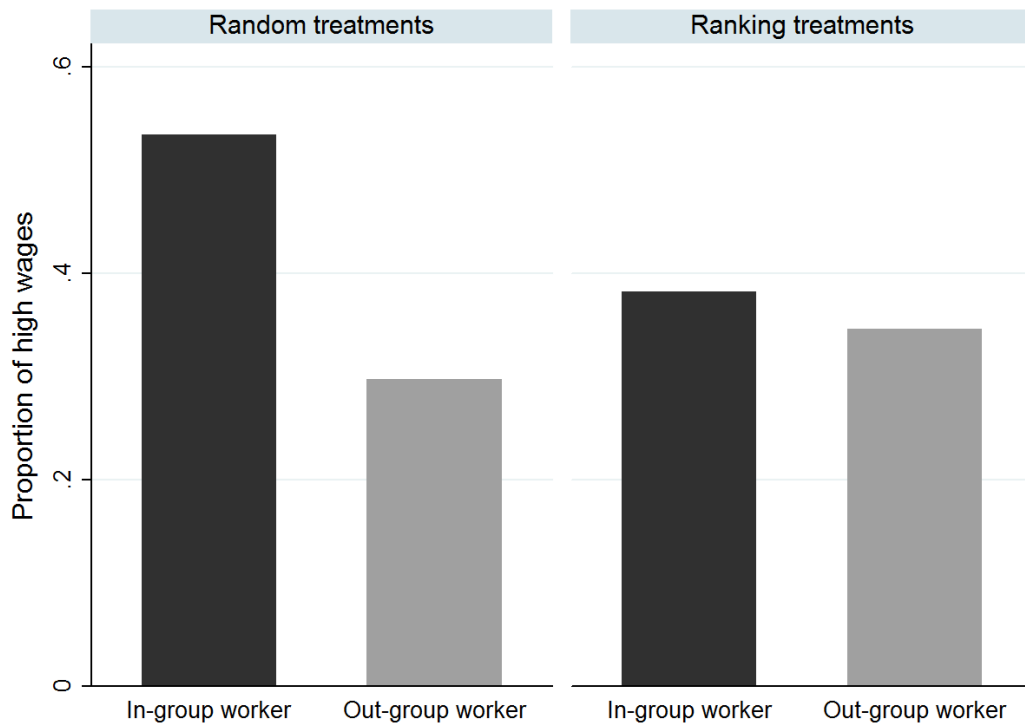
Number of individuals	96	48	48
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Notes: Standard deviations are displayed in parentheses. **Lower ranks are preferred ranks.**  
 \*90% significance \*\* 95% significance \*\*\* 99% significance (2-tailed tests)

#### 4.1.2. In-group favoritism in wage-setting

Figure 1 reports the proportion of high wages offered to in-group versus out-group members for both *Random* and *Ranking* treatments. Consistent with hypothesis H2, we observe that in-group workers receive high wages significantly more often than out-group workers ( $X^2$  test,  $p < 0.001$ ). This wage gap is significantly positive in *Random* treatments ( $X^2$  test,  $p < 0.001$ ), but not in *Ranking* treatments ( $X^2$  test,  $p = 0.509$ ).

**Figure 1. Wage discrimination**



These findings are summarized in results 2a and 2b.

**Result 2a.** *In-group members receive higher wage offers than out-group members.*

**Result 2b.** *Wage favoritism is greater in Random treatments.*

**Support for results 2.** Table 3 reports random-effect probit estimates on the probability of offering a high wage. In all treatments, we observe in-group favoritism in wage offerings (H2a). Workers from the same identity group as the employer have a significantly higher probability of receiving a high wage offer compared to an out-group worker. Models (2) and (3) display



separated estimates on the *Homogeneous* and *Heterogeneous* productivity treatments. The coefficient on the interaction variable *Same group*×*Ranking treatment* in model (2) suggests that preferential in-group wages are significantly less likely in *Homogeneous Ranking* compared to *Homogeneous Random* (H2b). This is intuitive given the *Ranking* treatments allow for favoritism or discrimination in rankings, and therefore employment likelihood, prior to a wage decision. Together with previous evidence from Fig. 1, these findings may point to a trade-off between hiring discrimination and wage discrimination in the absence of productivity information on workers. Dickinson and Oaxaca (2014) also find evidence of a trade-off between hiring and wage discrimination in a laboratory setting designed to examine statistical discrimination. Results in Table 3 also show that more advantageous inequality averse subjects, based on the Blanco et al. (2010) altruism measure, offer higher wages (see footnote 3).

**Table 3. Wage-setting decision**

Probability that <i>i</i> offers a high wage to <i>j</i> – Random-effect Probit estimates			
	(1) Pooled	(2) Homogenous Treatment	(3) Heterogenous Treatment
Player <i>j</i> is from same group	1.096*** (0.205)	6.630** (3.112)	0.626*** (0.224)
Ranking treatment	0.275 (0.543)	1.160 (2.098)	0.594 (0.709)
Same group × Ranking treatment	-0.548* (0.291)	-5.583* (3.080)	-0.134 (0.319)
Player <i>j</i> has high effort cost	---	---	-0.013 (0.179)
Heterogeneous treatment	-0.424 (0.500)	---	---
Altruism	2.390** (0.953)	7.088** (3.370)	2.490** (1.220)
Constant	-1.447*** (0.548)	-4.989** (2.137)	-1.841*** (0.644)
Observations	624	144	480
Number of indiv.	48	24	24

Notes: Standard deviations are displayed in parentheses

\*90% significance \*\* 95% significance \*\*\* 99% significance (2-tailed tests)

#### 4.1.3. In-group worker reciprocity effects

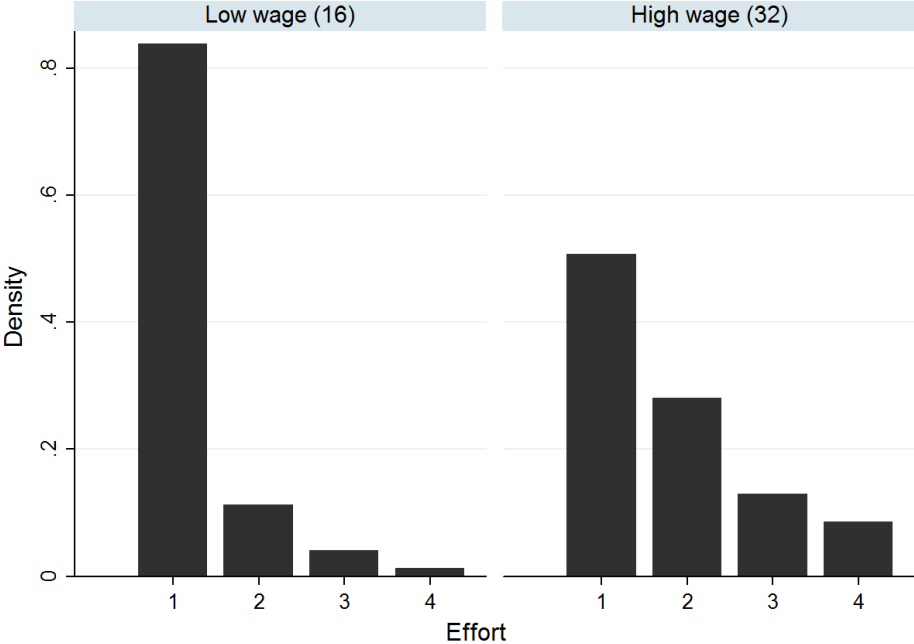
We first observe that higher wages are reciprocated with higher effort levels, as is common in the literature (Fehr et al, 1997). Workers offered a low wage of 16 ECU provide average effort of 1.22, whereas workers offered a high wage of 32 ECU provide average effort of 1.79. This

difference is statistically significant (Wilcoxon signed-rank test,  $p < 0.001$ ) and holds in all treatments. Figure 2 reports the distribution of effort chosen at both wage levels.

Our data show no evidence that wage discrimination impacts effort choices. However, the highest effort choices are made by in-group workers, independent of wages, which supports hypothesis H3a. In *Ranking* treatments, the average effort exerted by in-group workers is 1.67, whereas it is 1.54 for out-group workers (Wilcoxon Mann-Whitney,  $p = 0.026$ ).

One could expect that discrimination would be particularly costly for a prejudiced employer who hires a low productivity in-group member, rather than a high productivity out-group worker. Our data suggest, however, that there is no difference in effort choices in that comparison (Wilcoxon Mann-Whitney,  $p = 0.726$ ).

**Figure 2. Reciprocity by wage level**



We also fail to find any evidence that an out-group worker who is offered a lower wage than an in-group worker chooses lower effort. Indeed, an out-group member being paid 16 while the in-group coworker receives 32 does not exert lower effort compared to a situation where both are paid 16 (Wilcoxon signed-rank,  $p = 0.9847$ ).<sup>10</sup> Our findings regarding worker effort choices are summarized in result 3.

**Result 3a.** *In-group workers choose higher effort levels than out-group workers.*

<sup>10</sup> Recall that the strategy-method implies each subject make choices for all contingencies, which includes choosing effort for each possible group identity and wage offered to other workers.

**Result 3b.** *We fail to find support for Hypothesis 3b (i.e., the positive relationship between wage and effort choice is not stronger with in-group workers). Also, effort decisions are not affected by coworker wage.*

**Support for results 3a and 3b.** Table 4 reports estimates on the determinants of effort choices. We estimate random effects tobit model to explore the influence of wage comparisons and group identity on effort. The use of tobit models is justified by the high number of left-censored observations in the sample. Figure 2 and Table 4 indicate a positive relationship between wage and effort. This positive reciprocity finding is typical in the gift-exchange game (Fehr et al. 1997) and indicates social motivations driving reciprocity. Table 4 also identifies a weak positive reciprocity effect of being employed in the *Ranking* treatment. The direction of this effect is sensible, given that employer ranking choices are responsible for a worker not being unemployed in *Ranking* treatments compared to *Random*, but this effect is not very precisely measured and disappears when additional controls are added in model (4).

**Table 4. Worker Effort Choices**

Dependent Variable = Effort choice of worker – Random-effect tobit estimates				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Wage	0.105*** (0.005)	0.103*** (0.007)	0.101*** (0.008)	0.101*** (0.008)
In-group employer	0.355*** (0.071)	0.355*** (0.071)	0.325*** (0.119)	0.324*** (0.119)
In-group coworker	0.308*** (0.071)	0.308*** (0.071)	0.308*** (0.071)	0.308*** (0.071)
Ranking treatment	0.796* (0.4419)	0.792* (0.446)	0.796* (0.447)	0.391 (0.364)
Wage > coworker wage	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>
Wage = coworker wage	---	-0.017 (0.088)	-0.017 (0.088)	-0.017 (0.088)
Wage < coworker wage	---	-0.100 (0.148)	-0.100 (0.148)	-0.101 (0.148)
Low cost of effort (high productivity)	---	0.033 (0.513)	0.006 (0.515)	0.165 (0.666)
In-group employer×Wage	---	---	0.048 (0.148)	0.048 (0.148)
Altruism	---	---	---	4.190*** (0.666)
Envy	---	---	---	0.224 (0.159)
Constant	-3.453*** (0.373)	-3.352*** (0.423)	-3.309*** (0.556)	-4.561*** (0.561)
Observations	1,536	1,536	1,536	1,536

Number of indiv	96	96	96	96
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Notes: Standard deviations are displayed in parentheses

\*90% significance \*\* 95% significance \*\*\* 99% significance (2-tailed tests)

The estimation results indicate that effort choice is not influenced by coworker wage in any of our models. However, effort is strongly related to both the employer and coworker identity. All models in Table 4 point to group identity as an important determinant of effort choice in our experimental setting, which supports hypothesis H3a. Model (3) and (4) of Table 4 include an interaction variable *In-group employer* × *Wage* aimed at capturing any differential response from in-group workers to higher wages. We do not observe a significance difference in the positive reciprocity effect between in-group and out-group members. Our estimation results therefore reject hypothesis H3b.

At this point, our results show evidence of in-group favoritism by employers, even when group identity carries no practical information content or cost savings to employers. And, while the gift exchange reciprocity effect estimated is not stronger among employers and workers of the same group, we do estimate a general tendency for in-group workers to choose higher effort levels for employers. We also find in-group workers choose higher effort when the anonymous co-worker is also an in-group member, and the higher effort levels in the *Ranking* treatments indicate that workers reciprocate the intentional rankings that led to their being employed. Together, these results point to a rational reason for employers to show favoritism towards in-group applicants and workers. However, our last set of results looks at the important spillover effects of such favoritism in our experimental society.

#### 4.1.4. The social costs of discrimination

Our last findings concern money burning decisions of the unemployed subjects in each experimental society (n=48 total subjects). Table 5 below shows descriptive statistics that highlight key treatment differences. Specifically, money burning is always higher in *Ranking* treatments compared to the analogous *Random* treatment. This suggests that employment that results from intentional ranking choices is more likely to lead to money burning. An interesting difference seen in Table 5, however, is that the additional money burning in *Ranking Heterogenous* compared to *Random Heterogenous* seems due to an increase in nonspecific “burn all” decisions. In the *Homogenous* treatments, the additional money burning due to

employment by rankings seems more focused on burning money of targeted subjects. We explore these observations econometrically in Table 6. In the *Random* treatments combined, only 8.33% of unemployed participants decide to indiscriminately burn money from employers and workers (i.e., no specific target subject). This proportion is significantly higher in the combined *Ranking* treatments, where 29.17% of unemployed participants burn money from all participants to the labor market ( $X^2, p=0.064$ ).

**Table 5. Money burning – descriptive statistics**

	Total money burnt (EMUs)	% of participants who burn	% of participants who target burn	% of participants who burn all
Random homogenous	17	16.66%	8.33%	8.33%
Ranking homogenous	37	33.33%	25%	8.33%
Random Heterogenous	87	58.33%	50%	8.33%
Ranking Heterogenous	112	75%	25%	50%

Notes: “participants who target burn” designate participants in the role of unemployed that decided to target at least one individual, i.e. to spend 1 EMU to burn 5 EMU from a chosen participant. Remind that participants who decide to do so do not have the opportunity to “burn all”, i.e. to destroy 2 EMU to all workers and employers at the cost of 1 EMU.

Evaluation of Hypotheses 4a-4c are summarized in our results regarding money burning:

**Result 4a.** *In Ranking treatments, money burning increases with discrimination. Indiscriminate money burning occurs more frequently in the Ranking treatments.*

**Result 4b.** *Employer are targeted significantly more than workers for money burning in the Ranking treatment.*

**Result 4c.** *Money burning is significantly higher in Heterogenous treatments.*

**Support for results 4a-4c.** Table 6 shows results from estimations aimed at identifying the factors that influence the probability that a particular unemployed subjects  $i$  burns money of a subject  $j$  (who could be an employed worker or an employer). In Table 6, the dichotomous dependent variable in model (1) equals one if subject  $j$ 's payoff decreases due to  $i$ 's money burning decision. In this case,  $j$ 's money may have been burnt due to either a targeted money burning choice or as part of a general “burn all” decision by the unemployed subject  $i$ . In model (2), we focus only on whether  $j$ 's payoff was reduced due to a targeted money burning decision (i.e., we ignore “burn out” payoff reductions to subject  $j$  in model (2)). As before, standard errors are clustered at the individual subject level. Independent variables included account for envy (i.e., disadvantageous inequality aversion), gender, and measures to capture the impact of

differences in earnings, whether the burning target is an employer, and whether in the *Heterogenous* or *Ranking* treatments.

Our results find only weak statistical significance indicating that employers are more likely to have money burned (H4b), heterogeneity in worker productivity levels increases general money

**Table 6. Determinants of money burning**

Probability that unemployed $i$ harms participant $j$ - random-effect logit estimates		
	(1)	(2)
	Direct + indirect target	Direct target only
Random treatment	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>
Ranking treatment	3.269*	-0.120
	(1.883)	(0.993)
Heterogeneous treatment	4.583*	0.510
	(2.469)	(1.335)
$j$ is an employer	2.126*	2.447*
	(1.125)	(1.290)
earnings of $j$	-0.00951	-0.00367
	(0.0460)	(0.0473)
Het. Treatment $\times j$ has high cost	2.008*	2.395*
	(1.154)	(1.252)
Het. Treatment $\times i$ has high cost	1.196	1.364
	(2.718)	(1.570)
Het. Treatment $\times i$ has low cost & $j$ has high cost	-0.0484	0.0524
	(1.476)	(1.437)
$i$ and $j$ are not from same group	0.404	0.404
	(0.598)	(0.552)
$i$ 's envy parameter	0.252	-0.916
	(1.631)	(1.008)
$i$ is a female	-0.140	-0.797*
	(0.559)	(0.457)
Constant	-8.915***	-5.251***
	(2.648)	(1.436)
Observations	288	288
Number of indiv	48	48

Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses. \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*  $p < 0.1$

burning, and high effort cost workers (low productivity) are burned more than the low effort cost workers (H4c). We also find some evidence when considering all money burning impacts in model (1) that the *Ranking* treatment increases the likelihood of having money burnt (H4a). We should note, however, that these results are based on somewhat challenging issues with respect to the distinction between targeted versus general money burning. More specifically,

the cost per EMU burned is different for targeted versus general burning, and so model (1) combines money burning decisions that are not entirely comparable. On the other hand, separating and analyzing only one type of money burning decision as we do in model (2) ignores another component of one's decision to pursue antisocial money burning. It may be the case that heterogeneity in productivity represents an inequality that is viewed as unfair and therefore promotes antisocial behaviors. Thus, while the results in Table 6 are somewhat supportive of hypotheses H3a-H3c, our design choice that allows for two types of money burning inherently complicates the analysis and interpretation of our results.

In addition to examining the determinants of one's money burning decisions, we also examine the monetary cost to society of the money burning that occurs. Indeed, because our main goal with respect to the money burning Stage 4 was to identify the extent of any behavioral spillovers, a more direct approach to answering this question is an econometric evaluation of the costs to society, which we present in Table 7.

For this, we measure the cost incurred from money burning upon each of the 144 participants in the role of employer or employed worker. The outcome measure we use is the difference between earnings before and after unemployed participants decided to burn (or not) money within the experimental society. In the following, we refer to this measure as the *cost incurred from money burning*.

The costs incurred from money burning are significantly higher in the *Ranking* treatments, especially when hiring favoritism occurred in the group. We calculate the level of favoritism or discrimination within a society as the number of employers (zero, one or two) who rank only in-group workers at the three top positions during the hiring stage—we could refer to these as prejudiced employers. On average, the per-subject cost incurred from money burning is, on average, 0.886 EMU in absence of discrimination. The cost increases to an average of 2.72 EMU when the society is composed of one prejudiced employer and 2.62 EMU when there are two prejudiced employers.

Findings confirm that the monetary loss to the experimental society from money burning is higher in the *Ranking* treatments (H4a). It also suggests that the presence of initial inequality in productivity (i.e., *Heterogeneous* treatments) increases these money burning spillover costs (H4c). Indeed, the coefficient on the *Heterogeneous* treatment dummy is positive and significant in all our models. Interestingly, employers are more harmed than workers in the *Ranking* treatments in models (3) and (4) of Table 7, where unemployment is the result of the

intentional ranking choices of employers. This is consistent with unemployed subjects using targeted money burning as an explicit punishment mechanism in addition to the general money burning that can be exercised at lower marginal cost per EMU burned. And model (4) also estimates that money burning costs are a direct and increasing function of the level of favoritism identified in the experimental society. Overall, we find support for hypotheses H4a-H4c and, importantly, these results highlight how labor market discrimination or favoritism may lead to undesirable spillover effects (e.g., rioting at the extreme).<sup>11</sup> The failure to consider such spillover effects would imply a downwardly biased estimation of the harmful impacts of favoritism in labor markets.

**Table 7. The cost for society of money burning**

Monetary loss incurred from money burning – OLS estimates				
	(1) Pooled	(2) Rand. treat.	(3) Rank. treat.	(4) Rank. treat.
Random treatment	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.
Ranking treatment	0.625* (0.344)	---	---	---
Homogenous treatment	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>
Heterogeneous treatment	2.014*** (0.344)	1.944*** (0.465)	2.083*** (0.509)	2.696*** (0.494)
Worker	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>
Employer	0.677* (0.365)	0.208 (0.494)	1.146** (0.540)	1.146** (0.494)
Level of hiring discrimination	---	---	---	1.225*** (0.325)
Constant	0.212 (0.322)	0.403 (0.277)	0.646 (0.402)	-0.988* (0.569)
Observations	144	144	144	144
R <sup>2</sup>	0.2262	0.2035	0.2357	0.3677

Notes: Standard deviations are displayed in parentheses. “Level of hiring discrimination” (0, 1, or 2) reports the number of employers in the experimental society who discriminate by ranking only in-group workers at the three top positions during the hiring stage.

\*90% significance \*\* 95% significance \*\*\* 99% significance (2-tailed tests)

<sup>11</sup> We acknowledge that there are multiple reasons why individuals may riot. It is because we find evidence that the *Ranking* treatment leads to more employer-targeted money burning that we can claim that our results identify a spillover effect directly linked to favoritism (as opposed to the general discontent money burning that may result from labor productivity inequality we induce in *Heterogenous* treatments).



## 5. CONCLUSIONS

We present a new experimental design that permits us to investigate not only the private incentives to show favoritism (or discriminate), but it also allows us to evaluate a type of spillover costs on society. Consistent with previous findings, we find that the conditions for the occurrence of discrimination are rather weak (Holm, 2000). Our lab design generates discriminatory treatment of individuals not associated with one's group (i.e., out-group members) under conditions of a contrived laboratory-induced group identity. An alternative perspective is to view this as favoritism towards in-group members. Whatever the label, a key objective of this paper is to highlight that favoritism based purely on group identity (i.e., no impact on costs or information from showing such favoritism) can be privately beneficial to an employer, and yet produce spillover costs to society from discontent among excluded workers. Importantly, this discontent will express itself in one way or another (as it always does), and we focus on one particular channel for expressing discontent that yields insights into issues relevant to society.

We opted for experimental data generation to more cleanly identify favoritism based purely on group identity, as well as to channel any discontent into a limited set of consequential options. In field data, hiring based on social networks likely allows for reduced communication costs or provides the employer with valuable information on a candidate, both of which present a confound in assessing favoritism for pure group identity reasons. Unemployed worker discontent in the field can also be expressed in numerous ways, which are often not quantifiable or always even identifiable. As such, for our particular research question the laboratory offers an advantage over field data, and makes possible the identification of causal favoritism effects that are difficult to identify in the naturally occurring economy.

We report three key findings: First, we find evidence that even a weakly constructed common group identity becomes a source of favoritism both at the hiring stage and in wage offers. While this documents multiple dimensions on which discrimination may operate, even in a laboratory environment (see Dickinson and Oaxaca, 2014), the potential for positive reciprocity towards employers by those hired and/or offered high wages may actually imply that such in-group favoritism may be in the monetary payoff interest of the employer. Second, subjects generally reciprocate high wage offers with higher effort choices. Importantly, our data confirm that workers make higher effort choices for in-group employers than for out-group employers, and this effect is largely the same across treatments. This finding suggests that employers should

rationally prefer in-group workers over out-group workers, all else equal. Finally, while there may be some evidence that in-group favoritism benefits employers, we considered the spillover costs on society of unemployed workers burning resources. We find evidence of significant money burning when productivity inequality exists in society, and also when employment discrimination is more present. Thus, labor market favoritism that plausibly produces discontent is likely an important micro-foundation of more significant societal costs.

Our study is not without its limitations, which may offer avenues to extend this research. For example, our use of the strategy method was a design choice intended to maximize the data generation from a fixed set of subjects. One might argue that data from contingency decisions may differ from choice data elicited from a single decision scenario. We also highlight the limited number of observations on money burning decisions due to the somewhat limited (n=48) set of unemployed subjects in our design. A study focused on the money burning costs may choose a design with a larger set of unemployed subjects relative to employed. The sensitivity of our results to elements such as these are ultimately empirical questions that can be explored in future research. Nevertheless, we feel that our evidence for favoritism spillover costs, even in a stylized laboratory environment, highlights their importance in understanding the full impact of discrimination/favoritism in labor markets. It also highlights an important argument for why discrimination/favoritism is undesirable for society as a whole.

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# Appendix A : Instructions

Instructions are translated from French. The instruction set presented here corresponds to the Heterogeneous Ranking treatment, which is the most complete treatment of our experiment. Sets of instructions for other treatments are available upon request.

## General instructions

You are now taking part in an economic experiment. You will take several decisions which are described in this instruction sheet. The instructions are simple. Following them carefully will allow you to earn a considerable amount of money.

Your earnings depend on your own decisions and in some case on the decisions of other participants. It is very important that you read these instructions carefully. Your final earnings will be the sum of what you earn in each game. During the experiment your entire earnings will be calculated in ECU (Experimental Currency Units). At the end of the experiment the total amount of ECU you have earned will be converted to euro at the following rate: 5 ECU = €1. Note that you receive a show-up fee of €5 for your participation to the experiment. We guarantee anonymity for every decision you make.

## Game 1

Game 1 includes two steps.

### Step 1.

You are randomly matched with another participant in the room. You will receive an endowment of 20 ECU. You must choose how to distribute this endowment between yourself and the other participant. More specifically, you can decide an amount (integer number) to offer to the participant you are matched with.

Please note that in the second step, the participant you are matched with will choose whether to accept or to reject the amount you offer. If the other participant accepts your offer, you will both receive the selected earnings. If the other participant declines your offer, you will both earn nothing in game 1.

### Step 2.

A new random draw will match you with a participant in the room. Just like you, this participant made a decision in the first step. He received an endowment of 20 ECU and chose an amount to offer you. You are not informed of this decision. In step 2, you have to declare, for each amount that could have been offered to you, whether to accept or reject the offer. The decision screen will be presented as follows:

Somme proposée	Choix	Somme proposée	Choix
0	<input type="radio"/> Accepter <input type="radio"/> Refuser	11	<input type="radio"/> Accepter <input type="radio"/> Refuser
1	<input type="radio"/> Accepter <input type="radio"/> Refuser	12	<input type="radio"/> Accepter <input type="radio"/> Refuser
2	<input type="radio"/> Accepter <input type="radio"/> Refuser	13	<input type="radio"/> Accepter <input type="radio"/> Refuser
3	<input type="radio"/> Accepter <input type="radio"/> Refuser	14	<input type="radio"/> Accepter <input type="radio"/> Refuser
4	<input type="radio"/> Accepter <input type="radio"/> Refuser	15	<input type="radio"/> Accepter <input type="radio"/> Refuser
5	<input type="radio"/> Accepter <input type="radio"/> Refuser	16	<input type="radio"/> Accepter <input type="radio"/> Refuser
6	<input type="radio"/> Accepter <input type="radio"/> Refuser	17	<input type="radio"/> Accepter <input type="radio"/> Refuser
7	<input type="radio"/> Accepter <input type="radio"/> Refuser	18	<input type="radio"/> Accepter <input type="radio"/> Refuser
8	<input type="radio"/> Accepter <input type="radio"/> Refuser	19	<input type="radio"/> Accepter <input type="radio"/> Refuser
9	<input type="radio"/> Accepter <input type="radio"/> Refuser	20	<input type="radio"/> Accepter <input type="radio"/> Refuser
10	<input type="radio"/> Accepter <input checked="" type="radio"/> Refuser		

- If you accept the offer, you will both receive the selected earnings.
- If you decline the offer, you will both earn nothing in game 1.

Your earnings in game 1 are the sum of the amount you kept in the first step (if your offer was accepted) and the amount you were offered in the second step (if you accepted the offer).

## Game 2

In game 2, you are randomly matched with a participant in the room. You must select a payoff distribution that will apply to this participant and yourself. At the same time, another participant selects a payoff distribution that will apply to you and him/her.

You must make a decision for each line of the following table. All lines represent a different choice between a payoff distribution A and a payoff distribution B. You must indicate for each line which payoff distribution you would like to see implemented. The decision screen will appear as follows:

Distribution A	Distribution B	Choix	Distribution A	Distribution B	Choix
(0 ; 0)	(20 ; 0)	<input type="radio"/> Distribution A <input type="radio"/> Distribution B	(11 ; 11)	(20 ; 0)	<input type="radio"/> Distribution A <input type="radio"/> Distribution B
(1 ; 1)	(20 ; 0)	<input type="radio"/> Distribution A <input type="radio"/> Distribution B	(12 ; 12)	(20 ; 0)	<input type="radio"/> Distribution A <input type="radio"/> Distribution B
(2 ; 2)	(20 ; 0)	<input type="radio"/> Distribution A <input type="radio"/> Distribution B	(13 ; 13)	(20 ; 0)	<input type="radio"/> Distribution A <input type="radio"/> Distribution B
(3 ; 3)	(20 ; 0)	<input type="radio"/> Distribution A <input type="radio"/> Distribution B	(14 ; 14)	(20 ; 0)	<input type="radio"/> Distribution A <input type="radio"/> Distribution B
(4 ; 4)	(20 ; 0)	<input type="radio"/> Distribution A <input type="radio"/> Distribution B	(15 ; 15)	(20 ; 0)	<input type="radio"/> Distribution A <input type="radio"/> Distribution B
(5 ; 5)	(20 ; 0)	<input type="radio"/> Distribution A <input type="radio"/> Distribution B	(16 ; 16)	(20 ; 0)	<input type="radio"/> Distribution A <input type="radio"/> Distribution B
(6 ; 6)	(20 ; 0)	<input type="radio"/> Distribution A <input type="radio"/> Distribution B	(17 ; 17)	(20 ; 0)	<input type="radio"/> Distribution A <input type="radio"/> Distribution B
(7 ; 7)	(20 ; 0)	<input type="radio"/> Distribution A <input type="radio"/> Distribution B	(18 ; 18)	(20 ; 0)	<input type="radio"/> Distribution A <input type="radio"/> Distribution B
(8 ; 8)	(20 ; 0)	<input type="radio"/> Distribution A <input type="radio"/> Distribution B	(19 ; 19)	(20 ; 0)	<input type="radio"/> Distribution A <input type="radio"/> Distribution B
(9 ; 9)	(20 ; 0)	<input type="radio"/> Distribution A <input type="radio"/> Distribution B	(20 ; 20)	(20 ; 0)	<input type="radio"/> Distribution A <input type="radio"/> Distribution B
(10 ; 10)	(20 ; 0)	<input type="radio"/> Distribution A <input type="radio"/> Distribution B			

**Valider**

The payoff distribution is represented in brackets. The first figure corresponds to your own payoff, as a decision maker. The second figure corresponds to the payoff of the player with whom you are matched. For instance, the distribution (20 ; 0) means “you earn 20 ECU and the other participant earns 0 ECU”. The distribution (6 ; 6) means “you earn 6 ECU and the other participant earns 6 ECU”.

Once your decision is made, the computer will randomly select a line. It is your decision on that specific line that will be used to compute your earnings.

Your earnings in game 2 are the sum of the amount you decided to attribute to yourself, and the amount you received from another participant who played game 2 at the same time and was matched with you. You will receive information of your payoff at the end of the experiment only.

## Game 3

A questionnaire will appear on your screen. You have to honestly answer to the questions. Your answers to those questions will not affect your earnings, nor will they affect the actions you will undertake in the following games of the experiment. Furthermore, please recall that your answers are anonymous and will not be associated with your name. Once the questionnaire is over; we will hand you new instructions.

## Game 4

The answers you provided to the previous questionnaire have been used to match you with three other participants in the room. Together you form a group of four participants. Over the course of the experiment, you will stay in this four-persons group. The three participants you have been matched with are the ones whose answers to the questionnaire are the most similar to yours. In other words, you are matched in the group of four participants that corresponds to you the most, based on the questions that have been asked to you previously. Over the course of the experiment, you will interact with the participants of your own group, but also with the participants of another group that has been created according to the same process. Therefore, all interactions you will undertake during the rest of the experiment will always be with the same seven participants (three from your own group and four from the other group).

In game 4, you collectively choose a name for your group. This name will be used until the end of the experiment to designate your group. The choice of this name does not affect your future earnings nor the choices you will make in the future. The name of your group will be chosen via majority voting, from among a predefined list of five names which will be displayed on your screen. The discussion process will be as follows:

In a first step, you will receive information on the five group names you can choose from. Then, you will have 180 seconds in a chat room discussion to reach an agreement on the name to choose. It is strictly forbidden to reveal or give any clue on your real identity in the chat room. If you do not respect this restriction, you will be excluded from the experiment and its payments. Following this discussion, each member of the group votes individually. If the majority of participants voted for the same name, this name will be assigned to your group for the rest of the experiment. If no majority is reached, members of your group will vote a second time. If no majority is reached from this second vote, a random name will be assigned to your group.

## Game 5

Game 5 includes two steps.

### Step 1

In the first step, you rank by order of preference the seven other participants with whom you interact. This ranking can later be used to form teams. At the end of the first step, a role will randomly be assigned to you. You can be either employer, worker, or unemployed.

In game 5, all participant will randomly be assigned a characteristic: high cost of effort or low cost of effort. This characteristic will affect the participants in the role of worker in step 2 of the game.

Your first decision in game 5 will be taken as a potential employer. You will rank the seven other participants by order of preferences. This ranking will be used to define which workers you would want to recruit in the following of the game. Your chance to hire the participant is the highest for the participant you rank at the first position and the lowest for the participant you rank at the seventh position.

A screenshot of your decision screen is provided in the next page of these instructions.

Information regarding participant's group and participant's cost of effort will be displayed on the decision screen. Participants can be members of your own group, or members of the other group. To attribute a rank, you have to type the letter corresponding to the participant on the right panel of the screen. You cannot enter the same letter twice. The ranking must be complete. If you make any mistake in the ranking, you will be alerted and you will have to enter the ranking anew.

Once every participant has declared his/her preference ranking, the computer will assign roles according to the following rule:

- A first participant is randomly selected and is assigned the role of employer.
- The two participants at the top of the ranking of this employer will join his/her team, and be assigned the role of worker.
- A new participant, among the remaining ones, will be randomly selected and assigned the role of employer.
- The two participants at the top of the ranking of this employer (among remaining participants) will join his/her team, and assigned the role of worker.
- The two participants who have not been assigned the role of employer or worker will be unemployed for the rest of the experiment.



**Important:** If you are assigned the role of employer, your ranking will be used to match two workers in your team. You should therefore pay attention when declaring this ranking.

Lettre	Nom du groupe	Coût d'effort
A	Alpha	Elevé
B	Beta	Elevé
C (c'est vous)	Beta	Faible
D	Alpha	Faible
E	Beta	Elevé
F	Alpha	Faible
G	Beta	Faible
H	Alpha	Elevé

Votre classement

1 -

2 -

3 -

4 -

5 -

6 -

7 -

## Step 2

Step 2 begins when roles have been assigned to every participant in the room. Your role (employer, worker or unemployed) will determine the actions you can undertake in step 2. Here is a summary of the actions that will be undertaken (further detail are given in the following of the instructions).

- Employers will decide a wage (16 ECU or 32 ECU) to offer each worker with whom he/she is matched.
- Workers will decide on a level of effort (1, 2, 3 or 4). This level of effort affects both workers' and employer's earnings.
- Participants in the role of unemployed do not make any decision in this game.

### If you are an employer

You have been matched with two workers. You have to decide a wage to offer each of these workers. This wage can be 16 ECU or 32 ECU. The sum of the wages you assign will be withdrawn from your final profits.

When making this decision, you will not be informed of the exact identity of the workers you have been matched with. For that reason, you must assign wages for every possible situation. Your decisions will be made in a simple table. All lines correspond to a different situation, described in the first column. At every line, you must make two decisions: what wage to pay worker 1, and what wage to pay worker 2.

First, you must click on the button "choose", available at every line of the table (see screenshot below).

Veuillez choisir un niveau de salaire pour chacun de vos employés, dans chaque situation suivante :

Situation	Choix pour le salarié 1	Choix pour le salarié 2
Salarié 1 : Groupe Alpha et coût faible Salarié 2 : Groupe Alpha et coût faible	<input type="button" value="Choisir"/>	
Salarié 1 : Groupe Beta et coût faible Salarié 2 : Groupe Beta et coût faible	<input type="button" value="Choisir"/>	
Salarié 1 : Groupe Alpha et coût faible Salarié 2 : Groupe Beta et coût faible	<input type="button" value="Choisir"/>	
Salarié 1 : Groupe Alpha et coût élevé Salarié 2 : Groupe Alpha et coût élevé	<input type="button" value="Choisir"/>	
Salarié 1 : Groupe Beta et coût élevé Salarié 2 : Groupe Beta et coût élevé	<input type="button" value="Choisir"/>	
Salarié 1 : Groupe Alpha et coût élevé Salarié 2 : Groupe Egée et coût élevé	<input type="button" value="Choisir"/>	
Salarié 1 : Groupe Alpha et coût élevé Salarié 2 : Groupe Alpha et coût faible	<input type="button" value="Choisir"/>	
Salarié 1 : Groupe Beta et coût élevé Salarié 2 : Groupe Beta et coût faible	<input type="button" value="Choisir"/>	
Salarié 1 : Groupe Alpha et coût élevé Salarié 2 : Groupe Beta et coût faible	<input type="button" value="Choisir"/>	
Salarié 1 : Groupe Beta et coût élevé Salarié 2 : Groupe Alpha et coût faible	<input type="button" value="Choisir"/>	

A new screen will then pop up, describing in detail the situation considered (group and effort cost of both workers 1 and 2). On this screen, you will assign a wage for each of these workers. By clicking on OK, you will validate your choice and then be returned to the previous screen, which will now display the wage choices you have made for each situation. Please note that you can come back to your choice whenever you want.

Le salarié 1 fait partie du groupe Alpha. Il a un coût d'effort élevé.

Le salarié 2 fait partie du groupe Beta. Il a un coût d'effort faible.

Quel salaire souhaitez vous offrir au salarié 1?  16 UME  
 32 UME

Quel salaire souhaitez vous offrir au salarié 2?  16 UME  
 32 UME

Veuillez choisir un niveau de salaire pour chacun de vos employés, dans chaque situation suivante :

Situation	Choix pour le salarié 1	Choix pour le salarié 2
Salarié 1 : Groupe Alpha et coût faible Salarié 2 : Groupe Alpha et coût faible	<input type="button" value="Choisir"/>	
Salarié 1 : Groupe Beta et coût faible Salarié 2 : Groupe Beta et coût faible	<input type="button" value="Choisir"/>	
Salarié 1 : Groupe Alpha et coût faible Salarié 2 : Groupe Beta et coût faible	<input type="button" value="Choisir"/>	
Salarié 1 : Groupe Alpha et coût élevé Salarié 2 : Groupe Alpha et coût élevé	<input type="button" value="Choisir"/>	
Salarié 1 : Groupe Beta et coût élevé Salarié 2 : Groupe Beta et coût élevé	<input type="button" value="Choisir"/>	
Salarié 1 : Groupe Alpha et coût élevé Salarié 2 : Groupe Egée et coût élevé	<input type="button" value="Choisir"/>	
Salarié 1 : Groupe Alpha et coût élevé Salarié 2 : Groupe Alpha et coût faible	<input type="button" value="Choisir"/>	
Salarié 1 : Groupe Beta et coût élevé Salarié 2 : Groupe Beta et coût faible	<input type="button" value="Choisir"/>	
Salarié 1 : Groupe Alpha et coût élevé Salarié 2 : Groupe Beta et coût faible	32	16 <input type="button" value="x"/>
Salarié 1 : Groupe Beta et coût élevé Salarié 2 : Groupe Alpha et coût faible	<input type="button" value="Choisir"/>	

You must make a decision for every single line of the table. By clicking on the red button next to a line, you can modify your decision. Once all decisions are made, you can permanently validate your choices by clicking on the “end” button.

Following your decisions, both of your workers will decide on a level of effort to provide. You will earn 32 ECU for each unit of effort provided by you workers.

Your payoff for game 5 as an employer is defined as:

$$\text{earnings in game 5} = 32 \times (\text{effort from 1st worker}) + 32 \times (\text{effort from 2nd worker}) - (\text{wage assigned to worker 1}) - (\text{wage assigned to worker 2})$$

### **If you are a worker**

The employer you have been matched with has decided on a wage to offer you and the other worker in your team. As a worker, you will choose a level of effort (1, 2, 3 or 4) to provide. When making this decision, you are not yet informed of the specific wage offered by the employer. You are also not informed of the group to which your employer and your coworker belong. Therefore, you must make an effort decision for every possible situation. In total, you will have 16 decisions to make. The screen you face will be divided into two panels. The left panel describes all different situations in the event that your employer is from your own group. The right panel describes the exact same situation in the event your employer belongs to the other group. Each panel includes two lines. The first line corresponds to situations where your coworker belongs to one group. The second line corresponds to situations where your coworker belongs to another group. Finally, within each line, you have to make four decisions. These decisions correspond to the different payoff distributions that your employer could have chosen. This screen is displayed in the following screenshot.

Veuillez choisir un niveau d'effort entre 1 et 4 pour toutes les situations suivantes :

Votre employeur fait partie du groupe Alpha					Votre employeur fait partie du groupe Beta				
	Vous avez reçu 16 UME L'autre salarié a reçu 16 UME	Vous avez reçu 16 UME L'autre salarié a reçu 32 UME	Vous avez reçu 32 UME L'autre salarié a reçu 16 UME	Vous avez reçu 32 UME L'autre salarié a reçu 32 UME		Vous avez reçu 16 UME L'autre salarié a reçu 16 UME	Vous avez reçu 16 UME L'autre salarié a reçu 32 UME	Vous avez reçu 32 UME L'autre salarié a reçu 16 UME	Vous avez reçu 32 UME L'autre salarié a reçu 32 UME
L'autre salarié fait partie de Alpha	<input type="button" value="Choisir"/>	<input type="button" value="Choisir"/>	<input type="button" value="Choisir"/>	<input type="button" value="Choisir"/>	L'autre salarié fait partie de Alpha	<input type="button" value="Choisir"/>	<input type="button" value="Choisir"/>	<input type="button" value="Choisir"/>	<input type="button" value="Choisir"/>
L'autre salarié fait partie de Beta	<input type="button" value="Choisir"/>	<input type="button" value="Choisir"/>	<input type="button" value="Choisir"/>	<input type="button" value="Choisir"/>	L'autre salarié fait partie de Beta	<input type="button" value="Choisir"/>	<input type="button" value="Choisir"/>	<input type="button" value="Choisir"/>	<input type="button" value="Choisir"/>

To declare the effort that you want to provide in a particular situation, please click on the corresponding button “choose”. A pop-up screen will appear. This new screen will describe the situation in details, and will allow you to select a level of effort.

Votre employeur fait partie du groupe Alpha.

L'autre salarié fait partie du groupe Beta .

Vous avez reçu un salaire de 32 UME.

L'autre salarié a reçu un salaire de 32 UME.

Quel niveau d'effort souhaitez vous fournir?  1  
 2  
 3  
 4

You can confirm your choice by clicking on “validate”. Note that you will be able to modify your choice, as long as you have not yet made decisions for every situation.

Veuillez choisir un niveau d'effort entre 1 et 4 pour toutes les situations suivantes :

Votre employeur fait partie du groupe Alpha					Votre employeur fait partie du groupe Beta				
	Vous avez reçu 16 UME L'autre salarié a reçu 16 UME	Vous avez reçu 16 UME L'autre salarié a reçu 32 UME	Vous avez reçu 32 UME L'autre salarié a reçu 16 UME	Vous avez reçu 32 UME L'autre salarié a reçu 32 UME		Vous avez reçu 16 UME L'autre salarié a reçu 16 UME	Vous avez reçu 16 UME L'autre salarié a reçu 32 UME	Vous avez reçu 32 UME L'autre salarié a reçu 16 UME	Vous avez reçu 32 UME L'autre salarié a reçu 32 UME
L'autre salarié fait partie de Alpha	<input type="button" value="Choisir"/>	<input type="button" value="Choisir"/>	<input type="button" value="Choisir"/>	<input type="button" value="Choisir"/>	L'autre salarié fait partie de Alpha	<input type="button" value="Choisir"/>	<input type="button" value="Choisir"/>	<input type="button" value="Choisir"/>	<input type="button" value="Choisir"/>
L'autre salarié fait partie de Beta	<input type="button" value="Choisir"/>	<input type="button" value="Choisir"/>	<input type="button" value="Choisir"/>	3 <input type="button" value="x"/>	L'autre salarié fait partie de Beta	<input type="button" value="Choisir"/>	<input type="button" value="Choisir"/>	<input type="button" value="Choisir"/>	<input type="button" value="Choisir"/>

Each level of effort is associated with a cost. This cost will be withdrawn from your final earning in game 5. The cost of an effort choice depends on your characteristic: high cost of effort or low cost of effort.

If you have a **high cost of effort**, the cost you incur for each level of effort will be as follows :

Level of effort	1	2	3	4
Associated cost	0	5	10	15

If you have a **low cost of effort**, the cost you incur for each level of effort will be as follows :

Level of effort	1	2	3	4
Associated cost	0	3	6	9

Your payoff for game 5 as a worker is defined as:

$$\text{earnings in game 5} = (\text{wage received from employer}) - (\text{cost of the selected level of effort})$$

### **If you are unemployed**

You are unemployed, because you have not been selected by an employer in the first step of game 5. You earn a fixed amount of 5 ECU in this game.

### **Game 6**

Only the participants in the role of unemployed will take part in game 6. As an unemployed participant, you can decide whether you want to spend a part of the fixed remuneration of 5 ECU you have received in game 5 to reduce the earning of other participants. To make that decision, you will observe the earnings, the group, and the role (employer or worker) of all other participants who were not unemployed.

Five actions that you may choose from will be displayed on your decision screen. You may reduce the earnings of one participant that you target by 5 ECU. This action will cost you 1 ECU. You can also choose to reduce the earnings by 2 ECU of all participants who have the role of employer or workers. This action would cost you 1 ECU.

Please note that if you decide to reduce the earnings of all participants, you cannot additionally target a particular participant. However, if you decide not to reduce the amount of all other participants, you can choose several participants to target individually. Each action would cost you 1 ECU. The decision screen will appear as follows:

Joueur	Groupe	Type	Coût d'effort	Gain	Decision
A	Alpha	Employeur		96	<input type="checkbox"/> Réduire le gain de 5 UME (coût 1 UME)
B	Beta	Employeur		128	<input type="checkbox"/> Réduire le gain de 5 UME (coût 1 UME)
C	Alpha	Salarié	élevé	22	<input type="checkbox"/> Réduire le gain de 5 UME (coût 1 UME)
D	Beta	Salarié	faible	16	<input type="checkbox"/> Réduire le gain de 5 UME (coût 1 UME)
E	Alpha	Salarié	faible	27	<input type="checkbox"/> Réduire le gain de 5 UME (coût 1 UME)
F	Alpha	Salarié	élevé	27	<input type="checkbox"/> Réduire le gain de 5 UME (coût 1 UME)

Réduire le gain de tous les employeurs et les employés de 2 UME (coût 1 UME)

Please recall that all the actions you undertake are anonymous, and are your decisions only. You may choose to not reduce the earnings of any other participant if that is your choice.

The participants who have been in the role of employer or of worker in game 5 do not have any action to undertake in game 6.