

---

# Group identification and giving: in-group love, out-group hate and their crowding out

---

**Shaun P. Hargreaves Heap**  / Department of Political Economy, King's College London

**Eugenio Levi**  / Department of Public Economics, Masaryk University

**Abhijit Ramalingam**  / Department of Economics, Walker College of Business, Appalachian State University

# Group identification and giving: in-group love, out-group hate and their crowding out

---

## Abstract

Using a dictator game experiment, we examine whether the introduction of group identities affects giving. Group identities can activate feelings of in-group love and out-group hate to create an in-group bias. In addition, group identities may spawn social sanctions that are designed to reinforce this in-group bias. We find that the aggregate effect on giving of group identities alone tends to be positive but depends on the relative size of two sub-sets of the subject pool: those who exhibit an in-group bias and those who do not. With the latter, the introduction of group identities has no effect on giving. With the former, the in-group bias arises from both in-group love and out-group hate and with interactions skewed towards own group members, in-group love will dominate to produce an increase in gifts. Sanctions too depend for their aggregate effect on the relative size of these two sub-sets in the population, but in the opposite way. This is because in-group biased preferences are crowded-in by the sanctions among the hitherto equal givers and in-group biased preferences are crowded-out among those who would otherwise exhibit the in-group bias.

### Masaryk University

Faculty of Economics and Administration

### Authors:

**Shaun P. Hargreaves Heap** (ORCID: 0000-0001-9112-783X) / Department of Political Economy, King's College London

**Eugenio Levi** (ORCID: 0000-0002-8389-9570) / Department of Public Economics, Masaryk University

**Abhijit Ramalingam** (ORCID: 0000-0003-4301-4798) / Department of Economics, Walker College of Business, Appalachian State University

Contact: s.hargreavesheap@kcl.ac.uk, eugenio.levi@econ.muni.cz, ramalingama@appstate.edu

Creation date: 2021-03

Revision date: 2023-01

**Keywords:** dictator game, in-group love, out-group hate, crowding-out

JEL classification: C72, C91, D31, D63, D91, J70, Z18

### Citation:

Hargreaves Heap, S.P., Levi, E., Ramalingam, A. (2021). *Group identification and giving: in-group love, out-group hate and their crowding out*. MUNI ECON Working Paper n. 2021-07. Brno: Masaryk University. [https://doi.org/10.5817/WP\\_MUNI\\_ECON\\_2021-07](https://doi.org/10.5817/WP_MUNI_ECON_2021-07)

# **Group identification and giving: in-group love, out-group hate and their crowding out**

Shaun P. Hargreaves Heap <sup>a</sup>, Eugenio Levi <sup>b</sup>, Abhijit Ramalingam <sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Department of Political Economy, King's College London, The Strand, London WC2, UK, [s.hargreavesheap@kcl.ac.uk](mailto:s.hargreavesheap@kcl.ac.uk), Tel: +44-20-7848-1689

<sup>b</sup> Department of Public Economics, Masaryk University, Lipová 507/41a, Brno, 602 00, CZ, [eugenio.levi@econ.muni.cz](mailto:eugenio.levi@econ.muni.cz)

<sup>c</sup> Department of Economics, Walker College of Business, Appalachian State University, Peacock Hall, Boone, NC 28608, USA, [ramalingama@appstate.edu](mailto:ramalingama@appstate.edu), Tel: +1-828-262-2418

**February 2021**

## **Abstract**

Using a dictator game experiment, we examine whether the introduction of group identities affects giving. Group identities can activate feelings of in-group love and out-group hate to create an in-group bias. In addition, group identities may spawn social sanctions that are designed to reinforce this in-group bias. We find that the aggregate effect on giving of group identities alone tends to be positive but depends on the relative size of two sub-sets of the subject pool: those who exhibit an in-group bias and those who do not. With the latter, the introduction of group identities has no effect on giving. With the former, the in-group bias arises from both in-group love and out-group hate and with interactions skewed towards own group members, in-group love will dominate to produce an increase in gifts. Sanctions too depend for their aggregate effect on the relative size of these two sub-sets in the population, but in the opposite way. This is because in-group biased preferences are crowded-in by the sanctions among the hitherto equal givers and in-group biased preferences are crowded-out among those who would otherwise exhibit the in-group bias.

**JEL Codes:** C72, C91, D31, D63, D91, J70, Z18

**Keywords:** dictator game, in-group love, out-group hate, crowding-out

It is well known that there is an in-group bias in pro-sociality (e.g. see Chen and Li, 2009, and Hargreaves Heap and Zizzo, 2009, for experimental evidence): that is, people are typically more pro-social in their behaviour when interacting with a fellow group member than with someone from another group. In this paper we address the question of whether this bias can be exploited to encourage philanthropy by making the group identity of the recipient(s) perspicuous.

For this purpose, we examine how the introduction of group identities affects decisions in a dictator game. It is common in the literature on the in-group bias to distinguish between two possible sources of the bias: in-group love and/or out-group hate.<sup>1</sup> We define these terms relative to a Baseline level of giving where there are no groups. In-group love is revealed in our Group treatments when subjects give more to their fellow group members than in the Baseline and out-group hate is when subjects give less to someone from another group than in the Baseline. In this way, the effect of the introduction of group identities on giving in the aggregate will depend on whether in-group love or out-group hate predominates in the generation of the in-group bias when there are group identities.

The in-group bias has been studied before in dictator and dictator-like distribution decisions (e.g. see Abbink and Harris, 2019, Grimm et al., 2017, Mifune et al, 2010, Ben-Ner et al., 2009, Guth et al., 2009, and Bernhard et al, 2006), but to the best of our knowledge, none have used a Baseline to identify in-group love and/or out-group hate defined in this way so as to enable a comparison with what happens in the absence of group identities. A baseline comparison of this sort has been used in Trust and Public Goods games but the results tend to point in different directions as to whether in-group love or out-group hate predominates in the two games (see Balliet and Van Lange, 2014, and Balliet et al, 2014). Thus, there is no clear expectation from what happens in other decision problems as to whether in-group love or out-group hate will predominate in a dictator game when group identities are introduced. This is our first contribution.

Our second contribution comes from considering a further possible influence of group identities on donation decisions in the dictator game. The introduction of group identities may not only activate feelings of in-group love and/or out-group hate, group identities may also spawn social sanctions designed to reinforce the in-group bias among fellow group members. It is well known, for example, that subjects in experiments make use of the possibility of sanctioning others in support of a group norm in other settings (e.g. see Fehr and Gächter, 2002, Harris et al., 2015). We do not examine whether such sanctions will arise in support of an in-group bias norm, rather we

---

<sup>1</sup>The terms ‘positive’ and ‘negative’ discrimination are also sometimes used (see Hargreaves Heap and Zizzo, 2009).

are concerned with what the effect might be of such sanctions on behaviour should they arise. For this purpose, we introduce a fine on those who do not exhibit in-group biased behaviour in the dictator game in our Group-Fine treatment. *Ceteris paribus*, such sanctions will not impinge on those who already exhibit the in-group bias. But, there are usually a set of subjects who do not reveal the in-group bias (e.g. see Abbink and Harris, 2019) and so they may adjust their behaviour in response to the sanction. The effect of these sanctions on aggregate giving will then depend on how this hitherto set of non-in-group biased subjects adjust their giving to own and other group members relative to what they did before. This is an open question we address.

In addition, there is a possible further effect of the sanctions that needs to be examined (i.e. the *ceteris* may not be *paribus*): the possible crowding-out of the in-grouped biased social preferences. It is well known that the introduction of a material incentive towards some behaviour can crowd-out the motivating preference for that behaviour (see Bowles and Polania-Reyes, 2012, for a survey), so the question arises as to whether the same might occur here. For example, suppose those revealing the in-group bias do so because the motive of in-group love is activated when there are group identities and the introduction of the sanction crowds-out the social preference for in-group love, then this will tend to lower donations in the aggregate.

To the best of our knowledge, this particular variant of ‘crowding-out’ (of the social preference responsible for the in-group bias) has not been studied before in the literature. Since this type of crowding-out could arise in many settings and not just in the philanthropy one, this is a significant further contribution of the paper. For example, many so-called ‘nationalist’ policies, like the introduction of tariffs or special regulations governing the employment of foreign employees, in effect, impose a cost on the employment of foreign workers as compared with native ones. They are designed to reinforce an in-group bias in employment through a material incentive and the same question arises. Might such policies paradoxically have the effect of crowding-out the in-group biased social preferences that were in part responsible for the introduction of such policies in the first place? This question has not been asked and tested before; and this is the final contribution of our paper.<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>2</sup>There are two studies of a dictator-like decision where there are sanctions. Harris et al. (2015) study an allocation decision where the two recipients belong to the ‘allocator’s’ own group or to an out-group and in a second stage, individual ‘punishers’ who belonged to the allocator’s own or outgroup could assign sanctions to the allocator. Their decisions were one-shot. There is no before or after or cross treatment comparison and so it is not possible to identify cleanly the effect of the sanction in their setting. The same goes for Bernhard et al. (2006). They have one-shot dictator games with a third-party punisher that could belong to the same group as either the dictator, the recipient or of both. In that paper there is no treatment without punishment, therefore they are in no position to study the reaction to the sanctions.

Our subjects make dictator decisions in three phases in a control and two treatments. We have a baseline control where there is no group affiliation, and two group treatments where subjects are randomly assigned to either a Yellow or Green group. In the group treatments, each subject makes two dictator decisions in each phase: one where the co-player comes from own group and the other where the co-player belongs to the other group; and the group affiliations are common knowledge. In the Baseline and the first Group treatment, the dictator decision is the same in all three phases of the experiment. In the second Group-Fine treatment, the dictator decision is the same as the Baseline and other Group treatment in the first and third phase, but, in the second phase, there is a fine levied on any dictator that does not reveal an in-group bias in their decisions (i.e. a fine if they do not give more to a fellow group member than they give to someone from the other group). Thus, the between subject comparison of those in the Baseline and those in the first Group treatment in all phases enables us to test whether there is an in-group bias from identities through the in-group love/out-group hate mechanism and, if so, which predominates. The between subject comparison of the two group treatments in phase 2 and the within subject comparison between phase 1 and 2 in Group-Fine treatment enables us to identify the influence of social sanctions and whether there is ‘crowding-out’ of either the in-group love and/or out-group hate possible sources of the bias.

It will be noted that phase 3 plays no important role in these tests of the effects of group identification on giving in a dictator game. It is there as an additional specific contribution to the crowding-out literature. We included it in order to replicate the famous Gneezy and Rustichini (2000) field experiment that revealed crowding-out and that this crowding-out also persisted once the fine was removed. Our phase 3 between subject comparison in the two Group treatments tests for whether any crowding-out persists once the fine is removed.

We find that the aggregate effect on giving of group identities alone tends to be positive and depends on the relative size of two sub-sets or types within the subject pool: those who exhibit an in-group and those that treat own and other groups equally. With the latter, group identities have no effect on giving. With the former, the in-group bias arises from both in-group love and out-group hate. Therefore, with interactions skewed towards own group members (as would be suggested by the literature on homophily, e.g. see Pans and Vriend, 2007, and Currarini and Mengel, 2016), in-group love will dominate to produce an increase in gifts among this sub-set. The extent of the aggregate positive effect of group identities on giving will, therefore, depend on the relative size of the two sub-sets or types within a population. We also find that sanctions depend for their aggregate effect on the relative size of these two sub-sets in the population, but in the opposite way that tends

to offset any group influence in the aggregate. This is because in-group biased preferences are crowded-in by the sanctions among the hitherto equal givers and in-group biased preferences are crowded-out among those who would otherwise exhibit the in-group bias. These twin findings lead to the conclusion that the aggregate effect of group identities on giving depends critically on whether they spawn sanctions as well as activating in-group love and out-group hate. With both, the effects will likely be small on giving in the aggregate, if at all; but if group identities do not spawn social sanctions, the influence of making group identities salient alone will likely be to boost giving in the aggregate.

In the next section, we introduce formally how the ideas of in-group love and out-group hate could contribute to an in-group bias and we show how the overall effect of group identifications on gifts in a dictator game depends on whether in-group love or out-group hate predominantly explains the origin of the in-group bias. Within this framework, we also develop a simple test for the crowding-out hypothesis when sanctions in support of the in-group bias are introduced and suggest how such crowding-out might affect aggregate gifts. Section 2 explains the experimental design and Section 3 gives the results. Section 4 concludes.

## **1. Theory and hypotheses**

We begin in this section by introducing the ideas of in-group love and out-group hate. They are important in determining whether the introduction of group identities will boost giving. We illustrate this with a simple model of decision making in a dictator game and develop two hypotheses for testing the presence of in-group love and out-group hate. We then turn to the possible additional effect of social sanctions that may develop once there are group identities. Their effect on giving in the aggregate can be complicated by crowding-out and we show with this simple model how we can also test for the possible crowding-out of in-group biased preferences when such sanctions develop.

It is common in the literature on the in-group bias in pro-sociality to distinguish two possible causes of the bias (see, Brewer, 1999). One is in-group love. The idea here is that the introduction of group identities gives a source of connection between those who share membership of a group that does not exist when there are no group identities. Since it is also well known that people often act more pro-socially towards those they know or who they believe are similar to themselves (see e.g. Chen and Li, 2009), the introduction of group identities could boost pro-

sociality among those in the same group and so contribute to the observed in-group bias. The contrasting possible source of the bias is out-group hate. In this case, the idea is that group identities now give people a reason, perhaps based in an evolutionary history where groups have been in conflict over resources, not to like some people, those in the other group, which they do not have when there are no group identities. Of course, the two sources are not mutually exclusive and the in-group bias could arise from both. The point, however, for the purpose of this paper is that the two sources have opposite effects on pro-sociality in the aggregate: in-group love boosts pro-sociality among group members and out-group hate lowers pro-sociality in interactions between people from different groups relative to what would occur without group identities. Thus, whether the introduction of group identities boosts pro-sociality in the aggregate depends on which predominates.

To fix these ideas formally in the context of a philanthropic decision, and in a way that can be extended to possible crowding-out when there are social sanctions, consider a dictator game decision. An individual (the dictator) decides how to allocate a sum  $X$  between own pay-off ( $OP$ ) and their co-player's pay-off ( $CP$ ). We assume that the dictator values  $OP$  and possibly  $CP$ , as in (1).

$$U = f(OP, CP) \tag{1}$$

So, the individual maximises (1) subject to the constraint  $X = OP + CP$ . Since the relative 'price' of  $OP$  in terms of  $CP$  is 1 in this constraint, it follows that utility maximisation will be achieved when the ratio of marginal utilities from  $OP$  and  $CP$  is equal to this relative price of 1. The chosen allocation  $OP/CP$  is thus given by the elasticity of substitution between  $OP$  and  $CP$  in (1). The smaller the elasticity (i.e. the larger the % change in  $CP$  is required to compensate for a unit % change in  $OP$ ), the bigger is the share of  $OP$  relative to  $CP$ .

As an illustration consider a Cobb-Douglas utility function as in (1'), where 'a' and 'b' are the weights given respectively to each type of pay-off in the individual's utility function, and  $A$  is a constant. In effect, this follows the Charness and Rabin (2000) representation of preferences when they test for the character of social preferences revealed in dictator like decisions. They consider discrete choices between pairs of allocations and so can use a linear utility function in own and co-player pay-offs. As we have a range of options between 0% and 100% of  $X$ , this linearity would produce corner solutions and to avoid this we assume log-linear preferences.

$$U = A * OP^a * CP^b \tag{1'}$$

Maximising (1) subject to the constraint  $OP + CP = X$  yields the following:

$$OP = \frac{a * X}{(a+b)}$$

$$CP = \frac{b * X}{(a+b)} \quad (2)$$

We use the notation  $CP(B)$  = the gift to a co-player when there are no group identities and  $CP(own)$  and  $CP(other)$  respectively for the gifts to co-players from the dictator's own group and the other group when there are group identities.

*Definition:* In-group biased behaviour (IGB) arises when  $CP(own) > CP(other)$  and its extent is measured by  $CP(own) - CP(other)$ .

*Definition:* Group identification creates in-group love when  $CP(own) > CP(B)$  and its extent is measured by  $CP(own) - CP(B)$ .

*Definition:* Group identification creates out-group hate when  $CP(B) > CP(other)$  and its extent is measured by  $CP(B) - CP(other)$ .

In the Cobb-Douglas variant of the model above, the IGB arises when ' $b(own)$ ' > ' $b(other)$ ': that is, when the pay-offs to a co-player from the same group are valued more highly than those to a co-player from another group. We call this an in-group biased social preference (IGBSP) because the origin of IGB is in the dictator's utility function (i.e. the differences in ' $b(own)$ ' and ' $b(other)$ ' parameters). Likewise, in-group love and out-group hate arise from a group contingent feature of the dictator's social preferences: respectively ' $b(own)$ ' > ' $b(B)$ ' and ' $b(B)$ ' > ' $b(other)$ '.

The question we wish to address is whether making group identities salient boosts the dictator's gifts in the aggregate. It will boost aggregate gifts when the following holds, where  $z$  is the fraction of gifts made to own group members when there are group identities:

$$zCP(own) + (1-z)CP(other) > CP(B)$$

$$\Rightarrow z (CP(own) - C(B)) > (1-z)(CP(B) - CP(other)) \quad (3)$$

This is the precise sense in which in-group love ( $CP(own) - CP(B)$ ) must predominate over out-

group hate  $(CP(B) - CP(other))$  for group identification to boost aggregate gifts. It is worth noting that if either in-group love or out-group hate do not exist (i.e.  $CP(own) = CP(B)$  and/or  $(CP(B) = CP(other))$ ), then the effect of group identification can be determined independently of ‘z’. Likewise, it is worth noting that with homophily, in-group love will dominate in the aggregate even if there is no difference between the magnitude of in-group love and out-group hate. To see this, suppose the population is evenly divided between the two groups, then with randomly paired interactions  $z = 1/2$ . However, with homophily,  $z > 1/2$  and it is enough to know that in-group love is at least as big as out-group hate at the individual level to know that in-group love will dominate in the aggregate (i.e. the inequality in (3) will be satisfied). For these reasons, we test two hypotheses below on the creation of respectively in-group love and out-group hate. If we can reject either one, then we can sign the effect of group identification on aggregate giving. If we cannot reject either, it is still possible with homophily to sign the aggregate effect on giving provided in-group love is not less than out-group hate.

**H1** (in-group love creation):  $CP(own) > CP(B)$  (i.e. ‘ $b(own)$ ’ > ‘ $b(B)$ ’ in the Cobb-Douglas illustration).

**H2** (out-group hate creation):  $CP(B) > CP(other)$  (i.e. ‘ $b(B)$ ’ > ‘ $b(other)$ ’ in the Cobb-Douglas illustration).

To aid with the extension of this model to the case where any in-group bias is reinforced with a social sanction when there are group identities, we introduce the following definitions to allow for dictators who do not have IGBSP.

*Definition:* Equal treatment behaviour (EQB) arises when  $CP(own) = CP(other)$  and such dictators are said to have ‘equality biased social preferences’ (EQBSP) (i.e. ‘ $b(own)$ ’ = ‘ $b(other)$ ’)

*Definition:* Out-group biased behaviour (OGB) arises when  $CP(own) < CP(other)$  and such dictators are said to have ‘out-group biased social preferences’ (OGBSP), and its extent is measured by  $CP(own) - CP(other)$ .

We model a social sanction in support of IGB as a fine ( $F > 0$ ) levied on those who do not reveal IGB. The fine creates a new constraint for the maximisation problem, given by (4).

$$OP = X - CP \quad \text{if } CP(own) > CP(other)$$

$$(4) \quad OP = X - CP - F \quad \text{if } CP(own) \leq CP(other)$$

For dictators who have IGBSP and reveal IGB behaviour in the absence of the fine, this new constraint is not binding on the utility maximising decision. There is a change in material incentives but that change does not materially impinge on these dictators. Thus, we do not expect their behaviour to change (= H3a). The sanctions are directed at those who do not reveal IGB: i.e. those dictators who have EQBSP (and OGBSP) and who reveal EQB (OGB) in the absence of the sanctions. EQBSP dictators will either marginally adjust both  $CP(own)$  up and  $CP(other)$  down to create IGB and so avoid the fine (= H4a); or they will not adjust at all because the utility cost of these adjustments exceed that of the fine. Since an optimal adjustment by EQBSP dictators involves changing both  $CP(own)$  (up) and  $CP(other)$  (down), any change in aggregate giving will be of second order: the result of two opposing changes (= H5).

**H3a** (sanctions 1): IGBSP dictators' IGB ( $CP(own) - CP(other)$ ) is the same with a fine as without one.

**H4a:** (sanctions 2) Some EQBSP dictators may behave marginally differently with a fine:  $CP(own) > 0$  and  $CP(other) < 0$  compared with no fine with result that  $CP(own) - CP(other) = \epsilon$  with the fine.

**H5** (sanctions 3): Sanctions do not produce a significant change in aggregate gifts.

We break down the effect of sanctions in this way because there are a set of alternative hypotheses that come from the crowding-out literature. There is a large social psychology literature following Deci (1975) arguing that the 'intrinsic' reasons for taking an action can be crowded-out by the introduction of 'extrinsic' reasons to take that action. 'Intrinsic' reasons have often been taken in economics to mean having a preference for that action (or its outcome) and the 'extrinsic' reasons for action come from material incentives towards an action (e.g. see Frey, 1997). This literature predicts that the introduction of a material incentive towards a behaviour may so crowd-out the intrinsic reasons for the action that the material incentive has no or possibly the opposite effect on behaviour in the aggregate. Bowles and Polyania-Reyes (2012) provide a survey of experiments in economics that have tested for such crowding-out and although on balance these experiments find evidence of crowding-out, there are a minority of experiments that find the reverse: the reinforcement of the material incentive by a crowding-in of the social preferences that lead to the behaviour that has been encouraged by the material incentive. We can test for both

possibilities in the dictator game.

As we have seen, the IGBSP dictators have no material reason for changing their behaviour when there is a fine. So, if their behaviour changes with a fine, it provides a clean test of crowding-out/in: their behaviour can only change because their IGBSP have changed as a result of the fine. This leads to H3b.

**H3b** (crowding-out/in): Among IGBSP dictators,  $CP(own) - CP(other)$  is either lower/higher when there is a fine, depending on whether the introduction of a fine crowds-out/in IGBSP.

It is more difficult to detect a change in social preferences among the EQBSP dictators because the fine gives them a reason to change their behaviour. However, against H4a, if crowding-in IGBSP occurs among this group, then they will not simply adjust marginally to the fine and this yields an alternative hypothesis H4b.

**H4b** (crowding-in of IGBSP among the EQB dictators): Among EQBSP dictators who respond to the fine, the adjustments are non-marginal with the result that  $CP(own) - CP(other) > \epsilon$  with the fine.

The crowding-out/in hypotheses refer to changes in the IGB (i.e.  $CP(own) - CP(other)$ ). This leaves open whether, if there is crowding-out/in, it comes from a change in  $CP(own) \vee CP(other)$ . It is these changes that will determine whether in-group love and/or out-group hate change with the fine. In turn, as we have seen above, it is changes in in-group love/out-group hate that will impinge on aggregate giving. One might conjecture that the crowding-out/in, if it occurs, will operate on whichever motive is responsible for the in-group bias in the first place. Thus, suppose the in-group bias arose exclusively from in-group love and the in-group love motive was crowded-out with the fine among IGBSP dictators, then their in-group love would fall and so would giving in the aggregate. Although this is conjecture and depends on the supposition of in-group love as the motive behind the IGB, it will be apparent that in the presence of crowding-out/in sanctions may, unlike H5, produce significant changes in aggregate giving. The reverse prediction would have occurred if out-group hate was responsible for IGB and this was crowded-out by the fine: aggregate giving would increase with the fine. Thus, we do not make a precise alternative crowding-out/in hypothesis to H5 but note that crowding-out/in could alternatively predict significant changes to aggregate giving from the sanction.

## 2. Experimental design and procedures

At the beginning of the experiment, each subject received a separate one-time lump sum endowment of 50 tokens. These tokens could not be used in the experiment.

### 2.1 Dictator decisions

Subjects then made decisions in three Phases in each treatment. In each Phase, all subjects independently made decisions in a dictator game as dictators. Each subject decided how to split 80 tokens between him/herself and an anonymous subject in the study. Each subject had no say in the allocations decided by others and was not informed about them. Subjects were informed that at the end of the experiment they would be matched with a randomly chosen participant in the study, and that the allocation from either their own decision or that of the matched coparticipant would be implemented. Note that each subject made decisions as a dictator in each Phase. This payment procedure made it clear that there was an equal chance of being paid as a dictator or as a recipient in each Phase. Therefore, it made decisions incentive compatible, i.e., subjects had every incentive to take each decision seriously.<sup>3</sup>

The dominant strategy Nash equilibrium is for selfish dictators to allocate 0 tokens to recipients, and keep all 80 tokens for themselves. In the absence of distributional concerns, any allocation of tokens between the two is efficient.

### 2.2 Baseline and Treatments

As they entered the experiment, subjects were assigned to one of three treatments. Subjects made decisions in three Phases in each treatment. Treatments varied in whether or not subjects were assigned to groups, and whether dictators received incentives to favour members of their own group. In BASELINE, subjects were not assigned to any groups and did not receive any additional incentives. In each Phase, dictators made one allocation decision where the recipient was a randomly chosen participant in the same treatment. All three Phases were identical.

In Group, subjects were randomly assigned to either a **YELLOW** or a **GREEN** group, and informed of the group assignment at the beginning of Phase 1. The group assignment stayed the

---

<sup>3</sup>Prior to the main experiment, all subjects independently performed a real effort task for three minutes. The task involved converting a randomly generated three-letter “word” into a numeric string (Erkal et al., 2011). Subjects were paid 3 tokens for every correct code. They received no feedback until the end of the experiment. This task was completely independent of three Phases of the dictator game. The purpose of this task was to increase earnings and, thus, incentives to sign up for the experiment.

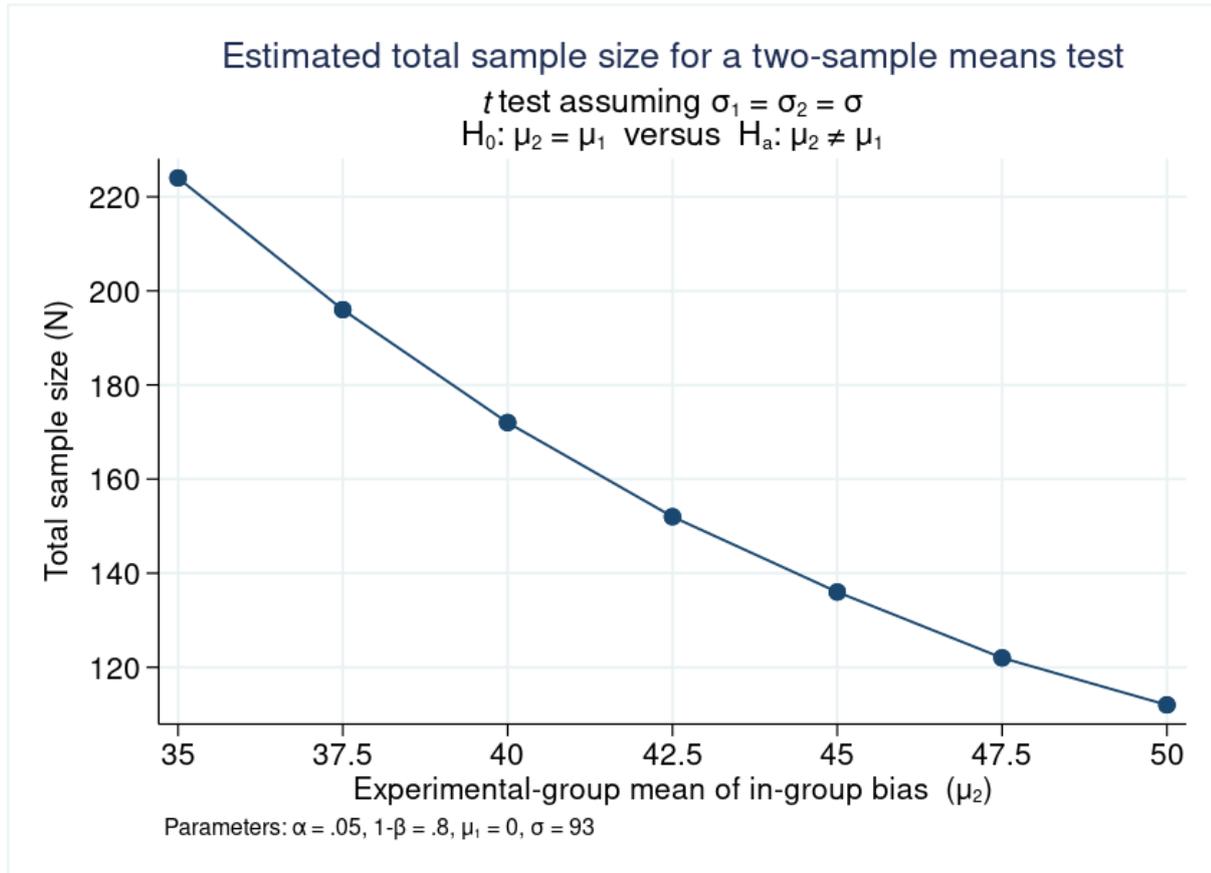
same in all three Phases. In each Phase, dictators made two allocation decisions: one where the recipient belonged to the same group, and one where the recipient belonged to the other group. All three Phases were identical.

In Group-Fine, subjects were once again randomly assigned to groups and made two decisions in each Phase as in Group. In Phase 1, the decisions and earnings calculations were identical to those in Group. Group-Fine differs in the earnings calculations for dictator decisions in Phase 2 alone: earnings in Phase 2 were subject to a possible adjustment. In particular, if a dictator's decision was chosen as the allocation relevant for earnings in Phase 2, then the dictator's earnings for the Phase were reduced by 10 tokens if he/she allocated strictly fewer tokens to the recipient from his/her own group than to a recipient from the other group. Equal allocations were also penalised. Thus, there was an incentive to favour, i.e., allocate more to, a recipient from the dictator's own group. If the matched coparticipant's decision was chosen for implementation, then the recipient's earnings were not adjusted. Phase 3, like Phase 1, was identical to those Phases in Group, and earnings in these Phases were calculated as before with no adjustments. Table 1 summarises our treatments.

### **2.3 Power calculations**

To decide how large a sample size we needed, we followed Czibor et al. (2019) and performed power calculations. More specifically, we decided to get a sample size large enough – 80% power and  $\alpha$  fixed at 5% – to minimize type II errors while detecting in-group bias in the dictator game. Based on the meta-analysis by Engel (2011) on dictator games, we know that the standard deviation in this type of decisions is on average 26% with an average donation of 28%. We rescale these numbers to measure the percentage increase in in-group donations with respect to the average, obtaining a standard deviation of 93. Figure 1 provides the desired sample sizes based on these parameters at each level of the expected size of the bias. Then, the treatment with minimal groups in Abbink and Harris (2019) provided us with the closest approximation to the size of IGB we can expect, as their version of the dictator game with group assignment is the closest to our implementation. Abbink and Harris find an in-group bias of approximately 47%: this would imply picking a sample size of 120 (60 for the Baseline and 60 for the Group treatment). Given that other experiments like Chen and Li (2009) find lower IGB (though their version of the dictator game is less similar to ours), we decided to increase the sample size up to approx. 70 subjects for each of the two treatments.

**Figure 1. Power Calculations**



**Table 1. Summary of treatments**

Treatment	Phase 1	Phase 2	Phase 3	# dictators
Baseline	DG	DG	DG	83
Group	DG with groups	DG with groups	DG with groups	71
Group-fine	DG with groups	DG with groups: 10t fine if $CP(\text{own}) \leq CP(\text{other})$	DG with groups	78

Treatments are between-subjects, so each subject participated in only one treatment. .

### 2.3 Procedures

The experiment was conducted over three sessions using the online platform Prolific.<sup>4</sup> Upon agreeing to participate in the study advertised on Prolific, subjects were directed to a website that hosted our experiment. Subjects first read a consent statement and, if they agreed, were then

<sup>4</sup>Demographic characteristics of subjects are presented in Appendix B of the Electronic Supplementary Material. We conducted multiple sessions to minimise the chances of server overload during a session and to avoid the whole session crashing. The first two sessions were conducted one after the other on the same day. We ran a third session where all subjects were assigned to the Baseline.

presented with instructions for the experiment (available in Appendix A in the Electronic Supplementary Material). Subjects were randomly assigned to one of the three treatments as they signed up to participate. Each subject participated in only one treatment, i.e., we implemented a between-subject design. They then completed the experiment on their own devices at their own pace.<sup>5</sup> The experiment was programmed in oTree (Chen et al., 2016).

Subjects received no feedback during the experiment. Subjects were paid a flat participation fee of USD 1.50 upon completion of the experiment. Within the next two days, they were paid their earnings from each Phase of the experiment. Token earnings were converted to cash at the rate of 200 tokens to USD 1. The average participant took about 12 minutes to complete the experiment and received an additional USD 1.10. The total average payment was USD 2.60, which translates to USD 13 as an hourly rate.

### 3. Results

#### 3.1 In-group love or out-group hate?

Table 2 gives the aggregate dictator allocation to their co-player in our Baseline where there are no group affiliations and in the two Group treatments for each of the 3 phases. We begin by noting that there is IGB in the aggregate in all three phases in the Group treatment:  $CP(own)$  is significantly greater than  $CP(other)$  (respectively in phase 1, 2 and 3, signrank  $p < 0.0001$ ,  $p < 0.0001$  and  $p = 0.0003$ ). Thus, the question as to whether the in-group bias can be exploited to boost aggregate giving is one that can be reasonably asked and evaluated with our experiment.

**Table 2. Mean dictator allocations**

	Obs.	Recipient's group					
		Phase 1		Phase 2		Phase 3	
		Own	Other	Own	Other	Own	Other
Baseline	83	30.18 (12.96)	28.83 (15.02)	31.75 (14.99)	28.45 (15.06)	33.39 (16.47)	29.23 (16.64)
Group	71	37.75 (15.30)	28.83 (15.02)	40.00 (15.17)	28.45 (15.06)	38.87 (17.51)	29.23 (16.64)
Group-Fine	78	34.62 (14.07)	29.94 (14.78)	37.26 (14.78)	29.69 (13.75)	37.08 (15.30)	28.17 (14.56)

Figures in parentheses are standard deviations. Dictators and recipients in the Baseline do not have a group identity. All participants have an endowment of 50 tokens each. The size of the pie the dictator splits is 80 tokens in all cases.

<sup>5</sup>There was a maximum time limit of 40 minutes after which subjects who had not yet completed the experiment were automatically ejected from the study by Prolific, and no data from them were recorded.

To assess whether group identities activate either in-group love/out-group hate we compare the Baseline with the Group treatment. The aggregate comparison points to both since  $CP(own) > CP(B)$  and  $CP(other) < CP(B)$ , but only the former is statistically significant. In phase 1, 2 and 3  $CP(own)$  is significantly higher than  $CP(B)$  (ranksum  $p = 0.0022$ ,  $p = 0.0012$  and  $p = 0.0415$ ), but  $CP(other)$  is not significantly lower than  $CP(B)$  (ranksum  $p = 0.4688$ ,  $p = 0.1691$  and  $p = 0.1391$  respectively in phases 1,2 and 3).

**Result 1 (in favour of H1):** There is statistically significant evidence in the aggregate of in-group love (i.e. we cannot reject  $CP(own) > CP(B)$ ).

**Result 2 (reject H2):** There is no statistically significant evidence in the aggregate of out-group hate (i.e. we reject  $CP(B) > CP(other)$ ).

Results 1 and 2 refer to the aggregate evidence and they suggest that the introduction of group identities in our experiment should boost aggregate gifts. It does: the average of  $CP(own)$  and  $CP(other)$  is greater than  $CP(B)$  in all three phases. However, the differences are not statistically significant (ranksum  $p = 0.1875$ ,  $p = 0.3294$  and  $p = 0.5383$  in the 3 phases respectively). This is perhaps a little surprising given Results 1 and 2, but once we disaggregate between different types in our subject population so as to understand the component influences on the aggregate results, it becomes clear why this might be the case and is the basis for a stronger conclusion regarding the effect of group identities alone on aggregate giving.

In our Group treatment, about half our subjects (32 out of 71) reveal IGBSP by giving more to their own group than to someone from the other in phase 1 (i.e. IGB behaviour). The other half are mainly EQB (35), with just a few OGB subjects (4). In Table 3 we focus on those with IGB behaviour in phase 1 (i.e. those with IGBSP).

There is evidence of in-group love for these IGBSP subjects in Group (ranksum  $p < 0.00001$ ) (and likewise for Group-fine, ranksum  $p = 0.0259$ ). However, we also find out-group hate for these subjects (Group: ranksum  $p = 0.0011$ ; Group-fine: ranksum  $p < 0.00001$ ); and we cannot reject the hypothesis that they are the same (ranksum with the average in the Baseline as benchmark:  $p = 0.1862$ ). As a result, the overall effect on this sub-set's giving from the introduction of group identities will depend on whether their interactions are skewed towards own or other group members: i.e. whether there is homophily. Since there is a large literature on homophily suggesting its prevalence, it is reasonable to conclude that the introduction of group identities for this sub-set of subjects will boost their gifts overall. Of course, in our experiment, there was no homophily by

construction and so we would not expect such a dominance; and indeed, although overall gifts in Group by this sub-set were higher, they were not significantly different from those found in the Baseline (ranksum tests: phase 1,  $p = 0.5455$ ; phase 2,  $p = 0.6201$ ; and phase 3,  $p = 0.6441$ ).

**Table 3. Mean dictator allocations for subjects with IGB behaviour in phase 1**

	Obs.	Phase 1		Phase 2		Phase 3	
		Own	Other	Own	Other	Own	Other
<hr/>							
IGBSP							
BASELINE	83	30.18 (12.96)		31.75 (14.99)		33.40 (16.47)	
Group	32	43.91 (16.3)	21.62 (12.22)	46.41 (15.77)	21.88 (13.84)	43.59 (20.21)	25.62 (19.12)
Group-Fine	24	38.12 (15.24)	16.67 (10.39)	36.54 (16.47)	21.17 (13.26)	35.21 (16.97)	17.92 (12.76)

Figures in parentheses are standard deviations.

Table 4 focuses on the other major sub-set of subjects: those with EQB behaviour in phase 1 who reveal EQBSP. Their giving behaviour in Group is indistinguishable from the Baseline (ranksum  $p = 0.2407$ ) (and so is that in Group-fine: ranksum  $p = 0.1098$ ). So, this sub-set of subjects has no effect on aggregate giving through the introduction of group identities. Thus, once we disaggregate in our experiment, and given the absence of homophily by construction and the fact that the two sub-sets of subjects were roughly evenly balanced, we should not expect any notable aggregate effect on donations from the two major sub-sets of subjects and this is what we found.<sup>6</sup> However, what the disaggregation also reveals is a much clearer conclusion on what influences the effect of group identities on aggregate giving. We state this as Conclusion 1.

**Conclusion 1** (on group identities alone and gifts): The introduction of group identities will boost aggregate giving as a) homophily increases and b) the relative number of IGBSP subjects in the population increases and EQBSP subjects declines.

---

<sup>6</sup>It is perhaps also worth remarking that the reason in-group love is revealed in the aggregate when out-group hates is not is for two reasons. First, it is actually larger for the IGB sub-set, Second, although EQBSP and OGBSP sub-sets of subjects tend to offset both the in-group love and out-group hate of the IGBSP ones, OGBSP subjects have a particularly strong effect countering out-group hate in the aggregate because, although only 4 in number in our experiment, their average out-group love is large: 22 tokens above the average donation of 30 in the Baseline.

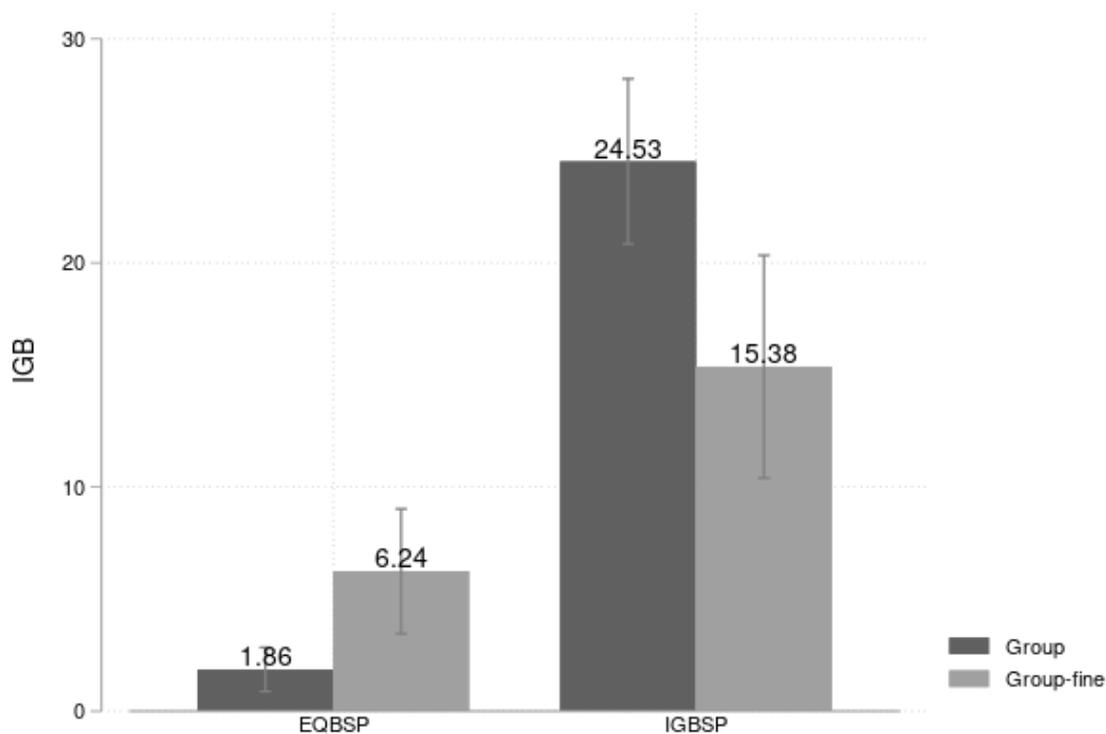
**Table 4. Mean dictator allocations for subjects with EQB behaviour in phase 1**

EQBSP	Obs.	Phase 1		Phase 2		Phase 3	
		Own	Other	Own	Other	Own	Other
BASELINE	83	30.18 (12.96)		31.75 (14.99)		33.40 (16.47)	
Group	35	32.71 (12.68)	32.71 (12.68)	34.14 (12.69)	32.29 (12.03)	34 (14.34)	30.57 (11.93)
Group-Fine	45	35.44 (13.00)	35.44 (13.00)	39.87 (13.44)	33.62 (12.90)	38.36 (13.46)	34.18 (12.68)

Figures in parentheses are standard deviations.

### 3.2 Crowding-out of IGBSP?

**Figure 2. IGB in phase 2 by treatment and by behaviour in phase 1**



We turn now to H3 on the effect of sanctions for IGBSP subjects. Building on the numbers in Table 2, Figure 2 depicts the level of IGB in phase 2 by treatment for IGBSP and EQBSP subjects separately. We compare the behaviour of the IGBSP subjects in Figure 2 in Group with those in Group-Fine. Their IGB behaviour ( $CP(own) - CP(other)$ ) falls significantly with the sanction: IGB in Group-fine in Phase 2 is significantly lower than in Group (ranksum  $p = 0.0351$ )

while in Phase 1 it was not (ranksum  $p = 0.7758$ ). We place more weight on this between subject comparison because there is some evidence of learning, or perhaps regression to the mean, effects across the three phases. Nevertheless, a within subject test for Group-fine subjects between phase 1 and phase 2 also points to crowding-out of IGBSP with the fine: the change in IGB between phase 1 and 2 is significant and negative in Group-Fine, although only weakly so (signrank  $p = 0.0955$ ). So, both the between subject and within subject aggregate test point to a change in behaviour by the IGBSP subjects and this could only arise because IGBSP preferences for this sub-set of subjects weakened (i.e. they were crowded-out by the fine). This conclusion is reinforced by the individual level regression in Table 5 on the change in IGB between phase 1 and 2 in both the Baseline and Group treatment. We identify the possible differentiated impact of the fine on the IGBSP subjects by introducing in column (2) the whole set of interactions between treatment dummies and behaviour in phase 1. Only the coefficient on the interaction between IGBSP and Group-fine is significant and negative. Column (3) further supports this conclusion because the coefficient is unchanged when introducing individual characteristics as additional controls. Result 3a follows.

**Table 5. OLS regression on change in in-group bias between phase 1 and 2**

	Change in IGB		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Group-Fine	0.251 (2.449)	4.387 (3.308)	4.45 (3.704)
IGBSP	-	0.393 (3.589)	-1.999 (4.052)
Group-Fine × IGBSP	-	-12.72** (5.162)	-13.56** (5.792)
OGBSP	-	10.64 (7.746)	12.87 (8.532)
Group-Fine × OGBSP	-	-6.887 (9.419)	-9.216 (10.44)
Constant	2.634 (1.808)	1.857 (2.481)	-7.962 (16.21)
Individual controls	NO	NO	YES
Obs.	149	149	149

Standard errors in parentheses. \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*  $p < 0.10$

Individual controls include: gender, age, education level, employment status, political beliefs, economic beliefs, performance in the previous real

effort task, and the number of experiments in which one has already participated.

**Result 3a (in favour of H3b and against H3a):** IGBSP dictators have significantly smaller IGB ( $CP(own) - CP(other)$ ) with the fine than without one.

There is evidence that the crowding-out occurs both with respect to in-group love and out-group hate, but the former is stronger because it comes from the between subject comparisons. To see this, we compare the respective Group treatments with the Baseline (i.e.  $CP(own) - CP(B)$  and  $CP(B) - CP(other)$ ). In-group love in Group-Fine in phase 2 is weakened: the difference with the Baseline is not significant anymore (ranksum  $p = 0.3475$ ) in phase 2 while it still is for Group (ranksum  $p < 0.00001$ ). Furthermore, in Phase 2  $CP(own)$  in Group is significantly higher than in Group-Fine (ranksum  $p = 0.0132$ ). There is no similar change in  $CP(other)$ : donations in the Baseline are still significantly higher than donations to other group in Group-Fine too (ranksum  $p = 0.0010$ ) and there is no difference between Group and Group-Fine (ranksum  $p = 0.7597$ ). The only evidence in favour of out-group hate being crowded-out comes from the aggregate within subject comparison of  $CP(other)$  in phase 1 with that in phase 2 in Group-Fine: it is significantly lower (signrank  $p = 0.0411$ ). When we run individual level regressions in Table 6 on  $CP(own)$  and  $CP(other)$  group donations in phase 2, using the same set of interactions as in Table 5 and phase 1 donations as an additional control, we find that the interaction between Group-Fine and IGBSP is significant and negative only in the  $CP(own)$  equation and not the  $CP(other)$  equation. Result 3b follows.

**Table 6. OLS regressions on  $CP(own)$  and  $CP(other)$  in phase 2**

	(1) CP(own)	(2) CP(own)	(3) CP(other)	(4) CP(other)
CP(own) in phase 1	0.731*** (.052)	0.734*** (.057)	-	-
CP(other) in phase 1	-	-	0.746*** (0.054)	0.736*** (0.057)
Group	10.639* (6.078)	9.684 (6.4)	-3.034 (5.786)	-4.335 (6.071)
Group-Fine	14.367** (7.028)	14.315* (7.391)	-3.734 (6.692)	-4.481 (7.013)

IGBSP	4.081 (2.668)	3.656 (2.835)	-2.139 (2.551)	-1.643 (2.714)
Group-Fine × IGBSP	-9.366** (3.769)	-10.24** (4.005)	3.69 (3.591)	3.485 (3.808)
OGBSP	6.014 (5.616)	5.059 (5.855)	0.456 (5.457)	-1.291 (5.678)
Group-Fine × OGBSP	-9.291 (6.869)	-7.008 (7.194)	-3.041 (6.576)	-0.862 (6.877)
Constant	-0.412 (6.867)	6.853 (13.108)	10.919* (6.577)	27.957** (12.467)
Individual Controls	NO	YES	NO	YES
Obs.	232	232	232	232

Standard errors in parentheses. \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*  $p < 0.10$

Individual controls include: gender, age, education level, employment status, political beliefs, economic beliefs, performance in the previous real effort task, and the number of experiments in which one has already participated.

**Result 3b (on source of crowding-out):** The crowding-out of IGBSP among this sub-set of subjects occurs primarily because in-group love falls with the fine.

### 3.3 Crowding-in of IGBSP?

Turning to H4, we compare the EQBSP subjects as a whole in Group and Group-Fine in phase 2 (see Figure 2). Their IGB behaviour ( $CP(own) - CP(other)$ ) increases significantly with the sanction: IGB in phase 2 is significantly higher in Group-Fine than in Group (ranksum  $p = 0.0448$ ). Looking at the within-subject aggregate changes between phase 1 and phase 2 for the EQBSP subjects, they too are significantly positive for Group-fine (signrank  $p = 0.0014$ ) but also weakly so for Group (signrank  $p = 0.0625$ ); and the same pattern is found in the individual level regressions. The fact that the IGB of EQBSP subjects in Group also seems to increase suggests we are right to be guided by the cleaner between-subjects tests in our results because the within subject comparisons seem to be affected by some kind of learning or reversion to the mean effect as well. When we focus on the EQBSP subjects in Group-fine who do adjust to the fine (about half do not), these subjects move to an IGB of 17.30 in phase 2 in Group-Fine. This is not a marginal change to avoid the fine: we can reject the hypothesis that  $IGB = 1$  (i.e. a marginal adjustment) in phase 2 (signrank  $p < 0.00001$ ). Furthermore, when we compare the IGB of these hitherto EQBSP subjects

in phase 2 (= 17.30) with IGB of those who reveal IGBSP in phase 1 in the Group treatment (= 21.92), the difference is not significant at 5% or below (ranksum  $p = 0.0916$ ). In short, this is not an  $\epsilon$  change to evade the fine. It points to crowding-in of IGBSP among those with the hitherto EQBSP who change behaviour as a result of the fine. Result 4a follows.

**Result 4a (against H4a and in support of crowding-in in H4b):** the EQBSP sub-set of dictators as a whole adjust non-marginally as  $CP(own)$  is significantly greater than  $CP(other)$  with the fine than without one; among those EQBSP dictators that adjust the fine, their IGB in phase 2 is not readily distinguishable from the IGBSP sub-set of dictators in Group in phase 2.

There is evidence that this crowding-in of IGBSP occurs because in-group love rises with the fine: in-group love ( $CP(own) - CP(B)$ ) in phase 2 is higher in Group-fine with respect to the baseline ( $p = 0.0071$ ) while it is not for Group ( $p = 0.3130$ ). There are no such differences in out-group hate  $CP(B) - CP(other)$  in phase 2: Group-fine v Baseline ( $p = 0.8715$ ); and there is no difference between out-group hate between Group and Group-fine ( $p = 0.7724$ ). The within-subject difference in Group-fine between phase 1 and phase 2 of  $CP(own)$  is strongly significant ( $p = 0.0050$ ) while the difference in  $CP(other)$  is not ( $p = 0.4130$ ). The usual caveat applies to these within subject comparisons. Nevertheless, the individual regressions tell a similar story: the Wald test on the difference between the Group and Group-fine coefficients based on columns (2) and (4) of Table 6 gives a weak significant difference for own group donations ( $p = 0.0718$ ) while it does not for out-group ones ( $p = 0.9524$ ). Result 4b follows.

**Result 4b (on origins of crowding-in):** The crowding-in of IGBSP among the sub-set of subjects who initially reveal EQBSP occurs because in-group love rises with the fine.

Results 3a and 4a yield a similar conclusion regarding the effect of sanctions on aggregate gifts as Conclusion 1 on the effect of group identities alone: i.e. the relative size of the two sub-sets of subjects is the key influence on aggregate gifts. This is because IGBSP subjects have group-love crowded-out by the sanction and those EQBSP subjects who respond to the fine have group-love crowded-in by the fine. The only difference is that in this instance the relative sizes work in the opposite direction. Conclusion 2 follows.

**Conclusion 2 (on sanctions and gifts):** sanctions will lower gifts in the aggregate as the

relative size of IGBSP subjects increases in the population and the EQBSP subjects who adjust decreases.

Finally, we consider how many of these crowding-out/in results persist in phase 3. Result 3a does not persist in phase 3: IGB in Group and Group-fine are not statistically different for the IGBSP sub-set of subjects ( $p = 0.9045$ ). Result 4a, does not persist for EQBSP dictators when we compare the IGB in Group with IGB in Group-fine in phase 3 ( $p = 0.5450$ ). But the within subject comparison of Group-fine EQBSP subjects does reveal that IGB in phase 3 remains significantly higher than that in phase 1: a sign rank test on IGB for these subjects between phase 1 and 3 reveals that the difference is significantly positive ( $p = 0.0161$ ). Again, we regard the between subject comparison as the cleaner test because, as the changes for EQBSP subjects in their IGB across the three phases in Group reveals, aggregate subject behaviour is not constant over the three phases.

#### **4. Discussion and conclusion**

Reassuringly, our experiment yields a similar magnitude for the in-group bias as has been found before in dictator games (see the discussion of the power calculation in 2.2). Our experiment also seems reassuringly consistent in identifying the key role played by in-group love in determining how group identities affect aggregate giving. This is apparent in the aggregate in Result 1; and this is also what emerges when we disaggregate because it is the dominance of in-group love over out-group hate when there is homophily among the IGBSP sub-set of subjects that produces the likely increase in aggregate giving when there are group identities without sanction. In addition, in the sanction results, sanctions crowd-out and crowd-in, respectively among the IGBSP and EQBSP subjects, in-group love (Result 3b and Result 4b). In short, the mechanism through which group identification and its possible reinforcement through social sanctions affect gifts in the aggregate is in-group love.

The results also point to one key determinant of how group identities and group sanctions affect giving in the aggregate: the relative size of IGBSP subjects as compared with EQBSP ones (Conclusion 1 and Conclusion 2). Crucially, though, the influence of this population composition variable works in opposite directions on in-group love in the aggregate when there are sanctions and hence on gifts in the aggregate. This, in turn, leads to our final conclusion.

In so far as group identification only activates feelings of in-group love and out-group hate,

then, with homophily, group identities will boost giving in the aggregate and this boost grows with the relative size of IGBSP subjects. However, if group identification also spawns social sanctions in support of an in-group bias, then the effect on gifts in the aggregate depends on two opposing forces and becomes unclear. This is because as the relative size of IGBSP increases, then, with homophily, in-group love increasingly dominates over the motive of out-group hate in the aggregate, but as the relative size of IGBSP grows, so does the dominance in the aggregate of the crowding-out of IGBSP over its crowding-in when there are sanctions. In other words, as the IGBSP number increases, in-group love becomes more important than out-group hate in the aggregate, but in the presence of sanctions, the intensity of the in-group love, so to speak, also progressively wanes, leaving the overall effect uncertain.

This conclusion summarises our main contribution: group identities by themselves will boost aggregate gifts, but social sanctions undermine this result. This last qualification regarding the influence of sanctions points to our other contribution.

We have identified for the first time the crowding-out and crowding-in of in-group biased social preferences through the introduction of material incentives designed to encourage in-group biased behaviour. Our test for such crowding-out/in follows closely the classic Gneezy and Rustichini (2000) experiment and while our specific social preference has a different character to that which their experiment tested, we find similarly that there is crowding-out of a social preference. However, our design is such that we can also test for crowding-in and we find evidence of this among some of our subjects too. The other respect in which our results differ from those of Gneezy and Rustichini (2000) is that we find no evidence that the crowding-out/in of our in-group biased social preference persists once the fine is withdrawn.

These crowding-out/in results are important independently of the particular way that they enter into the analysis of how making group identities salient affects aggregate philanthropy. This is because governments frequently introduce policies that are designed to reinforce in-group biases. Of course, they also introduce policies that are designed to do the reverse: i.e. promote equal treatment. The point is our new results on crowding-out/in suggest that such policies may have unintended and paradoxical consequences that have not been recognised before in the literature.

## Acknowledgements

The authors thank participants at the ESA Global Online Meetings in 2020 and at a seminar at the Prague University of Economics and Business for helpful comments and suggestions. Funding from Appalachian State University and King's College London is gratefully acknowledged. Eugenio Levi's researches are funded with an MSCA fellowship from the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports of the Czech Republic. The study was exempted from review by the IRB at Appalachian State University: Study # 20-0260.

## References

- Abbink, Klaus, and Donna Harris (2019) "In-group favouritism and out-group discrimination in naturally occurring groups", *PLoS One*, 14(9), e0221616.
- Baillet, David and Paul Van Lange (2014) "Trust, conflict and cooperation: a meta-analysis", *Psychological Bulletin*, 139(50), 1090-1112.
- Bailliet, David, Carsten De Dreu and Junhui Wu (2014) "Ingroup favoritism in cooperation: a meta-analysis", *Psychological Bulletin*, 140(6), 1556–1581.
- Ben-Ner, Avner, Brian P. McCall, Massoud Stephane, and Hua Wang (2009) "Identity and in-group/out-group differentiation in work and giving behaviors: Experimental evidence." *Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization*, 72(1), 153-170.
- Bernhard, Helen, Urs Fischbacher, and Ernst Fehr (2006) "Parochial altruism in humans" *Nature*, 442 (7105), 912-915.
- Bowles, Samuel, and Sandra Polania-Reyes (2012) "Economic Incentives and Social Preferences: Substitutes or Complements?", *Journal of Economic Literature*, 50(2), 368-425.
- Brewer, Marilyn B. (1999) "The psychology of prejudice: Ingroup love and outgroup hate?" *Journal of social issues*, 55(3), 429-444.
- Chen, Yan, and Sherry Xin Li (2009) "Group Identity and Social Preferences", *American Economic Review*, 99(1), 431-57.
- Chen, Daniel L., Martin Schonger, and Chris Wickens (2016) "oTree – An open-source platform for laboratory, online, and field experiments", *Journal of Behavioral and Experimental Finance*, 9, 88-97.
- Currarini, Sergio, and Friederike Mengel (2016) "Identity, homophily and in-group bias" *European Economic Review*, 90, 40-55.
- Czibor, Eszter, David Jimenez-Gomez, and John A. List (2019) "The dozen things experimental

economists should do (more of)” *Southern Economic Journal*, 86(2), 371-432.

Deci, Edward L. (1975) *Intrinsic Motivation*, Plenum Press: New York.

Erkal, Nisvan, Lata Gangadharan, and Nikos Nikiforakis (2011) “Relative Earnings and Giving in a Real-Effort Experiment”, *American Economic Review*, 101(7), 3330-48.

Fehr, Ernst, and Simon Gächter (2002) “Altruistic punishment in humans” *Nature*, 415 (6868), 137-140.

Frey, Bruno (1997) *Not Just for the Money: an economic theory of personal motivation*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.

Gneezy, Uri, and Aldo Rustichini (2000) “A Fine is a Price”, *Journal of Legal Studies*, 29(1), 1-17.

Grimm, Veronika, Verena Utikal, and Lorenzo Valmasoni (2017) “In-group favoritism and discrimination among multiple out-groups”, *Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization*, 143, 254-271.

Güth, Werner, Matteo Ploner, and Tobias Regner (2009) “Determinants of in-group bias: Is group affiliation mediated by guilt-aversion?” *Journal of Economic Psychology*, 30 (5), 814-827.

Hargreaves Heap, Shaun P., and Daniel John Zizzo (2009) “The Value of Groups”, *American Economic Review*, 99(1), 295-323.

Hargreaves Heap, Shaun P., Jonathan HW Tan, and Daniel John Zizzo (2013) “Trust, inequality and the market”, *Theory and Decision*, 74(3), 311-333.

Harris, Donna, Benedikt Herrmann, Andreas Kontoleon, and Jonathan Newton (2015) “Is it a norm to favour your own group?”, *Experimental Economics*, 18(3), 491-521.

Mifune, Nobuhiro, Hirofumi Hashimoto, and Toshio Yamagishi (2010) “Altruism toward in-group members as a reputation mechanism”, *Evolution and Human Behavior*, 31(2), 109-117.

Pancs, Romans, and Nicolaas J. Vriend (2007) “Schelling's spatial proximity model of segregation revisited” *Journal of Public Economics*, 91(1-2), 1-24.

## Appendix A. Experimental instructions

### WELCOME TO THE EXPERIMENT

You are now taking part in an experiment in decision making. Your earnings depend on your decisions and/or the decisions of other participants.

It is therefore important that you read the following instructions carefully. During the experiment, you can earn through your decisions several bonus payments in tokens. Tokens will be converted to cash using the following exchange rate:

**200 tokens = \$1**

All payments will be made privately at the end of the entire experiment. The experiment is divided into two parts. Here, we explain the first part of the experiment. Once the first part is finished, you will receive information about the second part of the experiment.

### INSTRUCTIONS FOR PART 1

In the first part, all participants will perform an encoding task for 3 minutes. The task is the same for everyone. You will be presented with a set of three letters that form “words” with no specific meaning and your task will be to encode these letters by substituting them with numbers using the Table located permanently at the top of your computer screen: see below for an example.

Example: Suppose you are given the word LFA. The Table shows that L=9, F=3, and A=10. Therefore, you have to enter the number 9310 and click the "GO" button.

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X	Y	Z
10	15	21	20	28	3	19	16	17	4	5	9	24	26	18	27	23	2	12	30	11	7	6	25	29	14

Once you submit a code, the computer will prompt you with another word to encode. Once you encode that word, you will be given another word and so on. **This process will continue for 3 minutes.** At the end of Part 2, you will see how many words you have encoded correctly. You will NOT be informed of the number of words coded by other participants **You will be paid a bonus of 3 tokens for each word coded correctly by you.** You will be paid this Part 1 bonus at the end of the experiment.

In addition, you will receive an endowment of tokens in Part 2 of the experiment. This endowment will be part of the bonus payments of Part 2.

### EFFORT TASK FOR 3 MINUTES

### ENDOWMENT SCREEN

Your endowment will be 50 tokens in Part 2. Your endowment is yours to keep and will be paid to you as a bonus.

### INSTRUCTIONS FOR PART 2

<NOT IN BASELINE> Group Assignment: At the beginning of Part 2, all participants will be assigned to either a **YELLOW** group or to a **GREEN** group. This group assignment is completely random.

There are three Phases in Part 2. You will receive information on each Phase at the beginning of that Phase.

## PHASE 1 INSTRUCTIONS

### Phase 1: decisions

<BASELINE> You make 1 allocation decision. This decision concerns 80 tokens: you are randomly paired with another participant and you decide how many of the 80 tokens to allocate to this coparticipant. The residual goes to you.

<ALL OTHER TREATMENTS> You make 2 allocation decisions. Each decision concerns 80 tokens: you are randomly paired with another participant and you decide how many of the 80 tokens to allocate to this coparticipant. The residual goes to you. You make 2 such decisions: one for each of the two possible types of participant you might be paired with. There are 2 possible types of paired participant because they could belong to **YELLOW** or **GREEN** group.

**All participants face the same decision tasks.**

### Phase 1: bonus payment

After you have made these decisions, your bonus payment is determined as follows.

1. You are randomly paired with another participant.

<NOT IN BASELINE> This determines the group identity of your co-player. One of your 2 decisions concerns a coplayer with this identity: call this decision YOURS. Likewise, one of your coplayer's decisions concerns how to allocate this sum when paired with someone of your identity and endowment: call this decision COPLAYER's.

2. Either YOURS or COPLAYER's allocation decision is randomly chosen for implementation.

If YOURS is chosen, you will receive as a bonus the number of tokens you allocated to yourself in this decision. If COPLAYER's is chosen, you will receive as a bonus the number of tokens they allocated to the other participant in this decision. Both you and the other participant have an equal (50%) chance of being chosen.

## CONTROL QUESTION

### EXAMPLE OF EARNINGS CALCULATION

Please answer the following question about earnings calculations.

There are 80 tokens to be allocated between you and another participant. You decide to allocate 30 tokens to the other participant.

Suppose YOUR decision is randomly chosen for implementation.

How many tokens would you earn as a bonus in this Phase?

## PHASE 1 DECISIONS

<NOT IN BASELINE> You belong to the **YELLOW** group.

<ALL TREATMENTS> You have an endowment of 50 tokens. You have 80 tokens to allocate between you and your coparticipant.

Your coparticipant has an endowment of 50 tokens.

<BASELINE> How many tokens would you allocate to your coparticipant?

<ALL OTHER TREATMENTS> How many tokens would you allocate to your coparticipant if:

He/she belongs to the **YELLOW** group?

He/she belongs to the **GREEN** group?

*<Order of decisions randomised across subjects. The order stays the same across Phases. In BASELINE, there is no mention of group and there is only one decision.>*

## PHASE 2 INSTRUCTIONS

### Phase 2: decisions

This has the same decisions as Phase 1. You make the same 2 allocation decisions.

<ONLY IN GROUP-FINE AND GROUP-FineProEqual TREATMENTS> The difference with Phase 2 is the bonus payment.

### Phase 2: bonus payment

The determination of the decision that will be implemented is the same as Phase 1.

As in Phase 1, you will be randomly paired with another participant, and either YOURS or your COPLAYER's decision will be randomly chosen for implementation.

\*\*\*\*\* BELOW TEXT ONLY IN GROUP-FINE TREATMENT \*\*\*\*\*

The Difference is that if YOURS is chosen, your bonus payment may be adjusted. Your Coplayer's bonus will not be adjusted: it is what you allocated to him or her in YOURS. The adjustment to your bonus depends on how generous you are to members of your own group as compared with members of the other group in otherwise equivalent decisions. Thus, if you have allocated the same or a lower number of tokens to someone who belongs to your group than to someone who belongs to the other group, THEN your bonus payment is reduced by 10 tokens. If you allocated more to someone from your group than the other group, there is no adjustment.

**EXAMPLE:** Suppose you belong to the **YELLOW** group, YOURS is selected. And your coplayer belongs to the **GREEN** group. If you allocated 30 tokens to this coplayer, and allocated 20 tokens to the coparticipant who belongs to the **YELLOW** group (even though this decision was not chosen), your bonus payment in this Phase will be reduced by 10 tokens.

Your bonus payment is NOT adjusted if COPLAYER's is chosen for implementation.

\*\*\*\*\* ABOVE TEXT ONLY IN GROUP-FINE TREATMENT \*\*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\*\* BELOW TEXT ONLY IN GROUP-FINEPROEQUAL TREATMENT \*\*\*\*\*

The Difference is that if YOURS is chosen, your bonus payment may be adjusted. Your Coplayer's bonus will not be adjusted: it is what you allocated to him or her in YOURS. The adjustment to your bonus depends on how generous you are to members of your own group as compared with members of the other group in otherwise equivalent decisions. Thus, if you have allocated a lower number of tokens to someone who belongs to the other group than to someone who belongs to your group, THEN your bonus payment is reduced by 10 tokens. If you allocated the same as or more to someone from the other group than your group, there is no adjustment.

**EXAMPLE:** Suppose you belong to the **YELLOW** group, YOURS is selected. And your coplayer belongs to the **YELLOW** group. If you allocated 30 tokens to this coplayer, and allocated 20 tokens to the coparticipant who belongs to the **GREEN** group (even though this decision was not chosen), your bonus payment in this Phase will be reduced by 10 tokens.

Your bonus payment is NOT adjusted if COPLAYER's is chosen for implementation.

\*\*\*\*\* ABOVE TEXT ONLY IN GROUP-FINEPROEQUAL TREATMENT \*\*\*\*\*

## PHASE 2 DECISIONS

<NOT IN BASELINE> You belong to the **YELLOW** group.

<ALL TREATMENTS> You have an endowment of 50 tokens. You have 80 tokens to allocate between you and your coparticipant.

Your coparticipant has an endowment of 50 tokens.

<BASELINE> How many tokens would you allocate to your coparticipant?

<ALL OTHER TREATMENTS> How many tokens would you allocate to your coparticipant if:

He/she belongs to the **YELLOW** group?

He/she belongs to the **GREEN** group?

<Order of decisions randomised across subjects. The order stays the same across Phases. In BASELINE, there is no mention of group and there is only one decision.>

## PHASE 3 INSTRUCTIONS

Phase 3: decision

This has the same decisions as Phase 1 and 2.

Phase 3: bonus payment

The bonus payment for Phase 3 is calculated in the same way as in Phase 1.

<NOT IN BASELINE AND IN GROUP>That is, your bonus payment will NOT be adjusted in any way.

### **PHASE 3 DECISIONS**

<NOT IN BASELINE> You belong to the **YELLOW** group.

<ALL TREATMENTS>You have an endowment of 50 tokens. You have 80 tokens to allocate between you and your coparticipant.

Your coparticipant has an endowment of 50 tokens.

<BASELINE> How many tokens would you allocate to your coparticipant?

<ALL OTHER TREATMENTS> How many tokens would you allocate to your coparticipant if:

He/she belongs to the **YELLOW** group?

He/she belongs to the **GREEN** group?

*<Order of decisions randomised across subjects. The order stays the same across Phases. In BASELINE, there is no mention of group and there is only one decision.>*

### **DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONNAIRE**

Finally, before ending the experiment, we would like to ask for some information about you. Please answer all questions honestly and accurately. Your answers will stay anonymous.

How old are you?

What is your gender?

- (Male, Female, Other/self-identify, Prefer not to say)

What is your level of education?

- (Below high school, High school, Some university education, Undergraduate degree, Master's degree, Doctorate or professional degree, Prefer not to say)

What is your current employment status?

- (Employed, Unemployed, Retired, Student, Not looking employment, Prefer not to say)

Please describe your political beliefs.

- (Very left, Left, Centre, Right, Very right)

Please describe your economic beliefs.

- (Very left, Left, Centre, Right, Very right)

In which country is your hometown?

How many economics experiments have you participated in before?

### **FINAL COMPLETION SCREEN**

Thank you for participating in our experiment!

The total number of “words” you encoded correctly in Part 1 is \_\_\_\_\_. After all participants have made their decision, we will let you know your earnings in Part 2 and pay you the bonuses from Part 1 and 2 through Prolific.

To end the experiment, please click the completion link below that will take you back to Prolific:

## Appendix B. Demographic characteristics of participants

Table C1 summarises the demographic characteristics of participants in all four treatments. They come from 28 different countries.

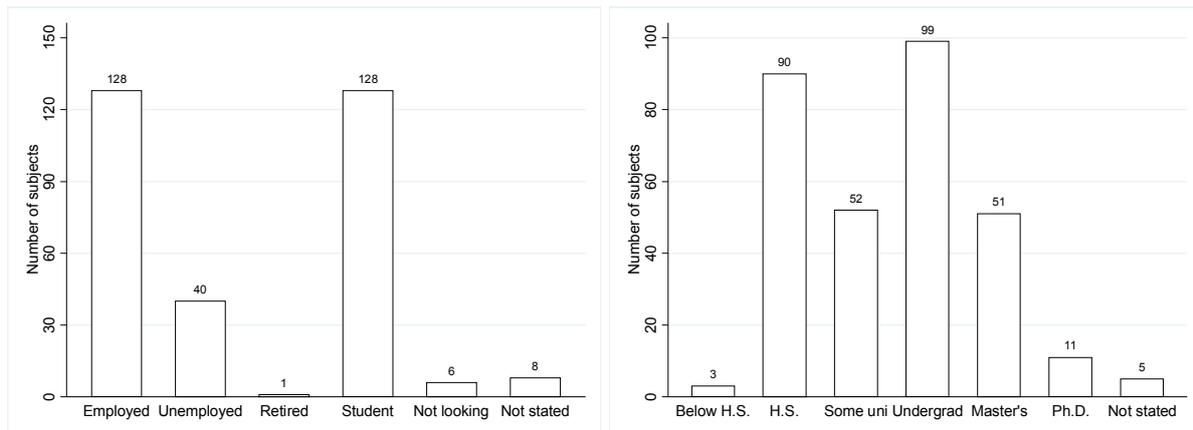
**Table C1. Demographic characteristics of study participants (N = 311)**

	Mean	St. dev.	Median	Min.	Max.
Age	26.63	9.03	24	18	72
Economics	2.94	0.83	3	1	5
Politics	2.71	0.79	3	1	5
Gender	60.45% Male		38.26% Female		1.29% Other

Economics & Politics: 1 = Very left, 2 = Left, 3 = Centre, 4 = Right, 5 = Very right

The histograms below give a picture on employment status and education level.

**Figure C1. Distribution of employment status and education level**



## MUNI Econ Working Paper Series (since 2018)

- 2021-07 Hargreaves Heap, S.P., Levi, E., Ramalingam, A. (2021). *Group identification and giving: in-group love, out-group hate and their crowding out*. MUNI ECON Working Paper n. 2021-07. Brno: Masaryk University. [https://doi.org/10.5817/WP\\_MUNI\\_ECON\\_2021-07](https://doi.org/10.5817/WP_MUNI_ECON_2021-07)
- 2021-06 Medda, T., Pelligra, V., Reggiani, T. 2021. *Lab-Sophistication: Does Repeated Participation in Laboratory Experiments Affect Pro-Social Behaviour?*. MUNI ECON Working Paper n. 2021-06. Brno: Masaryk University. [https://doi.org/10.5817/WP\\_MUNI\\_ECON\\_2021-06](https://doi.org/10.5817/WP_MUNI_ECON_2021-06)
- 2021-05 Guzi, M., Kahanec, M., Ulceluse M., M. 2021. *Europe's migration experience and its effects on economic inequality*. MUNI ECON Working Paper n. 2021-05. Brno: Masaryk University. [https://doi.org/10.5817/WP\\_MUNI\\_ECON\\_2021-05](https://doi.org/10.5817/WP_MUNI_ECON_2021-05)
- 2021-04 Fazio, A., Reggiani, T., Sabatini, F. 2021. *The political cost of lockdown's enforcement*. MUNI ECON Working Paper n. 2021-04. Brno: Masaryk University. [https://doi.org/10.5817/WP\\_MUNI\\_ECON\\_2021-04](https://doi.org/10.5817/WP_MUNI_ECON_2021-04)
- 2021-03 Peciar, V. *Empirical investigation into market power, markups and employment*. MUNI ECON Working Paper n. 2021-03. Brno: Masaryk University. [https://doi.org/10.5817/WP\\_MUNI\\_ECON\\_2021-03](https://doi.org/10.5817/WP_MUNI_ECON_2021-03)
- 2021-02 Abraham, D., Greiner, B., Stephanides, M. 2021. *On the Internet you can be anyone: An experiment on strategic avatar choice in online marketplaces*. MUNI ECON Working Paper n. 2021-02. Brno: Masaryk University. [https://doi.org/10.5817/WP\\_MUNI\\_ECON\\_2021-02](https://doi.org/10.5817/WP_MUNI_ECON_2021-02)
- 2021-01 Krčál, O., Peer, S., Staněk, R. 2021. *Can time-inconsistent preferences explain hypothetical biases?*. MUNI ECON Working Paper n. 2021-01. Brno: Masaryk University. [https://doi.org/10.5817/WP\\_MUNI\\_ECON\\_2021-01](https://doi.org/10.5817/WP_MUNI_ECON_2021-01)
- 2020-04 Pelligra, V., Reggiani, T., Zizzo, D.J. 2020. *Responding to (Un)Reasonable Requests by an Authority*. MUNI ECON Working Paper n. 2020-04. Brno: Masaryk University. [https://doi.org/10.5817/WP\\_MUNI\\_ECON\\_2020-04](https://doi.org/10.5817/WP_MUNI_ECON_2020-04)
- 2020-03 de Pedraza, P., Guzi, M., Tijdens, K. 2020. *Life Dissatisfaction and Anxiety in COVID-19 pandemic*. MUNI ECON Working Paper n. 2020-03. Brno: Masaryk University. [https://doi.org/10.5817/WP\\_MUNI\\_ECON\\_2020-03](https://doi.org/10.5817/WP_MUNI_ECON_2020-03)
- 2020-02 de Pedraza, P., Guzi, M., Tijdens, K. 2020. *Life Satisfaction of Employees, Labour Market Tightness and Matching Efficiency*. MUNI ECON Working Paper n. 2020-02. Brno: Masaryk University. [https://doi.org/10.5817/WP\\_MUNI\\_ECON\\_2020-02](https://doi.org/10.5817/WP_MUNI_ECON_2020-02)
- 2020-01 Fišar, M., Reggiani, T., Sabatini, F., Špalek, J. 2020. a. MUNI ECON Working Paper n. 2020-01. Brno: Masaryk University. [https://doi.org/10.5817/WP\\_MUNI\\_ECON\\_2020-01](https://doi.org/10.5817/WP_MUNI_ECON_2020-01)
- 2019-08 Fišar, M., Krčál, O., Špalek, J., Staněk, R., Tremewan, J. 2019. *A Competitive Audit Selection Mechanism with Incomplete Information*. MUNI ECON Working Paper n. 2019-08. Brno: Masaryk University. [https://doi.org/10.5817/WP\\_MUNI\\_ECON\\_2019-08](https://doi.org/10.5817/WP_MUNI_ECON_2019-08)

- 2019-07 Guzi, M., Huber, P., Mikula, M. 2019. *Old sins cast long shadows: The Long-term impact of the resettlement of the Sudetenland on residential migration*. MUNI ECON Working Paper n. 2019-07. Brno: Masaryk University. [https://doi.org/10.5817/WP\\_MUNI\\_ECON\\_2019-07](https://doi.org/10.5817/WP_MUNI_ECON_2019-07)
- 2019-06 Mikula, M., Montag, J. 2019. *Does homeownership hinder labor market activity? Evidence from housing privatization and restitution in Brno*. MUNI ECON Working Paper n. 2019-06. Brno: Masaryk University. [https://doi.org/10.5817/WP\\_MUNI\\_ECON\\_2019-06](https://doi.org/10.5817/WP_MUNI_ECON_2019-06)
- 2019-05 Krčál, O., Staněk, R., Slanicay, M. 2019. *Made for the job or by the job? A lab-in-the-field experiment with firefighters*. MUNI ECON Working Paper n. 2019-05. Brno: Masaryk University. [https://doi.org/10.5817/WP\\_MUNI\\_ECON\\_2019-05](https://doi.org/10.5817/WP_MUNI_ECON_2019-05)
- 2019-04 Bruni, L., Pelligra, V., Reggiani, T., Rizzolli, M. 2019. *The Pied Piper: Prizes, Incentives, and Motivation Crowding-in*. MUNI ECON Working Paper n. 2019-04. Brno: Masaryk University. [https://doi.org/10.5817/WP\\_MUNI\\_ECON\\_2019-04](https://doi.org/10.5817/WP_MUNI_ECON_2019-04)
- 2019-03 Krčál, O., Staněk, R., Karlínová, B., Peer, S. 2019. *Real consequences matters: why hypothetical biases in the valuation of time persist even in controlled lab experiments*. MUNI ECON Working Paper n. 2019-03. Brno: Masaryk University. [https://doi.org/10.5817/WP\\_MUNI\\_ECON\\_2019-03](https://doi.org/10.5817/WP_MUNI_ECON_2019-03)
- 2019-02 Corazzini, L., Cotton, C., Reggiani, T., 2019. *Delegation And Coordination With Multiple Threshold Public Goods: Experimental Evidence*. MUNI ECON Working Paper n. 2019-02. Brno: Masaryk University. [https://doi.org/10.5817/WP\\_MUNI\\_ECON\\_2019-02](https://doi.org/10.5817/WP_MUNI_ECON_2019-02)
- 2019-01 Fišar, M., Krčál, O., Staněk, R., Špalek, J. 2019. *The Effects of Staff-rotation in Public Administration on the Decision to Bribe or be Bribed*. MUNI ECON Working Paper n. 2019-01. Brno: Masaryk University. [https://doi.org/10.5817/WP\\_MUNI\\_ECON\\_2019-01](https://doi.org/10.5817/WP_MUNI_ECON_2019-01)
- 2018-02 Guzi, M., Kahanec, M. 2018. *Income Inequality and the Size of Government: A Causal Analysis*. MUNI ECON Working Paper n. 2018-02. Brno: Masaryk University. [https://doi.org/10.5817/WP\\_MUNI\\_ECON\\_2018-02](https://doi.org/10.5817/WP_MUNI_ECON_2018-02)
- 2018-01 Geraci, A., Nardotto, M., Reggiani, T., Sabatini, F. 2018. *Broadband Internet and Social Capital*. MUNI ECON Working Paper n. 2018-01. Brno: Masaryk University. [https://doi.org/10.5817/WP\\_MUNI\\_ECON\\_2018-01](https://doi.org/10.5817/WP_MUNI_ECON_2018-01)

ISSN electronic edition 2571-130X

MUNI ECON Working Paper Series is indexed in RePEc:

<https://ideas.repec.org/s/mub/wpaper.html>