

# Political Identity: Experimental Evidence on Anti-Americanism in Pakistan\*

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## Abstract

We identify Pakistani men's willingness to pay to preserve their anti-American identity using two experiments imposing clearly-specified financial costs on anti-American expression, with minimal consequential or social considerations. In two distinct studies, one-quarter to one-third of subjects forgo payments from the U.S. government worth around one-fifth of a day's wage to avoid an identity-threatening choice: *anonymously* checking a box indicating gratitude toward the U.S. government. We find sensitivity to both payment size and anticipated social context: when subjects anticipate that rejection will be observable by others, rejection falls suggesting that, for some, social image can outweigh self-image.

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# 1 Introduction

Political identity appears to be at the root of a wide range of political behavior, most strikingly when individuals take actions seemingly opposed to their material self-interest.<sup>1</sup> Yet, the existence of political identity is difficult to establish. Consider a low income voter’s opposition to redistribution: this could be due to consequential motives, such as holding particular beliefs about outcomes (correct or incorrect); to social considerations; or, to the preservation of her sense of self.<sup>2</sup>

In this paper, we aim to isolate identity’s role in political behavior, separating it from consequential or social motives. This represents an empirical challenge: on the one hand, identifying individuals for whom identity drives political expression requires the study of behavior in a context in which one is certain that the private cost of expression exceeds any anticipated consequential or social benefits. On the other hand, such behavior may be difficult to interpret if behavior is distorted by the awareness that choices are being studied by the experimenter or due to the artificiality of the setting and action. This tension is visible in existing empirical work: for example, Kamenica and Brad (2014) sharply test for intrinsic (expressive) motives for voting behavior, but do so in a lab setting with student subjects, using direct elicitation. In contrast, the famous “lost letter” methodology (Milgram, 1977) elicits attitudes indirectly, but cannot isolate intrinsic motives for holding particular attitudes.

We study Pakistani men’s willingness to pay to preserve their anti-American identity. This represents an ideal setting for the study of political identity: not only is identity often built upon one’s affiliation with one group (and non-affiliation with another), but also anti-Americanism (whether driven by identity or other motives) in Pakistan and the Islamic World more broadly, is of great policy relevance (Blaydes and Linzer, 2012). Even within this setting, it is difficult to determine the extent to which anti-Americanism is motivated by identity considerations; it may, instead, be driven primarily by consequential or social concerns. Indeed, U.S. policy has a profound impact on Pakistani people’s lives, from drone strikes to humanitarian aid (which is broadly viewed as affecting domestic Pakistani politics). Social networks and social pressure might play an important role in coordinating behavior. We both identify individuals with anti-American identities, and also study the economics of the expression of identity-driven anti-Americanism, examining how it responds to changes in the private financial cost and in social context.

We present evidence from two experiments in which we use a novel design to identify identity-motivated, political expression. We minimize instrumental and social incentives for political expression, and elicit political attitudes in an *indirect* manner to reduce concerns about unnatural behavior or experimenter demand effects.<sup>3</sup> Our experimental designs allow us to study how self-image expression responds to changed economic incentives—both financial costs and the social context in which expression occurs—and to correlate

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<sup>1</sup>We conceive of identity-motivated behavior following Akerlof and Kranton (2000), who note that individuals may choose to engage in a costly action solely to preserve their “sense of self”, even when they fully understand that the action has no consequence and is undertaken in private.

<sup>2</sup>Relevant beliefs include the causes of individual success (Bénabou and Tirole, 2006a). Mistakes regarding payoffs may arise from particular issues being more salient than others; for example, a voter may ignore redistribution while focusing on cultural issues (see Bordalo et al., 2013 for a model of salience shaping consumer choice). Social pressure shaping political expression has been studied by DellaVigna et al. (2016), among others. Shayo (2009) provides a theoretical analysis and cross-country data suggesting the important role of identity in shaping redistribution policies.

<sup>3</sup>Social psychologists have long been aware of problems created by experimenter demand effects (Rosenthal, 1963, 1966). Reflecting this, many studies in social psychology make use of indirect elicitation in part to avoid experimenter demand effects (e.g., Cohen et al., 1996).

our measure of political identity with relevant, real-world political behavior.

Our first experiment implementing our methodology (“Experiment 1”) was conducted in Pakistan in July, 2013, with 1,152 participants. During each experimental session, groups of Pakistani men, aged between 18 and 35, were brought into a room where they were asked to complete a standard “Big Five” personality survey. The intervention of interest occurred *after* subjects had completed the survey, though subjects were unaware of this fact. In return for completing the survey, study participants were offered a “bonus” payment (above a show-up fee they had received upon arrival). Receiving the bonus payment required checking a box in a form that indicated (from the subject’s perspective): “I gratefully thank the [funding agency] for its generosity and I accept the bonus payment offer.” Rejecting the payment required checking a box in the same form that indicated (again, from the subject’s perspective): “I choose not to accept the bonus payment offer.” The experiment randomly varied three separate components of the form, at the individual level, in a  $2 \times 2 \times 2$  design:

**The identity of the funding agency:** The funding agency was either the U.S. government or the Lahore University of Management Sciences (LUMS), a leading Pakistani university.<sup>4</sup>

**The expectation of privacy:** Subjects were led to believe that their bonus payment acceptance decision would be observed by other experimental participants, or would be completely private.<sup>5</sup>

**The amount of money offered:** Subjects were either offered a bonus payment of 100 Pakistani Rupees (Rs.) or of 500 Rs. Both payments represented a sizable fraction of a day’s wage (the daily wage for a manual worker in 2013 was roughly 400–500 Rs.).

We conceptualize the choice to reject payment as being driven by three primary considerations (see Section 4 for further detail). First, subjects might choose to reject payment, particularly from the U.S. government, taking into account real world consequences of their choices. In our experiment, this “instrumental” determinant of political expression is practically shut down, since accepting or rejecting the money offer is likely to have only a trivial real-world impact. Second, subjects’ choices might be shaped by social concerns. In the “private” condition, subjects’ anonymity practically eliminates social incentives to reject payment. Finally, we expect that subjects with anti-American political identities will have their self-images threatened by the act of expressing gratitude to the U.S. government; this might lead to rejection of the offer even in the absence of consequential or social concerns. Thus, rejection of the U.S. government payment offer in the private condition is our indicator of anti-American political identity.

Subjects may wish to reject payment for reasons other than anti-Americanism, for example, because they do not want to feel indebted to another party. We thus compare subjects’ rates of rejecting money from the U.S. government to rates of rejecting money from LUMS in order to “difference out” a propensity to reject bonus payments from a relatively neutral funder. We also use experimental variation in the expected social visibility of the rejection decision, and in an individual’s private financial cost of rejecting the U.S. government offer, to estimate the roles of social and financial incentives in an individual’s expression of their (anti-American) identity.

A virtue of our design is our ability to elicit individuals’ identity-driven views in a setting in which subjects’ awareness of the elicitation is significantly reduced compared to more direct methods of eliciting

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<sup>4</sup>Funds for bonus payments in fact came from the (public, so government-funded) University of California or from LUMS.

<sup>5</sup>Manipulation of expectations of privacy follows a similar design to Bursztyn and Jensen (2015).

political attitudes.<sup>6</sup> Not only was no subject aware of the purpose of the study, but also, the action through which individuals’ preferences were revealed appeared, from the subjects’ perspective, simply to be part of the process of receiving payment for completing the survey. Because the choice of whether to accept the bonus payment does not appear to be of scientific interest to the researcher, we are able to observe subjects’ (relatively) natural behavior, reducing concerns about experimenter demand effects or Hawthorne effects.

We find that when individuals act *privately*, a significant minority—around one quarter of subjects—are willing to forgo 100 Rs. to avoid taking an action that would undermine their self-image: checking a box and thus thanking the U.S. government for its generosity.

It is not obvious *ex ante* what will be the effects of leading subjects to believe that their decision to accept the payment will be observed by the other study participants. On the one hand, in a context in which some individuals have strongly-held anti-American identities, it is plausible that “moderate” subjects (i.e., those who accept the payment in private) may feel pressure to reject the payment offer. On the other hand, because those with anti-American identities are a minority, it is conceivable that they will wish to conform to the majority around them, making them more likely to accept the payment offer. In fact, we find that when subjects anticipate that their behavior will be public, significantly *fewer* individuals reject the bonus payment—the rejection rate falls by nearly 10 percentage points.<sup>7</sup> This suggests that in our context, a desire to conform to the majority behavior dominates any anticipated pressure from anti-American individuals. This finding is not obvious: a subset of anti-American individuals with strong self-image concerns exhibit social image concerns that work in the opposite direction.

Next, we find that individuals’ willingness to check the box thanking the U.S. government is responsive to the size of the payment. While 25% of subjects are willing to forgo a 100 Rs. payment rather than check the box indicating gratitude toward the U.S., only around 10% of subjects are willing to forgo a 500 Rs. payment (this difference is highly statistically significant). Thus, even among individuals with deeply-held political identity (i.e., willing to give up a quarter of a day’s wage rather than check the box to accept payment), there is a “downward-sloping demand curve” for the preservation of political identity.

Our second experiment (“Experiment 2”) was conducted with 1,991 subjects recruited from the area around Lahore, Pakistan, in September and October, 2015. Rather than recruit subjects into a lab-like setting, we simplified our methodology to allow us to identify anti-American identity at subjects’ homes, using standard household survey methods (requiring an Android tablet). Subjects were asked to privately complete a 10-question personality survey on the tablet; then, analogous to our first experiment, subjects were offered a 100 Rs. bonus payment paid for by the U.S. government. Using the same language as in the first experiment, subjects needed to indicate gratitude to the U.S. government to receive the payment. Importantly, subjects were provided with “cover” for their choice of whether to accept the payment: although experimenters paid them directly, payment included a random component, so experimenters did not know whether subjects accepted the bonus payment offer. Using a different technology, a different subject pool, drawn from a different part of Pakistan, we find a rejection rate of 34%—a similar rejection rate to what we found in the first experiment. This indicates that our findings in Experiment 1 have a degree of external

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<sup>6</sup>The influence of the experimenter on subjects’ behavior has been shown, e.g., in Hoffman et al. (1996).

<sup>7</sup>In our analysis below, we present results comparing rejection rates for the U.S. government vs. LUMS as the funding agency. The results are very similar to the raw rejection rates presented here. By differencing out LUMS rejection rates across conditions we account for rejection for reasons other than anti-Americanism and for other sources of private/public differences in rejection rates. In fact, LUMS rejection rates are slightly (insignificantly) *higher* in the public condition than in the private condition.

validity and robustness. In addition to this replication exercise, our second experiment allows us to examine whether our measure of political attitudes is correlated with real-world political behavior of interest.

We interpret our findings using a conceptual framework that clarifies threats to our interpretation of rejection of the U.S. bonus payment offer as an expression of political identity. In particular, in Section 4 we explore: (i) consequential motives for rejecting payment; (ii) social motives for rejecting payment; and, (iii) intrinsic motives for rejecting payment other than anti-American political identity. Regarding consequential motives for rejection, the stakes are small, and subjects are unlikely to view their choices as affecting any important policy choices. Regarding social concerns, we note that experimenter demand effects (active in both Experiment 1 and Experiment 2) would tend to pull subjects toward accepting payment. In addition, public expression in our first experiment was more *moderate* suggesting that, if there were social concerns in the private condition, they would work toward finding fewer individuals rejecting payments from the U.S. government. To rule out a range of possible intrinsic motives to reject payment (e.g., social norms regarding accepting payments), in Experiment 1, we difference out rejection of payment offers from LUMS; this does not meaningfully affect our conclusions. In addition, responses to direct survey questions, administered following our main intervention in Experiment 1, support our interpretation of rejection of payment from the U.S. government as an expression of a political identity oppositional to the U.S. government. We find that individuals who rejected the U.S. bonus payment report significantly more negative views of the U.S. government, while individuals who rejected the U.S. payment offer are *no more likely* to report negative views of the government of Japan.

Our work contributes to four broad literatures. First, and most directly, we contribute to a large literature on individuals' decisions to engage in political behavior. Economists have typically focused on instrumental or consequential motives: for example, in the pivotal voter model, individuals vote to (probabilistically) change electoral outcomes and thus policy.<sup>8</sup> More recently economists have studied the role of social incentives in political behavior.<sup>9</sup> Our study contributes evidence on the much less well understood role of intrinsic utility stemming from one's political identity.<sup>10</sup>

Second, our work contributes to a growing empirical literature on intrinsic, extrinsic, and social motives for a range of behavior.<sup>11</sup> We contribute to this literature by being the first to isolate an intrinsic, identity-motivated political preference that individuals are willing to pay a cost to express.

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<sup>8</sup>See Downs (1957), Palfrey and Rosenthal (1983), Ledyard (1984), and Palfrey and Rosenthal (1985).

<sup>9</sup>Social incentives may operate through a desire to conform (Bernheim, 1994), through a desire to send a signal to a particular group, or through the utility derived from social activity. This is true even of the (likely) inconsequential, (often) private act of voting (Gerber et al., 2008, Funk, 2010, DellaVigna et al., 2016, and Gerber et al., 2013).

<sup>10</sup>Expressive voting models, by highlighting non-consequential motives for voting, are closely related (see Riker and Ordeshook, 1968, Brennan and Buchanan, 1984, Brennan and Lomasky, 1993, Scheussler, 2000, Feddersen and Sandroni, 2006).

<sup>11</sup>Intrinsic motivations for a range of behaviors have long received attention among economists, from the study of taste-based discrimination (Becker, 1957), to the important role played by identity in shaping economic and social choices (Akerlof and Kranton, 2000) to individuals' response to incentives (Bénabou and Tirole, 2003) to altruism (Andreoni, 1990). Recent empirical work on intrinsic and social motives for behavior include DellaVigna et al. (2012), who use a field experiment to test for altruism and social pressure in charitable giving; Ariely et al. (2009), who experimentally evaluate whether larger monetary incentives crowd out social incentives for pro-social behavior, thus testing the theory in Bénabou and Tirole (2006b); Rao (2019), who measures the extent to which students from elite Indian schools are willing to pay a cost to avoid being paired with lower income students in a sports competition; and, Augenblick et al. (2012), who conduct an experiment eliciting the beliefs of individuals belonging to an apocalyptic religious group in an incentivized manner.

Third, our experiments contribute to a growing literature on the measurement of sensitive attitudes.<sup>12</sup> While methods such as list experiments allow for the measurement of political attitudes at the group level, our methodology uses indirect elicitation to identify (revealed) political preferences at the individual level. Indeed, a goal of Experiment 2 was to adapt the revealed preference laboratory measure of political attitudes to field implementation. Recently, recognizing that more than half of the world’s poor now live in fragile states, a growing literature focuses on whether aid can reduce instability by increasing popular support for the government (Beath et al., 2012; Berman et al., 2011, 2017; Dell and Querubin, 2017; Jha and Shayo, 2017). Views of the government are likely to be particularly sensitive in such a context, making directly elicited survey responses suspect. Our method can provide an individual-level revealed preference approach to studying whether development aid and government policy affect sensitive political beliefs.

Finally, our findings contribute to a growing body of empirical evidence on, and economic analysis of, social and political outcomes in South Asia, an area of geopolitical importance.<sup>13</sup> We show that a substantial minority of Pakistani men in our two experimental samples are anti-American for intrinsic reasons. We find that some individuals with strongly-held ideological views will suppress the expression of those views when the financial costs or anticipated social costs of expression are high enough. However, the existence of intrinsically-motivated anti-Americanism suggests that there are limits to the effects of policies focused on reducing anti-American political expression simply by changing financial or social incentives.

The remainder of the paper is as follows: in Section 2, we describe the implementation of, and the results from, Experiment 1. In Section 3, we discuss Experiment 2. In Section 4, we discuss threats to our interpretation of rejection of the U.S. bonus payment offer as an expression of political identity. In Section 5 we offer concluding thoughts.

## 2 Experiment 1

### 2.1 Design and Implementation

#### 2.1.1 Timeline and Site Selection

Following a set of small pilot studies that served as a “proof of concept” that our design could be implemented safely and successfully (described in Appendix Section A1), we implemented Experiment 1 simultaneously in three cities, Peshawar, Islamabad, and Dera Ghazi Khan, between July 7th and July 16th, 2013 (Figure A.1, in Appendix A2, presents a map of the laboratory locations). One objective of our project was to measure the degree of anti-Americanism among populations directly affected by the “war on terror”—this is where anti-American views are likely to be of greatest importance. To access these populations, we ran our experiment in areas either directly affected by the United States-led invasion of Afghanistan (Peshawar) or

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<sup>12</sup>Warner (1965) introduced the “randomized response technique”, Raghavarao and Federer (1979) formalized the “list experiment” (also called the “unmatched count” and the “item count technique”), and Sniderman and Piazza (1993) provide, to our knowledge, the first example of an endorsement experiment.

<sup>13</sup>Clingingsmith et al. (2009) study the impact of the Hajj pilgrimage on a broad range of attitudes among Pakistanis. Beath et al. (2012) study the impact of foreign aid on Afghans’ views on security and on the Afghan government, NGO’s and foreign military forces. Delavande and Zafar (2012) experimentally analyze how Pakistanis’ attitudes towards the U.S. are affected by provision of information about the U.S. Outside of South Asia, Corstange (2014) finds that foreign sponsorship of a survey systematically affects response rates in Lebanon. See Gentzkow and Shapiro (2004) for an overview of anti-Americanism in the Islamic world.

in cities that have substantial numbers of refugees from conflict-affected areas (Islamabad and Dera Ghazi Khan).

### 2.1.2 Subject Recruitment and Screening

We contracted with local survey firms — no Westerners were directly involved in implementation of the study — to recruit men aged between 18 and 35 from neighborhoods with large migrant populations in Islamabad and Peshawar. In both cities, we asked the recruiters to target migrants from the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA), Khyber Pakhtunhwa (KP), and Balochistan.<sup>14</sup> In Dera Ghazi Khan, we first selected a *tehsil* randomly, then selected a union council randomly, and then used a simple right-hand sampling rule to contact potential participants. We ran 22 sessions in Peshawar, 10 sessions in Islamabad, and 16 sessions in Dera Ghazi Khan.

Upon contacting a potential subject, recruiters asked him to read aloud a short script in order to verify literacy, and an additional literacy test of comparable difficulty was administered when a subject reached the study site. Potential subjects who failed either test were not allowed to participate. Subject literacy was crucial for our experimental design, as the entire study required subjects to comprehend printed text. Appendix A2, Figure A.2, provides Urdu translations of the two literacy screening tasks and English translations of both literacy test scripts are reproduced in Appendix A3.

### 2.1.3 Enrollment

After subjects arrived at the study site, they were directed to a waiting room, provided with an informed consent form to read, and asked to wait until they were called to participate. We relied on *verbal* informed consent to assure subjects that personally-identifiable information on their participation and choices was not being collected (the consent protocol is provided in Appendix A3). The study coordinator called subjects to enroll one at a time; subjects then received a chit with a randomly assigned subject number, between 1 and 24, from a research assistant.<sup>15</sup> After receiving their number, subjects then went to the enrollment desk outside of the laboratory (Appendix A2, Figure A.3, provides a picture of the enrollment desk). At the desk, subjects read the second literacy script aloud, and received a payment envelope with their subject number printed on it.<sup>16</sup> After completing the enrollment procedure, a research assistant led subjects into the laboratory and seated them at the individual lab station corresponding to their subject number.

Lab stations consisted of a chair with a clipboard; laboratory materials were placed on the chairs, which were positioned approximately four feet apart to prevent subjects from observing each other’s choices (in Appendix A2, Figure A.4 provides a picture of the experiment site in Islamabad and Figure A.5 provides a

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<sup>14</sup>While we did not record the birth place of subjects to preserve anonymity, in these cities our recruiters drew subjects from neighborhoods primarily populated by migrants from the Swat and Malakand agencies (agencies are administrative units in FATA). Both of these agencies, located in FATA, have seen substantial levels of insurgent conflict in recent years.

<sup>15</sup>Individual stations were ordered sequentially by subject number inside the lab. Subject numbers were provided in random order to reduce the chance that subjects would be acquainted with the person sitting next to them—a concern if acquainted subjects entered the study site together, and station assignments were made in a non-random order. In practice, a research assistant handed each subject a chit, numbered from 1 to 24, from a shuffled deck. The number on the chit became a subject’s participant identification number.

<sup>16</sup>Only one potential subject passed the first reading comprehension test but failed the second; this subject was replaced from the pool of recruits.

picture of the experiment site in Peshawar). We randomly assigned survey versions to lab station numbers using a simple computer program (Appendix A2, Figure A.6, provides the mapping between survey versions and lab stations). All sessions involved exactly 24 subjects, resulting in a total of 1,152 men participating in the main study. After a session, research assistants ensured that subjects exited the building; they were bussed off site immediately and were not allowed to interact with other subjects waiting to participate in the study.

#### **2.1.4 The Experiment**

At the beginning of a session, the lab director read a set of instructions aloud, explaining the laboratory protocol, and talking subjects through four specific example questions (instructions are provided in Appendix A3). Each subject had a printed version of these questions, which were intended to familiarize subjects with the kinds of multiple choice questions they would have to answer in activity 1 (a personality survey). Importantly, these instructions were not linked to politics or ideology. After completing the instructions, the lab director took questions. The director then indicated that no further questions would be answered during the study, allowing subjects one final opportunity to ask questions before the experiment commenced. It is important to emphasize that no details were provided by the lab director regarding the payment process; research assistants were told to reveal no more than that payment for completing the study would occur at the end of the session. To increase subjects' confidence that they would be paid, subjects were provided their show-up fee of 300 Rs. when they began the first activity in the study.

The experiment involved four separate activities, each of which required completing a form contained in a separate envelope, numbered in order. These materials are reproduced completely in Appendix A3. Upon completion of an activity, subjects were instructed to close their envelope and place it below their chair before proceeding. Furthermore, they were told not to return to previously completed activities, and that subjects who did not comply would be asked to leave. The primary purpose of strictly disallowing participants from returning to previous activities was to ensure that they could not change their responses in the revealed preference activity (activity 2) after completing the stated preference activity (activity 4).

When all subjects had completed the four activities, the lab director and research assistant collected all laboratory materials except for subjects' chits, which subjects had received upon enrollment. The envelopes (on which were written subjects' participant identification numbers) were taken into a separate room with the laboratory materials for the calculation of payments for each subject. Payments were placed in envelopes, which were then exchanged for the chits handed out to subjects at the beginning of the session.

#### **Activity 1**

The experiment began as a standard personality survey which was contained in envelope 1 along with subjects' "show up" payment. In addition to a few demographic questions, participants completed a Big 5 personality assessment. The version of the Big 5 assessment used by our team was adapted to use in Pakistan and validated by psychologists at the National Institute of Psychology at Quaid-i-Azam University.

#### **Activity 2**

After completing the survey, subjects opened the second envelope. This envelope contained an offer of an *additional* payment (above that for showing up) in return for checking a box on a letter to the funding agency.



Checking the box indicated acceptance of the payment and gratitude to the agency for providing funding. This activity measures whether respondents are differentially willing to forgo a payment, depending on the funder (U.S. government or the Lahore University of Management Sciences), the amount of the payment (100 Rs. or 500 Rs. ), and respondents' perception of whether the payment would be public or private. Specifically, envelope 2 contained a piece of paper with the following information printed on it (italics indicate text that varied depending on the experimental condition, with slashes dividing the conditions):

“Thank you for completing the survey. In return for completing the survey, we can offer you a bonus payment. Funding for the bonus payment comes from {*Lahore University of Management Sciences / the U.S. government*}. We can pay you {*100 Rs. / 500 Rs.*} for completing the survey, but in order to receive the bonus payment you are required to acknowledge receipt of the funds provided by {*Lahore University of Management Sciences / the U.S. government*} and thank the funder. If you choose not to accept the payment, you will forgo the bonus payment of {*100 Rs. / 500 Rs.* }, but not the payment of 300 Rs. for your participation.”

After this passage, in half of the forms, the language emphasized that subjects' choices would be private, while in the other half, the language implied that subjects' choices to accept the bonus payment would be observed by other subjects, as follows:

“If you choose to accept the bonus payment, { $\emptyset$  / ***your decision will be private;***} in order to receive this additional payment, {*you will be asked to turn the letter in to the survey coordinator in the front of the room, so other participants will see you turn in the letter / you will simply replace the letter in envelope 2 and submit it with your other survey materials at the end of the study, so no other participants will know your choice*}. Once you have made your decision on the next page, please place the letter into envelope 2, whether or not you chose to accept the bonus payment.”

In addition to the sheet of paper with instructions, envelope 2 contained the bonus payment acceptance/rejection letter, with the following options:

☐ I gratefully thank {*Lahore University of Management Sciences / the U.S. government*} for its generosity and I accept the bonus payment offer.

☐ I choose not to accept the bonus payment offer.

It is worth noting that to ensure the safety of participants, in practice, no subject's choice of whether to accept the bonus payment was actually public. All participants turned their acceptance/rejection letter in to the survey coordinator at the front of the room, having replaced their letter into envelope 2, and submitting it with the other survey materials (note that we aimed to minimize the use of deception by not providing false information about what would be required of participants, as the language in both “public” and “private” conditions was literally true). The language in the “public” treatment arm was designed to suggest that the decision to accept the bonus payment would not be private, but subjects in the “public” condition still may have expected their decision to be private because they knew that the letter would be enclosed in an envelope. Because we can only imperfectly manipulate expectations of privacy, we view this

exercise as providing a lower bound estimate of the effect of making the decision to accept the bonus payment public.

### Activity 3

In activity 3, participants filled out a self-response survey that began by asking subjects to guess how many of the other participants were willing to accept the bonus payment. This question was incentivized: subjects were informed that the three individuals who guessed closest to the actual number would receive an additional 300 Rs. Next, the survey collected information on the number of other participants the respondent knew. We then ran a “list experiment,” a method used to measure group-level attitudes toward sensitive topics. The two sensitive topics selected were closely related to the political identity we study: “refusing humanitarian aid from the U.S. government” and “supporting the activities of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI)”, the most anti-American of the major political parties in Pakistan.

### Activity 4

Envelope 4 contained another survey, which asked subjects direct questions to elicit their stated preference support for: (i) aid provided by the Japanese government to Pakistan; (ii) the Japanese government overall; (iii) aid provided by the United States; and (iv) the United States government overall. We also asked a question regarding willingness to take risk using a simple Likert scale approach; we asked about subjects’ political awareness; and, about their support for Japan and the U.S. *relative* to other subjects in the room.

### Payments

When all subjects had completed the survey, they were asked to come, in order of their subject number, to the front of the room. They gave their payment envelope and materials packet to the session coordinator and were asked to return to their seat to await payment. After collecting all 24 packets, two research assistants calculated total subject payments in a different room (so no experiment knew whether any individual subject accepted the bonus payment offer). The payments were sealed in an envelope, with the cash payments wrapped in a thick debriefing handout so that subjects could not tell how much each had been paid. This was important to ensure that subjects could not be identified as having accepted a bonus payment offer based on the thickness of the payment envelope.

Subjects were then called to the front of the room, were paid by providing their chit with the subject number on it in exchange for the payment envelope, and were sent out of the lab into a waiting bus—there were no opportunities for subjects who had completed the study to communicate with subjects who had not yet participated. As soon as all subjects were paid and had exited, the subsequent session began immediately.

## 2.2 Empirical Analysis

### 2.2.1 Sample Characteristics and Balance Across Conditions

Table 1, column 1, presents the characteristics of our experimental sample. One can see that all of our participants were men, which was by design. In addition, participants were, on average, young and relatively well-educated. The latter is again by design, as literacy was required to implement our study. Around one

half of the subjects were engaged in some economic activity at the time of the study. Around two-thirds of subjects were Pashtun, 10 percent Punjabi, and another 10 percent Baloch. Around 85% are Sunni Muslims. The bottom row of Table 1 displays the sample sizes in each treatment cell, and columns 2–9 of Table 1 present the characteristics of subjects across experimental conditions. We find that respondent characteristics, including demographics, education levels, and Big 5 personality traits are balanced across conditions (see Table 1, column 10).

### 2.2.2 The Expression of Political Identity

We begin by examining rejection rates among subjects offered a 100 Rs. bonus payment in the “private” condition. 25.2% of subjects offered 100 Rs. from the U.S. government in the private condition choose to reject it. It may be that some of these subjects would have rejected money from any funding agency, not only from the U.S. government. To account for this, we difference out the rejection rate among subjects offered 100 Rs. from LUMS. Only 8.4% of individuals offered 100 Rs. from LUMS in the private condition choose to reject payment. We thus estimate that the proportion of subjects who rejected the U.S. offer, but would have accepted an offer from LUMS, is 16.8% ( $p < 0.001$ ); we report these results in row one of Table 2, Panel A.<sup>17</sup> In Appendix Table A.1, we report the corresponding difference from a regression including session fixed effects and all of the covariates reported in Table 1. The estimates remain virtually unchanged, consistent with successful implementation of the laboratory protocol across rounds and experimental sites.

### 2.2.3 The Role of Social Context: Self- vs. Social Image Concerns

We next investigate the role of social context. Identity considerations might make anti-Americans more likely to reject in public, as this public affirmation of identity might be more important than private preservation of self-image. Anti-Americans with extreme views might also pressure moderates into rejecting the payment in public. Either of these possibilities would produce more rejection in the public condition than in the private. On the other hand, conformity to the majority action of accepting payment would produce less rejection in the public condition.

Examining the raw rejection rates across conditions, we find that 17% of subjects reject 100 Rs. U.S. government offer in the public condition. This 8.2 percentage points *lower* rejection rate than in the private condition is marginally statistically significant ( $p = 0.10$ ; refer to results presented in Table 2, Panel A, column 1).

Subjects’ decisions of whether to accept the bonus payment offer might differ between the public and private conditions even in the absence of any effect of the social environment on the expression of political ideology, *per se*. For example, one may be less likely to reject the bonus payment offer in the public condition out of concern that one will appear ungrateful or foolish. On the other hand, one may be more likely to reject the payment offer in the public condition if one were concerned about being publicly identified as having just received a large payment. These effects of the public condition in our study would exist irrespective of the identity of the funding agency.

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<sup>17</sup>It is worth noting that 16.8% may be a lower bound on the fraction of people who are anti-American, as some of those rejecting the LUMS offer might be anti-American as well. LUMS has an international orientation, and is patterned after universities in the United States. Given this, subjects may associate LUMS with the United States, biasing our results toward finding less anti-Americanism when comparing U.S. rejection rates to LUMS rejection rates.

We study these generic effects of the public condition on rejection rates by considering the public versus private difference in rejection rates for subjects who received a 100 Rs. offer from LUMS. In fact, the difference between the public and private rejection rates of the 100 Rs. LUMS offer was quite small—an increase in rejection of 2.7 percentage points—and not statistically significant ( $p = 0.412$ ; refer to results presented in Table 2, Panel A, column 2). The *higher* rejection rates in public for the LUMS offer suggests that the *lower* public rejection rates we found for the U.S. offer were not a result of a general reduction in rejection rates when choices are made publicly.

To isolate the effect of (anticipated) public expression on the willingness to express political ideology, we calculate the public versus private difference in rejection rates of the U.S. offer, after differencing out the public and private rejection rates for the LUMS offer. We now estimate a 10.9 percentage point lower rejection rate for the U.S. government offer in the public condition compared to the private condition ( $p = 0.047$ ; refer to the bottom-right entry presented in Table 2, Panel A). In Appendix Table A.1, we report the corresponding difference in differences from a regression including session fixed effects and all of the covariates reported in Table 1 and our findings are very similar. The direction of the effect of anticipated social incentives, in the context of our study, is toward *moderation*: fewer subjects rejected the U.S. offer when they believed their choice would be made public to other participants.

If anti-American subjects moderate the public expression of their political views out of a desire to conform to the (perceived) majority attitude, then they should correctly perceive that they are in the minority. We measure subjects’ beliefs about other subjects’ willingness to accept the bonus payment after they decide whether to accept a bonus. The third envelope in the experiment (immediately after the bonus offer) includes an incentivized elicitation of individuals’ beliefs about the number of other participants in the room (from 0 to 23) who accept the bonus payment offer (all sessions included exactly 24 participants). Importantly, respondents who reject the U.S. government offer correctly view themselves as belonging to a minority: among respondents who reject the 100 Rs. U.S. offer in private, the average guess was that 62.1% (median 87%) of other respondents accepted the offer (we can statistically reject that the average fraction guessed is less than 50% at a  $p$ -value of 0.039).<sup>18</sup>

Another analysis suggests itself in evaluating the role of beliefs about others in the higher rejection rate observed in the public condition. If the anticipated observability of the decision does not effect subjects’ stated beliefs about the number of individuals who rejected the payment, then the average beliefs of individuals who reject the bonus payment in public will differ from the average beliefs of individuals who reject the bonus payment in private only due to selection.<sup>19</sup> If individuals who would have rejected in private choose not to reject in public (at least in part) because they have relatively high beliefs about others’ acceptance of the payment, then one would expect selection out of rejecting the public offer by high-acceptance beliefs subjects. This selection would produce average beliefs about others’ acceptance among individuals who reject the bonus payment in public that are lower than average beliefs about others’ acceptance among individuals who reject the bonus payment in private. Indeed, we find that among individuals who reject the bonus

<sup>18</sup>It is worth noting that subjects exhibit some projection bias, with individuals who reject the 100 Rs. U.S. offer in private guessing that a significantly smaller fraction of other subjects would accept payment than individuals who accept the offer ( $p < 0.01$ ).

<sup>19</sup>Consistent with subjects’ guesses about others’ decisions being unaffected by the public or private condition, we find very similar average guesses in the two conditions. On average, subjects in the public condition guessed that 80% of the others would accept the offer, while those in the private condition guessed that 77% would accept the offer. The  $p$ -value of the difference is 0.44.

payment in private, the average belief is that 62% of other subjects will accept the bonus payment; among individuals who reject the bonus payment in public, the average belief is just 50% ( $p = 0.243$ ). Taking these numbers at face value, if we assume that all subjects who reject in public would also reject in private, then we estimate that those who reject in private but conform and accept in public believe that 87.5% of the subjects accept the offer.<sup>20</sup>

#### 2.2.4 Sensitivity of Political Expression to Payment Size

We next ask: how sensitive is the expression of ideology to the financial cost of that expression? To answer this question, we exploit the random assignment of bonus payments of both 100Rs. and 500 Rs. The rejection rate of the 500 Rs. U.S. offer (in the private condition) is just 9.7% (reported in row 1, column 1, of Table 2, Panel B). This is a decline in the rejection rate of 15.5 percentage points, from 25.2% to 9.7% ( $p < 0.001$ ), relative to the 100 Rs. private condition offer from the U.S. government (the difference is reported in row 1, column 1 of Table 2, Panel C).

Examining subjects' rejection of the LUMS bonus payment offer, we find a 2.8 percentage point reduction in rejection rates comparing the (private) 100 Rs. and 500 Rs. offers (reported in row 1, column 2, of Table 2, Panel C). Differencing out the change in the LUMS rejection rate across bonus payment size conditions, we find a reduction in rejection of the U.S. government offer of 12.7 percentage points ( $p = 0.01$ ; refer to row 1, column 3, of Table 2, Panel C). In Appendix Table A.1, we report the corresponding difference in differences from a regression including session fixed effects and all of the covariates reported in Table 1 and results are nearly unchanged. Finally, we present the triple difference: U.S 100 Rs. vs. 500 Rs. offers, public vs. private, U.S. offer vs. LUMS: this is 12.7 percentage points (albeit not statistically significant; refer to the bottom-right entry presented in Table 2, Panel C).

### 3 Experiment 2

#### 3.1 Design and Implementation

Between September 19 and October 21, 2015, we ran a second experiment in a new location: the areas surrounding Lahore. This experiment allows us to: (i) address questions about replicability and external validity and (ii) test whether our methodology can be implemented not only in a group/laboratory setting, but also in a door-to-door survey. A third aim of Experiment 2 was to link rejection of the bonus payment offer to an individual's actual political party affiliation — in particular, affiliation with a political party that is strongly anti-American. Because party membership rates were very limited, however, this dimension of the experiment was severely underpowered, and we relegate the results to Appendix Table A.2.<sup>21</sup> Experiment

<sup>20</sup>Under this assumption, and considering that the public treatment does not have a direct effect on beliefs, then  $\mathbb{E}[\text{belief}|\text{reject in private}] = \Pr(\text{reject in public}|\text{reject in private})\mathbb{E}[\text{belief}|\text{reject in public}] + \Pr(\text{accept in public}|\text{reject in private})\mathbb{E}[\text{belief}|\text{accept in public, but reject in private}]$ . Since we estimate  $\mathbb{E}[\text{belief}|\text{reject in private}] = 62\%$ ,  $\mathbb{E}[\text{belief}|\text{reject in public}] = 50\%$ , and  $\Pr(\text{reject in public}|\text{reject in private}) = 17/25$ , we estimate  $\mathbb{E}[\text{belief}|\text{accept in public, but reject in private}] = 87.5\%$ .

<sup>21</sup>One can see that rejecting the U.S. government bonus payment offer is weakly positively associated with membership in the anti-American PTI party (and negatively associated with membership in the mainstream PML-N party). Rejection of the offer is very weakly negatively associated with sign-up for the PTI, and very weakly negatively associated with sign-up for the PML-N.

2 was implemented in two stages, which appeared, from a subject’s perspective, to be unrelated, and which were conducted by two different survey teams.<sup>22</sup> In the first stage, a door-to-door survey measured subjects’ political affiliations; in the second stage, a tablet-based experiment (again based on door-to-door recruiting) elicited intrinsic anti-American ideology.

### 3.1.1 Context

Experiment 2 was implemented in the lead up to the first election under a new local government system in Punjab, Pakistan. Elections for local government bodies were held in Lahore ten days after the conclusion of our experiment, on October 31, 2015, with the two largest parties in Pakistan, *Pakistan Muslim League* (Nawaz League), or PML-N, and *Pakistan Tehreek-i-Insaf*, or PTI, expected to have a competitive contest.

PML-N is a party typically associated with large-scale infrastructure programs. PML-N refers to infrastructure spending as the ‘hallmark priority for PML(N)’ in its party manifesto.<sup>23</sup> PTI, in contrast, contested the 2013 elections on a strong anti-corruption and anti-American (put in terms of anti-“war on terror”) platform. Its manifesto argues that Pakistan should “not fight others’ wars or act as a surrogate for power. [Pakistan] has been subjected to the will of external powers with the most recent involvement in the U.S.-led war on terror which has created polarized and often violent cleavages within Pakistan’s polity.”<sup>24</sup>

### 3.1.2 Timeline and Site Selection

The experiment was conducted in four neighborhoods of the city of Lahore between September 19th and October 21st, 2015, with the first stage running through October 6th, and the second stage starting on October 8th. The neighborhoods were selected according to two criteria: first, they needed to have large enough populations to provide a sample size of around 2,000 people in the first stage of fieldwork. Second, they needed to be areas with mixed political affiliations, to provide variation in support for the anti-American, PTI party. Using these criteria to guide us, we conducted fieldwork in Bara Sanda, Chungi Amar Sidu, Shalimar Bagh and Bakr Mandi.

### 3.1.3 Subject Recruitment and Screening

We contracted the same local survey firm as in Experiment 1 to recruit men aged between 18 and 35 from the targeted neighborhoods. The survey firm employed a strict protocol to ensure that from the perspective of respondents, the two stages of the experiment would appear unrelated. In addition to using different sets of field enumerators in the two stages, and using different methods of collecting answers (paper vs. tablets), different survey company names were used in the two stages. In the first stage, enumerators introduced themselves as belonging to the survey company SEDCO (Socio Economic Development Concerns) Associates, while in the second stage, the new enumerators said that they were from DCS (Development Consultancy Services). Both companies are owned and run by the same organization in Islamabad — as in Experiment 1, we attempted to minimize our use of deception.

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<sup>22</sup>It must be noted that the differentiation between the two stages was imperfect, as the consent materials in both mentioned the same contact personnel. Perceptive subjects might thus have linked the two stages.

<sup>23</sup>See page 13 at <http://www.pmo.gov.pk/documents/manifesto.pdf>, last accessed January 26, 2018.

<sup>24</sup>PTI Manifesto, 2013 <http://www.scribd.com/doc/134950996/PTI-Manifesto-2013>, last accessed January 25, 2016.

Upon engaging a potential household for the first stage of the experiment, enumerators inquired about the presence of men between the ages of 18 and 35 in the household. If there was no one suitable, that household was skipped and the next household was engaged. Once a suitable subject was identified and available, enumerators introduced the study, followed by an exercise to gauge literacy (which was necessary for participation in stage 2 of the experiment).

The second stage of the experiment was a modified version of Experiment 1 — conducted at subjects’ houses, on an Android tablet. The major recruitment challenge was to conduct stage 2 with the same respondents in the same households as in the first stage. To ensure that this would be possible, field supervisors kept detailed maps of the neighborhoods for which they were responsible, along with using form IDs, and other information noted on the survey questionnaire from the first stage to assist in matching.

Over the course of the fieldwork in the first stage, enumerators approached 4,000 households, of which 1,530 households did not have a suitable respondent, 479 had a suitable respondent, but refused to be interviewed. In total, 1,991 households were successfully interviewed during the first stage of the intervention. The field team was instructed to match households from stage 1 with a targeted sample of 1,200 subjects for stage 2. In recruiting for the second stage, 1,674 of the 1,991 households were approached, of which 410 respondents were not available at home and 52 refused the survey. This produced a sample of 1,212 respondents who participated in both stages of Experiment 2. As we show below, the respondents successfully contacted and matched at stage 2 are broadly (albeit not perfectly) representative of the full sample of respondents in stage 1.

### 3.1.4 The Experiment

The first stage of Experiment 2 simply involved a five-minute survey at the subject’s doorstep.<sup>25</sup> After checking for subjects’ literacy using the exercise described above, enumerators asked a series of questions regarding two major parties: PML-N and PTI. In particular, enumerators asked which of the two parties respondents believed to be more anti-American, and whether respondents were members of either party.

The second stage was modeled after the design in Experiment 1, but modified to allow surveyors to conduct the study at subjects’ homes using Android tablets. Subjects were asked to (privately) complete a brief ten-question personality survey. Following this survey, half of the subjects were randomly assigned to be asked direct questions about their views on the U.S. government and U.S. government aid to Pakistan (we call this the *stated preference condition*, which included 601 participants). The ideology of the other half of the subjects was elicited using the methodology developed in Experiment 1 (we call this the *revealed preference condition*, which included 611 participants).

Payment in the two conditions was as follows. In the stated preference condition, subjects were paid 100 Rs. guaranteed as participation payment.<sup>26</sup> Subjects were told that in addition to the participation payment, a lottery would determine whether they would receive a payment of up to 200 Rs. (in practice, the additional payment amount was drawn from a lottery assigning equal probabilities to the amounts of 0

<sup>25</sup>All of the study materials for both stages are reproduced in Appendix A3.

<sup>26</sup>The aim of the stated preference condition was to allow us to estimate an association between stated preferences and anti-American (PTI) party membership. This could then be compared to the association between our revealed preference measure of anti-Americanism — rejection of the U.S. government bonus payment — and party membership. We find that stated preferences very weakly associate with Party membership. Due to lack of power, we again present these results in the Appendix (see Table A.3).

Rs., 100 Rs., or 200 Rs.). This means that subjects in the stated preference condition could receive 100 Rs., 200 Rs., or 300 Rs. from participating in the study.

In the revealed preference condition, there was also a 100 Rs. participation payment, as well as the possibility of additional payment to be determined via lottery. In this condition, the lottery amount payment was up to 100 Rs. (in practice, the additional payment amount was drawn from a lottery assigning equal probabilities to the amounts of 0 Rs. or 100 Rs.). In addition to the participation payment and the lottery bonus, subjects in the revealed preference condition were offered a bonus payment from the U.S. government, just as in the private condition of Experiment 1. As in Experiment 1, subjects were asked to check a box indicating whether they accepted or rejected the bonus payment offer, with the language associated with the two check box options identical to that in Experiment 1. In total, subjects in the revealed preference condition who accepted the U.S. government offer could receive 200 Rs. or 300 Rs., while those who rejected the offer could receive 100 Rs. or 200 Rs.

We designed the lottery component of subjects’ payment to provide “cover” for a subject’s choice of whether to accept the bonus payment offer. At the end of the survey, regardless of the treatment condition, a screen simply told the enumerator the total amount of money the subject should receive. Enumerators would pay the subject without knowing the treatment condition or the lottery payment outcome. Thus, regardless of subjects’ choice to accept or reject the bonus payment offer, the survey enumerator who paid the subject would be *unaware* of whether the subject was even offered a payment from the U.S. government, let alone whether the subject accepted the payment.

Subjects were not provided with complete information about the experimental design; thus, it is important to examine the issue of “cover” from the perspective of subjects in the revealed preference condition. How might subjects’ *perceptions* of imperfect cover (if any) have affected their decisions of whether to accept the U.S. offer? In Experiment 1, we find that anticipated public expression pushed subjects in the direction of accepting the bonus payment — this suggests that (perceived) social pressure would tend to push down rejection rates in Experiment 2 as well. However, the nature of social pressure in Experiment 1 differs from that in Experiment 2: in the former, anticipated social pressure came from both experimenters and other subjects; in the latter, pressure came entirely from the experimenter. One might imagine that experimenter demand effects would particularly push subjects toward payment acceptance, rather than rejection (the experimenter is offering the payment, after all), but we acknowledge that we do not have direct evidence on the effects of (perceived) social pressure in this setting.

## 3.2 Empirical Analysis

### 3.2.1 Sample Characteristics and Balance Across Conditions

Table 3 presents the mean characteristics of the sample from the two stages of Experiment 2, with the stage 2 sample the subset of the stage 1 subjects who were included in both stages. Table 3, column 1 presents the mean values of the same variables in Experiment 1, for comparison. By looking at Table 3, columns 1–3, one can see that, relative to respondents in Experiment 1, subjects in Experiment 2 are older (26 vs. 24), less likely to be single (50% vs. 69%), less educated (10 vs. 12 years of education), and more likely to be engaged in an economic activity (80% vs. 50%). This indicates that the two samples of young men are somewhat different, besides being drawn from different regions of the country. Examining Table 3, columns 2,3, and 6, we do observe a few statistically significant differences between the subjects contacted



in stage one and those successfully recontacted in stage two. These differences, however, do not create any issue for the prediction exercise we present in Appendix Table A.2, beyond an additional concern in terms of external validity. Moreover, comparing the means reported in columns 4–5 indicates that the randomization into two treatments within the second stage of Experiment 2 was successful (p-values in Table 3, column 7).

### 3.2.2 Revealed Preference and Stated Preference Measures of Anti-Americanism

In the second stage of Experiment 2, we find that 34% of the respondents in the revealed preference condition rejected the 100 Rs., (private) bonus payment offer from the U.S. government (this is reported with standard error in the first row of Table 4, column 2). This number is quite similar to the rejection rate we observed in the 100 Rs., private condition in Experiment 1 (reported with standard error in the first row of Table 4, column 1). The finding in Experiment 2 is valuable both for establishing some degree of external validity of our original finding, and for testing the robustness of our elicitation methodology: it is worth emphasizing that the results in Experiment 2 were found in a different part of Pakistan, with a different sample frame, and a different data collection method.

In the stated preference condition of Experiment 2, we ask subjects to report their views on the U.S. government overall, and their views on U.S. aid. We find that around 39% of subjects report negative views of the U.S. government (see row 2 of Table 4, column 2), and that around 31% of subjects report negative views of U.S. aid (see row 3 of Table 4, column 2). Again, our findings in Experiment 2 are similar to those for identical questions asked in Experiment 1 (compare with Table 4, column 1).

## 4 Discussion: Interpreting Rejection of the Bonus Payment Offer

We next present a simple framework through which we clarify the threats to our interpretation of rejection of the bonus payment offer from the U.S. government as an identity-preserving political expression. Suppose that an individual derives utility from rejecting payment through three channels. First, rejecting payment may provide an individual with utility for *instrumental* reasons; that is, because expression changes the world in ways that bring utility to the individual. Second, when rejection of the payment is (anticipated to be) observed by others, it might differentially provide utility (or disutility) for *social* reasons. Finally, the individual might derive utility from rejecting the payment for *intrinsic* reasons: these include political identity, but can also include other intrinsic reasons to reject payment.

### 4.1 Consequential Concerns Other Than The Forgone Payment

We designed our study such that the stakes of rejecting the payment offer would be meaningful for subjects, but trivial for the U.S. government: it is difficult to imagine a meaningful effect on U.S. finances arising from subjects’ decisions to reject or accept the bonus payment offer. However, despite the fact that the fiscal stakes for the U.S. government were trivial, subjects may have believed that their choices in aggregate would have meaningful consequences by sending a signal to the U.S. government. While we cannot absolutely rule this out, we note that the median subject who rejected the U.S. bonus payment offer in the 100 Rs., private condition believed (as measured in our incentivized elicitation) that 87% of the other subjects accepted the

offer. Thus, any choice to reject payment would have been perceived to represent a small increment on top of a small minority, rather than contributing to a strong signal of opposition to the U.S. government.

## 4.2 Social Concerns

We next consider the possibility that subjects’ choices to reject the bonus payment offer were shaped by social concerns despite our attempts to make their decisions completely private. Even if subjects did consider the possibility that their choices might be observable, there are reasons to believe that this social cost term would have *increased* the cost of rejecting the U.S. payment offer, making the identity-motivated revealed preference even stronger. First, if subjects were concerned about the observability of their choice by the research team, standard experimenter demand effects would seem to pull in the direction of accepting the payment offer: if a subject is offered a bonus payment, there might be (if anything) implicit pressure to accept — this is the primary social pressure at work in Experiment 2, and also may have been at work in Experiment 1. Second, if subjects believed that their choice might be revealed to others, our estimate in Experiment 1 of the effect of anticipated public expression suggests that observability of the choice would again *reduce* rejection rates.

## 4.3 Intrinsic Utility for Reasons other than Anti-American Ideology

An important concern is that subjects in both experiments might have privately rejected the U.S. bonus payment offer not because they disliked the U.S., but for some other intrinsic reason. For example, perhaps they felt uncomfortable accepting an additional monetary payment. As discussed above, however, we address this concern in our analysis of Experiment 1 by differencing out the private rejection rates from the LUMS offer: we find a substantial fraction of the population rejecting the U.S. government offer beyond those who reject the LUMS offer.

The U.S. government offer differed from the LUMS offer both in the foreignness of the entity offering the payment, and in the fact that the entity was a government. One might be concerned that the difference in rejection rates between the U.S. payment and the LUMS payment conditions arose from anti-foreign or anti-government views, rather than specifically anti-American views. We can assess this possibility by examining the correlation between rejection of the U.S. offer and stated preferences. As noted above, in Experiment 1, following subjects’ decisions of whether to accept the bonus payment, they were asked to answer a number of direct survey questions, which included elicitation of their stated views on: (i) aid provided by the U.S. government, (ii) the U.S. government overall, (iii) aid provided by the Japanese government, and (iv) the Japanese government overall (Japan was picked as a plausibly neutral, rich, foreign nation that is currently engaged in providing funds to Pakistan).

For each of these questions, respondents were asked to express their views by picking a number from 1 to 5, with 1 corresponding to very negative views, and 5 to very positive views. We convert responses into “negative views” dummy variables equal to 1 if subjects’ responses were either “1” or “2”. Subjects were also asked to compare their views on the four aforementioned topics *relative* to the other participants in the room, also on a scale from 1 to 5; we converted these into analogous “negative relative views” dummy variables.

We regress each of the 8 stated views outcomes on a dummy variable indicating whether subjects rejected the bonus payment in Experiment 1’s 100 Rs., private, U.S. offer, condition. In Table 5, columns 1–4, one

can see that rejection of the U.S. payment offer is significant associated with absolutely and relatively anti-American stated views. Among individuals who accept the payment offer, around 15% have negative views of the U.S. government — this jumps to 70% among those who rejected payment. In contrast, in Table 5, columns 5–8, one can see that rejection of the U.S. payment offer has almost no association with stated views on Japan or Japanese aid. Among individuals who accept the payment offer, around 13% have negative views of the Japanese government — this is practically unchanged at 17% among those who rejected payment. These results suggest that the dominant source of intrinsic motivation to reject the U.S. government bonus payment offer was specific to the U.S. Government.

## 5 Conclusion

We show that a significant minority of Pakistani men are willing to forgo a sizable payment simply to avoid checking a box that affirms gratitude toward the U.S. government for providing the funds. The structure of our experiment allows us to go far beyond the (unsurprising) documentation of anti-American sentiment in Pakistan: the behavior is private, and is unlikely to be of significant “real world” consequence, suggesting that rejection of payment is motivated by the need to preserve individuals’ sense of self. This is the clearest evidence of which we are aware of the existence of a “political identity,” and provides empirical grounding for the inclusion of intrinsic motivation in models of political behavior.

Our work suggests two avenues for further research. One is to understand where political identity comes from, very much related to a large literature on the sources of political attitudes and ideology.<sup>27</sup> A second direction is to evaluate the impact of variation in consequences and in social setting on the real-world expression of individuals’ political identities. Our findings suggest that policies aimed at shaping the expression of political attitudes — for example, reducing anti-American political expression — simply by changing instrumental incentives may be limited. But the elasticity of political expression deserves further empirical investigation.

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<sup>27</sup>This literature has examined, among others, parents’ influence (Bisin and Verdier, 2001); peer effects (Sacerdote, 2001); the role of the media (Strömberg, 2004); personal experience (Giuliano and Spilimbergo, 2014); education (Cantoni et al., forthcoming); and, a range of fundamental preferences (Cantoni et al., 2016).

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Table 1: Summary Statistics and Covariates Balance in Experiment 1

	Full Sample (1)	LUMS				U.S. government				p-value (10)
		Low payment		High payment		Low payment		High payment		
		Pri (2)	Pub (3)	Pri (4)	Pub (5)	Pri (6)	Pub (7)	Pri (8)	Pub (9)	
Currently engaged in economic activity?	0.504 (0.500)	0.468 [0.045]	0.489 [0.039]	0.518 [0.042]	0.489 [0.048]	0.500 [0.046]	0.529 [0.040]	0.521 [0.043]	0.518 [0.041]	0.96
Age	23.7 (5.0)	23.2 [0.5]	23.6 [0.5]	23.6 [0.5]	24.2 [0.5]	23.3 [0.5]	23.8 [0.5]	24.2 [0.4]	23.6 [0.5]	0.35
Single	0.692 (0.462)	0.696 [0.039]	0.691 [0.034]	0.691 [0.047]	0.683 [0.042]	0.748 [0.037]	0.669 [0.044]	0.674 [0.037]	0.684 [0.048]	0.79
Years of education	11.9 (2.8)	12.1 [0.2]	11.9 [0.3]	11.8 [0.2]	11.7 [0.2]	12.1 [0.3]	11.5 [0.3]	11.7 [0.3]	12.0 [0.2]	0.56
<i>Ethnic groups</i>										
Punjabi	0.101 (0.301)	0.090 [0.029]	0.098 [0.032]	0.096 [0.029]	0.104 [0.037]	0.101 [0.033]	0.093 [0.036]	0.119 [0.029]	0.105 [0.034]	0.95
Pashtun	0.641 (0.480)	0.634 [0.067]	0.632 [0.067]	0.640 [0.069]	0.634 [0.070]	0.643 [0.067]	0.667 [0.065]	0.622 [0.065]	0.654 [0.067]	0.75
Baluchi	0.091 (0.288)	0.082 [0.029]	0.120 [0.042]	0.103 [0.035]	0.067 [0.028]	0.093 [0.032]	0.093 [0.037]	0.096 [0.033]	0.075 [0.024]	0.77
Urdu	0.017 (0.129)	0.007 [0.007]	0.015 [0.011]	0.015 [0.010]	0.037 [0.019]	0.008 [0.008]	0.016 [0.011]	0.022 [0.013]	0.015 [0.011]	0.69
Seraiki	0.106 (0.308)	0.127 [0.039]	0.075 [0.028]	0.132 [0.033]	0.142 [0.041]	0.116 [0.037]	0.085 [0.030]	0.089 [0.029]	0.083 [0.024]	0.66
<i>Religion</i>										
Shia	0.053 (0.224)	0.037 [0.019]	0.045 [0.021]	0.083 [0.029]	0.060 [0.025]	0.040 [0.017]	0.076 [0.025]	0.045 [0.020]	0.038 [0.019]	0.58
Sunni	0.853 (0.354)	0.844 [0.033]	0.841 [0.033]	0.812 [0.037]	0.851 [0.032]	0.849 [0.034]	0.855 [0.033]	0.895 [0.028]	0.880 [0.029]	0.63
Muslim - other	0.087 (0.282)	0.119 [0.028]	0.106 [0.027]	0.098 [0.028]	0.082 [0.022]	0.103 [0.027]	0.069 [0.024]	0.053 [0.018]	0.068 [0.021]	0.41
<i>Big 5</i>										
Openness to experience	3.020 (0.424)	3.062 [0.033]	3.072 [0.044]	2.998 [0.037]	3.014 [0.036]	3.021 [0.036]	3.015 [0.035]	2.990 [0.033]	2.985 [0.025]	0.41
Conscientiousness	4.110 (0.563)	4.110 [0.056]	4.101 [0.053]	4.110 [0.043]	4.121 [0.046]	4.095 [0.056]	4.124 [0.046]	4.064 [0.042]	4.157 [0.053]	0.88
Extraversion	3.590 (0.512)	3.655 [0.046]	3.586 [0.048]	3.572 [0.038]	3.564 [0.044]	3.543 [0.047]	3.543 [0.047]	3.566 [0.039]	3.689 [0.040]	0.17
Agreeableness	3.805 (0.566)	3.812 [0.044]	3.848 [0.055]	3.792 [0.048]	3.740 [0.047]	3.785 [0.051]	3.835 [0.050]	3.797 [0.051]	3.829 [0.050]	0.83
Neuroticism	2.901 (0.530)	2.902 [0.062]	2.919 [0.038]	2.952 [0.039]	2.869 [0.043]	2.898 [0.042]	2.911 [0.039]	2.880 [0.055]	2.876 [0.048]	0.73
Number of observations	1152	144	144	144	144	144	144	144	144	

*Notes:* Column 1 presents the mean for each variable based on our sample of 1,152 subjects. The Big 5 characteristics were recorded on a 1 to 5 Likert scale. Standard deviations are in parentheses. Columns 2 to 10 report the mean level of each variable, with standard errors clustered at session level in brackets, for each treatment cell. For each variable, column 10 reports the p-value of a joint test that the mean levels are the same for all treatment cells (columns 2–9). The last row presents the number of observations in each treatment condition. Some calculations used a smaller sample size due to missing information. The proportion of subjects with missing information for each variable is never greater than 8%. The ethnic group categories do not sum to one because of a few small omitted categories (e.g., subjects identifying as Seraiki speakers) and non-response to this question.



Table 2: Rejection Rates in Experiment 1

	Offer		Difference
	U.S. Gov't (1)	LUMS (2)	(U.S. Gov't - LUMS) (3)
Panel A: low payment			
Private	0.252 [0.042]	0.084 [0.021]	0.168*** [0.047]
Public	0.170 [0.026]	0.111 [0.027]	0.059* [0.036]
Difference (private - public)	0.082* [0.049]	-0.027 [0.033]	0.109** [0.053]
Panel B: high payment			
Private	0.097 [0.031]	0.056 [0.018]	0.041 [0.036]
Public	0.148 [0.030]	0.097 [0.028]	0.051 [0.041]
Difference (private - public)	-0.051 [0.032]	-0.041 [0.032]	-0.010 [0.051]
Panel C: differences (low Payment - high Payment)			
Private	0.155*** [0.045]	0.028 [0.028]	0.127*** [0.048]
Public	0.022 [0.040]	0.014 [0.040]	0.008 [0.054]
Difference (private - public)	0.132** [0.061]	0.014 [0.045]	0.119 [0.075]

*Notes:* Panel A presents rejection rates in the low payment condition for each combination of offer×privacy condition, and differences in rejection rates depending on offer and privacy conditions. Panel B presents the same information for the high payment condition. Panel C presents differences for each cell between the low and high payment conditions. Standard errors clustered at the session level are presented in brackets. For differences in rejection rates, we denote: \* significant at 10%; \*\* significant at 5%; \*\*\* significant at 1%.

Table 3: Summary Statistics and Covariates Balance in Experiment 2

	Experiment 1 (1)	Experiment 2		Stage 2		p-value	
		Stage 1 (2)	Stage 2 (3)	Revealed Preference (4)	Stated View (5)	Column (2)=(3) (6)	Column (4)=(5) (7)
Currently engaged in economic activity?	0.504 [0.015]	0.797 [0.009]	0.799 [0.012]	0.791 [0.016]	0.807 [0.016]	0.869	0.475
Age (Years)	23.7 [0.2]	26.5 [0.1]	26.4 [0.2]	26.2 [0.2]	26.7 [0.2]	0.857	0.150
Single	0.692 [0.014]	0.499 [0.011]	0.500 [0.014]	0.514 [0.020]	0.487 [0.020]	0.875	0.344
Education (Years)	11.9 [0.1]	10.0 [0.1]	10.0 [0.1]	10.1 [0.1]	10.0 [0.1]	0.401	0.615
Muslim	0.993 [0.002]	0.984 [0.003]	0.980 [0.004]	0.975 [0.006]	0.985 [0.005]	0.039	0.231
<i>Caste</i>							
Rajput	- -	0.296 [0.010]	0.300 [0.013]	0.308 [0.019]	0.293 [0.019]	0.583	0.573
Jatt	- -	0.096 [0.007]	0.100 [0.009]	0.103 [0.012]	0.097 [0.012]	0.518	0.702
Mehar	- -	0.065 [0.006]	0.075 [0.008]	0.082 [0.011]	0.068 [0.010]	0.022	0.369
Arain	- -	0.116 [0.007]	0.107 [0.009]	0.105 [0.012]	0.110 [0.013]	0.158	0.776
Other	- -	0.427 [0.011]	0.417 [0.014]	0.403 [0.020]	0.433 [0.020]	0.290	0.290
<i>Big 5</i>							
Openness to experience	3.020 [0.013]	-	3.470 [0.023]	3.427 [0.032]	3.513 [0.033]	-	0.059
Conscientiousness	4.110 [0.017]	-	3.925 [0.023]	3.926 [0.032]	3.923 [0.032]	-	0.949
Extraversion	3.590 [0.015]	-	4.013 [0.027]	4.000 [0.039]	4.026 [0.038]	-	0.638
Agreeableness	3.805 [0.017]	-	2.997 [0.017]	3.016 [0.023]	2.977 [0.026]	-	0.256
Neuroticism	2.901 [0.016]	-	2.675 [0.026]	2.656 [0.037]	2.694 [0.036]	-	0.470
Perceive PTI as more able than PML-N to bring benefits and services to the community	-	0.504 [0.011]	0.487 [0.015]	0.485 [0.020]	0.488 [0.021]	0.052	0.916
Perceive PTI as more anti-American than PML-N	-	0.501 [0.011]	0.490 [0.015]	0.484 [0.020]	0.496 [0.021]	0.240	0.690
Registered to political party							
PTI	-	0.051 [0.005]	0.045 [0.006]	0.039 [0.008]	0.050 [0.009]	0.129	0.370
PML-N	-	0.062 [0.005]	0.041 [0.006]	0.033 [0.007]	0.050 [0.009]	0.000	0.133
Other	-	0.012 [0.002]	0.016 [0.004]	0.013 [0.005]	0.018 [0.005]	0.043	0.466
Interested in signing up with:							
PTI	-	0.083 [0.006]	0.090 [0.008]	0.080 [0.011]	0.100 [0.012]	0.145	0.233
PML-N	-	0.070 [0.006]	0.079 [0.008]	0.090 [0.012]	0.068 [0.010]	0.034	0.160
Registered to vote	-	0.864 [0.008]	0.853 [0.010]	0.852 [0.014]	0.854 [0.014]	0.062	0.947
Plan to vote	-	0.928 [0.006]	0.922 [0.008]	0.918 [0.011]	0.925 [0.011]	0.152	0.652
Number of observations		1991	1212	611	601		

*Notes:* Column 1 presents the mean for each variable in the first experiment. Columns 2 and 3 present the mean for each variable respectively in the first and second stage of the second experiment. Columns 4 and 5 present information on subjects from the second stage of the second experiment separately for those in the revealed preference and in the stated view groups. Column 6 presents p-values of tests that means are the same for subjects in stage 1 and stage 2 of the second experiment, while column 7 presents p-values of tests that means are the same for subjects in the revealed preference and stated view groups. Standard errors are reported in brackets.

Table 4: Anti-Americanism Measures - Experiments 1 & 2

Measure	Experiment 1 (1)	Experiment 2 (2)
Rejected Bonus Payment (=1)	0.252 [0.042]	0.342 [0.019]
Views U.S. Gov't Negatively (=1)	0.289 [0.035]	0.394 [0.020]
Views U.S. Aid Negatively (=1)	0.271 [0.041]	0.309 [0.019]

*Notes:* This table presents averages for the three measures of anti-Americanism for experiments 1 and 2. For experiment 1, we consider the sample in the low U.S. government payment, private condition. Standard errors in brackets.

Table 5: Revealed and Stated Preferences in Experiment 1

	Negative views about U.S. aid (1)	Negative views about U.S. government (2)	Relatively more negative views about U.S. aid (3)	Relatively more negative views about U.S. government (4)	Negative views about Japan aid (5)	Negative views about Japan government (6)	Relatively more negative views about Japan aid (7)	Relatively more negative views about Japan government (8)
Rejected	0.627*** [0.090]	0.542*** [0.086]	0.402*** [0.107]	0.401*** [0.105]	0.020 [0.090]	0.042 [0.082]	-0.019 [0.071]	0.030 [0.083]
Mean (accepted US offer)	0.115 [0.028]	0.152 [0.029]	0.182 [0.042]	0.170 [0.041]	0.175 [0.043]	0.125 [0.038]	0.219 [0.039]	0.248 [0.044]
N	139	141	135	135	139	140	140	141

*Notes:* This table reports differences in stated preference views between subjects who rejected and those who accepted the U.S. 100 Rs. private offer. In Column (1), subjects were asked about their views toward aid provided by the U.S. government to Pakistan: possible responses were “very negative”, “negative”, “neither negative nor positive”, “positive”, or “very positive”. We coded a “negative views about U.S. aid” dummy variable equal to 1 for subjects who answered “very negative” or “negative”. Column (2) uses a question about subjects’ views toward U.S. government in general. Columns (3) and (4) are based on questions asking subjects how their views of U.S. aid and the U.S. government in general compare to those of others in the room. Columns (5) to (8) replicate columns (1) to (4) using views on Japan instead of the U.S. Standard errors clustered at the session level in brackets. \* significant at 10%; \*\* significant at 5%; \*\*\* significant at 1%.

# Online Appendix: Not for publication

## A1 Description of Piloting

We developed our protocol for Experiment 1 in a series of pilots. First, in November 2012, we ran a small pilot and focus group discussion with 20 undergraduate students at the Lahore University of Management Sciences (LUMS). Next, before running the full experiment, we ran a larger pilot study in the field with 143 subjects. The exercise comprised 6 separate sessions, with approximately 24 subjects per session. 71 subjects participated on June 24th, 2013, in Islamabad and 72 subjects participated on June 25th, 2013, in Peshawar. Anticipating the necessity of having Pakistanis conduct the main experiment, we used the larger pilot to train our lab coordinators, allowing us to avoid the direct involvement of any foreigners in the implementation of the main experiment. The pilot study allowed us to refine our experimental design and to establish that we could carry out the activity safely with minimal risk to enumerators or participants. We committed in advance not to include data from the pilot studies in our main analysis.

We also conducted a pilot study prior to Experiment 2 to refine our experimental design and to establish that we could carry out the activities safely, with minimal risk to enumerators and participants. Again, we committed in advance not to include data from the pilot study in our main analysis.

## A2 Appendix Figures and Tables

Table A.1: Rejection Rates in Experiment 1 (Controlling for Covariates and Session FE)

	Offer		Difference
	U.S. Gov't (1)	LUMS (2)	(U.S. Gov't - LUMS) (3)
Panel A: low payment			
Private			0.180*** [0.047]
Public			0.050 [0.039]
Difference (private - public)	0.066 [0.049]	-0.064* [0.039]	0.130** [0.055]
Panel B: high payment			
Private			0.057 [0.041]
Public			0.053 [0.047]
Difference (private - public)	-0.027 [0.035]	-0.031 [0.033]	0.003 [0.052]
Panel C: differences (low Payment - high Payment)			
Private	0.139*** [0.046]	0.016 [0.033]	0.123** [0.056]
Public	0.046 [0.040]	0.050 [0.042]	-0.004 [0.060]
Difference (private - public)	0.093* [0.055]	-0.034 [0.050]	0.127* [0.075]

*Notes:* This table replicates the differences in rejection rates presented in Table 2, controlling for fixed effects and all the covariates presented in Table 1 (the unconditional means presented in Table 2 are suppressed to reflect the fact that differences here are conditional on controls and fixed effects). Panel A presents rejection rates in the low payment condition for each combination of offer×privacy condition, and differences in rejection rates depending on offer and privacy conditions. Panel B presents the same information for the high payment condition. Panel C presents differences for each cell between the low and high payment conditions. Standard errors clustered at the session level are presented in brackets. For differences in rejection rates, we denote: \* significant at 10%; \*\* significant at 5%; \*\*\* significant at 1%.

Table A.2: Does Rejecting Payment Predict Real Political Behavior?

Dependent Variable	Member of PTI		Member of PML-N		Signed up to PTI	Signed up to PML-N
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Rejected Bonus Payment (=1)	0.020 [0.018]	0.276* [0.145]	-0.021 [0.014]	-0.222 [0.136]	-0.006 [0.023]	0.009 [0.025]
Mean (rejected=0)	0.032 [0.009]	0.371 [0.083]	0.040 [0.010]	0.457 [0.085]	0.082 [0.014]	0.087 [0.014]
Sample	Full	Party Member	Full	Party Member	Full	Party Member
# Observations	611	52	611	52	611	611
Covariates	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

*Notes:* This table reports the coefficients from regressions of measures of political preference on a dummy equal to one for respondents who rejected a bonus payment offer from the US Government. The sample in columns 1, 3, and 5 is comprised of all subjects contacted in stage 1, recontacted in stage 2, and randomly assigned to receive a bonus payment offer (the *revealed preference condition*). Columns 2 and 4 is a subsample who were already a member of a party when they were contacted in stage 1 of the experiment. White heteroscedasticity robust standard errors are in brackets. \* significant at 10%; \*\* significant at 5%; \*\*\* significant at 1%.

Table A.3: Do Stated Preferences Predict Real Political Behavior?

Dependent Variable	Member of PTI		Member of PML-N		Signed up to PTI	Signed up to PML-N
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Panel A: Negative Views About U.S. Government						
Rejected Bonus Payment (=1)	-0.034** [0.017]	-0.188 [0.119]	0.008 [0.018]	0.188 [0.125]	-0.032 [0.024]	0.006 [0.021]
Mean (rejected=0)	0.063 [0.013]	0.479 [0.073]	0.047 [0.011]	0.354 [0.070]	0.113 [0.017]	0.066 [0.013]
Panel B: Negative Views About U.S. Aid						
Rejected Bonus Payment (=1)	-0.002 [0.019]	-0.037 [0.126]	-0.002 [0.019]	-0.037 [0.126]	-0.043* [0.024]	0.026 [0.024]
Mean (rejected=0)	0.051 [0.011]	0.429 [0.071]	0.051 [0.011]	0.429 [0.071]	0.113 [0.016]	0.060 [0.012]
Sample	Full Sample	Members of political party	Full Sample	Members of political party	Full Sample	Full Sample
# Observations	601	72	601	72	601	601

*Notes:* This table replicates the results from Table A.2 using stated instead of revealed preferences. White heteroscedasticity robust standard errors are in brackets. \* significant at 10%; \*\* significant at 5%; \*\*\* significant at 1%.

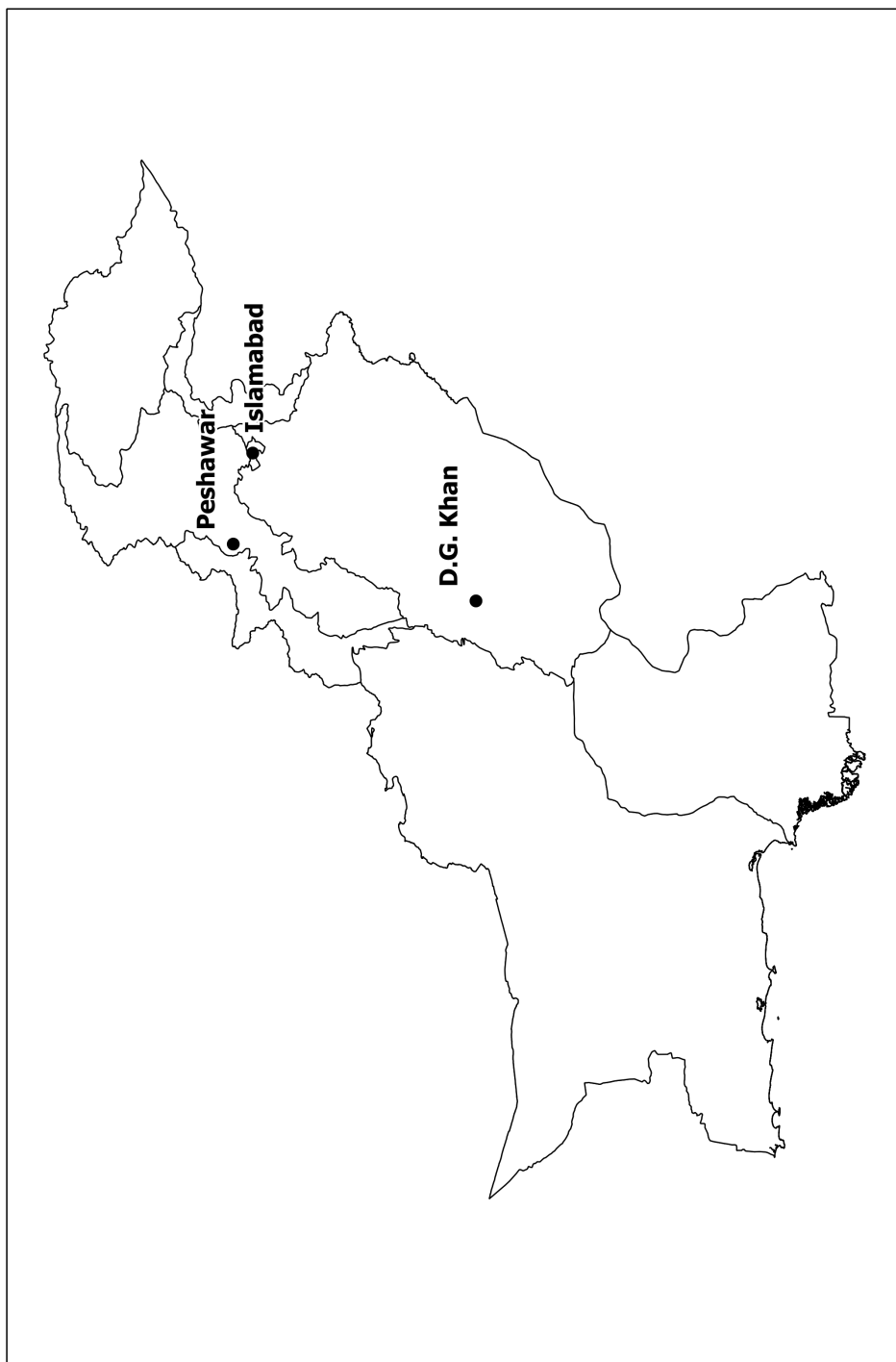


Figure A.1: Map of Experiment 1 Laboratory Locations in Pakistan



Panel A: First Screening Test

**ایسا کبھی نہیں ہوتا**

”دنیا بھر کی سستی، کام چوری اور کاہلی میری لڑکی پر ختم ہے۔“

امی کی ایونٹ ٹرانسمیشن کا آغاز خلاف توقع آج جلدی ہو گیا تھا۔ اس نے ڈھنائی کی اعلیٰ روایات قائم کرتے ہوئے انہیں نظر انداز کر کے لینے رہنے کی کوشش کی مگر آج امی فارم میں تھیں اور مسلسل اس کی مدح سرائی فرما رہی تھیں اسے اٹھنا ہی پڑا مگر یہ اٹھنا عام اٹھنا نہیں تھا۔ اپنے کمرے کے دروازے کو اچھی طرح پٹخ کر وہ باہر آئی تھی۔

”چار گھنٹے پہلے تو آپ کا فرمان تھا کہ دنیا بھر کی سستی، کام چوری اور کاہلی تجھ سے شروع ہوتی ہے اور چار گھنٹے کے اندر اندر یہ مجھ پر ختم ہوتا شروع ہو گئیں بندے کو اپنی زبان پر تو قائم رہنا چاہئے۔“

اس نے صحن میں آتے ہی بیان داغا تھا اور پھر برآمدے کے واش روم کے سامنے کھڑے ہو کر چہرے پر پانی کے چھینے مارنے لگی امی صحن میں تخت پر بیٹھی مہزی بن رہی تھیں۔

”زبان دیکھی ہے قہنجی کی طرح چلتی ہے۔“

انہوں نے اس کی بات پر آگ بگولہ ہوتے ہوئے کہا تھا۔

Panel B: On-site Screening Test

**ترکیب**

مرغ کو صاف کر کے دھو لیں۔ ایک دہیچی میں آدھا کپ پانی ڈالیں، اس میں لوگ اور بسن ڈال کر مرغ ہلکا گلائیں۔ بلینڈر میں بادام، پستہ، انجیر، کھوپرا، ادراک، پنے، خشخاش، دہی ڈال کر موٹا موٹا پیس لیں۔ ایک دہیچی میں کوکنگ آئل گرم کر کے اس میں پیاز ڈال کر ہلکا سبز ہونے دیں اس کے بعد اس میں پیسا ہوا مصالحہ، نمک اور سرخ مرچ پاؤڈر شامل کر کے بھون لیں۔ اس کے بعد بھنا ہوا مصالحہ مرغ کے پیس میں بھر دیں۔ اوپر بھی اچھی طرح لگا دیں۔ بیکنگ ڈش میں کوکنگ آئل لگا کر اسے چکنا کر لیں مرغ اس میں رکھ کر پہلے سے گرم اوون میں 200 ڈگری سینٹی گریڈ پر رکھ کر پینتیس سے چالیس منٹ تک بیک کریں۔ اس کے بعد مرغ کے اوپر کوکنگ آئل لگا کر مزید دس منٹ تک بیک کریں۔ گوشت کی رنگت سرخی مائل ہونے پر اسے اوون سے نکال لیں۔ لذیز مرغ میوہ دار تیار ہے۔

سلاد کے ساتھ پیش کریں۔

Figure A.2: Urdu Versions of Literacy Screening Tests for Experiment 1

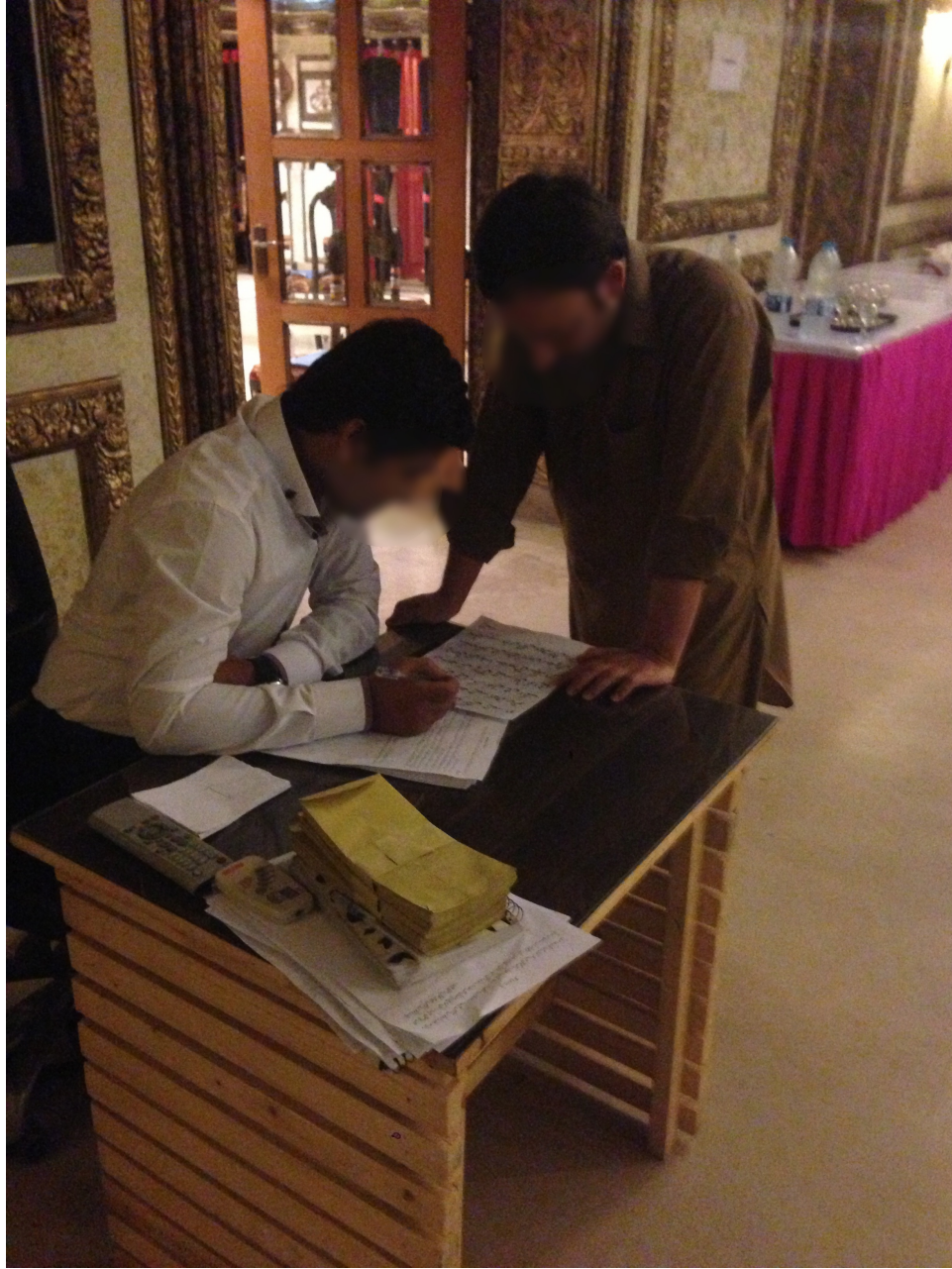


Figure A.3: Experiment 1 Enrollment Desk Outside of the Lab in Islamabad





Figure A.4: Experiment 1 Session in Islamabad





Figure A.5: Experiment 1 Session in Peshawar

		Participant Identification Number																							
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
Laboratory Session Number	1	l	k	c	v	n	o	u	s	h	w	p	b	a	i	q	m	d	f	t	e	j	g	x	r
	2	w	t	q	p	x	m	j	b	s	k	n	l	v	i	d	o	e	a	h	r	g	u	c	f
	3	r	w	q	n	c	t	h	i	k	a	d	g	b	o	j	x	e	l	f	v	s	p	u	m
	4	k	w	g	r	c	v	u	n	x	i	p	d	t	m	b	a	l	q	s	j	e	h	o	f
	5	h	c	w	s	q	d	f	r	v	m	l	u	e	a	g	x	k	t	n	i	o	j	p	b
	6	v	t	n	c	q	h	o	e	p	r	j	f	w	a	l	m	s	u	b	d	i	x	g	k
	7	k	g	s	i	m	c	v	h	r	p	l	x	o	b	n	j	d	w	f	u	e	q	t	a
	8	w	k	d	l	h	s	f	m	g	x	b	a	o	q	p	n	c	v	e	i	u	t	r	j
	9	g	x	c	u	q	l	i	j	d	b	m	p	v	t	n	f	e	k	a	s	w	h	o	r
	10	m	x	w	b	c	u	l	k	t	d	e	q	p	j	h	i	n	r	o	a	f	v	g	s
	11	c	b	h	f	u	w	s	t	a	n	e	o	j	l	g	m	k	v	r	d	q	i	x	p
	12	l	v	j	t	i	d	r	m	c	u	b	a	x	p	e	n	o	g	q	h	s	f	k	w
	13	c	p	q	a	b	v	d	n	l	x	j	g	r	e	f	k	i	h	w	o	s	t	m	u
	14	q	h	a	t	i	p	k	e	c	v	n	x	m	o	r	f	g	d	b	l	s	w	u	j
	15	w	j	a	q	b	g	e	t	c	d	h	o	x	m	r	i	k	u	n	p	f	v	l	s
	16	r	s	q	g	w	m	o	k	x	p	d	a	c	v	b	e	t	i	j	l	f	u	n	h
	17	d	h	n	x	w	c	o	l	f	i	e	r	j	v	m	g	s	a	u	k	t	q	b	p
	18	x	e	b	n	l	a	s	h	o	t	d	c	v	j	f	i	q	g	r	w	u	k	m	p
	19	o	b	r	s	q	i	p	t	e	w	k	c	a	g	n	d	l	j	v	m	h	f	x	u
	20	n	l	h	x	q	u	s	m	i	k	b	c	w	e	f	g	v	r	p	a	t	j	o	d
	21	r	w	k	q	h	x	v	d	f	n	t	i	s	l	o	e	g	m	a	c	j	b	p	u
	22	h	e	w	p	s	t	m	k	f	q	l	b	a	u	r	d	n	i	g	j	o	c	v	x
	23	d	v	s	i	j	g	q	n	l	e	r	k	f	p	c	w	b	m	a	t	u	o	h	x
	24	c	j	i	n	g	l	a	e	t	b	v	u	k	s	x	o	d	q	f	p	h	m	w	r
	25	b	i	c	k	v	a	q	s	m	u	t	h	e	g	l	n	p	j	f	x	r	w	o	d
	26	l	j	k	e	s	i	o	a	r	w	x	h	n	v	b	f	c	g	u	t	m	p	d	q
	27	c	m	l	o	d	n	v	t	i	w	s	x	u	g	f	j	h	r	q	p	e	b	a	k
	28	b	u	i	m	g	l	t	o	k	c	x	s	j	f	r	p	n	h	d	w	e	a	v	q
	29	x	b	k	p	j	u	m	v	i	t	n	a	g	d	w	c	q	l	s	o	h	r	f	e
	30	t	h	c	v	n	x	o	s	r	j	e	q	d	a	p	k	f	w	m	u	g	i	b	l
	31	u	c	b	v	x	f	d	t	s	l	w	o	m	g	k	r	j	a	q	n	i	p	e	h
	32	d	j	r	p	i	q	k	e	n	u	o	a	t	g	w	c	v	f	s	x	m	h	b	l
	33	i	g	c	f	p	d	q	e	b	a	u	n	w	j	v	o	t	s	r	m	h	x	l	k
	34	u	g	e	x	l	p	t	h	m	s	o	f	v	i	r	b	k	a	n	w	j	q	d	c
	35	s	k	m	x	f	e	p	c	w	d	i	n	o	b	h	g	r	u	v	l	j	t	a	q
	36	p	v	m	r	j	e	k	f	x	g	t	u	i	q	b	c	a	s	o	w	h	l	n	d
	37	r	i	f	o	k	p	v	q	h	s	l	g	c	a	n	d	x	t	u	m	j	w	b	e
	38	w	b	j	e	d	i	l	h	t	o	c	k	x	n	a	f	q	r	v	m	u	g	s	p
	39	a	w	u	c	v	q	g	p	e	o	x	m	h	t	l	k	b	d	i	f	r	n	s	j
	40	o	h	v	c	p	r	n	d	m	w	k	b	u	e	f	s	q	l	x	i	a	g	j	t
	41	t	c	l	b	w	v	x	k	d	i	j	p	a	s	o	e	r	f	h	q	m	n	g	u
	42	a	u	n	j	f	d	t	g	s	x	r	p	e	v	i	q	l	o	c	h	b	k	w	m
	43	i	u	m	q	o	r	a	g	x	d	h	p	l	s	n	t	c	v	f	w	k	e	j	b
	44	m	t	a	c	f	b	d	p	n	h	i	o	r	g	k	v	l	x	j	e	u	q	s	w
	45	t	c	w	d	v	f	o	j	b	n	u	x	a	p	h	l	i	q	s	g	r	e	k	m
	46	e	c	f	p	i	o	q	g	a	d	t	u	h	b	l	m	x	r	k	j	n	v	w	s
	47	n	a	x	j	w	s	h	c	d	k	o	p	i	m	u	b	l	g	t	q	f	e	v	r
	48	t	g	l	d	b	p	e	v	i	m	k	a	n	c	s	x	w	f	r	h	j	o	q	u

Figure A.6: Survey Version to Session-Participant Number Mapping in Experiment 1

Note: Please refer to the detailed descriptions of activity/envelope #2 below for a description of the different versions of the survey (denoted by letters ‘a’ to ‘x’).

## **A3 Experimental Protocols**

### Experiment 1 Materials

## Informed Consent Form

### UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA – LOS ANGELES CONSENT TO ACT AS A RESEARCH SUBJECT

**PROTOCOL DIRECTORS:** Michael Callen (UCLA), Leo Bursztyn

**[BEGIN READING HERE]**

**DESCRIPTION:** You are invited to participate in a **research study** in economics and psychology. No personal identifying information will be kept.

**TIME INVOLVEMENT:** Your participation will take approximately 1 hour.

**RISKS AND BENEFITS:** There are no foreseeable risks associated with this study. With the exception of your payments, there are no foreseeable benefits. **We cannot and do not guarantee or promise that you will receive any benefits from this study.**

**PAYMENTS:** You will receive between 500 and 1500 Pakistani Rupees for your participation depending on your decisions and on chance.

**SUBJECT'S RIGHTS:** If you have understood what I am saying and have decided to participate in this project, please understand your **participation is voluntary** and you have the **right to withdraw your consent or discontinue participation at any time without penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. The alternative is not to participate.** You have the right to refuse to answer particular questions. We are not collecting any identifying information in order to guarantee your privacy.

#### **CONTACT INFORMATION:**

**Questions:** If you have any questions, concerns or complaints about this research, its procedures, risks and benefits, contact our local collaborator Dr. Ali Hasanain, Lahore University of Management Sciences (to be filled in with accurate phone number).

I'd like to continue now unless you have any questions.

Please acknowledge that [Interviewer Name Here] has explained this study to you and answered your questions before we continue.

## On-site literacy screening script for Experiment 1

Clean the chicken and then wash it. Add half a cup of water. Add cloves and garlic and cook the chicken until it is slightly tender. Blend together almonds, pistachios, fig, coconut, ginger, chick peas, poppy seeds and yogurt in a blender. Put some cooking oil in a pot and warm it. Add some onion to it and allow it to become green. Then add to it crushed spices, salt, and red chili powder and cook. Then stuff the cooked spices in the chicken's stomach. Cover the outside of the chicken with this preparation as well. Cover the baking dish with cooking oil and put the chicken in the dish. Then put this dish in an oven pre-heated to 200 degrees centigrade, and let it bake for 35 to 40 minutes. Then put some cooking oil on the chicken and bake it for another 10 minutes. When the chicken starts turning red, take it out. Your delicious, sweet chicken is ready! Serve with salads.<sup>1</sup> (See the Urdu version of our screening tests in Appendix Figure A.2.)

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<sup>1</sup>This text was taken from a free online repository of recipes in Urdu (<http://www.lawaonline.com/blog/murg-mewa-dar-recipes-pakistani-cooking-urdu-recipes/>), accessed July 7, 2013.



## Experiment 1 Lab Instructions

## Experiment Instructions

Welcome. Thank you for coming.

I'm [INSERT NAME HERE] from the research team at the Lahore University of Management Sciences. The objective of today's research activity is to study how people make decisions in different situations.

In front of you is a page turned face down and a large brown envelope. Please do not open the brown envelope yet and do not turn over the page.

The study today comprises different types of questions, which must be answered in different ways.

To help you understand how different types of questions are to be answered, the white page contains some examples for practice. These are not part of the actual study.

I will first explain how each of these types of questions are to be answered, and then we will practice. You are free to ask questions at any time during this exercise. Turn over the white page now.

The first question is the statement "Patang baazi aik acha shauk hai" (Kite-flying is a good hobby). Please look at the answer options and check the box that most accurately describes your opinion about this statement.

Are there any questions about this format?

The second question asks: "Kia aap teaching kay shuhbay sai taluq rakhtay hain?" (Are you part of the teaching profession?) If you are part of this profession, check "Haan" (Yes). Otherwise, check "Nahin" (No).

Are there any questions about this format?

The third question asks: "Zel mein diay gayay bayanaat mein sai aap kitnay biyanaat sai muttafiq hain." (Of the statements below, how many are you in agreement with?)

Patang bazee kee ijaazat honi chahiyay (Kite flying should be permissible)

Haftay mein 3 sarkari chuttiyaan honi chahiyein (There should be 3 official days off per week.)

Mulk mein taleem kee sirf aik zabaan honi chahiyay (There should be only one language of instruction in the country)

Mulk mein koi bhee gaari CNG par nahi chalni chahiay (No car in the country should be allowed to run on CNG = Compressed Natural Gas)

This is followed by five options:

- i. 0 bayanaat (statements)

## Experiment Instructions

- ii. 1 bayanaat
- iii. 2 bayanaat
- iv. 3 bayanaat
- v. 4 bayanaat

Suppose you agree with statement 1 and 3, but not 2 and 4. Please check the box you would tick. (Enumerator should now go around the room to check that option iii is ticked).

Now suppose you agree with statements 2 and 4, but not 1 and 3. How does your answer change? (Enumerator: It doesn't)

Next, suppose you changed your mind and decided you disagreed with 4 also. How should your answer change? (Enumerator: the answer is ii)

Next, suppose you agree with all four statements. What should your answer be? (Enumerator: v)

Finally, suppose you do not agree with any statement. What should your answer be? (Enumerator: i)

Are there any questions about this format?

Question 4 is the statement: How do you view getting medical treatment from a *hakeem* (traditional provider/quack)? Very negatively (1), very positively (5), or something in between?

Circle one of the following: 1      2      3      4      5

Suppose that you think that a hakeem's treatment is very positive. How would you answer?(Enumerator: 5)

Suppose that you think hakeems are generally bad, but also occasionally provide good treatment. How would you answer?(Enumerator: 2)

Suppose you think hakeems are just as good or as bad as other medicine providers. How would you answer? (Enumerator: 3)

Are there any questions on this format?

This examples page was meant to cover question formats that are most different from each other. The actual survey may contain a few other formats, but these should be easy to understand.

## Experiment Instructions

Are there any questions? Please hand in the white papers but do not open the envelopes yet.

So far, we have discussed how to answer individual questions. Before we begin, I am going to provide you some other important instructions. Please listen carefully.

You may not talk to any other participants at any point during the study. If you do speak with another participant, you will be asked to leave.

In front of you, is a large brown envelope that contains four small white envelopes, each with a short questionnaire that you have to fill out. Do not open it yet.

We ask that you please consider your answers and complete these questionnaires carefully. Your responses are anonymous and you should feel free to answer candidly. You should answer the survey privately; please do not discuss your answers with anyone else.

As a participation fee, you will be given Rs. 300. This 300 Rs. is yours even if you choose not to complete the study. When you begin the study, you will find the Rs. 300 in the first small white envelope we will ask you to open in a few minutes.

If you complete the survey, you may be offered an additional payment.

Each small envelope is numbered so please make sure you open them in order. You may only open one envelope at a time and must keep the rest in the large brown envelope.

Once you have completed a questionnaire in one small envelope, and proceed to the next numbered envelope, you may not open the previous envelope again. Let me explain:

You must first open the envelope marked "1", and only envelope 1.

Once you complete the questions in envelope 1, you should close envelope 1, and replace it in the larger envelope. Only then you may open envelope 2.

Once you complete the questions in envelope 2, you should close envelope 2, and replace it in the larger envelope. Only then you may open envelope 3.

Once you complete the questions in envelope 3, you should close envelope 3, and replace it in the larger envelope. Only then you may open envelope 4.

Once you complete the questions in envelope 4, you should close envelope 4, and replace it in the larger envelope.

Again, after you complete and close an envelope, you may not re-open that envelope.

## **Experiment Instructions**

Please closely follow our guidance, and the written instructions, on when to open envelopes. If you do not follow these rules, you will be asked to leave.

Instructions for Experimenter: Repeat instructions as necessary at the beginning of the session.

After you complete the questions and close envelope 4, your participation will be complete. You can then close the larger envelope. Please stay seated until the study is complete; we will give all participants 1 hour to complete the study. You will wait in your seat for the other participants to complete the participation, before payment occurs.

Do you have any questions?

This is your last chance to ask questions. We will not answer any questions at any point during the experiment.

You may now open the large envelope and open envelope 1.

**Activity/Envelope 1**

Standard Big 5 survey adapted to use in Pakistan. This is used in all survey versions (versions A-X).

## Activity/Envelope1

Instructions for filling out the questionnaire:

1. Read every statement carefully and encircle the response you agree with.
  - a. If you completely disagree with the statement, encircle (1).
  - b. If you mostly disagree with the statement, encircle (2).
  - c. If you are indifferent to the statement, encircle (3).
  - d. If you mostly agree with the statement, encircle (4).
  - e. If you completely agree with the statement, encircle (5).
2. This test has no concept of right or wrong, nor do you have to be an expert to solve it. Respond as sincerely as possible. Write your opinion as carefully and honestly as possible. Answer every question and ensure that for every response, you have encircled the right option. During the test, if you encircle the wrong option by mistake or if you change your mind after encircling a response, do not erase it. Instead, mark the wrong response with a cross and encircle your correct one.

Statements:

1. I am not depressed 1 2 3 4 5
2. I like to be amongst lots of people 1 2 3 4 5
3. I don't like to waste time day-dreaming 1 2 3 4 5
4. I try to be polite to everyone I meet 1 2 3 4 5
5. I keep all my things clean and tidy 1 2 3 4 5
6. I often feel inferior to other people 1 2 3 4 5
7. I laugh easily 1 2 3 4 5
8. When I find out the right way to do something, I stick with it 1 2 3 4 5
9. I often get into quarrels with my family members and coworkers 1 2 3 4 5
10. I pace my work such that I am able to complete everything on time 1 2 3 4 5
11. Sometimes when I am under intense psychological pressure, I feel as if I am about to fall to pieces 1 2 3 4 5
12. I don't consider myself to be a jolly person 1 2 3 4 5
13. Art and wonders of nature fascinate me 1 2 3 4 5
14. Some people think that I am selfish and egoistic 1 2 3 4 5
15. I am not a very organized person 1 2 3 4 5
16. I rarely feel lonely or sad 1 2 3 4 5
17. I really enjoy talking to people 1 2 3 4 5
18. I think that listening to controversial speakers can confuse students and lead them astray 1 2 3 4 5
19. I prefer cooperation over conflict 1 2 3 4 5
20. I try to complete all tasks entrusted to me according to my conscience 1 2 3 4 5
21. I often feel mentally stressed and anxious 1 2 3 4 5
22. I often long for thrilling situations 1 2 3 4 5
23. Poetry has very little or no influence on me 1 2 3 4 5
24. I am mistrustful and skeptical about the intentions of others 1 2 3 4 5

25. My objectives are very clear and I work to achieve them in a very organized way 1 2 3 4 5
26. Sometimes I feel completely worthless 1 2 3 4 5
27. I usually prefer to work alone 1 2 3 4 5
28. I often try new and exotic dishes 1 2 3 4 5
29. I believe that if you give them the chance, people will always exploit you 1 2 3 4 5
30. I waste a lot of time before starting to work 1 2 3 4 5
31. I rarely feel scared or depressed 1 2 3 4 5
32. I often feel full of energy 1 2 3 4 5
33. I don't pay much attention to the moods and feelings evoked by my surroundings and circumstances 1 2 3 4 5
34. People who know me usually like me 1 2 3 4 5
35. I work very hard to achieve my goals 1 2 3 4 5
36. I often get frustrated by the way people treat me 1 2 3 4 5
37. I am a jolly and optimistic person 1 2 3 4 5
38. I believe that we should consult religious leaders for making decisions involving moral affairs 1 2 3 4 5
39. Some people think I am cold-hearted and selfish 1 2 3 4 5
40. When I start something, I don't rest until I finish it 1 2 3 4 5
41. Often when things start taking a turn for the worse, I give up and abandon my work 1 2 3 4 5
42. I am not a jolly and optimistic person 1 2 3 4 5
43. Sometimes while studying poetry or looking at masterpieces of art, I feel chills of thrill and excitement 1 2 3 4 5
44. I am strict and stubborn in my attitude 1 2 3 4 5
45. Sometimes I am not as trustworthy as I ought to be 1 2 3 4 5
46. I am rarely sad or depressed 1 2 3 4 5
47. Fast pace is a highlight of my life 1 2 3 4 5
48. I have little interest in pondering over the working of the universe or the human condition 1 2 3 4 5
49. I usually try to be concerned and care about others 1 2 3 4 5
50. I am a useful person and always do my work 1 2 3 4 5
51. I often feel helpless and wish someone else would resolve my problems 1 2 3 4 5
52. I am a very active person 1 2 3 4 5
53. I have a lot of intellectual curiosity in me 1 2 3 4 5
54. If I don't like someone I let him/her know about it 1 2 3 4 5
55. I feel that I can never keep myself organized 1 2 3 4 5
56. Sometimes I want to hide myself due to shame 1 2 3 4 5
57. I would prefer to live on my own terms as opposed to being a leader for others 1 2 3 4 5
58. I often enjoy abstract ideas and theories 1 2 3 4 5
59. If need be, I am ready to use people to get my own work done 1 2 3 4 5
60. I try to do everything perfectly 1 2 3 4 5



**Please give us answers to the following questions.**

- 1.1 Are you currently engaged in any economic activity from which you earn income?
1. Yes
  2. No
- 1.2 Apart from your main economic activity, are you engaged in any other economic activity?
1. Yes
  2. No
- 1.3 Which of these best describes your secondary economic activity? (S.A.)
1. Employee receiving wages / salary
  2. Daily paid / casual worker / in temporary employment
  3. Agricultural crops or livestock related self employment
  4. Other self employment
  5. Other (describe \_\_\_\_\_)
- 1.4 Which of the following types of agricultural crop/livestock activities are you involved in? (mark all)
1. Rice
  2. Wheat
  3. Cotton
  4. Other grains (corn, maize, etc.)
  5. Tobacco
  6. Other (specify: \_\_\_\_\_)
- 1.5 How often do you receive income from these agricultural crop/livestock self employment activities? (mark all)
1. At least weekly
  2. At least every two weeks
  3. At least monthly
  4. Less frequently than monthly

**Personal Information**

- 1.6 What is your age and year of birth?
- Years \_\_\_\_\_ Months \_\_\_\_\_ Year of Birth \_\_\_\_\_
- 1.7 Gender
1. Male
  2. Female
- 1.8 Marital Status
1. Single/Never Married
  2. Married
  3. Widowed
  4. Divorced
  5. Separated

1.9 What ethnic group do you belong to ?

1. Punjabi
2. Pashtun
3. Tajik
4. Hazara
5. Baluchi
6. Other (Specify.....)

1.10 What religious group do you belong to?

1. Shia
2. Sunni
3. Christian
4. Hindu
5. Sikh
6. Other ( Specify.....)

1.11 Which languages do you speak at home?

	1. Yes	2. No
<b>a.</b> Pashto	1	2
<b>b.</b> Persian/Dari	1	2
<b>c.</b> Balochi	1	2
<b>d.</b> Punjabi	1	2
<b>e.</b> Urdu	1	2

1.12 What is the highest level of education that you have completed? \_\_\_\_\_

- 1=Completed Grade 1,
- 2=Completed Grade 2,
- 3=Completed Grade 3,
- 4=Completed Grade 4,
- 5=Completed Grade 5,
- 6=Completed Grade 6,
- 7=Completed Grade 7,
- 8=Completed Grade 8,
- 9=Completed Grade 9,
- 10=Completed Grade 10 (Matric/ O Levels),
- 11=Completed Grade 11,
- 12=Completed Grade 12 (FSC/A Levels),
- 13=Completed some years at university,
- 15=Completed university degree,
- 16=Masters,
- 17=Technical Training,
- 18=Not gone to school

1.13 Then how many years of formal education have you had?

Years \_\_\_\_\_

Please place the completed survey back in envelope 1.

After that, you should close and seal envelope 1, and place it in the larger envelope.

After that, you may open envelope 2.

## Activity/Envelope 2

Thank you for completing the survey. In return for completing the survey, we can offer you a bonus payment. Funding for the bonus payment comes from {*Survey versions A-L*: Lahore University of Management Sciences; *Survey versions M-X*: the U.S. government}. We can pay you {*Survey versions A, B, C, G, H, I, M, N, O, S, T, U*: 100 Rs.; *Survey versions D, E, F, J, K, L, P, Q, R, V, W, X*: 500Rs} for completing the survey, but in order to receive the bonus payment you are required to acknowledge receipt of the funds provided by {*Survey versions A-L*: Lahore University of Management Sciences; *Survey versions M-X*: the U.S. government} and thank the funder. If you choose not to accept the payment, you will forgo the bonus payment of {*Survey versions A, B, C, G, H, I, M, N, O, S, T, U*: 100 Rs; *Survey versions D, E, F, J, K, L, P, Q, R, V, W, X*: 500 Rs}, but not the payment of 300 Rs for your participation.

The letter of acknowledgment and thanks can be found on the next page.

{*Survey versions G-L, S-X*: If you choose to accept the bonus payment, in order to receive this additional payment, you will be asked to turn the letter in to the survey coordinator in the front of the room, so other participants will see you turn in the letter. Once you have made your decision on the next page, please place the letter into envelope 2, whether or not you chose to accept the bonus payment.}

{*Survey versions A-F, M-R*: If you choose to accept the bonus payment, in order to receive this additional payment, **your decision will be completely private**; you will simply replace the letter in envelope 2 and submit it with your other survey materials at the end of the study, so no other participants will know your choice. Once you have made your decision on the next page, please place the letter into envelope 2, whether or not you chose to accept the bonus payment.}

After that, you should close and seal envelope 2, and place it in the larger envelope.

After that, you may open envelope 3.

## Letter of acknowledgment and thanks

### **Letter of acknowledgment and thanks**

☐ I gratefully thank Lahore University of Management Sciences for its generosity and I accept the bonus payment offer.

☐ I choose not to accept the bonus payment offer.

## Envelope 3

1) [Survey versions A-X]

In the previous section, you were asked to check a box to indicate that you thanked the funder for their generosity. There are 24 people in this room. How many people in this group, excluding yourself, do you believe were willing to accept the additional payment by checking the box?

*If your guess is one of the three closest to the true number (among participants in this group), you will receive an extra 300 rupees.*

Please indicate your belief about how many checked the box here \_\_\_\_\_

2) [Survey versions A-X]

There are 24 participants in this session. Approximately, how many people in this room are you acquainted with?

1 – No one

2 - Between 1 and 6

3 - Between 7 and 12

4 – Between 13 and 18

5 - Between 19 and 23

6 – Everyone

## Envelope 3

LIST EXPERIMENTS: [DO NOT TRANSLATE THIS LINE]

**Control:** [Survey versions A, D, G, J, M, P, S, V]

The following are four policies some government officials express support for. Please report HOW MANY of the four you support. You do not need to indicate which ones you support, just how many.

- a. Providing the poor with free electricity generators
- b. Establishing an independent state in Kashmir that is not part of India and not part of Pakistan
- c. Ensuring that civilians (President or Prime Minister) control the military
- d. Reducing number of people eligible for the Benazir Income Support Program, but increasing payments to those eligible

TOTAL THAT YOU SUPPORT (CIRCLE ONE)    0        1        2        3        4

---

**Treatment 1:** [Survey versions B, E, H, K, N, Q, T, W]

The following are five policies some government officials express support for. Please report HOW MANY of the five you support. You do not need to indicate which ones you support, just how many.

- a. Providing the poor with free electricity generators
- b. Establishing an independent state in Kashmir that is not part of India and not part of Pakistan
- c. Ensuring that civilians (President or Prime Minister) control the military
- d. Reducing number of people eligible for the Benazir Income Support Program, but increasing payments to those eligible
- e. Refusing humanitarian aid from the US government

TOTAL THAT YOU SUPPORT (CIRCLE ONE)    0        1        2        3        4        5

---

**Treatment 2:** [Survey versions C, F, I, L, O, R, U, X]

The following are five policies some government officials express support for. Please report HOW MANY of the five you support. You do not need to indicate which ones you support, just how many.

- a. Providing the poor with free electricity generators
- b. Establishing an independent state in Kashmir that is not part of India and not part of Pakistan
- c. Ensuring that civilians (President or Prime Minister) control the military
- d. Reducing number of people eligible for the Benazir Income Support Program, but increasing payments to those eligible
- e. Supporting the activities of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI)

TOTAL THAT YOU SUPPORT (CIRCLE ONE)    0        1        2        3        4        5

## Envelope 3

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[Survey versions A-X]

Please place the completed survey back in envelope 3.

After that, you should close and seal envelope 3, and place it in the larger envelope.

After that, you may open envelope 4.



## Activity/Envelope 4

### *SURVEY VERSIONS A-X*

This is the final section. Please complete the questions below and then place this document back in the envelope.

1. How do you view aid provided by the Japanese government to Pakistan? Very negatively (1), very positively (5), or something in between?

Circle one of the following:      1          2          3          4          5

2. How do you view the Japanese government overall? Very negatively (1), very positively (5), or something in between?

Circle one of the following:      1          2          3          4          5

3. How do you view aid provided by the United States government to Pakistan? Very negatively (1), very positively (5), or something in between?

Circle one of the following:      1          2          3          4          5

4. How do you view the United States government overall? Very negatively (1), very positively (5), or something in between?

Circle one of the following:      1          2          3          4          5

5. How willing are you to take risks? Are you very unwilling to take risks (1)? Are you very willing to take risks (5)? Or, something in between?

Circle one of the following:      1          2          3          4          5

6. Do you know the name of the chief minister of your province? Please write the name below:

7. How do you think your political views on Japan compare to other individuals in the room? More anti-Japanese (1), more pro-Japanese (5), or something between?

Circle one of the following:      1          2          3          4          5

8. How do you think your political views on receiving aid from Japan differ relative to other individuals in the room? Less willing to accept aid (1), more willing to accept aid (5), or something in between?

Circle one of the following:      1          2          3          4          5

9. How do you think your political views on the United States compare to other individuals in the room? More anti-American (1), more pro-American (5), or something between?

Circle one of the following:      1          2          3          4          5

10. How do you think your political views on receiving aid differ from the United States relative to other individuals in the room? Less willing to accept aid (1), more willing to accept aid (5), or something in between?

Circle one of the following:      1          2          3          4          5

11. Would your decision of whether to take the additional payment by checking the box have changed if the payment amount was increased by 100 rupees?

1 – Yes

2 – No

12. Would your decision of whether to take the additional payment by checking the box have changed if the payment amount was increased by 300 rupees?

1 – Yes

2 – No

13. Would your decision of whether to take the additional payment by checking the box have changed if the payment amount were offered by the government of Japan?

1 – Yes

2 – No

14. Would your decision of whether to take the additional payment by checking the box have changed if the payment amount were offered by the University of California (an American university unaffiliated with the government)?

1 – Yes

2 – No

---

Please place this completed survey back in envelope 4, seal the envelope, and place envelope 4 in the large envelope. Then, raise your hand to indicate that you have completed the survey.

## Experiment 2 Materials

### Stage 1 Consent

Hello! I'm here on behalf of SEDCO Associates, which is a local survey firm. I'm here to talk to you about the upcoming local level elections that are scheduled to occur at the end of October in Lahore, as well as the rest of Punjab.

If you have any further questions regarding this study, you can reach the Principal Investigator, Michael Callen (Harvard University) on this number +1-XXXXX.

If you want further information regarding SEDCO, please contact us at 042- XXXXX.

In this study, only people above the age of 18 can participate.

For further questions, you can contact our research coordinator, Usman Naeem, on this number 0321- XXXXX.

## Stage 1 Instrument

## VERSION A

### Section 1

*Hello! I'm here on behalf of SEDCO Associates, which is a local survey firm. I'm here to talk to you about the upcoming local level elections that are scheduled to occur at the end of October in Lahore, as well as the rest of Punjab.*

Have you heard about them?

*This is the first time in Pakistan that these elections are being held locally on a party-basis. The purpose of my visit today is to talk about these elections.*

On a scale of 1 to 10, how important do you think these elections are for service provision in your neighborhood?

\_\_\_\_\_

*Before we move further, I would like to inform you that we are also collecting anonymous citizen feedback regarding these elections. This envelope contains a piece of paper with a question on it. Please write down your response to this question under it and put this paper back in the envelope.*

*{Hand over the envelope. Continue once it is handed back. If respondent says that he is illiterate, end the survey and move on to the next house.}*

### Section 2

Between the two parties, PML-N and PTI, which party do you perceive as being more able to bring benefits and services to you and your local community?

- A. PML-N
- B. PTI

Between the two parties PML-N and PTI, which party do you perceive as more anti-American?

- A. PML-N
- B. PTI

Political party members are registered with political parties. Parties usually provide information to their members before important events like rallies, meetings etc. and keep them updated about the general proceedings of the party. Are you presently a member of a political party? Are you a member of a political party?

- C. Yes. Which Party?: \_\_\_\_\_ (Skip to section 3)
- D. No

As part of our goal of promoting participation in political life, we would like to provide you an opportunity to become a member of one of two political parties. Becoming a member of a party will allow you to stay up to date regarding important developments in party politics. If you are interested, we can sign you up today. This is a print-out of the official party website. We can fill the form together right now, and we will sign you up online at our offices. Signing up should only take us about 2-3 minutes to complete.

If you are interested in signing up, which party would you like to join?

A - PML-N

B - PTI

(Note for enumerator: If asked about why just these 2 parties, enumerator should respond: "Because these are the only two major parties for which it is possible to sign up online")

If the respondent was unwilling to sign up for a party, please mark an X here:

\_\_\_\_\_

### Section 3

1. Name \_\_\_\_\_ (full name)
2. Age \_\_\_\_\_ years
3. Marital Status \_\_\_\_\_ (single / married / widower)
4. Years of Education \_\_\_\_\_ (number of years)
5. Engaged in economic activity (job/business etc)  
\_\_\_\_\_ (yes / no)
6. Religious affiliation \_\_\_\_\_ (Muslim/Christian etc)
7. Caste/Biradri \_\_\_\_\_ (Jatt/Rajput etc)
8. Are you registered to vote  
\_\_\_\_\_ (yes/no)
9. Do you plan on voting  
\_\_\_\_\_ (yes/no)

## Stage 2 Consent



Greetings,

My name is \_\_\_\_ and today I am here on behalf of DCS, which is a Pakistani Research Organization. DCS is conducting an economics and psychology research study in your area.

You will receive Rs. 100-300/- for participating in this study. You will not be required to give any identifying information to participate in this study.

If you have any further questions regarding this study, you can reach the Principal Investigator, Michael Callen (Harvard University) on this number +1-XXXXX.

If you want further information regarding DCS, please contact us at 042- XXXXX.

In this study, only people above the age of 18 can participate.

For further questions, you can contact our research coordinator, Usman Naeem, on this number 0321- XXXXX.

## Stage 2 Instrument

**Stage 2 Android Survey**

Probabilities for versions:

A – 50 percent

B – 50 percent

## Screen 1 (if version A)

Hello,

This is a 5-10 minute survey. We have limited funds, so in addition to the Rs.100 guaranteed, we are offering an extra payment through a lottery where you can earn up to Rs.200 more, for a total of Rs.300. The outcome of the lottery will be determined at the end of your participation.

## Screen 2 (if version A)

(Short big 5)

No.	Question	Answer	Codes	Instructions
1	I like to be amongst lots of people		1 = Strongly disagree	
			2 = Disagree	
			3 = Indifferent	
			4 = Agree	
			5 = Strongly agree	
2	Some people think that I am selfish and egoistic		Same as 1	
3	I am not a very organized person		Same as 1	
4	I often feel mentally stressed and anxious		Same as 1	
5	I am mistrustful and skeptical about the intentions of others		Same as 1	
6	I don't pay much attention to the moods and feelings evoked by my surroundings and circumstances		Same as 1	
7	I work very hard to achieve my goals		Same as 1	
8	I am a jolly and optimistic person		Same as 1	
9	I often feel helpless and wish someone else would resolve my problems		Same as 1	
10	I have a lot of intellectual curiosity in me		Same as 1	

## Screen 3 (if version A)

(Stated preference)

- How do you view the United States government overall? Very negatively (1), negatively (2), neither negatively nor positively (3), positively (4), very positively (5)?

Circle one of the following:      1          2          3          4          5

2. How do you view aid provided by the United States government to Pakistan? Very negatively (1), negatively (2), neither negatively nor positively (3), positively (4), very positively (5)?  
Circle one of the following:      1          2          3          4          5

Screen 4 (if version A)

(Final screen displays total amount, where amount includes Rs.100 guaranteed payment, and with 33 percent probability a lottery of Rs.0, Rs.100 or Rs.200, so that the total payment is either Rs.100, Rs.200, or Rs.300.)

Please collect your total payment of Rs. .... From the recruiter

Screen 1 (if version B)

Hello,

This is a 5-10 minute survey. We have limited funds, so in addition to the Rs.100 guaranteed, we are offering an extra payment through a lottery where you can earn up to Rs.100 more, for a total of Rs.200. The outcome of the lottery will be determined at the end of your participation.

Screen 2 (if version B)

(Short big 5)

No.	Question	Answer	Codes	Instructions
1	I like to be amongst lots of people		1 = Strongly disagree	
			2 = Disagree	
			3 = Indifferent	
			4 = Agree	
			5 = Strongly agree	
2	Some people think that I am selfish and egoistic		Same as 1	
3	I am not a very organized person		Same as 1	
4	I often feel mentally stressed and anxious		Same as 1	
5	I am mistrustful and skeptical about the intentions of others		Same as 1	
6	I don't pay much attention to the moods and feelings evoked by my surroundings and circumstances		Same as 1	
7	I work very hard to achieve my goals		Same as 1	
8	I am a jolly and optimistic person		Same as 1	
9	I often feel helpless and wish someone else would resolve my problems		Same as 1	
10	I have a lot of intellectual curiosity in me		Same as 1	

Screen 3 (if version B)

*(Revealed preference)*

You are one of 50 percent who are taking this survey receiving this offer to receive an additional Rs.100.

Funding for this bonus payment comes from the US government. We can pay you Rs.100 for completing the survey, but in order to receive the bonus payment you are required to acknowledge receipt of the funds provided by the US government and thank the funder. If you choose not to accept the payment, you will forego the bonus payment of Rs.100, but not the payment of Rs.100 for your participation, or the lottery payment that you are awarded at the end. Please note that the enumerator has no way of knowing whether you accepted or rejected the bonus payment.

The letter of acknowledgment and thanks can be found on the next page.

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Screen 4 *(if version B)*

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Option 1: I gratefully thank the US government for its generosity and accept the payment

Option 2: I do not accept the payment

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Screen 5 *(if version B)*

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*(Final screen displays total amount, where amount includes Rs.100 guaranteed payment, Rs.100 bonus payment if offer is accepted, and with 50 percent probability a lottery of Rs.0, Rs.100, so that the total payment is either Rs.100, Rs.200, or Rs.300.)*

Please collect your total payment of Rs. .... From the recruiter

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