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# Optimal Self-Screening and the Persistence of Identity-Driven Choices

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## Abstract

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## Optimal Self-Screening and the Persistence of Identity-Driven Choices

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## 1 Introduction

Inequality profoundly shapes a society, impeding social mobility and eroding both social cohesion and trust in government and institutions. One influential factor contributing to persistent inequality is that individuals from distinct socioeconomic groups tend to make different educational and occupational choices. In the Netherlands, female and ethnic minority students systematically opt for careers associated with lower expected incomes, and, especially in leadership positions, women's career trajectories flatten mid-career compared to men's.<sup>1</sup> Similarly, Guyon and Huillery (2021) shows how socially less advantaged children in France are less likely to pursue elite educational pathways. They moreover highlight that one of the key drivers for these identity-driven choices is that socially less advantaged children, despite comparable academic performance, harbor less optimistic beliefs about their academic abilities than their more advantaged peers. Similar differential belief formation has been documented for black and white college students (Hodge et al., 2008), men and women in the labor market (Exley and Kessler, 2022) and students from different castes in India (Mukherjee, 2017). Evidence furthermore shows that agents' social context may be at the origin of these differences in beliefs. Lippmann and Senik (2018) shows how the disparity in confidence about math abilities between male and female students is influenced by the prevalence of negative female-math stereotypes. Similarly, Coffman (2014) and Flory et al. (2015) show how men are more overconfident than women in fields with a strong male connotation, while the opposite is true in fields with a strong female connotation. But why would we let our beliefs be influenced by seemingly irrelevant social context? Could it be that agents are acting in their own interest, yet still create dynamics that contribute to persistent inequality? These are key questions to answer to effectively address this differential belief formation and the resulting identity-driven choices.

In this paper, I show how differences in belief formation can be the result of boundedly rational agents using social context to improve decision making on average. Research in social psychology shows how statistics about the prevalence of a social group among the successful individuals, which I will call *social identity cues*, can induce peo-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Based on data from the Dutch Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS) and the Leaders and Daughters Global Survey 2019.

ple to have a more optimistic or pessimistic view of their own chances of success in a task.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, although we may generally have an accurate perception of our abilities, exogenous factors, such as emotions or recent feedback, can induce noise in decision making, making us momentarily over- or under confident (see e.g. Fiedler and Bless (2000) and Elster (1996)). This noise has the potential to influence us into making sub-optimal choices in tasks related to these abilities. I use a novel approach to modelling subjective beliefs to show how, when agents are not able to correct for noise as a Bayesian would, it can become welfare-improving to bias their own noisy perception of their chances of success with the use of social identity cues in a direction contingent on their social type. Differences in the representation of social groups among those successful in a task induce differences is the biases available to agents with different social types. This can induce persistent identity-driven choice behavior, even in the absence of skill differences across social groups. I therefore show how, when agents' cognitive abilities are restricted, informationally irrelevant social context can turn social inequalities into a self-fulfilling prophecy, further perpetuating disparities influenced by historical factors that are no longer pertinent.

Agents choose between an outside option with a known probability of success that is the same for everyone, and a *competence-driven* task with an individual-specific probability of success, of which they only have a noisy perception.<sup>3</sup> An agent's type also includes an observable characteristic that determines their social group, which is uncorrelated with competence. Agents observe *social identity cues* that stem from the prevalence of their social group among the already successful individuals in the task. To form a belief about their chances of success in the task, they choose between two subjective belief-formation processes; one in which they naively follow their noisy perception, and one in which this noisy perception is influenced by the *social identity cue* in a direction contingent on their social type. For example, consider students choosing whether to enter a math competition that observe data showing male students were relatively overrepresented among those successful in previous years. A male

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>See for example the work of Seligman (2006) who shows people can take the successes and failures of others like them as evidence they will fail or succeed as well, and Murden (2020) who shows how our behavior and beliefs are influenced by the choices and outcomes of others through 'imitation'.

 $<sup>^{3}</sup>$ If agents were able to switch this noise off, they would behave as Bayesians. To show that a systematic bias is not what drives the results in this model, agents are not systematically over- or under confident.

student can use this information to become more optimistic about his own chances of success, while a female student can use this information to become more pessimistic.

Agents maximize subjective expected utility. Hence, choices of belief-formation processes translate into choices of tasks that in turn give rise to social identity cues. To study the mutually stable choices of belief formation and tasks, I use a static solution concept. Agents adopt the belief-formation process that maximizes expected utility on average over all possible realizations of their noisy perception. One foundation for this behavior is that agents compare the two belief-formation processes, and learn the optimal process from experience with similar tasks throughout life. Without having to fully understand the relationship between their choice of belief-formation process, their choice of task and the observed outcome, they simply adopt the heuristic that leads to on average more success. Another foundation can be in the spirit of Benabou and Tirole (2006). A calm, rational self knows the true underlying type, while an impulsive self can be biased in the moment. The rational self ties the hands of the 'in the moment' self to limit its adverse effects on choice. I consequently analyze the fixed points in the *social identity cues* induced by these individually optimal strategies.

The idea that equilibrium is the result of people choosing from a limited family of heuristics according to a fitness value is in the spirit of Compte and Postlewaite (2019). The novelty here is that the heuristics represent belief-formation processes, and that equilibrium beliefs are consistent with an individual's fitness with respect to a certain task.<sup>4</sup> This differs from the Berk-Nash Equilibrium (Esponda and Pouzo, 2016), the Self-Confirming Equilibrium (Fudenberg and Levine, 1993) or the Personal Equilibrium (Spiegler, 2016), in which equilibrium beliefs are consistent with observational feedback, ensuring they are closest to the truth. In this model, equilibrium beliefs allow agents to make decisions that are better aligned with welfare maximization, and, as in Compte and Postlewaite (2004) and Brunnermeier and Parker (2005), they differ from traditional Bayesian beliefs when this enhances expected utility.

The use of informationally irrelevant *social identity cues* has the potential to enhance welfare, because the effect of the noisy perception on decision making is asymmetric. Consider students with weak math abilities. When they are momentarily too

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>Dekel et al. (2007) use a similar approach, but preferences are determined in a dynamic process according to their fitness with respect to the preferences in the rest of society.

pessimistic, this will not affect choice behavior. On the other hand, when they are momentarily too optimistic, they risk making the type I error of entering the competition, while this is not optimal. Vice versa, a momentarily pessimistic student with strong math abilities is prone to making the type II error of not entering the competition, while this would have been optimal. Consequently, biasing one's noisy perception in the direction of the welfare-maximizing task can decrease the ex-ante likelihood over all possible realizations of the noisy perception that one makes these mistakes.

Whether it is optimal for agents to use *social identity cues* in belief formation depends on their optimal choice of task and on whether their social group is relatively under- or overrepresented among the already successful individuals. To illustrate, in the example, male students can only use the *social identity cue* to bias their perception upwards, while female students can only use the data to bias their perception downwards. Consider a high-ability male student. His rational self may know he has generally strong math abilities, and he may be aware he is prone to making a type II error induced by negative emotions in the moment. To increase the likelihood of entering the competition, he can bias his own noisy perception upwards by believing the outcomes of other male students are relevant to his own chances of success.<sup>5</sup> A high-ability female, on the other hand, would only increase her chances of making a type II error when she believes the underrepresentation of female students is relevant to her own success. She will have learned from experience with other math-related tasks that she makes better decisions when naively following her own noisy perception. This is in line with Pronin et al. (2004), that shows how strong female math students actively disidentify with character traits that are believed to be strongly related with the negative female-math stereotype. Similarly, low-ability female students can decrease the likelihood of making a type I error by biasing their noisy perception downward with the social identity cue, while low-ability male students should ignore their gender in decision making.

Male and female students compare different belief-formation rules. As a result, male students will on average be more optimistic about their chances of success, while female students will on average be more pessimistic. Furthermore, male students will be more likely to make type I errors, while female students will be more likely to make

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>This is in line with the more popular concepts of 'life hacks' or 'coping strategies' (Peters, 2021)

type II errors. Hence, more male than female students will enter the competition, which reinforces the overrepresentation of male students among those successful. On the other hand, conditional on entering the competition, female students tend to be more successful on average than male students. This result is in line with Niederle and Vesterlund (2007), that shows how too few high-skilled women and too many low-skilled men enter competitive math-related tasks.<sup>6</sup> Furthermore, the influence of social context on beliefs especially drives choice behavior of agents with average ability levels, as the noisy perception is less likely to cause mistakes in decision making for agents with extreme ability levels. This could explain why Buser et al. (2014) find that the gender gap in curriculum choice shows up precisely at the mean: while average men choose highly mathematical curricula, average women choose very humanitiesintensive curricula, which causes women to be overrepresented in the latter, and men to be overrepresented in the former.

I show the existence of a stable population equilibrium in which task allocation and belief formation differ between a priori identical social groups. This shows how the optimal self-screening of agents at the individual level can induce persistent identitydriven choices at the aggregate level. This makes the underrepresentation of social groups a self-fulfilling prophecy, even in the absence of differences in ability, discrimination and social pressures. However, differences in choice behavior can no longer be persistent when people process within-group success rates. I discuss the implications for informational policy by showing how the choices people make are affected by the data that is available to them and the structure they put on this data.

Current economic literature models the effect of social identity on decision making predominantly through the introduction of direct identity-related utility derived from for example self-image or the fear of being punished by peers (Akerlof and Kranton, 2000), from representation in society (Carvalho and Pradelski, 2022), through costly interaction with people different from yourself (Battu et al., 2007) or through status and perceived similarity (Shayo, 2009). Another approach can be found in the lit-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>Similarly, a study by S&P market intelligence shows that men outnumber women in the CFO job by about 6.5 to 1. Companies appointing female CFO's saw nevertheless a 6% increase in profits and an 8% better stock return compared to companies appointing male CFO's. Moreover, female CFO's brought in \$1.8 trillion of additional cumulative profit and therefore significantly outperformed their male peers.

erature on discrimination (Onuchic, 2023), affirmative action (Benhabib et al., 2010) and social pressure (Bursztyn and Jensen, 2017), where the effect of social identity on decision making is driven by strategic interaction between agents. Finally, the literature on social learning shows how agents learn from the choices or outcomes of others when this information is relevant in a Bayesian sense (e.g. Banerjee (1992) and Wolitzky (2018)). This model provides a different, but possibly complementary view, where the use of social identity cues allows agents to manage the degree of over- or under-confidence regarding their chances of success through a distinct processing of their noisy perception. The optimal use of the cues results in the optimal management of confidence to improve decision making on average. This approach can extend to situations in which there is a real value to biased confidence, as in Compte and Postlewaite (2004), Brunnermeier and Parker (2005) or Benabou and Tirole (2002). Furthermore, I show how an agent's self-image or mental model (Hoff and Stiglitz, 2016) in a particular social context is determined endogenously through its instrumental value in decision making. In Liqui-Lung (2023), I particularly address this question. I consider multi-dimensional social identities and discuss why people may want to focus on different dimensions of their social identity in different contexts.

The equilibrium results shed light on how stereotypes (Bordalo et al., 2016) or social norms (Akerlof and Kranton, 2000) can arise endogenously. The selection and population effects are also obtained in models of discrimination and affirmative action in the style of e.g. Coate and Loury (1993) and Phelps (1972), and in that light, this model could be interpreted as a model of optimal self-discrimination.<sup>7</sup> Finally, the model also shows how differences in beliefs across a priori identical groups, like in Piketty (1995), Benabou and Tirole (2006), Frick et al. (2018) and Peski and Szentes (2013) can be collectively sustained and constitute an equilibrium without introducing direct interaction between agents, nor having a common state of the world or assuming direct effects of beliefs of others on preferences.

The paper is organized as follows. Section 2 introduces the model. Section 3 presents the results. Section 4 derives informational policy implications and Section 5 discusses the main assumptions of the model. Section 6 reviews the general literature on the topic, and Section 7 concludes. All formal proofs can be found in the appendix.

 $<sup>^{7}</sup>I$  discuss in the paper how the presence of discrimination would reinforce the results.

## 2 The Model

#### 2.1 The Environment

I consider a society with i = 1, ..., N agents, with N arbitrarily large. Each agent chooses an action  $a \in \{C, NC\}$ , where C and NC represent classes of tasks of respectively a Competence-Driven and a Non-Competence-Driven type. The outcome of a can be either 'success' or 'failure' and is represented by the variable  $Y_i \in \{1, 0\}$ . The probability of success for a Competence-Driven task depends on an agent's individual characteristics. This probability is represented by the continuous variable  $\alpha \in [0, 1]$ , and is distributed over the population following a distribution  $f_{\alpha}$ . For each agent *i*, the probability of a successful outcome  $Y_i = 1$  conditional on choosing the Competence-Driven task is fixed and given by,

$$p(Y_i = 1 | a_i = C) = \alpha_i \tag{1}$$

The Non-Competence-Driven task has a probability of success  $\gamma \in [0, 1]$  that is known and the same for all agents. Therefore, for all i,

$$p(Y_i = 1 | a_i = NC) = \gamma \tag{2}$$

More generally,  $\gamma$  can be interpreted as the attractiveness of the Non-Competence-Driven task relative to the Competence-Driven task.

Noisy Perceptions - The main assumption in the model is that agents only have a noisy perception  $\hat{\alpha}_i$  regarding their own probability of success.<sup>8</sup> To show a systematic bias in belief formation is not the mechanism that drives the results in this model, I assume this noisy perception is unbiased. Consequently, I pose  $\hat{\alpha}_i$  stems from a distribution  $g_{\alpha_i}$  with  $E(\hat{\alpha}_i) = \alpha_i$ .

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>As discussed in the introduction, this noise should be interpreted as the effects of momentary emotions or distractions. If agents were able to switch this noise off, they would behave as Bayesians. Also, we obtain similar results when the perception of chances of success in both the *competence-driven* task and the outside option are noisy.

Social Context - Agents have an observable characteristic that represents for example their gender, ethnicity or social class. This characteristic is public information. To simplify the exposition of the model, I denote this characteristic by a binary variable  $\theta_i$ with realizations  $x \in \{0, 1\}$ . Hence, each agent is fully described by her type  $\{\alpha_i, \theta_i\}$ . I let  $p_x$  be the fraction of the population with an observable characteristic  $\theta_i = x$ . To isolate the mechanism through which social identity affects choice behavior in this model, I assume the probability  $\alpha$  and the observable characteristic  $\theta$  are independently distributed over the population.<sup>9</sup> Agents have access to public data that consists of the outcome variables and observable characteristics of agents that have already made the choice. Society typically structures this information. To illustrate what drives the results in this model, in this section I focus on one particular statistic. In the Section 4.1, I discuss how different data and different structures on information affect behavior.

Let  $\mathcal{N}_{C,x} = \{i \in N, \theta_i = x, a_i = C\}$  be the set of all individuals of type  $\theta_i = x$ that have chosen the *Competence-Driven* task. Let  $\mathcal{N}_C = \{i \in N, a_i = C\}$  be the set of all individuals that have chosen the *Competence-Driven* task, which implies  $\mathcal{N}_{C,x} \subset \mathcal{N}_C$ . I pose that society provides the statistic,

$$\pi_x = \frac{\sum_{i \in \mathcal{N}_{C,x}} Y_i}{\sum_{i \in \mathcal{N}_C} Y_i}$$

which is the fraction of successful individuals with characteristic  $\theta = x$  among all successful individuals in the *Competence-Driven* task. I call this fraction  $\pi_x$  the 'social identity cue' for an agent with observable characteristic  $\theta_i = x$ . The 'social context' of the population is defined as the vector  $\Pi = (\pi_x)_{x \in \{0,1\}}$ . Because  $\alpha$  and  $\theta$  are independently distributed over the population, this 'social context' is not relevant to agents in a Bayesian sense. Instead, I introduce the option to agents to use  $\pi_x$  to bias their noisy perception  $\hat{\alpha}_i$ .

 $<sup>^{9}</sup>$ In section 5.3, I discuss how discrimination and other direct effects of social identity on utility interact with the mechanism presented in this paper.

Subjective Belief Formation - I model agents that have an imperfect idea about their economic environment and think that using 'social context' could be useful to form a belief about their probability of success  $\alpha_i$ , even if they are not a priori sure of that. Specifically, I assume agents have a natural 'urge' to look at others like them, and they have the option to either *Repress* or *Not Repress* this urge. I introduce the following family of belief formation processes with which agents form a subjective belief  $\hat{p}_i$  about their probability of success  $\alpha_i$ , and assume agents have some discretion in finding out which belief formation process suits them best. For any value  $\pi, p \in [0, 1]$ , let  $\eta$  be a 'response function' that is non-decreasing, such that

$$\eta(\pi, p) = \begin{cases} > 1 & \text{if } \pi > p \\ 1 & \text{if } \pi = p \\ < 1 & \text{if } \pi < p \end{cases}$$
(3)

Furthermore, let  $\eta_x = \eta(\pi_x, p_x)$ . Agents choose a strategy  $\sigma_i \in \{R, NR\}$ , and

$$\hat{p}_i = \begin{cases} \hat{\alpha}_i & \text{if } \sigma_i = R\\ \eta_x \hat{\alpha}_i & \text{if } \sigma_i = NR \end{cases}$$
(4)

Depending on whether agents let their belief formation be influenced their social cue<sup>10</sup>, their subjective belief can take two values;  $\hat{p}^R$  or  $\hat{p}^{NR}$ . With a subjective Bayesian interpretation in mind,  $\sigma_i = R$  corresponds to a world view in which private and observable characteristics are uncorrelated, while  $\sigma_i = NR$ , corresponds to a view in which the two are correlated, with  $(\pi_x, p_x)$  informing about the sign and strength of that correlation<sup>11</sup>. When  $\sigma_i = NR$ , the agent biases her noisy perception  $\hat{\alpha}_i$  in a direction contingent on her social type. If the agent belongs to the socially more successful subgroup, this belief-formation process leads to an optimistic interpretation of  $\hat{\alpha}$ , while this leads to a pessimistic interpretation when the agent's subgroup is underrepresented among the successful individuals.

 $<sup>^{10}</sup>$ I do not model precisely the agent's thought processes leading to these two possible beliefs. The objective is not to propose a particular functional form, nor to root it in a specific subjective Bayesian model, but to investigate how properties of the response function can be conductive to the phenomenon I mean to describe.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup>An example can be that agents are making an attribution error.

Subjective Utility Maximization - Agents derive utility from being successful and the utility function can be represented by  $u_i = Y_i$ . Each agent chooses her action  $a_i$  to maximize  $E(u_i)$  given her subjective belief  $\hat{p}_i^{\sigma}$ , and will choose the Competence-Driven task if and only if  $\hat{p}_i^{\sigma} > \gamma$ . One could say therefore that agents are subjectively rational given the process that determines their subjective beliefs. Furthermore, the model allows for two different interpretations. One interpretation is that the instrument  $\sigma_i$ mechanically alters the agent's subjective belief  $\hat{p}_i^{\sigma}$ , where  $\hat{p}_i^{\sigma} \in {\hat{p}_i^R, \hat{p}_i^{NR}}$ . Another interpretation is that agents have the option to use the social identity cue to alter choice in a direction contingent on their observable type. Formally, subjective expected utility maximization implies that the agent is effectively comparing two thresholds, such that agent *i* chooses a = C if and only if  $\hat{\alpha}_i > \gamma_i$ , where

$$\gamma_i = \begin{cases} \gamma & \text{when } \sigma_i = R \\ \frac{\gamma}{\eta_x} & \text{when } \sigma_i = NR \end{cases}$$
(5)

The strategy 'Not Repress' implies therefore that the agent inflates or deflates the threshold for  $\hat{\alpha}$  above which she thinks she is 'good enough' to undertake the Competence-Driven task. The strategy set can also be directly specified as the choice set  $\gamma_i \in \{\gamma, \frac{\gamma}{\eta_x}\}$ . This choice set can be different for agents with different values of  $\theta$ , which will be the key driver of the equilibrium results.

#### 2.2 The Solution Concept

Choices of belief formation affect choices of tasks. This leads to outcomes that induce cues that in turn affect belief formation. To tractably capture the fixed points in this dynamic process, I use a static solution concept in which I assume that, given social context, agents choose a strategy  $\sigma$  according to a fitness value that I define below. A population equilibrium is then a fixed point in social context that is induced by the optimal strategies. This solution concept is in line with the view that the optimal choice of the strategy  $\sigma$  arises from a learning process that operates faster than the dynamics in social context, where the learning of the optimal strategy happens during the lifetime of an agent through her experience with similar tasks, while changes in social context arise from agents belonging to different generations making a specific choice of task once in their lifetime.

Individual Optimality - Let  $\Phi_{\alpha,x,\sigma_i,\Pi} = P(a = C | \alpha, x, \sigma_i, \Pi)$  be the ex-ante induced probability that an agent of type  $\{\alpha, x\}$  playing strategy  $\sigma_i$  given a social context  $\Pi$ chooses the Competence-Driven task. Then,

$$\Phi_{\alpha,x,\sigma_i,\Pi} = P(\hat{p}_i^{\sigma} > \gamma | \alpha) \tag{6}$$

This probability  $\Phi$  follows from the distribution  $g_{\alpha_i}(\hat{\alpha}_i)$  given the choice of strategy  $\sigma_i$ . From an outsiders perspective, the expected pay-off for agent *i* of type  $\{\alpha, x\}$  playing  $\sigma_i$  given  $\Pi$  over all possible realizations of  $\hat{\alpha}$  is,

$$V_i(\sigma_i) = \alpha \Phi_{\alpha, x, \sigma_i, \Pi} + \gamma (1 - \Phi_{\alpha, x, \sigma_i, \Pi})$$
(7)

with  $\sigma_i \in \{R, NR\}$ . I then define individual optimality as follows.

DEFINITION 1 (Individual Optimality): The strategy  $\sigma_i^*$  is optimal for the agent from an individual perspective when,

$$\sigma_i^* = \operatorname*{argmax}_{\sigma_i} V_i(\sigma_i)$$

Individual optimality implies an agent chooses her belief formation to maximize her expected pay-off on average over all possible realizations of  $\hat{\alpha}_i$ . The fitness value of a strategy  $\sigma$  is determined by both the agent's type { $\alpha, x$ } and the social context  $\Pi$ .

I assume agents compare  $V_i(R)$  and  $V_i(NR)$ , and choose their strategy  $\sigma_i$  according to Definition 1. This assumption can be justified with the view that agents learn their optimal belief formation from their own experience with similar choices through for example reinforcement learning or a sampling process<sup>12</sup>. The true probability  $\alpha_i$ 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup>The dynamic story underlying the reduced-form analysis is that agents make similar competencedriven choices throughout their lifetime. For example, early in life they choose whether to 'undertake a math-related major', while later in life they choose whether to 'pursue a STEM career'.

determines the outcomes agents observe, which enables them to learn whether it is optimal to *Repress* without precise knowledge of the relationship between the choice of strategy, choice of task and the observed outcome. Because the set of strategies is small, this is easy for agents to calculate.<sup>13</sup> An alternative foundation can be in the spirit of Benabou and Tirole (2006). A calm, rational self knows the true underlying type, while an impulsive self can be biased in the moment. The first self may decide on a belief formation rule, while the second self chooses an action at a given point in time, given the noisy perception and the earlier chosen belief formation rule. Finally, one could say that agents are boundedly rational in the sense that not all belief formation processes can be compared. This aspect of bounded rationality should be considered a modelling device that helps to keep the model parsimonious. Because of the simplifying assumption that  $\alpha$  and  $\gamma$  are fixed, and because  $\alpha$  and  $\theta$  are independently distributed, the analysis would be degenerate if agents could compare all possible functions of  $\hat{\alpha}$  and  $\pi_x$ . The key insight from the model is that it shows the difference with a Bayesian model, by analyzing whether, when agents do not have the tools to correct for this type of noise, this can open the door for them to use information that is irrelevant, but that could still improve decision making. We shall see in Section 5 how the results extend to the more realistic case in which  $\alpha$  and  $\gamma$  vary or in which such learning would be imperfect.

Population Equilibrium - Let  $\sigma$  be the collection of  $\sigma_i$ . Because N is arbitrarily large, each collection of strategies  $\sigma$  and social context  $\Pi$  generates choices and successes that in turn generate public data  $\Pi$  such that,

$$\tilde{\pi}_x(\sigma, \Pi) = \frac{p_x \int \alpha \Phi_{\alpha, x, \sigma, \Pi} f(\alpha) d\alpha}{\sum_{x \in \{0,1\}} p_x \int \alpha \Phi_{\alpha, x, \sigma, \Pi} f(\alpha) d\alpha}$$
(8)

where  $f(\alpha)$  is the probability density function of  $\alpha$  and  $\tilde{\pi}_x(\sigma, \Pi)$  is the social identity cue induced by strategies  $\sigma$  and a social context  $\Pi$ . An equilibrium in the model can now be defined as follows.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup>It seems plausible that if agents are able to learn their optimal strategy  $\sigma$  conditional on  $\alpha$ , they should also be able to retrieve their true value of  $\alpha$  from this optimal strategy. This line of thought is nevertheless driven by the simplification of the model in which  $\alpha$  and  $\gamma$  are fixed over the lifetime of an agent, and I will elaborate more in Section 5.2 on how the model can account for sophisticated agents that understand what their fitness signals about their true probability of success.

DEFINITION 2 (Population Equilibrium): A pair of strategies and a social context  $\{\sigma,\Pi\}$  constitutes a population equilibrium, when  $\sigma = \sigma^*$  for all agents given  $\Pi$ , and when  $\Pi$  is such that,

$$\Pi = \widetilde{\Pi}(\sigma, \Pi) \tag{9}$$

In other words, a population equilibrium is a fixed point in 'social context' when all agents play their individually optimal strategy.

### 3 The Results

#### 3.1 Optimal Self-Screening

**Example** - Consider a firm in which a priori identical agents choose whether to pursue a career in management (C) or a clerical job (NC). Assume these agents observe the current pool of successful managers, and that women are relatively overrepresented in this pool. Let  $\theta_i = 1$  denote being a woman and assume  $p_1 = p_0$ . Let  $\hat{p}_i^{\sigma}(\alpha, x)$  be the subjective belief  $\hat{p}_i^{\sigma}$  implied by an agent of type  $\{\alpha, x\}$  playing strategy  $\sigma_i$ . To illustrate behavior, consider agents of type  $\alpha > \gamma$ . The welfare-maximizing choice for these agents is to pursue a management career. To maximize expected utility, their belief formation should be chosen to maximize the likelihood they choose this career over all possible realizations of  $\hat{\alpha}$ . Hence, it is optimal to *Repress* the urge to look at others when  $P(\hat{p}_i^{NR}(\alpha, x) > \gamma) \leq P(\hat{p}_i^R(\alpha, x) > \gamma)$ . Figure (1) shows the different probabilities  $P(\hat{p}_i^{\sigma}(\alpha, x) > \gamma)$  for  $\sigma \in \{R, NR\}$  and  $x \in \{0, 1\}$ .

Because women are overrepresented among the currently successful managers in the firm, Not Repressing the use of the social identity cue in belief formation causes female agents to deflate the threshold above which they think they are 'good enough' to become a successful manager. Consequently, choosing a management career becomes relatively more attractive than choosing a clerical job, and hence female agents with  $\alpha > \gamma$  should choose Not Repress to improve decision making on average. For male agents with  $\alpha > \gamma$ , the opposite holds. Because men are underrepresented among the successful managers, the strategy Not Repress would inflate the threshold above which they think they are 'good enough'. This would make a management career



Figure 1: To probabilities to choose a = C for an agent with  $\alpha > \gamma$  in a social context such that  $\pi_0 < \pi_1$ .

relatively less attractive. Male agents with  $\alpha > \gamma$  should *Repress* the urge to look at the outcomes of other men. The opposite reasoning applies to agents with  $\alpha < \gamma$ . In general, Proposition 1 shows that agents with  $\alpha > \gamma$  will want to take their social identity into account when they belong to a socially more successful group, while they will wish to avoid it when they belong to a socially less successful group, and vice versa for agents with  $\alpha < \gamma$ . This shows how choice behavior can be driven by social context, even when it is irrelevant in a Bayesian sense and has no direct effect on utility.

PROPOSITION 1 (Individually Optimal Belief Formation): The individually optimal strategies  $\sigma^*$  given an agent's type  $\{\alpha, x\}$  are the following:

- The individually optimal strategy  $\sigma^*$  is 'Not Repress' for agents of type  $\{\alpha, x\}$ such that  $\alpha > \gamma$  and  $\pi_x > p_x$  or  $\alpha < \gamma$  and  $\pi_x < p_x$
- The individually optimal strategy σ\* is 'Repress' for agents of type {α, x} such that α > γ and π<sub>x</sub> < p<sub>x</sub> or α < γ and π<sub>x</sub> > p<sub>x</sub>

Talent will always find its way - The ability to improve decision making on average using social identity cues is a function of the true probability  $\alpha$ . Specifically, if we assume the variance of  $\hat{\alpha}$  is uncorrelated with  $\alpha$ , the use of social identity cues in belief formation is on average most beneficial to those who have a true probability of success  $\alpha$  close to  $\gamma$ , while agents with extremely low or extremely high values of  $\alpha$  are always more likely to make the correct choice, independent of their observable characteristics and the social context in which they make their decisions. In this model, social context therefore especially affects choice behavior of agents with  $\alpha$  close to  $\gamma$ , while it has little effect on agents with extreme values of  $\alpha$ .

#### 3.2 The Persistence of Identity-Driven Choices

When one subgroup is overrepresented among the successful individuals, this affects both how many and what type of agents choose the *Competence-Driven* task. Specifically, when  $\theta_i = x$  implies a more pessimistic processing of the noisy perception  $\hat{\alpha}_i$ , then those who choose the *Competence-Driven* task despite this, tend to have a larger success rate on average than those who choose this task with a characteristic implying an optimistic processing of  $\hat{\alpha}_i$ . This is what we call the 'selection effect'. On the other hand, the population of those that belong to the socially less successful subgroup choosing the *Competence-Driven* task tends to be smaller than the population of those choosing the task belonging to the socially more successful subgroup. This is what we call the 'population effect'. Corollary 1 formalizes this.

COROLLARY 1: Let  $x' \in \{0,1\}$  be the complement of x and assume WLOG that  $\pi_x > \pi_{x'}$ . The optimal use of social identity cues has both a population effect, such that  $\Phi_{\alpha,x,\sigma_i,\Pi} > \Phi_{\alpha,x',\sigma_i,\Pi}$  and a selection effect, such that  $E(\alpha|a = C, x) < E(\alpha|a = C, x')$ . The strength of both effects is such that the order  $\pi_x > \pi_{x'}$  will always be preserved.

**Example** - Proposition 1 implies women with  $\alpha > \gamma$  choose *Not Repress*, while men with  $\alpha > \gamma$  choose *Repress*. Similarly, men with  $\alpha < \gamma$  choose *Not Repress*, while women with  $\alpha < \gamma$  choose *Repress*. Figure (2) shows the probabilities  $P(\hat{p}_i^{\sigma}(\alpha, x) > \gamma)$ for  $\sigma = \sigma^*$  and  $x \in \{0, 1\}$ .

Since  $\frac{\gamma}{\eta_1} < \gamma$  and  $\gamma < \frac{\gamma}{\eta_0}$ , women are more likely to, both optimally and suboptimally, pursue a management career. This demonstrates the '*population effect*'. Because the noisy perception is unbiased, higher realizations of  $\hat{\alpha}$  are more likely for agents with higher true probabilities  $\alpha$ . Consequently, women choose the management task for on average lower realizations of  $\hat{\alpha}$  than men and  $E(\alpha|a = C, 1) < E(\alpha|a = C, 0)$ . This demonstrates the '*selection effect*'. The selection and population effect will not reverse



Figure 2: The probabilities  $P(\hat{p}_i^{\sigma}(\alpha, x) > \gamma)$  for  $\sigma = \sigma^*$  and  $x \in \{0, 1\}$ 

the order on  $(\pi_1, \pi_0)$ . Because  $\alpha$  and  $\theta$  are independently distributed, the fraction of women with  $\hat{\alpha} > \gamma$  in an arbitrary large population is equal to the fraction of men with  $\hat{\alpha} > \gamma$ . The population of women with  $\alpha > \gamma$  choosing a = C consists therefore of women with  $\hat{\alpha} > \gamma$  plus women with  $\frac{\gamma}{\eta_1} < \hat{\alpha} < \gamma$ , while the population of men with  $\alpha > \gamma$  choosing a = C only consists of men with  $\hat{\alpha} > \gamma$ . Therefore, even though men have on average a higher success rate conditional on choosing a = C, the expected number of successful women will be larger than the expected number of successful men.

Existence and Stability of Population Equilibria - Whether identity-driven choice behavior can be persistent, depends on whether the population and selection effect reinforce or shrink differences between  $\pi_1$  and  $\pi_0$ . Definition 3 defines the two scenarios that could appear in equilibrium.

DEFINITION 3 (Equilibrium Regimes): In a 'Neutral Regime' the allocation of individuals over tasks is symmetric across different subgroups, and  $\pi_x = p_x$ . In a 'Non-Neutral Regime' the allocation of individuals over tasks is asymmetric across different subgroups, and  $\pi_x \neq p_x$ .

**Example** - Consider again the example of a firm where male and female agents choose between pursuing a management career and a clerical job. Now, also assume agents

have the following extreme response function,

$$\eta(\pi, p) = \begin{cases} +\infty & \text{if } \pi > p \\ 1 & \text{if } \pi = p \\ -\infty & \text{if } \pi (10)$$

When  $\pi_0 = \pi_1 = \frac{1}{2}$ , the strategies *Repress* and *Not Repress* are equivalent, and this social context induces social identity cues such that  $\tilde{\pi}_1(\sigma^*, \frac{1}{2}) = \frac{1}{2}$ . In other words, a '*Neutral Regime*' always exists. Nevertheless, as soon as agents observe slightly more women than men among the successful managers, such that  $\pi_1 > \pi_0$ , the extreme response function  $\eta(\pi, p)$  causes all women with  $\alpha > \gamma$  to choose to pursue a management career, while all men with  $\alpha < \gamma$  will choose the clerical job. Consequently,  $\tilde{\pi}_1(\sigma^*, \pi_1) > \pi_1$ , while  $\tilde{\pi}_0(\sigma^*, \pi_0) < \pi_0$  and the 'Neutral Regime' becomes unstable.

Using this extreme case, we can show that any induced social identity cue  $\tilde{\pi}_1(\sigma, \Pi)$  is always bounded from above. Specifically,

$$\frac{\tilde{\pi}_1(\sigma,\Pi)}{\tilde{\pi}_0(\sigma,\Pi)} \le \frac{p_1 \int_{\alpha<\gamma} \int_{\hat{\alpha}>\gamma} \alpha g_\alpha(\hat{\alpha}) f(\alpha) d\hat{\alpha} d\alpha + p_1 \int_{\alpha>\gamma} \alpha f(\alpha) d\alpha}{p_0 \int_{\alpha>\gamma} \int_{\hat{\alpha}>\gamma} \alpha g_\alpha(\hat{\alpha}) f(\alpha) d\hat{\alpha} d\alpha}$$
(11)

Proposition 2 shows a sufficient condition for the existence of a stable 'Non-Neutral Regime' obtained through analyzing when a 'Neutral Regime' becomes unstable.

PROPOSITION 2 (Existence Non-Neutral Regime): Let  $p_0 = p_1$ , and let  $\delta > 0$  be a small value with which we disturb a 'Neutral Regime'. A sufficient condition for the co-existence of a stable 'Non Neutral Regime' with a 'Neutral Regime' is as follows,

$$\frac{\partial \gamma^{NR}}{\partial \delta} \frac{|\frac{\partial S}{\partial \gamma}|}{S} > 4 \tag{12}$$

where  $\gamma^{NR} = \frac{\gamma}{\eta_x}$  and  $S = \int \alpha G_{\alpha}(\gamma) f(\alpha) d\alpha$ .

Whether a 'Neutral Regime' is unstable depends on  $\gamma$  and the properties of the response function  $\eta(\pi_x, p_x)$ . First, a change of  $\delta$  in  $\Pi$  away from a 'Neutral Regime' must have a sufficiently large effect on choice behavior of agents at the individual level. Specifically, the induced change in the threshold  $\gamma^{NR}$  of agents that choose to 'Not Repress' must be large enough. This change depends both on the derivative of the response function  $\eta(\pi_x, p_x)$  at the 'Neutral regime', and, because of the linearity of  $\gamma^{NR}$  in  $\gamma$ , this change is multiplicative in  $\gamma$ . Secondly, a perturbation  $\delta$  must have a sufficiently large effect on the outcomes at the aggregate level. This is captured by the elasticity of S in  $\gamma$ , where S is the total number of successful people in the Competence-Driven task. The absolute value of this elasticity is increasing in  $\gamma$ , since the more attractive the outside option, the lower the number of agents that tries the Competence-Driven task. Moreover, the higher  $\gamma$ , the higher the success rate of agents that choose this task. Consequently, the effect of a change in behavior of a small group of agents on the induced social identity cues  $\tilde{\Pi}(\sigma, \Pi)$  is increasing in  $\gamma$ .

Minority Effect - There are two different ways in which agents can process  $\pi_x$  and  $p_x$  in their response function. They can either process the difference  $\pi_x - p_x$  or the proportion  $\frac{\pi_x}{p_x}$ . When  $p_0 = p_1$ , this does not affect the local effects of a small change in a 'Neutral Regime'. This is nevertheless not true when  $p_0 \neq p_1$ . The effects of a change away from the 'Neutral Regime' are still symmetric for both social groups when agents process the difference  $\pi_x - p_x$ , but not when agents process the proportion  $\frac{\pi_x}{p_x}$  in their response function. Specifically, with the latter response function, the minority group will react more strongly to changes in social context than the majority group.

*Degree of Asymmetry* - The stronger agents react to their social context in the belief formation process, the more social context will drive their choice behavior. Corollary 2 shows how this affects the degree of asymmetry we observe in a '*Non-Neutral Regime*'.

COROLLARY 2: Take two response functions  $\hat{\eta}$  and  $\eta$ , such that  $\hat{\eta}(\pi, p) > \eta(\pi, p)$ for all  $\pi > p$ . Assume WLOG that a 'Non-Neutral Regime' exists in which  $\pi^* > p$ . Let  $\pi^*_{\eta}$  be the equilibrium value of  $\pi$  given a response function  $\eta$ . Then,  $\pi^*_{\eta} > \pi^*_{\eta}$ . Welfare - If we consider a social planner maximizing the aggregate expected utility of all agents in the society, then a 'Non-Neutral Regime' is a Pareto improvement with respect to a 'Neutral Regime'. In a 'Neutral Regime', the strategies Repress and Not Repress are equivalent, and all agents form beliefs in the same way. In a 'Non-Neutral Regime', only those agents for whom it is strictly optimal will react to the asymmetries in social context. A 'Non-Neutral Regime' may nevertheless not be Pareto optimal when beliefs have a direct effect on the probability of success, through for example confidence (Compte and Postlewaite, 2004), or when social context has a direct effect on someone's chances of success through some form of discrimination or stereotype threat (Steele, 2010). Finally, a 'Non-Neutral Regime' can become suboptimal when agents make systematic errors in learning their optimal strategy, when they do not correctly compute the long-term pay-offs of choosing a Competence-Driven task, or when the strategy Repress becomes costly. Finally, we may want to avoid a 'Non-Neutral Regime' when it reinforces harmful stereotypes and social norms, or when it induces statistical discrimination.

### 4 Social Cues and Informational Policy

#### 4.1 Data and Structure on Information

The key driver of persistent identity-driven choices is the population effect. Therefore, the model could also tell an imitation story, where agents process statistics stemming from who tries the *Competence-Driven* task, or agents could use data about those who try but fail. However, when agents process the within-group average success rates, identity-driven choice behavior can no longer be persistent. To illustrate, consider an example in which the average success rate of women,  $\pi_1$ , is higher than the success rate of men,  $\pi_0$ . Corollary 1 shows that hence more women choose the *Competence-Driven* task than men, but that this induces simultaneously a higher average success rate for men than for women. Consequently, the new social identity cues will induce more men to choose the *Competence-Driven* task than women, which will induce a higher average success rate for women, and so forth. This suggests we could eliminate the persistence of identity-driven choices by influencing the statistics people take into account, and by making data that is often not available or hidden, such as those who tried but failed, more visible. The model also shows how people react to their perception of social context, and predicts therefore that informational policy measures could be complementary to a real and maybe more costly change of social context, through for example affirmative action policy.

#### 4.2 Misspecified Reaction Function

**Example** - Consider again the running example. Now, assume there are fewer women than men that have the qualifications to pursue a management career, but that agents hold an incorrect belief about the fraction of qualified women in the population. Specifically, let this incorrect belief be  $\hat{p}_1 = \frac{1}{2}$ , while the true fraction of qualified women is  $p_1 < \frac{1}{2}$ . Now, agents believe a 'Neutral Regime' to be an equal fraction of men and women in the pool of successful managers. Consequently, when 'Neutral Regime' appears, agents will not interpret it as such and they will perceive women to be underrepresented, while men are perceived to be overrepresented. Because they now have a misspecified reaction function, women with  $\alpha > \gamma$  will choose Repress, while men with  $\alpha > \gamma$  will not, and vice versa. This drives the population towards a 'Non-Neutral Regime' in which women will indeed be underrepresented among the successful managers. Corollary 3 formalizes this result.

COROLLARY 3: Assume WLOG that agents hold a belief  $\hat{p}_x > p_x$ . Then there only exists a 'Non-Neutral Regime' in which  $\pi_x < p_x$ . A 'Neutral Regime' no longer exists.

This shows it is important to inform agents about the relevant fractions of social groups in the populations. If they cannot form correct beliefs about what a '*Neutral Regime*' looks like, it will never appear.

#### 4.3 Individual Feedback

Because the options to manage confidence using social identity cues can be asymmetric across social types, similar types of individual feedback can have different effects on choice behavior across social groups. One could exploit these differences to boost diversity in educational and professional environments. For example, if students belonging to an ethnic majority are overrepresented in top educational pathways, only they have the option to boost up their beliefs. If one wants to induce more students belonging to ethnic minorities in these educational pathways, this could be achieved by giving those students, that have the capabilities and grades to succeed, systematically more positive feedback regarding their abilities. This would bias their individual-specific noisy perception upwards in a similar way as what majority students can achieve with the use of social context. These insights are in line with already existing programs that aim to enhance the confidence of underrepresented groups to increase diversity.

## 5 Discussion

#### 5.1 Imperfect Learning

I assume agents are perfectly able to learn their individually optimal strategies. The main objective of this assumption is to show that, even when agents learn perfectly, asymmetries in choice behavior can persist. The equilibrium model can be adjusted to allow for imperfect learning as follows. The induced probability to choose the *Competence-Driven* task for an agent of type  $\{\alpha, \theta\}$  in a social context  $\Pi$ , playing strategy  $\sigma_i$  as presented in Equation (6) can be written as,

$$\Phi_{\alpha,x,\sigma_i,\Pi} = \sum_{\sigma \in \{R,NR\}} P(\sigma_i = \sigma | \alpha, x, \Pi) P(\hat{p}_i^{\sigma} > \gamma | \alpha)$$
(13)

In the case of perfect learning,  $P(\sigma_i = \sigma | \alpha, x, \Pi) \in \{0, 1\}$ , while in the case of imperfect learning,  $P(\sigma_i = \sigma | \alpha, x, \Pi) \in [0, 1]$ . Let  $\lambda$  be an exogenous learning process. Then, any such learning process implies a probability  $P^{\lambda}(\sigma_i = \sigma | \alpha, x, \Pi)$ . As long as  $P^{\lambda}(\sigma_i = \sigma^* | \alpha, x, \Pi) > P^{\lambda}(\sigma_i \neq \sigma^* | \alpha, x, \Pi)$ , we observe differences in  $\Phi_{\alpha,x,\sigma_i,\Pi}$  across agents with a different characteristic  $\theta$ . This will induce differences in choice behavior and further reasoning continues along the same lines as in a model with perfect learning. Finally, if failing to learn means failing to *Repress* the influence of social context when this is optimal, imperfect learning implies that more agents than optimal use their social identity cue in belief formation. In this case, imperfect learning would increase the strength of the population effect. If failing to learn implies that agents make random mistakes, imperfect learning may decrease the strength of the population effect.

#### 5.2 Towards a More Realistic Model

To simplify the model, I assume  $\alpha$  and  $\gamma$  are fixed over an agent's lifetime. If agents can learn their optimal strategy conditional on  $\alpha$ , this may raise the question why they are not able to retrieve  $\alpha$  itself, and hence, their optimal task. Indeed, a sufficiently sophisticated agent could interpret  $\sigma_i^*$  as an extra signal regarding  $\alpha_i$ . When  $\alpha$  and  $\gamma$  are fixed, this would be a perfect signal. Therefore, agents that understand the structure of the model, could use  $\sigma_i^*$  to learn their optimal choice of task. Consequently, social context has no differential effect on choice behavior anymore across social groups, and a 'Non-Neutral Regime' cannot exist. This reasoning is nevertheless too much driven by the simplifying assumption of keeping  $\alpha$  and  $\gamma$  fixed.

Consider now a more realistic model, in which the values of  $\alpha$  and  $\gamma$  vary over the lifetime of an agent, such that agents learn from a series of related, but slightly different tasks. The optimal strategy will be conditional on whether on average during the learning process  $\alpha$  has been above or below  $\gamma$ . In a particular choice context, we will therefore have a fraction of agents with  $\alpha > \gamma$  belonging to the socially more successful group that will have learned to *Not Repress*, but also a fraction that will have learned to *Repress*. Consequently,  $\sigma^*$  becomes an imperfect signal regarding  $\alpha$ and sophisticated agents will no longer be able to retrieve their true  $\alpha$ . They may learn that on average  $\alpha$  is below or above  $\gamma$ , and derive from that a strategy to always choose the *Competence-Driven* or *Non-Competence-Driven* task. As long as  $\hat{\alpha}$  is informative about  $\alpha$ , the belief formation rule following from  $\sigma^*$  will nevertheless outperform such a strategy.<sup>14</sup> Even more sophisticated agents may want to use this extra signal to further improve upon their decision, which eventually means forging a third belief:  $\hat{p}_i^I$ ,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup>The same reasoning applies to agents that can only imperfectly learn their individually optimal strategy in the simplified model.

the resulting belief from the inference process I. We can therefore account for this type of sophistication in the model by enriching the set of strategies<sup>15</sup>, and consider agents that compare three possible beliefs;  $\hat{p}_i^R, \hat{p}_i^{NR}$  or  $\hat{p}_i^I$ .

To analyze the effect of this enriched set of strategies on the equilibrium results, consider again the example of the firm. If the belief  $\hat{p}_i^I$  results from a correct inference process, then a woman learning to Not Repress, will be able to make the inference that, on average, she is good enough to choose leadership-related tasks, while a woman learning to *Repress*, will make the inference that, on average, she is not good enough to choose leadership-related tasks. The opposite applies to men. Now, the key aspect driving the existence of a 'Non-Neutral Regime', namely the fact that belief formation is type-contingent, disappears. One could argue nevertheless that the latter inference seems more difficult to make than the former, since it requires a more elaborate thinking. It seems easier for a woman to infer that, when she believes it is relevant that women are overrepresented among the successful individuals, she is also likely to succeed. It is much less straightforward for a woman to infer that, if it is not optimal to use the female-driven bias, then it must be that she has low chances of success. She may instead conclude the statistic is not providing relevant information regarding her own abilities. Similarly, when a man learns to Not Repress, it may be easy for him to infer that, like all other men, his chances of success are not that great either. It is much less straightforward for him to infer that, if *Repress* is the better strategy, then he must be good. Therefore, if the belief  $\hat{p}_i^I$  follows from a correct and complete inference process, a 'Non-Neutral Regime' can no longer exist. On the other hand, a partial inference process, like the one described above, would exacerbate the phenomenon.

#### 5.3 Discrimination and Other Effects of Social Identity

To isolate the mechanism I want to describe in this paper, I assume  $\alpha$  and  $\theta$  are uncorrelated. In reality, there may be other effects of social identity on choice. I categorize the effects described in the current literature as either direct effects of social identity on utility derived from for example self-image or punishment by others,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup>In the spirit of Compte and Postlewaite (2019), this would limit the degree to which agents can compare these strategies, since one cannot compare more strategies without at the same time altering the accuracy with which one can compare them.

or direct effects on the agent's real or perception of her chances of success in each type of task because of for example discrimination or the anticipation of possible discrimination. In this section, I aim to show with a simple model how these effects would interact with the mechanism presented in this paper.

Let  $\tau \in [0, 1)$  be a tax agents pay when choosing an action a for which their social group is underrepresented. In other words,  $\tau > 0$  for an agent with characteristic x, when a = C and  $\pi_x < p_x$  or when a = NC and  $\pi_x > p_x$ . Otherwise,  $\tau = 0$ . The tax  $\tau$ affects the subjective expected utility of undertaking an action that agents compare. To illustrate, assume  $\pi_1 > p_1$ . To choose their action, agents with  $\theta = 1$  will now compare the subjective expected utility of undertaking the *Competence-Driven* task,  $\hat{p}_i^{\sigma^*}$ , with the subjective expected utility of undertaking the *Non-Competence-Driven* task,  $\gamma[1-\tau]$ , while agents with  $\theta = 0$  will compare  $\hat{p}_i^{\sigma^*}[1-\tau]$  to  $\gamma$ . Hence,  $\tau$  can be interpreted as a negative effect on utility, and as a negative effect on the probability of success in the respective task, or the agent's perception thereof.

Agents with  $\theta = 1$  will choose a threshold  $\gamma_i \in \{\gamma[1-\tau], \frac{\gamma[1-\tau]}{\eta_1}\}$ , while agents with  $\theta = 0$  will choose a threshold  $\gamma_i \in \{\frac{\gamma}{[1-\tau]}, \frac{\gamma}{[1-\tau]\eta_0}\}$ . Therefore, a tax  $\tau > 0$  moves the set of thresholds agents with  $\theta = 1$  compare downwards, making it more likely they choose the *Competence-Driven* task independent of their value of  $\alpha$ , while it moves the set of thresholds agents with  $\theta = 0$  compare upwards, making it more likely they choose the *Non-Competence-Driven* task. Furthermore, we can write the induced number of successful agents in the *Competence-Driven* task with  $\theta = 1$  as follows,

$$S_1 = p_1 \left[ \int_{\hat{\alpha} > \frac{\gamma}{\eta_1}} g_{\alpha}(\hat{\alpha}) d\hat{\alpha} + \int_{\frac{\gamma[1-\tau]}{\eta_1} < \hat{\alpha} < \frac{\gamma}{\eta_1}} g_{\alpha}(\hat{\alpha}) d\hat{\alpha} \right] \int_{\alpha > \gamma} \alpha f(\alpha) d\alpha +$$
(14)

$$p_1 \left[ \int_{\hat{\alpha} > \gamma} g_{\alpha}(\hat{\alpha}) d\hat{\alpha} + \int_{\gamma[1-\tau] < \hat{\alpha} < \gamma} g_{\alpha}(\hat{\alpha}) d\hat{\alpha} \right] \int_{\alpha < \gamma} \alpha f(\alpha) d\alpha \tag{15}$$

while the number of successful agents in the *Competence-Driven* task with  $\theta = 0$  is

given by,

$$S_0 = p_0 \left[ \int_{\hat{\alpha} > \gamma} g_{\alpha}(\hat{\alpha}) d\hat{\alpha} - \int_{\gamma < \hat{\alpha} < \frac{\gamma}{[1-\tau]}} g_{\alpha}(\hat{\alpha}) d\hat{\alpha} \right] \int_{\alpha > \gamma} \alpha f(\alpha) d\alpha +$$
(16)

$$p_0 \left[ \int_{\hat{\alpha} > \frac{\gamma}{\eta_0}} g_{\alpha}(\hat{\alpha}) d\hat{\alpha} - \int_{\frac{\gamma}{\eta_0} < \hat{\alpha} < \frac{\gamma}{[1-\tau]\eta_0}} g_{\alpha}(\hat{\alpha}) d\hat{\alpha} \right] \int_{\alpha < \gamma} \alpha f(\alpha) d\alpha \tag{17}$$

In these equations, I separate the effects of social cues, captured by each first term in the brackets, and the effects of the tax  $\tau$ , captured by each second term in the brackets. The first equation shows how  $S_1$  increases through agents with  $\alpha > \gamma$  and  $\frac{\gamma[1-\tau]}{\eta_1} < \hat{\alpha} < \frac{\gamma}{\eta_1}$ , and agents with  $\alpha < \gamma$  and  $\frac{\gamma}{\eta_0} < \hat{\alpha} < \frac{\gamma}{[1-\tau]\eta_0}$ , that choose a = C solely driven by the effect of  $\tau$ . On the other hand,  $S_0$  decreases through agents with  $\alpha > \gamma$ and  $\gamma < \hat{\alpha} < \frac{\gamma}{[1-\tau]}$ , and agents with  $\alpha < \gamma$  and  $\frac{\gamma}{\eta_0} < \hat{\alpha} < \frac{\gamma}{[1-\tau]\eta_0}$ , that in the absence of the effect of  $\tau$  would have chosen a = C, but now choose a = NC.

As  $\tau$  goes to 1, we move towards an extreme case of the model in which all agents with  $\theta = 1$  choose the *Competence-Driven* task and all agents with  $\theta = 0$  choose the *Non-Competence-Driven* task, while, as  $\tau$  goes to zero, we move towards the case discussed in this paper. This simple analysis provides therefore the intuition for how the results presented in this paper are robust in a setting in which we introduce other effects of social identity on decision making, and shows how the mechanism presented in this paper and other effects of social identity on choice can reinforce each other.

### 6 Social Identity and Belief Formation

Social identity, belief formation and choice behavior are topics that are widely studied outside economics. The idea that social context and identity affect a person's perception of her own abilities finds its origin in the field of social psychology. Hogg and Grieve (1999) discusses how in the process of depersonalization, which is associated with social identification, individual and concomitant unshared beliefs, attitudes, feelings, and behaviors are replaced by an in-group prototype that prescribes shared beliefs, attitudes, feelings and behaviors. Similarly, Seligman (2006) shows how people can interpret numerous failures from others like them as evidence that they will fail as well. Finally, Steele (2010) discusses how the psyche of the individual gets damaged by bad images of their group projected in society. Repeated exposure to these images causes them to be internalized, leading to low self esteem, low expectations, low motivation and self doubt.

Another literature shows how social identity affects choice behavior. For example, in Smith et al. (2007), people completing a high stereotype-threat test report decreased task interest. Davies et al. (2002) argues how the combination of decreased enjoyment and diminished self-confidence explains why women experiencing stereotype threat report less interest in math and science fields and weaker leadership aspirations compared to men or non-threatened women. Similarly, Banaji and Greenwald (2016) shows how implicit associations picked up from social context by our automatic brain affect our behavior, such as the intellectual pursuits we select, and Perry et al. (2003) discusses how people tend to protect themselves from stereotype threat by ceasing to care about the domain in which the stereotype applies. Finally, Oh (2023) shows how Indian workers are willing to forego substantial payments to avoid tasks that are associated with other castes.

Hogg and Grieve (1999) defines two classes of motivation for social identification. The first motivation is self-esteem. People are motivated to maintain or achieve positive distinctiveness for their own group relative to other groups, because intergroup evaluation is self-evaluation. This idea is introduced in economics by Akerlof (2016). The second motivation is subjective uncertainty reduction. Subjective certainty gives people confidence about how to behave, and what to expect from their physical and social environment. This is related to Atkin et al. (2021) and Shayo (2009), that show how ethnic and religious identities are determined by group status, group salience and the market cost of following a group's prescribed behaviors. Benabou and Tirole (2011) introduces an idea very much related to this paper, namely that identity investments are driven by welfare maximization considerations.

Finally, it is unclear whether people are aware of their social identification and its effects on their behavior. Purdie-Vaughns et al. (2008) and Marx and Goff (2005) show that black professionals and students are often aware of the presence of stereotype threat, and Steele et al. (2002) shows that some female undergraduates report in a math and science report that they believe they have weak abilities because of their gender. At the same time, Stone et al. (1999) and Leyens et al. (2000) show that white athletes and men fail to report anxiety when they experience stereotype threat. Banaji and Greenwald (2016) and Murden (2020) argue the effects of social context on behavior are largely determined by the automatic part of our brain, outside of our awareness. The model takes no stance on whether people are aware of their choice of belief-formation process, and can be consistent with both scenarios.

## 7 Conclusion

This paper shows how people can use statistics about the prevalence of their social group among the successful individuals in a task to cope with the adverse effects of momentary noise on decision making. Although this behavior is optimal from an individual perspective, it can create persistent differences in choice behavior across a priori identical social groups. If we want to eliminate inequalities across social groups, taking care of discrimination, skill-differences or social pressure is therefore not enough. I discuss how influencing the data people process and have access to can help address the biases in decision making that are induced by differences in the representation of social groups among those successful in distinct domains in society.

The paper points towards various directions for future research. First, I assume homogeneity in both the information agents retrieve from social context and in the way agents process this information. Social networks may nevertheless play an important role in an agent's perception of the social environment. This could create heterogeneity in social cues that may be correlated with observable characteristics through variables such as income, neighborhood or education. Secondly, in the paper, agents are perfectly able to learn their optimal strategies. Social context could nevertheless influence this learning process, through stigmatization, discrimination, implicit biases, social pressures or stereotype threat, which could induce learning traps that could be asymmetric across social groups. Psychological factors may also play a role, such as the shame to learn you are not good enough to undertake a task, even though you belong to the socially more successful group. A deeper understanding of these issues would allow us to better make the step from the theoretical framework to the real world, and derive more concrete policy implications.

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## A Mathematical Appendix

PROPOSITION 1 (Individually Optimal Belief Formation): The individually optimal strategies  $\sigma^*$  given an agent's type  $\{\alpha, \theta\}$  are the following:

- The individually optimal strategy  $\sigma^*$  is 'Not Repress' for agents of type  $\{\alpha, x\}$ such that  $\alpha > \gamma$  and  $\pi_x > p_x$  or  $\alpha < \gamma$  and  $\pi_x < p_x$
- The individually optimal strategy σ\* is 'Repress' for agents of type {α, x} such that α > γ and π<sub>x</sub> < p<sub>x</sub> or α < γ and π<sub>x</sub> > p<sub>x</sub>

Proof. Agents choose  $\sigma_i$  to maximize  $V_i$  over all possible realizations of  $\hat{\alpha}_i$ . Consider first agents that have an  $\alpha > \gamma$ . The welfare-maximizing choice is action a = C. Therefore,  $V_i$  is larger when playing NR than when playing R if and only if  $\Phi_{\alpha,x,NR,\Pi} \ge \Phi_{\alpha,x,R,\Pi}$ . Since  $\Phi_{\alpha,x,\sigma,\Pi} = P(\hat{\alpha} > \gamma^{\sigma} | \alpha)$ , this is the case when  $\gamma^{NR} < \gamma^{R}$ . This is true if and only if  $\pi_x \ge p_x$ . Therefore,  $\sigma^* = NR$  for agents with  $\alpha > \gamma$  when their observable characteristic  $\theta_i = x$  is such that the social identity cue  $\pi_x \ge p_x$ . If this is not the case, they are better off choosing strategy  $\sigma_i = R$ . Vice versa for agents with  $\alpha < \gamma$ .

LEMMA 1: If there exist  $\underline{\pi} > p$  and x such that  $\tilde{\pi}_x(\sigma^*, \underline{\pi}) > \underline{\pi}$ , there exists a Non-Neutral Regime such that  $\pi_x^* \neq p_x$ .

Proof. We know,

$$\tilde{\pi}_x(\sigma^*,\pi) = \int_{\alpha > \gamma} \alpha P\left(\hat{\alpha} > \frac{\gamma}{\eta(\pi,p)}\right) f(\hat{\alpha}|\alpha) d\hat{\alpha} d\alpha + \int_{\alpha < \gamma} \alpha P(\hat{\alpha} > \gamma) f(\hat{\alpha}|\alpha) d\hat{\alpha} d\alpha \quad (18)$$

When  $\eta(\pi, p)$  is monotonic, if  $\pi' > \pi$ , then  $\eta(\pi', p) > \eta(\pi, p)$ , and  $\tilde{\pi}_x(\sigma^*, \pi)$  is continuous in  $\pi$ .<sup>16</sup> Furthermore, from Equation (18) it follows  $\tilde{\pi}_x(\sigma^*, \pi)$  is increasing in  $\pi$ . Then, when there exist  $\underline{\pi} > p$  and x such that  $\tilde{\pi}_x(\sigma^*, \underline{\pi}) > \underline{\pi}$ , then  $\forall \pi > \underline{\pi}$ , we have  $\tilde{\pi}_x(\sigma^*, \pi) > \underline{\pi}$ . In Section 3.2, I showed how  $\pi$  is bounded from above by an upperbound  $\overline{\pi}$ . Consequently,  $\tilde{\pi}_x(\sigma, \pi)$  is continuous in  $\pi$  on the closed set  $[\underline{\pi}, \overline{\pi}]$ , and following Brouwer's fixed point theorem, there exists a fixed point  $\pi^*$ .

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup>Even without continuity, a monotonic function has a finite number of jumps. Because  $\alpha$  is continuous,  $\tilde{\pi}(\pi)$  is continuous.

PROPOSITION 2 (Existence Non-Neutral Regime): Let  $\delta > 0$  be a small value with which we disturb a 'Neutral Regime'. When  $p_1 = p_0$ , a sufficient condition for the co-existence of a stable 'Non Neutral Regime' with a 'Neutral Regime' is as follows,

$$\frac{\partial \gamma^{NR}}{\partial \delta} \frac{\left|\frac{\partial S}{\partial \gamma}\right|}{S} > 4 \tag{19}$$

where  $\gamma^{NR} = \frac{\gamma}{\eta_x}$  and  $S = \int \alpha G_{\alpha}(\gamma) f(\alpha) d\alpha$ .

*Proof.* When the condition of Lemma 1 holds, a 'Non-Neutral Regime' co-exists with a 'Neutral Regime'. We can show that this is the case when either there is a jump in  $\eta(\pi, p)$  at  $\pi = p$ , or when

$$\frac{\partial \tilde{\pi}_x(\sigma^*, \pi)}{\partial \pi}|_{\pi=p} > 1 \tag{20}$$

In the following, I derive a sufficient condition for the case  $p_1 = p_0$ . Consider a slight perturbation of a 'Neutral Regime', such that  $\pi_1 = p_1 + \delta$ , while  $\pi_0 = p_0 - \delta$ . Assume WLOG that the response function is continuous and such that agents process the difference  $\pi_x - p_x^{17}$ . Then,  $\eta_1 = \eta(\pi_1 + \delta - p_1) = \eta(0) + \eta'(0)[\pi_1 + \delta - p_1]$ . Therefore,

$$\frac{\gamma}{\eta_1} \simeq \frac{\gamma}{\eta(0)} \left[1 - \frac{\eta'(0)}{\eta(0)}\delta\right] \tag{21}$$

Because  $\eta(0) = 1$ ,  $\gamma - \frac{\gamma}{\eta_1} \simeq \gamma \eta'(0)\delta$ . This shows that this change is multiplicative in  $\gamma$ . Furthermore, let  $\Delta_x = \gamma - \frac{\gamma}{\eta_x}$ . Then, there is a symmetry, such that  $\Delta_1 = -\Delta_0$ . Let  $S_1 = p_1 \int \alpha G_{\alpha}(\gamma) f(\alpha) d\alpha$  and  $S_0 = p_0 \int \alpha G_{\alpha}(\gamma) f(\alpha) d\alpha$ , and  $S'_x = \frac{\partial S_x}{\partial \delta}$ . Then,

$$S_1' = S_1 + p_1 \int_{\alpha > \gamma} \alpha f(\alpha) d\alpha \int_{\gamma - \Delta_1 < \hat{\alpha} < \gamma} g_\alpha(\hat{\alpha}) d\hat{\alpha}$$
(22)

where  $\int_{\gamma-\Delta_1<\hat{\alpha}<\gamma}g_{\alpha}(\hat{\alpha})d\hat{\alpha} \approx g_{\alpha}(\gamma)\Delta_1$ . Similar for  $S'_0$ . For  $\Delta_{\theta}$  arbitrarily small,

$$\frac{S_1'}{S_0'} = \frac{p_1}{p_0} \left[ 1 + \Delta \frac{\left| \frac{\partial S}{\partial \gamma} \right|}{S} \right]$$
(23)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup>When agents process the proportion  $\frac{\pi_x}{p_x}$ ,  $\Delta = \delta \eta'(0)\gamma$ , and locally we have  $\eta\left(\frac{\pi_x}{p_x}\right) \approx \eta(1+2(\pi_x-p_x))$ . Therefore, in the case  $p_0 = p_1$ , the sufficient condition in (27) also applies.

with  $\Delta = \gamma \eta'(0) \delta$ . A 'Neutral Regime' becomes unstable when,

$$\frac{p_1}{p_0} \left[ 1 + \Delta \frac{\left| \frac{\partial S}{\partial \gamma} \right|}{S} \right] > \frac{p_1 + \delta}{p_0 - \delta} \tag{24}$$

When  $p_1 = p_0 = \frac{1}{2}$ , this is the case when

$$\gamma \eta'(0) \frac{\left|\frac{\partial S}{\partial \gamma}\right|}{S} > 4 \tag{25}$$

Finally, we note that  $\gamma \eta'(0) = \frac{\partial(\gamma - \frac{\gamma}{\eta_x})}{\partial \delta} = \frac{\partial \gamma^{NR}}{\partial \delta}.$ 

COROLLARY 1: Let  $x' \in \{0,1\}$  be the complement of x and assume WLOG that  $\pi_x > \pi_{x'}$ . The optimal use of social identity cues has both a population effect, such that  $\Phi_{\alpha,x,\sigma_i,\Pi} > \Phi_{\alpha,x',\sigma_i,\Pi}$  and a selection effect, such that  $E(\alpha|a = C, x) < E(\alpha|a = C, x')$ . The strength of both effects is such that the order  $\pi_x > \pi_{x'}$  will always be preserved.

Proof. Assume WLOG that  $\pi_1 > \pi_0$ . Then,  $\frac{\gamma}{\eta_1} < \gamma$ , while  $\frac{\gamma}{\eta_0} > \gamma$ . Therefore, all agents with  $\alpha > \gamma$  and  $\theta_i = 1$  will choose  $\gamma_i = \frac{\gamma}{\eta_1}$ , while all agents with  $\alpha > \gamma$  and  $\theta_i = 0$  will choose  $\gamma_i = \gamma$ . On the other hand, agents with  $\alpha < \gamma$  and  $\theta_i = 1$  will choose  $\gamma_i = \gamma$ , while similar agents with  $\theta_i = 0$  will choose  $\gamma_i = \frac{\gamma}{\eta_0}$ . In both cases, the threshold agents with  $\theta_i = 1$  choose is lower than the threshold agents with  $\theta_i = 0$ choose. Consequently,  $\Phi_{\alpha,1,NR,\Pi} > \Phi_{\alpha,0,R,\Pi}$  for all  $\alpha$ . At the same times, this implies agents with  $\theta_i = 1$  will choose the *Competence-Driven* task for on average higher realizations of  $\hat{\alpha}$ . Because  $E(\hat{\alpha}) = \alpha$ , these agents will on average also have higher true ability levels  $\alpha$ , which leads to the selection effect  $E(\alpha|a = C, 1) < E(\alpha|a = C, 0)$ . Finally, we can show that,

$$\frac{\partial \tilde{\pi}_1(\pi_1, \sigma)}{\partial \pi_1} = \frac{\pi_1 \left[ \frac{\partial S_1}{\partial \pi_1} - \frac{\partial S_0}{\partial \pi_1} \right]}{S}$$
(26)

where  $S_1 = p_1 \int \alpha \Phi_{\alpha,1,\sigma,\Pi} f(\alpha) d\alpha$  and  $S_0 = p_0 \int \alpha \Phi_{\alpha,0,\sigma,\Pi} f(\alpha) d\alpha$  denote the number of successful agents at the *Competence-Driven* task with respectively  $\theta_i = 1$  and  $\theta_i = 0$ .

Furthermore,  $\frac{\partial S_1}{\partial \pi_1}$  and  $\frac{\partial S_0}{\partial \pi_1}$  for  $\pi_1 \in [p_1, 1]$  are given by,

$$\frac{\partial S_1}{\partial \pi_1} = p_1 \int_{\alpha > \gamma} \alpha g_\alpha \left(\frac{\gamma}{\eta_1}\right) \frac{\gamma}{\eta_1^2} \frac{\partial \eta(\pi_1, p_1)}{\partial \pi_1} f(\alpha) d\alpha$$
$$\frac{\partial S_0}{\partial \pi_1} = -p_0 \int_{\alpha < \gamma} \alpha g_\alpha \left(\frac{\gamma}{\eta_0}\right) \frac{\gamma}{\eta_0^2} \frac{\partial \eta(\pi_1, p_1)}{\partial \pi_1} f(\alpha) d\alpha$$

Therefore,  $\frac{\partial S_1}{\partial \pi_1} > 0$ , while  $\frac{\partial S_0}{\partial \pi_1} < 0$ . Therefore,  $\frac{\partial \tilde{\pi}_1(\pi_1,\sigma)}{\partial \pi_1} > 0$  and the selection and population effect will not reverse the order  $\pi_1 > \pi_0$ .

COROLLARY 2: Take two response functions  $\hat{\eta}$  and  $\eta$ , such that  $\hat{\eta}(\pi, p) > \eta(\pi, p)$  for all  $\pi > p$ . Assume WLOG that a 'Non-Neutral Regime' exists in which  $\pi^* > p$ . Let  $\pi^*_{\eta}$  be the equilibrium value of  $\pi$  given a response function  $\eta$ . Then,  $\pi^*_{\eta} > \pi^*_{\eta}$ .

Proof. Let  $\eta(\pi, p)$  be a response function such that, given  $\gamma$ , the condition of Lemma 1 holds. Then, a 'Non-Neutral Regime' also exists for any response function  $\hat{\eta}(\pi, p)$ , such that  $\hat{\eta}(\pi, p) > \eta(\pi, p)$ . Let  $\tilde{\pi}_{\eta,x}(\pi, \sigma)$  be the induced value of  $\pi$  for a response function  $\eta$ . Then, if  $\hat{\eta}(\pi, p) > \eta(\pi, p)$  for all  $\pi > p$ ,

$$\widetilde{\pi}_{\widehat{\eta},x}(\pi,\sigma) > \widetilde{\pi}_{\eta,x}(\pi,\sigma) \quad \forall \pi > p$$
(27)

Consequently, let  $\pi_{\eta}^{*}$  be the equilibrium value of  $\pi$  that arises in a 'Non-Neutral Regime' for a response function  $\eta$ . Then,  $\pi^{(1)} \equiv \tilde{\pi}_{\eta,x}(\pi_{\eta}^{*},\sigma) > \tilde{\pi}_{\eta,x}(\pi_{\eta}^{*},\sigma) = \pi_{\eta}^{*}$ , which implies that  $\pi^{(2)} \equiv \tilde{\pi}_{\eta,x}(\pi^{(1)},\sigma) > \tilde{\pi}_{\eta,x}(\pi_{\eta}^{*},\sigma) \equiv \pi^{(1)}$  and  $\pi^{(3)} \equiv \tilde{\pi}_{\eta,x}(\pi^{(2)},\sigma) > \tilde{\pi}_{\eta,1}(\pi^{(1)},\sigma) \equiv \pi^{(2)}$ . This sequence converges to  $\pi_{\eta}^{*} = \tilde{\pi}_{\eta,x}(\pi_{\eta}^{*},\sigma)$  and is everywhere above  $\pi_{\eta}^{*}$  and below the upper bound  $\overline{\pi}$  on  $\pi$ . This shows that, for any response function  $\hat{\eta}(\pi,p)$ such that  $\hat{\eta}(\pi,p) > \eta(\pi,p)$  for all  $\pi > p$ , in equilibrium

$$\pi_{\hat{\eta}}^* > \pi_{\eta}^* \tag{28}$$

COROLLARY 3: Assume WLOG that agents hold a belief  $\hat{p}_x > p_x$ . Then there only exists a 'Non-Neutral Regime' in which  $\pi_x < p_x$ . A 'Neutral Regime' no longer exists.

*Proof.* Assume WLOG that  $\hat{p}_0 > p_0$ . This means that,

$$\eta(\pi_0, p_0) = \begin{cases} > 1 & \text{if } \pi_0 > \hat{p}_0 \\ 1 & \text{if } \pi_0 = \hat{p}_0 \\ < 1 & \text{if } \pi_0 < \hat{p}_0 \end{cases}$$
(29)

and consequently, when  $\pi_0 = p_0$ ,  $\eta_0 < 1$ . This implies that  $\tilde{\pi}_0(p_0, \sigma) < p_0$  and  $\pi_0 = p_0$ is not an equilibrium. Furthermore, because  $\eta(\pi_0, p_0) < 1$  implies  $\eta(\pi_1, p_1) > 1$ , it follows that  $\tilde{\pi}_1(p_1, \sigma) > p_1$ . Because  $\tilde{\pi}_1$  is bounded from above, there exists a population equilibrium with a 'Non-Neutral Regime' in which  $\pi_0 < p_0$ .