

The Cost of Identity

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Development EC501

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- Broadly, identity defined as "the set of beliefs and values that define who you are".
- In economics, two formalisations:
 - **Private identity** — Preserving a sense of self (Akerlof and Kranton, 2000; Bénabou and Tirole, 2011)
 - **Social identity** — preserving social image (Bursztyn and Jensen, 2017; Bernheim, 1994; Bénabou and Tirole, 2006)
- Importantly, identity can drive decision-making. Think about "church-going":
 - **Privately**, going to church re-affirms religious identity
 - **Publicly**, showing up sends a social signal, can generate reputational benefit

This Paper: Identity in the Labor Market

- Identity can affect labor-market outcomes via 2 channels:
 - 1 Employer discrimination (Kline et al., 2022; Kessler et al., 2019)
 - 2 Influencing occupational choice (Oh, 2023; Delfino, 2024; Hsieh et al., 2019; Besley and Ghatak, 2005)
- **This Paper:** how identity affects occupational choice and its costs.
 - **Setting:** the energy sector — workers with **green** identities, choosing between renewables and oil & gas firms.

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- Disentangle private-identity concerns from social-identity concerns.

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- Disentangle private-identity concerns from social-identity concerns.

3. What are the costs of identity for individuals and society?

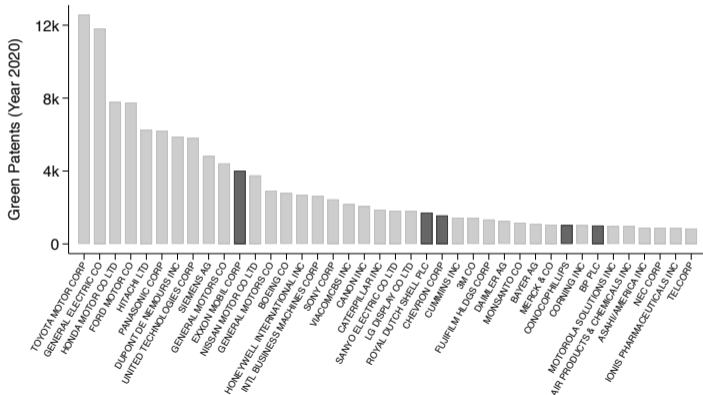
- Does identity create a “misallocation” in job matching? (Hsieh et al., 2019)
- Quantify demand-side (discrimination) vs supply-side (occupational choice) costs of identity.

Focus of this Paper: Energy Sector

- Climate change is highly polarising:
 - 42% of US citizens do not believe in human-made climate change (Leiserowitz et al., 2023)
 - 25% across 20 countries do not believe climate change is important (Dechezleprêtre et al., 2025)
- Energy job market is highly polarised:
 - In the US, using party as a proxy for green identity
 - Democrats produce 6× more environmental scientists; Republicans 7× more oil engineers
- The green transition will require the involvement of oil and gas companies.

Green patenting includes many large oil firms

Top 40 Green Patenting Firms in 2020



■ **14%** of the top 50 US green-patenting firms are in the energy sector¹ (Cohen et al., 2020).

■ Energy firms' green-patent share is **12%** of their own patenting, vs. **5%** for the average green-patenting firm.

¹Energy = SIC 10, 12, 13, 14, 29, or 49.

■ Private identity shapes economic choices:

- Food consumption (Atkin et al., 2021; Nardotto and Sequeira, 2026), humanitarian aid (Bursztyn et al., 2020), labour supply (Oh, 2023), job applications (Delfino, 2024)

⇒ **This paper:** identity matters for *occupational choice*.

■ Social-image concerns shape behaviour (Bursztyn and Jensen, 2017):

- Charitable giving (DellaVigna et al., 2012), education (Bursztyn et al., 2017; Bursztyn and Jensen, 2015), workplace performance (Ashraf et al., 2014), voting (Dellavigna et al., 2016; Funk, 2010)

⇒ **This paper:** visibility matters for *labour supply*.

(Long-Run) Plan of the Paper

- **Today:** an online experiment with LSE students (September 2024).
- **Moving forward:**
 - 1 Survey experiment with green-identity priming (GSOS-funded) — disentangles identity from demographics (Benjamin et al., 2010)
 - 2 Field experiment to disentangle private and social identity (possible BP partnership with LSE students)
 - 3 Audit study with firms using incentivized resume screening (Kessler et al., 2019)
 - 4 Structural estimation of a labour-market model with identity as a friction (Hsieh et al., 2019)

Today: Two Online Experiments

Two Online Experiments with Students Close to Entering Labor Market

Experiment 1: WTP to contradict own identity

- WTP (-) of individuals with **green identities** to work for a [renewables vs oil] firm
- Heterogeneity based on division: [no information vs renewables] division

Experiment 2: Disentangle private and social identity

- Signal interest in a training program run by an energy firm
- Randomly vary [oil vs energy] firm & [private vs public] signal

▶ E1: description

▶ E1: example

▶ E2: description

▶ E2: example

Sample: University Students About to Enter the Labor Market

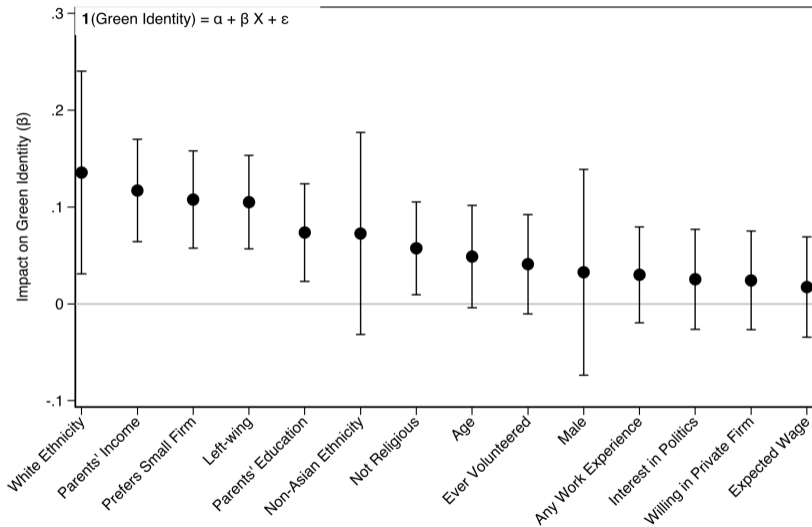
- Target sample: university students in the UK
 - Advantage: choosing first job & not yet influenced by work environment
- Representativeness:
 - For now: compare our data with IVS
 - For the future: construct weights based on the full population of UK students
- Current Pilot:
 - Online experiment with LSE students (around 260 respondents)
 - Prize draw of £20–£100
 - 10 minutes

Measuring Green Identity

- Information on “Green” identity from three sources:
 1. Questions on most important problem in society ▶ initial green Q
 2. Standard questions from the literature (EVS/WVS, 2021)
 3. Private identity ▶ donation Q

- Our measure of green identity: $\mathbb{1}\{\text{environment is one of respondent's top-2 most important issues in society today}\}$
 - Validates against EVS/WVS items (EVS/WVS, 2021): $\rho \approx 0.5$ with the z-avg index

Correlates of Green Identity



► logit AME

► WVS z-avg

► WVS PC1

Experiment 1: WTP to Avoid Contradicting Identity

- **Goal.** Estimate the wage premium required to make workers accept a job at a firm that contradicts their environmental identity (e.g., green-identity workers at an oil firm). (Mas and Pallais, 2017; Maestas et al., 2023; Wiswall and Zafar, 2017; Folke and Rickne, 2022)
- Randomly vary 4 attributes, repeated 5 times per respondent [▶ description](#) [▶ example](#)

Attribute	Options
Core Business	Energy (base); Renewable technologies; Oil and fossil fuels
Division	No information (base); Renewable energy unit
Annual Wage (Relative to Expected)	0% (base); $\pm 10\%$; $\pm 20\%$; $\pm 40\%$
Schedule Flexibility (Folke and Rickne, 2022)	No flexibility (base); Entirely flexible; ~ 1 hour flexibility

Experiment 1: Estimating Willingness to Pay

- **Step 1: Linear probability model** on the alternative–task–respondent panel:

$$\text{selected}_{ijt} = \alpha + \sum_k \beta_k \text{attr}_{ijt}^{(k)} + \varepsilon_{ijt}$$

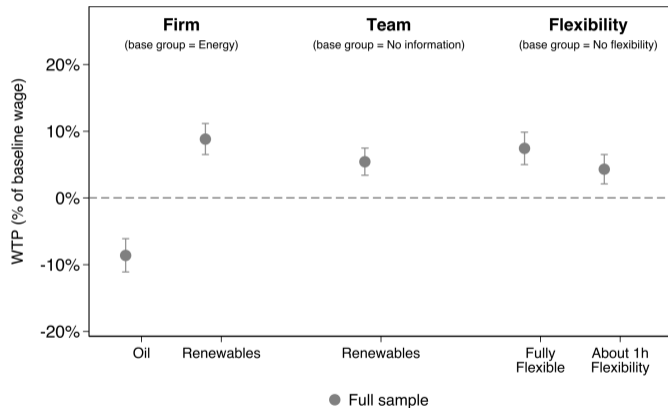
$$k \in \{w_{10}, w_{20}, w_{40}, \text{oil firm}, \text{ren firm}, \text{ren team}, \text{fullflex}, \text{partflex}\}$$

- **Step 2: Wage slope** (average over the 3 wage steps):

$$\hat{\delta} = \frac{1}{3} \left(\frac{\hat{\beta}_{w10}}{10} + \frac{\hat{\beta}_{w20}}{20} + \frac{\hat{\beta}_{w40}}{40} \right)$$

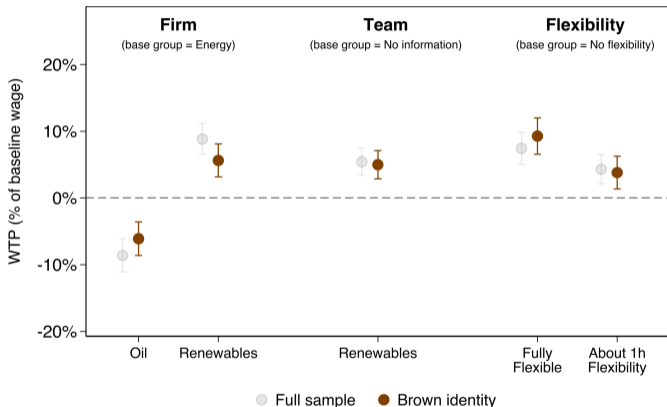
- **Step 3: Rescale** to % of baseline wage: $\widehat{\text{WTP}}_k = \hat{\beta}_k / \hat{\delta} \rightarrow$ y-axis on next slide (Mas and Pallais, 2017)

Experiment 1: Willingness-to-Pay Results



- On average, respondents demand a $\approx 17\%$ wage premium to work for an oil firm vs a renewables firm.

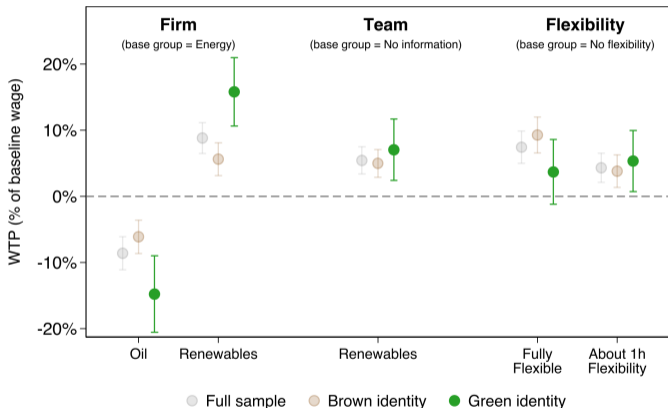
Experiment 1: Willingness-to-Pay Results



■ On average, respondents demand a $\approx 17\%$ wage premium for oil vs renewables.

■ Among **brown-identity** respondents, the oil-to-renewables wage gap is smaller ($\approx 12\%$); they pay less for identity.

Experiment 1: Willingness-to-Pay Results



■ Full sample: $\approx 17\%$
oil-vs-renewables wage gap.

■ Brown identity:
oil-vs-renewables gap smaller
($\approx 12\%$).

■ Among **green-identity**
respondents, the
oil-to-renewables wage gap is
 $\approx 30\%$.

▶ controls

▶ WVS index

▶ env. top 3

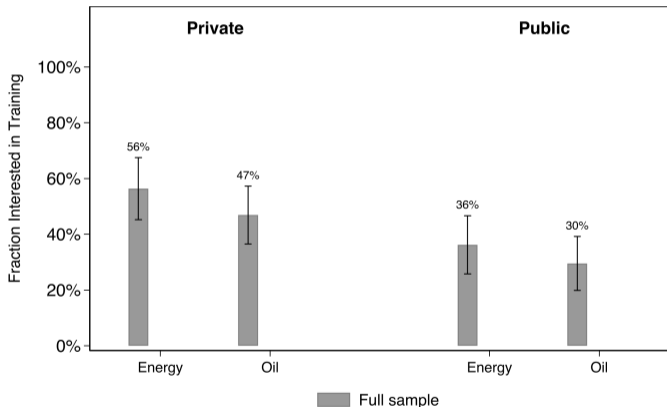
Experiment 2: Quantifying Public vs Private Image Concerns

- **Goal.** Disentangle how private and social identity shape career choices.
- **Design.** 2×2 randomization: firm (energy vs oil) \times signal (private vs public).

	Energy	Oil
Private	Private + Energy	Private + Oil
Public	Public + Energy	Public + Oil

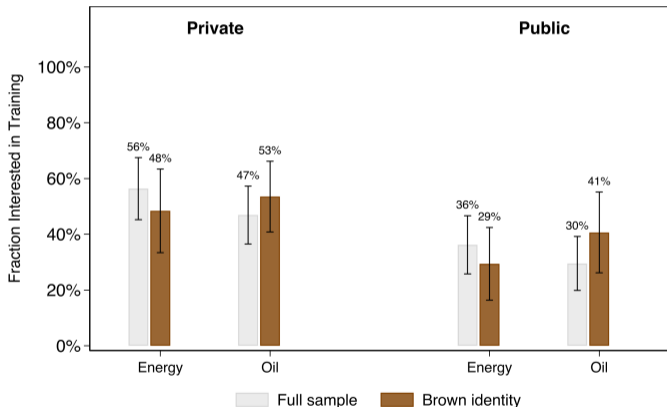
- **Caveat.** The survey is fully anonymous. “Public” is a hypothetical framing (“*would you sign up under your name, or under a student ID?*”), not a literal disclosure.

Experiment 2 Results: Public Visibility Suppresses Training Interest



■ Going public cuts training interest by ≈ 20 pp on average.

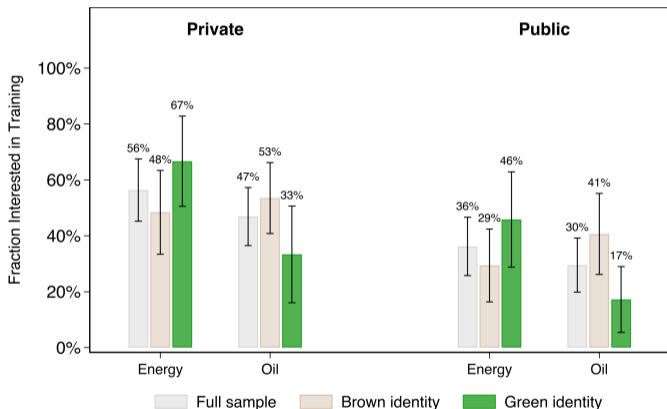
Experiment 2 Results: Public Visibility Suppresses Training Interest



■ Going public cuts training interest by ≈ 20 pp on average.

■ For **brown-identity** respondents, energy vs oil seems unimportant.

Experiment 2 Results: Public Visibility Suppresses Training Interest



- Full sample: public framing –20 pp.
- Brown identity: indifferent to private vs public.
- **Green-identity**: energy-vs-oil gap consistent in private and public.
→ Counter-intuitive: visibility shifts the *level*, not the *gap*.

▶ regression estimates

▶ logit AME

Next Steps

Limitations of Current Experimental Design

Limitation 1: Green identity may capture other characteristics

- Confounded with parents' income, education, and other demographics (Atkin et al., 2021)
- **Goal:** disentangle identity from underlying demographics

Limitation 2: Public-vs-private experiment is hypothetical

- **Goal:** a more realistic, real-stakes public-vs-private design (Levitt and List, 2007)

Limitation 3: No leverage yet on firm-side discrimination on identity

- **Goal:** identify employer responses to identity signals (Kline et al., 2022)

Next Round: Prolific Survey & Hiring RA Experiment

(a) **Prolific survey with exogenous green-identity priming**

- GSOS-funded; next round on Prolific (similar to pilot)
- Randomised priming activates green identity for a subset \Rightarrow exogenous variation (Benjamin et al., 2010)
- Helps disentangle identity from demographics
- Small fixes: add firm-size and remote-work attributes to the conjoint; switch training-experiment base group (compare oil to renewables)

(b) **Real-stakes hiring RA experiment** (possible BP partnership with LSE students)

- Field experiment that disentangles private vs social identity under *real* stakes (replaces the hypothetical public-vs-private design)
- Applicants apply for a paid RA position drafting a UK sustainability literature review
- *Arm 1*: employer = oil & gas firm vs renewable energy firm
- *Arm 2*: credit = named co-authorship vs anonymous

Next Steps: Firm-Side Discrimination

(c) **Audit study with firms** (incentivized resume rating)

- Multi-firm audit design to identify firm-side discrimination on identity signals
- Incentivized resume rating elicits employer preferences without deception (Kessler et al., 2019)
- Vary candidate identity signals (e.g., green-coded CV cues) across employer types

(d) **Structural model**

- Build on misallocation framework of Hsieh et al. (2019) — race/gender identity → occupational sorting and firm-side frictions
- Extend to *elective* identity (green) and social-image concerns

Thank You!

Additional Materials

$$\text{Pr}(\text{interested}) = \alpha + \beta_1 \text{Oil} + \beta_2 \text{Public} + \beta_3 (\text{Oil} \times \text{Public}) + X\gamma + \varepsilon$$

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Full	Full	Brown	Brown	Green	Green
Oil	-0.095 (0.092)	-0.106 (0.093)	0.051 (0.119)	0.006 (0.124)	-0.333** (0.144)	-0.337** (0.155)
Public	-0.202** (0.093)	-0.193** (0.093)	-0.190 (0.121)	-0.182 (0.122)	-0.208 (0.143)	-0.198 (0.149)
Oil × Public	0.028 (0.127)	0.013 (0.127)	0.061 (0.168)	0.030 (0.167)	0.047 (0.191)	0.045 (0.203)
N	238	238	140	140	98	98
R^2	0.042	0.087	0.035	0.127	0.144	0.165
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes

"Most Important Problem" Question [← Back](#)

Please select from the options below what you think is **the most important** problem facing society today.

- The environment and climate change
- Political extremism or threats to democracy
- Artificial intelligence
- Crime or corruption
- Immigration
- Economic situation and unemployment
- Access to healthcare
- Inequality and discrimination
- War and foreign conflicts

Should you be selected in the **prize draw**, you may choose to donate **5% of your compensation** to a charity.

Our team has carefully selected the following **non-profit organizations**:

- *Action against Hunger*, a not-for-profit organization that helps malnourished children in developing countries
- *Reporters Without Borders*, a not-for-profit organization that helps protecting media freedom
- *The Gold Standard*, a not-for-profit organization that contributes to the green transition through reforestation projects

What do you choose?

- Action Against Hunger
- Reporters Without Borders
- The Gold Standard
- None of them, I would keep the full amount of the voucher

Finally, a group of researchers created the following **petition**:

Stand Up to Climate Change

Immediate action on climate change is critical. Now is the time to dedicate ourselves to a low-carbon future and prevent lasting damage to all living things. Science shows us we cannot afford to wait to cut harmful carbon emissions. I'm adding my voice to the call to world leaders in the UK and beyond – to act so we do not lose ground in combating climate change.



Would you be willing to sign this petition with your **first and last name**?

Note, your name would be visible to everyone.

Yes

No

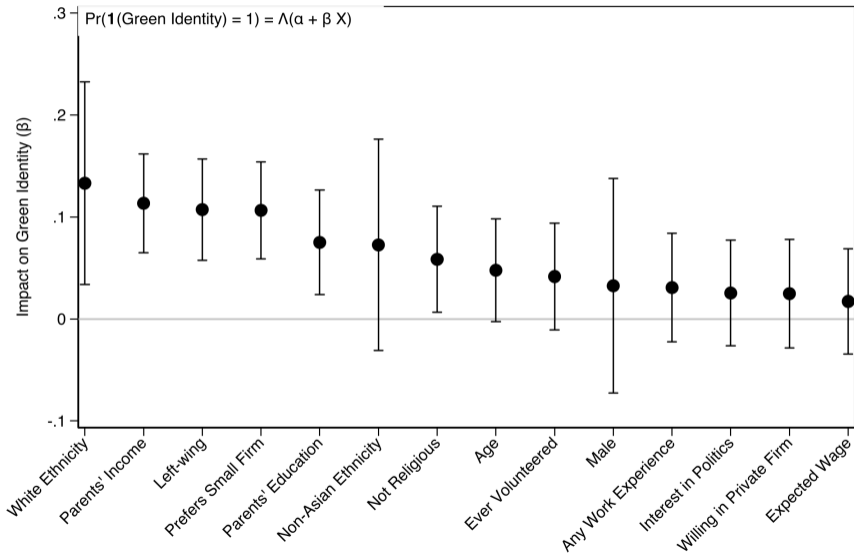
	Non-Green mean (sd)	Green mean (sd)	Green-NonGreen difference (p-value)
Gender	0.574(0.513)	0.627(0.557)	0.053(0.493)
Asian Ethnicity	0.516(0.502)	0.422(0.497)	-0.095(0.183)
White Ethnicity	0.369(0.484)	0.530(0.502)	0.161**(0.023)
Age	22.713(3.456)	23.892(3.816)	1.178**(0.025)
Parents' Income	2.198(1.737)	3.026(1.638)	0.828***(0.001)
Parents' Education	1.246(0.856)	1.602(0.715)	0.357***(0.001)
Religiousness	1.385(1.457)	1.012(1.174)	-0.373**(0.044)
Ever Volunteered	1.369(0.707)	1.542(0.650)	0.173*(0.072)
Interest in Politics	2.287(1.146)	2.470(1.040)	0.183(0.237)
Left vs Right	4.566(1.749)	3.831(1.599)	-0.734***(0.002)
Desired Company Size	1.869(0.962)	1.434(0.913)	-0.435***(0.001)
Willing to Work in a Private Firm	1.820(0.427)	1.843(0.398)	0.024(0.685)
Any Work Experience	1.672(0.609)	1.807(0.454)	0.135*(0.071)

Table: Sample demographics: pilot survey (May 2024).

	Mean	SD
Female	0.591	0.493
Age	23.409	3.820
White ethnicity	0.438	0.497
UK-born	0.298	0.458
Undergraduate	0.475	0.500
Parents' income (1–5)	2.380	1.718
Parents' education (0–3)	1.384	0.808
Any work experience	0.950	0.218
Religiousness (0–4)	1.169	1.345
Left–right (0–10)	4.186	1.748
Observations	242	

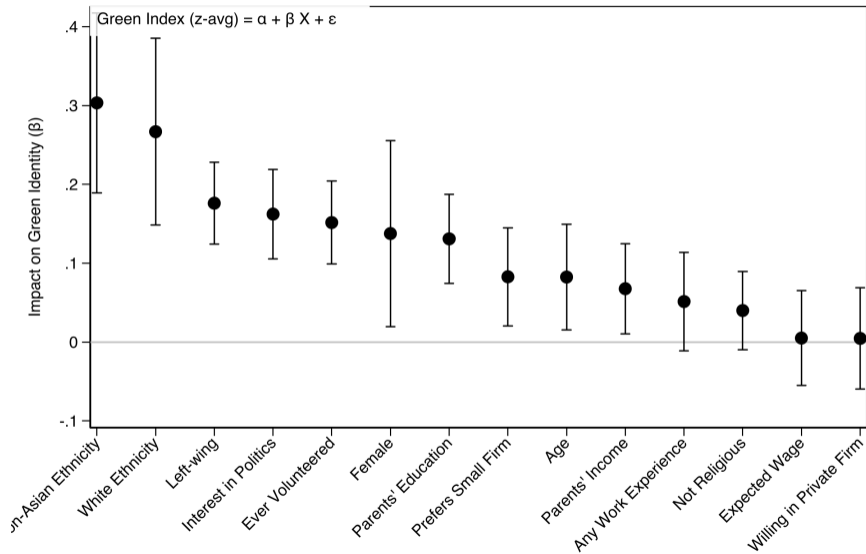
Correlates of Green Identity — Logit AME

[← Back](#)

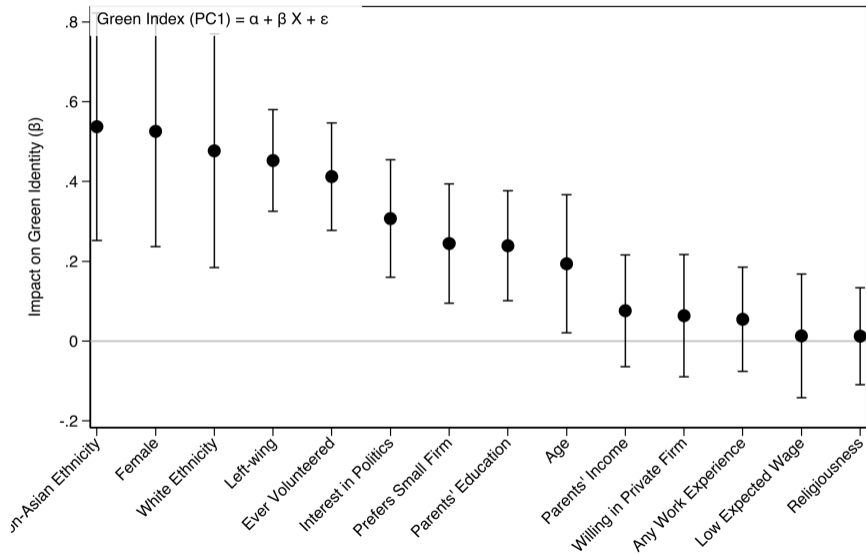


Correlates of Green Identity — WVS z-avg index

◀ Back



Correlates of Green Identity — WVS PC1 index [← Back](#)



Imagine that you are looking for a **job** and have **two offers**. You will see short descriptions of these offers and choose which one you would be **most likely to accept**.

The jobs differ in **four attributes**: annual gross wage, schedule flexibility, team, and main specialization of the company. Other than these differences, they are **identical**, and **the only aspect that sets them apart is the information provided**.

Schedule flexibility options include:

- i) *Entirely flexible*: the worker can make his or her own work schedule, for a total of 40 hours per week
- ii) *About 1-hour flexibility at the beginning and at the end of the workday*: the worker can adjust his or her start and end work times by 1 hour, for a total of 40 hours per week
- iii) *No own influence over the work schedule*: a fixed schedule Monday-Friday 9am-5pm, for a total of 40 hours per week

Main specialization of the company refers to the main industry in which the company operates.

Team refers to the specific division the worker would join inside the company.

Example Conjoint

[◀ Back](#)

	JOB A	JOB B
Team	Renewable energy unit	No specific information
Flexibility of the schedule	No own influence over work times	Entirely flexible
Main Specialization of the Company	Energy	Oil and Fossil Fuels
Annual wage	40,000 £	40,000 £

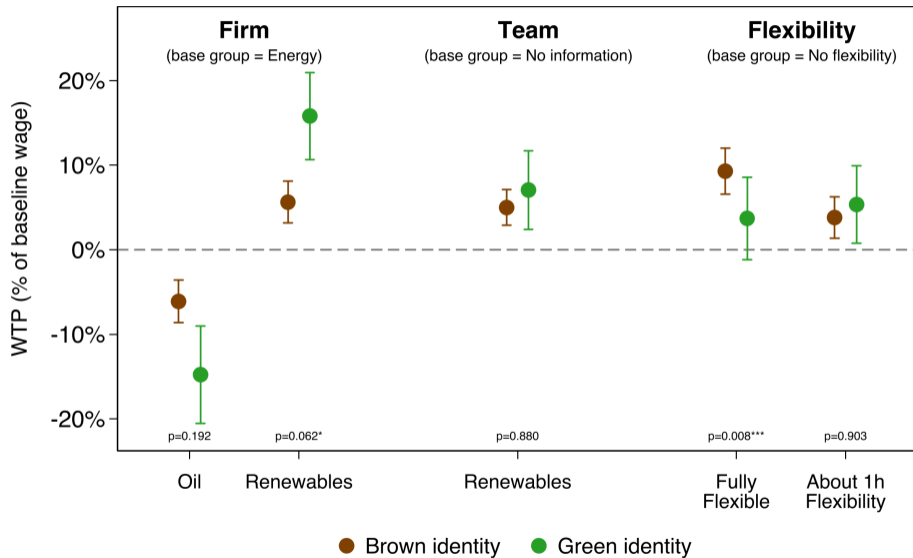
Which job do you choose?

JOB A

JOB B

Green vs Brown WTP — Interaction Test

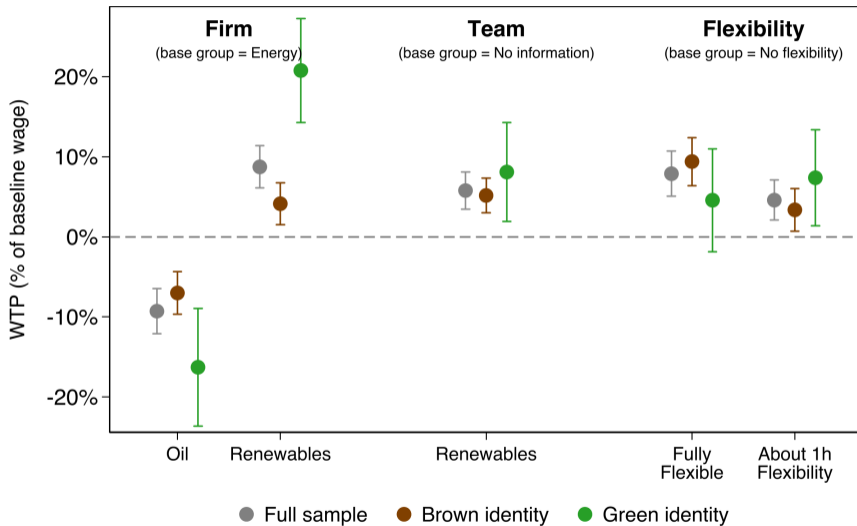
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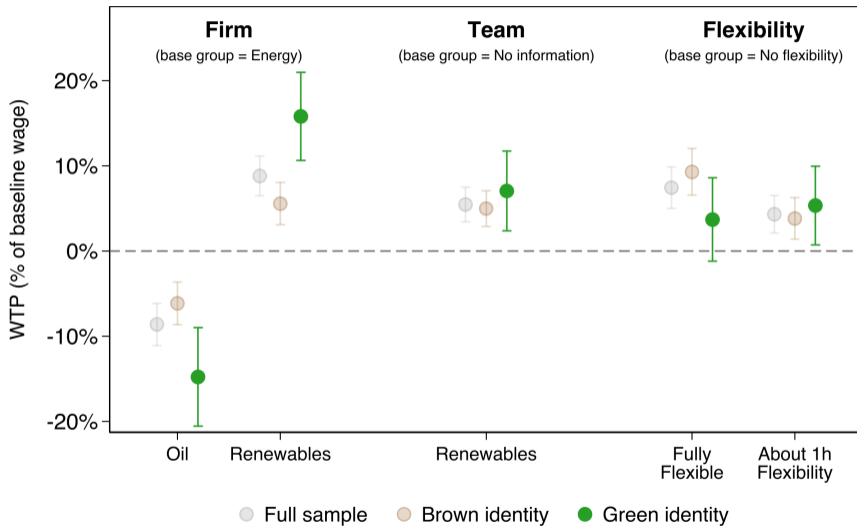


■ Brown = base group; Green = base + interaction. Point estimates match the split-sample figure by

Green vs Brown WTP — Estimate with controls

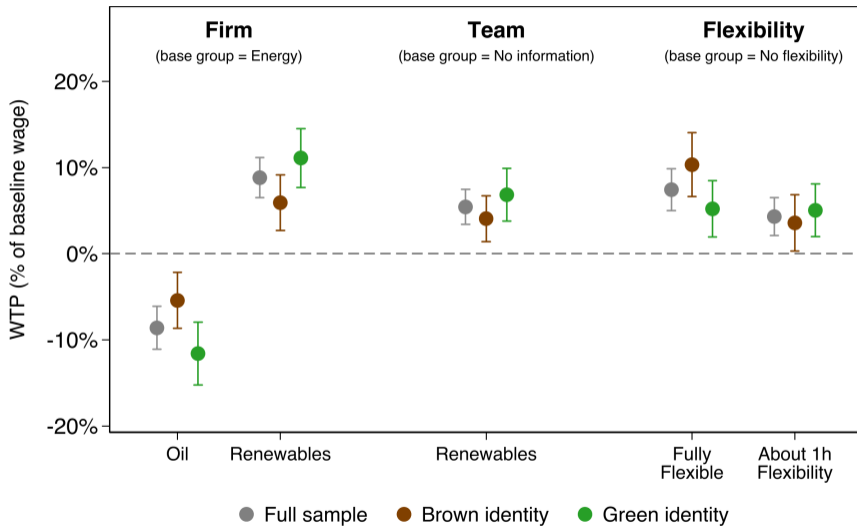
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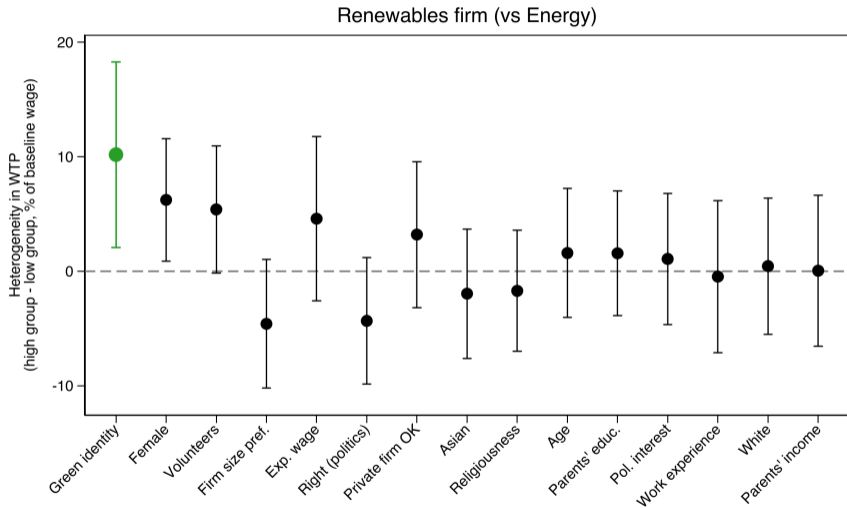




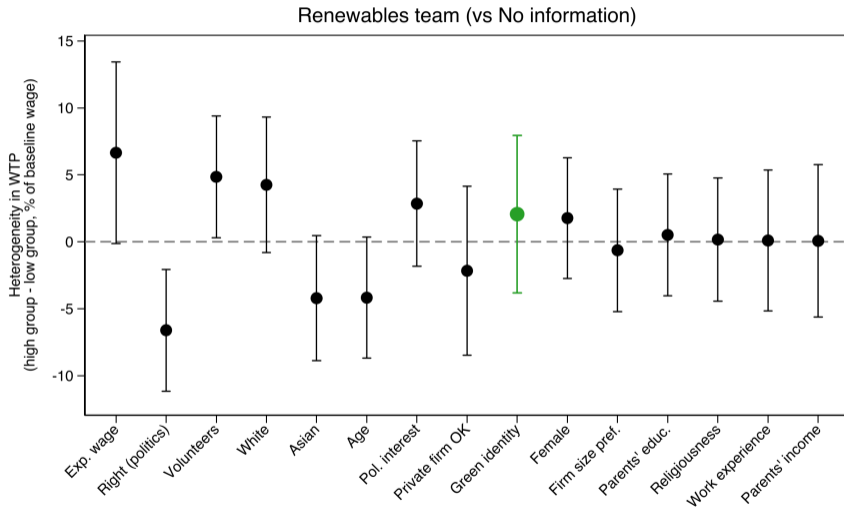
Green vs Brown WTP — Green identity = environment in top 3

◀ Back





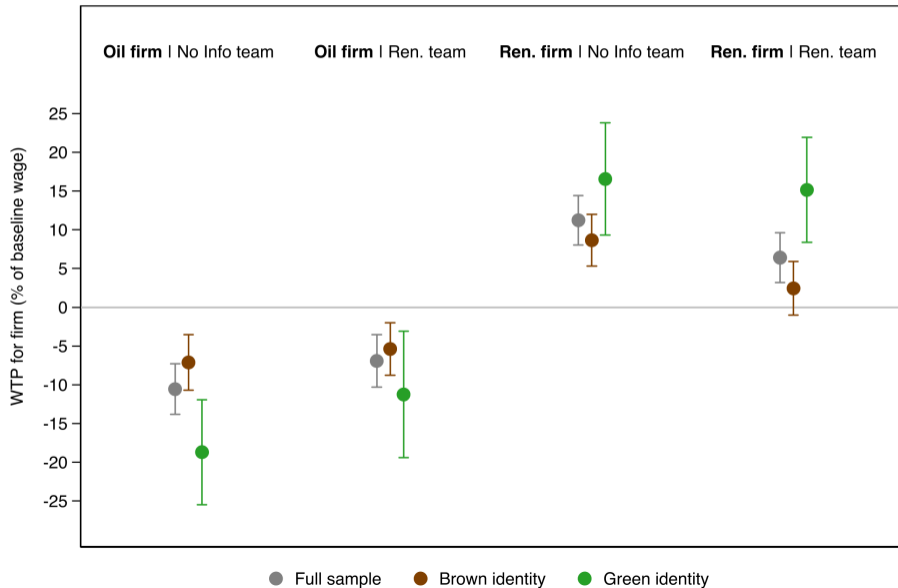
- Each marker = WTP gap (high group – low group) for the attribute, each side rescaled by its own group's wage marginal effect. By construction matches the brown–green gap in the interaction plots.



- Each marker = WTP gap (high group – low group) for the attribute, each side rescaled by its own group's wage marginal effect.

WTP for Firm, by Team Assignment

◀ Back



We are working to set up a collaboration with a well-known **energy company** to offer students additional **training**.

By participating in this training, students gain technical skills (e.g., coding), insights into how companies operate, and valuable networking opportunities. Together, these events can significantly boost students' CVs.

As researchers, we believe it is important to communicate our findings on the support for this additional training. Therefore, we will post our findings on a **publicly available** study **website**.

Here is an example screenshot of how the webpage could look like:

We asked students whether they support a training provided by a well-known energy company:

- John Reed supports the extra training.
- Pamela Blanka supports the extra training.
- Ayana Arjun supports the extra training.

If we were to conduct a short follow-up survey, would you share your **first and last name** to support the **training** provided by the **energy company**?

Note, we will promote our website so that **every** student can easily access this information.

Just as a reminder, this survey is entirely anonymous. This information would be collected separately in the future.

Yes

No

$$\Pr(\text{interested}) = \Lambda(\alpha + \beta_1 \text{Oil} + \beta_2 \text{Public} + \beta_3 (\text{Oil} \times \text{Public}) + X\gamma)$$

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Full	Full	Brown	Brown	Green	Green
Oil	-0.081 (0.063)	-0.100 (0.062)	0.080 (0.083)	0.023 (0.081)	-0.308*** (0.093)	-0.314*** (0.094)
Public	-0.187*** (0.063)	-0.188*** (0.061)	-0.157* (0.083)	-0.170** (0.080)	-0.184* (0.094)	-0.177* (0.094)
Oil × Public	0.028 (0.126)	0.013 (0.124)	0.061 (0.166)	0.036 (0.164)	0.047 (0.188)	0.046 (0.193)
N	238	238	140	140	98	98
Pseudo R^2	0.031	0.067	0.026	0.099	0.112	0.130
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes

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