

1 **The effects of endowment size and strategy method on third party punishment**

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15

16 Abstract

17 Numerous experiments have shown that people often engage in third-party punishment (3PP) of
18 selfish behavior. This evidence has been used to argue that people respond to selfishness with
19 anger, and get utility from punishing those who mistreat others. Elements of the standard 3PP
20 experimental design, however, allow alternative explanations: it has been argued that 3PP could
21 be motivated by envy (as selfish dictators earn high payoffs), or could be influenced by the use
22 of the strategy method (which is known to influence second-party punishment). Here we test
23 these alternatives by varying the third party's endowment and the use of the strategy method, and
24 measuring punishment. We find that while third parties do report more envy when they have
25 lower endowments, neither manipulation significantly affects punishment. We also show that
26 punishment is associated with ratings of anger but not of envy. Thus, our results suggest that 3PP
27 is not an artifact of self-focused envy or use of the strategy method. Instead, our findings are
28 consistent with the hypothesis that 3PP is motivated by anger.

29

30 **Keywords**

31 cooperation, norm-enforcement, strategy method, emotions, fairness, economic games

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33

34 **1. Introduction**

35 Laboratory experiments using economic games have demonstrated that impartial third-
36 party observers are often willing to pay costs to punish selfish behavior (Fehr and Fischbacher
37 2004; Henrich et al. 2006; Charness et al. 2008; Almenberg et al. 2010; Nikiforakis and Mitchell
38 2013)¹. In these experiments, an “actor” typically has the choice to pay a cost to benefit a
39 “recipient” (prosociality). Afterwards, a “third party” can respond to the actor’s behavior by
40 paying a cost to impose a greater cost on the actor (punishment). Many third parties choose to
41 punish actors who behave selfishly (and selfish behavior is punished much more than fair
42 behavior). These observations have been widely interpreted as evidence that humans not only
43 have social preferences that lead them to act prosocially themselves, but also to intervene when
44 others are harmed by punishing those who fail to act prosocially (Fehr and Fischbacher 2004;
45 Jordan et al. 2014; McAuliffe et al. 2015; Henrich et al. 2006; Nikiforakis and Mitchell 2013).
46 Furthermore, this impartial sanctioning behavior has been argued to play an important role in
47 stabilizing human cooperation by deterring selfishness (Charness et al. 2008; Balafoutas et al.
48 2014; Fehr and Fischbacher 2004; Falk et al. 2005).

¹ Evidence of verbal third-party intervention in the field comes from Balafoutas and Nikiforakis 2012.

49 However, two elements of the standard third-party punishment (3PP) experimental design
50 (described below) lead to potential problems in interpreting observed 3PP as evidence of
51 displeasure over others being treated unfairly. First, in typical experiments, third parties receive
52 small starting endowments, such that selfish actors not only out-earn second parties (whose
53 payoffs they directly affect), but also receive higher payoffs than third-party punishers.² Third
54 parties might thus be using punishment to reduce their *own* payoff disadvantage relative to actors
55 (as punishment is more costly for the punished than the punisher), rather than to respond to the
56 actor's treatment of the recipient (or to inequity between the actor and the recipient). If so, 3PP
57 in these experiments would demonstrate self-focused envy rather than concern with others failing
58 to act prosocially (Fehr and Fischbacher 2004; Pedersen et al. 2013).

59 Second, previous 3PP experiments may have incorrectly estimated actual willingness to
60 punishment through their the use of the “strategy method” (Selten 1965; Brandts and Charness
61 2011). Under the strategy method, subjects are asked to make decisions about how to react to
62 each possible action of the other players, prior to learning what the actions the other players
63 actually took. In the context of 3PP, instead of responding to a specific actor behavior, punishers
64 indicate a strategy for how much to punish each possible actor behavior. This strategy then gets
65 implemented after the actor makes a decision.

66 The strategy method is popular for 3PP experiments because it reveals how each
67 individual would respond to the full range of actor behaviors (even behaviors which actors rarely
68 choose). However, people may behave differently in strategy method experiments than when

² For example, in the canonical 3PP study, participants played a dictator game with 3PP (Fehr and Fischbacher 2004). Actors received 10 monetary units, and could give up to half to the recipient. Then, third parties received 5 units to spend punishing the actor. Thus, selfish actors who gave less than half made more than 5 units, out-earning both the recipient *and* the third party.

69 responding to actual selfish behavior (Fischbacher et al. 2012). For example, they may under- or
70 over-estimate how angry they would actually feel in response to selfish behavior³, leading to an
71 incorrect measure of actual willingness to punish (Pedersen et al. 2013). A recent review of
72 economic games suggests that use of the strategy method does sometimes influence behavior
73 (Brandts and Charness 2011); for example, in one study where the *recipient* was the punisher
74 (i.e. a second-party punishment game), “hot” decisions elicited more punishment than decisions
75 made using the strategy method (Falk et al. 2005).

76 Thus, two potential design confounds make interpretation of 3PP in previous laboratory
77 experiments difficult. Does punishment really reflect a prosocial concern that the actor
78 mistreated the recipient (be it based on norm enforcement (Fehr and Fischbacher 2004), types-
79 based reciprocity (Levine 1998) or inequity aversion regarding the payoff differential between
80 the actor and recipient (Fehr and Schmidt 1999))? Or does it instead reflect self-focused envy or
81 strategy method prediction errors?

82 Here, we conduct two experiments addressing this issue. We systematically manipulate
83 third-party endowments (and thus self-focused envy) and the strategy method (and thus the
84 potential for prediction errors) in a 3PP game. We use these manipulations to test the hypothesis
85 that 3PP is motivated by these factors rather than concerns regarding the actor’s treatment of the
86 recipient. We also investigate the association between self-reported emotions and third-party
87 punishment. Previous research has found that negative emotions such as irritation, contempt
88 (Bosman and Van Winden 2002) and anger (Fehr and Gächter 2002; Cubitt et al. 2011) are
89 associated with second-party punishment. Evidence also suggests that third-party punishment is

³ In psychology, this referred to as an “affective forecasting error”, or an error in predicting how one will feel in the future (Gilbert and Wilson 2007).

90 associated with negative emotional reactions, such as moralistic anger (Nelissen and Zeelenberg
91 2009) and self-focused envy (Pedersen et al. 2013), some of which could reflect emotions
92 experienced “on behalf” of second parties stemming from empathy or perspective taking. To
93 investigate the role of these different processes, we measure third parties’ own anger and envy,
94 as well as their beliefs about recipients’ anger and envy.

95 **2. Methods: Experiment 1**

96 In Experiment 1, we employed a binary dictator game (the actor could share equally or
97 not at all) with 3PP. We manipulated whether the third party’s endowment was equal to the
98 actor’s (avoiding an envy motivation) or half as large (creating an envy motivation). We crossed
99 this with a manipulation of whether punishment decisions were “hot” responses to a particular
100 actor choice (avoiding potential strategy method prediction errors) or made using the strategy
101 method (allowing potential strategy method prediction errors). We also sought to directly assess
102 the emotions motivating 3PP by asking how angry and envious third parties felt, and expected
103 the recipient to feel, in response to the actor’s behavior. This allowed us to investigate which
104 emotions (anger versus envy) were associated with punishment, and if punishment was more
105 strongly associated with punishers’ own emotions, or the emotions they expected second parties
106 to feel.

107 In addition to investigating the motivations for 3PP, we also investigated other players’
108 expectations of, and responses to, 3PP. While there is considerable evidence that third parties
109 punish, there is limited direct evidence of how the possibility of punishment affects selfish
110 behavior (for exceptions see (Charness et al. 2008; Balafoutas et al. 2014)). Thus we also asked
111 actors and recipients to predict how much third parties would punish, and investigated the
112 association between anticipated 3PP and cooperative behavior.

113 2.1 Participants

114 Participants were recruited online through Amazon Mechanical Turk (MTurk), an online
115 labor market in which workers complete short tasks for small payments (typically less than \$1
116 for tasks that typically take less than 10 minutes) (Rand 2012). Employers use MTurk to
117 “crowdsource” employees for jobs which are easy for humans but difficult for computers, such
118 as transcribing hand-written task or classifying images. In recent years, MTurk has also become
119 popular as a tool for experimental social scientists. MTurk jobs involve a baseline payment as
120 well as the possibility of an additional bonus payment depending on performance, making them
121 well-suited for economic game experiments (baseline payments correspond to show-up fees, and
122 bonus payments are determined by the outcome of the game). MTurk may be particularly
123 attractive to experimental economists due to participants’ extremely high level of anonymity, as
124 well as the ability to recruit a much more diverse range of subjects than the undergraduate
125 students typical of laboratory studies.

126 There are, however, a number of potential issues with MTurk as an experimental platform.
127 More importantly, experimenters necessarily sacrifice a great deal of control relative to the
128 physical laboratory (participants might be distracted, engaged in multiple tasks at the same time,
129 etc), and stakes are typically much smaller on MTurk than in the physical lab. To address these
130 kinds of concerns, a large body of recent research has demonstrated the reliability of data
131 collected using MTurk (Amir et al. 2012; Buhrmester et al. 2011; Horton et al. 2011; Mason and
132 Suri 2012; Paolacci et al. 2010; Rand 2012; Rand et al. 2011; Suri and Watts 2011). In particular,
133 economic game studies have found quantitative agreement between games played on MTurk
134 (with stakes on the order of \$1) and in the physical laboratory (with stakes 10 times as large),
135 using the one-shot prisoner’s dilemma (Horton et al. 2011), dictator game, public goods game,

136 ultimatum game, and trust game (Amir et al. 2012), and the repeated public goods game (Suri
137 and Watts 2011)⁴. Thus, although MTurk studies involve less control and lower stakes, there is
138 substantial evidence in support of the validity of data gathered using MTurk.⁵

139 2.2 Design

140 Participants were recruited to play an incentivized, one-shot, anonymous dictator game
141 with 3PP. Participants were randomly assigned to the role of actor, recipient, or third-party.
142 Participants received a show-up fee of 30 cents, as well as a bonus that was determined by their
143 decisions. No deception was used.

144 Actors received 50 cents, and made a binary decision to give either 0 or 25 cents to the
145 recipient. Then, third parties had the opportunity to punish actors, based on their decision. In a
146 two-by-two design, we manipulated third-party endowment, and whether decisions were made
147 “hot” or using the strategy method, resulting in four experimental conditions. Third parties were
148 randomly assigned to receive 25 cents (*low endowment* condition) or 50 cents (*high endowment*
149 condition). Thus in the low endowment condition, but not the high endowment condition, selfish
150 actors (who kept 50 cents) earned more than third parties. Third parties could then spend up to 10
151 cents to punish the actor, based on the actor’s decision. For every cent spent on punishment, the
152 actor lost three cents.

153 Third parties randomly assigned to the *hot* condition were told whether the actor they were
154 paired with gave 0 or 25 cents to the recipient, and then decided how much to punish. Third

⁴ Other research has also shown that subjects on MTurk show high test-retest reliability on a range of personality measures (Buhrmester et al. 2011) and demographics (Mason and Suri 2012; Rand 2012), at levels comparable to college undergraduates.

⁵ This limited sensitivity to stake size in economic game experiments is also consistent with other findings regarding varying the stakes in the physical lab (Camerer and Hogarth 1999) (however, we note that while manipulations of stake size often have limited effects on mean game play, they do often influence observed variance).

155 parties randomly assigned to the *strategy method* condition indicated, for each of the two
156 possible actor decisions, how much they would like to punish the actor. They were informed that
157 afterwards, they would be matched with an actor and one of their decisions would be
158 implemented, based on the actor's choice.

159 **2.3 Procedure**

160 All participants began the experiment by reading the same set of instructions, in which the
161 full rules of the game were explained. Neutral framing and language were used; punishment was
162 described as "spending money to reduce Player 1's bonus." Participants were then asked four
163 comprehension questions to ensure that they understood that transferring money to the recipient
164 was costly for the actor and beneficial for the recipient, while punishing the actor was costly for
165 both the third party and the actor.

166 Next, participants made their decisions. Actors decided between giving 0 or 25 cents to the
167 recipient. Then, for each of these choices, they first predicted how much the third party would
168 punish them (in cents), and then predicted how angry and envious the third party and recipient
169 would each feel (on 1-7 Likert scales, ranging from "Not [angry/envious] at all" to "Very
170 [angry/envious]").⁶ Recipients predicted how much the third party would punish the actor.

171 Third parties were first reminded of their starting endowment. Then, in the *hot* condition,
172 they were told how many cents the actor gave to the recipient. Next, third parties chose how
173 much to punish, then on subsequent screens rated how angry and envious they felt, and how
174 angry and envious they expected the recipient to feel. The order of anger and envy ratings was

⁶ Although our emotion elicitation were necessarily unincentivized, there is a long tradition of using self-report emotion ratings in the social psychological literature and they have been shown to be reliable, and agree with peer ratings (Watson et al. 1988; Watson and Clark 1991). This method of measuring emotions has also been incorporated into experimental economics (Bosman and Van Winden 2002).

175 randomized. In the *strategy method* condition, third parties separately made each of these ratings
176 for the cases in which the actor gave the recipient 0 or 25 cents.

177 Finally, all participants answered a questionnaire that included rating their confidence that
178 the other participants were real, and indicating their age, gender, and level of education. After
179 data from all participants was collected, actors recipients and third parties were matched into
180 groups of three and payoffs were determined and paid accordingly (it is standard on MTurk for
181 bonus payments to only be made once all work has been submitted and reviewed; this delay
182 between completing the task and receiving one's bonus allows for the ex-post matching scheme
183 we used to determine payoffs).

184 In the *strategy method* condition, after pairing players, we determined which third-party
185 punishment decision to enact based on the actor's decision (to share or not share). In contrast, in
186 the *hot* condition, we paired players based on the actor's decision (i.e. actors who shared were
187 matched with third parties who decided how to punish sharing actors, while actors who did not
188 share were matched with third parties who decided how to punish non-sharing actors).⁷ No
189 deception was used. For screenshots of the instructions and decision screens that were presented
190 to subjects, see Appendix.

191 **2.4 Statistical analysis**

⁷ Actors were recruited prior to third parties, so that the number of actors choosing to act selfishly or fairly was known prior to recruiting third parties. Accordingly, third parties were assigned to see selfish versus fair actor behavior in proportion to the actions of the actors. This allowed us to attached a correct 1-to-1 matching between actors and third parties.

192 We use linear regressions when predicting punishment in cents and emotion ratings on Likert
 193 scales, and logistic regressions when predicting (binary) actor decisions.⁸ We use robust standard
 194 errors, and cluster standard errors on subject when we have repeated observations from the same
 195 subject (i.e. in the strategy method condition, in which subjects made punishment decisions
 196 about both selfish and fair offers). We exclude participants who did not answer all
 197 comprehension questions correctly, because it is unclear how to interpret the behaviour of non-
 198 comprehending subjects (Horton et al. 2011). However, we note that including them does not
 199 qualitatively change our results.⁹

200 **3. Results: Experiment 1**

201 **3.1 Participants**

202 $N = 323$ third parties (42% female, mean age = 31 years) participated and answered all
 203 comprehension questions correctly.¹⁰

204 **3.2 Do third parties punish selfish behavior more than fair behavior?**

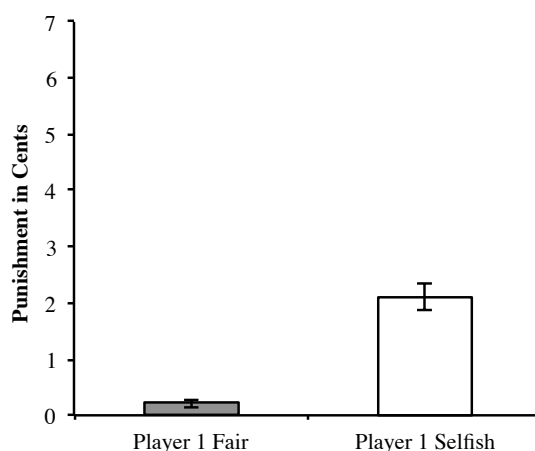
205 We begin by confirming that selfish behavior elicits more punishment than fair behavior,
 206 collapsing across experimental conditions. We find that, as predicted, subjects spent more on
 207 punishment of selfish behavior ($M = 2.08$, $SD = 3.63$) than fair behavior ($M = 0.21$, $SD = 1.18$)

⁸ Predicting emotion ratings using an ordered probit model produces qualitatively identical results; thus, we report linear regressions for consistency across analyses and ease of interpretation of coefficients.

⁹ Overall, 61% of subjects answered all comprehension questions correctly (mean number of questions correct=3.34/4, with rates of comprehension on the four individual questions ranging from 75% to 93%). Thus, while a relatively low proportion of subjects answered all questions correctly, we note that subjects did relatively well on each individual question, and emphasize that all of our main results hold when including all subjects *and* when including only comprehenders. Furthermore, this rate of comprehension failure is typical for economic game studies run on MTurk (e.g. Rand et al. (2012)).

¹⁰ Low endowment, strategy method condition $N = 81$; low endowment, hot condition $N = 85$; high endowment, strategy method condition $N = 78$; high endowment, hot condition $N = 79$.

208 (Figure 1). A regression predicting cents spent on punishment as a function of actor behavior (1
 209 = selfish, 0 = fair) finds a significant positive effect of selfish behavior (coeff = 1.86, n = 323, p
 210 < .001; Table 1). Thus, as predicted, third parties systematically punished selfish over fair
 211 behavior. We also note that, as expected, there was relatively little punishment of fair behavior.



212
 213 **Figure 1.** *Third parties respond to selfish behavior with more punishment than fair behavior in*
 214 *Experiment 1. Shown is the average number of cents spent by third parties on punishing fair*
 215 *versus selfish actor behavior, out of a maximum of 10 cents. Data collapsed across experimental*
 216 *conditions. Error bars indicate robust standard errors of the mean.*
 217

	Punishment
Actor Decision (0 = Fair, 1 = Selfish)	1.863***
	(0.237)
Constant	0.214***
	(0.0788)
Observations	482
Subjects	323
Robust standard errors in parentheses	
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1	

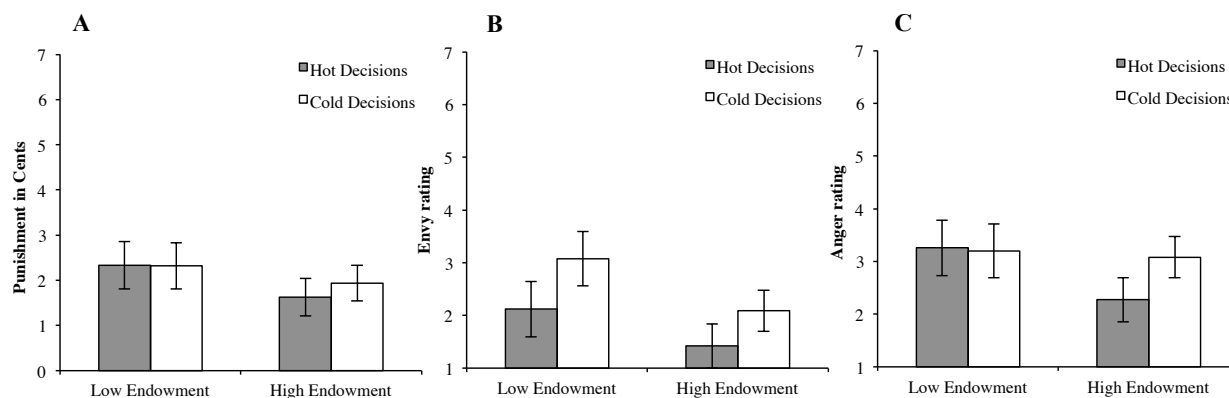
218 **Table 1.** *This table shows the results from a linear regression predicting third-party punishment*
 219 *as a function of actor behavior in Experiment 1. We report the coefficients and robust standard*
 220 *errors clustered on subject for each independent variable. We note that there are more*
 221 *observations than subjects because subjects in the “strategy method” condition made two*
 222 *decisions, one about a selfish offer and one about a fair offer, whereas subjects in the “hot”*
 223 *condition made only one decision.*

224 3.3 Effects of endowment and strategy method manipulations

225 We next turn to investigating the effect of our manipulations on third-party punishment
 226 of selfishness. Because our key question is which factors led subjects to punish selfish behavior
 227 (i.e. to ask how envy and the strategy method influenced punishment of *selfish* behavior), in this
 228 analysis we focus on decisions about punishment of selfish offers¹¹. In Figure 2A, we plot the
 229 mean punishment of selfishness across conditions (hot, low endowment condition: $M = 2.33$, SD
 230 $= 3.78$; cold, low endowment condition: $M = 2.32$, $SD = 3.76$; hot, high endowment condition:
 231 $M = 1.63$, $SD = 3.58$; cold, high endowment condition: $M = 1.94$, $SD = 3.47$).

232 We find that a regression predicting punishment of selfishness as a function of a “low
 233 endowment” dummy (1 = 25 cents, 0 = 50 cents) and a “hot” dummy (1 = hot condition, 0 =
 234 strategy method condition) finds no significant effect of the low endowment dummy (coeff =
 235 0.509, $n = 258$, $p = .262$) or the hot dummy (coeff = -0.145, $n = 258$, $p = .756$) (Table 2 Column
 236 1). We also find no significant interaction between the endowment and hot dummies (coeff =
 237 0.323, $n = 258$, $p = .730$; Table 2 Column 2). Thus, our manipulations had no effect on
 238 punishment of selfishness. This suggests that punishment does not reflect (i) self-focused envy,
 239 as punishment did not increase when selfish actors earned more than third parties; or (ii) strategy
 240 method prediction errors, as punishment did not decrease when third parties made hot decisions
 241 rather than using the strategy method.

¹¹ Our main results are robust, however, to analyzing all decisions (i.e. punishment of both selfish and fair behavior). When including all decisions, a regression finds no significant effect of a “low endowment” dummy (coeff=0.063, $n = 482$, $p = .813$) or a “hot” dummy (coeff = 0.122, $n = 482$, $p = .672$), and a regression that adds an interaction term also finds no significant effect of the interaction (coeff = 0.241, $n = 482$, $p = .675$).



242

243 **Figure 2.** *The effect of our endowment and strategy method manipulations on third-party*
 244 *punishment, envy, and anger in Experiment 1. Shown is the mean (A) number of cents (out of a*
 245 *maximum of 10) spent on punishing selfish actors (B) rating of own envy, in response to selfish*
 246 *offers; and (C) rating of own anger, in response to selfish offers. Error bars indicate robust*
 247 *standard errors of the mean.*

248

249

While we found that the strategy method had no effect on punishment, one might argue
 250 that even “hot” decisions in anonymous, online experiments may not reflect the psychology of
 251 real decisions, given subjects’ potential uncertainty that they were interacting with real other
 252 players. To address this concern, we asked subjects at the end of the study to rate their
 253 confidence that the other players were real (1 = very sceptical, 7 = very confident). When we
 254 repeat the above analyses including only “confident” subjects (those who reported a 5 or above,
 255 $N = 95$), we again find no effect of the hot dummy in a regression without an endowment
 256 interaction (coeff = -0.185 , $n = 95$, $p = .819$), and no hot by endowment interaction (coeff = -0.439 ,
 257 $n = 95$, $p = .792$). Thus, even among subjects who reported being relatively confident that the
 258 other players were real, the strategy method had no effect on punishment. We also find no
 259 interaction between a hot dummy and the confidence variable when predicting punishment (coeff
 260 = 0.022 , $n = 258$, $p = .923$), providing further evidence that incredulous subjects were not
 261 responsible for our finding that the strategy method had no effect on punishment.

262 Next, we ask how our manipulations influenced third parties' own emotional responses to
263 selfishness. We repeat the above analyses with own envy and anger, rather than punishment, as
264 dependent variables. Beginning with envy, in Figure 2B, we plot mean envy in response to
265 selfishness across conditions (hot, low endowment condition: $M = 2.12$, $SD = 1.61$; cold, low
266 endowment condition: $M = 3.07$, $SD = 2.13$; hot, high endowment condition: $M = 1.42$, $SD =$
267 1.07 ; cold, high endowment condition: $M = 2.09$, $SD = 1.58$). In regression analysis, we find a
268 significant positive effect of the low endowment dummy (coeff = 0.876 , $n = 258$, $p < .001$) and a
269 significant negative effect of the hot dummy (coeff = -0.818 , $n = 258$, $p < .001$) (Table 2 Column
270 3), and no significant interaction (coeff = -0.283 , $n = 258$, $p = .482$; Table 2 Column 4).

271 Thus, our manipulations significantly influenced envy. First, participants in the low
272 endowment condition reported more envy. Critically, this increase serves as a manipulation
273 check, suggesting that third parties did actually attend to their endowment, and felt more envious
274 when selfish actors earned more than them. This manipulation check confirms that our
275 endowment manipulation successfully increased envy but did not increase punishment,
276 suggesting that envy does not motivate punishment. Second, participants in the strategy method
277 condition also reported more envy. This suggests that envy may in part be an artifact of the
278 strategy method, rather than a genuine reaction to unfairness.

279 We next investigate anger. In Figure 2C, we plot mean anger in response to selfishness
280 across conditions (hot, low endowment condition: $M = 3.25$, $SD = 2.12$; cold, low endowment
281 condition: $M = 3.20$, $SD = 2.09$; hot, high endowment condition: $M = 2.27$, $SD = 1.70$; cold, high
282 endowment condition: $M = 3.08$, $SD = 1.90$). In regression analysis, we find no significant
283 effects of the endowment dummy (coeff = 0.452 , $n = 258$, $p = .067$) or the hot dummy (coeff = -

284 0.363, $n = 258$, $p = .150$) (Table 2 Column 5), and no significant interaction (coeff = 0.863, $n =$
 285 258, $p = .084$; Table 2 Column 6) between the two.

286 However, we note that effects of the endowment dummy, and the interaction term, are
 287 both *marginally* significant; Table 2 Column 6 demonstrates that this is driven by a significant
 288 effect of decision method within the high endowment condition (with subjects reporting less
 289 anger in the “hot” condition). Thus, anger did not vary significantly across conditions, although
 290 there was a trend in the direction of subjects reporting less anger when they had high
 291 endowments and made hot decisions. This may suggest that subjects in the high endowment
 292 condition made an affective forecasting error in which they expected to experience more anger
 293 than they actually did.

294

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Punishment	Punishment	Envy	Envy	Anger	Anger
Endowment size (0 = High, 1 = Low)	0.509	0.385	0.876***	0.984***	0.452*	0.121
	(0.453)	(0.574)	(0.21)	(0.297)	(0.246)	(0.317)
Decision method (0 = Strategy method, 1 = Hot)	-0.145	-0.311	-0.818***	-0.673***	-0.363	-0.806**
	(0.467)	(0.649)	(0.203)	(0.236)	(0.251)	(0.326)
Endowment size X Decision method		0.323		-0.283		0.863*
		(0.935)		(0.403)		(0.498)
Constant	1.873***	1.936***	2.145***	2.090***	2.908***	3.077***
	(0.357)	(0.393)	(0.16)	(0.179)	(0.195)	(0.215)
Observations	258	258	258	258	258	258
Subjects	258	258	258	258	258	258
Robust standard errors in parentheses						
*** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$						

295 **Table 2.** This table shows the results from linear regressions predicting third-party punishment
 296 (Columns 1-2), envy (Columns 3-4), and anger (Columns 5-6) in response to selfish actor
 297 behavior, as a function of endowment size and decision method in Experiment 1. We report the
 298 coefficients and robust standard errors clustered on subject for each independent variable.
 299

300 3.4 Which emotions predict individual differences in third-party punishment?

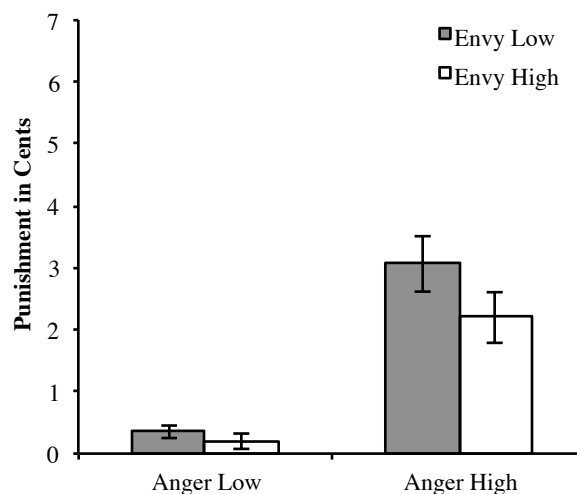
301 We now directly ask which emotions were associated with punishment by examining the
302 relationship between individual emotion ratings and punishment of selfishness. In this analysis,
303 we consider punishment of either selfish or fair offers as our dependent variable. We analyze
304 punishment of all offers because we hypothesize that the *reason* that selfish offers were punished
305 more than fair offers is that they elicited more negative emotional reactions; thus, it makes sense
306 to consider the variance in emotional reactions, and punishment, across all offers. We conduct a
307 regression predicting punishment as a function of a low endowment dummy, a hot dummy, the
308 third party's own anger and envy, and the anger and envy the third party predicted that the
309 recipient would experience. We find that third-party punishment shows a significant positive
310 association with own anger (coeff = .807, n = 323, p < .001), a significant negative association
311 with own envy (coeff = -0.264, n = 323, p = .006), and no significant association with predicted
312 recipient anger (coeff = .138, n = 323, p = .376) or envy (coeff = -0.025, n = 323, p = .863)
313 (Table 3 Column 1).

314 Thus, across experimental conditions and actor transfers, only one emotion variable was
315 positively associated with punishment: Participants who reported *themselves* being angrier spent
316 more on punishment, while there was no significant positive association with envy or attributed
317 recipient emotions. We also note that own anger continued to be significantly associated with
318 punishment when considering each condition separately (Table 3 Columns 2-5).

319 Interestingly, participants who reported stronger feelings of envy actually spent *less* on
320 punishment, when controlling for their own anger and predicted recipient emotions. This effect
321 was unexpected, and partitioning data by experimental condition reveals that it is driven by the
322 [strategy method, low endowment] condition. In this condition, there is a strong negative

323 association between punishment and envy (coeff = -0.564, $n = 81$, $p < .001$) (Table 3 Column 2),
 324 while the other three conditions reveal no significant associations (all p values $> .3$) (Table 3
 325 Columns 3-5). We return to this apparent negative association with envy in Experiment 2.

326 Figure 3 shows the association between one's own envy and anger and punishment. To
 327 visualize the independent associations with each variable, we perform a median split on own
 328 anger and own envy, and divide participants into four groups accordingly. Figure 3 shows that
 329 participants reporting above-median anger punished much more than participants reporting
 330 below-median anger, regardless of envy levels. In contrast, participants reporting above-median
 331 envy spent slightly *less* than participants reporting below-median envy, regardless of anger
 332 levels. In sum, then, our analyses suggest that 3PP is associated with the third party's level of
 333 anger, and not their level of envy.



334

335 **Figure 3.** High anger, but not high envy, is associated with third-party punishment of selfishness
 336 in Experiment 1. Shown is the average number of cents (out of a maximum of 10) third parties
 337 spent on punishing selfish actors, by their anger and envy ratings. For ease of visualization,
 338 median splits on emotional ratings are shown. Data collapsed across experimental conditions.
 339 Error bars indicate robust standard errors of the mean.
 340

341

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	Punishment	Punishment	Punishment	Punishment	Punishment
		(Low endowment, Strategy method)	(Low endowment, Hot)	(High endowment, Strategy method)	(High endowment, Hot)
Player 3 Anger	0.807***	0.768***	0.911***	0.910***	0.805**
	(0.124)	(0.179)	(0.272)	(0.222)	(0.334)
Player 3 Envy	-0.264***	-0.564***	0.0107	-0.169	-0.157
	(0.0952)	(0.137)	(0.247)	(0.187)	(0.268)
Predicted Player 2 Anger	0.138	-0.000579	0.0541	-0.141	0.539*
	(0.156)	(0.306)	(0.315)	(0.183)	(0.273)
Predicted Player 2 Envy	-0.0249	0.325	-0.0267	0.126	-0.536**
	(0.144)	(0.281)	(0.313)	(0.170)	(0.261)
Endowment size (0 = High, 1 = Low)	0.0232				
	(0.235)				
Decision method (0 = Strategy method, 1 = Hot)	-0.0319				
	(0.237)				
Constant	-0.418*	-0.362	-0.929**	-0.454	-0.122
	(0.241)	(0.239)	(0.435)	(0.417)	(0.776)
Observations	482	162	85	156	79
Subjects	323	81	85	78	79
Robust standard errors in parentheses					
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1					

342 **Table 3.** This table shows the results from linear regressions predicting third-party punishment
343 as a function of third-party emotions, and predicted second-party emotions in Experiment 1. We
344 report the results collapsed across conditions (Column 1) as well as separately by condition
345 (Columns 2-5). We report the coefficients and robust standard errors clustered on subject for
346 each independent variable.

347

348 3.5 Actor and recipient responses

349 Finally, we analyze the responses of actors and recipients. We find that both actors and
350 recipients expected third parties to punish selfishness more than fairness. Interestingly, actors
351 and recipients in fact significantly *over*-estimated how much third parties would punish

352 selfishness. We also find that actors who anticipated more 3PP of selfishness, relative to fairness,
353 were less likely to be selfish (presumably in order to avoid getting punished). These results
354 suggest that people anticipate 3PP, and that anticipated punishment may motivate fair behavior.
355 For a more detailed discussion of these results, see Appendix.

356 **4. Discussion: Experiment 1**

357 Experiment 1 suggests that third-party punishment is not an artifact of self-focused envy
358 or the strategy method. We found that third-party punishment was not influenced by
359 manipulating third-party endowments, despite the fact that third parties with low endowments
360 reported more envy than third parties with high endowments. Third-party punishment was also
361 not influenced by manipulating the use of the strategy method, in contrast to evidence that the
362 strategy method reduces levels of second-party punishment (Falk et al. 2005). Furthermore,
363 anger, but not envy, was associated with individual differences in punishment: individual
364 subjects who reported experiencing more anger also punished more. Interestingly, we found that
365 subjects' *own* anger ratings, rather than their predictions of *recipients'* negative emotions, were
366 what tracked punishment. Together, these results suggest that third parties experience anger
367 when others are harmed, and that their own anger is associated with their decisions to engage in
368 third-party punishment. We also provide evidence that others anticipate such punishment, even
369 more than it actually occurs, and that anticipated punishment is associated with fair actor
370 behavior.

371 These results leave three important open questions. First, while we interpreted the finding
372 that low third-party endowments did not increase 3PP as evidence that punishment was not
373 motivated by envy, an alternative explanation is possible: while third parties in the low
374 endowment condition had a stronger envy motivation (because they earned less than selfish

375 actors), they also had a smaller income to spend on punishment. If having a low endowment
376 makes third parties more envious (*increasing* punishment) but also less willing to spend their
377 (smaller) income on punishment (*decreasing* punishment), these two effects could cancel each
378 other to result in no net effect of our endowment manipulation (as we observed). Thus, it is not
379 clear if such an income effect confounded our results. Second, we did not predict that envy
380 would negatively predict 3PP, and it is not clear how robust this effect is. Finally, many 3PP
381 experiments allow actors to choose between a range of relatively fair and relatively selfish
382 behaviors (Fehr and Fischbacher 2004; Henrich et al. 2006; Bernhard et al. 2006), while actors in
383 our experiment made only a binary decision to share nothing or half. Thus, it is not clear if our
384 results would replicate in a game where actors face a continuous range of decisions about how
385 much to share with recipients.

386 **5. Method: Experiment 2**

387 In Experiment 2, we addressed these questions. In addition to asking whether the
388 unanticipated negative association between envy and punishment observed in Experiment 1
389 would replicate, we made two changes to the experimental design. First, we added an additional
390 condition to ask whether punishment would increase if we doubled the endowments that actors
391 and third parties began with. This condition thus allowed us to investigate whether the null result
392 of our endowment manipulation in Experiment 1 resulted because subjects in the low
393 endowment condition were disinclined to spend their (smaller) income on punishment,
394 counteracting an effect of envy.

395 Second, we allowed actors to decide how much money to transfer, in 10-cent increments,
396 and tested whether our results from Experiment 1 would replicate. Because running a “hot”
397 experiment with a large set of actor choices would require a very large sample, and because

398 Experiment 1 revealed that the strategy method did not influence punishment, we eliminated the
399 “hot” condition in Experiment 2.

400 Thus, Experiment 2 was identical to Experiment 1, with the following exceptions. First,
401 we had three experiment conditions. In the *high-high condition*, both the third party and actor
402 received high endowments: they each started with 100 cents, and there was thus no envy
403 motivation for 3PP. In the *low-low* condition, both the third party and actor received low
404 endowments: they each started with 50 cents, and thus there was again no envy motivation for
405 3PP. However, because endowments were half as large, a comparison between these conditions
406 allowed us to investigate whether third parties punish less when they have lower endowments.
407 Finally, in the *low-high condition*, the third party received a low endowment while the actor
408 received a high endowment: the third party started with 50 cents, while the actor started with 100
409 cents. Thus, selfish actors (who kept more than half) earned more than third parties, providing an
410 envy motivation for punishment.

411 Second, all third parties made their decisions using the strategy method. For each of the
412 six possible actor transfers, third parties first indicated how much to punish, and then indicated,
413 in a random order, how angry and envious they would feel. For simplicity, we did not ask third
414 parties how angry and envious they expected recipients to feel, as we found no significant effects
415 of these ratings in Experiment 1. We note that due to a technical error, emotion ratings were
416 collected incorrectly for subjects in the “low-low” condition and were thus not analyzed. We
417 analyzed our data using the same approach as in Experiment 1, again restricting to
418 comprehending subjects, and using linear regressions with robust, clustered standard errors.¹²

¹² We note that as in Experiment 1, our analyses predicting emotion ratings produce qualitatively equivalent results using ordered probit regressions; we thus again report only linear regression.

419

420

421 **6. Results and Discussion: Experiment 2**422 $N = 153$ third parties (24% female, mean age = 28 years) recruited using Amazon423 Mechanical Turk answered all comprehension questions correctly.¹³

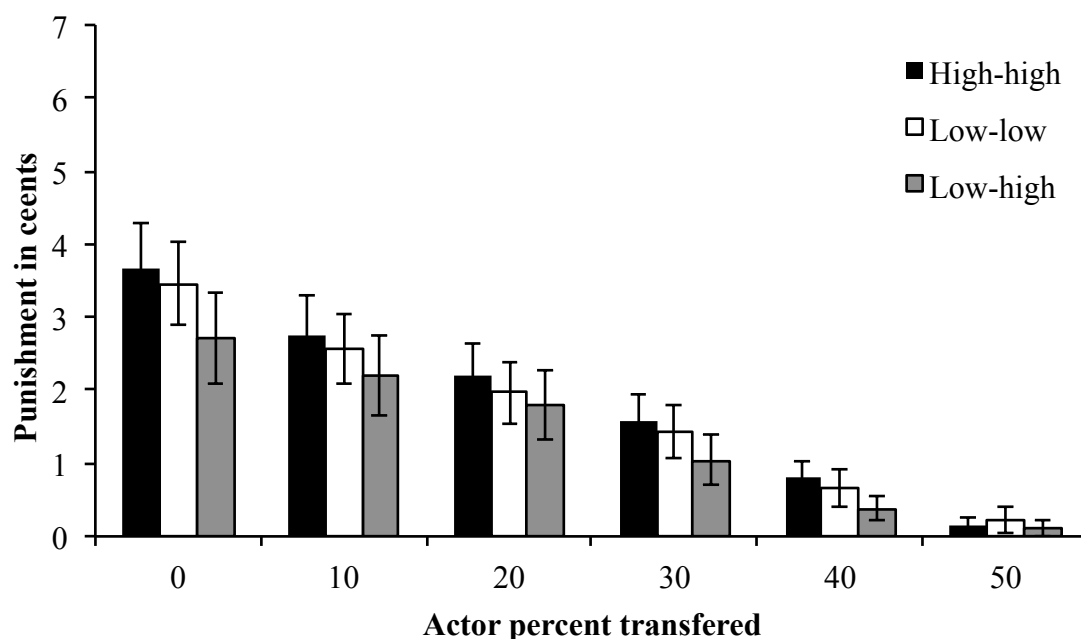
424 We begin by replicating the finding that third parties respond to unfair behavior with
425 more punishment than fair behavior. A regression predicting punishment as a function of cents
426 transferred by the actor reveals a significant negative effect of cents transferred (coeff = -0.629, n
427 = 153, $p < .001$), suggesting that selfish transfers were punished more harshly.

428 Next, we investigate the effects of our endowment manipulation on punishment, anger,
429 and envy. Because we no longer have a clear binary separation between “selfish” and “fair” actor
430 transfers, we analyze all decisions (i.e. responses to all actor transfers). In each regression, we
431 use actor transfer, a condition dummy, and the interaction between these two as independent
432 variables. In these analyses, the condition dummy term indicates the effect of condition on
433 punishment of the most selfish behavior (transferring 0 cents), and the interaction term indicates
434 whether the effect of condition changes as a function of the actor’s transfer.

435 We begin by investigating punishment. We plot mean punishment across conditions, for
436 each actor transfer, in Figure 4 (punishment in response to maximum selfishness: high-high
437 condition: $M=3.67$, $SD=4.53$; low-low condition: $M=3.46$, $SD=4.36$; low-high condition:
438 $M=2.70$, $SD=4.20$). We first investigate the effect of envy on punishment by comparing our two
439 “no envy” conditions (high-high and low-low) to our “envy” condition (low-high). We find no
440 significant effect of the envy condition dummy (coeff = -0.699, $n = 153$, $p = .371$) or interaction

¹³ High-high condition $N = 52$; low-low condition $N = 57$; low-high condition $N = 44$.

441 between actor transfer and envy condition dummy (coeff = .115, n = 153, p = .455) (Table 4
 442 Column 1).



443
 444 **Figure 4.** Subjects punish equally across our three endowment in Experiment 2. Shown is the
 445 average number of cents (out of a maximum of 10) spent by third parties on punishing actors, by
 446 endowment condition and actor transfer. Error bars indicate robust standard errors of the mean.
 447

448 Next, we ask whether this result holds when comparing our “envy” (low-high) condition
 449 to both of the “no envy” (high-high and low-low) conditions separately, and find that it does
 450 (comparison to high-high condition: no effect of the envy dummy (coeff = -0.838, n = 96, p =
 451 .360) or interaction (coeff = .142, n = 96, p = .431); comparison to low-low condition: no effect
 452 of the envy dummy (coeff = -0.572, n = 101, p = .513) or interaction (coeff = .091, n = 101, p =
 453 .596). Thus, we replicate our finding from Experiment 1 that third parties do not punish
 454 significantly more when envy motivations are possible.

455 Finally, we compare the high-high condition to the low-low condition to investigate a
 456 possible income effect on punishment. We find no significant effect of a high-high dummy

457 (coeff = .266, n = 109, p = .757) or the interaction between a high-high dummy and actor transfer
 458 (coeff = -.050, n = 109, p = .761) on punishment (Table 4 Column 2). Thus, third-party
 459 punishment does not appear to be sensitive to income (at least over the range of values we
 460 consider here): doubling endowments had no effect on punishment. This suggests that
 461 Experiment 1 was not confounded by an income effect.

462

	(1)	(2)
	Envy contrast	Income contrast
Actor transfer	-0.663***	-0.790*
	(0.082)	(0.430)
Endowment condition	-0.699	0.266
	(0.779)	(0.858)
Actor transfer X Endowment condition	0.115	-0.050
	(0.154)	(0.166)
Constant	3.443***	4.11*
	(0.427)	(2.23)
Observations	918	654
Subjects	153	109
Robust standard errors in parentheses		
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1		

463 **Table 4.** This table shows the results from linear regressions investigating the effects of envy
 464 (Column 1) and income (Column 2) on punishment. Both regressions predict third-party
 465 punishment as a function of endowment condition, actor transfer, and their interaction in
 466 Experiment 2. Column 1 shows the effect of envy (0 = Envy not possible (high-high and low-low
 467 conditions), 1=Envy possible (low-high condition)); Column 2 shows the effect of income (0 =
 468 low income (low-low condition), 1 = high income (high-high condition)). We report the
 469 coefficients and robust standard errors clustered on subject for each independent variable.

470

471

We next turn to investigating the effects of our endowment manipulation on emotion

472

ratings; we again note that these analyses exclude the “low-low” condition where emotions were

473

incorrectly measured due to a technical error. We first investigate the effect on envy ratings. In

474

regression analysis, we find a significant positive effect of a low-high condition dummy (coeff =

475 1.67, $n = 96$, $p = .001$), indicating more envy in this condition when actors transfer nothing
476 (high-high condition, $M=2.44$, $SD=2.15$; low-high condition, $M=3.98$, $SD=2.50$), and a
477 significant negative interaction between the low-high condition dummy and actor transfer (coeff
478 $= -0.263$, $n = 96$, $p = .009$), indicating that this effect is stronger when the actor transfers less
479 (and thus earns relatively more than the third party) (Table 5 Column 1). This again serves as a
480 manipulation check, demonstrating that third parties compared their payoffs to actors, and felt
481 envious when they had relatively less.

482 Next, we investigate the effects of our manipulation on anger ratings. In regression
483 analysis, we find no significant endowment effect (coeff = $.209$, $n = 96$, $p = .682$; anger when
484 actor transfers nothing: high-high condition, $M=3.85$, $SD=2.24$; low-high condition, $M=4.05$,
485 $SD=2.31$) or interaction (coeff = -0.033 , $n = 96$, $p = .743$) (Table 5 Column 2) when predicting
486 anger. Thus, replicating Experiment 1, we find that anger is not significantly influenced by third-
487 party endowment size, whereas envy is.

488

489

	(1)	(2)
	Envy	Anger
Actor transfer	-0.192***	-0.566***
	(0.0628)	(0.0626)
Endowment condition (0 = High-high, 1 = Low-high)	1.931***	0.243
	(0.577)	(0.606)
Actor transfer X Endowment condition	-0.263***	-0.0334
	(0.0985)	(0.102)
Constant	2.553***	4.526***
	(0.351)	(0.400)
Observations	576	576
Subjects	96	96
Robust standard errors in parentheses		
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1		

490 **Table 5.** *This table shows the results from linear regressions predicting envy (Column 1) and*
491 *anger (Column 2) as a function of endowment condition, actor transfer, and their interaction in*
492 *Experiment 2. We report the coefficients and robust standard errors clustered on subject for*
493 *each independent variable. We again note that this analysis excludes the “low-low” condition, in*
494 *which a technical error influenced the recording of emotions.*

495
496 Finally, we replicate the finding that elevated anger, but not envy, is associated with
497 punishment. We regress punishment (of any offer) in the high-high and low-high conditions (in
498 which emotion data was reordered correctly) against a low-high endowment dummy and anger
499 and envy ratings. We find a significant positive association with anger (coeff = .890, n = 96, p <
500 .001) and no significant association with envy (coeff = -.032, n = 96, p = .810) (Table 5 Column
501 1). We find similar results considering each experimental condition separately (Table 5 Columns
502 2-3). Thus, we replicate the effect that anger is associated with punishment. We do not, however,
503 replicate the unanticipated finding from Experiment 1 that envy was negatively associated with
504 punishment. Thus we conclude that this latter finding was likely spurious.

	(1)	(2)	(3)
	Punishment	Punishment	Punishment
		(Low-high)	(High-high)
Anger	0.890***	1.002***	0.803***
	(0.145)	(0.217)	(0.191)
Envy	-0.0321	-0.246	0.251
	(0.133)	(0.167)	(0.216)
Endowment condition (0 = High-high, 1 = Low-high)	-0.563		
	(0.424)		
Constant	-0.345	-0.590*	-0.658
	(0.385)	(0.317)	(0.488)
Observations	576	264	312
Subjects	96	44	52
Robust standard errors in parentheses			
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1			

505 **Table 6.** *This table shows the results from linear regressions predicting third-party punishment*
506 *as a function of third-party emotions in Experiment 2. We report the results collapsed across*
507 *conditions (Column 1) as well as separately by condition (Columns 2-3). We report the*
508 *coefficients and robust standard errors clustered on subject for each independent variable. We*
509 *again note that this analysis excludes the “low-low” condition, in which a technical error*
510 *influenced the recording of emotions.*

511

512 7. General Discussion

513 Third parties punish selfish behavior in laboratory experiments, but possible design
514 confounds have left open the question of whether this punishment reflects a true distaste for
515 unfair treatment of third parties. Here, we provide evidence suggesting that 3PP is *not* an artifact
516 of self-focused envy or the use of the strategy method, and may in fact reflect genuine anger that
517 recipients were treated selfishly. Across two experiments, we support this conclusion through
518 two main findings. First, third parties responded to selfish behavior with as much punishment
519 and anger when their endowments were equal to actors’ endowments (ruling out envy
520 motivations) and when they made “hot” decisions (ruling out strategy method prediction

521 errors).¹⁴ Second, individual ratings of one's own anger, but not envy, were associated with
522 individual levels of punishment.

523 Our results have important implications for the role of punishment in promoting
524 cooperative behavior: they are consistent with the hypothesis that impartial third-party observers
525 react to selfishness with anger that motivates 3PP. This would suggest that third parties may
526 indeed incur costs to punish selfishness in a variety of real-world contexts, even when they have
527 not been directly disadvantaged. Our experiments do not, however, distinguish between different
528 "prosocial" motivations for 3PP. For example, the anger and punishment we observe might be
529 caused by displeasure over norms being violated (Fehr and Fischbacher 2004), by motives
530 stemming from types-based reciprocity (Levine 1998) whereby people get utility from harming
531 "bad" people, or by displeasure over the inequity that exists between selfish actors and their
532 recipients (Fehr and Schmidt 1999). Distinguishing between these possibilities is an important
533 direction for future work.

534 Our results build on previous research concerning the influence of possible design
535 confounds in 3PP experiments. While most 3PP experiments have employed low third-party

¹⁴ One might argue that it is difficult to draw strong inferences from the finding that our manipulations of endowment and the strategy method did *not* influence punishment, because they were null results. However, we note that we replicated the null finding that endowments did not influence punishment in both Experiment 1 and 2. Furthermore, our endowment manipulation *did* have a significant positive effect on envy ratings, providing a positive control that demonstrates that subjects were sensitive to the manipulation. We also conduct a power analysis to assess the smallest effects of our endowment and strategy method manipulations that we could have detected with 80% probability in Experiment 1. We find that smallest detectable effects are (i) a 1.27-cent decrease in punishment in the high endowment relative to the low endowment condition, and (ii) a 1.32-cent decrease in punishment in the strategy method condition relative to the "hot" condition. Thus, while it is possible that we failed to detect a true but small effect of these variables on punishment, this analysis provides a likely upper bound for the size of these effects, and suggests that the use of low endowments or the strategy method cannot fully account for punishment in these conditions.

536 endowments, such that selfish actors earned more than third parties (Fehr and Fischbacher 2004;
537 Henrich et al. 2006; Henrich et al. 2010; Marlowe et al. 2008; Bernhard et al. 2006; Nelissen and
538 Zeelenberg 2009; Almenberg et al. 2010; Shinada et al. 2004; Kurzban et al. 2007), others have
539 avoided this possible confound and still observed punishment of selfish behavior (Götte et al.
540 2006; Bruene et al. 2012; Fehr and Fischbacher 2004; Balafoutas et al. 2014). Additionally, one
541 study directly manipulated third-party endowment, but found no significant non-zero punishment
542 in either endowment condition (perhaps because it employed a non-standard design), leaving
543 open the question of what motivates punishment when it is observed (Pedersen et al. 2013).
544 Here, we provide the first direct test of this question by using the standard method but varying
545 endowment, and find no evidence that envy motivates punishment.

546 With respect to strategy method prediction errors, while many 3PP experiments have
547 employed the strategy method (Bernhard et al. 2006; Fehr and Fischbacher 2004; Henrich et al.
548 2010; Marlowe et al. 2008; Almenberg et al. 2010; Henrich et al. 2006), others have not
549 (Nelissen and Zeelenberg 2009; Shinada et al. 2004; Kurzban et al. 2007) and still observed
550 punishment of selfishness. One study of second-party punishment found that the strategy method
551 *decreased* punishment (Falk et al. 2005); conversely, another study found that, consistent with
552 strategy method prediction errors, participants who read a hypothetical description of a 3PP
553 game reported that they would respond to selfishness with more anger and punishment than real
554 third parties actually did in a different lab experiment (Pedersen et al. 2013).

555 Here, we provide the first direct manipulation of the strategy method in an incentivized,
556 non-hypothetical 3PP experiment. We find no evidence that the strategy method influences
557 punishment. Thus, our results differ from Falk and colleagues' (2005) 2PP experiment, perhaps
558 suggesting that 2PP is driven by different motivators than 3PP (Crockett et al. 2013). Our results

559 also differ from Pedersen and colleagues' (2013) hypothetical experiment, suggesting that
560 incentivized decisions through the strategy method are not equivalent to decisions in a
561 hypothetical game.

562 Our results also build on previous work investigating emotions in 3PP experiments. In
563 some previous research, third parties have responded to selfish behavior with anger and
564 punishment (Nelissen and Zeelenberg 2009), and in others, third parties have responded with
565 envy, but not anger or punishment (Pedersen et al. 2013). These results are consistent with the
566 hypothesis that anger but not envy is necessary to motivate punishment, but leave open the
567 question of why selfishness elicits different emotional responses in different experiments.
568 Differences may result from variation in experimental designs (for example, in (Pedersen et al.
569 2013), actor behavior and 3PP behavior took place in separate interactions, and emotions were
570 assessed before punishment decisions) or subject pools.

571 Finally, our results also provide direct evidence about the 'pacifying' effect of 3PP on
572 potential selfish actors. For punishment to deter selfish behavior, individuals must perceive a
573 strong threat of punishment. Indeed, we found that actors and recipients expected third-party
574 observers to punish selfish behavior, even more harshly than they actually did, and that actors
575 who anticipated more punishment cooperated more. Furthermore, although the average amounts
576 of observed 3PP were fairly low in both experiments, many individual punishers punished the
577 maximum amount allowed (44% of punishers in Experiment 1, 63% in Experiment 2). This
578 provides additional support for the hypothesis that 3PP may discourage selfish behavior in the
579 real world. However, we note that the observed association between cooperation and expected
580 punishment was correlational, and does not establish causality. Using manipulation studies to
581 build on these results is an important direction for future research.

582 Likewise, while our results demonstrate that self-reported anger is associated with third-
583 party punishment, they leave open the question of whether anger actually *causes* punishment.
584 While our results are consistent with the hypothesis that anger causes punishment, it is also
585 possible that punishing makes subjects angry, or that unmeasured third variables (e.g. other
586 unmeasured emotions, such as empathy for the recipient, or disappointment towards the dictator)
587 cause subjects to experience anger *and* engage in punishment. Alternatively, subjects may have
588 reported feeling anger without actually having experienced it (for e.g., if subjects believe,
589 explicitly or implicitly, that anger is a socially desirable motivation to punish). To address these
590 possibilities, future research should investigate the causal role of anger on punishment by
591 inducing (or attenuating) anger before giving subjects the opportunity to engage in 3PP.
592 Furthermore, if anger appears to cause 3PP, future studies should investigate the processes by
593 which anger arises in response to selfish behavior.

594 We also acknowledge that our results reflect play in anonymous experiments on Amazon
595 Turk, with relatively low stakes. Future research should investigate if envy may influence
596 punishment in situations that are more naturalistic, or in which the stakes are higher (and thus the
597 payoff differences between selfish actors and third parties are higher). While there is substantial
598 evidence that economic game play on Mturk is largely consistent with play in the physical
599 laboratory (see introduction), it is possible that the effect of envy on punishment behavior is
600 dependent on stakes, or would be larger in a less anonymous or more naturalistic context.

601 In conclusion, 3PP of selfish behavior is frequently observed in laboratory experiments
602 and is cited as evidence that people dislike it when others fail to act prosocially, even when they
603 themselves are not harmed as a consequence. Here, we support this interpretation by providing

604 evidence that 3PP is not an artifact of self-focused envy or the strategy method, and may reflect
605 genuine anger caused by selfish actions.

606 **8. Appendix**

607 **8.1 Extended analyses of actor and recipient behavior in experiment one**

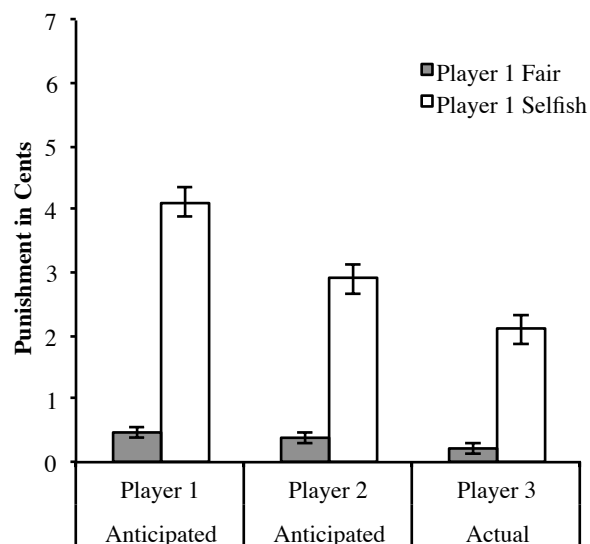
608 Here, we report more detailed analyses of actor and recipient behavior in experiment one.
609 $N = 269$ actors (45% female, mean age = 32 years) and $N = 300$ recipients (42% female, mean
610 age = 30 years) participated and answered all comprehension questions correctly.

611 First, we ask if other players expect third parties to punish, and how anticipated 3PP
612 compares to actual 3PP. Figure 5 plots anticipated and actual punishment across players for fair
613 and selfish actor transfers, and demonstrates that both actors and recipients expect third parties to
614 punish, and to punish more for selfish than fair decisions. Indeed, regressions predicting
615 punishment as a function of selfish behavior demonstrates that both actors (coeff = 3.64, $n = 269$,
616 $p < .001$) and recipients (coeff = 2.55, $n = 300$, $p < .001$) expect third parties to punish
617 selfishness more than fairness.

618

619

620



621

622 **Figure 5.** *Actors and recipients anticipate more third-party punishment than actually occurs in*
 623 *Experiment 1. Shown is the average number of cents (out of a maximum of 10) that actors and*
 624 *recipients anticipated third parties would spend on punishing selfish and fair actors, as well as*
 625 *the amount actually spent by third parties. Data collapsed across all experimental conditions.*
 626 *Error bars indicate robust standard errors of the mean.*

627

628 Next, we ask how anticipated punishment compares to actual punishment. We conduct a
 629 regression predicting punishment of selfishness as a function of player dummies. We find that
 630 compared to third parties as the baseline, there is a significant positive effect of an actor dummy
 631 (coeff = 2.03, n = 758, p < .001) and of a recipient dummy (coeff = 0.823, n = 758, p = .015),
 632 indicating that both actors and recipients anticipate more punishment of selfishness than actually
 633 occurs. Thus, actors and recipients anticipate high levels of 3PP targeted at selfishness.

634 Finally, we ask if anticipated 3PP motivates actors to share with recipients. For each
 635 individual actor, we calculate the difference between expected 3PP for selfish and fair behavior.
 636 We also calculate the difference between expected second- and third-party emotional responses
 637 to selfish and fair behavior. We then conduct a regression predicting the actor's decision to share

638 with the recipient as a function of these variables, controlling for third-party endowment. (We do
639 not control for strategy method condition, as this manipulation did not apply to actors.)

640 We find a significant positive effect of differences in expected 3PP (coeff = .173, n =
641 269, $p < .001$) and third-party anger (coeff = .281, n = 269, $p = .005$), a significant negative
642 effect of differences in expected second-party anger (coeff = -.245, n = 269, $p = .018$), and no
643 significant effect of differences in expected second-party envy (coeff = -.063, n = 269, $p = .373$)
644 or third-party envy (coeff = .070, n = 269, $p = .250$). Thus, anticipated 3PP and anger appear to
645 motivate actors to share with recipients.

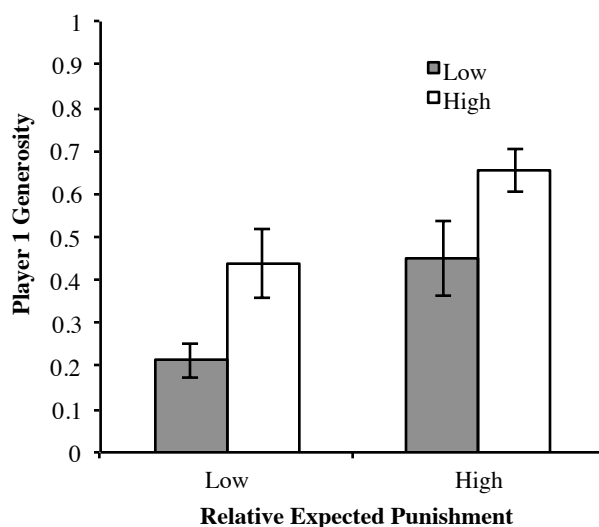
646 Figure 6 plots the effect of anticipated punishment and anger. To illustrate the
647 independent effects of each variable, we perform a median split on differences in anticipated
648 punishment and anger, and divide subjects into four groups accordingly. Figure 8 illustrates that
649 subjects expecting above-median differences in punishment and anger are more likely to share
650 than subjects expecting below-median differences.

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655

656 **Figure 6.** *Actors who expect more third-party punishment and more third-party anger are more*
 657 *likely to choose the fair transfer in Experiment 1. Shown are the fraction of actors choosing the*
 658 *even split, by actor's anticipation of third-party punishment and third-party anger. Relative*
 659 *expected punishment and anger scores are computed by subtracting an individual's expected*
 660 *punishment and anger for fair behavior from their expected punishment and anger for selfish*
 661 *behavior. For ease of visualization, median splits are shown. Error bars indicate robust*
 662 *standard errors of the mean.*

663

664 8.2 Discussion of actor and recipient behavior in experiment one

665 Here, we discuss actor and recipient behavior in experiment one. In experiment one, we
 666 find that both actors and recipients expect third parties to punish selfishness behavior more than
 667 fair behavior. Further, actors and recipients expect third parties to punish more than they actually
 668 do, and to be more sensitivity to actor fairness than they actually are. Finally, actors who
 669 anticipate more 3PP and anger in response to selfishness, relative to fairness, are more likely to
 670 behave fairly themselves.

671 These results are consistent with the hypothesis that others expect 3PP, and that expected
 672 3PP promotes cooperative behavior. While much evidence demonstrates that third parties punish
 673 selfishness, there is relatively little direct evidence that the possibility of 3PP decreases selfish
 674 behavior (an exception is (Charness et al. 2008)). Interestingly, we find that expected anger is

675 associated with cooperative behavior, over and above the effect of expected punishment. This
676 suggests that third parties may act to promote cooperation not simply through the possibility of
677 material sanctions, but also through the possibility of anger or disapproval.

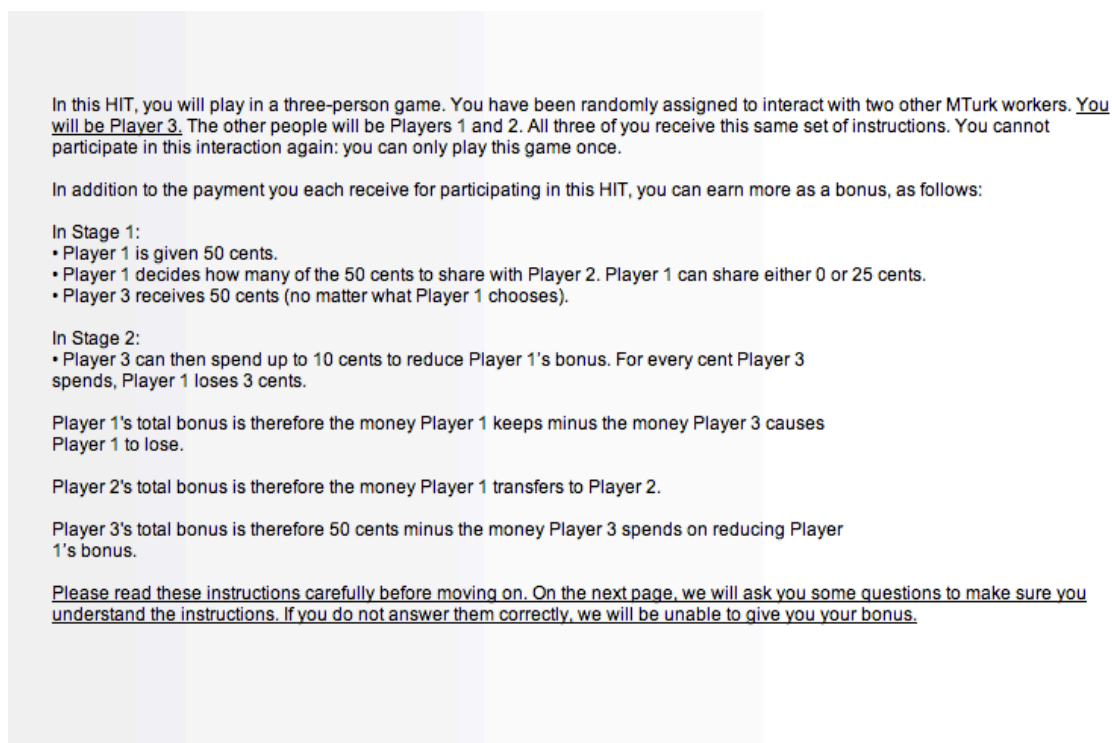
678 However, we note that we did not manipulate anticipated 3PP and anger, and the
679 correlational nature of our analysis leaves open the possibility that a third variable caused both
680 increased generosity and anticipated 3PP and anger. For example, subjects with strong other-
681 regarding preferences may be motivated to share in order to increase the welfare of recipients,
682 and also expect third parties to care more about selfishness, experiencing more anger and
683 punishing more harshly.

684 Interestingly, we did not find that anticipated recipient anger and envy were associated
685 with generosity. One potential explanation is that actors view third-party responses as an
686 unbiased measure of appropriateness, while they expect recipients' responses to reflect self-
687 interest. Alternatively, the possibility for 3PP may crowd out actors' motivation to help
688 recipients (Fehr and Rockenbach 2003; Frey and Jegen 2001). Distinguishing between these
689 possibilities is an interesting direction for future research.

690

691 **8.3 Experimental instructions**

692 The images below show the instructions and decision screens shown to subjects.



693
694 **Figure 7.** *Experiment 1 Instructions (high endowment condition).* This image shows the
695 *instructions we presented to subjects in the high endowment condition of Experiment 1.*
696 *Instructions were identical in the low endowment condition, with the exception that they*
697 *explained that Player 3 receives 25 cents, rather than 50 cents.*

The game is now in stage 2.

As Player 3, you have received 50 cents. You now have the option to spend up to 10 cents to reduce Player 1's total bonus.

Remember, for every 1 cent you spend, Player 1 loses 3 cents.

You can base your decision on Player 1's choice in Stage 1. In Stage 1, Player 1 received 50 cents and chose how much to share with Player 2.

Player 1 decided to keep 50 cents and give 0 cents to Player 2.

How many of your 50 cents (if any) would you like to spend on reducing Player 1's bonus?

	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
	cents	cent	cents	cents	cents	cents	cents	cents	cents	cents	cents
Cents to spend reducing Player 1's bonus	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

698
699 **Figure 8.** *Experiment 1 decision (high endowment, hot condition; selfish offer).* This image
700 *shows the decisions screen for subjects in the high endowment, hot condition of Experiment 1,*
701 *who made a decision about a selfish offer. Instructions were identical in the low endowment*
702 *condition, with the exception that they explained that Player 3 had 25 cents, rather than 50*
703 *cents. Instructions were identical for fair actor decisions, with the exception that they said that*
704 *Player 1 decided to keep 25 cents and give 25 cents to Player 2.*

705

The game is now in stage 2.

As Player 3, you have received 50 cents. You now have the option to spend up to 10 cents to reduce Player 1's total bonus.

Remember, for every 1 cent you spend, Player 1 loses 3 cents.

You can base your decision on Player 1's choice in Stage 1.

How many of your 50 cents (if any) would you like to spend on reducing Player 1's bonus if...

	0 cents	1 cent	2 cents	3 cents	4 cents	5 cents	6 cents	7 cents	8 cents	9 cents	10 cents
Player 1 chose to keep 50 cents and give 0 cents to Player 2?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Player 1 chose to keep 25 cents and give 25 cents to Player 2?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

The choice that you make on this page will determine how much bonus you and Player 1 actually receive.

Once the HIT is over, you will be told what Player 1 chose in Stage 1.

We will see how much you wanted to spend to reduce Player 1's bonus given Player 1's actual choice. Then, we will reduce Player 1's bonus based on that decision. We will also determine your bonus based on that decision.

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Figure 9. *Experiment 1 decision (high endowment, strategy method condition). This image shows the decisions screen for subjects in the high endowment, strategy method condition of Experiment 1. Instructions were identical in the low endowment condition, with the exception that they explained that Player 3 had 25 cents, rather than 50 cents.*

In this HIT, you will play in a three-person game. You have been randomly assigned to interact with two other MTurk workers. You will be Player 3. The other people will be Players 1 and 2. All three of you receive this same set of instructions. You cannot participate in this interaction again: you can only play this game once.

In addition to the payment you each receive for participating in this HIT, you can earn more as a bonus, as follows:

In Stage 1:

- Player 1 is given 100 cents.
- Player 1 decides how many of the 100 cents to share with Player 2. Player 1 can share between 0 and 50 cents.
- Player 3 receives 50 cents (no matter what Player 1 chooses).

In Stage 2:

- Player 3 can then spend up to 10 cents to reduce Player 1's bonus. For every cent Player 3 spends, Player 1 loses 3 cents.

Player 1's total bonus is therefore the money Player 1 keeps minus the money Player 3 causes Player 1 to lose.

Player 2's total bonus is therefore the money Player 1 transfers to Player 2.

Player 3's total bonus is therefore 50 cents minus the money Player 3 spends on reducing Player 1's bonus.

Please read these instructions carefully before moving on. On the next page, we will ask you some questions to make sure you understand the instructions. If you do not answer them correctly, we will be unable to give you your bonus.

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Figure 10. *Experiment 2 Instructions (low endowment condition). This image shows the instructions we presented to subjects in the low endowment condition of Experiment 1. Instructions were identical in the low endowment condition, with the exception that they explained that Player 3 receives 100 cents, rather than 50 cents.*

The game is now in stage 2.

As Player 3, you have received 50 cents. You now have the option to spend up to 10 cents to reduce Player 1's total bonus.

Remember, for every 1 cent you spend, Player 1 loses 3 cents.

You can base your decision on Player 1's choice in Stage 1.

How many of your 50 cents (if any) would you like to spend on reducing Player 1's bonus if...

	CENTS TO SPEND REDUCING PLAYER 1'S BONUS										
	0 cents	1 cent	2 cents	3 cents	4 cents	5 cents	6 cents	7 cents	8 cents	9 cents	10 cents
Player 1 chose to keep 100 cents and give 0 cents to Player 2?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Player 1 chose to keep 90 cents and give 10 cents to Player 2?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Player 1 chose to keep 80 cents and give 20 cents to Player 2?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Player 1 chose to keep 70 cents and give 30 cents to Player 2?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Player 1 chose to keep 60 cents and give 40 cents to Player 2?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Player 1 chose to keep 50 cents and give 50 cents to Player 2?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

The choice that you make on this page will determine how much bonus you and Player 1 actually receive.

Once the HIT is over, you will be told what Player 1 chose in Stage 1.

We will see how much you wanted to spend to reduce Player 1's bonus given Player 1's actual choice. Then, we will reduce Player 1's bonus based on that decision. We will also determine your bonus based on that decision.

716
717 **Figure 11.** *Experiment 2 decision (low endowment condition). This image shows the decisions*
718 *screen for subjects in the low endowment condition of Experiment 2. Instructions were identical*
719 *in the high endowment condition, with the exception that they explained that Player 3 had 100*
720 *cents, rather than 50 cents.*
721

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725

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