Identity Economics....

and Inequality

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Introduction – Identity and Inequality

- Inequality some people have more, some people have less.
- Why do we care?
- As social scientists, we want to describe such patterns.
- But why do we concentrate on inequality as a pattern of interest?
 Maybe bad for growth, development overall.
 Maybe its unfair, unjust.
- Particularly unjust: inequality associated with social difference
 - Systematic certain social groups have more and others have less.
- Inequality is not randomly distributed.
 - •US blacks, Hispanics,
 - Europe North Africans, Africans, Roma
 - •Many parts of the world women

- Identity –
- At a minimum a designator of a social group.
- How does identity figure into inequality??
 - •Mere descriptors?

•Part of processes and structures that create and sustain inequality?

Introduction – Preferences & "Identity"

- What is "identity?"
 - •A person's sense of self; a person's self-image.

•How a person views him/herself and/or others view him/her.

•Note "identity" is used as a descriptor: "I am Hispanic."

- •And "identity" is used as way of feelings/emotions
 - •"I have a strong sense of identity; I feel good about myself."
 - •Judgment depends on ideals, norms a person holds for onself and others hold for that person depends on social norms for who you are
 - "I am proud to be Hispanic"
 - •This judgment depends on how "Hispanic" one feels, and whether you and other Hispanics are living up to norms and ideals.

Introduction - "Identity"

- Identity-contingent utility/payoff function.
 - Individuals have preferences over own and others' actions, depending on identity and norms
 - Social categories & norms for categories
- Individuals care about own actions, depending on identity.
- Utility enhanced when abide by norms for own category.
- Individual care about others' actions externalities
 - •Externality: Others suffer a utility loss (offended?) when norms are violated.
 - Externality: Others retaliate against those who break the norms incur a cost but restore utility loss from offense.

Introduction - "Identity"

- Why do we want a model with identity?
- Add identity to economic framework:
 - Individuals make choices, interact strategically when utility depends on identities and norms for categories
 - \Box patterns of behavior
- Identity model can explain patterns that cannot be explained (or uncomfortably explained) with standard model
- Add a new understanding to phenomena and policy

Outline of Lecture

- •Identity & Inequality Part 1 Theory
 - Overview theoretical approaches to social norms/social differences
 - * Standard Models: Preferences & Constraints
 - * Strategic Interaction
 - * "Identity Economics" as a new approach

** Human capital acquisition (schooling) as an example* Identity and Redistribution as an example*

- •Identity & Inequality Part 2 Experiments
 - Experimental evidence for impact of identity on behavior
 - Experiments with identity variation
 - Do people have preferences for "inequality"? YES

Identity and Inequality Part 1 Economic Theory

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Introduction – Why theory?

- Putting identity/social category markers is standard practice in empirical study of socioeconomic outcomes.
 - •(Dummy) variables: black, female, ethnicity, region, state
 - •Interaction effects: black, female, etc.
- To fix ideas consider education
 - •child or adolescent "underachieves" in school; does not get the education that would be predicted by benefits and costs
 - Black children in the United States
 - Roma children in Hungary
 - Girls in a developing country
- What can account for the dummy variables, the interaction effects?
- Unpack the black box of these effects.

General Overview of Theoretical Approaches

- Basic Economic Model
 - Individuals have utility from own choices/actions
 - Idiosyncratic preferences, which are exogenous
 - Technology (constraints)
 - \Box choices lead to patterns of behavior
- Strategic Interaction
 - Individuals have payoffs from own and others' actions
 - Idiosyncratic costs/benefits, which are exogenous
 - Game form (institutions), specifying information asymmetries etc.
 □ equilibria give patterns of behavior
- Preferences determine utilities and payoffs
 - •Preferences what a person "likes" or "doesn't like" (Becker)
 - •Preferences what a person "should" or "shouldn't do" (A&K)
 - •Combine with technology & constraints, strategic interaction
 - \Box choices & equilibria give patterns of behavior

General Overview: Basic Economic Model

- Utility Function: individual w/exogenous, idiosyncratic preferences
 Makes choice given technology and constraints.
- Child likes or not school (or is more or less talented at schoolwork)
 - •Weighs costs and benefits of schooling, given school quality and opportunity cost of attending school, job networks, discrimination.
 - •Pattern: Blacks have lower levels of academic achievement because they attend worse schools, have worse job networks.
 - •Pattern: Girls have lower levels of academic achievement because they have high opportunity cost of time (household).
- Useful, because there could be such technology, constraints.
- Begs the question why blacks attend worse schools, why women "should" attend to household chores, why there is discrimination.
- Pushes the inequality question up one level, to what is behind the assumptions in our models.

General Overview: Strategic Interaction

- Strategic Interaction:
 - Individual payoffs depend on own preferences and others' actions.
 Makes choices strategically, taking into account how others'react.
 Equilibria □ social pattern
- Repeated game, punish those who violate the equilibrium action
 - Equilibrium can be a "bad social norm"
- Signaling game, actions indicate underlying unobserved attribute
 Equilibrium is a social norm but notice signaling costs
- Add labels and then have a theory of an outcome
 - •Girls invest less in school to not have bad marriage prospects.
 - •Black children achieve less in school to signal more "sociable" type (Austen-Smith & Fryer 2009)
 - •Blacks are not hired by firms to avoid boycott by consumers.

General Overview: Strategic Interaction

- Inequality is the capricious outcome of strategic interaction –
- Has no social context per
- There is nothing particularly meaningful about being black, female, North African, etc.
 - •This view is useful. Social norms may indeed be "bad equilibria." Intervention needed to change the equilibrium.
 - •United States civil rights law.
- But consider three basic points:
 - •Theoretical requirements to sustain equilibria are very strong
 - •There is much social context associated with norms discussions in literature, press, law, activists, etc.
 - •People die over these issues

General Overview – Preferences and "Identity"

- Preferences and norms are a possible source of inequalities.
- Becker: a taste-based theory of discrimination
 - •In the same way some people like apples and others like oranges, some people may not want to work with Black co-workers or women.
 - •Workers with these tastes would require a wage premium.
 - •Blacks/women then have lower benefits of education
 - •But competition could eliminate such high-cost firms.
- Point: maybe preferences per se matter.
- Akerlof & Kranton: preferences both "likes;" and "shoulds"
 - •Preferences are not all idiosyncratic, rather socially derived
 - •Depend on peoples' social identities
 - •Identity-based preferences are contested

Akerlof & Kranton – Identity & Preferences (Norms)

- Build a model where individuals think of themselves and other (more or less consciously) in terms of social categories.
- People have tastes, but also norms for how people *should* behave.
- People have utility from own actions, and others' actions
 - people internalize norms
 - punish others who violate "social code"
- Use this utility function to study schooling and minority poverty.

Identity – General Framework

- Start with a standard model of utility.
- The utility of person *j* is represented as

$$W_{j} = W_{j} (a_{j}, a_{j})$$

where a_j are j's actions, a_{-j} are others' actions.

- The inclusion of a_{j} captures the possibility of externalities or strategic interaction.
- For example:
 - a_j is the effort of j in school, and a_{-j} is the effort of others in school, which may hurt or help j's academic achievement

Identity - General Framework: Utility & Identity

- Add identity ingredients
- Set of Social Categories: C.
- Individual *j*'s assignment of self and others to categories: c_{i} .
- Norms, *N*, give appropriate behavior, ideal attributes of each social category.
- Utility Function

$$U_{j} = U_{j} (a_{j}, a_{-j}, I_{j})$$

 a_j are j's actions, a_{j} are others' actions, I_j is j's self-image:

$$I_{j} = I_{j} (a_{j}, a_{j}; c_{j}, \varepsilon_{j}, N)$$

where ε_j are *j*'s given attributes.

Identity - General Framework: Utility & Identity

$$U_{j} = U_{j}(a_{j}, a_{j}, I_{j}) \qquad I_{j} = I_{j}(a_{j}, a_{j}; c_{j}, \varepsilon_{j})$$

- Overall utility depends on how actions a_j , a_{-j} affect "economic utility," and how they affect self-image, I_j .
- Self-image (identity, I_i) depends on
 - •<u>Acting as should</u>: match between actions and category norms N
 - •<u>Fitting in</u>: match between ε_i and ideal of category specified by N
 - •<u>Status</u>: status of assigned category, given by $I_i()$
- In basic case, person *j* chooses a_j to max utility, taking as given category assignment (c_i) own attributes (ε_i) norms (N).
- In general, a person could act to change own category, own attributes, and societal norms. Third parties have incentives.

- Basic model of education = investment in human capital
- Large population of individuals
 - Each individual $n_i =$ "ability"
 - Marketable Skills/Payoffs from effort choice e_i and ability: $v_i = n_i e_i - k(e_i)$
- Optimal effort (schooling level) balances benefits and effort costs
- Not a good model of children or adolescents
- Identity model makes the child/adolescent the decision-maker
 - Considers *their* motives and interactions US high school

- Large population of individuals
 - Each individual exogenously given $n_i =$ "ability"
 - Marketable Skills/Payoffs from ability and effort choice e_i :

 $v_i = n_i e_i - k(e_i)$

- Each individual has a second exogenously given characteristic *l_i* = "looks"; i.i.d. uniform on [0,1]
- Social Categories: C = {Leading Crowd, Nerds, Burnouts}
 Norms/Ideals: l=1 for Leading Crowd, n=1 for Nerds
 Norms/Ideals: e(N) > e(L) > e(B)
- Identity utilities depend on category, effort, and fit with Ideal • $I_c - t (1 - \varepsilon_i(c)) - \frac{1}{2} (e_i - e(c))^2$ • $I_L > I_N > I_B$

Individual's overall utility:

$$U_i(e_i, C; \varepsilon_i, Norms) =$$

$$n_i e_i - k(e_i) + I_C + t (1 - \varepsilon_i(C)) - \frac{1}{2} (e_i - e(C))^2$$

•Individuals choose effort, e_i , and category, C, to max utility

•Tradeoff: skills, status, fitting in, and abiding by norms

• E.g., high n_i : choose C = Nerd and $e_i = e(N)$ high skills, fit in, abide by effort norms for category, but low status

- Individuals choose (simultaneously) effort and category.
- Balance payoffs from effort in school, "fitting in" to category
- High *l*, also high *n*, individuals choose to be L rather than N
- Low *l* and low *n* students choose to be B, rather than L or N.
 - (don't want to be a "wannabe")
- Choose effort in school according to norms e(C)
- Identity payoffs lead lower academic achievement/schooling

- School policy to affect achievement through social arrangements
- Introduce athletics, and social category *Jocks (as part of L)*
- Students have another characteristic $a_i = athletic \ ability$
- Students make choice of category and effort:
 - High *a* but low *l* and low *n* students now choose to be L
 - High *a* but high *n* now choose to be L rather than N
 - •Overall increase or decrease academic achievement
 - •But less divergence in academic achievement fewer B's and fewer N's

- Consider a population with different ethnic, social groups.
- Curriculum thought to favor one of the groups (dominant/majority)
- Marketable skills depend on effort at mastering this curriculum but curriculum has identity associations, payoffs
 - •Math vs. English class. data
- School policy to affect achievement by changing curriculum to affect identity payoffs of effort.

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Standard setting:

- Population of agents N
- Set of actions A available for each agent i
- Social outcomes T that follow from individual actions A
 - e.g., voting \rightarrow tax rate
- Each agent *i* earns economic payoff $\pi_i(t)$ for outcome *t*
- Agents take actions that lead to outcome that maximizes $\pi_i(t)$
 - Poor should vote for more redistribution

Add identity considerations – groups and utility

- •Set of groups, each group J characterized by ideal attribute q_J
- •Status of group J based on relative income vis a vis J'
- •Ideal attribute and status depend on social outcome t
- •Each agent *i* has individual attribute q_i
- An agent *i* identifies with group *J* if *i*:
 •prefers social outcomes in which group *J*'s status higher
 •prefers social outcomes in which *i*'s distance from group *J* ideal is lower

- Identity model of politics and redistribution
 - explain empirical pattern: more nationalistic, less redistribution

Standard setting:

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- *Social Identity Equilibrium* = actions and identities for each agent and outcome *t* such that
 - each agent's identity choice optimal given *t*
 - each agent's action is optimal given identity J
 - *t* is determined by agent's actions via aggregation process
- *Multiple Social Identity Equilibria* =
 - •poor identify with lower class, vote for redistribution (which enhances status of lower class)
 - •poor identify with the nation, do not vote for redistribution, status derives from national group

Identity and Inequality Part 2 Economic Experiments

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Experiments with Social Groups, Identity

- Do people behave differently (towards others) depending on identity/social group?
- Experiments where social category/identity is research objective
 - *Own Actions* do people have different behavior when identity is "salient"
 - *Strategic Play* do people play differently depending on identity/social group?
 - Social Preferences (fairness, inequity aversion)
 Do people have preferences for inequality? YES
- Challenge is to design experiments with social group variation.
 - Real-world groups different ethnicity, club membership
 - Preserve anonymity to avoid repeated game effect
 - Create groups in the lab.

Experiments: Own Behavior

- "Stereotype Threat"
 - Steele & Aronson (1995)
- Incentives and Stereotype Threat?
 - "Discrimination, Social Identity and Durable Inequality Hoff & Pandey (2006)
 - Children in India, paid to solve mazes piece rate
 - Three conditions –

anonymous, caste revealed integrated, caste revealed segregated

• Lower caste subjects completed fewer mazes in both caste revealed conditions relative to control

"Discrimination in a Segmented Society" Fershtman & Gneezy (2001)

•Objective: test for "taste for discrimination" vs. "stereotypes"

- •Do people discriminate per se or are they concerned about actions others will stereotypically take?
- •Israeli Jewish students European vs. Eastern origin (last name)
- •Trust game sent less to Eastern (though return about the same)
- •Dictator game sent about the same to both types
- •Ultimatum game sent more to Eastern ("concern for respect"?)
- •Trust result only for males.

Experiments: Social Preferences

• Social Preferences = value placed on other's income

Many experiments where subjects allocate income to self and to others. E.g., *i* chooses top or bottom row

$$egin{array}{c|c} \pi_i & \pi_j \ \pi_i' & \pi_j' \ \end{array}$$

Show inequity aversion, social welfare max. People not only self-interested.

Fehr & Schmidt (1999), Bolton & Ockenfels (2000), Andreoni & Miller (2002), Charness & Rabin (2002)

Reality Check on Social Preference Experiments

- •Group conflict feature of human history
 - Groups defined on religion, "race," nationality, culture
 - NOT inequity averse: Forcibly extract labor, resources from others





• Country and regional borders, civil wars, alternative identities



Experiments: Group Conflict, Identity, Social Prefer

- Social Psychology Experiments (1950's 1970's)
 - Robbers Cave (Sharif & Sharif)
 - Minimal Group Experiments (Tajfel & Turner)

- Social Preferences and Groups Chen & Li (2009)
 - Minimal Groups
 - •Allocate income to self and others
 - in-group vs. out-group
 - Results: less inequality averse to those in other group

Social Preferences Estimation

•
$$U_i(\pi_i, \pi_j) = \beta_i \pi_i + \rho_i (\pi_i - \pi_j) r + \sigma_i (\pi_j - \pi_j) s$$

- β_i weight on own income
- ρ_i weight on income difference for $\pi_i > \pi_j$ (r = 1; s = 0)

• σ_i weight on income difference for $\pi_i \le \pi_i$ (r = 0; s = 1)

<i>i</i>	i				
$eta_i > 0$	$\sigma_i = 0$	$\sigma_i > 0$	$\sigma_i < 0$		
$\rho_i = 0$	Selfish	Total Income Max* if $\beta_i - \sigma_i > 0$	Inequity Averse/ Dominance Seeking		
$ ho_i < 0$	Inequity Averse/ Total Income Max* if $\beta_i + \rho_i > 0$	Total Income Max* if $\beta_i + \rho_i - \sigma_i > 0$	Inequity Averse		
$\rho_i > 0$	Dominance-Seeking	Inequity Loving **	Dominance-Seeking		

But what about ubiquitous group conflict??

- •Group conflict feature of human history
 - Groups defined on religion, "race," nationality, culture
 - NOT inequity averse: Forcibly extract labor, resources from others





• Country and regional borders, civil wars, alternative identities



"Deconstructing bias in social preferences reveals groupy and not-groupy behavior"

Rachel Kranton, Matthew Pease, Seth Sanders, Scott Huettel

PNAS (2021)

"Deconstructing Bias" – Introduction

- Maybe stronger identification with group ?
- •Do people who identify more with a group engage in discriminatory behavior?
- •Findings: No but
 - Groupy vs. Non-Groupy Individuals
 - Some people have no ingroup bias same towards everyone
 - Some people have strong ingroup bias destructive (consistent with average of "inequity averse")
 - tendency for ingroup bias could be individual tendency
 -Individual correlates of groupy/not groupy ?
 - Settings/information change behavior towards others?

"Deconstructing Bias" – Introduction



- *Two conditions*: minimal group, political group w/i subject
- Individuals: more or less identify with assigned group
- Replicate ingroup bias on average, but large heterogeneity Groupy vs. Not Groupy individuals

"Deconstructing Bias" – Overview of Experiment

- Duke University subject pool no deception lab
- Schematic of experimental session:

Instructions	3-5 minutes			
Asocial Control				
52 Choices	12 minutes			
Minimal or Political Group Survey ^{Treatment} 2-5 minutes				
78 Choices	17 minutes			
Minimal or Political Group Treatment Survey 2-5 minutes				
78 Choices	17 minutes			
Post-experiment Survey	10 minutes			

• Paid for one choice in each – control, MG, POL group

"Deconstructing Bias" – Overview of Political Treatment



Democrat Republican Independent None of the Above

closer to Dem closer to Rep





"Deconstructing Bias" – Details of Experimental Task

• Allocation choices, timed as follows:





Choose Bottom = Dominance-Seeking/Inequity Loving

"Deconstructing Bias" – Basic Results - Favoritism

• Consider individual "favoritism" in allocating income For an individual *i* in condition g, for a given matrix *m*:





Income given to own – Income given to other E.g., (100 - 20)Average across *m* gives "favoritism" for individual *i* in *g*

 $\cdot i$'s favoritism in g = MG, and i's favoritism in g = POL

"Deconstructing Bias" – Basic Results - Favoritism



"Deconstructing Bias" – Basic Results - Favoritism



"Deconstructing Bias" – Social Preferences (replication)

•
$$U_i(\pi_i, \pi_j) = \beta_i \pi_i + \rho_i(\pi_i - \pi_j)r + \sigma_i(\pi_j - \pi_j)s$$

- β_i weight on own income
- ρ_i weight on income difference for $\pi_i > \pi_j$ (r = 1; s = 0)

• σ_i weight on income difference for $\pi_i \le \pi_i$ (r = 0; s = 1)

$\beta_i > 0$	$\sigma_i = 0$	$\sigma_i > 0$	$\sigma_i < 0$
$\rho_i = 0$	Selfish	Total Income Max* if $\beta_i - \sigma_i > 0$	Inequity Averse/ Dominance Seeking
$\rho_i < 0$	Inequity Averse/ Total Income Max* if $\beta_i + \rho_i > 0$	Total Income Max* if $\beta_i + \rho_i - \sigma_i > 0$	Ineq uity Averse
$\rho_i > 0$	Dominance-Seeking	Inequity Loving **	Dominance-Seeking

"Deconstructing Bias" – Individual Social Preferences

- Individual Estimates Mixing Model
 - estimate $(\beta_t, \rho_t, \sigma_t)$ for given number of "types" t = 1, ..., n.
 - estimate for t = 4
 - (just enough, 5 does not give much more precision)
 - •*data* gives parameters of "types" & % of pop of each type
 - •Given "types," categorize each individual as a type •each individual has a type in each treatment and for each pairing
- Identify groupy vs. non-groupy individuals –
- not groupy = same utility type own v.s other
- groupy = different utility type own vs. other

"Deconstructing Bias" – Groupy/Non-groupy Individuals



- Diagonal = non-groupy same preferences toward in and outgroup
- Off diagonal = groupy distinguish between in and outgroup
- Dominance seeking vis a vis Other

"Deconstructing Bias" – Groupy/Non-groupy Individuals



"Deconstructing Bias" – Groupy/Non-groupy Correlates

	Groupy (N=85)	Not Groupy (N=48)	P-Val
Female	65%	65%	0.98
African American	19%	19%	0.99
Born in United States	85%	78%	0.32
Mostly Distrust Strangers	68%	69%	0.95
No Religious Attendance	23%	29%	0.42
Political Party			
Republican	14%	13%	0.44
Democrat	54%	40%	0.11
Political Independent *	32%	48%	0.06
Lived with Both Parents	74%	83%	0.22
Mother Advanced Degree	35%	46%	0.24
Father Advanced Degree **	48%	69%	0.02

- Groupiness correlated "real-world" behavior/demog
 - Political affiliation
 - In the main study and in follow up M-Turk study
 - Regional differences (Mturk)
 - Republicans in Deep South
 - Decline in jobs from manufacturing (selection?)

"Social contagion of ethnic hostility" (PNAS, Bauer et. al. 2018)

- PNAS, Bauer et. al. 2018
- Study of destructive behavior "Joy of Destruction" game
 - Two counterparts each receive €2.
 - Simultaneously choose to pay $\notin 0.20$ to reduce other's income by $\notin 1$.
- Comparison of behavior towards majority or minority co-ethnic counterpart
 - Slovak vs. Roma counterpart
 - Slovak high school student participants
 - Counterpart was Same (Slovak) or Other (Roma) (distant school, last name indicator)
- Comparison of behavior when others' choices observed or not
 - Three participants, decisions made sequentially vis à vis counterparts
 - One of three decisions was implemented

"Social contagion of ethnic hostility" (PNAS, Bauer et. al. 2018)

- Results large influence of peers' behavior
 - •First movers Destructive or Peaceful uncorrelated with observable charact.
 - •First and second movers greatly influenced later choices
 - •Influence more than double when counterpart was Roma



Empirical work on identity

- What "identity effects" can we observe in data?
- With emphasis on inequality.....
 - •Two studies gender, ethnic/religious conflict
 - •Research innovatively exploiting data sets.

Empirical work on the identity

"Gender Identity and Relative Income within Households" Bertrand, Kamenica & Pan (2013)

- •Gender norms in US = women *shouldn't* earn more than men
- •US administrative data, US Census data
- •Distribution of share of household income earned by wife exhibits a discontinuity at ½.
- •When a randomly chosen woman becomes more likely to earn more than a randomly chosen man, marriage rates decline.

Empirical work on the identity

"Persistent Antimarket Culture: A Legacy of the Pale of Settlement after the Holocaust" Grosfeld, Rodnyansky & Zhuravskaya (2013)

- •Voting patterns, attitudes towards markets relate to pre-WWII Jewish population in area in Russia.
- •People who lived in separated communities developed animosities toward each other, and opposite values.
- •Region = either side of Pale of Settlement
- •Jews deported/killed during WWII no Jews left
- •Difference in attitudes on different sides of the border

Summary & Directions for Future Research

- Social groupings are important features of patterns of inequality.
- Theories give different implications for policy.
 - •In a model of individual choice, people from different groups face different constraints, technology. Necessarily have worse outcomes.
 - Policies- remove constraints, improve technology.
 - •In a model of strategic interaction, there can be equilibria where people from different groups have worse outcomes.
 - Policies law, collective action to change equilibrium.
 - •In a model where preferences and identity norms are key, people from different groups may have different outcomes due to norms, preferences, social exclusion, social/strategic interactions.
 - Policies change social arrangements, social meanings of action, categories and norms . .

Summary & Directions for Future Research

- Social groupings are important features of patterns of inequality.
- *Theory:* Develop deeper theory as to how norms, categories emerge and evolve.
- *Experiments:* field studies/geographic variation how do different norms/identity play out in different places ?
- *Empirics:* use of "natural experiments" to find "exogenous" variation also possible interplay between experiments and survey data?