

The **gap-closing** estimand

Slides at
ianlundberg.org

A causal approach
to study **interventions**
that **close disparities**
across social categories

Software at
ilundberg.github.io/gapclosing

Ian Lundberg

UCLA Sociology and
California Center for Population Research
ianlundberg@ucla.edu

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Social Science in the Age of AI Symposium

Paper in *[Sociological Methods and Research](#)*. Replication code on [Dataverse](#). R package [gapclosing](#) on [CRAN](#). Research reported in this publication was supported by The Eunice Kennedy Shriver National Institute of Child Health & Human Development of the National Institutes of Health under Award Number P2CHD047879 and by the National Science Foundation under Award Number 2104607.

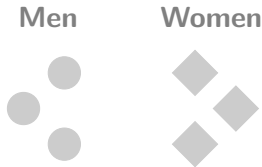


The Gap-Closing Estimand:
A Causal Approach to Study Interventions
That Close Disparities Across Social Categories

Working Class **Professional Class**



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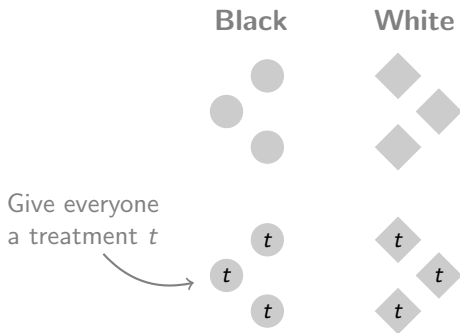
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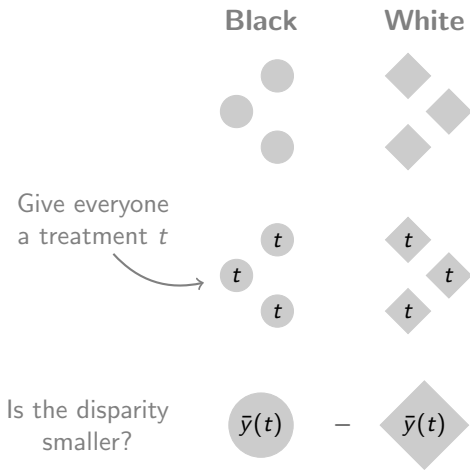
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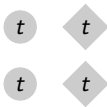
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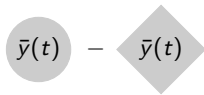
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Categories



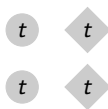
Treatment



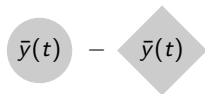
Counterfactual Disparity



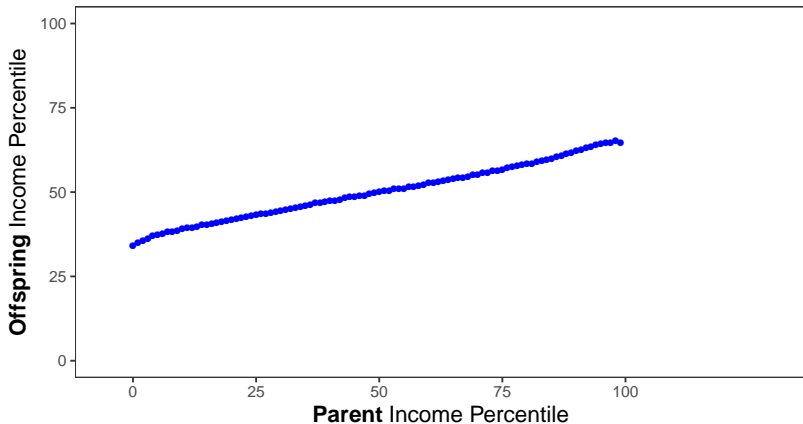
Categories



Treatment



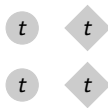
Counterfactual Disparity



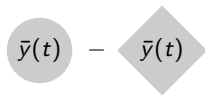
Chetty et al. 2017



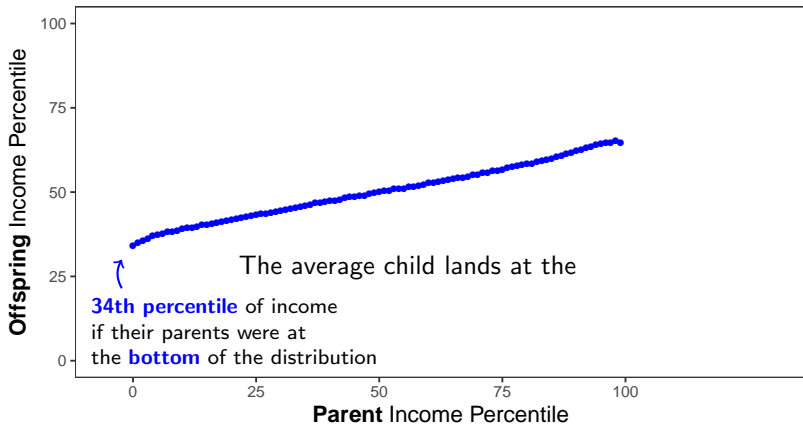
Categories



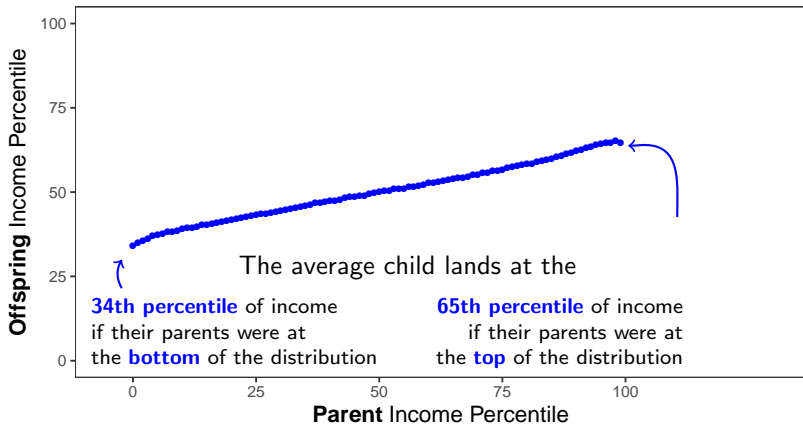
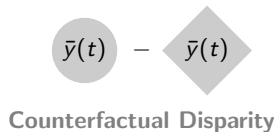
Treatment



Counterfactual Disparity



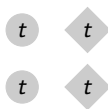
Chetty et al. 2017



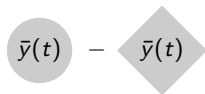
Chetty et al. 2017



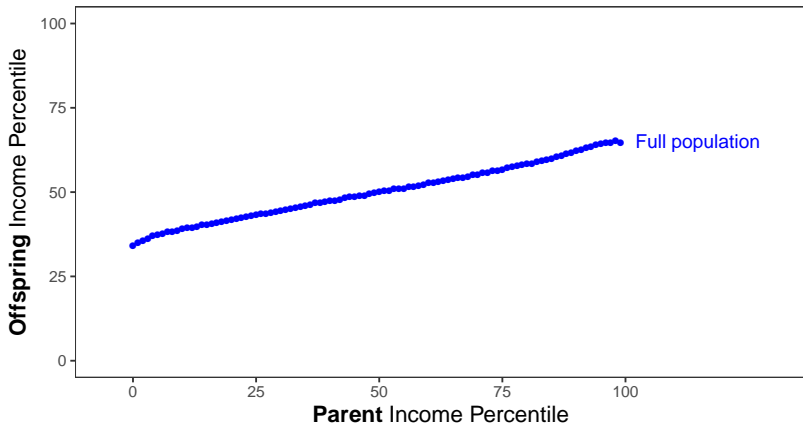
Categories



Treatment



Counterfactual Disparity




Chetty et al. 2017

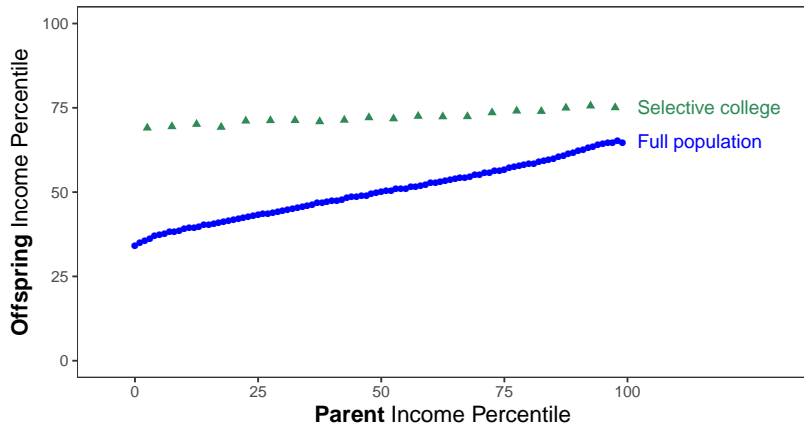


 Categories



 Treatment

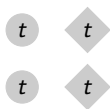

 Counterfactual Disparity



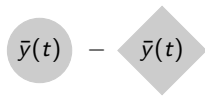
Chetty et al. 2017



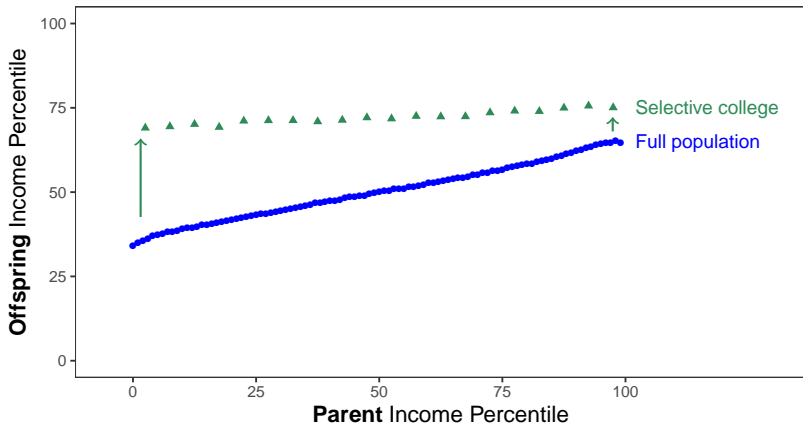
Categories



Treatment



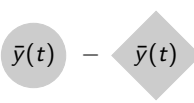
Counterfactual Disparity

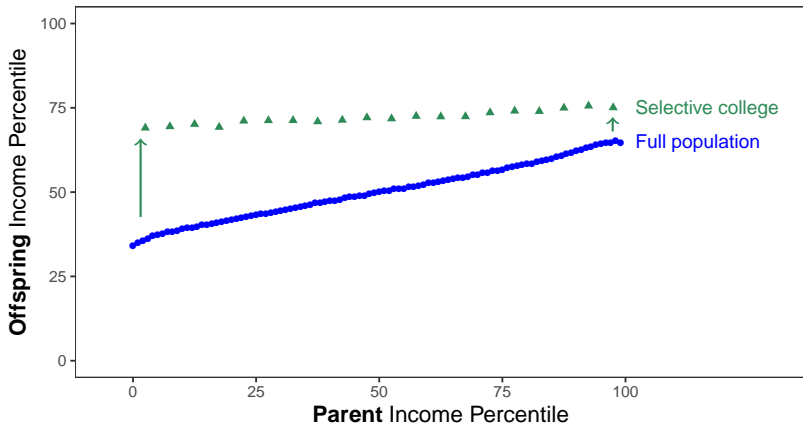


Chetty et al. 2017


Categories
 Parent Income


Treatment
 Selective College


Counterfactual Disparity
 Offspring Income



Chetty et al. 2017

The Gap-Closing Estimand

A causal approach to study interventions that close disparities across social categories

- ▶ Past work: Causal decomposition analysis
- ▶ Define the estimand
 - ▶ what is the treatment?
 - ▶ what is the scope of the intervention?
- ▶ Identify the estimand
 - ▶ choose a sufficient adjustment set
- ▶ Estimate
 - ▶ by outcome modeling
 - ▶ by weighting
 - ▶ by doubly robust estimation
- ▶ Produce software
- ▶ Impact: Others using these ideas

The Gap-Closing Estimand

A causal approach to study interventions that close disparities across social categories

- ▶ Past work: Causal decomposition analysis
- ▶ Define the estimand
 - ▶ what is the treatment?
 - ▶ what is the scope of the intervention? (contribution)
- ▶ Identify the estimand
 - ▶ choose a sufficient adjustment set
- ▶ Estimate
 - ▶ by outcome modeling
 - ▶ by weighting
 - ▶ by doubly robust estimation (contribution)
- ▶ Produce software (contribution)
- ▶ Impact: Others using these ideas

Past work: Causal decomposition analysis

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$$\begin{array}{c} \text{Unadjusted} \\ Y = \beta(\text{Black}) + \epsilon \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{c} \text{Adjusted} \\ Y = \gamma(\text{Black}) + \vec{X}'\vec{\eta} + \delta \end{array}$$

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Effect of race

Past work: Causal decomposition analysis

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✗ Effect of race

Vanderweele &
Robinson 2014

Past work: Causal decomposition analysis

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- ✗ Effect of race
- ✓ Disparity after intervention on \vec{X}

Vanderweele &
Robinson 2014

Past work: Causal decomposition analysis

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Adjusted

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Vanderweele &
Robinson 2014

Choice of intervention targets

Jackson &
Vanderweele 2018

Past work: Causal decomposition analysis

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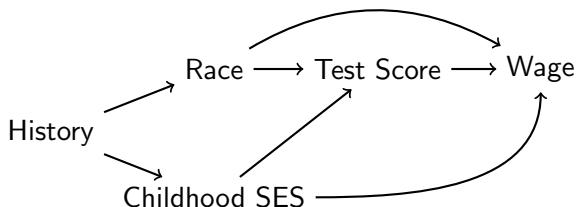
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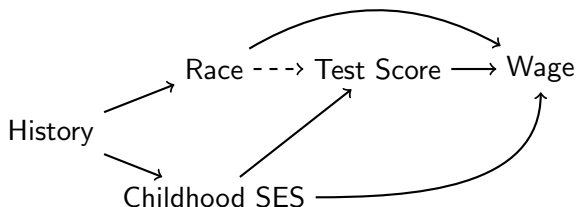
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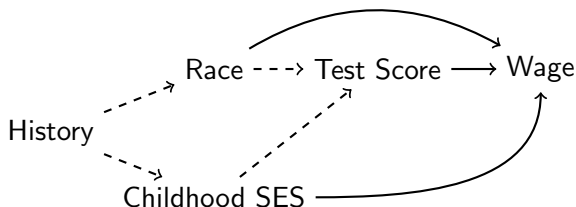
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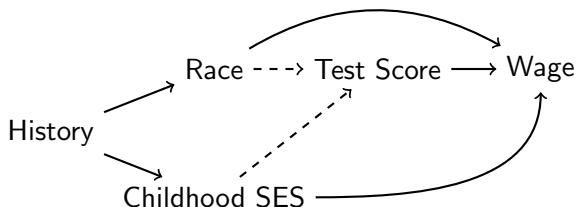
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Vanderweele &
Robinson 2014

Choice of intervention targets

Jackson &
Vanderweele 2018

Equity: What should we equalize?

Jackson 2021

Past work: Causal decomposition analysis

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Vanderweele &
Robinson 2014

Choice of intervention targets

Jackson &
Vanderweele 2018

Equity: What should we equalize?

Jackson 2021

Systems may adapt to maintain inequity

Jackson & Arah 2020

The Gap-Closing Estimand

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- ▶ Past work: Causal decomposition analysis
- ▶ **Define the estimand**
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Define an intervention

Using the Chetty et al. 2017 example,

What gap in respondent incomes would remain
across categories of parent income
if we intervened to send people to selective colleges?

Interpret with respect to a **target trial** (Hernán & Robins 2016)

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1. Sample \mathcal{S} from the population

Interpret with respect to a **target trial** (Hernán & Robins 2016)

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2. Assign treatment $T = 1$ to \mathcal{S}

Interpret with respect to a **target trial** (Hernán & Robins 2016)

1. Sample \mathcal{S} from the population
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3. Observe the disparity
across categories X

Interpret with respect to a **target trial** (Hernán & Robins 2016)

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Goal: Expected result over
hypothetical samples \mathcal{S}

Interpret with respect to a **target trial** (Hernán & Robins 2016)

Local intervention

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Global intervention

Interpret with respect to a **target trial** (Hernán & Robins 2016)

Local intervention

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3. Observe the disparity
across categories X

Goal: Expected result over
hypothetical samples \mathcal{S}

Global intervention

1. Take the entire population \mathcal{P}

Interpret with respect to a **target trial** (Hernán & Robins 2016)

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Goal: Result of this procedure

Interpret with respect to a **target trial** (Hernán & Robins 2016)

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Difficulty: Causal inference

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Difficulty: Causal inference
Equilibrium dynamics

Interpret with respect to a **target trial** (Hernán & Robins 2016)



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Goal: Result of this procedure

Difficulty: Causal inference
Equilibrium dynamics

Interpret with respect to a **target trial** (Hernán & Robins 2016)

Policy-relevant.



Local intervention

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Goal: Expected result over hypothetical samples \mathcal{S}

Difficulty: Causal inference

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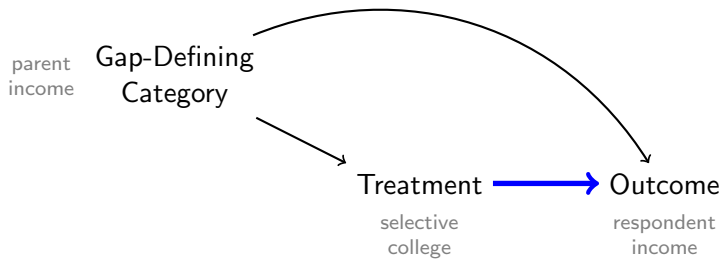
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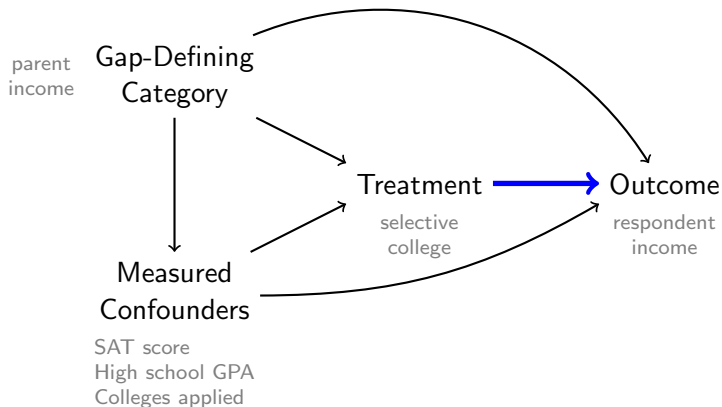
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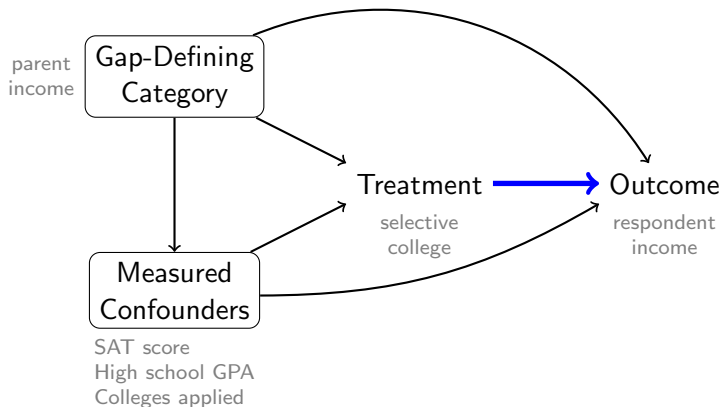
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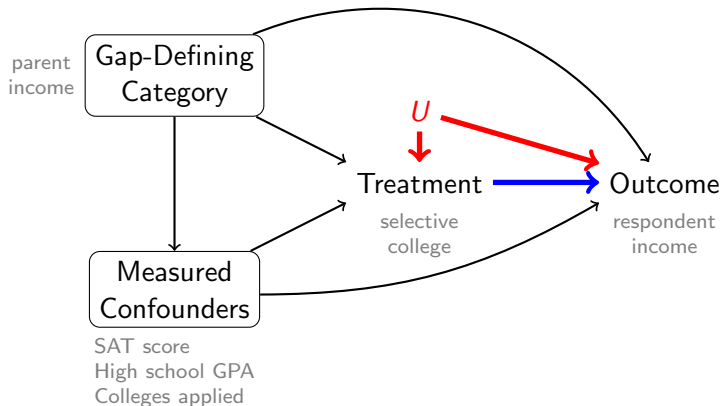
Pearl 2009



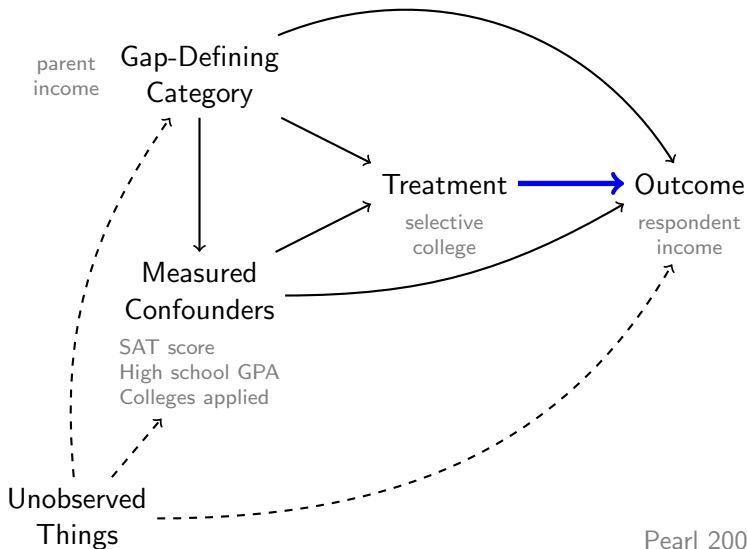
Pearl 2009



Pearl 2009



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		Outcome under treatment	Outcome under control
People in category 1	Person 1	?	Y_1
	Person 2	Y_2	?
	Person 3	Y_3	?
People in category 2	Person 4	?	Y_4
	Person 5	Y_5	?
	Person 6	?	Y_6

		Outcome under treatment	Outcome under control
People in category 1	Person 1	?	Y_1
	Person 2	Y_2	?
	Person 3	Y_3	?
People in category 2	Person 4	?	Y_4
	Person 5	Y_5	?
	Person 6	?	Y_6

Learn a prediction function

		Outcome under treatment	Outcome under control
People in category 1	Person 1	?	Y_1
	Person 2	Y_2	?
	Person 3	Y_3	?
People in category 2	Person 4	?	Y_4
	Person 5	Y_5	?
	Person 6	?	Y_6

Learn a prediction function

		Outcome under treatment	Outcome under control
People in category 1	Person 1	?	Y_1
	Person 2	Y_2	?
	Person 3	Y_3	?
People in category 2	Person 4	?	Y_4
	Person 5	Y_5	?
	Person 6	?	Y_6

Predict the whole table

		Outcome under treatment	Outcome under control
People in category 1	Person 1	$\hat{Y}_1(1)$	$\hat{Y}_1(0)$
	Person 2	$\hat{Y}_2(1)$	$\hat{Y}_2(0)$
	Person 3	$\hat{Y}_3(1)$	$\hat{Y}_3(0)$
People in category 2	Person 4	$\hat{Y}_4(1)$	$\hat{Y}_4(0)$
	Person 5	$\hat{Y}_5(1)$	$\hat{Y}_5(0)$
	Person 6	$\hat{Y}_6(1)$	$\hat{Y}_6(0)$

Robins 1986
Hahn 1998

Learn a prediction function

		Outcome under treatment	Outcome under control
People in category 1	Person 1	?	Y_1
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	Person 3	Y_3	?
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	Person 5	Y_5	?
	Person 6	?	Y_6

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	Person 3	$\hat{Y}_3(1)$	$\hat{Y}_3(0)$
People in category 2	Person 4	$\hat{Y}_4(1)$	$\hat{Y}_4(0)$
	Person 5	$\hat{Y}_5(1)$	$\hat{Y}_5(0)$
	Person 6	$\hat{Y}_6(1)$	$\hat{Y}_6(0)$

Robins 1986
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Learn a prediction function

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People in category 1	Person 1	?	Y_1
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	Person 5	Y_5	?
	Person 6	?	Y_6

Predict the whole table

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	Person 6	$\hat{Y}_6(1)$	$\hat{Y}_6(0)$

Problem: Optimization for the wrong task

Learn a prediction function

		Outcome under treatment	Outcome under control
People in category 1	Person 1	?	Y_1
	Person 2	Y_2	?
	Person 3	Y_3	?
People in category 2	Person 4	?	Y_4
	Person 5	Y_5	?
	Person 6	?	Y_6

Predict the whole table

		Outcome under treatment	Outcome under control
People in category 1	Person 1	$\hat{Y}_1(1)$	$\hat{Y}_1(0)$
	Person 2	$\hat{Y}_2(1)$	$\hat{Y}_2(0)$
	Person 3	$\hat{Y}_3(1)$	$\hat{Y}_3(0)$
People in category 2	Person 4	$\hat{Y}_4(1)$	$\hat{Y}_4(0)$
	Person 5	$\hat{Y}_5(1)$	$\hat{Y}_5(0)$
	Person 6	$\hat{Y}_6(1)$	$\hat{Y}_6(0)$

Problem: Optimization for the wrong task

Prediction error over
observed
cases

Learn a prediction function

		Outcome under treatment	Outcome under control
People in category 1	Person 1	?	Y_1
	Person 2	Y_2	?
	Person 3	Y_3	?
People in category 2	Person 4	?	Y_4
	Person 5	Y_5	?
	Person 6	?	Y_6

Predict the whole table

		Outcome under treatment	Outcome under control
People in category 1	Person 1	$\hat{Y}_1(1)$	$\hat{Y}_1(0)$
	Person 2	$\hat{Y}_2(1)$	$\hat{Y}_2(0)$
	Person 3	$\hat{Y}_3(1)$	$\hat{Y}_3(0)$
People in category 2	Person 4	$\hat{Y}_4(1)$	$\hat{Y}_4(0)$
	Person 5	$\hat{Y}_5(1)$	$\hat{Y}_5(0)$
	Person 6	$\hat{Y}_6(1)$	$\hat{Y}_6(0)$

Problem: Optimization for the wrong task

Prediction error over
observed
cases

vs

Prediction error over
all
cases

Solution: Reweight errors to approximate the correct task

Solution: Reweight errors to approximate the correct task

		Prediction under treatment
People in category 1	Person 1	$\hat{Y}_1(1)$
	Person 2	$\hat{Y}_2(1)$
	Person 3	$\hat{Y}_3(1)$
People in category 2	Person 4	$\hat{Y}_4(1)$
	Person 5	$\hat{Y}_5(1)$
	Person 6	$\hat{Y}_6(1)$

Solution: Reweight errors to approximate the correct task

		Prediction under treatment	Outcome under treatment
People in category 1	Person 1	$\hat{Y}_1(1)$?
	Person 2	$\hat{Y}_2(1)$	Y_2
	Person 3	$\hat{Y}_3(1)$	Y_3
People in category 2	Person 4	$\hat{Y}_4(1)$?
	Person 5	$\hat{Y}_5(1)$	Y_5
	Person 6	$\hat{Y}_6(1)$?

Solution: Reweight errors to approximate the correct task

		Prediction under treatment	Outcome under treatment	Error
People in category 1	Person 1	$\hat{Y}_1(1)$?	?
	Person 2	$\hat{Y}_2(1)$	Y_2	$\hat{Y}_2(1) - Y_2$
	Person 3	$\hat{Y}_3(1)$	Y_3	$\hat{Y}_3(1) - Y_3$
People in category 2	Person 4	$\hat{Y}_4(1)$?	?
	Person 5	$\hat{Y}_5(1)$	Y_5	$\hat{Y}_5(1) - Y_5$
	Person 6	$\hat{Y}_6(1)$?	?

Solution: Reweight errors to approximate the correct task

		Prediction under treatment	Outcome under treatment	Error	Weight on error
People in category 1	Person 1	$\hat{Y}_1(1)$?	?	
	Person 2	$\hat{Y}_2(1)$	Y_2	$\hat{Y}_2(1) - Y_2$	3 / 2
	Person 3	$\hat{Y}_3(1)$	Y_3	$\hat{Y}_3(1) - Y_3$	3 / 2
People in category 2	Person 4	$\hat{Y}_4(1)$?	?	
	Person 5	$\hat{Y}_5(1)$	Y_5	$\hat{Y}_5(1) - Y_5$	3
	Person 6	$\hat{Y}_6(1)$?	?	

Solution: Reweight errors to approximate the correct task

Estimated bias: $\text{Mean}(\hat{Y}_i - Y_i)$ with
inverse probability of treatment weights

		Prediction under treatment	Outcome under treatment	Error	Weight on error
People in category 1	Person 1	$\hat{Y}_1(1)$?	?	
	Person 2	$\hat{Y}_2(1)$	Y_2	$\hat{Y}_2(1) - Y_2$	3 / 2
	Person 3	$\hat{Y}_3(1)$	Y_3	$\hat{Y}_3(1) - Y_3$	3 / 2
People in category 2	Person 4	$\hat{Y}_4(1)$?	?	
	Person 5	$\hat{Y}_5(1)$	Y_5	$\hat{Y}_5(1) - Y_5$	3
	Person 6	$\hat{Y}_6(1)$?	?	

Solution: Reweight errors to approximate the correct task

Estimated bias: $\text{Mean}(\hat{Y}_i - Y_i)$ with
inverse probability of treatment weights

New Estimate: $(\text{Original Estimate}) - (\text{Estimated Bias})$

Solution: Reweight errors to approximate the correct task

Estimated bias: $\text{Mean}(\hat{Y}_i - Y_i)$ with
inverse probability of treatment weights

New Estimate: $(\text{Original Estimate}) - (\text{Estimated Bias})$ Doubly
Robust
Estimation

Robins, Rotnitzky, & Zhao 1994
Bang & Robins 2005

Solution: Reweight errors to approximate the correct task

Estimated bias: $\text{Mean}(\hat{Y}_i - Y_i)$ with
inverse probability of treatment weights

New Estimate: (Original Estimate) – (Estimated Bias) Doubly
Robust
Estimation

Estimation Setting		Outcome Modeling	Treatment Modeling	Doubly Robust
Both Models Correct				
Outcome Model Incorrect				
Treatment Model Incorrect				

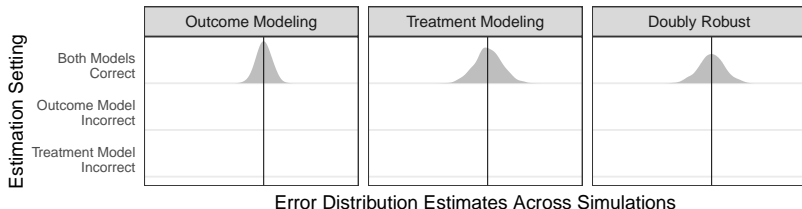
Error Distribution Estimates Across Simulations

Robins, Rotnitzky, & Zhao 1994
Bang & Robins 2005

Solution: Reweight errors to approximate the correct task

Estimated bias: $\text{Mean}(\hat{Y}_i - Y_i)$ with
inverse probability of treatment weights

New Estimate: $(\text{Original Estimate}) - (\text{Estimated Bias})$ Doubly
Robust
Estimation

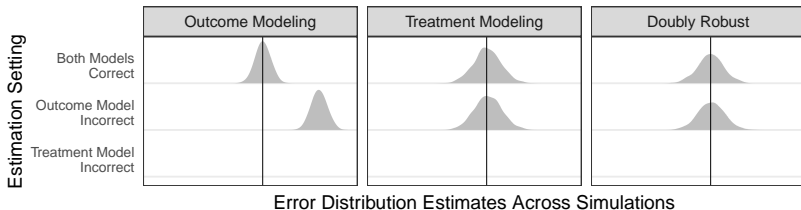


Robins, Rotnitzky, & Zhao 1994
Bang & Robins 2005

Solution: Reweight errors to approximate the correct task

Estimated bias: $\text{Mean}(\hat{Y}_i - Y_i)$ with
inverse probability of treatment weights

New Estimate: (Original Estimate) – (Estimated Bias) Doubly
Robust
Estimation

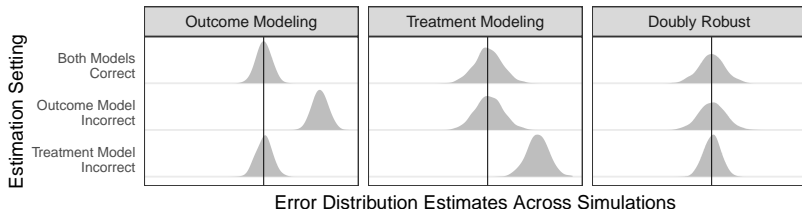


Robins, Rotnitzky, & Zhao 1994
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Solution: Reweight errors to approximate the correct task

Estimated bias: $\text{Mean}(\hat{Y}_i - Y_i)$ with
inverse probability of treatment weights

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Estimated bias: $\text{Mean}(\hat{Y}_i - Y_i)$ with
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New Estimate: $(\text{Original Estimate}) - (\text{Estimated Bias})$ Doubly
Robust
Estimation

Even better:

Chernozhukov et al. 2018
Bickel 1982

Solution: Reweight errors to approximate the correct task

Estimated bias: $\text{Mean}(\hat{Y}_i - Y_i)$ with
inverse probability of treatment weights

New Estimate: $(\text{Original Estimate}) - (\text{Estimated Bias})$ Doubly
Robust
Estimation

Even better: — Learn \hat{Y}_i in sample A
 — Estimate bias in sample B

Chernozhukov et al. 2018
Bickel 1982

Solution: Reweight errors to approximate the correct task

Estimated bias: $\text{Mean}(\hat{Y}_i - Y_i)$ with
inverse probability of treatment weights

New Estimate: $(\text{Original Estimate}) - (\text{Estimated Bias})$ Doubly
Robust
Estimation

Even better:

- Learn \hat{Y}_i in sample A
- Estimate bias in sample B
- Cross fit: Swap roles and average

Chernozhukov et al. 2018
Bickel 1982

Solution: Reweight errors to approximate the correct task

Estimated bias: $\text{Mean}(\hat{Y}_i - Y_i)$ with
inverse probability of treatment weights

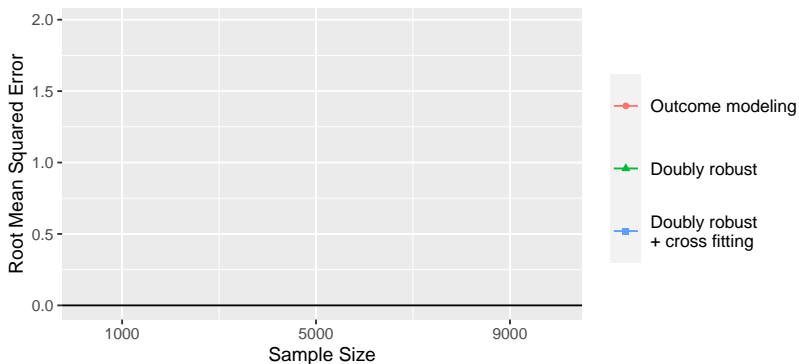
New Estimate: $(\text{Original Estimate}) - (\text{Estimated Bias})$ Doubly
Robust
Estimation

Even better:

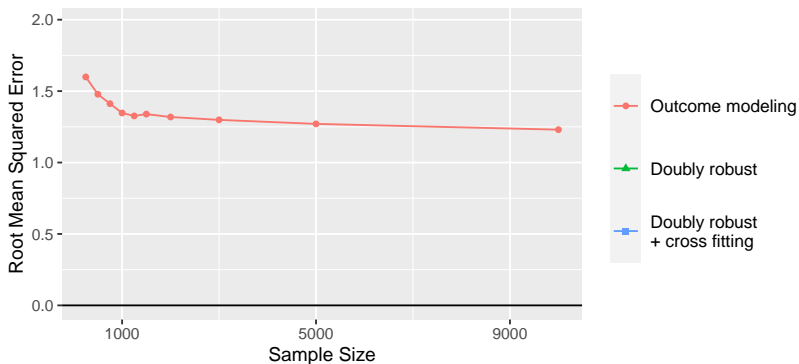
- Learn \hat{Y}_i in sample A
- Estimate bias in sample B
- Cross fit: Swap roles and average

Chernozhukov et al. 2018
Bickel 1982

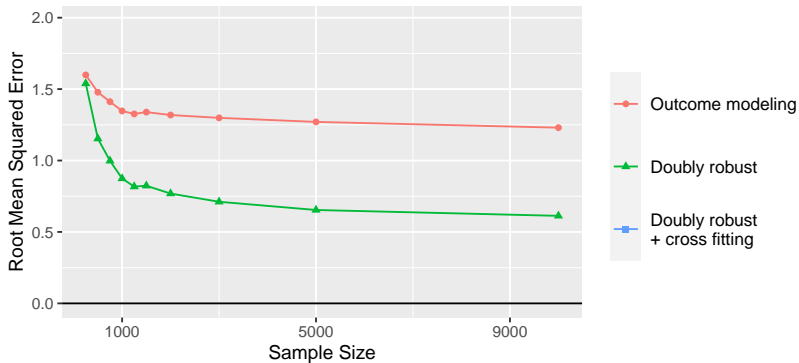
Solution: Reweight errors to approximate the correct task



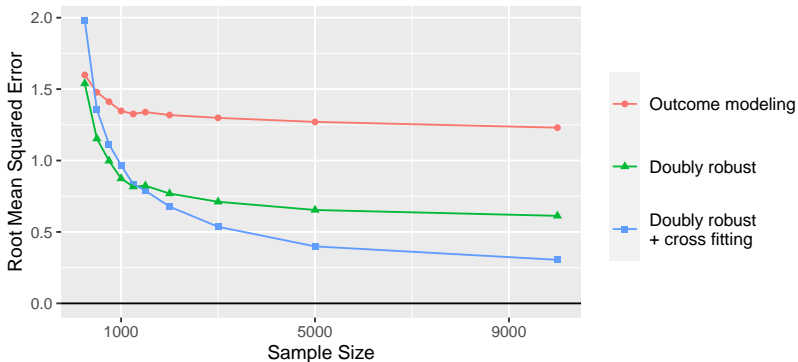
Solution: Reweight errors to approximate the correct task



Solution: Reweight errors to approximate the correct task



Solution: Reweight errors to approximate the correct task



Solution: Reweight errors to approximate the correct task

Estimated bias: $\text{Mean}(\hat{Y}_i - Y_i)$ with
inverse probability of treatment weights

New Estimate: $(\text{Original Estimate}) - (\text{Estimated Bias})$ Doubly
Robust
Estimation

Even better: — Learn \hat{Y}_i in sample A Double
Machine
Learning
— Estimate bias in sample B
— Cross fit: Swap roles and average

Chernozhukov et al. 2018
Bickel 1982

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So complicated!

The Gap-Closing Estimand

A causal approach to study interventions that close disparities across social categories

- ▶ Past work: Causal decomposition analysis
- ▶ Define the estimand
 - ▶ what is the treatment?
 - ▶ what is the scope of the intervention?
- ▶ Identify the estimand
 - ▶ choose a sufficient adjustment set
- ▶ Estimate
 - ▶ by outcome modeling
 - ▶ by weighting
 - ▶ by doubly robust estimation
- ▶ **Produce software**
- ▶ Impact: Others using these ideas

gapclosing

An R package to estimate gap closing estimands. Install this package with the command

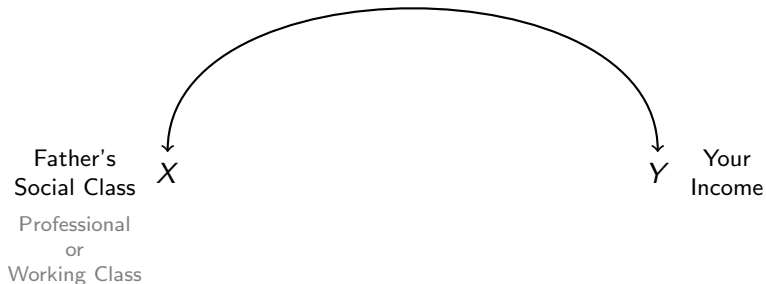
```
devtools::install_github("ilundberg/gapclosing").
```

```
estimate <- gapclosing(  
  data = simulated_data,  
  outcome_formula = formula(outcome ~ category + confounder),  
  treatment_formula = formula(treatment ~ category + confounder),  
  category_name = "category",  
  counterfactual_assignments = 1,  
  outcome_algorithm = "ranger",  
  treatment_algorithm = "ranger",  
  sample_split = "cross_fit",  
  se = T  
)
```

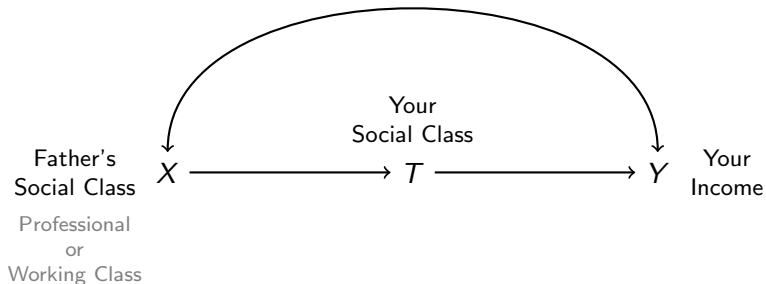
	description	estimate	se	ci.min	ci.max
	Factual gap	2.14	0.40	1.36	2.9
	Counterfactual gap	0.67	0.44	-0.19	1.5

Empirical Examples

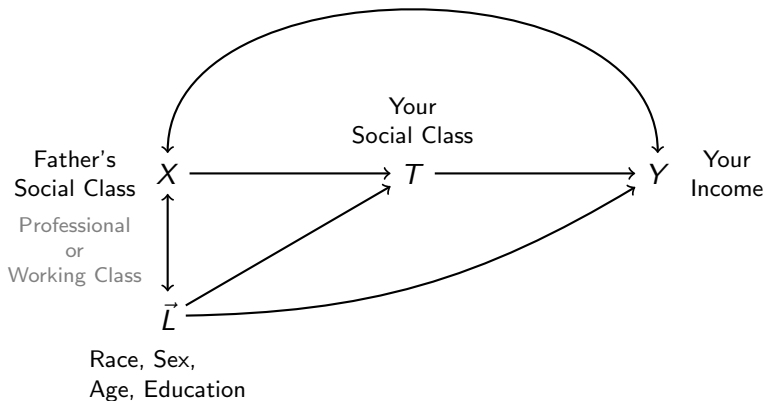
Empirical Example 1: Economic Mobility



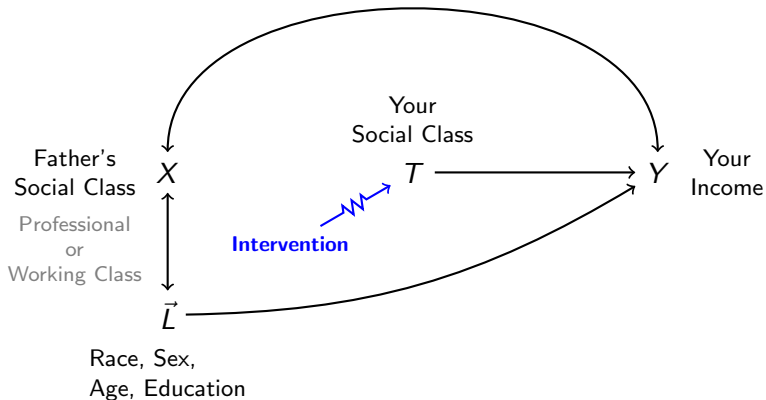
Empirical Example 1: Economic Mobility



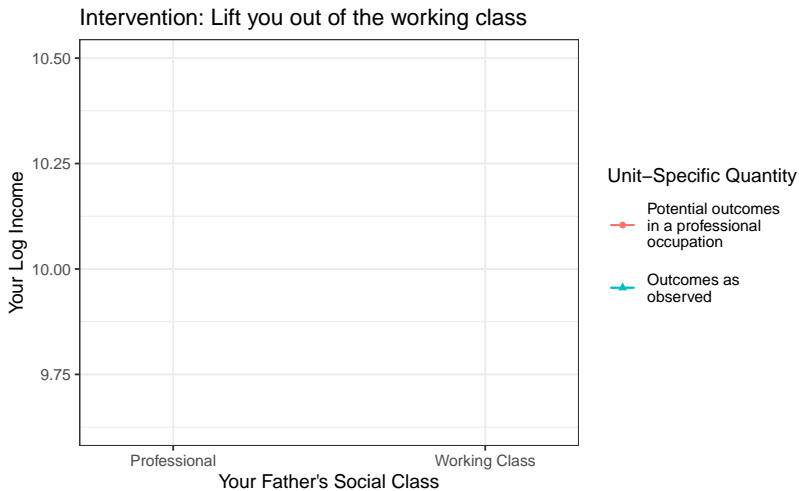
Empirical Example 1: Economic Mobility



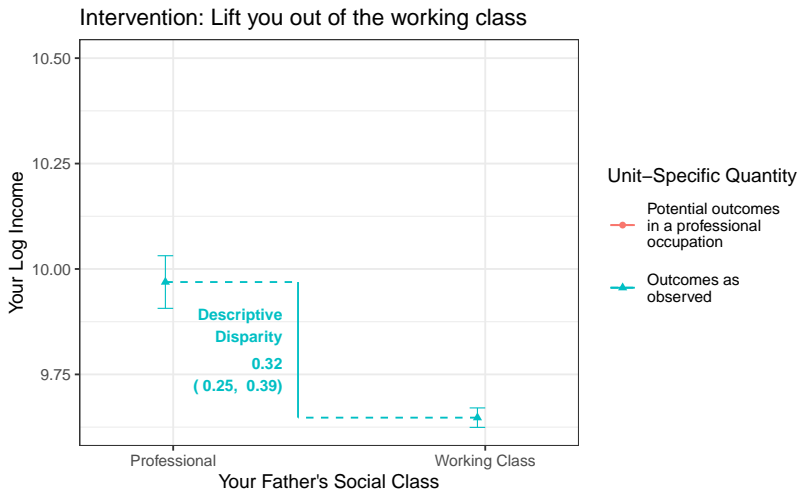
Empirical Example 1: Economic Mobility



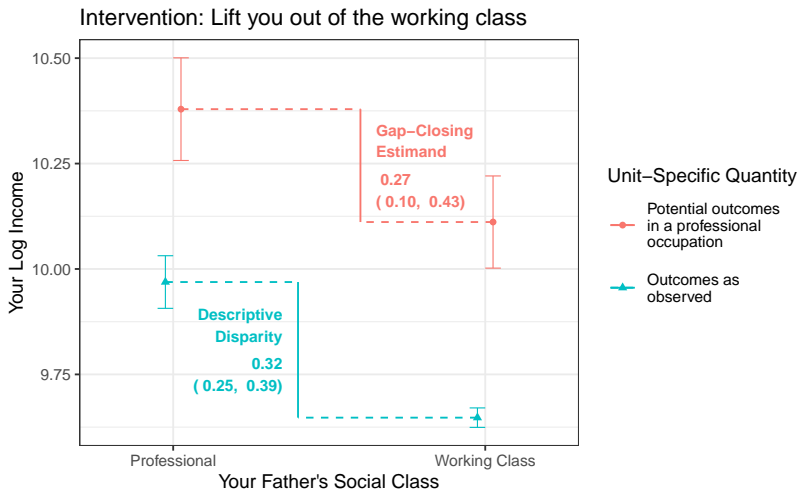
Empirical Example 1: Economic Mobility



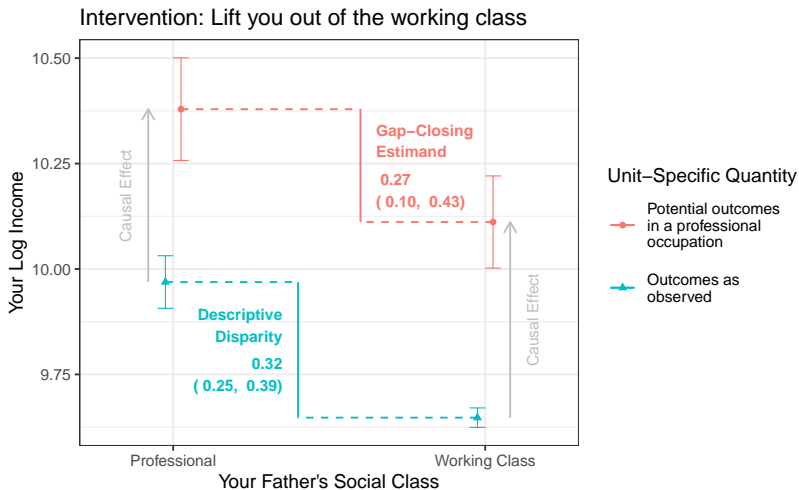
Empirical Example 1: Economic Mobility



Empirical Example 1: Economic Mobility

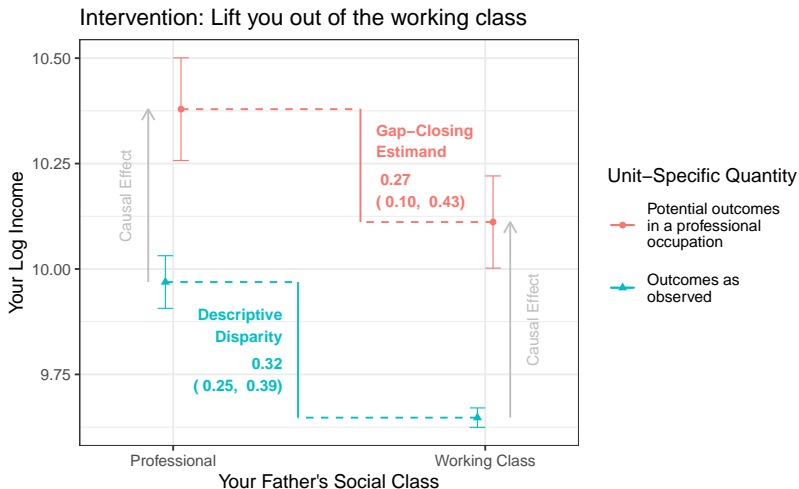


Empirical Example 1: Economic Mobility

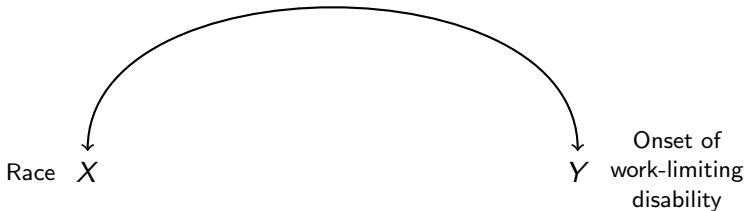


Empirical Example 1: Economic Mobility

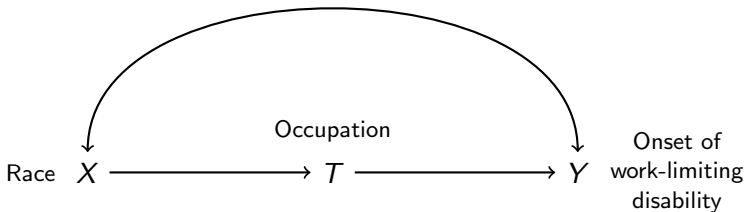
`plot_two_categories()`



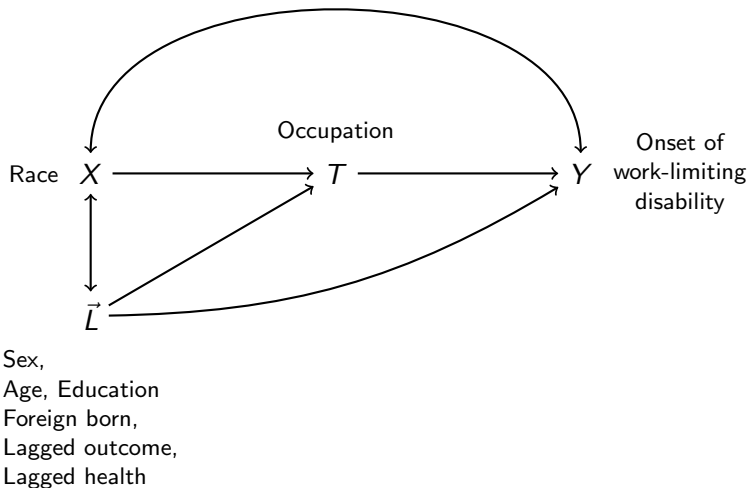
Empirical Example 2: Racial Disparities in Health



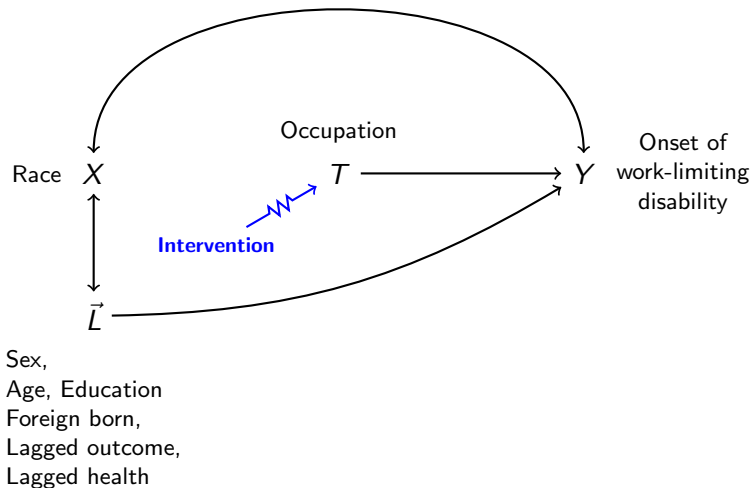
Empirical Example 2: Racial Disparities in Health



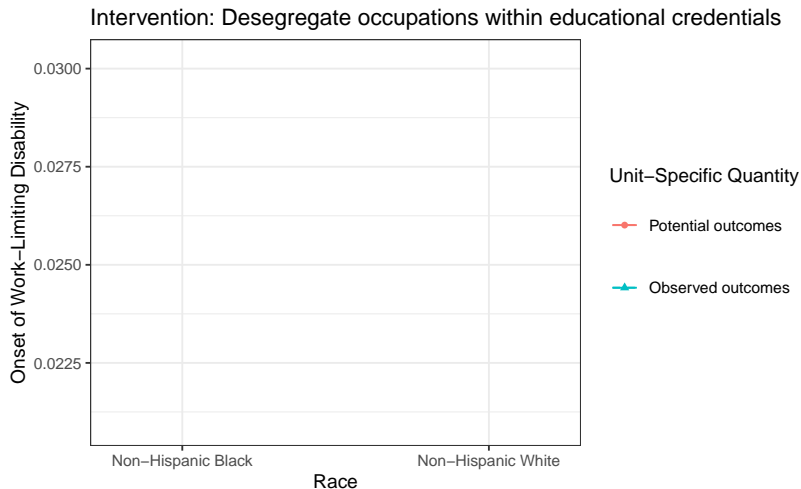
Empirical Example 2: Racial Disparities in Health



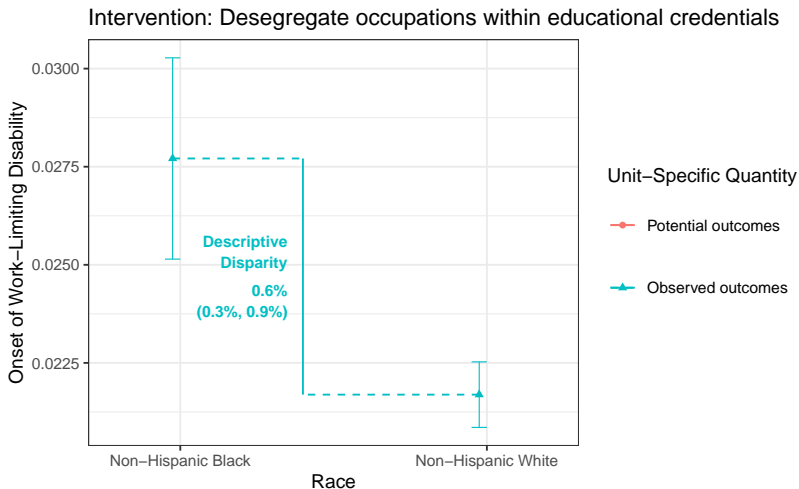
Empirical Example 2: Racial Disparities in Health



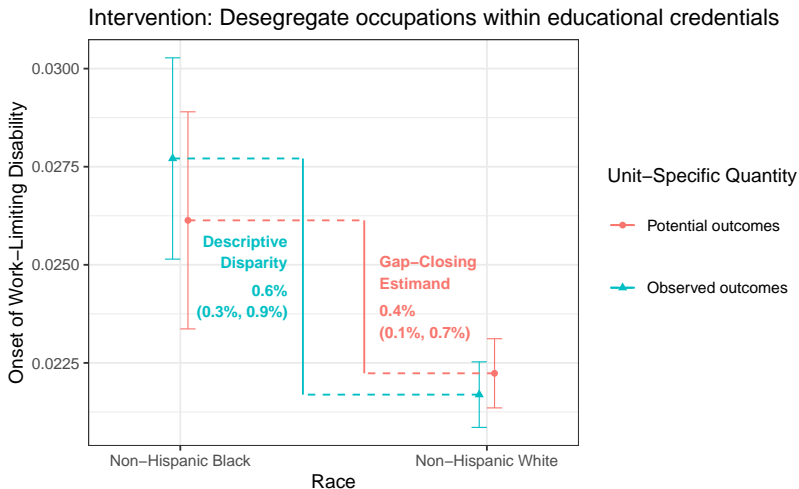
Empirical Example 2: Racial Disparities in Health



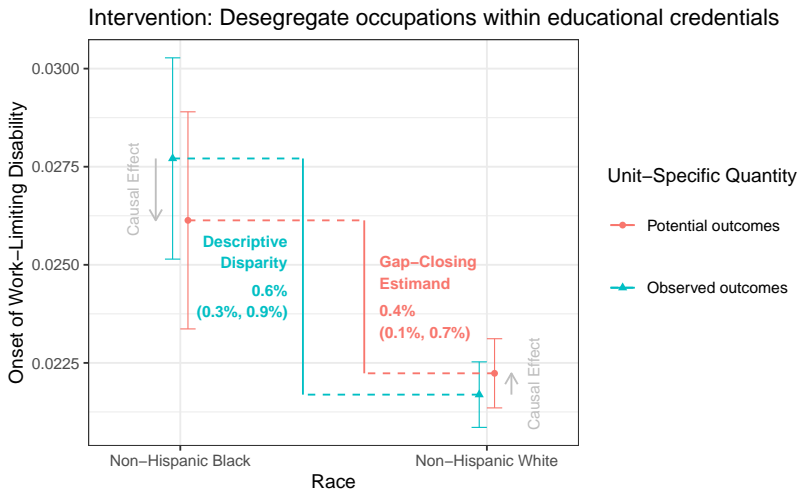
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- ▶ **Impact: Others using these ideas**

Impact: We can now study gaps in a **new way**

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Demography (2022) 59(5):1739–1761

Published online: 6 September 2022

DOI 10.1215/00703370-10188919 © 2022 The Authors

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Joscha Legewie and Nino José Cricco

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The Black-white gap would close by more than one-fourth

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Higher Education and the Black-White Earnings Gap

Xiang Zhou^a  and Guanghui Pan^b 

American Sociological Review
2023, Vol. 88(1) 154–188
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DOI:10.1177/00031224221141887
journals.sagepub.com/home/asr



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We could **intervene** to promote college completion

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Xiang Zhou^a  and Guanghui Pan^b 

There are **gaps** in earnings by race

We could **intervene** to promote college completion

The gap would close by more than half for men,
but not for women

Impact: We can now study gaps in a **new way**

EMPIRICAL ARTICLE

CHILD DEVELOPMENT 

Environmental inequality and disparities in school readiness: The role of neurotoxic lead

Jared N. Schachner¹  | Geoffrey T. Wodtke² 

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Gaps would close by 15–25%

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Discussion: Potential outcomes and methodology

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We often focus on average treatment effects:

$$E(Y^1 - Y^0)$$

Discussion: Potential outcomes and methodology

We often focus on average treatment effects:

$$E(Y^1 - Y^0)$$

Gap-closing is a different aggregation of potential outcomes:

$$E(Y^1 \mid X = 1) - E(Y^1 \mid X = 0)$$

Discussion: Potential outcomes and methodology

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Gap-closing is a different aggregation of potential outcomes:

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Many advances may be possible with other aggregations

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Effect on median	$\text{Median}(Y^1) - \text{Median}(Y^0)$
------------------	---

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Gap-closing is a different aggregation of potential outcomes:

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Effect on median	$\text{Median}(Y^1) - \text{Median}(Y^0)$
Effect on variance	$\text{Var}(Y^1) - \text{Var}(Y^0)$

Discussion: Potential outcomes and methodology

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Gap-closing is a different aggregation of potential outcomes:

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Effect on median	$\text{Median}(Y^1) - \text{Median}(Y^0)$
Effect on variance	$\text{Var}(Y^1) - \text{Var}(Y^0)$
Gap-closing for variance	$\text{Var}(Y^1 X = 1) - \text{Var}(Y^1 X = 0)$

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Gap-closing is a different aggregation of potential outcomes:

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Many advances may be possible with other aggregations

Effect on median $\text{Median}(Y^1) - \text{Median}(Y^0)$

Effect on variance $\text{Var}(Y^1) - \text{Var}(Y^0)$

Gap-closing for variance $\text{Var}(Y^1 | X = 1) - \text{Var}(Y^1 | X = 0)$

Counterfactual slopes $\frac{\text{Cov}(Y^1, X)}{\text{Var}(X)}$ for continuous X (Yu & Zhao 2024)

Thanks!

Ian Lundberg

ianlundberg.org

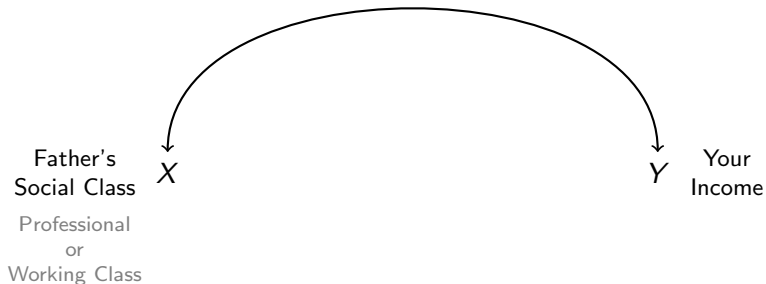
ianlundberg@ucla.edu

More about this project with a code tutorial:

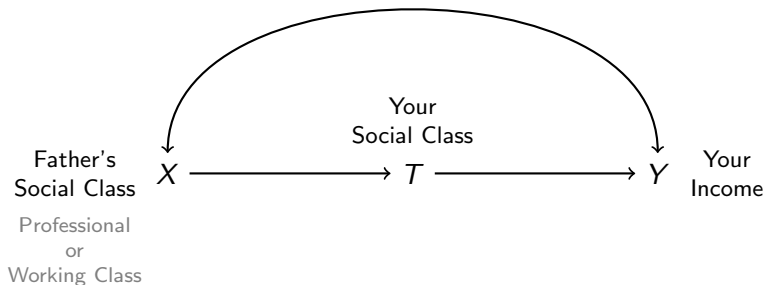
ilundberg.github.io/gapclosing

Appendix

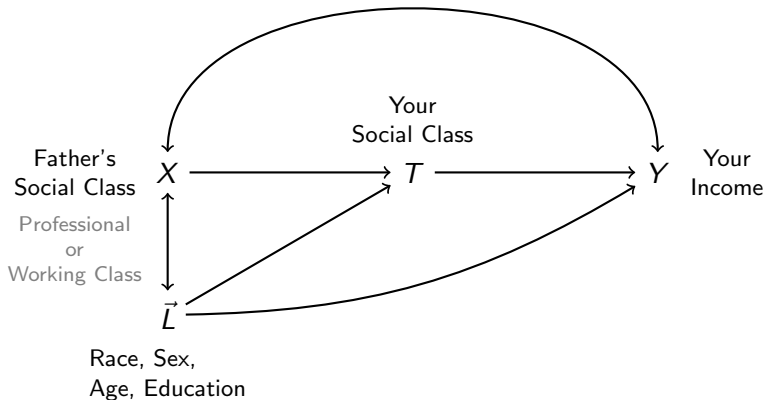
Empirical Example 1: Economic Mobility



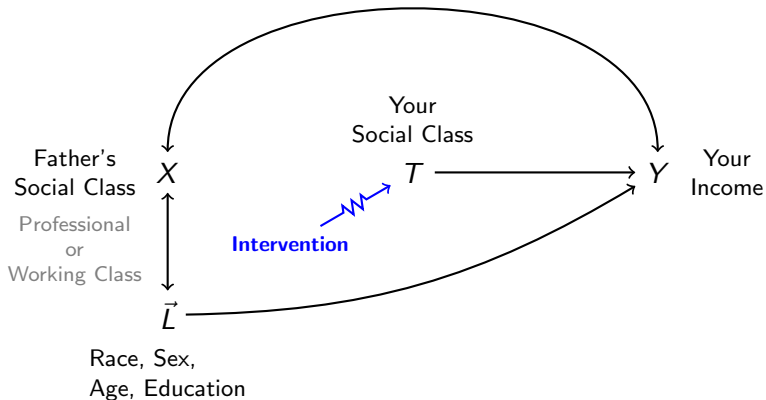
Empirical Example 1: Economic Mobility



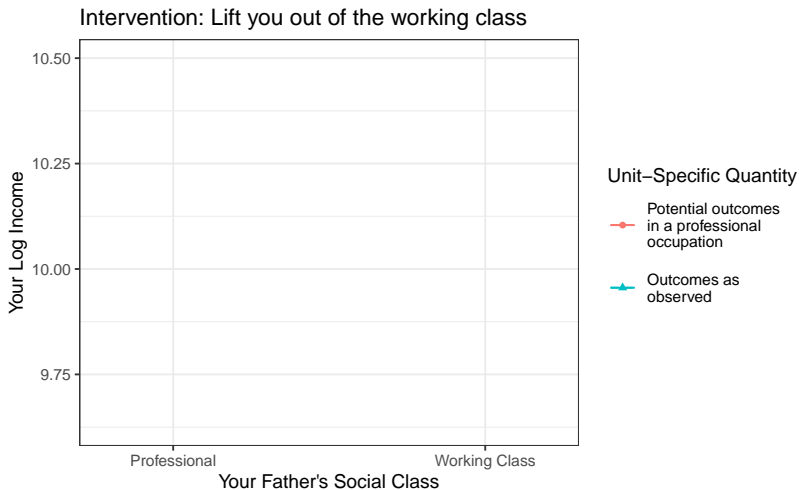
Empirical Example 1: Economic Mobility



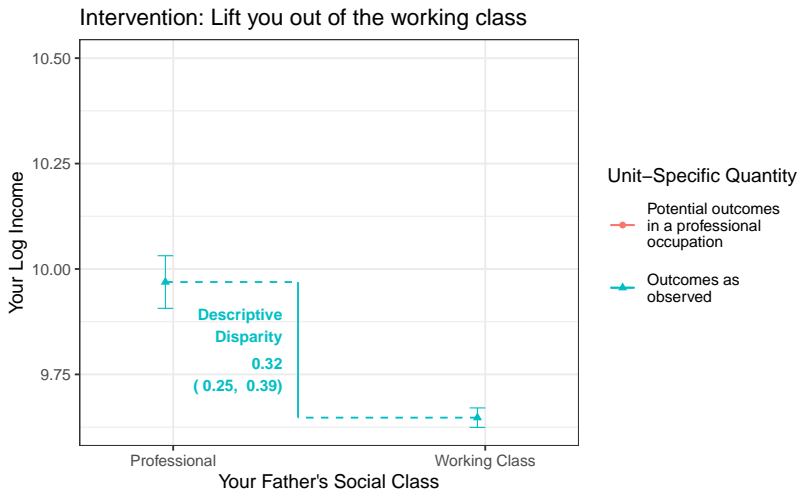
Empirical Example 1: Economic Mobility



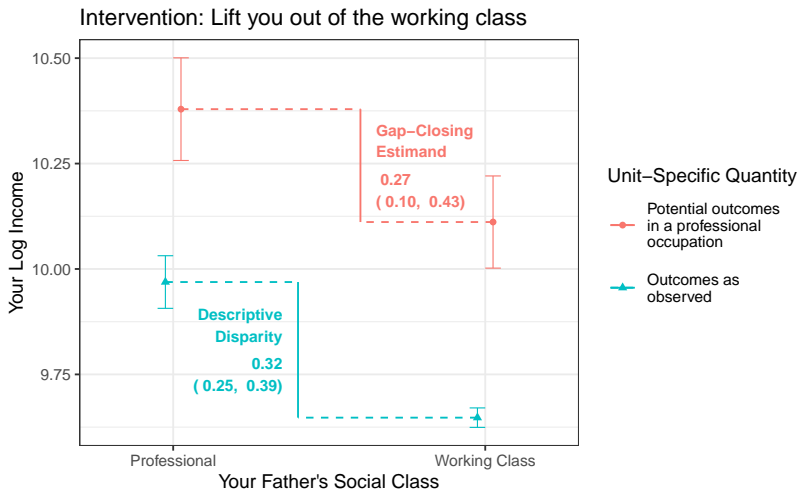
Empirical Example 1: Economic Mobility



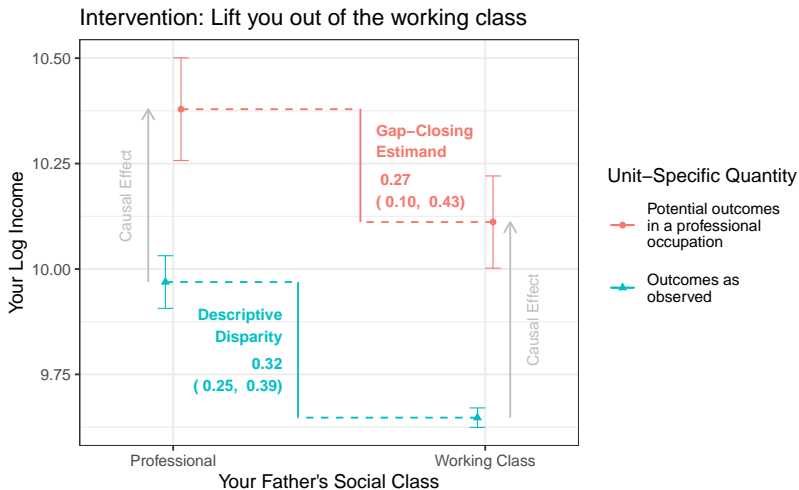
Empirical Example 1: Economic Mobility



Empirical Example 1: Economic Mobility

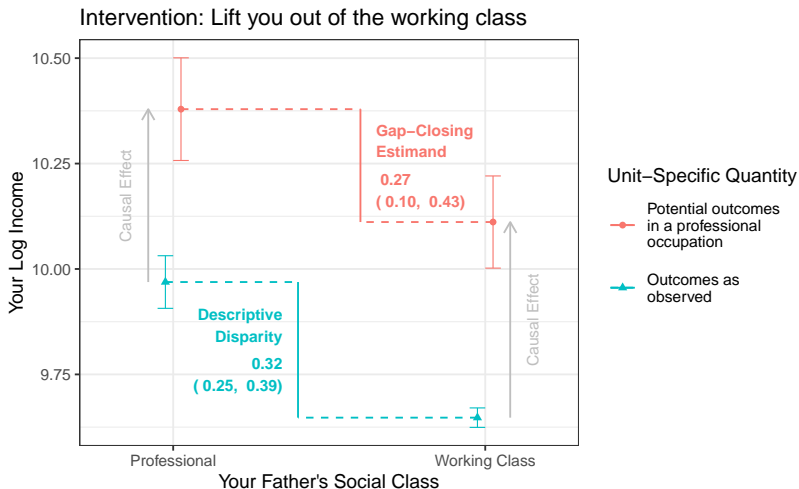


Empirical Example 1: Economic Mobility

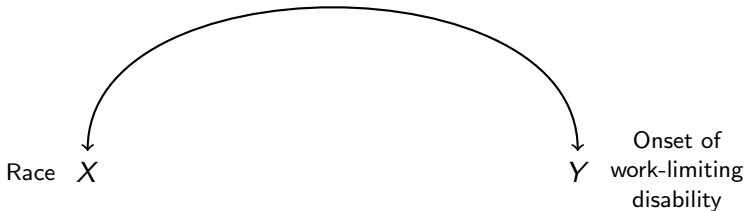


Empirical Example 1: Economic Mobility

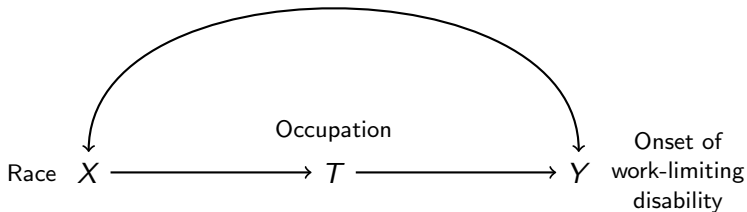
`plot_two_categories()`



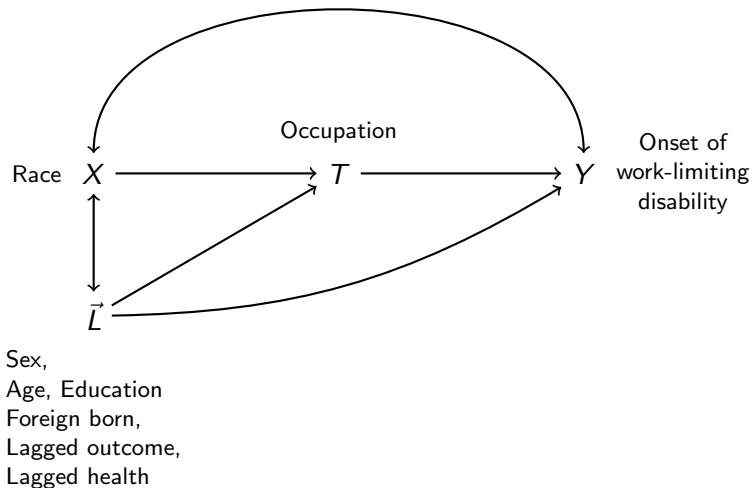
Empirical Example 2: Racial Disparities in Health



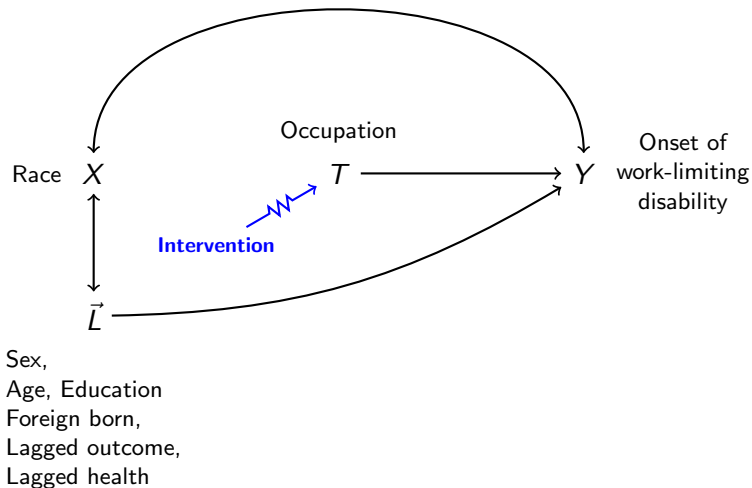
Empirical Example 2: Racial Disparities in Health



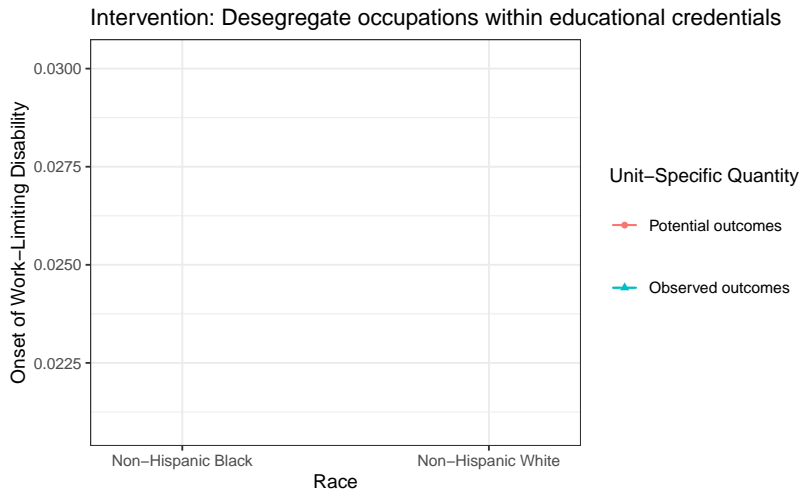
Empirical Example 2: Racial Disparities in Health



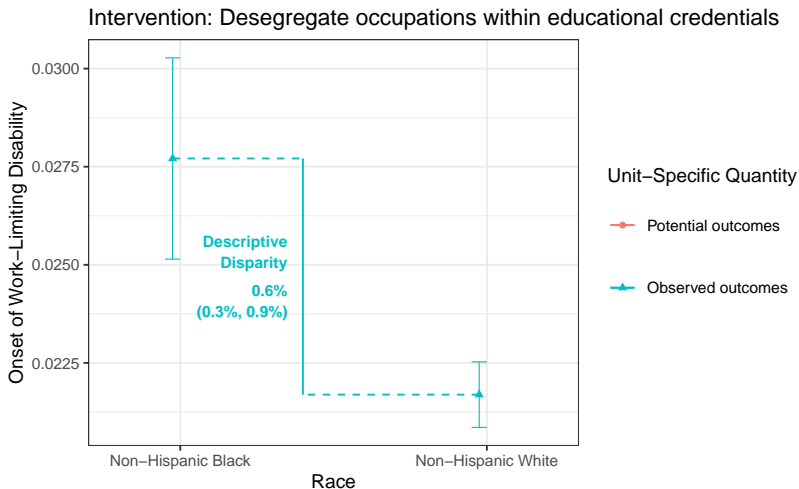
Empirical Example 2: Racial Disparities in Health



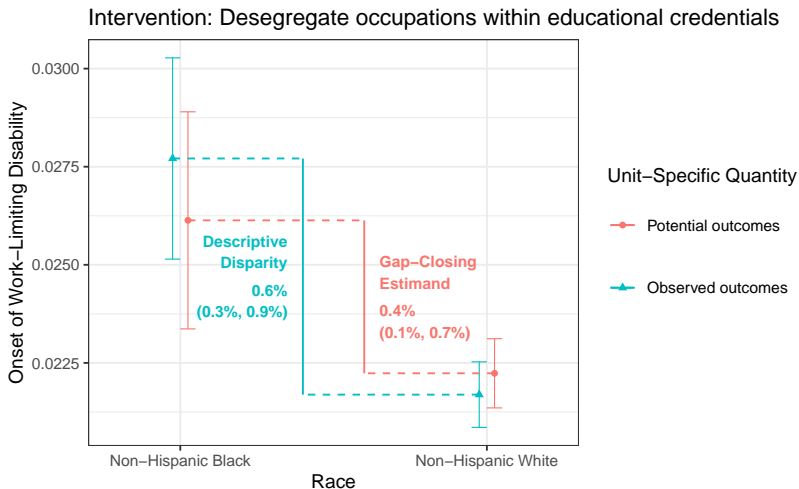
Empirical Example 2: Racial Disparities in Health



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