

Discrimination

EC 350: Labor Economics

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Spring 2021

Bertrand and Mullainathan (2004)



Discussion

Q₁: How does the study measure discrimination in the labor market?

Q₂: What are the strengths of the research design?

Q₃: What are the weaknesses of the research design?

Q₄: What are the main findings?

Q₅: What does the study tell us about employers?

Q₆: What did *you* find most interesting and/or depressing?

Discrimination



Theory

Economics has a lot to say about discrimination in the labor market and other settings.¹

While they do not explain all forms of discrimination,² the two most common economic models of discrimination are

- 1. **Taste-based discrimination:** Prejudiced employers willingly sacrifice resources to avoid contact with workers from certain groups.
- 2. **Statistical discrimination:** Unprejudiced employers use group characteristics to make inferences about an individual worker's productivity.

¹ Kevin Lang and Ariella Kahn-Lang Spitzer (2020), Race Discrimination: An Economic Perspective, Journal of Economic Perspectives.

² Mario L. Small and Devah Pager (2020), Sociological Perspectives on Racial Discrimination, Journal of Economic Perspectives



Models of **taste-based discrimination**[†] posit that **prejudice** (or **animus**) causes discrimination in the labor market.

• The premise? Some economic agents would willingly sacrifice resources to avoid contact with certain groups of people.

Setup

Two groups of equally productive workers:

- 1. **In-group** workers (e.g., White workers) who receive the wage $w_{\rm W}$.
- 2. Out-group workers (e.g., Black workers) who receive the wage w_{B} .

[†] Developed by Gary Becker in The Economics of Discrimination, University of Chicago Press (1957).

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Setup

A discrimination coefficient d captures the disutility of out-group contact for three types of prejudiced economic agents:

- 1. **Employers** who perceive hiring out-group workers as $d \times 100$ -percent more costly than $w_{\rm B}$.
- 2. **Co-workers** who perceive their wage as $d \times 100$ -percent lower when working with the out-group.
- 3. **Customers** who perceive prices as $d \times 100$ -percent when buying from an out-group seller.

[†] Developed by Gary Becker in The Economics of Discrimination, University of Chicago Press (1957).



Employer discrimination

Since both groups of workers are equally productive, they are perfect substitutes.

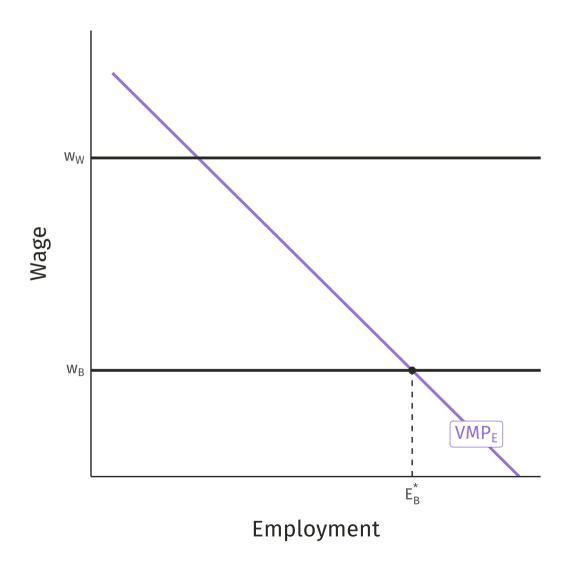
- The level of output simply depends on the number of workers: $q=f(E_{
 m W}+E_{
 m B})$.
- A firm with 25 in-group workers and 25 out-groups **produces the same output** as a firm with 50 in-group workers or a firm with 50 out-group workers.
- MP_E does not depend on in-group/out-group status!

Q: How would a non-discriminatory employer maximize profit?

- A: By hiring from the cheaper group of workers until $w = \mathrm{VMP}_E$.
 - If $w_{
 m W}>w_{
 m B}$, then hire $E_{
 m B}^*$ out-group workers such that $w_{
 m B}={
 m VMP}_E$.
 - If $w_{
 m B}>w_{
 m W}$, then hire $E_{
 m W}^*$ in-group workers such that $w_{
 m W}={
 m VMP}_E$.

Going forward, we will assume that $w_{
m W}>w_{
m B}.$





Employer discrimination

Non-discriminatory employers simply **hire out- group workers**.

• Why? Both groups of workers are equally productive (i.e., same VMP_E), but out-group labor is cheaper (i.e., $w_\mathrm{B} < w_\mathrm{W}$).



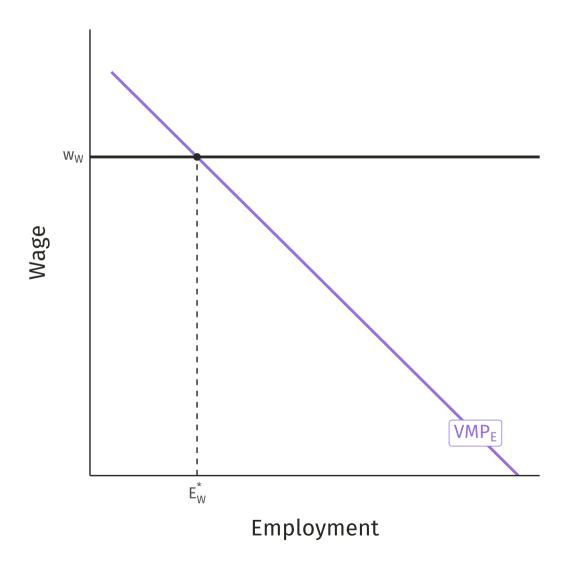
Employer discrimination

Discriminatory employers perceive the cost of employing an out-group worker as $w_{
m B}(1+d)$.

- If $w_{
 m B}=10$ and d=0.1, then the employer will act as though the out-group worker costs 10(1+0.1)=11.
- The "utility-adjusted" cost of hiring an out-group worker exceeds the actual cost!

The result? Segregation! A discriminatory employer will

- ullet Hire only in-group workers if $w_{
 m B}(1+d)>w_{
 m W}$
- ullet Hire only out-group workers if $w_{
 m B}(1+d) < w_{
 m W}$

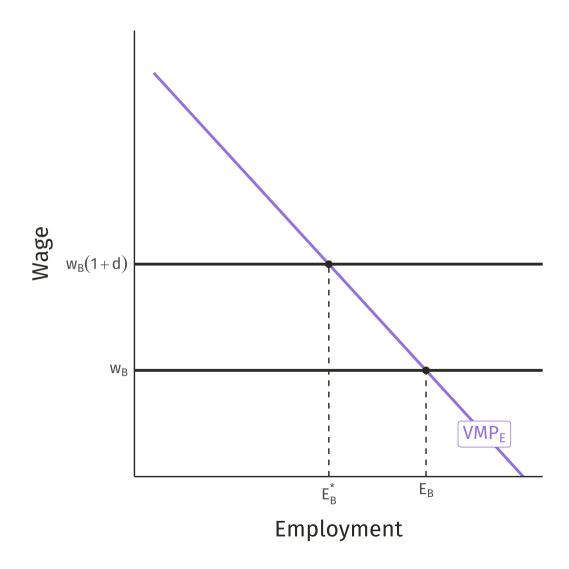


Employer discrimination

Case 1: Employer hires only in-group workers.

- The employer overpays for labor!
 - $w_{
 m W}>w_{
 m B}$, but ${
 m VMP}_E$ is the same for both groups of workers.
- Because in-group labor is relatively expensive, the employer hires too few workers!





Employer discrimination

Case 2: Employer hires only out-group workers.

- The employer hires too few workers!
 - ullet Actual hiring $E_{
 m B}^*$ occurs where $w_{
 m B}(1+d)={
 m VMP}_E$, even though the actual wage is $w_{
 m B}.$
- The employer pays the out-group worker too little!
 - The marginal worker receives less than her contribution, as

$$w_{
m B} < {
m VMP}_E = w_{
m B}(1+d).$$



Employer discrimination

Q: Is discrimination profitable?

A: No!

- To indulge their distaste for out-group workers, prejudiced employers sacrifice profit!
- By hiring too few workers, discriminatory employers fail to operate efficiently!

The implication? In a perfectly competitive market, non-discriminating employers will eventually drive discriminating employers out of business.

In-group and out-group wages will eventually equalize.

Q₁: Are wage differentials actually decreasing?

Q₂: Are markets actually perfectly competitive?



Co-worker discrimination

Suppose instead that employers are unprejudiced, but in-group workers dislike working with out-group workers.

• In-group workers receive $w_{
m W}$, but act as though they're paid $w_{
m W}(1-d)$.

To offset the disutility of working with out-group workers, the employer would have to pay in-group workers an additional $w_{
m W} imes d$ dollars.

- The total wage paid for an in-group worker would rise to $w_{\rm W}(1+d)$.
- If the marginal productivity of in-group and out-group workers is the same, and there are no discriminatory employers, then $w_{
 m W}=w_{
 m B}< w_{
 m W}(1+d)$.

The result? Segregation that persists even with perfect competition, but no wage differential.



Customer discrimination

Now suppose that workers and employers are unprejudiced, but customers dislike buying from the outgroup.

• A prejudiced customer faces the actual market price p, but feels as though they are paying p(1+d).

An employer with out-group workers would have to reduce p to compensate prejudiced customers.

• This assumes that the employer is unable to reallocate out-group workers away from customer-facing roles within the firm.

The result? The employer decreases wages for out-group workers, creating a wage differential that persists even with perfect competition.

Statistical discrimination

Models of **statistical discrimination**[†] posit that discrimination arises from employer **uncertainty** about difficult-to-observe productive attributes of workers.

The premise? Employers use a worker's race or gender to make inferences about the worker's productivity.

- In these models, **employers are unprejudiced**—they do not have a taste for discrimination.
- The basis for discrimination? Group differences in past performance (e.g., achievement gaps).
 - When considering job applicants with the same observable productive traits, but different group characteristics (e.g., race), employers will often rely on the **past performance of groups** to predict **difficult-to-observe productive traits of individuals**.
 - Discrimination occurs when the employer systematically favors applicants from higherproductivity groups.

[†] Developed by Edmund Phelps in The Statistical Theory of Racism and Sexism, *The American Economic Review* (1972), and Kenneth Arrow in "The Theory of Discrimination" in Orley Ashenfelter and Albert Rees, eds., Discrimination in Labor Markets, *Princeton University Press* (1973).

Statistical discrimination

Employers can test workers for productive traits, but it is unlikely that a test can perfectly predict productivity.

To set a worker's wage, an employer uses a weighted average of the worker's test score and the average score of the group to which the worker belongs:

$$w = lpha T + (1-lpha) \overline{T}$$

- T is the individual's test score.
- \overline{T} is the group average.
- $0 \le \alpha \le 1$ represents how well the test measures productivity.
 - If $\alpha=1$, then the test provides a perfect measure of individual productivity and w=T.
 - If lpha=0, then the test provides no meaningful measure of individual productivity and w=T .

Agan and Starr (2017)



Discussion

Q₁: What is the research question?

Q₂: How does the study address the research question?

Q₃: What are the main findings?

Q₄: How does the study advance our understanding of racial discrimination in the labor market?

Q₅: What are the policy implications?

Q₆: What did *you* find most interesting?

Housekeeping

Assigned reading for Wednesday: The Long-Run Effects of Teacher Collective Bargaining by Michael F. Lovenheim and Alexander Willén (2019).

- Reading Quiz 11 is due by Wednesday, June 2nd at 16:00.
- The quiz instructions will include a reading guide.

Problem Set 4 is also due by Friday, June 4th at 23:59.

Final Exam scheduled for Wednesday, June 9th from 14:45 to 16:45 on Canvas.