

Horizontal Inequality and Social Mobility

Patricia Funjika and Rachel M. Gisselquist



Given what we know about social mobility, horizontal inequality – in developing countries in particular - can be expected to be persistent, possibility indefinitely, without activist, targeted policy intervention.

Why does this matter?

Normative: Differences in well-being and status linked systematically to 'ethnic' attributes such as skin color, maternal language, and indigenous status are at odds with basic principles of equality, justice, and fairness.

Instrumental: Negative implications for peace and prosperity (Alesina, Michalopoulos & Papaioannou 2016; Baldwin & Huber 2010, Brown & Langer 2010; Stewart 2008; UN & World Bank 2018).

Also: gaps in the research literature on horizontal inequality as an outcome (Canelas & Gisselquist 2018)



I. Core concepts

Intergenerational (income) mobility

- Relative mobility or 'positional movement'
 - 1 intergenerational elasticity of income (IGE)
 - Measurement using a rank-rank specification (Chetty et al 2014, 2018)
- Absolute mobility
- Horizontal inequality (HI) 'in economic, social, or political dimensions or cultural status between culturally defined groups' (Stewart 2008).
- Contrast: vertical inequality (VI) between individuals or households
- GGini compares the mean in the outcome variable of every group with that of every other group

Ethnic groups are socially constructed with membership based on attributes generally inherited at birth, including skin colour, maternal language, tribe, caste, religion, and sometimes region (Chandra 2004; Horowitz 1985)

Proto-typical ethnic group characteristics include (Fearon 2003):

- members derive normative and psychological value from membership
- Some shared cultural features, such as language, religion, and customs
- A homeland or memory of one
- A sense of shared collective history

Examples:

- Hindus/Muslims (<u>Varshney</u>, 2007) & scheduled castes in India (<u>Chandra</u>, 2004)
- African/White/'Coloured/Indian in South Africa (see Ferree, 2010)
- Bemba/Nyanja/Tonga/Lozi speakers in Zambia (<u>Posner, 1998</u>)
- Indigenous/non-indigenous populations in Latin America (<u>Htun, 2004</u>; <u>Van Cott, 2007</u>)

II. A conceptual framework

 Consider a standard approach to intergenerational income persistence with a regression-to-the-mean model (Becker & Tomes 1979):

•
$$y_{i,t} = \alpha + \beta y_{i,t-1} + \varepsilon_{i,t}$$

• Following Chetty et al. (2018), we adapt this so that an individual's income is modelled as an ethnic group specific linear function of their parent's income:

•
$$y_{i,t} = \alpha_r + \beta_r y_{i,t-1} + \varepsilon_{i,t}$$

We assume they do not vary across generations.

 Under the linear specification, the mean rank of individuals of each ethnic group in generation t is thus:

•
$$\bar{y}_{r,t} = \alpha_r + \beta_r \bar{y}_{r,t-1}$$

 Over the long-run, the mean rank of group r converges to:

•
$$\bar{y}_{r,t} = \bar{y}_{r,t-1} = \bar{y}_r^{SS} = \frac{\alpha_r}{1-\beta_r}$$

We can then consider HI using the GGini measure:

• GGini =
$$\frac{1}{2\overline{y}}\sum_{r}^{R}\sum_{s}^{S}p_{r}p_{s}\left|\overline{y_{r}}-\overline{y_{s}}\right|$$

3 expectations

1a. If rates of absolute and relative mobility are the same across groups, a horizontally unequal society will eventually become horizontally equal.

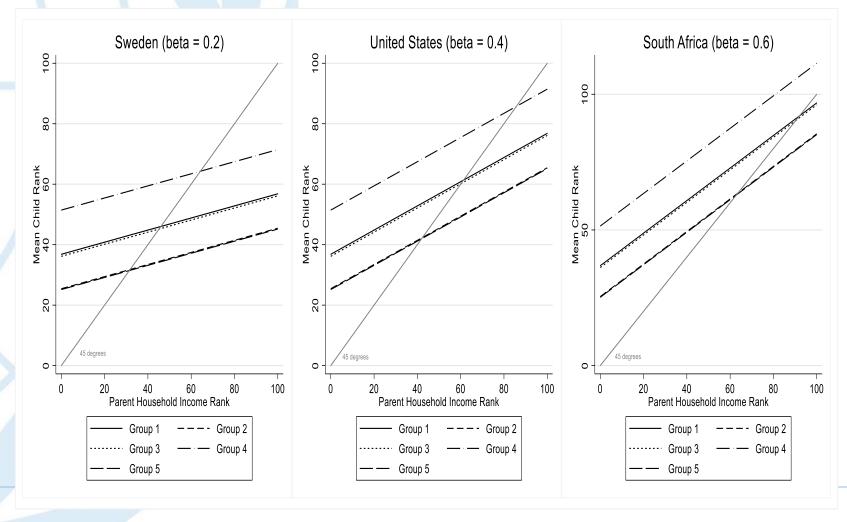
- Over the long-run, given than $\bar{y}_r^{SS} = \frac{\alpha_r}{1-\beta_r}$, $GGini_{t+n}$ becomes:
 - $GGini_{t+n} = \frac{1}{2\overline{y}} \sum_{r}^{R} \sum_{s}^{S} p_r p_s \left| \frac{\alpha_r}{1-\beta_r} \frac{\alpha_s}{1-\beta_s} \right|$
- If $\alpha_r = \alpha_s$ and $\beta_r = \beta_s$ for all groups, we can see that $GGini_{t+n} = 0$, which is perfect horizontal equality.

1b. Horizontal inequality can be persistent over multiple generations when initial HI is high and overall mobility is low.

	Year starting in 1960	Advantaged group (50%)		Disadvantaged group (50%)		
Generation		Income % above mean	Income	Income % above mean	Income	GGINI
First	1960	100.00%	2,000	-100.00%	0	1.0000
Second	1985	60.00%	1,600	-60.00%	400	0.6000
Third	2010	36.00%	1,360	-36.00%	640	0.3600
Fourth	2035	21.60%	1,216	-21.60%	784	0.2160
Fifth	2060	12.96%	1,130	-12.96%	870	0.1296
Sixth	2085	7.78%	1,078	-7.78%	922	0.0778
Seventh	2110	4.67%	1,047	-4.67%	953	0.0467

2. HI will be persistent over multiple generations – possibly permanent – when mobility varies across ethnic groups and is lowest for disadvantaged groups.

Scenario 1 – relative mobility is constant, absolute mobility varies across groups



Empirical work shows that such variation exists:

- India: Asher, Novosad & Rafkin 2018; Hnatkovska, Lahiri & Paul 2013
- U.S.: Chetty et al. 2018
- South Africa: Nimubona & Vencatachellum 2007, Piraino
 2015
- Brazil: Osorio 2008

What we know about the determinants of mobility suggests such variation should be found elsewhere as well:

- Iversen, Krishna & Sen (2019)'s consideration of determinants of mobility in developing countries:
 - Human capital investment and parental endowments
 - Credit constraints
 - Neighborhood effects
 - Peer influence and role model effects
- Several of their arguments with respect to low-income countries can be extended straightforwardly to lowincome groups within low-income countries

Group-based discrimination

In the labor market: ethnic disparities and discrimination in callback rates, hiring, and in career advancement. U.S. (<u>Bertrand and Mullainathan 2004, Pager, Bonikowski, and Western 2009</u>) and Peru (<u>Galarza and Yamada 2014</u>) but not India (<u>Banerjee, Bertrand, Datta, and Mullainathan 2009</u>).

In education: ethnic disparities in educational outcomes traced to the quality of schools in minority neighborhoods and how teachers respond to different children

In credit markets: disadvantaged groups are more likely to be credit constrained, to be turned down for loans, to receive less favorable loan terms

In housing markets: minority home-seekers receive less favorable treatment than white home-seekers

In the distribution of public resources: minority neighborhoods may receive lower public resources; government officials may be less responsive to members of disadvantaged groups

- Discrimination can be linked with formal or informal institutions
- It can be either intentional or unintentional (e.g. implicit biases affect the behavior of preschool educators Gilliam et al. 2016)
- It can be current or historical.

Ethnic discrimination (and favoritism) may be more problematic in developing countries

State capacity and the rule of law tend to be weaker

- `→ discrimination in personalized informal institutions/practice
- → more limited possibilities for legal recourse
- → capacity challenges in the implementation of the law

Ethnic divisions seem to be more apparent in developing countries

- Standard measures of ethnic fractionalization are higher (e.g. Alesina et al 2003)
- Ethnic parties, ethnic conflict, and ethnic balancing are comparatively more important in work
- Links between processes of modernization and the salience of ethnic networks (e.g. Lipset 1960, Bates 1974, Hechter 1974)

Other ethnic factors

- Ethnic geography, residential patterns, and remoteness: e.g. via neighborhood effects
- Ethnic social networks: e.g. via peer influence and role models
- Culture: e.g. diverse preferences across groups regarding language of instruction in schools and the 'fit' of public services provided for cultural minorities
- Representation: e.g. minorities have fewer role models 'like them' in high status occupations and positions of influence

In summary

- (1) Long-term persistence in horizontal inequality comes about when
 - Initial levels of horizontal inequality are high;
 - Overall social mobility is low; and
 - Mobility varies across ethnic groups and disadvantaged groups lower rates than others.
- (2) Variation in social mobility across ethnic groups is not uncommon and stems from a variety of factors.
- (3) Persistent horizontal inequality is probably a larger problem in the Global South than the Global North.

Implications and next steps

For research:

- Extensions of the framework & empirical testing
- Consideration of different types of horizontal inequalities (e.g. recent migrants versus 'established' minorities)
- Levers of change and country experiences in dealing with reform

For policy:

- Universalist policies may not be enough; targeted policies may be needed
- Timing and risks





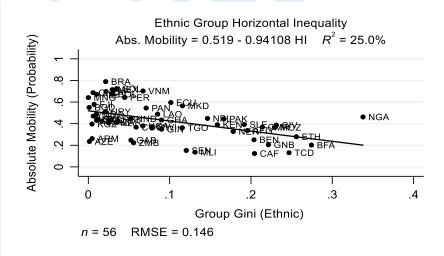
www.wider.unu.edu

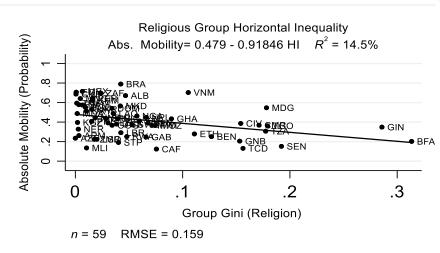
Helsinki, Finland

The Great Gatsby Curve revisited

Using GGINI in educational attainment (EIC 2015) & mobility data from GDIM 2018

Absolute mobility & HI





IGE (relative mobility) & HI

