Bad Taste: Gender Discrimination in Consumer Credit Markets

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NBER Summer Institute Gender in the Economy Group July 25th, 2020

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Bank Account Ownership: Men vs Women (*Global Findex Data 2017, World Bank*)



- In developing countries, men have more access to credit markets than women
- Such inequalities are stemming in part from gender gaps originated in the labor market (*Hausman et al. 2009*, *Goldin 2014*, *Demirguc-Kunt et al. 2017*).
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- Do banks discriminate against women?

- Uncovering gender discrimination and its mechanisms is critical for an appropriate welfare analysis of credit markets.
 - Taste-based discrimination on credit lending can lead to welfare loss (*Becker 1957*).
 - Statistical discrimination is argued to be efficient (*Phelps 1972*, *Arrow 1973*).
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How to identify gender discrimination in credit markets?

Identifying gender discrimination using observational data is hard

 $\mathbb{E}(Approval_{ijlk}) = f(Gender_i, Applicant_i, Officer_j, Loan_i, Bank_k)$

Set of applicant level confounders is short and observable

 $Applicant_i = f(Demographics_i, Income_i, Debt_i, CreditHistory_i)$

Main problem is about officer's unobservables

*Officer*_i = f(*Demographics*_j, ... (<u>*Unobservables*</u> : Tastes_j, Beliefs_j))

- Manipulating applicant's gender is unfeasible Experian, TransUnion, or Equifax allows loan officers to easily identify false loan requests.
- Solution?: Randomized correspondence study with real borrowers

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- Correspondence Study in consumer credit market in Chile. We randomly assign *loan requests* (of random amount and length) to <u>male</u> and <u>female</u> prospective borrowers who then submit the assigned requests to randomly assigned <u>loan officers</u>.
- What's novel in this paper?
 - Experimental borrowers and officers interact in a real setting.
 - The experiment fully covers the market of consumer lending
 - Examine taste-based discrimination by eliciting gender preferences of loan officers.
 - Examine <u>"inaccurate" statistical discrimination</u> by implementing an information experiment aimed at changing the officers' beliefs about repayment capacity of men versus women.

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- Approval rate of loan requests submitted by female applicants is 18% lower compared to male counterparts.
 - Estimated **forgone profits** of USD 5.8 M per year ≡ annual cost of hiring 4% of the officer labor force in the banking system.
- Gender discrimination mostly driven by **male officers** who are gender-biased, suggesting **taste-based discrimination**.
- Information treatment did not decrease gender discrimination → we discard "inaccurate" statistical discrimination

 Market competition attenuates gender discrimination, especially among pro-male officers, which meets Becker 1957.

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Stage 1 - Borrowers Recruitment

1,600 loan requests:

- random amount (\$1,000 \$14,000)
- random length (12 60 months)

400 men and women (statistically balanced)

600 loan officers (half treatment, half control)

Stage 2 - Randomize Loan Requests



600 loan officers (half treatment, half control)

Stage 3 - Randomize Loan Officers



Example of a text-standardized Loan Request

Dear Mr./Mrs. [Loan Officer's Name],

I am quoting loan conditions, and I got your email. I would like to obtain a personal loan in the amount of 5 million CLP. I want to repay in 24 months. My RUT is [tax identifier number]. My Monthly salary is \$750,000 CLP. Please see attached my wage settlement and social security contributions.

Sincerely,

[Tester's Name]

- Testers were not allowed to negotiate credit conditions when dealing with loan officers inquiries
- We monitor all the tester-officer interactions

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Estimating Gender Discrimination

- Effects on the extensive margin
 - Response rate
 - Approval rate

 $Y_{lijkt} = \alpha + \beta Female_{li} + \gamma OffGender_j + \mu_k + \delta_l + \theta_t + \rho T_j + \eta X_i + \pi Z_j + \varepsilon_{lijkt}$

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	Loan Request was Responded (=1)		Loan Request was Approved (=1)	
	Unadjusted Mean Diff.	OLS Estimate (<i>β</i>)	Unadjusted Mean Diff.	OLS Estimate (<i>β</i>)
Female (=1)	-0.010 (0.023)	-0.016 (0.023)		
Obs. Mean Male	1,313 0.861	1,313 0.861		

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	Loan Request was Responded (=1)		Loan Request was Approved (=1)	
	Unadjusted	OLS	Unadjusted	OLS
	Mean	Estimate	Mean	Estimate
	Diff.	(<i>β</i>)	Diff.	(β)
Female (=1)	-0.010	-0.016	-0.066***	-0.064***
	(0.023)	(0.023)	(0.023)	(0.017)
Obs.	1,313	1,313	1,313	1,313
Mean Male	0.861	0.861	0.349	0.349
Loan Officers' Beliefs about Female/Male Clients

"Which is the **most important problem** you face when dealing with Female/Male clients?"

	Main Problem with Female Clients	Main Problem with <u>Male</u> Clients	Mean Diff.
Low repayment rates Uninformed of financial products			
Excessive administrative duties			
Difficult to communicate			
Too tough, require quick responses			

Loan Officers' Beliefs about Female/Male Clients

"Which is the **most important problem** you face when dealing with Female/Male clients?"

	Main Problem with Female Clients	Main Problem with <u>Male</u> Clients	Mean Diff.
Low repayment rates	0.033	0.156	-0.122***
Uninformed of financial products	0.277	0.302	-0.025
Excessive administrative duties	0.138	0.119	0.019
Difficult to communicate	0.105	0.149	-0.045**
Too tough, require quick responses	0.447	0.273	0.173***

Loan Officers' Preferences about Female/Male Clients

If you had the chance to choose the optimal distribution of male and female clients in your portfolio: "What would you choose among the following 5 possible choices?"

	Choice 1	Choice 2	Choice 3	Choice 4	Choice 5
Prop. Male	20%	40%	50%	60%	80%
Prop. Female	80%	60%	50%	40%	20%

Loan Officers' Preferences about Female/Male Clients

If you had the chance to choose the optimal distribution of male and female clients in your portfolio: "What would you choose among the following 5 possible choices?"

	Pro-Female		<u>Neutral</u>	Pro-	Male
	Choice 1	Choice 2	Choice 3	Choice 4	Choice 5
Prop. Male	20%	40%	50%	60%	80%
Prop. Female	80%	60%	50%	40%	20%
Actual Choice	9	%	63%	28	8%

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Prop. Female	80%	60%	50%	40%	20%
Actual Choice	9'	%	63%	28	3%

- Are these preferences guided by taste-based attributes?
 - \rightarrow We answer this through a Gift Experiment

Gift Experiment: Testing construct validity of gender preferences measure

	Only Female Officers		Only Male Officers	
	lf dona	te (= 1)	lf dona	te (= 1)
Donee's Name is Fem. (= 1)	-0.035 (0.053)	-0.028 (0.076)	-0.094* (0.057)	-0.018 (0.057)
Officer is Pro-Male (= 1)		0.065 (0.083)		0.224* (0.117)
Donee's Name is Fem. \times (Officer is Pro-Male)		-0.043 (0.141)		-0.402* (0.233)
Obs. Mean if Donee's Name is Masc.	411 0.584	411 0.584	218 0.717	218 0.717

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Motivation Experiment Results Conclusion

Gender Pref. and Discrimination, by Officer's Gender



Male Officers and Gender Discrimination, by Bank

.....Distribution across Banks

...Scatterplot



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Motivation Experiment Results Conclusion

(Inaccurate) Statistical Discrimination

- Official statistics from *SBIF (2018)* show that female clients have **lower delinquency rates** than males, suggesting that (inaccurate) statistical discrimination might also be at work
- Information Experiment aimed to "correct" biased gender beliefs among loan officers

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"Did you know that female borrowers pay more for consumer credit than males? A recent report released by SBIF (2018) shows that women pay interest rates that are, on average, 15% higher relative to those paid by men. This is even though the same report also shows that female borrowers exhibit repayment rates that are significantly higher compared to male borrowers. Gender discrimination against women may bring negative consequences for women who aim to access the consumer credit market as well as for our economy as it might be inefficient and damaging for productivity."

Information Treatment Effects, by Gender Preference

	Only Not-Pro-Male Off.		Only <u>Pro-I</u>	Male Off.
	Loan	Loan	Loan	Loan
	Request	Request	Request	Request
	was	was	was	was
	Responded	Approved	Responded	Approved
Female (= 1)	(= 1)	(= 1)	(= 1)	(= 1)
	-0.016	-0.033	0.063	-0.125*
	(0.026)	(0.032)	(0.085)	(0.076)
Inf. Treat.(= 1)	0.001	-0.005	0.040	0.075
	(0.030)	(0.029)	(0.080)	(0.117)
Female × (Inf. Treat.)	-0.007	0.004	-0.130*	-0.089
	(0.037)	(0.057)	(0.077)	(0.084)
Obs.	957	957	356	356

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Why Pro-male counter-reacted to treatment message?

• Overconfidence bias (Heidhues, Köszegi, and Strack 2019)

- Pro-male loan officers have self-serving views about discrimination, that is, they **overestimate** the degree of discrimination against any group whose preferences they are personally aligned with (e.g. male applicants) and **underestimate** discrimination against any group they compete with or are not aligned with (e.g. female applicants).
- Bohnet 2016 shows that explicit diversity training programs in US corporations have made between-group differences more salient, which in turn have generated more discrimination against minority groups, not less.

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Motivation Experiment Results Conclusion

Market Concentration and Gender Discrimination

- *Becker 1957*: Provided that banks have constant returns to scale and that men and women are equally skilled, increasing competition should reduce gender discrimination.
- HH Index = $(1/100) \times \sum_{k=1}^{K} s_k^2$

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	Responded	Approved	Responded	Approved	
	(= 1)	(= 1)	(= 1)	(= 1)	
Female (= 1)	0.068	0.085	0.071	0.201	
	(0.065)	(0.092)	(0.115)	(0.190)	
HH Index	0.004***	-0.007**	0.007	0.020*	
	(0.001)	(0.003)	(0.008)	(0.011)	
Female ×	-0.006**	-0.008*		-0.025**	
HH Index	(0.003)	(0.005)		(0.012)	
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 - Non-negligible Efficiency Costs → 5.8 million dollars per year = annual cost of hiring 4% of the officer labor force in the banking system.
- Effects driven by **taste-based** sources on the part of **male officers**.
- Explicit Information treatments unlikely to be successful

- Increasing competition appears to be an effective way to reduce gender discrimination.
- Future research: Role of Fintech technologies and automation? (Bartlett et al. 2019, Gillis and Spiess 2020, Fuster et al. 2020)

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- Explicit Information treatments unlikely to be successful
 - Interventions oriented to directly reduce overconfidence bias?
 Role of culture?
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Motivation Experiment Results Conclusion

Bad Taste: Gender Discrimination in Consumer Credit Markets

Thanks for watching!

(We appreciate comments)

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Raimundo Undurraga, U. of Chile July 25th, 2020, NBER Summer Institute - Gender in the Economy Group