## Affirmative Action and Mismatch by Peter Arcidiacono

Hope to partially answer the following questions:
(1) How does affirmative action affect college enrollment?
(2) How can affirmative action be harmful to its beneficiaries?
(3) How does time-to-degree and choice of major depend on what college one attends?
(4) What makes mismatch particularly relevant for the sciences?
(6) Mismatch of a different variety: how do individuals sort into friendships?

## Where, not Whether

"Many people are unaware of how few colleges and universities have enough applicants to be able to pick and choose among them. There is no single, unambiguous way of identifying the number of such schools, but we estimate that only about 20 to 30 percent of all four-year colleges and universities are in this category. Nationally, the vast majority of undergraduate institutions accept all qualified candidates and thus do not award special status to any group of applicants, defined by race or on the basis of any other criterion." (Bowen and Bok, The Shape of the River, pp. 16)

Affirmative action primarily affects where individuals go to college, not whether they go at all.

## Share African American and School Quality



## How can more choices be bad?

One argument that is sometimes made against affirmative action is that it places minorities at schools where they will not succeed: minorities would be better off without affirmative action

Economists generally balk at this idea: affirmative action expands choice sets for minorities and more choices should be good

Ex ante mismatch is a possibility when universities have private information as to how well students are going to perform

## Disentangling Private Information

Using data from Duke, Arcidiacono, Aucejo, Fang, and Spenner (2011) show:

- On average, students dramatically over-predict their grades
- Duke students have virtually no private information about their grades
- Duke has substantial private information about how well students are going to perform.
- Bad grade surprises result in:
- Students being less satisfied with themselves
- Moves away from STEM fields
- Less likely to report that they would attend Duke again


## Graduation and Major Choice in California

Arcidiacono, Aucejo, and Hotz (2012) use data from the University of California system to look at how the match between the school and the student affects:

- How a student's choice of major changes over time
- How time to degree depends on the match

For every student who applied to the UC system between 1995-2000,

- Application and admissions decisions
- Broad racial categories
- Measures of preparation (SAT scores, high school grades)
- Admissions decisions for all schools where the student submitted an application
Data are reported in three year intervals: three years before Prop 209 and three years after.


## 1995-1997 Average SAT Scores and Graduation Rates by Majority-Minority Status

|  | Berk | LA | $\begin{array}{r} \text { San } \\ \text { Diego } \end{array}$ | Davis | Irvine | Santa Barb | Santa Cruz | River |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Average SAT scores |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Maj | 1335 | 1279 | 1245 | 1183 | 1136 | 1156 | 1164 | 1101 |
| Min | 1142 | 1119 | 1122 | 1072 | 1026 | 1024 | 1020 | 965 |
| 5 year graduation rates |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Maj | 85.7\% | 82.7\% | 78.9\% | 75.0\% | 67.3\% | 70.3\% | 65.2\% | 61.0\% |
| Min | 68.0\% | 65.6\% | 65.3\% | 54.3\% | 62.4\% | 59.1\% | 59.6\% | 58.4\% |
| 4 year graduation rates |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Maj | 55.7\% | 52.1\% | 54.3\% | 38.8\% | 36.9\% | 46.5\% | 43.0\% | 42.0\% |
| Min | 34.7\% | 31.1\% | 37.5\% | 22.1\% | 28.4\% | 31.6\% | 36.9\% | 33.6\% |
| Share of students |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Min | 22.1\% | 25.3\% | 12.5\% | 14.7\% | 13.1\% | 18.0\% | 17.5\% | 25.0\% |

# 1995-1997 SAT Scores by School, Majority-Minority Status, Initial and Final (5 Year) Major 

| Final Major | Berk | LA | $\begin{array}{r} \text { San } \\ \text { Diego } \end{array}$ | Davis | Irvine | Santa Barb | Santa Cruz | River |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Majority students, initial major science (SAT, share) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| SCI | 1362 | 1301 | 1268 | 1229 | 1172 | 1192 | 1172 | 1120 |
|  | 60.6\% | 51.8\% | 50.6\% | 46.3\% | 35.5\% | 34.2\% | 28.6\% | 31.3\% |
| NSCI | 1341 | 1285 | 1241 | 1197 | 1140 | 1151 | 1152 | 1053 |
|  | 25.2\% | 28.4\% | 26.1\% | 27.4\% | 29.9\% | 31.2\% | 33.6\% | 24.2\% |
| DNF | 1346 | 1275 | 1224 | 1200 | 1130 | 1151 | 1136 | 1074 |
|  | 14.1\% | 19.8\% | 23.3\% | 26.3\% | 34.7\% | 34.5\% | 37.8\% | 44.5\% |
| Minority students, initial major science (SAT, share) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| SCI | 1275 | 1179 | 1178 | 1180 | 1111 | 1094 | 1073 | 1035 |
|  | 30.5\% | 28.4\% | 31.0\% | 25.6\% | 23.8\% | 25.6\% | 19.7\% | 20.0\% |
| NSCI | 1170 | 1128 | 1108 | 1105 | 1044 | 1026 | 1019 | 967 |
|  | 36.1\% | 32.5\% | 32.7\% | 25.6\% | 36.3\% | 30.7\% | 31.8\% | 27.9\% |
| DNF | 1178 | 1113 | 1099 | 1100 | 1046 | 1018 | 1001 | 968 |
|  | 33.4\% | 39.1\% | 36.4\% | 48.9\% | 39.9\% | 43.7\% | 48.5\% | 52.1\% |

## Minority 5 Year Graduation Rates by School, SAT Quartile, and Initial Major

| SAT |  | San |  |  |  | Santa | Santa |  |
| ---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Quart | Berk | LA | Diego | Davis | Irvine | Barb | Cruz | River |
| Probability of graduating in science, starting in science |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Q1 | $12.4 \%$ | $17.3 \%$ | $20.1 \%$ | $15.5 \%$ | $18.4 \%$ | $19.2 \%$ | $16.0 \%$ | $16.9 \%$ |
| Q2 | $17.5 \%$ | $29.8 \%$ | $31.6 \%$ | $24.9 \%$ | $27.0 \%$ | $29.3 \%$ | $26.0 \%$ | $30.0 \%$ |
| Q3 | $45.1 \%$ | $38.3 \%$ | $38.7 \%$ | $41.8 \%$ | $30.0 \%$ | $46.3 \%$ | $20.8 \%$ | $22.2 \%$ |
| Q4 | $46.2 \%$ | $42.9 \%$ | $56.3 \%$ | $43.4 \%$ | $50.0 \%$ | $50.0 \%$ | $33.3 \%$ | $33.3 \%$ |

Probability of graduating in any major, starting in science

| Q1 | $58.8 \%$ | $52.3 \%$ | $56.4 \%$ | $42.5 \%$ | $59.8 \%$ | $51.5 \%$ | $47.2 \%$ | $46.1 \%$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Q2 | $65.0 \%$ | $62.2 \%$ | $65.1 \%$ | $55.8 \%$ | $58.4 \%$ | $60.0 \%$ | $60.0 \%$ | $54.0 \%$ |
| Q3 | $73.8 \%$ | $68.2 \%$ | $68.0 \%$ | $57.0 \%$ | $58.0 \%$ | $68.3 \%$ | $50.0 \%$ | $55.6 \%$ |
| Q4 | $67.5 \%$ | $71.4 \%$ | $77.1 \%$ | $58.5 \%$ | $76.9 \%$ | $75.0 \%$ | $66.7 \%$ | $33.3 \%$ |

## Minority 4 Year Graduation Rates by School, SAT Quartile, and Initial Major

| $\begin{gathered} \hline \text { SAT } \\ \text { Quart } \end{gathered}$ | Berk | LA | $\begin{array}{r} \text { San } \\ \text { Dieao } \end{array}$ | Davis | Irvine | Santa Barb | Santa Cruz | River |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Probability of graduating in science, starting in science |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Q1 | 3.1\% | 3.5\% | 7.3\% | 2.9\% | 5.8\% | 7.9\% | 8.3\% | 10.7\% |
| Q2 | 7.0\% | 9.2\% | 18.1\% | 6.6\% | 11.0\% | 14.0\% | 14.0\% | 16.0\% |
| Q3 | 20.5\% | 15.6\% | 20.0\% | 22.8\% | 16.0\% | 29.3\% | 16.7\% | 11.1\% |
| Q4 | 26.5\% | 22.2\% | 25.0\% | 24.5\% | 30.8\% | 33.3\% | 33.3\% | 33.3\% |

Probability of graduating in any major, starting in science

| Q1 | $16.5 \%$ | $13.0 \%$ | $21.3 \%$ | $12.0 \%$ | $18.3 \%$ | $18.1 \%$ | $24.2 \%$ | $24.7 \%$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Q2 | $22.0 \%$ | $21.1 \%$ | $33.1 \%$ | $16.9 \%$ | $25.3 \%$ | $23.5 \%$ | $29.9 \%$ | $27.6 \%$ |
| Q3 | $34.6 \%$ | $28.0 \%$ | $34.1 \%$ | $32.5 \%$ | $30.3 \%$ | $37.5 \%$ | $31.7 \%$ | $20.1 \%$ |
| Q4 | $38.4 \%$ | $34.4 \%$ | $37.6 \%$ | $33.1 \%$ | $44.3 \%$ | $39.9 \%$ | $46.9 \%$ | $39.7 \%$ |

# Predicted Minority 5 Year Graduation Rates by School, SAT Quartile, and Initial Major 

| SAT |  |  | San |  |  | Santa | Santa |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Quart | Berk | LA | Diego | Davis | Irvine | Barb | Cruz | River |
| Probability of graduating in science, starting in science |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Q1 | 11.1\% | 14.7\% | 17.7\% | 15.4\% | 15.6\% | 21.1\% | 20.9\% | 22.2\% |
| Q2 | 22.9\% | 26.9\% | 29.0\% | 28.4\% | 27.4\% | 34.9\% | 31.3\% | 37.4\% |
| Q3 | 32.8\% | 36.3\% | 37.1\% | 38.2\% | 36.3\% | 44.1\% | 38.4\% | 47.2\% |
| Q4 | 43.7\% | 46.1\% | 45.5\% | 48.4\% | 45.5\% | 53.4\% | 45.6\% | 56.9\% |
| Probability of graduating in any major, starting in science |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Q1 | 53.0\% | 50.7\% | 52.0\% | 47.9\% | 54.9\% | 51.1\% | 55.1\% | 53.8\% |
| Q2 | 61.6\% | 60.0\% | 59.3\% | 56.9\% | 62.8\% | 59.1\% | 62.4\% | 61.1\% |
| Q3 | 66.9\% | 65.6\% | 63.8\% | 62.5\% | 67.6\% | 64.0\% | 66.7\% | 65.6\% |
| Q4 | 72.3\% | 71.3\% | 68.4\% | 68.3\% | 72.4\% | 69.0\% | 71.1\% | 70.3\% |

# Predicted Minority 4 Year Graduation Rates by School, SAT Quartile, and Initial Major 

| $\begin{gathered} \text { SAT } \\ \text { Quart } \end{gathered}$ | Berk | LA | $\begin{array}{r} \text { San } \\ \text { Diego } \end{array}$ | Davis | Irvine | Santa Barb | Santa Cruz | River |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Probability of graduating in science, starting in science |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Q1 | 2.1\% | 3.0\% | 6.2\% | 4.0\% | 4.8\% | 8.0\% | 11.9\% | 13.3\% |
| Q2 | 7.4\% | 8.1\% | 13.9\% | 11.0\% | 11.0\% | 17.4\% | 20.2\% | 27.8\% |
| Q3 | 14.7\% | 14.2\% | 21.6\% | 19.0\% | 17.6\% | 26.2\% | 26.9\% | 39.6\% |
| Q4 | 25.0\% | 22.2\% | 30.6\% | 29.1\% | 25.5\% | 36.1\% | 34.2\% | 51.6\% |
| Probability of graduating in any major, starting in science |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Q1 | 15.5\% | 12.5\% | 20.3\% | 13.1\% | 17.4\% | 18.2\% | 27.7\% | 27.4\% |
| Q2 | 22.4\% | 20.0\% | 28.9\% | 21.3\% | 25.4\% | 27.0\% | 36.0\% | 39.4\% |
| Q3 | 28.8\% | 26.6\% | 35.7\% | 28.7\% | 31.9\% | 34.4\% | 41.9\% | 48.7\% |
| Q4 | 36.8\% | 34.4\% | 43.2\% | 37.6\% | 39.0\% | 42.6\% | 47.8\% | 58.0\% |

## Data from an elite private

Using data from Duke University, Arcidiacono, Aucejo, and Spenner (2012) look at (among other things):

- How persistence in the sciences varies by race
- How much of the racial gap in persistence is due to preparation
- How majors differ in the demands they place on students
- Why students say they switch majors


## Initial and Final Major by Race and Gender at Duke

|  | White | Black | White <br> Male | Black <br> Male | White <br> Female | Black <br> Female |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Final Major(\%) |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Humanities/Social Sci | 49.5 | 70.4 | 36.4 | 65.0 | 65.6 | 72.3 |
| Natural Sci/Eng/Econ | 50.5 | 29.6 | 63.6 | 35.0 | 34.4 | 27.7 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Expected Major (\%) |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Humanities/Social Sci | 39.2 | 38.3 | 31.3 | 23.3 | 49.0 | 44.0 |
| Natural Sci/Eng/Econ | 60.8 | 61.7 | 68.7 | 76.7 | 51.0 | 56.0 |

Note: Expected major was reported in the summer previous coming to Duke.

## Differences Across Majors

Classes in STEM fields and economics are more likely:

- to give lower grades
- African American freshmen have grades that are 0.77 points lower in STEM and economics classes
- to require more study time,
- half-hour to forty five minutes a week more studying from replacing a humanities/social science course with a STEM or economics course
- to be the student's most challenging course
- $76 \%$ of African American freshmen report that their most challenging class is a STEM or economics class.

Clear differences in persistence rates in STEM fields and economics by race/ethnicity. From most likely to leave to least likely:
(1) African American
(2) Hispanic
(3) White
(a) Asian

Controlling for academic background (SAT score, Duke's private ranking, or, alternatively, performance in the first year) results in no racial or ethnic differences in persistence.

Racial and ethnic differences in persistence result in large part from differences in one's academic background and one's background relative to one's peers.

Students surveyed in their sophomore year were asked if they switched majors and, if so, why. Two of the answers were:

- Lack of pre-college academic preparation for the major course requirements
- Academic difficulty in the major course requirements

African Americans and Hispanics were more likely to have switched majors because of lack of preparation or academic difficulty, as were those who were leaving the sciences.

Controlling for academic background again resulted in no significant racial or ethnic differences.

## Homophily

- Sociologists have a concept called 'homophily' which means that you want to hang out with people like you
- One of the concerns with affirmative action is that it can lead to segregation due to creating a mismatch between majority and minority characteristics.
- For example, individuals are likely to hang out with others of similar academic backgrounds.
- The marginal affirmative action enrollee at Duke may be more likely to hang out with white students at the school they would have attended absent affirmative action.


## Affirmative action and cross-race relationships

Using data from the College \& Beyond, Arcidiacono, Khan, and Vigdor (2011) show

- Increasing the SAT score of a white person at a particular school makes it more likely that the individual will know Asians, less likely they will know African Americans
- Some evidence of statistical discrimination: increasing the share of African Americans with higher test scores than one's own makes interaction more likely than increasing the share with test scores lower than one's own
- Simulation results suggest that substantially reducing affirmative action would actually lead to more cross-racial interaction


## Conclusion

(1) How does affirmative action affect college enrollment?

- affects where, not whether, minorities attend
(2) How can affirmative action be harmful to its beneficiaries?
- lack of information
(3) How does time-to-degree and choice of major depend on what college one attends?
- within a school, the least prepared are more likely to switch out of the sciences and take longer to graduate
(9) What makes mismatch particularly relevant for the sciences?
- on average, sciences grade harder, require more studying and the returns to preparation are higher
(6) How do individuals sort into friendships?
- relationships are more likely to be formed with individuals of similar backgrounds

