## Socioemotional Development during Adolescence: Evidence from a Large Macro Shock

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## MOTIVATION

#### LARGE (AND GROWING) INTEREST IN

- Formation/ development of socioemotional (or non-cognitive) skills (e.g. Cunha and Heckman (2007); Cunha, Heckman, and Schennach (2010))
- ♦ Socioemotional skills shown to have critical implications for long-term economic and social success

(e.g. Heckman et.al. (2013); Deming (2017); Butikofer and Peri (2021); Izadi and Tuhkuri (2022))

## ♦ Adolescence identified as a critical period (in economics and other disciplines)

(e.g., Burnett et al. (2011); Rapee et al. (2019); Blakemore and Mills (2014))

LESS WELL UNDERSTOOD: process of socioemotional skill development

- ♦ Limited (causal) evidence of impact of ENVIRONMENT on these skills
- ♦ Malleability of skills at different developmental stages (or ages)

#### This paper

#### MAIN FOCUS

Estimate causal effect of a macro shock on adolescents' socioemotional development.

- I How do socioemotional skills adjust to changes in the environment?
- II Does age (stage) in adolescence matter?
- III Are socioemotional skills linked to long-run behavior and outcomes?

#### How we do this

We use the quasi-experiment of German Reunification (Oct. 1990)

- $\diamondsuit$  Diff-in-diff exploiting timing of Reunification for different cohorts
- ♦ Focus on the socioemotional development of East-German individuals during early adolescence

## CONTRIBUTION

- I Impact of environment on youths' socioemotional development  $\rightarrow$  Overcoming identification challenges
  - 1. Household specific shocks can lead to selection bias  $\rightarrow$  use macro shift and panel data
  - 2. Reverse causality concern  $\rightarrow$  macro level uncertainty unlikely to be *caused* by child
- II Importance of adolescence as a stage of development
  - $\rightarrow$  Malleability of socioemotional development
    - $\diamond\,$  adolescence is a critical point for development, but we know little about process
    - $\diamondsuit$  two separate empirical strategies to identify causal effects and age heterogeneities

#### III Linking socioemotional development to Later Behavior

 we study: externalizing and internalizing behavior, behavioral control problems and labor market outlook

## PREVIEW OF RESULTS

#### IN THE SHORT-RUN

- Reunification had DRASTIC EFFECTS on the socioemotional development of (young) adolescents (impulse control and self-confidence decrease)
- ♦ Adolescents from low socioeconomic backgrounds particularly affected
- ♦ Timing matters: shock during EARLY adolescence has a LARGER IMPACT on socioemotional development

#### IN THE LONG-RUN

♦ Negative effect of socioemotional development PERSISTS INTO ADULTHOOD in terms of behavior and labor market outlook

#### GENDER DIFFERENCES

- ♦ Similar short-run impact of shock on socioemotional development and in adaptation
- $\diamondsuit~{\rm But}$  different manifestation in later behavior:

 $\label{eq:main} \begin{array}{l} \mbox{Male} > \mbox{Female in externalizing behavior and behavioral control} \\ \mbox{Male} < \mbox{Female for internalizing behavior} \end{array}$ 

## CONTEXT: GERMAN REUNIFICATION

- $\diamond$  Until 1945 single country
- ♦ After defeat in World War II: separation EXOGENOUSLY IMPOSED by winning Allies
- ♦ November 1989: fall of Berlin Wall
- ♦ October 3rd 1990: East Germany joined Federal Republic of Germany (REUNIFICATION)
- ♦ GDR ceased to exist: East Germany switched from STATE SOCIALISM to LIBERAL DEMOCRATIC CAPITALISM within short time period
- $\diamond\,$  Large and unexpected change in economic and political system

 $Overall, \ period \ around \ Reunification \ represented \ {\rm GREAT} \ {\rm DEAL} \ {\rm OF} \ {\rm UNCERTAINTY}$ 

## DATA: "LONGITUDINAL STUDY OF STUDENTS"

- $\diamondsuit$  Microdata following students <code>BEFORE AND AFTER</code> Reunification
- ♦ Follow TWO PARALLEL COHORTS of students in East Germany from 1985 to 1995 (ages 9 to 21)
  - $\diamond$  Younger cohort (treated): surveyed from ages 9/10 to 18/19
  - $\diamondsuit$  Older cohort: surveyed in the same calendar years from ages 11/12 to 20/21
- ♦ socioemotional measures: details
  - ♦ IMPULSE CONTROL:

Ability to resist an impulse/ temptation and to control its translation into an action

♦ Self-confidence:

Trust in one's own abilities and judgment

Summary statistics

#### ◊ Other measures:

- $\diamondsuit$  <code>BEHAVIOR:</code> externalizing, internalizing, and behavioral control issues
- ♦ OUTLOOK: (occupational) optimism, employment expectations
  - Summary statistics

#### IDENTIFICATION STRATEGY

CAUSAL EFFECT OF GERMAN REUNIFICATION ON SOCIOEMOTIONAL SKILLS

- ♦ Apply a DIFFERENCE-IN-DIFFERENCES (BY ACADEMIC GRADE)
  - ♦ <u>TREATMENT</u>: socioemotional development for the younger cohort (narrow period BEFORE AND AFTER REUNIFICATION, i.e. grades 7 - 8, ages 12 - 14)
  - ♦ <u>CONTROL</u>: as counterfactual trend, use evolution of older cohort's socioemotional development at the SAME AGES (BEFORE REUNIFICATION)
- ♦ Focus on grades directly PRE- AND POST-Reunification for the treated cohort, while control cohort is PRE-Reunification in both grades (i.e., no contamination of control group).
- $\diamond$  We estimate:

$$S_{icg} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 Treat_i + \beta_2 \underbrace{Post_{ig}}_{\substack{\mathsf{Student in}\\\mathsf{Grade 8}}} + \beta_3 (Treat_i Post_{ig}) + D_i + \epsilon_{icg}$$

### Environment Effect

DIFFERENCE-IN-DIFFERENCES BY GRADE

	Causal Effect				
	Impulse	Control	Self-Co	nfidence	
	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	
Treated Cohort x Post Reunification	-0.339***	-0.339***	-0.449***	-0.449***	
	[0.067]	[0.067]	[0.082]	[0.081]	
Treated Cohort (Young)	0.055		0.045		
	[0.074]		[0.062]		
Post Reunification (Age 14)	0.071	0.071	0.013	0.013	
	[0.044]	[0.044]	[0.041]	[0.041]	
Constant	0.044	0.067***	0.088**	0.107***	
	[0.048]	[0.017]	[0.042]	[0.019]	
N Observations	1754	1754	1754	1754	
N Individuals	877	877	877	877	
N Schools	62	62	62	62	
Individual FE	NO	YES	NO	YES	
R-squared	0.012	0.029	0.030	0.064	



#### INTERACTIONS WITH INDIVIDUALS' BACKGROUND

		mpulse Contr	ol		Self-Confidenc	e
	Parents	Parents	FDJ mem.	Parents	Parents	FDJ mem.
	Abitur	Executive	w. function	Abitur	Executive	w. function
	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]
Triple Interactions:						
Treated x Post x YES	-0.289**	-0.360**	-0.323***	-0.345**	-0.353**	-0.555***
	[0.131]	[0.149]	[0.116]	[0.162]	[0.149]	[0.116]
Treated x Post x NO	-0.469***	-0.604***	-0.277***	-0.509***	-0.546***	-0.371***
	[0.108]	[0.124]	[0.093]	[0.111]	[0.163]	[0.119]
p-value diff.	0.289	0.257	0.754	0.292	0.354	0.259
N Observations	1204	1012	1604	1204	1012	1604
N Individuals	602	506	802	602	506	802
N Schools	61	61	62	61	61	62
Individual FE	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
R-squared	0.043	0.056	0.025	0.056	0.066	0.075

 $\diamondsuit$  Socioemotional development of HIGH SES adolescents are LESS AFFECTED

Students with formerly STRONG POLITICAL TIES to Socialist regime particularly STRONGLY AFFECTED

Azmat, Kaufmann, and Oezdemir Adolescents' Socioemotional Development

#### HETEROGENEOUS EXPOSURE TO REUNIFICATION

- $\diamond$  Is AGE (or educational stage) at which individuals are affected by a shock relevant for socioemotional development?
- $\diamond~\mathsf{Apply}$  <code>DIFFERENCE-IN-DIFFERENCES</code> with alternative control group
  - ♦ Evolution in socioemotional skills over the SAME YEARS (i.e., same environment but impacted by shock at different age)
  - ◊ Compare

treated (younger) cohort at time of Reunification (ages 13-14) to control (older) cohort at time of Reunification (ages 16-17)

- ♦ Focus on socioemotional development OVER THE SAME YEARS (i.e., shortly before-after October 1990)
- $\diamond$  We estimate:

$$S_{ict} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 Treat_i + \beta_2 \underbrace{Post_{it}}_{\substack{\text{year}\\ \text{post-1990}}} + \beta_3 (Treat_i Post_{it}) + D_i + \epsilon_{ict}$$

#### HETEROGENEOUS EXPOSURE BY AGE

	Adjustment Process					
	Impulse	Control	Self-Co	onfidence		
	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]		
Treated Cohort x Post Reunification	-0.236***	-0.263***	-0.242**	-0.266***		
	[0.086]	[0.078]	[0.096]	[0.100]		
Treated Cohort (Young)	0.091		0.153**			
	[0.076]		[0.066]			
Post Reunification (Year 1991)	-0.022	0.006	-0.182***	-0.157**		
	[0.070]	[0.060]	[0.067]	[0.073]		
Constant	0.068	0.110***	0.059	0.133***		
	[0.053]	[0.018]	[0.048]	[0.023]		
N Observations	1473	1473	1471	1471		
N Individuals	825	825	825	825		
N Schools	62	62	62	62		
Individual FE	NO	YES	NO	YES		
R-squared	0.010	0.036	0.028	0.085		

Older cohort is affected but to much  ${\tt LESSER}$   ${\tt EXTEND}$ 

e.g.: impact on younger cohorts' impulse control  $_{\rm MORE\ THAN\ THREE\ TIMES\ LARGER:\ 0.34\ vs.\ 0.08=0.34-0.26$ 

#### ESTIMATION STRATEGY

LINKING SOCIOEMOTIONAL DEVELOPMENT TO LATER OUTCOMES

How is the NEGATIVE EFFECT of the macro shock on socioemotional development RELATED TO LONGER-RUN OUTCOMES?

We estimate in the long-run:

$$B_{ic} = \gamma_0 + \gamma_1 \Delta S_{ic} + \gamma_1^T (\Delta S_{ic} T_{ic}) + \gamma_2 S_{ic,pre} + \gamma_2^T (S_{ic,pre} T_{ic}) + \gamma_3 T_{ic} + \gamma_4 X_{ic} + \epsilon_{ic}$$

 $B_{ic}$ : measure of certain behavior of individual i in cohort c at ages 18 to 21 for both cohorts, this is POST-Reunification

 $T_i$ : treatment indicator (i.e., one if *i* belongs to younger cohort)

 $F_i$ : gender dummy (i.e., one if *i* is female)

 $S_{ic,pre}$ : level of socioemotional skill at age 12 (i.e., before Reunification for both cohorts)  $\Delta S_{ic}$ : change in socioemotional skill from 1989-1991

#### LINK TO LONG-RUN BEHAVIOR

	Externalizing Behavior		Behav. Prob	Control lems	Internalizing Behavior		
	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]	
Change in Socioemotional Skills							
Impulse Control	-0.148***	-0.046	-0.112***	-0.018	-0.012	0.072	
	[0.053]	[0.056]	[0.037]	[0.050]	[0.040]	[0.051]	
Impulse Control × Treated		-0.212*		-0.165**		-0.199**	
		[0.110]		[0.079]		[0.082]	
Self-Confidence	0.030	0.014	0.039	0.010	-0.116**	-0.010	
	[0.052]	[0.048]	[0.037]	[0.061]	[0.046]	[0.054]	
Self-Confidence × Treated		0.001		0.063		-0.213**	
		[0.117]		[0.076		[0.090]	

#### Interactions suggest $\rightarrow$ effects are borne entirely by YOUNGER COHORT

#### LINK TO LABOR MARKET OUTLOOK

			Осси	pational	Emplo	oyment
	Opti	mism	Opt	Optimism		tations
	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]
Change in Socioemotional Skills						
Impulse Control	0.012	-0.014	-0.030	-0.056	-0.026	0.010
	[0.022]	[0.037]	[0.039]	[0.071]	[0.047]	[0.094]
Impulse Control x Treated		0.042		0.054		-0.073
		[0.048]		[0.090]		[0.108]
Self-Confidence	0.059***	0.005	0.052	-0.094	0.066	-0.043
	[0.021]	[0.026]	[0.054]	[0.068]	[0.049]	[0.080]
Self-Confidence × Treated		0.118***		0.281***		0.217**
		[0.040]		[0.098]		[0.099]

Interactions suggest  $\rightarrow$  effects are borne entirely by <code>YOUNGER COHORT</code> and operate only via <code>SELF-CONFIDENCE</code>

### GENDER, RESPONSE TO SHOCK, BEHAVIOR

- Biological/ medical: well-established "fragile male" hypothesis (e.g., Trivers and Willard, 1973; Kramer, 2000)
- ♦ Behavioral: males more likely to engage in "risky" behavior

(e.g., Juutilainen et al., 2004)

- ♦ Economics:
  - ♦ Shock to home/ school environment: STRONGER IMPACT on disruptive behavior and education for BOYS

(e.g., Autor et al., 2019; Bertrand and Pan, 2013; Brenøe and Lundberg, 2018)

♦ Targeted early childhood interventions: MORE EFFECTIVE in improving outcomes of BOYS THAN GIRLS

(e.g., Conti et al., 2016)

#### Gender differences

- $\diamondsuit$  Causal effect of Reunification
  - $\diamond~$  Impulse control decreases  ${\rm SIMILARLY}$  for boys and girls
  - $\diamond~$  Self-confidence decreases  ${\rm STRONGER}$  for girls than for boys
- $\diamond$  Age hetereogeneity/ adjustment process
  - Impulse control: decreases almost ENTIRELY by boys and girls from YOUNGER COHORT
  - ♦ <u>Self-confidence:</u>

boys in late adolescence not affected girls from older cohort also affected but to LESSER EXTEND

- ♦ LINKS TO LONG-RUN OUTCOMES:
  - $\rightarrow$  transmission of shocks differ by gender
    - $\diamond\,$  for males: EXTERNALIZING behavior and BEHAVIORAL CONTROL
    - ♦ for females: INTERNALIZING behavior

CONCLUSION



table

table

#### CONCLUSION

- ♦ Evidence for CAUSAL LINK between increased uncertainty and socioemotional development
  - ♦ Sizable negative effect on socioemotional skills
  - ♦ Age at shock matters: impacts during EARLY adolescence much stronger than during later stage of adolescence
- ♦ Identify LASTING IMPACTS of a macro shock on young adults' behaviors and outlook
  - $\rightarrow$  propagated via shock to their socioemotional development IN  $_{\rm ADOLESCENCE}$
- ♦ Effect on socioemotional development similar for both, adolescent boys and girls BUT
  - $\rightarrow\,$  transmission to long-term behaviors differs by gender in important ways

#### THANK YOU

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## DETAILS ON SED MEASURES

Variable	Description
Impulse Control	Combined score of 2 items. Combines the students' strength of agreement with expressing their anger in a physical and verbal way using factor analysis, we reverse the scale so a higher value indicates better impulse control.
Self-Confidence	Captures students' agreement with having problems with low self-confidence, again we reverse the scale so higher values indicate higher self-confidence.



## SUMMARY STATISTICS: EARLY ADOLESCENCE

	Description	Answers	Mean	Std.Dev.	N.Ind.
Impulse Control	Combined index.				
Anger expression 1	Physical expression of anger.	14	3.227	0.848	877
Anger expression 2	Verbal expression of anger.	14	2.917	0.841	877
Self-Confidence	Level of self-confidence.	14	3.383	0.746	877



#### SUMMARY STATISTICS: LATE ADOLESCENCE/ EARLY ADULTHOOD

	Description	Answers	Mean	Std.Dev.	N.Ind.
Externalizing Behavior	Combined index.				
Physical fighting	Have you deliberately beaten or hurt someone in	01	0.053	0.225	656
	the last 12 months?				
Property Damage	Have you deliberately destroyed or damaged private/others' property in the last 12 months?	01	0.075	0.263	656
Trouble with police	Have you been in trouble with the police due to rampage or rioting?	01	0.026	0.159	656
Internalizing Behavior	Combined index.				
Suicidal thoughts	Have you ever had suicidal thoughts?	01	0.296	0.457	656
Repeated suicidal thoughts	Have you had suicidal thoughts more than once?	01	0.066	0.248	656
	, ,				
Behavioral Control Problems	Combined index.				
Cigarette smoking	Individual is a regular smoker.	01	0.369	0.483	656
Substance abuse	Consume alcohol on weekly basis and/or con-	01	0.221	0.415	656
	sumed at least two types of drugs.		-		
Economic Outlook					
Optimism	Indicator measuring an optimistic view on the	01	0.599	0.491	673
	individual future.				
Occupational Optimism	How optimistic are you about your occupa-	14	2.897	0.709	673
	tional/professional future?				
Employment Expectations	How optimistic are you about the chances of get-	14	2.691	0.818	673
	ting a job?				

back

## ENVIRONMENT EFFECT (SHORT-RUN)

#### PARALLEL TRENDS

	Placebo-Tests				
Treated Cohort x Post Reunification	-0.035	-0.033	0.055	0.055	
	[0.066]	[0.064]	[0.069]	[0.066]	
Treated Cohort (Young)	0.020		-0.023		
	[0.072]		[0.056]		
Post Reunification	0.067	0.067	0.013	0.013	
	[0.042]	[0.042]	[0.042]	[0.042]	
Constant	0.007	0.015	0.000	-0.009	
	[0.047]	[0.016]	[0.043]	[0.016]	
N Observations	1730	1730	1727	1727	
N Individuals	877	877	877	877	
N Schools	62	62	62	62	
Individual FE	NO	YES	NO	YES	
R-squared	0.001	0.003	0.001	0.002	

#### back

# EFFECTS ON SED: GENDER DIFFERENCES - PARALLEL TRENDS

			Placeb	o-Tests		
	SED: I	mpulse	SED:	Self-	Cogn	itives
	Cor	ntrol	Confi	dence		
	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]
Treated Cohort × Post Reunification	-0.076	-0.050	0.187	0.180	-0.012	-0.037
	[0.114]	[0.114]	[0.117]	[0.118]	[0.060]	[0.053]
Treated Coh. x Post Reuni. x Female	0.191	0.155	-0.173	-0.157	0.040	0.084
	[0.154]	[0.153]	[0.171]	[0.172]	[0.077]	[0.069]
N Observations	1488	1488	1486	1486	1456	1456
N Individuals	752	752	752	752	752	752
Individual FE	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES
R-squared	0.025	0.005	0.005	0.004	0.030	0.150



#### Environment Effect: DID (by grade) - by Gender • back

	Main Results				
	Impulse	Control	Self-Co	nfidence	
	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	
Treated Coh. × Post Reuni. × Female	-0.092	-0.092	-0.427***	-0.427***	
	[0.165]	[0.165]	[0.144]	[0.144]	
Treated Cohort x Post Reunification	-0.288***	-0.288***	-0.217*	-0.217*	
	[0.108]	[0.108]	[0.109]	[0.109]	
Treated Cohort (Young)	0.154		0.056		
	[0.114]		[0.091]		
Treated Cohort x Female	-0.191		-0.016		
	[0.157]		[0.133]		
Post Reunification (Age 14)	0.086	0.086	-0.056	-0.056	
	[0.060]	[0.060]	[0.063]	[0.063]	
Post Reunification × Female	-0.028	-0.028	0.130	0.130	
	[0.102]	[0.102]	[0.100]	[0.100]	
Female	0.336***		-0.160*		
	[0.112]		[0.092]		
Constant	-0.135*	0.067***	0.173***	0.107***	
	[0.072]	[0.017]	[0.062]	[0.019]	
N Observations	1754	1754	1754	1754	
N Individuals	877	877	877	877	
N Schools	62	62	62	62	
Individual FE	NO	YES	NO	YES	
R-squared	0.029	0.030	0.046	0.074	

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#### AGE EFFECTS: DID (BY YEAR) - BY GENDER • BACK

	Main Results				
	Impulse	e Control	Self-Co	onfidence	
	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	
Treated Coh. x Post Reuni. x Female	0.081	-0.078	-0.119	-0.069	
	[0.162]	[0.161]	[0.150]	[0.160]	
Treated Cohort x Post Reunification	-0.278**	-0.221*	-0.193	-0.233*	
	[0.127]	[0.117]	[0.121]	[0.120]	
Treated Cohort (Young)	0.081		0.157*		
	[0.112]		[0.090]		
Treated Cohort x Female	0.012		0.004		
	[0.152]		[0.132]		
Post Reunification (Year 1991)	0.085	0.028	-0.073	-0.033	
	[0.092]	[0.078]	[0.084]	[0.083]	
Post Reunification × Female	-0.199*	-0.040	-0.170	-0.221*	
	[0.102]	[0.100]	[0.111]	[0.123]	
Female	0.126		-0.175*		
	[0.108]		[0.093]		
Constant	0.004	0.110***	0.149**	0.134***	
	[0.072]	[0.018]	[0.063]	[0.023]	
N Observations	1473	1473	1471	1471	
N Individuals	825	825	825	825	
N Schools	62	62	62	62	
Individual FE	NO	YES	NO	YES	
R-squared	0.013	0.038	0.053	0.097	

AZMAT, KAUFMANN, AND OEZDEMIR ADOLESCENTS' SOCIOEMOTIONAL DEVELOPMENT

#### LINK TO LONG-RUN BEHAVIOR - BY GENDER

	Externalizing Behavior		Internalizing Behavior		Behav. Control Problems	
	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]
Change in Socioemotional Skills						
Impulse Control	-0.145***	-0.333***	-0.015	-0.092*	-0.110***	-0.292***
	[0.051]	[0.108]	[0.039]	[0.054]	[0.037]	[0.064]
Impulse Control × Female		0.316***		0.136		0.307***
		[0.119]		[0.084]		[0.094]
Self-Confidence	-0.001	0.047	-0.085*	0.058	0.031	0.098
	[0.051]	[0.093]	[0.046]	[0.040]	[0.037]	[0.067]
Self-Confidence × Female		-0.083		-0.246***		-0.118
		[0.097]		[0.089]		[0.088]
Significance of total effect on female						
p-value for Impulse Control		0.720		0.458		0.776
p-value for Self-Confidence		0.411		0.016		0.699



#### LINK TO LABOR MARKET OUTLOOK - BY GENDER

			Occupational		Employment	
	Optimism		Optimism		Expectations	
	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]
Change in Socioemotional Skills						
Impulse Control	0.010	0.014	-0.026	-0.031	-0.024	-0.018
	[0.022]	[0.035]	[0.041]	[0.060]	[0.048]	[0.064]
Impulse Control × Female		-0.008		-0.003		-0.021
		[0.048]		[0.088]		[0.079]
Self-Confidence	0.046**	0.043	0.038	0.062	0.035	0.065
	[0.021]	[0.030]	[0.052]	[0.074]	[0.048]	[0.064]
Self-Confidence x Female		0.007		-0.034		-0.042
		[0.038]		[0.101]		[0.081]
Significance of total effect on female						
p-value for Impulse Control		0.866		0.589		0.517
p-value for Self-Confidence		0.065		0.698		0.718

