



THE MINORITY REPORT

The annual news of the AEA's Committee on the Status of Minority Groups in the Economics Profession, the National Economic Association, and the American Society of Hispanic Economists

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Immigration and the Labor Market Outcomes of Black Male South Africans

By Nzinga H. Broussard,¹ United States Department of Agriculture, Economic Research Service

This report discusses the impact of international immigration in one of the most developed economies in Sub-Saharan Africa, South Africa.² South Africa's labor market possesses interesting characteristics that make studying the impact of labor supply shocks of particular interest to a labor and development economist. First, South Africa has substantially high unemployment and underemployment. In 2011, the unemployment rate was 30 percent for the Black male native-born population. Secondly, South Africa has an active informal sector that employs a large share of the labor force and absorbs some of the surplus labor that the formal sector is unable or unwilling to hire.³ In 2007, the informal sector employment rate was 25 percent for the Black male native-born population.

South Africa has seen a substantial increase in its foreign-born population since the fall of apartheid.

The immigrant share of the South African population between 1996 and 2011 grew from 2.7 percent in 1996 to 6.5 percent in 2011.⁴ However, very little is known about how immigration has affected the labor market outcomes of native-born South Africans.

Identifying the causal impact of international immigration on the labor market outcomes of native-born workers is complicated by a number of econometric issues (Borjas, Freeman and Katz, 1996; Borjas, 1994). For example, local demand shocks may attract immigrant workers and impact natives' labor market outcomes, resulting in an underestimate of the potentially harmful effect of immigration on native-born workers. This is shown graphically in Figures 1 and 2, which plot the relationship between the labor market outcomes of Black male South Africans in 47 labor markets and the immigrant

Continued on page 4

CONTENTS

Immigration and the Labor Market Outcomes of Black Male South Africans1

Riding the "Perfect Storm": The Impact of an Economic Crisis and Public Policy on Migration among Puerto Ricans on the Island and the U.S. Mainland ..5

Did School Spending Increases Improve Outcomes of Minority Children?8

PROFILES IN ECONOMICS

Bernard E. Anderson: The Promise of America12

Refugio Rochin-Rodriguez: Cultivating Social & Economic Development.....14

Peter Blair Henry: A Unique, Dual Perspective.....16

Announcement.....21

Economic Jobs Beyond Academia22

Selected Conference Sessions25



The Minority

Advancing Minority Representation in Economics

Report

Welcome to the latest issue of *The Minority Report*, a joint publication of the American Economic Association's Committee on the Status of Minority Groups in the Economics Profession (CSMGEP), the American Society of Hispanic Economists (ASHE), and the National Economic Association (NEA). This *Report* showcases the people, programs, research, and other activities of the three groups, which work together to increase the representation and presence of minorities in the economics profession.

AEAs' Committee on the Status of Minority Groups in the Economics Profession

CSMGEP was established by the American Economic Association (AEA) over 40 years ago to increase the representation of minorities in the economics profession, primarily by broadening opportunities for the training of underrepresented minorities. It has been operating under its current name since 1974, when it became a full, free-standing AEA Committee. CSMGEP, which is composed of economists from all areas of the profession, also works to ensure that issues related to the representation of minorities are considered in the work of the AEA, makes an annual report to the AEA on the activities of the Committee as well as on the status of minorities in the economics profession, and engages in other efforts to promote the advancement of minorities in the economics profession.

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American Society of Hispanic Economists

ASHE, established in 2002, is one of the affiliated members of the Allied Social Science Association. It is a professional association of economists who are concerned with the under-representation of Hispanic Americans in the economics profession at a time when Hispanics represent 16 percent of the U.S. population.



Its primary goals include:

1. Promoting the vitality of Hispanics in the economics profession through education, service, and excellence;
2. Promoting rigorous research on economic and policy issues affecting U.S. Hispanic communities and that nation as a whole; and
3. Engaging more Hispanic Americans to participate effectively in the economics profession.

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National Economic Association

The NEA was founded in 1969 as the Caucus of Black Economists to promote the professional lives of minorities within the profession. Through its journal, *The Review of Black Political Economy*, and its annual meetings/sessions, the organization produces and distributes knowledge of economic issues that are of exceptional interest to native and immigrant African Americans, Latinos, and other people of color.

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Questions about *The Minority Report* may be addressed to Cecilia Rouse, rouse@Princeton.edu

CSMGEP Pipeline Programs



CSMGEP currently sponsors training and mentorship programs for students at different stages of their education as well as “newly minted” PhDs.

The Summer Training Program

In 1974, the American Economic Association established the AEA Summer Training Program to prepare talented undergraduates for doctoral programs in economics and related disciplines, by offering a unique opportunity for students to gain technical skills in economics and conduct independent research. The Program provides courses in economic theory, mathematics, and econometrics as well as research seminars intended to acquaint students with key economic concepts and issues. This Program is open to all qualified students, regardless of race, ethnicity, or gender. The Minority Fellowships are open to qualified U.S. citizens and permanent residents, with preference for those who are members of historically disadvantaged racial or ethnic minority groups and advance the diversity of the economics profession. The Summer Training Program is hosted by Michigan State University starting in 2016, from June 4 - July 31. For more information, visit <https://www.aeaweb.org/committees/AEASP/index.php>. Please email aeasp@msu.edu for details.

AEA Economics Mentoring Program

In the mid-1990s, CSMGEP created the AEA Mentoring Program (formerly known as the Pipeline Program) for under-represented minority students in PhD programs in economics. Since then the Program has expanded to include new doctorates. In the program, students are matched with a mentor who sees them through the critical junctures of their graduate program or the early stages of their post-graduate career. The goal is to help students successfully complete their doctorate and secure academic and professional jobs in economics. The AEA Mentoring Program also hosts the AEA Summer Mentoring Pipeline Conference to which all participants and their mentors are invited. The conference, which is held each year at the site of the AEA Summer Training Program, brings together undergraduate students, graduate students, newly minted PhDs, and senior-level economists from around the country. This Program is currently funded through the generous support of the National Science Foundation. For more information about joining and supporting the AEA Mentoring Program, contact the Program Director Marie T. Mora at Marie.Mora@utrgv.edu, 956-665-3257.

Summer Economics Fellows Program

Sponsored by the American Economic Association and the National Science Foundation, the Summer Economics Fellows Program is designed to increase the participation and advancement of women and under-represented minorities in economics. Fellows spend a summer in residence at a sponsoring research organization or public agency, such as the Urban Institute or a Federal Reserve Bank. Summer economics fellowships are available to senior graduate students and junior faculty. Applications are due by February 15. For more information, go to <https://www.aeaweb.org/committees/CSMGEP/pipeline/summerfellows/> or contact Dan Newlon, Coordinator AEA Summer Economics Fellows Program at dan.newlon@aeapubs.org.

share in the labor market in 2011.⁵ The figures show a positive relationship between the labor market outcomes of Black male South Africans and the immigrant share. The employment-to-population ratio and total income are higher in labor markets where the immigrant share is largest.

Figure 1: Immigrant Share and Labor Market Outcomes of Skilled Black Male South Africans

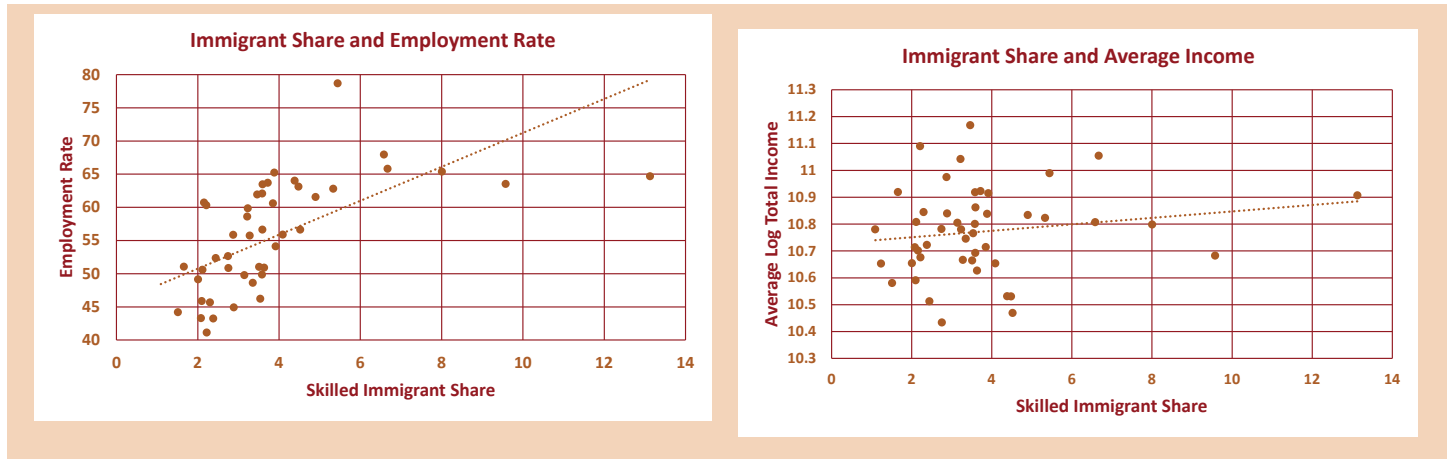
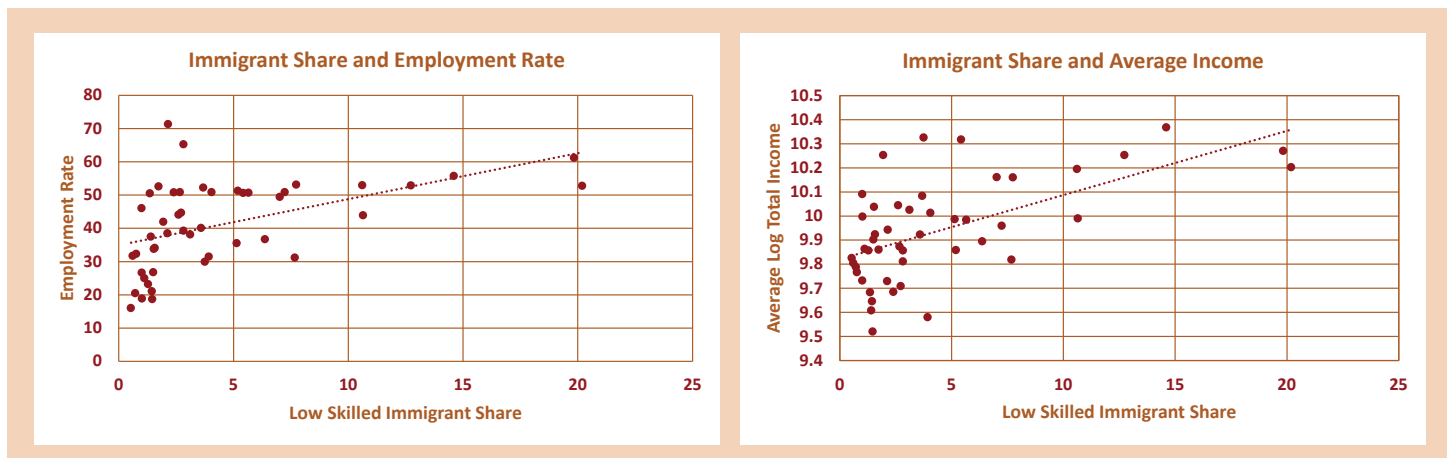


Figure 2: Immigrant Share and Labor Market Outcomes of Low-Skilled Black Male South Africans



This positive relationship is not surprising given that immigrants tend to migrate to areas with the greatest potential for employment. However, that does not mean that immigration “causes” improved labor market outcomes for native-born workers. To formally investigate the impact that immigration has on the Black male native-born population’s labor market outcomes, the analysis employs OLS and two-stage least squares regressions. Data comes from the 10-percent samples of the 2001 and 2011 South African censuses of the population and the 2-percent sample of the 2007 community survey produced by Statistics South Africa.⁶ The labor market outcomes are the employment-to-population ratio and log annual income. The immigrant share is calculated as the share of the labor force that is foreign-born. This is calculated separately for the skilled and unskilled labor force.⁷

Table 1 provides OLS estimates of the relationship between the labor market outcomes of Black male native-born South Africans and the immigrant share of the labor force. Columns 1 and 4 present the OLS estimates without taking into account local labor demand shocks.

Continued on page 18

Riding the “Perfect Storm”: The Impact of an Economic Crisis and Public Policy on Migration among Puerto Ricans on the Island and the U.S. Mainland

By Marie T. Mora, Alberto Dávila, and Havidán Rodríguez, The University of Texas Rio Grande Valley

For decades, social scientists and policymakers have studied the sensitivity of Puerto Rican migration patterns to economic, political, and social conditions on both the island and U.S. mainland. The new millennium has brought with it more interesting challenges and opportunities for researchers on this topic resulting from the large-scale net outmigration from the island that started in 2006, which was exacerbated by the long-term, and ongoing, fiscal and economic crisis in Puerto Rico. The deteriorating economic conditions on the island occurred during a time of exceedingly high levels of poverty (hovering around 45 percent) and unemployment rates (ranging between 10.5 percent and 16.4 percent), a situation that was compounded by: (1) the imposition of sales taxes on an increasingly economically disenfranchised population group (first in 2006 and again in 2015);¹ (2) a series of other fiscal austerity measures, starting in 2006, that included a significant reduction in public sector jobs; (3) a sharp increase in electricity prices resulting from the doubling of oil prices between 2005 and 2012; and (4) a significant loss in the number of manufacturing jobs on the island due to the expiration of Section 936 of the Internal Revenue Code in 2006, which exempted U.S. corporations from paying corporate income taxes

on goods produced in Puerto Rico (Mora, Dávila, and Rodríguez 2015a, 2015b).

The combination of these factors led to a “perfect storm” resulting in substantial net outmigration from the island to the mainland. Indeed, as indicated in the 2015 report on Puerto Rico’s financial and economic outlook, commissioned by the Government Development Bank, “Structural problems, economic shocks and weak public finances have yielded a decade of stagnation, outmigration, and debt” (Krueger, Teja, and Wolfe, 2015, p. 1). Data from the U.S. Census Bureau (2015) partially confirm this outcome as the total population in Puerto Rico fell by 379,000 residents, between 2006 and 2014, from 3.93 million to 3.55 million residents, a 9.7 percent decline. However, during this same time period, Puerto Rico’s positive natural increase in population (live births minus deaths), although declining for the past few decades, helped offset some of the population loss from outmigration. In particular, we estimate that Puerto Rico lost over half a million (506,000) residents specifically owing to net outmigration between 2006 and 2014 (see Table 1). This means that migrants who left Puerto Rico represented more than one out of eight

Table 1: Population and Net Outmigration Estimates from Puerto Rico, July 1, 2006 – July 1, 2014

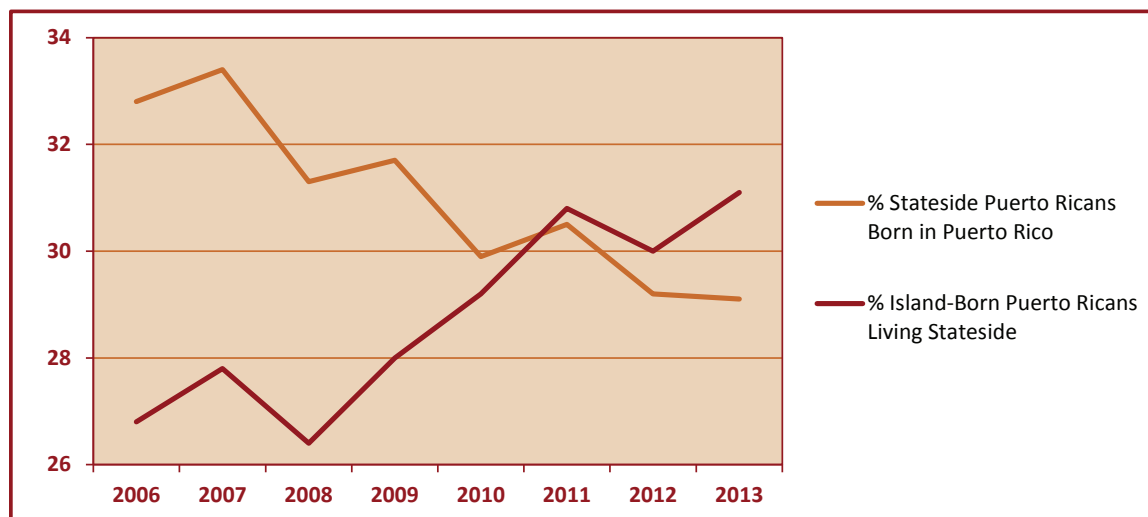
Characteristic	Estimates
Population of Puerto Rico in 2006	3,926,744
Population of Puerto Rico in 2014	3,548,397
Total change in population between 2006 & 2014	-379,379
Natural increase (live births – deaths) between 2006 & 2014	126,579
Estimated migration from Puerto Rico between 2006 & 2014	-506,326
Migration as percentage of 2006 Population	-12.9%

Source: Authors’ estimates using data from the U.S. Census Bureau (<http://www.census.gov/popest/estimates.html>)

(12.9 percent) of the island’s population in 2006, the year the fiscal and economic crises began escalating.

Some of the effects of this net outmigration can be observed in the growing proportion of island-born Puerto Ricans residing on the U.S. mainland. As Figure 1 shows, the percentage of all island-born Puerto Ricans residing stateside rose almost every year between 2006 and 2013. By 2013, nearly one-third (31.1 percent) of all island-born Puerto Ricans lived on the mainland, a statistically significant increase from the 26.8 percent who did so in 2006. Despite this increase, Figure 1 shows that among all Puerto Ricans living on the mainland, the percentage of those who were born in Puerto Rico significantly declined (from 32.8 percent to 29.1 percent) between 2006 and 2013. The reason for this seeming discrepancy is that mainland-born Puerto Ricans have higher fertility rates and thus a higher population growth rate relative to their island-born counterparts. For instance, the population growth rate of mainland-born Puerto Ricans (regardless of the place of residence) was 31.8 percent between 2006 and 2013, compared to a 1.6 percent decline in the population size of island-born Puerto-Ricans, and a 4.7 percent increase in the size of the mainland-born population overall.

Figure 1: Birthplace of Stateside Puerto Ricans and Residence of Island-Born Puerto Ricans, 2006 - 2013



Source: Mora, Dávila, Rodríguez (2015a). Notes: The population includes individuals who identify themselves as Puerto Rican and were born in Puerto Rico or the mainland U.S.

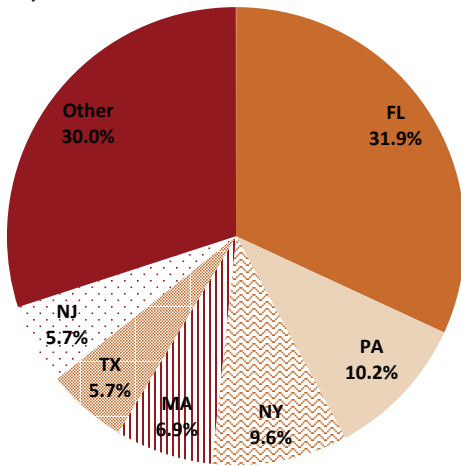
The Settlement Areas of Puerto Ricans on the Mainland

While the social, political, and economic effects of the net outmigration from Puerto Rico to the U.S. mainland and the island’s ensuing population decline are still unfolding, it is also important to consider the receiving areas on the mainland. In recent years, Puerto Ricans have become more likely to settle in non-traditional areas than in the past (as have other Hispanic groups) resulting in the development of significant Puerto Rican communities in places where once few Puerto Ricans resided (e.g., Mora, Dávila, and Rodríguez, 2015a; Silver and Vélez, 2015; Cohn, Patten, and López, 2014; Meléndez and Vargas-Ramos, 2013; Vélez and Burgos, 2010; Marzan, 2009; Acosta-Belén and Santiago, 2006). Some of the movement into non-traditional areas has been related to growing employment

opportunities, housing price differentials, and the development of new networks (e.g., Mora, Dávila, and Rodríguez 2015a; Vélez and Burgos 2010; Marzan 2009).

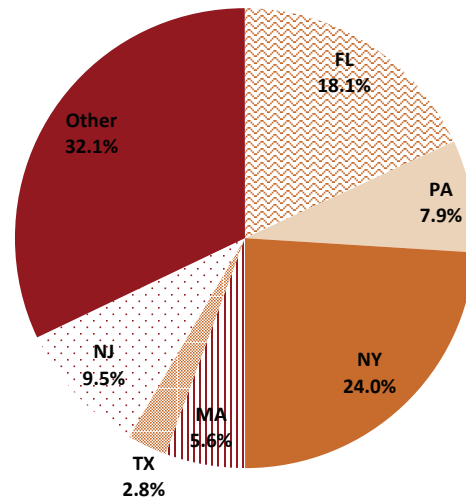
When examining the states of residence of Puerto Ricans who migrated from the island between 2006 and 2013, nearly one-third (31.9 percent) moved to Florida, but less than 10 percent went through the traditional “gateway” of New York (see Figure 2). Texas tied with New Jersey as the state with the fifth largest number of recent Puerto Rican migrants during this time. In contrast, Figure 3 shows that among stateside Puerto Ricans in general, one-quarter (24.0 percent) resided in New York, less than one-fifth (18.1 percent) were in Florida, and less than three percent lived in Texas.

Figure 2: Location of Recent Puerto Rican Migrants, 2006 - 2013



Source: Authors' estimates using 2006-2013 ACS data in the IPUMS. Note: Recent migrants are individuals who resided in Puerto Rico 12 months before completing the ACS. Only those individuals who self-identify as being Puerto Rican are included.

Figure 3: Location of All Puerto Ricans on Mainland, 2006 - 2013



Source: Authors' estimates using 2006-2013 ACS data in the IPUMS. Notes Recent migrants are individuals who resided in Puerto Rico 12 months before completing the ACS. Only those individuals who self-identify as being Puerto Rican are included.

Consider the case of Puerto Ricans in Florida. Puerto Ricans represented 3.7 percent of Florida’s total population in 2006, and 5.1 percent just eight years later. The representation of Cubans (Florida’s largest Hispanic group) also increased during this time, from 5.8 percent to 6.9 percent, but the percentage increase (both in relative and absolute terms) in the Cuban presence in the state was smaller than for Puerto Ricans. Even in 2006, mainland-born Puerto Ricans represented a greater share of mainland-born Florida residents (2.6 percent) than mainland-born Cubans (2.3 percent); however, this gap widened by 2013 as the presence of mainland-born Puerto Ricans rose (to 3.7 percent) by a greater magnitude than the corresponding increase for mainland-born Cubans (to 3.0 percent).

continued p. 10

Did the School Spending Increases Caused by School Finance Reforms Improve the Long-Run Outcomes of Minority Children?

By C. Kirabo Jackson, Northwestern University, and Rucker C. Johnson, University of California, Berkeley

Historically, discrimination in the labor market has played a role in producing wage earnings gaps between minorities and whites. More recently, however, Neal and Johnson (1996) document that differences in pre-market factors (in particular, measures of student achievement in adolescence) can account for a significant amount of the black-white earnings gap among both women and men. A direct implication of this finding is that policies that increase the acquisition of skills (or human capital) prior to labor market entry may lead to sizable improvements in the labor market outcomes of minorities and may help reduce some of the persistent gaps in socioeconomic attainment between whites and blacks and Hispanics. In this article, we explore the effect of increases in per-pupil public school spending, caused by school finance reforms, on the long-run educational attainment and labor market outcomes of white and minority children in adulthood.

In the 1960s, in most states, roughly half of school funding came from local contributions raised primarily through local property taxes (Howell & Miller, 1997; Hoxby, 1996). Because local property taxes were often higher in areas with higher home values, wealthier districts tended to spend more per student than poor districts. Indeed, in 1971, districts in the bottom 10 percent of the school spending distribution for the state spent \$4,436 per pupil in 2010 dollars, compared to \$7,718 per pupil for the top 10 percent. As such, students in the highest spending districts received per pupil funding that was more than 70 percent higher than that in the lowest 10 percent.

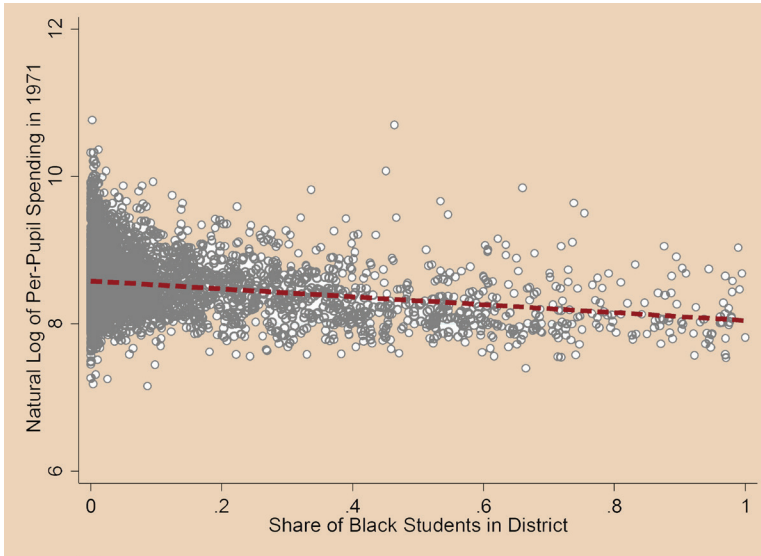
Segregation is another key factor that contributes to differential distribution of school resources by race and class. The proportion of black students in schools that are “hyper-segregated,” defined as 90-100 percent minority, was reduced by one-half from the late 1960s to the early 1980s. The high point of

integration was reached in 1988; in the years since then, there has been a reversal and schools have re-segregated along both race and class lines (Johnson, 2015). In 2010, 74.1 percent of black children attended majority non-white schools, and since 1990, we have witnessed an increase in the proportion of black children who attend hyper-segregated schools.

These segregated schools, disproportionately comprising poor and minority children, often do not have the same resources as schools serving more affluent and white children. The heavy reliance on the local property tax base to raise revenue for public K-12 education spending, combined with the fact that blacks and Hispanics tended to reside in areas with lower wealth than whites, contributed to racial differences in per-pupil spending levels. This was particularly the case before the wave of state school finance reforms that first accelerated during the 1980s and early 1990s. For instance, in 1972, districts with more than 50 percent of black students had average per-pupil spending of \$3,846, compared to \$5,233 for districts in which more than 95 percent of students were white – a spending difference of about 36 percent.

Figure 1 is a scatter plot of the percentage of black students enrolled in the districts against the natural log of per-pupil spending in 1971 (the year preceding the first court-ordered school finance reform). There is a clear negative association, as we find that a 10 percentage-point increase in the share of minority students in a school is associated with a 5.4 percent decrease in per-pupil spending. A linear regression of the percentage of black students attending the school district against the natural log of district per-pupil spending in 1971 yields a coefficient of -0.53

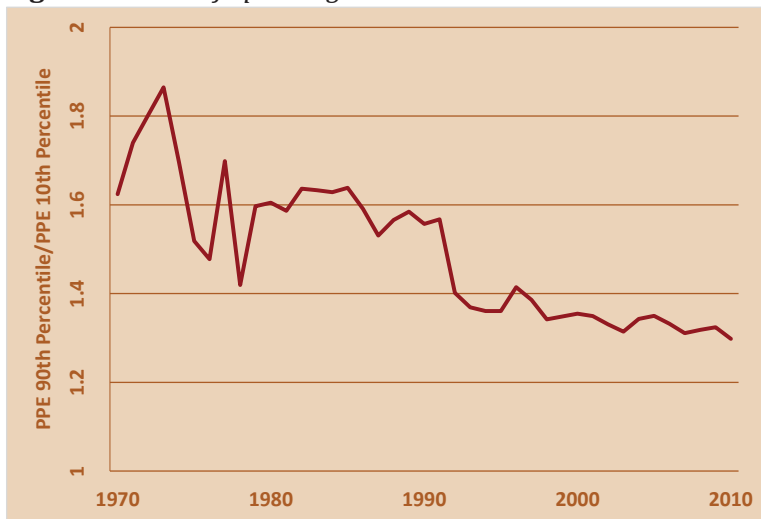
Figure 1: *Per-Pupil spending in 1971 by-Percent Black Enrollment*



In response to large within-state differences in per-pupil spending across wealthy and poor districts (that also differed markedly between predominantly white vs. minority communities), state Supreme Courts overturned school finance systems in 28 states between 1971 and 2010 (Berry & Wysong, 2010), and many states have implemented legislative reforms. If the reforms introduced were

effective, one might expect to observe a narrowing of the per-pupil spending gaps across poor and more affluent districts within states over time. Indeed this is exactly the pattern one observes in the time-series data. To illustrate this visually, Figure 2 shows the ratio of district level per-pupil spending for districts in the top 10 percent of the state distribution and those in the bottom 10 percent. There is a general trend toward less spending inequality within states over time, and the reduction in the gaps appear to be most pronounced during the period of reforms.

Figure 2: *Ratio of Spending Over Time*



Given the distribution of race/ethnicity across neighborhoods, one would expect that the gaps in per-pupil spending between school districts that enrolled large shares of black students and those that enrolled large shares of white students would have also narrowed. To show this Figure 3 presents the per pupil spending level over time for districts that enrolled more than

50 percent black students and those that enrolled more than 95 percent white students. While school districts with more than 50 percent black students in 1987 had lower-per pupil spending levels than districts with more than 95 percent white students in 1970, this was no longer true in 2010. To better quantify this change in the relationship over time, the coefficient on percent black, predicting the natural log of per-pupil spending in 1971 was -0.53, by 1990 the coefficient was -0.15, and by 2010 the coefficient was +0.035. In other words, a district that was 100 percent black could be expected to have 55 percent lower per-

Concluding Remarks

Representing approximately one out of every ten Hispanics, Puerto Ricans are the U.S.'s second largest Hispanic subgroup (after Mexican Americans). In many communities, Puerto Ricans are the largest, and in some cases, the fastest growing Hispanic population. Not all of the population growth among Puerto Ricans living stateside reflects outmigration; as noted above, mainland-born Puerto Ricans have a relatively high population growth rate, which is not the case for those born on the island.

The demographic trends related to net island-to-mainland migration patterns outlined above highlight the sensitivity that economic and sociopolitical events can have on the composition of the Puerto Rican population residing stateside. Economic

and policy shocks emanating from either the U.S. mainland or the island impact the size of the Puerto Rican population and their demographic composition on both the island and mainland. In light of their growing presence in the continental U.S. due to outmigration from the island and a relatively high population growth rate among those born on the mainland, the socioeconomic outcomes for Puerto Ricans have become increasingly important to the future direction of certain states, as well as to the nation overall. Moreover, given the long-term economic crisis that has permeated the island, combined with fiscal policies that have adversely impacted the economic well-being of its population, the future of the island and mainland Puerto Rican population will require ongoing and careful attention from both researchers and policy makers. ■

¹Prior to 2006, island residents did not pay sales taxes. In April 2006, confronting a significant budget deficit and refusing to approve then-Governor of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, Aníbal Acevedo-Vilá's budget, the Legislative Assembly shut down government offices. The political gridlock diminished when Governor Acevedo-Vilá signed into law in July 2006 Puerto Rico's first sales tax: the *Impuesto a las Ventas y Uso* (IVU, as it is known for its acronym in Spanish). The Governor argued he had no other option and was "forced" to do so to "save" Puerto Rico's credit ratings. The IVU, which went into effect in November 2006, imposed a "state" tax of 5.5 percent and a municipal tax of 1.5 percent, for a total sales tax of 7.0 percent for island residents. In light of the continued rising debt, after much political drama, in May 2015, the IVU was increased again to a total of 11.5 percent (effective July 2015), representing the highest "state" sales tax in the U.S. followed by Tennessee, which has an average 9.45 percent sales tax when considering local sales taxes.

²Unless otherwise noted, our estimates are based on the public-use microdata samples from the 2006-2013 American Community Surveys and the Puerto Rican Community Surveys, available in the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS) provided by Ruggles et al. (2015).

³As we note elsewhere (e.g., Mora, Dávila, and Rodríguez 2015a), the relatively low fertility rates of island-born Puerto Rican women have been well documented. Explanations include differences in age distributions (as island-born Puerto Ricans tend to be older than their mainland-born counterparts), outmigration of younger Puerto Ricans (who then start their families on the mainland), and massive female sterilization campaigns that occurred in Puerto Rico between the 1930s and 1970s. For a discussion of the latter, see Ramirez de Arellano and Seipp (1983).

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Bernard E. Anderson
Whitney M. Young, Jr. Professor
Emeritus, the Wharton School,
University of Pennsylvania

I have always had an interest in influencing public policy. I have made an effort to get out of the ivory tower and off the campus.

The Promise of America

Bernard E. Anderson was in the audience on June 4, 1965, when President Lyndon Johnson delivered the commencement address for Howard University. In his speech, Johnson spoke of racial injustice and the economic disparities between blacks and whites. “You do not,” he said, “take a person who, for years, has been hobbled by chains and liberate him, bring him up to the starting line of a race and then say, ‘You are free to compete with all the others;’ and still justly believe that you have been completely fair. Thus it is not enough just to open the gates of opportunity. All our citizens must have the ability to walk through those gates.”

Growing up in an area of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania that W.E.B. DuBois had studied for his classic work, *The Philadelphia Negro* (1895), Anderson saw first-hand the unfairness that Johnson spoke about. He noticed the disparity in the amount of money that black and white people had to spend, and how they spent it. He was troubled by the differences in the quality of housing in local and more affluent neighborhoods. As a college freshman, he decided to major in economics so that he could explore racial inequality in economic life and related issues.

Anderson’s diverse professional career began in academia. His undergraduate economics professor at Livingstone College had studied at Harvard under Professor John D. Black, who also taught President Barack Obama’s father. At Michigan State University, his major graduate professor and advisor was Dr. Andrew F. Brimmer, who became his mentor in the profession. Anderson also studied under some leading institutional labor economists, including George W. Taylor, Jack Steiber, Herbert R. Northrup, and Charles Killingsworth.

After completing his PhD at the University of Pennsylvania, Anderson joined the faculty at the Wharton School, rising through the ranks to become Wharton’s first African American tenured professor. In addition to his academic work, Anderson looked for ways to address employment and economic development issues outside of academia. “As an economist,” he says, “I have always had an interest in influencing public policy. I have made an effort to get out of the ivory tower and off the campus.” In 1993 he was appointed by President William J. Clinton as Assistant Secretary of Labor for Employment Standards Administration. In this job, which Anderson calls “the high point” of his career, he implemented policies that created 23 million new jobs, reducing black youth unemployment to the lowest level in 25 years.

Anderson has belonged to numerous boards and organizations “off campus,” including America’s first mutual insurance company,

the Rockefeller Foundation, the United Bank of Philadelphia (Pennsylvania's only African-American bank), the Philadelphia Urban League, the Franklin Institute, and the Philadelphia Orchestra, to name just a few. The author of six books, Anderson also has written several scholarly and popular publications on labor markets, economic performance, and community economic revitalization. He has received six honorary degrees and many awards.

Throughout his career, Anderson has energetically supported young people in the economics profession. At the University of Pennsylvania, where he was appointed Whitney M. Young, Jr. Professor of Management at the Wharton School, he mentored dozens of African American economics and business students. As a program director of the Rockefeller Foundation, he recommended, and the board of trustees approved, the first foundation support of the AEA summer program, which helps talented minority undergraduate students learn skills and conduct research in economics in preparation for studies at the doctoral level. The program was led by Marcus Alexis. (He and Anderson were two of the seven founders of the Caucus of Black Economists in 1969.) The grant was substantial and supported the summer program for three years.

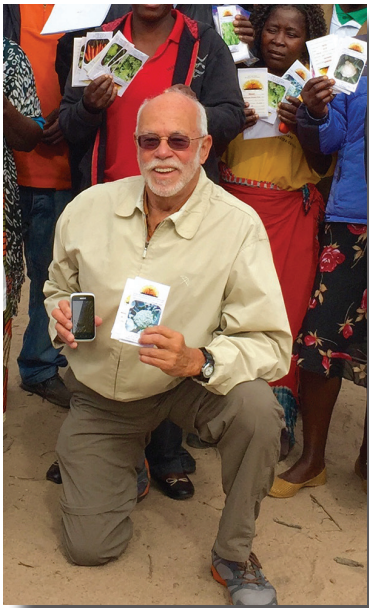
Anderson encourages young minority economists to excel in economic studies; to choose an area of vital interest and make it their own: "Strive to be the best in that field; offer new insights, and don't get caught up in methodological trivia. Strive for diversity in professional experience; take advantage of growth opportunities outside academia. But always move upward, never sideward, or backwards. Most importantly, define yourself; don't let others define you."

In a speech he gave at Howard University in 2013, nearly 50 years after President Johnson's famous speech at that same school, Anderson noted that ever since the Emancipation Proclamation, "African Americans and their allies have worked long and hard to gain economic security for black people, and to eliminate racial inequality . . . [however,] their efforts have met with limited success." Anderson described economic policies that he believed "would strengthen the economy, increase GDP, improve income distribution, and contribute to stable, balanced growth." These include the achievement of full employment, encouraging the participation of African Americans in all sectors of the American economy, and targeting federal investment to people and communities in greatest need. These policies "would benefit all Americans, while eliminating racial disparities in economic life."

In a resounding conclusion to his speech, Anderson affirmed that "where there's a will, there's a way. . . . We know where we need to go; that is to eliminate racial inequality. We need to make the practice of America equal to the promise of America." ■

When asked what part of his career has been most rewarding, Anderson responded:

It has been a journey of pleasant discovery, demonstrating what can happen when opportunities are open to African Americans in the economics profession, both in and out of academia.



Refugio Rochin-Rodriguez
Professor Emeritus of Chicana/o
Studies and Agricultural
Economics at the University of
California, Davis

***I am especially
aimed at
resolving
the hurdles
educators
often face in
the creation
of tomorrow's
teaching
and learning
environments...***

Cultivating Social & Economic Development

The first of many communities that would shape Dr. Refugio Rochin's life was a barrio—a kind of “urban village”—in Carlsbad, California, where he was raised by hard-working, Spanish-speaking parents. Rochin began working in the family businesses when he was eight years old. He was the first in his family to go to college, and in 1962 he became one of the first Peace Corps volunteers. While in the Peace Corps in Colombia, he worked with Andean villagers and saw first-hand how community development could empower low-income people. Since then, he has worked with dozens of communities around the world—from Native American groups in Arizona to villagers in Pakistan.

Designated as one of “America's Top 100 Influential Hispanics” by *Hispanic Business* magazine, Rochin's aim in life has been to enhance the effectiveness of public programs and policies that improve socio-economic conditions, health and environment, and community well being. His academic work has broadened opportunities for Latinos, among others, and his international consulting has helped farmers and villagers across the globe strengthen their communities and improve their quality of life.

Rochin did his graduate work at the University of Arizona, where he received an MA in Agricultural Economics/Anthropology; and at Michigan State University, where he received an MA in Communication and a PhD in Agricultural Economics and International Economics. Rochin's graduate studies were grounded in his work with villagers, farmers, and other agricultural workers. In Arizona, he worked with the Yaqui and Tohono Odum communities, exploring water resource development in the desert. While at Michigan, he worked with United Migrant Opportunity to address housing issues and the poverty of field workers. Of his studies, Rochin says, “I believe that learning is experiential and not necessarily progressive when one is bogged down in courses. I did not seek out professors as much as ideas and creative thoughts that addressed social issues.”

In 1969, he joined the Ford Foundation in Pakistan to work with Nobel Laureate Dr. Norman Borlaug's Green Revolution team in Asia. Rochin generated research on the diffusion and adoption of high-yielding varieties of wheat, rice, potatoes, and corn, primarily among small farmers in Pakistan and Bangladesh. He published key reports on the impact of new seed technology in Asia, and his dissertation included research on the socio-economic impacts of new technology in Pakistan.

Over the course of his academic career, Rochin advanced to Full Professor in three disciplines: Agricultural Economics, Sociology, and Chicano/Latino Studies. In addition to teaching and doing research, he co-developed new academic programs and curricula at several institutions. For example, when Chicano students at UC Davis wanted an education that addressed their history and culture, Rochin co-founded and chaired one of the nation's first Chicana/o Studies programs. At that time, Cesar Chavez and the “Latino movement” became a part of his life, and he developed new courses

on poverty, labor, and the economics of small business and community development. He also drafted plans for Latino Studies at Michigan State University and the University of Notre Dame. At the University of New Mexico (2010–2013), Rochin co-developed curriculum for the American Economic Association’s Summer Economics Fellows Program which prepares under-represented minority students for doctoral degrees in economics.

While working in academia, Rochin also became the Founding Director of the Smithsonian Center for Latino Initiatives, where he worked to increase the representation and recognition of Latinos nationwide. He led the development of an acclaimed Virtual Gallery; summer training in museum administration; and traveling exhibitions presenting examples of Latino history, leaders, culture, music, and art, as well as Latinos in science and technology.

Rochin has won many awards, and his research and publications span topics on science, arts, education, culture, and U.S. community and international development. He has consulted, researched, and generated dozens of studies of villagers and farmers in Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Middle East. He has published more than 100 articles in professional journals, magazines, books, and government reports. His publications cover a wide range of topics: international development, the diffusion and adoption of new technology, the effectiveness and applications of new programs and projects, and changing demographics within the United States, to name a few.

He continues to research and write articles about rural Latinos and small-scale farmers in developing countries. Following the path of his Peace Corps experience, Rochin consults and volunteers his time to farmers with limited resources, helping them to advance economically and socially in their countries. Recently, he assisted growers in a village in Mozambique, developing business and strategic plans and exploring ideas for the development of a large estate given to them by the government for a community farm.

After several years working to develop new programs and policies at various institutions, he now shares his experiences and expertise with other instructors. Of his work at a nonprofit he co-founded, Knowledge Brokers, Inc., Rochin says, “I am especially aimed at resolving the hurdles educators often face in the creation of tomorrow’s teaching and learning environments, both virtually and in direct face-to-face settings.” Recently, he co-founded another nonprofit, The California Foundation Fund, to certify financial literacy instructors who then teach financial literacy to low income people in the community.

Rochin believes in mentoring for life. Today, he enjoys keeping in touch with over 300 protégés—some of them now grandparents—dating to 1971 of his professional career. Proudly, he says he has a directory of over 4,000 contacts worldwide. His many pastimes include yoga, swimming, hiking, and spending time with his grandchildren.

Volunteerism, teaching, research, and leadership are all part of Rochin’s service in the world. One of the many outcomes of his service is the cultivation of connections between people. Farm workers in the United States and villagers in developing countries often ask him for examples and stories of others. Rochin says, “I can cross-fertilize other peoples’ experiences, and that is very enriching.” ■

Proust Questionnaire

A salon and parlor game of the 19th century, made most famous by Marcel Proust’s answers, the Proust Questionnaire (adapted here) gets to the heart of things....

What is your idea of a perfect day?

Strong coffee, cool weather, short walk, swim at the city pool and yoga every other day, i.e., with my wife Cassie. Also enjoy reading online news and corresponding with students, protégés and friends.

What’s on your nightstand?

My iPhone6 to check the weather, news, email, and calendar. I can watch online movies when bored.

Whom do you most admire?

My father – Refugio Rochin Diaz-Salcedo – and my mother – Juanita Rodriguez de Rochin. Together they had 5 kids, developed mom-pop grocery stores, a company for wholesale produce and San Diego county’s largest restaurant. All based on Mexican produce. They each lived 85 years and were married for 65 years. They worked hard, shared their love for music, family, and friends and were generous with charities. My father supported and employed Mexican kids like himself.

What is your greatest achievement?

I have learned and benefited from others. My memories and contacts have provided me with insights and experiences that I like to share via stories and examples.

What will you never forget?

I have vivid memories of poor people in desperate settings. Homeless and hungry. Images of some with mental illness – wandering and shuffling about. Some on the fringe of life.

What’s your favorite movie or book?

Movie: *One-Eyed Jacks*, a 1961 Western, is the only film directed by actor Marlon Brando. Brando portrays the lead character Rio, and Karl Malden plays his partner “Dad” Longworth.

Which words or phrases do you most overuse?

“Prove it!”

Which talent would you most like to have?

Playing the piano and speaking Arabic.



Peter Blair Henry
Dean, Leonard N. Stern School of Business; Dean Richard R. West
Professor of Business; William R. Berkley Professor of Economics & Finance

If we would only have the humility to observe the lessons that much of the third world provides, there'd be a more prosperous future for us all.

A Unique, Dual Perspective

Peter Blair Henry's first lesson in international economics came when he was only eight years old and his family moved from rural Jamaica to the comfortable Chicago suburb of Wilmette. Henry didn't understand why his neighbors in the United States were better off and had much more disposable income than the middle-class families he knew in Jamaica. The elusive answer to the question of why the average standard of living varies from country to country has been the focus of his work and still drives him today.

As an undergraduate at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Henry got hooked on economics, which seemed to offer him a perfect way to combine his love of math, science, and problem-solving with his interest in social issues. Professor William (Sandy) Darity, Jr. encouraged him to explore the field of economics and gave him a few of his own articles to read, which Henry found fascinating. He had trouble understanding some of the math, however; at Darity's suggestion, he took several math classes during his last two years at UNC.

Darity also encouraged Henry to apply for Marshall and Rhodes fellowships. After receiving his bachelor's degree in economics from UNC, Henry became a Rhodes Scholar at Oxford University, where he received a bachelor's degree in mathematics. In 1997, Henry received his PhD in economics from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT). From MIT he went to the Stanford University Graduate School of Business, where he was the Konosuke Matsushita Professor of International Economics.

About his experience, Henry has said, "I was born in Jamaica but was educated by, and now serve, prestigious first-world institutions, so I believe that I have a unique, dual perspective." Perhaps because of that perspective, Henry was tapped in 2008 by then-U.S. President-elect Barack Obama to lead the Presidential Transition Team in its review of international lending agencies such as the IMF and the World Bank. In June 2009, President Obama appointed Henry to the President's Commission on White House Fellowships.

In 2010, Henry was appointed Dean of New York University's Leonard N. Stern School of Business and joined the NYU Stern Faculty as the William R. Berkley Professor of Economics and Finance. At the age of 40, he became the youngest dean in the school's 115-year history. Since becoming dean, Henry has introduced topics into the business school that once seemed unrelated to business—such as urbanization and human rights. While Henry believes globalization has greatly influenced business and business education, he points out that it also provides an opportunity to interconnect, to apply business tools to benefit society and to solve some of the larger problems with which economists struggle. "We have to have a different way of thinking about the role of business in society," he

says. “Some 2.9 billion people will move into cities over the next 30 years, almost all in the emerging world. How are we going to finance the infrastructure needed to make that happen? If we get it wrong it will be a huge problem.”

Henry is the author of several path-breaking studies, including “Institutions versus Policies: A Tale of Two Islands,” which he co-authored with Conrad Miller while he was at Stanford. In this study, Henry and Miller challenged conventional wisdom about the role of institutions versus policy in determining economic growth. Comparing Barbados and Jamaica, former British colonies that had inherited almost identical political, economic, and legal institutions, they argued that the divergence in the countries’ standards of living (Barbados’s standard is much higher than Jamaica’s) was the result of the policy choices made by each government, not the nature of their institutions. This study generated a lot of interest not only from economists but also from sociologists such as Orlando Patterson.

Henry remains deeply interested in economic development, the topic of his first book, published in 2013: *Turnaround: Third World Lessons for First World Growth*. In his book, Henry argues that advanced nations (and developing ones) can learn valuable lessons about economic policy and reform from the experiences of countries formerly labeled “third world.” “If we would only have the humility to observe the lessons that much of the third world provides, there’d be a more prosperous future for us all,” Henry says.

Firmly believing that strong mentorship is a key element of success, Henry encourages young minority economists and business students to find as many allies as they can. For those who struggle with “outsider status,” he suggests that they leverage their natural ability to perceive themselves as others do. This, says Henry, can be useful in a world where clients and customers are ever more likely to come from countries and cultures not their own. “I would encourage anyone, of any race, to hone the ability to bridge different experiences, to use identity as a source of insight and, therefore, advantage.” In Henry’s own personal and professional experience, his unique perspective has brought him advantages he might not have had otherwise.

“The most important thing,” he continues, “is simply to do the work, to excel in whatever you choose to do. And take care to retain and nurture your intrinsic curiosity, your love of good questions.”

Today, Henry enjoys the combination of research, teaching, and leadership. He is proud that NYU Stern is providing greater access to higher education for high-achieving, low-income students. He is grateful that he is able to “pay forward to the next generation” — through his position at NYU Stern and also his own mentorship of young minority scholars via the PhD Excellence Initiative, funded by the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation — some of the advantages he has received through his family, his education, and the support of mentors and colleagues. ■

Proust Questionnaire

A salon and parlor game of the 19th century, made most famous by Marcel Proust’s answers, the Proust Questionnaire (adapted here) gets to the heart of things....

What is your idea of a perfect day?

A perfect day would be spent with my family. ... always includes second breakfast, time outdoors with my four boys and a ball of some sort, a part of the day for uninterrupted reading and thinking time, and an evening that gathers family and friends around our table to give thanks, enjoy one of my wife Lisa’s fabulous meals, and share a lot of laughs together. There is probably also pie on the table.

What’s on your nightstand?

My nightstand currently supports a teetering stack of academic journals, newspaper articles I’ve been meaning to read, and draft pages from a research project.

How do you treat yourself? What’s your favorite indulgence?

I tend to think of indulgence as making a cup of tea and sitting down to read a novel, particularly a classic of English literature.

What is your greatest achievement?

Besides being a 46-year-old business-school dean who can still dunk a basketball on his students, I would have to say that I consider as a great achievement anything I have done that has made my family, friends, mentors, or colleagues truly proud.

What will you never forget?

The life lessons that my late father and my mother, who is still living, have taught me across the years. They are too numerous to mention.

What’s your favorite sport?

Football and basketball are both high on the list, but my true favorite is any sport my sons are playing. My eldest is a senior and recently finished his last high-school football season as quarterback. My other three all love to play soccer.

What is your most treasured possession?

Above all possessions, I most treasure what I can’t own but am so blessed to have: my family.

South Africans, continued

Similar to what was depicted in Figures 1 and 2, the OLS estimates suggest a positive and significant relationship between the immigrant share and employment-to-population ratios and log total annual income. A one-percentage point increase in the immigrant share was estimated to increase male Black South Africans' employment ratios by 1.5 percentage points and their total annual income by .03 percent.

However, by controlling for a full set of fixed effects meant to capture demand shocks to labor markets and skill groups (columns 2 and 5), the relationship between the labor market outcomes of Black male native-born South Africans and the immigrant share became negative. A one-percentage point increase in the immigrant share was estimated to decrease male Black South Africans' employment ratios by .17 percentage points and their total annual income by .02 percent. The results for employment ratios are not significantly different from zero while those for

total annual income are significantly different from zero.

Finally, columns 3 and 6 present two-stage least squares, which attempts to account for any skill-specific local productivity and demand shocks that may simultaneously affect immigrant flows and labor market outcomes. The analysis instruments for the district skill-specific immigrant share using the predicted immigrant share from the 1996 distribution of immigrants. The instrument makes use of the fact that immigrants tend to locate in districts where there is a large enclave of immigrants from the same country. Two-stage least squares estimates suggest a negative and significant effect of the immigrant share on Black South Africans' employment-to-population ratios and total annual income. For male Black South Africans, a one-percentage point increase in the immigrant share decreased their employment ratios by .28 percentage points and their total annual income by .03 percent.

Table 1: OLS and IV Estimates on Black Male Native-Born Workers Labor Market Outcomes

	Employment-to-Population Ratios			Log Total Annual Income		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Immigrant Share	1.486*** (0.147)	-0.173 (0.115)	-0.161** (0.078)	0.027*** (0.006)	-0.024*** (0.004)	-0.028*** (0.003)
Number of Observations	282	282	282	282	282	282
District Fixed Effects	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
District*Time F. E.	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
District*Skill Fixed Effects	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes

Significance levels : * : 10% ** : 5% *** : 1%

Notes: Standard errors are in parentheses

This report provides some evidence that international immigration has negative effects on the Black male South African labor force. Still more research is needed to better understand both the positive and negative economic consequences of international immigration in developing countries. ■

¹ United States Department of Agriculture- Economic Research Service, 355 E St. SW, Washington, D.C. 20024, USA, nzinga.broussard@ers.usda.gov, +1-202-694-5627. The views expressed here are those of the author and may not be attributed to the Economic Research Service or the U.S. Department of Agriculture.

² This report is based on findings from Broussard (Forthcoming). This work was conducted while the author was a postdoctoral fellow at the Ohio State University.

³ The informal sector is where firms lack regulation and most workers lack certain protections, i.e. minimum wage, health benefits, etc. The Fifteenth International Conference of Labor Statisticians in 1993 defined the informal sector as all unregistered or unincorporated enterprises below a certain size (Husmanns, 2004).

⁴ The three largest immigrant groups in South Africa come from Mozambique, Zimbabwe, and the United Kingdom.

⁵ The geographic areas used to identify labor markets are district councils and metropolitan areas.

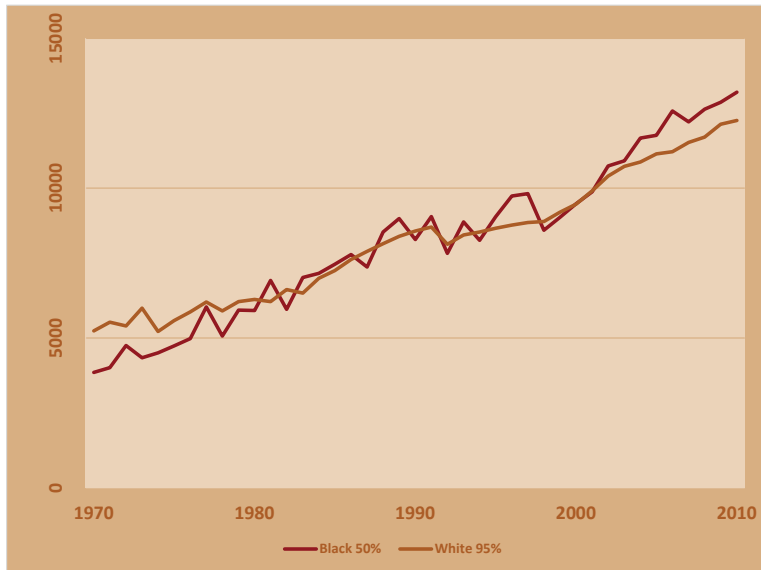
⁶ The 2001 census and the 2007 community survey were made publicly available by IPUMS international. The 2011 census was made available by DataFirst Research Unit at the University of Cape Town.

⁷ Skill is defined as completion of secondary education or higher.

See references on page 21

pupil spending than a district that was 0 percent black in 1970, but by 2010 a district that was 100 percent black could be expected to have 3.5 percent higher per-pupil spending than a district that was 0 percent black.

Figure 3: *Spending Over Time by Percent White and Percent Black in 1987*

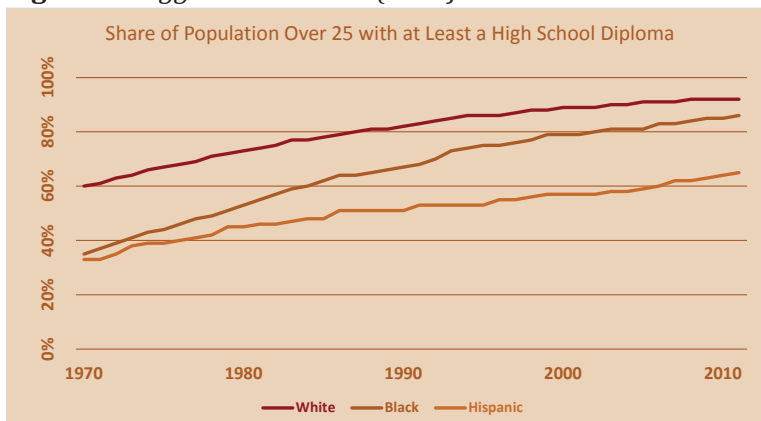


Suggestive Evidence of Improvement for Minorities using Aggregate Data

Figure 4 shows the time trend in the share of the population between age 25 and older with at least a high school diploma, separately by racial composition of the district. As shown, it is clear that the increase in the high school completion rate has been more rapid for minorities (particularly

blacks) between 1970 and 2010. Given that this coincides with a period of increasing per-pupil school spending where the increases were more pronounced for those who attended schools with larger shares of black students, this suggests that spending increases caused by school finance reforms may have played a role. However, simple comparisons of national trends in spending and high school completion are unlikely to uncover a causal relationship. For this aim, we turn to a more rigorous analysis of the causal effect of school spending on the adult outcomes of white and minority students.

Figure 4: *Suggestive Patterns (data from Pew Research based on IPUMS)*



Did the Spending Increase Caused by School Finance Reforms Improve Outcomes for Minority Youth?

In a recent paper (Jackson, Johnson, and Persico, forthcoming), we exploit the exogenous variation in per-pupil spending caused by court-mandated school finance reforms (SFRs)

Data source: <http://www.census.gov/hhes/socdemo/education/data/cps/historical/index.html>

to identify the causal effect of school spending on outcomes. We link school spending and school finance reform data to detailed, nationally-representative data on children born

between 1955 and 1985 and followed through 2011 (the Panel Study of Income Dynamics). We use the timing of the passage of court-mandated reforms, and their associated type of funding formula change, as exogenous shifters of school spending; and we compare the adult outcomes of cohorts that were differentially exposed to school finance reforms, depending on place and year of birth.

The goal of SFRs was to increase spending levels in low-spending districts, and to reduce the differences in per-pupil school-spending levels across districts. These reforms also aimed to reduce spending disparities between high- and low-income districts. Accordingly, by design, some districts experienced spending increases while others experienced decreases (Murray, Evans, and Schwab, 1998; Card and Payne, 2002; Hoxby, 2001). As discussed in further detail in Jackson, Johnson, and Persico (forthcoming), we use information on the income level of a district, and the spending level of a district prior to the passage of the court order to predict those districts that will have experienced large increases in per pupil spending due to the passage of the court order and those that will not.

Using the predicted spending increases (based on pre-reform characteristics of the district), we define the intensity of the reform as the magnitude of the predicted spending increase associated with the reform for each district. We define the duration of an individual's exposure to a court-ordered reform as the number of years after the reform was introduced that they attended school (i.e., 0 for those who were 18 years old or older at the time of the court order, 5 for those who were 12 years old at the time of the court order, and 12 for those who were younger than 5). We then implement a two-stage-least-squares (2SLS) regression model in which we instrument for the average per-pupil spending of an individual's school district when they were of school-going age (between the ages of 5 and 17) with the predicted intensity of the treatment interacted with the duration of exposure to the reform given their location and year of birth.

This difference-in-difference (DiD) 2SLS model includes district fixed effects and birth cohort fixed effects, so that it compares the difference in outcomes between birth cohorts from the same district

exposed to reforms for different amounts of time (variation in exposure) across districts with larger or smaller reform-induced changes in per-pupil school spending (variation in dosage). If exposed cohorts from districts that experience larger reform-induced spending increases also tend to subsequently experience larger improvements in adult outcomes (relative to unexposed cohorts) then the coefficient of the school spending effect will be positive (for an outcome such as wages for which larger positive values are better). As long as the timing of court-mandated SFRs is exogenous to changes in outcomes across birth cohorts within districts, the 2SLS model should uncover the causal effect of school spending on adult outcomes. See Jackson, Johnson, and Persico (2015) for a more detailed discussion of this methodology.

Because we are interested in the effects of reform-induced school spending changes on the adult outcomes of minority children, we interact all the treatment variables (and covariates) with an indicator denoting whether the individual is black or Hispanic. The 2SLS regression results are presented in Table 1. The coefficient on the natural log of average school age per-pupil spending for black and Hispanic non-white (top panel) for years of education is 3.424. This suggests that increasing per-pupil spending by 15 percent across all 12 years of an individual's K-12 schooling would increase the years of educational attainment for minority youth by 0.513 years and increase the probability of graduating from high school by 11.5 percentage points. The graduation rate among minorities and whites in the sample is 0.78 and 0.87, respectively. As such, a 15 percent spending increase across all 12 school age years can bring the average minority graduation rate up to the average rate for whites. Note that white students also benefit from increased spending, so across-the-board spending increases will not eliminate the highschool graduation gaps.

Looking to long-run adult outcomes, we first examine wages during ages 20-45. In models of the natural log of adult wages, the coefficient on the natural log of average school age per-pupil spending for black and Hispanic non-white (top panel) is 0.768. The coefficient for whites is about 30 percent smaller at 0.55. Note that even though the marginal effect is estimated to be larger for minorities than whites, one



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South Africans, continued

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School Spending, continued

cannot reject the hypothesis of equal effects across the two groups. These estimates indicate that a 15 percent spending increase across all 12 school age years will increase the wages of minorities by about 11.5 percent and those for whites by about 8.25 percent, respectively. For adult family income and the annual incidence of poverty in adulthood, the difference in the estimated effects of school spending across the two groups is more pronounced. For whites, the coefficient estimates suggest that that a 15 percent spending increase across all 12 school age years will increase the family income by about 7.87 percent and reduce the annual incidence of poverty in adulthood by 2.37 percentage points. For these adult economic status outcomes, the estimate's effects are more pronounced for minorities. The coefficient estimates suggest that a 15 percent spending increase across all 12 school-age years will increase the family income of minorities by about 23.5 percent and

reduce the likelihood of falling into poverty as an adult by 6.6 percentage points.

Concluding remarks

Taken together, the suggestive time-series evidence and the more rigorous regression results indicate that the increases in school spending associated with the passage of school finance reforms improved the educational and labor market outcomes for minority children, and is one of the factors that contributed to part of the racial convergence in adult socioeconomic attainment outcomes for these cohorts. Our findings show that increased per-pupil spending induced by state school finance-reform policies did improve student outcomes and helped reduce the intergenerational transmission of poverty, particularly for minority children. ■

See Table 1 and references on page 24

Economics Jobs Beyond Academia

While many people are familiar with the nature of academic jobs, most know less about jobs for economists outside of academia. The following includes some examples of non-academic positions held by economists, described in their own words.

Inter-American Development Bank (IADB)

Location: Washington, D.C.

Caridad Araujo is a Lead Economist in the Social Protection and Health Division of the Inter-American Development Bank (IADB) in Washington, D.C. Araujo works with governments in Latin America on the design and implementation of projects in the areas of poverty reduction and early childhood development. In these core areas, she also provides technical assistance and analysis on issues that are important to IADB-member countries. For example, she collaborates with government officials to carry out impact evaluations of IADB-sponsored projects.

Araujo finds the most exciting aspect of her job to be contributing to the decision-making process surrounding social protection policies. In Latin America, where inequality continues to be very high, she is convinced that “by designing and expanding early childhood interventions targeting the most vulnerable, we can actually contribute to leveling the playing field early on in life and, in the long term, contribute to building more equitable and productive communities in Latin America and the Caribbean.”

While the impact of the work can be profound, it also comes with challenges. In particular, problems can arise with the managerial aspects of the job, as it involves dealing with government bureaucracies. Working with policy makers also means that there may be political constraints or that a large turnover of authorities and staff may affect the continuity of certain projects. Thus, she says, “the most challenging aspect of my job is to be able to solve the problems that arise while making sound technical decisions and keeping the projects moving.”

Araujo was invited by colleagues at the IADB to apply for this job in 2009. She says the IADB recruits professionals from all of its member countries, including the United States. In the interest of promoting diversity, the organization has also invested important resources to

increase the number of women in management positions.

Araujo’s advice for “newly minted” economists interested in this type of employment:

“Working in a development bank is a fascinating opportunity to continue learning and one where you can combine rigorous thinking and sound analytical judgment with research and with contributing to policy making processes. When looking for this type of job, remember it requires a number of skills, and some of them are not what you learned during your PhD program. Strategic thinking, good interpersonal skills, the ability to multi-task, a lot of patience, and a positive attitude are all very important.”

Urban Institute

Location: Washington, D.C.

Maria Enchautegui is a Senior Fellow at the Urban Institute in Washington, D.C. Her primary job responsibilities are to conduct policy-relevant research that may appear in the form of reports, policy briefs, journal articles, or as memos to government officials. She also writes proposals to raise research funds. Additional responsibilities include managing projects, tracking project budgets, identifying funding opportunities, organizing gatherings related to research topics, meeting with Urban colleagues to strategize on research agendas, responding to media requests related to findings of research products, and using social media (blogs, Twitter) to disseminate her work.

According to Enchautegui, the most interesting and exciting aspects of her job are the variety of research topics that she is able to work on and the direct link between her research and public policy. Some of the more challenging aspects are raising funds to support research studies and crafting studies around strict time and budget constraints.

Enchautegui found out about this employment opportunity through a friend who was working at the Urban Institute. She says that Urban places a high value on diversity and is currently enhancing its efforts to increase the employment of under-represented groups in research positions. Toward this end, Urban is expanding its networks to include more people from underrepresented groups, reaching out to universities with a high representation of people of color, creating internship opportunities, and participating in meetings that bring together persons from under-represented groups, such as those organized by the AEA Committee on the Status of Minority Groups in the Economics Profession.

Enchautegui's advice for "newly minted" economists who might be interested in this type of employment:

"Think carefully about what your work means for policy and try to put a policy angle on your work. Be sure that you can explain complex economic and econometric issues in plain language."

fits well with her decision to "pursue a more policy focused career in economics centered on issues related to race and ethnicity in order to make a difference for people who have been marginalized." She says that one of the biggest challenges with the job is not having enough time or money to do all the important work that needs to be done.

Wilson found out about this employment opportunity through a job posting on the National Economic Association's email listserv. As someone who followed and referenced EPI's work for years, she says she was immediately interested in this opportunity that was closely aligned with her previous research. From her personal experience, she thinks that EPI has a commitment to actively recruiting from under-represented populations. In the two years she has been at EPI, she has also witnessed a commitment to building diversity throughout the organization, including the Board of Directors.

Wilson's advice for "newly minted" economists who might be interested in this type of employment:

"There are tons of think tanks and policy shops out there, especially in D.C. Familiarize yourself with the track record of different organizations. Seek out a place that produces quality, reputable research on issues you're interested in and has exhibited a consistent commitment to advancing those goals."

Economic Policy Institute

Location: Washington, D.C.

Valerie Wilson is Director of the Program on Race, Ethnicity, and the Economy at the Economic Policy Institute (EPI), a think tank based in Washington, D.C. She performs research and policy analyses on contemporary economic issues that impact America's communities of color. As a labor economist, most of her work focuses on racial disparities in employment, wages, and income. She also does a fair amount of work related to gender disparities. In addition to the research, her job also involves speaking publicly on these issues, including at conferences and other public events, in the news media, or with organizations interested in these issues.

According to Wilson, the most exciting aspect of her job is being part of an organization whose work impacts policy and expands, or sometimes even changes, how the public understands an issue. While she admits that this can often be a very long process, in the end she says it can also be very rewarding. In short, the job

Table 1: 2SLS Regression Results

	Years of Education	High School Graduate	ln(wage)	Family Income	Prob (Poverty)
Black and Hispanic Children					
Group Mean	12.57	0.78	2.27	10.430	0.22
Ln(School District Per-pupil Spending)(age 5-17)	3.4247** (1.4677)	0.7661** (0.3163)	0.7687** (0.3433)	1.5688*** (0.4661)	-0.4403** (0.1940)
White Children					
Group Mean	13.31	0.87	2.54	10.850	0.06
Ln(School District Per-pupil Spending)(age 5-17)	1.8514* (1.0132)	0.5498*** (0.1783)	0.5496** (0.2148)	0.5258+ (0.3560)	-0.1583** (0.0770)

Robust standard errors in parentheses (clustered at school district level)

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.10

Data: PSID geocode Data (1968-2011), matched with childhood school and neighborhood characteristics. Analysis sample includes all PSID individuals born 1955-1985, followed into adulthood through 2011.

Models: Results are based on OLS and 2SLS/IV models that include: school district fixed effects, race-specific year of birth fixed effects, race*census division-specific birth year fixed effects; controls at the county-level for the timing of school desegregation*race, hospital desegregation*race, roll-out of “War on Poverty” & related safety-net programs (community health centers, county expenditures on Head Start (at age 4), food stamps, medicaid, AFDC, UI, Title-I (average during childhood yrs)), timing of state-funded Kindergarten intro and timing of tax limit policies; controls for 1960 county characteristics (poverty rate, percent black, education, percent urban, population size, percent voted for Strom Thurmond in 1948 Presidential election*race (proxy for segregationist preferences)) each interacted with linear cohort trends; and controls for childhood family characteristics (parental income/education/occupation, mother’s marital status at birth, birth weight, gender). All of these controls are interacted with childhood poverty status (including school district FE). The first-stage model include as predictors the school-age years of exposure to school finance reform interacted with the quartile of the respective school district’s predicted reform-induced change in school spending based on the timing and type of court-ordered reform interacted with 1970 (within-state) district income and spending percentile categories. There exists a significant first-stage for all kids (both white & minority kids). The F-statistic for the IVs in the first-stage is 20.25. ■

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Selected Conference Sessions

AEA/ASSA Annual Meetings, January, 2015

CSMGEP Sessions

AEA CSMGEP Dissertation Session

Chair: Mark Hugo Lopez, Pew Research Center

Papers:

“Unconventional Monetary Policy and Credit Market Activity” Juan Medina, University of Alabama; Robert Reed, University of Alabama

“Transportation Networks and the Geographic Concentration of Industry” Dustin Frye, University of Colorado-Boulder

“Productivity Gains from Geographic Concentration of Human Capital: Is Specialization or Diversity More Important?” Michaela Patton, University of Alabama; Robert Reed, University of Alabama; Christopher Cunningham, Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta

“The Quality of Time Spent among Children among Mexican Immigrants” Daniel Kidane, Texas Tech University; Andrew Vargas, Purdue University

Economic Freedom and Minority Groups

Organizer: Gary A. Hoover, University of Alabama

Chair: Janice Shack-Marquez, Federal Reserve Board of Governors

Papers:

“The Impact of Economic Freedom on the Black/White Income Gap” Gary A. Hoover, University of Alabama; Ryan A. Compton, University of Manitoba; Daniel C. Giedeman, Grand Valley State University

“Tolerance in the United States: How Free Markets Transform Racial, Religious, and Sexual Attitudes” Niclas Berggren, University of Economics in Prague; Therese Nilsson, Lund University

“Fractionalization and Economic Freedom” Jac C. Heckelman, Wake Forest University; Bonnie Wilson, St. Louis University

“Are the effects of economic liberalization on income distribution conditional?” Jakob de Haan, De Nederlandsche Bank & University of Groningen; Jan-Egbert Sturm, KOF Swiss Economic Institute, ETH Zurich

ASHE Session

Programs and Policies Affecting Education and Health Outcomes

Presiding: Marie Mora, University of Texas-Pan American

Discussants: Madeline Zavodny, Agnes Scott College; Myriam Quispe-Agnoli, University of Georgia; Maria

Enchautegui, Urban Institute; Carlos Vargas-Silva, University of Oxford

Papers:

“Assessing the Effects of New Mexico’s K-3 Plus Summer Learning Initiative on the Achievement of Bilingual Students” Damon Cann, Utah State University; Mustafa Karakaplan, Utah State University; Margaret Lubke, Utah State University; Cyndi Rowland, Utah State University

“Falling through the Cracks? Grade Retention among Children of Unauthorized Immigrants” Catalina Amuedo-Dorantes, San Diego State University; Mary Lopez, Occidental College

“Effect of Universal-Free School Breakfast on the Prevalence of Double-Dipping and Obesity among Adolescents: A Time Use Perspective” Andres Vargas, Purdue University

“Meth, Death, and Alcohol: The Unintended Consequences of Alcohol Prohibition on Methamphetamine Use” Jose Fernandez, University of Louisville; Stephan Gohmann, University of Louisville; Joshua Pinkston, University of Louisville

NEA Sessions

Issues in African Development II

Presiding: Willene Johnson, Comaza, Inc.

Discussants: Willene Johnson, Komaza, Inc.; Surexh Naidu, Columbia University; Femi Elegbede, Michigan State University; John C. Anyanwu, African Development Bank; Romie Tribble, Spelman College

Papers:

“Communication and Coordination: Experimental Evidence from Farmer Groups in Senegal” Angelino Viceisza, Spelman College; Kodjo Aflagah, International Food Policy Research Institute; Tanguy Bernard, International Food Policy Research Institute

“Trust and Financial Inclusion” Kehinde Ajayi, Boston University

“Financial Access in Nigeria: Evidence from Household Surveys” Lisa D. Cook, Michigan State University

“How does Trade Liberalization Affect Racial and Gender Inequality? Evidence from Post-Apartheid South Africa” Bilge Erten, Columbia University; Fiona Tregenna, University of Johannesburg

“Structural Change and Democratization: Evidence

ASSA 2015, NEA Sessions Continued

from Rural Apartheid” Laurence Wilse-Samson, Columbia University

The Great Recession and Implications for African Americans

Presiding: Fred Moseley, Mount Holyoke College
Discussants: Terry-Ann Craigie, Connecticut College; Valerie Wilson, Economic Policy Institute; Willene Johnson, Komaza, Inc.

Papers:

“The Impact of the Great Recession and the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act of 2009 (ARRA) on the Occupational Segregation of Black Men” Michelle Holder, City University of New York-John Jay College
“Surviving the Storm: Race, Resiliency, Privilege, and Household Wealth, 2007-09” Robert Williams, Guilford College

“The Great Recession and Racial Inequality: Evidence from Measures of Economic Well-Being” Thomas Masterson, Levy Economics Institute of Bard College; Ajit Zacharias, Levy Economics Institute of Bard College; Edward Nathan Wolff, New York University; Fernando Rios-Avila, Levy Economics Institute of Bard College

“Nest Eggs and Today’s Breakfast: Financial Burdens of African Americans during the Great Recession and Their Implications for Retirement Saving” Ngina S. Chiteji, New York University

Policy Interventions and Educational Outcomes

Presiding: Marie Mora, University of Texas-Pan American

Discussants: Rodney J. Andrews, University of Texas-Dallas; Darrick Hamilton, New School; Monica Deza, University of Texas-Dallas; Trevon D. Logan, Ohio State University

Papers:

“An “A” for Effort: Student Retention and Graduation” Omari Swinton, Howard University

“Tests, Courses, and High School Quality: Using College Readiness Indicators to Predict College Success” Kalena Cortes, Texas A&M University; Sandra Black, University of Texas-Austin; Jane Arnold Lincove, University of Texas-Austin

“Household Asset Allocation, Offspring Education, and the Sandwich Generation” Vicki Bogan, Cornell University

“Walking Hand-in-Hand: Early Life Traumatic Victimization, Race, and Dropping Out” Darrick Hamilton. New School; Timothy M. Diette,

Washington and Lee University; Art Goldsmith, Washington and Lee University; William A. Darity, Jr., Duke University

Migration and Urbanization in Africa

Presiding: Isabel Ruiz, University of Oxford
Discussants: William A. Darity, Jr., Duke University; Rhonda Sharpe, Morehouse College; Charles Becker, Duke University; Patrick Mason, Florida State University

Papers:

“The Labour Market Impacts of Forced Migration” Isabel Ruiz, University of Oxford; Carlos Vargas-Silva, University of Oxford

“Immigration and Labour Market Outcomes of Natives in Developing Countries: A Case Study of South Africa” Nzinga Broussard, IMPAQ International, LLC

“CapInter-Generational Study of Educational Achievement in the Poor Urban Areas in Sub-Saharan Africa: Evidence from the Nairobi Informal Settlements” Maharouf Oyolola, African Population & Health Research Center

“Migration and Educational Outcomes in Burundi: The Role of Refugee and IDP Experiences and Gender” Carlos Vargas-Silva, University of Oxford; Sonja Fransen, Maastricht University; Melissa Siegel, Maastricht University

The Lasting Implications of Jim Crow

Presiding: Robynn Cox, Spelman College
Discussants: Robynn Cox, Spelman College; Trevon D. Logan, Ohio State University; Terry-Ann Craigie, Connecticut College; Jeff Biddle, Michigan State University

Papers:

“Desegregation and Downward Intergenerational Mobility: A Public-Value Approach to Analyzing the Effects of Social Constructions in the Segregated American South” Sherman A. Cooper, Georgia State University

“Intergenerational Mobility in the United States South: A New View from Linked Census Data” Marianne H. Wanamaker, University of Tennessee; William Collins, Vanderbilt University

“Jim Crow Revisited: White Supremacy, Federal Tax Policy, and Household Wealth” Robert Williams, Guilford College

“Segregation and Lynching” Trevon D. Logan, Ohio State University; John Parman, College of William and Mary

SEA Annual Meetings November, 2015

The Status of Women and Minorities in the Economics Profession (CSMGEP/CSWEP)

Organizer, Moderator: Gary A. Hoover, University of Alabama

Panelists: Ragan Petrie, George Mason University; Gary A. Hoover, University of Alabama

Topics in International Labor Migration (ASHE)

Organizer/Session Chair: Alberto Davila, University of Texas-Pan American

Discussants: Marie T. Mora, University of Texas-Pan American; Fernando Antonio Lozano, Pomona College; Anita Pena, Colorado State University

Papers:

“Location, Location, Location: Court Placement and Granted Relief to Unaccompanied Minors” Thitima Puttitanun, San Diego State University; Catalina Amuedo-Dorantes, San Diego State University

“Are Pat-to-Go Policies Effective? An Analysis of Sapin’s Retorno Voluntario Program” Susan Pozo, Western Michigan University; Catalina Amuedo-Dorantes, San Diego State University

“Stochastic Dominance as a Tool to Compare the Impact of Remittances on Expenditure Shares on Various Food Categories” David Molina, University of North Texas

Topics in Ethnic and Racial Earnings Gaps (ASHE)

Organizers/Session Chair: Alberto Davila, University of Texas-Pan American

Discussants: Susan Pozo, Western Michigan University; David Molina, University of North Texas; Fernando Antonio Lozano, Pomona College

Papers:

“Revisiting the Effects of Skills on Economic Inequality: Race and Ethnicity in the U.S.” Anita A. Pena, Colorado State University

“Religious Workers and the Racial Earnings Gap” Fernando Antonio Lozano, Pomona College

“English-Language Proficiency, Disabilities and Earnings: A Comparison of Earnings Differentials among Hispanic Groups” Marie T. Mora, University of Texas-Pan American; Alberto Davila, University of Texas-Pan American

NEA/ASHE Conference August, 2015

Session I: Policy Challenges

“New Immigrants to the U.S. – the Data” Joseph M. Guzman, Michigan State University; Mark Hugo Lopez, Pew Research Center

“The Federal Legal Services Program Influence on Riots and Voter Turnout in the 1960s” Jamein P. Cunningham, Portland State University

“Do Work Visas Reduce Opportunities for US Minorities in STEM?” Joseph M. Guzman, Michigan State University; Gregory White, Michigan State University

Session II: American Indians and the Voting Rights Act at 50

“The Voting Rights Act’s Impact on Native Americans’ Ability to be Elected to Political Office” Jean Reith Schroedel, Claremont Graduate University; Artour Aslanian, Claremont Graduate University

“Election Administration Resource Distribution Interacts with Poverty and Race to Exacerbate Unequal Access to Political Participation for American Indians in Montana” Andrea Walters, Claremont Graduate University; Ashley Shew, University of Texas, Austin; Moana Vercoe, Success in Challenges

“Native American Registration and Voting: The Impact of Barriers on Turnout” Jean Reith Schroedel, Claremont Graduate University; Joey Torres, Claremont Graduate University

“Unequal Access as an Unintended Consequence of the National Voter Registration Act in Rural Communities” Moana Vercoe, Success in Challenges; Andrea Walters, Claremont Graduate University

Session III: Employment, Earnings, and Wealth

“The Impact of Full Employment on Black Employment, Wages and Income” Valerie R. Wilson, Economic Policy Institute

“Poverty and Unemployment in Minority Communities: Causes, Consequences, and Public Policy” Michael J. Murray, Bemidji State University; Mathew Forstater, University of Missouri – Kansas City

“The Impact of a Changing Labor market on the Low-Wage Careers of Black and Latino Workers” Jeannette Wicks-Lim, University of Massachusetts Amherst

“Wealth Accumulation among Hispanics” Mary Lopez, Occidental College

WEAI Annual Meetings, July, 2015

ASHE Sessions

Topics in Economic Development

Discussants: Alfonso Flores-Lagunes, Syracuse University; Marie T. Mora, University of Texas-Pan American; W. Charles Sawyer, Texas Christian University

Papers:

“Industrialization and Economic Development in High Performing Asian Countries” Don P. Clark, The University of Tennessee; W. Charles Sawyer, Texas Christian University

“Geographic Comparison of Growth, Stability and Diversification of Hawaii’s Local Food Production” Bei Zeng, (Hawai’i Pacific University

“Determinants of Farmworker-to-Business Owner Transition” Joseph Guzman, Michigan State University

Access to Light Rail and Neighborhood Evolution: Capitalization or Agglomeration Effects

Organizer: Monica Deza, University of Texas at Dallas

Chair: Juan Carlos Suarez Serrato, Duke University

Discussants: W. Charles Sawyer, Texas Christian University; Alfonso Flores-Lagunes, Syracuse University; Joseph Guzman, Michigan State University; Salvador Contreras, University of Texas-Pan American

Papers:

“Immigration, Migration Processes and Welfare” Ken Schoolland, Hawai’i Pacific University; Noelia R. Paez, Hawai’i Pacific University

“Education Environment Context Switching and its Effects on Performance and Instructor Evaluation” Salvador Contreras, University of Texas-Pan American

“Modeling Protected Species as an Undesirable Output: A Revisit Using Multiple Output Stochastic Frontier” Hui Huang, Hawai’i Pacific University

NEA Session

Waiting to Exhale: African Americans in the Wake of the Great Recession

Organizer: Lisa D. Cook, Michigan State University

Chair: Lisa D. Cook, Michigan State University

Discussant: Lisa D. Cook, Michigan State University

Papers:

“Austerity in Higher Education: The Performance of 1890 Land-Grant Institutions during the Great Recession” Jan Christopher, Delaware State University

“The Effect of the District of Columbia and Federal EITC on Poverty and Income Instability” Bradley Hardy, American University; Daniel Muhammad, American University; Rhucha Samudra, American University

“The Impact of the Great Recession on the Occupational Segregation of Black Men in the U.S.” Michelle Holder, City University of New York

NEA/ASHE Conference Sessions Continued

Session IV Black Women and Girls, the Dynamics of Gender and Race

“Hair Raising: The Substantive Impact of Style”

Chasya Hoagland, University of Washington

“Black Women on the Verge: Revolutionary Transformation or Super-exploitation? Missing Black Men and Its Impact on Black Women” Nina Banks and Marcellus Andrews, Bucknell University

“Can Free Primary Education Achieve Universal Primary Education? A Study of the Intersections of Social Exclusion, Gender and Education in Kenya” Judith Obiero, University of Massachusetts Amherst

Session V: Criminalization and Incarceration

“Criminalization and Racemaking” Geert Dhondt and Michelle Holder, CUNY

“Local Immigration Enforcement and Arrest Rates of the Hispanic Population” Michael Coon, Hood College

“Why Mass Incarceration Matters: Economics, Private Enterprise, and Politics” tonya thames taylor, West Chester University

Session VI: Minority Businesses Panel

“Anticipating Our Future: Measuring Overconcentration in DBE Compliance” Samuel L. Myers, Jr., University of Minnesota