theMINORITYREPORT



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

Issue 11 | Winter 2019

PUERTO RICAN MIGRATION AND MAINLAND SETTLEMENT PATTERNS BEFORE AND AFTER HURRICANE MARIA

By Marie T. Mora, University of Texas Rio Grande Valley; Alberto Dávila, Southeast Missouri State University; and Havidán Rodríguez, University at Albany, State University of New York Nearly a year after Hurricane Maria brought catastrophic destruction across the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico on September 20, 2017, the governor of Puerto Rico raised the official death toll estimate from 64 to 2,975 fatalities based on the results of a commissioned report by George Washington University's Milken Institute School of Public Health (2018). While other independent reports (e.g., Kishore et al. 2018) placed the death toll considerably higher, this revised estimate represented nearly a tenth of a percentage point (0.09 percent) of Puerto Rico's total population of 3.3 million Americans—over a thousand more deaths than the estimated 1,833 fatalities caused by Hurricane Katrina in 2005. Regardless of the precise number, these studies consistently point to many deaths resulting from a lack of access to adequate health care exacerbated by the collapse of infrastructure (including transportation systems and the entire electrical grid) and the severe interruption and slow restoration of other essential services, such as running water and telecommunications.

continued on page 4 ▶



CONTENTS

FEATURES

Puerto Rican Migration and Mainland Settlement Patterns Before and After Hurricane Maria by Marie T. Mora, Alberto Dávila, and Havidán Rodríguez 1, 4-7 School Choice and

Achievement: The Case of Charters in Texas by Marcus Casey 10-13

Academic Mentoring Relationships: The Good,

the Bad, and the Ugly by Vicki L. Bogan 18-20

PIPELINE PROGRAMS

Summer Training

ECONOMISTS TO WATCH

Alfonso Flores-Lagunes

Passion as Motivator:
"I Want to Know More" 8-9

Kaye Husbands Fealing #NERDPRIDE: Nurturing A Culture of Innovation 14-15

JOBS BEYOND ACADEMIA . . . 21-23

ANNOUNCEMENTS & ACTIVITIES . . 24-31

THE MINORITY REPORT

Advancing Minority Representation in the Economics Field

The Minority Report is 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). Published annually, The Minority Report showcases the people, programs, research, and activities of the three groups, which together work to increase the representation of minorities in the economics profession.

Committee on the Status of Minority Groups in the Economics Profession (CSMGEP) was established by the American Economic Association (AEA) in 1968 to increase the representation of minorities in the economics profession, primarily by broadening opportunities for the training of underrepresented minorities. 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, and engages in other efforts to promote the advancement of minorities in

www.aeaweb.org/about-aea/committees/csmgep

the economics profession.

American Society of Hispanic Economists (ASHE), established in 2002, is a professional association of economists who are concerned with the underrepresentation of Hispanic Americans in the economics profession at a time when Hispanics represent more than 16 percent of the U.S. population.

www.asheweb.net

National Economic Association

(NEA) was founded in 1969 as the Caucus of Black Economists to promote the professional lives of minorities within the profession. In addition to continuing its founding mission, the organization is particularly interested in producing and distributing knowledge of economic issues that are of exceptional interest to promoting economic growth among native and immigrant African Americans, Latinos, and other people of color.

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Summer Training Program

The AEA Summer Training Program (AEASP) at Michigan State University is an intensive two-month residential program that offers talented undergraduates seriously considering post-graduate studies in economics the opportunity to develop and solidify their math, research, and other technical skills needed in doctoral programs. The program offers two levels of courses—foundations and advanced—and students taking the foundation level can apply for a second summer to continue on to advanced work.

Program includes travel costs to/from Michigan, room and board, and a \$3,250 stipend.

Download the application: http://econ.msu.edu/aeasp (applications page). Essay, references, and transcripts required for consideration.

When: May 30-July 28, 2019

Where: Michigan State University, in collaboration with

Western Michigan University

Deadline for application: January 31, 2019

For more information call or email: AEASP@msu.edu | 517-884-8468 Website: http://econ.msu.edu/aeasp

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 underrepresented minorities in economics.

Fellows spend a summer in residence at a sponsoring research institution, such as a Federal Reserve Bank or other public agency. Summer economics fellowships are available to senior graduate students and junior faculty.

Fellowships are open to all economists without regard to gender or minority status, although the goal of the program—advancing the careers of women and underrepresented minorities—will drive the selection process.

Applications are due by February 1, 2019.

For more information, visit the AEA website at https://www.aeaweb.org/about-aea/committees/summer-fellows-program.

▶ The Mentoring Program

Established in the mid-1990s, the AEA Mentoring Program (formerly known as the Pipeline Program) is generously supported by the National Science Foundation (NSF). The program matches Black/African American, Hispanic/Latino, and Native American economics PhD students and new PhD graduates with mentors in the field, and also facilitates networking between senior economists and students at all stages of the educational and career pipelines. One of the program's main activities is the Summer Mentoring Pipeline Conference, which brings together the mentees in the program, their mentors, other senior economists in and outside of academia, and the undergraduate students in the AEA Summer Training Program. Moreover, the Mentoring Program provides limited funding to support the research and travel of the mentees, including for presentations at major conferences.

For applications and more information,

see the AEA website:

http://www.aeaweb.org/about-aea/committees/csmgep/pipeline.

Deadlines for funding requests: March 1, August 15, and October 1, 2019

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In fact, many of these basic services were not restored for months (or in some cases, nearly a year); for example, even three months after Maria, electricity had not been restored to nearly half of the island's residents (Robles and Bidgood 2017).

Under these conditions, the massive post-Maria exodus from the island is not surprising. However, Hurricane Maria struck at a time when the island was already experiencing the largest net outmigration in its history (and, as a percentage of the population, the largest since the "Great Migration" in the 1950s), which had been spurred by La Crisis Boricua—an unrelenting economic crisis that started in 2006 (Mora et al. 2017). Coupled with low fertility rates, the net outmigration of over half a million people during the decade before Maria resulted in a 10.5 percent net population decline between 2006 and 2016 (Mora et al. 2017, 2018).1 Hurricane Maria exacerbated the net outmigration, which is likely to expedite the island's population decline (due to additional net outmigration in conjunction with low fertility rates) and the aging of its population (due to relatively high life expectancy and the overrepresentation of younger people, including those of childbearing age, among the outmigration flow). Moreover, the scale of the exodus is affecting the mainland communities where the migrants have settled.

In this report, we provide an update on the net migratory flows of Puerto Ricans from the island to the mainland FROM PUERTO RICO

A firm estimate of the number of people who left Puerto

ESTIMATES OF RECENT OUTMIGRATION

United States in the wake of Hurricane Maria. In addition

to addressing whether the net migration outflow

Puerto Ricans before Maria.

intensified, we consider mainland destination areas.

important economic and policy implications, such as for employment, education, civic engagement, and business formation, particularly because many stateside

Understanding where Puerto Rican migrants settle has

communities were already home to growing numbers of

A firm estimate of the number of people who left Puerto Rico after Hurricane Maria based on standard large national data sets (such as the American Community Survey and Puerto Rico Community Survey) is not yet available. The estimates in Table 1 suggest that the exodus has been substantial, ranging from under 16,000 people to nearly 136,000. To place these numbers in context, the number of people who moved from the island to the mainland within six months of Maria's landfall represented as much as one-fourth of the net migration between 2006 and 2016 (503,092 people; Mora et al. 2018).

The largest estimate of post-Maria migrants in Table 1 comes from a May 2018 report by Hinojosa et al. at Centro, the Center for Puerto Rican Studies at Hunter

College. Using school enrollment data, prior migration data, and other sources, Hinojosa et al. estimate that 135,592 people migrated to the mainland within half a year after Maria's landfall. Combining this estimate with our pre-Maria net outmigration estimates, we find that nearly 639,000 people moved to the U.S. mainland since 2006, which is equivalent to one-sixth of Puerto Rico's entire 2006 population.

Other estimates in Table 1 based on alternative data sources covering a shorter time frame suggest a smaller but nonetheless substantial number of net migrants. An analysis by Teralytics based on a sample of

TABLE 1: Estimates of Net Migration from Puerto Rico to U.S. Mainland

Source	Time Frame	Estimated Migration to Mainland
Mora et al. (2018)	Pre-Maria: 2006–2016	503,092
Centro	September 20, 2017–March 2018	135,592
CNN USPS	October 1, 2017–December 31, 2017	6,590*
CNN FEMA	September 20, 2017–November 11, 2017	10,600*
Teralytics	October 2017–February 2018	47,652

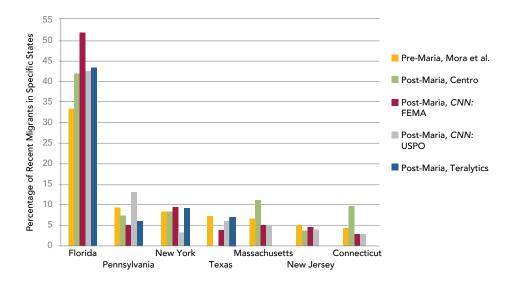
Notes: As discussed in the text, the samples of the post-Maria migrants may not be representative due to differences in data collection and empirical methodologies. The Mora et al. (2018) estimates reported in this table, and presumably the additional estimates, include people who do not self-identify as Puerto Rican.

^{*} Estimate is more likely to reflect households than individuals. Assuming these households were typical of Puerto Rican households (which had an average of 2.4 residents), these numbers would reflect 15,816 people for the USPS estimate and 25,440 people for the FEMA estimate.

nearly half a million smartphones suggests that 47,652 net migrants left Puerto Rico for other parts of the United States between October 2017 and February 2018 (Echenique and Melgar 2018). However, this estimate likely understates the post-Maria net migration because the sample only includes cellphone users covered by a particular carrier without extrapolating to estimate the number of migrants served by other carriers or those without smartphones.

A February 2018 analysis by *CNN* investigative reporters (Sutter and Hernandez 2018) provides two additional estimates of outmigration. The first is the 6,590 requests to the U.S. Postal Service (USPS) to change mailing addresses from Puerto Rico to a mainland destination between October 1, 2017, and December 31, 2017. The second is the 10,600 applications for disaster assistance from the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) from mainland zip codes between September 20, 2017, and November 11, 2017. Given that these numbers likely reflect households instead of individuals and that the average Puerto Rican household had 2.4

FIGURE 1: Estimated Distribution of Mainland Locations of Recent Migrants from Puerto Rico between 2006 and 2016 and after Hurricane Maria



Notes: Data are from authors' estimates using 2006–2016 American Community Survey and Puerto Rican Community Survey data in the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series, plus estimates reported by Centro (Hinojosa et al. 2018), CNN (Sutter and Hernandez 2018), and Teralytics (Echenique and Melgar 2018). The estimate of Puerto Rican migrants in 2006–2016 (Mora et al. 2018) only includes people who self-identified as Puerto Rican, whereas the other estimates may include other migrants. The Centro estimates exclude Texas because of missing data. The Teralytics statewide estimates (Echenique and Melgar 2018) do not publicly report data for Massachusetts, New Jersey, and Connecticut.

people according to our analysis of the 2016 Puerto Rican Community Survey, these samples suggest that 15,816 to 25,440 people moved stateside within three months of Maria's landfall.

MAINLAND DESTINATIONS OF PRE- AND POST-MARIA MIGRANTS

The scale of the net outmigration from Puerto Rico (even before Hurricane Maria) is of socioeconomic, demographic, and political significance to the island, but these migration flows also influence the mainland host areas. Figure 1 shows the geographic distributions reported in the aforementioned studies of post-Maria migrants. For comparison, we also show the geographic distribution of Puerto Rican migrants from the island between 2006 and 2016.² The states are listed in order of the number of Puerto Rican migrants received in the decade before Maria: Florida, Pennsylvania, New York, Texas, Massachusetts, New Jersey, and Connecticut.

Despite the different empirical methodologies and data sources, Figure 1 shows that the four aforementioned post-Maria samples had geographic distributions similar to that of pre-Maria migrants.3 In light of the scale of the migration, this means that communities with rapidly growing numbers of Puerto Rican migrants before Maria have had to absorb significant additional numbers of migrants since the hurricane. In particular, all four samples point to Florida as the disproportionate receiving area of post-Maria migrants (even more so than pre-Maria), with three of the samples (Centro, Teralytics, and CNN USPS) demonstrating remarkable consistency in Florida's representation (42-43 percent). In New York, three of the post-Maria samples were similar to the pre-Maria sample (with 8 to 9 percent of migrants moving into the state), but the state's representation was lower (3 percent) in one of the post-Maria samples (CNN USPS).

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That Florida consistently emerged as the destination area for the largest number of post-Maria migrants is not surprising, as Florida (especially the central part of the state) had already become the top destination area for Puerto Rican migrants before Maria. Indeed, between 2006 and 2016, Florida received one of every three Puerto Rican migrants, compared with New York, which received approximately one in twelve (Mora et al. 2017, 2018). In fact, by 2017 Florida had become home to more Puerto Ricans than New York (estimated 1.13 million vs. 1.11 million, respectively). Puerto Ricans represent the second largest Hispanic group in Florida and the largest outside of Miami. Given Florida's role as a swing state in U.S. elections, it is not surprising that politicians increased their attention to Puerto Ricans during the 2018 midterm election cycle (e.g., Pérez 2018; Bernal and Greenwood 2018). While it was too early to know the details of the demographics of the 2018 voters when this article went to press, it is worth noting that the rate of increase in the number of Latino registered voters between 2016 and 2018 in Florida nearly doubled the rate between 2012 and 2014, and that counties with the largest Puerto Rican populations had an even greater proportional increase in the number of Latino registered voters (Krogstad, Flores, and Lopez 2018). Moreover, the midterm elections were so close as to force recounts of the votes for both the gubernatorial and senatorial contests in Florida, with exit polls indicating the majority of Latino voters supported the Democratic candidates for these races (Krogstad, Flores, and Lopez 2018).

Figure 1 further shows that in the estimates by Hinojosa et al., Massachusetts and Connecticut were disproportionately represented among the mainland destinations of post-Maria migrants compared with earlier arrivals. This finding might be explained by the fact that the southeastern region of Puerto Rico was one of the areas hit hardest by Hurricane Maria and its aftermath an area we previously found to be sending relatively large shares of migrants to Massachusetts and fewer to new destinations such as Texas (Mora et al. 2017). Still, other data sources in Figure 1 suggest that post-Maria migrants into these states were underrepresented compared with pre-Maria migration. The CNN USPS estimates further point to an increased prominence of Pennsylvania (another presidential election swing state) as a destination for post-Maria migrants compared with pre-Maria

migrants, but the relative magnitude is not consistent with the other data sources.

As additional data with more representative samples of post-Maria migrants become available, we expect to reach a more conclusive understanding of whether the areas most devastated by Maria disproportionately sent migrants to traditional receiving areas on the mainland. More generally, we will also be able to examine the extent to which migrants' initial location decisions relied on existing pre-Maria migration networks from particular regions on the island. If the socioeconomic and demographic characteristics of post-Maria migrants in specific destination areas mirror those of pre-Maria migrants (as the similarity in their reported geographic distributions implies), then policymakers, social workers, and community groups seeking to assist incoming migrants should realize that these characteristics tend to differ depending on where the migrants are going. For example, Puerto Ricans who moved from the island into the traditional receiving areas before Maria had considerably higher poverty rates than those who moved to Florida and Texas (Mora et al. 2017, 2018).

CONCLUDING REMARKS

With Hurricane Maria's catastrophic devastation exacerbating Puerto Rico's already weakened and deteriorated infrastructure, it is not surprising that significant numbers of people left the island, at least temporarily. Puerto Rico was already experiencing a record net outmigration that contributed to the decline and aging of its population after more than a decade of severe economic contraction, meaning that Maria has prolonged the uncertainty and challenges of the island's near- and long-term socioeconomic and demographic future. Moreover, the available estimates of post-Maria migrants suggest that their migration trajectories are similar to those observed before the storm, although Florida has increased its dominance among the destination areas. Given that Florida and, to a lesser extent, Pennsylvania have been swing states in recent presidential elections, Puerto Rican migration has the potential to influence socioeconomic, demographic, and political outcomes on the U.S. mainland.

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¹ Unless otherwise specified, our estimates of the net migration from Puerto Rico to the U.S. mainland are based on public-use microdata from the 2006–2016 American Community Survey and the Puerto Rican Community Survey made available by Ruggles et al. (2018) in the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series.

² Not all of the people leaving the island during La Crisis Boricua identified themselves as Puerto Rican. For example, in the 2006–2016 American Community Survey, over a third (176,587) of the net migrants who moved to the mainland during this time did not self-identify as Puerto Rican in the Hispanic/Latino ethnicity question (Mora et al. 2018). For the purpose of Figure 1, we show the locations of self-identified Puerto Ricans only.

³ One discrepancy is that the CNN FEMA sample has Virginia as the third largest receiving area, which was not in line with the other data sources.

ECONOMISTS TO WATCH

PASSION AS MOTIVATOR: "I WANT TO KNOW MORE"

Alfonso Flores-Lagunes Professor of Economics, Syracuse University



Here's an overlooked benefit of NATFA: Alfonso Flores-Lagunes. Flores-Lagunes became an economist because of NAFTA, and the U.S. got a talented economist out of the deal.

Born in 1973 in Xalapa, Veracruz, Mexico, Flores-Lagunes was in high school when NAFTA was negotiated and the country's economy was opening up. It was also the first time Mexico had an economist instead of a lawyer as president.

"People were looking at the field then since many things were going right and people were curious," he said. He was among them.

He decided then that economics was for him. But first, he married his high school sweetheart. Soon a child was on the way, and graduate school was calling. He moved to Columbus, Ohio, to start his graduate work in 1996. He was 23.

The move was tough, he said. He was alone and missing his family, and the classes were killing him. His wife and daughter had stayed behind in Mexico so his wife could finish her bachelor's degree. Meanwhile, he had gone right from an undergraduate program to a PhD program and the math demands were tough. "And did I mention it was cold. It was the first time I saw snow."

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Hard work is
necessary, but in
order to endure
the challenges
you need passion
as a motivator. If
you don't have
that motivation,
you will not be
able to excel.



But, he said, it was also enriching. "It was a time of a lot of growth, personally," he said. He persevered with the help of his faith, and his stubbornness. "I am very persistent," he said, "and very disciplined. I do not give up."

He has been a professor since 2001, with several moves (mostly to warm weather spots) in between, from Arizona to Florida, then to Binghamton, NY, and most recently to Syracuse. "People laughed when I said I was moving from Florida to upstate New York," he said.

The job has not always been easy, he admits. The field is tough on new recruits, and the critiques can be brutal. But he has learned to remember that the "person is trying to improve your work. For me that's been useful. But there is no question that sometimes the criticism can feel very personal. I know a lot of people who struggle with that and shy away from presenting because they don't like that process."

But his passion for the work is what carries him. "Hard work is necessary," he said, "but in order to endure the challenges you need passion as a motivator. If you don't have that motivation, you will not be able to excel."

Today, his research continues the thread he discovered in college, when he asked the basic question, Why are some people paid more than others? He coupled his interest in labor markets and human capital with a passion for econometrics, and today studies the results of large-

scale evaluations of government programs, most notably Job Corps.

"I take the open questions and follow up," he said. "I want to know more about the things that can't be learned from the experiment itself."

The Job Corps evaluation, for example, found that blacks and Hispanics fared worse than whites in the job market. He unpacked why. Among other reasons, Hispanics, he finds, tend to live in places with higher unemployment. He also looked at length of participation whereas

"the typical study looks just at yes/no participation."

He and his wife recently celebrated 27 years together. His daughter is now 26, and she is studying early childhood education. Teaching, apparently, is in the family's genes. "Two of my father's siblings were teachers, one in rural Mexico and one in a city. My father is a professor of medicine. My mother is a doctor. I have cousins who taught at the college level." Most recently his daughter found her calling. "She

recognized teaching kindergarten special education as her passion," he said. His youngest daughter, meanwhile, is studying chemical engineering, though there's still time to switch to teaching.

And the secret to a long marriage? Patience, compromise, and shared interests, he said. His wife is a fellow economist, and he said, "Our daughters are flabbergasted by my wife and my conversations. We really geek out. They just roll their eyes and leave."

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's on your nightstand?
 My smartphone and a pair of earplugs.
- What childhood book was your favorite and why?

Like a Bible for kids, lots of pictures. It was an easy way to find comfort if something wasn't going right

- What historical figure do you most identify with?

 Benito Juarez. He overcame a lot, to learn to read in the first place, then become a lawyer. He was president of Mexico in a very tumultuous time, and with his drive and determination he was able to keep the country together.
- What trait do you most deplore in other people? Arrogance.
- What trait do you most admire in other people? Eloquence.
- Which talent would you like most to have?
 Being a deep thinker.

- Which job would you like to have if you weren't an economist?
 Engineer
- What is your airport vice?

 Caramel popcorn.
- What do you consider your greatest achievement?

I married very young and was able to keep my family together.

- Who's your favorite hero in music?

 John Lennon.
- Mountain or beach vacation?

 Beach.
- Maynard Keynes or Milton Friedman? Keynes.
- What's the hardest thing you've ever done? Get through the first year of the PhD program.

SCHOOL CHOICE AND ACHIEVEMENT: THE CASE OF CHARTERS IN TEXAS

By Marcus Casey, The Brookings Institution and University of Illinois at Chicago

Obtaining high-quality K-12 education remains a challenge for many disadvantaged families. This problem is particularly acute for minority families, who typically have lower income and wealth levels. Coupled with these access issues are persistent minority-white achievement gaps. Policymakers have sought to close these gaps in access and achievement by imposing accountability standards and implementing marketbased reform through school choice. Charter schools, which are privately run but funded largely by public money, have emerged as a popular, albeit controversial, approach. As the number of charter schools and their enrollment, overwhelmingly from black and Hispanic children, have grown, researchers and policymakers are interested in evaluating the performance of these schools and the sector.

BACKGROUND: CHARTER SCHOOL GROWTH IN THE U.S.

Charter schools were initially hailed as innovation "laboratories" that would introduce competition and market mechanisms into urban educational markets to improve the quality of education of disadvantaged students in both charters and traditional public schools. Since the 1990s, 43 states and Washington, DC, have passed laws authorizing charter school operations. The number of charter schools and their student enrollment share have grown substantially: as of the 2015–2016 school year, more than 6,000 charter schools were in operation nationally. At least 17 states, along with DC, have more than 100 charter schools. Texas, in particular, has emerged as the second-largest charter school state, with over 600 campuses and over 250,000 students enrolled (National Center for Education Statistics 2017).



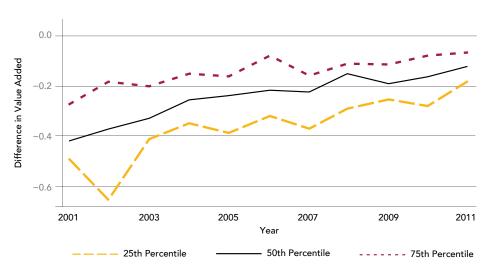
Although charter schools receive public funding, they are not subject to the curriculum and personnel regulations that typically govern traditional public schools. In particular, charter school administrators have the ability to compensate, hire, and fire teachers and staff as they wish. Charter school advocates consider these freedoms key to the schools' ability to foster an environment where "best practices" can be discovered and tested. As publicly funded schools, charter schools must accept students on a first-come, first-served basis. In the case of oversubscription, they are required to hold lotteries to assign seats.

Charter schools vary substantially in their organizational structure: some are independently operated schools; others are members of a larger charter management organization network. An increasing number of charters are organized around variations of the "No Excuses" philosophy, an approach whereby schools explicitly set high expectations, require uniforms, and impose strict disciplinary structures and penalties. Other schools are more similar to traditional public schools in their approaches or have a specialized focus in areas such as foreign languages or the arts.

EVIDENCE ON CHARTER SCHOOL EFFECTIVENESS

Researchers studying charter school effectiveness typically rely on the school's "value added," that is, the school's estimated contribution to gains (or losses) in a charter school enrollee's performance on standardized tests after accounting for the contributions of other

FIGURE 1: Effectiveness of Charter Schools Relative to Traditional Public Schools in Mathematics



Note: Authors' calculations using Texas Schools Project Data. Figure shows the difference between the 25th, 50th, and 75th percentiles of the charter and traditional public school quality distributions based on statewide value-added regression models using mathematics test scores. See Baude et al. (2018) for further details

factors, such as accumulated knowledge. Because charter school attendance is not randomly assigned, the most credible studies focus on oversubscribed schools that use lotteries to assign seats. These studies typically find, particularly for low-income and minority students from urban areas, positive effects of charter school attendance on test scores, primarily in mathematics (see, e.g., Abdulkadiroğlu et al. 2011; Angrist et al. 2012; Angrist et al. 2013; Hoxby et al. 2009). Observational analyses using regression or matching strategies that include schools without admission lotteries find mixed evidence. In such studies, smaller or even negative impacts on student achievement are commonly observed (e.g., CREDO 2013).

STUDYING THE CHARTER SECTOR IN TEXAS

Although considered credible, the aforementioned lottery-based studies are limited in that they evaluate the performance of students entering oversubscribed schools at one point in time, which may provide an incomplete picture of the overall performance of the

charter school sector. Evaluating the performance of a marketbased reform requires studying the performance of the entire sector over time. In a recent study (Baude et al. 2018), my colleagues and I examine aggregate charter school sectoral dynamics using longitudinal microdata on students and schools in Texas.1 These data include information on student test scores, disciplinary action, and demographics in addition to the entry, exit, and operations of all schools in the charter and traditional public school sectors from 2001 to 2014. Using these data, we estimate school-level value added for all charter and traditional public schools in our sample and construct a full distribution of school-level value added for both charter schools and traditional public schools.2

We find evidence that the charter school sector improved rapidly

relative to traditional public schools. Focusing on performance (i.e., value added) in mathematics, we find that although the mean of the distribution for charter schools was below the mean of the corresponding distribution for traditional public schools, the overall sector improved roughly 0.25 standard deviations at the mean over the period studied. Figure 1, for example, highlights the steady improvement of charter schools in mathematics relative to traditional public schools in Texas between 2001 and 2014. It presents the 25th, 50th, and 75th percentiles of the distribution of school effectiveness in mathematics (based on test scores) for charter schools relative to their traditional public school counterparts. Over the period, each quartile of the charter distribution improved relative to that of traditional public schools. The difference at the 75th percentile improved from

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roughly -0.2 standard deviations in 2001 to roughly -0.1 standard deviations in 2014, while the difference at the 50th percentile improved from roughly -0.4 standard deviations in 2001 to about -0.1 standard deviations in 2014. The most notable improvements occurred at the 25th percentile, where the difference in the distributions improved from roughly -0.5 standard deviations at the

TABLE 1: Charter School Average Value Added and Enrollment Dynamics in Mathematics for 2001 to 2011, by Status of School Operations

	2001	2011		
Schools in operation in both 2001 and 2011				
Average value added	-0.258	-0.120		
Share of charter enrollment	0.78	0.19		
Average campus age in years	2.47	12.44		
Number of schools	66	66		
Market closures between 2001 and 2011				
Average value added	-0.598			
Share of charter enrollment	0.170			
Average campus age in years	2.110			
Number of schools	27			
Authorizer closures between 2001 and 2011				
Average value added	-0.519			
Share of charter enrollment	0.060			
Average campus age in years	2.230			
Number of schools	13			
Schools in operation in 2011 but not in 2001				
Average value added		-0.146		
Share of charter enrollment		0.80		
Average campus age in years		4.81		
Number of schools		253		

Note: Authors' calculations using Texas Schools Project data. All value-added measures are derived from test score regressions estimated separately by year. Average value added for charter schools is net of traditional public school average value added in each year. Empty cells correspond to years when schools were no longer in operation or had yet to begin operation. Market closures refer to voluntary closures by charter school operators. Authorizer closures refer to involuntary closures of schools by the state regulatory agency.

start of the period to roughly -0.2 standard deviations at the end of the period. Importantly, this reduction in the interquartile range of the charter school distribution relative to the traditional public school distribution was accompanied by a reduction in the dispersion of these scores as well. Although not reported here because of space limitations, we find similar evidence of relative improvements in the distribution of value added in reading.

To better understand the source of these changes, we examine how the dynamics of charter schools' entry, exit, and persistence in the educational marketplace in Texas drives the evolution of school quality. We observe three facts that we believe are consistent with the operation of market forces. First, as shown in Table 1, the schools that closed were, on average, the worst performers in mathematics. Second, schools that remained open over the entire period showed substantial relative improvement in mathematics. Finally, the performance of new entrant charters, on average, resembled that of charter schools that remained open. This last finding may reflect relative expansion of charter management organizations over the study period and may suggest that successful charter management organizations may be figuring out what works in their schools and replicating it.

WHAT SEEMS TO BE WORKING

Consistent with a number of studies (e.g., Angrist et al. 2013; Dobbie and Fryer 2011; Imberman 2011), the evidence from Texas points to the growing market dominance and strong performance of charter schools adhering to a "No Excuses" philosophy. Coincident with these performance improvements, we find that the share of "No Excuses" schools grew from roughly 35 percent of the charter schools operating at the beginning of our observation period to well over 50 percent of schools at the end. Importantly, regression evidence (Table 3 in Baude et al. 2018) suggests that "No Excuses" charter schools had higher value added in mathematics and reading, on average, after controlling for higher initial performance among new charter school student entrants, reductions in student turnover, and performance among students who remained at the charter past their first year.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Whether school choice mechanisms operating through the introduction and expansion of charter schools are the "best" approach to improving K–12 schools for disadvantaged children remains unclear. The findings reviewed in this article suggest that taking a longer-term perspective may be appropriate when evaluating such reforms. In the short term, it is important to recognize that charters leverage public and private financial and human capital to provide schooling options for families

that otherwise may have had no alternative to their neighborhood school. Attempting to understand better what aspects of the "No Excuses" philosophy and the approaches of other relatively successful schools are working, for the purposes of exporting these approaches back to traditional public schools, may be the best approach to more quickly improving schools for disadvantaged families (see, e.g., Fryer 2014).

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¹ A more detailed description of the underlying database can be found in Kain (2001) and other publications on the website for the Texas Schools Project: http://www.utdallas.edu/research/tsp-erc/.

² The results discussed here were constructed using standard regression methods. Results from an alternative approach using matching-style methods are reported in Baude et al. (2018) and are qualitatively similar.

ECONOMISTS TO WATCH

#NERDPRIDE: NURTURING A CULTURE OF INNOVATION

Kaye Husbands Fealing Chair and Professor, School of Public Policy, Georgia Institute of Technology



Kaye Husbands Fealing wanted her daughter to love math. And to feel proud of that love.

As an African American woman who has risen to the top of her field in economics, Husbands Fealing knows all too well what it's like to be a self-described math nerd in a culture that doesn't expect or approve of women excelling in STEM fields.

"Often women and women of color are not encouraged to do the kind of work I do," she said. She called herself a "math nerd" at home while her daughter was growing up to model a love of and pride in mathematical thinking.

"I wanted to let her know that it shouldn't be unusual that we do what we do," she said.

After attending the University of Pennsylvania and Harvard in the 1970s and 1980s, Husbands Fealing had a long career as an economics professor at Williams College. She is currently the chair of the School of Public Policy at the Georgia Institute of Technology. Her work has centered on the nexus of trade and industry. She has studied everything from the automotive industry to innovation policy to food safety.

Mathematical thinking and economics always came naturally to Husbands Fealing. She immigrated to the United States with her parents from Barbados when she was almost eight years old. She grew up in Brooklyn and

We are setting down tracks for the future. That matters.
We may not be around to see it, but it is effective

99

and it does matter.

remembers listening to discussions about economics at her kitchen table and sitting in on the economics courses her father taught at Montclair State College in New Jersey. "It just made sense to me," she said.

Husbands Fealing and her father both attended the AEA summer program in the 1970s (her father got his degrees later in his life). Her parents, she said, always taught her "you can do anything you want to do."

She moved up the ranks to full professor and chair at Williams and was at the college from 1989 to 2009. In that time, she studied Japanese and U.S. competition in the automotive industry, the automobile supply chain in Mexico, and strategic alliances in the aircraft industry. This eventually led to an interest in bottom-up technological innovation.

In 2006, the National Science Foundation (NSF) asked her to develop a new program that she named the Science of Science and Innovation Policy program to support research designed to advance the scientific basis of science and innovation policy.

Husbands Fealing benefited throughout her career from mentors and family, including leading economists; Bell Labs, which supported her education; and her parents. Husbands Fealing took a nontenured job for four years to care for her ailing parents, just as they'd altered their career paths for her when her daughter was young. She considers their support an important part of her success as a working mother. This kind of support, she said, "enables us to do what we do."

"I was very grateful for those times when people extended themselves to me when they didn't have to and, therefore, I feel it's critically important to do that for others."

Today she stresses the importance of changing the climate to make economics and all of our classrooms, boardrooms, and workplaces more welcoming places for everyone. Husbands Fealing said the discrimination she experienced as a woman in the field was mostly a presumption that she was not intelligent or when others repeated her ideas and got the credit.

That, she said, "is what we live with. And you either decide you are going to walk away from it and think 'why bother?' or you think, 'I have ownership of this, and there is no reason someone should be able to push me aside.'"

She recently led a workshop for research scholars at historically black colleges to discuss grants with NSF program directors, and she tells the story of insisting to the director

of a science summer program in Minneapolis that her daughter not be the only girl enrolled in the program.

The road to changing the climate for women and minorities in the field may be a long one, but Husbands Fealing is comfortable with that.

"We are setting down tracks for the future," she said. "That matters. We may not be around to see it, but it is effective and it does matter."

Her daughter, meanwhile, is learning to fly planes and considering a master's program in applied data analytics or a PhD in behavioral economics.

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's on your nightstand? I'm a neatnik, so there's very little on my nightstand. Currently, a magazine with Michelle Obama on the cover.
- What childhood book was your favorite and why?
 I loved Agatha Christie books.
 I love that she's a sleuth. My mother loved them too and I used
- What trait do you most deplore in other people?
 I don't like it when people don't listen. Listening is really important.
- What trait do you most admire in other people?
 Fortitude

Which talent would you most like to have?

Well, because of this job I have, communication. Really getting people to talk to one another.

Which job would you like to have if you weren't an economist?

I really like designing homes. Interior designer, architect. It has to be technical or I'd get bored.

What do you consider your greatest achievement?

My family. My daughter. My husband. I'm really grateful for that. I'm very much a loner. It took me forever to get married and people said, "What was she waiting for?" But then I married my best friend and he's terrific, and we have a terrific daughter.

Mountain or beach vacation?
I'm from the Caribbean, so I'm

supposed to say beach and that's where my family likes to go. But quite frankly, I can't stand the heat. I had the best time when I was in Whistler, British Columbia. We got about 7000–8000 feet above sea level. That was great.

- Maynard Keynes or Milton Friedman? Keynes.
- What's the hardest thing you've ever done?

When I lost both of my parents. Caring for your family members as they begin to fade. That's an honest answer.

ECONOMISTS TO WATCH

A CAREER FOR AN ECLECTIC MIND

Susan Collins

Edward M. Gramlich Collegiate Professor of Public Policy and Professor of Economics, University of Michigan



When Susan Collins was starting her dissertation, she had a moment of truth. She had an advisor who could be quite intimidating, and one day he sat her down and announced that she was a mouse and it was his job to teach her how to be a lion. Taken aback—she didn't see herself as a mouse—she went home and thought about it.

"My personality was to do things in a private way, but my style came across to people like him as if I was a mouse and that was a problem. I was quiet in my own way but I was intent on excelling. And it was important for me to do that in a way that felt right to me."

Collins came to economics out of curiosity. She grew up in Manhattan, the daughter of Jamaican parents who went back to Kingston regularly to see relatives.

"Those summer visits raised all kinds of questions," she said. "Why were living standards so different?" Even wealthier people in Jamaica, she noticed, suffered from water shutoffs or other hardships. "It was clear to me very early on that contexts matter. If you grow up with these questions, it's no surprise to become an international economist."

Her parents encouraged her to follow her curiosity. Her father was a social anthropologist at the United Nations, where he worked on challenges in developing countries, and her mother was a librarian at various universities. "And Jamaica has a tradition of really strong women," she said, so highpowered careers were supported.

Her interest was really piqued, however, when her father would come home complaining about "those damned economists." In his view, they sometimes won the day even when they were wrong, because it was so hard to argue with them. "I wanted to win the day! And then I fell in love with the analytic rigor that could be used to understand and address societal challenges."

By age 25, she was an assistant professor at Harvard studying exchange rate regimes and crises in industrial and developing countries. The year was 1984. She'd done her undergraduate work at Harvard and graduate work at MIT, and she was learning to navigate the road as an unnatural extrovert. "I learned it matters as much how you say something as what you say. As an introvert, I had to figure out how to show confidence. And that takes practice as well as lots of preparation."

She'd also realized that she preferred combining quantitative analytics with more applied approaches and liked to put her eclectic interests to work. "High-powered statistics are valuable," she said, "but I also value the insights you get from a case study. They add nuance and deepen our understanding of an issue."

One of her first major projects was to examine South Korea's external debt experience in the 1980s. "It involved lots of data analysis, but a key was partnering with a Korean economist to gain a deeper, on-theground perspective. Looking at things from different lenses is important for understanding the big picture."

She would continue the applied work at Georgetown and the Brookings Institution when she and her husband moved to Washington, DC in 1992. Her husband is a public health physician who worked at the National Institutes of Health, with a stint in the Clinton Administration. She split her time between Georgetown and Brookings, where she expanded her applied work on determinants of economic growth.

Having two children added even more applied work. "My husband was deputy drug czar while they were young, so we were juggling two kids and two actively engaged jobs. It was exciting, but also stressful. I got much less research done during those years."

By 2007, she had been a faculty member since 1984, and when the Gerald R. Ford School of Public Policy at the University of Michigan called asking her to be dean, she was ready for something different. Her family packed up and moved, and for the first few years her husband became "much more Mr. Mom." Your partner, she says, is "hugely important" in managing to combine a career and a family. "There were years when he held the high-powered role and I had more kid responsibility and had to say no to more things. Then there were years where it was the opposite."

She quickly fell in love with the job in Ann Arbor. "Moving to a policy

school was wonderful," she said.
"It's a natural home for a person with eclectic views like mine. It's applied—with a genuine focus on working to make people's lives better—and it's also inherently interdisciplinary."

She enjoyed tapping into a different set of skills as dean, from budget management to hiring and developing people to marketing. "You're responsible for a wide range of tasks—that was fun." Even the meetings were fun (most of the time).

She worked hard to foster a more inclusive experience for faculty, staff and students, where people from all backgrounds could thrive. For her, a key step was cultivating an environment where "people are more open both to sharing their experiences and hearing from others

whose experiences are very different. I want people to be able to say, 'what just happened was challenging for me,'" and have others hear it, she said, "versus others not even being aware it happened."

The ten-year term as dean was over in August 2017, and she is enjoying a year-long sabbatical before returning to the classroom and research.

"After a decade as dean, I was ready to step down and have really been enjoying catching up on reading, exploring new research directions, developing a new course." A benefit of being an academic, she said, is the time to think about what is important. "I'm in the process of figuring out the balance I want to find. And that's a wonderful place to be."

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's on your nightstand? Darwin's The Voyage of the Beagle—prepping for a trip to Galapagos. Also, A Wrinkle in Time (rereading).
- What childhood book was your favorite? One of them was A Wrinkle in Time. We need more spunky creative girls.
- What trait do you most deplore in other people?

Close-mindedness.

- What trait do you most admire in other people?
 Engagement.
- Which talent would you like most to have? It's not a talent per se, but I wish I could fly.
- What is your airport vice?People watching (with a bit of snark).

Which job would you like to have if you weren't an economist?

I'm making up a new job here: Systematically empowering people through reading.

What do you consider your greatest achievement?

My kids. I'm very proud of them.

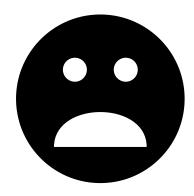
- Mountain or beach vacation? Both. Jamaica has mountains that come down to the beach.
- Maynard Keynes or Milton Friedman? Keynes.
- What's the hardest thing you've ever done? Taking my mother off her respirator on her deathbed. That puts a lot of other things in perspective.

ACADEMIC MENTORING RELATIONSHIPS: THE GOOD, THE BAD, AND THE UGLY

By Vicki L. Bogan, Cornell University







Surveys have found that 65% of PhD students identify mentoring/advising as a main factor contributing to the completion of their doctoral degree, second only to financial support (Kirby et al. 2009). Development workshops for graduate students or newly minted PhDs often stress the importance of finding multiple mentors in academia. This is exceptionally good advice. Mentors can help expand your academic network by connecting you with new people. With mentors, you can discuss difficult issues and decisions, like when or whether to search for a new job. Mentors can help you acknowledge your shortcomings and discuss ways to eliminate them.

The American Economic Association (AEA) has a strong chain of affiliated programs to facilitate mentoring relationships that can last throughout your career. The AEA Summer Training Program enables undergraduate students to develop and refine analytical skills in preparation for graduate studies; many students continue their relationships with faculty or graduate students involved in the program. The AEA Pipeline Mentoring Program links African American, Latino, and Native American economics PhD students and new PhDs with mentors in the field. This program also encourages networking between more senior economists and students throughout the educational and early-career pipeline. The AEA's Committee on the

Status of Women in the Economics Profession (CSWEP) offers mentoring workshops for women. Beyond the AEA programs, the Diversity Initiative for Tenure in Economics (DITE) supports underrepresented minority economists in the transition from tenure-track faculty status to tenured associate professor status.

I have been a part of these programs as both a mentor and a mentee. By assisting in both expected and unexpected ways, my mentors from these programs have shaped the trajectory of my academic career. For example, my mentors from the AEA Pipeline program often reviewed and critiqued my working papers, providing valuable guidance. Additionally, I have found great co-authors as a result of participating in the DITE program.

While the benefits of mentors are often extolled, the importance of mentor quality is seldom discussed. Not every successful scholar has strong mentoring skills. Not every famous researcher can serve as a good mentor for you. Who will be a good mentor or who may turn out to be a toxic mentor is not always evident from the start. Be open to numerous potential relationships, and see what works for you. However, when you search for mentors and develop relationships, some key signs can help you distinguish the good from the bad and the ugly.

THE GOOD

The most important quality of a good mentor is willingness to help. Also, when deciding whether to cultivate a specific mentoring relationship, you should focus on what you want and need in a mentor. Try to find an appropriate mentor with the requisite experience and knowledge for your particular situation. The following qualities are critical in a mentor:

G

Gives enough time to the relationship. A good mentor is willing to make time for you.

0

Offers constructive feedback. A thoughtful mentor shares knowledge and gives you things to think about.

0

Observant of your needs. Your mentor should be capable of getting you the help and/or resources you require.

D

Demonstrates the attributes and attitude necessary to be successful in academia. Look for a mentor who is respected by colleagues.

THE BAD

Investing in a difficult mentoring relationship can be frustrating. Thus, avoiding poor mentors can be important to your well-being. Unfortunately, most academics do not receive formal training in mentoring. As a result, mentoring quality varies substantially. Watch for these qualities of a poor mentor:

В

Busy with too many other issues, so the mentor has no time for you.

А

Ambivalent; the mentor is unenthusiastic or implies that meeting with you is a burden.

D

Does not follow up or follow through after promising to help you with something.

THE UGLY

While poor mentors often can be ignored or avoided, toxic mentors present more formidable problems. Toxic mentors can be stressful, interfere with your productivity, or even derail your career progression. Even post-tenure, I personally have been blindsided by toxic mentors. These toxic colleagues may present themselves as mentors but sabotage your work or undermine your career. A toxic mentor will exhibit several of the following signs:

Understates your needs or issues. A toxic mentor is insensitive to or disrespectful of your concerns.

G

Gives nonproductive feedback or criticisms, and/or makes you feel as if you are always wrong.

Lectures you like a child, not a colleague. Speaking to you in a condescending way is a sign of a toxic mentor.

Y

Yells or overreacts if contradicted or challenged.

Watching for these signs can be just as important as selecting a mentor. If you start to spot them, rethink your relationship and make finding a replacement mentor a priority. Remember the "GOOD" list when seeking a new mentor.

BEING A GOOD MENTEE

Mentoring relationships are a twoway street. Beyond having a quality mentor, a successful mentoring relationship requires being a good mentee. When interacting with a mentor, try to do the following (adapted from Carpenter and Qualls 2015 and "Mentee Toolkit" [n.d.]):

- Invest in the relationship. All good relationships, including those with mentors, take work. Put in the effort to get to know your mentor and develop trust.
- background, current situation, concerns, and goals for the future. If you are open and honest about who you are and what you want, your mentor will be in a better position to help you.
- Be open-minded and willing to learn. Even if you and your mentor do not have much in common, your mentor has valuable experience and expertise to share. Keep an open mind and look for ways to learn from your mentor.
- Be a good listener. Do not ignore your mentor's criticism or constructive feedback. You may not ultimately choose to take your mentor's advice, but listening to what your mentor has to say is essential.

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- **Be coachable and follow through.** Be responsive to constructive comments and recommendations. When you decide to employ your mentor's suggestions, do so in a timely manner.
- Be prepared for your meetings. Before your meetings, think about the issues you would like to discuss. Write down the topics or email them to your mentor in advance. Your meetings will be much more productive and helpful if you are prepared.
- **Be proactive and take initiative.** Do not rely on your mentor to lead the relationship. Initiate regular contact with your mentor, ask questions, and ask for help when you need it.
- Be respectful of your mentor's time. Remember that your mentor is volunteering to help you develop skills. Demonstrate that you value your mentor's time.
- **Expect support, not miracles.** A mentor can give feedback, provide an alternative point of view, act as a sounding board, and identify people and/or resources available to assist you. A mentor cannot solve your problems for you.

Scholars from underrepresented racial or ethnic groups should aim to develop mentors across circles within the

academy and connect to a number of different networks. Some excellent groups for this purpose include the Committee on the Status of Minority Groups in the Economics Profession (CSMGEP), the National Economic Association (NEA), and the American Society of Hispanic Economists (ASHE). For more information on these organizations and the programs mentioned in this article, please refer to the following:

CSMGEP:

aeaweb.org/about-aea/committees/csmgep

NEA:

neaecon.org

ASHE:

asheweb.org

AEA Summer Training Program:

aeaweb.org/about-aea/committees/aeasp

AEA Pipeline Mentoring Program:

aeaweb.org/about-aea/committees/csmgep/pipeline

DITE:

socialequity.duke.edu/dite

CSWEP:

aeaweb.org/about-aea/committees/cswep

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ECONOMIC JOBS BEYOND ACADEMIA

While many people are familiar with the responsibilities of academic jobs, less is known about jobs for economists outside of academia. The following are examples of non-academic positions held by economists, described in their own words.



AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

José Guardado is a senior economist in the Department of Economic and Health Policy Research at the American Medical Association (AMA) in Chicago, Illinois. The AMA is the largest association of physicians and medical students in the United States, and it seeks to promote the art and science of medicine and the betterment of public health.

As a health economist, Guardado conducts research that relates to physicians and health care, such as competition in health care markets and medical liability markets: "I analyze and summarize data—data we collect through surveys of physicians as well as data we purchase. For example, I produce the AMA's annual Competition in



Guardado's advice for "newly minted" economists interested in this type of employment:

"Develop abilities to communicate your (and others') work/research to non-economists, to see and communicate its relevance to public policy, and to interpret and critique research and findings. For example, when a paper of interest comes out, particularly if it gets cited in the media, I ask whether the paper really finds what people or the media say it does. I assess the paper and summarize the important findings and limitations and provide guidance on what can and cannot be inferred from it."



Health Insurance study, which was used recently to analyze the Anthem-Cigna and Aetna-Humana proposed mergers." Guardado also studies, among other issues, medical liability claims, premiums, and claim costs, and provides analytic support and expertise to other AMA units. "In essence, I am an internal consultant to the AMA, and I help it understand the language of economists."

An economist job at the AMA is a unique opportunity to apply economic analysis in a non-academic setting. When asked about the most exciting aspects of his job, Guardado highlights "the collaboration with non-economists. I am like a professor and student, as I interpret economic data and concepts to them as well as learn from their expertise. My work also helps affect public policy."

Guardado points out that the challenges associated with working as a health economist at the AMA evolve with the job. "Towards the beginning, it was communicating economic concepts, research, thought and jargon to non-economists. Currently, it is planning—predicting what work will be needed in the future to start on it ahead of time and meet the demand when it's needed."

Guardado first heard about this position through Job Openings for Economists (JOE), underscoring that this resource for economists does not exclusively focus on academic jobs. All AMA positions are posted and distributed through a network of 150 job boards, which includes many boards oriented to underserved populations.

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THE BROOKINGS INSTITUTION

WASHINGTON, DC

Brahima S. Coulibaly is a senior fellow in the Global Economy and Development program and the director of the Africa Growth Initiative at the Brookings Institution in Washington, DC. The Brookings Institution is an independent think tank that informs economic policies through evidence-based research.

As a senior fellow in the Global Economy and Development program, Coulibaly conducts research to inform the formulation and discussion of economic policy in international forums such as the G20. As director of the Africa Growth Initiative, Coulibaly develops the strategic direction of the program and contributes to and oversees research on opportunities and challenges for economic development of the continent. In this last position, Coulibaly is also



Coulibaly's advice for "newly minted" economists interested in this type of employment:

"I would advise anyone interested in the practical policy impact of research to consider think tanks as a career opportunity. Using rigorous, evidence-based research to encourage strong policies and effective implementation strategies for positive development outcomes is both important and personally rewarding. In addition, because think tanks engage and inform a wide variety of stakeholders—policymakers, private sector actors, NGOs, academia, etc.—being able to communicate research and policy priorities in an accessible, digestible way to a broad and diverse audience is a key skill."

BROOKINGS

responsible for the recruiting, supervising, evaluating, and mentoring of staff, as well as mobilizing resources to support the program.

What makes his job in the Africa Growth Initiative interesting? As Coulibaly explains, "The most interesting aspect of my job is the engagement with high-level policymakers. I am driven by the idea that our high-quality research can help decision-makers borrow, create, and implement policies that can encourage inclusive growth on the continent. I find working with policymakers to both ascertain where the gaps of knowledge are and encourage the uptake of my recommendations a fulfilling part of my job."

Striving to impact economic policy does not come without interesting challenges. In particular, the job entails a very wide spectrum of skills: "One of the largest challenges of the job is being able to switch among its core functions: academic research, media engagement including TV interviews, engagement with funders to mobilize resources, and panel events to moderate or debate with other experts on important policy issues. Performing those mental shifts—often a few times in a day—can be challenging but also rewarding."

Brookings has made staff diversity a strategic priority. When recruiting, Brookings actively seeks a diverse applicant pool and continually pursues opportunities to build and expand networks to identify candidates from underrepresented communities. Brookings also fosters relationships with diverse colleges and universities, and participates in diversity-focused career fairs and related activities.

DIGONEX TECHNOLOGIES

INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA

Digone

Dusan Curcic is a senior economist at Digonex Technologies, a company based in Indianapolis, Indiana, that specializes in dynamic pricing strategies. At Digonex, Curcic's main responsibility is to develop algorithms to dynamically price clients' products or services.

As part of a recently growing field of application of economics, a job in dynamic pricing offers economists unique opportunities. As Curcic puts it, "The most exciting aspect of the job is that, once the algorithms are in place, we can observe their impact and measure their performances compared to the objectives/goals set up by our clients. The 'real world' impact of the work we do becomes observable quickly. Dynamic pricing is still a fairly recent concept in many industries, so being a part of it and watching it grow is also exciting."

A job in a new area of application of economics does not come without interesting challenges. In Curcic's own words: "The largest challenges come from the complexity of dynamic pricing itself. Understanding consumer price sensitivity, how it varies over different products/services, and how it varies over time is essential to providing our clients with updated prices." Additional challenges of the job are related to understanding the needs and constraints of the clients that are looking to invest in dynamic pricing strategies.

As for the difference between working in the private sector and academia, Curcic points out that "the biggest difference is the pace at which work needs to be done. In



Curcic's advice for "newly minted" economists interested in this type of employment:

"I would stress the importance of being ready for the interviews at the AEA meetings. Ability to clearly signal and communicate the interest in the position goes a long way. While we certainly understand the pressure of the AEA conference, we still appreciate the candidates who have done a bit of research about the company and who have thought about how their skill set may be relevant. I believe it is also important for candidates to show confidence in their abilities and to trust their training when they are being asked questions. After all, there is not always a correct answer, but we like to hear how candidates think as economists."

the private sector, there are externally imposed deadlines which may be out of one's control. It is very important to properly adjust the workload and make sure the deadlines are met."

Curcic first learned about Digonex via a traditional information source for economists in the job market: the JOE site. In describing his experience at Digonex, Dusan points out that "our economist team is very diverse with economists coming from the U.S. as well as other parts of the globe."

STAY CONNECTED WITH CSMGEP!

- Visit the CSMGEP website (https://www.aeaweb.org/about-aea/committees/csmgep) for a listing of minority job candidates (get added to the list!), profiles of "economists to watch," information about our programs, resources for teaching and research.
- ✓ **Don't miss any CSMGEP news.** Get added to our listserv: http://mail.aeapubs.org/mailman/listinfo/aea_csmgepnews
- ✓ Follow us on Twitter: #csmgep

ANNOUNCEMENTS

ASHE AWARDS

2018 Academic Achievement Award

Mark Hugo Lopez, Director of Global Migration and Demography Research, Pew Research Center

Lopez leads planning of Pew Research Center's research agenda on international demographic trends, international migration, U.S. immigration trends, and the U.S. Latino community. He is an expert on immigration globally and in the U.S., world demography, U.S. Hispanics, and Asian Americans. Lopez was previously the center's director of Hispanic research, and prior to that served as its associate director. He is the co-editor of Adjusting to a World in Motion: Trends in Global Migration and Migration Policy, is a co-author of The Future of the First Amendment, and has contributed chapters to several books about voting and young Latinos. He is also an author of reports about the Hispanic electorate, Hispanic identity, and immigration. Prior to joining Pew Research Center, Lopez served as a research assistant professor at the University of Maryland's School of Public Policy and as research director of the Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement (CIRCLE). Lopez received his doctorate in economics from Princeton University. He frequently appears in national and international media in both Spanish and English.

▶ ASHE Annual Dissertation Fellowship Award

Carycruz M. Bueno, Georgia State University, PhD expected May 2019, Three Essays on the Role of Student and Teacher Non-cognitive and Cognitive Skills in Determining Student Success

ASHE Dissertation Honorable Mention Award

Renzo M. Alvarez, Florida International University, PhD expected April 2019, Essays on Macroeconomic Shocks and Monetary Policy

MENTORING PROGRAM

Impactful Mentor Awards

Cecilia Conrad, William "Sandy" Darity Jr., and Marie T. Mora were recognized as the inaugural recipients of the AEA Mentoring Program's Impactful Mentor Awards at the 2018 Summer Mentoring Pipeline Conference (SMPC), funded by the National Science Foundation. The awards were created to recognize and celebrate individuals who have played instrumental roles over the years in mentoring traditionally underrepresented minorities in economics and diversifying the profession with respect to race/ethnicity. Said the selection committee of the inaugural recipients, "All three ... have a long career of distinction in mentoring professional economists and aspiring economists particularly from underrepresented groups in the profession."

▶ Job Market Bootcamp

Eleven mentees in the AEA Mentoring Program participated in the inaugural Job Market Bootcamp (JMB) held October 12-13, 2018, in College Station, TX. Funded by the National Science Foundation, the JMB helps to prepare students and new graduates in the AEA Mentoring Program for the Economics PhD job market and increase their chances of securing positions best suited to their interests, training, and professional and personal goals. The JMB includes training in writing CVs, abstracts, and cover letters; mock interviews; job market paper presentations; and networking opportunities. The participants are also assigned coaches to assist them throughout the job market cycle. The first JMB was held in conjunction with the 12th Economic Issues Affecting Hispanic and African American Communities conference hosted by the Department of Economics at Texas A&M University and the American Society of Hispanic Economists. The JMB is expected to become an annual event. Contact the AEA Mentoring Program director, Marie Mora, at Marie.Mora@utrgv.edu for more information.

▶ 2018 Lewis-Oaxaca Distinguished Lecturer

Dr. Francisco L. Rivera-Batiz, Professor Emeritus of Economics and Education at Columbia University, delivered the 2018 Lewis-Oaxaca Distinguished Lecture on "The Economics of Immigration" at the Summer Mentoring Pipeline Conference.

Inaugurated in 2014 in honor of Nobel Laureate Sir W. Arthur Lewis and Ronald L. Oaxaca, the Lewis-Oaxaca Distinguished Lecture Series features highly esteemed economists whose work has transformed the profession. Previous Lewis-Oaxaca Distinguished Lecturers include Ronald L. Oaxaca (2014), Cecilia Conrad (2015), William Darity Jr. (2016), and Susan Collins (2017).

Rivera-Batiz's research has centered on topics relating to labor migration, international economics, regional science, growth, and the economics of education. At Columbia, Rivera-Batiz has held appointments in the Economics Department, the School of International and Public Affairs, and Teachers College. He has also been the director of the Program in Economic Policy Management, the Latino Studies Program, and the Institute for Urban and Minority Education. Moreover, Rivera-Batiz has held appointments at the University of Chicago, Harvard University, Indiana University Bloomington, the University of Massachusetts Amherst, the University of Pennsylvania, Rutgers University, and the University of Wisconsin–Madison. He has received numerous awards and recognitions, including the American Society of Hispanic Economists' Academic Achievement Award. Rivera-Batiz earned his bachelor's degree with distinction from Cornell University and his PhD in economics from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

NEA

▶ 50th Anniversary

The National Economic Association is pleased to announce the celebration of its 50th anniversary in 2019. Look for events marking this historic milestone throughout the year!

ACTIVITIES

COMMITTEE ON THE STATUS OF MINORITY GROUPS IN THE ECONOMICS PROFESSION (CSMGEP)

Allied Social Sciences Association 2019

@TWITTER TIPS FOR SUCCESS: SOCIAL MEDIA FOR ECONOMISTS

Joint Session with CSWEP

Moderator: Susan Dynarski, University of Michigan

Panelists:

Jennifer Doleac, Texas A&M University
Darrick Hamilton, The New School for Social Research
Sarah Jacobson, Williams College
Mark Hugo Lopez, Pew Research Center

POLITICS, RACE AND THE ECONOMY

Chair: Renee Bowen, University of California, San Diego

The Political Economy of Mass Incarceration and Crime: An Analytic Model

Peter Temin, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Labor Market Effects of Minority Political Power: Evidence from the Voting Rights Act of 1965

Abhay Aneja, Stanford University **Carlos F. Avenancio,** Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Indiana University

Historical Lynchings and the Contemporary Voting Behavior of Blacks

Jhacova Williams, Clemson University

An Empirical Investigation of Immigration Enforcement Policy, Social Trust, and Crime

Alberto Ciancio, University of Pennsylvania **Camilo Garcia-Jimeno**, University of Pennsylvania

CSMGEP DISSERTATION SESSION

Chair: Kalena Cortes, Texas A&M University

Does Student Aid Impact Achievement? And Who Is Most Impacted?

Breyon Williams, University of South Carolina

Refugee Students and Peer Effects

Maria Camila Morales, Georgia State University

The (Perceived) Cost of Being Female: An Experimental Investigation of Strategic Responses to Discrimination

Mackenzie Alston, Texas A&M University

Democracy, Genes and the Male Survival Disadvantage

Marie Christelle Mabeu, University of Ottawa Roland Pongou, University of Ottawa

▶ Southern Economic Association 2018

MEET THE EDITORS: ADVICE FROM THE GATEKEEPERS

Chair/Moderator: Jose Manuel Fernandez, University of Louisville

Panelists:

Charles Courtemanche, University of Kentucky Daniel E. Houser, George Mason University Gary A. Hoover, University of Oklahoma Laura Razzolini, University of Alabama

Western Economic Association International 2018

PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT SESSION: CONVERSATION WITH JOURNAL EDITORS

Joint Session with ASHE and CSWEP

Moderators:

Catalina Amuedo Dorantes, San Diego State University

Ebonya L. Washington, Yale University

Panelists:

Julie Cullen, University of California, San Diego Brad R. Humphreys, West Virginia University Thomas Lemieux, University of British Columbia Wesley W. Wilson, University of Oregon

AMERICAN SOCIETY OF HISPANIC ECONOMISTS (ASHE)

Allied Social Sciences Association 2019

ECONOMIC POLICY AND VULNERABLE POPULATIONS

Chair: Susan Pozo, Western Michigan University

Drug Violence, Immigration Enforcement, and Selectivity: Who is Migrating Today from Mexico to the United States

Sandra Orozco-Aleman, Mississippi State University **Heriberto Gonzalez-Lozano,** Mississippi State University

The Effect of the Safety Net on United States Hispanics' Labor Market Activity

Pia M. Orrenius, Federal Reserve Bank of Dallas **Madeline Zavodny,** University of North Florida

Efficiency, Morality, and the Minimum Wage: A Choice Experiment

Jose M. Fernandez, University of Louisville Stephan Gohmann, University of Louisville Conor Lennon, University of Louisville Keith Teltser, University of Louisville

Publicly Provided Healthcare and Migration

Clotilde Mahé, United Nations University and Maastricht University

Cheap Talk and Coordination in the Lab and the Field: Collective Commercialization in Senegal

Angelino Viceisza, Spelman College Kodjo Aflagah, University of Maryland Tanguy Bernard, IFPRI and University of Bordeaux

▶ Southern Economic Association 2018

RACE, GENDER, AND THE LABOR MARKET

Chair: Fernando Antonio Lozano, Pomona College

Hispanics in the Michigan Labor Market

Leonidas Murembya, Michigan State University

Differential Business Outcomes in Minority-Owned Businesses during the 2008 Great Recession

Myriam Quispe-Agnoli, Mercer University Eric Kushins, Mercer University

The Gender Gap in Citations of Household Economics

Shoshana Grossbard, San Diego State University Tansel Yilmazer, Ohio State University Lingrui Zhang, San Diego State University

Cash Transfers, Old-Age Insurance, and Parent Health: Evidence from Mexico

Melissa Knox, University of Washington

ETHNICITY, DEMOGRAPHY, AND EDUCATION

Chair: Susan Pozo, Western Michigan University

Weight Classification: Normal Weight to Overweight without Gaining a Pound

Molly Jacobs, East Carolina University

Refugee Students and Peer Effects

Maria Camila Morales, Georgia State University

continued on next page ▶

ACTIVITIES CONTINUED

Food Stamp Assistance and High School Attendance among Hispanic Youth

Usamah Wasif, University of New Mexico
Richard Santos, University of New Mexico
David Noel van der Goes, University of New Mexico

Understanding the Effect of an Intervention Program on College Participation and Retention Racial Gaps in Rural Areas: A Longitudinal Analysis

Monica Garcia-Perez, St. Cloud State University Robert Johnson, St. Cloud State University Diego Guerrero, St. Cloud State University

Western Economic Association International 2018

LATINO/A ENTREPRENEURSHIP INITIATIVES

Session Organizer/Chair: Marie T. Mora, University of Texas Rio Grande Valley

The Business of Language: Latino Entrepreneurs, Language Use, and Firm Performance

Alberto Dávila, University of Texas Rio Grande Valley Michael Pisani, Central Michigan University Gerardo Miranda, University of Texas Rio Grande Valley

Social Network Utilization among Latino-Owned Businesses

Elsie Echeverri-Carroll, University of Texas at Austin Marie T. Mora, University of Texas Rio Grande Valley

SLEI-Education Scaling Program: A Business Intervention of National Economic Imperative

Marlene Orozco, Stanford University

PUERTO RICO'S HUMANITARIAN AND ECONOMIC CRISES: A PANEL DISCUSSION

Session Organizer: Marie T. Mora, University of Texas Rio Grande Valley

Panelists:

Marie T. Mora, University of Texas Rio Grande Valley Dennis Jansen, Texas A&M University Zadia M. Feliciano, Queens College and Graduate Center, CUNY

IMMIGRANTS, ETHNIC ENCLAVES, AND POLICY REFORMS

Session Organizers: Susan Pozo, Western Michigan University, Catalina Amuedo-Dorantes, San Diego State University

Chair: Monica Garcia-Perez, St. Cloud State University

Drug-violence and Selectivity: Who is Migrating Today from Mexico to the U.S.?

Sandra Orozco-Aleman, Mississippi State University Heriberto Gonzalez Lozano, Mississippi State University

Ethnic Competition or Complementarity: Which Drives (Returns to) Immigrant Self-Employment?

Joanna Nestorowicz, University of Warsaw **Joanna Tyrowicz,** University of Warsaw

The Long Term Effects of School Reforms: An Analysis of Youth Crime in New Orleans

Mónica Hernández, Tulane University Douglas Harris, Tulane University Stephen Barnes, Louisiana State University

An Alternative Approach for Identifying a Hidden Immigrant Population

Daniel A. Mengistu, Grand Valley State University **Susan Pozo**, Western Michigan University **Todd Sarnstrom II**, St. Norbert College

NATIONAL ECONOMIC ASSOCIATION

Allied Social Sciences Association 2019

LABOR MARKETS, DISCRIMINATION, AND THE ACADEMY

Joint Session with ASHE

Organizer: Susan Pozo, Western Michigan University

Chair: Omari H. Swinton, Howard University

Labor Market Conditions and Charges of Discrimination: Is There a Link?

Karl David Boulware, Wesleyan University **Kenneth N. Kuttner,** Williams College

Student Debt and Labor Market Outcomes

Gerald Eric Daniels Jr., Howard University **Andria Smythe,** Howard University

Hispanics in the Michigan Labor Market

Leonidas Murembya, Michigan State University

The Problem of the 21st Century Revisited: Black and Hispanic Faculty and the Economics Color Line

Sue K. Stockly, Eastern New Mexico University **Gregory N. Price,** Morehouse College

Metacognitive Awareness and Academic Performance: A Field Experiment

Angelino Viceisza, Spelman College A. Nayena Blankson, Spelman College Jimmeka Guillory, Spelman College Francesina Jackson, Spelman College Bruce Wade, Spelman College

GENDER STRATIFICATION FOR URM ECONOMICS AND SOCIOLOGY FACULTY: STRUCTURAL AND EXPERIENTIAL DIMENSIONS

Organizer/Chair: **Jean H. Shin,** American Sociological Association

Gender Dynamics in STEM Careers for Economics and Sociology Faculty

Roberta Spalter-Roth, American Sociological Association and George Mason University

Academic Stratification for URM Economics and Sociology Faculty

Marie T. Mora, University of Texas Rio Grande Valley

Survey Data on Gender Stratification for URM Economists and Sociologists

Kyle Moore, New School for Social Research

Gendered Experiences in Career Trajectories: Evidence from URM Faculty Interviews

Ismael Cid-Martinez, New School for Social Research

Co-authorship Networks for URM Faculty in Economics and Sociology

Jermaine Toney, Cornell University

ECONOMIC TRADE AND DEVELOPMENT

Organizer/Chair: **Gregory N. Price**, Morehouse College

Openness and Income Disparity in Sub-Saharan Africa: A Cross-Country Analysis

Romie Tribble Jr., Spelman College

continued on next page ▶

ACTIVITIES CONTINUED

Can Parents' Alcohol Consumption Create Negative Education Externalities for Children? Evidence from India

Ruth Uwaifo Oyelere, Morehouse College and IZA

Economic Integration in West Africa: A Reconsideration of the Evidence

Akpan H. Ekpo, West African Institute for Financial and Economic Management

Structural Transformation and Primary Commodity Dependence in the 'Rising' ECOWAS Economies

Douglason G. Omotor, West African Institute for Financial and Economic Management **Uduakobong Inam,** University of Uyo, Nigeria

How Do United States Multinationals Impact Growth in West African Countries?

Miesha Williams, Morehouse College

HOUSEHOLD BEHAVIOR AND PUBLIC POLICY

Organizer/Chair: Charlotte Otabor, District of Columbia Government

Does the District 2012 Income Tax Policy Increase Tax Revenue? Evidence from a Regression Discontinuity Design

Amira Alghumgham, Howard University

Does Affordable Housing Participation Reduce Default and Prepayment? The Case for the Montgomery County MPDU Program

Adji Fatou Diagne, U.S. Department of Commerce

Amenity Migration within a Millennial City Evidence from Washington DC Tax Data, 2005-2015

Charlotte Otabor, U.S. Office of the Chief Financial Officer, District of Columbia Government Haydar Kurban, Howard University Benoit Schmutz, Ecole Polytechnique

Payday Lending and the Unbanked Households

Lakitquana Leal, U.S. Census Bureau

RACE, INEQUALITY, AND CRIMINAL JUSTICE POLICY

Organizer: Robynn Cox, University of Southern California

Chair: Michelle Holder, John Jay College of Criminal Justice, City University of New York

Impacts of Private Prison Contracting on Time Served and Recidivism

Anita Mukherjee, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Childhood Abuse, Parental Incarceration, and Adult Human Capital

Laura E. Henkhaus, University of Southern California

Does Race Matter? Implications from Court-Ordered Police Hiring Quotas and Police Killings of Civilians

Robynn Cox, University of Southern California Jamein Cunningham, University of Memphis Alberto Ortega, Whitman College

Mandatory Minimum Reform, Race, and Recidivism

Terry-Ann Craigie, Connecticut College

The Determinants of Declining Racial Disparities in Female Incarceration Rates, 2000-2015

William J. Sabol, Georgia State University Samuel L. Myers Jr., University of Minnesota

THE POLITICAL ECONOMY AND HEALTH

Organizer/Chair: Jevay Grooms, Howard University

The Political Economy of Death: Do Elected Coroners Perform as Well as Medical Examiners in Determining Suicide?

Jose Fernandez, University of Louisville

Racial Disparities, Food Insecurity and Health among Low Income United States Households

Fafanyo Asiseh, North Carolina A&T State University **Obed Quaicoe,** North Carolina A&T State University

(D)ACA and Immigration Changes: What Is the Effect of a Change in Legal Status on Health Coverage?

Monica Garcia-Perez, St. Cloud State University

Pricing Daughters and the Economic Burden of Disease: Evidence from the Meningitis Belt

Belinda Archibong, Barnard College **Francis Annan,** Columbia University

Health Insurance Coverage among Mexican American Men under the ACA: A Tale of Two States, 2012-2015

David van der Goes, University of New Mexico **Richard Santos,** University of New Mexico

THE STATE OF EDUCATION IN AFRICA AND THE ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES

Joint Session with African Finance and Economics Association (AFEA)

Organizer: Evelyn Wamboye, Pennsylvania State

University

Chair: Kwabena Gyimah-Brempong, NSF

Addressing Quality Issues in African Higher Education: A Focus on Ghana's Emerging Private, Graduate Higher Education Sector

Stephen E. Armah, Ashesi University College

Elites and Education: Theory and Empirics

Mina Baliamoune-Lutz, University of North Florida

The Impact of Free Primary Education on Teenage Childbirth and Health Care Demand in Ghana, Uganda, Ethiopia and Mozambique

Fafanyo Asiseh, North Carolina A&T State University **Obed Quaicoe,** North Carolina A&T State University

Government Spending on Education and Economic Growth: A Case Study of West African Countries

Lloyd Ahamefule Amaghionyeodiwe, York College, CUNY

TOPICS IN HEALTH ECONOMICS

Organizer: Jevay Grooms, Howard University Chair: Sebastian Tello-Trillo, University of Virginia

Active Ingredients: Exploring the Key Factors Affecting the Rising Cost of Developing New Drugs

Sarah J. Fossett, Credit Suisse Phanindra V. Wunnava, Middlebury College and IZA

States Decision to Expand Medicaid and the Treatment of Substance Use Disorders

Jevay Grooms, Howard University **Alberto Ortega,** Whitman College

How Extended Family Health Issues Influence Household Portfolio Allocations

Vicki Bogan, Cornell University
Jermaine Toney, Cornell University

Bank Failures and Deaths: The Social Costs of Local Credit Market Frictions

Salvador Contreras, University of Texas Rio Grande Valley

Amit Ghosh, Illinois Wesleyan University Victoria A. Perez, Indiana University

Too Long Acting? The Implications of the Long-Acting Nature of LARC Methods on Their Uptake and Use

Lorissa Pagán, University of North Carolina at Greensboro

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