

the MINORITY REPORT

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

Issue 17 | Winter 2025



Representing America: The Rising Tide of Diversity in Congressional Elections

By Catalina Amuedo–Dorantes, University of California, Merced, and José R. Bucheli, University of Texas at El Paso

Racial and ethnic minority groups comprise nearly 40% of the U.S. population (U.S. Census Bureau 2023), yet they accounted for just 25% of the candidates in the 2020 national congressional elections. As recently as 2016, the situation was even more dismal; racial and ethnic minority candidates represented only 10% of the candidate pool. In the same year, only 17% of candidates were women.

Several factors contribute to the underrepresentation of minority candidates in political elections. These include the incumbency advantage typically held by White men, lack of political support, negative media coverage, societal biases, few role models in politics, and a lower likelihood of winning primary elections, particularly for Hispanic candidates (Amuedo–Dorantes and Bucheli 2023; Elder 2004; Sanbonmatsu 2020; Ward 2016). Compounding these factors is the recent widening of racial disparities in voter turnout (Morris and Grange 2024). Regardless of the reason

behind the lower participation of women and historically marginalized demographic groups in legislative bodies, their presence is crucial for the enactment of policies that address a broader range of social issues, including those specifically affecting these groups (Beach et al. 2018; Logan 2020; Minta and Brown 2014).

In this article, we analyze recent trends in the participation of women and racial/ethnic minority candidates in congressional general elections between 2008 and 2022, complementing prior work on the role of immigration enforcement in shaping the share of Hispanic candidates in congressional elections (Amuedo–Dorantes and Bucheli, 2023).¹ Our analysis relies on data on all candidates participating in general elections for the U.S. House of Representatives from 2008 to 2022 from the MIT Election

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¹ We thank Aaron Salas and Nicolas Ochoa, undergraduate researchers at the University of Texas at El Paso, for their assistance in compiling the dataset used in this 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), the Association for Economic Research of Indigenous Peoples (AERIP), and the National Economic Association (NEA). Published annually, The Minority Report showcases the people, programs, research, and activities of the four groups, which together work to increase and improve 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 the economics profession.

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ASHE is a professional association of economists whose primary goals are promoting the vitality of Hispanics in the economics profession, promoting rigorous research on economic and policy issues affecting U.S. Hispanic communities, and engaging more Hispanic Americans to effectively participate in the economics profession.

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AERIP is a professional association of economists, political scientists, sociologists, policy practitioners, and others who are interested in economic research related to Indigenous peoples across the globe. Its mission is to facilitate intellectual exchange, foster networking and information sharing, and encourage and promote teaching and research on topics related to the social and economic development of Indigenous peoples.

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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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CSMGEPPROGRAMS

Summer Training and Scholarship Program

The AEA Summer Training and Scholarship Program promotes diversity by preparing talented undergraduates for doctoral programs in economics and related disciplines. Hosted at Howard University, the program provides students with eight weeks of intensive training in microeconomics, mathematics, econometrics, and research methods from prominent faculty and economists at the Federal Reserve Board. Students have the opportunity to earn up to 12 college credits, participate in experiential learning, and join inclusive mentoring groups.

- **For more information and to apply:** Go to <http://economics.howard.edu/aeasp>
- **Application deadline:** January 31, 2025

Mentoring Program

Established in the mid-1990s, the AEA Mentoring Program (formerly known as the Pipeline Program) matches Black/African American, Hispanic/Latino, and Native American economics PhD students and new PhD graduates with mentors in the field, and 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 and Scholarship 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 at <https://www.aeaweb.org/about-aea/committees/csmgep/mentoring> and contact AEAMentoring@gmail.com
- **Deadlines for funding requests:** March 1, August 15, and October 1, 2025

Summer Economics Fellows Program

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, another public agency, or a nonprofit research institution. 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 impact the selection process.

- **Application deadline:** February 1, 2025
- **For more information:** Visit the AEA website at <https://www.aeaweb.org/about-aea/committees/summer-fellows-program>

Economic Research on Race and Crime: Under Cited and Under Appreciated?

By Patrick Mason, University of Massachusetts Amherst; Samuel L. Myers Jr., University of Minnesota; and Margaret C. Simms, Urban Institute

Our article “Racial Isolation and Marginalization of Economic Research on Race and Crime,” published in the *Journal of Economic Literature* (Mason et al. 2022), called attention to two issues of interest to us as researchers of color. One is whether race and crime-related work by Black economists and others that has been published in the *Review of Black Political Economy* (RBPE) or other journals outside the top five economic journals is widely valued and cited. The second issue is how researchers outside of the field of economics approach race and crime-related research and the extent to which these approaches are beginning to filter into published economic research. The reason for doing so was to highlight the fact that the field would be generally better informed if a more diverse set of research, informed by a variety of approaches, was conducted and recognized.

We addressed the issue of bias in citation of articles through the use of bibliometric analysis. The three measures we used were the presence of any citations over the time period, the total number of citations, and the average number of citations per year since publication. In addition to counts, we looked for issues and methods that might be overlooked in the general literature on race and crime, in particular the role of racial discrimination and the finding of such in the research. In this part of the analysis, we wanted to factor in variables or issues that might play into the visibility of particular types of findings, specifically racial differences in treatment, with reason to believe that racial discrimination was involved. If these articles and authors lack visibility, then the field is not as well-informed as it should be and the quality work of these scholars is not given the credit it deserves.

After we used EconLit to identify articles based on keywords related to race and crime, one or more researchers read the articles to determine if the articles include the issues or methods of interest. The three variables we used in identifying the articles were topic, author, and journal. Author was used as a variable based on the theory that Black economists add a different perspective, perhaps informed by lived experience and exposure to a broader range of factors that might affect racial differences in criminal legal system encounters. We were also interested in the journal or publication for two reasons: some journals might be more open to nonconventional or broader approaches to the analysis, while some journals might be more widely cited, leading to



The authors' article, “Racial Isolation and Marginalization of Economic Research on Race and Crime,” was published in the June 2022 issue of the *Journal of Economic Literature*.

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overreliance on the latter sources as input for new research. We also used the citations in Web of Science, Scopus, and Google Scholar to build our file of articles for review, which revealed that these three platforms have different journal coverage and produce different citation counts.

Out of over 1.5 million articles searched on the EconLit database from 1970 to 2020, we identified 759 articles meeting the definition of “race and crime” articles. After collecting

information on the citation counts, citations per year, and presence or absence of citations for each article using the three dominant citation platforms mentioned previously, we categorized each article by general theme and read each article abstract to determine whether the findings pointed to racism, racial discrimination, or racial bias. We then estimated various models to predict the number of citations of an article and the citations per year. A separate analysis was conducted to determine the predictors of whether an article contains a finding of racism, racial discrimination, or racial bias. In a subsequent

paper published in the *RBPE* (Mason et al. 2024), we explored alternative pathways that could explain citation biases in research on race and crime.

Our findings seem to confirm some of our theories. Articles in the *RBPE* with more Black authors and broader approaches to the research had fewer citations than those with more conventional approaches, such as those appearing in the top five journals, which had more citations. We uncovered consistent patterns of citation bias against articles on race and crime published in the *RBPE*. Estimating linear probability models of zero citations, and controlling for time and type of article fixed effects, we discovered that depending on which citation platform is used, the probability of zero citations ranges from 12 to 50 percentage points higher when an article is published in the *RBPE*. The Black-author citation penalty (probability of zero citations) was 14 percentage points on the Web of Science platform (but statistically insignificant on SCOPUS or Google Scholar) (Mason et al. 2024, Tables 1 and 2).

The second part of our article focused on how both noneconomists and, more recently, economists have broadened their approach to race and crime. Within the

economics literature, race and crime-related research is usually considered in the context of a narrowly framed rational choice model. However, other disciplines use broader and different analytical frameworks. In our paper, we examined three issues that move beyond the rational choice model in explaining crime and criminal engagement: organizational identity, police use of force, and mass incarceration. Here we focus on one of these areas: organizational identity.

Economic rational choice models assume that agents of the criminal legal system are identity-free public servants. The reality is that members of the police force bring identity factors to the job with them, and these factors affect how they view individuals they encounter. These identity factors can include perceptions of differential threat posed by members of racial groups different from their own and issues about necessary social control, both of which can affect their reaction to situations and their use of force.

Noneconomic journals have addressed interactions between race and criminal engagement, often using some of the same

statistical and analytic methods used by economists. For example, in addition to economists’ concern with the efficient provision of public safety, criminologists also assume that police are concerned with social control and racial threat. In particular, the racial threat hypothesis assumes that political economic power is distributed unequally across social groups: as a dominant racial group in the United States, White people will use their greater political economic power to exert social control over Black people, a subordinate racial group with much less political economic power. From the racial threat perspective, racial discrimination within the criminal legal system is instrumental; the criminal legal system protects the power and privilege of a political economic elite and a dominant (White) racial elite relative to subordinate groups (non-White racial and ethnic minorities).

All other things equal, the racial elite’s assessment of racial threat increases with the fraction of non-White racial and ethnic minority population within the relevant geographical area. The dominant group is threatened by multiple factors: greater political or economic competition, greater expectation of violence attributed to the stigmatized group, or other



Out of over 1.5 million articles searched on the EconLit database from 1970 to 2020, we identified 759 articles meeting the definition of “race and crime” articles.



negative stereotypical assessments (Stults and Baumer 2007). The demand for crime control rises with the elite's assessment of racial threat. Finally, the criminal legal system responds to the demand for crime control by the economic or racial elite with measures such as an increase in the size of the police force, greater public expenditures on policing activities, or greater arrest and imprisonment of members of the subaltern group.

Recent empirical analysis by economists has yielded results consistent with the racial threat hypothesis. For example, the article by Feigenberg and Miller (2021), which does appear in an economics journal, finds that the severity of punishment within a county peaks when the Black population reaches 30% to 37%, at which point punishment is 15% to 27% more

severe than in an all-White jurisdiction. Thereafter the severity of punishment declines. This small, but growing, interest within economics is a hopeful sign that a broader approach to the study of race and crime will gain visibility.

Conclusion

The bottom line on the lower visibility of work by Black authors and scholars with alternative perspectives is that we do not have the diversity of insights that could provide better understanding of the causes and consequences of racial and ethnic differences in engagement with the criminal legal system. Better understanding could lead to better and more effective policies with improved social outcomes. ■

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Data and Science Lab (2024), along with information on candidates' gender and race/ethnicity from various sources.² We use the final dataset to examine trends in the shares of women and racial or ethnic minority candidates participating in general elections over the period under consideration and by party affiliation.

General Trends in Minority and Women Candidates

Although the participation of women and minority candidates in congressional elections has traditionally been low, it has increased in recent years, especially after 2016. Figure 1 illustrates these trends. Women's participation in elections doubled from 15% in 2016 to 30% four years later, maintaining that level in 2022. Other marginalized groups, including Black and Hispanic individuals, experienced similar trends. The representation of Black candidates doubled from 5% in 2016 to over 10% by 2020, reaching parity with their share in the general population. Among Hispanics, participation also improved from nearly 5% in 2016 to about 10% by 2022—still short of their 18% share in the general population.

Various factors may have contributed to the increase in political participation among women and minority candidates. Societal changes, including demographic shifts with growing Hispanic and Asian American populations, have expanded the electorate's diversity, encouraging more inclusive political engagement (Gypson 2016; Pearson 2010). Policy shifts, such as redistricting efforts and initiatives to combat systemic racism (e.g., President Biden's Executive Order 13985 [White House 2021]), have aimed to create more equitable political opportunities. Finally, advocacy efforts have also helped empower members of underrepresented

Figure 1. Participation of Women and Racial/Ethnic Minority Candidates in Congressional General Elections, 2008–2022

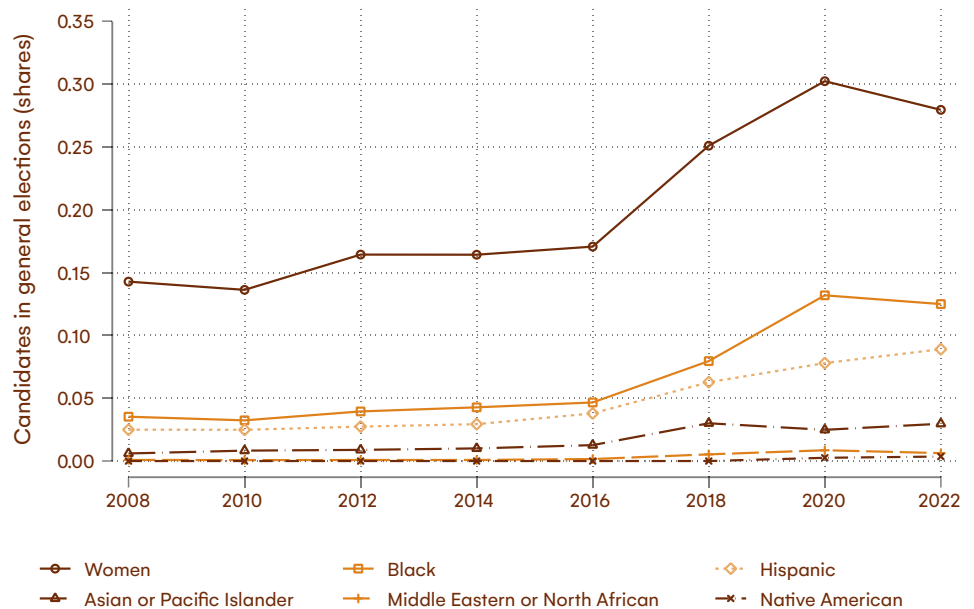
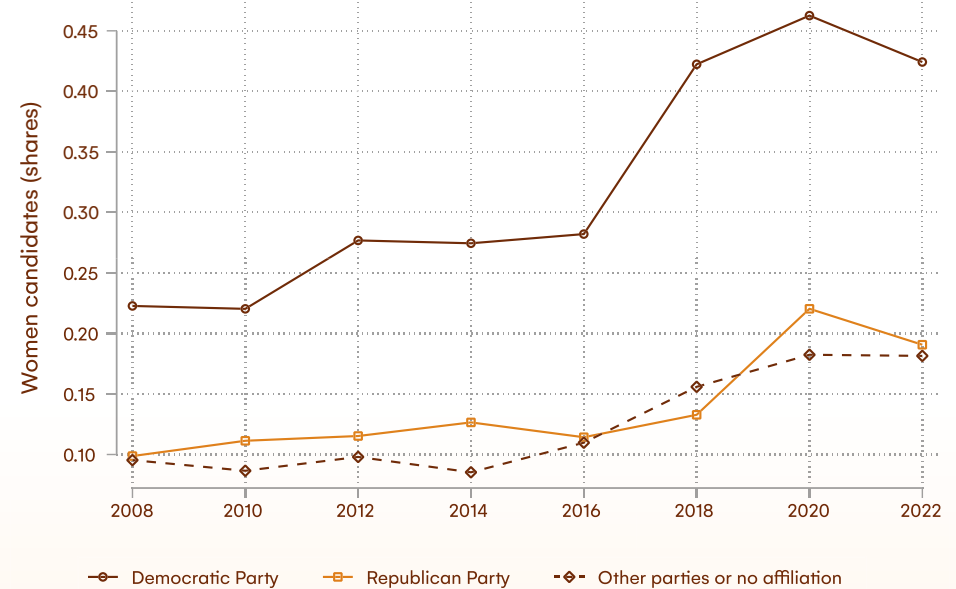


Figure 2. Participation of Women Candidates in Congressional General Elections by Party, 2008–2022



groups to pursue political office, fostering greater diversity in candidacies and elected positions (Kuron 2017; Weiss-Wolf and Plant-Chirlin 2015).

² The latter include OpenSecrets, memberships in the Congressional Hispanic Caucus and Congressional Black Caucus, identifications as Hispanic American or Black American in the U.S. Congress archives, data published by the Center for American Women and Politics at Rutgers University, and individual candidates' campaign websites and social media.

Trends in Women’s and Historically Marginalized Candidates’ Participation by Party Affiliation

The increase in the participation of women and other historically marginalized candidates has occurred unevenly across party affiliations. Figure 2 shows that women’s representation in the Democratic Party rose from nearly 23% in 2008 to 45% in 2020, slightly decreasing to 43% in 2022. Women’s participation outpaced that in the Republican Party and other political affiliations, where it rose from 10% in 2008 to nearly 20% by 2020. These trends highlight the Democratic Party’s role in increasing female political participation nationwide.

Figures 3 and 4 illustrate similar trends for Black and Hispanic candidates in congressional elections. Until 2018, Black candidates were almost exclusively from the Democratic Party. However, the share of Black candidates in the Republican Party increased from nearly zero in 2016 to about 5% in 2018. Additionally, Black candidates’ participation in other political parties rose to 8%–9% by 2020 but declined to 6% in 2022. In contrast, the Democratic Party consistently featured Black candidates, comprising about 10%–12% of their congressional candidates between 2008 and 2016, closely mirroring the Black population’s share in the U.S. The participation of Democratic Black candidates increased to around 15% in 2018 and 20% by 2020, where it remained in 2022. These figures highlight the significant rise in the participation of Black candidates in the Democratic Party, paralleling the trends seen in the increased political participation of women.

Regarding Hispanic candidates, until 2014, their representation in congressional races remained stagnant, accounting for approximately 6% of candidates in the Democratic Party

Figure 3. Participation of Black Candidates in Congressional General Elections by Party, 2008–2022

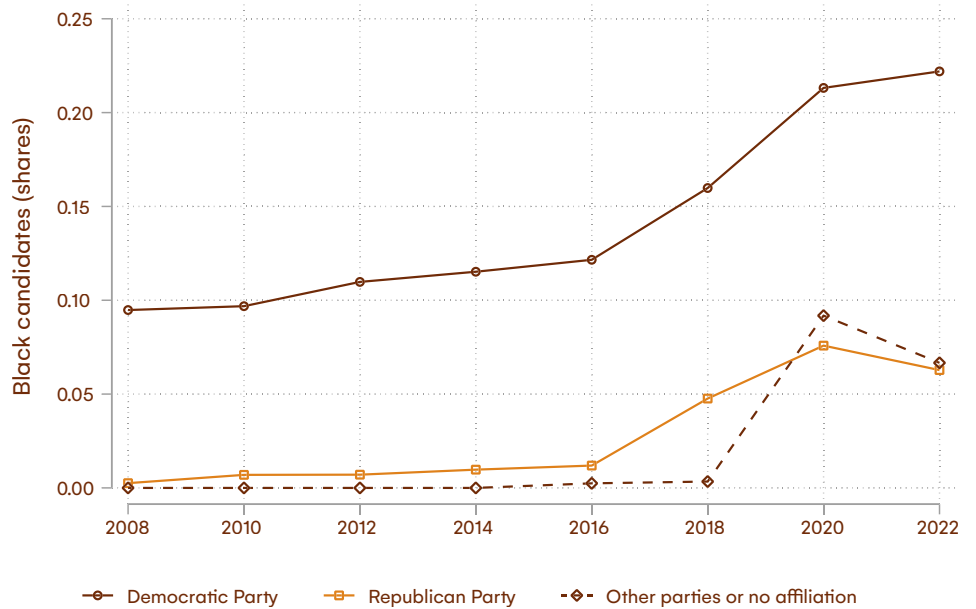
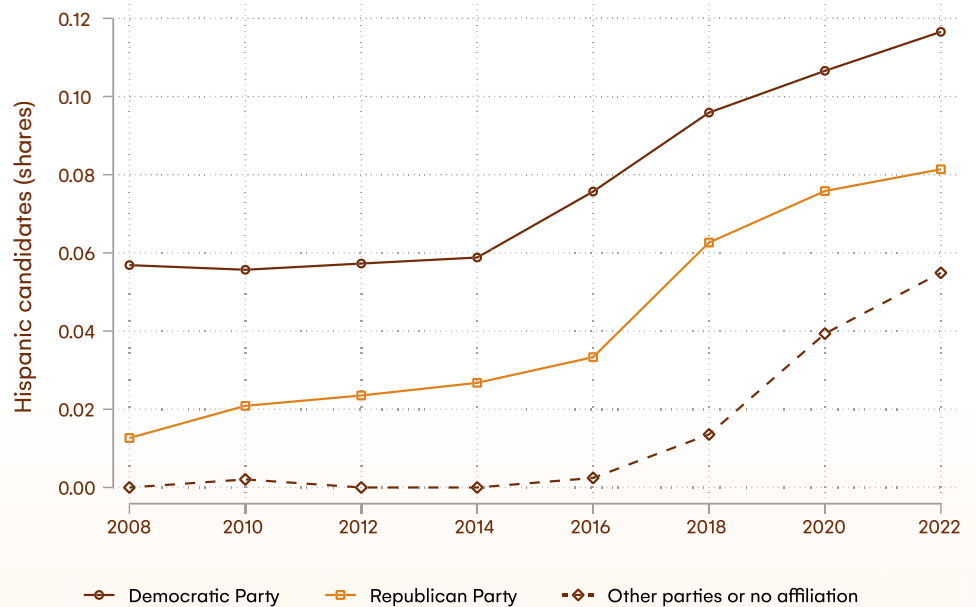


Figure 4. Participation of Hispanic Candidates in Congressional General Elections by Party, 2008–2022



and 3% in the Republican Party. However, their share in the candidate pool in the Democratic Party increased to 7% in 2016, 9% in 2018, 11% in 2020, and nearly 12% in 2022—still below their proportion in the overall population. Meanwhile,

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Hispanic representation among Republican candidates doubled from about 3% in 2016 to 6% in 2018, growing to 7% in 2020 and 8% in 2022. These patterns underscore the significant increase in Hispanic representation in the congressional candidate pool, particularly within the Democratic Party.

Intersectionality

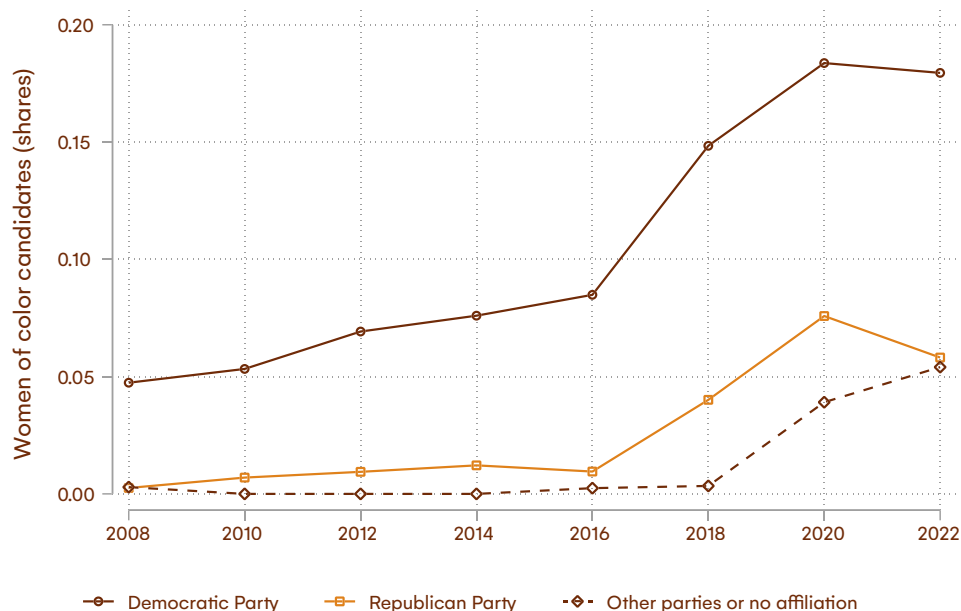
Some groups are subject to overlapping marginalized social identities based on their gender, race, ethnicity, and class. Minority women, for example, face unique challenges compared with white women or minority men due to the compounded effects of both racial and gender biases (Wilson 2013). Analyzing the participation of candidates with overlapping marginalized identities is crucial for understanding their underrepresentation in our political system.

Women of color comprise approximately 20% of the U.S. population (U.S. Census Bureau 2023), yet their representation in congressional elections has historically been a fraction of that. As documented in Figure 5, despite their increased participation across all parties since 2016, women of color only achieved parity in the Democratic Party in 2020. In the Republican and other political parties, women of color represented just 5% of candidates in 2022, suggesting that significant changes are needed to improve their participation.

Summary and Conclusion

The analysis of congressional elections from 2008 to 2022 reveals a change in the representation of women and other historically marginalized candidates, marking significant progress toward a more inclusive political landscape. This increase is attributed to societal changes, policy shifts, and advocacy efforts that have fostered a more equitable

Figure 5. Participation of Women of Color Candidates in Congressional General Elections by Party, 2008–2022



environment for women and minority candidates. However, while strides have been made, the representation of these groups still falls short of reflecting the nation's demographic realities, particularly for women of color who face compounded challenges due to intersectional biases.

Ongoing support for diverse candidates is crucial to sustain and build on these gains. Political parties, advocacy organizations, and voters must continue championing policies and initiatives encouraging broader participation from underrepresented groups. This includes addressing structural barriers such as electoral systems that disadvantage minority candidates, providing mentorship and support networks for women and minority candidates, and promoting public awareness of the importance of diverse viewpoints in governance. The experiences and perspectives that diverse legislators bring are vital for crafting policies that address the needs of all Americans. ■

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REMEMBERING RODNEY ANDREWS



Higher Ed for Everyone

Rodney Andrews was the first member of his family to attend college, and much of the work he did in economics was aimed at finding ways to ensure other students could have the same shot at success.

Andrews, who grew up in rural Madison, Ga., found a passion for economics as an undergraduate at Georgia Tech and went on to focus much of his research on the economics of education. When he died last year at the age of 47, he was the Endowed Fellow, Vibhooti Shukla Professor of Economics and Political Economy at the University of Texas at Dallas and a research associate at the National Bureau of Economic Research.

Andrews' research dove into health policy, public finance, and labor economics, but the economics of education is where he truly made his mark. His work in that area primarily aimed to address access and outcomes in higher education, using data to find pathways to opportunity. At the time of his death, Andrews was research director of UT Dallas' [Texas Schools Project](#), which maintains a dataset that allows economists and others to track student outcomes as they move through the state's K-12 education system and public universities, then into the labor market. That kind of longitudinal data is treasured by social scientists, and Andrews was enthusiastic in sharing it far and wide.

One fellow economist who worked frequently with Andrews was Cornell University economics professor Michael Lovenheim, who first met Andrews when both were graduate students at the University of Michigan. In particular, they and their coauthors focused on how different features of higher education intersect with labor market outcomes. One paper looked at whether going to a more selective college affected

earnings later in life. Another, still in the works, examines economic returns related to choices of college majors.

Much of their work together focused on marginalized populations, "and this is something Rodney felt very strongly about," Lovenheim says. "The evidence we have from a broad

range of sources is that people from backgrounds like his face enormous challenges to success in the education system broadly, but particularly in the postsecondary system, and then the selective postsecondary system in the most pronounced manner."

Their research aimed to understand what kind of policies and programs best support students from disadvantaged backgrounds. With some powerful insights in hand, Andrews made sure to share what they'd learned.

"He was doing a lot of the policy work on the ground in Texas," Lovenheim says, "talking to the administrators of these programs and connecting them with state policymakers and educational leaders to understand what was happening and help disseminate our results as well to help make the impact of our work larger from a policy perspective."

Andrews' work influenced policy beyond Texas as well. His research with Lovenheim linking attendance at well-funded colleges to improved graduation rates and earnings was cited in the [2023 Economic Report of the President](#) issued by the Biden administration.

Andrews' research dove into health policy, public finance, and labor economics, but the economics of education is where he truly made his mark.

Another frequent collaborator, Trevon Logan, met Andrews at an AEA Summer Mentoring Pipeline Conference in the early 2000s, and they became “fast friends,” Logan recalls.

“He was incredibly keen and had a very sharp eye, particularly for empirical techniques and causal analysis and all those things that were coming about at that time as the applied micro revolution was rolling out,” says Logan, now the ENGIE–Axium Endowed Professor of Economics at the Ohio State University. “I don’t think there’s anybody who had a conversation with Rodney and left that interaction not feeling impressed by his intellect, but also, more interpersonally, by his warmth, his personality, and the level on which he can engage people and certainly his sense of humor.”

With Logan, Andrews published work that spanned health economics, sports economics, and economic history. But of course his work is only part of the story.

He was also “a relentless advocate for people from minority backgrounds, from low–SES backgrounds, not just in the scholarship, but in how he interacted with the profession,” says Lovenheim. “And not only just advocating for policies and procedures and a culture that supported people from these types of backgrounds, but also for the scholars themselves.”

Greg Phelan was one such scholar. When he was a grad student at UT Arlington weighing PhD programs, Andrews visited to present his latest research, and his spirit as well as his scholarship made an impression on Phelan. Andrews told Phelan, “I think you can be really successful” at UT Dallas, though Phelan took it less as a sales pitch and more as Andrews simply wanting him “to make the best choice for me.” Phelan indeed chose UT Dallas, “with the intention of working with Rodney right off the bat,” he recalls.

Phelan, now an assistant professor of economics at Kennesaw State University in Georgia, “didn’t grow up in the nicest neighborhood,” and his parents were supportive of higher education but hadn’t gone to college themselves. “I had to find my own way through a lot of that stuff, and some of it the hard way,” he says. “I had a weird path to get to a PhD, and

I was always pretty forthright with Rodney about that sort of stuff. He knew what it felt like to go to places and not be sure or be a little bit wary because he wasn’t the person that necessarily felt like he fit in.”

Amid his guidance as Phelan’s dissertation chair and in many more informal conversations about life and work, Andrews “became somewhere between an older brother and another father figure for me,” Phelan says.

His ability to guide and inspire wasn’t just limited to students.

“Rodney was probably one of the most prolific peer mentors in the profession,” Logan says. “When we talk about mentoring, we always talk about mentoring existing in sort of hierarchies. But I think some of the best mentoring that we get in our careers, particularly as economists and especially as economists in underrepresented groups, is from our peers, and Rodney was certainly my peer mentor. There wasn’t an idea that I had intellectually that I did not run by him because of just the breadth and depth of his knowledge.”

Indeed, Andrews’ willingness to spend time with his students and colleagues was just as impactful as his research.

“I heard a lot of stories from people when he passed, friends of mine in the profession who are from underrepresented groups who I didn’t even know that they were friends with Rodney, and they were saying, ‘I wouldn’t be an economist without him,’” Lovenheim says. “I think that he really felt passionate about using his stature in the profession and his experiences to help support other people so that they did not have to go through necessarily all of the things that he had to go through to reach the success that he had.”

But as dedicated as Andrews was to his work and to his fellow economists, his family always came first.

“Rodney was a terrific economist, but Rodney really did prioritize his family and the time with his family—he was a father of four,” Logan says. “One thing that he always said, and this is so prophetic now that he’s gone, was you are not going to regret the time that you’re spending with the people who are going to miss you when you’re gone.” ■

“Rodney was a terrific economist, but Rodney really did prioritize his family and the time with his family—he was a father of four. One thing that he always said, and this is so prophetic now that he’s gone, was you are not going to regret the time that you’re spending with the people who are going to miss you when you’re gone.”

—Trevon Logan



Strengthening Inclusion, Safety, and Democracy with American Indian Girls and Women to Benefit Indigenous Communities

By Kelly K. Hallman (enrolled, Cherokee Nation), Indigenous Justice Circle

Women are referred to as the “backbone” of American Indian communities, yet in New Mexico in 2021, 40% of middle-school aged American Indian girls had seriously thought about killing themselves, 34% had made a detailed plan to carry it out, and 28% had attempted suicide, rates double those of boys of the same age and race (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention 2021).¹ The mental health crisis among U.S. girls (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention 2023) is intensified by gender-based violence against American Indian women (Leemis et al. 2022) and girls (Edwards et al. 2022). Health systems designed to serve Native people are hobbled by laws limiting women’s control over their bodies (Arnold 2014). Stress experienced by Indigenous women is exacerbated by their having lower incomes, less financial literacy, and fewer economic assets, not only compared with women of other races (Majumder 2023), but also compared with their Native male peers (Deweese and Mottola 2017).

Alongside these economic constraints, Indigenous women have vast caretaking responsibilities for multigenerational extended families (Shaw et al. 2020). In their joint work with a Northern Plains tribal nonprofit, the Indigenous Justice Circle and the Population Council found that American Indian teen girls have substantial emotional and economic pressures, serving as care providers to younger siblings and elders, and

at times acting as proxy life partners (Hallman et al. 2021) to single, separated, divorced, or widowed mothers (Raley et al. 2015).

This multifaceted crisis is fueled by structural racism and sexism combined with intergenerational trauma stemming from loss of ancestral homelands and connection to culture, which fuels feelings of isolation and depression (McKinley 2023). Historical assimilation programs were designed to

Stress experienced by Indigenous women is exacerbated by their having lower incomes, less financial literacy, and fewer economic assets, not only compared with women of other races, but also compared with their Native male peers.

systematically dismantle Indigenous systems and had a particular focus on eroding matriarchal structures and gender diverse identities. Church and government boarding schools imposed patriarchal lifeways, including gendered labor practices that limited social participation of women to the nuclear household domestic sphere, restricting their centuries of communal leadership in social, political, economic, and religious affairs (Perdue 1998).

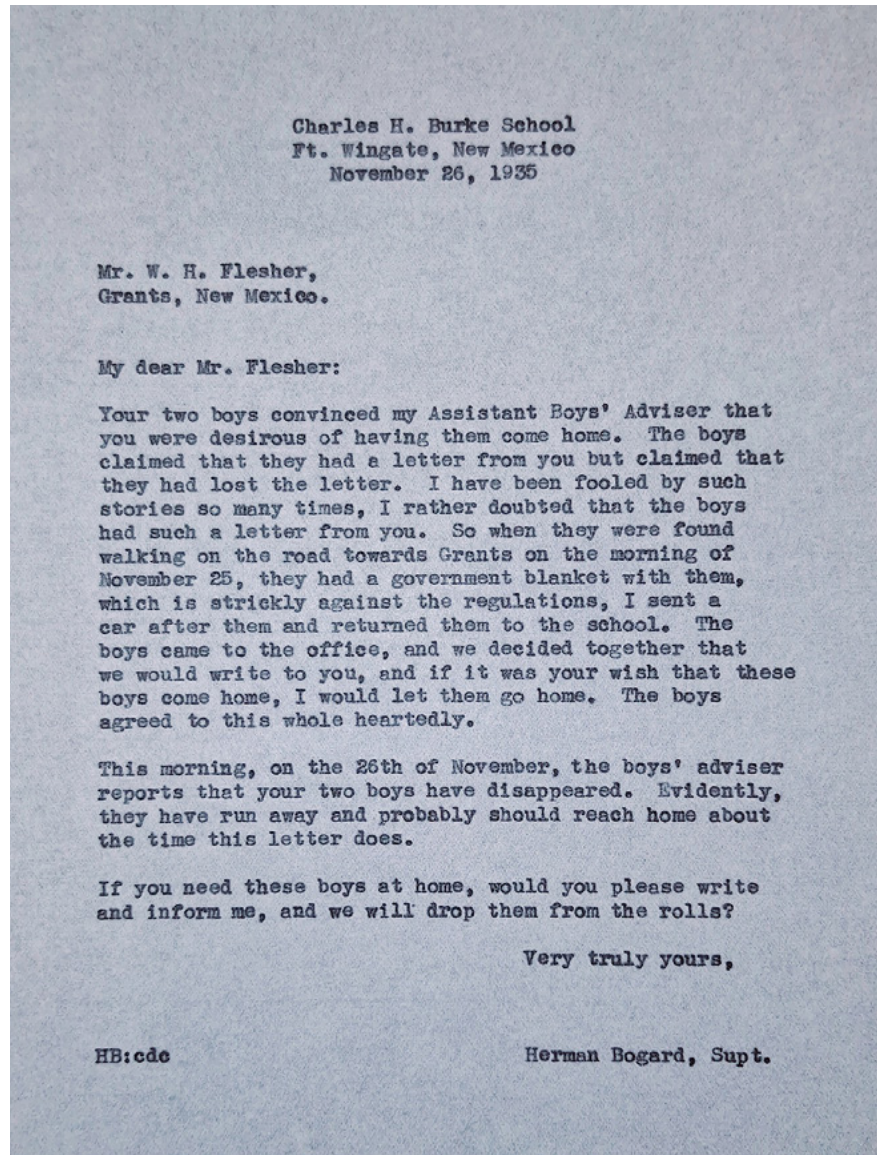
¹ The terms “Native American,” “American Indian,” and “Native” are used interchangeably in this essay to describe the non-Hispanic American Indian population in the United States.

Given women's key role in building the next generation of Native families and communities, girls were specific targets of cultural assimilation practices (Devens 1992), which may continue to negatively affect their well-being. While Native communities are rich in culture, structural inequalities mean that not all children have access to adults who can provide safe intergenerational connections and/or transmit teachings about tribal history and lifeways. Among American Indian/Alaska Native children, 50% reside with only one parent (Annie E. Casey Foundation 2022) and 18% have a parent who was ever incarcerated (Annie E. Casey Foundation 2021). Many Native people reside off-reservation (Deweese and Marks 2017), often without access to Native cultural connections or culturally appropriate health and social services.

My family is a case in point. My great-grandmother's sister was an honor student at the Cherokee Orphan Asylum (*Cherokee Advocate* 1887) but died of pulmonary tuberculosis at age 34 immediately after fleeing a violent white man who had coerced her into a child marriage before she graduated. Many subsequent women in my line showed great academic potential but had limited opportunities because of settler-colonial forms of patriarchy, control, and violence practiced by both Native and non-Native men. The health providers available to my mother's relatives in eastern Oklahoma were among those documented as having sterilized Native women without consent (Lawrence 2000). Due to severe drought conditions in the Great Plains and the record-low cattle prices after the economic crash of October 1929, my mother's people had no income and were forced to leave their Cherokee Nation allotted land during the Great Depression, heading west to work in the Arizona cotton fields, Tovrea stockyards, and Hubbell, Babbitt, and Spanish ranches in New Mexico, Arizona, and Nevada.

My grandfather spent difficult years at the Charles H. Burke Indian School at Fort Wingate, New Mexico, which was named for a former commissioner of Indian Affairs who was forced to resign after the scathing findings of the "Meriam Report" (Meriam et al. 1928) showed terrible conditions in most Bureau of Indian Affairs schools. This particular school was among the most dangerous to Native children. My grandfather and

Figure 1. Letter from School Superintendent, 1935



Source: Herman Bogard, Superintendent, Charles H. Burke Indian School, Ft. Wingate, New Mexico, to W. H. Flesher, Parent of Students Herbert Flesher and Robert Flesher, November 26, 1935; Box 62, Folder 829, Pupils (Deserters); Entry 9, Charles H. Burke Indian School, School Decimal Files, 1926-1949; Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Record Group 75; National Archives and Records Administration, Denver, CO.

his brother ran away from the school at least twice, and were severely admonished for taking a government-issued blanket on their first attempt (see Figure 1). When they escaped for good the morning after their initial attempt and apprehension, the 54-mile trek home on foot during late November 1935 resulted in severe frostbite and permanent foot damage. My mother's family later returned to Oklahoma, but without the

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economic resources to “lawyer up” they were not able get our tribal land back.

Given that Indigenous matriarchal social, political, and economic systems were intentionally dismantled, between 2019 and 2023 the Indigenous Justice Circle (IJC) spearheaded a group of Native women-led organizations to jointly develop a replicable but locally adaptable Indigenous blueprint for renewing historic community-anchored matrilineal structures. IJC supports local and cross-tribal female intergenerational collectives through grantmaking, sustainable and transformative connections, and data platforms. By increasing systems participation and influence of the rising generation of Indigenous girls, young women, and gender-expansive youth, we aim to bolster the Indigenous foundations of U.S. democracy (Stubben 2000) and women’s rights (Wagner 2011), and redirect existing systems to enhance benefits for American Indian communities.

Through on-the-ground engagement and group mentorship by local Native women, IJC is strengthening the female backbones of our communities, with special attention to reaching the large proportion of girls living without one or both parents early enough to make a difference in their lives. The work is evidence-based but tribally driven and practitioner-led. Since March 2020, we have convened monthly talking circles with Native women in Montana, South Dakota, Minnesota, Nebraska, Oklahoma, New Mexico, Arizona, and upstate New York to validate and enhance the approach.

Members of IJC’s Indigenous Adolescent Girls’ Empowerment Network (IMAGEN) have established local and regional hubs of female-led intergenerational collectives, and, in some cases, new grassroots nongovernmental organizations, such as the 100 Horses Women’s Society on the Cheyenne River Sioux Reservation, to anchor this Indigenous female-led democracy and self-determination practice. They are beginning to purchase land and buildings and to establish community action groups, Indigenous culture and language preservation initiatives, and savings clubs with girls. These groups and

activities include the MISS and Jr. MISS programs at the Oklahoma City Indian Clinic, the IMAGEN Groups of the Mille Lacs Band of Ojibwe, *Wicincila* (Girl) Societies of White Buffalo Calf Women’s Society on the Rosebud Sioux Reservation, the WWHY Program (the name represents the initial letters of Lakota words for brave, strong, assertive, and awakened) at Thunder Valley Community Development Corporation on the Pine Ridge Reservation, and Rising Above and Achieving our Potential (RAAP) Girl Societies operated by Native American Community Services of Erie and Niagara Counties. Young Native women and Two-Spirit relatives in programs work together to influence political, health, education, and economic systems in communities and on high school and college campuses.

There is limited funding available for American Indian programs, and much of the existing funding addresses difficulties in people’s lives after they occur, with few resources for upstream preventive programs.

There is limited funding available for American Indian programs, and much of the existing funding addresses difficulties in people’s lives after they occur, with few resources for upstream preventive programs. Moreover, there is very little documented gender or age specificity in Native “culture as prevention” programs, and not much secondary data available to examine outcomes disaggregated by age and gender for American Indians, obscuring the unique challenges Indigenous girls and women face.

What is clear, however, is that American Indian women and girls are not getting their fair share of resources and warrant greater investment. More initiatives like IJC are needed. These groups are powerful medicine and already proving transformational for some. ■

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Economics at the Policy Table

Ebonya Washington

Laurans A. and Arlene Mendelson
Professor of Economics, Columbia University



On the train home from a fundraiser for a Black political candidate in New York, Ebonya Washington, then a grad student at MIT, wondered something: If a Black candidate is on the ballot, does that increase or decrease voter turnout?

Soon she made a trip to the library to find an article that might shed light on the answer. “I didn’t find such an article,” she says. “So then I wrote such an article. And that’s how I got into political economy.”

Today, Washington is the Laurans A. and Arlene Mendelson Professor of Economics at Columbia University, as well as a professor of international and public affairs. She’s also codirector of the National Bureau of Economic Research’s political economy program. Her work as a public economist focuses on marginalized populations, using data to better understand the intersections of race, gender, and political representation.

In a sense, her preparation for life in academia began early—really early. Her mother, a psychology professor, entered grad school when Washington was a toddler, and the college campus became familiar territory. “I first started going to graduate school when I was one year old,” she quips.

When Washington started her own college career at Brown University,

she looked at the bulletin boards, club announcements, and course offerings all around her and noticed that the activities and opportunities that drew her interest all had something in common.

“They talked about real issues,” she says, and most had to do with public policy. “I

“

That’s the kind of thing
I’m interested in—how are
minoritized people using
the political system to get
economic needs met?

”

just thought that these were interesting, practical topics.”

As an undergraduate, she majored in public policy with a focus on welfare and other support programs for low-income people. She thought she’d continue on to get her doctorate in public policy, envisioning a career as a professor who spent sabbaticals in government doing policy work. But her adviser recommended she pursue a doctorate in a traditional discipline for greater employment possibilities. After taking some time to consider social science

fields connected to the policy major, including political science, Washington landed on economics. When her adviser, who was a political scientist, asked for her reasoning, she was ready: “Because economists are the most listened to at the policy table.”

In her research, Washington has listened to what data says about how people and their economic decisions are affected by policy and politics, both historically and today.

The paper “most emblematic” of her work, she says, is a 2014 dive into whether Black communities benefited from the 1965 Voting Rights Act, which outlawed discriminatory voting practices including literacy tests in the Jim Crow South. Washington and her coauthor found that with enfranchisement, more state funds started flowing into Black communities.

“That’s the kind of thing I’m interested in,” she says. “How are minoritized people using the political system to get economic needs met?”

Recently, Washington has been working with health economist Marcella Alsan to study how people’s views on gun control policies are shaped by media coverage of the issue. They’re looking at the “ground truth” in statistics—the number of people in a community killed by gunshots—and the media coverage

at the local level and beyond, then evaluating how people's attitudes about gun control are influenced by those factors.

"Do the media reports actually reflect what's happening on the ground, or is it only certain kinds of cases that really get picked up in the media, or are there only certain kind of cases that actually move public opinion?" Washington asks. "We're just getting started on that, but it seems important."

Washington's research has looked inside her own profession, too. A 2020 paper she coauthored with Amanda Bayer and Gary A. Hoover, driven by qualitative data gathered in interviews, sought to provide guidance to her colleagues on how they can work to boost minority participation in the study of economics, especially as students consider the profession. She and her coauthors found that students need better information about the profession and opportunities for advancement within it, and they also need better mentoring programs, with participation from established professionals of all races. The profession would benefit, too, from being more actively welcoming to

minority students. Instead of cultivating a reputation for classes that weed people out, for example, "invite people in," she says. And show students that their own experiences within the economy are valid and important—and worthy of study.



Ebonya Washington

Alongside the CV and list of publications on Washington's website is a page for her drawings, a sampling of her output from weekly lessons she started taking six years ago.

"The reason why I put those up is because in economics, we're very bad at telling students there should be a work-life balance. I think students think they're not even allowed to have a hobby," she says. "I want students to know not only is it OK to have a hobby, you should have a hobby because you need time to have your brain be absorbed in something that's not economics."

Washington chose drawing for a hobby because "I was one of these people who said all my life—and I was told—I cannot draw. So I'm learning something that I believed I couldn't learn. I have a very good teacher and I put in the practice and I am learning to actually draw what I see."

She's doing something for herself, and that's important. But it's a behavior she wants to model for students as well.

"Many people say, 'I can't do math, I'm no good with theory. I could never write a paper like this or like that,'" Washington says. "And so I put the drawings up for students, to say, 'Yeah, I thought that too.' But I was wrong. Think positively, surround yourself with helpful people, and apply yourself and then see what you can do." ■

PROUSTQUESTIONNAIRE

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

- ▶ **What's on your nightstand?**
A novel, a bottle of water, and an analog clock.
No electronic devices in the bedroom.
- ▶ **What job would you like to have if you weren't an economist?**
Novelist.
- ▶ **What is an ideal day?**
It includes art, connection with others, and laughter.
- ▶ **What trait do you deplore in other people?**
Selfishness.
- ▶ **What trait do you most admire in people?**
Grace toward others.
- ▶ **What is your favorite extravagance?**
Travel purely for pleasure.
- ▶ **What is your worst habit?**
Rehashing in my mind things I cannot change.
- ▶ **Which talent would you most like to have?**
Great dancer.
- ▶ **What's the hardest thing you've ever done?**
Live with chronic illness.



Redefining Digital Access:

A Case Study in Unemployment Insurance

By Luisa R. Blanco, Pepperdine University, and
Michael A. Navarrete, National Bureau of Economic Research

Digital access commonly refers to the availability of reliable internet service and related equipment to access the internet, while digital literacy is associated with the ability to use the internet and modern technologies.¹ Understanding how different racial, ethnic, and gender groups engage with digital tools is necessary to develop the institutional infrastructure for fostering economic inclusion in the United States.

Lack of digital access can be a barrier for potential recipients to participate in government transfer programs because it can create an additional administrative burden. Previous research has shown that administrative burdens can deter eligible recipients from receiving benefits (Deshpande and Li 2019). Sometimes digital access is too narrowly defined as whether an individual has access to the internet. However, a broader definition of digital access should be incorporated to address the issue of take-up rates for government programs that may require online enrollment.

Redefining Digital Access

We suggest a broader definition of digital access that takes into consideration the following dimensions. First, *location* matters: we need to understand where people have access to the internet. We need to gather data on whether people have access to the internet at home and/or in a public setting, and where they are most likely to access the internet. Second, considering the *economic burden* of accessing the internet is also relevant in this context, where people might have to pay for internet services themselves. Third, the *device* commonly

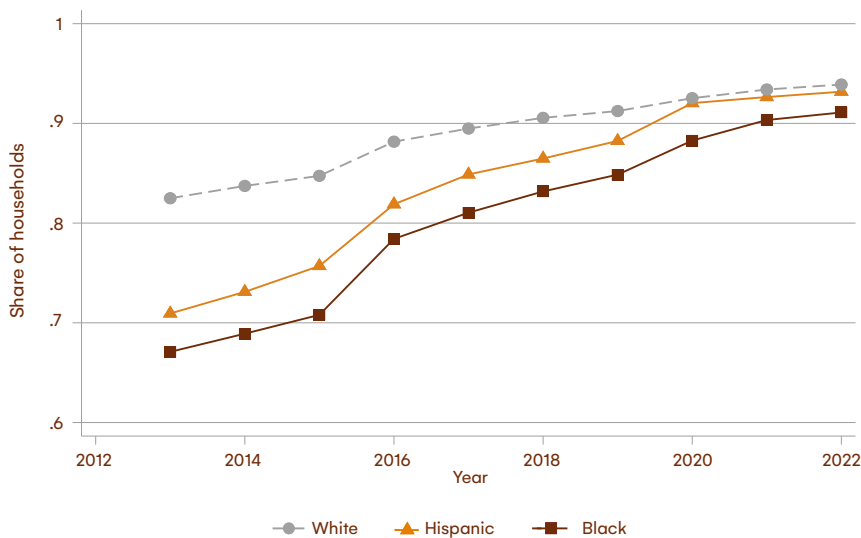
used to access information online can influence online interactions, as there can be significant differences between accessing online information with a computer or a mobile phone. If people only have access to the internet through a mobile phone, this can influence how they can interact with specific online information that might not have been designed for mobile viewing. Fourth, the level of *comfort* in accessing information online, which relates to digital skills, must be assessed. People have a wide spectrum of digital skills, and we need to be able to assess the different levels to help improve digital skills where needed.²

One potential concern is that the digital divide, using the traditional measure of internet access, is narrowing between White and underrepresented minority populations, while take-up rates in government transfer programs remain persistently low. Our suggested broader definition brings to our attention other aspects of digital access that might explain why underrepresented minority groups have lower take-up rates in government transfer programs. One potential explanation is the possibility of higher administrative burden when applying to government programs online using a mobile phone, in comparison to applying for the program using a computer. Another explanation relates to individuals' level of comfort in interacting with information online. Some groups, especially older populations, could face high barriers to accessing information online if they do not feel comfortable navigating different pages and platforms that are likely to have different digital infrastructures.

¹ We refer here to the definition used by the National Telecommunications and Information Administration.

² The broader definition of digital access we propose here aligns with most of the dimensions noted by the United Nations Roadmap for Digital Inclusion (United Nations 2020).

Figure 1. Internet Access (Traditional Measure of Digital Access)



Notes: This figure uses data from the American Community Survey with 2013 to 2022 sample years. Note that the three categories for race and ethnicity are mutually exclusive in this figure; specifically, we exclude Hispanic households from White and Black households. Access to the internet is defined as the presence of someone in the household who uses or connects to the internet and at least one member of the household paying a cell phone company or internet service provider.

Using data from the American Community Survey (ACS), and focusing on White, Black, and Hispanic households from 2013 to 2022, we show that digital access has been increasing for all groups. This increase in digital access is reflected in Figure 1. Here, internet access is defined as the presence of someone in the household who uses or connects to the internet and at least one member of the household paying a cell phone company or internet service provider. In 2013 there was a gap of about 10 percentage points between White and Hispanic households in terms of access to the internet, with a slightly larger gap between White and Black households. By 2022, the gap between White and Hispanic households was essentially gone, and the gap between White and Black households was more than halved.³

To better understand the role that mobile technologies can play in economic inclusion, we examine smartphone ownership and usage. Using ACS data, we consider the intersection of race, ethnicity, and gender. This disaggregation of data can be helpful in informing policies that address the needs of vulnerable populations (Sharpe 2019).⁴ Table 1 shows that between 2016 and 2022, the share of White, Black, and Hispanic

adults having a household member who owned or used a smartphone increased.⁵ By 2022, most individuals, regardless of their race, ethnicity, and gender, had access to a smartphone (92%–96%). Table 1 also shows the percentage of adults who have access to a smartphone but do not have access to a computer in the household (i.e., smartphone dependent) disaggregated by race, ethnicity, and gender. We observe that Black and Hispanic adults are more likely than White adults to have access to a smartphone but not a computer. We do not find notable gender differences across racial and ethnic groups in relation to access to mobile technology, as the differences between men and women in 2022 are only 1 to 2 percentage points for all racial and ethnic groups.

The fact that members of underrepresented minority groups are more likely to be “smartphone dependent,” in comparison to members of other racial and ethnic groups in the United States, presents opportunities and challenges when it comes to interacting with information online. Widespread access

to a smartphone has made access to the internet more approachable for many people, and this has been beneficial in areas such as finance, education, and health, among many others. In the financial context, for example, mobile banking has helped to increase access to financial services, reducing transactional costs and barriers for monetary transactions. In fact, while only 15% of banked households used mobile banking in 2017, by 2021 43% used mobile banking (Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation 2021). Mobile banking seems to be an area where having access to only a smartphone is not as crucial given that most mobile banking services have been developed with mobile users in mind. The challenges of being smartphone dependent can be more prevalent in other areas, where platforms and digital infrastructures were built with computer users in mind and have been slow to adjust to a mobile phone environment. One area for special attention in relation to our broader definition of digital access is government programs. Here, we elaborate on this concern in the context of the unemployment insurance (UI) program.

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³ For our analysis on digital access, we use data from IPUMS, where we use weights at the household level. We focus our analysis here on two racial groups and one ethnic group: White non-Hispanic, Black non-Hispanic, and Hispanic. We use the terms “White adults” and “Black adults” when referring to White non-Hispanic adults and Black non-Hispanic adults for brevity, except as noted in Figure 2.

⁴ For more information on disaggregating data by race, ethnicity, and gender, refer to the Women’s Institute for Science, Equity and Race (WISER) website (<https://www.wiserpolicy.org/>).

⁵ The question on ownership/usage of a smartphone in the household became available in ACS data for the first time in 2016.

Table 1. Smartphone Ownership/Usage by Households in the United States, by Race, Ethnicity, and Gender

	All		Men		Women	
	2016	2022	2016	2022	2016	2022
Panel A: Someone in household owns/uses a smartphone						
White, Non-Hispanic	81	93	82	94	80	93
Black, Non-Hispanic	81	93	82	93	80	92
Hispanic	86	96	86	96	86	95
Panel B: Someone in household owns/uses a smartphone, but does not own/use a computer						
White, Non-Hispanic	49	74	52	75	47	73
Black, Non-Hispanic	61	80	61	81	60	79
Hispanic	70	87	70	88	69	86

Notes: This table uses data from the American Community Survey in 2016 and 2022. Note that the three categories are mutually exclusive in this table; specifically, we exclude Hispanic households from White and Black households. Owning a smartphone refers to whether the respondent or any member of their household owned or used a smartphone. Not owning a computer refers to whether the respondent or any member of their household owned or used a desktop, laptop, netbook, or notebook computer. This excludes GPS devices with only limited computing capabilities.

Digital Access during the Pandemic: Unemployment Insurance

Despite the shrinking digital access gap between underrepresented minority households and White households, we do not see this translate to higher take-up rates in government transfer programs such as UI. Although UI is not the only government transfer program where digital access is relevant, we focus on it given the large administrative burden imposed on potential claimants and the importance of this government transfer program as an automatic stabilizer. For example, in 2019, the reciprocity rate across states—the percentage of regular UI recipients relative to the total number of unemployed people—ranged from 9% in North Carolina to 56% in New Jersey, with an average of 28% (U.S. Department of Labor 2024). These low reciprocity rates are in part due to how difficult it is for potential claimants to receive benefits. Previous work by Skandalis et al. (2022) shows gaps between Black and White adults in UI benefit amounts, as well as take-up rates. They find that state variation explains part of this difference, as Southern states with larger Black populations tend to have more stringent rules for UI. However, there is still an unaccounted gap that could be driven by administrative burdens.

UI is a complex program in which applying for benefits can take a long time, and claimants typically file online. From Figure 2, we can see that for all three demographic groups, the number of continued weeks claimed fell between 2013 and 2019,⁶ while internet access increased for all three groups.

Potentially, administrative burdens played a role, given that administrative capacity in the UI benefit system deteriorated during this period (Lachowska et al. 2022; Navarrete 2023). There was a sharp increase in the UI take-up rate in 2020 for all demographic groups due to a recession (more unemployed workers) and because the incentives drastically increased with the pandemic. As Navarrete (2023) documents, the administrative burden increased, but with the median income replacement rate hovering around 150%, households were more willing to overcome these administrative burdens (Ganong et al. 2020).

If we want UI to properly function as an automatic stabilizer without having to offer large benefit increases to induce workers to apply, then the administrative burdens on claimants should be reduced. There are other administrative burdens for claimants that internet access cannot capture, for example, whether UI offices provide a mobile-friendly application, whether the application can be filled out in languages such as Spanish, and many more.

Conclusions

Digital access remains a potential barrier that can impede receipt of government transfers. A broader definition of digital access is needed—one that goes beyond access to the internet. Specifically, definitions of digital access should consider the administrative burdens of specific government transfer programs. The definition of digital access should be a function of the administrative burdens that potential

⁶ Ideally we would measure the number of UI recipients rather than weeks claimed. However, the data does not exist, and we suspect that the two are positively correlated.

recipients face and how those burdens could be compounded by a lack of digital access. In general, the definition of digital access may be more stringent for UI than for other transfer programs such as Economic Impact Payments.⁷ Similar to Economic Impact Payments, other government transfer programs such as the Earned Income Tax Credit and Social Security may have lower digital access requirements than UI. This information access issue is in part due to UI being a state-administered program, as it may be unclear to potential recipients whether they are eligible and where to apply.

It would be presumptive to declare victory when we see a convergence in internet access around 100% across all households. In this context, it is also relevant that a large share of the population has access to a smartphone without access to a computer, and being smartphone dependent is more prevalent among racial and ethnic minority groups in the United States. This should inform the design of government programs that require online enrollment. The use of mobile technologies presents a great opportunity for economic inclusion if we are able to build the institutional infrastructure to make digital information accessible to all. We also need more recent data on digital skills that can capture how individuals

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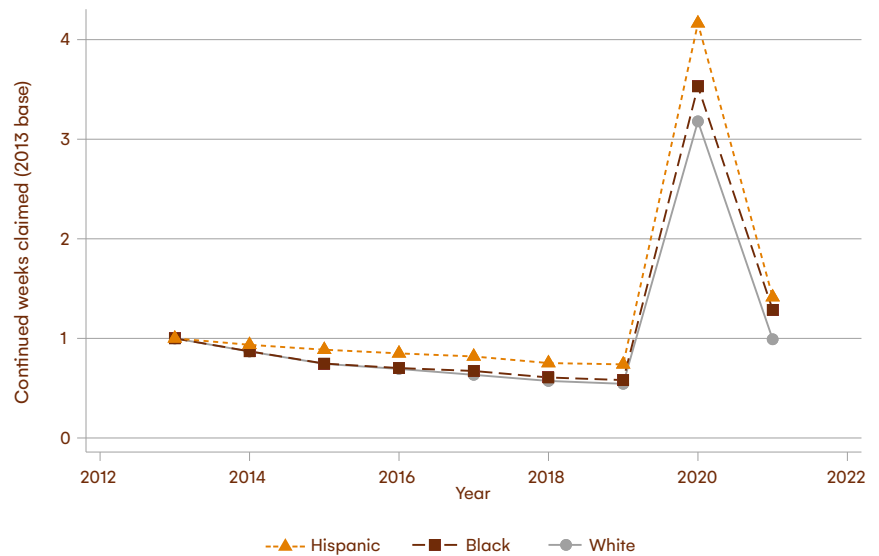
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Figure 2. Persistence of Low Take-up of Unemployment Insurance



Notes: This figure uses data from the Department of Labor Employment Training Administration 203 Report from 2013 to 2022. The series corresponds to the number of insured unemployed, that is, the count of regular state UI continued weeks claimed by both intrastate and interstate claimants. Note that in this figure, the three categories for race and ethnicity are not mutually exclusive; the White and Black racial categories may include White or Black people of Hispanic ethnicity.

engage with online information, and this data should be collected in a way that enables us to track racial, ethnic, and gender differences so that we can address them. ■

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⁷ Each state has its own UI benefit system, and certain states impose higher administrative burdens on potential recipients. Most Economic Impact Payments were made via direct deposit, whereby recipients received the payment without submitting an application.

Keeping the

Work Close

Fernando Lozano

Morris B. and Gladys S. Pendleton
Professor of Economics, Pomona College



Fernando Lozano readily admits he wasn't the best student early in his academic career. As the end of high school neared, he was focused much more on summer travel plans than on figuring out college. His father, however, insisted he wasn't going anywhere until he got college sorted out.

Lozano pictured himself joining his father in the family tire business, so he showed up to register for admission exams—the first step toward college in his native Mexico—intent on a path toward a business degree. But as he stood in line, he heard people around him talking about how hard it was to get accepted to that area of study because of its popularity, and Lozano did some quick rethinking as he stepped up to the registration desk clerk.

"I asked her, 'Which one is the easiest one to get into?' And she said, 'Economics.' And the first thing in my mind is, 'Well, that sounds kind of like business, and I will be able to transfer.' So I said, 'Sign me up for that one,'" Lozano recalls with a laugh. "And so that's how I became interested in economics: complete happenstance."

Some moments of happenstance are fleeting, but this one stuck. Lozano is now the Morris B. and Gladys S. Pendleton Professor of Economics and chair of the economics department at

Pomona College in California and a research fellow at the Institute for Labor Economics.

While Lozano hadn't planned to study economics, he did lay some groundwork for what would become his career earlier in life.

"I was always interested in reading the newspaper, and this is 1994, so it's the time of the North American Free Trade Agreement, and it's the time that in Latin America and in Mexico we're having this discussion between market liberalism and government intervention," he says. "So I always was very interested in that type of conversation, but I never thought of myself as being part of the conversation."

Once his formal studies began, that began to change—after a while.

"It was not until I started understanding the intersection between math and economics and social science that I started getting interested in economics and thinking of ways in which we can use these models to explain the world," he says.

While he was still an undergraduate, Lozano and his family moved to the United States, and he transferred to the University of San Diego. There, he says, his professors encouraged him to continue his study in economics in graduate school. And his new habit of

reading *The Economist*, *BusinessWeek*, and other magazines with some economics content showed him some incentive, too.

"I remember opening *The Economist*, and in the front pages of *The Economist*, they always have these really cool jobs, to work for a UN commission on economic growth or to work for USAID and stuff like that. And those jobs always set requirements: MA in economics or PhD preferred. And so that's why I decided to apply to graduate school in economics, because I wanted one of those jobs."

He wasn't so sure about the research graduate school would require, but once he got started at the University of California, Santa Barbara, he found mentors to guide him, and his life experience during what he calls "interesting times" gave him lots of ideas for questions he was happy to work hard to explore. One such question was how immigration policy could be used to stabilize the macroeconomy, and a professor nudged him toward a class in labor economics to give him the tools he would need to fully understand that topic and others like it.

"This is the early 2000s, so we were sort of in the middle of the empirical revolution in labor economics, when we were starting to think about how

economics can be used to understand the causal relationship between two variables. And I really liked that,” Lozano recalls. “It was really the methodology, the way of thinking constantly about the empirical design to explore social problems, that really spoke to me. So I decided to go into labor economics, not so much because I was interested in understanding labor demand or labor supply, but because the tools that labor economists were using at this time, which were these applied econometrics tools, really resonated for me.”

In his career, Lozano has often used those tools to better understand forces he has seen in his own life. He’s studied how immigrants operate in the economy, including barriers to integration and how legal institutions interact with the incentives for immigrants and people of color to participate in the labor market.

“That’s not only my own story, but it’s the story of my cousins, of my father and mother, of my friends. And it will be the story of my children,” he says. “So understanding the dynamics that lead our choices under constraints was something that I really wanted to explore. And so it starts with immigration, certainly, but it’s also

about Latino communities in the United States or about people of color. So I have worked on race, I have worked on ethnicity, I’m really interested in these demographic phenomena.”

He’s also really interested in soccer. He recently taught a seminar at Pomona titled “The History, Politics and Economics of the Beautiful Game,” and he’s written or cowritten papers that use the sport as a way of looking at larger issues. It turns out that soccer can yield a lot of insights about economics.

“Soccer is really cool because you have a labor market that is global. So you have really international flows of workers with good data on productivity and really good data on compensation,” Lozano explains. “You can ask questions about, for example, how international migration is reflected in players’ productivity, or how individual productivity is reflected in team performance.”

Religion, too, is a research area to which Lozano is drawn from his own experience. “The goal there,” he says, “is trying to understand how religion creates an infrastructure for people to become closer socially, to support each other, to enhance trust.”

Following research questions that are close to the heart wasn’t always easy in grad school, Lozano remembers. But he doesn’t believe in keeping a distance. “I do think that it’s important that whichever work I end up doing, it impacts my communities, the people I care about, the people I have grown with. Not only because it’s something that I’m interested in, but also I see that there’s a potential for improving people’s lives.”

He has the “privilege,” he says, of bringing that potential to policy as one of eight members of California’s Council of Economic Advisors, which he has cochaired since 2020.

His career in economics may have started in “complete happenstance,” but what’s happened since has been very intentional, and another of Lozano’s missions with his work is to help guide the next generation of economists. Grateful for the mentorship he received along the way, Lozano aims to offer similar support to his students at Pomona and to students of color anywhere—because happenstance doesn’t really happen by itself. The right question to the right person at the right time can make all the difference. ■

PROUSTQUESTIONNAIRE

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

▶ **What’s on your nightstand?**

A picture of my family and books. I have a rotation of Jorge Luis Borges’s books that I read and reread; right now in my nightstand I have *Ficciones* and his complete poems.

▶ **What job would you like to have if you weren’t an economist?**

A cinematographer. I just love the ability to represent and reinvent the world on camera.

▶ **What is an ideal day?**

I love to play tennis, so my ideal day would start with

tennis and actually playing well. After playing tennis I would go for beers with my friends. I will afterwards take my dog for a walk (and she would not pull too much), then I will take a long nap, and in the evening go for dinner and to the movies with my family.

▶ **What trait do you deplore in other people?**

Self-righteousness (and bad tennis calls).

▶ **What trait do you most admire in people?**

Empathy, kinship.

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. Following are profiles of two economists working in nonacademic positions, including their advice to those entering the field.

Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System

Washington, DC

Alice Henriques Volz is a section chief in the Research and Statistics division of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System in Washington, DC. The Federal Reserve is the U.S. central bank and was created by the Federal Reserve Act of 1913. The Board employs over 450 PhD economists from a wide range of backgrounds and fields of expertise. The economists at the Board produce analyses, forecasts, and research to support the mission and responsibilities of the Federal Reserve.

Volz started at the Board in 2011 as an economist after learning about the job through advertisements in Job Openings for Economists (JOE), a resource from the AEA that advertises academic and nonacademic jobs. She is now the chief of the Microeconomic Surveys section, which is responsible for the Survey of Consumer Finances (SCF). This triennial survey provides information on the economic and financial conditions of households. The SCF is used to measure the distribution of household wealth and balance sheets, and for analysis

of household inequality and financial decision making. To produce the survey, Volz's group transforms raw interview data into a usable, representative dataset for analysis.

For Volz, the most interesting aspect of her job is the opportunity to work on a unique survey that is considered the gold standard for survey measurement of household net worth. Of course, creating a survey is a lot of work, says Volz, and although "the SCF is released every three years, our section is working on the survey even when it is not in the field." A challenging aspect of her job is that the information in the survey becomes dated reasonably quickly—that is partly why her section helped to develop the

Distributional Financial Accounts, which are published quarterly. Volz says that she and her colleagues cannot look at every interesting result that might be hiding in the survey data, so she encourages others to study SCF data.

When asked about diversity and inclusion, Volz notes that "the Board does a lot of engagement with underrepresented populations, not just in the recruiting space but also in developing the pipeline." Volz advises newly minted economists interested in the Board to "consider the people you will be around day in and day out. Find what excites you, not what you think you should be interested in, and study that."

Volz advises newly minted economists interested in the Board to "consider the people you will be around day in and day out. Find what excites you, not what you think you should be interested in, and study that."

Washington, DC

Claudia Ruiz Ortega is a senior economist in the World Bank's Development Research Group, also known as DECRG. Headquartered in Washington, DC, the World Bank is an international development organization that provides technical and financial support to governments in developing countries with the objective of reducing poverty and building shared prosperity.

DECRG is the World Bank's principal research department. It comprises about 60 economists, and their primary focus is on conducting research in the broad field of development economics. Ruiz Ortega explains that "although our research engagement is similar to what one might find in an academic setting, approximately 30% of our time is dedicated to collaborating on operational projects within the World Bank." DECRG is a diverse group: 46% of its researchers are women, and the group encompasses a wide variety of nationalities and areas of expertise, from finance and private sector development to health, education, social protection, macroeconomics, growth, poverty, inequality, trade, infrastructure, and sustainability.

Ruiz Ortega joined the World Bank in 2011, and she found this employment opportunity through a JOE advertisement. She says, "During my undergraduate studies in Mexico, I frequently read papers and reports from the World Bank and was always drawn to their work. When I saw the opportunity to become a researcher at the World Bank, I was eager to apply."

One of the most interesting aspects of her job is collaborating on operational projects. These collaborations vary based on area of expertise and can range from designing surveys to drafting reports, analyzing data, or conducting impact evaluations. Ruiz Ortega finds this aspect of the job very enriching, as it allows her to engage with talented development experts, both within and outside the World Bank, and to learn about the key questions policy makers around the world are asking. These interactions have often inspired and shaped her research agenda.

Regarding the most challenging aspect, Ruiz Ortega explains, "Personally, one of the largest challenges of the job has been managing a large number of

ideas and staying focused on a few key projects. Without this focus, there is a risk of spreading yourself too thin by initiating too many projects simultaneously."

Ruiz Ortega says that DECRG is committed to promoting diversity and actively seeks candidates from underrepresented groups throughout the recruitment process. Her advice for newly minted economists interested in this type of job is "to develop a strong research pipeline that demonstrates your ability to rigorously address real-world development issues." She adds, "The World Bank frequently organizes multiple research conferences. If you are interested in this type of work, you should consider submitting your papers! These conferences are a great way to connect with researchers working on development and to familiarize young economists with the work that we do."

Ruiz Ortega's advice for newly minted economists interested in this type of job is "to develop a strong research pipeline that demonstrates your ability to rigorously address real-world development issues."

ANNOUNCEMENTS

CSMGEP

Thank You

We would like to say thank you to **Gary Hoover**, Tulane University, and **Ebonya Washington**, Columbia University, for their leadership and years of service as co-chairs of CSMGEP. We also thank **Francisca Antman**, University of Colorado Boulder, and **Trevon Logan**, Ohio State University, for their leadership and commitment to the AEA Mentoring Program, and **Dan Newlon** for his dedication as director of the Summer Fellows Program. We are extremely appreciative of everything these individuals have done to support and advance the mission of CSMGEP.

Congratulations

Congratulations to **Fenaba Addo**, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, and **Fernando Lozano**, Pomona College, who have been appointed as the new co-chairs of the AEA Mentoring Program, and to **Kristen Broady**, Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago, who has been appointed as the new director of the Summer Fellows Program.

Minority Students on the Junior Job Market

Organizations looking to hire new PhD economists may see the CSMGEP website for the websites and CVs of underrepresented minority candidates on the market. We also invite employers to our Dissertation Session at the 2025 ASSAs (January 3 at 8:00 am at the Hilton San Francisco Union Square), to hear candidates present their research. See page 33 for topics.

AERIP-ASHE-NEA Freedom and Justice Summer Conference

AERIP, ASHE, and NEA co-sponsor an annual Freedom and Justice Conference held during the summer at various minority-serving institutions. The 2024 Freedom and Justice Summer Conference, "Freedom and Justice: Building Power and Resilience in Our Communities," took place August 1-3 at Spelman College in Atlanta. The 2025 Freedom and Justice Conference will be in Puerto Rico. A call for papers will be sent out in the new year.

CSMGEP-AERIP-ASHE-NEA Reception at 2025 ASSAs

We look forward to seeing you at our joint reception at the ASSAs—January 4 at 6:30 pm at the Hilton San Francisco Union Square.

AEA MENTORING PROGRAM

AEA Summer Mentoring Pipeline Conference

The AEA Summer Mentoring Pipeline Conference (SMPC) brings together the mentees in the AEA Mentoring Program, their mentors, other professional economists (in and outside of academia), and the students in the AEA Summer Training Program, making for one of the largest gatherings of traditionally underrepresented minority economists in the country.

The 2024 SMPC took place in Washington, DC on June 14-15, 2024, with an opening reception on June 13, 2024. It included the following: (1) 18 research presentations given by program mentees; (2) short research presentations made by all the students in the AEA Summer Training Program; (3) 17 presentations from employers outside of academia; (4) three professional development panels; (5) three panel discussions on best practices in mentoring and being mentored, thriving in graduate school, and navigating the PhD job market; (6) a plenary presentation highlighting grant funding opportunities featuring representatives from the National Science Foundation, the National Institute on Aging, and the Washington Center for Equitable Growth; (7) the 2024 Lewis-Oaxaca Distinguished Lecture delivered by **Cecilia Elena Rouse** (president of the Brookings Institution); (8) the bestowal of the 2024 Impactful Mentor Award to **Jesse Rothstein** (Carmel P. Friesen Chair in Public Policy and Professor of Economics at the University of California, Berkeley); (9) meals and breaks allowing for networking opportunities between the mentees, their mentors, AEA Summer Training Program students, and professional economists; and more.

The 2025 SMPC will be held in Washington, DC on June 27-28, 2025, with an opening reception on June 26, 2025. Instructions for mentees in the AEA Mentoring Program to submit abstracts to present their work will be available in early 2025. For more information, email AEAMentoring@gmail.com.

2024 AEAMP Impactful Mentor Award

Jesse Rothstein is the recipient of the 2024 Impactful Mentor Award. This award recognizes and celebrates the excellence and impact of mentors on diversity, access, and inclusion in the economics profession. Rothstein has an exceptional record of mentoring students and new PhDs from underrepresented groups, several of whom nominated him for this award.

In her nominating statement, Joan Martinez, a postdoctoral scholar in the Haas School of Business at the University of California, Berkeley, wrote, “His mentorship has been instrumental in shaping my journey as a grad student and postdoc, providing me with invaluable insights, encouragement, and opportunities for growth.” In her nominating statement, Cesia Sanchez, clinical assistant professor in the Department of Economics at Baylor University’s Hankamer School of Business, said Rothstein “gives space for [the students he mentors] to grow in their leadership and economic research skills. I attribute a large part of my econometrics growth to Jesse.”

Rothstein is professor of Public Policy and Economics at the University of California, Berkeley, where he holds the Carmel P. Friesen Chair in Public Policy and the David Pierpont Gardner Chair in Higher Education. He is co-director of the California Policy Lab and director of the Center for Studies in Higher Education.

2024 Job Market Bootcamp

Nine job market candidates and three mentors from academic institutions participated in the 2024 Job Market Bootcamp. Created in 2018, this annual bootcamp prepares students for the economics PhD job market, increasing their chances of securing positions best suited to their interests, training, and goals. In virtual monthly sessions from September to December, the job market candidates received tailored feedback on their job market papers, elevator pitches, CVs, and research/teaching statements. Mentors also gave presentations on the job market paper, preparing job market packets, interviewing strategies, and seminars. Breaks and special sessions allowed for networking and one-on-one support, including from a speech coach and an academic editor. To learn more, email AEAMentoring@gmail.com.

Mentoring Program Students Present at Regional Conferences

2024 Western Economic Association International Meetings in Seattle: **Romaine Campbell**, Harvard University, “What Does Federal Oversight Do to Policing and Public Safety? Evidence from Seattle”; **Ariel Gomez**, Northeastern University, “Burnout and Productivity in the Chicago Police Department”; and **Cesia Sanchez**, University of California, Berkeley, “Conditions on Young Adults’ Transition into Adulthood.”

2024 Southern Economic Meetings in Washington, DC: **Monique Davis**, University of Minnesota, “The Impact of School Resource Officer Selection and Training on Racial Disparities in Exclusion”; **Michael Navarrete**, University of Maryland, “Geospatial Heterogeneity in Inflation: The Role of Retailer Dynamics”; **Elena Ojeda**, University of California, Berkeley, “Left Behind: The Bracero Program and Mexican Women”; and **Andrenay Harris**, Texas A&M University, “The Effects of Modern Day Lynching on Caution.”

AERIP

Official Recognition by the ASSA

AERIP was formally recognized by the Allied Social Sciences Association as an official member at the 2024 ASSA meetings.

Join AERIP!

Membership in AERIP will give you access to research events, seminars, conference sessions, and a newsletter with information on grants, job opportunities, and events that are aligned with AERIP’s mission. We seek to facilitate intellectual exchange, foster networking and information sharing, and encourage and promote teaching and research on topics related to the social and economic development of Indigenous peoples. You can join AERIP by filling out [this form](#).

AERIP Community Conversations

AERIP has launched a new initiative—Community Conversations. The AERIP board heard from members that it would be useful to have more opportunities to have non-academic conversations about matters germane to

continued on next page ▶

ANNOUNCEMENTS *continued*

Indigenous economics, policy, and related social science. The Community Conversations are conceived to be more like the fruitful lunch and hallway conversations of an academic conference than the technical paper-discussant conversations in the meeting rooms. These are topic-oriented virtual events. The first Community Conversation took place on October 25, 2024, and focused on the topic of Double Taxation for American Indian Tribal Nations. The conversation was moderated by **Randall Akee**, and the two invited speakers were **Jonathan Taylor** of the Taylor Policy Group and **Lance Morgan** of Ho-Chunk, Inc. We welcome suggestions for future topics aimed at clarifying key concepts and research issues. Please submit suggestions through our [website](#).

AERIP Blog

As important as they are, academic conference sessions won't do all the work AERIP aims to do in integrating and elevating the field. The AERIP blog is designed to complement more formal academic conversations with shorter think pieces. We are interested in academics' and practitioners' views on the news of the day, the ethics of the field, the latest research, and the gaps in knowledge that stymie progress on challenges facing Indigenous communities. For example, the [October 2024 blog post](#) focused on the impact of distance and voting for American Indians. If you have ideas for blog posts you'd like to write or voices you'd like to hear, please drop us a note on our contact page.

AERIP Newsletter

Keep up on AERIP news through our newsletter. New issues are posted [here](#).

ASHE

ASHE Dissertation Award

ASHE is pleased to recognize **Agustin Hurtado**, assistant professor of finance at the University of Maryland, as the recipient of the 2024 ASHE Dissertation Award. The award recognizes a recent PhD recipient in economics or a closely related field who shows promise of future achievement as a scholar and/or teacher and whose achievements align with the goals of ASHE. Hurtado received his PhD from the University of Chicago in 2024. He is a Diversity Initiative for Tenure in Economics Fellow and a member of the American Finance Association's Committee on Racial Diversity, where he mentors Hispanic PhD students. Hurtado's

research examines financial markets and institutions serving low-income, minority, and immigrant entrepreneurs and households. His most recent work investigates the effect of Hispanic-owned, Asian-owned, and Black-owned banks on credit. He is developing a novel measure of Hispanic immigration to study its impact on housing rents and household financial distress.

ASHE Service Award

ASHE is pleased to recognize **Jose M. Fernandez**, professor and chair of the Economics Department at the University of Louisville, as the recipient of the 2024 ASHE Service Award. The award recognizes a member or institution who has made significant contributions in line with the goals of ASHE through service to ASHE, the U.S. Hispanic community, U.S. communities of color, or the U.S. society in general. Fernandez has made significant contributions to advancing diversity in economics. He has served ASHE as president, helped launch the Mid-Career Minority Economists Mentoring Program, hosted the ASHE virtual seminar series, and co-edited the *Hispanic Economic Outlook*. He co-founded and led the Hispanic/Latino Faculty and Staff Association at the University of Louisville, advocating for Latinx representation. The new co-chair of CSMGEP, Fernandez also created the Diversity Speakers Database to promote inclusivity in academic discourse.

ASHE Teaching Award

ASHE is pleased to recognize **Heriberto Gonzalez Lozano**, a clinical associate professor in the Department of Finance and Economics at Mississippi State University, as the recipient of the 2024 ASHE Teaching Award. The award recognizes an individual who has made significant contributions in line with the goals of ASHE through teaching, advising, or mentoring of Hispanic students, minority students, or students in general. Gonzalez Lozano received an MA and a PhD in economics from the University of Pittsburgh. His research interests are applied microeconomics, applied econometrics, and labor economics. In his research, he has studied topics of migration, such as the selectivity of Mexican immigrants, the determinants of return migration, return migrants and self-employment, the effect of drug violence on the inflows of migrants, and, recently, internal immigration enforcement and crime. Before joining Mississippi State University, Gonzalez Lozano worked as an economist at the Mexican Central Bank. His students laud him for fostering a dynamic and inclusive learning environment where everyone can thrive and reach their full potential.

Hispanic Economists Highlighted

ASHE featured a Hispanic economist daily on Instagram, LinkedIn, and X during Hispanic Heritage Month. The economists featured were **Adriana Kugler** (Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System), **Ignacio Esponda** (UC Santa Barbara), **Ivette Contreras** (World Bank), **Emanuel Vespa** (UC San Diego), **Anita Alves Pena** (Colorado State University), **Alejandro Lopez Lira** (University of Florida), **Alberto Musalem** (Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis), **Javier Birchenall** (University of California Santa Barbara), **Joaquin Lopez** (University of Memphis), **Tomas Monarrez** (Federal Reserve Bank of Philadelphia), **Alejandro Plastina** (University of Missouri), **Enrique Pinzon** (Stata), **Juan Sesmero** (Purdue University), **Jesús Fernández-Villaverde** (University of Pennsylvania), **Marcelo Castillo** (USDA), **Jaime Ramirez** (Microsoft), **Juan Pablo Atal** (University of Pennsylvania), **Rene Crespin** (Michigan State University), **Carolina Caetano** (University of Georgia), **Jose Luis Montiel Olea** (Cornell University), **Juan Camilo Castillo** (University of Pennsylvania), **Gisela Rua** (Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System), **Jorge Luis García** (Texas A&M University), **Camilo Granados** (University of Texas at Dallas), **Sara Avila** (University of Colorado, Boulder), **Sergio Lence** (Iowa State University), **Ricardo Reyes-Heroles** (Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System), and **Pablo A. Guerrón** (Boston College).

ASHE Virtual Seminar Series

ASHE organizes a virtual research seminar series that gives scholars the opportunity to get together, share ideas, and receive feedback on their current research. In the 2024 series, **Elisa Taveras**, University of Texas Rio Grande Valley, presented “The Accent Gap.”

2025 ASHE President-Elect

ASHE is pleased to announce that **Zadia M. Feliciano** has been elected as the 2025 ASHE president-elect. She will serve as 2026 ASHE president. Feliciano is a professor at Queens College and a faculty member at The Graduate Center, CUNY. She is co-director of the Latin American and Latino Studies Program at Queens College and is also a research economist in the Program of International Trade and Investment at the National Bureau of Economic Research. Feliciano earned her PhD in economics from Harvard University in 1995. Her research is on international trade, foreign direct investment, and migration. Her publications have focused on the impact of trade liberalization in Mexico, inward foreign direct investment in the U.S., the repeal of tax credits on survival rates of

manufacturing establishments in Puerto Rico, and Mexican and Puerto Rican migration. She has been an active leader in ASHE for many years, including mentoring faculty through the ASHE Midcareer Mentoring Program, assisting with the organization of ASHE sessions at the Western Economic Association International conference, and contributing articles to the *Hispanic Economic Outlook*.

NEA

The Samuel Z. Westerfield Award

On January 4, 2025, NEA will present the Samuel Z. Westerfield Award to **Patrick Mason**, professor of economics at University of Massachusetts Amherst. The award was established by NEA in 1973 when it was awarded posthumously to American Ambassador to Liberia Samuel Zazu Westerfield, Jr.—an outstanding teacher and university administrator, dedicated official in government service, talented international diplomat, and successful and avid builder of institutions dedicated to economic development and the appreciation of the Black experience. The award recognizes Black economists whose professional activities demonstrate a superlative contribution to the goals of the NEA: to promote the training of Black economists, to encourage the dissemination of information and ideas concerning the economics of the Black experience in the United States and abroad, and to promote the recognition and understanding of alternative perspectives on the Black economic experience.

NEA Student Chapters

In 2023, the NEA launched its student chapters, fulfilling a longtime vision to engage students with economics and the association. The chapters connect students with scholarships, fellowships, and grants; student-centered and student-led initiatives; a network of students, academics, professionals, and policy makers; opportunities within the Federal Reserve System; a subscription to *The Review of Black Political Economy*; and research conferences and webinars. The inaugural campuses include the Atlanta University Center Consortium of schools, Howard University, and Morgan State University. The initiative will expand to other campuses in years to come. In 2024, each student chapter selected a president, secretary, and media coordinator and held joint activities, including a membership drive, to generate interest among other students to join. More information is available on the [NEA website](#).

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ANNOUNCEMENTS continued

The Review of Black Political Economy

The Review of Black Political Economy welcomes submissions on research that examines issues related to the economic status of African Americans and the African diaspora worldwide. Individual articles for publication consideration should be submitted via the editorial management system. Proposals for special issues that fall within the scope of the journal should be sent to editorrbpe@gmail.com.

New Economic Analysis Newsletter

In 2022, NEA's Committee on Macroeconomic Policy and Race launched the *New Economic Analysis Newsletter (NEAN)*. Each volume of *NEAN* features a collection of short articles that use aggregate data and analyses to offer perspectives and commentary, all designed to broaden the use of macroeconomic policy to constructively address racial economic inequality and racially disparate access to productive resources, including employment, education, housing, and wealth generation. The articles in [Volume 2](#), released in October 2024, provide an understanding of inflation with special attention to race. All volumes are available on the NEA website and include instructions on how to submit an article for consideration.

ACTIVITIES

CSMGEP

2025 ALLIED SOCIAL SCIENCES ASSOCIATION MEETING

■ CSMGEP DISSERTATION SESSION

Chairs: Isaiah Andrews, MIT, and Luisa Blanco, Pepperdine University

The Effect of Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) on the Mental Health of Children in IPV Households: Evidence from Ghana

Ami Adjoh-Baliki, Howard University

Policy Shocks in the Market for Stolen Data

Anderson Frailey, University of Virginia

Overpolicing Black Schools: How Law Enforcement Credentials and Inadequate SRO Training Policies Perpetuate Black-White Gaps in School Exclusion

Monique E. Davis, University of Minnesota

Gender Bias and Labor Market Outcomes: Evidence from an Online Tutor Platform

Ini Umosen, University of California, Berkeley

Discussants:

Aisha Yusuf, Allegheny College

Samuel Goldberg, Stanford University

Dania Francis, University of Massachusetts Boston

Juanna Joensen, University of Chicago

■ STRATIFICATION ECONOMICS INSIGHTS FOR RACIALIZED HOUSING DYNAMICS

Chairs: Mary Lopez, Occidental College, and Jessica Wolpaw Reyes, Amherst College

Racial Housing Covenants: The Case of a Southern U.S. City

Jermaine Toney, Rutgers University

James Kelly, Rutgers University

Alex P. Hoffman, City of El Paso

Shattered Metropolis: The Great Migration and the Fragmentation of Political Jurisdictions

Tomas Monarrez, Federal Reserve Bank of Philadelphia

Jamie McCasland, University of British Columbia

David Schonholzer, Stockholm University

Everett Stamm, Boston University

Blockbusting and the Challenges Faced by Black Families in Building Wealth through Housing in the Postwar United States

Daniel Hartley, Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago

Jonathan Rose, Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago

County-Level Correlates of Black Land Dispossession in the 20th Century United States

Dania V. Francis, University of Massachusetts Boston

Darrick Hamilton, The New School

Thomas W. Mitchell, Boston College

Nathan Rosenberg, Harvard University

Bryce Wilson Stucki, Independent Researcher

Discussants:

Patrick Mason, University of Massachusetts Amherst

Chi Hyun Kim, University of Bonn

Michelle Holder, City University of New York

Stephan Lefebvre, Bucknell University

2024 SOUTHERN ECONOMIC ASSOCIATION MEETING

■ TEACHING EFFECTIVELY TO A DIVERSE STUDENT AUDIENCE

Chair: Mónica García-Pérez, Fayetteville State University

Pedagogic Strategies for Promoting Inclusion and Community Partnership in the Economics Classroom

Gail Hoyt, University of Kentucky

Building Community and Belongingness through Experiential Learning Programs

Abdullah Al-Bahrani, Northern Kentucky University

From Basics to Videos: Effective Teaching Strategies for Diverse Learners

Jill Caviglia-Harris, Salisbury University

Making Principles Relevant Again

Jadrian Wooten, Virginia Tech

Classroom Experiments and Principles of Economics

Tisha Emerson, East Carolina University

Using Jigsaw Activities to Discuss Contemporary and Controversial Topics

Mónica García-Pérez, Fayetteville State University

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ACTIVITIES continued

■ AEAMP GRADUATE STUDENT RESEARCH PRESENTATIONS

A Fresh Start for Borrowers? Impacts of Loan Rehabilitation for Defaulted Federal Student Borrowers

Diego Briones, University of Virginia

The Impact of School Resource Officer Selection and Training on Racial Disparities in Exclusion

Monique Davis, University of Minnesota Twin Cities

Left Behind: The Bracero Program and Mexican Women

Elena Ojeda, University of California, Berkeley

Likelihood of Household-level Investment in Non-public Equity

Eddie Gray, Howard University

Does the Global South Import Ideology?

Jose Rojas-Fallas, University of Oregon

2024 WESTERN ECONOMIC ASSOCIATION INTERNATIONAL MEETING

■ AEAMP SESSION: POLICING, LABOR MARKETS, AND PUBLIC ECONOMICS

Organizer/Chair: Francisca Antman, University of Colorado Boulder

What Does Federal Oversight Do to Policing and Public Safety? Evidence from Seattle

Romaine Campbell, Harvard University

Burnout and Productivity in the Chicago Police Department

Ariel Gomez, Northeastern University

Driven by Unemployment? The Effect of Early Economic Conditions on Young Adults' Transition into Adulthood

Cesia Sanchez, University of California, Berkeley

■ CSMGEP-CSWEP JOINT BREAKFAST

Organizer: Francisca Antman, University of Colorado Boulder

Friends of AEA, CSMGEP, and CSWEP were invited to meet for a light breakfast networking event held on June 30, 2024, at 7:30 am at the Hyatt Regency Seattle. The event was open to all WEAI conference registrants, and advance registration for the breakfast was required.

AERIP

2025 ALLIED SOCIAL SCIENCES ASSOCIATION MEETING

■ RESILIENCY IN INDIGENOUS PEOPLES' GOVERNANCE IN CANADA, THE U.S., AND MEXICO

Chairs: Valentina Dimitrova-Grajzl, Virginia Military Institute, and Randall Akee, University of California, Los Angeles

Tribal Casinos as Anchor Institutions

Matthew Gregg, Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis
Elliot Charette, Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis and University of Minnesota
Alice Tianbo Zhang, Washington and Lee University

Indigenous Governance and Economic Wellbeing: Evidence from Mexico

Francisco Eslava, University of British Columbia

The Resurgence of American Indian Nations under Self-Government

Joseph P. Kalt, Harvard Kennedy School
Amy Besaw Medford, Harvard Kennedy School
Jonathan Taylor, The Taylor Policy Group

Cleaning Up the Legacy of Oil and Gas on First Nations' Lands

Lucija Muehlenbachs, University of Calgary and Resources for the Future
Ipek Tastan, University of Calgary
Laurel Wheeler, University of Alberta and Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis

ASHE

2025 ALLIED SOCIAL SCIENCES ASSOCIATION MEETING

■ HISPANIC ECONOMISTS' PERSPECTIVES ON WORK, MIGRATION, AND TRADE

Association for Social Economics Plenary Session

Chair: Salvador Contreras, University of Texas Rio Grande Valley

Worker-led Lawsuits: The Effects of California's Private Attorneys General Act

Kassandra Hernandez, University of California, Berkeley

Gender Differences in Firm Performance: Selection and Misallocation in Mexico

Jose Lopez, University of Memphis

Unemployment Benefits Expansion and Business Formation

Michael Navarrete, University of Maryland

Exposure to English Instruction, Migration, and Labor Market Outcomes in Mexico

Oscar Galvez-Soriano, University of Chicago

Nearshoring, Free Trade, and the Impact of Crime on Northbound Crossings along the U.S.-Mexico Border

René Cabral, EGADE Business School

■ **IMMIGRATION, EMPLOYMENT, AND PUBLIC POLICIES**

Chair: **Francisca Antman**, University of Colorado Boulder

Immigrant Age at Arrival and the Intergenerational Transmission of Ethnic Identification among Mexican Americans

Brian Duncan, University of Colorado Denver
Stephen J. Trejo, University of Texas at Austin

Unaccompanied Migrant Children and Violations of Federal Child Labor Legislation

Catalina Amuedo-Dorantes, University of California, Merced
José R. Bucheli, University of Texas at El Paso

The Self-Employment Decisions of Immigrants in America

Alejandro Gutierrez-Li, North Carolina State University

Differences in Exposure to Food Insecurity between Foreign-Born and U.S.-Born Households and the Role of SNAP

Alfonso Flores-Lagunes, W.E. Upjohn Institute for Employment Research
Judith Liu, University of Oklahoma
Norbert L. Wilson, Duke University

Discussants:

Christopher Campos, University of Chicago
Rene Crespin, Michigan State University
Chunbei Wang, Virginia Tech
Joaquin Alfredo-Angel Rubalcaba, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

■ **IMMIGRATION ENFORCEMENT AND EXPERIMENTAL STUDIES**

Joint Session with NEA

Chair: **Salvador Contreras**, University of Texas Rio Grande Valley

Beyond the Text: Understanding Opt-Out, Dosage, and Response Disparities in an SMS Intervention

Kalena Cortes, Texas A&M University

Fintech, Financial Inclusion, and Visual Attention: A Field Experiment on Migrant Remittances

Angelino Viceisza, Spelman College and NBER
Eduardo Nakasone, Michigan State University
Máximo Torero, Food and Agriculture Organization

Effects of Immigration Enforcement on Mobility and Avoidance Behavior: Evidence from 287(g) Agreements

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

Labor Market Shocks and Anti Immigration Sentiment: Evidence from the Great Recession and 287(g)

Sergio Barrera, Virginia Tech

Debt and Displacement: Tracing the Impact of the Latin American Debt Crisis on Migration and Racial Disparities in the USA

Jorge N. Zumaeta, Florida International University

Discussants:

Randall Akee, University of California, Los Angeles
Colin Cannonier, Belmont University
José R. Bucheli, University of Texas at El Paso
Stephan Lefebvre, Bucknell University
Fernando Lozano, Pomona College

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ACTIVITIES continued

2024 SOUTHERN ECONOMIC ASSOCIATION MEETING

■ PUBLIC POLICY, LABOR MARKETS, AND INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

Organizers: **Francisca Antman**, University of Colorado Boulder, and **Lisa Gennetian**, Duke University

Chair: **Lisa Gennetian**, Duke University

How State Policies and Practices Affect Take Up of Social Assistance: A Comparative Analysis by Race and Latino Ethnicity

Lisa Gennetian, Duke University
Marcos Rangel, Duke University
Dana Thomson, Child Trends
Prachi Shukla, Duke University
Luis Basurto, Cornell University
Haocheng Yong, Duke University

Families Divided, Coverage Denied: Health Insurance among U.S.-Born Latino Children in Mixed-Status Families

Mónica García-Pérez, Fayetteville State University
Joaquin Rubalcaba, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill
Edward Vargas, Arizona State University

The Labor Market Engagement of Immigrants across Borders

Alejandro Gutierrez-Li, North Carolina State University

Discussants:

Mónica García-Pérez, Fayetteville State University
Lisa Gennetian, Duke University
Alejandro Gutierrez-Li, North Carolina State University

■ MIGRANTS, MINORITY GROUPS, AND INFLATION

Organizer/Chair: **Francisca Antman**, University of Colorado Boulder

The Long-Run Impacts of Mentoring Underrepresented Minority Groups in Economics

Francisca Antman, University of Colorado Boulder
Bruce Weinberg, The Ohio State University
Trevon Logan, The Ohio State University

The Migration Consequences of English-Language Education: Evidence from Mexico

Oscar Galvez-Soriano, University of Chicago
David Escamilla-Guerrero, University of St Andrews
Raissa Fabregas, University of Texas at Austin

Hiring in a Diverse Labor Market: Spillovers across Minority Groups

Daniel Gómez-Vásquez, Texas A&M University

Geospatial Heterogeneity in Inflation: The Role of Retailer Dynamics

Seula Kim, Pennsylvania State University
Michael Navarrete, University of Maryland

Discussants:

Oscar Galvez-Soriano, University of Chicago
Fernando Lozano, Pomona College
Michael Navarrete, University of Maryland
Daniel Gómez-Vásquez, Texas A&M University

2024 WESTERN ECONOMIC ASSOCIATION INTERNATIONAL MEETING

■ HEALTH, HUMAN CAPITAL, AND MINORITY GROUPS

Organizers:

Zadia M. Feliciano, Queens College, CUNY
Alfonso Flores-Lagunes, Syracuse University

Chair: **Zadia M. Feliciano**, Queens College, CUNY

Racial and Ethnic Disparities in the Healthcare Costs and Outcomes of Cigarette Smoking in the United States: 2008–2019

William Encinosa, Agency for Healthcare Research and Quality
R. Burciaga Valdez, Agency for Healthcare Research and Quality

The Legacy of Agent Orange: Prenatal Exposure to Dioxin and Human Capital Formation

Thao Bui, Queens College, CUNY

Economic Inequality and Stratification after a Natural Disaster: Evidence from Joplin

Anita Alves Pena, Colorado State University

The Long-Run Impacts of Mentoring Underrepresented Minority Groups in Economics

Francisca Antman, University of Colorado Boulder
Bruce A. Weinberg, The Ohio State University
Trevon D. Logan, The Ohio State University

Discussants:

Zadia M. Feliciano, Queens College, CUNY
Fernando Lozano, Pomona College
Oscar de Jesus Galvez-Soriano, University of Chicago
Alejandro Gutierrez-Li, North Carolina State University

■ IMMIGRANTS, SKILLS, AND INNOVATION

Organizers:

Zadia M. Feliciano, Queens College, CUNY
Alfonso Flores-Lagunes, Syracuse University

Chair: **Francisca Antman**, University of Colorado Boulder

The Labor Market Engagement of Immigrants Across Borders

Alejandro Gutierrez-Li, North Carolina State University

Foreign Language Skills and Labor Market Outcomes: The Case of English in Mexico

Oscar de Jesus Galvez-Soriano, University of Chicago

Immigration and the U.S.-Born Worker: Characteristics of the Employed and Self-Employed

Jan E. Christopher, Delaware State University

Skills, Firm Productivity, and Innovation in the Dominican Republic

Zadia M. Feliciano, Queens College, CUNY
Dorian Abreu, Queens College, CUNY

Discussants:

Francisca Antman, University of Colorado Boulder
Fernando Lozano, Pomona College
Anita Alves Pena, Colorado State University
Yang Liang, San Diego State University

NEA

2025 ALLIED SOCIAL SCIENCES ASSOCIATION MEETING

■ MACROECONOMICS AND RACIAL INEQUALITY

Chair: **Jamein P. Cunningham**, University of Texas at Austin

The U.S. Racial Wealth Gap: Mechanisms and Regimes

Karl David Boulware, Wesleyan University
Kenneth N. Kuttner, Williams College
Avi Lipton, Harvard University

Student Loan Payments and Wealth: A Threshold Approach

Gerald E. Daniels Jr., Howard University
Venoo Kakar, San Francisco State University
Deniz Baglan, Howard University

Does Sovereignty Help Economic Growth?

Jose Caraballo-Cueto, University of Puerto Rico, Rio Piedras

Credit Expansion and Job Displacement

Ejindu Ume, University of Miami
Yugandhara Nalawade, University of Miami

Balancing Equity and Economic Growth: The Federal Job Guarantee's Impact on Income Inequality and Business Competitiveness

William Darity Jr., Duke University
Jorge N. Zumaeta, Florida International University

■ CAUSES, CONSEQUENCES, AND POLICIES TO ADDRESS SYSTEMIC BARRIERS

Chair: **Robynn Cox**, University of California, Riverside

What Makes Systemic Discrimination, 'Systemic'? Exposing the Amplifiers of Inequity

David B. McMillon, Emory University

Afro-Entrepreneurship in Brazil: History, Realities, and Defies

Marcelo Paixão, University of Texas at Austin
Eliane Nascimento, University of Texas at Austin

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ACTIVITIES continued

Intergroup Inequality and the Societal Demand for Mass Incarceration

Romie Tribble Jr., Spelman College

The Impact of Minimum Wages on Financial Well-being Among Women: Does Race Matter?

Colin Cannonier, Belmont University
Luke Petach, Belmont University
Elaine Tontoh, Belmont University

The Relationship between Local Characteristics and Disability Applications and Awards

Barbara Butrica, Urban Institute
Stipica Mudrazija, University of Washington
Keisha Solomon, Howard University

■ SOCIETAL DYNAMICS: INTERSECTION OF POLICY, RACE, AND COVID-19

Chair: Angelino Viceisza, Spelman College

Employment Implications of COVID and Automation Risk: The Moderating Effect of Minorities

Salvador Contreras, University of Texas Rio Grande Valley

Vaccine, Profit, and Race in a Health Crisis: Evidence from U.S. Nursing Homes

Jean-Baptiste Tondji, University of Texas Rio Grande Valley

Immigration Enforcement and the Local Housing Market: Evidence Using Fintech Data

Raffi E. Garcia, Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute

Does Racial Animus Influence Support for Public Policies?

Jakina Debnam Guzman, Amherst College

Eviction Moratoria and Race Disparities of Eviction Filing Rates in the U.S.

Linchi Hsu, Howard University
Alexander Henke, Howard University

■ DOCUMENTING THE SOCIAL IMPACT OF MISSION-DRIVEN COMMUNITY LEADERS

Chair: Agustin Miguel Hurtado, University of Maryland

Mission Driven Leaders

Samuel Rosen, Temple University
Yaming Gong, Temple University
Tilan Tang, Wake Forest University

Five Research Priorities for Community Development Financial Institutions: Advancing Financial Inclusion through Evidence-based Practices

Adrienne Smith, Opportunity Finance Network
Jamie McCall, Deloitte LLP
Eugenia Vivanco, Raza Development Fund

The Effect of Minority Bank Ownership on Minority Credit

Agustin Miguel Hurtado, University of Maryland
Jung Sakong, Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago

MDI Mortgage Lending: Insights from Quantitative Data and Stakeholder Interviews

Anthony Barr, National Bankers Association Foundation
Carl Romer, National Bankers Association
Christopher LeFlore, Kresge Foundation
Stephone Coward, Hip Hop Caucus

Are Loans to Minority-Owned Firms Mispriced?

William D. Bradford, University of Washington
Chunbei Wang, Virginia Tech
Magnus Lofstrom, Public Policy Institute of California
Michael Verchot, University of Washington

■ TOPICS IN PUBLIC POLICY: CRIME, LABOR, AND RACE

Chair: Kenneth Whaley, University of South Florida

Growing Up in Gang Territory: Estimating the Influence of Organized Criminal Activity on Young Americans

Jesse Bruhn, Brown University

Does Investing in Schools Reduce Violent Crime?

Monique E. Davis, University of Minnesota
Kenneth Whaley, University of South Florida
Jamein P. Cunningham, University of Texas at Austin

The Effects of Criminal Legal System Contact on Financing Successful Aging

Robynn Cox, University of California, Riverside

Does Coaching Diversity Impact Team Success in Women's College Basketball?

Johnny Ducking, University of Mississippi

Restricting Unemployment Insurance and Crime: Evidence from the American Rescue Plan

Alexander Henke, Howard University
Linchi Hsu, Howard University

■ **EQUITABLE POLICY REFORMS IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA'S ENERGY, FINANCE, AND ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE CONTEXTS**

Joint Session with African Finance and Economics Association

Chairs: **Fafanyo Asiseh**, North Carolina A&T State University, and **Gbadebo Odularu**, Howard University

Assessing the Impact of Microfinance Services on Rural Households in Tanzania: Evidence of SACCOS

Bley Cynthia N'dede epse Hourizene, South Carolina State University

Pricing of Climate Risks in the Capital Market of South Africa

Eric Ayamga, Texas Tech University
Eugenia Amporfu, Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology
Daniel Sakyi, Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology

Cooking up Change: Unveiling Household Cooking Energy Preferences in Ghana

Fafanyo Asiseh, North Carolina A&T State University
Prosper Bangwayo-Skeete, University of North Carolina Wilmington
Theresa Mannah-Blankson, University of North Carolina at Charlotte
Obed Quaicoe, North Carolina A&T State University

Artificial Intelligence and Hidden Harms among U.S. and African Minority Businesses

Gbadebo Odularu, Howard University

The Quality of Governance and Youth Employment in Africa

Mina Balamoune-Lutz, University of North Florida

Investigating the Corruption-Exchange Rate Nexus in Ghana: A Focus on the GHS/\$ USD

Stephen Armah, Ashesi University
Belinda Azenui, Denison University
Alfred Berkoh, Ashesi University

■ **NEW ECONOMICS PARADIGMS: BRINGING STRATIFICATION ECONOMICS TOOLS INTO THE MAINSTREAM**

Joint Session with AEA

Moderator: **James B. Stewart**, The Black Economic Research Center for the 21st Century

Panelists:

Aislinn Bohren, University of Pennsylvania
T. Renee Bowen, Georgetown University
Jan E. Christopher, Delaware State University
William Darity Jr., Duke University
Patrick Mason, University of Massachusetts Amherst

■ **AFRICAN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT**

Joint Session with African Finance and Economics Association

Chair: **Socrates Kraido Majune**, University of Nairobi

The Resilience of African SMEs during the COVID-19 Pandemic: Does Location Matter?

Omolola Amoussou, African Development Bank
Michael Machokoto, University of the Witwatersrand

Climate Disclosures, Climate Risk, and Stock Market Performance

Eric Ayamga, Texas Tech University

The Impact of Corruption on Foreign Direct Investment Inflow in Ghana

Alfred Berkoh, Ashesi University
Stephen Armah, Ashesi University

The Role of Social Security in South Africa's Just Transition

Nomahlubi Jakuja, Ohio University

Assessing the Impacts of Privatization on Water Services in Kenya in the Context of Human Resource Capital: Lessons from Global Perspectives

Kent Mukoya, Nairobi City Water and Sewerage Company
Joseph Thuku Karanja, Nairobi City Water and Sewerage Company
Monica Tuli, Nairobi City Water and Sewerage Company

Understanding Children's Economic Activities: Evidence from Financial Diaries of Cocoa Farmers in Ghana and Cote d'Ivoire

Samuel Amponsah, Tokyo International University

theMINORITYREPORT

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