- Research projects!
- If you have questions, regular office hours for this week and next
- After classes end, I'm happy to schedule individual times to meet
- This week, black-white income gaps and mobility (read Aaronson and Mazumder "The Impact of Rosenwald Schools on Black Achievement")
- Next week, gender gaps in income and mobility (read Goldin "The U-Shaped Female Labor Force Function in Economic Development and Economic History")
- First, a quick look at the class data

# Average hourly black-white wage gaps, by gender, 1979–2015 (adjusted and unadjusted)



Note: The adjusted wage gaps are for full-time workers and control for racial difference in education, potential experience, region of residence, and metro status.

Source: EPI analysis of Current Population Survey (CPS) Outgoing Rotation Group microdata

Economic Policy Institute

Adjusted average hourly wage gaps relative to white men by race and gender, 1979—2015



Note: The adjusted wage gaps are for full-time workers and control for racial differences in education, potential experience, region of residence, and metro status.

Source: EPI analysis of Current Population Survey (CPS) Outgoing Rotation Group microdata

Economic Policy Institute

	High School or Less	Some College	College +	All Levels					
		A. 1990 Censu	s						
Black	.57	.83	.94	.71					
	[8,346]	[6,005]	[2,336]	[16,687]					
White	.67	.82	.90	.78					
	[51,674]	[39,721]	[29,148]	[120,543]					
	B. 1990 March CPS								
Black	.64	.86	.95	.74					
	[770]	[318]	[160]	[1,248]					
White	.71	.81	.90	.78					
	[5,120]	[2,098]	[2,189]	[9,407]					
		C. 1990 NLSY							
Black	.71	.88	.96	.79					
	[755]	[383]	[146]	[1,284]					
White	.78	.87	.91	.83					
ince	[1 917]	[509]	[525]	[9 951]					

TABLE 3 Fraction of Women 25–33 Who Worked in Past Calendar Year

NOTE.—Numbers of observations are in brackets. All three samples include women who report that they are not working as well as women who report information on earnings and labor supply required to compute an hourly wage. Employed women with missing earnings or labor supply data as well as women whose implied hourly wage is less than \$1.00 or more than \$100 per hour are excluded. The CFS means are weighted using the March Supplemental Weight.

	Census 1990		CPS	1990	NLSY	1990	NLSY 1988– 1992		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	
Black	11	07	16	14	18	15 (.022)	21 (.019)	16	
Schooling		.13		.12		.11		.12	
Observations	$105,\!485$	105,485	8,175	8,175	2,878	2,878	3,391	3,391	
	B. Me	DIAN REG	ression F	Results w	лтн Імри	JTATIONS			
		Rui	.е. 1	Rui	LE 2	Rui	le 3		
		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)		
Black		248	188	249	188	260	196		
Schooling		(.028)	(.021)	(.026)	(.022)	(.026)	(.024)		
Observations		3,508	(.006) 3,508	3,539	(.006) 3,539	3,561	(.007) 3,561		

TABLE 8 A. Median Regression Results for Women

Nortz.—Numbers in parentheses are standard deviations. Panel A includes indicator variables for potential experience levels and years of school completed. The CPS analyses are weighted using the March Supplemental Weight. Rule 1: Impute a wage of \$1.00 for all long-term aid recipients with no postscondary schooling and no spousal support who do not report market work over the 1988-92 interviews. Rule 2: Rule 1 plus impute \$30 per hour for all white women with at least a high school education and spousal support of \$30,000 per year. Also, impute \$30 per hour for all xule 32. Rule 2 except lower the spousal support of \$32,000 for white women and \$22,000 for black women.

- How do we have such persistent gaps between black and white wages?
- There is a very, very large literature looking at explanations for these gaps in modern data
- We're going to take a slightly different approach and start with historical roots of these gaps
- One basic question: given the dramatically conditions for white and black individuals coming out of the Civil War, how long do we expect black-white gaps to persist?
- This is essentially a question about mobility rates

- To think about the role of mobility, we'll look at some brand new research by Chetty, Hendren, Jones and Porter
- They are going to estimate mobility rates by race in the modern US in a way similar to the previous Chetty work we've looked at
- Recall that Chetty is thinking about the following relationship:

$$y_{i,t+1} = \alpha + \beta y_{i,t} + \varepsilon_{i,t+1}$$

• Here  $y_{i,t+1}$  is the income percentile rank of child *i* 

- Suppose that  $\alpha$  (capturing *absolute* mobility) and  $\beta$  (capturing *relative*) mobility are the same regardless of race
- This implies the same steady state average income for white and black individuals
- To see why, first note that mean income rank of individuals in one generation is simply:

$$\overline{y}_{t+1} = \alpha + \beta \overline{y}_t$$

 Now let's think about the mean income rank in s generations

$$\overline{y}_{t+1} = \alpha + \beta \overline{y}_t$$
$$\overline{y}_{t+2} = \alpha + \beta (\alpha + \beta \overline{y}_t) = \alpha + \beta \alpha + \beta^2 \overline{y}_t$$
$$\overline{y}_{t+3} = \alpha + \beta (\alpha + \beta \alpha + \beta^2 \overline{y}_t) = \alpha + \beta \alpha + \beta^2 \alpha + \beta^3 \overline{y}_t$$

. . .

$$\begin{split} \overline{y}_{t+s} &= \alpha + \alpha\beta + \alpha\beta^2 + \dots + \alpha\beta^{s-1} + \beta^s \overline{y}_t \\ \overline{y}_{t+s} &= \alpha(1 + \beta + \beta^2 + \dots + \beta^{s-1}) + \beta^s \overline{y}_t \\ \overline{y}_{t+s} &= \alpha \frac{1 - \beta^s}{1 - \beta} + \beta^s \overline{y}_t \\ \text{As } s \to \infty, \ \beta^s \to 0 \text{ so } \overline{y}_{t+s} \to \frac{\alpha}{1 - \beta} \end{split}$$

• So in the steady state, the mean income level will be:

$$\overline{y}_t = \frac{\alpha}{1 - \beta}$$

- If the white and black populations have the same values for  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$ , they should converge to the same values of average income
- How long will this take? Let's think about the gap in any given period s based on different starting mean incomes, y
  <sub>b,0</sub> and y
  <sub>w,0</sub>

• We can start by plugging  $\overline{y}_{b,0}$  and  $\overline{w,0}$  into our expression for  $\overline{y}_{i,s}$ :

$$\begin{split} \Delta \overline{y}_{s} &= \left[ \alpha \frac{1 - \beta^{s}}{1 - \beta} + \beta^{s} \overline{y}_{w,0} \right] - \left[ \alpha \frac{1 - \beta^{s}}{1 - \beta} + \beta^{s} \overline{y}_{b,0} \right] \\ \Delta \overline{y}_{s} &= \beta^{s} \Delta \overline{y}_{0} \end{split}$$

- $\bullet$  So the gap closes by a factor of  $\beta$  every generation
- Let's think about a  $\beta$  of 0.5
- After one generation, the gap is reduced in half
- After two generations, it is down to a quarter of its original size
- After six generations (roughly since emancipation), it's down to 1.6% of its original size

- $\bullet\,$  It's a different story if  $\alpha$  differs by race
- Assuming we have α<sub>b</sub> and α<sub>w</sub>, let's rewrite our gap in generation s:

$$\begin{split} \Delta \overline{y}_{s} &= \left[ \alpha_{w} \frac{1 - \beta^{s}}{1 - \beta} + \beta^{s} \overline{y}_{w,0} \right] - \left[ \alpha_{b} \frac{1 - \beta^{s}}{1 - \beta} + \beta^{s} \overline{y}_{b,0} \right] \\ \Delta \overline{y}_{s} &= \Delta \alpha \frac{1 - \beta^{s}}{1 - \beta} + \beta^{s} \Delta \overline{y}_{0} \end{split}$$

- Assuming that  $\alpha_w > \alpha_b$ , this leads to a larger gap in each generation than we previously found
- Furthermore, we now converge to a steady state gap:

$$\Delta \overline{y} = rac{\Delta lpha}{1-eta}$$

$$\Delta \overline{y} = \frac{\Delta \alpha}{1 - \beta}$$

- So a difference in absolute mobility leads to a permanent gap
- Also notice that the permanent gap is not a function of the initial income gap
- So if you address a current income gap in a way that doesn't impact absolute mobility, you make no impact on the long run income gap
- What if there are also racial differences in relative mobility?
- This will affect the relative speed at which racial groups converge to the steady state





- Chetty et al are going to estimate mobility rates by race
- We've covered the mind-blowing Chetty data before
- Parent and child tax returns linked to college data
- You might be asking yourself, where did I record my race on my 1040? (or you may be asking yourself this in a few days)
- The answer: nowhere, Chetty et al have also linked tax returns to census returns

- So just what's available on a census form?
- You seen historical census manuscripts
- As the country gets bigger, you can't ask as many questions of everyone
- Nowadays we have a short form (5/6 households) and a long form (1/6 households)
- Let's take a look at both: short form, long form

- Research projects!
- If you have questions, regular office hours for this week and next
- After classes end, I'm happy to schedule individual times to meet
- Next Friday, we'll use the class period as a work session for your projects, I can show you things on Stata, help with data, etc.



A. Constant Relative and Absolute Mobility



#### B. Constant Relative Mobility, Racial Differences in Absolute Mobility



A. Intergenerational Mobility and Steady States for Blacks vs. Whites



A. All Children



#### B. Current Mean Ranks vs. Predicted Ranks in Steady State, by Race



A. Children with Parents at 25th Percentile



#### B. Children with Parents at 75th Percentile

# Historical Inequality and Mobility by Race

- Now that we have a sense of modern income gaps and mobility patterns, let's turn to some historical evidence
- We'll start with the emergence from the Civil War, looking at two different sets of papers
- For the mobility of white individuals we'll look at Dupont and Rosenbloom (2017) "The Economic Origins of the Postwar Southern Elite" and Ager, Boustan and Eriksson (2019) "The Intergenerational Effects of a Large Wealth Shock: White Southerners After the Civil War"
- For the mobility of black individuals we'll look at Sacerdote (2005) "Slavery and the Intergenerational Transmission of Human Capital" and Collins and Wanamaker (2017) "Up from Slavery? African American Intergenerational Mobility Since 1880"



### **Carters Grove**

### The Postwar Southern Elite

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- Dupont and Rosenbloom are exploring the effect of the Civil War on the concentration of wealth in the South
- Past work has been restricted to cross-sectional data
- With cross-sectional data, we can see that wealth remains concentrated after the war
- But that leaves a really big question
- Was that wealth concentrated in the hands of the same plantation owners?
- To get at that, you need to do some linking

The distribution of wealth within regions in 1870										
		Share of								
	Share of real	personal	Share of total							
	property held by	property held by	property held by							
Region	top 1%	top 1%	top 1%							
New England	0.268	0.497	0.327							
Mid Atlantic	0.271	0.402	0.263							
East North Central	0.22	0.339	0.217							
West North Central	0.248	0.255	0.229							
South Atlantic	0.364	0.455	0.354							
East South Central	0.338	0.34	0.312							
West South Central	0.475	0.322	0.367							

#### Table 1 1860 Characteristics of Northerners and Southerners, by percentile.

	North					South						
	Below 55th	55th	90th	95th	99th	Below 55th	55th	90th	95th	99th		
Number of observations	18,764	12,379	1782	1378	356	6631	4221	599	487	121		
Real property wealth (Median, \$)	0	1600	6000	10,000	27,860	0	1500	6250	12,800	50,000		
Personal property wealth (Median, \$)	100	500	1205	2612	10,812	100	1200	11,305	25,000	70,000		
Total property wealth (Median, \$)	100	2200	7327	13,000	40,000	150	3100	17,800	38,000	122,250		
Real as Pct of total property wealth	28.4%	71.6%	76.3%	71.9%	67.6%	23.4%	52.1%	40.5%	38.0%	44.9%		
Male	89.2%	93.9%	94.9%	94.2%	93.3%	84.7%	89.9%	90.8%	90.1%	94.2%		
Rural resident	65.1%	84.7%	85.6%	76.2%	53.4%	82.1%	92.2%	90.3%	88.9%	85.1%		
Foreign born	41.4%	20.2%	11.3%	10.7%	16.3%	14.3%	6.0%	4.8%	3.7%	5.8%		
Living outside birthstate	68.5%	58.6%	48.8%	50.6%	55.9%	48.7%	49.8%	45.2%	50.5%	50.4%		
White	98.2%	99.7%	99.9%	99.8%	100.0%	94.4%	99.4%	99.8%	99.6%	99.2%		
Age (Median)	37	43	46	48	49	38	42	46	48	48		
Professional & Technical	2.1%	3.1%	2.9%	7.0%	7.6%	1.7%	4.3%	9.0%	8.6%	3.3%		
Farming	22.4%	61.8%	68.5%	55.9%	30.3%	39.1%	69.5%	68.6%	70.6%	76.9%		
Clerical & Managerial	4.4%	7.7%	11.8%	19.7%	35.4%	3.0%	6.8%	11.4%	12.7%	14.0%		
Sales	1.6%	0.8%	0.8%	0.4%	2.2%	1.0%	0.7%	0.7%	0.2%	0.0%		
Craftsmen	21.7%	12.4%	6.2%	4.9%	6.2%	16.3%	7.7%	3.0%	1.8%	1.7%		
Operatives & Kindred workers	11.0%	5.0%	2.6%	3.6%	3.7%	6.4%	2.2%	0.8%	0.4%	0.0%		
Service workers	2.4%	0.5%	0.2%	0.6%	0.0%	2.9%	0.9%	1.0%	0.4%	0.0%		
Laborers	23.4%	2.8%	1.1%	0.8%	0.8%	18.0%	1.2%	0.2%	0.2%	0.0%		
Non-occupational	11.0%	6.0%	6.0%	7.0%	13.8%	11.7%	6.8%	5.3%	4.9%	4.1%		

Sources and notes: The data are from the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS) 1-in-100 random sample of the Census (Ruggles et al., 2015). The North includes states in the Northeast and North Central Census division, while the South includes states in the South Atlantic and South Central Census divisions.

#### Table 2

1870 Characteristics of Northerners and Southerners, by percentile.

	North					South				
	Below 55th	55th	90th	95th	99th	Below 55th	55th	90th	95th	99th
Number of observations	25,261	15,992	2429	1810	492	11,099	7718	1049	833	217
Real property wealth (Median, \$)	0	2400	8000	15,000	40,000	0	380	3000	7300	25,000
Personal property wealth (Median, \$)	100	650	2000	3500	20,000	0	300	1000	2000	6442
Total property wealth (Median, \$)	175	3100	10,500	19,000	60,000	0	725	4152	9900	31,333
Real as Pct of total property wealth	34.4%	73.1%	75.9%	73.3%	63.8%	8.7%	45.6%	69.4%	73.6%	72.4%
Male	88.1%	92.7%	94.9%	94.4%	92.3%	79.6%	89.1%	91.9%	90.6%	90.8%
Rural resident	60.6%	79.6%	79.7%	67.0%	39.2%	85.2%	90.7%	85.3%	83.9%	67.7%
Foreign born	40.8%	28.6%	19.3%	17.2%	17.3%	6.5%	7.5%	12.1%	10.3%	11.5%
Living outside birthstate	67.9%	62.5%	55.8%	51.1%	51.4%	39.3%	46.5%	43.9%	40.8%	47.9%
White	97.1%	99.6%	99.9%	99.9%	99.8%	40.9%	89.8%	99.3%	99.5%	99.5%
Age (Median)	39	45	48	49	50	40	42	46	48	50
Professional & Technical	2.1%	2.5%	3.7%	6.1%	7.3%	1.0%	3.0%	6.5%	8.2%	8.8%
Farming	20.5%	56.5%	62.2%	50.6%	17.9%	20.3%	62.6%	61.8%	56.1%	48.8%
Clerical & Managerial	5.1%	8.4%	14.0%	21.7%	43.7%	1.6%	4.3%	13.3%	18.0%	24.9%
Sales	1.8%	1.3%	1.2%	1.4%	2.6%	0.6%	0.6%	0.5%	0.6%	0.5%
Craftsmen	18.6%	12.4%	6.1%	5.0%	5.1%	7.3%	7.9%	5.5%	5.0%	4.1%
Operatives & Kindred workers	14.4%	5.8%	2.6%	3.1%	3.0%	4.0%	3.1%	2.0%	1.0%	1.4%
Service workers	2.2%	0.6%	0.4%	0.3%	0.4%	3.8%	0.9%	0.6%	0.5%	0.0%
Laborers	23.5%	4.1%	1.3%	0.9%	0.6%	45.9%	8.0%	0.9%	0.5%	0.0%
Non-occupational	11.8%	8.3%	8.4%	10.8%	19.3%	15.5%	9.6%	9.1%	10.2%	11.5%

Sources and notes: See Table 1.

### The Postwar Southern Elite



Panel B: North

Notes: Shows the fractions of Northern households in various 1860 wealth strata (along the horizontal axis) that moved into the top five percent of wealth holders in 1870 (measured on the vertical axis) using various restrictions on the population.

### The Postwar Southern Elite



Panel A: South

Notes: Shows the fractions of Southern households in various 1860 wealth strata (along the horizontal axis) that moved into the top five percent of wealth holders in 1870 (measured on the vertical axis) using various restrictions on the population.

### Slaveholders After the War



Note: This figure reports the logarithm of total household wealth in 1860 by peccentic in the 1850 wealth distribution for white households households households with the 1860 by peccentic in the 1850 wealth distribution for white households hour alc state wealth and personal property. Slaveholder sumannes are defined as names that are associated with above median slaveholding within their county of residence.

### Slaveholders After the War



Notes: This figure reports coefficients from equation (1). The outcome variable is hosehold wealth in 1870. The displayed coefficients and their corresponding conditione intervals are for the interaction between slaveholder summane and ventile for 1860 wealth distribution. The differential probability of being a slaveholder between slaveholder and non-slaveholder sumanes and ventile of the 1860 wealth distribution. The differential probability of being a slaveholder between slaveholder and non-slaveholder sumanes and ventile does the 60th percentile cost the formation of the state of the stat

### Slaveholders After the War



Notes: This figure reports coefficients from equation (1). The outcome variable is son's occupation-based wealth in 1880. The displayed coefficients and their corresponding confidence intervals are for the interaction between slaveholder sumame and ventile of the 1860 wealth distribution.
- So wealth inequality may still have been large in South after the war
- However, the Civil War did create a fair amount of churn in terms of who the elites were, at least temporarily
- Clearly, the Civil War was also going to have a huge impact on black outcomes as well
- To think about the mobility rates and inequality faced by the black population after the Civil War, we'll start with Sacerdote (2005)



- Sacerdote is going to use parent's (and grandparent's) birth state and year to determine slave status
- Basically, he is constructing an indicator for whether the mother was born in the south (S<sub>i</sub>)
- The basic idea is to compare the outcomes of children of slaves to those of children of free blacks using the following three approaches:

$$Y_i = \alpha + \beta S_i \tag{1}$$

$$Y_i = \alpha + \beta S_i + \theta_{\text{region}}$$
(2)

 $Y_{i} = \alpha + \beta_{0} Black_{i} + \beta_{1} Black_{i} \cdot S_{i} + \beta_{2} S_{i} + \theta_{\text{region}}$ (3)



FIGURE 3 .-- LITERACY RATES BY BIRTH COHORT FOR FREE BLACKS AND SLAVES AND THEIR CHILDREN AND GRANDCHILDREN

This figure is introdue to show the littracy gap between free and stave blacks before 1855 and how that gap ended over time and across two generations. More are taken by generation, by 10-year coher, Notes: Data are more 1880 of 1930 Censors. This was prevented with the start of the start o



FIGURE 4.-LITERACY RATES BY BIRTH COHORT FOR WHITES AND BLACKS BORN INSIDE AND OUTSIDE THE SOUTH

This figure shows average literacy by birth cohort, race, and region of birth (South and non-South). Means are taken by generation, by 10-year cohort. Notes: Data are from 1880 and 1920 Census IPUMS. Data from cohorts from 1865 on are taken from the 1920 Census. Literacy is measured for persons aged 10 or older.

Effect of	(1) No Controls (Raw Difference between Slaves and Free Blacks)	(2) Using Movers (Controls for Region and Year of Birth)	(3) Using Whites to Estimate Effect of "Born South"	(4) Mean Literacy for Slaves and Their Progeny (S.D.)	(5) N (Slaves, Free Blacks, Whites)
Own slavery status					
(householders in 1880):					
All female HH or spouses of HH	466	259	302	.193	8,622
	(.023)	(.030)	(.019)	(.395)	317
					48,745
All male HH	466	207	334	.237	7,352
	(.028)	(.035)	(.021)	(.425)	232
					43,520
Mother's slavery status	548	100	290	.339	7,237
(children in 1880)	(.028)	(.037)	(.027)	(.474)	205
					34,752
Mother's slavery status	584	082	299	.337	7,189
(children in 1880) <sup>a</sup>	(.027)	(.042)	(.028)	(.473)	140
					29,447
Mother's slavery status	275	099	187	.656	13,694
(householders in 1920)	(.013)	(.015)	(.014)	(.475)	495
					98,495
Grandmother's slavery status	155	030	131	.831	13,509
(children in 1920)	(.010)	(.011)	(.010)	(.375)	276
					84,727
Grandmother's slavery status	163	031	140	.837	9,137
(children in 1920) <sup>a</sup>	(.006)	(.017)	(.008)	(.370)	59
					47,031

TABLE 2.—EFFECT OF OWN SLAVE STATUS AND MOTHER'S OR GRANDMOTHER'S SLAVE STATUS ON LITERACY

\* Families without intermarriage between slaves and free.

This table shows 0.0.5 estimates of the effect of bring from into sharey (or having an ancestor brom into sharey) on literacy. Column (1) shows there and difference in interacy between shares latest table progents). The shows interest and there progents with the enterest interactive breast the two programs with the enterest regions. The same has a difference in interactive to the shows had free families that more one of the shows had free families that more one of the shows had free families that more one of the shows had free families that more one of the shows had the show had the



FIGURE 5.-OCCUPATIONAL INCOME SCORES FOR FORMER SLAVES AND FREE BLACKS AND THEIR CHILDREN AND GRANDCHILDREN

This figure shows average occupational income scores by birth cohort for free black mea and former male slaves and their sons and grandsons. The occupational income score is calculated by IPUMS as the median annual income by occupation in 1950 and is reported in hundreds of 1950 dollars. Data for the later two generations come from the 1920 Census. The 1895 and 1905 cohorts have lower scores primarily because younger propits are more likely to work in lower-wage occupations.



FIGURE 6 .-- OCCUPATIONAL SCORES FOR WHITES AND BLACKS BY BIRTH COHORT AND BORN IN SOUTH

The figure shows average occupational score by birth cohort, race, and born in South. The occupational income score is calculated by IPUMS as the median annual income by occupation in hardwards of 1950 dollars. Data for the later two generations come from the 1920 Cessus. The 1895 and 1905 cohorts have lower scores primarily because younger people are more likely to work in lower-wage occupations.

	MALE HOUSEHOLD H	EADS IN 1860 AND 1920)			
Effect of	(1) No Controls (Raw Difference between Slaves and Free Blacks)	(2) Using Movers (Controls for Region and Year of Birth)	(3) Using Whites to Estimate Effect of "Born South"	(4) Mean Outcome for Slaves and Their Progeny (S.D.)	(5) N [Slaves, Free Blacks, Whites]
Own slavery status on income score	-2.867	133	1.062	15.300	7.218
(male householders in 1880 IPUMS)	(361)	(447)	(705)	(5316)	227
(mile neusenciaets in 1000 il cirits)	(1501)	()	(1705)	(51510)	42.507
Own slavery status on income score		.566		17.954	2,170
(male householders in 1880, 100% New England)		(.191)		(6.537)	2,982
,					
Own slavery status on income score		497		15.967	1,709
(male householders in 1880, 100% New York)		(.217)		(6.984)	2,616
Father's slavery status on income score	-4.46	768	-0.385	17.119	5,936
(male householders in 1920, IPUMS)	(.509)	(.619)	(0.731)	(6.517)	172
					43,960
Own slavery status on manual status	0.154)	0.028	0.072	0.973	7,200
(male householders in 1880, IPUMS)	(0.012)	(0.015)	(0.023)	(.164)	226
					41,776
Own slavery status on manual status		.003		.961	2,050
(male householders in 1880, 100% New England)		(.006)		(.193)	2,742
Own slavery status on manual status		013		.952	1,670
(male householders in 1880, 100% New York)		(.006)		(.214)	2.605
Father's slavery status on manual status	.156	.063	0.074	.931	5,896
(male householders in 1920, IPUMS)	(.021)	(.034)	(0.027)	(.253)	172
					43,505

TABLE 4.—EFFECT OF SELF OR MOTHER BORN SLAVE ON OCCUPATIONAL INCOME SCORE AND PROBABILITY OF BEING A MANUAL LABORER (MALE HOUSEHOLD HEADS IN 1880 AND 1920)

This table compares occupational outcomes for black male heads of household who were former slaves (or whose modiers were former slaves) with outcomes for black male heads of household born free (or with modiers born free). "Effects" of slave status are calculated by using an OLS repression of the outcomes on former slaves status.

Notes: Samples include all black male heads of household. In the 1920 sample, the householders are aged 35-55 in 1920 (that is, born 1865-1885), which makes them old enough to have parents who were born as slaves, but young enough to be born after 1865. In the 1880 sample, the householders are all born before 1865.

The occupational income score is the median 1950 annual income in hundreds of dollars for a given occupation. Manual versus nonmanual status is designated by the author based on job title.

Former slave status is imputed from year and state of birth. Those blacks born in one of the 16 slave states prior to 1865 are coded as former slaves. (The count of 16 states includes West Virginia.) For the 1920 data, if the householder's mother was born in one of 16 slave states, dame coded as former slaves. (The count of 16 slave states dammy. Missouri is coded as 10 mm and Washington, DC, is not.







- Research projects!!
- For next week and after classes end, I'm happy to schedule individual times to meet
- Next Friday, we'll use the class period as a work session for your projects, I can show you things on Stata, help with data, etc.







# Institutions and Inequality Emerging from the Civil War



Laborers under convict leasing provisions of Black Codes

## Institutions and Inequality Emerging from the Civil War



THE RADICAL PLATFORM--"NECRO SUFFRACE THE ONLY ISSUE!" Brery man who votes for Geary or for a Radical fandidate for Goagress, votes as sarely for Megro Suffrage and Negro Equality, as if they were printed on his hallot. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States: nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws. - Fourteenth Amendment, Section 1 (1868)

#### Institutions and Inequality Emerging from the Civil War

#### Fortieth Congress of the United States of America;

At the Mourt Dession

Boges and bill is the op of Walington, on Marin, the Reventte by at Descender , we through inthe material in a settle sights

#### A RESOLUTION

Profering an amendment to the Constitution of the limited States.

#### Resolved by the Neaste and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

Area bards of both House concerning) that the petersing activity of programs to the lagradities of the second little as an one-and most to the bardstation of the bardes blacks, which where ratified by these specifies of anite lagraditions shall be which as part of the Constitution, remember :

#### Attele XV.

Section & The right of altigues of the leveled state to out shall not be denied in advisant by the leveled state a by any that on anomet of ease, allo, a presidence condition of excitate -Section 8. The borque shall have person to enforce this active by appropriate legislation -

Bpeaker of the House of Representatives

18 Hoan President of the Doscale protempore.

GEDEPhacak

Clash of Manue of Representations.

Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. – Fifteenth Amendment, Section 1 (1870)

- Reconstruction is a fascinating period
- The enfranchisement of black individuals created the potential for new legislation aimed at promoting greater equality of opportunity
- To see this in action, let's look at a working paper by Logan, "Do Black Politicians Matter?"
- Logan is going to see how black politicians impacted local taxation and public spending patterns
- These are the key levers for promoting equality of opportunity through government actions



Figure 1: Spatial Distribution of Black Officials During Reconstruction. Source: Foner (1996)



Figure A1: Number of Free Blacks by County, 1860.

Panel A: Judicial Officials				
Dependent Variable:	OLS - 1870 County	First Stage Officials	IV 1870 County	
	Taxes Per Capita	Per County	Taxes Per Capita	
Judicial Officials Per County	0.0659		3.494	
	(0.0608)		(3.005)	
Free Blacks 1860		6.77e-05		
		(5.39e-05)		
F-Statistic on Excluded Instrument		1.578		
Panel B: Executive Officials				
Dependent Variable:	OLS – 1870 County	First Stage Officials	IV 1870 County	
	Taxes Per Capita	Per County	Taxes Per Capita	
Executive Officials Per County	0.123***		1.006	
	(0.0233)		(0.638)	
Free Blacks 1860		$0.000235^{*}$		
		(0.000139)		
F-Statistic on Excluded Instrument		2.883		
Panel C: Legislative Officials				
Dependent Variable:	OLS - 1870 County	First Stage Officials	IV – 1870 County	
	Taxes Per Capita	Per County	Taxes Per Capita	
Legislative Officials Per County	0.139***		0.283***	
	(0.0232)		(0.109)	
Free Blacks 1860		0.000837***		
		(0.000135)		
F-Statistic on Excluded Instrument		38.204		

Table 7: Effects of Politicians by Branch of Government

Robust standard errors in parentheses. \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.0.1. Note: N=825 in all regressions. Regressions include Republican vote share in 1868 Presidential Election, total value of farms, Logan-Parman Segregation, Total population, percent black, manufacturing wages, value of manufacturing output, number illiterate, rail access, water access, urban county, county wealth, state fixed effects.

Panel A: 1880 Per capita Co	inty Taxes			
Dependent Variable:	OLS 1880 County	First Stage Officials	IV 1880 County	
	Taxes Per Capita	Per County	Taxes Per Capita	
Black Officials Per County	0.0309***		-0.0902**	
	(0.0068)		(0.0460)	
Free Blacks 1860				
		(0.0002)		
F-Statistic on Excluded Instr	ument	24.45		
Panel B: Change in Per Capi	ta Taxes, 1870-1880			
Dependent Variable:	OLS 1870-1880 County First Stage Officials		IV 1870-1880 County	
	Taxes Per Capita	Per County	Taxes Per Capita	
Black Officials Per County	-0.0129***	Per County	-0.0629***	
Black Officials Per County	Taxes Per Capita -0.0129*** (0.0030)	Per County	Taxes Per Capita -0.0629*** (0.0199)	
Black Officials Per County Free Blacks 1860	Taxes Per Capita -0.0129*** (0.0030)	0.0012***	Taxes Per Capita -0.0629*** (0.0199)	
Black Officials Per County Free Blacks 1860	<u>Taxes Per Capita</u> -0.0129*** (0.0030)	0.0012*** (0.0002)	Taxes Per Capita -0.0629*** (0.0199)	

Table 8: 1880 Taxes and Changes in Taxes 1870-1880

Robust standard errors in parentheses. \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1. Note: N=825 in all regressions. Regressions include Republican vote share in 1868 Presidential Election, total value of farms, Logan-Parman Segregation, Total population, percent black, manufacturing wages, value of manufacturing output, number Illierate, rail access, with an county, county wealth, state fixed effects.

Panel A:				
		Black Lite		
Black Officials in County	-0.0221***	-0.0217***	-0.0193***	-0.0198***
	(0.00388)	(0.00413)	(0.00365)	(0.00383)
Exposed to Schooling	0.183***	0.184***	0.396***	0.388***
	(0.0169)	(0.0170)	(0.00270)	(0.00274)
Black Officials * Exposed to Schooling	0.0368***	0.0361***	0.0340***	$0.0334^{***}$
	(0.00649)	(0.00640)	(0.00636)	(0.00629)
Observations	48,376	48,376	48,376	48,376
R-squared	0.099	0.116	0.177	0.194
State Effects		х		х
Birth Cohort Effects			х	х
Percent Effect on Black Literacy Rate	6.85	6.72	6.33	6.22

Table 11: Exposure to Black Officials and Education

#### From Reconstruction to Jim Crow

No. 838 1896 Birmingham, Ala. Received of J. M 1/1 (Col.) (White.) \_Dollars the sum of in full of amount of Poll Tax for the year 1895. Poll Tax. Assessor's Fee. Collector's Fee, hughige P. T. C.

#### From Reconstruction to Jim Crow



The white race deems itself to be the dominant race in this country. And so it is in prestige, in achievements, in education, in wealth and in power. So, I doubt not, it will continue to be for all time if it remains true to its great heritage and holds fast to the principles of constitutional liberty. But in view of the constitution, in the eye of the law, there is in this country no superior, dominant, ruling class of citizens. There is no caste here. Our constitution is color-blind, and neither knows nor tolerates classes among citizens...

... In respect of civil rights, all citizens are equal before the law. The humblest is the peer of the most powerful. The law regards man as man, and takes no account of his surroundings or of his color when his civil rights as guaranteed by the supreme law of the land are involved. It is therefore to be regretted that this high tribunal, the final expositor of the fundamental law of the land, has reached the conclusion that it is competent for a state to regulate the enjoyment by citizens of their civil rights solely upon the basis of race. – Justice John Marshall Harlan's dissent, Plessy v. Ferguson (1896)

# Schooling Under Separate but Equal

- With the rise of Jim Crow laws, we get the disenfranchisement of black individuals
- With the Plessy v. Ferguson ruling, we have the official sanctioning of a 'separate but equal' doctrine
- As you likely suspect, separate but equal was often separate but unequal in practice
- For an interesting take on this, let's look at a working paper by Baker, "Finding the Fat: The Relative Impact of Budget Fluctuations on African-American Schools"

## Schooling Under Separate but Equal

1912						
	Black		White		Difference	
Enrollment	1334	[994]	1842	[1176]	-508	(145)
Enrollment rate (%)	62	[15]	81	[12]	-18	(2)
Teachers' salaries per pupil (¢)	232	[134]	802	[374]	-569	(37)
Capital expenditures per pupil(¢)	6	[11]	108	[159]	-102	(15)
Total expenditures per pupil (¢)	239	[137]	910	[476]	-672	(47)
Number of counties	113		113			
1917						
	Black		White		Difference	
Enrollment	1622	[1152]	2153	[1235]	-531	(157)
Enrollment rate (%)	76	[16]	86	[10]	-10	(2)
Teachers' salaries per pupil (¢)	204	[96]	828	[461]	-624	(44)
Capital expenditures per pupil (¢)	11	[27]	91	[136]	-80	(13)
Total expenditures per pupil (¢)	215	[107]	920	[546]	-704	(52)
Number of counties	115		115			
1922						
	Black		White		Difference	
Enrollment	1518	[1071]	2412	[1544]	-894	(167)
Enrollment rate (%)	78	[17]	90	[9]	-12	(2)
Teachers' salaries per pupil (¢)	385	[208]	1469	[673]	-1083	(63)
Capital expenditures per pupil (¢)	25	[57]	451	[1110]	-426	(99)
Total expenditures per pupil (¢)	410	[224]	1920	[1284]	-1509	(116)
Number of counties	127		127			

Table 2: Mean County-Level School Expenditures by Race

Notes: The columns labeled "Black" and "White" report means for the respective race with standard deviations in brackets. The column labeled "Differences" reports differences in means estimated from regressions and presents standard errors in parentheses. All monetary figures are in nominal cents.

- Basic summary statistics reveal vast differences in spending on black versus white pupils
- Baker wants to explore what motivated school boards to maintain this inequality (or what kept them from spending absolutely nothing on black schools)
- The problem is that school funds are a rather endogenous thing
- Baker is going to exploit Georgia's reapportionment of school funds as an exogenous shock to school budgets





(a) 1912 to 1914

## Schooling Under Separate but Equal

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	∆Receipts PP	∆State PP	∆Local Tax PP	∆Tuition PP
$\Delta Approp PP_t$	1.329***	1.045***	0.085	0.046
	(0.20)	(0.08)	(0.12)	(0.05)
$\Delta Enrollment_{t-2}$	0.030	-0.007	-0.008	-0.003
	(0.03)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.01)
$\Delta Local Tax PP_{t-2}$	-0.472***	-0.020	-0.483***	-0.003
	(0.11)	(0.04)	(0.06)	(0.03)
$\Delta Percent Black_{t-2}$	-12.363*	-1.823	-6.799	0.632
	(7.07)	(2.86)	(4.19)	(1.69)
Constant	58.955***	2.917	42.160***	0.932
	(21.65)	(8.76)	(12.82)	(5.17)
R-squared	0.450	0.650	0.342	0.010
Counties	118	118	118	118
Dependent Variable:				
Mean	-28.333	-56,950	17.863	-2.354
Std. Dev.	237.127	120.460	128.445	42.192

Table 5: Estimates of the Effect of Budget Shocks on School Revenues, 1912-1914

Notes: Standard errors are reported in parentheses. All monetary figures are nominal. \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1.
## Schooling Under Separate but Equal

		All			Losers		Gainers		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
	Black	White	Difference	Black	White	Difference	Black	White	Difference
1912 to 1914									
$\Delta Approp PP_t$	0.0502	1.1487***	-1.0985***	-0.0043	1.4328***	-1.4371***	0.1795	-0.3257	0.5052
	(0.082)	(0.216)	(0.218)	(0.112)	(0.269)	(0.268)	(0.156)	(0.476)	(0.489)
R-squared	0.217	0.277	0.215	0.284	0.435	0.371	0.109	0.033	0.056
Counties	113	113	113	65	65	65	48	48	48
1917 to 1919									
$\Delta Approp PP_t$	0.0111	1.7610***	-1.7499***	0.6236	2.5005	-1.8769	-0.0170	1.8396***	-1.8565***
	(0.159)	(0.429)	(0.446)	(0.881)	(1.580)	(1.660)	(0.171)	(0.478)	(0.493)
R-squared	0.006	0.187	0.172	0.365	0.720	0.713	0.001	0.157	0.150
Counties	115	115	115	14	14	14	101	101	101
1922 to 1924									
$\Delta Approp PP_t$	0.4185***	1.3642***	-0.9457**	0.4541***	1.5515***	-1.0974**	0.0685	0.6431	-0.5746
	(0.145)	(0.448)	(0.447)	(0.162)	(0.526)	(0.521)	(0.386)	(0.982)	(1.020)
R-squared	0.083	0.101	0.076	0.088	0.122	0.095	0.153	0.082	0.105
Counties	127	127	127	103	103	103	24	24	24

Table 8: The Effect of Budget Shocks on Instructional Expenditures per Pupil by Race around the Census Years of 1913, 1918, and 1923

Notes: Standard errors are reported in parentheses. All monetary figures are nominal. "Losers" are counties whose appropriations from the state decreased following the school census of 1913, while appropriations for "Gainers" increased. All specifications include controls for lagged trends in enrollment, local tax revenues, and percentage of African-American children in the school-age population. \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \*p<0.0.



- During the era of separate but equal, public provision of schooling was failing to provide equal opportunity for black students
- Private philanthropy stepped up to counter this public failure
- Working with Booker T. Washington, Julius Rosenwald created the Rosenwald Fund to establish high quality rural schools for black students
- These schools were funded through a system of matching grants and made a remarkable impact
- Let's look at Aaronson and Mazumder (2011) "The Impact of Rosenwald Schools on Black Achievement"



FIG. 1.-Black-white gap in education by birth cohort versus timing of Rosenwald school construction.

American Mobility, Spring 2019

April 19, 2019 28 / 118



Distribution of Rosenwald Schools in 1920



Distribution of Rosenwald Schools in 1925



Distribution of Rosenwald Schools in 1932

- Aaronson and Mazumder are going to exploit the spatial and temporal variation in the construction of Rosenwald schools
- They are going to estimate the following equation:

 $y_{ibct} = \alpha + \text{female}_i + \text{black}_i + \text{rural}_i + \text{black}_i \cdot \text{rural}_i +$ 

 $\gamma_0 ROSE_{bct} + \gamma_1 (\text{black}_i \cdot ROSE_{bct}) + \gamma_2 (\text{rural}_i \cdot ROSE_{bct}) +$ 

 $\gamma_{3}(\text{black}_{i} \cdot \text{rural}_{i} \cdot \textit{ROSE}_{bct}) + \beta X_{ibct} + \theta_{st} \text{age}_{i} + \text{year}_{t} +$ 

 $\operatorname{county}_{c} + \varepsilon_{ibct}$ 

 y<sub>ibct</sub> is school attendance for individual i born in year b living in county c in census year t

SCHOOL ATTENDANCE EFFE	CTS OF ROSENV	FALD SCHOOL I	PRESENCE IN C	OUNTY			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)			
γ <sub>0</sub>	.011	.014	.001	.010			
	[.007]	[.006]**	[.007]	[.007]			
γ,	.024	.017	.034	.022			
	[.010]**	[.008]**	<pre>***[000]</pre>	[.008]***			
γ <sub>z</sub>	013	012	.004	001			
	[.007]*	[.006]**	[.006]	[.005]			
γ <sub>3</sub>	.067	.047	.055	.041			
	[.011]***	[.010]***	[.010]***	[.010]***			
	Di	fferences (RO	SE – No ROS	E)			
Black rural $(\gamma_0 + \gamma_1 + \gamma_2 + \gamma_3)$	.089	.066	.094	.072			
	[.007]***	[.007]***	[.007]***	[.007]***			
White rural $(\gamma_0 + \gamma_2)$	002	.002	.005	.008			
	[.004]	[.004]	[.006]	[.005]			
Black urban $(\gamma_0 + \gamma_1)$	.034	.031	.036	.032			
	[.008]***	[.008]***	[.009]***	[.009]***			
White urban $(\gamma_0)$	.011	.014	.001	.010			
	[.007]	[.006]**	[.007]	[.007]			
	Difference in Difference						
Black, rural-urban $(\gamma_2 + \gamma_3)$	.054	.035	.059	.040			
	[.009]***	[.009]***	[.009]***	[.009]***			
White, rural-urban $(\gamma_2)$	013	012	.004	001			
	[.007]*	[.006]**	[.006]	[.005]			
Black-white rural $(\gamma_1 + \gamma_3)$	.091	.065	.089	.063			
	[.006]***	[.006]***	[.006]***	[.006]***			
Black-white urban $(\gamma_1)$	.024	.017	.034	.022			
	[.010]**	[.008]**	***[.009]***	[.008]***			
		Triple Di	fference				
Black-white rural – black-	.067	.047	.055	.041			
white urban $(\gamma_3)$	[.011]***	[.010]***	[.010]***	[.010]***			
Controls	N	Y	N	Y			
County fixed effects	N	N	Y	Y			
N	650,167	650,167	650,167	650,167			

TABLE 1 School Attendance Effects of Rosenwald School Presence in County

	SCHOOL EXI	OSURE		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Rosenwald	Presence	Rosenwald	Exposure
$\gamma_0$ $\gamma_1$	030 [.005]*** .052	018 [.005]*** .039	058 [.009]*** .086	051 [.011]*** .083
$\gamma_2$	[.008]***	[.007]***	[.017]***	[.016]***
	.020	.018	.029	.012
	[.005]***	[.004]***	[.008]***	[.008]
$\gamma_3$	[.010]***	.055 [.009]***	[.022]***	.165 [.020]***
	Difference	s (ROSE –	Difference	e (Effect
	No R	OSE)	of Exp	osure)
Black rural $(\gamma_0 + \gamma_1 + \gamma_2 + \gamma_3)$	.106	.093	.239	.209
	[.007]***	[.006]***	[.017]***	[.015]***
White rural $(\gamma_0 + \gamma_2)$	010 [ 003]***	.000 [.003]	029 [ 008]***	039
Black urban $(\gamma_0 + \gamma_1)$	.022 [.008]***	.021	.028	.032
White urban $(\gamma_0)$	03	018	058	051
	[.005]***	[.005]***	[.009]***	[.011]***
	Difference is	n Difference	Difference is	1 Difference
Black, rural-urban $(\gamma_2 + \gamma_3)$	.084	.071	.211	.177
	[.010]***	[.008]***	[.020]***	[.017]***
White, rural-urban $(\gamma_2)$	.020	.018	.029	.012
	[.005]***	[.004]***	[.008]***	[.008]
Black-white rural $(\gamma_1 + \gamma_3)$	.116	.092	.268	.248
	[.006]***	[.005]***	[.018]***	[.016]***
Black-white urban $(\gamma_1)$	.052	.039	.086	.083
	[.008]***	[.007]***	[.017]***	[.016]***
	Triple D	ifference	Triple D	ifference
Black-white rural $-$ black-	.064	.053	.182	.165
white urban ( $\gamma_s$ )	[.010]***	[.009]***	[.022]***	[.020]***
Controls	N	Y	Y	Y
County hxed effects	N	Y	Y	N
County × year fixed effects	N	N	N	Y
N	431,976	431,976	425,115	425,115

TABLE 3
LITERACY EFFECTS OF ROSENWALD SCHOOL PRESENCE IN COUNTY, OR ROSENWALD
School Exposure

		All A	GES AND YEA	rs, Volunteer	S AND DRAF	TEES		Young I	YOUNG DRAFTEES	
	Education (1)	Education (2)	Some High School (3)	Complete High School (4)	AGCT Scores (5)	AGCT Including Education (6)	Height (7)	Education (8)	AGCT Scores (9)	
$\gamma_0$	.061	.048	.056	.003	-2.275	-1.769	027	1.077	.025	
	[.131]	[.119]	[.019]	[.018]	[1.198]*	[1.054]*	[.139]	[.635]	[1.372]	
$\gamma_1$	017	131	017	007	2.008	328	.033	271	2.775	
	[.298]	[.256]	[.043]	[.028]	[1.971]	[2.796]	[.110]	[.312]	[3.134]	
$\gamma_2$	146	100	071	004	-2.867	010	051	561	-2.258	
	[.164]	[.157]	[.024]	[.022]	[3.170]	[2.512]	[.177]	[.831]	[1.831]	
$\gamma_3$	1.186	1.377	.204	.090	8.033	-1.986	191	1.335	7.832	
	[.367]***	[.339]***	[.056]***	[.036]***	[4.006]**	[3.941]	[.175]	[.411]***	[5.714]	
			Dif	Terence (Effec	t of Complet	e Exposure)				
Black rural $(\gamma_0 + \gamma_1 + \gamma_2 + \gamma_3)$	1.084	1.193	.171	.083	4.899	-4.094	235	1.580	8.374	
	[.232]***	[.228]***	[.039]***	[.024]***	[4.156]	[3.352]	[.155]	[.600]***	[4.615]*	
White rural $(\gamma_0 + \gamma_2)$	085	053	015	.000	-5.142	-1.779	078	.516	-2.232	
	[.097]	[.102]	[.015]	[.014]	[2.935]*	[2.282]	[.109]	[.535]	[1.213]*	
Black urban $(\gamma_0 + \gamma_1)$	.044 [.279]	083 [.244]	.038 [.043]	003 [.024]	267 [2.243]	-2.097 [2.549]	.007 [.158]	.806 [.692]	2.800 [2.744]	
White urban $(\gamma_0)$	.061	.048	.056	.003	-2.275	-1.769	027	1.077	.025	
	[.131]	[.119]	[.019]	[.018]	[1.198]*	[1.054]*	[.139]	[.635]	[1.372]	

TABLE 5 EFFECTS OF ROSENWALD EXPOSURE ON OUTCOMES IN WORLD WAR II DATA

		Difference in Difference								
Black, rural-urban $(\gamma_2 + \gamma_3)$	1.040	1.276	.133 [ 058]***	.086	5.166 [4 793]	-1.996	242	.774	5.574	
White, rural-urban $(\gamma_2)$	146	100	071	004	-2.867	010	051	561	-2.258	
Black-white rural $(\gamma_1 + \gamma_3)$	[.164] 1.169	[.157] 1.246	[.024] .186	[.022] .083	[3.170] 10.041	[2.512] -2.314	[.177] 158	[.831] 1.064	[1.831] 10.606	
Black-white urban $(\gamma_1)$	[.215]*** 017 [.298]	[.221]*** 131 [.256]	[.037]*** 017 [.043]	[.022]*** 007 [.028]	[3.487]*** 2.008 [1.971]	[2.747] 328 [2.796]	[.137] .033 [.110]	[.267]*** 271 [.312]	[4.779]** 2.775 [3.134]	
				Trip	le Difference					
Black-white rural $-$ black-white ur- ban ( $\gamma_s$ )	1.186 [.367]***	1.377 [.339]***	.204 [.056]***	.090 [.036]***	8.033 [4.006]**	-1.986 [3.941]	191 [.175]	1.335 [.411]***	7.832 [5.714]	
County fixed effects	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	
Inverse probability weights N	N 980,020	Y 980,020	Y 980,020	Y 980,020	Y 50,239	Y 50,239	Y 464,698	Y 196,930	Y 18,693	

Norrs.—The sample is drawn from World War II enlistment records and includes men born between 1910 and 1928 who enlisted between 1940 and 1946 and who lived in either entirely rural or predominantly urban counties based on the 1910–30 censuses (see text for details). Estimates show the effect of complete exposure (exposure = 1) to Rosenwald schools between the ages of 7 and 13 relative to no exposure (exposure = 1) The controls include quarter of enlistment dummises interacted with race (except for cols. 5, 6, and 9), age dummises interacted with race (and county fixed effects. Columns 2–9 use the inverse of the probability of being in the military by race, county, and year of birth. Standard errors clustered by county are shown in brackets.

\* Significant at 10 percent.

\*\* Significant at 5 percent.

\*\*\* Significant at 1 percent



Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, 1954





Figure 2. School segregation curves by region: 1968, 1980, 1988 and 2000.



Figure 3. District segregation curves by region: 1968, 1980, 1988 and 2000.

School districts		Sch	nool		District				
	1968	1980	1988	2000	1968	1980	1988	2000	
Northeast	76.9	78.8	78.5	76.0	70.9	76.7	76.7	74.0	
North Central	85.7	80.1	78.9	76.4	74.5	77.4	76.9	74.5	
South	80.1	57.3	57.1	58.8	44.2	48.9	49.9	49.2	
West	81.4	70.6	66.9	64.3	65.7	66.5	63.4	59.6	
National	81.2	71.0	70.4	68.7	63.8	66.2	66.2	63.7	

Table 4 School and district dissimilarity indexes by region: 1968–2000

### Race, Inequality and Mobility

Tueso	lay, November 18, 1958
QUESTIO	N—Shall the Council of the City of Norfolk, pursuant to State Law, Petition the Governor to return to the City Control of Schools, now closed, to be opened by the City on an Inte- grated Basis as Required by the Federal Court?
For Peti	tioning the Governor
Against	Petitioning the Governor
FOR I NO	NFORMATION ONLY T TO BE VOTED ON
In the Ever turned to th opened Inte necessary, I Funds, for e children in State Funds City a substa	t the Closed Schools are re- e City of Norfolk, and are re- grated by the City, It will be oecause of the loss of State very family having a child or Public Schools from which are withheld, to pay to the untial Tuition for each child in such Public School





From Mitchener and McClean (1999)





From Mitchener and McClean (1999)

## Race, Inequality and Mobility



## Race, Inequality and Mobility

#### The First Great Migration: 1910-1940



The change in share of Blacks in cities is based on the percentage point difference in the percent of population that was Black in the later time period compared to the earlier. For example, 18.3 percent of the population in Gary. IN was Black in 1940 but was just 2.3 in 1910, which represented a 16.0 percentage-point change in the share of Blacks in the city. It was the largest change in share during the First Great Migration. By the end of the Second Great Migration, Newark, NJ had realized the largest increase in Black population share, with the Black proportion of the city rising from 10.6 in 1940 to 54.2 in 1970.

The Second Great Migration: 1940-1970



Increasing	10.0 or more 5.0 to 9.9	City population (in later decade)		
	0 2.5 to 4.9	1,000,000 or more		
Change in	0.0 to 2.4	500 000 to 000 00		
share of Blacks	-2.4 to -0.1	0 000,000 10 000,000		
	-5.0 to -2.5	150,000 to 499,96		
	-10.0 to -5.1	<ul> <li>50,000 to 149,995</li> </ul>		
Decreasing	Less than -10.0	+ Less than 50 000		

J. Parman (College of William & Mary)

999

.999

- Discrimination and poor job opportunities in the South pushed black individuals out of South
- At the same time, increasing demand for industrial workers in the North served as a pull factor (for both black and white individuals)
- Let's take a look at two papers by Collins and Wanamaker to look at the effects of the Great Migration
  - "The Great Migration in Black and White: New Evidence on the Geographic Mobility of American Southerners" Journal of Economic History (2012)
  - "Selection and Economic Gains in the Great Migration of African Americans: New Evidence from Linked Census Data" American Economic Journal: Applied Economics (2014)





- Both Collins and Wanamaker papers are going to rely on the same linked dataset, matching men between the 1910 and 1930 censuses
- Why is a linked dataset particularly important for studying the Great Migration?
- A few things to consider:
  - Quality of location information
  - Controlling for observable characteristics (before and after migration)
  - Controlling for unobserved county or household characteristics
- These issues are crucial for considering selection into and returns from migrating

		White Males			Black Males	
	Sample Average	Difference vs. Non-migrants	Adjusted Difference	Sample Average	Difference vs. non-Migrants	Adjusted Difference
A. Literacy rate (N=14,761 white	e and 3,702 black)					
Non-migrants	0.924	_	_	0.650	_	_
Within-South migrants	0.925	0.001 (0.006)	-0.000 (0.006)	0.653	0.003 (0.021)	-0.008 (0.026)
Inter-regional migrants	0.936	0.013** (0.006)	-0.004 (0.006)	0.684	0.035* (0.020)	0.008 (0.024)
B. School attendance rate (age 6	to 15) (N=6,587/1,705)					
Non-migrants	0.828	_	_	0.613	_	_
Within-South migrants	0.823	-0.006 (0.013)	-0.005 (0.015)	0.612	-0.006 (0.031)	-0.013 (0.046)
Inter-regional migrants	0.838	0.010 (0.013)	-0.003 (0.015)	0.655	0.043 (0.026)	0.035 (0.036)
C. Occupation income score, in h	hundreds of 1950 dollars	(N=11,960/3,259)				
Non-migrants	16.3	_	_	12.3	_	_
Within-South migrants	17.3	1.00*** (0.325)	0.80*** (0.292)	13.4	1.07*** (0.384)	0.53* (0.315)
Inter-regional migrants	18.2	1.86*** (0.379)	0.81*** (0.285)	13.2	0.85** (0.357)	0.65* (0.357)

#### SELECTION INTO 1910-1930 MIGRATION ON BASIS OF 1910 CHARACTERISTICS

D. Occupation education score (N=	11,834/3,239)					
Non-migrants	10.77	_	_	7.90	_	_
Within-South migrants	10.87	0.104**	0.079	8.04	0.131**	0.082
		(0.047)	(0.048)	_	(0.054)	(0.067)
Inter-regional migrants	10.92	0.148***	0.062	8.02	0.120***	0.025
		(0.053)	(0.050)	_	(0.041)	(0.042)
E. Farm origin (N=21,367/5,462)						
Non-migrants	0.610	_	_	0.592	_	_
Within-South migrants	0.530	-0.080***	-0.083***	0.521	-0.071***	-0.029
		(0.012)	(0.009)	_	(0.021)	(0.019)
Inter-regional migrants	0.500	-0.11***	-0.071***	0.502	-0.090***	-0.033*
		(0.013)	(0.010)	_	(0.019)	(0.017)
F. Homeownership rate (N=21,367/	5,462)					
Non-migrants	0.543	_	_	0.222	_	_
Within-South migrants	0.472	-0.071***	-0.056***	0.200	-0.022	-0.004
		(0.010)	(0.010)	_	(0.015)	(0.016)
Inter-regional migrants	0.505	-0.038***	-0.037***	0.251	0.030**	0.007
		(0.011)	(0.010)	_	(0.015)	(0.016)

- So Collins and Wanamaker are finding some positive selection into migration (but perhaps not as much as we might expect)
- Beyond the decision of selection into migration, there is also the question of destination choice
- Here Collins and Wanamaker do find some interesting variation between black and white migrants



FIGURE 2 DISTRIBUTION OF INTER-STATE MIGRANTS IN LINKED SAMPLE, 1910–1930

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7) Pooled, Coefficients on Race	(8) Pooled, Coefficients on Race	(9) Pooled, Coefficients on Race
	White	White	White	Black	Black	Black	Interaction	Interaction	Interaction
	(A)	(B)	(C)	(A)	(B)	(C)	(A)	(B)	(C)
Cost variables									
Log distance	-1.27*** (0.0278)	-1.23*** (0.0285)	-1.56*** (0.0339)	-1.78*** (0.0728)	-1.73*** (0.0738)	-1.84*** (0.0900)	-0.512*** (0.0759)	-0.500*** (0.0772)	-0.275*** (0.093)
Migrant stock	0.193*** (0.00799)	0.201*** (0.00877)	0.182*** (0.0137)	0.193*** (0.0251)	0.198*** (0.0252)	0.157*** (0.0312)	-0.000375 (0.0257)	-0.00330 (0.0265)	-0.0256 (0.0336)
Labor market variables									
Log average income	1.40*** (0.0859)	1.10*** (0.0955)	_	0.556*** (0.139)	0.0478 (0.180)	_	-0.848*** (0.159)	-1.05*** (0.201)	_
Log labor demand	0.436***	_	_	0.789***	_	_	0.352***	_	_
	(0.0180)	_	_	(0.0377)	-	-	(0.0413)	—	—
Percent manufacturing	_	-0.0259***	_	_	0.0101**	_	_	0.0360***	_
	—	(0.00284)	_	—	(0.00494)	-	-	(0.00560)	_
Percent agriculture	_	-0.0271***	_	_	-0.0281***	_	_	-0.000976	_
°	_	(0.00280)	_	_	(0.00614)	_	_	(0.00667)	_

TABLE 4 MIGRANT SORTING, CONDITIONAL LOGIT COEFFICIENTS

Region and other contr	ol variables								
Non-South	-0.452***	-0.412***	_	-0.415***	-0.291**	_	0.0369	0.121	_
	(0.0465)	(0.0474)	_	(0.126)	(0.127)	_	(0.134)	(0.136)	_
Urban	-0.00842***	-0.0151***	_	0.00587***	-0.0111***	_	0.0143***	0.00404	_
	(0.00108)	(0.00172)	_	(0.00182)	(0.00360)	_	(0.00214)	(0.00400)	_
Log population	_	0.503***	_	_	0.879***	_	_	0.376***	_
	—	(0.0207)	_	_	(0.0396)	—	_	(0.0451)	_
Pseudo R2	0.21	0.21	0.26	0.26	0.26	0.29	0.22	0.22	0.27
N	7,498	7,498	7,498	2,114	2,114	2,114	9,612	9,612	9,612

\* = Significant at the 90 percent level.

\*\* = Significant at the 95 percent level.

\*\*\* = Significant at the 99 percent level.

- So we have substantial number of both white and black individuals migrating from the South
- Both groups seem somewhat positively selected
- Where they end up differs a bit by race
- The big question is what the returns to migration were and whether those differed by race
- To explore this, let's turn to the other Collins and Wanamaker paper
- First, let's see what earnings looked like for migrants before they migrated

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Panel A. Earnings score based on Lebe	rgott (1928)		
Nominal	0.126	0.0468	0.0221
	(0.0249)	(0.0198)	(0.0225)
Real	0.115	0.0443	0.0230
	(0.0238)	(0.0200)	(0.0227)
Panel B. Earnings score based on IPU!	MS (1960)		
Nominal	0.152	0.0519	0.0160
	(0.0287)	(0.0228)	(0.0264)
Real	0.142	0.0495	0.0169
	(0.0277)	(0.0230)	(0.0265)
Controls for personal, household and county characteristics in 1910	No	Yes	Yes
1910 County fixed effects	No	No	Yes
Observations	2,079	2,079	2,079

TABLE 4—1910 LOG EARNINGS SCORE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN SUBSEQUENT MIGRANTS AND NONMIGRANTS

Notes: Each coefficient is from a separate regression of log earnings score on migrant status (=1 if interregional migrant). Earnings are assigned according to the industry or occupation held in 1910, as described in the text. The control variables differ across the columns. Standard errors are adjusted for clustering at the household level. Column 1 has no control variables. Column 2 controls for age fixed effects, veteran status, a binary variable for blank veteran status, city status, owner-occupied housing interacted with headship status, state-level log income per capita, black percent of county population, black adult literacy rate in the county, black children's school attendance in the county, and percent of farm acres in cotton. All variables pertain to 1910 status except veteras status. The specification in column 3 includes county fixed effects.

	Distribution in 1910	Professional/ clerical in 1930	Farm in 1930	Crafts/ semi-skill in 1930	Nonag. laborer/operative in 1930
Panel A. Full sample $(N = 1)$	1,829)				
Professional/clerical	1.5	0.4	0.7	0.2	0.3
Farm	56.8	1.8	33.1	4.7	17.2
Crafts/semi-skill	8.0	0.9	2.5	1.1	3.5
Nonag. laborer/operative	33.8	1.6	13.8	4.3	14.1
Panel B. Nonmigrants (N =	1,548)				
Professional/clerical	1.6	0.5	0.8	0.1	0.3
Farm	59.1	1.7	38.8	4.4	14.3
Crafts/semi-skill	7.6	0.8	3.0	1.0	2.8
Nonag. laborer/operative	31.7	1.3	15.9	3.0	11.6
Panel C. Migrants $(N = 28)$	1)				
Professional/clerical	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.4
Farm	43.8	2.5	1.8	6.1	33.5
Crafts/semi-skill	10.3	1.4	0.0	1.4	7.5
Nonag. laborer/operative	45.2	3.2	2.5	11.4	28.1

TABLE 6—OCCUPATIONAL TRANSITION MATRIX FOR MEN WORKING IN 1910 AND 1930

*Notes:* The base sample for this table includes men from the linked dataset who were age 21 to 40 in 1910 and had occupation reported in both 1910 and 1930. Each cell reports the percentage of the panel's sample that transitioned from one category to another between 1910 and 1930 (e.g., 17.2 percent of all workers transitioned from farming in 1910 to nonfarm, unskilled labor by 1930). Within each panel, the 1930 percentages sum to 100.

Source: See text.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4a)	(4b)	(5a)	(5b)
Panel A. Earnings score bo	used on Leber	rgott (1928)					
Nominal	$\begin{array}{c} 0.891 \\ (0.00981) \end{array}$	0.869 (0.0100)	0.860 (0.0124)	$\begin{array}{c} 0.788 \\ (0.0795) \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} 0.789 \\ (0.0982) \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} 0.878 \\ (0.0177) \end{array}$	0.832 (0.0273)
Real	$\begin{array}{c} 0.685 \\ (0.00950) \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} 0.667 \\ (0.00968) \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} 0.661 \\ (0.0119) \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} 0.604 \\ (0.0759) \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} 0.595 \\ (0.0935) \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} 0.680 \\ (0.0167) \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} 0.636 \\ (0.0268) \end{array}$
Panel B. Earnings score be	ised on IPUM	AS (1960)					
Nominal	0.900 (0.0135)	0.873 (0.0138)	0.860 (0.0166)	0.788 (0.0996)	0.786 (0.121)	0.889 (0.0249)	0.829 (0.0345)
Real	$\begin{array}{c} 0.694 \\ (0.0133) \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} 0.671 \\ (0.0136) \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} 0.661 \\ (0.0161) \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} 0.604 \\ (0.0993) \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} 0.592 \\ (0.121) \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} 0.691 \\ (0.0243) \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} 0.633 \\ (0.0342) \end{array}$
Controls for personal, household, and county characteristics in 1910	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
1910 County fixed effects	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	No
1910 Household fixed effects	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	No
Differenced dependent variable (1930–1910)	No	No	No	No	No	No	Yes
Observations	5,055	5,055	5,055	403	403	1,935	1,935

TABLE 7—LOG EARNINGS SCORE DIFFERENTIALS IN 1930 BY MIGRANT STATUS
# The Great Migration

- So these are huge returns to migration
- The question is, how much did this migration close the black-white wage gap?
- To answer this, Collins and Wanamaker estimate a counterfactual where none of the black migrants during the Great Migration migrated, stripping them of the wage gains from migration
- Without the Great Migration, the black-white earnings ratio would be 0.42 in 1930 instead of the actual ratio of 0.47
- The ratio in 1910 was 0.44, suggesting Southern blacks may have fell further behind without with the Great Migration

- With the Great Migration, we see an increase in black populations in Northern and Midwestern cities
- A big question in a variety of social sciences literatures is how existing residents responded to that rise in the black population
- A common thread is that there may have been 'white flight' from the cities to the suburbs with a corresponding flight of tax revenues and jobs to the suburbs
- Let's explore this by first looking at the work of Cutler, Glaeser and Vigdor (1999)

- Cutler, Glaeser and Vidgor are going to look at changes in segregation in American cities over the twentieth century
- To measure segregation, they are going to rely on *dissimilarity* as a measure of evenness and *isolation* as a measure of exposure
- Both of these measures rely on comparing the racial composition of a ward or census tract to the racial composition of a city as a whole

The dissimilarity index provides a measure of how evenly black residents are distributed across wards within a city

$$D = rac{1}{2}\sum_{i=1}^{N} \left| rac{B_i}{B_{ ext{total}}} - rac{W_i}{W_{ ext{total}}} 
ight|$$

- B<sub>i</sub>: black households in ward i
- $B_{\text{total}}$ : total black households in city
- W<sub>i</sub>: white households in ward i
- $W_{\rm total}$ : total white households in city

The isolation index provides a measure of the lack of exposure of the average black resident to white residents

$$I = \sum_{i=1}^{N} \left( \frac{B_i}{B_{\text{total}}} \cdot \frac{B_i}{B_i + W_i} \right)$$

- $B_i$ : black households in ward i
- $B_{\text{total}}$ : total black households in city
- W<sub>i</sub>: white households in ward i





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- Cutler, Glaeser and Vigdor identify a substantial rise in segregation in American cities starting around the time of the Great Migration
- Segregation is more pronounced in larger cities and in the Midwest/Northeast
- Segregation peaks around 1970 and the falls somewhat after that
- Is there any way to determine whether an inflow of migrants caused white flight?
- Let's turn to Boustan (2010)



Change in black population

FIGURE I Change in Black and White Population in Central City, 1950–1960

- So we've got a pretty strong negative correlation between black and white population flows
- But is there a way to establish a causal relationship here?
- Boustan is going to use an instrument for northern black population composed of two components:
  - Predicted migrant flows from southern states
  - The settlement pattern established by blacks leaving these states in an earlier wave of migration
- The basic idea is to tease out fluctuations in the current black population of a city driven by economic conditions elsewhere (uncorrelated with conditions in the city of interest)

Dependent variable:	Actual black population in city	White population in city	
Instrument type	First stage	OLS	IV
Assign actual migrants	4.442	-2.099	-2.365
	(0.652)	(0.549)	(0.805)
Assign predicted migrants, 1940–1970	3.466	-2.099	-2.627
	(0.671)	(0.549)	(0.782)
Assign predicted migrants, 1950–1970	4.488	-2.278	-2.983
	(0.968)	(0.604)	(0.768)
Predict with 1940 variables, 1950-1970	4.365	-2.278	-3.085
,	(0.799)	(0.604)	(0.708)
Long-run changes, 1940–2000	6.800	-0.771	-1.050
0 0 /	(0.421)	(0.166)	(0.199)
Long-run changes, white foreign-born	_	0.264	0.169
population in the city		(0.066)	(0.078)

 TABLE II

 BLACK MIGRATION TO CENTRAL CITIES AND WHITE POPULATION LOSS



The Projected System of Interstate Highways in 1947



FIGURE II Development Patterns in Austin, TX.

Table 2: Spending Per Pupil, Average Teacher Salary, Student-Teacher Ratio, and Student-Support Staff Ratio at the Median Spending School in Each Metropolitan Area

	Spending	Average teacher	Student- teacher	Students-student
	per pupil	salary	ratio	support staff ratio
Boston				
Inner city	\$5,770	\$61,079	16:1	119:1
Suburb	\$4,433	\$38,180	17:1	61:1
Chicago				
Inner city	\$4,482	\$46,661	23:1	58:1
Suburb	\$3,216	\$39,852	21:1	100:1
Denver				
Inner city	\$3,852	\$38,044	20:1	171:1
Suburb	\$3,313	\$32,753	17:1	86:1
Fort Worth				
Inner city	\$3,058	\$41,402	21:1	162:1
Suburb	\$4,246	\$33,316	17:1	68:1
New York				
Inner city	\$6,057	\$42,285	a	8
Suburb	\$7,218	\$72,591	18:1	73:1
Oakland				
Inner city	\$4,022	\$52,440	30:1	233:1
Suburb	\$4,849	\$60,395	20:1	155:1
St. Louis				
Inner city	\$5,337	\$33,223	25:1	28:1
Suburb	\$3,467	\$34,304	13:1	87:1

Note: School districts in New York City did not provide us with information on student-teacher ratios and the ratio of students to student support staff.

"Not applicable.

Source: GAO's data analysis.

- So suburbanization may have major impacts on children in inner city vs suburban school districts
- This will certainly impact prospects for upward mobility
- Compounding these problems is spatial mismatch related to jobs
- Let's see an interesting take on this by Boustan and Margo (2009)





Notes: The data underlying this figure is presented in Appendix Table 1 and is described in its notes.

Fig. 1. Employment in the postal service and the intrinsic public sector by race, 1900–2000.



Notes: Each dot or bar represents the share of full-time, full-year employees working for the postal service by race. The figure portrays the 76 metropolitan areas that contain at least 50 black observations meeting the sample criteria in 1970. Metropolitan areas are arrayed from highest black postal share to lowest.

Fig. 2. The share of the labor force employed by the postal service by metropolitan area and race, 1970.



Notes: Each dot represents one of the 74 metropolitan areas with available segregation data in 1970. The differential probability of postal employment (black versus white) is regression-adjusted for a series of individual characteristics. Sample restrictions and the set of control variables are listed in the notes to Table 2.

Fig. 3. Racial residential segregation and the differential probability of being employed in the postal service, 1970. (d) Ho noxious or offensive trade or activity shall be carried on upon any lot, nor shall anything be done thereon which may be or become an annoyance or nuisance to the neighborhood.

(e) No persons of any race other than the white or Caucasian race, shall use or occupy any building or any lot, except that this covenant shall not prevent occupancy by domestic servants of a different race domiciled with an owner or tenant.

(f) No trailer, basement, tent, shack, garage, barn, or other outbuilding erected in the tract shall at any time be used as a residence, temporarily or permanently, nor shall any structure of a temporary character be used as a residence, except that a servants' room and bath is permitted over detached garages.

(g) No dwolling costing less than \$6,000 shall be permitted on any lot having a frontage on Lake Powell, and no dwelling costing less than \$5,000 shall be permitted on any other lot shown on said plat plan above mentioned. The ground floor area of the main structure, exclusive of one-story open porches and garages, shall be no less than 000 square feet in the case of a one-story structure, nor less than 600 square feet in the case of a one and one-half, two, or two and one-half story structure.

#### The Colony, 1952

## Impediments to Black Mobility



Shelley v. Kraemer, 1948

These are not cases, as has been suggested, in which the States have merely abstained from action, leaving private individuals free to impose such discriminations as they see fit. Rather, these are cases in which the States have made available to such individuals the full coercive power of government to deny to petitioners, on the grounds of race or color, the enjoyment of property rights in premises which petitioners are willing and financially able to acquire and which the grantors are willing to sell.

The difference between judicial enforcement and nonenforcement of the restrictive covenants is the difference to petitioners between being denied rights of property available to other members of the community and being accorded full enjoyment of those rights on an equal footing. (1) These covenants are to run with the land and shall be binding on all the parties and all persons claiming under them until January 1, 1970, at which time said covenants shall be automatically extended for successive periods of ten years unless by a vote of the then owners of the lots it is agreed to change the said covenants in whole or in part.

(j) If the parties heroto, or any of them, or their heirs or assigns, shall violate or attempt to violate any of the covenants herein, it shall be lawful for any other person or persons owning any real property situated in said development or subdivision to prosecute any proceedings at law or in equity against the person or persons violating or attempting to violate such covenant and either to prevent him or them from so doing or to recover damages or other dues for such violation.

(k) Invalidation of any one of these covenants by judgment or court order shall in no wise affect any of the other provisions, which shall remain in full force and effect.

### The Colony, 1952

4) The aforesaid Architectural Control Committee shall have full, absolute and complete discretion to approve or disapprove proposed buildings and improvements on any of said lots and in the exercise of its discretion said Committee shall not be bound to approve any proposed buildings and improvements solely because such comply with the other restrictions and covenants herein contained or are equal in cost or value to buildings and improvements on other lots. Said Committee shall also have the further discretion to approve any proposed buildings or improvements on any of said lots even though said improvements do not meet the requirements of the other provisions of this instrument, if, in the absolute discretion of said Committee. such variations are not harmful to the value of the adjoining property. In no event, however, shall said Committee be empowered to permit any use of any of said lots other than as provided in Paragraph 1 above.

5) The ground floor area of any dwelling permitted on any of said lots, exclusive of one-story porches and garages, shall be not less than fourteen hundred (1,400) aquare feet for a one-story dwelling, nor less than one thousand (1,000) square . feet for a one and one-half story, two-story or two-and-one-half story dwelling.

Kingspoint, 1964

### The Great Depression and HOLC

#### Nonfarm Real Estate Mortgage Foreclosure Rate, 1926-41



## The Great Depression and HOLC



J. Parman (College of William & Mary)

- With the onset of the Depression, the US faced a major housing crisis
- The federal government stepped in to shore up the market
- This gives us the Federal Housing Administration and a bunch of changes to the mortgage market
- Of interest here is the creation of the Home Owners' Loan Corporation (HOLC)

# The Great Depression and HOLC

- HOLC initially issues bonds to buy and refinance mortgages, refinancing 1 in 10 non-farm mortgages
- Between 1935 and 1940, HOLC attempted to introduce a systematic appraisal process based on neighborhood-characteristics when evaluating individual properties
- In the process, HOLC created 'security maps' for 239 cities
- Here are two nice sites to explore these maps in Virginia:
  - Redlining Richmond
  - Redlining in Virginia (for Roanoke, Norfolk and Richmond)

# The Impact of HOLC Security Maps

- These HOLC maps divided neighborhoods up into different quality grades, A through D
- These grades are described in the following way:
  - Grade A: "homogenous," in demand during "good times or bad"
  - Grade B: "like a 1935 automobile still good, but not what the people are buying today who can afford a new one"
  - Grade C: becoming obsolete, "expiring restrictions or lack of them" and "infiltration of a lower grade population"
  - Grade D: "those neighborhoods in which the things that are now taking place in the C neighborhoods, have already happened"

- The worst neighborhoods, the D neighborhoods, were shaded red on the security maps
- This is the origin of 'redlining'
- A major question in the social sciences literature (and the popular press) is whether these HOLC maps led to discrimination against black borrowers, furthering black-white gaps in outcomes
- Let's start by taking a look at our local maps



NB PORM-B AREA DESCRIPTION 2-3-37 (For Instructions\_see\_Ecca an Side) Enzyton Garden and Tuckshee 1. NAME OF CITY SECURITY GRADE \_\_\_\_ AREA NO. \_\_\_\_ 2. DESCRIPTION OF TERRAIN. Rolling 3. FAVORABLE INFLUENCES. Rigid restrictions 4. DETRIMENTAL INFLUENCES. None <.. INHABITANTS: a. Type \_\_\_\_\_ ; b. Estimated annual family income 5\_6.000 # mmman (Jationality) 5; d. Negro (Jas or Fo) c. Foreign-born e. Infiltration of \_\_\_\_\_; f. Relief families\_\_\_\_\_ g. Population is increasing Tes ; decreasing Te ; static. 6. BUILDINGS: a. Type or types single family ; b. Type of construction Briefs a few stone c. Average age \_ 2 to 10 years \_\_\_; d. Repair Emollent 7. HISTORY: SALE VALUES RENTAL VALUES PREDOM-PREDON YEAR RANGE INATING \$ RANGE INATING 5 1929 level \$15,000-35,000 \$20,000 1005 Omer Company No Sentals 1933 low 1939 Current 17.500 -----Peak sale values occurred in \_\_\_\_\_and were \_\_\_\_\_% of the 1929 level. Peak restal values occurred in \_\_\_\_\_and were \_\_\_\_\_% of the 1929 level. 8. OCCUPANCY: a. Land as \$; b. Dwelling units 100 \$; c. Home owners 100 \$ o. SALES DEMAND: a. Good ; b. \$17,800 ; c. Activity is Pair 10. RENTAL DEMAND: a. Owner complied b. ; c. Activity is 11. NEW CONSTRUCTION: a. Types single femily ; b. Amount last year 40 Torne 12. AVAILABILITY OF MORTGAGE FUNDS: a. Home purchase good \_; b. Home building good 13. TREND OF DESIRABILITY NEXT 10-15 YEARS \_\_\_\_\_\_ 14. CLARIFYING REMARKS;



Neig	hborhood: Wilton		$\sim$
Near	by Schools in Richmond		^
GREATSC	HOOLS RATING 🔞	GRADES	DISTANCE
8 out of 10	Mary Munford Elementary	PK-5	1.4 mi
3 out of 10	Albert Hill Middle	6-8	2.5 mi
2 out of 10	Thomas Jefferson High	9-12	2.2 mi

NS PORM-8		AREA DESCRIPTION			
2-3-37	(For Ins	tructions see Rever	se Side)		
Fulton: Nicholeon	a St., National Our	metery Road, Willia	sussexy Sanders		
1. NAME OF CITY	Richmond, VL	SECURITY SECURITY	GRADE 0	AREA NO.	_
<ol> <li>DESCRIPTION OF '</li> </ol>	TERRAIN.				
3. FAVORABLE INFLU	ENCES.				
a. DETRIMENTAL INF	LUENCES.				
5. INHABITANTS:		b Porimat	and annual family	1200202	
a. ispe	teres a	, 0. Decimat	eu annen ranny	1100me 3 380 - 780	-
c. Foreign-b	(fationality)	\$; d. Negro	(Tes or To	;;0	_ %;
1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1					
e. Infiltrat	10h ofNegross	; I. Relief	TanillesRelati	ively high	- '
g. Populatio	a is increasing me	decreas	sing mite	; static.	
		-			
<ol> <li>BUILDINGS: a. Type or t</li> </ol>	TpesBingles	; b. Type of	construction	F28566	_ ;
<ol> <li>BUILDINGS:         <ul> <li>Type or t</li> <li>Average a</li> </ul> </li> </ol>	TPes Bingles	; b. Type of	construction	France .	_ ; _
<ol> <li>BUILDINGS:         <ul> <li>a. Type or t</li> <li>c. Average a</li> <li>HISTORY:</li> </ul> </li> </ol>	ypes <u>Bingles</u> ge <u>60 years</u> SALE V	; b. Type of ; d. Repair.	construction	VALUES	- '
<ol> <li>BUILDINGS:         <ul> <li>Type or t</li> <li>C. Average a</li> </ul> </li> <li>HISTORY:         <ul> <li>YEAR</li> </ul> </li> </ol>	SALE V RANGE IN	; b. Type of , d. Repair.	Red RANGE	TIMAS	- '
<ol> <li>BUILDINGS:         <ul> <li>Type or t</li> <li>Average a</li> <li>HISTORY:                  </li> <li>YEAA</li></ul></li></ol>	Tpes <u>Bingles</u> nge <u>60 parts</u> SALE V <u>PR</u> RANGE IN	; b. Type of 	Red RAME	VALUES PREDOM- INATING \$	- '
<ol> <li>BUILDINGS:         <ul> <li>Type or t</li> <li>Average a</li> </ul> </li> <li>HISTORY:         <ul> <li>YEAR</li> <li>1929 level</li> </ul> </li> </ol>	Jpes <u>Bingles</u> We <u>BO pears</u> SALE V RANGE IN <b>BANGE</b>	; b. Type of ; d. Repair. ALUES EDOM- ATING <u>\$</u> .100 <u>\$</u>	REN RANSE	VALUES PREDOM- INATING <u>\$</u> 100%	- '
<ol> <li>BUILDINGS:         <ul> <li>Type or t</li> <li>Average a</li> </ul> </li> <li>RISTORY:         <ul> <li>YEAR</li> <li>1939 level</li> </ul> </li> <li>1983 low</li> </ol>	Jpes <u>Bingles</u> ge <u>50 perm</u> <u>SALE V PR PANGE IN</u> <b>\$\$00</b> <b>500</b>	; b. Type of ; d. Repair. ALUES EDOM- ATING <u>\$</u> 1005	REN RANGE \$10 \$6	Prenee VALUES PREDOM- INATING \$ 100\$	- '
<ol> <li>BUILDINGS:         <ul> <li>Type or t</li> <li>Arype or t</li> <li>Average a</li> </ul> </li> <li>RISTORY:         <ul> <li>YEAA</li> <li>1939 level</li> <li>1939 low</li> <li>1957 current</li> </ul> </li> </ol>	Singles           ge         50. pears           SALE V         PR           RANGE         IN           \$\$000         \$800           \$\$000         \$800	; b. Type of ; d. Repair. ALUES TOOM- ATING <u>\$</u> 	Ren Ren REN RANCE \$10 \$ 5 7	VALUES     TREDOM     INATING      1005	_ ;
6. BUILDINGS: a. Type or t c. Average a 7. HISTORY: YEAN 1939 level 1939 level 1939 current Peak sale valu	Tpes	; b. Type of ; d. Repair. ALUES EDOM- EDOM- 	Read           REN           RAMSE           \$10           \$8           \$7           \$ of the 1929 J	Prenes	_ '
<ol> <li>BUILDINGS:         <ul> <li>Type or t</li> <li>Average a</li> </ul> </li> <li>HISTORY:         <ul> <li>YEAA</li> <li>1939 level</li> </ul> </li> <li>1997 CHTFERT Peak sale val Peak restal v.</li> </ol>	ypes <u>Singles</u> <u>SALE V</u> <u>PANGE</u> IN <u>SOO</u> <u>SOO</u> ues occurred in alues occurred in	; b. Type of ; d. Repair. ALUES ECOM- ATING \$   and were  and were	Restruction           Rest           RENTE           \$10           \$5           \$7           \$ of the 1929 J           \$ of the 1929 J	Fremas           L. VALUES           MREDOM           INATING           1005	_ ;
BUILDINGS:     A. Type or t     A. Type or t     C. Average a     HISTORY:     Ysan     1929 level     Here low     Rest sale val     Rest sale val     Rest restal v     OCULPANCY: a	State         State           ge         50 pasts           SALE W         FR           RANSE IN         FR           RANSE IN         FR           \$800         FR	; b. Type of ; d. Repair. ALUES GOO- ATING <u>\$</u> 1005  and were Dwelling units 10	Construction 	Proces           IL VALUES           INTERO           INTERO	_ '
5. BUILDINGS: a. Type or t c. Average a vent	Stingles         Stingles           00 pears         SALE V           0 anss:         No           0 anss:         No           0 pears         No	; b. Type of ; d. Repair. 4.105 4005 	Construction RANCE \$10 \$ 5 \$ 0 f the 1939 J \$ 10 fter 1939 J \$ 10 fter 1939 J \$ 10 fter 1939 J \$ 10 fter 1939 J \$ 20 fter 193 J	YALUES           "TEDD#           1005	_ '
5. BUILDINGS: a. Type or t c. Average a yean yean yean yean yean topp level yean level yean level yean level yean level yean level yean level yean level yean level yean level yean level yean level yean level yean level yean level l	Stigles         Stigles           gc         50 perm.           SALE V         FR           0.155         FR           0.000         600           000         600	; b. Type of ; d. Repair. ALUES TOD 1005 	f construction 	Parses           ''ItBOU- ''ItBOU- JINATING	_ '
<ol> <li>BUILDINGS. <ul> <li>Type or t</li> <li>Type or t</li> <li>Average a</li> </ul> </li> <li>RISTORY:         <ul> <li>YEAA</li> <li>1930 level</li> <li>1969 level</li> <li>1969 cerrest</li> <li>Reak sale val</li> <li>Reak restal v.</li> <li>COUTEANOT: a</li> <li>SAILES DEMADD: a</li> <li>SENTAL DEMADD: a</li> <li>Neak CONSTRUCTION</li> </ul> </li> </ol>	Sale         Sale           ge         50 years.           Sale         years.           900         900           800         900           800         600           800         700 <td< td=""><td>; b. Type of ; d. Repair. ALUES ECOM- ATING \$ </td><td>f construction REM RANEE *10 *5 6 *7 \$ of the 1920 J \$ of the 1920</td><td>YALUES           resource           resource          </td><td>_ ;</td></td<>	; b. Type of ; d. Repair. ALUES ECOM- ATING \$ 	f construction REM RANEE *10 *5 6 *7 \$ of the 1920 J \$ of the 1920	YALUES           resource           resource	_ ;
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<ol> <li>BUILDINGS: A. Type or t C. Average a RISTORY: YEAN 1000 level Anno level Anno level Reak sale val Reak restal v. COULPANCT: SALES IBENAD: SALES IBENAD: REMAL DEMAD: AVAILABILITY OF DESIEN ATEND OF D</li></ol>	Type         Singles           ge         50 years           SALE V         FR           anss:         FR           anss:         FR           anss:         Tre           anss:         Soc           boo         Soc           anss:         Tre           anss:         Soc           anss:         Soc           boo         Soc           anss:         Soc           anss:         Soc           anss:         Soc           boo         Soc           anss:         Soc           boo         Soc           anss:         Soc           anss:         Soc           anss:         Soc           boo         Soc           anss:         Soc           anss:         Soc           anss:         Soc           boo         Soc           anss:	; b. Type of ; d. Repair. ALUES EGOM- EGOM- LOUE 	f construction RAM RANE PLO S S S S S S S S S S S S S	VALUES           r#EDOW           1005	_ ;
### Richmond's Redlining



Neighborhood: Fulton						
Nearby Schools in Richmond						
GREATSC	HOOLS RATING	GRADES	DISTANCE			
2 out of 10	Chimborazo Elementary	PK-5	1.4 mi			
1 out of 10	Martin Luther King Jr. Middle	6-8	2.3 mi			
1 out of 10	Armstrong High	9-12	2.6 mi			

- To examine the effects of redlining, we'll take a look at Aaronson, Hartley and Mazumder's "The Effects of the 1930s HOLC 'Redlining Maps'""
- They are going to geocode the security maps and merge them with census and credit bureau data
- The main question is whether residents on a lower graded side of a boundary have worse outcomes than residents on the higher graded side of a boundary

### Share African American by HOLC grade



### Share Home Ownership by HOLC grade



### Mean Home Value (2010 Dollars)



#### Table 2: Assessing HOLC Grading Criteria

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
	Ordered Logit				Pro	bit		
Coeficients	ABCD	ABCD	DC	DC	CB	CB	BA	BA
Share AA	2.824	1.510	2.742	2.093	-2.857	-3.531	-5.514	-10.147
	(1.233)	(1.521)	(0.870)	(1.125)	(1.146)	(1.398)	(1.262)	(2.283)
Share Home Ownership	-6.600	-7.590	-3.353	-4.523	-3.966	-4.818	-3.786	-3.857
	(0.594)	(0.737)	(0.428)	(0.529)	(0.485)	(0.593)	(0.565)	(0.753)
Log House Value	-3.057	-3.319	-1.570	-1.936	-1.474	-2.005	-1.598	-1.676
	(0.225)	(0.268)	(0.239)	(0.218)	(0.178)	(0.189)	(0.195)	(0.281)
Log Rent	-0.154	-0.163	-0.095	-0.071	-0.118	-0.145	0.064	0.035
	(0.080)	(0.091)	(0.060)	(0.072)	(0.061)	(0.075)	(0.073)	(0.092)
Occscore	-4.318	-6.012	-0.514	-2.231	-1.593	-3.875	-3.004	-2.971
	(1.166)	(1.246)	(1.091)	(1.177)	(0.968)	(1.215)	(1.055)	(1.258)
Employment	-0.139	-0.148	-0.143	-0.203	-0.132	-0.170	0.030	0.051
	(0.031)	(0.038)	(0.041)	(0.049)	(0.022)	(0.037)	(0.023)	(0.030)
Radio	-6.665	-7.163	-3.812	-2.894	-3.809	-4.260	-1.336	-2.214
	(0.753)	(0.910)	(0.530)	(0.576)	(0.622)	(0.765)	(0.766)	(0.930)
Literacy	-7.825	-10.676	-7.803	-10.726	-0.649	-0.888	-4.699	-4.003
	(2.349)	(2.698)	(1.802)	(2.331)	(3.618)	(3.596)	(3.834)	(6.512)
School Attendance	4.198	6.099	1.059	1.329	2.210	4.537	1.783	2.645
	(0.811)	(1.192)	(0.729)	(0.947)	(0.661)	(1.014)	(0.721)	(1.202)
Share Foreign Born	-0.332	-1.194	-2.548	-3.139	0.466	0.172	0.681	0.609
	(1.373)	(1.757)	(0.824)	(0.968)	(1.023)	(1.139)	(1.298)	(1.832)
Includes changes*		х	-	х		х		Х
Cities	147	146	138	137	144	142	120	102
N	4717	3928	3146	2704	3045	2506	1479	1088
Psuedo R^2	0.482	0.511	0.498	0.538	0.442	0.502	0.348	0.399

- But there is a big question of identification
- Are any observed differences caused by the boundary being drawn?
- Or are differences being driven by the underlying variables that led to the boundary getting drawn in the first place?
- Aaronson, Mazumder and Hartley are going to take a couple of approaches to try to establish causality











### Gap in Share African American, D-C Boundary





#### Panel A: D-C Gaps in Home Ownership

#### Panel B: C-B Gaps in Home Ownership



J. Parman (College of William & Mary)



Panel A: D-C Gaps in House Values

#### Panel B: C-B Gaps in House Values



J. Parman (College of William & Mary)

- Let's switch our approach a little bit
- Instead of focusing on how the evolution of differences in predominantly white and predominantly black neighborhoods may be contributing to black-white gaps, let's think about what happens when you move an individual or family from one neighborhood to the other
- We're going to take a look at the results from the Moving to Opportunity experiment
- This experiment was not specifically about racial gaps in opportunity but rather about gaps in opportunity between high and low poverty neighborhoods generally

- The program operated in five cities: Baltimore, Boston, Chicago, Los Angeles and New York
- It focused on families that had children, resided in public housing or Section 8 assisted housing, and lived in a census tract with a 1990 poverty rate of 40 percent or more
- Participants were randomly placed into three groups:
  - Experimental received a restricted housing voucher (could only be used in a low poverty area) and counseling
  - Section 8 Comparison received an unrestricted housing voucher and no counseling
  - Control no housing voucher or counseling



TREATMENT GROUP

	Experimental versus Control		Section 8 Comparison versus Control		
	Control Complier Mean (1)	Relative Change for Treatment Compliers (2)	Control Complier Mean (3)	Relative Change for Treatment Compliers (4)	
A. Children's human capital accumulation					
Behavior problems index (boys)	.44	$-42\%^{**}$	.45	$-36\%^{**}$	
Behavior problems index (girls)	.20	-24%	.23	-34%	
Injury requiring medical attention	.16	-74%**	.14	-43%	
Asthma attack requiring attention	.16	$-65\%^{*}$	.11	-9%	
B. Adult economic self-sufficiency Receiving TANF 7–9 quarters					
after enrollment	.52	+2%	.48	-11%	
Not employed 7–9 guarters after					
enrollment	.62	-4%	.53	-9%	
C. Safety					
Heard gunfire in neighborhood	.26	$-100\%^{**}$	.24	$-72\%^{**}$	
Seen drugs in neighborhood	.43	$-95\%^{**}$	.40	$-54\%^{**}$	
Child attacked, robbed,					
threatened	.16	$-80\%^{*}$	.15	-37%	
D. Adult health					
Overall health fair or poor	.54	$-44\%^{**}$	.48	$-55\%^{**}$	
Calm and peaceful some of the					
time or less	.61	$-37\%^{**}$	.57	$-40\%^{**}$	
Happy some of the time or less	.51	-27%	.43	-19%	
Predicted probability of major					
depressive episode	.34	-29%	.23	-43%	

TABLE X							
SUMMARY OF	IMPACTS O	F MTO-Bos	TON ON	OUTCOMES			

Control Complier Means and Relative Changes for Compliers (based on TOT Differences) are derived from coefficients in Tables VI-IX.

\* = p-value < .1; \*\* = p-value < .05 (based on TOT estimates).

	Experimental versus control	Section 8 versus control
Panel A. Outcome indices (z-sco	ores)	
Index for all outcomes	0.037 (0.040)	-0.010 (0.059)
Economic self-sufficiency	-0.029 (0.040)	-0.112* (0.059)
Absence of physical health problems	0.055 (0.042)	$0.062 \\ (0.058)$
Absence of mental health problems	0.069 (0.042)	$0.063 \\ (0.062)$
Panel B. Selected individual her	alth outcomes	
Psychological distress, K-6 z-score	-0.106** (0.042)	-0.081 (0.060)
$BMI \ge 40$	-0.036** (0.016)	-0.038* (0.023)
Blood test detected diabetes $(HbA1c \ge 6.5\%)$	$-0.050^{***}$ (0.018)	$-0.015 \\ (0.026)$

### TABLE 1-MTO IMPACTS ON ADULT OUTCOMES

	Experimental	Section 8	Experimental	Section 8	
	versus control	versus control	versus control	versus control	
Panel A. Outcome indices (z-scores)	Female youth		Male	Male youth	
Index for all outcomes	0.079	0.077	-0.016	-0.116*	
	(0.062)	(0.065)	(0.062)	(0.069)	
Absence of physical health problems	0.109*	0.124*	-0.075	-0.058	
	(0.061)	(0.065)	(0.068)	(0.078)	
Absence of mental health problems	0.160***	0.039	0.008	-0.062	
	(0.058)	(0.065)	(0.064)	(0.071)	
Absence of risky behavior	-0.001	0.007	0.027	-0.069	
	(0.065)	(0.066)	(0.061)	(0.067)	
Education	-0.043	0.027	-0.006	-0.082	
	(0.061)	(0.072)	(0.061)	(0.069)	
Panel B. Selected education outcomes by age grou	p (z-scores)				
	Under age 6		Ages 6	Ages 6 and over	
Combined math/reading assessment	-0.014	0.019	-0.018	0.043	
	(0.055)	(0.056)	(0.061)	(0.072)	

### TABLE 2-MTO IMPACTS ON YOUTH OUTCOMES



FIGURE 1. IMPACTS OF EXPERIMENTAL VOUCHER BY AGE OF EARNINGS MEASUREMENT