

Osher Lifelong Learning Institute, Winter 2021 Contemporary Economic Policy

Dominican University

Jon Haveman, Ph.D.

National Economic Education Delegation



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Course Outline



Contemporary Economic Policy

- Week 1 (1/13): US Economy & Coronavirus Economics
- Week 2 (1/27): Healthcare Economics (Veronika Dolar, SUNY)
- Week 3 (2/3): Federal Debt (Geoffrey Woglom, Amherst College)
- Week 4 (2/10): Economic Inequality
- Week 5 (2/17): Racial Discrimination in U.S. Policy, A History
- Week 6 (2/24): The Black-White Wealth Gap



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National Economic Education Delegation



Vision

- One day, the public discussion of policy issues will be grounded in an accurate perception of the underlying economic principles and data.

Mission

 NEED unites the skills and knowledge of a vast network of professional economists to promote understanding of the economics of policy issues in the United States.

NEED Presentations

- Are **nonpartisan** and intended to reflect the consensus of the economics profession.

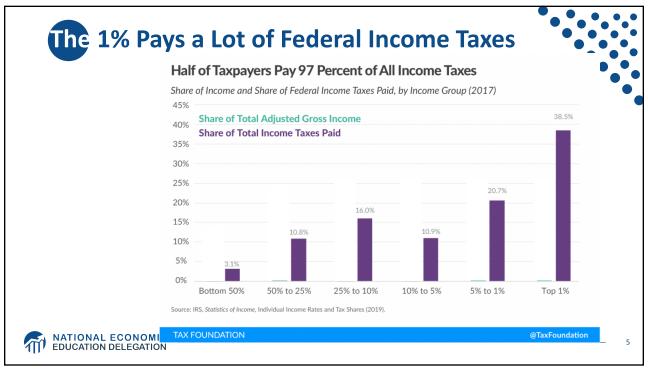


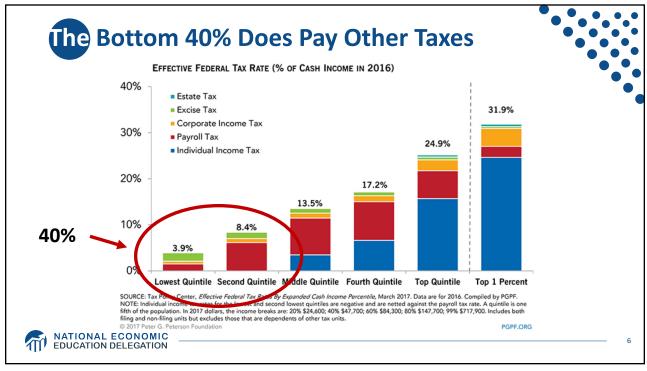
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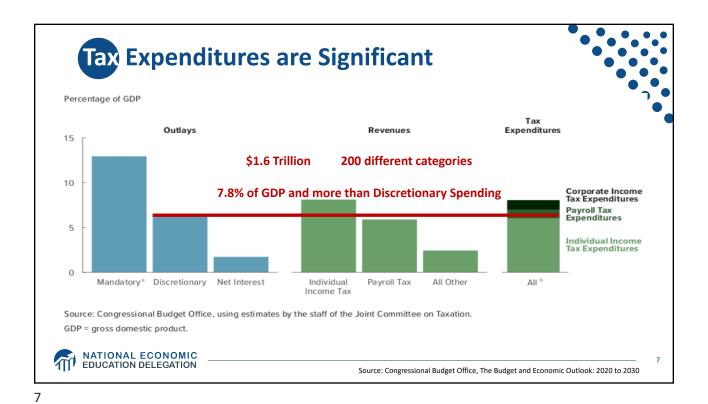
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A Bit More on Inequality & Taxes

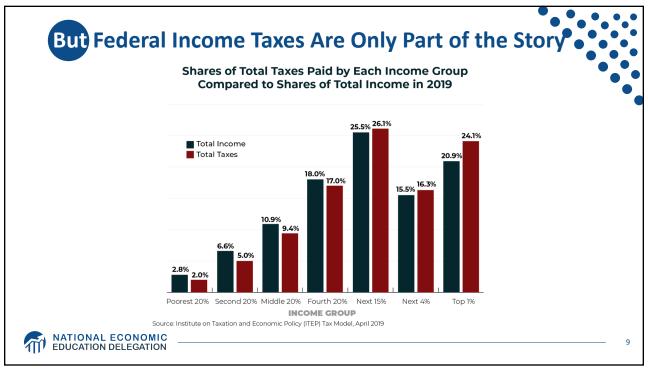








Tax Expenditures Tend to be Regressive Lower Above-the-line Non-refundable Tax Exclusions All provisions deductions credits dividends deductions credits Bottom 20 0.54% 0.05% 5.81% 0.00% 0.02% 0.01% 6.97% percent Second 20 5.26% 8.89% **Income Group Benefits** percent Middle 20 .25% 7.25% percent Bottom 20% 7.0% Fourth 20 1 00% 7.28% 12.8% Top 20% 12.82% Top 20 percent \$746.7 \$6.6 Total Cost (no billion billion billion billion billion billion billion AMT) \$344 \$154 \$6.4 \$8.2 \$89 \$760.5 Total Cost (with billion billion AMT) Source: Center on Budget and Policy Priorities calculations based on TPC calculations of effect of eliminating tax expenditures. *Note: These figures take into account the interaction among individual tax expenditure provisions. NATIONAL ECONOMIC EDUCATION DELEGATION



Looking at Just Federal Income Taxes is Misleading

- The top 1% does pay a high proportion of INCOME taxes.
- Other income groups do pay a lot in other taxes.
 - Payroll and excise, in particular.
- Tax expenditures are big and provide greater benefit to higher income households than lower.
 - \$1.6 trillion
- State income, property, and sales taxes tend to be regressive.
 - Federal income tax progressivity offsets that regressivity.
- The overall tax system is very even handed.
 - The top 1% pays a lot because it has a lot of income.



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U.S. Policy History and Discrimination



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Credits and Disclaimer



- This slide deck was authored by:
 - Darrick Hamilton, Ph.D., The New School
 - Jon Haveman, Ph.D., NEED

Disclaimer

- NEED presentations are designed to be nonpartisan.
- It is, however, inevitable that the presenter will be asked for and will provide their own views.
- Such views are those of the presenter and not necessarily those of the National Economic Education Delegation (NEED).



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- Evidence of Racial Disparities
- History of Policies
 - Discriminatory
 - Anti-discrimination
- Economic consequences



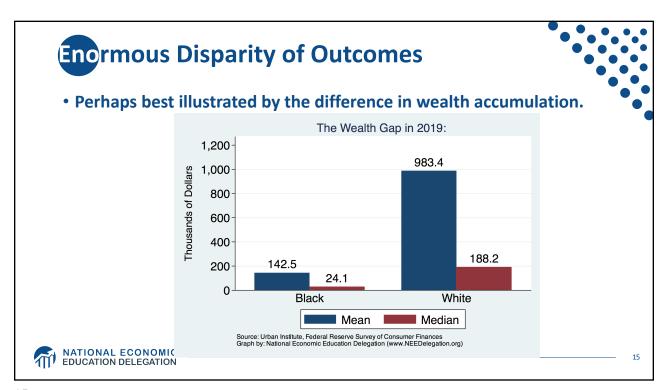
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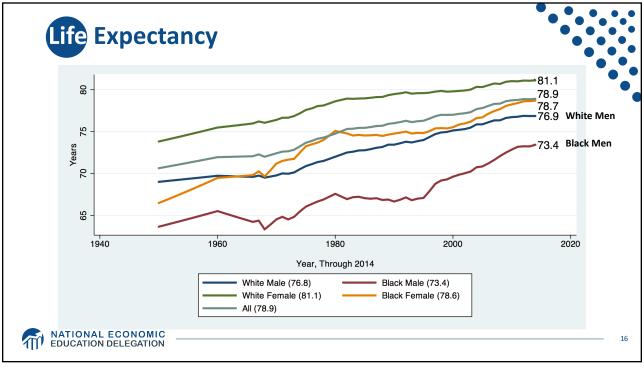


Evidence of Racial Disparities



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- Policies with discriminatory intent
- Policies with discriminatory effect
- Anti-discrimination policies



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Policies w/Discriminatory Intent



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Policies: Discriminatory Intent



- Slave trade
- Slavery
- Reconstruction and 40 acres
- Black Codes & Vagrancy Laws
- Jim Crow
- Federal Housing Policy



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Slave Trade – by the Numbers



- 1619 date marked as arrival of first African slaves Jamestown, VA
 - African slavery was in existence prior to this date, likely beginning with Christopher Columbus in 1490s.
- Between 1525 and 1808:
 - 12.5 million slaves departed for the New World
 - 10.7 million survived the Middle Passage
 - o Only 388,000 arrived directly on North American shores.
- Federal government banned the importation of slaves in 1808.
 - There was already a population of more than 4 million slaves at the time.
- Worth considering as the first deprivation of wealth.



Source: https://www.pbs.org/wnet/african-americans-many-rivers-to-cross/history/how-many-slaves-landed-in-the-us/slaves-landed-in-the-us/slaves-landed-in-the-us/slaves-landed-in-the-us/slaves-landed-in-the-us/slaves-landed-in-the-us/slaves-landed-in-the-us/slaves-landed-in-the-us/slaves-landed-in-the-us/slaves-landed-in-the-us/slaves-landed-in-the-us/slaves-landed-in-the-us/slaves-landed-in-the-us/slaves-landed-in-the-us/slaves-landed-in-the-us/slaves-landed-in-the-us/slaves-landed-in-the-us/slaves-landed-in-the-us/slaves-landed-in-the-us/slaves-landed-in-the-us/slaves-landed-in-the-us/slaves-landed-in-the-us/slaves-landed-in-the-us/slaves-landed-in-the-us/slaves-landed-in-the-us/slaves-landed-in-the-us/slaves-landed-in-the-us/slaves-landed-in-the-us/slaves-landed-in-the-us/slaves-landed-in-the-us/slaves-landed-in-the-us/slaves-landed-in-the-us/slaves-landed-in-the-us/slaves-landed-in-the-us/slaves-landed-in-the-us/slaves-landed-in-the-us/slaves-landed-in-the-us/slaves-landed-in-the-us/slaves-landed-in-the-us/slaves-landed-in-the-us/slaves-landed-in-the-us/slaves-landed-in-the-us/slaves-landed-in-the-us/slaves-landed-in-the-us/slaves-landed-in-the-us/slaves-landed-in-the-us/slaves-landed-in-the-us/slaves-landed-in-the-us/slaves-landed-in-the-us/slaves-landed-in-the-us/slaves-landed-in-the-us/slaves-landed-in-the-us/slaves-landed-in-the-us/slaves-landed-in-the-us/slaves-landed-in-the-us/slaves-landed-in-the-us/slaves-landed-in-the-us/slaves-landed-in-the-us/slaves-landed-in-the-us/slaves-landed-in-the-us/slaves-landed-in-the-us/slaves-landed-in-the-us/slaves-landed-in-the-us/slaves-landed-in-the-us/slaves-landed-in-the-us/slaves-landed-in-the-us/slaves-landed-in-the-us/slaves-landed-in-the-us/slaves-landed-in-the-us/slaves-landed-in-the-us/slaves-landed-in-the-us/slaves-landed-in-the-us/slaves-landed-in-the-us/slaves-landed-in-the-us/slaves-landed-in-the-us/slaves-landed-in-the-us/slaves-landed-in-the-us/slaves-landed-in-the-us/slaves-landed-in-the-us/slaves-landed-in-the-us/slaves-landed-in-the-us/slaves-land

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1860:

- More millionaires in the Mississippi Valley than anywhere else in the United States slaveholders all.
- 4 million slaves, worth an estimated \$3.5 billion at the time.
 - o Single largest "financial asset" at the time.
 - o Worth more than all manufacturing and railroads combined.
 - o Approximately equal to contemporary GDP.
- More than 45% of the population in:
 - o Alabama (45%), Louisiana (47%), Mississippi (55%), S. Carolina (57%)
 - o Overall in the south: 32.3%



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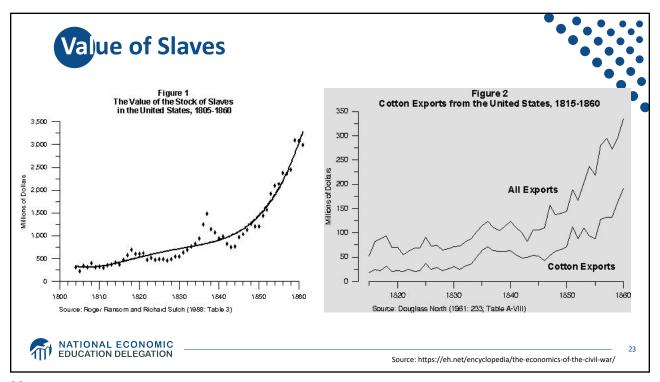


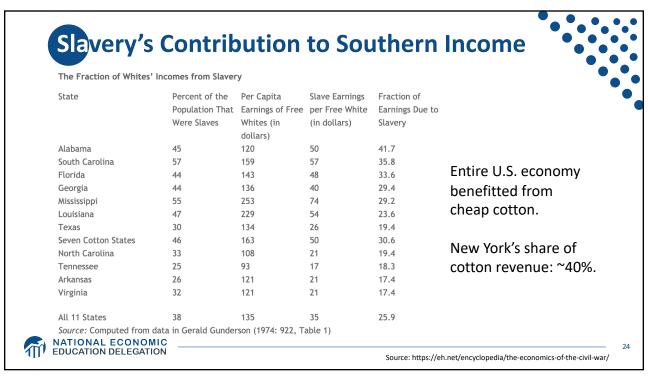
Slave Codes

- Legally considered property.
- Not allowed to assemble without the presence of a white person.
- Slaves that lived off the plantation had a curfew.
- A slave accused of any crime against a white person was doomed.
- Illegal to teach a slave to read/write.
- Slave marriages were not acknowledged in law.
- Implications for period of reconstruction/economic independence.

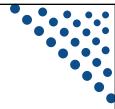


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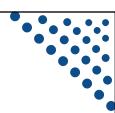


- Opportunity and familiarity.
 - Slavery had been practiced in Europe for 100 years by the time it came to the Colonies.
- Cotton was a major crop in the antebellum South.
 - Very labor intensive.
 - Cheaper than paying free labor.
 - Seasonal.
 - Could not rely on free labor to wait around between the Spring planting and Fall harvest.



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Slave Trade – Some Economics



• Why Slavery?

- Could have used free or indentured servitude.
- Slavery won the price/productivity competition:
 - o Free/indentured: 10-12 pounds * 4 years = 3 pounds per manyear.
 - Slaves: 16 pounds * 20 years = 1 pound per manyear.
 - o Higher productivity of free/indentured did not make up for the difference.
 - o Availability given seasonal nature of agricultural labor demand.



Source: The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Tentative Economic Model

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Amendments Ending Slavery



- 13th Amendment 1865
 - Nearly abolished slavery.
- 14th Amendment 1867
 - Citizenship for those born in or naturalized in the United States.
- 15th Amendment 1870
 - Sought to eliminate discrimination in voting.



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Reconstruction & 40 Acres: 1865-1877



- Freedmen's Bureau, 1865, shortly before the end of the war.
 - Food and medical aid to former slaves
 - Established schools for freedmen
 - o 1870: A guarter million attended more than 4,000 schools in the south.
 - Tried to establish labor rights of freed slaves
 - o Fair wages and free choice of employers.
- Free public education in the South
 - Excluded black children.
- 40 Acres
- Black codes.
- Northern soldiers had all left by 1877.



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40 Acres (but no Mule)

- General Sherman, Jan. 16, 1865: Special Field Order No. 15
 - Granted some freed families land in plots no larger than 40 acres.
 - Implemented at the behest of Black leaders.
 - Some 400,000 acres were redistributed from Confederate land owners to former Black slaves.
 - Also:
 - Established black settlements to be governed entirely by Black people themselves
- Sherman later ordered that the army could lend new settlers mules.
- Overturned by Andrew Johnson in the Fall of 1865.
 - Land returned to former slave owners.
- Imagine the implications for Black wealth.
 - By some estimates valued at \$6.4 trillion today (7% of total U.S. wealth in 2018)

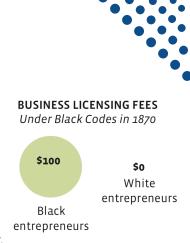


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Black Codes: 1865-1877

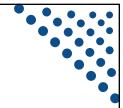
- Special laws that applied only to Black persons.
 - Both progressive and restrictive.
 - Acknowledged: Black ownership of property and marriage. Right to sue and be sued.
 - Included restrictive labor contracts, apprenticeships, and vagrancy laws.
 - Business licensing fees
 - Separate Black courts
 - Harsh penalties (death) for rebellion, arson, burglary, assaulting a White woman.
 - Broadly concerned with controlling former slaves.



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- Sets of laws
 - Segregation, restrictions on:
 - o Voting, education, work, public office, juries, justice system.
- Sets of customs
 - Defining interactions between Black and Whites.
- Exploited a loophole in the 13th Amendment.
 - Provision allowed slavery as a punishment for a crime.
- Really took root after Plessy v. Ferguson.



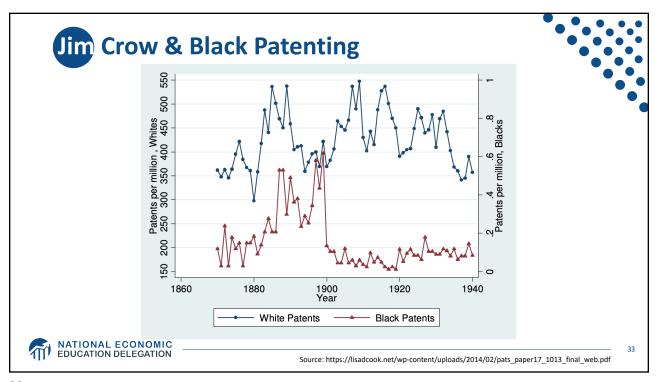
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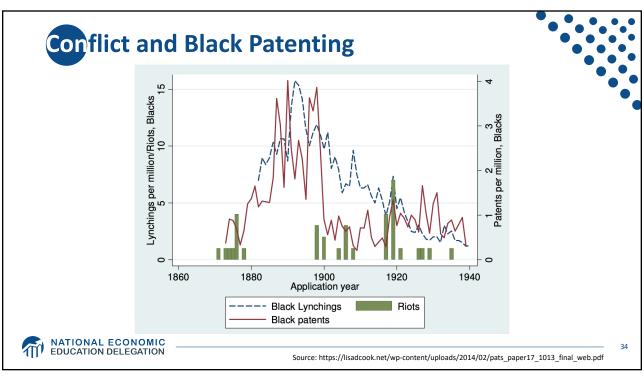
The Second Slavery

- Black men, women, and sometimes children were arrested and convicted of crimes under the Black Codes/Jim Crow.
 - Vagrancy, unemployment were crimes.
 - Subsequently leased to private companies.
 - o 200,000 Black Americans were forced into such labor arrangements.
 - Leasing turned into chain gangs in the early 20th century.
- Lynching
 - Another form of controlling Black Americans was common.
 - More than 4,400 lynchings occurred during the Jim Crow years.
- Land takings
 - Fraud, deception, and theft.
 - An estimated 11 million acres.

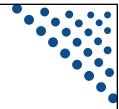


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- FHA Policy Redlining
 - Explicitly discriminatory
- Social Security
 - Implicitly discriminatory
- Unemployment
 - Implicitly discriminatory
- Minimum wages
 - Implicitly discriminatory



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Misguided Past Policies: Redlining



- For example, the government "redlined" heavily minority neighborhoods.
 - Redlining occurred when maps were drawn to show how risky investment in certain areas would be. The "riskiest" areas usually had the highest concentrations of black people.
 - Some argue that the government merely drew these maps, and did not discriminate in their own lending practices, but others say private and public lenders relied on these maps to deny investment or loans in those areas.
 - Some relationships between redlined areas and outcomes still hold today in peer-reviewed economics research. Note this is a failure introduced by government!



HOLC Appraisal Manual Grading System

- "
- Grade A = "homogeneous," 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."



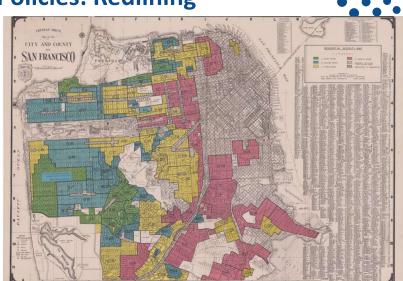
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Misguided Past Policies: Redlining

Red areas were largely Black communities, and considered to be too risky for new home loans.

Yellow areas also suffered from discrimination resulting from FHA guidelines.







- Between 1934 and 1962, the federal government backed \$120 billion of home loans.
- More than 98% went to whites.
 - Of the 350,000 new homes built with federal support in northern California between 1946 and 1960, fewer than 100 went to African Americans.
- Government officials argued that Black occupancy of homes in White neighborhoods would reduce property values.
 - This would put their loans at risk.



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Clear Impact on Not Only D, but Also C Areas



- Higher residential segregation
 - Concentration of Black families in C and D.
- Lower home ownership rates in C and D
- Lower home values in C and D
- Lower rents and credit scores
- Trends mostly reversed themselves in the wake of housing and lending legislation in the 1960s and 70s.



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- Residential covenants and discriminatory zoning
 - Single family vs multifamily zoning was an effort to segregate housing.
- Redlining
- GI Bill for Whites only
- Discrimination at every step of the way
 - Appraisals, realtors, mortgage receipt and terms.
 - Very recent evidence exists esp. loans during housing bubble, appraisals.

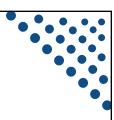


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Policies w/Discriminatory EFFECT



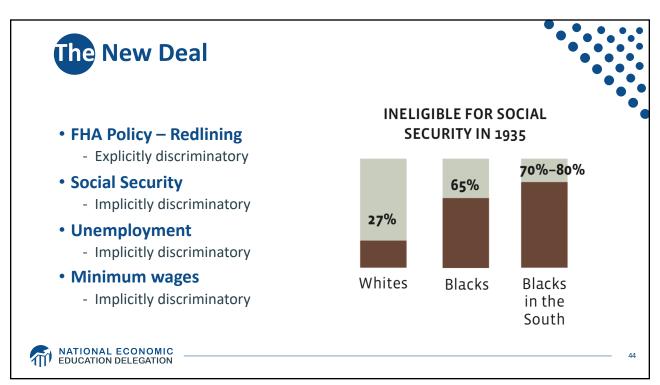




- How?
 - Allow local officials to administer the program.
 - Exclude specific occupations where Black workers are overrepresented.



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Policies: Discriminatory Effect

- Homestead Act
- The New Deal
 - Wagner Act Unions
 - Minimum Wages
 - Social Security
- Federal Asset Building Policies
- Local zoning ordinances
- Incarceration



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Homestead Acts



- Original Homestead Act (1868-1934)
 - Granted 246 million acres of western land (size of CA & TX combined)
 - To receive 160 acres of land:
 - File an application, improve the land for 5 years, file for deed of ownership.
 - 1.5 million White families
 - o Excluded Black Americans in practice, not letter.
- Southern Homestead Act (1866-1876)
 - 28,000 individuals, of which 4,000-5,500 were emancipated slaves.
 - Most were locked into year-long contracts following the war. Could not break to homestead until after special provisions for freed slaves had ended.
 - Land was often unfarmable swamp or heavily wooded.



Source: https://aeon.co/ideas/land-and-the-roots-of-african-american-poverty

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Other New Deal Programs



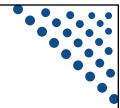
- Unemployment Insurance
 - Because a state run program different levels of protection, white/black
- Social Security (1935)
 - Exempted self employed, field hands, and domestic workers. All were heavily black. Changed in the 1950s.
 - 65% of Black workers did not qualify.
- Wagner Act (1935)
 - Established rights of workers to unionize, except for farm and domestic workers. Also permitted unions to exclude workers.
- NRA, FHA,
 - https://atlantablackstar.com/2015/02/04/9-ways-franklin-d-roosevelts-new-deal-purposely-excluded-blacks-people/2/
- Minimum Wage



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What Is The Minimum Wage?



- The minimum wage sets a wage floor.
 - It is unlawful for businesses in **covered industries** to pay a wage below the minimum.
- The Federal minimum wage is currently \$7.25.
 - This is the highest that it has ever been.
 - Adjusting for inflation:
 - o It is no higher than it was in the late 1950s.
 - o It is nearly \$5.00 lower than it was in the late 1960s.
- Many states and local governments have implemented minimum wages that are significantly higher than the Federal level.



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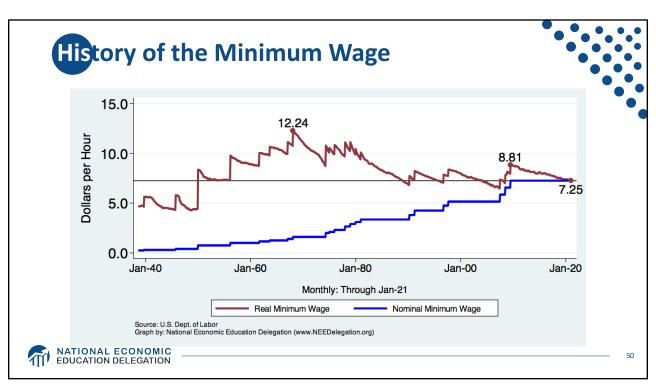
Minimum Wages

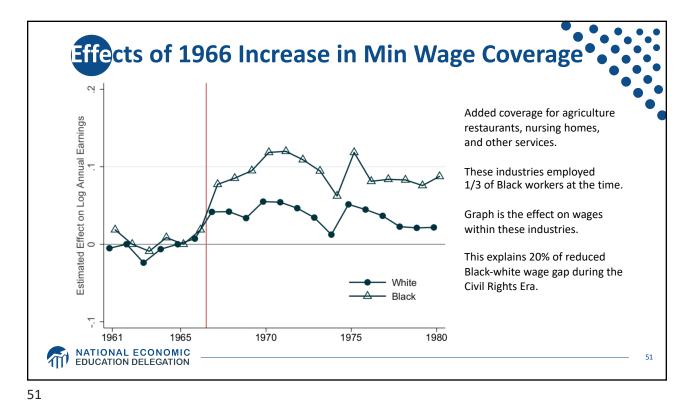
- Early on, they did not apply to farmworkers or domestic help.
- 1960s great equalizer MW increased in real terms 37% (8.9 to 12.24)
 - The 1966 Fair Labor Standards Act extended federal minimum wage coverage to agriculture, restaurants, nursing homes, and other services which were previously uncovered and where nearly a third of black workers were employed.
- Since 1968 has fallen 41% (12.24 to 7.25)
 - Or in 1968, was 69% higher than it is today.
 - Exacerbating the Black-White wage gap.



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- 1.2 million were Black

• Loans: homes, farms, or business

- Levittown explicitly banned
- Couldn't get loans regardless of guaranty covenants

Education

- Steered toward vocational training, not college
- HBCUs were overcrowded and nonexistent in the north

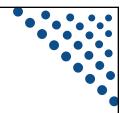
Unemployment

- Instead a provocation for Black men to wear the uniform.
 - Lynchings and other violence in the wake of WWII Red Summer after WWI



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- Federal spending between 1944 and 1971: \$95 billion (15% of budget)
 - 200,000 small business loans
 - Mortgages for 5 million new houses
 - 2,250,000 participated in higher education
 - 5,600,000 enrolled in vocational institutions



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- Of vets born between 1923 and 1928:
 - 23% of Whites received GI Bill educational assistance. 12% of Blacks.
 - Big difference in take up rates for southern vs non-southern Black veterans.
 - o Not for south vs non-nonsouthern White veterans.
- Differences in hours of education Black v White.
- Differences in quality of educational institution.
 - White colleges and universities actively increased enrollment.
 - HBCUs did not have the resources to do so.
 - Black veterans often pushed toward vocational training.



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• In 1947:

- 2 of 3,200 VA loans in Mississippi went to Black veterans.
- 100 of 67,000 loans in NY and Northern NJ went to Black veterans.



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Anti-Discrimination



Note About Legislation and Other Efforts



- There is always a tradeoff inherent in policies.
 - Equity vs efficiency
 - It is possible, but not necessarily true, that anti-discrimination laws will reduce efficiency.
 - However, there may be equity considerations and offsetting externalities that cause them to be in the public interest.



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1954 Brown v. Board of Education



- 1896: Plessy v. Ferguson
 - Ruled that segregated public facilities were legal, so long as of equal quality.
 - Applied to buses, school, and other public facilities
 - Sanctioned Jim Crow laws.
- Brown: helped to establish that separate-but-equal is not equal at all.
 - Lower court ruled:
 - o "[D]etrimental effect on colored children"
 - o Contributed to "a sense of inferiority"
 - $_{\odot}\,$ But upheld separate but equal doctring.
 - Supreme Court: "Separate but equal" has no place inherently unequal.



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- Was steadfastly resisted in much of the south.
- Helped to fuel the civil rights movement.
- Did not desegregate schools.
 - Schools remain highly segregated today.
 - Racial inequities abound.
 - Washington DC, a school with 11% low-income students is 1 mile from a school with primarily low-income students.



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Economic Impact of Equalization



- If southern-born Black men had attended white schools:
 - 1920s cohort: would have earned 6 to 9% more than they actually did in 1970.
 - 1930s cohort: gap was just 2 to 5%
 - Because of increasing legal activity, local officials were taking the "equal" part of "separate but equal" more seriously.
 - Also clear that quality affects extent of education.
 - o Parental education is important for child's level of education.
 - o Lack of equality spilled over across generations.
- Legal action and Brown did help to narrow the wage and education gap between Black and White workers.
 - Brown and desegregation narrowed southern-born and nonsouthern-born Black wage gap by 10 percentage points.



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- For decades after <u>Reconstruction</u>, the U.S. Congress did not pass a single civil rights act.
- In 1957, it established within the Justice Department:
 - A civil rights section, and
 - a Commission on Civil Rights to investigate discriminatory conditions.



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Anti-Discrimination Legislation of the 1960s



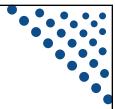
- 1964 Civil Rights Act
 - Ended Jim Crow and legal separation.
- 1965 Voting Rights Act
 - Enforced the 15th Amendment.
- 1968 Fair Housing Act
 - Addresses widespread discrimination in home sales, realtor services and rent.



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Civil Rights Movement and Legislation



- Dismantled de jure segregation and discrimination in:
 - Labor markets
 - Education voting rights
 - Health care
 - Public accommodations
 - Housing
- Significant gains in Black men's wages relative to White men...
 - Until 1980. Very little ground gained since then.



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Civil Rights Act of 1964



- Barred race, religious, national origin and gender discrimination by employers and labor unions, and created an Equal Employment Opportunity Commission with the power to file lawsuits on behalf of aggrieved workers.
- Forbade the use of federal funds for any discriminatory program, authorized the Office of Education (now the Department of Education) to assist with school desegregation, gave extra clout to the Commission on Civil Rights and prohibited the unequal application of voting requirements.
- Martin Luther King Jr.: Nothing less than a 2nd emancipation.



https://www.historv.com/topics/black-history/civil-rights-act

Affirmative Action



- Education
- Employment
- Government Contracting



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Affirmative Action – Costs and Benefits



• Costs:

- Potential to displace those of other races/ethnicities.
 - o Education, employment, government contracts
- Potential to raise costs of doing business, both private and public.

• Benefits:

- Education: potential to lift Black and Latino students in terms of postsecondary education.
- Impact Black and Latino .



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Affirmative Action – Costs and Benefits



- Some evidence specific to prop 209:
 - Benefits:
 - o Government contracts fell in cost by 5.6% after prop 209
 - Costs:
 - Measurable impact of prop 209 on educational quality for Black and Latino students
 - Black and Latinos had discernable increases in lifetime earnings from affirmative action.
 - o Measurable drop in Black and Latino employment.



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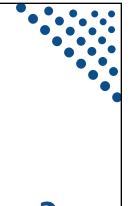
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Summary

- Discrimination in U.S. policy has been common through the post slavery years.
 - Overt laws were on the books until the 1960s.
 - Effectively discriminatory laws played a massive role in the distribution of wealth across races.
- The Civil Rights Era has reduced statutory discrimination, but there is still significant evidence of economic discrimination.
- The effect of more than 100 years of discrimination in policy is still readily measurable.
 - Policy solutions: Come back next week.

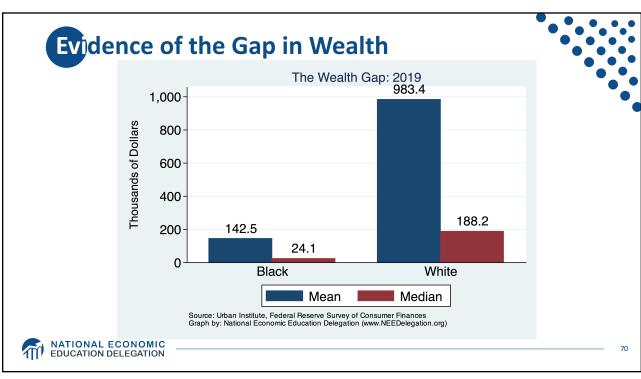


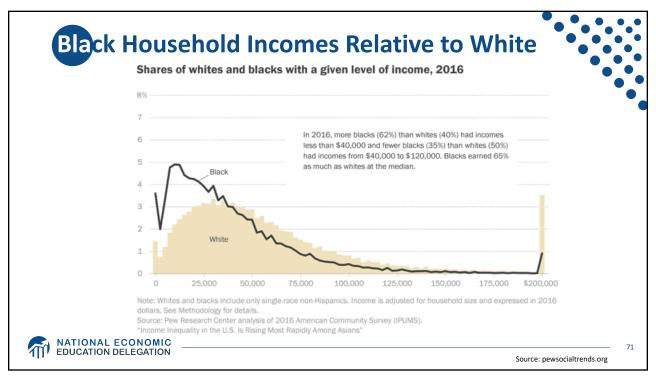
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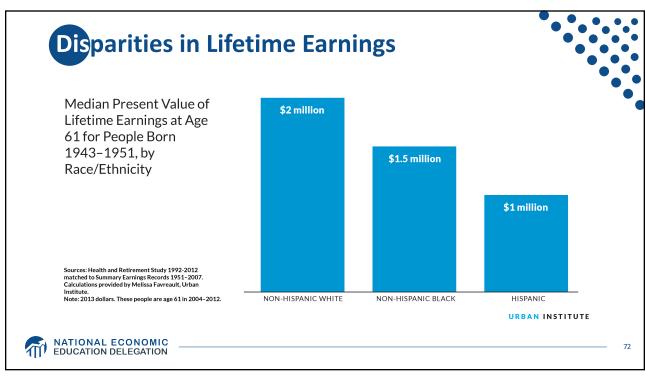


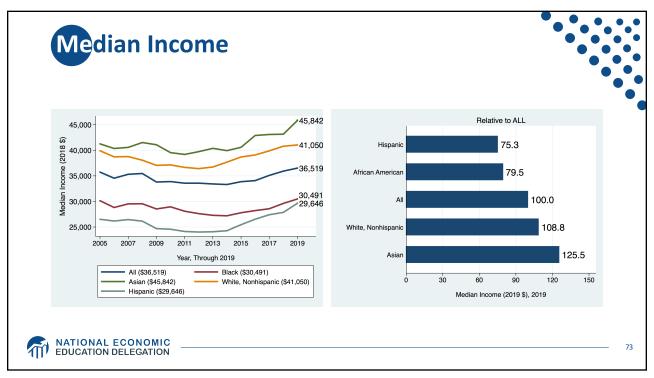
Where Does That Leave Things?

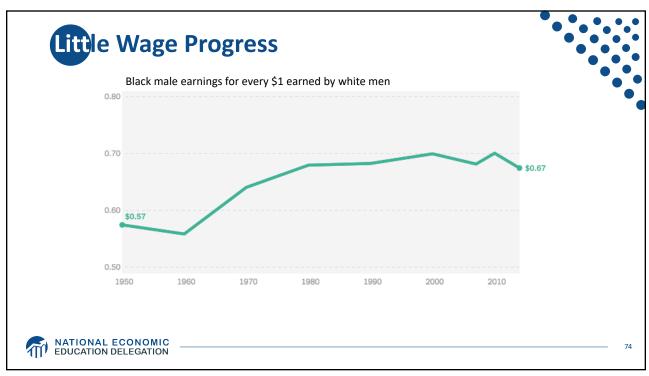


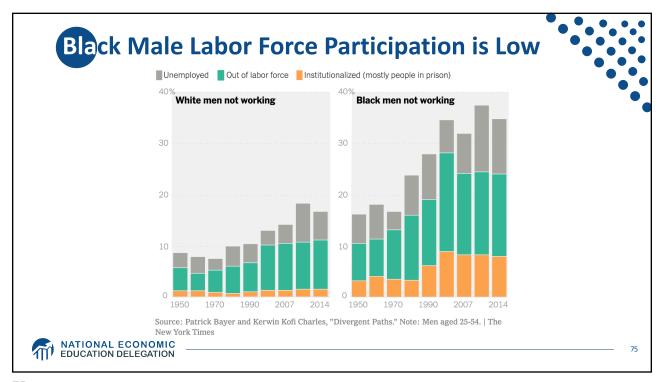


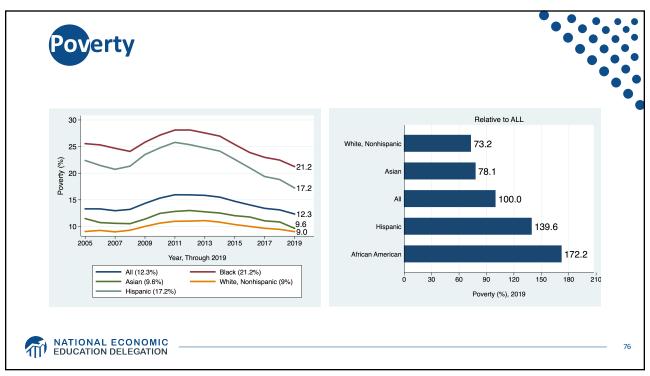


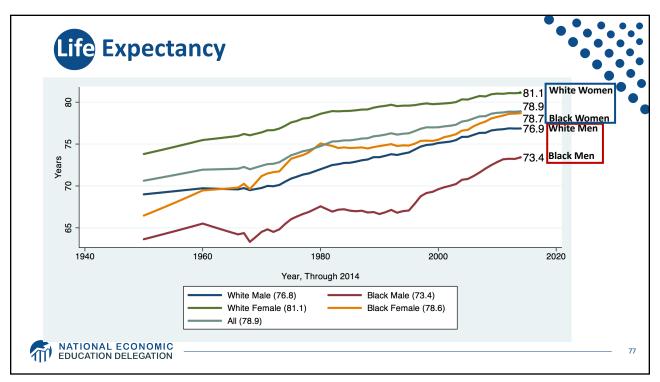


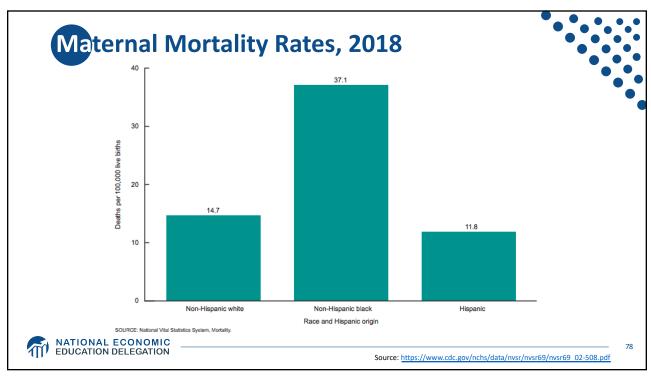


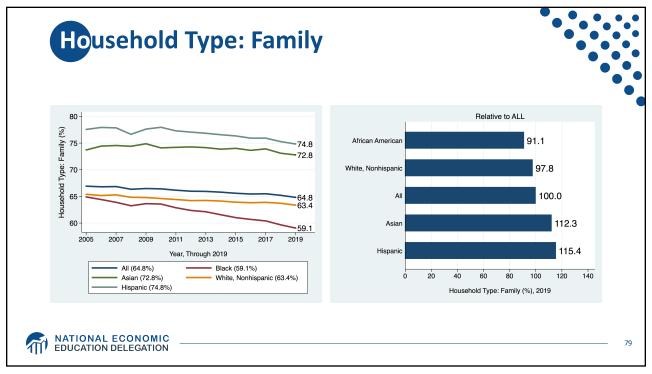


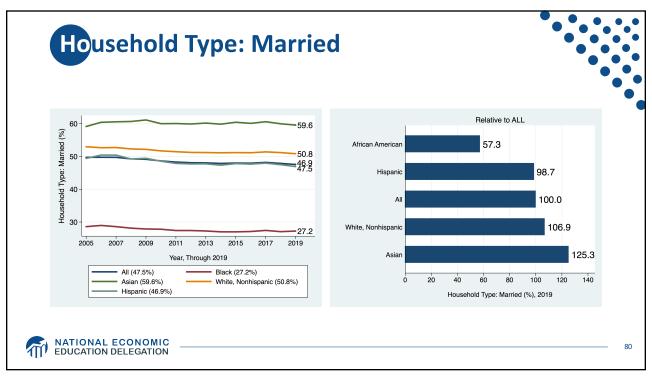


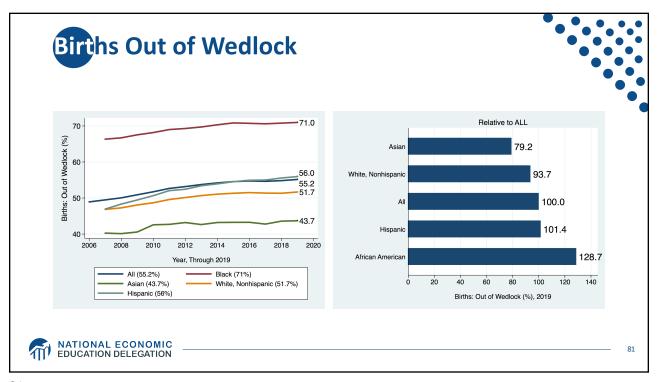


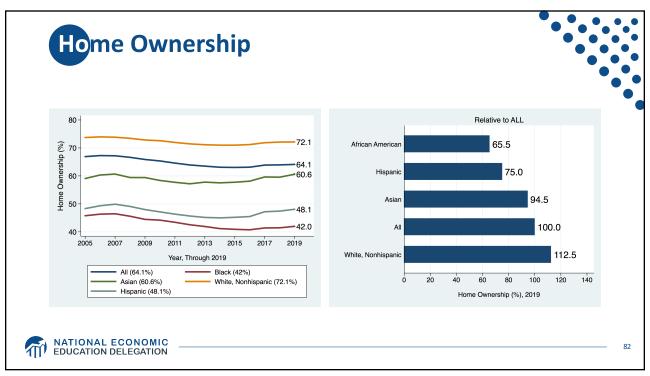














Any Questions?

www.NEEDelegation.org
Jon D. Haveman, Ph.D.
Jon@NEEDelegation.org

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