

We've to Build the Pipeline. What's the Problem? What's Next? The Remix

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Abstract

Despite a history of initiatives to strengthen the doctorate pipeline and mentoring programs for graduate students and junior faculty, the economics profession has failed to achieve a representative level of diversity across ethnicity, gender and race. This National Economic Association presidential address looks at the 20-year production, 1996–2015, of economists by ethnicity, gender, race, and residential status with an interest in the production of Black economists. The findings suggest there is cause for alarm as the number of undergraduate economics degrees conferred to Black women was stagnant, and there has been a decrease in the number of doctorates conferred to Blacks men. In addition, the number of undergraduate mathematics degrees conferred to Blacks has decreased, which may have dire consequences for the economics and mathematics doctorate pipeline. Recommendations that promote the professional lives of Black and minority economists are provided.

Keywords

Black economists, diversity, inclusion, doctorate pipeline, women economists

Introduction

In the Committee on the Status of Women in the Economics Profession newsletter, I offered two reasons for the lack of diversity in the economics profession (Sharpe, 2017). The first is the undergraduate economics curriculum, which requires majoring in another subject—math—to increase the likelihood of admissions to and completion of the doctorate in economics. The second is the failure of undergraduate advising to inform all students about the math requirements. I also provided evidence that all

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racial and ethnic groups complete more doctorates in math/statistics than in economics to dispel the notion that Blacks do not complete the doctorate in economics because of our inability to do the math. Those comments were directed at the larger economics profession. This article, “The Remix” is directed at Black economists and our allies.

Next year, 2019, will mark the 50th anniversary of the initial conversation between the Caucus of Black Economists and the American Economic Association (AEA) to develop a summer program to increase the number of minority economists (Alexis, 1975). Marcus Alexis, a charter member of the Caucus of Black Economists, led the organization of the first cohort of Summer Program participants hosted at the University of California–Berkeley in 1974. Since then, what has come to be known as the AEA Summer Program and Minority Scholarship Program has been hosted at nine other institutions, with nearly 1,000 alumni. In addition to the AEA Summer Program, NEA members have been instrumental in creating other programs and initiatives to increase the number of minority economists.

Another program focused on training undergraduates interested in pursuing the economics doctorate is The Ph.D. Excellence Initiative. Created by former NEA President Peter Henry and funded by the Sloan Foundation, The Ph.D. Excellence Initiative is a 2-year post-baccalaureate fellowship. Since 2014, the program has selected one fellow a year to work full-time as a research scholar for Prof. Henry. Ph.D. Excellence fellows may take courses at NYU and, receive professional development and GRE test preparation.¹

Cecilia A. Conrad, 1993 NEA President, is the founding director of the AEA Pipeline Program (now the Mentoring Program).² The AEA Mentoring Program matches a graduate student with a mentor and, provides funding for attending the Pipeline Conference and the Allied Social Science Association meetings. The Pipeline Conference is a unique opportunity for AEA Summer Program participants to interact with economists at various career stages—graduate students, academicians, and public policy researchers. The Pipeline Conference is especially valuable for AEA Summer Program participants and graduate students to see “themselves” and the diversity in the scholarship of economists of color and to hear the Lewis-Oaxaca Lecture.³

Sandy Darity and I are cofounders of the Diversity Initiative for Tenure in Economics (DITE). DITE is a research mentoring workshop that facilitates successful renewal and promotion with tenure for economists from underrepresented groups (especially Blacks, Latinos, and Native Americans). To date, the number of DITE fellows exceeds 100, and the tenure success rate exceeds 90%. Despite these efforts, there are alarming disparities in the production of undergraduate economics degrees by race/ethnicity and gender.

The Pipeline

The top majors for the economics doctorate are economics, mathematics, and business (Sharpe & Swinton, 2012). However, for this study, I focus on the production of economics bachelor’s degrees conferred to Blacks, using data from the Integrated

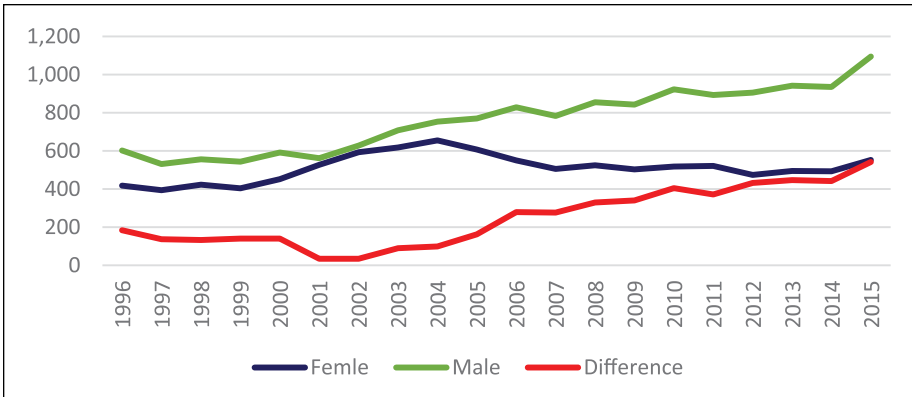


Figure 1. Gender difference in bachelor's economics degrees conferred to Blacks: 1996-2015.

Postsecondary Education System Completion Survey by Race. The gender gap between the number of economics degrees conferred to Black men and women converges in 2001. In 2003, the gender gap began to grow. By 2015, the gender difference line has converged to the number of economics bachelor's degrees conferred to Black women. Hence, the Black male–female gender gap is nearly as large as the number of degrees conferred to Black women: The gender gap is 542 compared with 553 degrees conferred to Black women.

What is alarming about the Black male–female gender gap in degrees conferred is the lack of growth in undergraduate degrees conferred to Black women.⁴ The growth in undergraduate economics degrees conferred to Black women increased by 1% between 1996-2005 and 2006-2015, which is the equivalent of 47 degrees. Black women had the lowest percentage growth of any group (see Table 1). For Black males, the growth in undergraduate degrees conferred increased by 47% for the same period, 2,757 degrees. For the 1996-2015 period, Black males earned 5,022 more undergraduate economics degrees than did Black women.

White women earned nearly 65,000 more undergraduate degrees in economics than Black women and approximately 50,000 more than Black men for the 20-year period 1996-2015. Hispanic women earned fewer undergraduate economics degrees than Black women over the 10 years 1996-2005 but earned nearly 1,000 more undergraduate economic degrees than Black women for the period 2006-2015. Black men earned fewer undergraduate economics degrees than Asian, Hispanic and White men for the 20-year period.

While it is possible that the differences in undergraduate degree production reflect changes in preferences of Black women, I am concerned that efforts to increase the representation of women in the economics profession has not addressed the issues impeding Black women from choosing economics as an undergraduate major. For example, the discussion about the misogyny in economics ignores the experiences of women of

Table 1. Economics Undergraduate Degree Production: 1996-2015.

Race and ethnicity	Gender	1996-2005	2006-2015	Total	Year difference	Growth 1996-2015 (%)
Black	Female	5,091	5,138	10,229	47	1
	Male	6,247	9,004	15,251	2,757	44
	Subtotal	11,338	14,142	25,480	2,804	25
	Gender difference	-1,156	-3,866	-5,022	-2,710	234
Hispanic	Female	3,623	6,160	9,783	2,537	70
	Male	6,698	13,069	19,767	6,371	95
	Subtotal	10,321	19,229	29,550	8,908	86
	Gender difference	-3,075	-6,909	-9,984	-3,834	125
Native American	Female	269	299	568	30	11
	Male	520	711	1,231	191	37
	Subtotal	789	1,010	1,799	221	28
	Gender difference	-251	-412	-663	-161	64
Asian	Female	12,760	16,772	29,532	4,012	31
	Male	17,159	25,219	42,378	8,060	47
	Subtotal	29,919	41,991	71,910	12,072	40
	Gender difference	-4,399	-8,447	-12,846	-4,048	92
White	Female	35,753	39,453	75,206	3,700	10
	Male	92,412	119,005	211,417	26,593	29
	Subtotal	128,165	158,458	286,623	30,293	24
	Gender difference	-56,659	-79,552	-136,211	-22,893	40
Other	Female	2,842	5,716	8,558	2,874	101
	Male	5,783	13,133	18,916	7,350	127
	Subtotal	8,625	18,849	27,474	10,224	119
	Gender difference	-2,941	-7,417	-10,358	-4,476	152
Temporary	Female	7,484	14,615	22,099	7,131	95
	Male	11,560	19,670	31,230	8,110	70
	Subtotal	19,044	34,285	53,329	15,241	80
	Gender difference	-4,076	-5,055	-9,131	-979	24
Total	Women	67,822	88,153	155,975	20,331	30
	Men	140,379	199,811	340,190	59,432	42
	Total	208,201	287,964	496,165	79,763	38
	Gender difference	-72,557	-111,658	-184,215	-39,101	54

color.⁵ In addition, there are no studies that take an intersectional or feminist approach to examine the undergraduate economics degree production.⁶ Research that seeks to determine the factors that influence the choice to major in economics fail to examine the interaction of race/ethnicity and gender.

Stock (2017) finds that for minorities other social sciences, physical and geosciences, and life and medical sciences are substitutes for economics. This finding does not hold for women. For women, she finds education and the humanities are substitutes for the economics major. Stock finds no evidence that business is a substitute for

Table 2. Business Undergraduate Degree Production: 1996-2015.

Race and ethnicity	Gender	1996-2005	2006-2015	Total	Year difference	Growth 1996-2015 (%)
Black	Female	156,446	226,938	383,384	70,492	45
	Male	92,042	147,599	239,641	55,557	60
	Subtotal	248,488	374,537	623,025	126,049	51
	Gender difference	64,404	79,339	143,743	14,935	23
Hispanic	Female	118,875	185,103	303,978	66,228	56
	Male	89,425	154,430	243,855	65,005	73
	Subtotal	208,300	339,533	547,833	131,233	63
	Gender difference	29,450	30,673	60,123	1,223	4
Native American	Female	8,218	10,833	19,051	2,615	32
	Male	7,006	9,318	16,324	2,312	33
	Subtotal	15,224	20,151	35,375	4,927	32
	Gender difference	1,212	1,515	2,727	303	25
Asian	Female	96,190	122,187	218,377	25,997	27
	Male	78,588	122,409	200,997	43,821	56
	Subtotal	174,778	244,596	419,374	69,818	40
	Gender difference	17,602	-222	17,380	-17,824	-101
White	Female	864,431	978,007	1,842,438	113,576	13
	Male	980,380	1,187,372	2,167,752	206,992	21
	Subtotal	1,844,811	2,165,379	4,010,190	320,568	17
	Gender difference	-115,949	-209,365	-325,314	-93,416	81
Other	Female	58,743	134,587	193,330	75,844	129
	Male	57,187	133,240	190,427	76,053	133
	Subtotal	115,930	267,827	383,757	151,897	131
	Gender difference	1,556	1,347	2,903	-209	-13
Temporary	Female	62,604	92,386	154,990	29,782	48
	Male	74,790	97,341	172,131	22,551	30
	Subtotal	137,394	189,727	327,121	52,333	38
	Gender difference	-12,186	-4,955	-17,141	7,231	-59
Total	Women	1,365,507	1,750,041	3,115,548	384,534	28
	Men	1,379,418	1,851,709	3,231,127	472,291	34
	Total	2,744,925	3,601,750	6,346,675	856,825	31
	Gender difference	-13,911	-101,668	-115,579	-87,757	631

economics.⁷ Her findings are contrary to prior studies by Siegfried and Wilkinson (1982) and Willis and Pieper (1996). Table 2 provides the number of bachelor's degrees conferred in business. The Black male-female gender gap is the largest for any race/ethnicity minority group. Despite the growth in business degrees conferred to Black males, Black women earned over 140,000 more business degrees for the 20-year period.

A potential explanation for the decline in economics degrees conferred to Black women is that Black women cannot complete the math requirements for the economics major (Dynan & Rouse, 1997). Because the number doctorates awarded to Blacks

Table 3. Mathematics Undergraduate Degree Production: 1996-2015.

Race and ethnicity	Gender	1996-2005	2006-2015	Total	Year difference	Growth 1996-2015 (%)
Black	Female	4,527	4,215	8,742	-312	-7
	Male	3,890	4,108	7,998	218	6
	Subtotal	8,417	8,323	16,740	-94	-1
	Gender difference	637	107	744	-530	-83
Hispanic	Female	2,768	5,185	7,953	2,417	87
	Male	3,396	6,450	9,846	3,054	90
	Subtotal	6,164	11,635	17,799	5,471	89
	Gender difference	-628	-1,265	-1,893	-637	101
Native American	Female	275	281	556	6	2
	Male	313	379	692	66	21
	Subtotal	588	660	1,248	72	12
	Gender difference	-38	-98	-136	-60	158
Asian	Female	4,175	6,371	10,546	2,196	53
	Male	4,830	9,048	13,878	4,218	87
	Subtotal	9,005	15,419	24,424	6,414	71
	Gender difference	-655	-2,677	-3,332	-2,022	309
White	Female	40,031	46,985	87,016	6,954	17
	Male	44,721	60,460	105,181	15,739	35
	Subtotal	84,752	107,445	192,197	22,693	27
	Gender difference	-4,690	-13,475	-18,165	-8,785	187
Other	Female	1,715	4,038	5,753	2,323	135
	Male	2,454	6,063	8,517	3,609	147
	Subtotal	4,169	10,101	14,270	5,932	142
	Gender difference	-739	-2,025	-2,764	-1,286	174
Temporary	Female	1,799	4,931	6,730	3,132	174
	Male	2,952	7,054	10,006	4,102	139
	Subtotal	4,751	11,985	16,736	7,234	152
	Gender difference	-1,153	-2,123	-3,276	-970	84
Total	Women	55,290	72,006	127,296	16,716	30
	Men	62,556	93,562	156,118	31,006	50
	Total	117,846	165,568	283,414	47,722	40
	Gender difference	-7,266	-21,556	-28,822	-14,290	197

in mathematics exceeds the number awarded in economics, I have argued that mathematical ability is not a hindrance for Black to complete degrees in economics (Sharpe, 2017). This is consistent with findings of Emerson, McGoldrick, and Sigfried (2018) that higher math requirements may lead to an increase in the number of female economics majors at liberal arts colleges and institutions that offer a business degree.

However, Table 3 provides disappointing news. The number of bachelor's degrees conferred to Blacks in mathematics was less for the period 2006-2015 than for

1996-2005. This may have dire consequences for the economics and mathematics doctorate pipelines and result in fewer role models.

The impact of role models on the choice of major is mixed.⁸ In general, the impact of female faculty is negligible. Again, none of these studies examine the impact of race and gender of the role model. Since my interest is the production of Black economists, I examine the role of historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs) in the production of undergraduate economics degrees.

HBCUs

Theoretically, HBCUs should provide Black economics majors role models based on race and gender. A 2014 report by the National Economic Association Committee on Historically Black Colleges and Universities Outreach identified 105 HBCUs, 40 of which offered either a minor, associate, or bachelor's degree in economics. Table 4 provides the number of bachelor economics degrees conferred to Blacks by HBCUs. There are 31 HBCUs listed in Table 4 and three of these provided agriculture economics degrees: Fort Valley State University, Langston University, and Southern University and A&M College, Baton Rouge.

A check of the websites for Clark Atlanta University, Delaware State University, Fayetteville State University, Norfolk State University, Prairie View A&M University and the University of Arkansas–Pine Bluff indicates that these HBCUs no longer offer a bachelor's degree in economics. Despite the decrease in the number of HBCUs that conferred the economics bachelor's degrees, for the period 2006-2015 HBCUs conferred nearly 13% of the bachelor's degrees in economics down from 16% for the period 1996-2005.

For the period 1996-2015, Spelman College conferred 9% of bachelor's degrees conferred in economics to Black women. Spelman College, the only HBCU on the list that does not offer an undergraduate business degree, conferred more bachelor's degrees in economics than any other HBCU. Morehouse College, which offers a bachelor's degree in business, had the largest increase in economics degrees conferred to Blacks of any HBCU. Morehouse and Spelman are single-sex institutions that have historically had Black male and female faculty.

Given the number of economics degrees conferred by Morehouse and Spelman, one might expect one of them to be the number one feeder of undergraduates who pursue the doctorate in economics. But this is not the case. Howard University was the number one feeder of Black undergraduates who pursue the doctorate in economics (Sharpe & Swinton, 2012). Spelman was ranked 38th, and Morehouse was ranked sixth.⁹ Alabama A&M University (second), Southern University and A&M College, Baton Rouge (third), N.C. A&T University (fourth), and Tuskegee University (fifth) all have had a rich history of economics faculty being active in the NEA. Also, Alabama A&M and NC A&T have had a long history of Black women as tenured faculty.

A closer examination of Table 4 shows the gender divide. Again, comparing the two decades, HBCUs conferred 172 fewer degrees to women in 1996-2015 than in 1996-2005 but conferred 118 more degrees to men in 2006-2015 than in 1996-2005. Spelman

Table 4. Economics Degrees Conferred by Historically Black Colleges and Universities: 1996-2015.

Institution	Black Women				Black Men			
	1996-2005	2006-2015	Total	Difference	1996-2005	2006-2015	Total	Difference
Alabama A&M University	6	5	11	-1	7	9	16	2
Alcorn State University	73	42	115	-31	86	44	130	-42
Benedict College	9	31	40	22	6	25	31	19
Central State University	11	1	12	-10	12	1	13	-11
Clark Atlanta University	4	0	4	-4	8	0	8	-8
Delaware State University	1	0	1	-1				
Dillard University	12	2	14	-10	15	4	19	-11
Fayetteville State University	9	0	9	-9	7	0	7	-7
Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University	71	69	140	-2	98	133	231	35
Fort Valley State University	24	29	53	5	30	18	48	-12
Hampton University	12	9	21	-3	24	8	32	-16
Howard University	46	72	118	26	51	90	141	39
Johnson C. Smith University	0	6	6	6	2	8	10	6
Langston University	3	0	3	-3	1	0	1	-1
Lincoln University of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania	5	2	7	-3	8	0	8	-8
Morehouse College					136	206	342	70
Morgan State University	18	11	29	-7	13	19	32	6
Norfolk State University	5	0	5	-5	5	1	6	-4

(continued)

Table 4. (continued)

Institution	Black Women				Black Men			
	1996-2005	2006-2015	Total	Difference	1996-2005	2006-2015	Total	Difference
North Carolina Agricultural and Technical State University	54	68	122	14	45	94	139	49
Prairie View A&M University	11	0	11	-11	19	0	19	-19
Saint Augustine College					1	0	1	-1
Southern University and A&M College, Baton Rouge	28	16	44	-12	40	21	61	-19
Spelman College	501	407	908	-94				
Talladega College					1	0	1	-1
Texas Southern University	3	3	6	0	10	15	25	5
Tougaloo College	144	79	223	-65	76	85	161	9
Tuskegee University	6	5	11	-1	5	6	11	1
University of Arkansas Pine Bluff	3	0	3	-3	6	0	6	-6
University of the District of Columbia	16	28	44	12	29	52	81	23
West Virginia State University	3	9	12	6	1	1	2	0
Winston-Salem State University	5	17	22	12	6	26	32	20
Total	1,083	911	1,994	-172	748	866	1,614	118

Table 5. Top 10 Producers of Economics Degrees Conferred to Black Women: 1996-2015.

Institution	1996-2005	2006-2015	Total	Difference
Spelman College	501	407	908	-94
University of Maryland, College Park	118	166	284	48
CUNY, Lehman College	182	84	266	-98
Tougaloo College	144	79	223	-65
Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey, New Brunswick	109	62	171	-47
Ohio State University, The, Columbus	87	61	148	-26
Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University	71	69	140	-2
University of Florida	49	87	136	38
North Carolina Agricultural and Technical State University	54	68	122	14
Howard University	46	72	118	26
Total for 10 top producers	1,361	1,155	2,516	-206
Percent of all degrees awarded				

had the largest decrease for women, 94 fewer degrees, and Morehouse had the largest increase in degrees, conferred, 70. I shared these findings about Spelman with Romie Tribble,¹⁰ who suggested that Black women who in the past would have been economics majors were now majoring in international relations, a new major at Spelman. He reminded me that Spelman was still the top producer of Black women with bachelor's degrees in economics and encouraged me to look at the trends for other institutions.

What's the Problem?

Anecdotal evidence would suggest the lack of Black female faculty could explain the decrease in the number of economics degrees conferred to Black women. The top 10 producers of economics degrees conferred to Black women are presented in Table 5. Only four of the top 10 institutions have ever had a Black woman on the faculty: Spelman College, Florida A&M University, N.C. A&T University, and Howard University. In addition, of the economics departments with the largest increase in degrees conferred to Black women, John Jay College is the only one with Black women on the faculty (see Table 6). Tables 5 and 6 make it difficult to argue that the lack of Black women on the economics faculty explains the decrease in the number of economics degrees awarded to Black women.

The literature on the production of economics majors and lacks of women has focused on PhD granting institutions and institutions ranked in the top 100 for universities and liberal arts colleges. The top 100 institutions that conferred the most bachelor's degrees to Black men and women are presented in Table 7. A select few of these schools are nationally ranked in the top 100 for universities or colleges. Therefore, the research is not inclusive of the institutions that conferred the most degrees to Black women,

Table 6. Institutions With the Largest Increase in Degrees Awarded to Black Women.

Institution	1996-2005	2006-2015	Total	Difference
Georgia State University	19	97	116	78
University of Maryland, College Park	118	166	284	48
CUNY, John Jay College of Criminal Justice	0	43	43	43
University of Florida	49	87	136	38
University of Houston	24	62	86	38
University of Connecticut, Storrs	16	49	65	33
University of California, Riverside	3	36	39	33
CUNY, Queens College	24	55	79	31
Cornell University	22	53	75	31
CUNY, College of Staten Island	8	38	46	30
Total	283	686	969	403

much less the most economics degrees. Hence, it would be difficult to identify the issues deterring Black women from completing the bachelor's in economics and flawed logic to assume the issues facing White women are the same for Black women or any other women of color. In addition, a comparison of Table 8 with Table 5 shows that institutions ranked high for conferring bachelor's degrees to women in economics differ from those institutions that conferred the most bachelor's degrees in economics to Black women.

The final reason I'll explore are misconceptions about the economics major. Maria Zhu (2013) suggests that students see economics as a proxy for business or a pre-professional degree that doesn't require critical thinking or engagement with significant ideas. Each of the departments listed in Tables 5 and 6 offers courses that allow students to either have a business, social justice/policy, or development focus. Spelman's economics department offers a minor in management and organization and Georgia State, University of California–Riverside, and Florida A & M University offer a mix of economics and business as a major or certificate. This suggests that at these schools, economics may be a substitute for business.

In addition, Zhu suggested that economics classes that challenge neoclassical theory may be more appealing to women. Again, each of the departments listed in Tables 5 and 6 offers courses on labor, gender, urban economics, sports, Marxian theory, health care, or inequality.

What's Next?

A potential consequence of a decrease in the number of Black women who major in economics as undergraduates is fewer Black women available to go on to pursue and complete the doctorate in economics. However, comparing 1996-2005 with 2006-2105, the number of doctorates earned by Black women increased. Sharpe and Swinton

Table 7. Top 100 Institutions by Degrees Awarded to Black Men and Women: 1996-2015.

Rank	Women	No. of degrees	Men	No. of degrees
	Unknown institutions	69,917	Unknown institutions	41,862
1	University of Phoenix	25,544	Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University	9,613
2	Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University	16,484	Morehouse College	8,940
3	Howard University	15,659	University of Phoenix	8,802
4	Georgia State University	14,663	North Carolina Agricultural and Technical State University	8,379
5	Ashford University	12,974	Howard University	6,729
6	North Carolina Agricultural and Technical State University	11,813	Southern University and A&M College, Baton Rouge	6,158
7	Southern University and A&M College, Baton Rouge	11,306	Georgia State University	5,850
8	Temple University, Philadelphia	10,808	Prairie View A&M University	5,392
9	Jackson State University	10,583	Southern Illinois University, Carbondale	5,355
10	Hampton University	10,542	Jackson State University	5,305
11	The University of Memphis	9,832	Morgan State University	5,304
12	Chicago State University	9,638	University of Maryland University College	5,192
13	Tennessee State University	9,592	University of Maryland, College Park	5,177
14	North Carolina Central University	9,402	Tennessee State University	4,932
15	Florida State University	9,260	Hampton University	4,906
16	Norfolk State University	9,134	Temple University, Philadelphia	4,654
17	University of Maryland University College	9,072	Florida State University	4,626
18	Morgan State University	9,066	Florida International University	4,573
19	Spelman College	8,604	Norfolk State University	4,536
20	University of Central Florida	8,582	Grambling State University	4,505
21	University of South Florida, Tampa	8,582	University of Central Florida	4,427
22	Florida International University	8,556	Saint Leo University	4,399
23	Florida Atlantic University	8,441	Virginia State University	4,309
24	Prairie View A&M University	8,441	Ashford University	4,240
25	Virginia Commonwealth University	8,147	South Carolina State University	4,208
26	The College of New Rochelle	8,061	North Carolina Central University	4,167
27	University of Maryland, College Park	7,866	Alabama A&M University	4,156

(continued)

Table 7. (continued)

Rank	Women	No. of degrees	Men	No. of degrees
28	Clark Atlanta University	7,641	Texas Southern University	4,057
29	Winston-Salem State University	7,495	University of Florida	3,922
30	Grambling State University	7,483	Florida Atlantic University	3,857
31	Texas Southern University	7,427	University of South Florida, Tampa	3,852
32	CUNY, York College	7,391	The Ohio State University, Columbus	3,841
33	University of Florida	7,355	Park University	3,665
34	CUNY, Lehman College	7,321	Strayer University	3,611
35	Virginia State University	7,282	Georgia Southern University	3,611
36	Troy University, Troy	7,134	The University of Memphis	3,563
37	Saint Leo University	7,122	Alabama State University	3,456
38	Bowie State University	6,971	CUNY, City College	3,444
39	Old Dominion University	6,942	Bowie State University	3,434
40	Fayetteville State University	6,911	University of North Texas, Denton	3,423
41	The University of Texas at Arlington	6,819	University of Houston	3,408
42	The University of Southern Mississippi	6,806	Michigan State University	3,373
43	Wayne State University	6,766	University of South Carolina, Columbia	3,324
44	Strayer University	6,694	Troy University, Troy	3,300
45	South Carolina State University	6,661	Virginia Commonwealth University	3,206
46	CUNY, Brooklyn College	6,624	Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey, New Brunswick	3,179
47	University of South Carolina, Columbia	6,547	Chicago State University	3,139
48	California State University, Dominguez Hills	6,539	North Carolina State University	3,101
49	University of Houston	6,462	Fayetteville State University	2,981
50	CUNY, John Jay College of Criminal Justice	6,436	CUNY, Brooklyn College	2,980
51	Alabama State University	6,422	Winston-Salem State University	2,919
52	University of North Texas, Denton	6,394	The University of Texas at Arlington	2,881
53	Georgia Southern University	6,386	The University of Southern Mississippi	2,848
54	The Ohio State University, Columbus	6,262	Tuskegee University	2,829

(continued)

Table 7. (continued)

Rank	Women	No. of degrees	Men	No. of degrees
55	The University of North Carolina at Greensboro	6,193	The University of Illinois at Urbana–Champaign	2,823
56	Michigan State University	6,156	The University of North Carolina at Charlotte	2,792
57	University of Houston–Downtown	6,007	Old Dominion University	2,786
58	Alabama A&M University	5,877	Mississippi State University	2,782
59	CUNY, City College	5,798	Columbia College, Columbia, MO	2,736
60	The University of Alabama at Birmingham	5,783	Penn State Uni–University Park and Hershey Medical Ctr.	2,727
61	East Carolina University	5,690	CUNY, John Jay College of Criminal Justice	2,721
62	Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey, New Brunswick	5,683	Wayland Baptist University	2,679
63	Albany State University	5,630	CUNY, Baruch College	2,669
64	The University of North Carolina at Charlotte	5,625	Middle Tennessee State University	2,662
65	Southern Illinois University, Carbondale	5,589	DeVry University, Decatur	2,634
66	Xavier University of Louisiana	5,412	CUNY, York College	2,619
67	CUNY, Hunter College	5,379	East Carolina University	2,579
68	The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill	5,319	University of Arkansas Pine Bluff	2,578
69	Coppin State University	5,302	CUNY, Lehman College	2,567
70	Clayton State University	5,138	The University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa	2,564
71	Mississippi State University	4,992	University of Michigan, Ann Arbor	2,554
72	The University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa	4,973	Wayne State University	2,535
73	The University of Illinois at Urbana–Champaign	4,802	Eastern Michigan University	2,527
74	Eastern Michigan University	4,758	Arizona State University	2,510
75	CUNY, Baruch College	4,740	Alcorn State University	2,506
76	Alcorn State University	4,723	Clark Atlanta University	2,463
77	Southern University and A&M College, New Orleans	4,673	Albany State University	2,409
78	Monroe College, Bronx	4,577	University of Maryland Eastern Shore	2,404
79	Shaw University	4,509	St. John's University, New York	2,376
80	University of Georgia	4,465	Delaware State University	2,355

(continued)

Table 7. (continued)

Rank	Women	No. of degrees	Men	No. of degrees
81	University of Maryland Eastern Shore	4,464	Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge	2,348
82	Kean University	4,453	Benedict College	2,328
83	Tuskegee University	4,428	University of Washington	2,286
84	University of Arkansas Pine Bluff	4,421	George Mason University	2,278
85	University of Michigan, Ann Arbor	4,364	Bethune–Cookman University	2,261
86	University of Louisiana at Lafayette	4,334	California State University, Dominguez Hills	2,253
87	Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge	4,312	Liberty University	2,253
88	Mississippi Valley State University	4,282	Georgia Institute of Technology, Atlanta	2,200
89	Middle Tennessee State University	4,252	The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill	2,174
90	Texas Woman's University	4,245	Savannah State University	2,172
91	Bethune–Cookman University	4,237	Excelsior College	2,166
92	Towson University	4,235	California State University, Northridge	2,148
93	Valdosta State University	4,225	University of Houston–Downtown	2,127
94	Delaware State University	4,198	The University of Texas at Austin	2,120
95	Penn State Uni–University Park and Hershey Medical Ctr.	4,194	The University of Alabama at Birmingham	2,095
96	Park University	4,158	DeVry University, Chicago	2,079
97	California State University, Northridge	4,157	University of Cincinnati	2,036
98	CUNY, Medgar Evers College	4,131	Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University	2,034
99	St. John's University, New York	4,123	Shaw University	2,033
100	Mercer University, Macon	4,038	University of the District of Columbia	2,033

(2012) find that the lag between the bachelor's degree and entry to a doctoral program for Blacks is on average 3.8 years with an additional 8 years to complete the doctorate. Therefore, the lag between the bachelor's and doctorate is nearly 12 years. Hence, the effect of the decrease in the number of bachelor's degrees in economics earned by Black women on the doctorate pipeline may not be observed for another decade.

While the focus of this article has been Black women, Table 9 shows that the number of doctorates earned by Black men has declined, which given the increase in the

Table 8. Top 50 Institutions by Economics BS Degrees Awarded to Women: 1996-2015.

Rank	Academic institution	1996-2005	2006-2015	Total	Year difference
1	University of California, Los Angeles	2,038	2,963	5,001	925
2	University of California, Berkeley	1,564	2,028	3,592	464
3	University of California, San Diego	804	1,763	2,567	959
4	Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey, New Brunswick	1,471	999	2,470	-472
5	University of California, Irvine	1,301	1,103	2,404	-198
6	New York University	754	1,609	2,363	855
7	University of Washington	883	1,293	2,176	410
8	University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign	911	1,081	1,992	170
9	University of Michigan, Ann Arbor	955	1,019	1,974	64
10	University of California, Davis	657	1,266	1,923	609
11	The University of Texas at Austin	910	869	1,779	-41
12	University of Virginia, Charlottesville	942	831	1,773	-111
13	University of Maryland, College Park	629	1,101	1,730	472
14	Cornell University	550	1,136	1,686	586
15	University of Florida	519	1,043	1,562	524
16	Northwestern University, Evanston	672	791	1,463	119
17	The University of Chicago	604	830	1,434	226
18	Harvard University	653	774	1,427	121
19	Wellesley College	641	765	1,406	124
20	Columbia University in the City of New York	594	770	1,364	176
21	University of Wisconsin-Madison	453	824	1,277	371
22	University of Pennsylvania	638	608	1,246	-30
23	Duke University	628	613	1,241	-15
24	Boston University	562	677	1,239	115
25	University of Minnesota, Twin Cities	366	801	1,167	435
26	Barnard College	576	589	1,165	13
27	The Ohio State University, Columbus	507	645	1,152	138
28	SUNY, Binghamton University	499	632	1,131	133
29	Smith College	548	556	1,104	8
30	The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill	415	632	1,047	217
31	Boston College	438	599	1,037	161
32	Vanderbilt University	532	495	1,027	-37
33	Stanford University	589	436	1,025	-153
34	CUNY, Queens College	285	725	1,010	440
35	Texas A&M University, College Station	475	535	1,010	60
36	University of Massachusetts Amherst	475	497	972	22
37	Spelman College	521	436	957	-85

(continued)

Table 8. (continued)

Rank	Academic institution	1996-2005	2006-2015	Total	Year difference
38	University of Colorado Boulder	397	511	908	114
39	Penn State Uni—University Park and Hershey Medical Ctr.	201	677	878	476
40	San Diego State University	349	512	861	163
41	University of Connecticut, Storrs	292	563	855	271
42	CUNY, Hunter College	398	452	850	54
43	Yale University	370	459	829	89
44	Emory University	322	495	817	173
45	SUNY, University at Albany	423	375	798	-48
46	University of California, Santa Cruz	378	418	796	40
47	University of Southern California	303	488	791	185
48	The University of Utah	313	477	790	164
49	Dartmouth College	320	467	787	147
50	Georgetown University	414	371	785	-43
Top 50 total		31,039	40,599	71,638	9,560
Total for women		65,773	85,190	150,963	19,417

number of BS economic degrees earned by Black men, is cause for alarm. Despite the decrease in the number of doctorates earned by Black men, the Black doctorate gender gap was still nearly 2-to-1. For the 20-year period, it is also worth noting that there was an increase in the number of doctorates earned by Hispanic men and a decrease in the number of doctorates earned by Asian men.

Finally, Table 10 shows that initiatives focused on increasing the number of Black doctorates in economics should not focus on top-ranked programs as these programs are not the top producers of Black economists. Howard University, an HBCU, is the number one producer of Black doctorates. Sharpe and Swinton (2018) suggest that HBCUs should be the focus of partnerships to increase the diversity of the economics profession. If we are to have more Black economists and reduce the Black gender degree gap, at the bachelors and doctorate levels, the profession, in general, and the NEA specifically, must provide support for programs that have a history of producing Black economists, especially Black women.

At the Women's Institute for Science, Equity and Race, we believe a microanalysis approach draws different conclusions for each race/ethnic group. Therefore, research examining who majors in economics must be inclusive of colleges and universities that are top producers of Asian, Black, Hispanic, and Native American economists versus inclusive of top producers of economists of color. Research aimed at increasing diversity that does not include the voices of those underrepresented in the profession is hollow.

As the NEA approaches its 50th anniversary, below are a few recommendations that I believe fulfill our mission: to promote the professional lives of minority economists.

Table 9. Economics Doctorates Degrees Conferred: 1996-2015.

Race and ethnicity	Gender	1996-2005	2006-2015	Total	Year difference	Growth 1996-2015 (%)
Black	Female	46	52	98	6	13
	Male	130	101	231	-29	-22
	Subtotal	176	153	329	-23	-13
	Gender difference	-84	-49	-133	35	-42
Hispanic	Female	54	67	121	13	24
	Male	131	160	291	29	22
	Subtotal	185	227	412	42	23
	Gender difference	-77	-93	-170	-16	21
Native American	Female	4	5	9	1	25
	Male	3	7	10	4	133
	Subtotal	7	12	19	5	71
	Gender difference	1	-2	-1	-3	-300
Asian	Female	185	277	462	92	50
	Male	297	269	566	-28	-9
	Subtotal	482	546	1,028	64	13
	Gender difference	-112	8	-104	120	-107
White	Female	1,004	918	1,922	-86	-9
	Male	2,378	2,159	4,537	-219	-9
	Subtotal	3,382	3,077	6,459	-305	-9
	Gender difference	-1,374	-1,241	-2,615	133	-10
Other	Female	104	222	326	118	113
	Male	248	404	652	156	63
	Subtotal	352	626	978	274	78
	Gender difference	-144	-182	-326	-38	26
Temporary	Female	1,419	2,497	3,916	1,078	76
	Male	4,342	4,649	8,991	307	7
	Subtotal	5,761	7,146	12,907	1,385	24
	Gender difference	-2,923	-2,152	-5,075	771	-26
Total	Women	2,816	4,038	6,854	1,222	43
	Men	7,529	7,749	15,278	220	3
	Total	10,345	11,787	22,132	1,442	14
	Gender difference	-4,713	-3,711	-8,424	1,002	-21

1. Establish student chapters in areas with large populations of Black and Hispanic students, for example, Washington, DC (Maryland), Atlanta, Boston. Creating regional/metro chapters has the advantage of pooling resources and allows the advising of the chapters to be shared between several institutions;
2. Provide professional development sessions at the ASSA meetings. Last year, CSWEP offered media training to its membership.

Table 10. Institutions That Conferred Doctorate Economics Degrees to Blacks: 1996-2015.

Rank	Institution	Black women				Black men				Both	
		1996-2005	2006-2015	Subtotal	Difference	1996-2005	2006-2015	Subtotal	Difference	Total	Total
1	Howard University	6	3	9	-3	8	8	16	0	25	25
2	University of California, Berkeley	4	4	8	0	3	4	7	1	15	15
3	American University	3	2	5	-1	5	3	8	-2	13	13
4	The New School	2	1	3	-1	5	5	10	0	13	13
5	University of Florida	1	3	4	2	3	3	6	0	10	10
6	Wayne State University	3	1	4	-2	5	1	6	-4	10	10
7	Fordham University	1	0	1	-1	5	3	8	-2	9	9
8	Harvard University	3	1	4	-2	3	1	4	-2	8	8
9	University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign	2	0	2	-2	4	2	6	-2	8	8
10	Claremont Graduate University	1	1	2	0	2	3	5	1	7	7
11	Georgia State University	0	3	3	3	1	3	4	2	7	7
12	The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill	2	2	4	0	2	1	3	-1	7	7
13	George Mason University	1	0	1	-1	4	1	5	-3	6	6
14	Massachusetts Institute of Technology	1	2	3	1	1	2	3	1	6	6
15	Michigan State University	1	1	2	0	2	2	4	0	6	6
16	University of Maryland, College Park	0	2	2	2	4	0	4	-4	6	6
17	University of Massachusetts Amherst	1	0	1	-1	4	1	5	-3	6	6
18	University of Michigan, Ann Arbor	0	0	0	0	2	4	6	2	6	6
19	University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee	1	1	2	0	3	1	4	-2	6	6

(continued)

Table 10. (continued)

Rank	Institution	Black women				Black men				Both	
		1996-2005	2006-2015	Subtotal	Difference	1996-2005	2006-2015	Subtotal	Difference	Total	Total
20	SUNY, Binghamton University	0	1	1	1	3	1	4	-2	5	5
21	CUNY, Graduate Center	0	0	0	0	3	1	4	-2	4	4
22	Kansas State University	0	0	0	0	2	2	4	0	4	4
23	Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge	0	1	1	1	2	1	3	-1	4	4
24	North Carolina State University	0	1	1	1	1	2	3	1	4	4
25	The Ohio State University, Columbus	0	1	1	1	2	1	3	-1	4	4
26	Penn State Uni—University Park & Hershey Med Ctr.	0	0	0	0	4	0	4	-4	4	4
27	Princeton University	1	1	2	0	2	0	2	-2	4	4
28	Purdue University, West Lafayette	0	1	1	1	1	2	3	1	4	4
29	Southern Illinois University, Carbondale	0	0	0	0	0	4	4	4	4	4
30	Temple University, Philadelphia	0	1	1	1	2	1	3	-1	4	4
31	University of Georgia	2	0	2	-2	1	1	2	0	4	4
32	University of Nebraska-Lincoln	1	0	1	-1	0	3	3	3	4	4
33	University of Notre Dame	0	1	1	1	1	2	3	1	4	4
34	University of Wisconsin—Madison	0	0	0	0	2	2	4	0	4	4
35	Columbia University in the City of New York	0	1	1	1	2	0	2	-2	3	3
36	Cornell University	0	1	1	1	0	2	2	2	3	3
37	Northwestern University, Evanston	1	0	1	-1	2	0	2	-2	3	3
38	Stanford University	0	0	0	0	3	0	3	-3	3	3

(continued)

Table 10. (continued)

Rank	Institution	Black women				Black men				Both	
		1996-2005	2006-2015	Subtotal	Difference	1996-2005	2006-2015	Subtotal	Difference	Total	Total
39	Texas A&M University, College Station	0	1	1	1	1	1	2	0	3	3
40	University of Arizona, The	1	1	2	0	1	0	1	-1	3	3
41	University of California, Irvine	0	0	0	0	3	0	3	-3	3	3
42	University of California, Riverside	1	0	1	-1	0	2	2	2	3	3
43	University of Kentucky	0	0	0	0	0	3	3	3	3	3
44	Clark University	0	0	0	0	1	1	2	0	2	2
45	Clemson University	0	1	1	1	1	0	1	-1	2	2
46	Florida International University	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	-2	2	2
47	The George Washington University	0	1	1	1	1	0	1	-1	2	2
48	Indiana University, Bloomington	0	0	0	0	1	1	2	0	2	2
49	Middle Tennessee State University	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	2	2	2
50	University of California, Santa Cruz	0	1	1	1	1	0	1	-1	2	2
51	University of Connecticut, Storrs	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	-2	2	2
52	University of Houston	1	0	1	-1	1	0	1	-1	2	2
53	University of Missouri, Columbia	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	-2	2	2
54	University of Oklahoma, The, Norman	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	-2	2	2
55	University of Southern California	1	0	1	-1	0	1	1	1	2	2
56	The University of Southern Mississippi	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	2	2
57	Western Michigan University	0	2	2	2	0	0	0	0	2	2

(continued)

Table 10. (continued)

Rank	Institution	Black women				Black men				Both	
		1996-2005	2006-2015	Subtotal	Difference	1996-2005	2006-2015	Subtotal	Difference	Total	Total
58	Yale University	1	0	1	-1	0	1	1	1	1	2
59	Arizona State University	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
60	Brown University	1	0	1	-1	0	0	0	0	0	1
61	The Catholic University of America	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
62	Columbia University, Teachers College	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
63	Duke University	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
64	Emory University	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
65	Florida State University	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
66	Georgetown University	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
67	Iowa State University	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	-1	1	1
68	New York University	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
69	Northeastern University	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	-1	1	1
70	Northern Illinois University	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
71	Oklahoma State University, Stillwater	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	-1	1	1
72	Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, Troy	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
73	Rice University	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
74	SUNY, Stony Brook University	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
75	Texas Tech University	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
76	University of Arkansas, Fayetteville	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	-1	1	1
77	University of Chicago, The	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
78	University of Colorado Boulder	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	-1	1	1

(continued)

Table 10. (continued)

Rank	Institution	Black women				Black men				Both	
		1996-2005	2006-2015	Subtotal	Difference	1996-2005	2006-2015	Subtotal	Difference	Total	Total
79	University of Delaware	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	-1	1	1
80	University of Illinois at Chicago	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	-1	1	1
81	University of Iowa	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	-1	1	1
82	University of Kansas, Lawrence	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
83	University of Minnesota, Twin Cities	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
84	University of Oregon, Eugene	1	0	1	-1	0	0	0	0	1	1
85	University of Pennsylvania	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
86	University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
87	University of South Carolina, Columbia	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	-1	1	1
88	The University of Texas at Austin	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
89	The University of Utah	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
90	University of Washington	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
91	Virginia Polytechnic Institute & State University	1	0	1	-1	0	0	0	0	1	1
92	Washington University in St. Louis	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	-1	1	1
93	West Virginia University	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	-1	1	1
94	Total	46	52	98	6	130	101	231	-29	329	329

3. Apply for a grant to fund travel to the AEA/ASHE Conference;
4. Support the Review of Black Political Economy (RBPE) by submitting articles and book reviews, serve as guest editors for special issues, serve as reviewers, and cite articles published in the RBPE and other Black economists (Price, 2008);
5. Sponsor the membership of an undergraduate or graduate student to the NEA.

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Notes

1. <https://www.phdexcellence.org>
2. William Rodgers, President of the NEA in 2003, served as Director of the AEA Mentoring Program from 2005 to 2012.
3. Current AEA Mentoring Program Director Marie Mora established the Lewis-Oaxaca Lecture. Mora served as President of the American Society of Hispanic Economists from 2006 to 2010.
4. The gender gap is consistent across race and ethnicity and presented in Figure 2.
5. Alice Wu's (2017) senior thesis does not address if any of the sexist comments were directed at women of color.
6. See Conrad, 1996; Eubanks, 1996; Salemi & Eubanks, 1996; Asata & Butters, 2012; and Siegfried & Round, 2000; Rask & Tiefenthaler, 2008.
7. Asians are not included in the minority group and may be included as "White"; therefore, Stock's estimates may be biased.
8. See Bettinger & Terry-Long (2005); Portor & Sera, (2018); and Rask & Bailey, (2002).
9. Harvard University was ranked second.
10. Romie Tribble is the only full professor in the economics department at Spelman.

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