

Understanding Racial Disparities in Unemployment Rates

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Executive Summary

For the last 70 years, a racial gap in unemployment has existed in the United States. From near parity in the 1940s, the black-white ratio in unemployment grew to what is today over two to one. In Minnesota, the black-white unemployment gap is significantly higher reaching 4.2 to 1 and 3.7 to 1 for males and females in 2008.

The reasons for the gap are fourfold: regional shifts and migratory patterns, disparities in education, changing occupational and industrial composition, and fluctuations in the business cycle. Despite recognition of many of these underlying causes, the gap persists. Narrowly tailored solutions must be defined in order to eliminate the disparity.

In order to design effective solutions to the unemployment gap problem, there are four areas that should be further explored, each with the potential to reduce the gap. The areas for further examination are: the role of minority self-employment as buffer for unemployment, the role of government contracting and procurement policies relating to women and minority-owned business enterprises, the role of apprenticeship programs in preparing minorities for employment in building and construction trades, and the role of technical schools in preparing students for areas of job growth. If properly designed and implemented, these measures may prove effective in reducing the racial gap in unemployment.

Two key unknown contextual variables—the future of key industries like health care and housing as well as the impact of government stimulus on—will undoubtedly shape employment in the coming years. Their impact must be carefully monitored in order to provide insight into both causes and potential solutions to the racial gap in unemployment.

Introduction

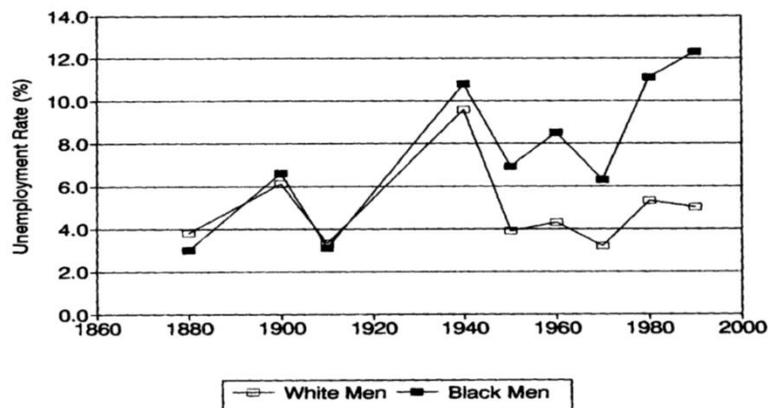
Racial disparities in unemployment exist throughout the nation and are especially pronounced in Minnesota. Though some of the causes and patterns of the disparities are known, further inquiry is necessary to define narrowly tailored solutions¹. This paper outlines current knowledge about the disparities nationally and in Minnesota, highlights the unknowns, and identifies what we need to know in order to narrowly tailor effective solutions to eliminate racial disparities in unemployment.²

What Do We Know About Black-White Gaps in Unemployment?

The National Black-White Gap

Long term unemployment trends illustrate the decisively growing gap between black and white laborers. The unemployment rate is defined as the percentage of the non-school, non-institutionalized labor force who are unemployed.

Figure 1: Unemployment Rates by Race



Source: Fairlie, R. & Sundstrom, W. (1997). The Racial Unemployment Gap in Long-Run Perspective. *The American Economic Review*. 87 (2), 306-310.

Figure 1 shows that, despite relative equality in unemployment from 1880 to 1940, the latter half of the century brought an increasingly divided working population nationally: “The ratio of black to white unemployment rates actually grew from rough parity as late as 1940 to approximately 2: 1 by 1960 and to more than 2: 1 by 1990 (Fairlie & Sundstrom, 1997).” As is

¹ “Narrowly tailored” in this sense refers to the utilization of the smallest racial preference needed to achieve a compelling interest; or being only as broad as is reasonably necessary to promote a substantial governmental interest that would be achieved less effectively without the restriction (Ayres & Foster, 2005). This concept will be discussed in more detail later.

² This analysis was originally prepared for the Ramsey County / City of Saint Paul Blue Ribbon Commission on Reducing Racial Employment Disparities.

clear from the figure, the divergence of the unemployment rate seems to have originated during the Depression era, widening steadily to the present.

There are four factors that we know have led, at least in part, to the divergence in rates of unemployment between blacks and whites. The first is regional shifts and migration patterns. An example—albeit a fairly extreme one—of how such shifts lead to higher unemployment rates is found in the Great Migration years of the 1940s and 50s, as black laborers moved away from the agrarian South to the North. The result of the shift was growing rates of unemployment in the black population during those years, as seen in Figure 1 (Fairlie & Sundstrom, 1997). Throughout the last half century, as black laborers moved from geographic and occupational zones with low-unemployment to those with higher unemployment, they've struggled to find jobs.

A second cause of diverging rates of unemployment is educational disparity. Those who are more educated are less likely to be unemployed. Historically, the black population has tended to be less educated, resulting in higher unemployment. This trend is substantiated by the finding that the gap in unemployment is wider for black laborers with less education and narrower for black workers with more education (Fairlie & Couch, 2010).

A third factor leading to the gap in unemployment is changing occupational and industrial composition. As the United States continues to move away from a manufacturing-based economy toward service-based one, demand for the types of jobs in which blacks were often concentrated have disappeared, forcing many into unemployment.

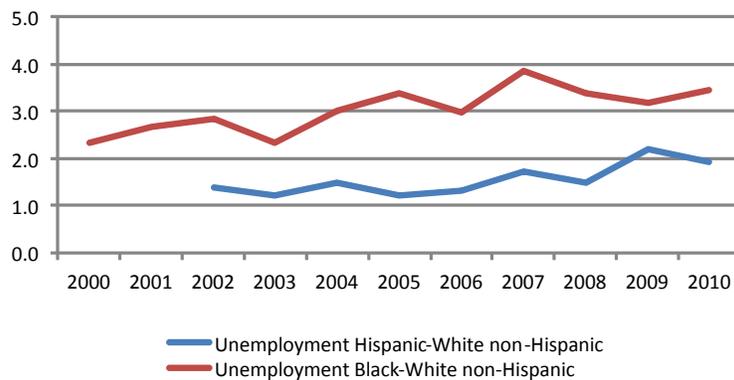
The last factor contributing to the disparity in black-white unemployment levels is the fluctuating business cycle. Fairlie and Couch (2010) have shown that historically, over the course of the business cycle, the black-white gap in unemployment has widened during downturns and narrowed during recovery. The explanation is that during a downturn, blacks are the first to be fired and during recovery—when there is substantial demand for labor—they are quickly rehired. Freeman and Rogers (1999) similarly found a correlation between economic slowdown and higher employment for African American men: “We find that young men, especially young African American men in tight labor markets experienced a boost in employment and earnings.”

What is interesting about this last point is that, while much of the nation followed this pattern during the most recent downturn, Minnesota did not. Why Minnesota did not follow this pattern will be detailed later.

Minnesota's Black-White Gap

Minnesota, like the rest of the nation, faces a growing black-white gap in unemployment. The gap in Minnesota however, is substantially larger than that in the aggregate United States. Whereas the black-white unemployment ratio in the United States in recent years has hovered somewhere around 2.2 to 1, Minnesota's black-white unemployment ratio has been as high as 3.9 to 1 in 2007—nearly double that found in the rest of the country (Figure 2).³ Minnesota's Hispanic-white unemployment ratio, though less pronounced, still depicts rising disparity. In 2002, the ratio of Hispanic to white unemployment was 1.4 to 1 (Figure 2). By 2007, it had risen to 1.7 to 1 (Figure 2).⁴ The Native American unemployment ratio could not be computed due to insufficient observations.

Figure 2: Unemployment Ratio (Minnesota)



Source: BLS-LAUS, 2000-2010, Minnesota

What can be gleaned from Figure 2 is threefold. The first two lessons have already been discussed: the black-white unemployment gap in Minnesota is much larger than the national average and the black-white unemployment gap is larger than the Hispanic-white gap. The third point is interesting precisely because it contradicts the well-documented trend discussed above that black-white unemployment tends to widen during economic downturns and narrow during recovery. In fact, the black-white unemployment gap in Minnesota narrowed during the downturn. Figure 2 shows that in 2007, the ratio of black unemployment to white unemployment was 3.9 to 1. By 2008 it had decreased to 3.4 to 1 and again in 2009, the ratio

³ The two main sources of data used to create these estimates were the Bureau of Labor Statistics, Local Area Unemployment Statistics (BLS-LAUS) for Minnesota and the American Community Survey (ACS) 2007-2009. Both are collected by the US Census, yet neither is a census. Both the BLS-LAUS and the American Community Survey come from the Current Population Survey—a small, rotating monthly survey.

was down to 3.2 to 1. Intriguingly however, the gap in Hispanic-white unemployment did follow the stated trend, growing from 1.5 to 1 at the start of the recession to 2.2 to 1 in 2009 (Figure 2).

Let’s take a look at the black-white unemployment gap a bit more closely to see what happened in those recession years to narrow the disparity. Table 1 gives some background on the growth of Minnesota’s black and white labor force in the years prior to the recession.

Figure 3: Growth Rates in the Number of Persons in the Civilian Non-Institutionalized Labor Force vs. Employment

	2000 to 2005	2005 to 2010
Civilian Non-Institutionalized Labor Force		
White	3.7%	0.9%
African American	25.3%	5.8%
Employment		
White	3.2%	-2.1%
African American	19.5%	-6.5%

Source: Author’s computations from BLS-LAUS, 2000-2010

From 2000 to 2005, growth in the African American civilian non-institutionalized labor force was rapid, at 25.3%, almost seven times greater than growth in the white civilian non-institutionalized labor force, which grew at 3.7% (Table 1). Growth in employment for African Americans was also robust, at 19.5%, while white employment was growing more slowly at 3.2% (Table 1), meaning African American employment was growing at six times the speed of white employment during the period between 2000 and 2005. But, black employment during this period was growing more slowly than the civilian non-institutionalized labor force.

From 2005-2010, there was a slowing in the growth of the civilian non-institutionalized labor force for both blacks and whites. Whereas the African American labor force grew at a rate of 5.8%, the white civilian non-institutionalized labor force only grew at 0.9% (Table 1). Again, black labor force growth outpaced white growth by some 6 times. During this period, both populations saw employment retrenchment decrease growth in employment. Growth in white employment declined by 2.1% while black employment declined by 6.5% (Table 1). Black employment therefore fell three times as quickly as it did for whites. And, again, the black labor force growth outstripped changes in black employment. This is the background for understanding the widening racial gap in unemployment rates.

Table 2 gives a more thorough account of why the gap in fact narrowed during the recession.⁵

Table 2: Rates of Unemployment During the Recession (Minneapolis-St. Paul)

	Men						Ratios		
	White			Black			Black / White		
	2007	2008	2009	2007	2008	2009	2007	2008	2009
Minneapolis - St Paul Metro Area	5.14	4.6	8.99	17.2	19.2	21.4	3.34	4.16	2.37
<i>Hennepin County</i>	5.17	4.65	8.48	15.9	21.4	26.2	3.07	4.60	3.09
<i>Ramsey County</i>	5.84	5.71	9.72	24.9	26.2	19.9	4.26	4.60	2.05
	Women						Ratios		
Minneapolis - St Paul Metro Area	4.59	3.67	5.7	16.9	13.6	14.9	3.69	3.72	2.62
<i>Hennepin County</i>	5.15	3.99	5.09	19.7	16.2	16.1	3.83	4.05	3.17
<i>Ramsey County</i>	4.47	6.52	4.8	7.34	7.45	8.55	1.64	1.14	1.78

Source: American Community Survey (2007-2009).

Using merged American Community Survey data from 2007 – 2009, unemployment rates were computed for the seven county Twin-Cities Metropolitan area as well for the two most populous counties in Minnesota: Hennepin and Ramsey. In the period from 2007 to 2009, white male unemployment nearly doubled, from 5.14% to 8.99% (Table 2). Such an effect is expected, given the recession.⁶ The national recession began in the 4th quarter of 2007 and ended in the 2nd quarter of 2009. Black male unemployment increased as well, but not as substantially as it did in the white male population. The black male population saw rates rise from 17.2% to 21.4% (Table 2). While both white and black male unemployment increased during the recession, white male unemployment outpaced that of black males and thus, the ratio of black male unemployment to white male unemployment actually decreased during the recession from 3.34 to 2.37 (Table 2).

In short, the racial gap in unemployment rates widened at the start of the recession and then narrowed towards the end of the recession. However, labor force participation rates dropped significantly for black males and black females from 2007 to 2009 and the decline was much greater for blacks than it was for whites. Another reason for the finding that the racial gap in unemployment rates narrowed during the last stages of the recession is that

⁵ Cautionary notes: This analysis is based on a small sample. Another important caveat is that unemployment is calculated based only on those actively looking for work. Therefore, if would-be laborers get discouraged and discontinue their search for work, they are effectively dropped from the unemployment count.

⁶ According to the National Bureau of Economics, the recession officially began in December, 2007.

unemployment rates for black males during that period were already extraordinarily high, so black male unemployment simply lacked the flexibility to escalate, whereas the white male population had more jobs to lose.

The racial gap in unemployment rates widened only slightly between 2007 and 2008 between black women and white women, but then narrowed significantly from 2008 to 2009. Whereas white women experienced an increase in unemployment from 4.59% in 2007 to 5.7% in 2009 (Table 2), black females saw their unemployment levels decrease from 16.9% to 14.9% (Table 2) in the same period. Much of this can be attributed to withdrawals from the labor market. In the Appendix we report the substantial drop in black labor force participation from 2007 to 2009 in the Twin Cities Metropolitan area. The evidence shows that black women were abandoning the job search, thereby dropping out of the unemployment figures. This explanation is supported by a decrease in the labor force participation rate for black women. In 2008, the rate was 69.5 and by 2009, the rate had dropped to 66.11 (American Community Survey, 2007-2009) (see Appendix).

The net effect of the abovementioned fluctuations was a narrowing of the racial gap in unemployment during the recession. This is especially unnerving considering Minnesota's historically low unemployment and highly educated populace.

We know that there were fluctuations in unemployment, but how can we explain them? Charles Betsey, one of the first economists to recognize the black and white unemployment gap, published an important article in 1978 stating that differences in schooling, age, previous training and other demographic characteristics accounted for only two-fifths of the black-white gap. Interestingly, he pointed to the duration and number of spells of unemployment as having a significantly greater negative effect on black males than white: "Among blacks," he said, "each spell of unemployment results in about two additional weeks of future joblessness; for whites, on average, each occurrence results in a day's future job loss."

Utilizing merged ACS data from 2007 to 2009, we ran a similar regression to Betsey's to determine how much Minnesota unemployment could be explained by the following characteristics: age, education, location, industry, occupation and year. The results showed that only about 25 percent of the racial gap in unemployment rates could be explained by more than fifty independent correlates capturing demographic, location, industry and occupational determinants.⁷

⁷ The details of the full regression results can be found at www.hhh.umn.edu/centers/Wilkins/USCivilRightsHearings/Regression_results.xls

What Do We Not Know?

There are two critical unknowns that will impact the racial gap in unemployment in the near future. The first is the development—or lack thereof—of three key industries that are currently in flux: health care, construction, and manufacturing. Health care employs a large number of semi-skilled workers. The industry’s growth or decline will determine future opportunity for those semi-skilled workers. Construction is heavily dependent on the housing market and again, whether the market returns to normalcy will influence employment rates. And lastly, the fate of manufacturing, which continues to move outside the United States’ borders, will determine the job prospects of many.

The second unknown is the influence of government spending on the racial gap in unemployment. Federal stimulus expenditures and state, local, and county government contracting and procurement expenditures will have different impacts on the various sectors of the economy. For example, stimulus money that creates jobs in the construction industry will likely benefit male workers over female workers. However, stimulus money has also been allocated to technology training and supportive services for women and minorities that are underrepresented in infrastructure-related jobs.

How each of these two unknowns evolves will, in part, determine the direction of the black-white gap in unemployment.

What do we need to know before we can define narrowly tailored solutions?

Prior to identifying what we need to know to design narrowly tailored solutions, the term “narrowly tailored” should be clarified. The term was formally outlined by the United States Supreme Court in its *Shaw v. Hunt* (1996) ruling. The decision stated, “Even in the limited circumstance when drawing racial distinctions is permissible to further a compelling state interest, government is still “constrained in how it may pursue that end: [T]he means chosen to accomplish the [government’s] asserted purpose must be specifically and narrowly framed to accomplish that purpose.”

Therefore, in defining narrowly tailored solutions to the racial gap in unemployment, a delicate balance must be reached in which the means used to reduce the gap in unemployment—the “solutions”—recognize racial distinctions only in so far as to accomplish the specific goal of narrowing the black-white unemployment gap.

There are four areas of further exploration and examination that may lend direction to how best to define narrowly tailored solutions. The first is the role of minority self-employment as buffer for unemployment. Currently, if a worker is laid off, she may choose to go into business for herself, in which case she would not be eligible to receive unemployment

insurance. Clearly this is a deterrent to self-employment. If the purpose is to promote entrepreneurial activity, providing unemployment insurance to those who are attempting to start businesses after being laid off may prove a critical area of support.

The second area to explore is the role of government contracting and procurement policies relating to women and minority-owned business enterprises. An example of one such governmental policy is the United States Department of Transportation's (DOT) Disadvantaged Business Enterprise (DBE) program. The program, "Ensure[s] nondiscrimination in the award and administration of DOT-assisted contracts in the Department's highway, transit, airport, and highway safety financial assistance programs (US Department of Transportation)." However, there is question about whether the DBE requirements are being relaxed during the downturn because of the belief that these government regulations are making it more difficult for minorities to participate.

The Springboard Economic Development Corporation, a Minnesota nonprofit, recently put out a report claiming that the Minnesota Department of Transportation (MnDOT) has failed to meet its defined DBE goals. The report stated, "All transportation stakeholders here in [Minnesota] recognize that there are problems with the implementation of the program in [Minnesota] and that results to date are not what we nor MnDOT expect (Springboard Economic Development Corporation, 2011)."

While government contracting and procurement policies have the potential to act as narrowly tailored solutions, their impact is largely reliant on proper enforcement.

The third area for exploration is the role of apprenticeship programs in preparing minorities for employment in building and construction trades. Although we're in a downturn, the proposed solutions for recovery are heavily geared toward infrastructure investments which target occupations that need specific skills like construction. But those are precisely the fields where minorities are underrepresented. Apprenticeship programs would build the skills of those underrepresented groups so they could take advantage of the growing opportunities in the building and construction trades as electricians, contractors or carpenters.

The final area that should be examined is the role of community colleges and technical schools in preparing students for areas of job growth. Between 2007 and 2010, community college enrollment increased by more than 20% nationally (Phillipe & Mullin, 2011). Minnesota technical and community colleges followed trend. From 2008 to 2009, every Minnesota State Colleges and Universities (MnSCU) technical or community college increased enrollment, save one (Rainy River Community College). The average increase in enrollment was 8.7% (Office of the Chancellor Research and Planning, 2010). From 2009 to 2010, growth in enrollment in MnSCU community and technical schools slowed slightly to an average of 7.7%, and only one

school decreased enrollment (Dakota County Technical College) (Office of the Chancellor Research and Planning, 2010). As enrollment increases, the influence that these schools have in preparing the future labor force only grows.

Conclusion

For the last 70 years, the black-white gap in unemployment has been growing in the United States. The racial gap in unemployment is significantly higher in Minnesota than it is nationally. The reasons for the gap are fourfold: regional shifts and migratory patterns, disparities in education, changing occupational and industrial composition, and fluctuations in the business cycle. Despite knowledge of the underlying causes, more must be understood in order to narrowly tailor solutions to the gap. Exploration into the role of minority self-employment as buffer for unemployment, the role of government contracting and procurement policies relating to women and minority-owned business enterprises, the role of apprenticeship programs in preparing minorities for employment in building and construction trades, and the role of technical schools in preparing students for areas of job growth could all provide direction in how best to construct those solutions. Two key unknown contextual variables—the future of key industries like health care and housing as well as the impact of government stimulus—will undoubtedly shape the employment arena in the coming years and their impact must be carefully monitored.

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Appendix: Labor Force Participation Rates (2007-2009)

Metropolitan Area	2007			2008			2009		
	%	Lin. Std Err		%	Lin. Std Err		%	Lin. Std Err	
Total	73.77	0.0039		74.8	0.0038		73.2	0.0039	
Men	79.54	0.0050		79.97	0.0050		78.12	0.0051	
Women	68.11	0.0058		69.79	0.0056		68.49	0.0057	
White non-Hispanic	73.95	0.0041		75.03	0.00397		73.72	0.0041	
Men	79.87	0.0053		79.96	0.0053		78.41	0.0054	
Women	68.22	0.0061		70.27	0.0059		69.25	0.0059	
Black or African American non-Hispanic	72.1	0.0197		71.42	0.0195		68.64	0.0187	
Men	75.48	0.0259		73.56	0.0283		71.11	0.0261	
Women	68.33	0.0295		69.5	0.0270		66.11	0.0266	
Hispanic	78.23	0.0227		77.49	0.0208		76.45	0.0208	
Men	88.04	0.0210		87.79	0.0193		83.39	0.0246	
Women	67.35	0.0391		64.4	0.0367		67.94	0.0339	

Anoka County	2007			2008			2009		
	%	Lin. Std Err		%	Lin. Std Err		%	Lin. Std Err	
Total	76.36	0.0110		75.75	0.0118		74.87	0.0115	
Men	79.93	0.0146		82.17	0.0158		78.39	0.0153	
Women	72.84	0.0163		69.15	0.0176		71.36	0.0172	
White non-Hispanic	76.69	0.0111		76.9	0.0115		74.67	0.0121	
Men	80.17	0.0148		83.3	0.0138		78.57	0.0160	
Women	73.29	0.0165		70.58	0.0179		70.78	0.0179	
Black or African American non-Hispanic	64.11	0.0799		56.81	0.1060		76.67	0.0634	
Men	63	0.1190		56.83	0.1433		73.56	0.0860	
Women	65.38	0.1053		56.79	0.1457		81.3	0.0928	
Hispanic	67.84	0.1025		66.4	0.0804		78.33	0.0751	
Men	83.47*	0.0828		82.64	0.0800		79.9*	0.1092	
Women	52.75*	0.1695		42.72	0.1209		76.56*	0.1065	

Dakota County	2007			2008			2009		
	%	Lin. Std Err		%	Lin. Std Err		%	Lin. Std Err	
Total	77.65	0.0102		79.24	0.0098		76.78	0.0101	
Men	83.47	0.0128		84.07	0.0128		81.61	0.0127	
Women	71.89	0.0157		74.55	0.0147		72.17	0.0154	
White non-Hispanic	77.31	0.0107		78.69	0.0103		76.75	0.0107	
Men	82.61	0.0139		83.42	0.0138		81.28	0.0136	
Women	71.96	0.0161		74.09	0.0152		72.47	0.0161	
Black or African American non-Hispanic	75.52	0.0816		87.01	0.0570		72.33	0.0605	
Men	93.85	0.0380		97.29	0.0278		76.27	0.0742	
Women	58.52	0.1332		79.08	0.0972		67.13	0.0961	
Hispanic	88.93	0.0410		81.48	0.0579		84.21	0.0390	
Men	91.39	0.0523		82.34	0.0786		93.67	0.0298	
Women	87.14	0.0607		80.36	0.0875		73.16	0.0747	

Hennepin County	2007			2008			2009		
	%	Lin. Std Err		%	Lin. Std Err		%	Lin. Std Err	
Total	72.55	0.0067		74.01	0.0064		73.34	0.0064	
Men	78.9	0.0088		79.43	0.0085		78.68	0.0085	
Women	66.22	0.0099		68.78	0.0093		68.22	0.0093	
White non-Hispanic	72.67	0.0072		74.03	0.0068		73.73	0.0068	
Men	79.1	0.0094		79	0.0092		78.94	0.0090	
Women	66.52	0.0105		69.29	0.0100		68.84	0.0995	
Black or African American non-Hispanic	73.76	0.0250		71.53	0.0245		71.21	0.0242	
Men	76.72	0.0345		73.89	0.0355		74.68	0.0324	
Women	70.13	0.0359		69.5	0.0338		67.74	0.0351	
Hispanic	78.4	0.0335		77.65	0.0308		77.49	0.0331	
Men	91.6	0.0275		90.66	0.0222		84.37	0.0400	
Women	62.02	0.0595		57.79	0.0590		68.26	0.0546	

Ramsey County	2007			2008			2009		
	%	Lin. Std Err		%	Lin. Std Err		%	Lin. Std Err	
Total	69.27	0.0106		69.97	0.0101		67.01	0.0109	
Men	74.53	0.0138		74.34	0.0140		71.54	0.0154	
Women	64.53	0.0157		65.99	0.0145		62.97	0.0152	
White non-Hispanic	69.41	0.0114		70.05	0.0112		68.44	0.0116	
Men	75.14	0.0147		74.38	0.0158		71.43	0.0169	
Women	64.22	0.0167		66.12	0.0158		65.8	0.0158	
Black or African American non-Hispanic	67.34	0.0464		70.21	0.0396		58.85	0.0436	
Men	73.72	0.0556		70.66	0.0550		62.91	0.0690	
Women	61.71	0.0705		69.91	0.0549		55.34	0.0548	
Hispanic	75.97	0.0505		73.8	0.0463		74.17	0.0468	
Men	88.59	0.0576		80.28	0.0552		81.31	0.0514	
Women	71.56	0.0803		67.13	0.0730		65.72	0.0757	

Washington County	2007			2008			2009		
	%	Lin. Std Err		%	Lin. Std Err		%	Lin. Std Err	
Total	75.32	0.0127		74.76	0.0130		72.1	0.0135	
Men	80.63	0.0166		80.16	0.0168		77.5	0.0181	
Women	70.07	0.0189		69.42	0.0194		66.79	0.0198	
White non-Hispanic	75.11	0.0131		73.97	0.0136		72.1	0.0141	
Men	80.95	0.0170		79.06	0.0181		77.92	0.0186	
Women	69.25	0.0196		68.95	0.0201		66.42	0.0208	
Black or African American non-Hispanic	87.14	0.0549		88.14	0.0627		69.64	0.0956	
Men	87.94*	0.0627		90.31*	0.0616		59.85*	0.1536	
Women	85.94*	0.1051		85.81*	0.1122		82.95*	0.0906	
Hispanic	67.13*	0.1234		81.2	0.0805		65.77	0.0978	
Men	70.95*	0.1765		96.18*	0.0393		79.69*	0.1194	
Women	63.68*	0.1750		69.46	0.1284		55.55*	0.1481	

Carver Scott County	2007			2008			2009		
	%	Lin. Std Err		%	Lin. Std Err		%	Lin. Std Err	
Total	75.84	0.0092		77.5	0.0089		75.86	0.0090	
Men	82.17	0.0110		82.01	0.0109		80.58	0.0114	
Women	69.44	0.0145		72.99	0.0138		71.1	0.0138	
White non-Hispanic	75.69	0.0095		77.85	0.0089		76.09	0.0092	
Men	82.54	0.0113		82.17	0.0111		81.02	0.0117	
Women	68.83	0.0149		73.51	0.0137		71.1	0.0141	
Black or African American non-Hispanic	67.11	0.0895		57.63	0.1232		66.53	0.0946	
Men	44.91	0.1354		65.5	0.1332		54.06	0.1247	
Women	91.59*	0.0623		44.94*	0.2291		79.71*	0.1269	
Hispanic	82.39	0.0681		86.39	0.0675		71.59	0.0609	
Men	89.84	0.0568		95.54	0.0370		75.63	0.0736	
Women	67.15	0.1573		78.21	0.1164		66.64	0.1015	

Source: American Community Survey (2007-2009).