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What Is A College Degree Worth? And For Whom?

California's Future of Work Commission Convening on Education, Skills and Job Quality November 14, 2019

William R. Emmons, Ana H. Kent and Lowell R. Ricketts Center for Household Financial Stability Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis

These are our views alone and not necessarily those of the Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis or the Federal Reserve System.

St. Louis Fed's *Center for Household Financial Stability* : Research on the Demographic Determinants of Family Income and Wealth



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You've Been Introduced to Inequality (6-25-2019)

income & wealth

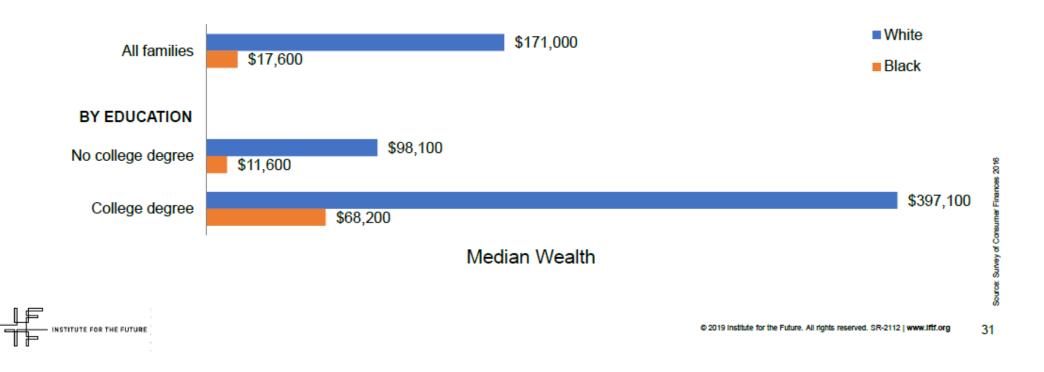
Income inequality dwarfed by wealth inequality



And the Racial Wealth Gap (6-25-2019)

income & wealth

Racial wealth inequality is enormous—and not solved by education



Data and Definitions

- Data we use: Federal Reserve's Survey of Consumer Finances
 - Best source of detailed information on US families' financial lives.
 - Rich demographic details but no geographic break-downs.
- Income vs. Wealth
 - <u>Income</u>: What a family earns in a year (wages and salaries, interest and dividends, transfers, pension distributions)
 - Median family income in 2016: \$52,657
 - <u>Wealth or Net Worth</u>: What you own minus what you owe; NW = your assets (house, cars, savings accounts, retirement accounts, other financial and non-financial assets) minus your liabilities (mortgage, car loan, credit-card debt, student loans, etc.)
 - Median family wealth in 2016: \$97,306

Data and Definitions

- Racial and ethnic groups: Self-identified by survey respondents
 - White non-Hispanic: 68%
 - Black non-Hispanic: 16%
 - Hispanic of any race: 11%
 - Other races (Asian, Native American, etc.; more than one race): 5%
- Education levels of survey respondent (typically family head)
 - Did not finish high school on time (includes those with a GED): 16%
 - On-time high-school diploma; or some college but no degree: 38%
 - Associate's degree or certificate: 12% (no info on degrees, schools)
 - Bachelor's degree only: 21% (no info on degrees, schools)
 - Post-graduate degree: 13% (no info on degrees, schools)

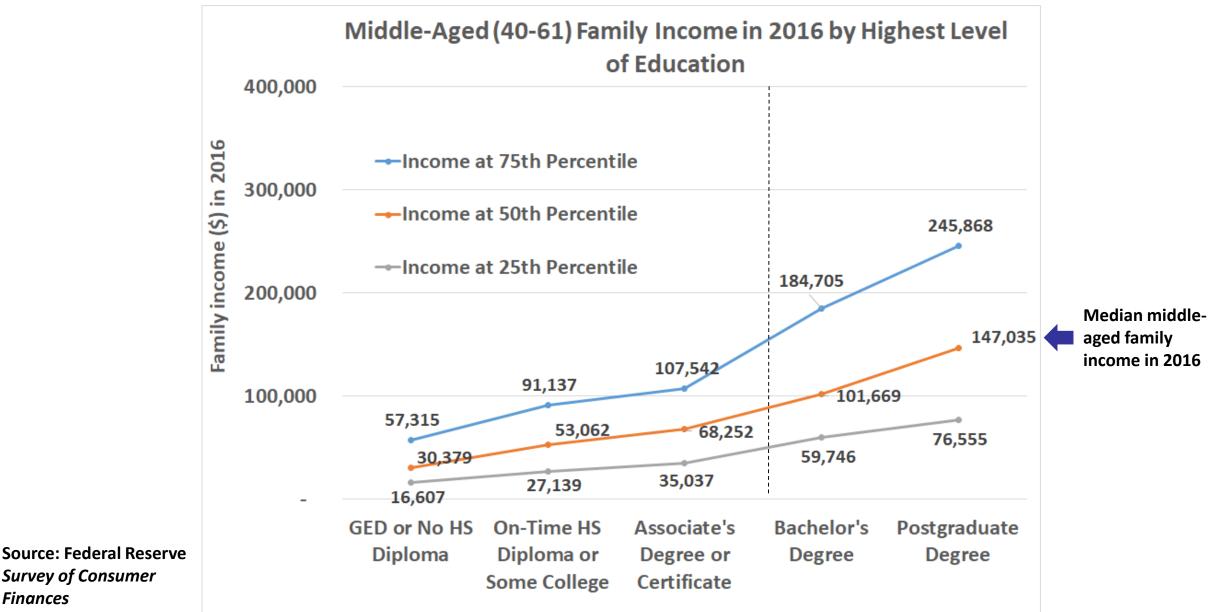
What Is A College Degree Worth? And For Whom?

- We focus primarily on middle-aged (40-61) families to eliminate factors that make young and old families hard to compare.
- Our main conclusions
 - On average, bachelor's and post-graduate degrees boost a family's income and wealth.
 - But benefits are unequal across races, ethnicities, and generations.
 - Large boosts for White, Other Races; small boost for Black, Hispanic.
 - College boost is declining across generations, especially for wealth.

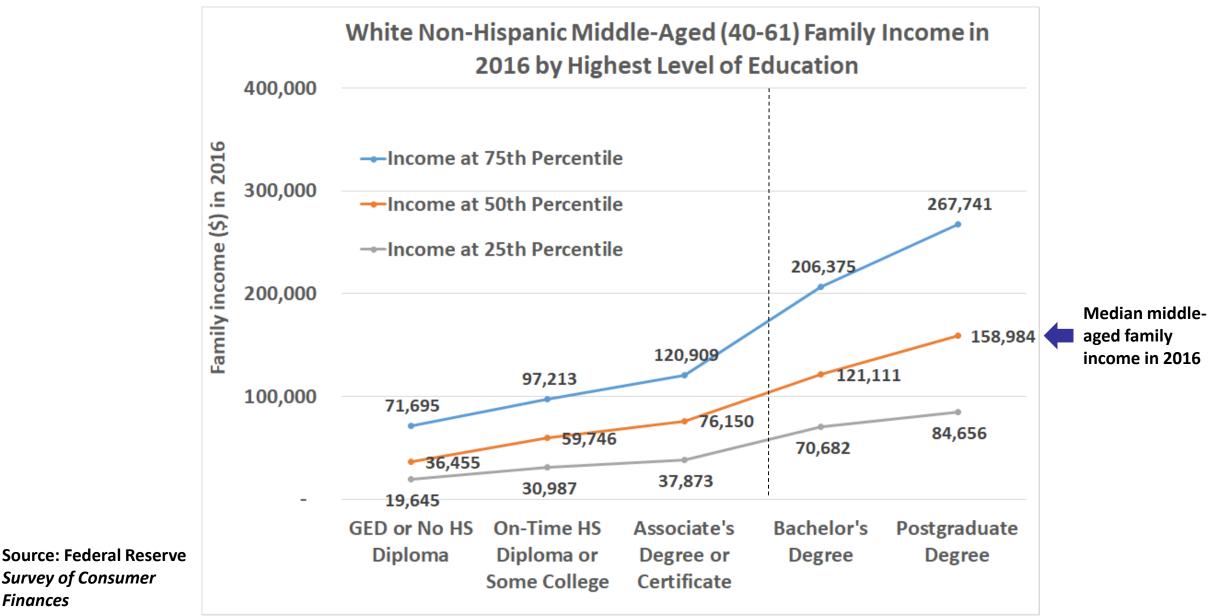
The Data on Education, Income and Wealth

- Links between education and family income across race/ethnicity
 - Large boosts for White and Other Races
 - Smaller boosts for Black and Hispanic
- Links between education and family wealth across race/ethnicity
 - Very large boosts for White and Other Races
 - Very small boost for Black; somewhat larger for Hispanic
- Declining benefits of college across generations
 - Overall characterization; Differentiate by race/ethnicity
 - To read more: Emmons, William R.; Kent, Ana H.; and Ricketts, Lowell R.
 "Is College Still Worth It? The New Calculus of Falling Returns," Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis *Review*, Fourth Quarter 2019, Vol. 101, No. 4, pp. 297-329. <u>Link</u>.

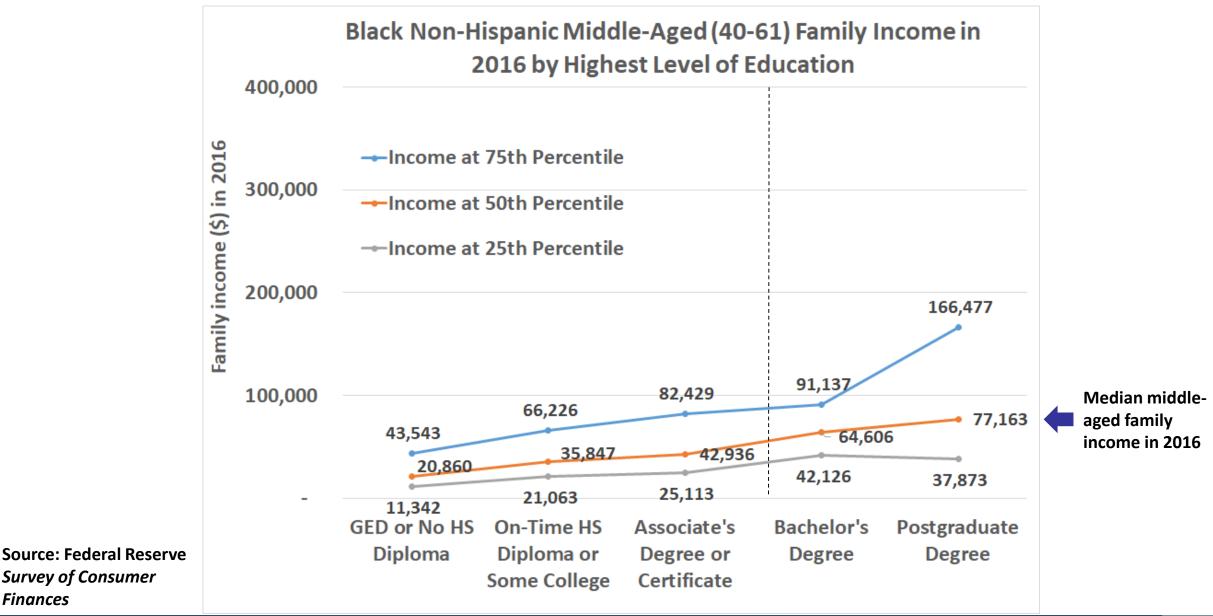
Aggregate Data: College Boosts Incomes



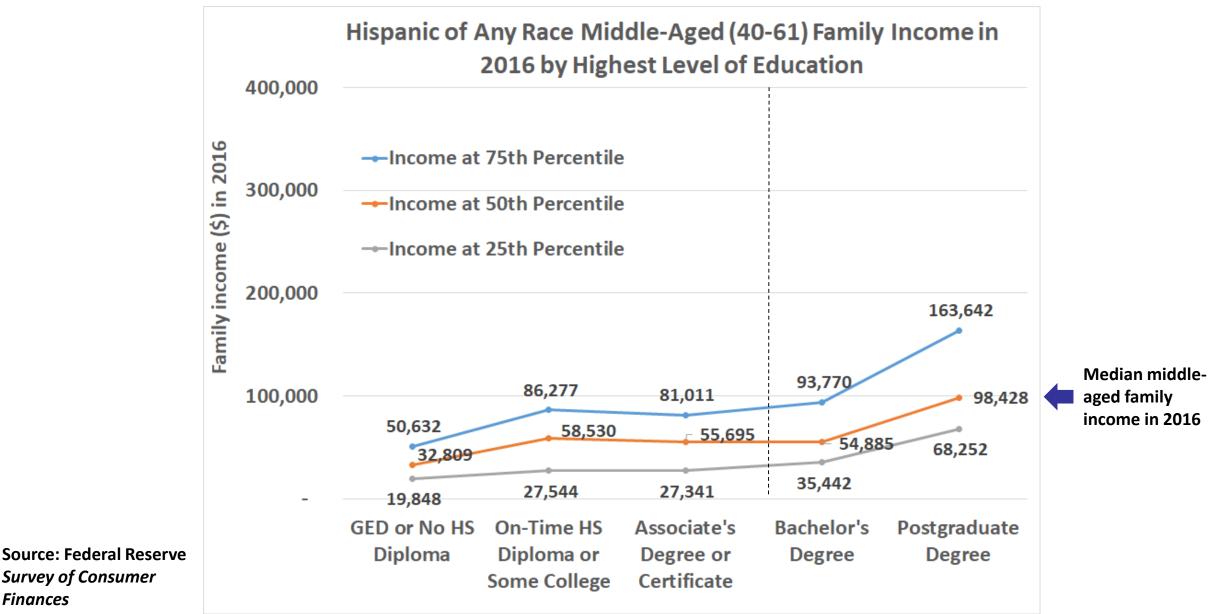
White Non-Hispanic Families: College Boosts Income



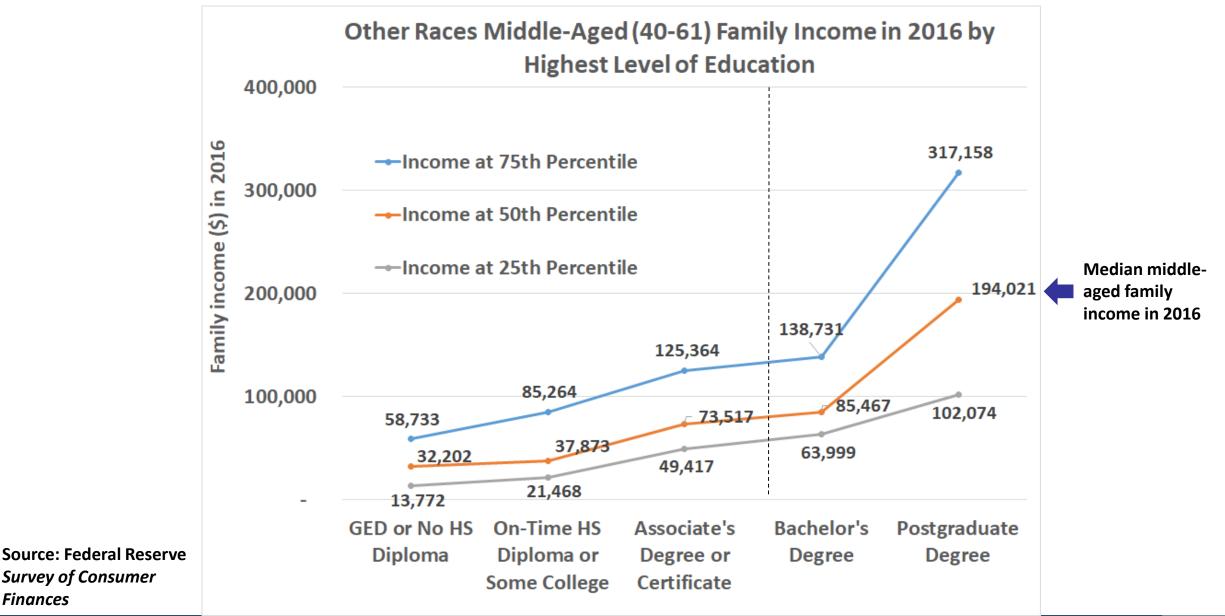
Black Non-Hispanic: College Boost Is Much Weaker



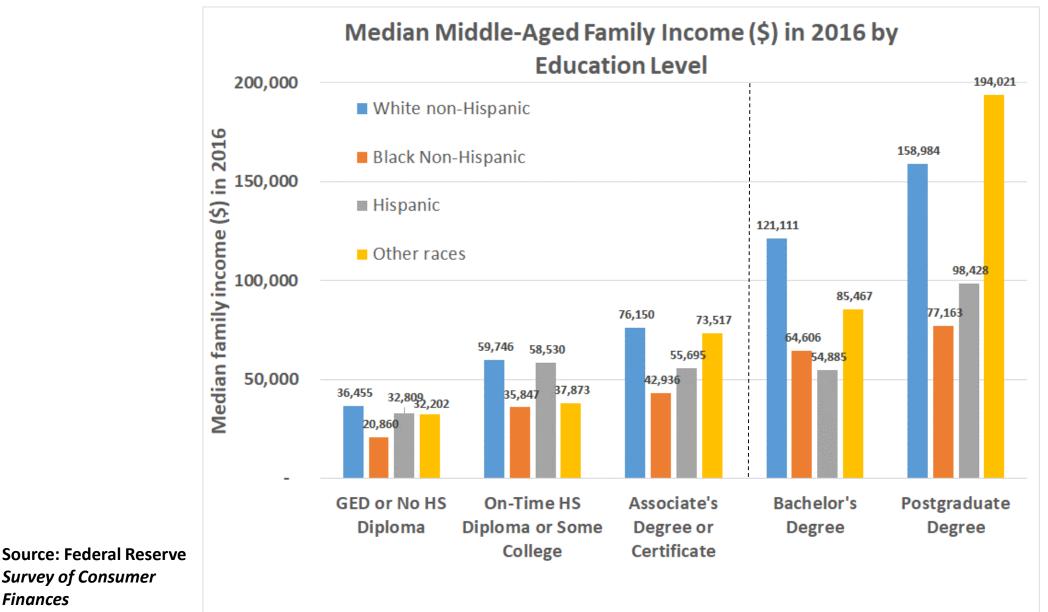
Hispanic of Any Race: Only Post-Grad Degrees Boost



Other Races: Very Strong Post-Grad Income Boost



Conclusion: College Income Boost Strong for White, Other

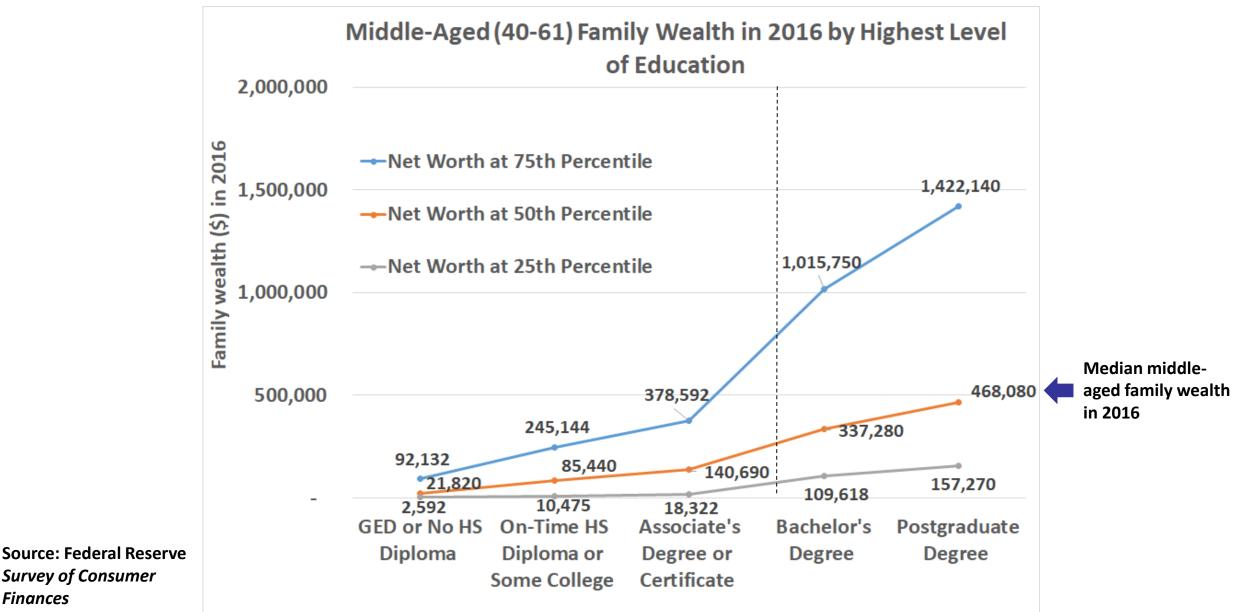


Survey of Consumer

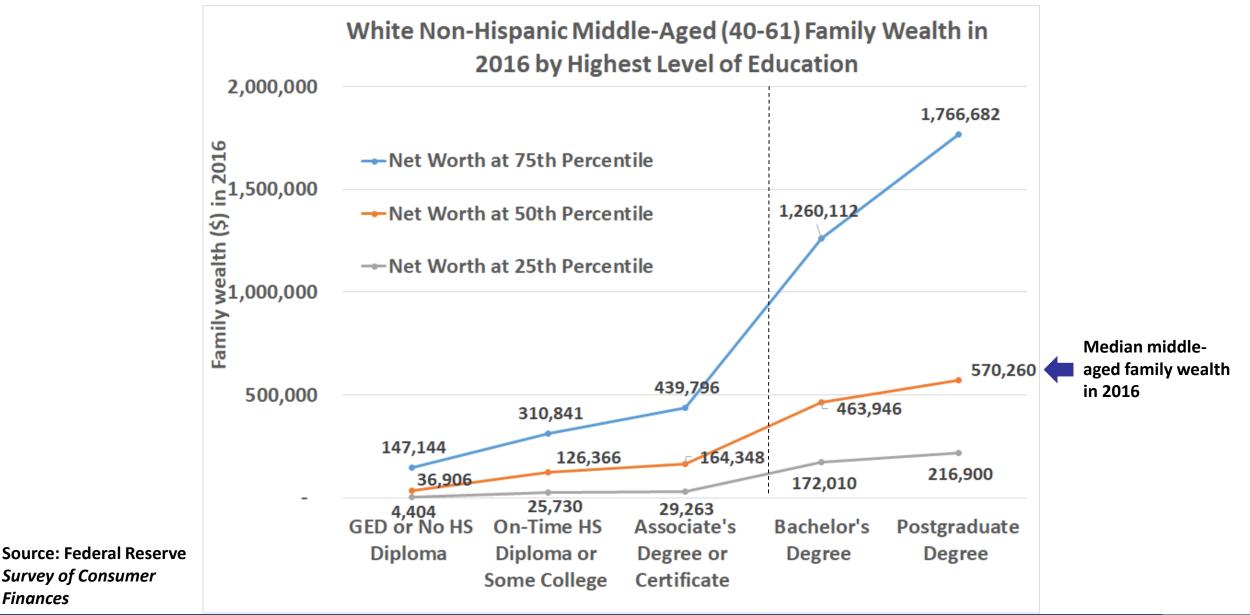
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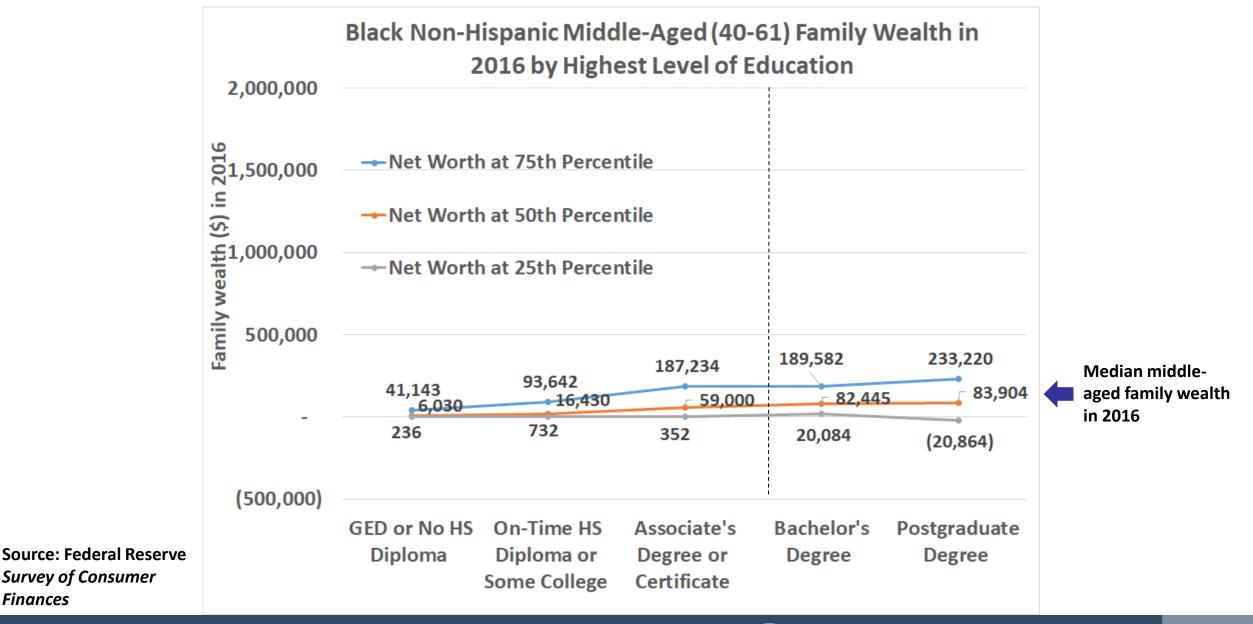
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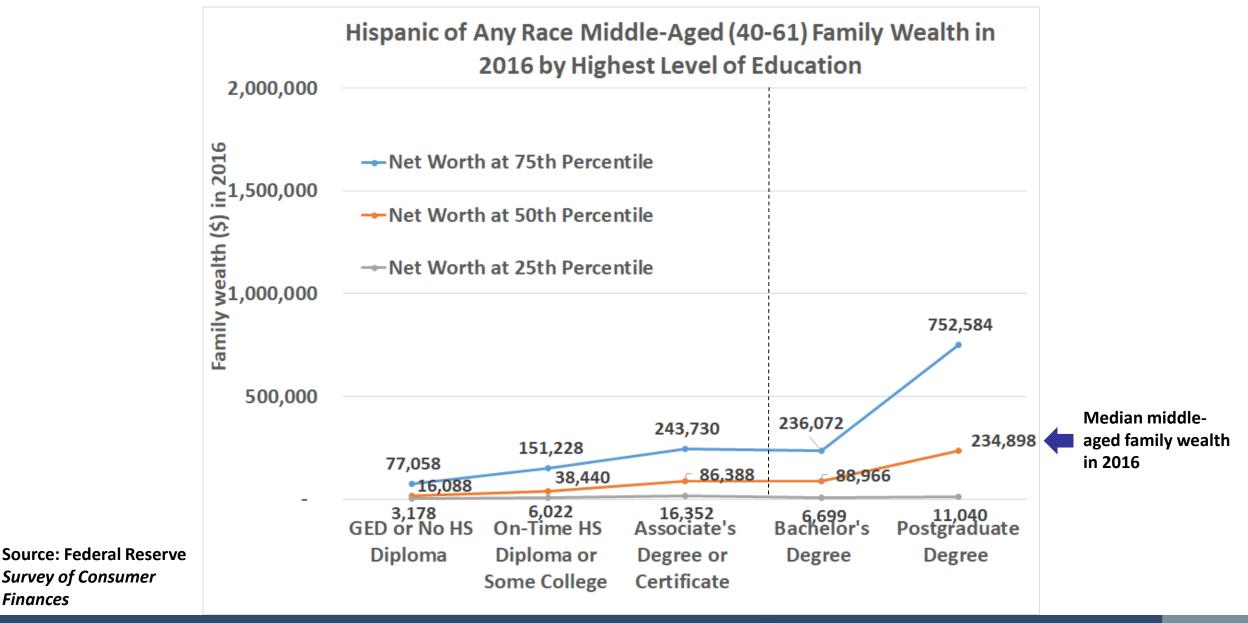
College Boosts White Wealth; Especially At the Top



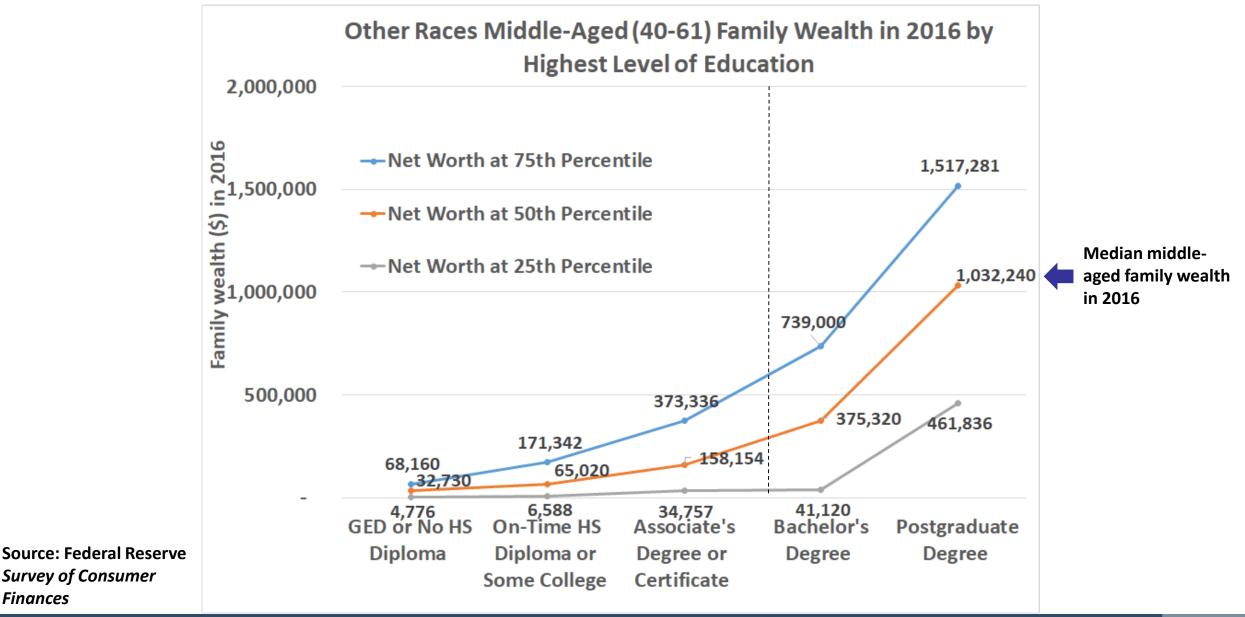
College Wealth Boost for Blacks Is Small



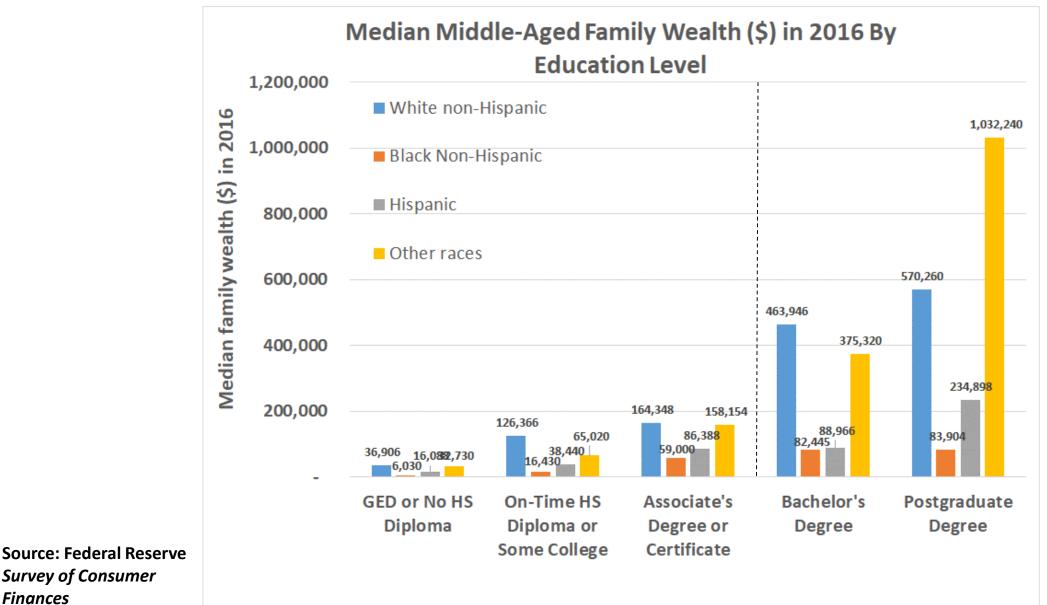
Hispanic College Wealth Boost Only for Post-Grads



Very Strong College Wealth Boost for Other Races



Conclusion: Big College Wealth Boosts for White, Other



The Data on Education, Income and Wealth

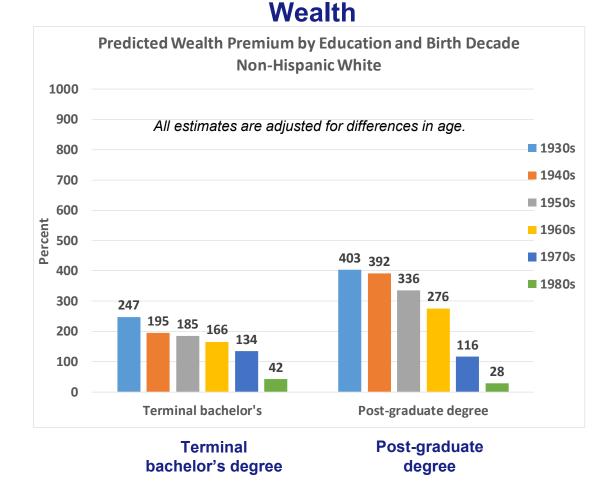
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 - Very large boosts for White and Other Races
 - Very small boost for Black; somewhat larger for Hispanic
- Declining benefits of college across generations
 - Wealth boost falling faster than income; declining for all races/ethnicities.
 - To read more: Emmons, William R.; Kent, Ana H.; and Ricketts, Lowell R.
 "Is College Still Worth It? The New Calculus of Falling Returns," Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis *Review*, Fourth Quarter 2019, Vol. 101, No. 4, pp. 297-329. Link.

White Income and Wealth College Benefits Are Declining

Non-Hispanic White

Predicted Income Premium by Education and Birth Decade Non-Hispanic White 250 All estimates are adjusted for differences in age. 1930s 200 **1940**s **1950s** 150 Percent **1960s** 112 1970s 98 98 100 85 1980s 75 67 66 66 61 58 59 50 0 **Terminal bachelor's** Post-graduate degree **Terminal Post-graduate** bachelor's degree degree

Income



Model includes SCF families of a particular race or ethnicity adjusted for family size and life cycle.

Black Income Benefit Holding Up; Wealth Collapsed

Non-Hispanic Black

Predicted Income Premium by Education and Birth Decade **Non-Hispanic Black** 250 All estimates are adjusted for differences in age. 1930s 200 **1940**s **1950s** 150 138 Percent 123 1960s 100 104 **1970**s 93 100 84 1980s 76 73 74 75 71 69 50 0 **Terminal bachelor's** Post-graduate degree **Terminal Post-graduate** bachelor's degree degree

Income

Predicted Wealth Premium by Education and Birth Decade **Non-Hispanic Black** 1000 900 All estimates are adjusted for differences in age. **1930**s 800 **1940**s 700 **1950**s 600 509 509 **1960**s 500 423 1970s 400 332 **1980s** 300 253 177 200 126 100 18 18 16 8 6 0 **Terminal bachelor's** Post-graduate degree **Terminal Post-graduate**

Wealth

bachelor's degree

degree

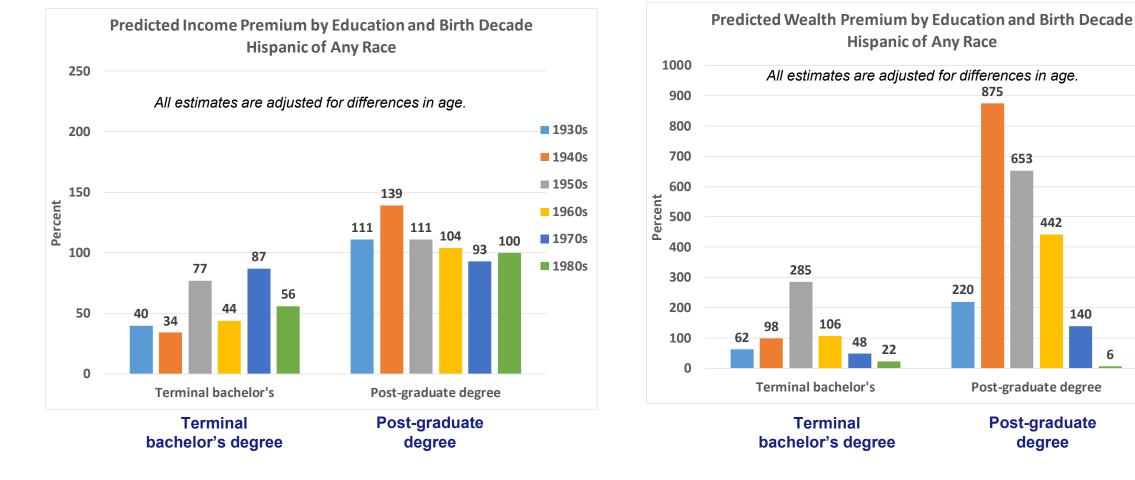
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Percent

Hispanic Income Benefit Holding Up; Wealth Collapsed

Hispanic of Any Race

Wealth



Model includes SCF families of a particular race or ethnicity adjusted for family size and life cycle.

Income

140

1930s

1940s

1950s

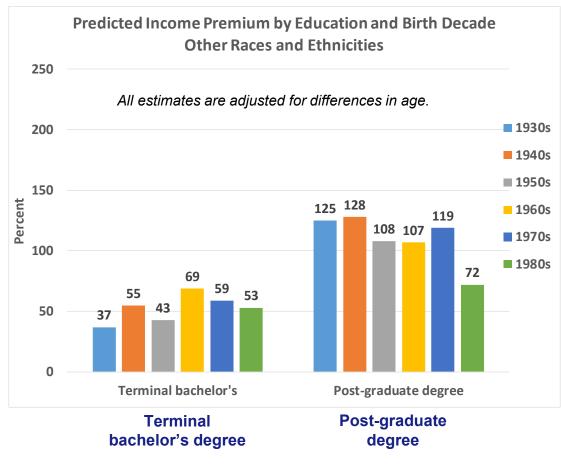
1960s

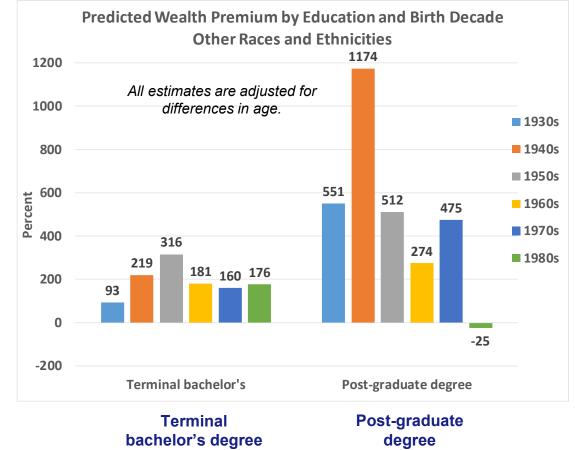
1970s

1980s

Other Races Income and Wealth Benefits Holding Up

All Other Races and Ethnicities Including More than One Income Wealth





Model includes SCF families of a particular race or ethnicity adjusted for family size and life cycle.

In Sum: What Is A College Degree Worth? And For Whom?

- On average, bachelor's and post-graduate degrees boost a family's income and its wealth.
- But the benefits of college are unequal across races, ethnicities, and generations.
 - Large boosts for families who are White and of Other Races.
 - Boosts are smaller for Black and Hispanic families.
 - College boosts for White and Other families very large for wealth.
 - College boost declining across generations, especially for wealth

Looking Forward: Why Are the Benefits of College Unequal?

- Across races and ethnicities
 - Continuing structural and systemic barriers to college access, completion and post-graduation success for Blacks and Latinx.
 - Wealth accumulation is multi-generational; poverty trap is strong.
- Across generations
 - Luck of your birth year: More recent cohorts benefiting less.
 - Diminishing job prospects for young non-college grads.
 - Rising cost of college.
 - Financial liberalization (more access to debt, especially when young) and asset-market bubbles hinder wealth accumulation.