

Mobility Report Cards: The Role of Colleges in Intergenerational Mobility

Raj Chetty, Stanford

John N. Friedman, Brown

Emmanuel Saez, UC-Berkeley

Nicholas Turner, U.S. Treasury

Danny Yagan, UC-Berkeley

July 2017

Introduction

- What role do colleges play in intergenerational income mobility?
 - Large returns to college attendance suggest that higher education can be an important pathway to upward mobility
 - But inequality in access between high- and low-income families may limit (or even reverse) this effect
- Evaluating colleges' role in mobility requires analysis of two factors:
 - [Outcomes] Which colleges are most effective in helping children climb the income ladder?
 - [Access] How can we increase access to such colleges for students from low-income families?

Prior Research

- Prior work on these questions typically uses quasi-experimental methods to analyze outcomes and access at a subset of colleges
 - Outcomes: significant returns to college attendance and “quality,” based on studies of specific colleges

[Mincer 1958, ..., Dale Krueger 2002, Black Smith 2004, Hoekstra 2009, Zimmerman 2012, Hastings Neilson Zimmerman 2014, Hoxby 2015, Andrews Imberman Lovenheim 2016]
 - Access: few children from low-income families at elite colleges, even after tuition cuts; tuition matters more at other colleges

[e.g., Bowen Bok 1998, Avery Hoxby Jackson Burek Pope 2006, Pallais Turner 2006, Goodman 2008, Deming Dynarski 2009, Hill Atta Gambhir Winston 2011, Hoxby Avery 2013, Marx Turner 2014, Angrist Autor Hudson Pallais 2015]

This Paper

- We take a different approach: a descriptive characterization of mobility for *all* colleges and students in the U.S.
- For each college, construct a publicly available *Mobility Report Card* that measures children's earnings outcomes and parents' incomes
 - Use de-identified data from population tax returns
 - Build upon statistics in College Scorecard (2015) by including all students and fully characterizing joint income distributions
- Use variance decompositions to document a set of facts on access, outcomes, and mobility rates across colleges

This Paper

- We do not identify the causal effects (“value added”) of colleges
- Instead, our descriptive approach highlights the colleges that deserve further study as potential engines of mobility
 - Ex: certain public colleges (e.g., Cal State LA, City Univ. of New York) have excellent outcomes while providing low-income access

Outline

1. Access: Parents' Marginal Income Distributions by College
2. Outcomes: Distributions of Students' Earnings by College
3. Differences in Mobility Rates Across Colleges
4. Trends in Access and Mobility Rates

Data

- Data source: de-identified data from 1996-2014 income tax returns
 - Includes data on income of non-filers through information returns filed by employers (W-2 forms)
- Primary sample: all children in 1980-82 birth cohorts claimed as dependents by tax filers in the U.S.
 - Earliest cohorts where we can link almost all children to parents
 - Approximately 11 million children
- Extended sample: 1978-1991 birth cohorts
 - Used to study changes in access over time and for robustness

Measuring College Attendance

- All Title IV institutions report student attendance to IRS on Form 1098-T
 - 1098-T data covers 95% of enrolled students; students who pay no tuition sometimes not covered
 - Use Dept. of Ed data (NSLDS) on students receiving Pell grants to identify these students
- Baseline: define college attendance as most-attended college between ages 19-22
 - Similar results obtained with alternative definitions (e.g., college attended at age 20)
- Following established disclosure standards, all college-specific numbers are estimates (approx. +/- 1% measurement error)

Part 1

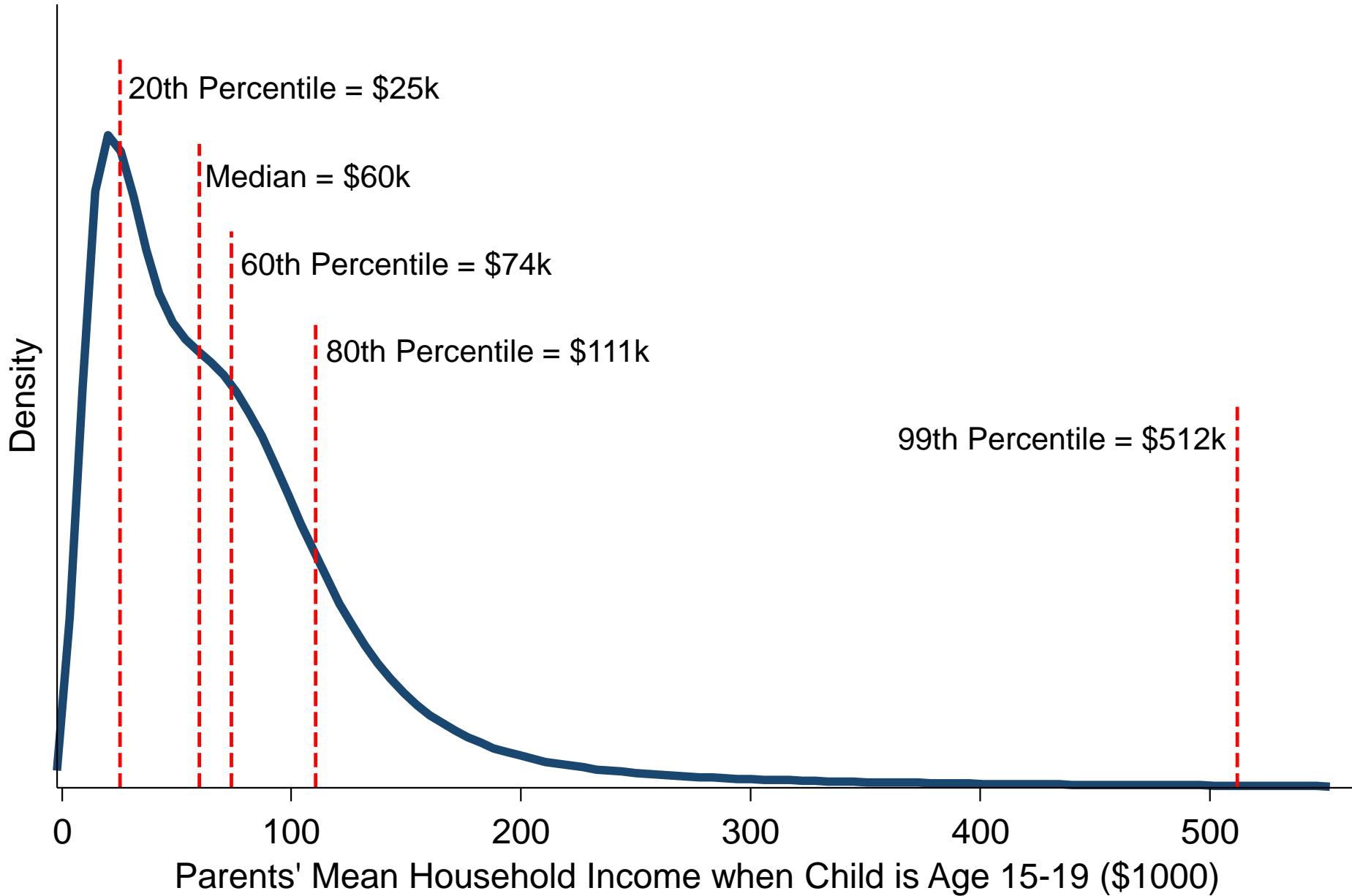
Access: Parents' Income Distributions by College

Measuring Parent Income

- Parent income: mean pre-tax **household** income during five year period when child is aged 15-19
 - For filers, use Adjusted Gross Income reported on form 1040
 - For non-filers, use W-2 wage earnings + UI income
 - All incomes measured in 2015 dollars
- Focus on percentile ranks, ranking parents relative to other parents with children in same birth cohort

Parent Household Income Distribution

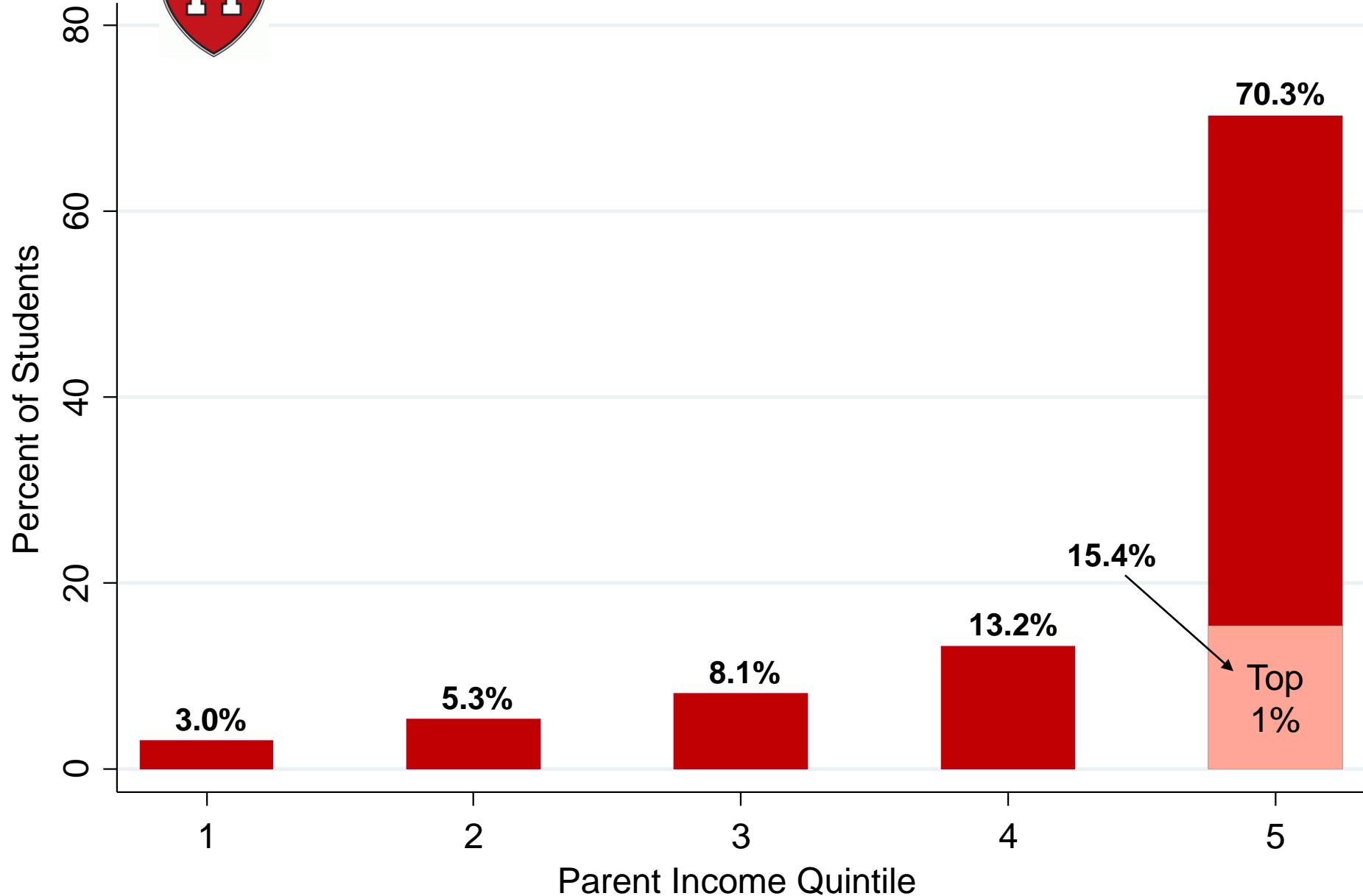
For Parents with Children in 1980 Birth Cohort





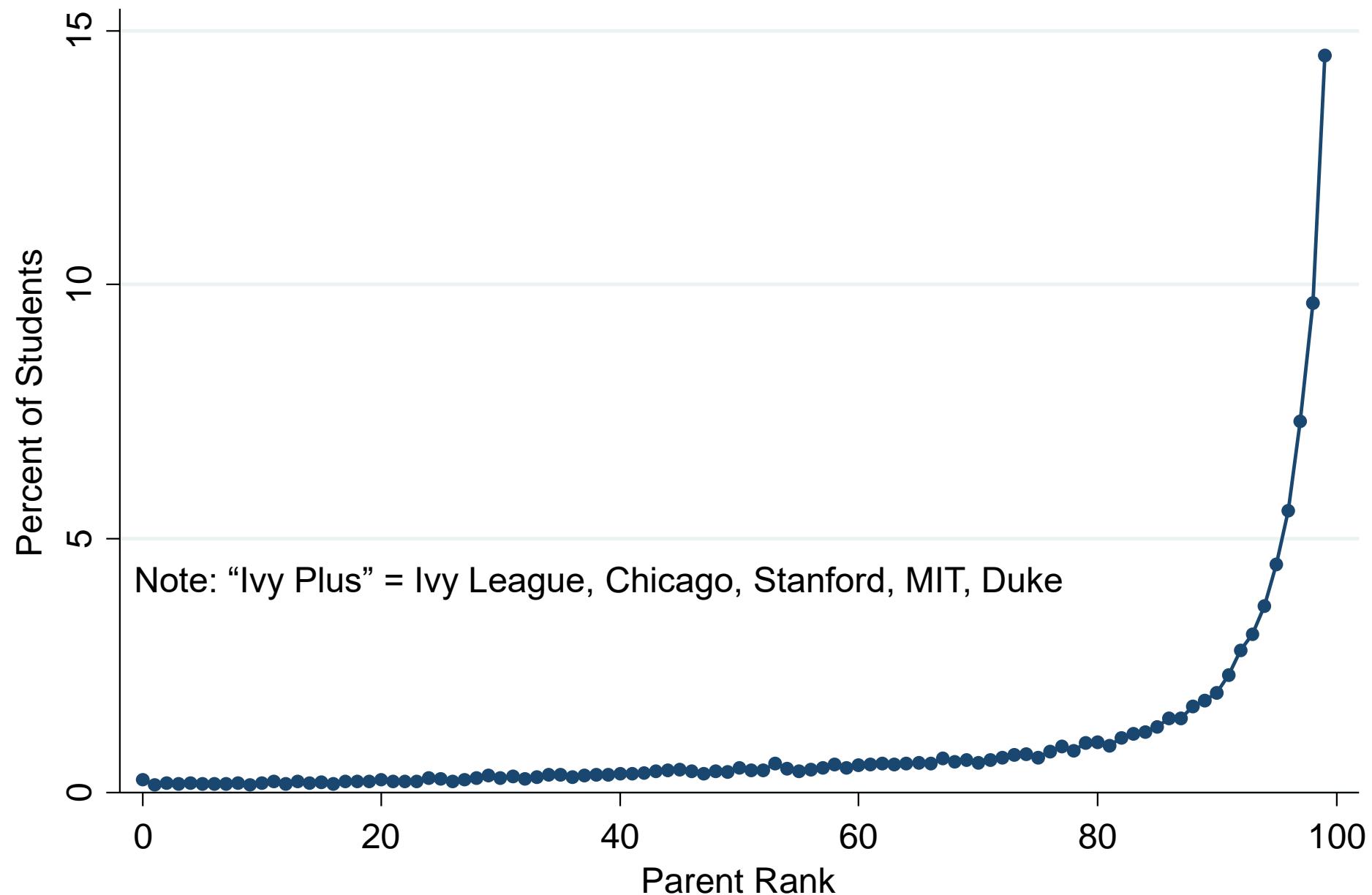
Parent Income Distribution at Harvard

1980-82 Child Birth Cohorts



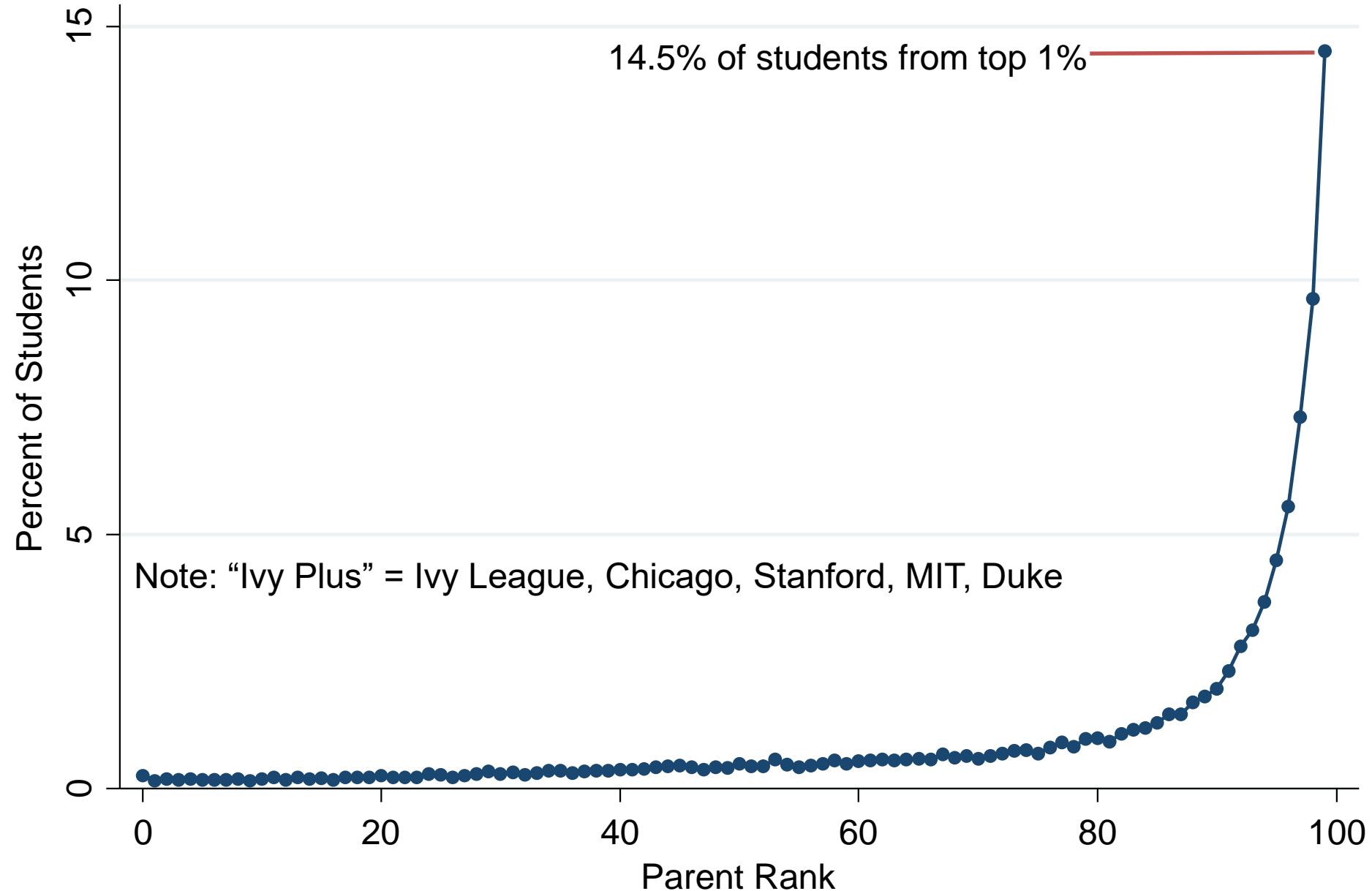
Parent Income Distribution by Percentile

Ivy Plus Colleges



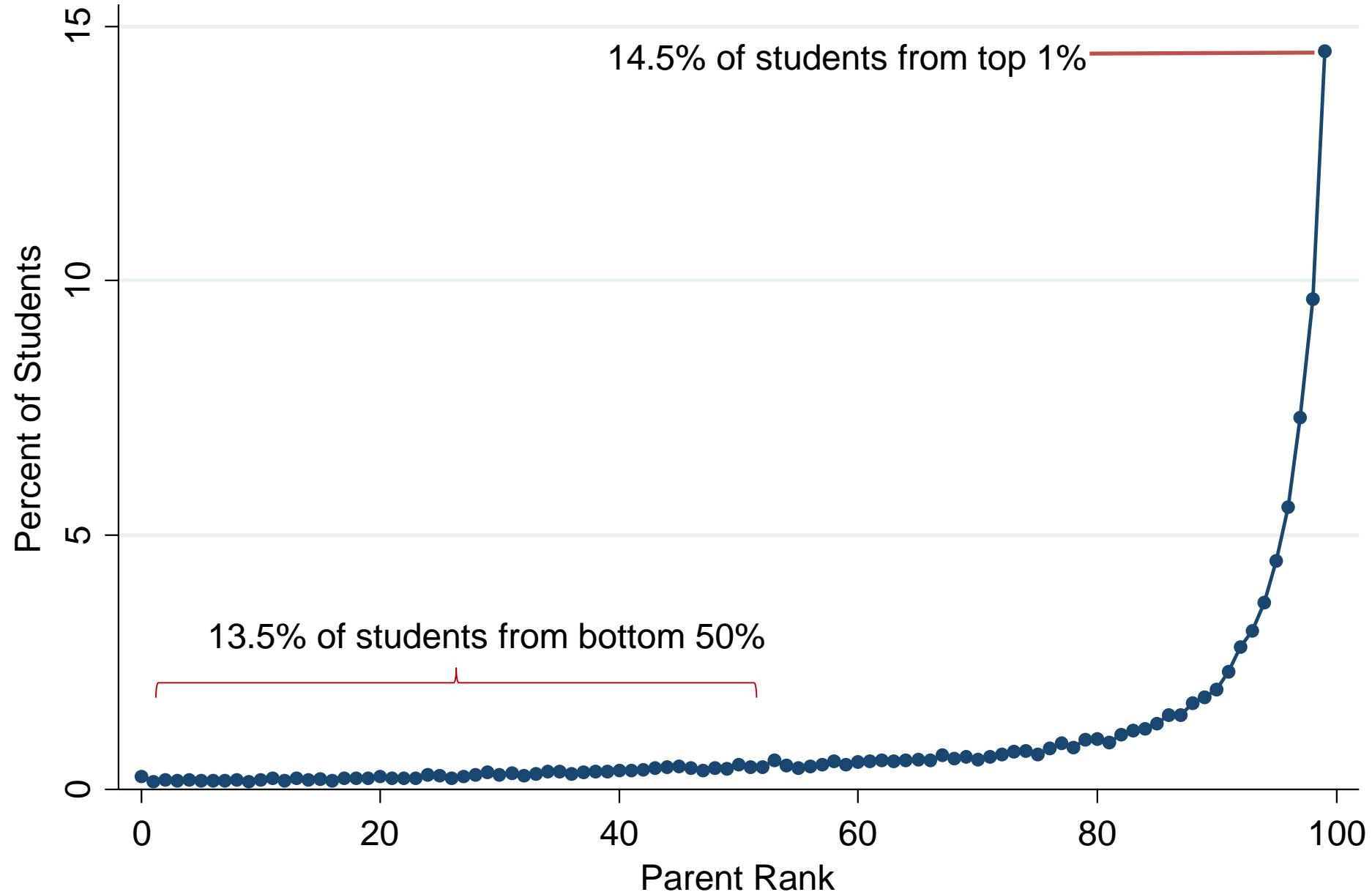
Parent Income Distribution by Percentile

Ivy Plus Colleges



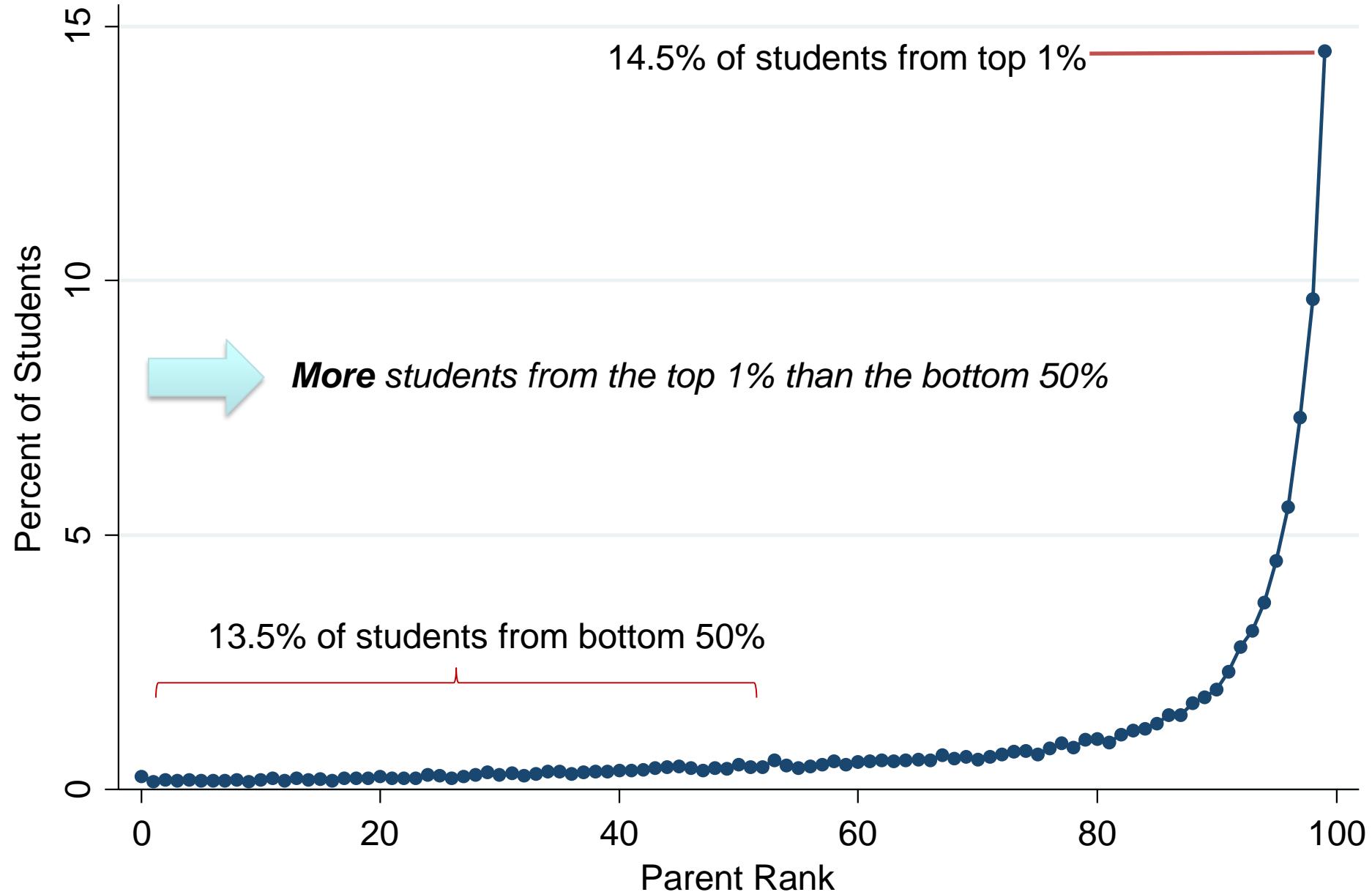
Parent Income Distribution by Percentile

Ivy Plus Colleges



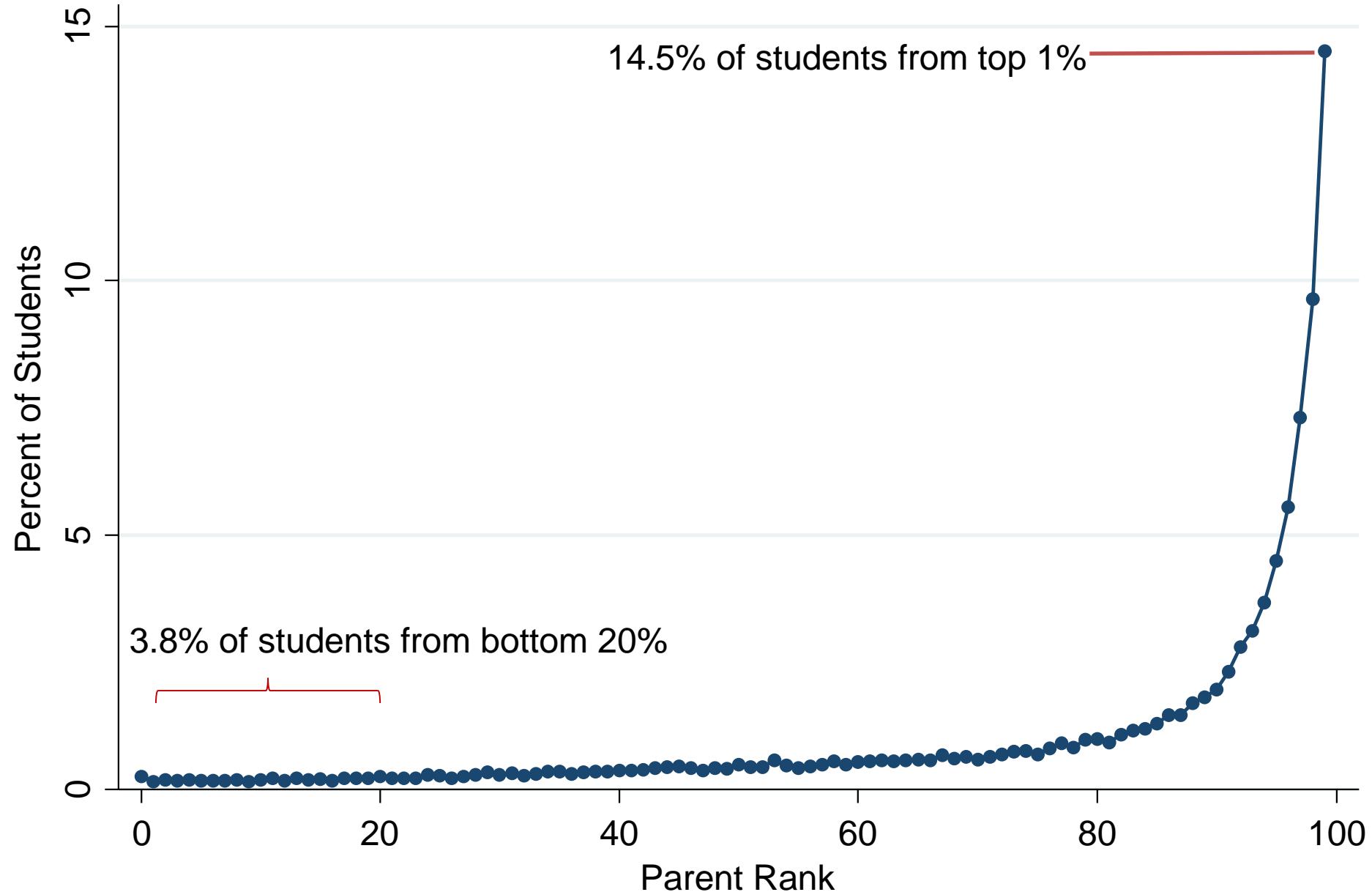
Parent Income Distribution by Percentile

Ivy Plus Colleges



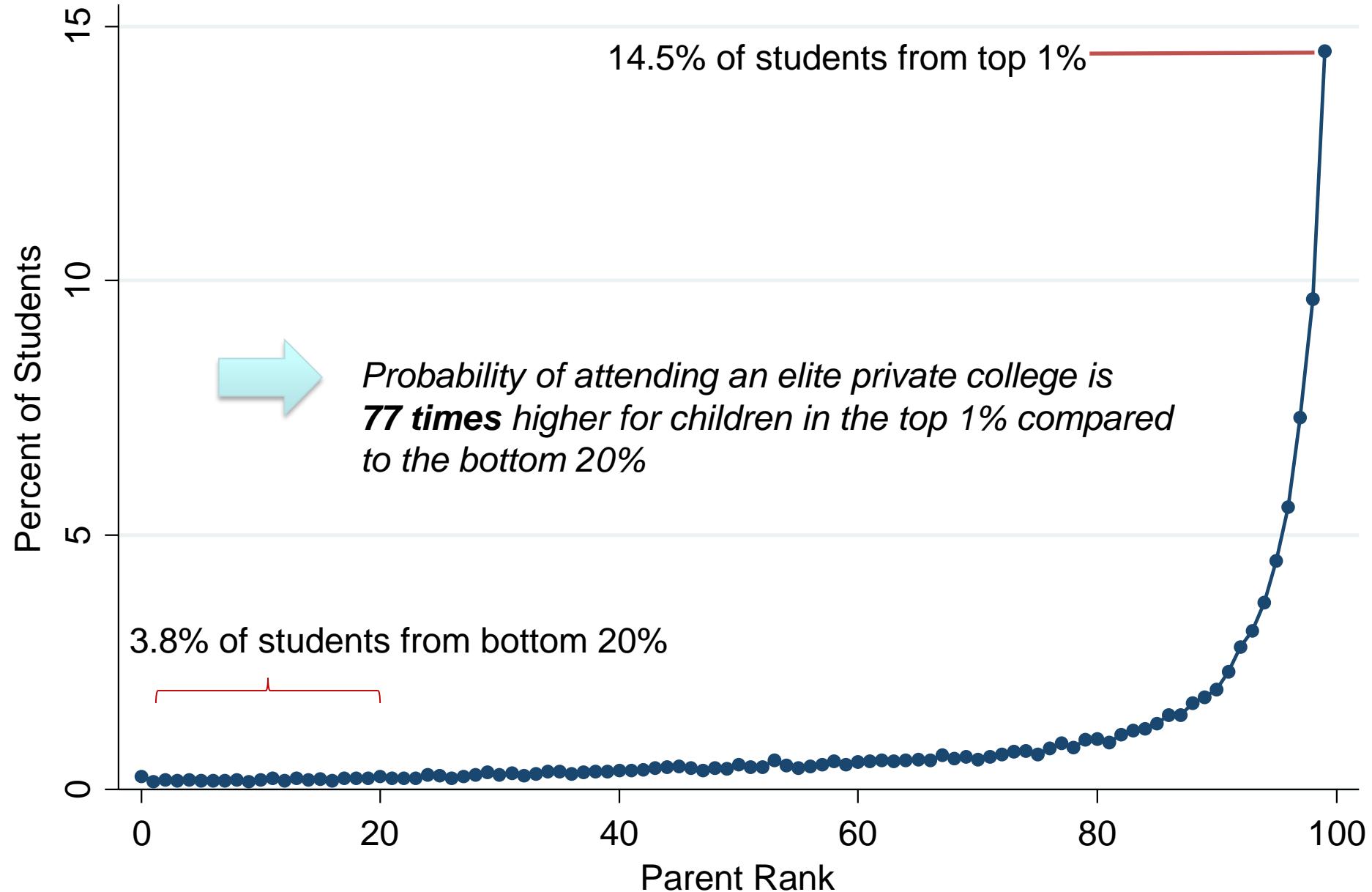
Parent Income Distribution by Percentile

Ivy Plus Colleges



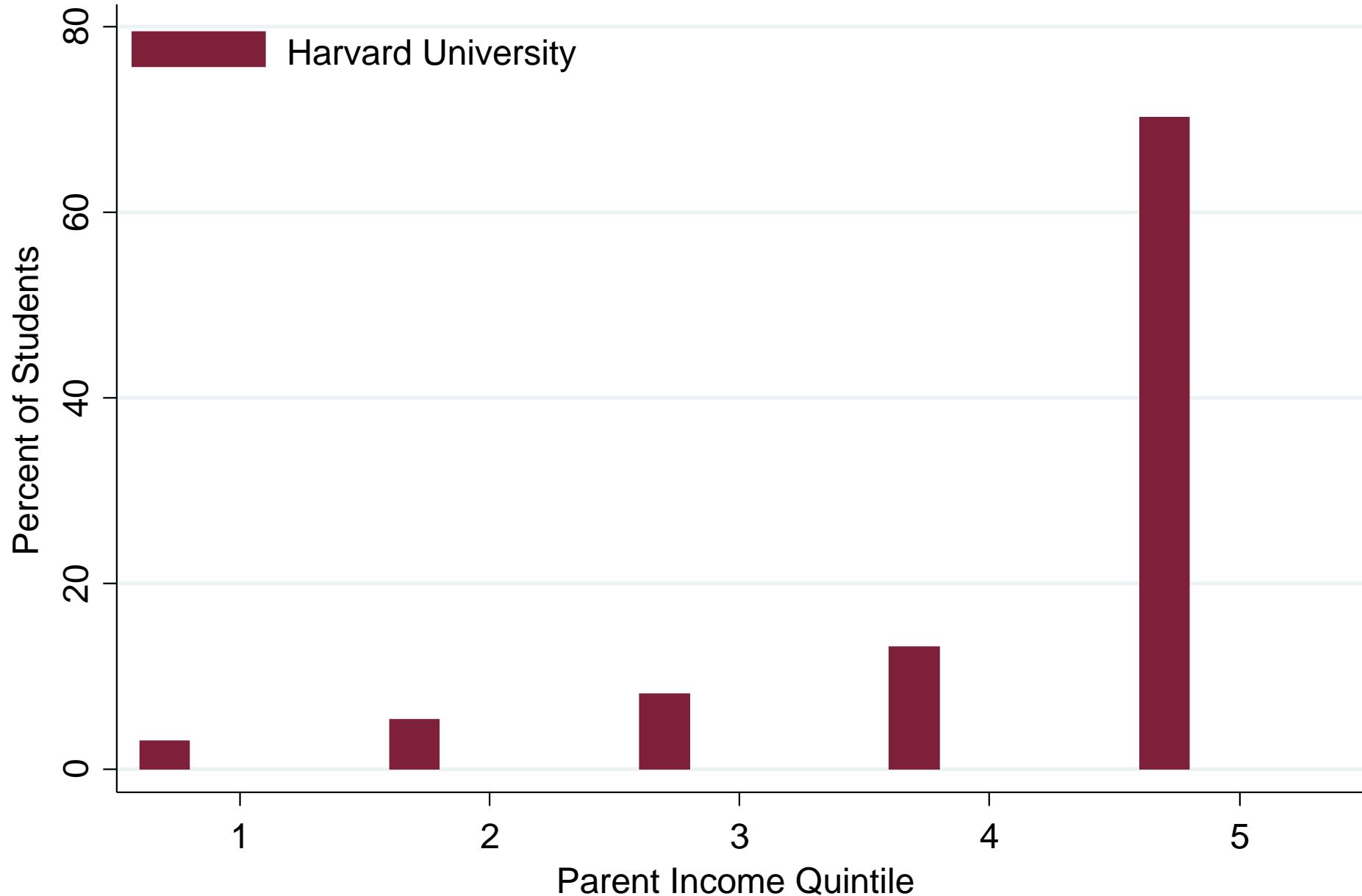
Parent Income Distribution by Percentile

Ivy Plus Colleges



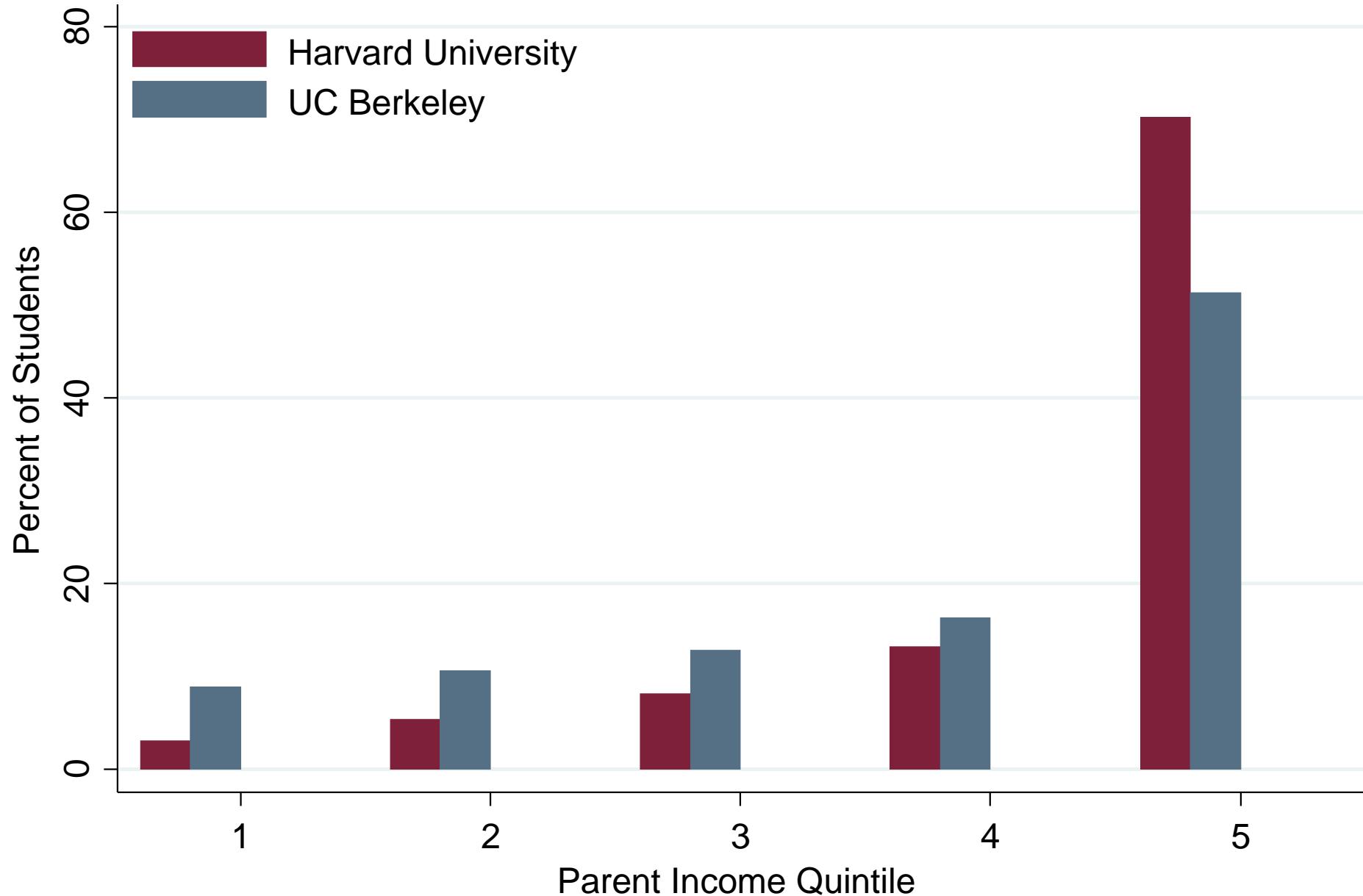
Parent Income Distributions by Quintile for 1980-82 Birth Cohorts

At Selected Colleges



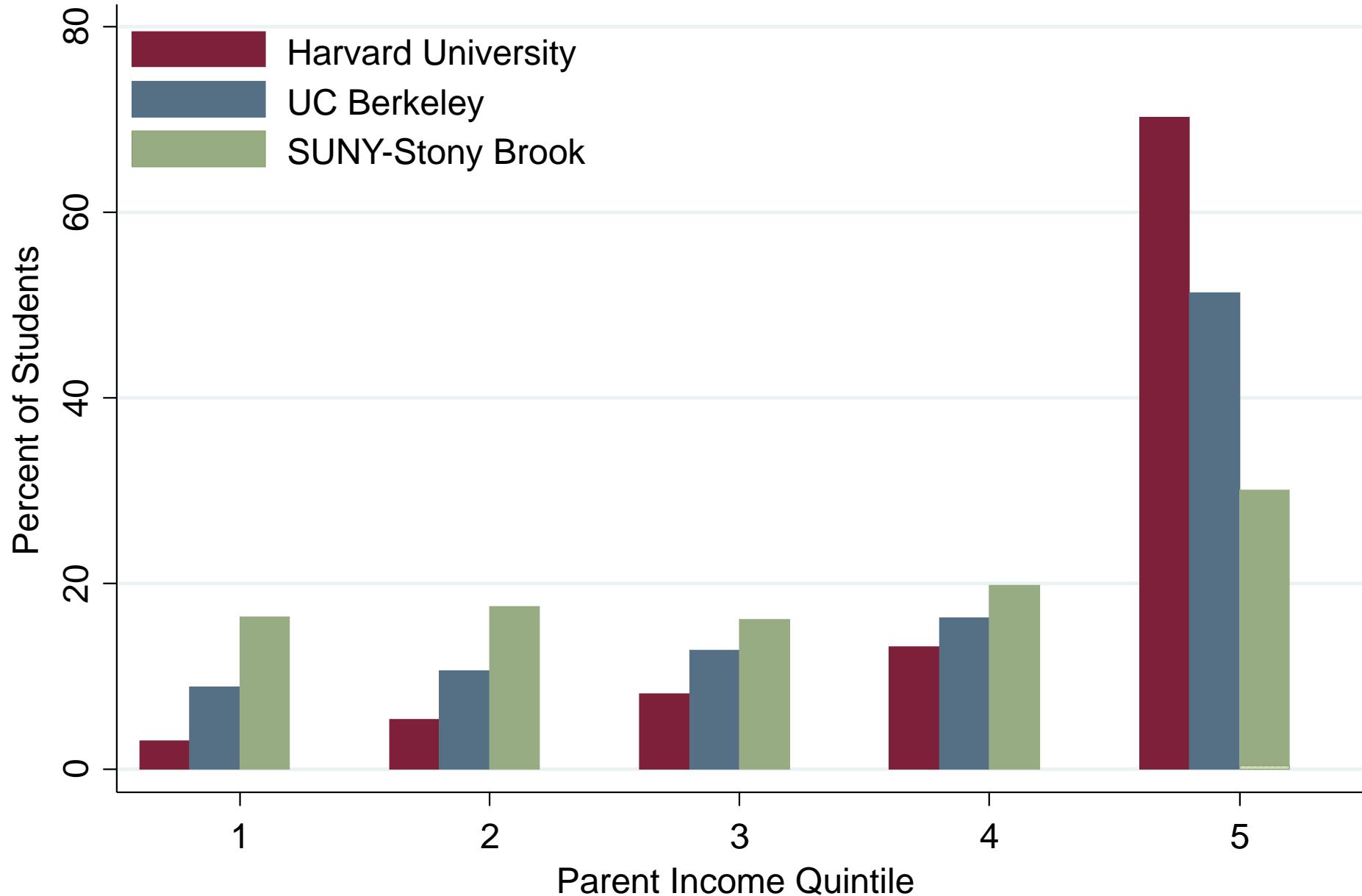
Parent Income Distributions by Quintile for 1980-82 Birth Cohorts

At Selected Colleges



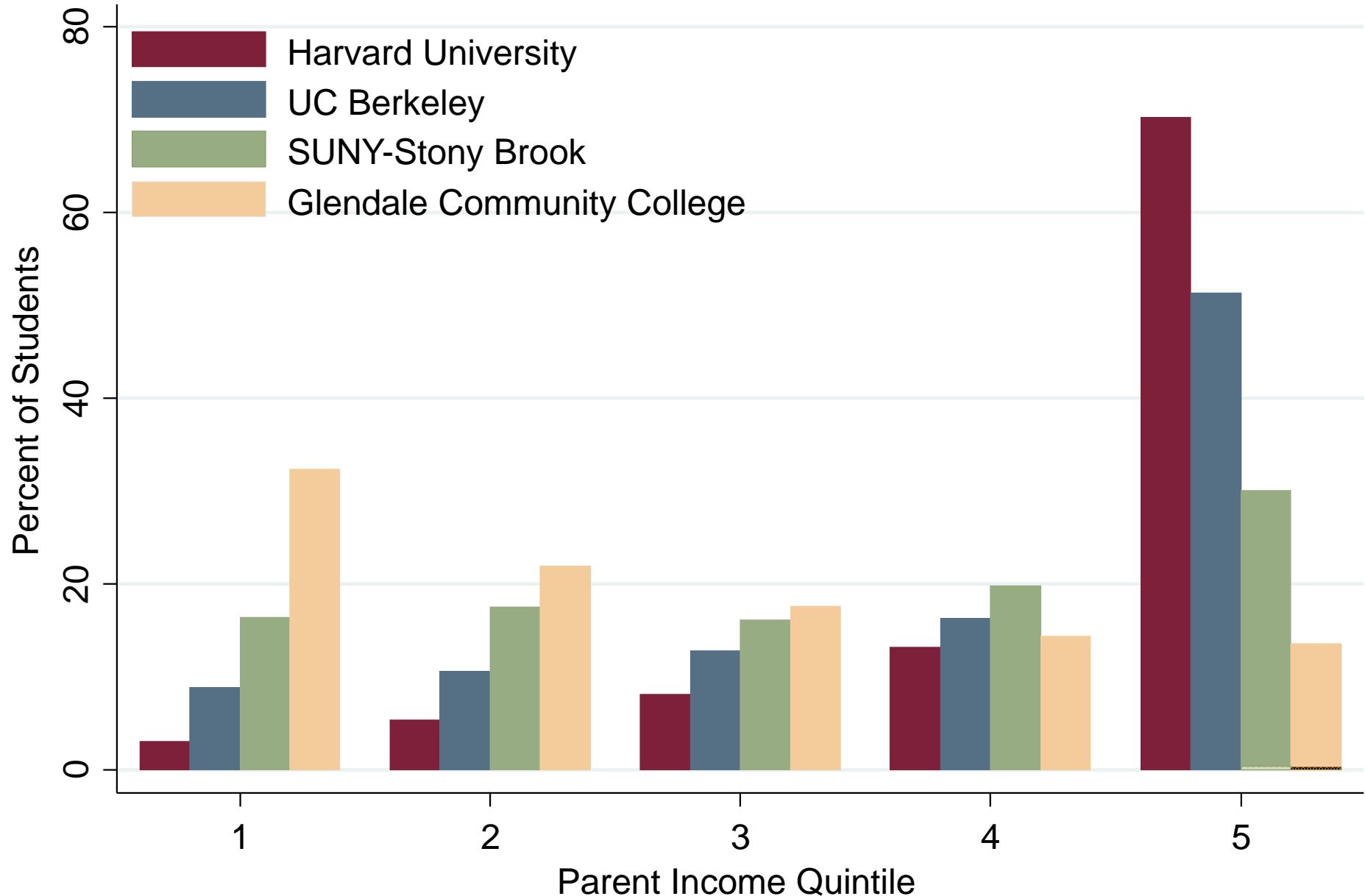
Parent Income Distributions by Quintile for 1980-82 Birth Cohorts

At Selected Colleges



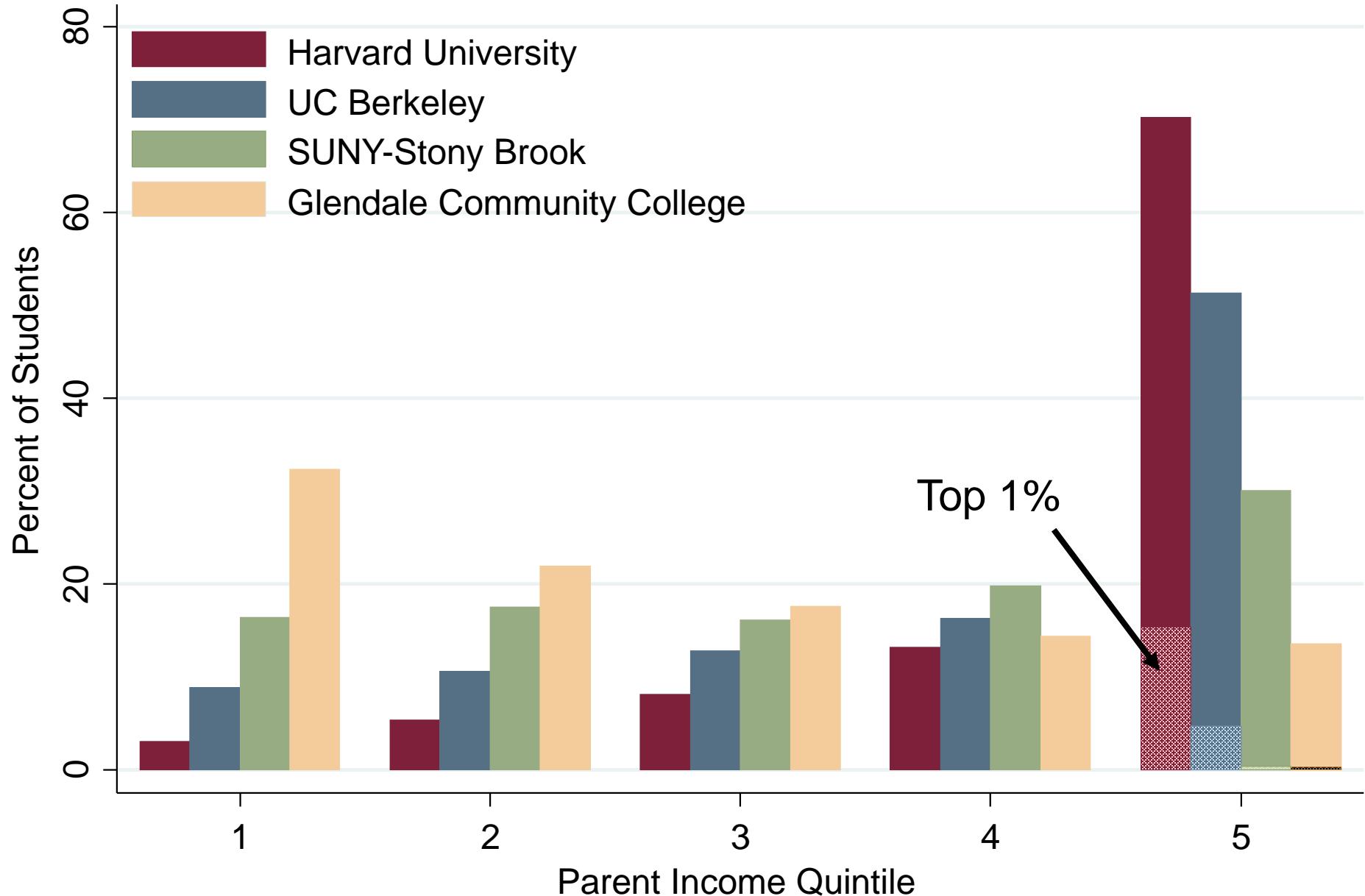
Parent Income Distributions by Quintile for 1980-82 Birth Cohorts

At Selected Colleges

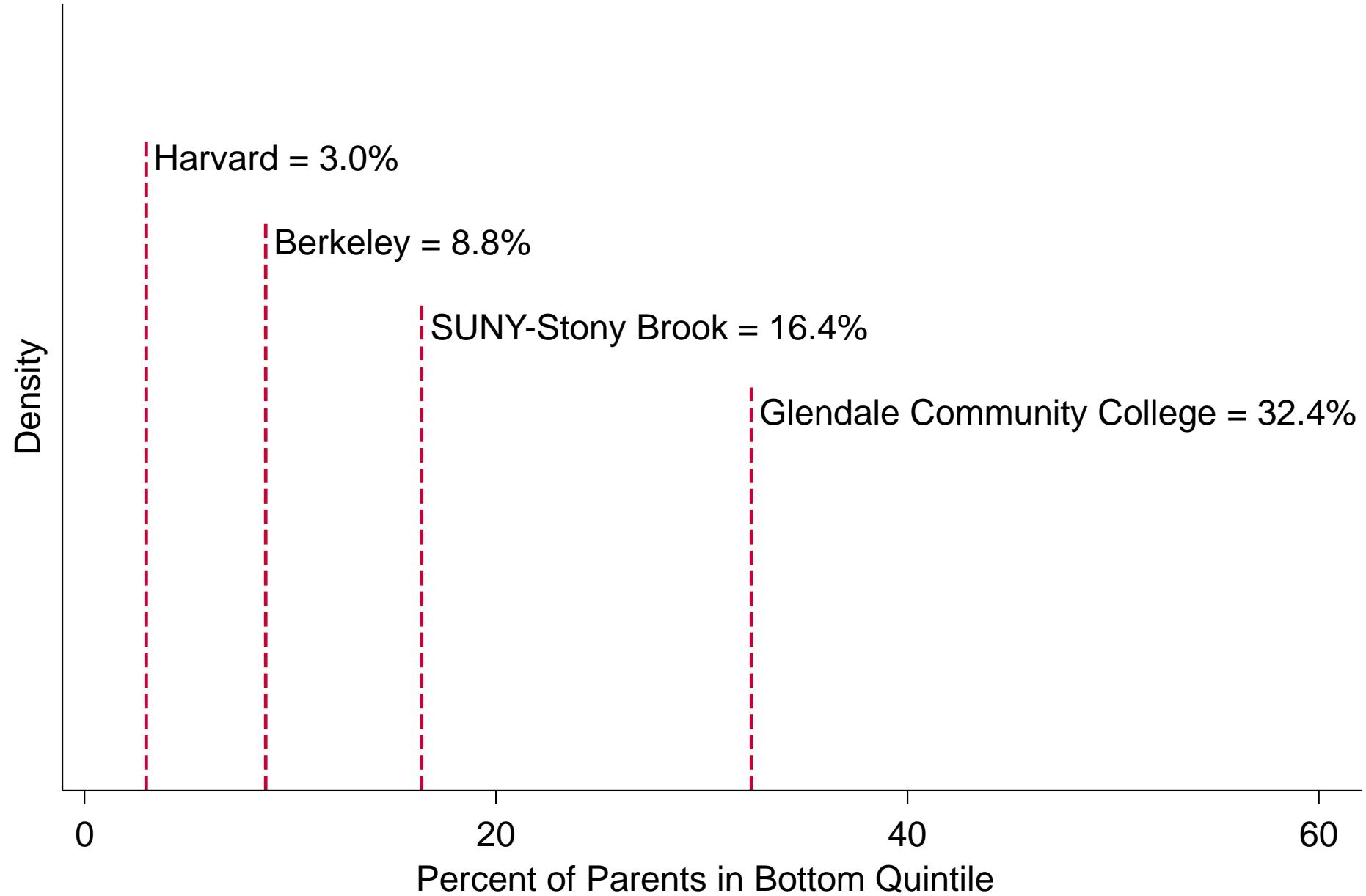


Parent Income Distributions by Quintile for 1980-82 Birth Cohorts

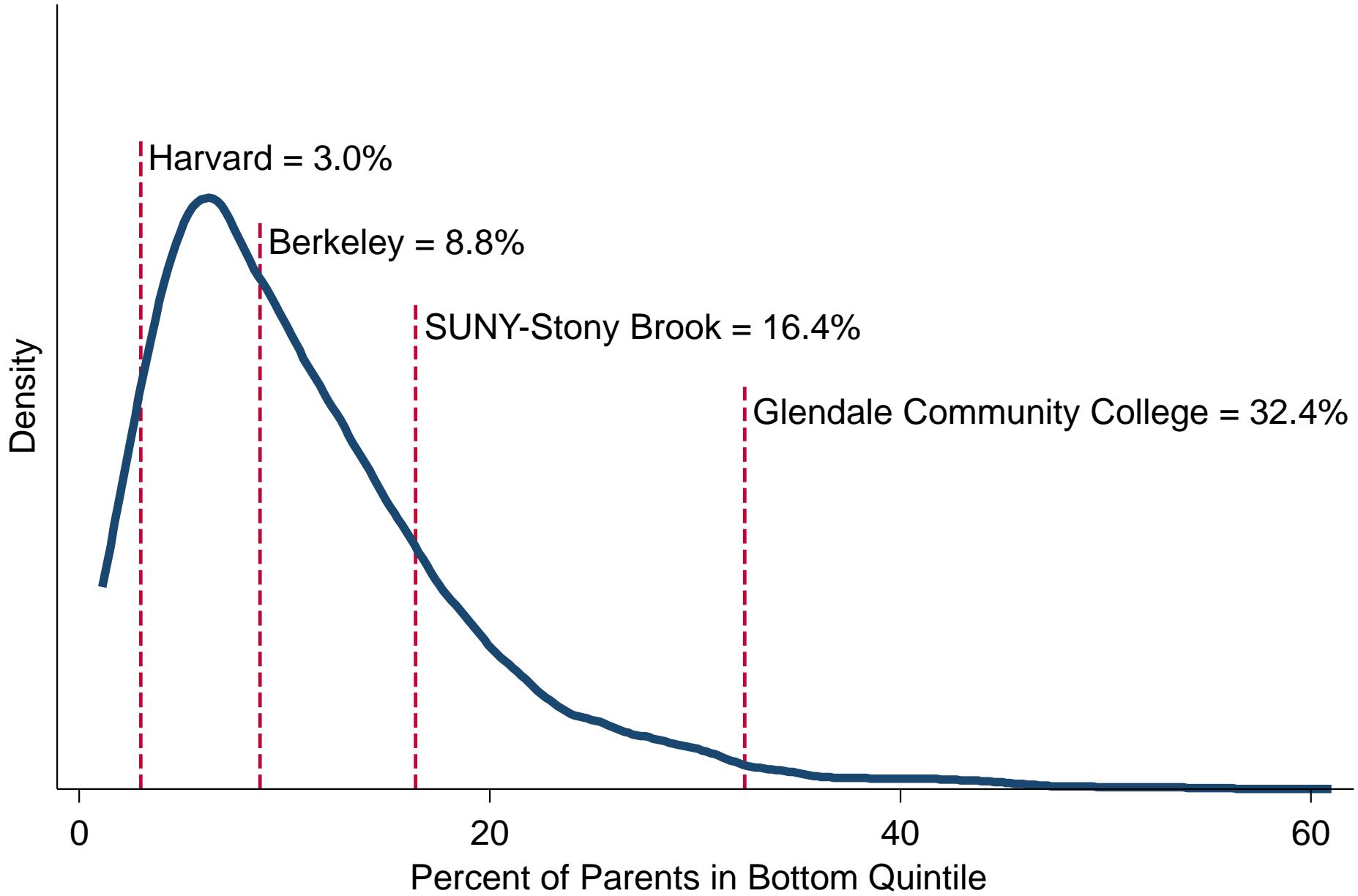
At Selected Colleges



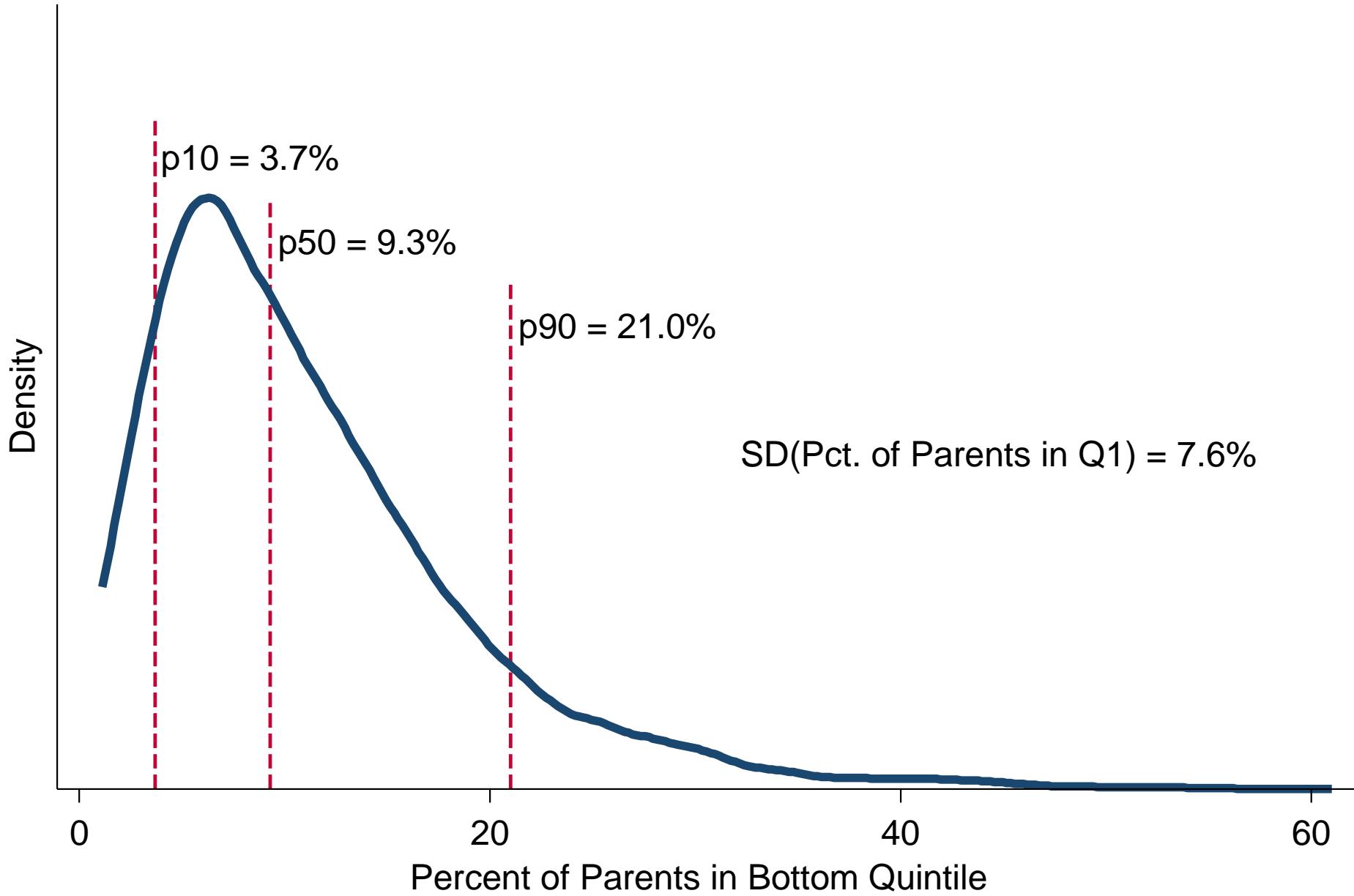
Distribution of Access Across Colleges (Enrollment-Weighted)



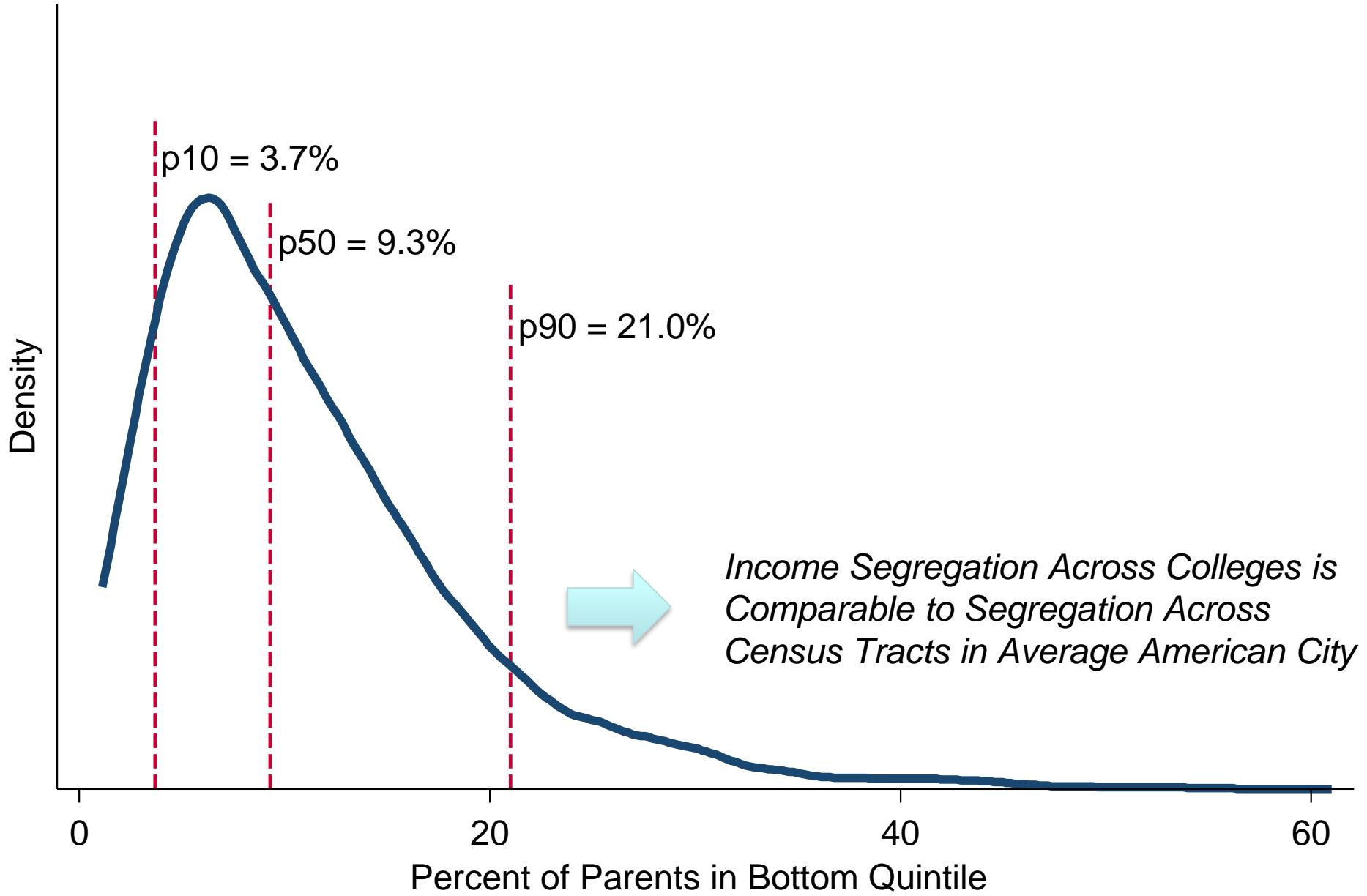
Distribution of Access Across Colleges (Enrollment-Weighted)



Distribution of Access Across Colleges (Enrollment-Weighted)



Distribution of Access Across Colleges (Enrollment-Weighted)



Lessons on Access

- **Fact #1:** Income segregation across colleges is comparable to segregation across Census tracts in the average American city
- Income is especially concentrated at elite private schools
- No evidence of a “missing middle” at elite private colleges
 - Likelihood of attending elite private schools is strictly increasing in parental income, even relative to elite public schools

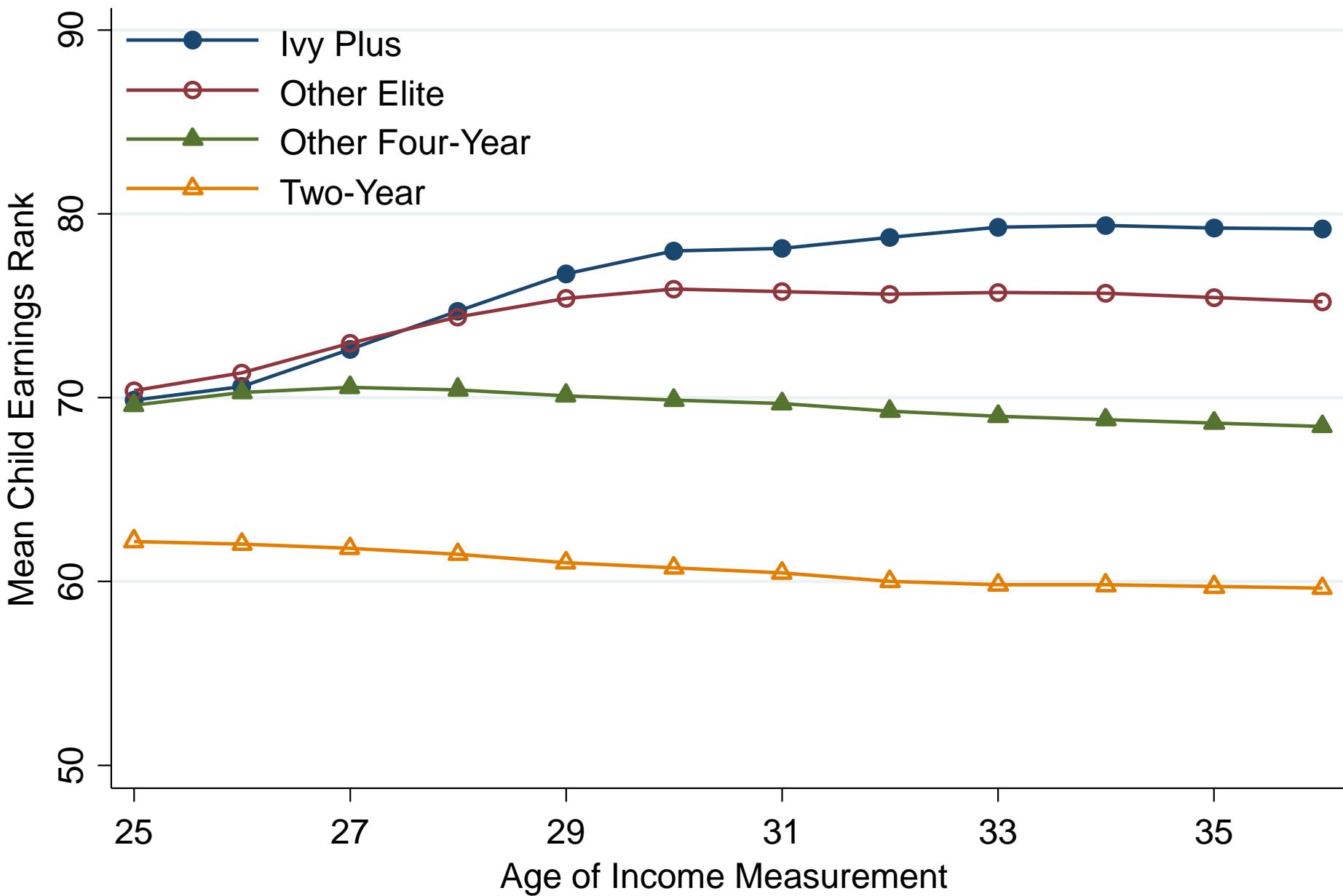
Part 2

Outcomes: Distributions of Student's Earnings by College

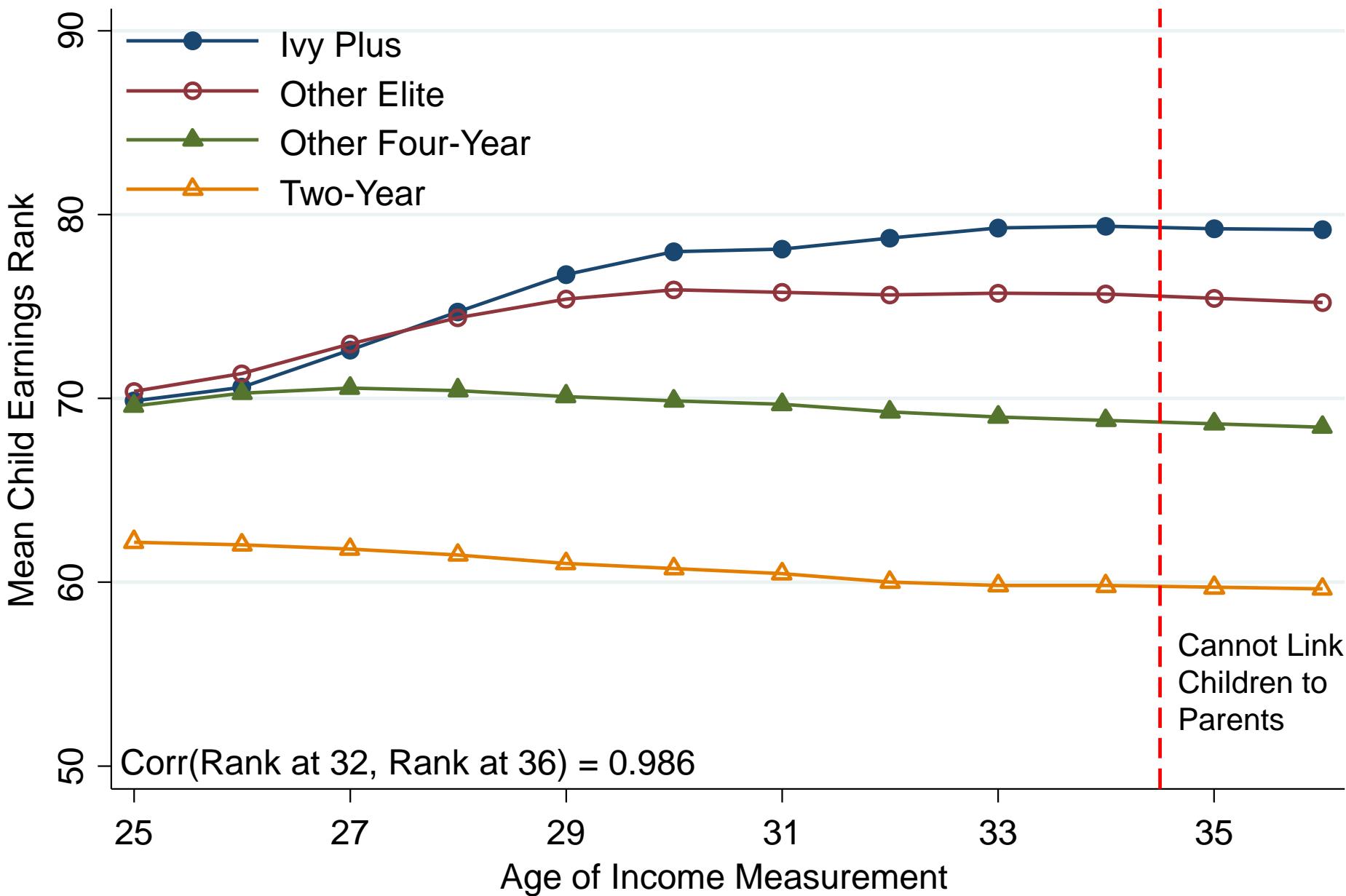
Measuring Student Earnings

- Individual labor earnings = wages + self-emp. Income + foreign wages
- Compute percentile ranks by ranking children within birth cohorts
- Using data going back to 1978 cohort, we see that ranks stabilize by age 32 at all colleges

Mean Child Rank vs. Age at Income Measurement, By College Tier



Mean Child Rank vs. Age at Income Measurement, By College Tier

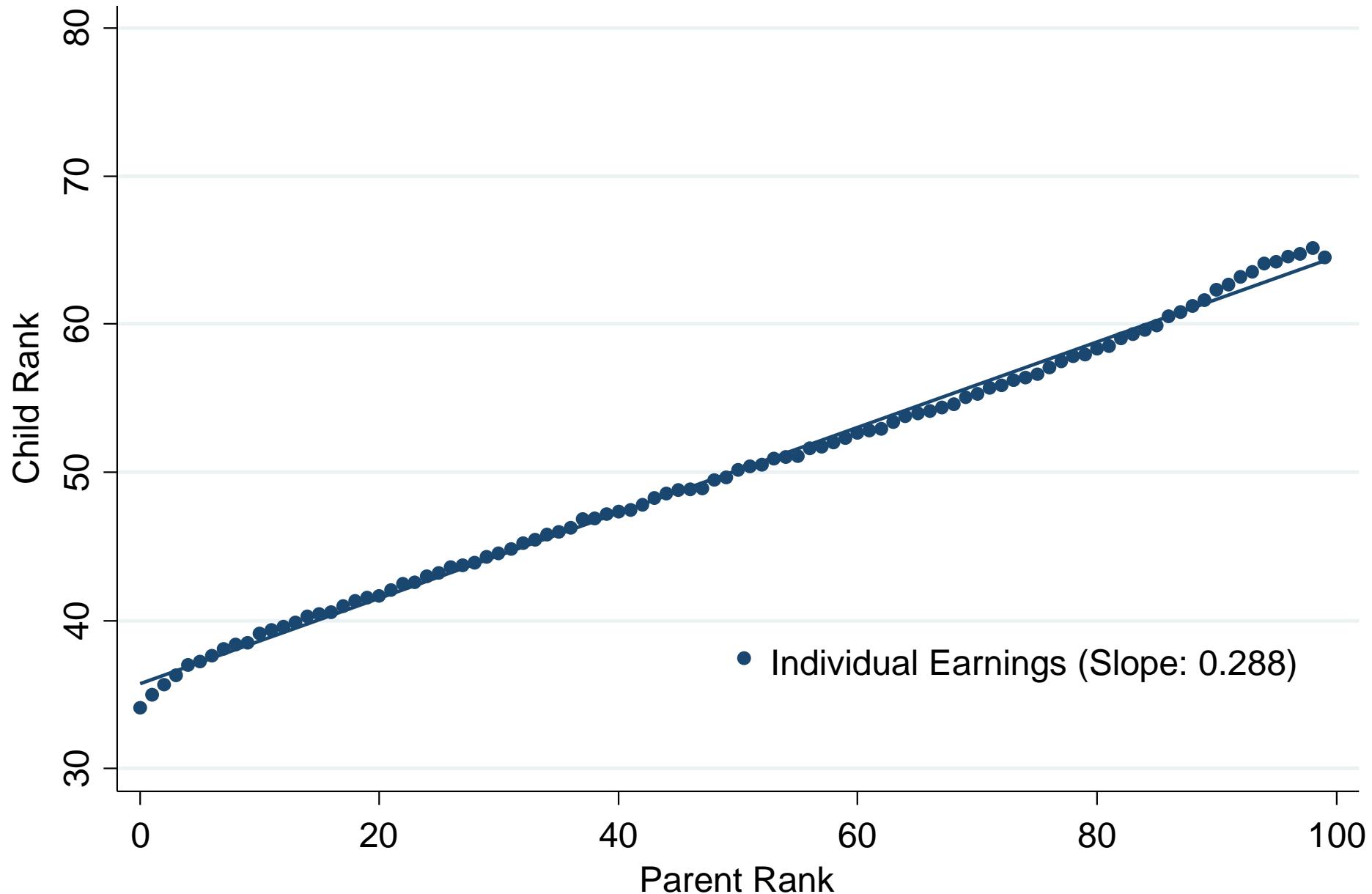


Measuring Student Earnings

- Individual labor earnings = wages + self-emp. income + foreign wages
- Compute percentile ranks by ranking children within birth cohorts
- Using data going back to 1978 cohort, we see that ranks stabilize by age 32 at all colleges
- Broader income concepts (e.g., AGI) differ from individual labor earnings primarily because of marriage

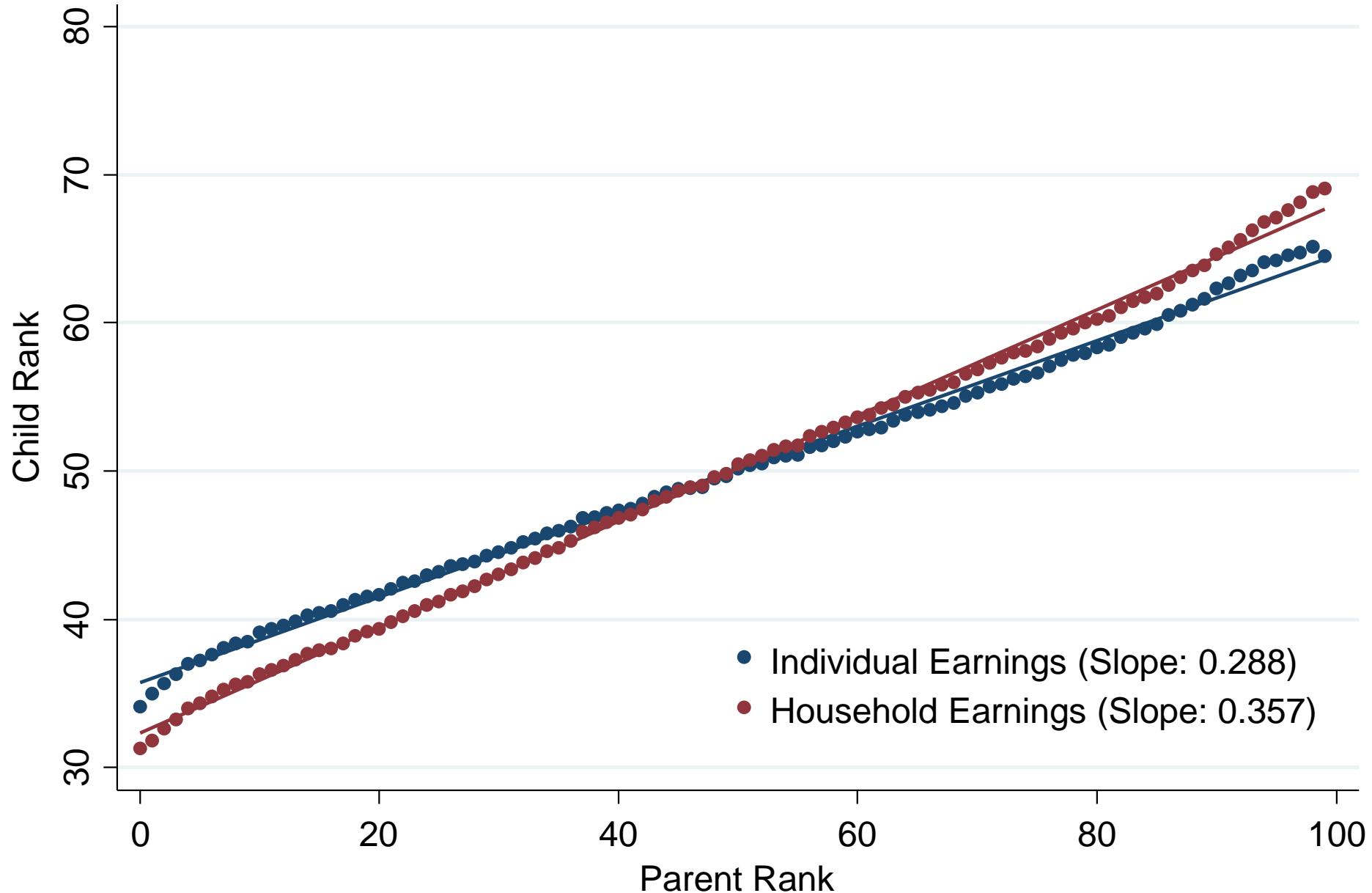
Mean Child Rank at Age 34 vs. Parent Income Rank

Full Population



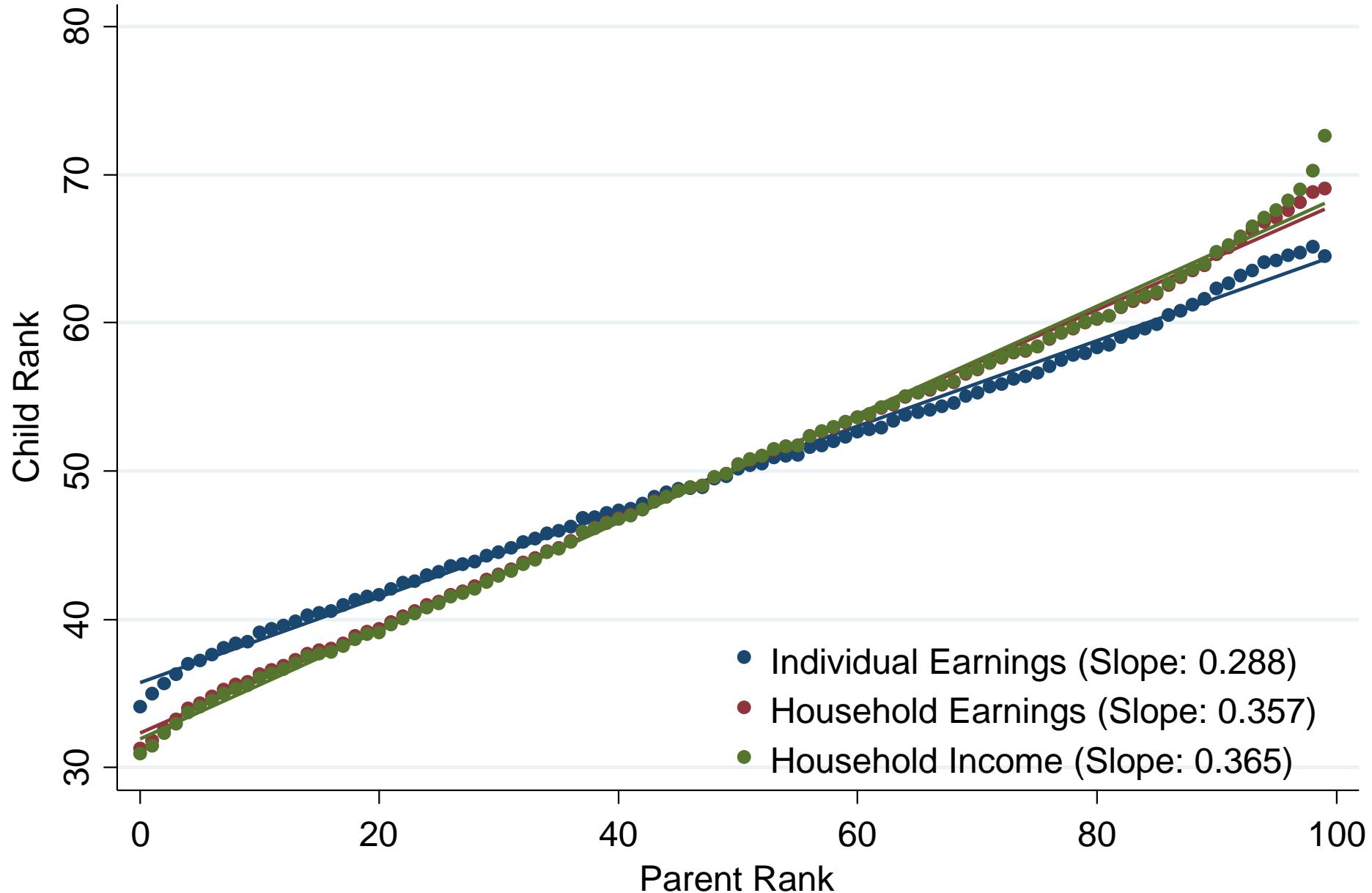
Mean Child Rank at Age 34 vs. Parent Income Rank

Full Population



Mean Child Rank at Age 34 vs. Parent Income Rank

Full Population

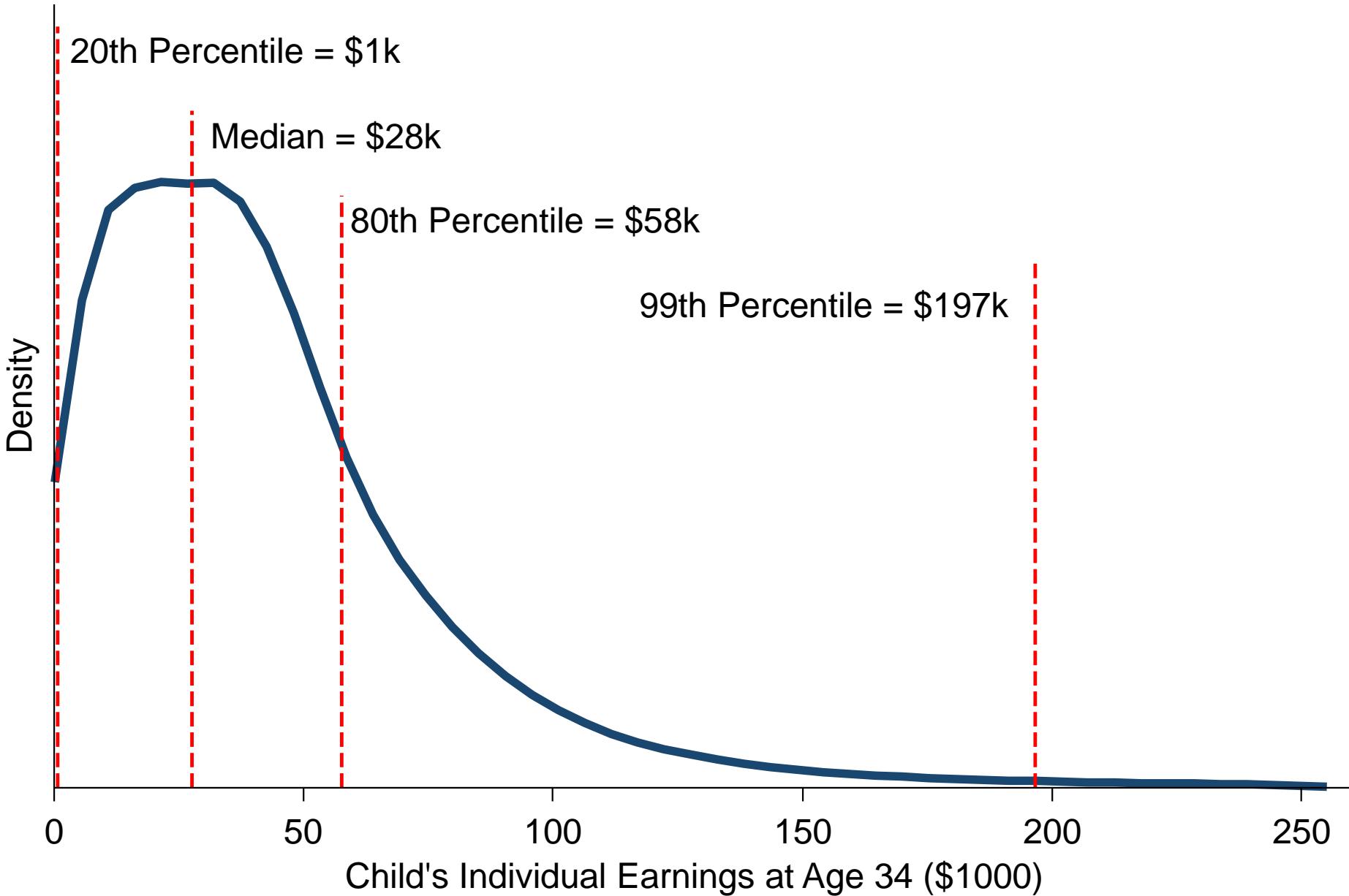


Measuring Student Earnings

- Individual labor earnings = wages + self-emp. income + foreign wages
 - Compute percentile ranks by ranking children within birth cohorts
 - Using data going back to 1978 cohort, we see that ranks stabilize by age 32 at all colleges
 - Broader income concepts (e.g., AGI) differ from individual labor earnings primarily because of marriage
- Baseline definition: individual earnings in 2014, measured at ages 32-34 for 1980-82 birth cohorts

Distribution of Children's Individual Labor Earnings at Age 34

1980 Birth Cohort

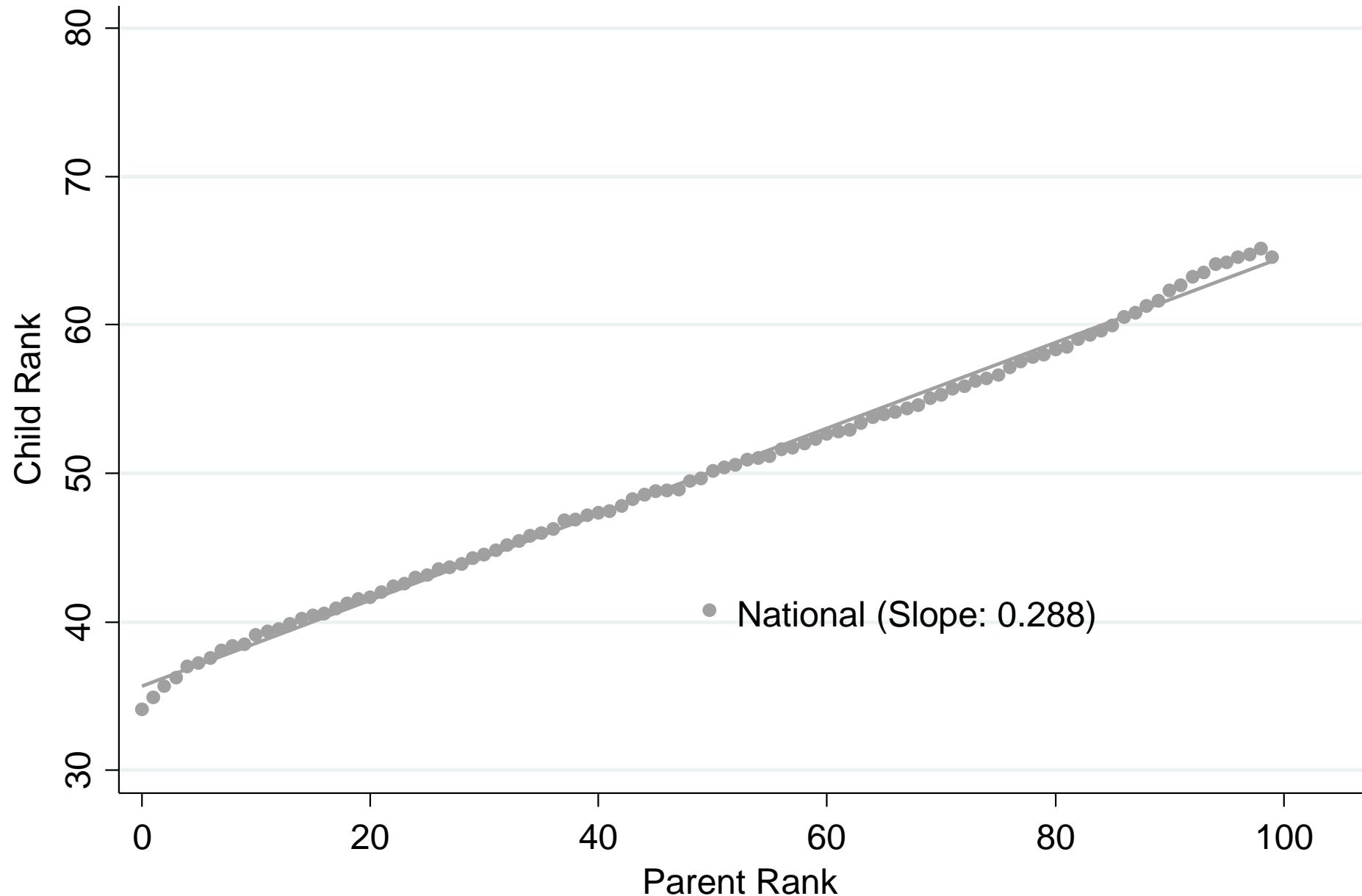


Student Earnings Outcomes by College

- Characterize children's earnings ranks conditional on their parents' rank by college

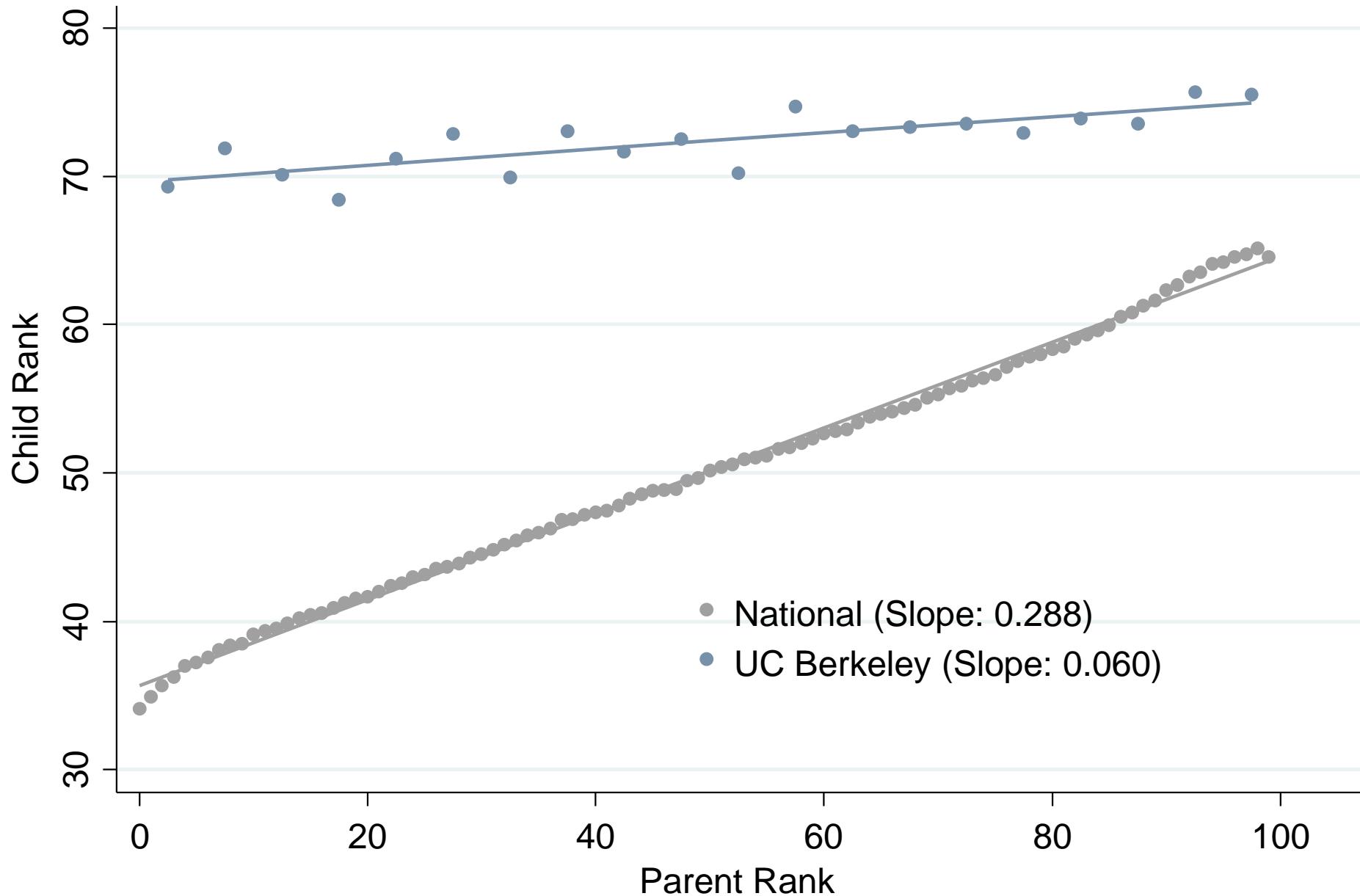
Mean Child Rank at Age 34 vs. Parent Income Rank

Full Population



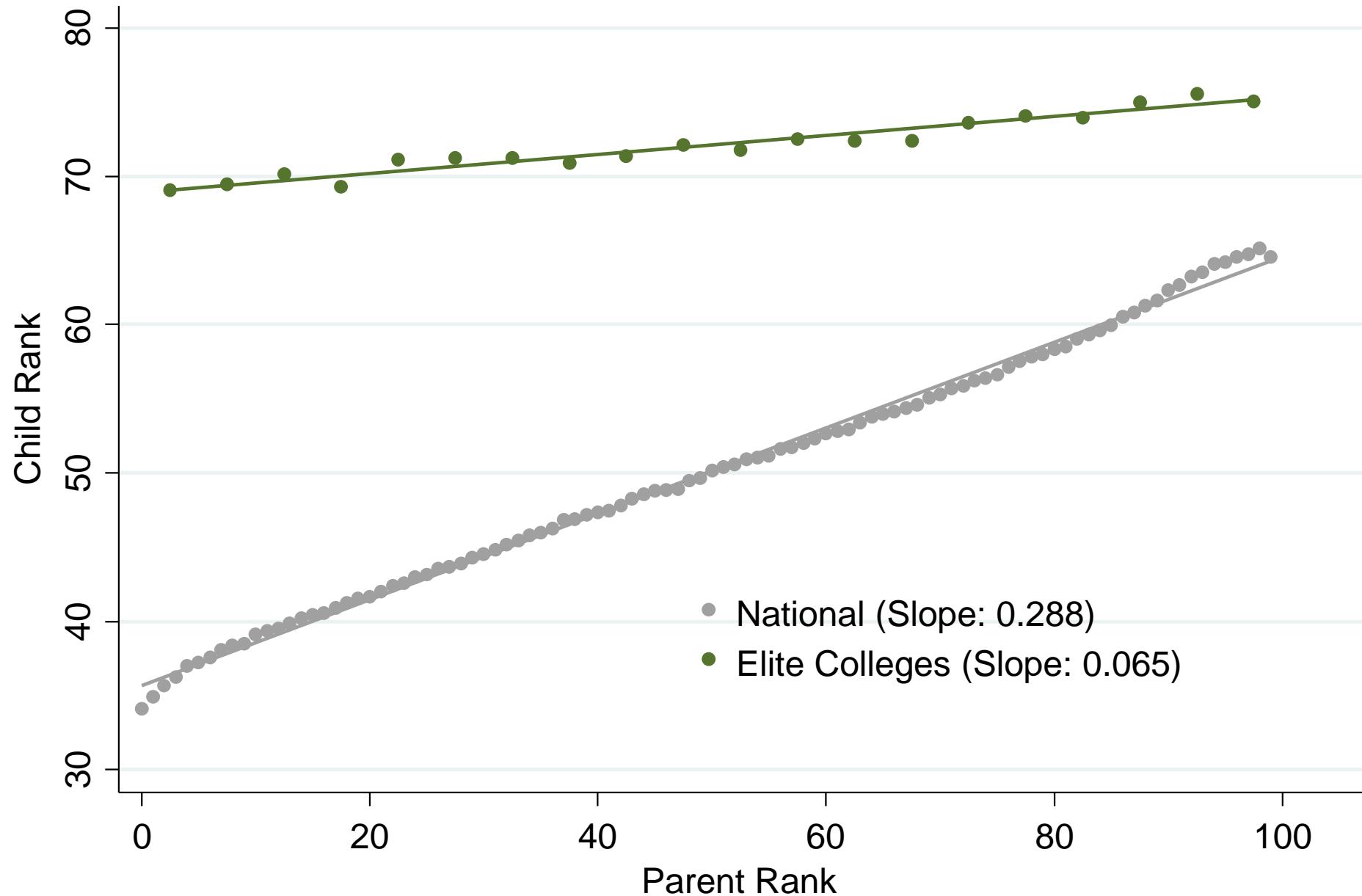
Mean Child Rank at Age 34 vs. Parent Income Rank

UC-Berkeley



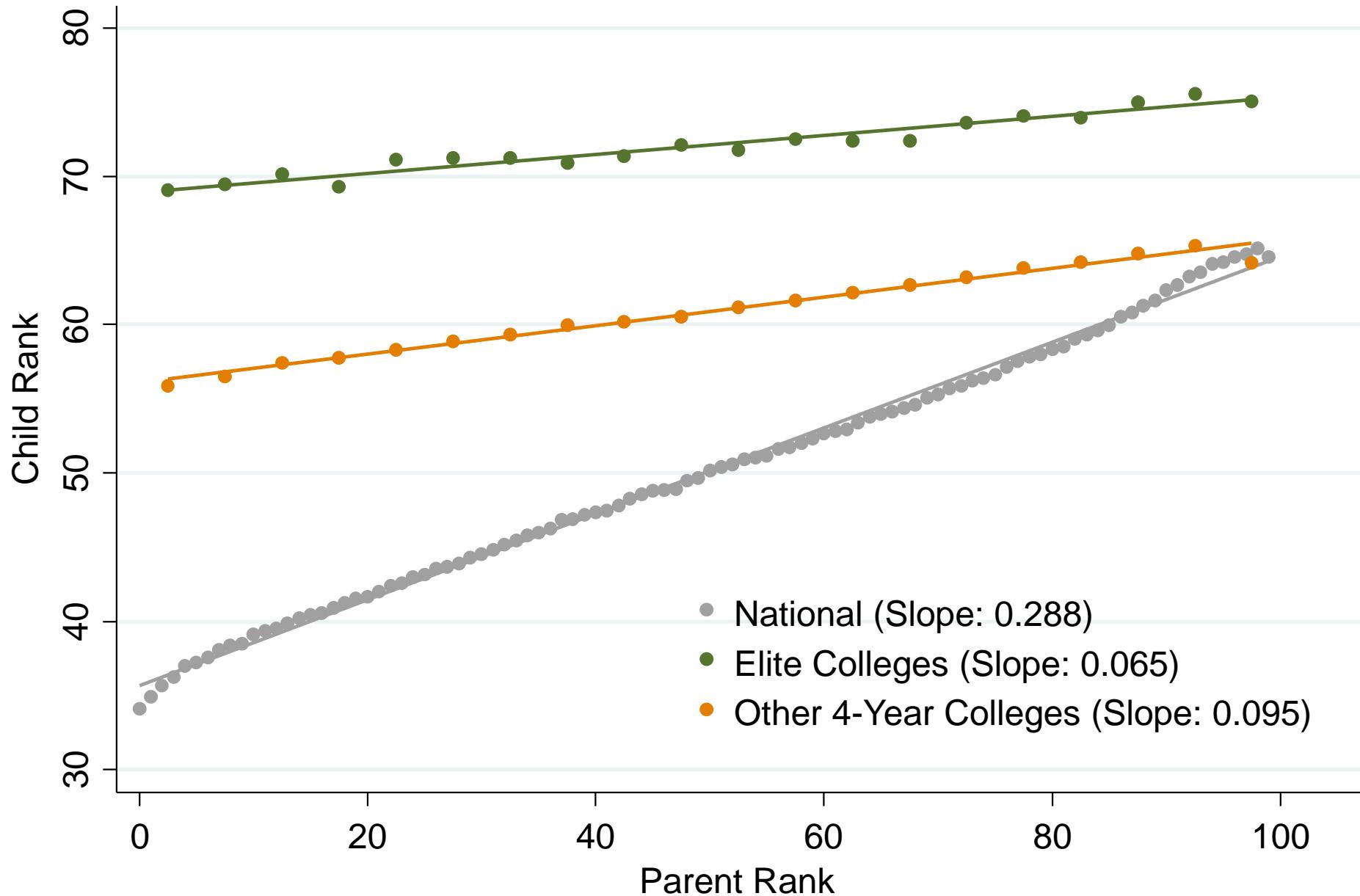
Mean Child Rank at Age 34 vs. Parent Income Rank

Elite Colleges



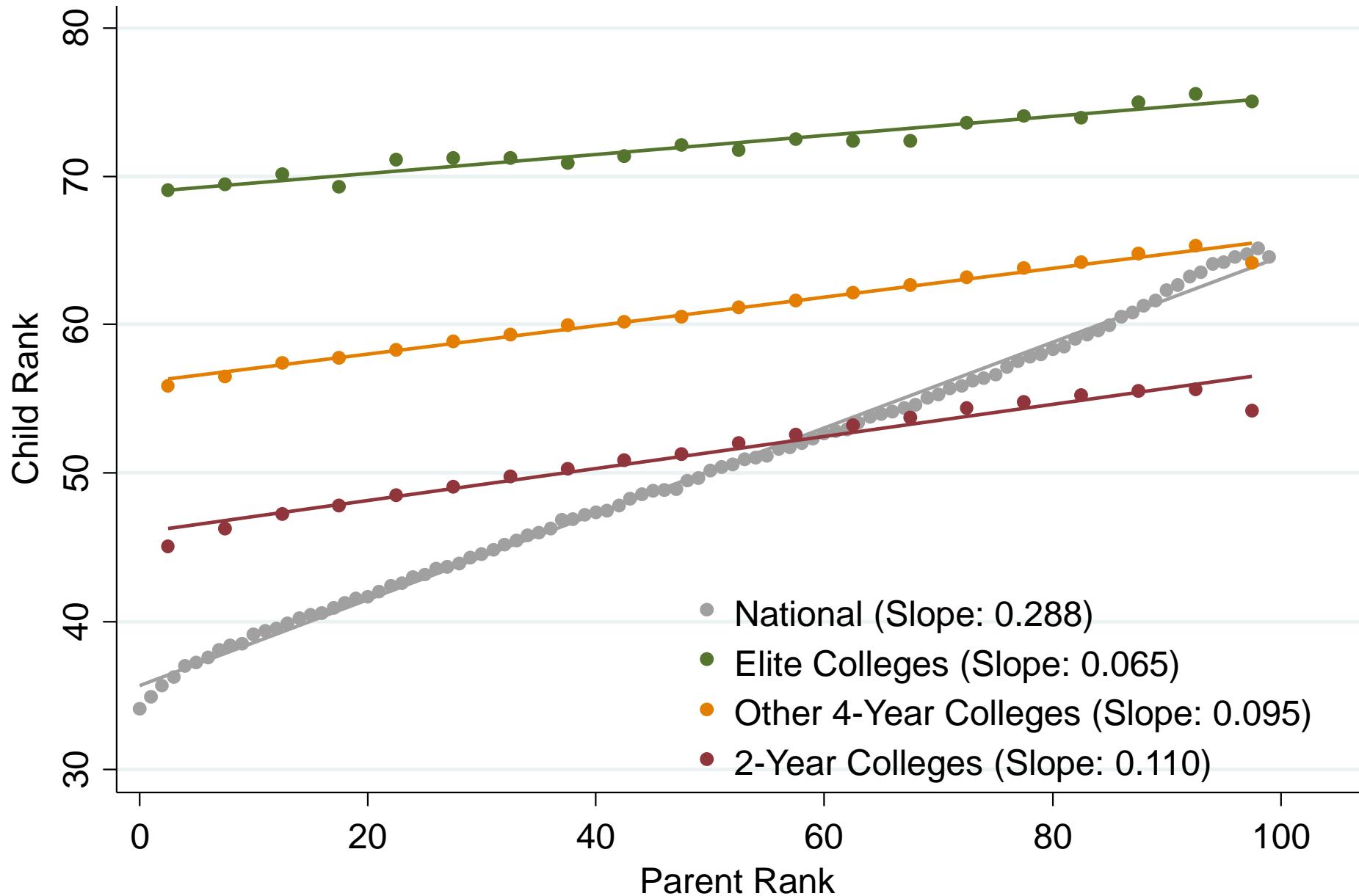
Mean Child Rank at Age 34 vs. Parent Income Rank

All 4-Year Colleges



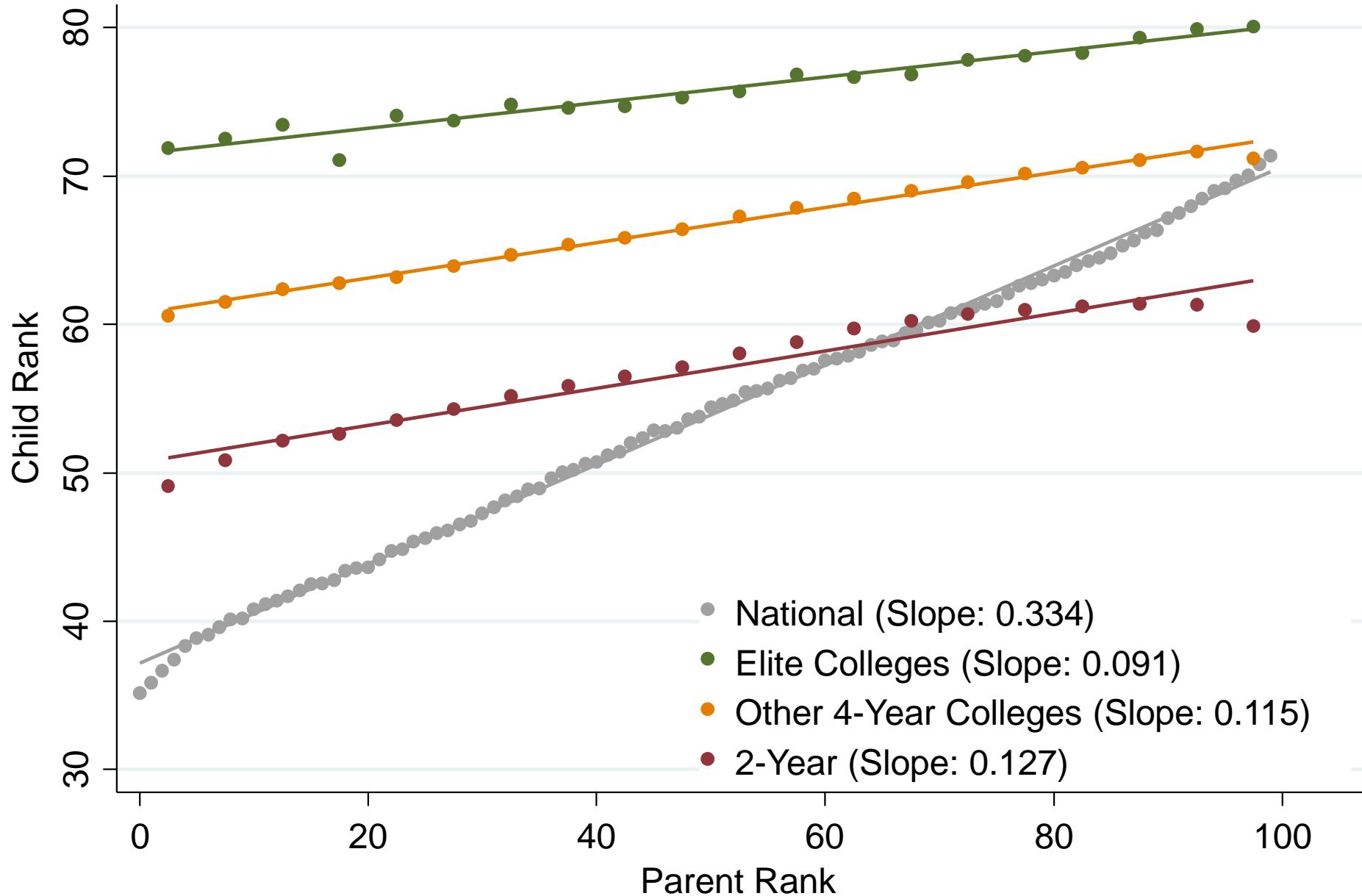
Mean Child Rank at Age 34 vs. Parent Income Rank

All Colleges



Mean Child Rank at Age 34 vs. Parent Income Rank

All Colleges – Male Children Only



Lessons on Outcomes

- **Fact #2:** At any given college, students from low- and high- income families have very similar earnings outcomes
 - Colleges effectively “level the playing field” across students with different socioeconomic backgrounds whom they admit
- No indication of “mismatch” of low-SES students who are admitted to selective colleges under current policies
 - Low-SES students at less-selective colleges are unlikely to do better than high-SES students at more-selective colleges
 - Within-college earnings gradient therefore places a tight upper bound on the degree of mismatch
- Any current affirmative action policies for low-income students have little cost to universities in terms of students’ outcomes

Part 3

Differences in Mobility Rates Across Colleges

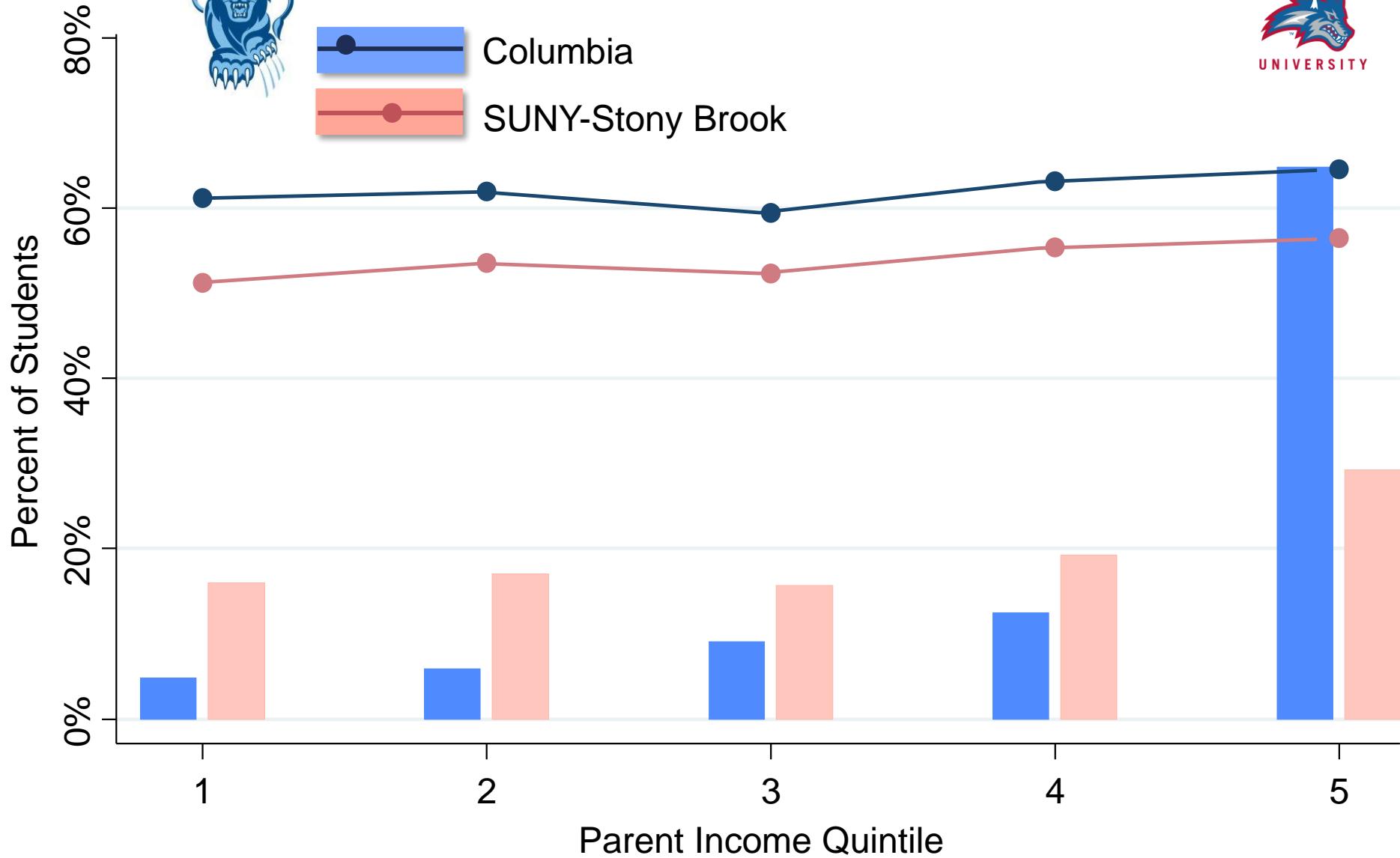
Mobility Report Cards

- Combine data on parents' incomes and students' outcomes to characterize colleges' mobility rates
- Begin by measuring upward mobility as reaching top quintile
 - Turn to upper-tail success (reaching top 1%) later



Mobility Report Cards

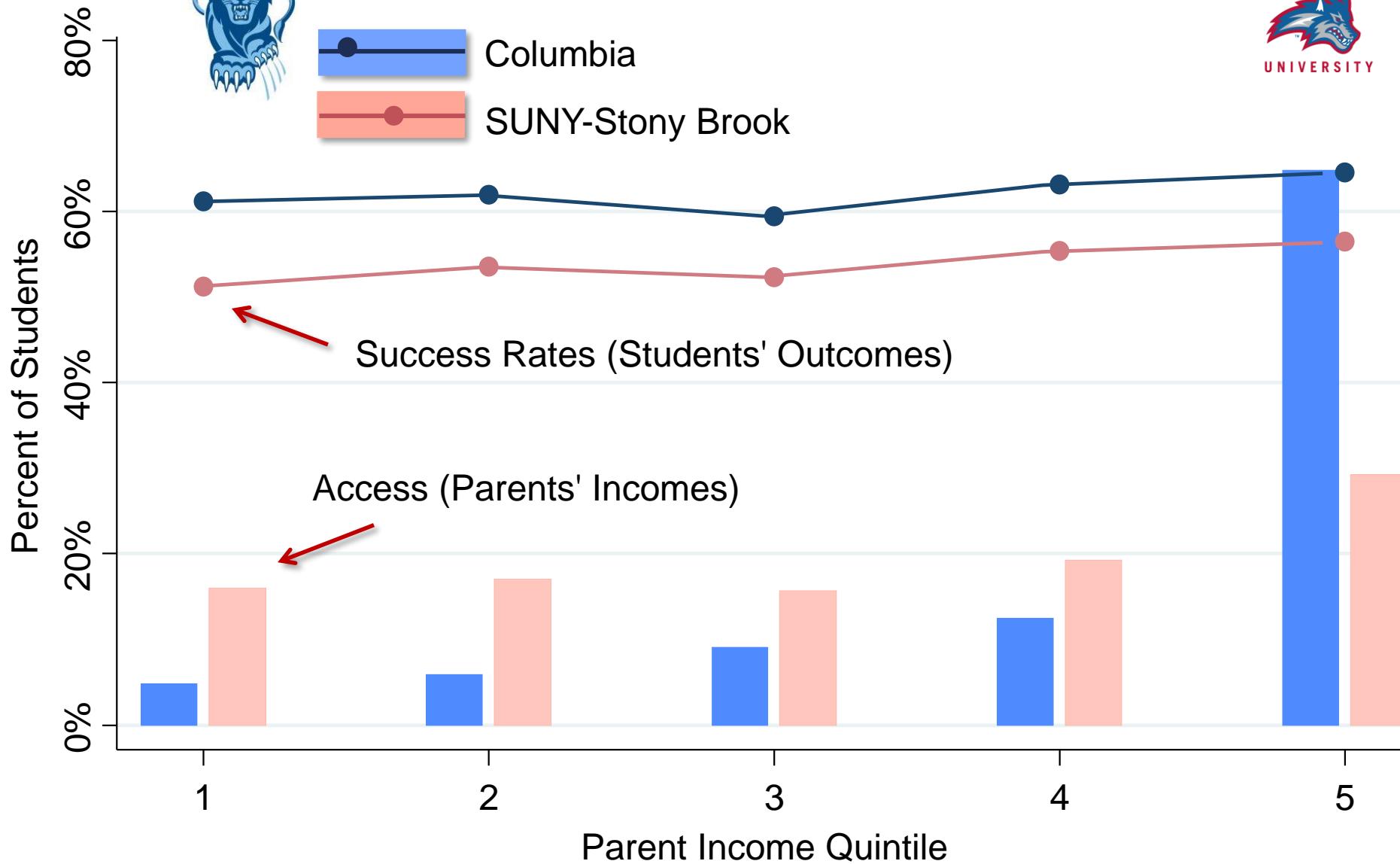
Columbia vs. SUNY-Stony Brook





Mobility Report Cards

Columbia vs. SUNY-Stony Brook



Rates of Mobility

- Define a college's *mobility rate* (MR) as the fraction of its students who come from bottom quintile and end up in top quintile

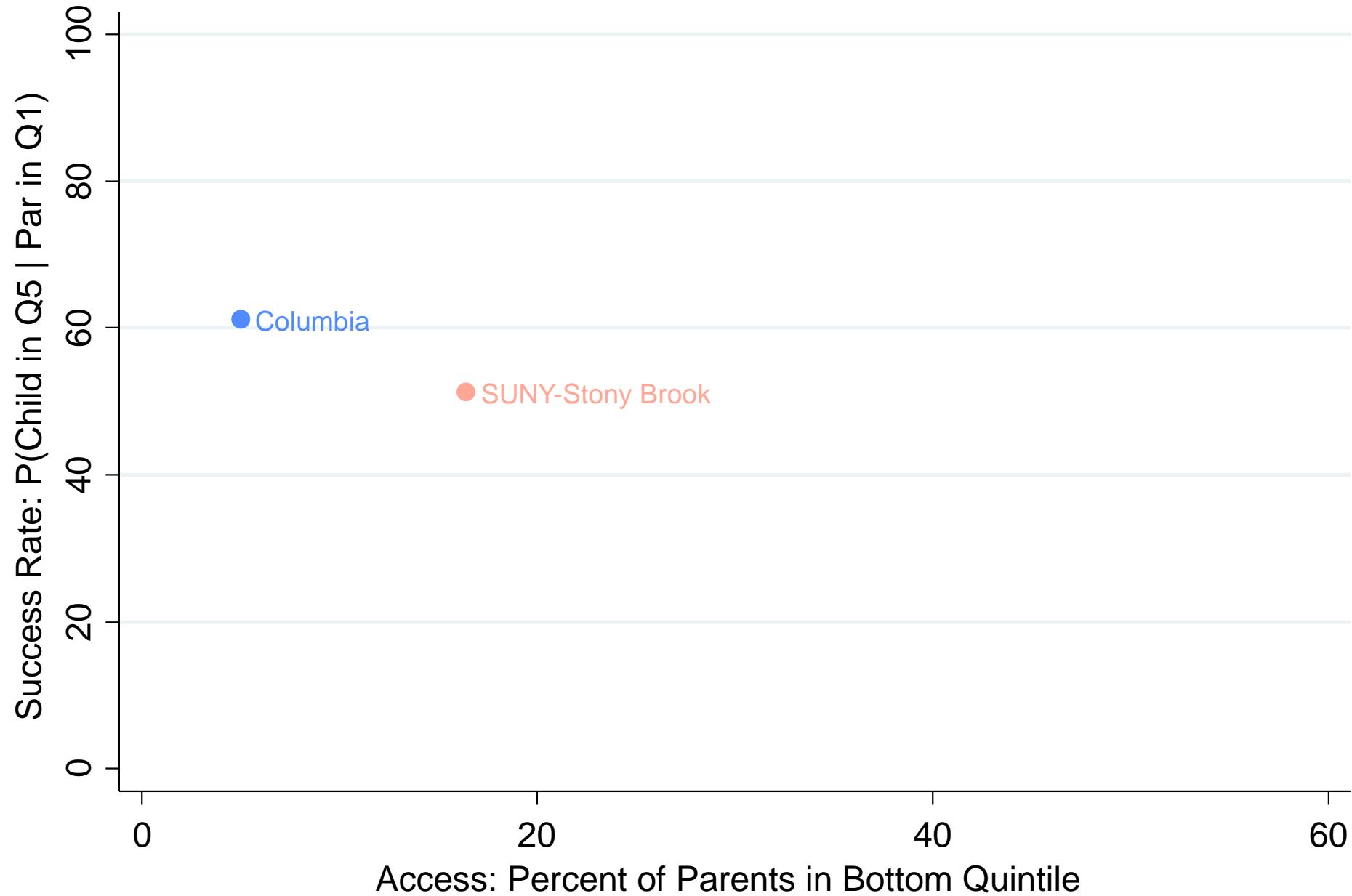
$$\text{Mobility Rate} = \text{Success Rate} \times \text{Access}$$

\uparrow \uparrow \uparrow

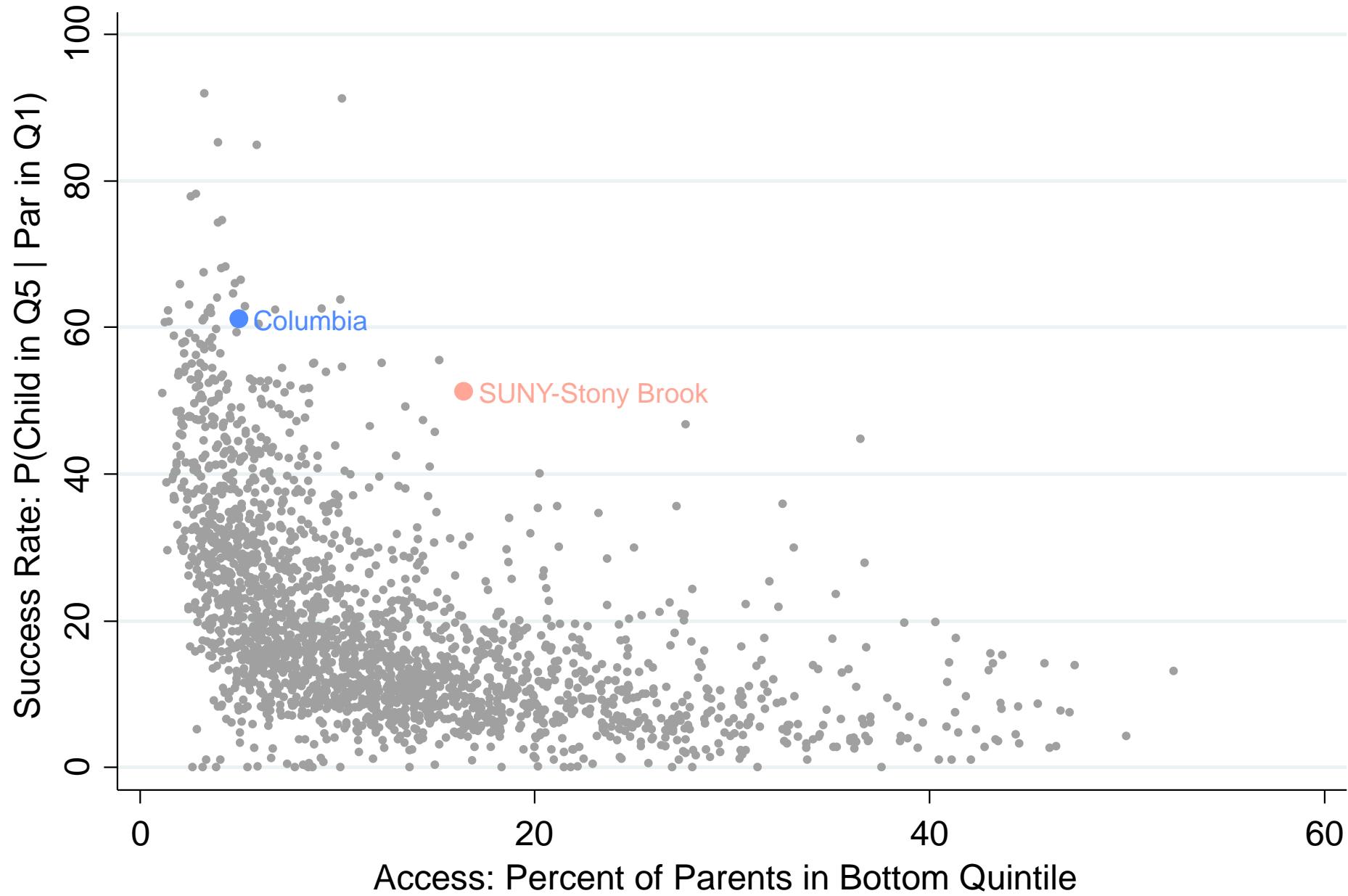
$P(\text{Child in Q5} \& \text{Parent in Q1})$ $P(\text{Child in Q5} | \text{Parent in Q1})$ $P(\text{Parent in Q1})$

- E.g., SUNY-Stony Brook: $8.4\% = 51.2\% \times 16.4\%$
- The mobility rate should be interpreted as an accounting measure rather than a causal effect

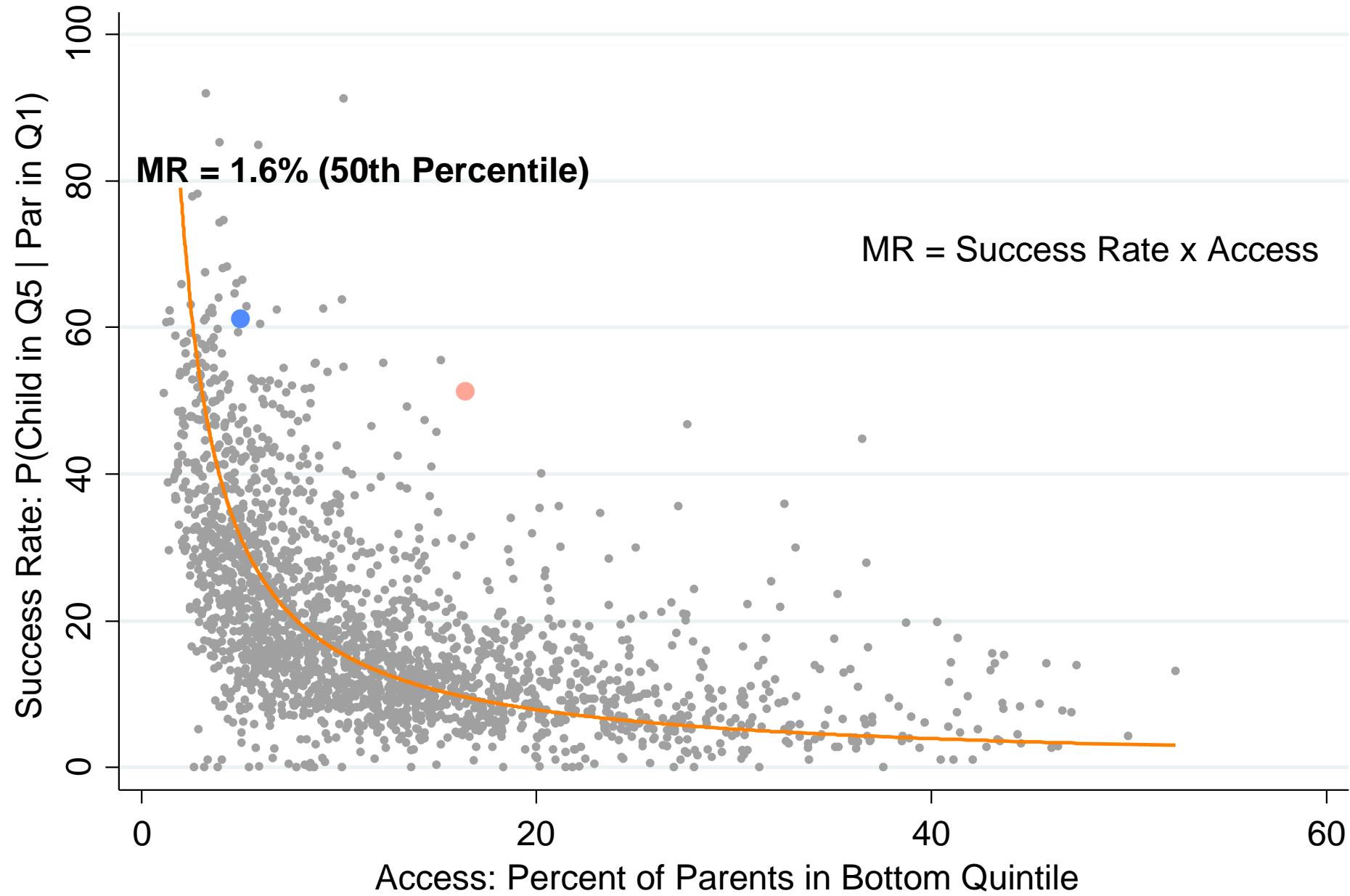
Mobility Rates: Success Rate vs. Access by College



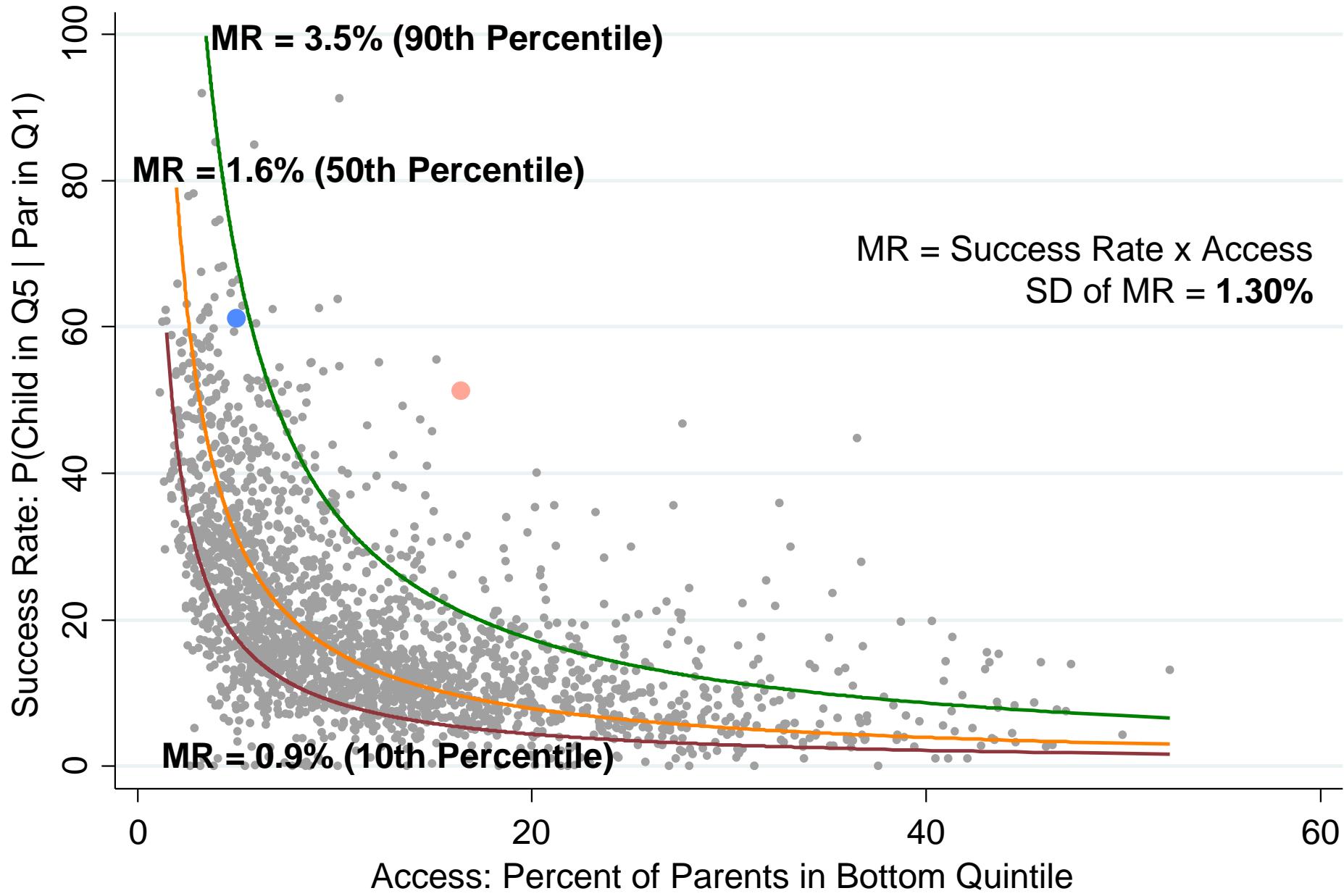
Mobility Rates: Success Rate vs. Access by College



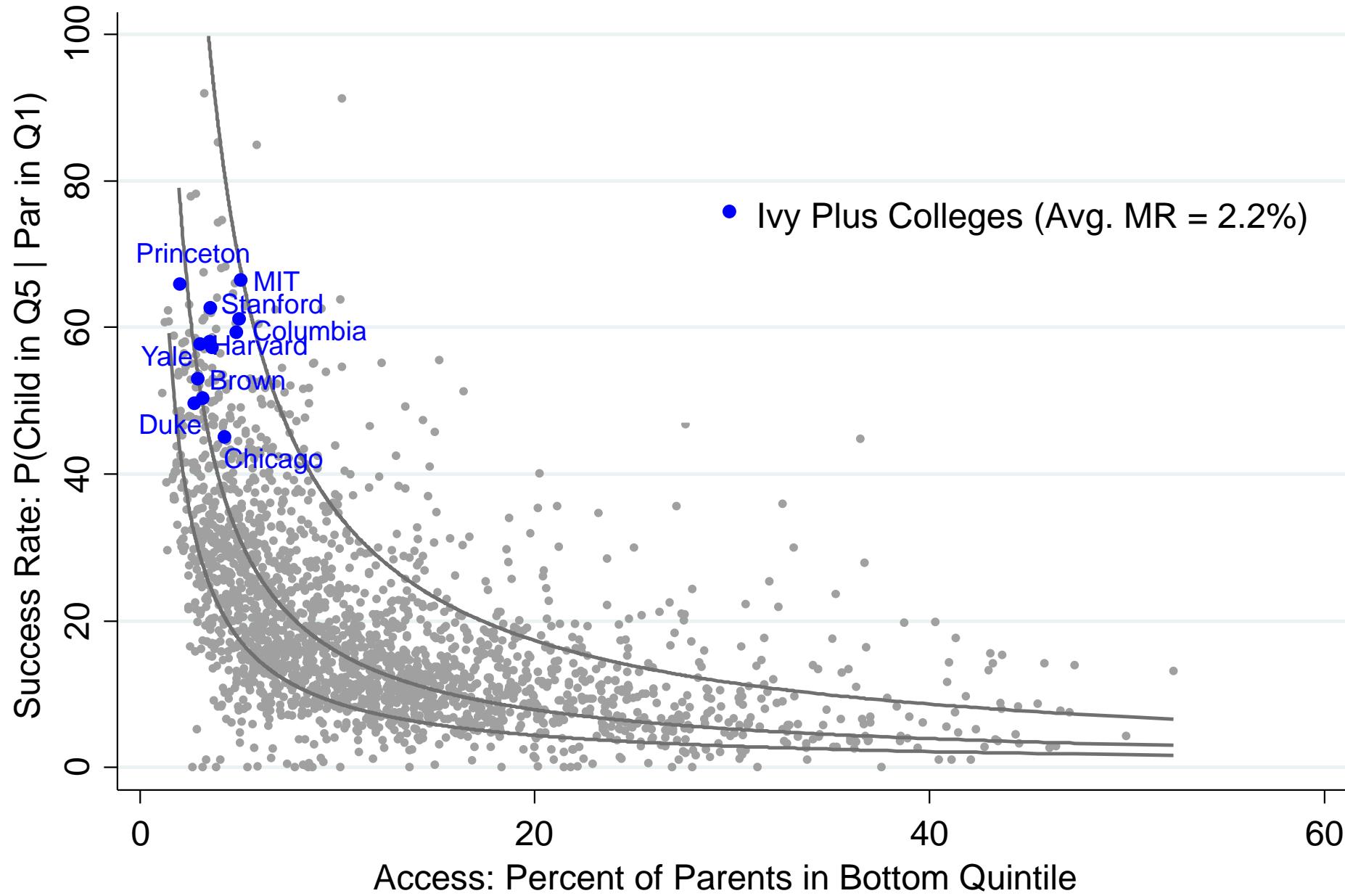
Mobility Rates: Success Rate vs. Access by College



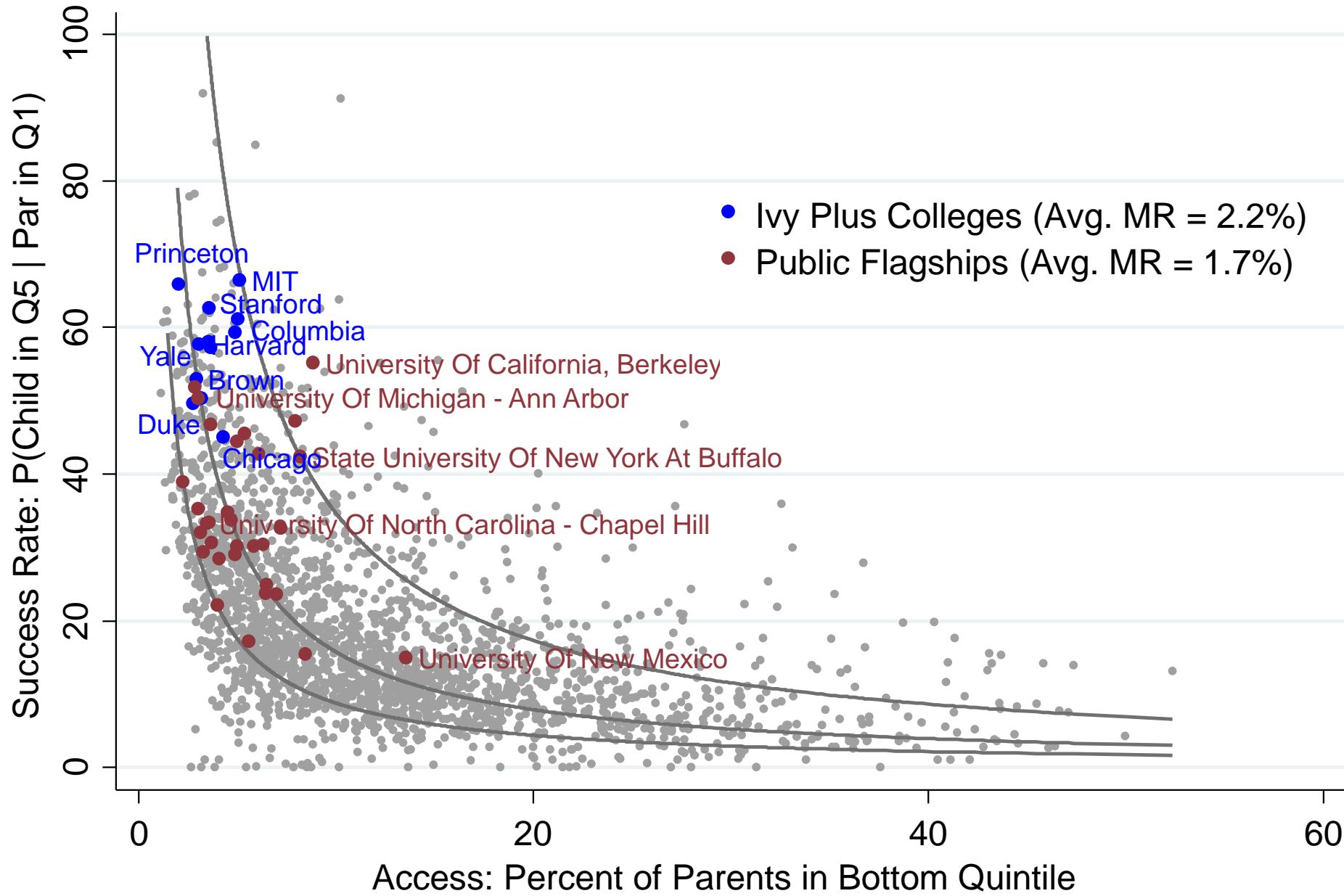
Mobility Rates: Success Rate vs. Access by College



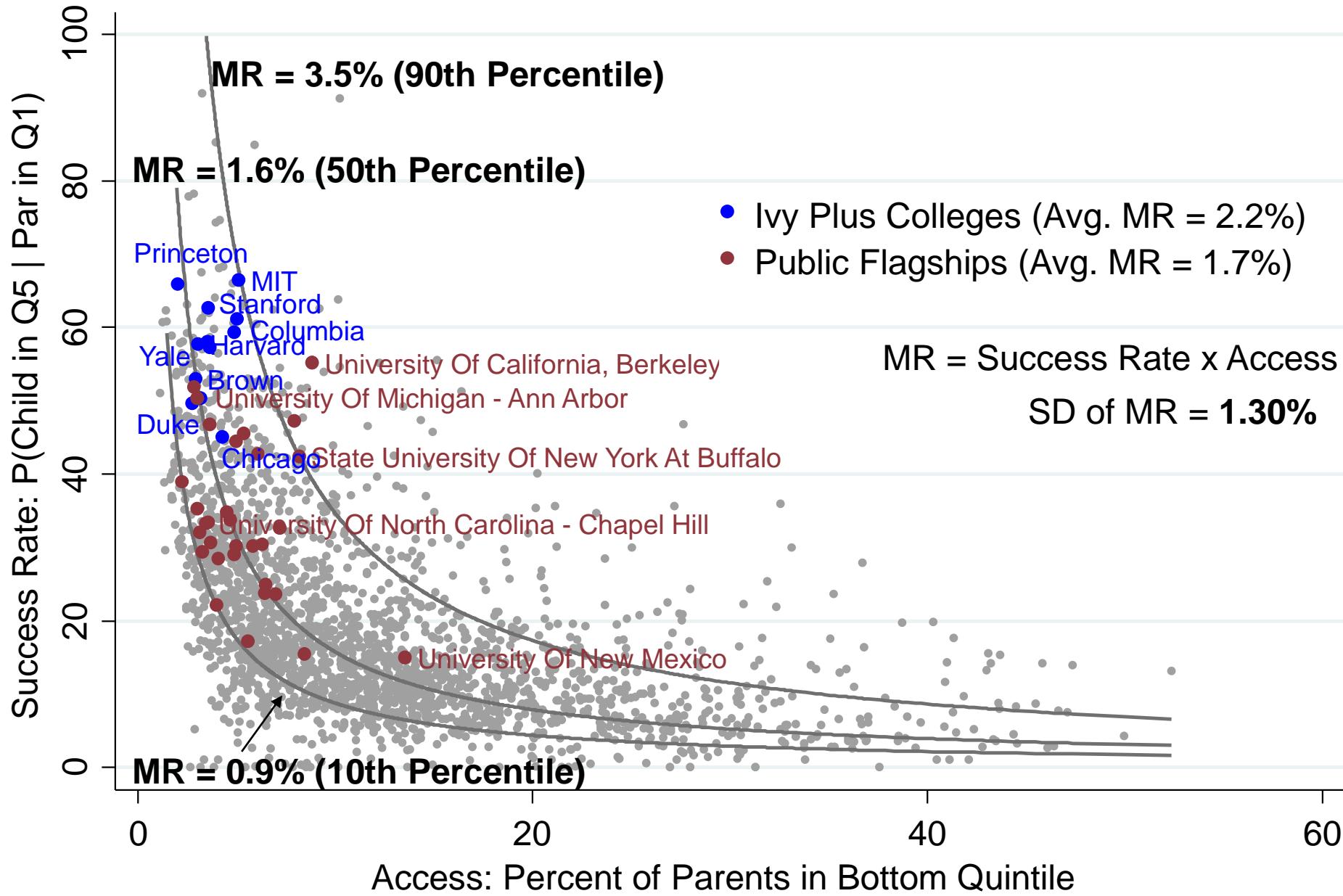
Mobility Rates: Success Rate vs. Access by College



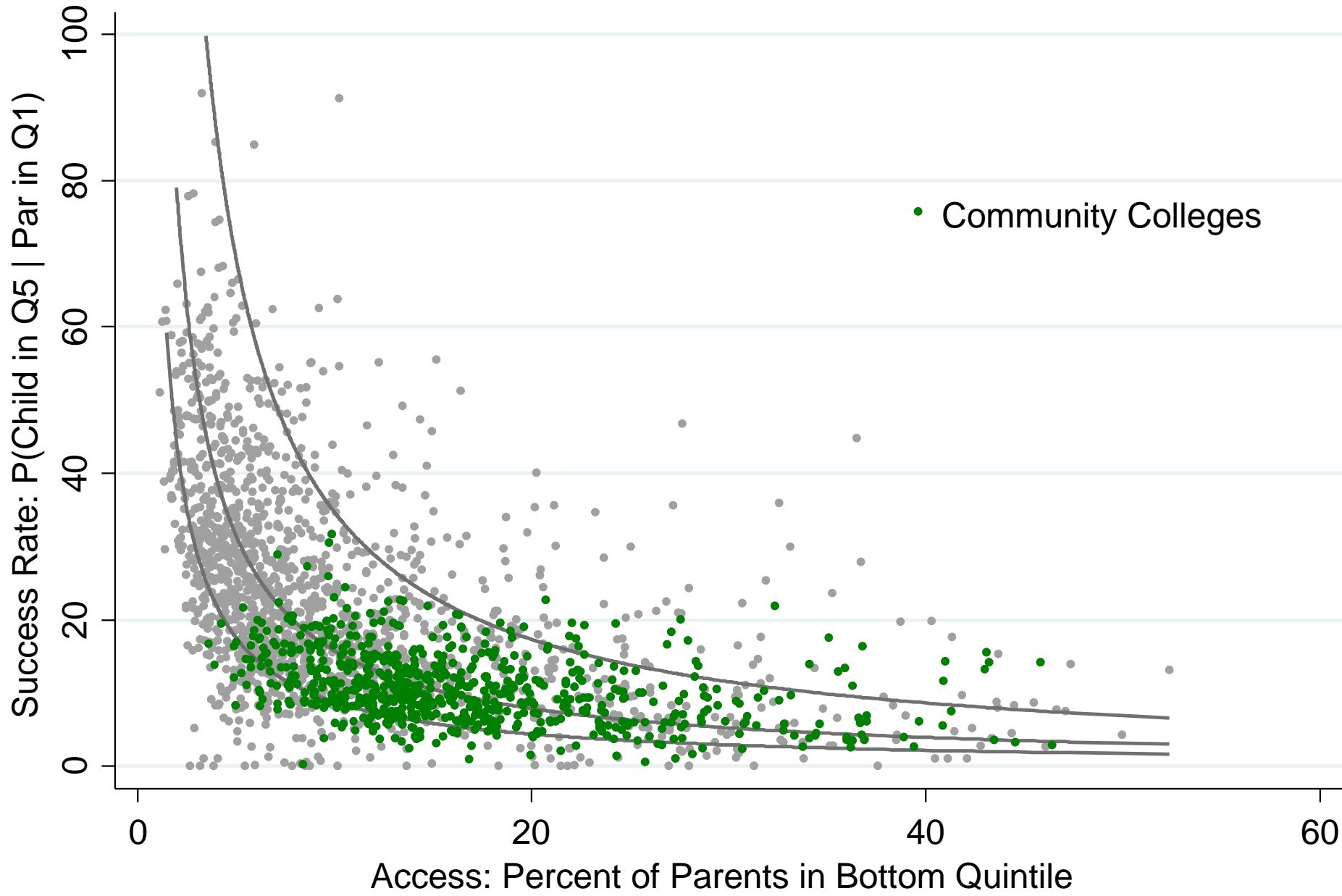
Mobility Rates: Success Rate vs. Access by College



Mobility Rates: Success Rate vs. Access by College



Mobility Rates: Success Rate vs. Access by College

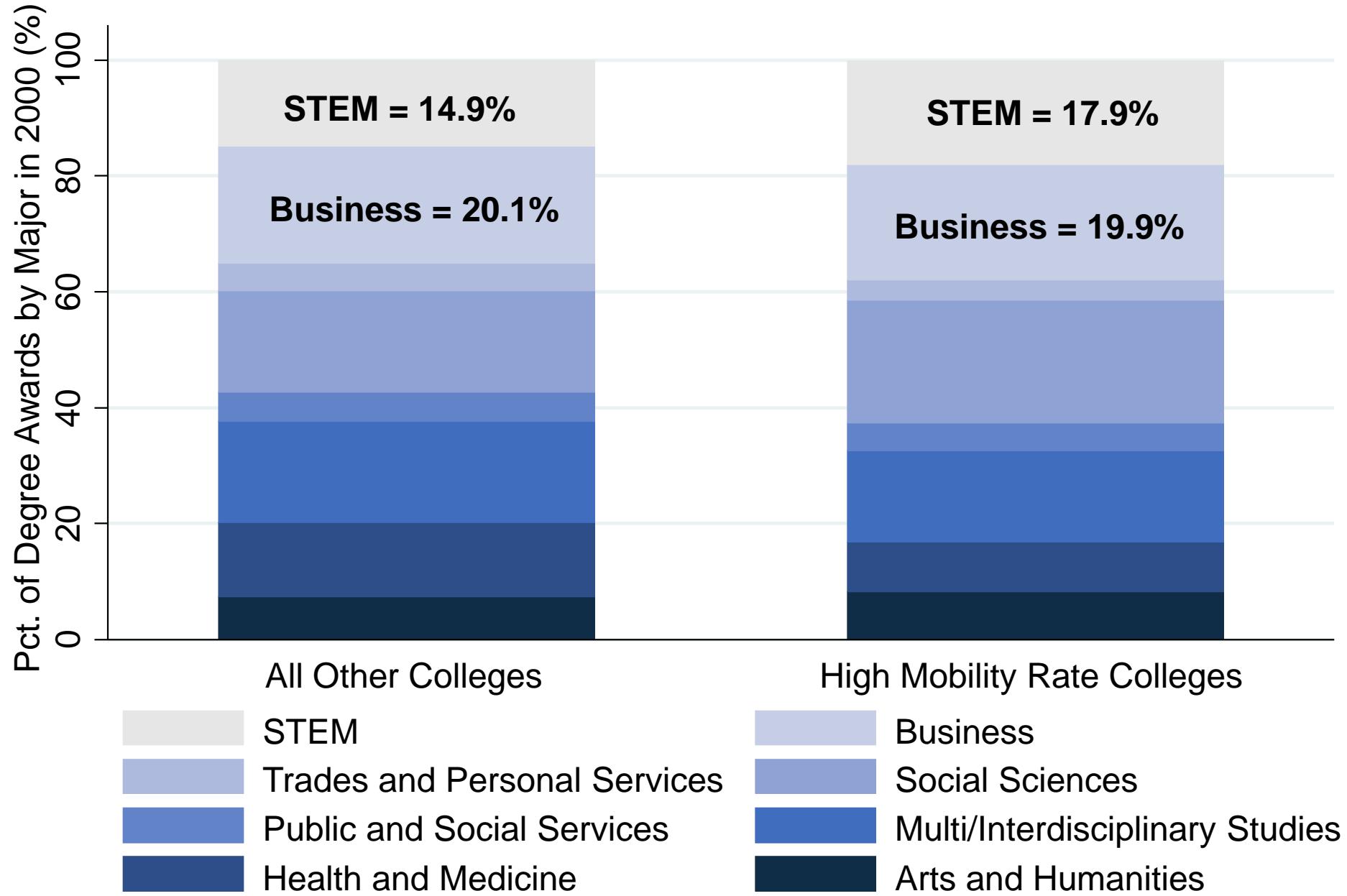


Top 10 Colleges by Mobility Rate (Bottom to Top 20%)

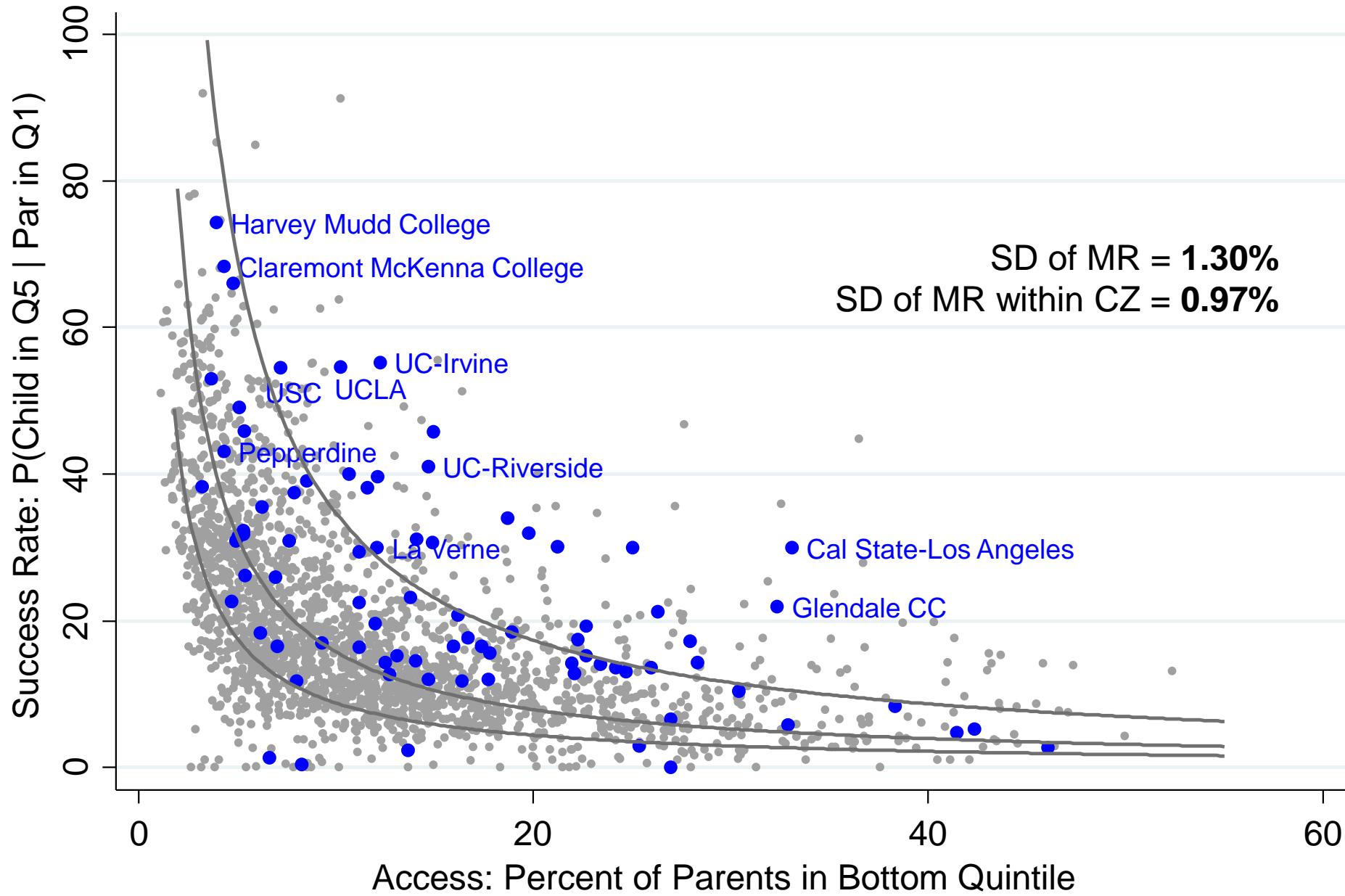
Rank	Name	Mobility Rate	=	Access	x	Success Rate
1	Cal State University – LA	9.9%		33.1%		29.9%
2	Pace University – New York	8.4%		15.2%		55.6%
3	SUNY – Stony Brook	8.4%		16.4%		51.2%
4	Technical Career Institutes	8.0%		40.3%		19.8%
5	University of Texas – Pan American	7.6%		38.7%		19.8%
6	CUNY System	7.2%		28.7%		25.2%
7	Glendale Community College	7.1%		32.4%		21.9%
8	South Texas College	6.9%		52.4%		13.2%
9	Cal State Polytechnic – Pomona	6.8%		14.9%		45.8%
10	University of Texas – El Paso	6.8%		28.0%		24.4%

Top 10 Colleges by Mobility Rate (Bottom to Top 20%)

Rank	Name	Mobility Rate	=	Access	x	Success Rate
1	Cal State University – LA	9.9%		33.1%		29.9%
2	Pace University – New York	8.4%		15.2%		55.6%
3	SUNY – Stony Brook	8.4%		16.4%		51.2%
4	Technical Career Institutes	8.0%		40.3%		19.8%
5	University of Texas – Pan American	7.6%		38.7%		19.8%
6	CUNY System	7.2%		28.7%		25.2%
7	Glendale Community College	7.1%		32.4%		21.9%
8	South Texas College	6.9%		52.4%		13.2%
9	Cal State Polytechnic – Pomona	6.8%		14.9%		45.8%
10	University of Texas – El Paso	6.8%		28.0%		24.4%



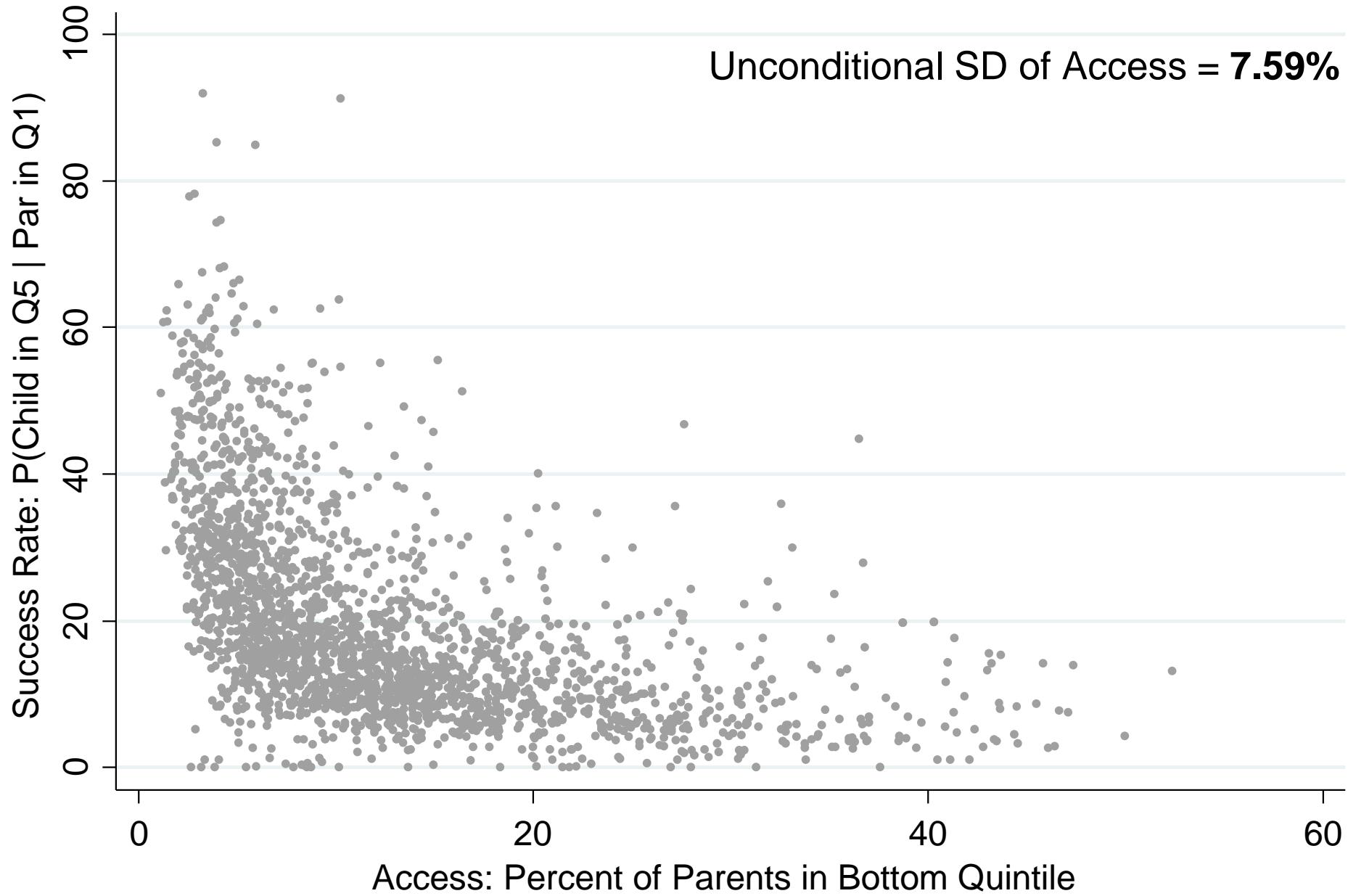
Mobility Rates: Colleges in Los Angeles



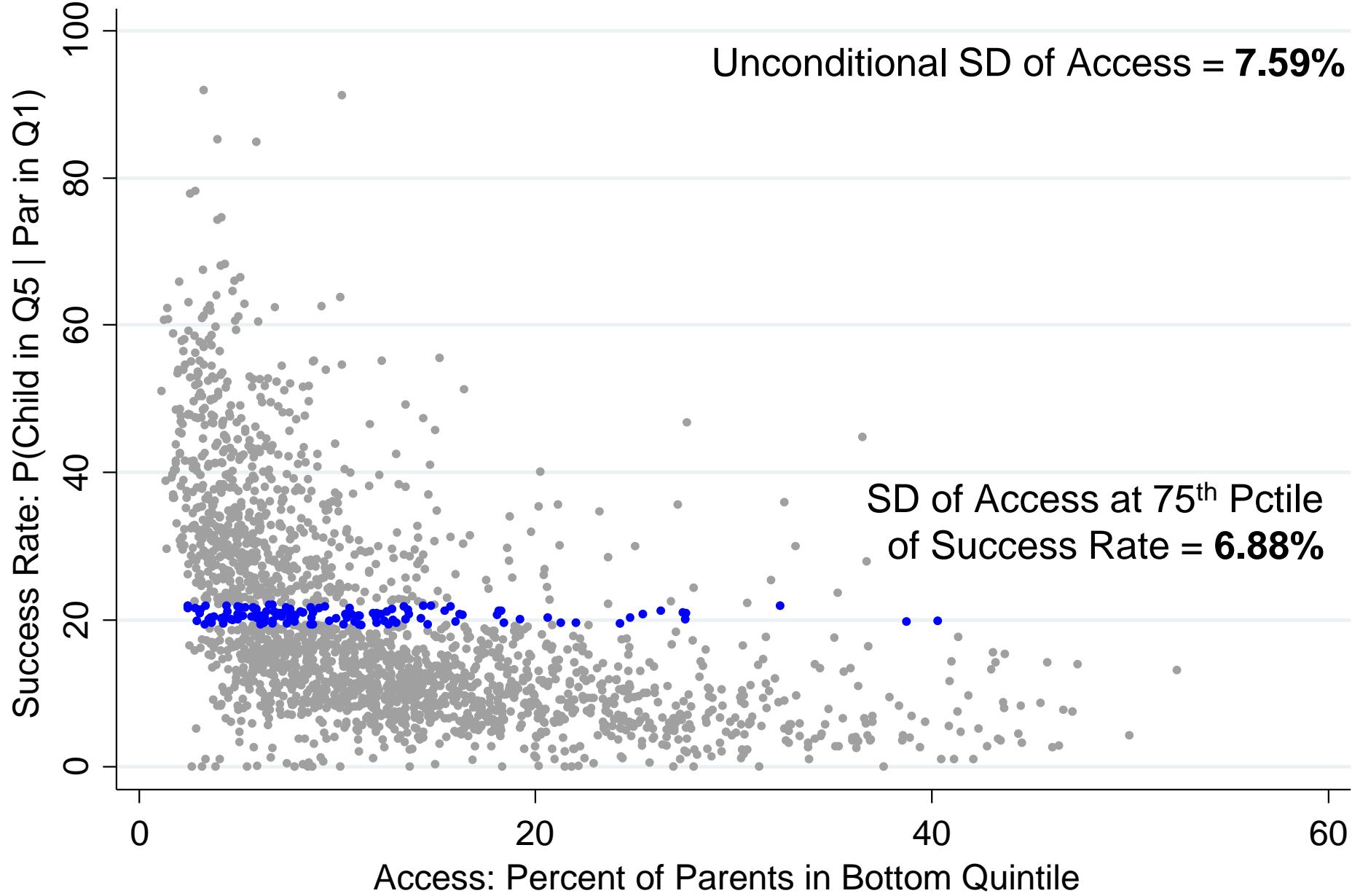
Variation in Access Conditional on Success Rate

- Much of the variation in mobility rates is driven by differences in access at a given success rate
 - Not just driven by “vertical selection” across colleges that have very different students and outcomes
 - Ex: SUNY-Stony Brook and CUNY have similar success rates to Fordham, NYU, and Wagner, but very different levels of access

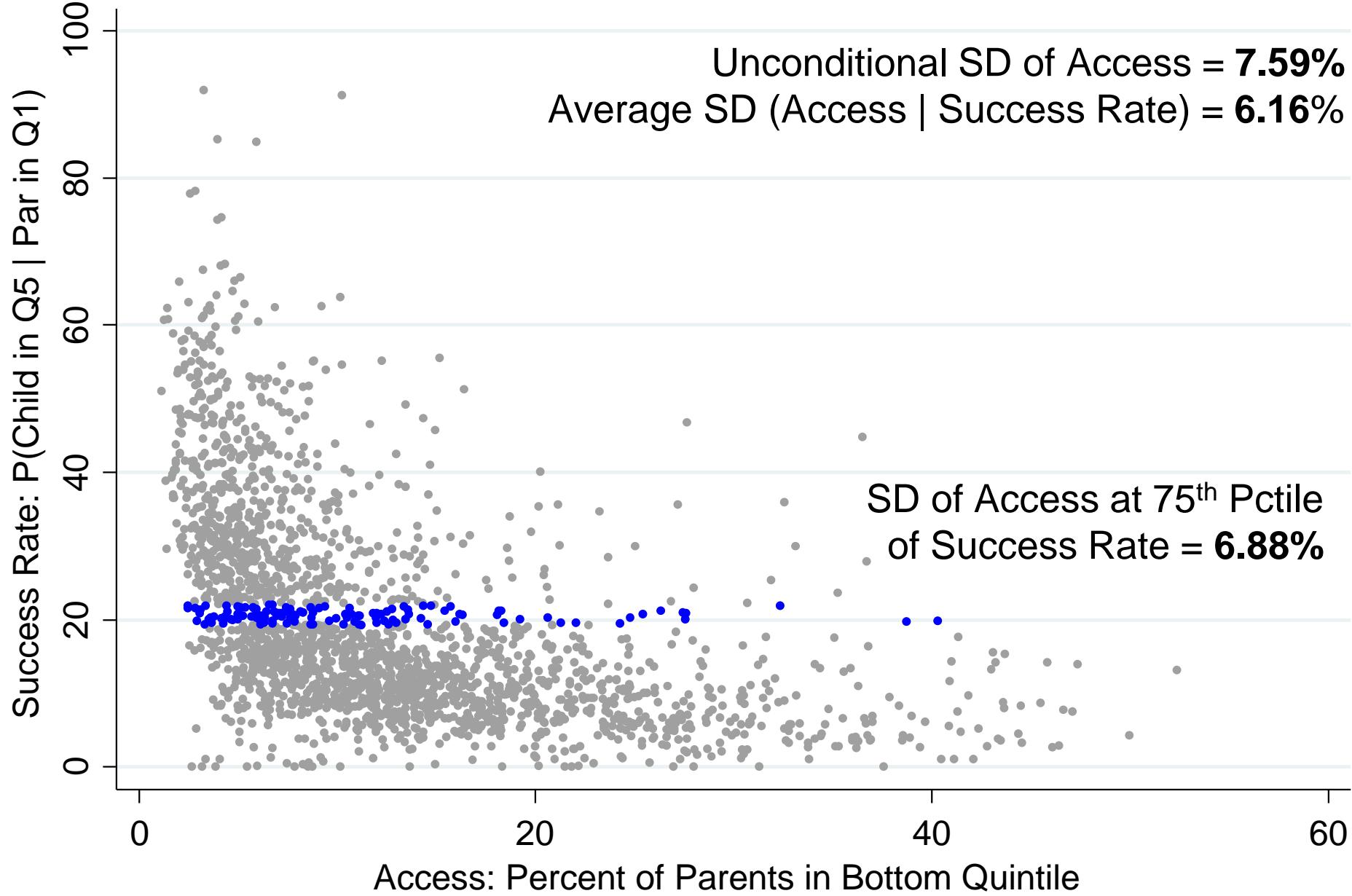
Success Rate vs. Low-Income Access by College



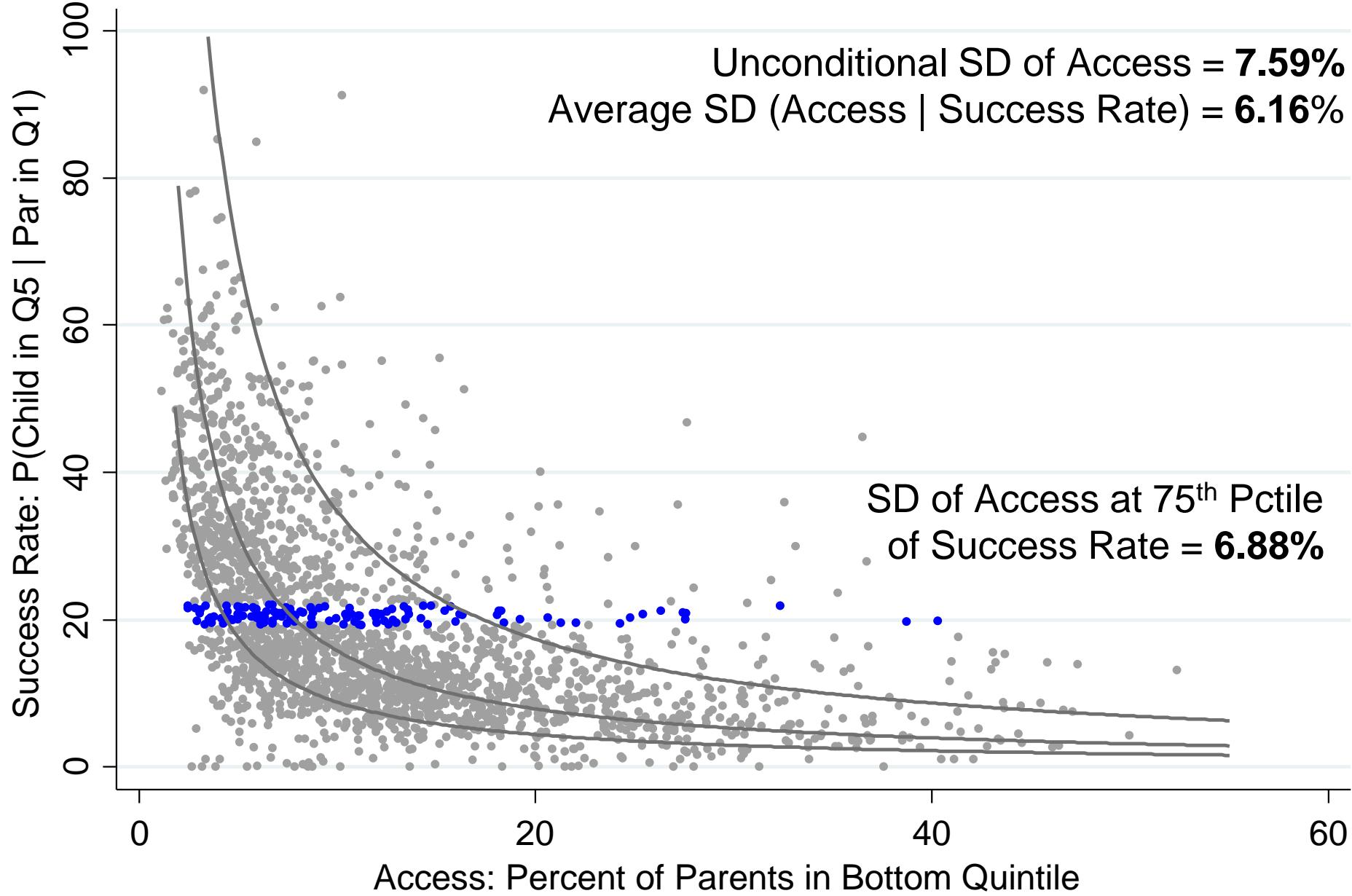
Success Rate vs. Low-Income Access by College



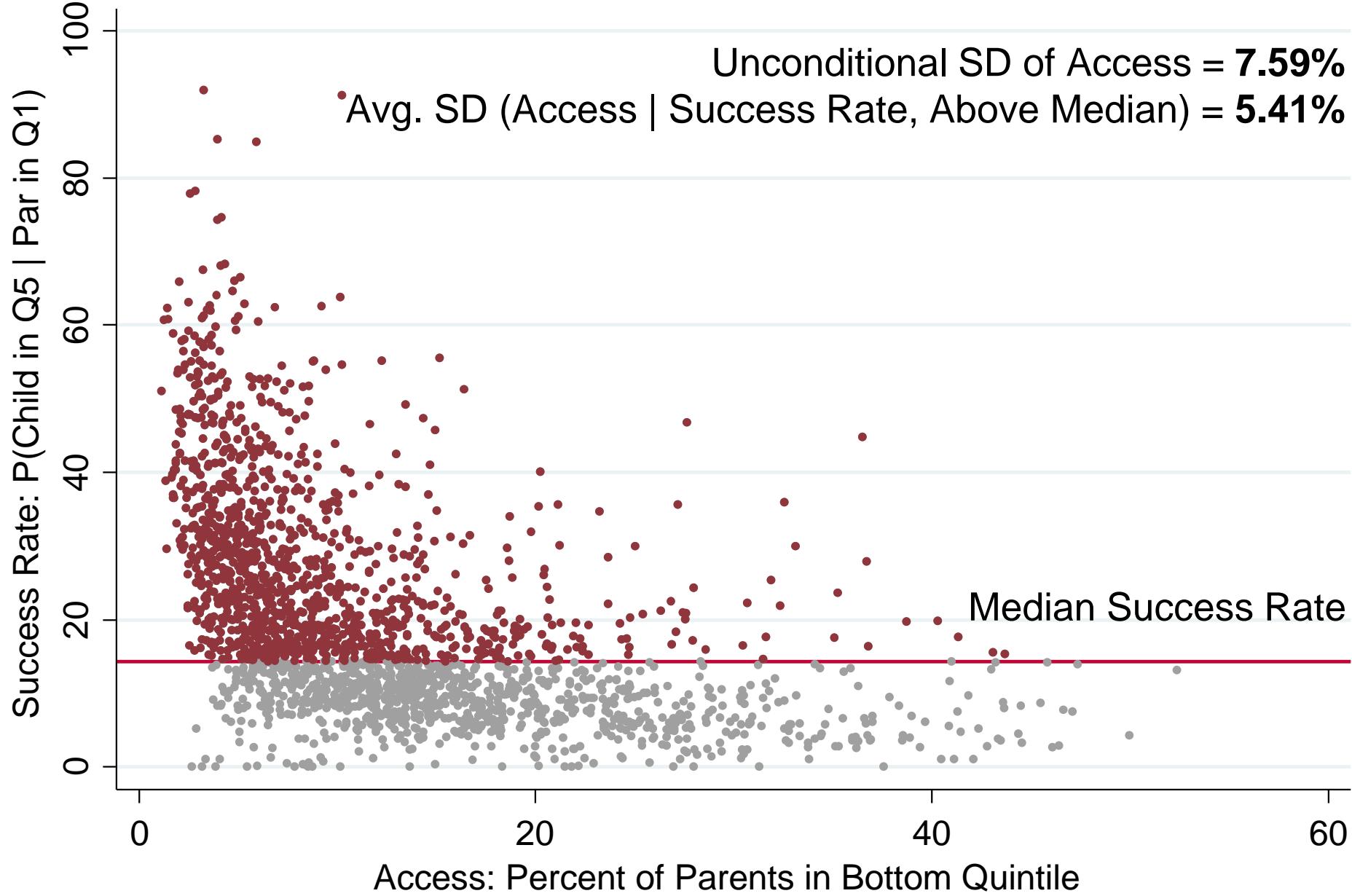
Success Rate vs. Low-Income Access by College



Success Rate vs. Low-Income Access by College



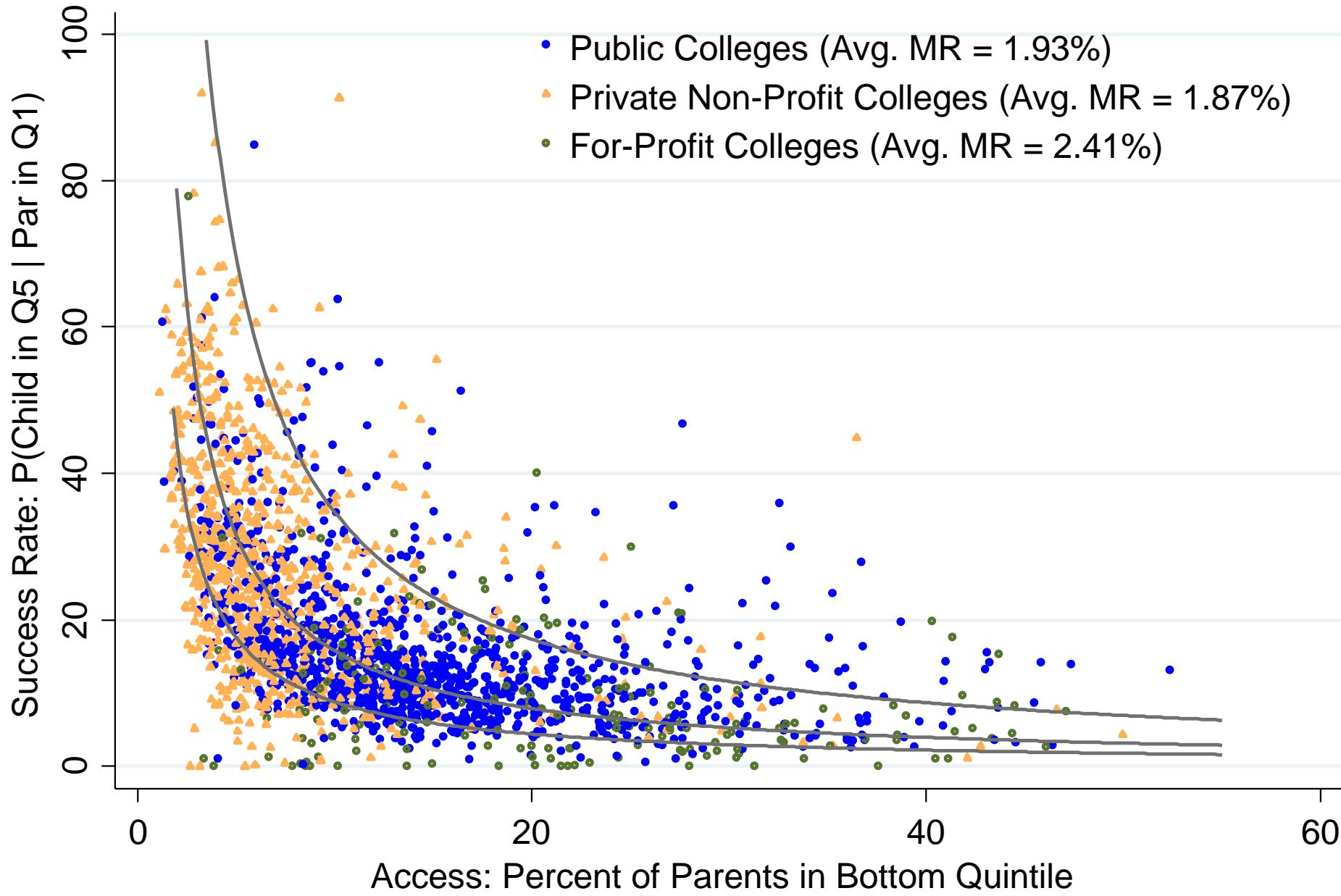
Success Rate vs. Low-Income Access by College



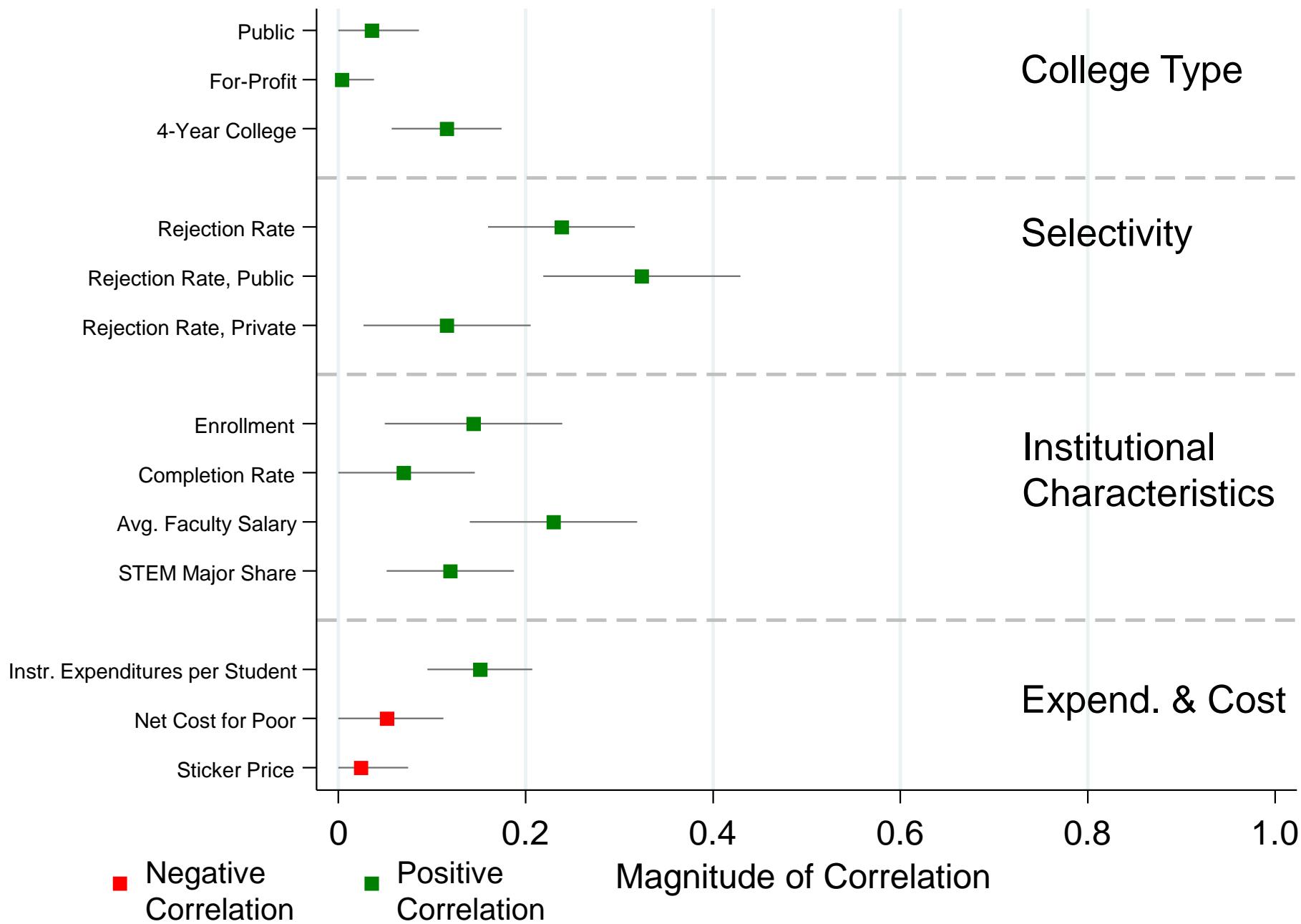
Which Colleges Have the Highest Mobility Rates?

- Characterize the types of colleges with high vs. low rates of mobility
 - Correlate Mobility Rate, $P(\text{Child in Q5 and Parent in Q1})$, with various college characteristics
- Analysis is purely descriptive: does not directly identify causal pathways that can be manipulated to change mobility

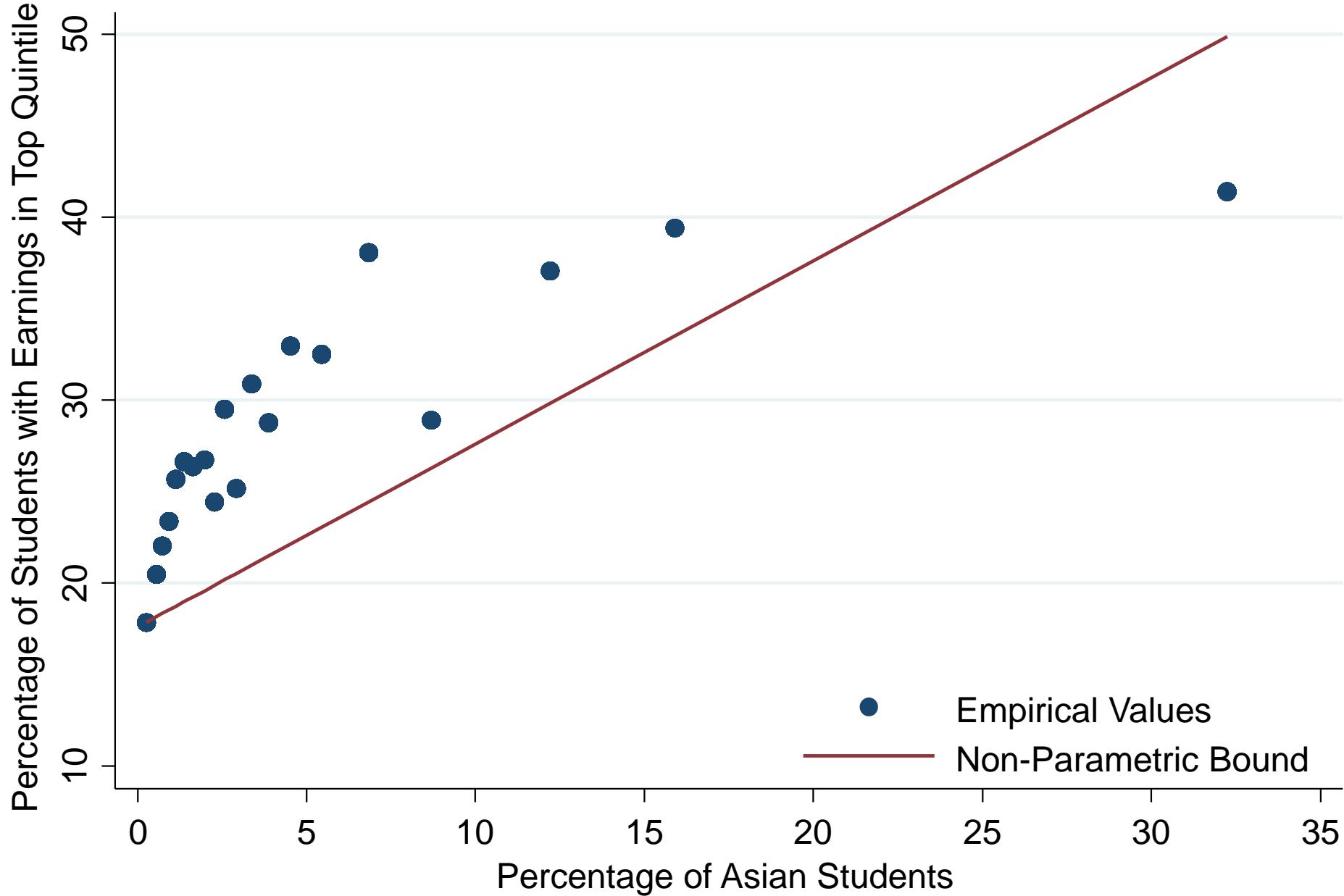
Mobility Rates: Success Rate vs. Access by College



Correlates of Top 20% Mobility Rate



Success Rates vs. Share of Asian Students



Mobility Rates for Upper-Tail Success

- Now examine mobility rates for upper tail success: fraction of students who come from bottom quintile and reach top 1%

Mobility Report Cards (Top 1%)

Columbia vs. SUNY-Stony Brook



Columbia



SUNY-Stony Brook



Pct. Students by Parent Quintile

Percent of Students in Top 1%

1

2

3

4

5

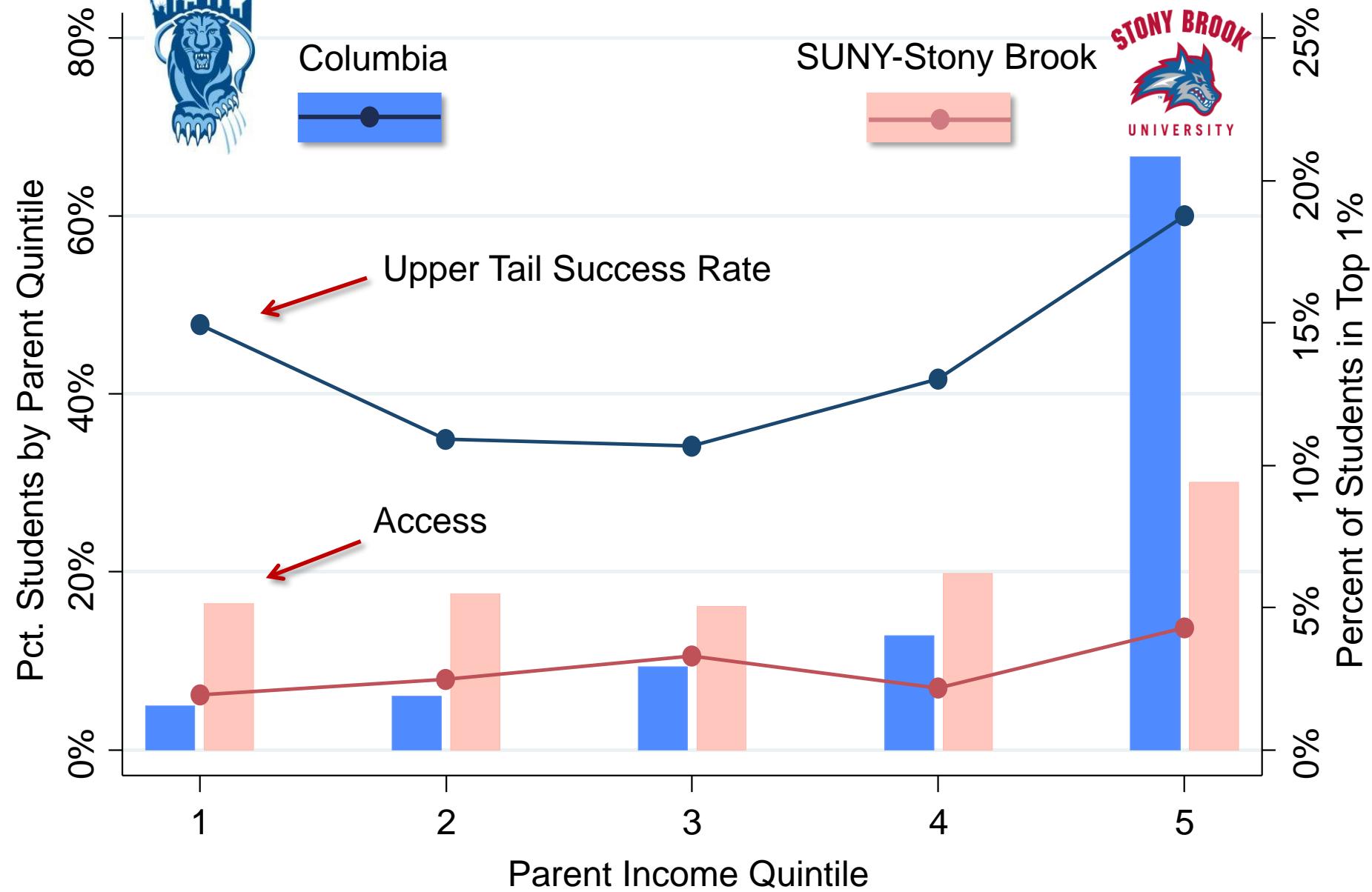
Parent Income Quintile

Mobility Report Cards (Top 1%)

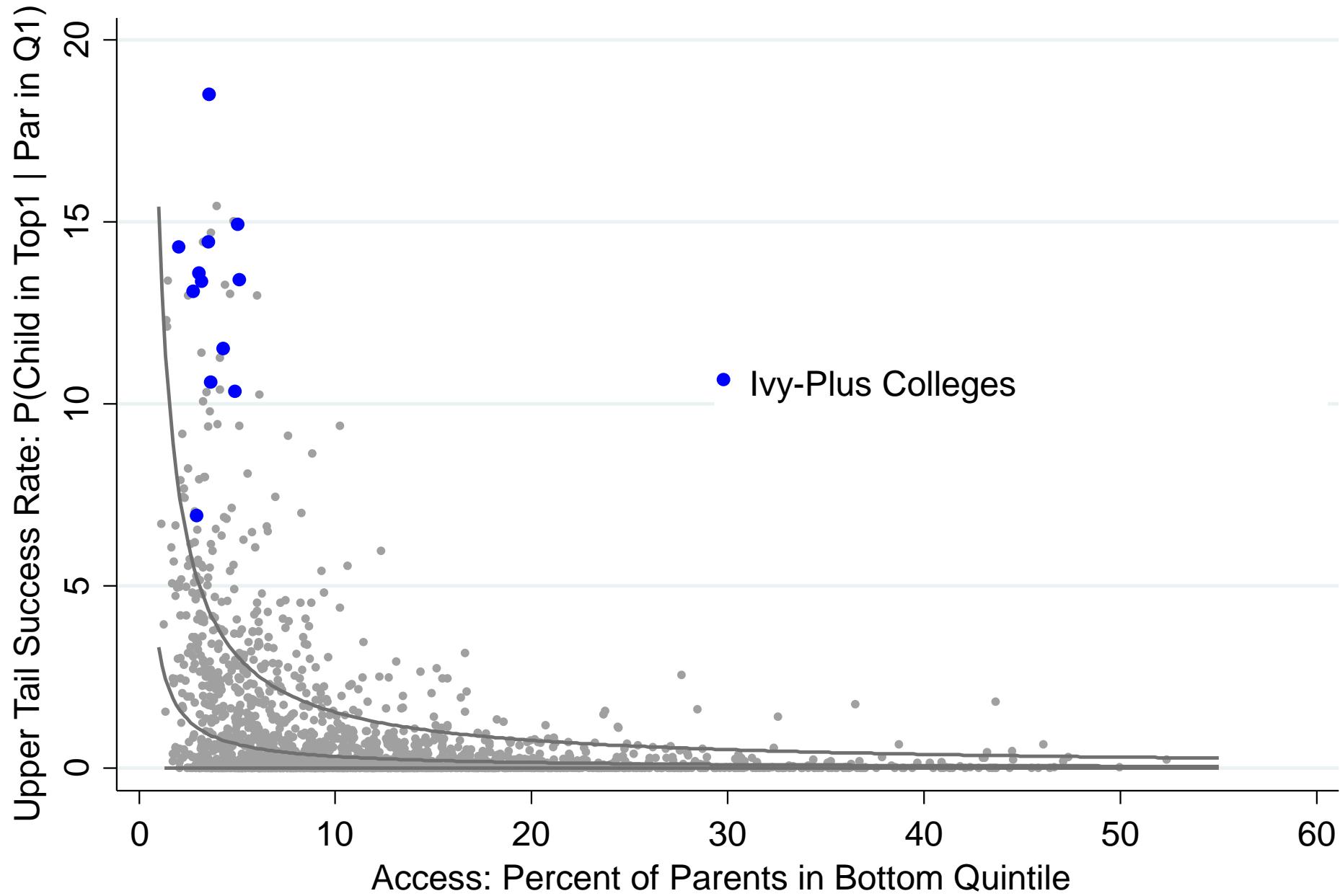
Columbia vs. SUNY-Stony Brook



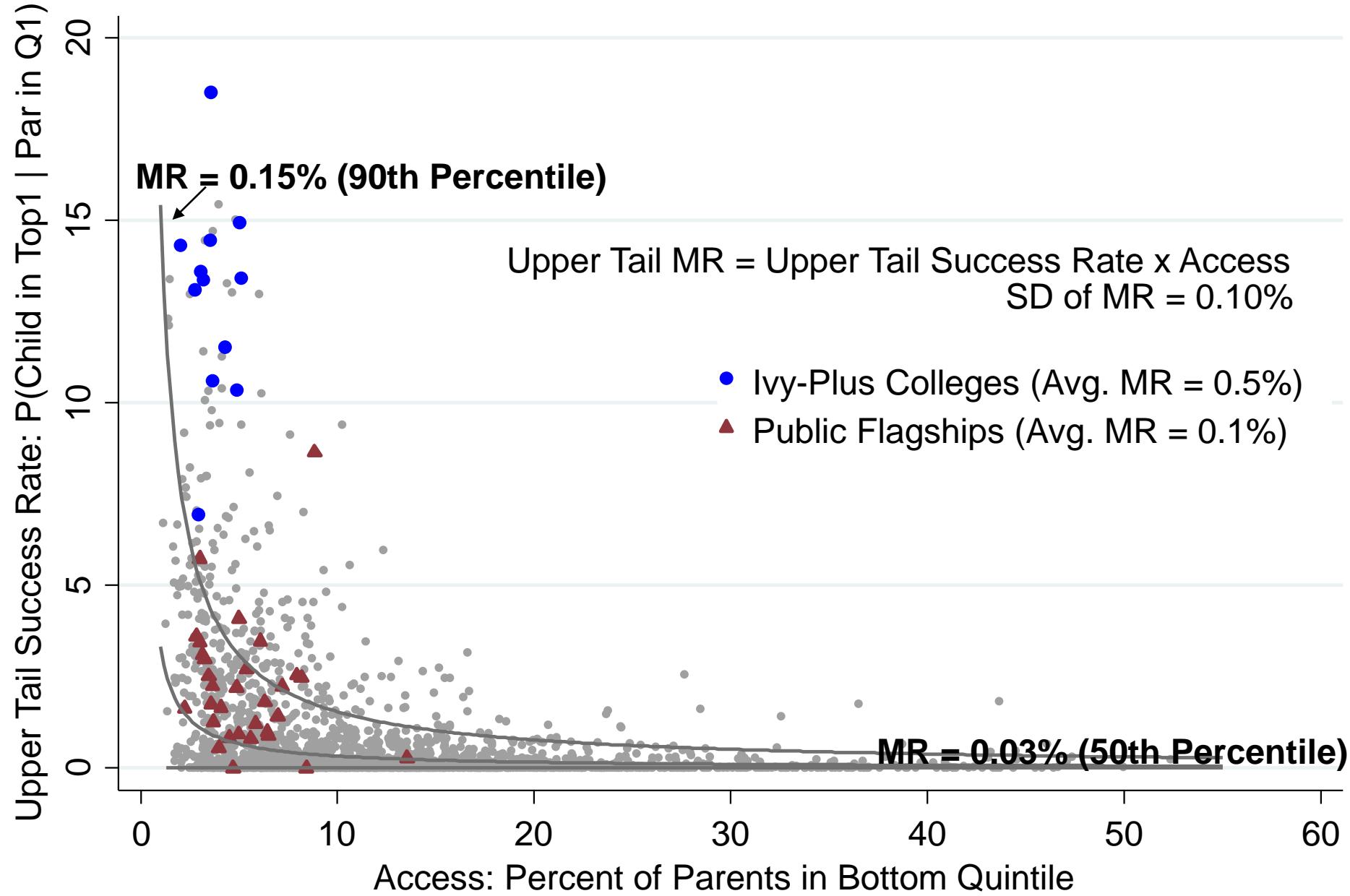
Columbia



Upper-Tail Success Rate (Top 1%) vs. Access by College



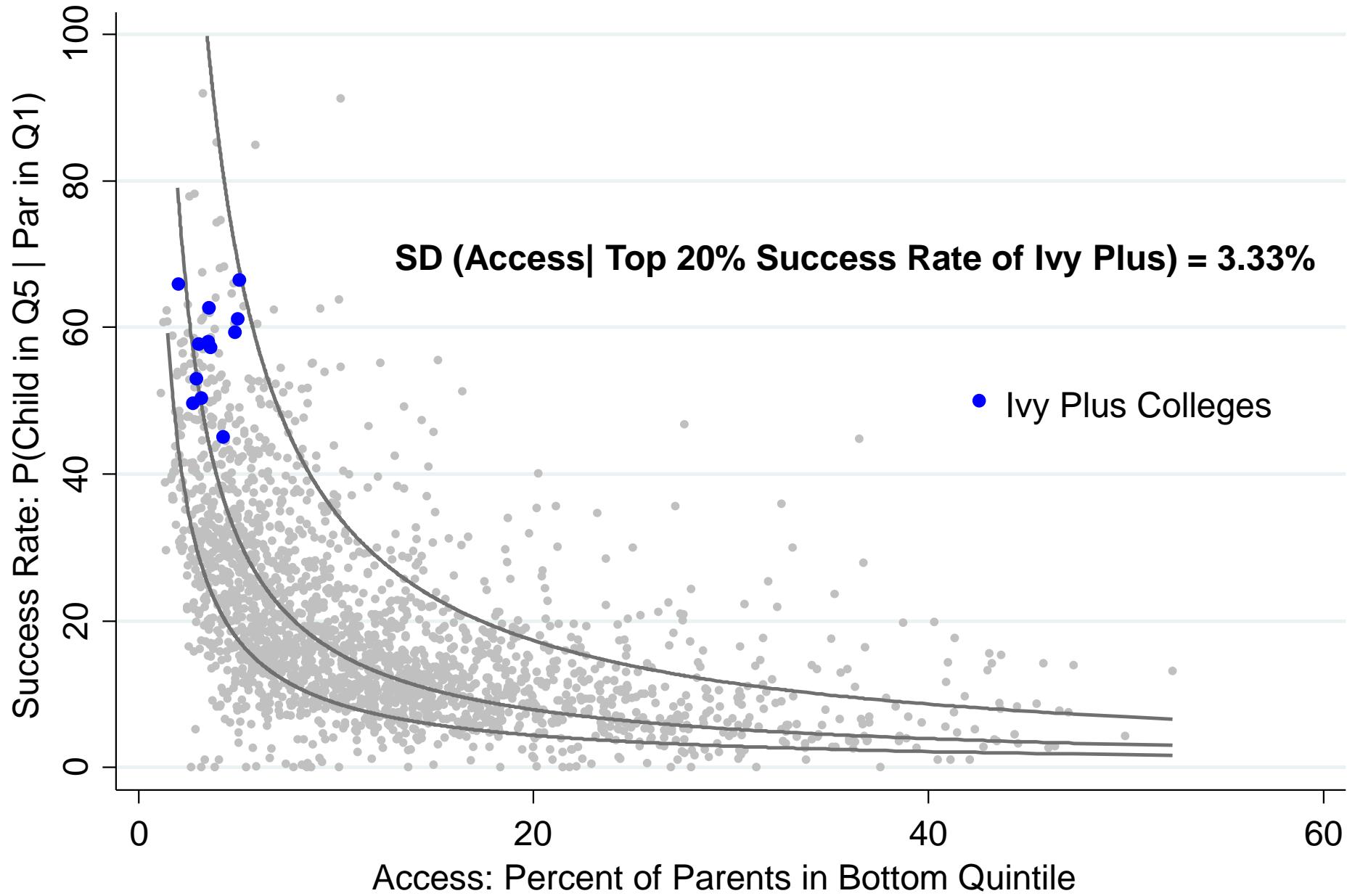
Upper-Tail Success Rate (Top 1%) vs. Access by College



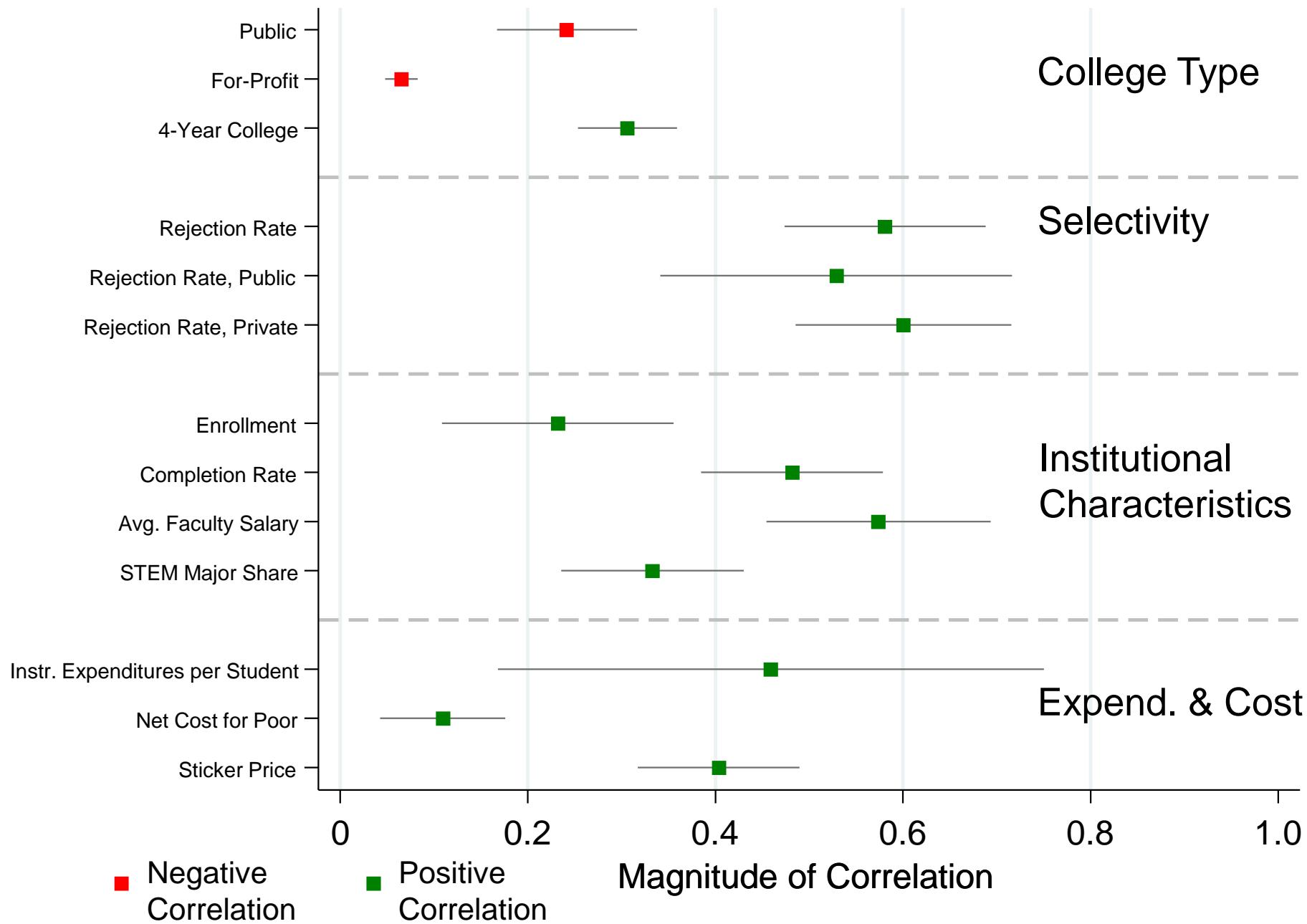
Top 10 Colleges by Mobility Rates for Upper-Tail Success (Top 1%)

Rank	Name	Mobility Rate	=	Access	x	Upper-Tail Success
1	University of California – Berkeley	0.76%		8.8%		8.6%
2	Columbia University	0.75%		5.0%		14.9%
3	MIT	0.68%		5.1%		13.4%
3	Stanford University	0.66%		3.6%		18.5%
4	Swarthmore College	0.61%		4.7%		13.0%
6	Johns Hopkins University	0.54%		3.7%		14.7%
7	New York University	0.52%		6.9%		7.5%
8	University of Pennsylvania	0.51%		3.5%		14.5%
9	Cornell University	0.51%		4.9%		10.4%
10	University of Chicago	0.50%		4.3%		11.5%

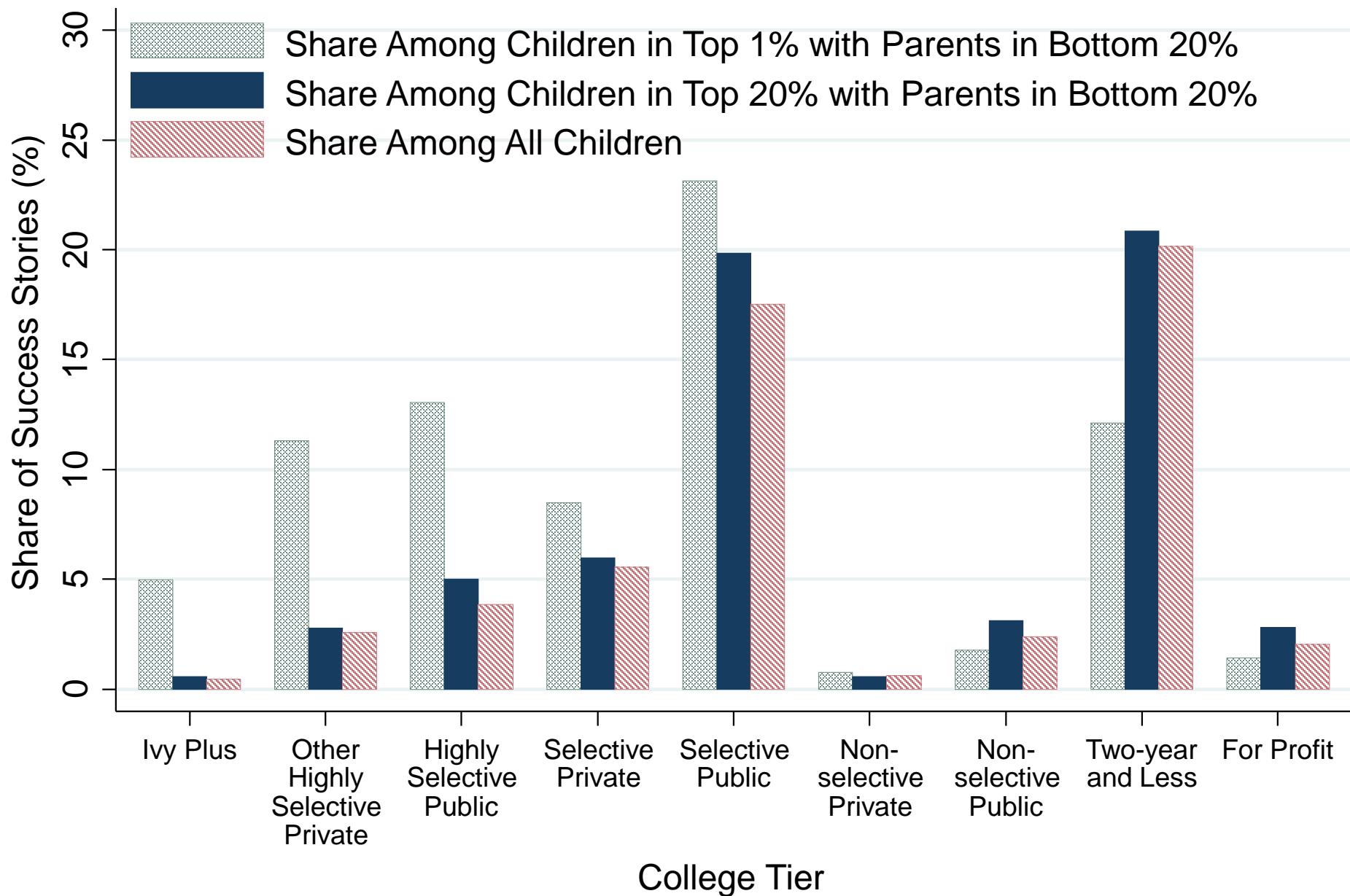
Success Rate (Top 20%) vs. Access by College



Correlates of Top 1% Mobility Rate



Fraction of Success Stories by School Type



Lessons on Mobility Rates

- **Fact #3:** Certain mid-tier public institutions (e.g., CUNY, Cal-State) have the highest bottom-to-top quintile mobility rates
- But highly selective institutions (e.g., Berkeley, Harvard) channel more low-income students to the top 1%

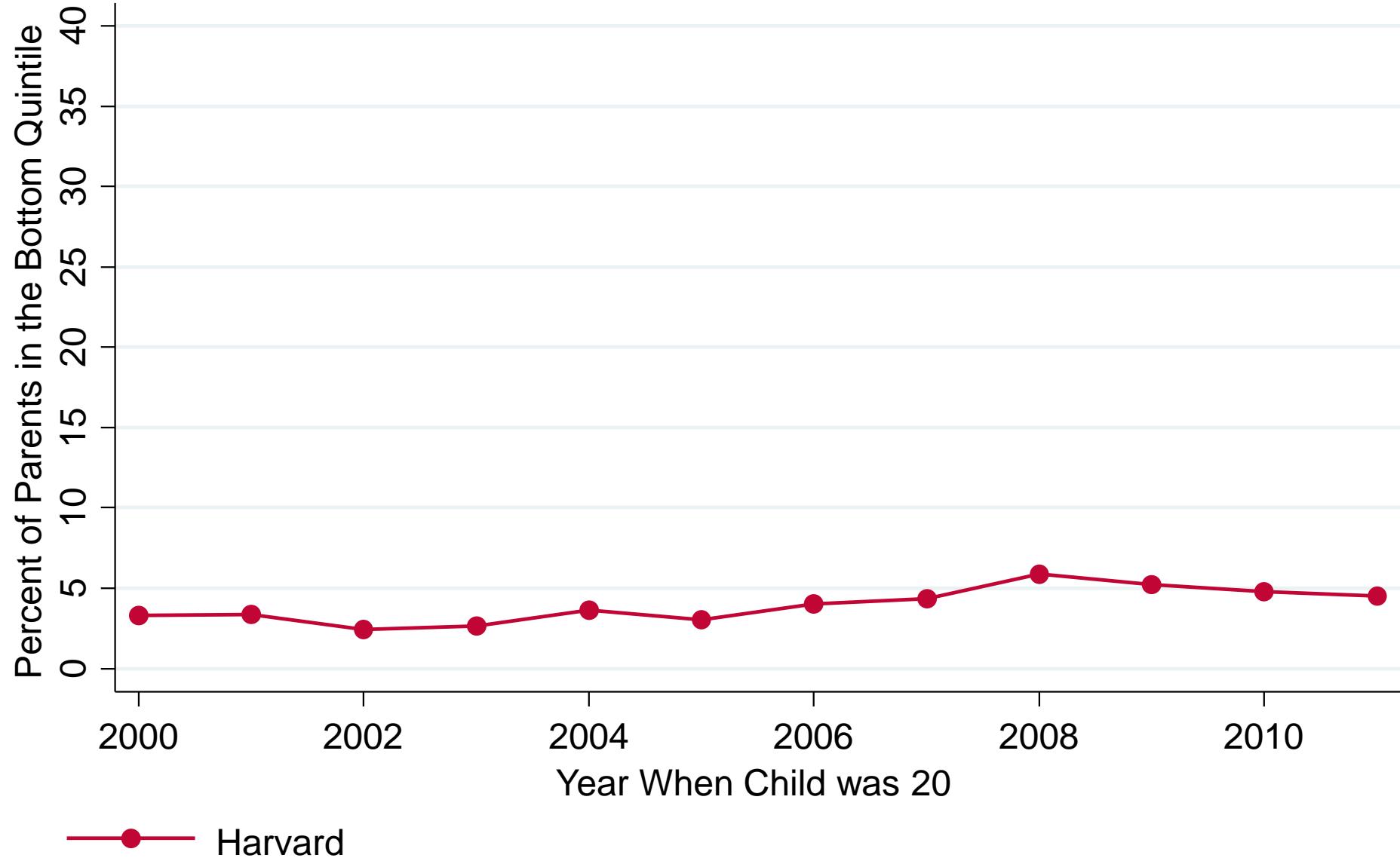
Part 4

Trends in Access and Mobility Rates

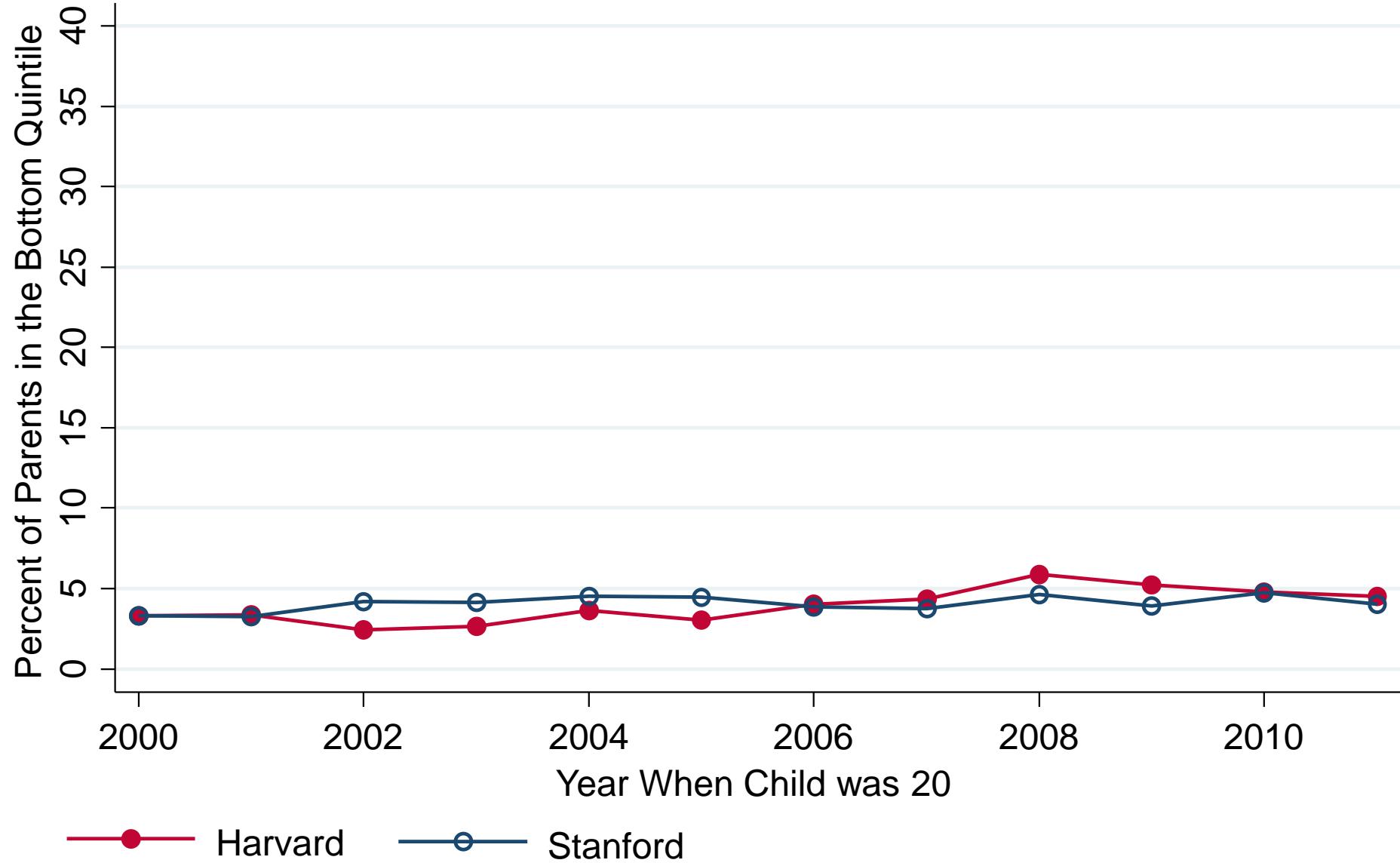
Changes in Access and Mobility Rates

- How have access and mobility rates changed since 2000?
 - Many efforts to expand financial aid at elite private colleges
 - Budgets have been cut at many public colleges
- Begin by examining changes in access from 2000-2011

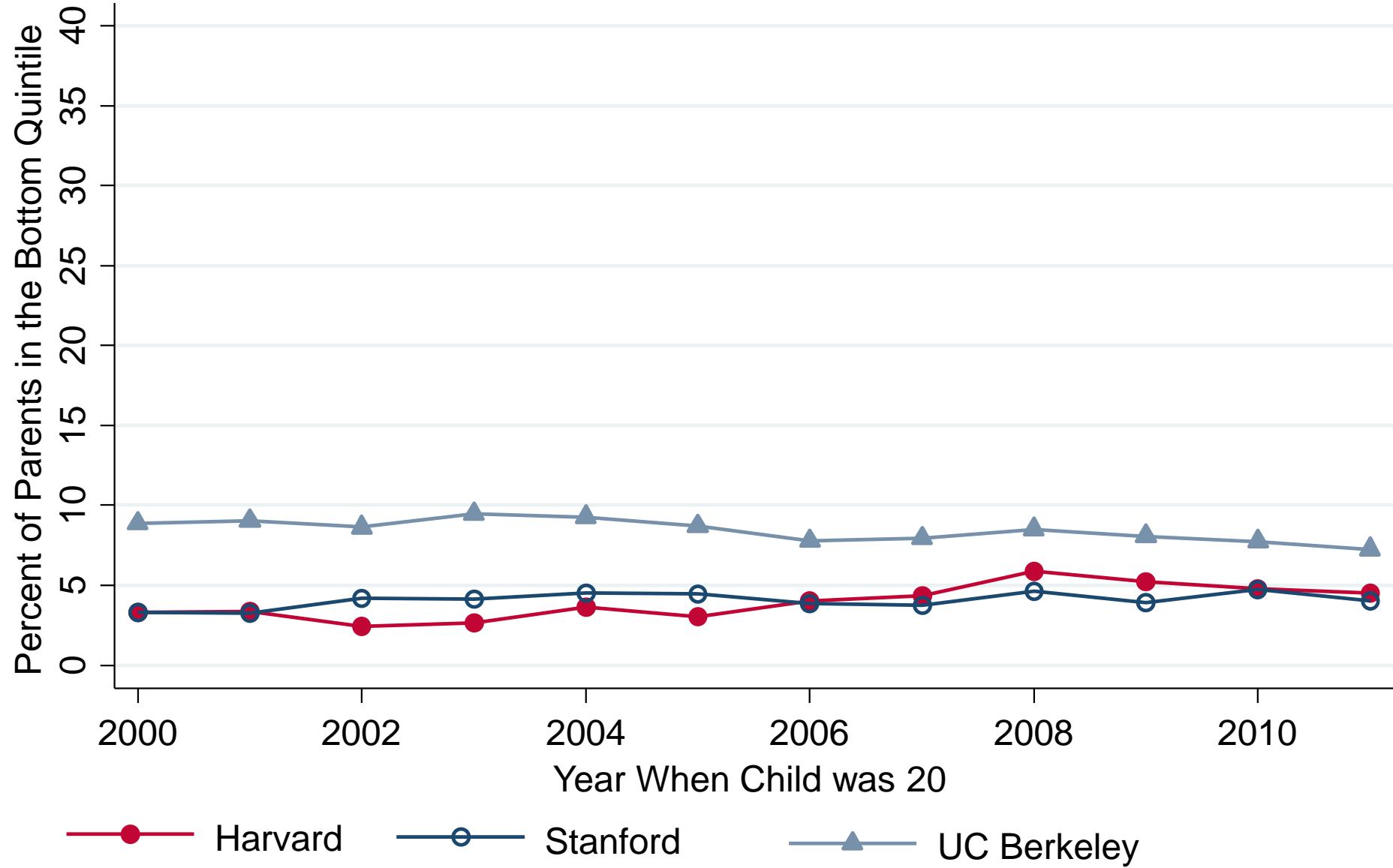
Trends in Low-Income Access from 2000-2011 at Selected Colleges



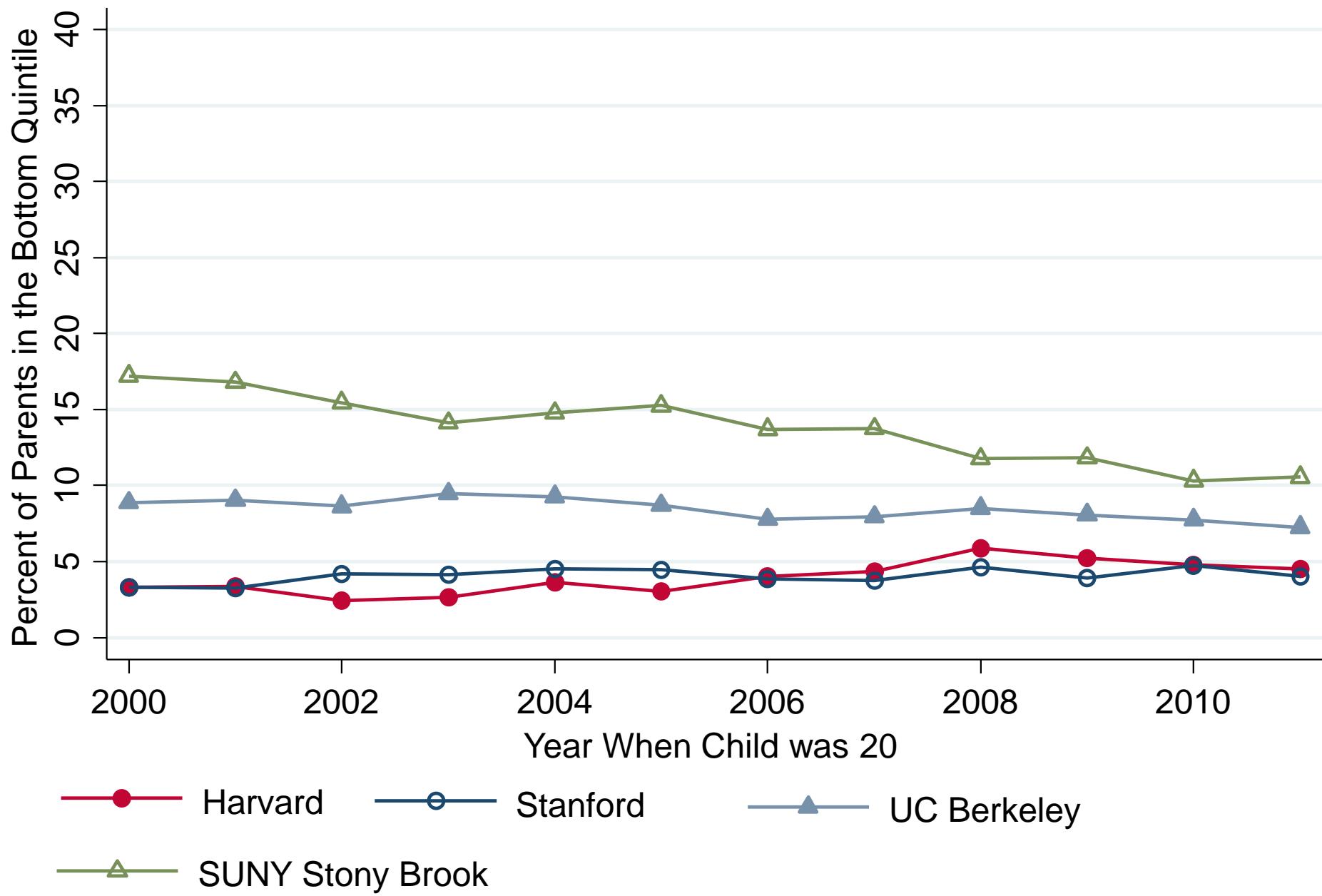
Trends in Low-Income Access from 2000-2011 at Selected Colleges



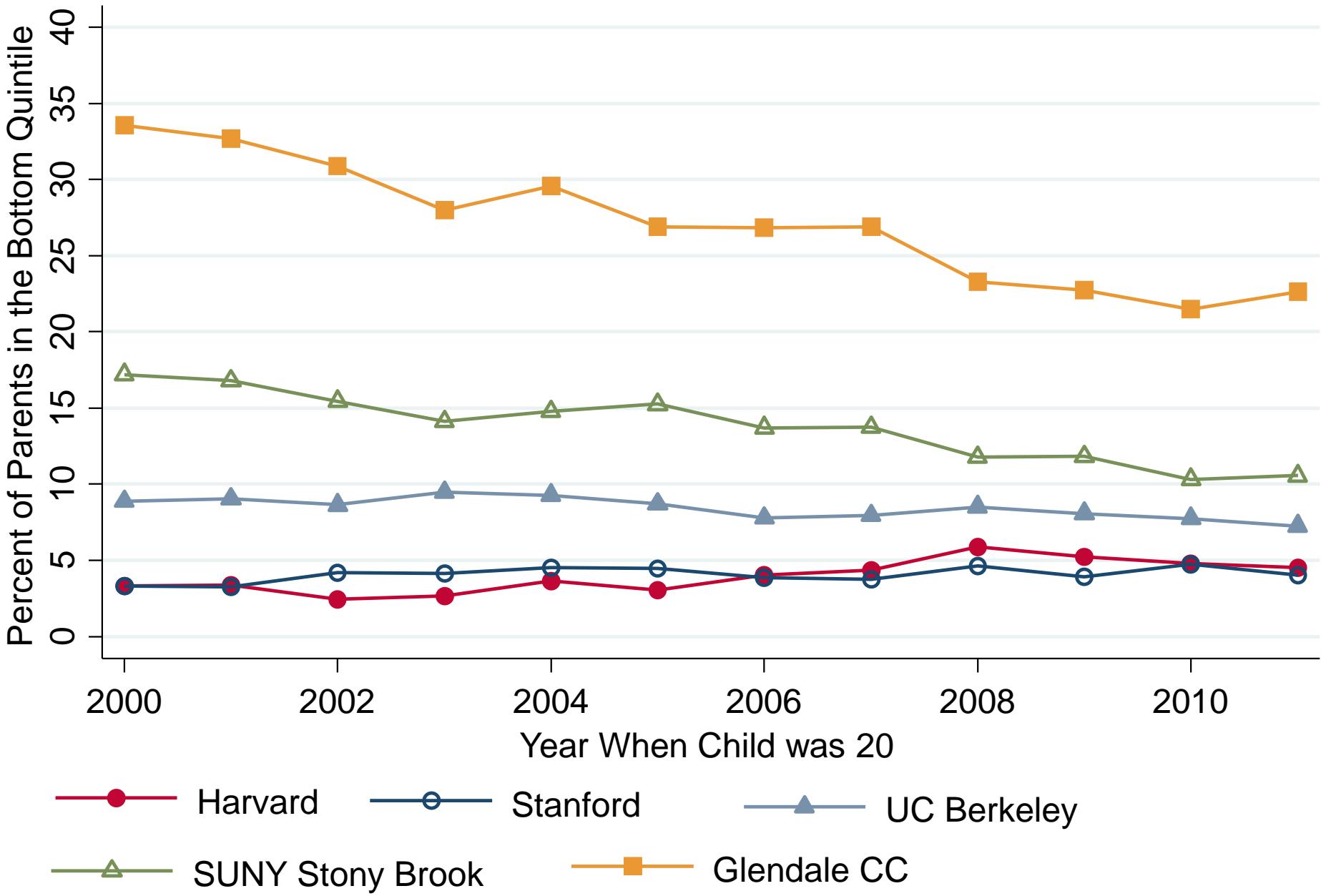
Trends in Low-Income Access from 2000-2011 at Selected Colleges



Trends in Low-Income Access from 2000-2011 at Selected Colleges



Trends in Low-Income Access from 2000-2011 at Selected Colleges



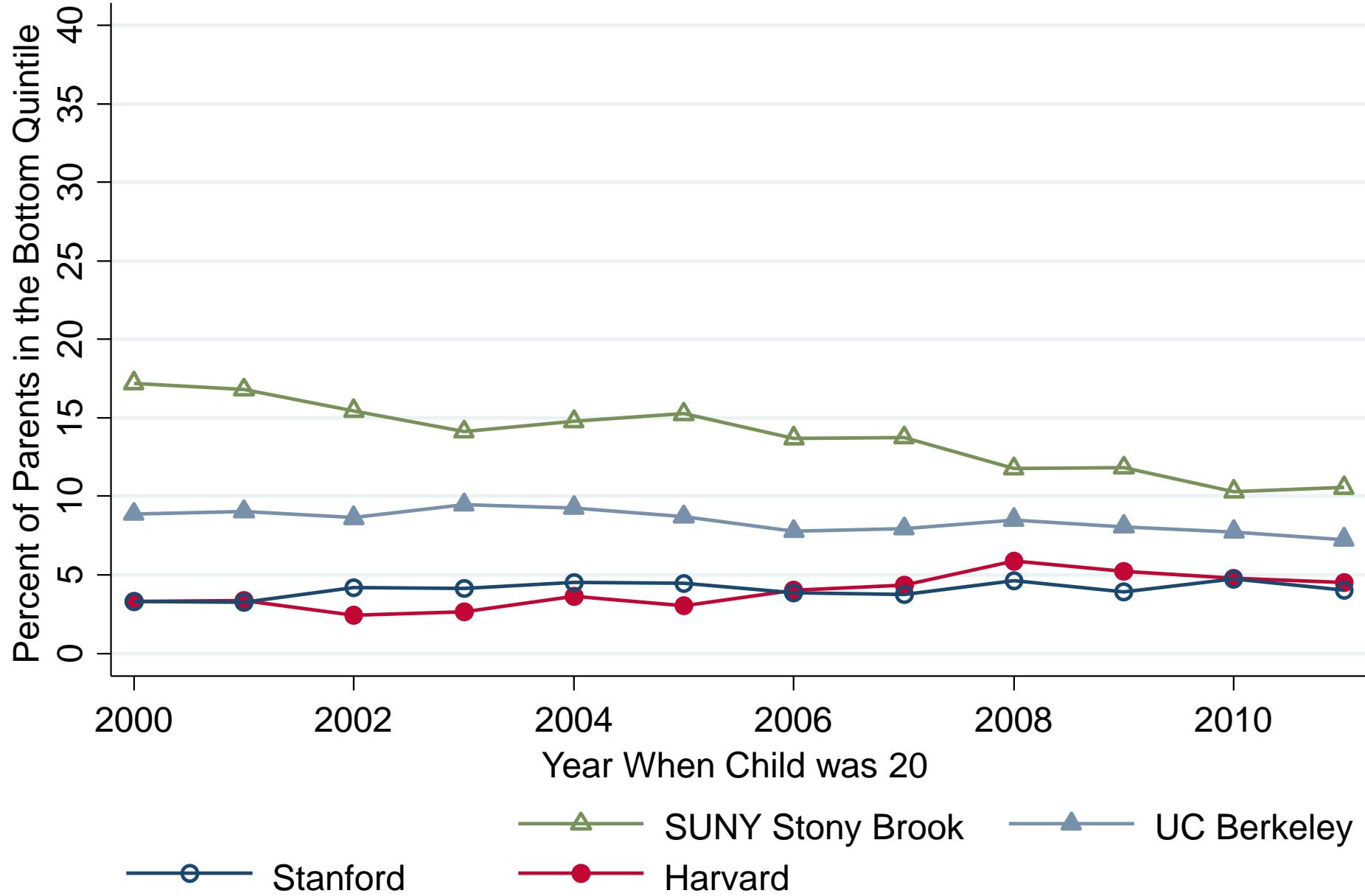
Comparison to Trends in Pell Shares

- Our percentile-based statistics show small increases in the fraction of low-income students at elite schools
- Pell statistics suggest much larger increases; why the difference?
 - Pell income eligibility threshold has *increased* since 2000
 - Incomes have *fallen* at the bottom: for parents with college-age kids, 20th pctile fell from \$25K to \$20K from 1980-1991 cohorts
- Accounting for these factors, increases in Pell shares are consistent with our findings of small changes in quintile shares

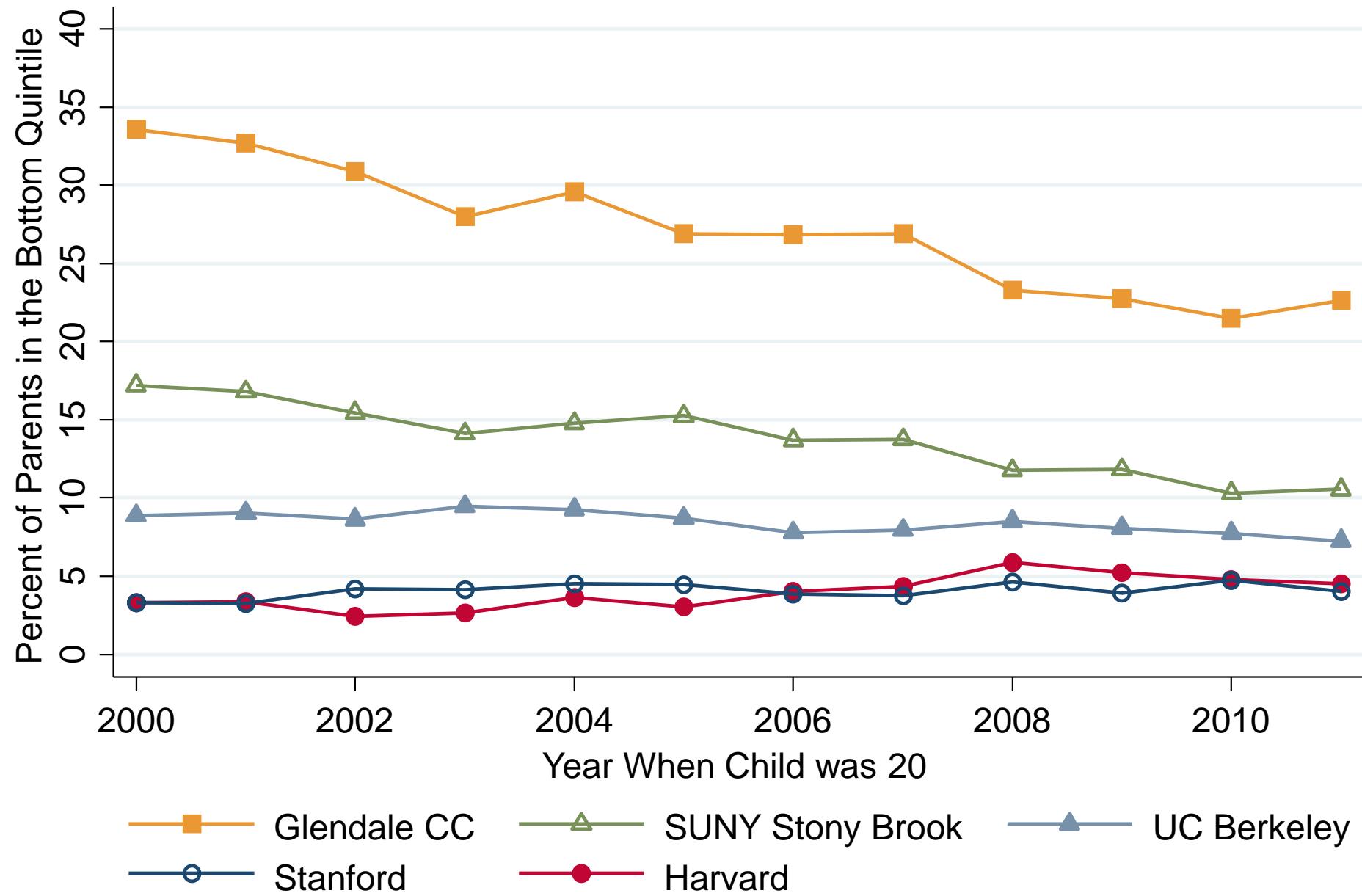
Interpretation of Time Trends

- Lack of change in fraction of students from bottom quintile does not mean that changes in financial aid had no effect
 - Counterfactual is unclear: absent these changes, fraction of low-income students might have fallen given decline in incomes
 - Key point is that on net, trends over last 15 years have not led to a significant change in low-income access to elite private colleges

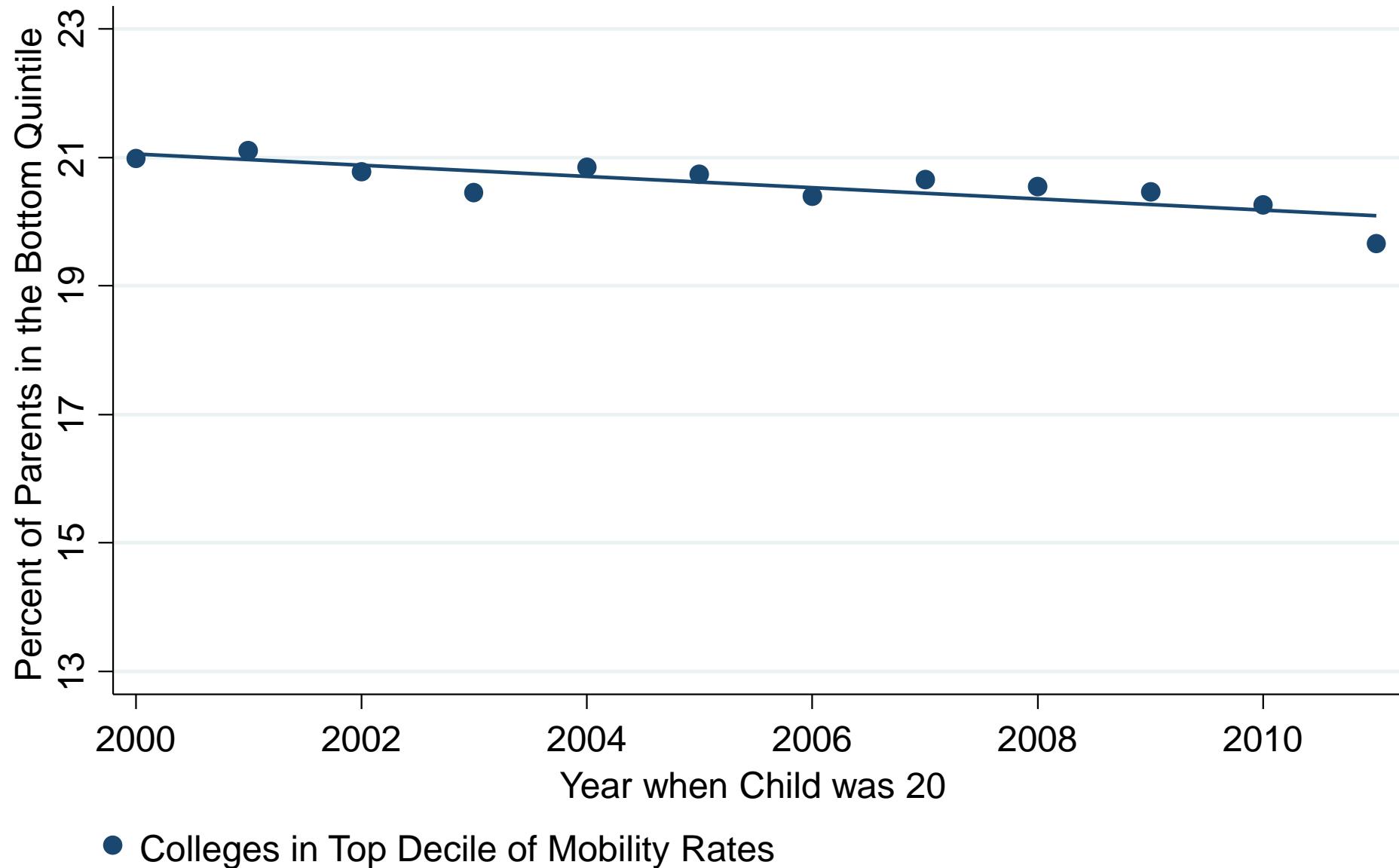
Trends in Low-Income Access from 2000-2011 at Selected Colleges



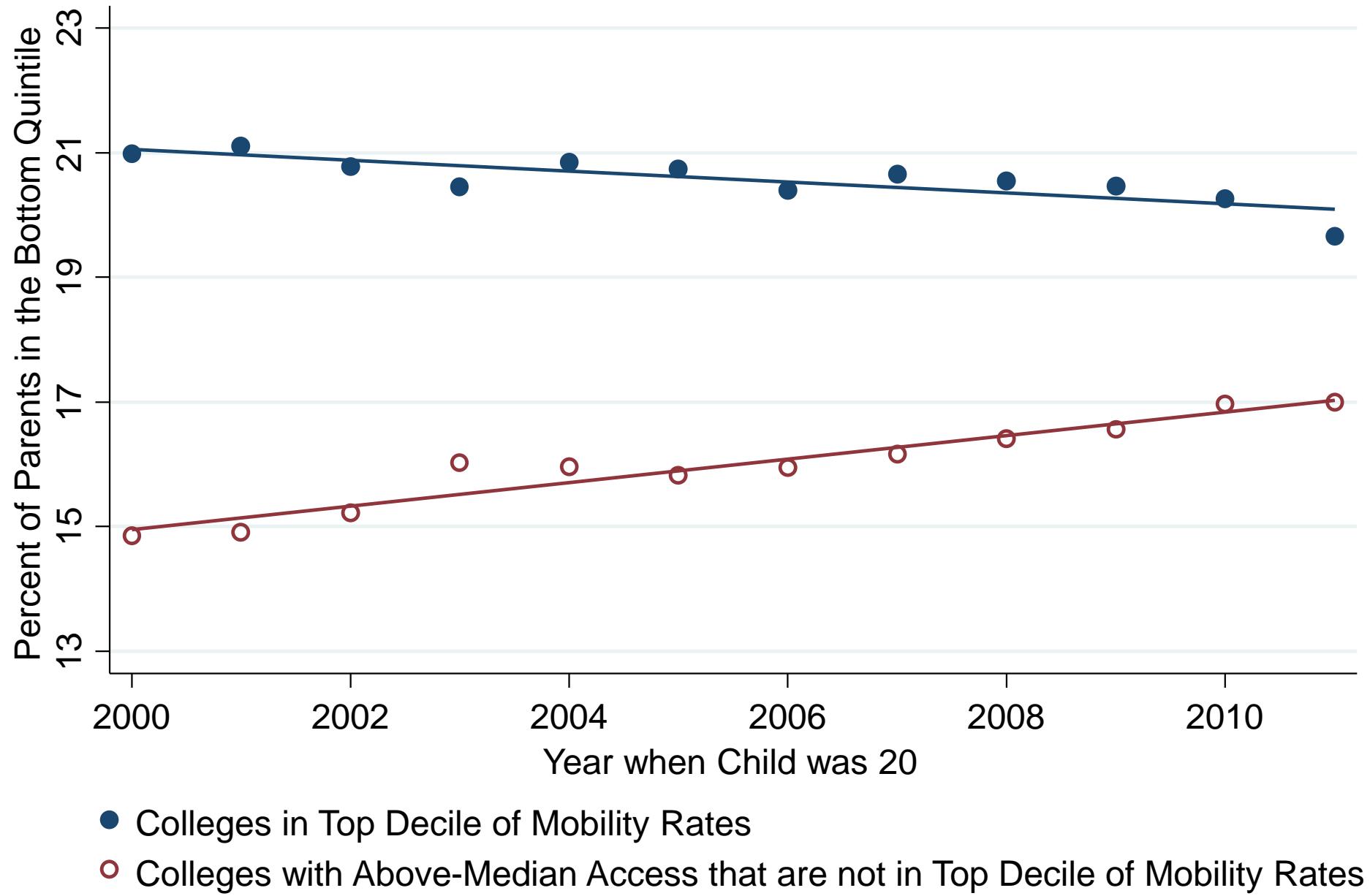
Trends in Low-Income Access from 2000-2011 at Selected Colleges



Trends in Access at High Mobility Rate Colleges



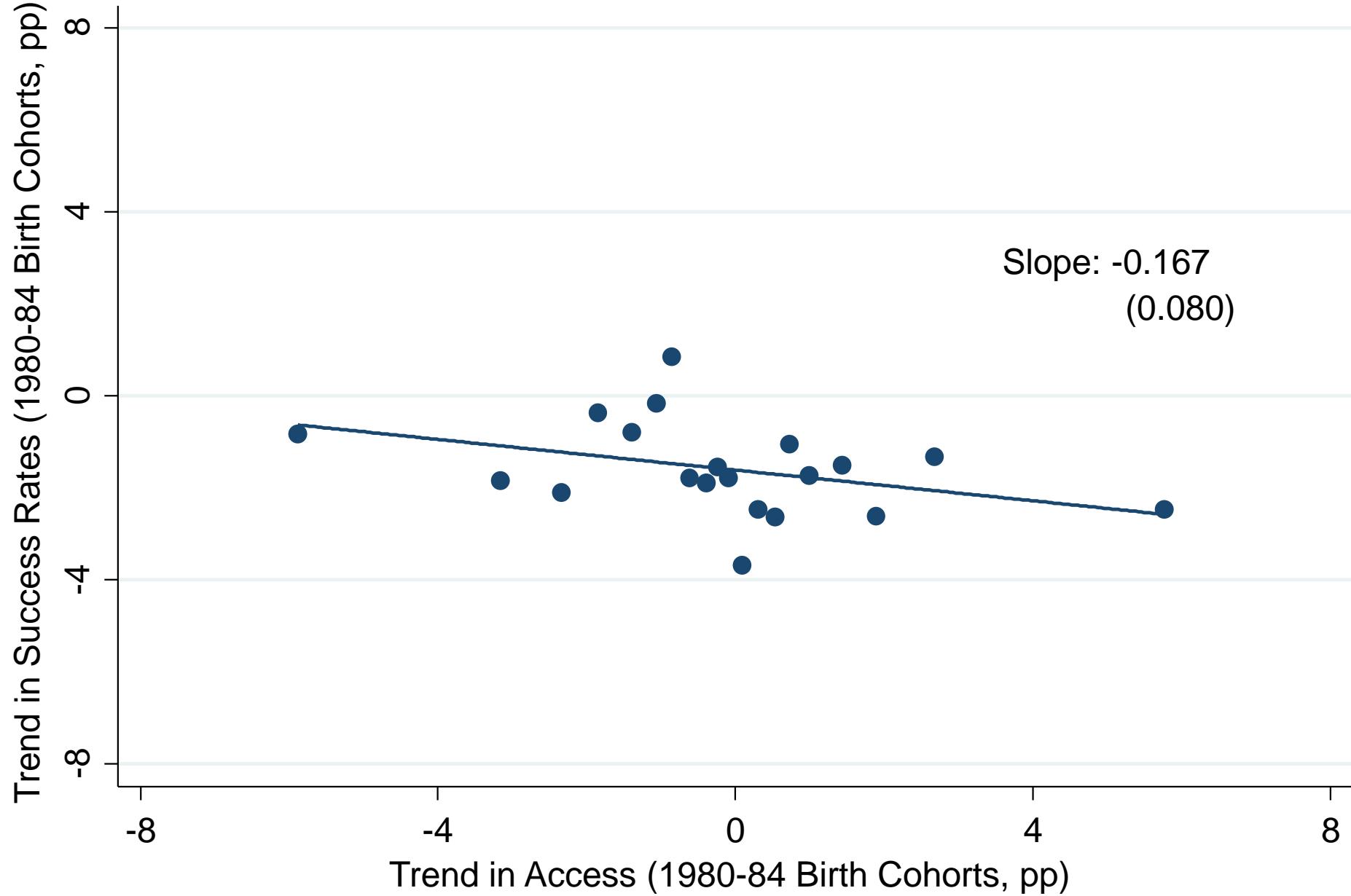
Trends in Access at High Mobility Rate Colleges



Changes in Success Rates and Mobility

- Have reductions in access been offset by increases in success rates?
 - Can only measure students' earnings reliably for all schools up to 1984 birth cohort (whose earnings are measured at 30 in 2014)
- Regress changes in success rates on changes in access, conditional on school fixed effects

Changes in Success Rate vs. Changes in Access, 1980-84 Birth Cohorts

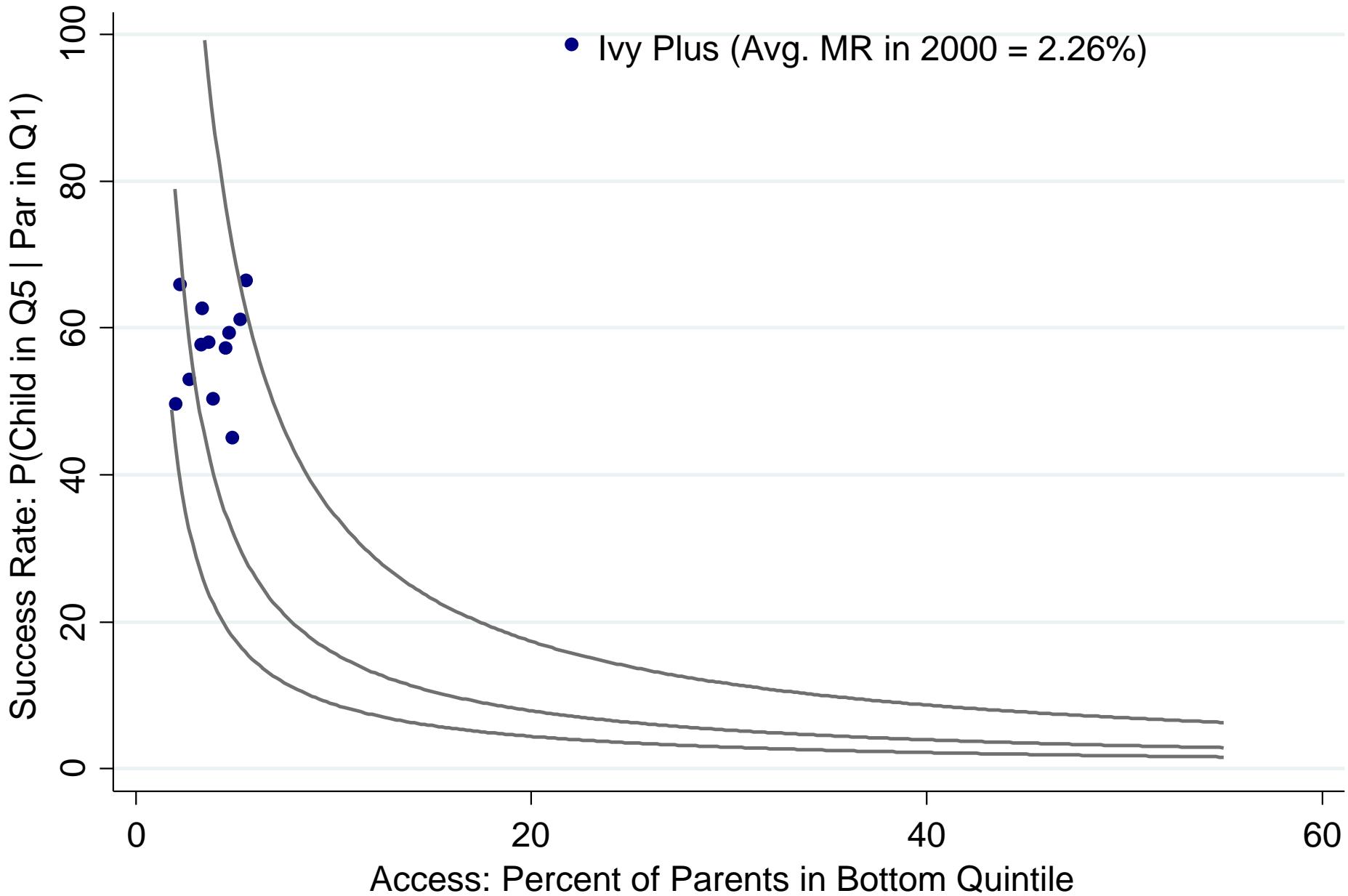


Changes in Success Rates and Mobility

- Success rate is essentially unrelated to changes in access → reduction in access translate 1-1 to reduced mobility rates
- Conclude by examining how trends over 2000s affected mobility rates at various subsets of colleges

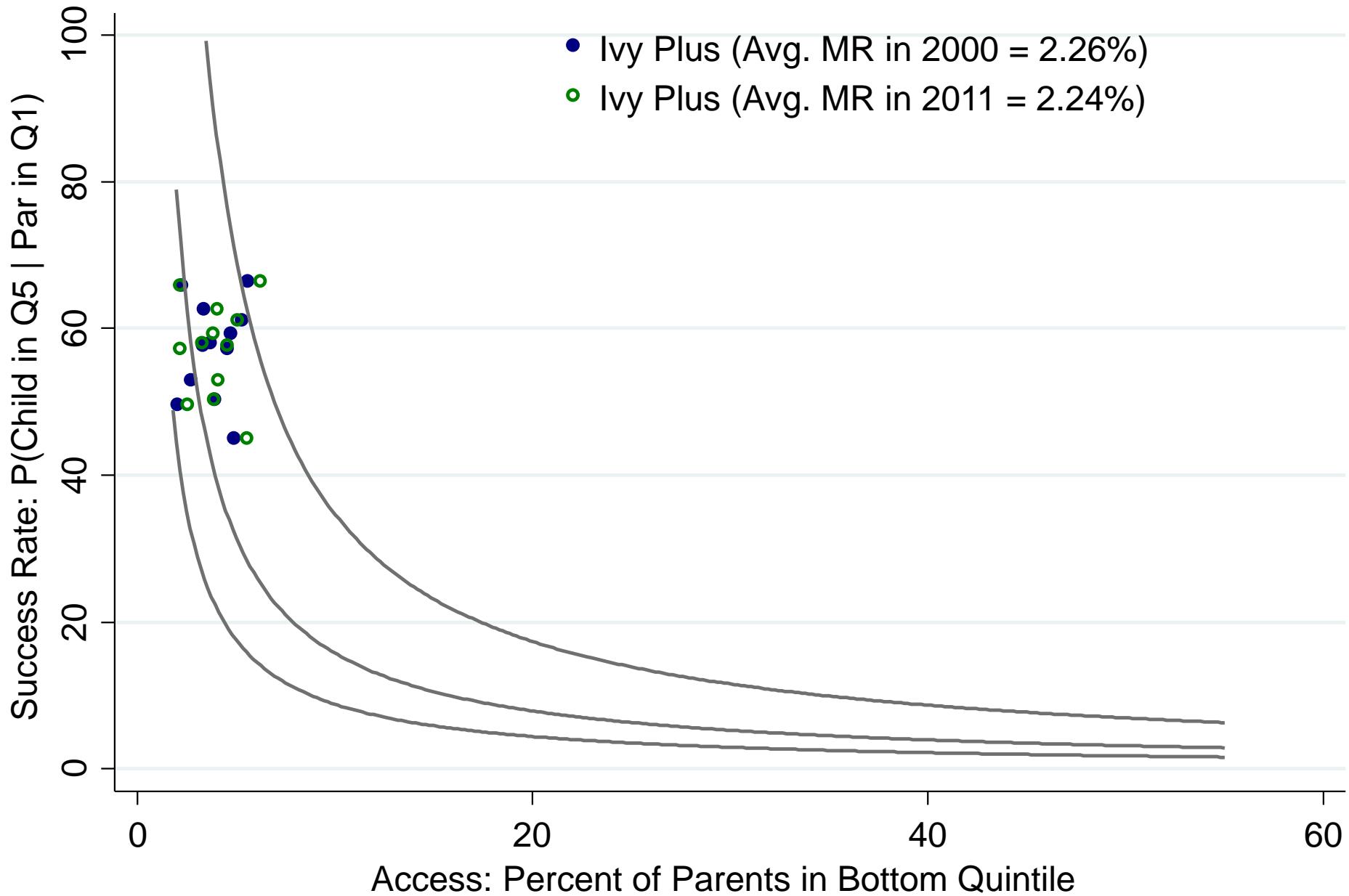
Changes in Projected Mobility Rate from 2000 to 2011

Holding Success Rates Fixed at 2000 Levels



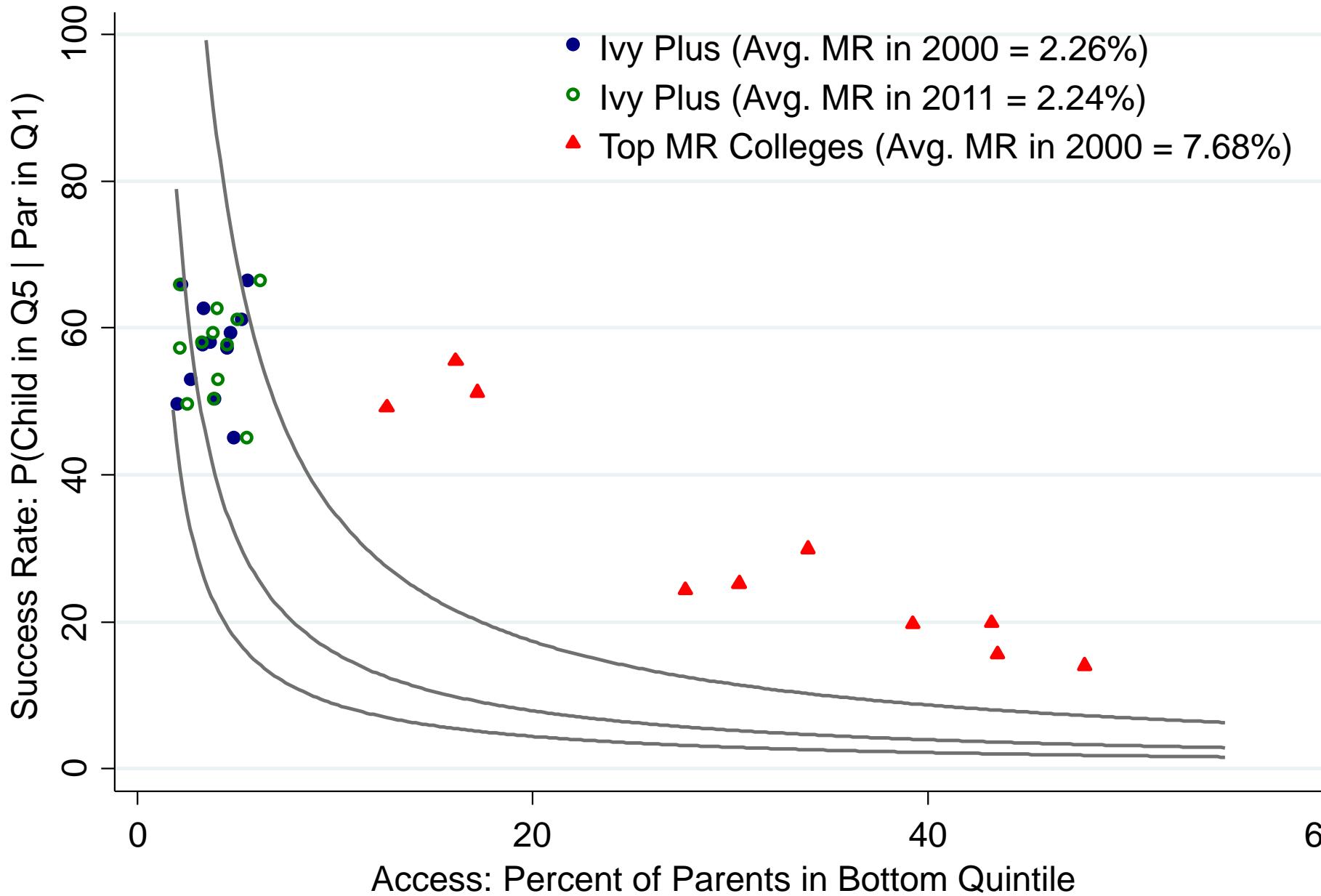
Changes in Projected Mobility Rate from 2000 to 2011

Holding Success Rates Fixed at 2000 Levels



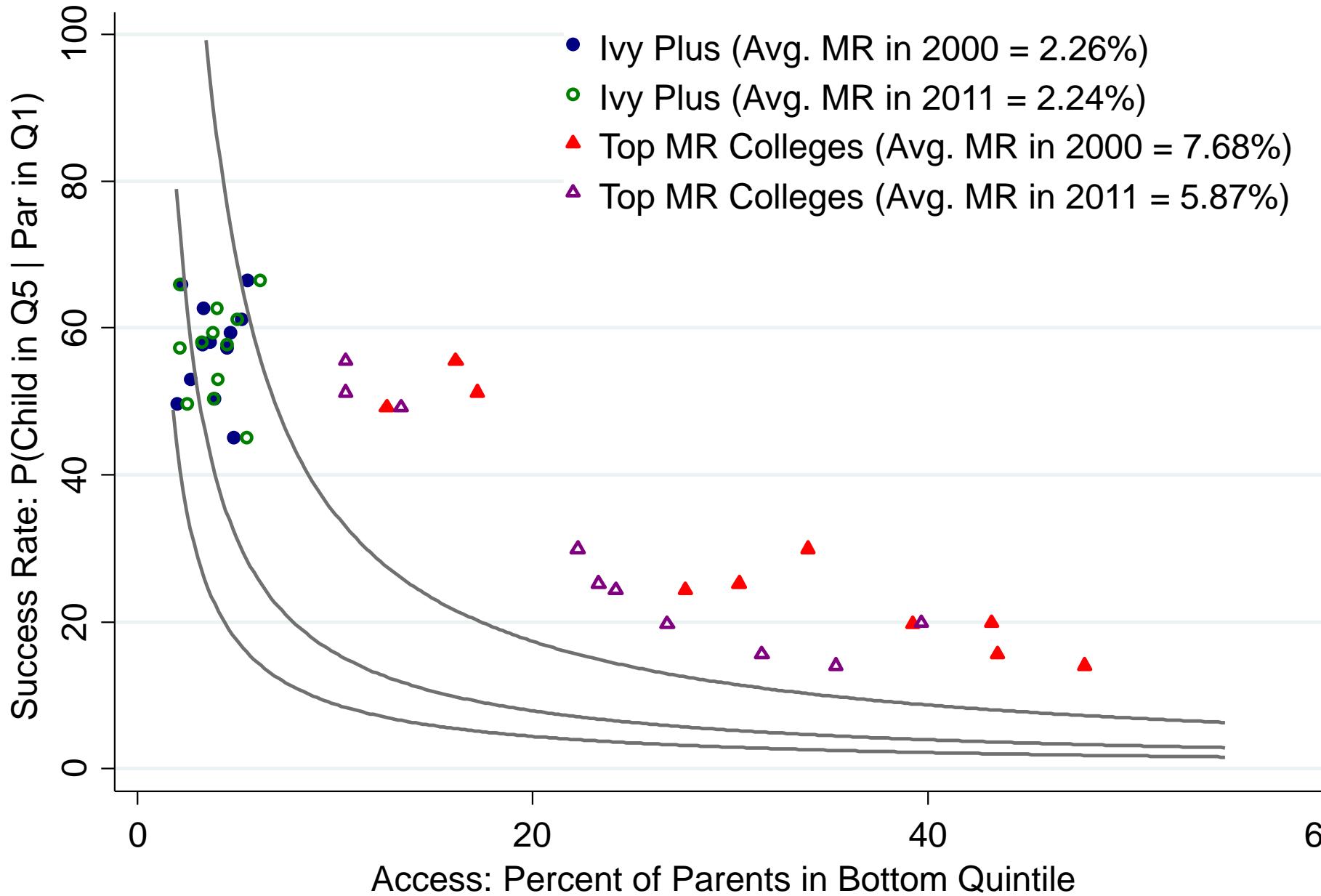
Changes in Projected Mobility Rate from 2000 to 2011

Holding Success Rates Fixed at 2000 Levels



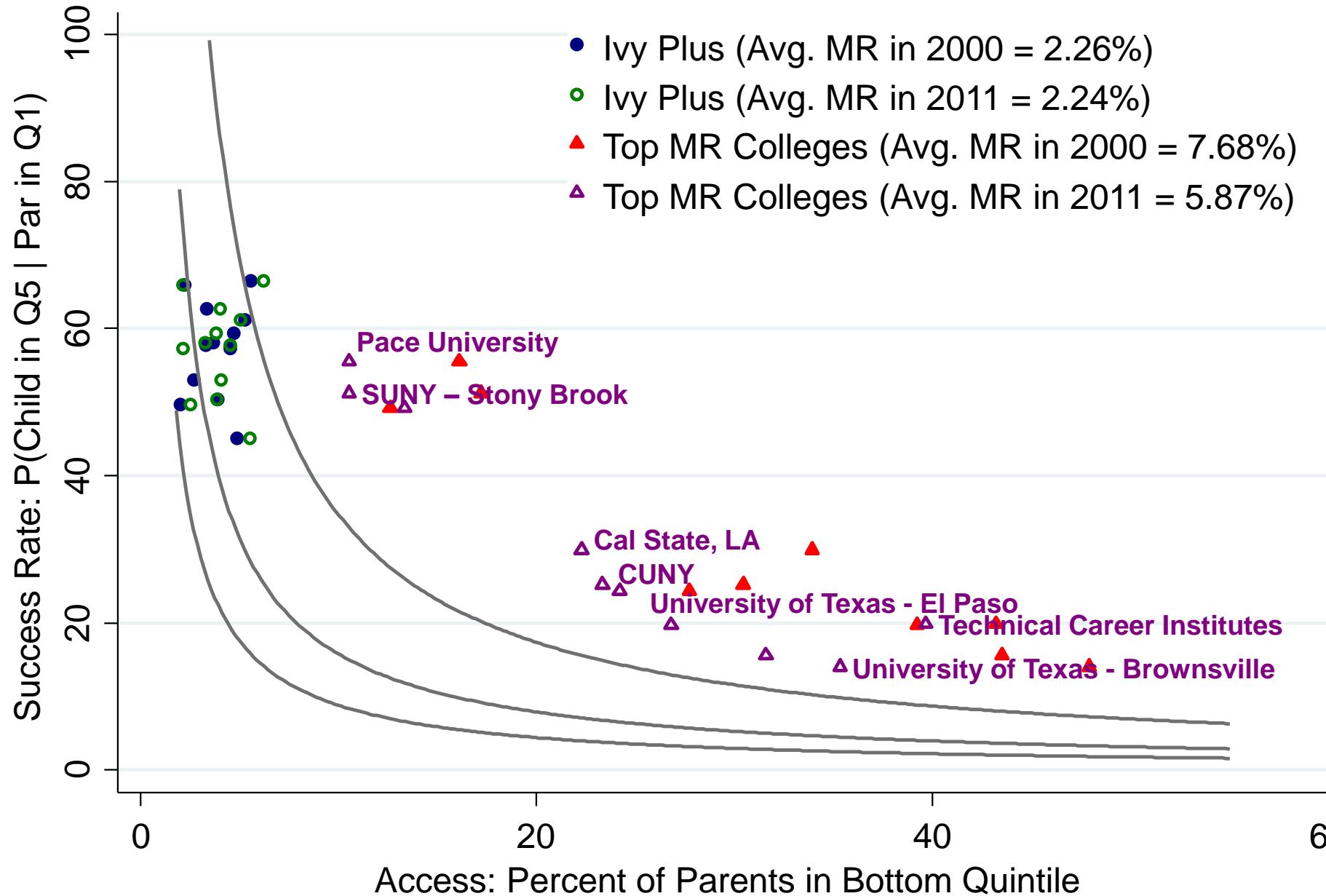
Changes in Projected Mobility Rate from 2000 to 2011

Holding Success Rates Fixed at 2000 Levels



Changes in Projected Mobility Rate from 2000 to 2011

Holding Success Rates Fixed at 2000 Levels



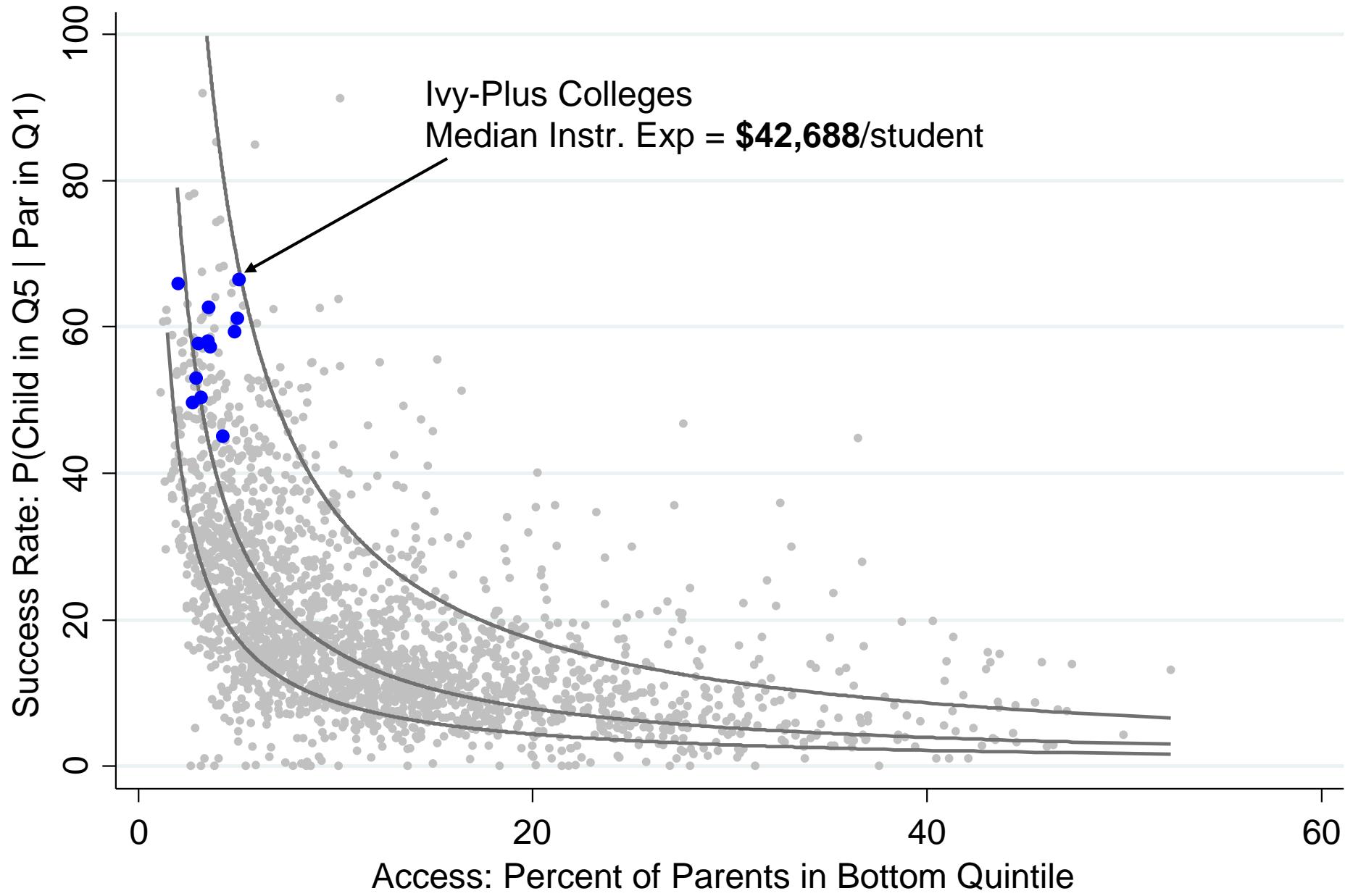
Lessons on Trends

- **Fact #4:** Trends in access are unfavorable in terms of mobility rates
 - Access has *fallen* at mid-tier public colleges with highest mobility rates
 - Access has risen relatively little at elite private colleges despite their efforts to increase financial aid and outreach
 - These efforts may have been offset by countervailing macroeconomic trends such as rising inequality

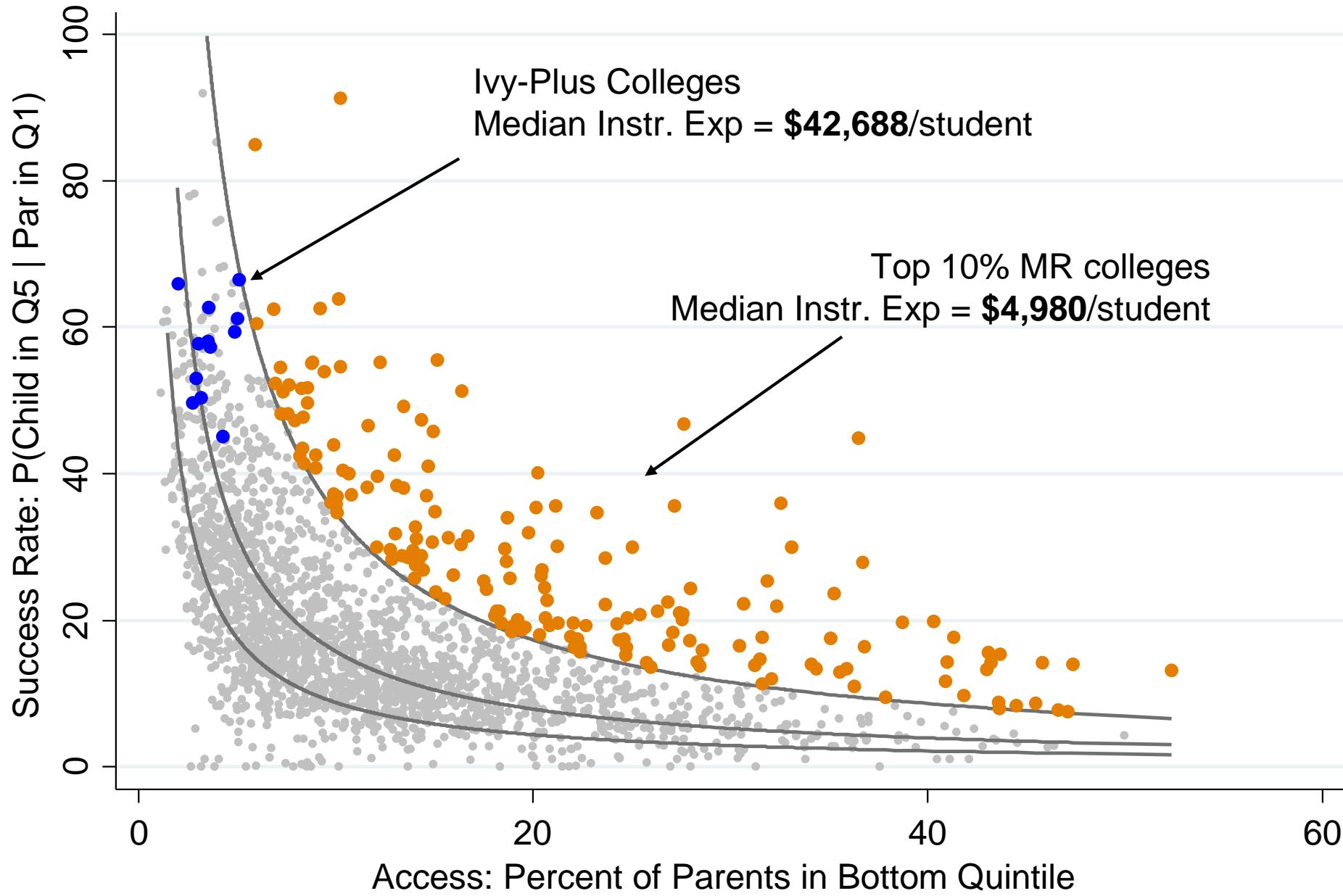
Discussion: Broad Lessons for Policy

1. Low-income students admitted to selective colleges do not appear over-placed, based on their earnings outcomes
 - Provides support for policies that seek to bring more such students to selective colleges
2. Efforts to expand low-income access often focus on elite colleges
 - But the high-mobility-rate colleges identified here may provide a more scalable model for upward mobility
 - Instructional costs at high-mobility-rate colleges are far lower...

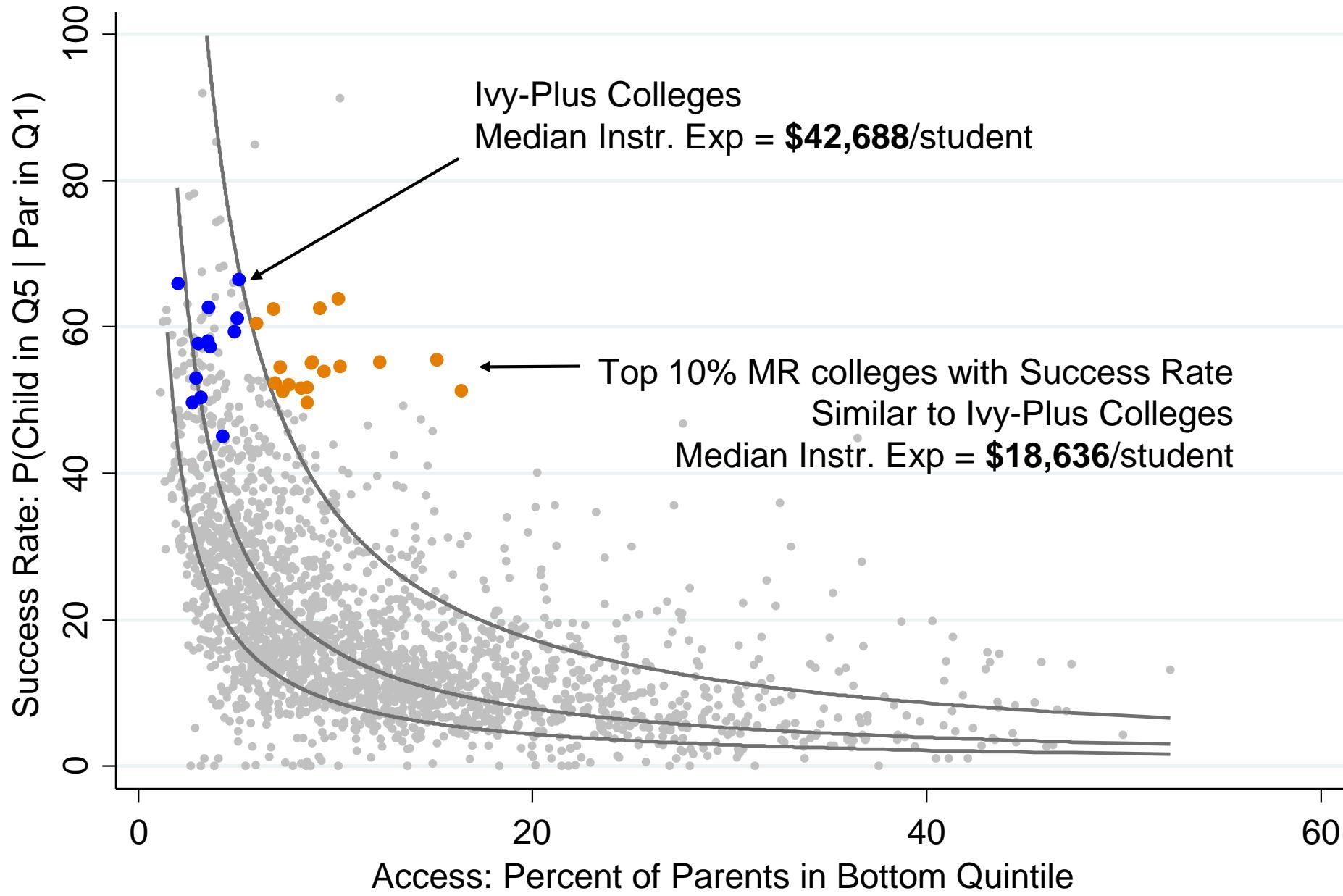
Mobility Rates and Expenditures per Student



Mobility Rates and Expenditures per Student



Mobility Rates and Expenditures per Student



Discussion: Broad Lessons for Policy

3. Recent unfavorable trends in access call for a re-evaluation of policies at the national, state, and college level
 - Ex: changes in admissions criteria, expansions of transfers from the community college system, interventions at earlier ages
 - New publicly available college-level statistics constructed here can facilitate analysis of such interventions
 - Would be especially valuable to further study high-mobility-rate colleges as potential “engines of upward mobility”