

Low-income, First-Generation College Students, Job Security, and Major Choice: Evidence from an Information Experiment

Alex Ruder and Michelle Van Noy

University of South Carolina and Rutgers University

11/18/2016

Motivation

- Growing policy focus on low-income, first-generation college students (Engle and Tinto, 2008).
- Disparities in college attainment, retention
- Disparities in field of study (Davies and Guppy, 1997; Goyette and Mullen, 2006; Ma, 2009; Lundy-Wagner et al., 2014)
- Human Capital Theory and major choice:
 - Knowledge of costs/benefits key role in major choice
 - Knowledge of costs/benefits not equitably distributed (Betts, 1996; Beattie, 2002)
 - Lower-SES students also more risk-averse over choices
 - Earnings, risk, and job security
- Especially after Great Recession, need to know:
 - Impact of job security preference on major choice
 - Perceptions of job security varying by low-income, first-generation status
 - Effect of policy intervention to mitigate disparities

Overview of Project

- Our contribution
 - Focus on perceptions of job security: earnings uncertainty/unemployment risk
 - Use large, diverse study sample enabling subgroup analyses by first-generation, low-income status
 - Build on information interventions as tool to improve educational choice and outcomes (Fryer, 2013; Nguyen, 2013; Hoxby and Turner, 2013; Jensen, 2010; Kelly, 2015)
- Today's talk
 - Describe survey and information experiment
 - Show results by family background
 - Show results for information treatments

Research Questions

- 1 Do students from first-generation, low-income families have different perceptions of earnings and job security across majors than their peers?
- 2 Does providing students with labor market information about earnings uncertainty and unemployment rates change expectations of earnings and job security relative to students who do not see any labor market information?

The Experiment

- Original survey administered at three separate campuses of a large, public university system
- Launched fall 2015; pre-tested throughout summer 2015
- Invitation to 48,139 undergraduates. Response rate, 13%, with 4,916 students completing. Financial incentive.
- Evaluate six major areas: Business, Education, Health, Humanities, Social Science, and STEM
- Ask respondents to consider the type of careers associated with each major, and then to estimate their earnings and job security if they were working, full time, in the fifth year after graduation.

Information Treatments

Random assignment into one of three conditions:

No Information: Respondents see no labor market information.

Median Earnings: Respondents see median earnings of graduates in each major.

Risk/Dispersion: Respondents see earnings dispersion, unemployment rate, and percent of graduates satisfied with job security in each major.

Data Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, 2008/12 Baccalaureate and Beyond Longitudinal Study.

Outcomes and Empirical Strategy

- Earnings—expected annual salary (log)
- Job Security—ordinal scale “No Security” to “High Security”
- Least squares and ordinal logit
- Basic model specification for major k , student i
- **T** treatment indicators; **FB** family background indicators:

$$\begin{aligned}\text{Outcome}_{ik} &= \beta_{0k} \\ &+ \beta_{1k} * T_{1k} + \beta_{2k} * T_{2k} \\ &+ \beta_{3k} * FB_a + \beta_{4k} * FB_b \\ &+ \beta_{5k} \mathbf{X} + \epsilon_{i,k}\end{aligned}$$

Sample Statistics

| | Sample | University System | National |
|------------------|--------|-------------------|----------|
| Freshman | 22% | 20% | 25% |
| Sophomore | 20% | 20% | 19% |
| Junior | 25% | 26% | 21% |
| Senior | 33% | 32% | 28% |
| Male | 34% | 48% | 44% |
| Caucasian | 44% | 40% | 71% |
| African American | 10% | 10% | 16% |
| Asian | 25% | 23% | 6.8% |
| Hispanic | 16% | 15% | 12% |
| SAT Math | 610 | 603 | 522 |
| SAT Verbal | 579 | 559 | 518 |
| First Gen. | 20% | 20% | 31% |
| Pell Grant | 29% | 28% | 39% |
| Business | 17% | 19% | 20% |
| Education | 0.05% | 0.06% | 6.9% |
| Health | 8% | 8.2% | 12.2% |
| Humanities | 6.6% | 5.9% | 14% |
| Other | 6.6% | 5.9% | 9.3% |
| Social Science | 13.1% | 11.4% | 18.6% |
| STEM | 17% | 17% | 17% |
| Undeclared | 31% | 32% | 1.9% |

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics. Same and university data from the university office of institutional research. US data from the National Center of Education Statistics.

Sample Statistics

| Actual Major | n | Base | Family Background | |
|--------------|------|-------|----------------------------|---------------------------|
| | | | First-Gen or Low-Income | First-Gen / Low-Income |
| Business | 694 | 17.5 | 17.1 | 17.9 |
| Health | 321 | 7.7 | 8.5 | 9.1 |
| Humanities | 264 | 6.1 | 7.5 | 7.1 |
| Other | 265 | 5.6 | 7.4 | 10.8 |
| Social | 521 | 10.7 | 16.2 | 18.4 |
| STEM | 674 | 16.8 | 18.0 | 14.7 |
| Undeclared | 1239 | 35.5 | 25.2 | 22.1 |
| All | 3978 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

Descriptive Statistics: Earnings

| Major | Student's Major? | n | Median | SD |
|----------------|------------------|------|--------|-------|
| Business | No | 1026 | 74726 | 27878 |
| | Yes | 340 | 80000 | 28900 |
| Education | No | 1270 | 45821 | 23371 |
| | Yes | 96 | 51865 | 29201 |
| Health | No | 1126 | 70909 | 30759 |
| | Yes | 240 | 83298 | 30076 |
| Humanities | No | 1220 | 42296 | 24541 |
| | Yes | 146 | 43926 | 25181 |
| Social Science | No | 1112 | 45957 | 24722 |
| | Yes | 254 | 51521 | 28335 |
| STEM | No | 872 | 87680 | 28968 |
| | Yes | 494 | 86939 | 28176 |

Table 2: Median expected earnings by student's preferred major.

Descriptive Statistics: Earnings

| Major | Family Background | n | Median | SD |
|----------------|---------------------------|-----|--------|-------|
| Business | Base | 833 | 76685 | 27509 |
| | Low Income or First Gen. | 393 | 73333 | 29766 |
| | Low Income and First Gen. | 140 | 71111 | 28415 |
| Education | Base | 833 | 46154 | 24049 |
| | Low Income or First Gen. | 393 | 46524 | 24275 |
| | Low Income and First Gen. | 140 | 46117 | 21802 |
| Health | Base | 833 | 72593 | 30692 |
| | Low Income or First Gen. | 393 | 72960 | 31235 |
| | Low Income and First Gen. | 140 | 77506 | 31704 |
| Humanities | Base | 833 | 42766 | 24842 |
| | Low Income or First Gen. | 393 | 42222 | 25528 |
| | Low Income and First Gen. | 140 | 44444 | 20288 |
| Social Science | Base | 833 | 46915 | 25347 |
| | Low Income or First Gen. | 393 | 46524 | 27116 |
| | Low Income and First Gen. | 140 | 45702 | 22689 |
| STEM | Base | 833 | 87937 | 28182 |
| | Low Income or First Gen. | 393 | 86809 | 29402 |
| | Low Income and First Gen. | 140 | 86649 | 29801 |

Table 3: Median earnings by family background

Descriptive Statistics: Job Security

| Major | Student's Major? | n | Not Secure | - | - | Very Secure |
|----------------|------------------|----|------------|----|----|-------------|
| Business | No | 3 | 16 | 18 | 44 | 19 |
| | Yes | 1 | 11 | 16 | 44 | 28 |
| Education | No | 6 | 26 | 23 | 33 | 12 |
| | Yes | 6 | 29 | 14 | 32 | 19 |
| Health | No | 2 | 9 | 14 | 41 | 34 |
| | Yes | 0 | 2 | 6 | 28 | 64 |
| Humanities | No | 15 | 46 | 24 | 13 | 2 |
| | Yes | 6 | 40 | 32 | 19 | 3 |
| Social Science | No | 12 | 41 | 25 | 19 | 2 |
| | Yes | 5 | 34 | 26 | 28 | 7 |
| STEM | No | 2 | 6 | 7 | 36 | 50 |
| | Yes | 0 | 4 | 5 | 35 | 55 |

Table 4: Security estimate by student's preferred major.

Descriptive Statistics: Job Security

| Major | Student's Major? | N | Not Secure | - | - | - | Very Secure |
|----------------|---------------------------|-----|------------|----|----|----|-------------|
| Business | Base | 829 | 2 | 15 | 17 | 45 | 21 |
| | Low Income or First Gen. | 393 | 4 | 14 | 18 | 44 | 20 |
| | Low Income and First Gen. | 140 | 4 | 12 | 20 | 36 | 28 |
| Education | Base | 829 | 6 | 26 | 22 | 34 | 12 |
| | Low Income or First Gen. | 393 | 7 | 25 | 21 | 33 | 15 |
| | Low Income and First Gen. | 140 | 6 | 27 | 24 | 32 | 11 |
| Health | Base | 829 | 1 | 8 | 15 | 40 | 36 |
| | Low Income or First Gen. | 393 | 2 | 8 | 9 | 35 | 46 |
| | Low Income and First Gen. | 140 | 1 | 4 | 6 | 45 | 44 |
| Humanities | Base | 829 | 15 | 46 | 24 | 13 | 2 |
| | Low Income or First Gen. | 393 | 12 | 44 | 25 | 16 | 3 |
| | Low Income and First Gen. | 140 | 11 | 42 | 26 | 15 | 5 |
| Social Science | Base | 829 | 13 | 39 | 27 | 19 | 2 |
| | Low Income or First Gen. | 393 | 8 | 40 | 24 | 23 | 5 |
| | Low Income and First Gen. | 140 | 8 | 41 | 22 | 24 | 5 |
| STEM | Base | 829 | 1 | 5 | 6 | 37 | 51 |
| | Low Income or First Gen. | 393 | 2 | 6 | 7 | 33 | 52 |
| | Low Income and First Gen. | 140 | 1 | 5 | 5 | 34 | 54 |

Table 5: Security estimate by Family Background status.

Expected Earnings and Family Background

Do students from first-generation, low-income families have different perceptions of future earnings than their peers?

| | Business | Education | Health | Humanities | Social Science | STEM |
|---------------------------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------------|
| Median Earnings | -0.10*** (0.02) | -0.04 (0.02) | -0.07*** (0.02) | -0.08*** (0.02) | -0.06** (0.02) | -0.08*** (0.02) |
| Risk/Dispersion | -0.09*** (0.02) | -0.02 (0.02) | -0.06*** (0.02) | -0.04 (0.02) | -0.02 (0.02) | -0.08*** (0.02) |
| Low Income or First Gen. | -0.07* (0.03) | -0.04 (0.03) | -0.01 (0.03) | -0.06* (0.03) | -0.03 (0.03) | -0.02 (0.02) |
| Low Income and First Gen. | -0.11** (0.04) | -0.08 (0.04) | 0.00 (0.04) | -0.06 (0.04) | -0.06 (0.04) | -0.02 (0.04) |
| Gender | 0.07*** (0.01) | 0.09*** (0.02) | 0.05*** (0.02) | 0.08*** (0.02) | 0.05*** (0.02) | 0.03 (0.02) |

Table 6: Expected earnings by major. OLS estimates of expected earnings per major on treatment indicators, family background indicators, and demographic and academic controls. Robust standard errors in parentheses. Three stars indicate statistical significance at the level determined by the Bonferroni method correction.

Expected Earnings and Information Treatment

Does providing students with labor market information about earnings uncertainty and job security change their perceptions of expected earnings relative to students who do not see any labor market information?

| | Business | Education | Health | Humanities | Social Science | STEM |
|---------------------------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------------|
| Median Earnings | -0.10*** (0.02) | -0.04 (0.02) | -0.07*** (0.02) | -0.08*** (0.02) | -0.06** (0.02) | -0.08*** (0.02) |
| Risk/Dispersion | -0.09*** (0.02) | -0.02 (0.02) | -0.06*** (0.02) | -0.04 (0.02) | -0.02 (0.02) | -0.08*** (0.02) |
| Low Income or First Gen. | -0.07* (0.03) | -0.04 (0.03) | -0.01 (0.03) | -0.06* (0.03) | -0.03 (0.03) | -0.02 (0.02) |
| Low Income and First Gen. | -0.11** (0.04) | -0.08 (0.04) | 0.00 (0.04) | -0.06 (0.04) | -0.06 (0.04) | -0.02 (0.04) |
| Gender | 0.07*** (0.01) | 0.09*** (0.02) | 0.05*** (0.02) | 0.08*** (0.02) | 0.05*** (0.02) | 0.03 (0.02) |

Table 7: Expected earnings by major. OLS estimates of expected earnings per major on treatment indicators, family background indicators, and demographic and academic controls. Robust standard errors in parentheses. Three stars indicate statistical significance at the level determined by the Bonferroni method correction.

Job Security and Family Background

Do students from first generation, low-income families have different perceptions of future job security across majors than their peers?

| | Business | Education | Health | Humanities | Social Science | STEM |
|---------------------------|--------------------|-------------------|------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| Median Earnings | 0.01 (0.09) | -0.10 (0.09) | 0.17 (0.09) | -0.15 (0.09) | -0.05 (0.09) | 0.09 (0.09) |
| Risk/Dispersion | -0.00 (0.09) | 0.09 (0.09) | 0.22* (0.09) | 0.09 (0.09) | 0.09 (0.09) | -0.01 (0.09) |
| Low Income or First Gen. | -0.08 (0.11) | -0.01 (0.11) | 0.26* (0.11) | 0.13 (0.11) | 0.14 (0.11) | 0.04 (0.11) |
| Low Income and First Gen. | 0.12 (0.17) | -0.10 (0.16) | 0.37* (0.17) | 0.25 (0.17) | 0.20 (0.17) | 0.14 (0.17) |
| Gender | -0.39*** (0.06) | 0.25*** (0.06) | -0.15* (0.06) | 0.07 (0.06) | -0.01 (0.06) | -0.11 (0.06) |

Table 8: Expected earnings by major. OLS estimates of expected earnings per major on treatment indicators, family background indicators, and demographic and academic controls. Robust standard errors in parentheses. Three stars indicate statistical significance at the level determined by the Bonferroni method correction.

Job Security and Information Treatment

Does providing students with labor market information about earnings uncertainty and job security change their perceptions of job security relative to students who do not see any labor market information?

| | Business | Education | Health | Humanities | Social Science | STEM |
|---------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------|------------------------------|
| Median Earnings | 0.01 (0.09) | -0.10 (0.09) | 0.17 [*] (0.09) | -0.15 [*] (0.09) | -0.05 (0.09) | 0.09 (0.09) |
| Risk/Dispersion | -0.00 (0.09) | 0.09 (0.09) | 0.22 [*] (0.09) | 0.09 (0.09) | 0.09 (0.09) | -0.01 (0.09) |
| Low Income or First Gen. | -0.08 (0.11) | -0.01 (0.11) | 0.26 [*] (0.11) | 0.13 (0.11) | 0.14 (0.11) | 0.04 (0.11) |
| Low Income and First Gen. | 0.12 (0.17) | -0.10 (0.16) | 0.37 [*] (0.17) | 0.25 (0.17) | 0.20 (0.17) | 0.14 (0.17) |
| Gender | -0.39 ^{***} (0.06) | 0.25 ^{***} (0.06) | -0.15 [*] (0.06) | 0.07 (0.06) | -0.01 (0.06) | -0.11 [*] (0.06) |

Table 9: Expected earnings by major. OLS estimates of expected earnings per major on treatment indicators, family background indicators, and demographic and academic controls. Robust standard errors in parentheses. Three stars indicate statistical significance at the level determined by the Bonferroni method correction.

Conclusions

- Key findings
 - ① Across majors, little difference by first-generation, low-income status in earnings expectations or perceived job security
 - ② Showing median earnings has large, negative effect on earnings expectations
 - ③ Information treatment reduces perceived earnings and security for Humanities and Social Science majors
- Are first-generation, low-income students more likely to seek out information about majors and careers?

Information Sources

“Please rate how helpful or not helpful these sources of information have been at Rutgers in informing your decision about your major?”

| Professors | Base | Low-Income or First-Gen | Low-Income and First-Gen |
|-------------------------------|------|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| Did Not Use (N/A) | 8.7 | 7.2 | 7.1 |
| Very Unhelpful | 3.4 | 5.1 | 5.0 |
| Unhelpful | 6.7 | 7.2 | 5.8 |
| Neither Helpful nor Unhelpful | 20.6 | 18.5 | 19.0 |
| Helpful | 40.4 | 38.7 | 36.0 |
| Very Helpful | 19.5 | 22.8 | 26.9 |

Table 10: χ -squared = 28.344, df = 10, p-value = < 0.01

Information Sources

“Please rate how helpful or not helpful these sources of information have been at Rutgers in informing your decision about your major?”

| Career Counselors | Base | Low-Income or First-Gen | Low-Income and First-Gen |
|-------------------------------|------|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| Did Not Use (N/A) | 29.8 | 25.0 | 16.8 |
| Very Unhelpful | 6.1 | 7.0 | 8.4 |
| Unhelpful | 7.5 | 7.7 | 7.8 |
| Neither Helpful nor Unhelpful | 23.6 | 23.7 | 22.4 |
| Helpful | 22.1 | 23.2 | 27.6 |
| Very Helpful | 10.4 | 12.7 | 16.8 |

Table 11: χ -squared = 52.461, df = 10, p-value = < 0.01

“I can rely on my family to help advise me on my selection of college major. ”

| Choose Career | Base | Low-Income or First-Gen | Low-Income and First-Gen |
|-----------------|------|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| Never | 7.3 | 15.9 | 22.0 |
| Rarely | 10.9 | 16.8 | 18.3 |
| Sometimes | 25.6 | 29.0 | 31.2 |
| Often | 29.1 | 22.6 | 17.5 |
| All of the Time | 26.9 | 15.6 | 10.8 |

Table 12: χ -squared = 263.65, df = 8, p-value = < 0.01

“I can rely on my family to help advise me on my selection of a career .”

| Choose Major | Base | Low-Income or First-Gen | Low-Income and First-Gen |
|-----------------|------|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| Never | 6.2 | 13.9 | 20.5 |
| Rarely | 10.6 | 16.8 | 19.2 |
| Sometimes | 25.9 | 29.1 | 28.2 |
| Often | 30.7 | 24.4 | 19.6 |
| All of the Time | 26.4 | 15.6 | 12.1 |

Table 13: χ -squared = 251.85, df = 8, p-value = < 0.01

END

Information Experiments

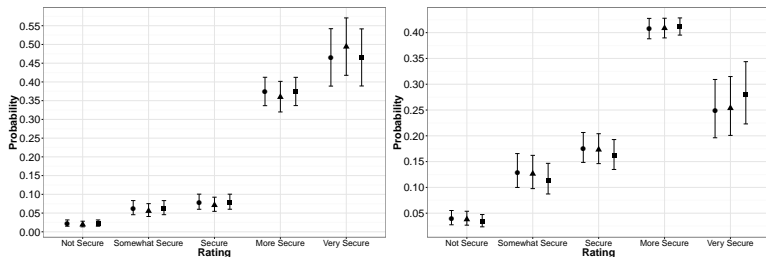
- Earnings, Job Security and Major Choice
 - Students' subjective expectations about future earnings, job security influence major choice
 - Large differences in earnings risk across majors; college students generally risk-averse when choosing majors.
 - Students often poorly informed about these labor market outcomes
 - Family income related to information access Betts (1996)
- Information interventions
 - Growing literature on information interventions as tool to improve educational choice and outcomes (Fryer, 2013; Nguyen, 2013; Hoxby and Turner, 2013; Jensen, 2010; Kelly, 2015)
 - Students hold biased estimates of the true earnings/risk of the population labor market outcomes
 - Information intervention with labor market data impacts students' own expectations of future labor market outcomes and preferred major (Wiswall and Zafar, 2015)

Actual Major by Family Background

| Major Group | n | Neither Percent | First-Gen or Low-Income Percent | First-Gen and Low-Income Percent |
|-------------|------|-----------------|---------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Business | 694 | 17.5 | 17.1 | 17.9 |
| Health | 321 | 7.7 | 8.5 | 9.1 |
| Humanities | 264 | 6.1 | 7.5 | 7.1 |
| Other | 265 | 5.6 | 7.4 | 10.8 |
| Social | 521 | 10.7 | 16.2 | 18.4 |
| STEM | 674 | 16.8 | 18.0 | 14.7 |
| Undeclared | 1239 | 35.5 | 25.2 | 22.1 |
| All | 3978 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

Job Security: STEM and Health

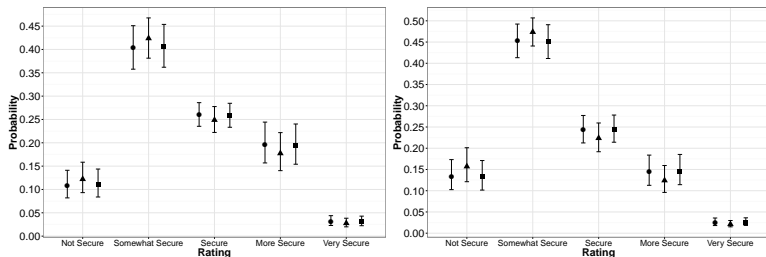
Do students from first generation, low-income families have different perceptions of job security across majors than their peers?



Perceived job security by major and first-generation/low-income status. STEM (left) and Health (right)

Job Security: Social Science and Humanities

Do students from first generation, low-income families have different perceptions of job security across majors than their peers?



Perceived job security by major and first-generation/low-income status. Social Science (left) and Humanities (right)

Sample Statistics

| Actual Major | n | Base | Family Background | |
|--------------|------|-------|----------------------------|---------------------------|
| | | | First-Gen or Low-Income | First-Gen / Low-Income |
| Business | 694 | 17.5 | 17.1 | 17.9 |
| Health | 321 | 7.7 | 8.5 | 9.1 |
| Humanities | 264 | 6.1 | 7.5 | 7.1 |
| Other | 265 | 5.6 | 7.4 | 10.8 |
| Social | 521 | 10.7 | 16.2 | 18.4 |
| STEM | 674 | 16.8 | 18.0 | 14.7 |
| Undeclared | 1239 | 35.5 | 25.2 | 22.1 |
| All | 3978 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

Job Security

Earnings question: If you were to receive a Bachelor's degree in each of the following fields of study areas and you were working full time 5 years after graduation, what do you believe is the most likely amount that you would earn per year?

Job security question: Thinking about the types of careers available to you if you were to graduate with a degree in each field of study, what type of job security do you believe you would have with a degree in each field?

That is, how likely is it you would have a job with secure employment where you have a low chance of losing your job or of being forced to accept part-time employment?

References I

- Beattie, Irene R. 2002. "Are All Adolescent Econometricians Created Equal? Racial, Class, and Gender Differences in College Enrollment." *Sociology of Education* 75(1):19–43.
- Betts, Julian R. 1996. "What Do Students Know about Wages? Evidence from a Survey of Undergraduates." *Journal of Human Resources* 31(1):27–56.
- Davies, Scott and Neil Guppy. 1997. "Fields of Study, College Selectivity, and Student Inequalities in Higher Education." *Social Forces* 75(4):1417–1438.
- Engle, Jennifer and Vincent Tinto. 2008. *Moving Beyond Access: College Success for Low-Income, First-Generation Students*. Washington, DC: Pell Institute for the Study of Opportunity in Higher Education.
- Fryer, Jr., Roland G. 2013. "Information and Student Achievement: Evidence from a Cellular Phone Experiment." Working Paper.

References II

- Goyette, Kimerly A. and Ann L. Mullen. 2006. "Who Studies the Arts and Sciences? Social Background and the Choice and Consequences of Undergraduate Field of Study." *Journal of Higher Education* 77(3):497–538.
- Hoxby, Caroline and Sarah Turner. 2013. "Expanding College Opportunities for High-Achieving, Low Income Students." Stanford Institute for Economic Policy Research.
- Jensen, Robert. 2010. "The (Perceived) Returns to Education and the Demand for Schooling." *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 125(2):515–548.
- Kelly, Andrew P. 2015. "High Costs, Uncertain Benefits." American Enterprise Institute Center on Higher Education Reform.

References III

- Lundy-Wagner, Valerie C., Cindy P. Veenstra, Marisa K. Orr and Nichole M. Ramirez. 2014. "Gaining Access or Losing Ground?: Socioeconomic Disadvantaged Students in Undergraduate Engineering 1994-2003." *Journal of Higher Education* 85(3):339–369.
- Ma, Yingyi. 2009. "Family Socioeconomic Status, Parental Involvement, and College Major Choices—Gender, Race/Ethnic, and Nativity Patterns." *Sociological Perspectives* 52(2):211–234.
- Nguyen, Trang. 2013. "Information, Role Models and Perceived Returns to Education: Experimental Evidence from Madagascar." The World Bank. World Bank Gender Impact Evaluation Database. Washington, D.C.
- Wiswall, Mathew and Basit Zafar. 2015. "Determinants of College Major Choice: Identification Using an Information Experiment." *Review of Economic Studies* 82(2):791–824.