Education

131 Undergraduate Public Economics
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Education

Education is one of the largest public goods provided by government

Approximately 5.5% of GDP or 1/6 of government expenditure in the US

About 80% of spending done at the state and local level

Focus of an extensive body of research in the rapidly expanding field of economics of education
Why Should the Government Be Involved in Education?

Ex-ante not obvious because education does not look like a public good

1) Returns to education are largely private

2) Education is excludable

⇒ we should expect students to invest roughly the optimal amount in their own education
Why Should the Government Be Involved in Education?

Four motives for government intervention:

1) Externalities (productivity spillovers, crime, citizenship)

2) Family failures: Divergence between parent and child preferences (some parents may not take good care of their children)

3) Borrowing constraints (poor but talented students may not be able to borrow against future earnings to get an education)

4) Individual failures: young people might not do what is in their long-run interest due to self-control problems or lack of information
1) Externalities of education on crime and voting

\[ Crime_i = \alpha + \beta Educi + \varepsilon_i \]

Observational regression comparing the educated vs. not-educated likely biased because propensity to crime \( \varepsilon_i \) is negatively correlated with \( Educi \).

Lochner and Moretti (2004) use as instrument changes in state compulsory attendance laws: State T increases compulsory attendance from 9 to 10 years at time \( t \), State C does not.

Can look at effect on education, and then look at effect on crime using Difference-in-difference

They show that an extra year of schooling reduces incarceration rates significantly

- 0.1 pct point decline for white males relative to a mean of 1%
- 0.3 pct point decline for black males relative to mean of 3%

\[ \Rightarrow \] Gap in schooling between whites and blacks accounts for more than 1/4 difference in crime rates

Social return to education exceeds private return by 25% based purely on reduction in crime

Moretti, Mulligan, Oreopoulos (2003) find positive effects of education on likelihood of voting using same strategy
2) Divergences between parent and child preferences

Hard to find direct evidence

Duflo (2003) shows evidence that grandmothers spend more than grandfathers on female grandchildren

Duflo (2003) uses pension reform in 1992 in South-Africa giving all Blacks (65+) a minimum pension when household income is low (before, only whites could get the pension under Apartheid)

Duflo (2003) finds that pension availability improves the weight for height Z-score of female grandchildren (nutrition improves) but only when a grandmother gets the pension (and not when a grandfather does)

⇒ Parents preferences matter for kids outcomes
The identification assumption underlying this exercise is that there is no systemic difference in nutrition between eligible and noneligible households with an elderly member. As I discuss later, this assumption may be problematic, and I present results for an alternative specification that relaxes it.

Results

The results from estimating equation 1 are presented in table 3. Columns 1–3 do not distinguish by gender of the eligible household member. For girls the coefficient is positive but insignificant without controlling for the presence of noneligible members over age 50 (column 1). When these controls are introduced, the coefficient more than doubles (0.35) and becomes significant (column 2).

### Table 3. Effect of the Old-Age Pension Program on Weight for Height: ols and 2sls Regressions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>OLS</th>
<th>2SLS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1)  (2) (3)</td>
<td>(4)  (5) (6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Girls</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eligible household</td>
<td>0.14 0.35*</td>
<td>0.34*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.12)</td>
<td>(0.17)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woman eligible(^a)</td>
<td>0.24*</td>
<td>0.61*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.12)</td>
<td>(0.19)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Man eligible(^b)</td>
<td>-0.011 0.11</td>
<td>0.056 -0.097</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.22)</td>
<td>(0.28)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Observations</td>
<td>1574 1574 1533</td>
<td>1574 1574 1533</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Boys</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eligible household</td>
<td>0.0012 0.022</td>
<td>0.030</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.13)</td>
<td>(0.22)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woman eligible(^a)</td>
<td>0.066 0.28</td>
<td>0.31 0.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.14)</td>
<td>(0.28)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Man eligible(^b)</td>
<td>-0.059 -0.25</td>
<td>-0.25 -0.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.22)</td>
<td>(0.34)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Observations</td>
<td>1670 1670 1627</td>
<td>1670 1670 1627</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Control variables**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Presence of older members(^c)</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>Yes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Family background variables(^d)</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child age dummy variables(^e)</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\)Significant at the 5 percent level.

*Note:* The instruments in column 7 are woman eligible and man eligible (the first stage is in table A-1). Standard errors (robust to correlation of residuals within households and heteroscedasticity) are in parentheses.

\(^a\)In column 7 this variable is replaced by a dummy for whether a woman receives the pension.

\(^b\)In column 7 this variable is replaced by a dummy for whether a man receives the pension.

\(^c\)Presence of a woman over age 50, a man over age 50, a woman over age 56, a man over age 56, and a man over age 61.

\(^d\)Father’s age and education; mother’s age and education; rural or metropolitan residence (urban is the omitted category); size of household; and number of members ages 0–5, 6–14, 15–24, and 25–49.

\(^e\)Dummy variables for whether the child was born in 1991, 1990, or 1989.

*Source:* Author’s calculations.

Source: Duflo (2003)
3) Borrowing Constraints: effects of loans

If there are no borrowing constraints (and individuals are rational), current resources should not matter for educational decisions: invest in education only if PDV benefits > costs

Empirical evidence shows that availability of loans do matter suggesting that borrowing constraints are an issue

Solis (2017) studies the effects of guaranteed loans on college attendance in Chile

Guaranteed loan is available if test score of student (equivalent of SAT for Chile) is above threshold equal to 475.

Regression discontinuity design: does discontinuity in loan availability translate into discontinuity in college attendance? YES

⇒ Very compelling evidence that loan availability matters
College Enrollment; All Years; bw=2

Note: Each dot represents average college enrollment in an interval of 2 PSU points. The dashed lines represent fitted values from a 4th order spline and 95% confidence intervals for each side. The vertical line indicates the cutoff (475). These graphs show the full sample of students fulfilling all requirements to be eligible for college loans and taking the PSU immediately after graduating from high school.

Source: Solis (2013)
4) Behavioral motives (individual failures): high-school

Rational education decision should be based on comparing returns to education (higher wage later in life) vs. costs of education (tuition and time) ⇒ Requires that young individuals know the return to education

Jensen (2010) shows that simply presenting information about rates of return to education changes behavior

1) He uses survey data for eighth-grade boys in the Dominican Republic

Finds that the perceived returns to secondary school are extremely low, despite high measured returns

2) Then carries out randomized field experiment: Students at randomly selected schools given information on the higher measured returns completed on average 0.20 more years of school over the next four years than those who were not.


**EFFECT OF PROVIDING INFORMATION ABOUT RETURNS TO COLLEGE IN DOMINICAN REPUBLIC**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>$\Delta$ Implied Return (Self)</th>
<th>Returned Next Year</th>
<th>Completed Secondary</th>
<th>Years of Schooling</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treatment</td>
<td>366</td>
<td>366</td>
<td>.039</td>
<td>.041</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(29)</td>
<td>(29)</td>
<td>(.025)</td>
<td>(.023)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Log (income per capita)</td>
<td>30.0</td>
<td></td>
<td>.075</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(48)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(.042)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School Performance</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td></td>
<td>.011</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(13)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(.010)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father’s education</td>
<td>-26</td>
<td></td>
<td>.082</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(33)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(.029)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interviewed</td>
<td></td>
<td>.014</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(.027)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Jensen 2010
4) Behavioral motives (individual failures): university

Hoxby-Avery '12 shows that high-achieving US students (top 2% of SAT scores) from disadvantaged backgrounds apply to weaker colleges [than other high-achieving US students]

Even though top schools offer generous financial aid to talented students from disadvantaged backgrounds

Mechanism: poor talented kids in “nowhere” schools do not get good advice from family/local counselors ⇒ End up at local college (often paying more than they would at top college)

⇒ Informational failure prevents poor but talented kids to exploit their potential

Hoxby-Turner '13 does randomized experiment providing personalized mailing info to talented students (relevant suggested applications, net-cost calculator) ⇒ Significant effect on number and quality of applications
Figure 1

Distribution of Family Income Among Families with a Child in the 12th Grade, 2008

Source: Hoxby, C. M., & Avery, C. 2012
### Table 1

**College Costs and Resources by Selectivity**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Selectivity (Barron's)</th>
<th>Out-of-Pocket Cost for a Student at the 20th Percentile of Family Income (includes room and board)</th>
<th>Comprehensive Cost (includes room and board)</th>
<th>Instructional Expenditure per Student</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>most competitive</td>
<td>6,754</td>
<td>45,540</td>
<td>27,001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>highly competitive plus</td>
<td>13,755</td>
<td>38,603</td>
<td>13,732</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>highly competitive</td>
<td>17,437</td>
<td>35,811</td>
<td>12,163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>very competitive plus</td>
<td>15,977</td>
<td>31,591</td>
<td>9,605</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>very competitive</td>
<td>23,813</td>
<td>29,173</td>
<td>8,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>competitive plus</td>
<td>23,552</td>
<td>27,436</td>
<td>6,970</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>competitive</td>
<td>19,400</td>
<td>24,166</td>
<td>6,542</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>less competitive</td>
<td>26,335</td>
<td>21,262</td>
<td>5,359</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>some or no selection, 4-year</td>
<td>18,981</td>
<td>16,638</td>
<td>5,119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>private 2-year</td>
<td>14,852</td>
<td>17,822</td>
<td>6,796</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>public 2-year</td>
<td>7,573</td>
<td>10,543</td>
<td>4,991</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>for-profit 2-year</td>
<td>18,486</td>
<td>21,456</td>
<td>3,257</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: The sources are colleges' net cost calculators for the out-of-pocket cost column and IPEDS for the remaining columns. The net cost data were gathered for the 2009-10 school year by the authors, for the institutions at the very competitive and more selective levels. For the institutions of lower selectivity, net cost estimates are based on the institution's published net cost calculator for the year closest to 2009-10--never later than 2011-12. Net costs are then reduced to approximate 2009-10 levels using the institution's own room and board and tuition net of aid numbers from IPEDS, for the relevant years.

Source: Hoxby, C. M., & Avery, C. 2012
Figure 8
High Income Students' Portfolios of College Applications
(1 student = weight of 1)

Source: Hoxby, C. M., & Avery, C. 2012
Figure 10
Low Income Students' Portfolios of College Applications
(1 student = weight of 1)

Source: Hoxby, C. M., & Avery, C. 2012
Two Approaches to Education Reform

A) Individual-based interventions

1) Provide vouchers for K-12 schools

2) Provide subsidies and loans to individuals for college costs

B) Improving the production process

1) Charter schools

2) Direct improvements in education production function, e.g., teacher quality and personnel policies

3) Letting for-profit schools compete with existing public/non-profit schools
PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND VOUCHERS

K-12 education is provided for free in public schools in the US (funded by taxes)

If parents send child to private school, they have to pay private school tuition and do not get refunded for their taxes paid toward public school

⇒ Strong incentives to use public schools

Educational vouchers: A fixed amount of money given by the government to families with school-age children, who can spend it at any type of school, public or private.

A voucher effectively refunds parents for taxes paid if they do not use public schools ⇒ Puts public and private schools in competition
RATIONALES FOR VOUCHERS

(1) Consumer Sovereignty: Vouchers allow families to more closely match their educational choices with their tastes.

(2) Competition: Vouchers allow the education market to benefit from the competitive pressures that make private markets function efficiently.
PROBLEMS WITH EDUCATIONAL VOUCHERS

1) Vouchers Will Lead to Segregation: Vouchers have the potential to reintroduce segregation along many dimensions, such as race, income, or child ability.

2) Vouchers Benefit kids from richer background: The government would pay a portion of the private school costs that students and their families are currently paying themselves.

3) The Education Market May not Be Competitive: A large fraction of parents do not actively search the best possible school for their kids.
Estimating the Effects of Voucher Programs

Rouse (1998) studied the effect of the Milwaukee voucher program on the achievement of students who used their vouchers to finance a move to private schools

1) She noted that one cannot directly compare students who do and do not use vouchers, since they may differ along many dimensions ⇒ This selective use of vouchers would bias any comparison between the groups.

2) Oversubscribed schools had to select randomly from all applicants, using a lottery (generates a quasi-experiment) ⇒ Comparing lottery winners to losers, finds slight improvement in math scores (no difference in reading)

In the United States, about 10% of students are enrolled in private schools, a proportion that doubles or triples in the low-income developing world

Angrist et al. 2002 shows that lottery voucher program had strong positive effects on education in Colombia

External validity issue: voucher lottery strategy estimates effects of vouchers on families motivated to use them (entered the lottery). Unmotivated parents might not be affected by vouchers.
Charter Schools

Some school districts have not offered vouchers for private schools but have instead allowed students to choose freely among public schools.

Charter schools: Schools financed with public funds that are not usually under the direct supervision of local school boards or subject to all state regulations for schools. Have more flexibility to recruit teachers / adjust hours / curriculum
Estimating the Effects of Charter Schools

Oversubscribed charter schools also use a lottery to assign admissions

Generates randomized experiment allowing to estimate the causal effect of charter schools by comparing lottery winners and lottery losers

Angrist, Pathak, Walters AEJ’13 carry out a comprehensive analysis of charter schools effects in Massachusetts

Find that urban charter schools boost achievement well beyond that of urban public school students, while non-urban charters reduce achievement from a higher baseline

⇒ Charter schools can have a positive or negative impact depending on what they do

Most effective approach to education: focus on instruction time, pupil comportment, selective teacher hiring, and focus on traditional math and reading skills.
School Accountability

Making schools accountable for student performance can provide incentives for schools to increase the quality of the education they offer.

Accountability programs can have two unintended effects: 1) they can lead schools and teachers to “teach to the test.” 2) schools can manipulate the pool of test takers and the conditions under which they take tests to maximize success.

No Child Left Behind (Key Bush administration program in education):

Evidence that it had small positive effects on test-scores but this could be due primarily to “teach to the test” effects

In 2015, program turned over to the states in a more flexible form
MEASURING THE RETURNS TO EDUCATION

**Returns to education**: The benefits that accrue to society when students get more schooling or when they get schooling from a higher-quality environment.

**Effects of education levels on productivity**

There is a large literature that shows that more education leads to higher wages in the labor market:

\[
Earnings_i = \alpha + \beta \cdot Education_i + \varepsilon_i
\]

There is substantial controversy, however, over the implications of this correlation \((\beta > 0)\).
Effects of Education on Earnings

1) Education as Human Capital Accumulation

**human capital**: A person’s stock of skills, which may be increased by education

In that scenario, education raises earnings because it improves productivity

2) Education as a Screening Device

**screening**: A model that suggests that education provides only a means of separating high-ability from low-ability individuals and does not actually improve skills.

In that scenario, education raises **individual** earnings but it does not improve productivity (rat-race)
MEASURING THE RETURNS TO EDUCATION

Policy Implications

Under the human capital model, government would want to support education or at least provide loans to individuals so that they can get more education and raise their productivity.

Under the screening model, however, the government would not want to support more education for any given individual.

Differentiating the theories

Most of the returns to education reflect accumulation of human capital rather than screening.

Example: Clark-Martorell ’14 show that barely getting a high-school degree in Texas has no visible impact on later earnings.
A. Main Estimates

We use fuzzy regression discontinuity methods (Angrist and Lavy 1999; Hahn et al. 2001) to exploit this discontinuity. In particular, we use passing status on the last-chance exam as an instrumental variable for diploma receipt in models that control for flexible functions of the exam scores (i.e., the variable on the horizontal axis in fig. 1).

\[ Y_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 D_i + f(p_i) + \varepsilon_i; \]

FIG. 1.—Last-chance exam scores and diploma receipt. The graphs are based on the last-chance sample. See table 1 and the text. Dots are test score cell means. The scores on the x-axis are the minimum of the section scores (recentered to be zero at the passing cutoff) that are taken in the last-chance exam. Lines are fourth-order polynomials fitted separately on either side of the passing threshold.

Source: Clark and Martorell JPE'14
Even in the last-chance sample of students who remain in school until the end of grade 12. We return to this point in our discussion of the findings. Third, there is no indication of any jump in earnings at the passing cutoff.

The estimated discontinuities reported in table 3 are consistent with this last assertion. For each earnings outcome (i.e., for each year group), columns 1–4 report estimated discontinuities for first- through fourth-order polynomials, where the polynomials are fully interacted with an indicator for passing the last-chance exam. For each outcome, the estimated discontinuities are small in magnitude, small relative to the mean earnings of those who barely failed the exam (col. 1) and statistically indistinguishable from zero. Moreover, the estimates are robust to the choice of polynomial. Goodness-of-fit statistics suggest that the second-order polynomial is the preferred specification, and column 5 reports estimates from a model that uses this preferred polynomial and controls for baseline covariates. In column 6 we report estimates from a model in which the coefficients of the polynomial are restricted to be the same on either side of the passing cutoff. These estimates are more pre-

**Fig. 2.**—Earnings by last-chance exam scores. The graphs are based on the last-chance samples. See table 1 and the text. Dots are test score cell means. The scores on the x-axis are the minimum of the section scores (recentered to be zero at the passing cutoff) that are taken in the last-chance exam. Lines are fourth-order polynomials fitted separately on either side of the passing threshold.

Source: Clark and Martorell JPE'14
Evidence on the Returns to Education and Screening

Basic observational approach:

\[ Earnings_i = \alpha + \beta \cdot Education_i + \epsilon_i \]

Amounts to comparing the earnings of people with different education.

Issue: ability to earn \( \epsilon_i \) might be correlated with education choices

Two methods try to control for this bias in estimating the true human capital effects of education

1) Control for underlying ability by adding variables (e.g. SAT score) in the regression so that any remaining effect of education represents true productivity effects (omitted variable bias remains a concern)

2) Find exogenous variation in education (e.g., policy change induces more education for some group but not for another group)

Although all of these approaches have some limitations, the result of the analysis is surprisingly consistent: each additional year of education raises wages by 7-10%
THE IMPACT OF SCHOOL QUALITY

A number of approaches have been taken to estimate the impact of school quality on student test scores.

Two approaches have been used to address this issue: experimental data, and quasi-experimental using policy changes.

Findings suggest that the outcomes of efforts to improve school quality can be very dependent on the approach taken to improvements.
Estimating the Effects of Class Size

**Experimental example:** The state of Tennessee implemented Project STAR in 1985, randomly assigning 11,000 students (grades K–3) to small classes (13–17 students) or regular classes (22–25 students).

Krueger and Whitmore 2001 shows positive effects of small class size on test scores.

Chetty et al. 2011 linked students to college enrollment and adult earnings data: finds small positive effects on college enrollments and adult earnings.

Note: kids and teachers also randomly assigned across classes: strong class effects are visible (due to teachers or peers) and they have long-term effects on college and earnings.

**Quasi-experimental example:** By the mid-1990s, California had the largest class sizes in the nation (29 students per class on average). The California state government in 1996 provided strong financial incentives for schools to reduce their class size to 20 students per class: not much effects on outcomes found but controversial.
Current Government Role in Higher Education

1. **State Provision:** The primary form of government financing of higher education is direct provision of higher education through locally and state-supported colleges and universities.

2. **Pell Grants:** Subsidy to higher education administered by the federal government that provides grants to low-income families to pay for their educational expenditures.

3. **Loans:** (a) **direct student loans:** Loans taken directly from the Department of Education. (b) **guaranteed student loans:** Loans taken from private banks for which the banks are guaranteed repayment by the govt.

4. **Tax Relief:** Tax credits for higher education tuition costs
The Role of the Government in Higher Education

Current Government Role

FIGURE 11-4

Government Spending on Higher Education • Eighty-five percent of the roughly $199 billion the government spends annually on higher education is in the form of state and local funding for colleges and universities. The remainder is split among Pell Grants, tax breaks, and student loans.
What Is the Market Failure in Higher Education?

If individuals are rational, the borrowing constraint market failure can be addressed solely with government supported loans.

However, if individuals are not rational (self-control problems, myopia, lack of information), even government supported loans might not be enough to motivate individuals to acquire higher education.

⇒ Direct tuition subsidies might be more effective.

⇒ Direct help with applications.
Effects of cash allowance on attending college in France

Fack and Grenet (2014) study the effects of aid to students based on parental income in France

Level of aid is a discontinuous function of parental income

Regression discontinuity design: does the discontinuity in aid translate into a discontinuity in college attendance? YES

⇒ Very compelling evidence that financial aid for higher education matters
**Figure 2:** Amount of Annual Cash Allowance Awarded to Applicants with an FNA Score of 3 Points, as Function of their Parents’ Taxable Income

Notes: The figure shows the amount of annual cash allowance awarded in 2009 to BCS grant applicants with a family needs assessment (FNA) score of 3 points (median value), as a function of their parents’ taxable income two years before the application. Applicants eligible for a level 0 grant qualify for fee waivers only. Applicants eligible for higher levels of grant qualify for fee waivers and an annual cash allowance, the amount of which varies with the level of grant: 1,476 euros (level 1), 2,223 euros (level 2), 2,849 euros (level 3), 3,473 euros (level 4), 3,988 euros (level 5) and 4,228 euros (level 6). Income thresholds and allowance amounts are expressed in 2011 euros.

Source: Fack and Grenet (2014)
Figure 5: College Enrollment Rate of Grant Applicants at Different Income Eligibility Thresholds

(a) Fee Waiver (L0/No grant Cutoffs).

(b) €1,500 Allowance (L1/L0 Cutoffs).

(c) €600 Increment (L6/L5 to L2/L1 Cutoffs).

Notes: The circles represent the mean college enrollment rate of grant applicants per interval of relative income-distance to the eligibility thresholds. The solid lines are the fitted values from a third-order polynomial approximation which is estimated separately on both sides of the cutoffs. The vertical lines identify the eligibility cutoffs.

Source: Fack and Grenet (2014)
Effects of college application tutoring

Carrell-Sacerdote (2017) carry out a field experiment in New Hampshire high-schools

College students from Dartmouth help senior high-schoolers to apply to college (weekly meetings in Winter semester)

Randomization within high schools: select only 50% of seniors

Find large positive impact on women (+15 points likelihood of enrolling in college) but small effects on men

Also find a cash bonus for applying to colleges without tutorial does not have any impact

⇒ Effects require time intensive tutorials (that parents/teachers typically should be providing)
Role of Government in supply of Higher Education

Private non-profit universities have inelastic supply (e.g., fixed student bodies at top schools such as Harvard)

Historically, expansion of supply was carried out by public institutions (state universities and community colleges): Example: 1960 Master plan for California with 3-tier system (Community, State, UC)

Government push also central to increase attendance: GI Bill after WWII/Korea War increased college attendance by 15-20 points for men born 1921-1933 (Stanley QJE’03)

Recently, states have retreated and supply has been provided by for-profit schools (get about 10% of total enrollment today)

Deming-Goldin-Katz ’12 show that for-profit schools provide little benefits, charge a lot, and are savvy at exploiting Fed Pell Grants and saddle students with debt

⇒ Symptom of market failure due to individual failures/lack of information
The early period of gender parity in college enrollments from 1900 to 1930 (covering the birth cohorts of 1880 to 1910) was not the result of a situation where only an elite class sent children of both genders to college. Just 5 percent of the women enrolled in privately-controlled colleges in 1925 attended the elite "seven-sister" schools and only 22 percent were in any all-women's college. Half of all American college students in 1925 were in publicly-controlled institutions of higher education, and 55 percent of women were. A substantial fraction of women during this period attended teacher-training colleges, and many of these schools had two-year programs. In 1925, for example, 30 percent of the female enrollments

Figure 1
College Graduation Rates (by 35 years) for Men and Women: Cohorts Born from 1876 to 1975

Sources: 1940 to 2000 Census of Population Integrated Public Use Micro-data Samples (IPUMS).
Role of Higher Education in Intergenerational Mobility

Chetty et al. ’17 compile college level statistics on parental income and student earnings outcomes. Data online at [web]

Four key findings:

1) **Access:** Huge variation in access across schools: Ivy league has more kids from top 1% families than from bottom 50%

2) **Outcomes:** Within good colleges, outcomes of poor vs. rich kids are similar ⇒ college is the ticket to opportunity

3) **Mobility rates:** Large discrepancies across colleges in fraction of students who come from bottom 20% and reach top 20% (=mobility rate)

4) **Trends:** fraction poor kids stagnated in top schools (in spite of more financial aid) and dropped at best public schools and community colleges
Which colleges in America contribute the most to helping children climb the income ladder? How can we increase access to such colleges for children from low income families? We take a step toward answering these questions by constructing publicly available mobility report cards—statistics on students' earnings in their early thirties and their parents' incomes—for each college. We estimate these statistics using de-identified data from the federal government covering all students from 1999-2013, building on the Dept. of Education's College Scorecard.

Mobility Report Cards for Columbia and SUNY-Stony Brook

Using these mobility report cards, we document four results.

1. Access. Access to colleges varies substantially across the income distribution, for example as shown between Columbia and SUNY-Stony Brook in the figure above. At “Ivy-Plus” colleges (Ivy League colleges, U. Chicago, Stanford, MIT, and Duke), more students come from families in the top 1% of the income distribution than the bottom half of the income distribution. Despite the generous financial aid offered by these institutions, students from the lowest-income families are particularly under-represented, even relative to middle-income students. Children with parents in the top 1% are 77 times more likely to attend an Ivy-Plus college than children with parents in the bottom 20%. More broadly, looking across all colleges, the degree of income segregation is comparable to income segregation across neighborhoods in the average American city. These findings challenge the perception that colleges foster interaction between children from diverse socioeconomic backgrounds.

Note: Bars show estimates of the fraction of parents in each quintile of the income distribution. Lines show estimates of the fraction of students from each of those quintiles who reach the top quintile as adults.
2. Outcomes.

At any given college, students from low- and high-income families have very similar earnings outcomes. For example, about 60% of students at Columbia reach the top fifth from both low and high income families. In this sense, colleges successfully “level the playing field” across enrolled students with different socioeconomic backgrounds. This finding suggests that students from low-income families who are admitted to selective colleges are not over-placed, since they do nearly as well as students from more affluent families. This result also suggests that colleges do not bear large costs in terms of student outcomes for any affirmative action that they grant students from low-income families in the admissions process.

3. Mobility Rates.

We characterize differences in rates of upward mobility between colleges by defining a college’s upward mobility rate as the fraction of its students who come from a family in the bottom fifth of the income distribution and end up in the top fifth. Each college’s mobility rate is the product of access, the fraction of its students who come from families in the bottom fifth, and its success rate, the fraction of such students who reach the top fifth. Mobility rates vary substantially across colleges because there are large differences in access across colleges with similar success rates. Ivy-Plus colleges have the highest success rates, with almost 60% of students from the bottom fifth reaching the top fifth. But certain less selective universities have comparable success rates while offering much higher levels of access to low-income families. For example, 51% of students from the bottom fifth reach the top fifth at SUNY–Stony Brook. Because 16% of students at Stony Brook are from the bottom fifth compared with 4% at the Ivy-Plus colleges, Stony Brook has a bottom-to-top-fifth mobility rate of 8.4%, substantially higher than the 2.2% rate on average at Ivy-Plus colleges.

The colleges that have the highest upward mobility rates, listed in the table below, are typically mid-tier public schools that have many low-income students and very good outcomes.

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

Note: Table lists highest-mobility-rate colleges with more than 300 students per cohort.
The differences in mobility rates across colleges are not driven by differences in the distribution of college majors or other institutional characteristics. The estimates are similar when we measure children's income at the household instead of individual level or adjust for differences in local costs of living.

If we measure “success” in earnings as reaching the top 1% of the income distribution instead of the top 20%, we find very different patterns. The colleges that channel the most children from low-or middle-income families to the top 1% are almost exclusively highly selective institutions, such as UC-Berkeley and the Ivy-Plus colleges, where 13% of students from the bottom fifth reach the top 1%. No college in the U.S. currently offers a high rate of upper-tail (top 1%) success while providing very high levels of access to low-income students.


Finally, we examine how access and mobility rates have changed since 2000, when our data begin. Despite substantial tuition reductions and other outreach policies, the fraction of students from low-income families at the Ivy-Plus colleges increased very little across a range of income percentiles (e.g., below the 20th, 40th, or 60th percentile). This is illustrated by the trend in the fraction of students from the bottom quintile at Harvard in the figure below.

This result does not imply that the increases in financial aid had no effect on access; absent these changes, the fraction of low-income students might have fallen, especially given that real incomes of low-income families fell due to widening inequality during the 2000s.

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

The increase in our percentile-based measures of access at elite private colleges is smaller than suggested by the increase in the fraction of students receiving federal Pell grants—a widely-used proxy for low-income access—because the Pell eligibility threshold rose in the 2000s and the real income.

Meanwhile, access at institutions with the highest mobility rates (e.g., SUNY-Stony Brook and Glendale Community College in the figure above) fell sharply over the 2000s, perhaps because...
REFERENCES

Worth Publishers, Chapter 11


Chetty, Raj, John Friedman, Emmanuel Saez, Nicholas Turner, Danny Yagan. “Mobility Report Cards: The Role of Colleges in Intergenerational Mobility” Working paper 2017.(web)


