

# Returns to Education for American Indian and Alaskan Native Students

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# Introduction

- *Returns to education*: benefit an individual receives from investment in higher education
  - Earnings
  - Employment
  - Labor Force Participation
- Ask: If/how returns to higher education differ for American Indians and Alaskan Natives (AIAN)?
- Find: While returns are universally positive (and large),
  - For LFP and employment, returns are larger for AIAN than white
    - AIAN-white employment gap *shrinks*, but does not disappear, with education
  - For earnings, returns are larger for white than AIAN
    - AIAN-white earnings gap *widens* with education

# Previous Literature

- Unique historical and socio-economic context
  - Educational system focused on assimilation, not AIAN culture and values
  - Treaties govern federal role, support for Tribal Colleges & Universities
- Earnings
  - Returns to education for AIAN workers are lower than white workers (Kimmel, 1997). Earnings gap is larger in rural areas and for males.
- Employment
  - AIAN workers have higher unemployment, which improves with more education (Austin, 2013). No comparison to returns for white workers.
- Occupation
  - AIAN workers are overrepresented in low-skill occupations and underrepresented in high-skill occupations (Wise, Liebler & Todd, 2017). Possible occupational sorting.

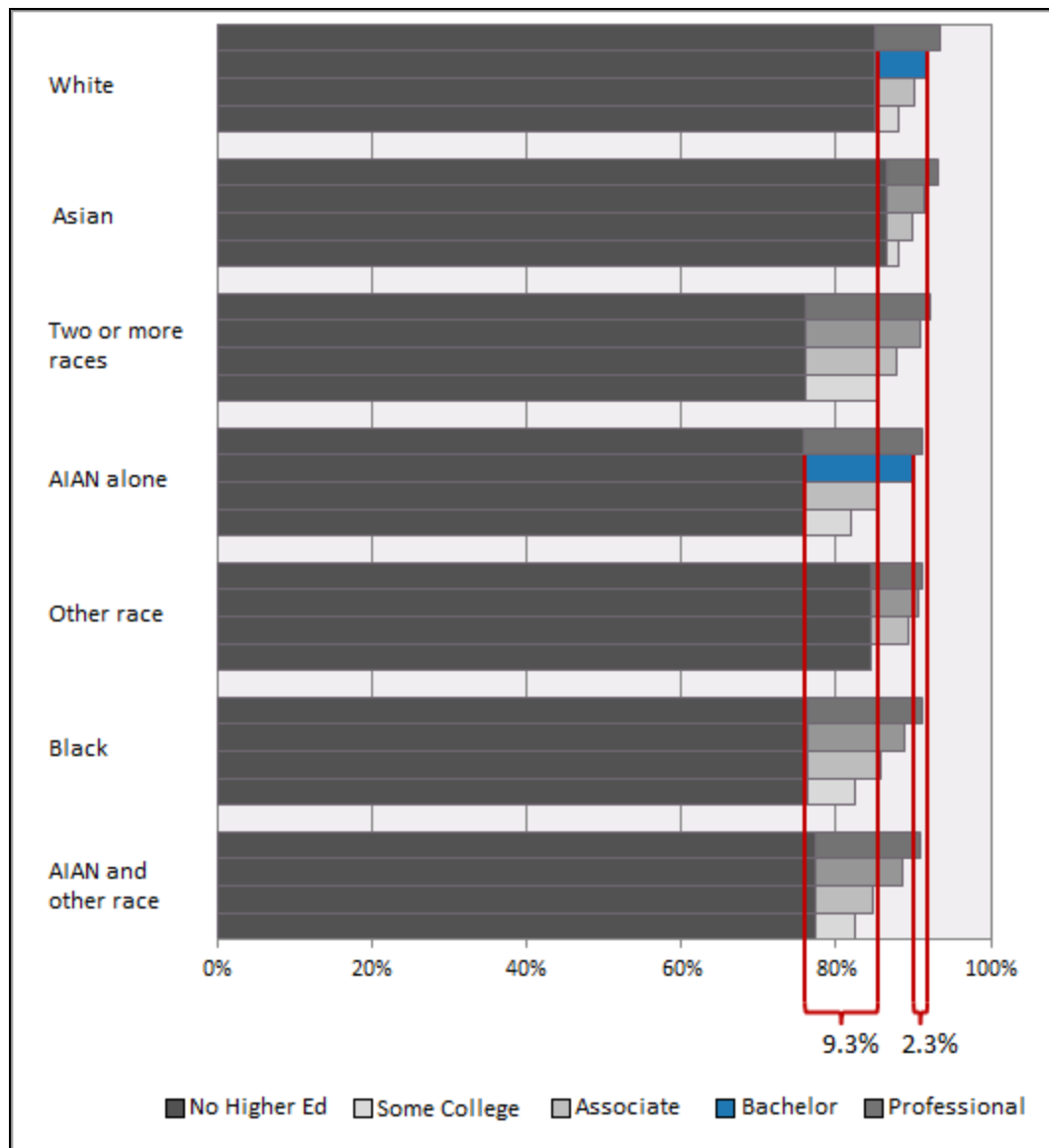
# Data

- American Community Survey Data (2009 – 2014)
  - Large-scale nationwide dataset (1% sample of the US Population)
  - Survey improvements since 2000 allow for greater detail in:
    - AIAN self-identification
    - Tribal selections
    - Homeland designations
    - Multiple-race self designation
  - Working age individuals, 25-55
  - Earnings analysis limited sample to individuals:
    - Employed full time
    - Earning at least \$10,000 annually
  - 7,420,632 total individuals; 118,361 AIAN individuals

# Empirical Strategy

- Mincer-style Wage Regression
  - Formal model of investment in human capital
  - Models natural logarithm of earnings as a function of:
    - Education
    - Potential labor market experience
- Include controls for:
  - State and year fixed effects
  - Observable demographic characteristics
  - Occupation
  - Field of study
- Analysis remains largely descriptive, unable to address selection bias

# Findings: Employment Status

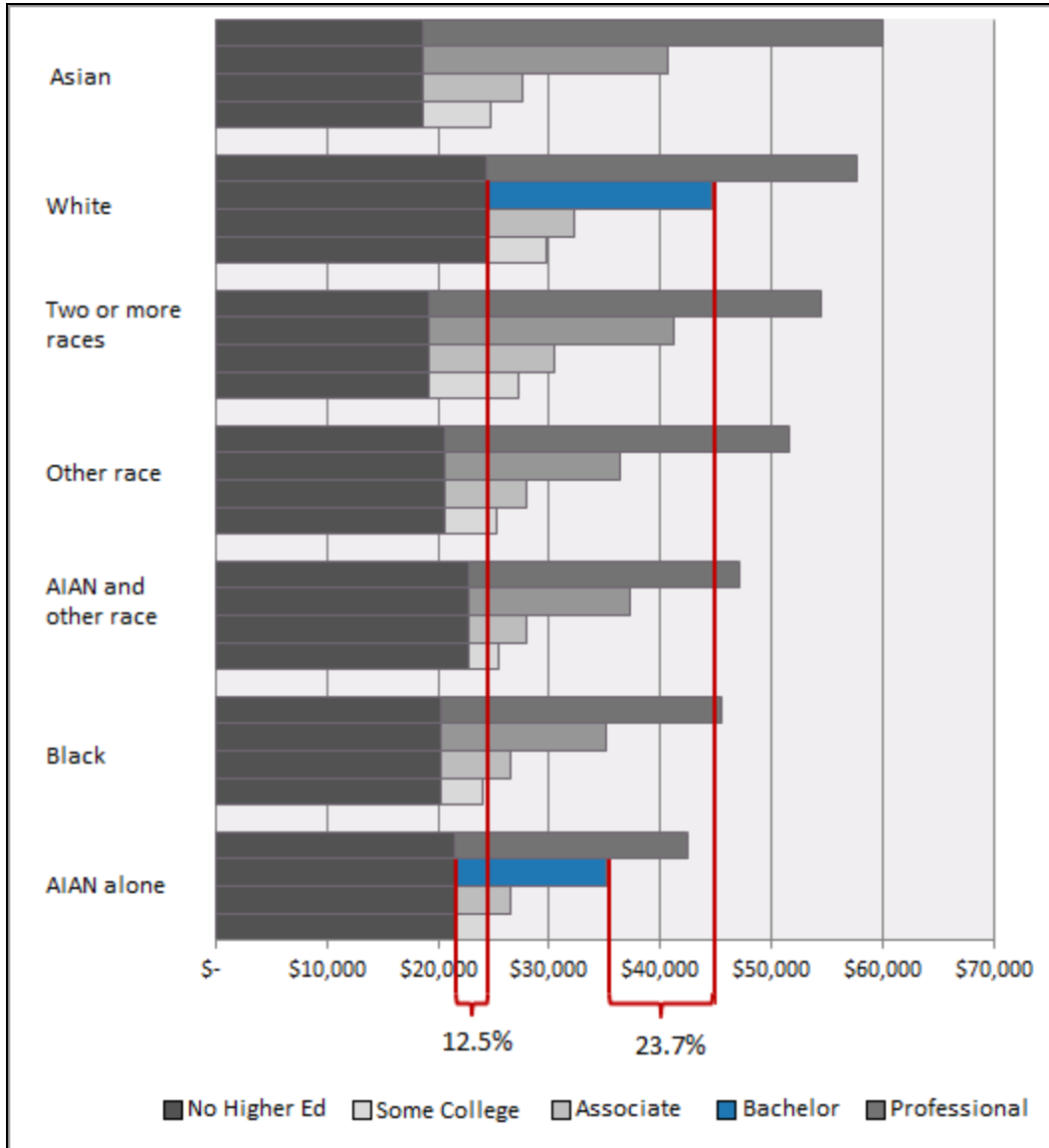


- On average, higher education increases employment for workers of all races
- Employment gap between AIAN and white workers closes with higher education:
  - No Higher Ed = -9.3 pp
  - Some College = -6.1 pp
  - Associate = -4.6 pp
  - Bachelors = -1.8 pp
  - Professional = -2.3 pp
- Similar findings for labor force participation

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*\*Excludes demographic controls*

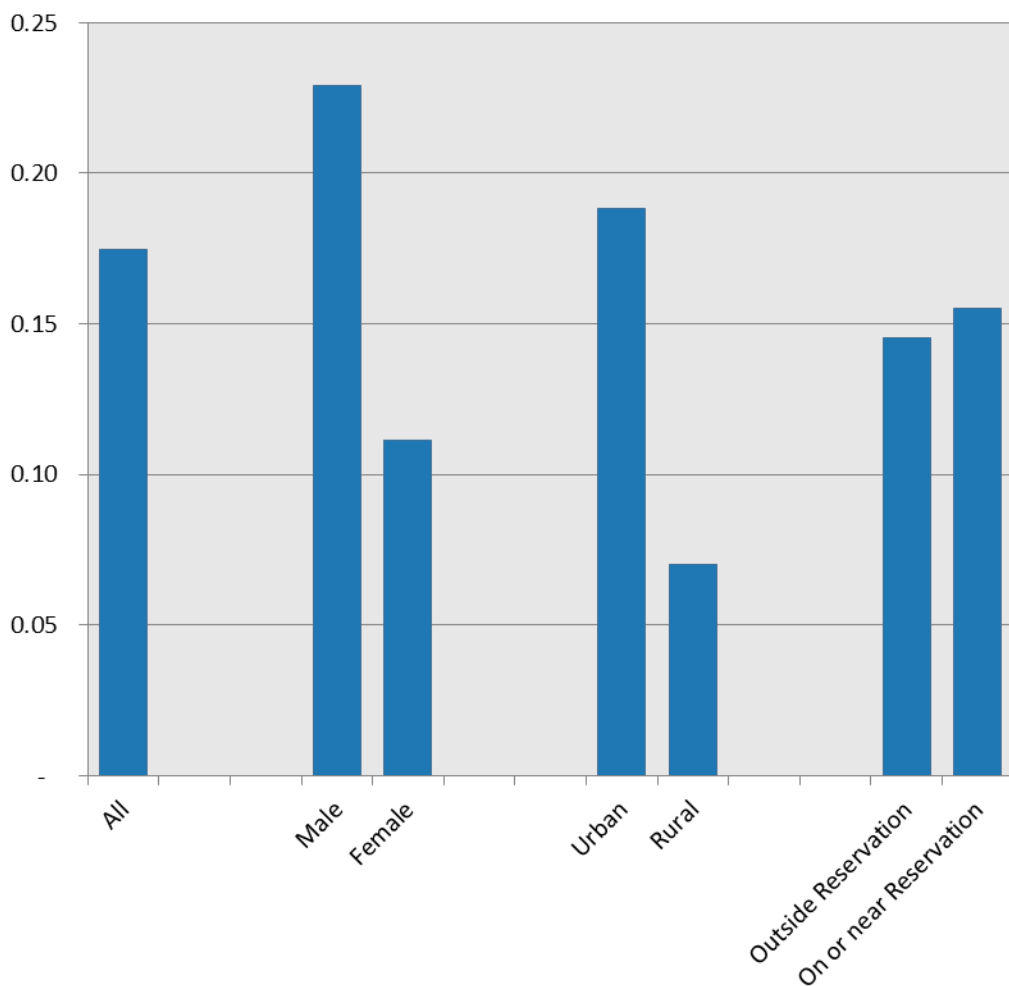
# Findings: Earnings



- On average, higher education increases earnings for workers of all races
- Magnitude of earnings increase varies between races
- Earnings gap between AIAN and white workers widens with higher education:
  - No Higher Ed = -12.5%
  - Some College = -19.4%
  - Associate = -19.4%
  - Bachelors = -23.7%
  - Professional = -30.5%

# Findings: Earnings by Subgroup

**AIAN-white Earnings Gap**  
Bachelor Degree Level



- Earnings gaps differ by gender and urban/rural status
  - Male = -22.9%
  - Female = -11.1%
  - Urban = -18.9%
  - Rural = -7.02%
- Earnings gaps are similar on or outside of reservations
  - Outside = -14.5%
  - On/near = -15.5%
- Differential returns vary by Tribe, but samples sizes are small

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*\*Includes demographic controls*



# Findings: Summary

- Differential returns to a bachelors degree:
  - Significantly *larger* for AIAN workers in terms of employment, narrowing (but not eliminating) the AIAN-white employment gap
  - Significantly *smaller* for AIAN workers in terms of earnings, widening the AIAN-white earnings gap
- AIAN males and AIAN individuals working in urban areas appear to be particularly disadvantaged
- Controls for occupation and field of study do not drastically impact findings

# Policy Implications

- Policies that promote higher education increase earnings; do not close earnings gaps
  - Related but not identical goals: reduce poverty, reduce inequality
- Since AIAN experience smaller earnings gains, debt burden harder to pay down
  - Support policies that provide grants rather than loans
  - Consider policies that link loan forgiveness to work AIAN communities value
- Findings consistent with (but not conclusive of):
  - Different firm preferences, i.e. labor market discrimination
  - Pre-labor market discrimination, i.e. PK-12 disparities

# References

Austin, A. (2013). Native Americans and Jobs: The Challenge and the Promise. *EPI Briefing Paper #370*, Economic Policy Institute.

Kimmel, J. (1997). Rural Wages and Returns to Education: Differences Between Whites, Blacks and American Indians. *Economics of Education Review*, 16(1), 81-96.

Ruggles, S., Genadek, K., Goeken, R., Grover, J., & Sobek, M. *Integrated Public Use Microdata Series: Version 6.0* [dataset]. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2015.  
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Wise, J., Liebler, C., & Todd, R. (2017). Dissimilarity on the Career Path: The Occupational Structure of the American Indian/Alaskan Native Workforce. (*Working Paper No. 2017-01*). Center for Indian Country Development.

# Appendix – Empirical Strategy

Mincer-style regression analysis, OLS estimates of:

$$y_{itso} = \alpha + \beta_j Educ_{ij} + \gamma Exp_i + \delta_h Race_{ih} + \vartheta_j Educ_{ij} * Race_i + \theta_k X_{ik} + \rho_t + \tau_s + \varphi_o + \varepsilon_{itso}$$

Where:

- $y$  is a labor market outcome for person  $i$  in time  $t$  state  $s$  and occupation  $o$
- $Educ$  measures  $j$  categories of education in the form of indicator variables
- $Exp$  is a linear and a quadratic of potential experience
- $Race$  measures  $h$  racial groups in the form of indicator variables (white is omitted category)
- $\beta$  coefficient measures return to a degree for white workers
- $\vartheta$  coefficients measure marginal returns to education for each non-white group
- $X$  is a vector of  $k$  demographic controls
- $\rho$ ,  $\tau$  and  $\phi$  are time (year), state and occupation fixed effects

# Appendix – Control Variables

- Individual
  - Gender
  - Marital status
  - Has children
  - Number of children
  - Youngest child's age
  - Veteran Status
  - Occupation
  - Field of Study
- Household
  - Number of family members in household
  - Number of own children in household
- Geographic
  - State
  - Census Region
  - Urban/rural (Metropolitan status)
  - Homeland (PUMA is on a reservation)

Table 1. Cell Counts by Race and Education Level, Ages 25-55

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	<b>Total</b>	<b>No Higher Education</b>	<b>Some Collge</b>	<b>Associate's Degree</b>	<b>Bachelor's Degree</b>	<b>Advanced Degree</b>
White	4,961,715	1,615,445 33%	1,090,712 22%	493,511 10%	1,141,455 23%	620,592 13%
AIAN Alone	68,057	35,136 52%	18,692 27%	5,948 9%	5,768 8%	2,513 4%
AIAN and Other Race	50,304	19,222 38%	15,021 30%	5,035 10%	7,276 14%	3,750 7%
AIAN and Hispanic	22,438	11,794 53%	5,525 25%	1,650 7%	2,273 10%	1,196 5%
Black	787,391	361,252 46%	207,215 26%	64,682 8%	100,682 13%	53,560 7%
Asian or Pacific Islander	413,773	95,577 23%	54,945 13%	29,689 7%	131,965 32%	101,597 25%
Hispanic	1,039,902	616,193 59%	195,500 19%	65,061 6%	111,482 11%	51,666 5%
Other race, non-white or AIAN	12,300	4,709 38%	2,352 19%	1,008 8%	2,539 21%	1,692 14%
Two or more races, non-AIAN	64,752	17,512 27%	15,806 24%	6,054 9%	16,036 25%	9,344 14%
Total	7,420,632	2,776,840 37%	1,605,768 22%	672,638 9%	1,519,476 20%	845,910 11%

Table 2. Summary Statistics Ages 25-55

	(1)	(2)
	<b>Total</b>	<b>AIAN</b>
Log Earnings	10.39 (1.077)	10.02 (1.183)
Employment	0.75 (0.436)	0.59 (0.492)
Labor Force Participation	0.81 (0.395)	0.69 (0.463)
AIAN Alone	0.01 (0.0953)	0.57 (0.494)
AIAN and Other Race	0.01 (0.0821)	0.43 (0.494)
Black	0.11 (0.308)	0 (0)
Asian or Pacific Islander	0.06 (0.229)	0 (0)
Other race, non-white or AIAN	0 (0.0407)	0 (0)
Two or more races, non-AIAN	0.01 (0.093)	0 (0)
Some College	0.22 (0.412)	0.28 (0.451)
Associates Degree	0.09 (0.287)	0.09 (0.29)
Bachelors Degree	0.2 (0.404)	0.11 (0.313)
Professional Degree	0.11 (0.318)	0.05 (0.224)
Potential Experience	21.4 (9.646)	21.81 (9.424)
Female	0.51 (0.5)	0.51 (0.5)

Table 2. Summary Statistics Ages 25-55, Continued

	(1)	(2)
	<b>Total</b>	<b>AIAN</b>
Midwest Region	0.22 (0.411)	0.17 (0.376)
South Region	0.37 (0.483)	0.33 (0.468)
West Region	0.24 (0.424)	0.43 (0.495)
Married	0.6 (0.49)	0.45 (0.498)
Household Size	2.98 (1.661)	3.01 (1.947)
Number of Children	1.02 (1.217)	0.98 (1.327)
Has Children	0.48 (0.5)	0.53 (0.499)
Has Children, youngest age 0 to 5	0.18 (0.384)	0.16 (0.363)
Has Children, youngest age 6 to 10	0.11 (0.317)	0.1 (0.304)
Has Children, youngest age 11 to 15	0.1 (0.306)	0.09 (0.287)
Has Children, youngest age 16 to 18	0.05 (0.224)	0.05 (0.212)
Has Children, youngest age 19+	0.07 (0.254)	0.07 (0.257)
Veteran Status	0.07 (0.251)	0.09 (0.286)
Rural	0.14 (0.35)	0.3 (0.459)
Puma includes reservation	1.17 (0.373)	1.55 (0.497)
Observations	7,420,632	118,361

Table 3A. Earnings

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	<b>Race</b>	<b>Race and Educ</b>	<b>Race, Educ and Race * Educ</b>	<b>with Demographic Controls</b>	<b>with Occupation</b>	<b>with Field of Study</b>
AIAN Alone	-0.282*** (-57.89)	-0.180*** (-39.61)	-0.125*** (-16.39)	-0.0657*** (-8.70)	-0.0418*** (-5.74)	-0.0698*** (-9.27)
AIAN and Other Race	-0.187*** (-34.61)	-0.138*** (-27.68)	-0.0698*** (-7.63)	-0.0490*** (-5.48)	-0.0426*** (-5.15)	-0.0508*** (-5.69)
Black	-0.288*** (-224.52)	-0.209*** (-181.02)	-0.187*** (-95.30)	-0.141*** (-72.68)	-0.0801*** (-43.42)	-0.143*** (-73.72)
Asian or Pacific Islander	-0.0215*** (-11.23)	-0.104*** (-63.15)	-0.268*** (-78.81)	-0.250*** (-72.67)	-0.174*** (-53.60)	-0.252*** (-73.28)
Other race, non-white or AIAN	-0.220*** (-22.28)	-0.164*** (-18.58)	-0.167*** (-11.79)	-0.159*** (-10.93)	-0.0906*** (-6.75)	-0.159*** (-10.96)
Two or more races, non-AIAN	-0.0941*** (-21.79)	-0.0693*** (-18.17)	-0.236*** (-11.85)	-0.238*** (-11.55)	-0.179*** (-9.00)	-0.238*** (-11.59)
Some college		0.199*** (209.73)	0.200*** (189.80)	0.209*** (206.47)	0.128*** (131.23)	0.207*** (204.82)
Associates degree		0.282*** (232.89)	0.280*** (210.94)	0.304*** (237.53)	0.171*** (136.62)	0.301*** (234.99)
Bachelors degree		0.605*** (596.88)	0.605*** (546.19)	0.605*** (560.84)	0.410*** (353.94)	0.529*** (118.03)
Advanced degree		0.880*** (719.55)	0.862*** (641.65)	0.858*** (654.08)	0.635*** (435.93)	0.799*** (177.09)
AIAN Alone * Bachelors degree			-0.112*** (-8.13)	-0.109*** (-8.04)	-0.0917*** (-7.27)	-0.0911*** (-6.78)
AIAN and other Race * Bachelors degree			-0.109*** (-7.41)	-0.104*** (-7.31)	-0.0668*** (-5.09)	-0.0929*** (-6.64)
Black * Bachelors degree			-0.0530*** (-16.47)	-0.0495*** (-15.60)	-0.0578*** (-19.58)	-0.0541*** (-17.12)
Asian * Bachelors degree			0.177*** (40.47)	0.168*** (38.60)	0.0699*** (17.31)	0.111*** (25.63)
Other race, non-white or AIAN * Bachelors degree			-0.0381 (-1.65)	-0.0332 (-1.44)	-0.0750*** (-3.56)	-0.0551* (-2.40)
Two or more races, non-AIAN * Bachelors degree			0.159*** (7.52)	0.175*** (8.05)	0.119*** (5.68)	0.163*** (7.53)
State Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Demographic Controls	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Occupation	No	No	No	No	Yes	No
College Major	No	No	No	No	No	Yes
Observations	4,336,350	4,336,350	4,336,350	4,336,350	4,336,350	4,336,350

Note: The reported coefficients are the estimated percentage change in wages associated with a discrete change in the independent variable, calculated at the mean of the sample. Robust standard errors are reported in the parenthesis.  
\*p<.10; \*\*p<.05; \*\*\*p<.01



Table 3B. Earnings by Demographic

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
	All	Male	Female	Urban	Rural	Outside Reservation	On or near Reservation
AIAN Alone	-0.0657*** (-8.70)	-0.112*** (-11.41)	0.00381 (0.33)	-0.0675*** (-7.10)	-0.109*** (-9.00)	-0.0600*** (-4.36)	-0.111*** (-12.24)
AIAN and Other Race	-0.0490*** (-5.48)	-0.0820*** (-7.28)	0.00181 (0.12)	-0.0457*** (-4.51)	-0.0760*** (-4.15)	-0.0533*** (-4.77)	-0.0673*** (-4.54)
Black	-0.141*** (-72.68)	-0.188*** (-69.82)	-0.0742*** (-27.24)	-0.135*** (-66.08)	-0.171*** (-27.94)	-0.136*** (-66.29)	-0.172*** (-29.35)
Asian or Pacific Islander	-0.250*** (-72.67)	-0.305*** (-63.46)	-0.166*** (-34.38)	-0.248*** (-70.67)	-0.142*** (-8.05)	-0.266*** (-71.56)	-0.161*** (-17.74)
Other race, non-white or AIAN	-0.159*** (-10.93)	-0.211*** (-11.47)	-0.0705** (-3.03)	-0.156*** (-10.45)	-0.108 (-1.59)	-0.162*** (-10.60)	-0.0947* (-2.09)
Two or more races, non-AIAN	-0.238*** (-11.55)	-0.309*** (-12.84)	-0.101** (-2.75)	-0.242*** (-11.36)	-0.0570 (-1.11)	-0.260*** (-11.66)	-0.154** (-2.90)
Some college	0.209*** (206.47)	0.212*** (157.09)	0.200*** (133.32)	0.221*** (201.05)	0.136*** (54.56)	0.217*** (195.76)	0.166*** (67.63)
Associates degree	0.304*** (237.53)	0.284*** (157.68)	0.326*** (179.91)	0.313*** (223.68)	0.258*** (83.27)	0.309*** (219.97)	0.277*** (89.67)
Bachelors degree	0.605*** (560.84)	0.602*** (410.81)	0.597*** (379.83)	0.622*** (537.86)	0.463*** (156.15)	0.620*** (527.95)	0.515*** (187.15)
Advanced degree	0.858*** (654.08)	0.866*** (457.08)	0.837*** (468.22)	0.874*** (627.40)	0.717*** (184.06)	0.874*** (617.80)	0.750*** (212.83)
AIAN Alone * Bachelors degree	-0.109*** (-8.04)	-0.117*** (-5.73)	-0.115*** (-6.30)	-0.121*** (-7.41)	0.0388 (1.62)	-0.0852*** (-3.74)	-0.0443** (-2.64)
AIAN and other Race * Bachelors degree	-0.104*** (-7.31)	-0.0885*** (-4.30)	-0.129*** (-6.37)	-0.108*** (-6.98)	-0.0671 (-1.83)	-0.0963*** (-5.58)	-0.0698** (-2.80)
Black * Bachelors degree	-0.0495*** (-15.60)	-0.0926*** (-18.67)	-0.0384*** (-9.40)	-0.0618*** (-18.76)	-0.00538 (-0.42)	-0.0613*** (-18.33)	0.0142 (1.38)
Asian * Bachelors degree	0.168*** (38.60)	0.182*** (29.61)	0.139*** (22.78)	0.159*** (35.80)	0.0323 (1.23)	0.181*** (38.85)	0.0528*** (4.25)
Other race, non-white or AIAN * Bachelors degree	-0.0332 (-1.44)	-0.0298 (-0.93)	-0.0658* (-1.98)	-0.0448 (-1.89)	-0.00921 (-0.10)	-0.0402 (-1.67)	-0.0508 (-0.64)
Two or more races, non-AIAN * Bachelors degree	0.175*** (8.05)	0.207*** (7.93)	0.0802* (2.12)	0.173*** (7.73)	0.0152 (0.25)	0.197*** (8.36)	0.0966 (1.74)
State Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Demographic Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Occupation	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
College Major	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
Observations	4,336,350	2,419,430	1,916,920	3,761,113	575,237	3,644,473	691,877

Note: The reported coefficients are the estimated percentage change in wages associated with a discrete change in the independent variable, calculated at the mean of the sample. Robust standard errors are reported in the parenthesis.

\*p<.10; \*\*p<.05; \*\*\*p<.01

Table 3C. Earnings by Year

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
AIAN Alone	-0.0624** (-3.15)	-0.0771*** (-4.28)	-0.0873*** (-5.00)	-0.0485* (-2.56)	-0.0482* (-2.46)	-0.0719*** (-4.31)
AIAN and Other Race	-0.0622*** (-3.34)	-0.0660** (-3.17)	-0.0611** (-2.84)	-0.0637** (-2.87)	-0.0285 (-1.07)	-0.0130 (-0.61)
Black	-0.146*** (-33.22)	-0.142*** (-31.64)	-0.136*** (-28.08)	-0.134*** (-28.21)	-0.145*** (-29.08)	-0.142*** (-28.48)
Asian or Pacific Islander	-0.247*** (-30.20)	-0.254*** (-31.91)	-0.261*** (-30.49)	-0.254*** (-30.36)	-0.241*** (-27.44)	-0.245*** (-28.44)
Other race, non-white or AIAN	-0.188*** (-5.72)	-0.116*** (-3.50)	-0.182*** (-4.38)	-0.136*** (-3.62)	-0.155*** (-4.92)	-0.173*** (-4.51)
Two or more races, non-AIAN	-0.182 (-1.86)	-0.230*** (-6.14)	-0.259*** (-5.50)	-0.345*** (-8.91)	-0.207*** (-5.09)	-0.200*** (-3.84)
Some college	0.211*** (92.06)	0.210*** (90.62)	0.211*** (80.93)	0.210*** (82.83)	0.203*** (79.41)	0.209*** (81.27)
Associates degree	0.308*** (105.92)	0.310*** (105.22)	0.306*** (91.41)	0.305*** (96.19)	0.295*** (92.30)	0.300*** (93.34)
Bachelors degree	0.601*** (244.50)	0.601*** (243.24)	0.603*** (214.56)	0.607*** (226.13)	0.608*** (224.51)	0.611*** (224.72)
Advanced degree	0.856*** (283.17)	0.853*** (281.26)	0.857*** (250.04)	0.868*** (267.56)	0.859*** (262.77)	0.857*** (261.92)
AIAN Alone * Bachelors degree	-0.0800* (-2.28)	-0.0789* (-2.45)	-0.0424 (-1.32)	-0.131*** (-3.80)	-0.160*** (-4.78)	-0.161*** (-5.12)
AIAN and other Race * Bachelors degree	-0.0517 (-1.52)	-0.113*** (-3.30)	-0.0992** (-2.80)	-0.0884** (-2.63)	-0.141*** (-3.79)	-0.125*** (-3.65)
Black * Bachelors degree	-0.0502*** (-6.90)	-0.0333*** (-4.59)	-0.0470*** (-5.75)	-0.0555*** (-7.02)	-0.0519*** (-6.49)	-0.0581*** (-7.26)
Asian * Bachelors degree	0.136*** (13.14)	0.151*** (14.87)	0.161*** (14.43)	0.189*** (17.67)	0.174*** (15.78)	0.194*** (18.17)
Other race, non-white or AIAN * Bachelors degree	-0.0483 (-0.93)	-0.0823 (-1.61)	-0.0324 (-0.45)	-0.00170 (-0.03)	-0.0509 (-0.99)	0.00848 (0.15)
Two or more races, non-AIAN * Bachelors degree	0.103 (1.03)	0.134** (3.25)	0.217*** (4.27)	0.297*** (7.07)	0.140** (3.20)	0.150** (2.76)
State Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Demographic Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Occupation	No	No	No	No	No	No
College Major	No	No	No	No	No	No
Observations	743,787	728,835	701,965	710,533	725,277	725,953

Note: The reported coefficients are the estimated percentage change in wages associated with a discrete change in the independent variable, calculated at the mean of the sample. Robust standard errors are reported in the parenthesis.

\*p<.10; \*\*p<.05; \*\*\*p<.01

Table 3D. Earnings by High School Graduation Year Cohorts

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	1970 to 1979	1980 to 1989	1990 to 1999	2000 to 2009
AIAN Alone	-0.102*** (-5.71)	-0.0812*** (-6.79)	-0.0358* (-2.53)	-0.0439* (-2.27)
AIAN and Other Race	-0.0573** (-3.27)	-0.0697*** (-4.73)	-0.0307 (-1.71)	-0.0344 (-1.55)
Black	-0.186*** (-45.56)	-0.157*** (-48.97)	-0.120*** (-32.51)	-0.0922*** (-17.89)
Asian or Pacific Islander	-0.305*** (-42.66)	-0.297*** (-54.08)	-0.187*** (-27.94)	-0.0721*** (-7.52)
Other race, non-white or AIAN	-0.106** (-2.69)	-0.206*** (-8.82)	-0.141*** (-5.76)	-0.0687 (-1.83)
Two or more races, non-AIAN	-0.214*** (-5.45)	-0.274*** (-7.36)	-0.149*** (-4.06)	-0.135** (-2.71)
Some college	0.186*** (84.10)	0.208*** (117.88)	0.206*** (106.23)	0.135*** (53.16)
Associates degree	0.252*** (86.45)	0.287*** (128.11)	0.303*** (124.68)	0.254*** (78.90)
Bachelors degree	0.513*** (177.29)	0.600*** (290.96)	0.602*** (280.85)	0.510*** (168.95)
Advanced degree	0.730*** (186.03)	0.848*** (322.29)	0.849*** (315.89)	0.729*** (170.99)
AIAN Alone * Bachelors degree	-0.0895** (-2.82)	-0.0531* (-2.15)	-0.196*** (-8.53)	-0.0717* (-2.24)
AIAN and other Race * Bachelors degree	-0.0727* (-2.11)	-0.134*** (-5.59)	-0.0987*** (-3.59)	-0.0822** (-2.63)
Black * Bachelors degree	-0.0284*** (-3.65)	-0.0591*** (-10.67)	-0.0719*** (-12.69)	-0.0199** (-2.63)
Asian * Bachelors degree	0.0331** (3.11)	0.110*** (14.61)	0.176*** (22.30)	0.139*** (12.56)
Other race, non-white or AIAN * Bachelors degree	-0.156* (-2.23)	-0.140** (-3.07)	-0.00625 (-0.17)	0.0268 (0.56)
Two or more races, non-AIAN * Bachelors degree	0.0806 (1.77)	0.187*** (4.56)	0.110** (2.88)	0.105* (2.07)
State Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Demographic Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Occupation	No	No	No	No
College Major	No	No	No	No
Observations	894,215	1,512,293	1,273,428	656,414

Note: The reported coefficients are the estimated percentage change in wages associated with a discrete change in the independent variable, calculated at the mean of the sample. Robust standard errors are reported in the parenthesis.

\*p<.10; \*\*p<.05; \*\*\*p<.01