

WHAT YOU MAKE DEPENDS ON WHERE YOU LIVE: College Earnings Across States and Metropolitan Areas

By John V. Winters, Ph.D.



MAY 2020

Foreword and Executive Summary by
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Contents

| | |
|--|-----|
| Foreword | 4 |
| Executive Summary | 8 |
| Section I: Introduction | 18 |
| Section II: Methods | 20 |
| Section III: Findings | 21 |
| Section IV: Implications | 40 |
| Section V: State Profiles | 43 |
| Alabama..... | 44 |
| Alaska..... | 46 |
| Arizona..... | 47 |
| Arkansas..... | 50 |
| California..... | 52 |
| Colorado..... | 55 |
| Connecticut..... | 58 |
| Delaware..... | 61 |
| District of Columbia..... | 62 |
| Florida..... | 63 |
| Georgia..... | 66 |
| Hawaii..... | 69 |
| Idaho..... | 71 |
| Illinois..... | 72 |
| Indiana..... | 74 |
| Iowa..... | 76 |
| Kansas..... | 77 |
| Kentucky..... | 78 |
| Louisiana..... | 80 |
| Maine..... | 83 |
| Maryland..... | 84 |
| Massachusetts..... | 86 |
| Michigan..... | 89 |
| Minnesota..... | 92 |
| Mississippi..... | 93 |
| Missouri..... | 95 |
| Montana..... | 98 |
| Nebraska..... | 99 |
| Nevada..... | 100 |
| New Hampshire..... | 102 |
| New Jersey..... | 103 |
| New Mexico..... | 104 |
| New York..... | 106 |
| North Carolina..... | 109 |
| North Dakota..... | 112 |
| Ohio..... | 113 |
| Oklahoma..... | 116 |
| Oregon..... | 119 |
| Pennsylvania..... | 121 |
| Rhode Island..... | 124 |
| South Carolina..... | 125 |
| South Dakota..... | 128 |
| Tennessee..... | 129 |
| Texas..... | 132 |
| Utah..... | 135 |
| Vermont..... | 137 |
| Virginia..... | 138 |
| Washington..... | 141 |
| West Virginia..... | 144 |
| Wisconsin..... | 145 |
| Wyoming..... | 147 |
| Endnotes | 148 |
| Appendix A: Additional Tables | 151 |
| Appendix B: College Earnings Premiums by Race | 165 |
| Appendix C: Geographical Areas in the ACS | 172 |

Foreword

By Amber M. Northern and Michael J. Petrilli

'It feels like a war zone': As more of them die, grocery workers increasingly fear showing up at work.

So read the heart-wrenching March 16th headline in the *Washington Post's* business section. The story told of fifty-one-year old Doug Preszler, a cashier at a regional supermarket in eastern Iowa who was struggling to overcome his fear of going to work. "I've been way more anxious this week," he said. "They've started telling people, 'Go to the grocery store as little as possible.' And yet I'm going there every day."

Surreal. That's the word [all of us are using](#) to describe the times we find ourselves in. Few could have imagined that a plague would envelop the globe and shut down life as we know it. The COVID-19 crisis has cruelly reminded us not only of the fragility of human life but also of the critical role of frontline service providers—not only healthcare workers and first responders—in a pandemic.

It has also reminded us of the chasms in our economy and society, many of them caused by fault lines in our educational attainment. That's not just because the white-collar jobs that come with obtaining a college degree tend to pay more and are more secure when the economy tanks but also because those jobs can be accomplished more easily from the safety of home. Yet "remote work" is not an option for grocery store workers like Mr. Preszler and the thousands of other service-sector employees who risk getting sick every day for a modest paycheck.

The current crisis thus yields another cautionary tale about the perils of entering the workforce with nothing but a high school diploma. But does it also mean that everyone needs a four-year college degree? That those of us involved in K-12 education should tell all our young charges they would be wise to go "to and through" college? And that we should build our high schools around that singular mission?

The answer, of course, is no. In the real world, young people need not make a binary choice between four-year college or no college. In between are multiple options, including all manner of industry credentials, certificates, and two-year degrees, any of which may provide buffering—economic and otherwise—against hardship during troubled times and open various career doors during better times.

Indeed, for several years now, we at the Thomas B. Fordham Institute have pushed back against the "college for all" gospel—at least when that doctrine fixates on bachelor's degrees. It started when one of us researched and edited the volume [Education for Upward Mobility](#) and encountered reams of evidence showing positive life outcomes—in the labor market and beyond—associated

with high-quality career and technical education (CTE) in high school, as well as industry credentials and two-year technical degrees thereafter. We added to this literature with our 2016 study [Career and Technical Education in High School: Does it Improve Student Outcomes?](#), which found that students with greater exposure to CTE were more likely to graduate from high school, enroll in a two-year college, be employed, and earn higher wages.

It's true that innumerable studies demonstrate a significant "college earnings premium" from four-year degrees. But it's also true that people tend to get paid more with an industry credential or two-year technical degree than with just a high school diploma, especially in certain fields. Also important is that not everyone *wants* to get a bachelor's degree or to work a white-collar office job. There's ample reason to tell young people who may be more interested in a trade or a technical career to go that route, rather than enroll in an academic degree program that is apt to yield frustration, debt, and regret.

It struck us that this would be even truer in places where the cost of living is low and the cost of college high. We surmised that workers in some parts of the country can do just about as well with industry credentials or two-year degrees as with bachelor's degrees. After all, [previous research](#) found that associate of science degrees in some medical and apprenticeship programs generate higher median earnings than do bachelor's degrees in liberal arts and humanities programs.

So we went looking for a study that computed the college earnings premium by state and across metro areas. We found bits and [pieces](#) but nothing comprehensive, so we decided to plunge in ourselves.

No one was better prepared to help us than John Winters, associate professor of economics at Iowa State University. Much of Dr. Winters's research pertains to regional and urban economics, with recent studies examining how college enrollment and choice of major impacts location decisions, as well as how earnings by college major affect migration rates. We were thrilled when he agreed to undertake the analysis we had in mind.

Winters used individual-level data from the American Community Survey (ACS), which includes annual income, employment, and demographic information for a representative sample of the United States population. His primary analysis focused on how college earnings premiums vary across states and metropolitan areas, as well as by metro size and degree of urbanization. We encourage you to dig in for the entire set of findings. See also the [profiles](#) and online [interactive figures](#) for average earnings by education level for your own state and its large metro areas.

Winters's primary finding is—as we knew—that bachelor's degree holders strongly outearn workers with just high school diplomas. That's true everywhere in the nation and is no surprise. What is more surprising is that in nearly every state, bachelor's degree holders strongly outearn workers with associate degrees, too: they make at least 25 percent more in all but three rural states—North Dakota, Alaska, and Vermont, all of whose economies tend to rely heavily on natural resources.

Yet Winters's analysis also reveals significant variation across the country. College earnings premiums are substantially greater in large cities and urbanized areas—as we hypothesized. For instance, among the largest metro areas (populations over 500,000), the three with the largest earnings premiums (for

a bachelor's versus associate degree) are the New York City metro area, southern Connecticut near New York City, and Brevard County, Florida, which is home to the Kennedy Space Center. The larger the metro area, the greater the premium to higher education. Bachelor's degree holders in greater New York City earn roughly 70 percent more than those with an associate degree (\$125,123 versus \$73,617).

Winters makes sense of this pattern as follows:

The results are consistent with rising concerns that workers with less education struggle to keep up with their more educated counterparts. Competition for housing and other services in big cities drives up prices and further threatens the economic security of the least educated. Although this report does not debate the merits of specific policy proposals, the large college earnings premiums in most large metro areas have clear implications for young people who want to live in those areas in the future: College education is, on average, a very good investment and perhaps necessary for a comfortable standard of living in many big cities. Young people who want to live in a big city should strongly consider going to college and completing at least a bachelor's degree.

For workers in small MSAs, a college education, on average, appears to be a good investment, but a four-year degree seems less of a necessity in small MSAs than very large ones. Individuals who are apprehensive about costly investments in higher education may find living in smaller MSAs (or rural areas) a better match with their skills.

We heartily agree. In fact, we shouldn't just ask high school students what they want to be when they grow up; we should also ask them *where they want to live*. In other words, teenagers should take geography into account when they make decisions about whether and what kind of higher education to pursue.

We're not the first to offer this advice. [Recent research](#) from the American Enterprise Institute finds that workers who never went to college earn less in denser areas after the cost of housing is accounted for. Richard Florida's [work on geographic inequality](#) reaches a similarly somber conclusion: "Once we factor in huge differences in housing costs between expensive cities and the rest, members of the working and service classes actually have little to gain financially from living in expensive cities, despite the fact that these places may offer slightly higher wages or more job opportunities."

That means if some young people are squeamish about the cost of a four-year college degree or, equally important, are unsure about pursuing a white-collar job, they may be better off in a smaller city or rural area—although there, too, it matters what particular skills and credentials they possess. Obviously, some fields are more lucrative than others. For example, [graduates with associate degrees](#) in electrical engineering have median annual earnings of about \$60,000 to \$80,000 a year, compared to those with bachelor's degrees in interior design, who earn a median salary of roughly \$40,000 to \$60,000. Associate degrees in [nursing and law enforcement](#) also generate good middle-class earnings.

The encouraging news is that many states are recognizing the importance of providing students with better information to plan their lives after high school. Several enterprising states are introducing [Right to Know](#) initiatives that provide high schoolers with information about that state's in-demand and/or

promising careers, including average wages and common degree requirements, as well as the average cost of college and student loan payments. [States are also coming together](#) to define what a high-quality nondegree credential looks like.

Also welcome is that there are [multiple cities across the nation](#) where individuals with an associate degree can afford to buy a median-priced home, taxes and all. Take Pittsburgh, where such individuals earn an average of \$57,081 (see Table ES-5) and homeowners need \$36,581 in salary to afford a median-priced home (\$152,000). Likewise, those with associate degrees in Oklahoma City, Cleveland, Louisville, Kansas City, and a number of other cities can afford to buy median-priced homes (that said, workers must have the [ability to move](#) to some of these places).

The coronavirus won't be with us forever. We will defeat it. Still, 2020 will long be remembered as the year when lives were upended—some tragically lost, some mercifully recovered, and some merely inconvenienced.

But let's also remember that those facing some of the greatest challenges amid the pandemic and economic downturn are the service sector, the non-college-educated workers in large metro areas who are on the wrong side of the largest college earnings premiums and who face exorbitant housing costs. They are the ones most likely to be out of work or working on the front lines at the risk of getting sick.

Many of our colleagues in the education-reform movement have internalized these realities, considering how many of us live in the coastal, “creative class” meccas ourselves, which also means we see the hardship faced by young people without four-year degrees up front and personal. So the “college for all” impulse is understandable. But let's not forget that in much of America, there are highways to middle-income lifestyles whose routes don't pass through leafy college campuses. Our high schools should take this fact into account and offer students quality pathways into apprenticeships and technical postsecondary programs, not just academic ones.

Yes, what you make depends on what you know and what credentials you carry. But let's not forget that it also depends on where you live.

Executive Summary

This study examines how the “college earnings premium” (CEP)—the difference in average earnings between workers with and without college education—varies across the United States. Specifically, it compares across cities, states, and rural areas the mean earnings of workers with bachelor’s degrees to those with associate degrees, with some college, and/or with high school diplomas. Iowa State University’s John Winters uses individual-level data for the years 2015 through 2017 from the American Community Survey (ACS), which includes annual income, employment, and demographic information for a representative sample of the United States population. He examines three key questions:

1. How do college earnings premiums vary across states and metropolitan areas?
2. How do earnings and college earnings premiums vary by size of metropolitan area and degree of urbanization?
3. How do college earnings premiums vary by race and ethnicity?

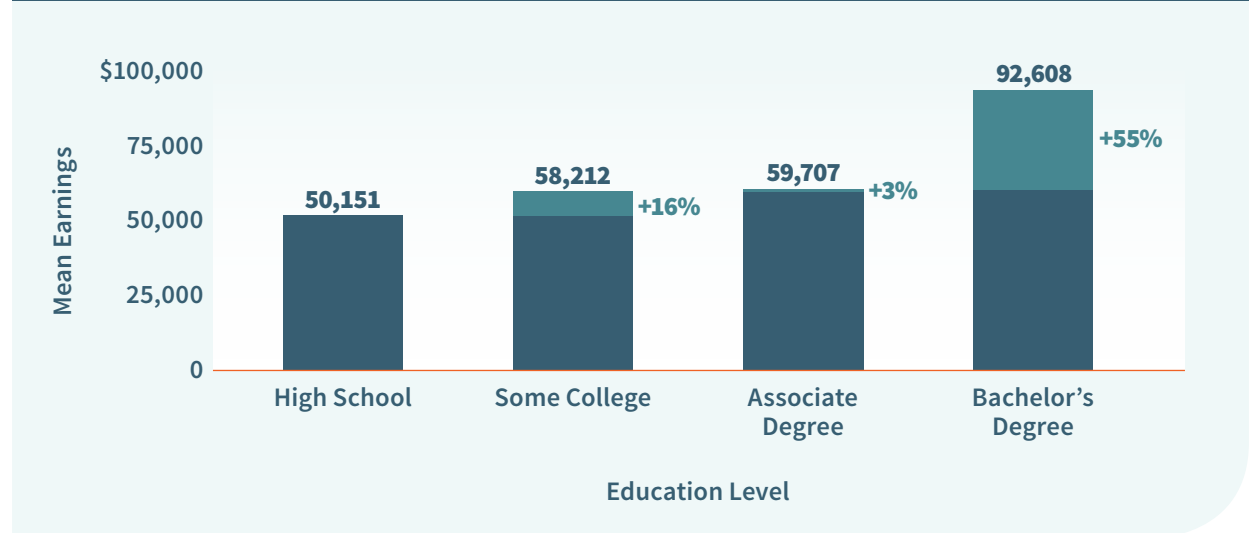
What makes this analysis different from previous studies is its emphasis on geographic location. Although individuals with more education typically have higher average earnings regardless of location, the magnitudes of these differences can vary substantially across geographic areas.

The report yields five key findings.

FINDING 1: Nationally, there are clear differences in earnings by education level, with bachelor's degree holders strongly outearning workers with less education.

High school graduates have national mean earnings of \$50,151, while those with some college average \$58,212, which is 16.1 percent higher (Figure ES-1). An associate degree increases mean earnings further to \$59,707, a 19.1 percent premium relative to high school graduates. The national mean for bachelor's degree graduates is \$92,608, an 84.7 percent premium relative to high school graduates.

Figure ES-1. Nationally, bachelor's degree holders strongly outearn workers with less education.



Note: Based on the author's calculations from the ACS. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the difference from the next-highest level of education in the figure.

FINDING 2: In every state, bachelor’s degree holders strongly outearn workers with associate degrees, with a more than 25 percent earnings advantage in all but three states: North Dakota, Alaska, and Vermont.

The top ten states with the biggest earnings premiums by percentage are the District of Columbia (where workers with bachelor’s degrees outearn those with just an associate degree by 78.6 percent), New York, Georgia, Connecticut, Virginia, New Jersey, North Carolina, Illinois, Colorado, and California (Table ES-1).

The bottom ten states (not shown) are North Dakota (where workers with bachelor’s degrees outearn those with just an associate degree by 14.8 percent), Alaska, Vermont, Wyoming, South Dakota, Montana, New Mexico, West Virginia, Oklahoma, and Mississippi—a group dominated by rural states with economies dependent on natural resources.

Table ES-1. In D.C. and New York, workers with bachelor’s degrees outearn those with associate degrees by more than 70 percent.

| STATE | Bachelor's Degree Mean Earnings | Associate Degree Mean Earnings | Percentage Earnings Difference |
|----------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| District of Columbia | \$114,706 | \$64,221 | 78.6% |
| New York | 110,867 | 64,806 | 71.1% |
| Georgia | 90,952 | 54,799 | 66.0% |
| Connecticut | 118,454 | 71,594 | 65.5% |
| Virginia | 98,225 | 59,643 | 64.7% |
| New Jersey | 119,789 | 72,908 | 64.3% |
| North Carolina | 83,363 | 52,325 | 59.3% |
| Illinois | 98,563 | 62,266 | 58.3% |
| Colorado | 92,777 | 59,923 | 54.8% |
| California | 108,932 | 70,376 | 54.8% |
| National | 92,608 | 59,707 | 55.1% |

Note: Based on the author’s calculations from the ACS. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S.

FINDING 3: The bachelor's degree (versus high school diploma) premium varies widely across states, from around 20 percent to more than 100 percent.

New York tops the list of states with the biggest earnings premium for bachelor's degrees relative to high school diplomas: a 103.3 percent earnings difference (Table ES-2). Georgia, California, the District of Columbia, New Jersey, Connecticut, Virginia, North Carolina, Illinois, and Texas round out the top ten. These states generally include some of the nation's most populous and prosperous metro areas, and the large college earnings premium in these areas is consistent with higher overall levels of inequality.

The bachelor's degree premium is lowest in Wyoming, with a difference of 21.3 percent (not shown). North Dakota, Alaska, South Dakota, Montana, West Virginia, Iowa, Mississippi, Vermont, and Hawaii round out the bottom ten. These states are mostly rural, have relatively small populations, and tend to have economies heavily driven by natural resources such as oil, gas, and coal, as well as agriculture.

Table ES-2. Workers with bachelor's degrees in New York and Georgia earn more than double what those with only high school diplomas earn.

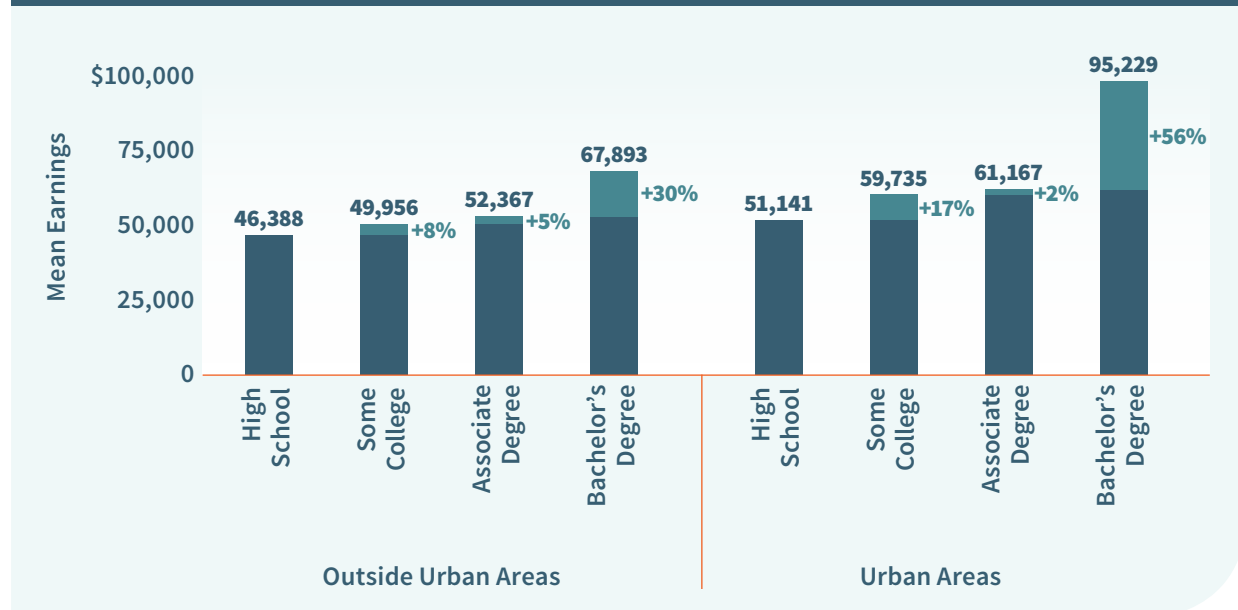
| STATE | Bachelor's Degree Mean Earnings | High School Diploma Mean Earnings | Percentage Earnings Difference |
|----------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| New York | \$110,867 | \$54,526 | 103.3% |
| Georgia | 90,952 | 45,247 | 101.0% |
| California | 108,932 | 55,158 | 97.5% |
| District of Columbia | 114,706 | 58,119 | 97.4% |
| New Jersey | 119,789 | 60,715 | 97.3% |
| Connecticut | 118,454 | 60,352 | 96.3% |
| Virginia | 98,225 | 50,581 | 94.2% |
| North Carolina | 83,363 | 43,924 | 89.8% |
| Illinois | 98,563 | 52,144 | 89.0% |
| Texas | 93,256 | 49,857 | 87.0% |
| National | 92,608 | 50,151 | 84.7% |

Note: Based on the author's calculations from the ACS. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S.

FINDING 4: College earnings premiums are substantially greater in larger cities and more urbanized areas.

The estimated return to higher education is lower in rural areas outside metropolitan statistical areas (MSAs) than in urban areas inside MSAs (Figure ES-2). Bachelor's degree holders in non-MSAs have mean earnings of \$67,893, a 46.4 percent premium compared to those with only high school diplomas and a 29.6 percent premium relative to workers with associate degrees. These bachelor's degree premiums are substantially lower than those for urban areas, which are 86.2 percent (compared to a high school diploma) and 55.7 percent (compared to an associate degree).

Figure ES-2. Workers at all education levels earn more in urban areas, but college earnings premiums are also considerably higher there.



Note: Based on the author's calculations from the ACS. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. "Urban areas" are those inside MSAs, while "outside urban areas" are external to MSAs. The percentage change in teal indicates the difference from the next-highest level of education in the figure.

We find a similar variation with the size of metro areas: the larger the metro area, the greater the premium to higher education. Table ES-3 shows ten large MSAs (those with population over 500,000), with the largest earnings premiums for a bachelor's degree relative to an associate degree. Bridgeport-Stamford-Norwalk, CT, comes in first, with a premium of 99.4 percent.

Table ES-5 at the end of this executive summary shows mean earnings and college earnings premiums for 104 large MSAs, ranked by the percentage difference in earnings between a bachelor's degree and associate degree. Modesto, California, has the smallest earnings premium at just 19.6 percent.

Table ES-3. Large urban areas with the greatest college earnings premiums for bachelor's degrees (versus associate degrees) include the southern parts of Connecticut near New York City, the New York City area, and Brevard County, Florida, home to the Kennedy Space Center.

| METROPOLITAN AREA | Bachelor's Degree Mean Earnings | Associate Degree Mean Earnings | Percentage Earnings Difference |
|--|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Bridgeport-Stamford-Norwalk, CT | \$166,463 | \$83,495 | 99.4% |
| Palm Bay–Melbourne–Titusville (Brevard County), FL | 82,657 | 48,630 | 70.0% |
| New York–Newark–Jersey City, NY-NJ-PA | 125,123 | 73,617 | 70.0% |
| Atlanta–Sandy Springs–Roswell, GA | 98,402 | 58,442 | 68.4% |
| Chattanooga, TN-GA | 84,163 | 51,160 | 64.5% |
| Charlotte-Concord-Gastonia, NC-SC | 94,265 | 57,470 | 64.0% |
| San Francisco–Oakland–Hayward, CA | 131,990 | 80,656 | 63.6% |
| Charleston–North Charleston, SC | 82,319 | 50,760 | 62.2% |
| Orlando-Kissimmee-Sanford, FL | 86,453 | 53,330 | 62.1% |
| Columbus, OH | 92,506 | 57,483 | 60.9% |
| National | 92,608 | 59,707 | 55.1% |

Note: Based on the author's calculations from the ACS. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. Large MSAs are restricted to those with year 2010 population greater than 500,000.

FINDING 5: The college earnings premium varies by race and ethnicity, with larger premiums for white and Asian workers than other groups.

Nationally, Asian and white workers earn more at every education level than Hispanic and black workers, but they also have greater college earnings premiums (Table ES-4). The bachelor's versus associate degree premium is greatest for Asian workers (61.0 percent), while white workers have the second-highest premium (55.9 percent). Hispanic workers have the lowest bachelor's versus associate degree premium (36.7 percent), and the premium for black workers (38.2 percent) is also below the national average of 55.1 percent. The full report includes similar data by race and ethnicity for those states and metro areas with sufficient sample sizes.

Table ES-4. College earnings premiums are generally higher for Asian and white workers than for black and Hispanic workers.

| Race/ Ethnicity | High School | Associate Degree | Bachelor's Degree | % Diff Associate- High School | % Diff Bachelor's- High School | % Diff Bachelor's- Associate |
|--------------------|----------------|---------------------|----------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Asian | \$47,544 | \$58,634 | \$94,420 | 23.3% | 98.6% | 61.0% |
| Black | 40,596 | 47,981 | 66,324 | 18.2% | 63.4% | 38.2% |
| Hispanic | 44,742 | 55,897 | 76,402 | 24.9% | 70.8% | 36.7% |
| White | 52,861 | 62,128 | 96,869 | 17.5% | 83.3% | 55.9% |
| National | 50,151 | 59,707 | 92,608 | 19.1% | 84.7% | 55.1% |

Note: Based on the author's calculations from the ACS. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S.

Winters concludes by recommending that young people take geography into account when they make decisions about whether and what kind of higher education to pursue. Some types of higher education may not be a good investment for those who expect to live and work outside of metropolitan areas. That said, other benefits to higher education, such as reduced unemployment and improved health, may increase the overall value of it everywhere.

Table ES-5. Mean earnings and college earnings premiums for 104 large MSAs, sorted by BD-AD difference

| CITY | High School | Associate Degree | Bachelor's Degree | % Diff AD-HS | % Diff BD-AD |
|--|-------------|------------------|-------------------|--------------|--------------|
| Bridgeport-Stamford-Norwalk, CT | 65,463 | 83,495 | 166,463 | 27.50% | 99.40% |
| New York-Newark-Jersey City, NY-NJ-PA | 61,084 | 73,617 | 125,123 | 20.50% | 70.00% |
| Palm Bay-Melbourne-Titusville, FL | 44,593 | 48,630 | 82,657 | 9.10% | 70.00% |
| Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Roswell, GA | 47,261 | 58,442 | 98,402 | 23.70% | 68.40% |
| Chattanooga, TN-GA | 46,052 | 51,160 | 84,163 | 11.10% | 64.50% |
| Charlotte-Concord-Gastonia, NC-SC | 47,335 | 57,470 | 94,265 | 21.40% | 64.00% |
| San Francisco-Oakland-Hayward, CA | 62,658 | 80,656 | 131,990 | 28.70% | 63.60% |
| Charleston-North Charleston, SC | 47,268 | 50,760 | 82,319 | 7.40% | 62.20% |
| Orlando-Kissimmee-Sanford, FL | 45,914 | 53,330 | 86,453 | 16.20% | 62.10% |
| Columbus, OH | 48,117 | 57,483 | 92,506 | 19.50% | 60.90% |
| Jacksonville, FL | 46,919 | 53,539 | 85,875 | 14.10% | 60.40% |
| Raleigh, NC | 49,533 | 58,664 | 93,998 | 18.40% | 60.20% |
| Detroit-Warren-Dearborn, MI | 50,605 | 60,892 | 96,452 | 20.30% | 58.40% |
| Chicago-Naperville-Elgin, IL-IN-WI | 54,967 | 65,995 | 104,318 | 20.10% | 58.10% |
| Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim, CA | 52,756 | 69,409 | 109,737 | 31.60% | 58.10% |
| Austin-Round Rock, TX | 53,022 | 61,025 | 96,185 | 15.10% | 57.60% |
| St. Louis, MO-IL | 48,855 | 57,809 | 91,063 | 18.30% | 57.50% |
| Boston-Cambridge-Newton, MA-NH | 61,395 | 72,579 | 114,266 | 18.20% | 57.40% |
| San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA | 60,676 | 89,871 | 141,276 | 48.10% | 57.20% |
| Denver-Aurora-Lakewood, CO | 56,722 | 64,408 | 101,112 | 13.50% | 57.00% |
| Birmingham-Hoover, AL | 48,554 | 54,833 | 85,871 | 12.90% | 56.60% |
| Portland-South Portland, ME | 48,548 | 54,498 | 85,333 | 12.30% | 56.60% |
| Greensboro-High Point, NC | 42,668 | 49,683 | 77,743 | 16.40% | 56.50% |
| Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV | 62,034 | 74,653 | 116,815 | 20.30% | 56.50% |
| Miami-Fort Lauderdale-West Palm Beach, FL | 46,637 | 59,885 | 93,054 | 28.40% | 55.40% |
| Houston-Woodlands-Sugar Land, TX | 52,212 | 69,481 | 107,888 | 33.10% | 55.30% |
| Cleveland-Elyria, OH | 48,707 | 55,387 | 85,953 | 13.70% | 55.20% |
| Memphis, TN-MS-AR | 44,459 | 53,746 | 83,217 | 20.90% | 54.80% |
| North Port-Sarasota-Bradenton, FL | 45,324 | 54,750 | 84,686 | 20.80% | 54.70% |
| Indianapolis-Carmel-Anderson, IN | 49,287 | 56,338 | 87,074 | 14.30% | 54.60% |
| Phoenix-Mesa-Scottsdale, AZ | 50,863 | 59,511 | 91,939 | 17.00% | 54.50% |
| San Diego-Carlsbad, CA | 55,129 | 64,892 | 100,235 | 17.70% | 54.50% |
| Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX | 51,997 | 64,726 | 99,958 | 24.50% | 54.40% |
| Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD | 55,021 | 66,438 | 102,527 | 20.70% | 54.30% |
| Nashville-Davidson-Murfreesboro-Franklin, TN | 47,250 | 57,836 | 89,091 | 22.40% | 54.00% |
| Richmond, VA | 51,138 | 57,485 | 87,790 | 12.40% | 52.70% |

continued...

Table ES-5 (continued). Mean earnings and college earnings premiums for 104 large MSAs, sorted by BD-AD difference

| CITY | High School | Associate Degree | Bachelor's Degree | % Diff AD-HS | % Diff BD-AD |
|---|-------------|------------------|-------------------|--------------|--------------|
| Oxnard-Thousand Oaks-Ventura, CA | 61,151 | 73,251 | 111,813 | 19.80% | 52.60% |
| Cincinnati, OH-KY-IN | 49,155 | 61,108 | 93,135 | 24.30% | 52.40% |
| Allentown-Bethlehem-Easton, PA-NJ | 51,647 | 61,488 | 93,611 | 19.10% | 52.20% |
| Provo-Orem, UT | 59,599 | 62,245 | 94,356 | 4.40% | 51.60% |
| Akron, OH | 48,387 | 57,416 | 86,995 | 18.70% | 51.50% |
| Greenville-Anderson-Mauldin, SC | 43,425 | 53,316 | 80,770 | 22.80% | 51.50% |
| Jackson, MS | 45,275 | 47,380 | 71,618 | 4.60% | 51.20% |
| Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA | 63,870 | 72,280 | 108,303 | 13.20% | 49.80% |
| Worcester, MA-CT | 57,914 | 67,401 | 100,836 | 16.40% | 49.60% |
| Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI | 53,502 | 65,715 | 98,244 | 22.80% | 49.50% |
| Kansas City, MO-KS | 48,697 | 59,078 | 88,119 | 21.30% | 49.20% |
| Baltimore-Columbia-Towson, MD | 55,577 | 67,398 | 100,491 | 21.30% | 49.10% |
| Portland-Vancouver-Hillsboro, OR-WA | 54,538 | 63,580 | 94,373 | 16.60% | 48.40% |
| Dayton, OH | 46,761 | 53,096 | 78,592 | 13.50% | 48.00% |
| Pittsburgh, PA | 50,642 | 57,081 | 84,359 | 12.70% | 47.80% |
| Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL | 47,133 | 57,667 | 84,920 | 22.30% | 47.30% |
| Fresno, CA | 51,556 | 60,345 | 88,811 | 17.00% | 47.20% |
| Wichita, KS | 46,410 | 53,635 | 78,933 | 15.60% | 47.20% |
| Omaha-Council Bluffs, NE-IA | 52,374 | 57,299 | 84,231 | 9.40% | 47.00% |
| Oklahoma City, OK | 47,176 | 54,473 | 79,860 | 15.50% | 46.60% |
| Hartford-W. Hartford-E. Hartford, CT | 61,811 | 70,697 | 103,515 | 14.40% | 46.40% |
| Spokane-Spokane Valley, WA | 49,629 | 51,176 | 74,896 | 3.10% | 46.30% |
| Tucson, AZ | 44,662 | 53,141 | 77,554 | 19.00% | 45.90% |
| Winston-Salem, NC | 43,933 | 54,769 | 79,698 | 24.70% | 45.50% |
| Toledo, OH | 50,347 | 58,093 | 84,387 | 15.40% | 45.30% |
| Rochester, NY | 49,730 | 58,251 | 84,550 | 17.10% | 45.10% |
| Durham-Chapel Hill, NC | 44,632 | 59,375 | 86,117 | 33.00% | 45.00% |
| Knoxville, TN | 44,462 | 53,608 | 77,612 | 20.60% | 44.80% |
| Milwaukee-Waukesha-West Allis, WI | 48,578 | 61,491 | 89,044 | 26.60% | 44.80% |
| Des Moines-West Des Moines, IA | 52,325 | 60,548 | 87,434 | 15.70% | 44.40% |
| Las Vegas-Henderson-Paradise, NV | 51,909 | 59,724 | 86,175 | 15.10% | 44.30% |
| Providence-Warwick, RI-MA | 57,427 | 64,309 | 92,653 | 12.00% | 44.10% |
| Cape Coral-Fort Myers, FL | 45,562 | 53,533 | 76,920 | 17.50% | 43.70% |
| Louisville/Jefferson County, KY-IN | 50,153 | 57,378 | 82,461 | 14.40% | 43.70% |
| Colorado Springs, CO | 50,751 | 53,167 | 75,857 | 4.80% | 42.70% |

continued...

Table ES-5 (continued). Mean earnings and college earnings premiums for 104 large MSAs, sorted by BD-AD difference

| CITY | High School | Associate Degree | Bachelor's Degree | % Diff AD-HS | % Diff BD-AD |
|--|-------------|------------------|-------------------|--------------|--------------|
| Little Rock-North Little Rock-Conway, AR | 46,846 | 55,095 | 77,994 | 17.60% | 41.60% |
| Harrisburg-Carlisle, PA | 45,435 | 63,198 | 89,338 | 39.10% | 41.40% |
| Syracuse, NY | 49,917 | 58,158 | 82,208 | 16.50% | 41.40% |
| Ogden-Clearfield, UT | 51,518 | 61,942 | 87,460 | 20.20% | 41.20% |
| Youngstown-Warren-Boardman, OH-PA | 45,078 | 52,683 | 73,975 | 16.90% | 40.40% |
| New Orleans-Metairie, LA | 46,681 | 58,230 | 81,635 | 24.70% | 40.20% |
| Albany-Schenectady-Troy, NY | 53,743 | 65,710 | 92,035 | 22.30% | 40.10% |
| Buffalo-Cheektowaga-Niagara Falls, NY | 49,856 | 58,242 | 80,859 | 16.80% | 38.80% |
| Urban Honolulu, HI | 55,476 | 60,880 | 84,405 | 9.70% | 38.60% |
| Deltona-Daytona Beach-Ormond Beach, FL | 44,954 | 52,009 | 72,002 | 15.70% | 38.40% |
| Boise City, ID | 45,004 | 59,897 | 82,784 | 33.10% | 38.20% |
| Augusta-Richmond County, GA-SC | 48,854 | 53,274 | 73,407 | 9.00% | 37.80% |
| Grand Rapids-Wyoming, MI | 48,218 | 60,013 | 82,682 | 24.50% | 37.80% |
| Albuquerque, NM | 41,543 | 53,952 | 73,652 | 29.90% | 36.50% |
| Madison, WI | 51,685 | 63,178 | 86,262 | 22.20% | 36.50% |
| San Antonio-New Braunfels, TX | 42,436 | 57,192 | 77,917 | 34.80% | 36.20% |
| Lancaster, PA | 53,892 | 63,805 | 86,678 | 18.40% | 35.80% |
| Tulsa, OK | 49,501 | 59,812 | 81,186 | 20.80% | 35.70% |
| New Haven-Milford, CT | 56,710 | 67,040 | 90,709 | 18.20% | 35.30% |
| Columbia, SC | 42,086 | 57,356 | 77,529 | 36.30% | 35.20% |
| Virginia Beach-Norfolk-Newport News, VA-NC | 48,645 | 58,068 | 77,327 | 19.40% | 33.20% |
| Salt Lake City, UT | 50,882 | 65,541 | 87,218 | 28.80% | 33.10% |
| Sacramento-Roseville-Arden-Arcade, CA | 55,751 | 71,635 | 94,453 | 28.50% | 31.90% |
| Baton Rouge, LA | 55,150 | 63,115 | 82,426 | 14.40% | 30.60% |
| Bakersfield, CA | 57,389 | 68,143 | 87,813 | 18.70% | 28.90% |
| Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA | 53,474 | 67,481 | 86,446 | 26.20% | 28.10% |
| Stockton-Lodi, CA | 58,738 | 72,368 | 92,177 | 23.20% | 27.40% |
| McAllen-Edinburg-Mission, TX | 44,506 | 53,640 | 68,215 | 20.50% | 27.20% |
| Scranton-Wilkes-Barre-Hazleton, PA | 47,844 | 57,880 | 73,600 | 21.00% | 27.20% |
| El Paso, TX | 41,303 | 49,657 | 62,421 | 20.20% | 25.70% |
| Springfield, MA | 55,502 | 67,191 | 83,344 | 21.10% | 24.00% |
| Lakeland-Winter Haven, FL | 42,891 | 55,294 | 66,570 | 28.90% | 20.40% |
| Modesto, CA | 55,857 | 67,343 | 80,572 | 20.60% | 19.60% |

Note: Based on the author's calculations from the ACS. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. Large MSAs are restricted to those with year 2010 population greater than 500,000.

Introduction

Deciding whether to invest time and money in higher education is among the most important decisions that a young adult can make. Study after study confirms that workers with higher education earn higher average incomes than those with no higher education: In 2017, U.S. workers with at least a bachelor’s degree had mean earnings more than double that of workers with a high school diploma or less.¹ This earnings gap has grown over time and is widely expected to continue to grow in coming decades. Young people today face enormous pressure to get more and more education and are often told that higher education is the path toward a rewarding career and happy life.

Although it’s true that higher education is a good investment on average, it is neither necessary nor sufficient for obtaining a lucrative career. The returns to education depend on its quantity and quality in complicated ways. Factors such as experience, working conditions, field of study, institution, and location are often key determinants of earnings. Likewise, although a bachelor’s or graduate degree is needed for some career paths, many workers may be well served to invest in acquiring technical skills via two-year degrees, certificate programs, apprenticeships, or on-the-job training.

Higher education also involves significant costs to both individuals and society. Tuition and fees are arguably the most visible costs of educational investments and have been rising considerably in recent years, burdening young people with growing levels of student debt. But other factors must be considered as well, including foregone earnings during the college years and the social and psychological costs of reduced connection with family and prior friends. Moreover, young adults must weigh whether obtaining a college education in a particular field will land them a well-paying job, which not only facilitates prompt student loan repayment in the short term but makes higher education a good long-term investment.

“[A]lthough individuals with more education typically have higher average earnings everywhere, the magnitudes of these differences can vary across geographic areas.”

This study considers the benefits of higher education in the United States by comparing the average earnings of workers with different levels of education. Throughout this report, the percentage difference in mean earnings between workers with and without college education is referred to as a college earnings premium (CEP). The CEPs are computed for both bachelor’s degrees and associate degrees relative to high school diplomas.²

What makes this analysis different from previous studies is its emphasis on geographic location. Consideration of geography is critical because, although individuals with more education typically have higher average earnings everywhere, the magnitudes of these differences can vary across geographic areas. For example, bachelor’s degrees are likely good investments in big cities but perhaps are less so in smaller metropolitan areas or rural communities. Earning an associate degree—or even just a high school diploma—may be a better decision in some places.

This study examines three general questions:

1. How do CEPs vary across states and metropolitan areas?
2. How do earnings and CEPs vary by size of metropolitan area and degree of urbanization?
3. How do CEPs vary by race and ethnicity?

Note that both the decision to pursue higher education and where to live obviously depend on numerous factors, including one's personal preferences, level of academic preparation, and the direct and indirect costs that influence earnings (see "The relationship between education and earned income"). Thus, the estimated earnings premiums should not be interpreted as causal differences; rather, they simply illustrate differences in earnings that accrue across education levels and local areas. Our goal is to inform the broader discussion surrounding higher education and serve as a useful resource in helping young people interested in higher education make more informed decisions.³

Section II discusses the study's methodology, *Section III* presents the findings, *Section IV* offers implications for policymakers, and *Section V* includes state profiles with data on college wage premiums statewide and for the largest metropolitan areas.

The relationship between education and earned income

Standard economic theory contends that young people choose the education path that they believe will maximize their own well-being based on the various costs and benefits. The benefits depend on their expected enjoyment from studying the field and the kinds of employment opportunities that they expect upon completing their curriculum. Potential college students recognize that gaining more years of education is typically associated with higher average earnings but that obtaining these additional years comes at a significant cost. Tuition, fees, and textbooks are obvious expenses, but time, energy, and effort are also scarce. Individuals also have incomplete information and must form expectations based on the resources available to them.

Moreover, the average earnings gains from additional education are not solely due to education increasing individual productivity. Individuals differ in personality, social skills, and various dimensions of intelligence due to genetic dispositions; moreover, early life experiences also differ, including the nature of parental interactions, the quality of primary and secondary education, and other social

influences. These attributes affect both labor-market productivity and the ability to succeed in higher education. Fairly or not, workers who have earned college degrees may be viewed as reasonably smart, conscientious, and compliant, meaning those degrees can help signal these positive qualities and assist employers in screening applicants.⁴

Higher education also likely provides benefits besides higher earnings.⁵ Workers with more education tend to have lower unemployment rates, achieve better health outcomes, report higher life satisfaction, and are even more likely to be married, including to higher-income spouses. Because parents may pass on some of their knowledge and skills to their children via parent-child interactions, education creates intergenerational benefits, as well. Of course, some of these additional benefits may also be influenced by the factors above, but these improved life outcomes still suggest that the value of additional education extends beyond the paycheck.

Methods

This study uses individual-level data from the American Community Survey (ACS), which includes annual income, employment, and demographic information for a representative sample of the United States population.⁶ To increase sample sizes and improve estimate precision, the study uses three years of data (2015–17). The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born and reside in the U.S.⁷ These are workers who are strongly attached to the U.S. labor market, which makes them more comparable when divided into groups. But it also means that, because they are generally in their peak earning years, the sample will have higher average earnings than would a broader sample that includes a wider age range and/or individuals working fewer hours or weeks.⁸

The primary outcome variable is annual earned income. This figure includes both wage and salary income for employees and self-employment income for proprietors. Earnings are adjusted for inflation using the Consumer Price Index (CPI) and converted to January 2019 dollars.

This report examines four main education groups based on highest level of schooling:⁹

- Individuals with a high school diploma but no college
- Individuals with some college but no degree
- Individuals with an associate degree
- Individuals with a bachelor's degree but no advanced degree

Mean earnings are presented throughout the report, although median earnings by education were explored as an alternative (see Appendix Table A1). For the national sample, median earnings are lower than mean earnings for each education group, and the CEP for bachelor's degrees relative to high school diplomas is also moderately lower using medians rather than means. Yet medians do not fully incorporate information throughout the income distribution and can be adversely influenced by respondent “heaping” at round numbers (for example, 50,000, 60,000, 70,000, and so on). This term refers to the tendency of respondents to report in units that are rounded (or heaped) and is particularly problematic when comparing subsamples (including states). Thus, the report focuses on mean earnings as the single most informative measure of earned income differences across education groups.

Analyses of earnings differences by race/ethnicity at the state level are excluded when the sample size for the specific racial/ethnic group is too small to yield accurate estimates in a given state. Specifically, the study sample must contain at the state level at least ninety workers in a specific racial/ethnic group for each of the three education groups considered (high school graduates, workers with associate degrees, and workers with bachelor's degrees).

Finally, note that the District of Columbia is included in state-level analyses.

Findings

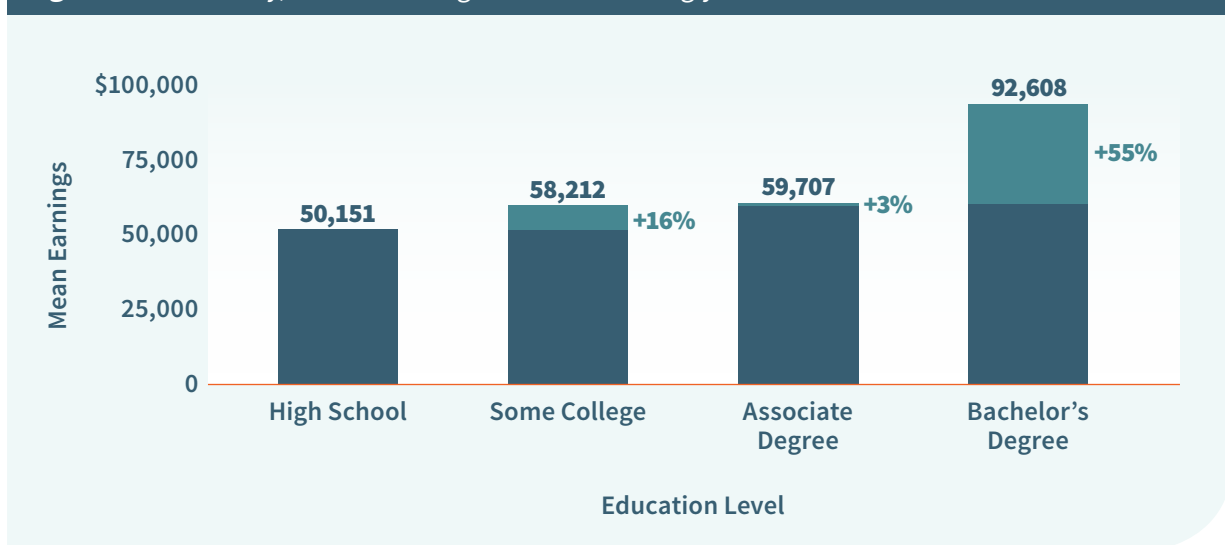
COLLEGE EARNINGS PREMIUMS ACROSS THE NATION

FINDING 1: Nationally, there are clear differences in earnings by education level, with bachelor's degree holders strongly outearning workers with less education.

National-level mean earnings by education level are shown in Figure 1. High school graduates have national mean earnings of \$50,151, while having some college education increases that figure to \$58,212, which is 16.1 percent higher than workers with a high school diploma but no college. An associate degree increases mean earnings further to \$59,707, a 19.1 percent premium relative to high school graduates. The national mean for bachelor's degree graduates is \$92,608, an 84.7 percent premium relative to high school graduates. Bachelor's degree holders earn 55.1 percent more than workers with associate degrees and 59.1 percent more than those with some college but no degree.

At face value, these national estimates indicate that higher education is, on average, a good investment. The premium for bachelor's degrees are particularly notable: Although they generally take four versus two years to complete, the earnings premium for bachelor's degrees relative to high school degrees (84.7 percent) is much more than double the premium for associate degrees (19.1 percent). However, there is considerable variation from national mean earnings across states and local areas. The rest of this report focuses on those differences.

Figure 1. Nationally, bachelor's degree holders strongly outearn workers with less education.



Note: Based on the author's calculations from the ACS. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the difference from the next-highest level of education in the figure.

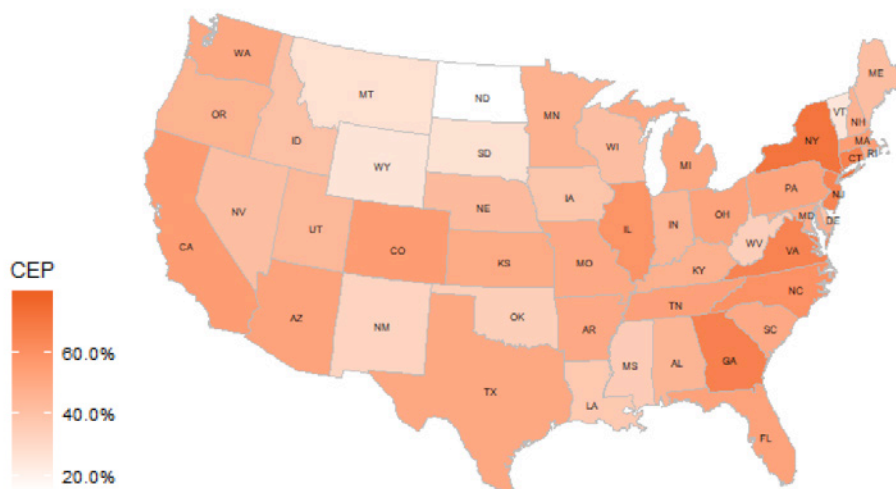
Note the small earnings difference between those with some college and those with associate degrees. Although it may seem that the latter would have a valuable credential demanding a higher wage on the labor market, the most popular associate degrees are in general subjects, such as “liberal arts” and “general studies.”¹⁰ Two-year degrees in these fields often do not signify accomplishment of discrete sets of skills or that a student may have persevered through difficult coursework, as a bachelor’s degree might signify. Moreover, any of the groups, including the “some college” group, may include individuals who have earned industry credentials—some of which have real value in the labor market.¹¹

COLLEGE EARNINGS PREMIUMS ACROSS STATES

FINDING 2: In every state, bachelor’s degree holders strongly outearn workers with associate degrees, with a more than 25 percent earnings advantage in all but three states: North Dakota, Alaska, and Vermont.

Figure 2 maps the earnings premium for bachelor’s degrees relative to associate degrees, while Tables 1 and 2 report the top and bottom ten states with the biggest earnings premiums by percentage. The District of Columbia tops the list in Table 1, where workers with bachelor’s degrees outearn those with associate degrees by 78.6 percent. New York, Georgia, Connecticut, Virginia, New Jersey, North Carolina, Illinois, Colorado, and California round out the top ten.

Figure 2. In some jurisdictions—such as D.C., New York, and Georgia—the college earnings premium for obtaining a bachelor’s degree versus an associate degree is much larger than in other states.



Note: Based on the author’s calculations from the ACS. CEP refers to the college earnings premium. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. States with a higher premium are shaded darker, and states with a lower premium are shaded lighter.

Table 1. In D.C. and New York, workers with bachelor's degrees outearn those with associate degrees by more than 70 percent.

| STATE | Bachelor's Degree Mean Earnings | Associate Degree Mean Earnings | Percentage Earnings Difference |
|----------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| District of Columbia | \$114,706 | \$64,221 | 78.6% |
| New York | 110,867 | 64,806 | 71.1% |
| Georgia | 90,952 | 54,799 | 66.0% |
| Connecticut | 118,454 | 71,594 | 65.5% |
| Virginia | 98,225 | 59,643 | 64.7% |
| New Jersey | 119,789 | 72,908 | 64.3% |
| North Carolina | 83,363 | 52,325 | 59.3% |
| Illinois | 98,563 | 62,266 | 58.3% |
| Colorado | 92,777 | 59,923 | 54.8% |
| California | 108,932 | 70,376 | 54.8% |
| National | 92,608 | 59,707 | 55.1% |

Note: Based on the author's calculations from the ACS. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S.

North Dakota and Alaska have some of the smallest differences (Table 2), where workers with bachelor's degrees outearn those with associate degrees by less than 20 percent. The bottom ten is a group dominated by rural states with economies dependent on natural resources, such as Vermont, Wyoming, South Dakota, Montana, New Mexico, West Virginia, Oklahoma, and Mississippi. See Appendix Tables A4 through A6 for additional state-level data,¹² including the mean CEPs for all fifty states and D.C.

Table 2. In North Dakota and Alaska, workers with bachelor's degrees outearn those with associate degrees by less than 20 percent.

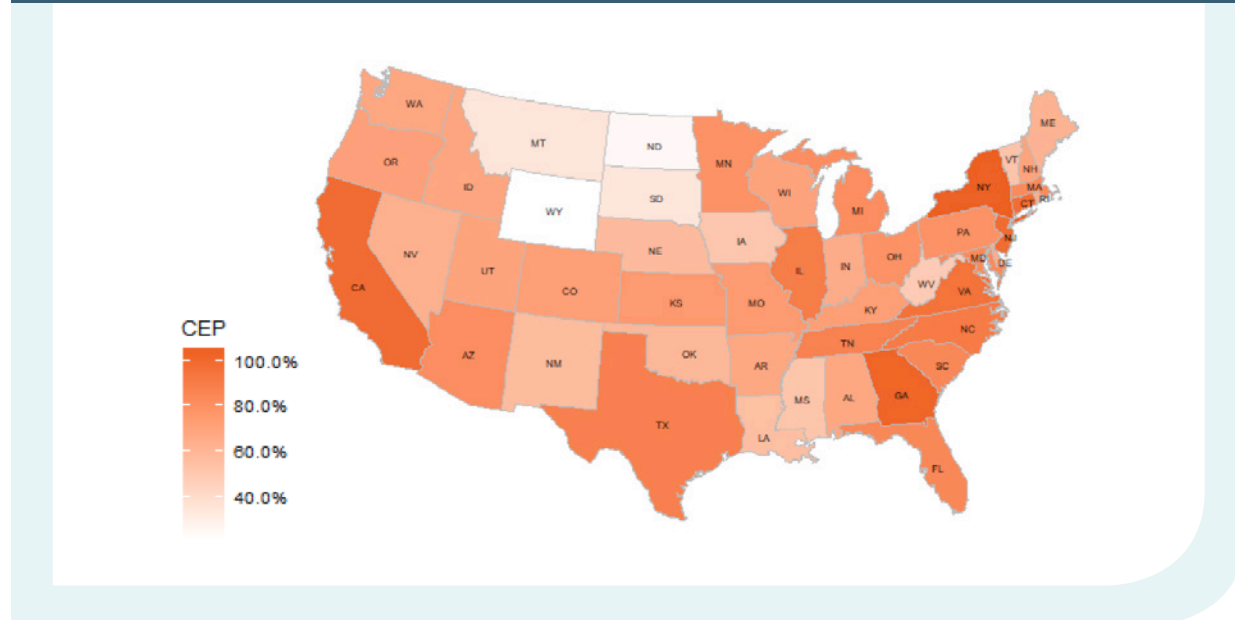
| STATE | Bachelor's Degree Mean Earnings | Associate Degree Mean Earnings | Percentage Earnings Difference |
|-----------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| North Dakota | \$71,327 | \$62,146 | 14.8% |
| Alaska | 82,307 | 70,539 | 16.7% |
| Vermont | 73,750 | 59,112 | 24.8% |
| Wyoming | 73,642 | 58,872 | 25.1% |
| South Dakota | 69,053 | 54,605 | 26.5% |
| Montana | 68,455 | 53,950 | 26.9% |
| New Mexico | 69,470 | 52,677 | 31.9% |
| West Virginia | 69,652 | 52,022 | 33.9% |
| Oklahoma | 74,250 | 55,410 | 34.0% |
| Mississippi | 66,225 | 49,041 | 35.0% |
| National | 92,608 | 59,707 | 55.1% |

Note: Based on the author's calculations from the ACS. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S.

FINDING 3: The bachelor's degree (versus high school diploma) premium varies widely across states, from around 20 percent to more than 100 percent.

Figure 3 maps differences across states in the CEP for bachelor's degrees relative to high school diplomas. There are clear differences across the country and even among neighboring states. New York, Georgia, California, the District of Columbia, and New Jersey have the highest earnings differences between workers with bachelor's degrees versus those with only high school diplomas.

Figure 3. New York, Georgia, California, the District of Columbia, and New Jersey have the highest earnings differences between workers with bachelor's degrees and those with only high school diplomas.



Note: Based on the author's calculations from the ACS. CEP refers to the college earnings premium. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. States with a higher premium are shaded darker, and states with a lower premium are shaded lighter.

Tables 3 and 4 provide greater specificity by reporting the top ten and bottom ten states for percentage earnings differences between bachelor's degree holders and high school graduates, as well as mean earnings for these groups. Notably, large earnings premiums can stem from especially high earnings for college graduates, particularly low earnings for high school graduates, or some combination. Likewise, small earnings premiums can reflect low earnings for college graduates, high earnings for high school graduates, or some combination.

New York tops the list of states in Table 3 with a 103.3 percent earnings difference between those with bachelor's degrees and high school diplomas. Georgia, California, the District of Columbia, and New Jersey round out the top five. Connecticut, Virginia, North Carolina, Illinois, and Texas assume positions six through ten.

Notably, the top ten states are not concentrated in one part of the country; there are clusters in the Northeast and Southeast, but California (Far West), Illinois (Great Lakes Region), and Texas (Southwest) make the top ten, as well. One commonality is that the states generally include some of the nation's most populous and thriving metropolitan areas; the large CEP in these areas is consistent with higher overall levels of inequality.

Table 3. Workers with bachelor's degrees in New York and Georgia earn more than double what those with only high school diplomas earn.

| STATE | Bachelor's Degree Mean Earnings | High School Diploma Mean Earnings | Percentage Earnings Difference |
|----------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| New York | \$110,867 | \$54,526 | 103.3% |
| Georgia | 90,952 | 45,247 | 101.0% |
| California | 108,932 | 55,158 | 97.5% |
| District of Columbia | 114,706 | 58,119 | 97.4% |
| New Jersey | 119,789 | 60,715 | 97.3% |
| Connecticut | 118,454 | 60,352 | 96.3% |
| Virginia | 98,225 | 50,581 | 94.2% |
| North Carolina | 83,363 | 43,924 | 89.8% |
| Illinois | 98,563 | 52,144 | 89.0% |
| Texas | 93,256 | 49,857 | 87.0% |
| National | 92,608 | 50,151 | 84.7% |

Note: Based on the author's calculations from the ACS. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S.

The earnings premium for a bachelor's degree versus high school diploma is lowest in Wyoming, with a difference of only 21.3 percent (Table 4). North Dakota and Alaska are second and third lowest. Rounding out the bottom ten are South Dakota, Montana, West Virginia, Iowa, Mississippi, Vermont, and Hawaii. These states are mostly rural and have relatively small populations. They also tend to have economies driven heavily by natural resources, including oil, gas, coal, and agriculture. In particular, Wyoming, North Dakota, and Alaska all have significant oil and gas production—an industry that offers very high salaries for high-school-educated workers. And not surprisingly, these three states have especially high mean earnings for high school graduates, all well above the national average. At the same time, this trio has bachelor's degree mean earnings well below the national average.

Table 4. In Wyoming and North Dakota, the bachelor's degree premium (versus a high school diploma) is less than 25 percent.

| STATE | Bachelor's Degree Mean Earnings | High School Diploma Mean Earnings | Percentage Earnings Difference |
|-----------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Wyoming | \$73,642 | \$60,687 | 21.3% |
| North Dakota | 71,327 | 57,381 | 24.3% |
| Alaska | 82,307 | 64,015 | 28.6% |
| South Dakota | 69,053 | 51,574 | 33.9% |
| Montana | 68,455 | 50,906 | 34.5% |
| West Virginia | 69,652 | 47,145 | 47.7% |
| Iowa | 77,259 | 51,233 | 50.8% |
| Mississippi | 66,225 | 43,735 | 51.4% |
| Vermont | 73,750 | 48,667 | 51.5% |
| Hawaii | 80,236 | 52,684 | 52.3% |
| National | 92,608 | 50,151 | 84.7% |

Note: Based on the author's calculations from the ACS. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S.

COLLEGE EARNINGS PREMIUMS BY URBANIZATION

FINDING 4: College earnings premiums are substantially greater in larger cities and more urbanized areas.

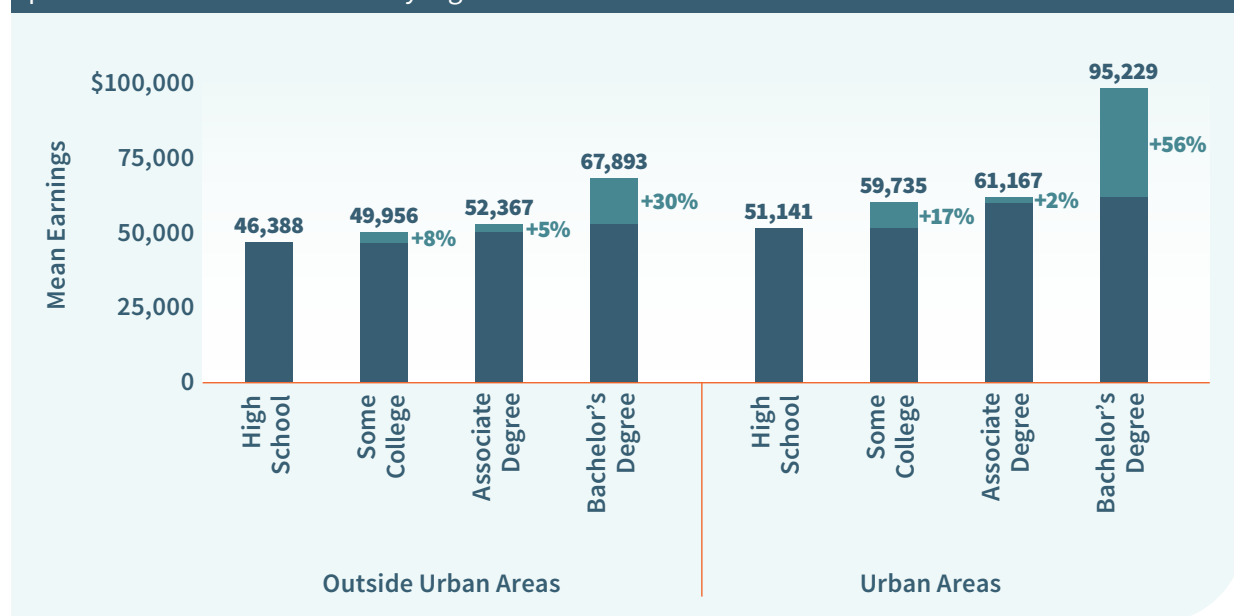
The prior analysis shows large and important differences in CEPs across states. This section demonstrates that higher returns to education go hand in hand with size of metropolitan area and greater urbanization.

We examine the relationship between the CEP and urbanization via varying levels of urbanization, including within metropolitan statistical areas (MSAs) versus outside them, by the size of the MSAs, and by the urban density of the largest MSAs. An MSA is defined by the U.S. Census Bureau as a principal city of at least fifty thousand people, along with its county and adjacent counties that are economically integrated via commuting flows.¹³ The CEPs of workers in non-MSA (that is, rural) areas are also examined by region.

COLLEGE EARNINGS PREMIUMS INSIDE AND OUTSIDE OF URBAN AREAS

Figure 4 illustrates mean earnings by education for workers outside urban areas (that is, outside MSAs) on the left and for MSAs (urban areas) on the right. Mean earnings for high school graduates are \$46,388 outside of urban areas and \$51,141 in urban areas. Higher mean earnings in the latter are consistent with urban agglomeration increasing labor demand—that is, the concentration of people and firms in urban areas leads to better matching, information flows, and skill development that increases worker productivity and results in higher earnings.¹⁴

Figure 4. Workers at all education levels earn more in urban areas, but college earnings premiums are also considerably higher there.



Note: Based on the author's calculations from the ACS. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. "Urban areas" are those inside MSAs, while "outside urban areas" are external to MSAs. The percentage change in teal indicates the difference from the next-highest level of education in the figure.

As expected, mean earnings increase with additional education both inside and outside of urban areas. However, CEPs differ between them. Outside of urban areas, workers with some college have mean earnings of \$49,956, a premium of 7.7 percent relative to high school graduates. Workers with an associate degree have mean earnings of \$52,367 outside urban areas, a 12.9 percent increase over high school graduates. Finally, similarly located bachelor's degree holders have mean earnings of \$67,893, a 46.4 percent premium compared to those with only high school diplomas and a 29.6 percent premium relative to workers with associate degrees.

Higher college earnings premiums in MSAs are consistent with the positive relationship between urbanization and higher education. Agglomeration makes all workers more productive, but it especially increases the productivity of college-educated workers. This pattern means that the

estimated return to higher education is lower outside of urban areas than in them.¹⁵ Coupled with the higher cost of living in cities (see “How does the cost of living affect the college earnings premium?”), this finding implies that some types of higher education may not be a good investment for those who expect to live and work outside of metropolitan areas. That said, other benefits to higher education, such as reduced unemployment and improved health, may increase the overall value of it in many areas, including nonmetropolitan areas.

How does the cost of living affect the college earnings premium?

States obviously differ in their cost of living, but adjusting for this difference is more complicated than meets the eye. That’s in part because individuals have differing needs and preferences for various goods and services, so one cannot measure the exact cost of living an individual faces. Moreover, higher housing prices often reflect better location-specific amenities such as nice weather, beautiful beaches, recreational opportunities, and access to cultural attractions such as museums, live entertainment, and diverse dining options. Simply adjusting for cost of living does not fully capture the benefits gleaned from these location-specific amenities—the “consumption” of which can also vary across education groups. Thus, our findings do not adjust for cost-of-living differences, and the report is primarily interested in CEPs, which are invariant to these adjustments.

All of that said, one can use average measures such as the Regional Price Parities (RPPs) produced by the U.S. Bureau of Economic Analysis (BEA) to adjust state mean earnings by the average cost of living. Doing so

does not alter the CEPs because it applies the same adjustment factor to all workers in a state. Still, it is useful to examine how mean earnings for a particular education group, such as high school graduates, are affected by these changes.

Adjusted for cost of living, the five states with the highest mean earnings for high school graduates are Wyoming, North Dakota, Alaska, South Dakota, and Rhode Island (see Appendix Table A7). The top three all have significant employment in oil and gas and rank highly even without the cost-of-living adjustment. The bottom five states for high school graduates with cost-of-living adjustments are Hawaii, Florida, New York, Maine, and South Carolina. Hawaii and New York have the biggest drop in rank from the adjustment; they have relatively high mean earnings for high school graduates without the adjustment, but applying it pushes them to the bottom.

COLLEGE EARNINGS PREMIUMS IN RURAL AREAS

As indicated, the average earnings premiums for higher education in areas outside of MSAs (that is, rural areas) are well below corresponding premiums in MSAs, which warrants a closer look into narrower geographic areas. Unfortunately, sample-size limitations prevent us from rigorously examining rural areas state by state, but it is possible to examine eight regions, as defined by the Bureau of Economic Analysis (Figure 5). To see results for small MSAs by region—that is, areas with population less than 0.5 million—see Appendix Table A8.

Figure 5. Regional boundaries

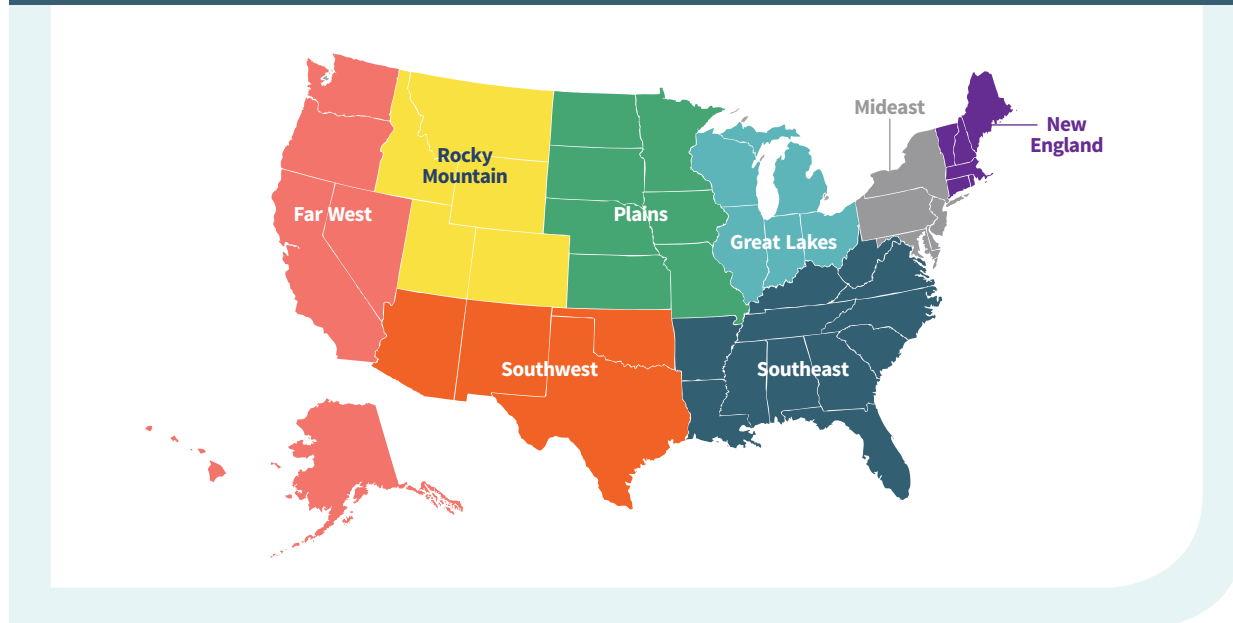
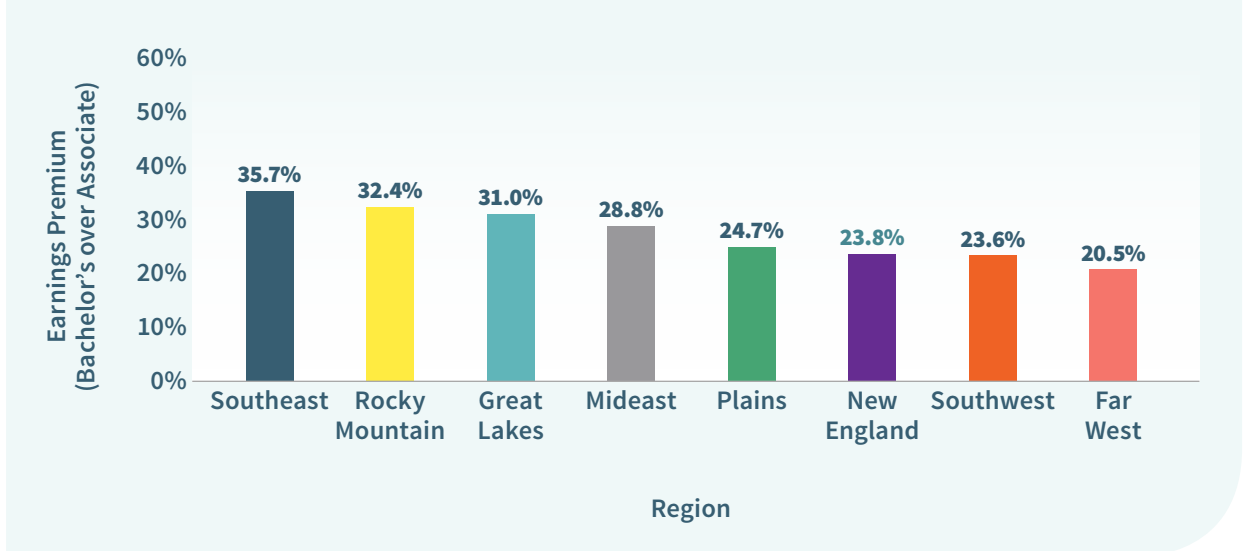


Figure 6 presents the bachelor's to associate earnings premiums by region for rural areas. The Southeast tops this list with a premium of 35.7 percent. The lowest premium for rural areas is in the Far West at 20.5 percent (see detailed data in Appendix Table A9).

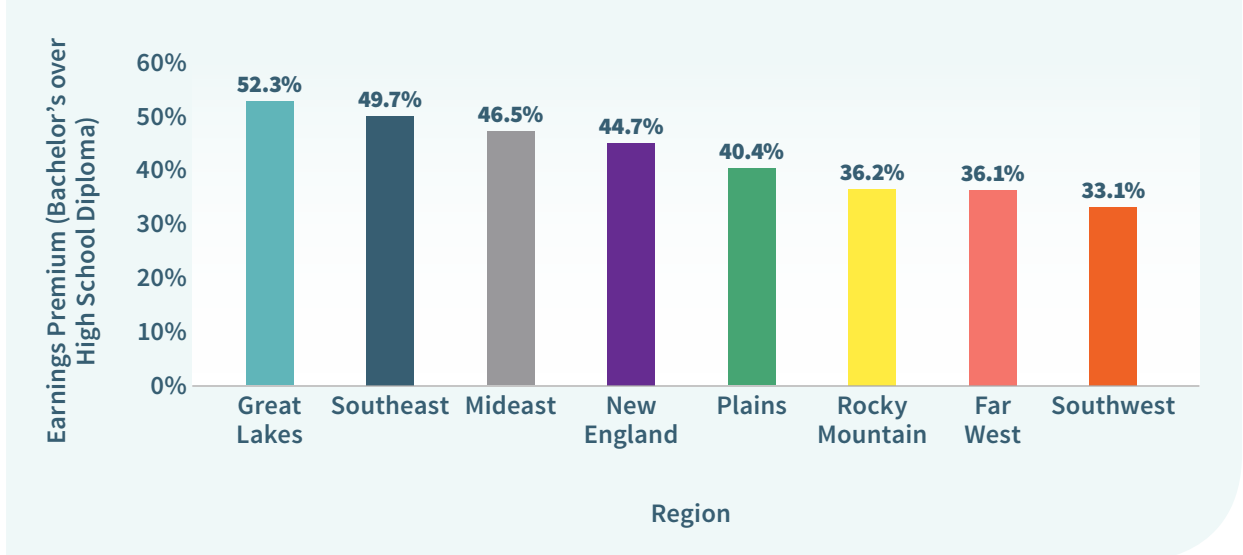
Figure 7 shows the rural CEP for bachelor's degrees relative to high school diplomas. There is substantial variation across BEA regions: The premium is 52.3 percent in the Great Lakes rural area but only 33.1 percent in the Southwest.

Figure 6. The rural college earnings premium for a bachelor’s degree (versus an associate degree) is largest in the Southeast and smallest in the Far West.



Note: Based on the author’s calculations from the ACS. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S.

Figure 7. The rural college earnings premium for a bachelor’s degree (versus a high school diploma) is largest in the Great Lakes states and smallest in the Southwest states.



Note: Based on the author’s calculations from the ACS. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S.

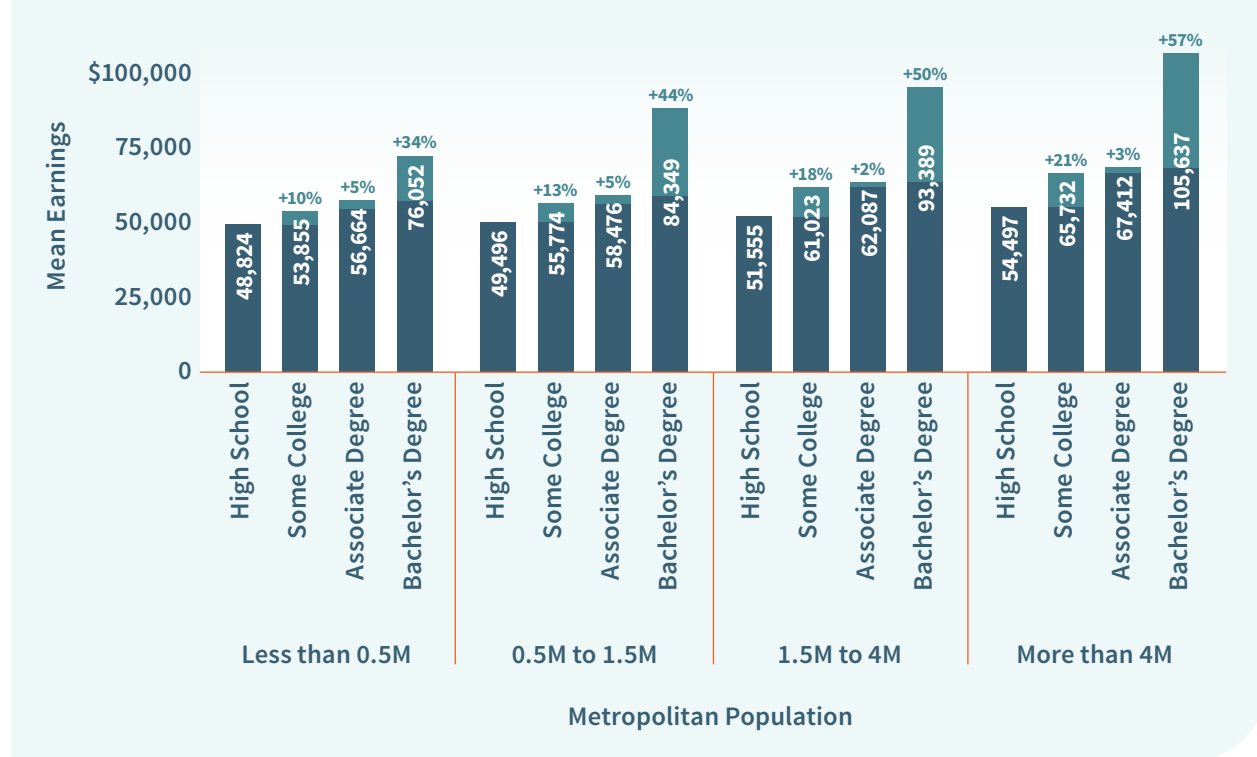
COLLEGE EARNINGS PREMIUMS ACROSS METROPOLITAN AREAS

We find a similar pattern when examining the size of metropolitan areas: the larger the metro area, the greater the premium to higher education. MSAs are divided into four groups based on year 2010 population:¹⁶

- Less than 0.5 million
- 0.5 million—1.5 million
- 1.5 million—4 million
- More than 4 million

Figure 8 shows that mean earnings increase with metropolitan area size for each education level. For example, the average earnings for high school graduates in the smallest MSAs is \$48,824, but in the largest MSAs, high school graduates earn an average of \$54,497. CEPs also increase with MSA size. The bachelor's premium versus associate degree premium ranges from 34.2 percent in the smallest MSAs to 56.7 percent in the largest MSAs. The bachelor's premium versus that of just a high school diploma is even greater, ranging from 55.8 percent in the smallest MSAs to 93.8 percent in the largest MSAs.¹⁷

Figure 8. The college earnings premium is greater in larger metropolitan areas than in smaller ones.



Note: Based on the author's calculations from the ACS. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the difference from the next-highest level of education in the figure.

In other words, while incomes rise with MSA population, the increases from working in large MSAs particularly accrue to college-educated workers, especially those with bachelor's degrees. Still, earnings premiums in small MSAs (population less than 0.5 million) are more similar to non-MSAs (that is, rural areas) than to very large MSAs.

The results are consistent with rising concerns that workers with less education struggle to keep up with their more educated counterparts. Competition for housing and other services in big cities drives up prices and further threatens the economic security of the least educated. Although this report does not debate the merits of specific policy proposals, the large CEP in most large metro areas has clear implications for young people who want to live in those areas in the future: College education is, on average, a very good investment and perhaps necessary for a comfortable standard of living in many big cities. Young people who want to live in a big city should strongly consider going to college and completing at least a bachelor's degree.

For workers in small MSAs, a college education, on average, appears to be a good investment, but a four-year degree seems less of a necessity in small MSAs than very large ones. Individuals who are apprehensive about costly investments in higher education may find living in smaller MSAs (or rural areas) a better match with their skills ("Recouping investments in higher education" discusses how the costs of higher education may play into these decisions).

Recouping investments in higher education

Though higher education typically provides significant benefits, it also has considerable costs, which have been rising in recent years. Tuition and fees vary substantially, even among in-state students at public institutions. In fact, the national average for in-state tuition and fees at public four-year colleges and universities was \$10,230 for the 2018–19 academic year—and continues to rise dramatically.¹⁸ Average in-district tuition and fees at two-year public colleges was substantially lower, at \$3,660 for the 2018–19 academic year.¹⁹

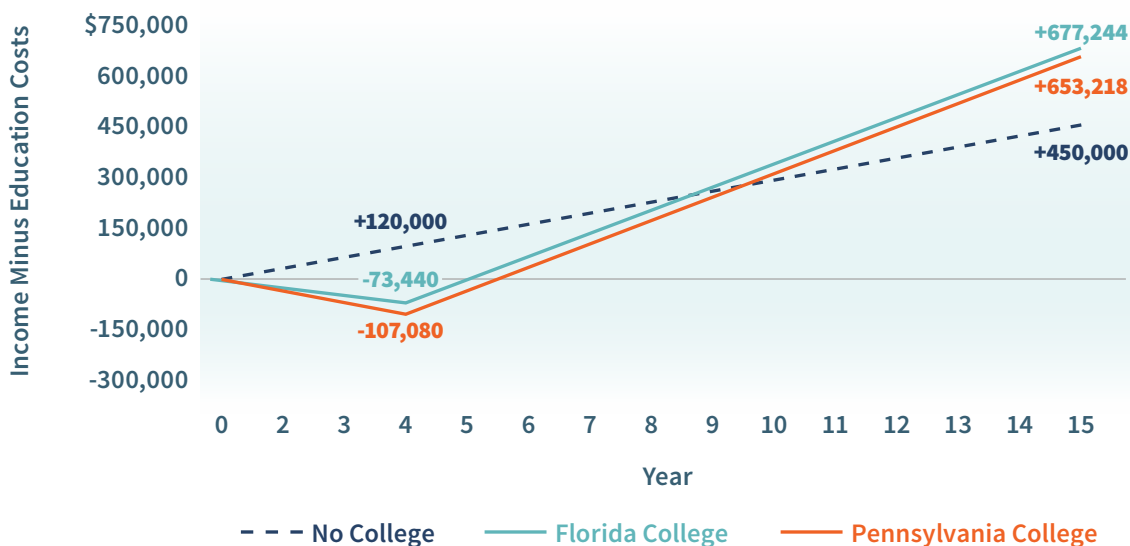
The cost of college, however, does not end with tuition and fees. Students also incur costs for room and board, textbooks and supplies, and lost earnings from reduced employment while in school. These additional costs can often exceed the costs of tuition and fees, depending on the circumstances of the student.

Figure 9 maps how long it will take workers to recoup the investment cost of obtaining a bachelor's degree in Florida and Pennsylvania.²⁰ For simplicity, suppose that annual costs while in college in both Florida and Pennsylvania are \$2,000 for books and supplies, \$10,000 for room and board, and \$30,000 in lost earnings from reduced employment²¹ (these are intended to be upper-bound estimates for typical in-state students at public institutions). The mean earnings difference between those with high school diplomas and bachelor's degrees is \$38,244 in Florida and \$39,118 in Pennsylvania (see Appendix Table A4).

In both states, students exceed their investment in higher education in less than six years. Moreover, although college goers tend to be financially behind their non-college-going peers for a few years, eleven years from graduation, an average Florida bachelor's degree holder would have earned enough additional income to offset both school and foregone employment costs (during the college years), while still earning more than \$200,000 in additional income (Figure 10).

Recouping investments in higher education (continued)

Figure 9. On average, bachelor's degree holders will have earned enough eleven years from graduation to be substantially ahead of students who hold high school diplomas, even after paying for their education and making up for lost income during the college years.



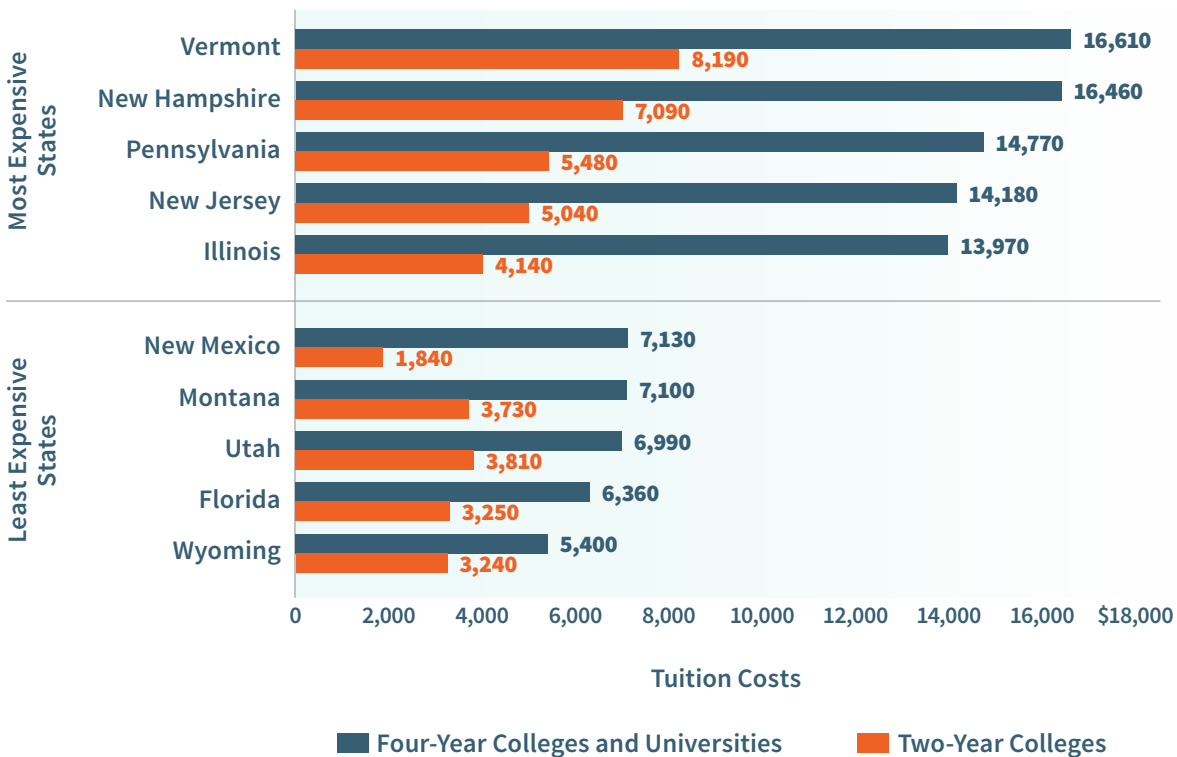
Note: For college-going students, assuming \$10,000 per year in room and board, \$2,000 per year in books and supplies, \$6,360 in tuition at Florida four-year institutions, and \$14,770 in tuition at Pennsylvania four-year institutions. Income is assumed to be \$30,000 per working year, with a \$38,244 premium for Florida bachelor's degree holders and a \$39,118 premium for Pennsylvania bachelor's degree holders. The exact amount of time needed to recoup investments in higher education depend on many factors, including the specific school, location, and occupation, so this illustration should be interpreted with caution.

Yet Figure 10 shows that there are extreme differences in college tuition costs across states. Tuition at four-year institutions in the most expensive states is double or even triple that of the less expensive states, and the disparity can be even larger for two-year institutions.²² Although these differences would seem to imply that the merits of getting a college degree would vary greatly, depending on tuition, in fact the large differences in tuition among the states are swamped by other costs.

Consider again Figure 9, which compares two states with very different costs for higher education. In Pennsylvania, average tuition at a four-year institution is the third-most expensive in the country at \$14,770 per year, while Florida is one of the least expensive states to attend a four-year college, with tuition being just \$6,360 per year. Florida students certainly pay less in tuition, and eleven years after graduation, they are nearly \$25,000 ahead of their counterparts in Pennsylvania. But this difference is small compared to the difference between college-educated workers and those who continued without higher education. Eleven years after college graduation, workers who attended college in both states are more than \$200,000 ahead of their counterparts with only high school diplomas.

Recouping investments in higher education (continued)

Figure 10. College tuition in the most expensive states is more than double that in the least expensive states.



Note: For college tuition information on all states, see Appendix Table A11.

Table 5 focuses on the twenty-five large MSAs (those with population over 500,000) with the largest earnings premiums for a bachelor's degree relative to an associate degree. Bridgeport-Stamford-Norwalk, CT, comes in first with a premium of 99.4 percent.

Table 5. Large urban areas with the greatest college earnings premiums for bachelor's degrees (versus associate degrees) include the southern parts of Connecticut near New York City, the New York City area, and Brevard County, Florida, home to the Kennedy Space Center.

| METROPOLITAN AREA | Bachelor's Degree Mean Earnings | Associate Degree Mean Earnings | Percentage Earnings Difference |
|--|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Bridgeport-Stamford-Norwalk, CT | \$166,463 | \$83,495 | 99.4% |
| Palm Bay–Melbourne–Titusville (Brevard County), FL | 82,657 | 48,630 | 70.0% |
| New York–Newark–Jersey City, NY-NJ-PA | 125,123 | 73,617 | 70.0% |
| Atlanta–Sandy Springs–Roswell, GA | 98,402 | 58,442 | 68.4% |
| Chattanooga, TN-GA | 84,163 | 51,160 | 64.5% |
| Charlotte-Concord-Gastonia, NC-SC | 94,265 | 57,470 | 64.0% |
| San Francisco–Oakland–Hayward, CA | 131,990 | 80,656 | 63.6% |
| Charleston–North Charleston, SC | 82,319 | 50,760 | 62.2% |
| Orlando-Kissimmee-Sanford, FL | 86,453 | 53,330 | 62.1% |
| Columbus, OH | 92,506 | 57,483 | 60.9% |
| Jacksonville, FL | 85,875 | 53,539 | 60.4% |
| Raleigh, NC | 93,998 | 58,664 | 60.2% |
| Detroit-Warren-Dearborn, MI | 96,452 | 60,892 | 58.4% |
| Los Angeles–Long Beach–Anaheim, CA | 109,737 | 69,409 | 58.1% |
| Chicago-Naperville-Elgin, IL-IN-WI | 104,318 | 65,995 | 58.1% |
| Austin–Round Rock, TX | 96,185 | 61,025 | 57.6% |
| St. Louis, MO-IL | 91,063 | 57,809 | 57.5% |
| Boston-Cambridge-Newton, MA-NH | 114,266 | 72,579 | 57.4% |
| San Jose–Sunnyvale–Santa Clara, CA | 141,276 | 89,871 | 57.2% |
| Denver-Aurora-Lakewood, CO | 101,112 | 64,408 | 57.0% |
| Birmingham-Hoover, AL | 85,871 | 54,833 | 56.6% |
| Portland–South Portland, ME | 85,333 | 54,498 | 56.6% |
| Greensboro–High Point, NC | 77,743 | 49,683 | 56.5% |
| Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV | 116,815 | 74,653 | 56.5% |
| Miami–Fort Lauderdale–West Palm Beach, FL | 93,054 | 59,885 | 55.4% |
| National | 92,608 | 59,707 | 55.1% |

Note: Based on the author's calculations from the ACS. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. Large MSAs are restricted to those with year 2010 population greater than 500,000.

Table 6 presents the twenty-five large MSAs with the smallest earnings premiums for a bachelor's degree relative to an associate degree. Modesto, California, comes in last with a premium of just 19.6 percent (for earnings averages and college wage premiums for all 104 large MSAs, see Appendix Table A11).

Table 6. Large urban areas with the smallest premiums for a bachelor's degree (relative to an associate degree) include Modesto in central California and Lakeland–Winter Haven in central Florida.

| METROPOLITAN AREA | Bachelor's Degree Mean Earnings | Associate Degree Mean Earnings | Percentage Earnings Difference |
|--|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Modesto, CA | \$80,572 | \$67,343 | 19.6% |
| Lakeland–Winter Haven, FL | 66,570 | 55,294 | 20.4% |
| Springfield, MA | 83,344 | 67,191 | 24.0% |
| El Paso, TX | 62,421 | 49,657 | 25.7% |
| Scranton–Wilkes-Barre–Hazleton, PA | 73,600 | 57,880 | 27.2% |
| McAllen–Edinburg–Mission, TX | 68,215 | 53,640 | 27.2% |
| Stockton–Lodi, CA | 92,177 | 72,368 | 27.4% |
| Riverside–San Bernardino–Ontario, CA | 86,446 | 67,481 | 28.1% |
| Bakersfield, CA | 87,813 | 68,143 | 28.9% |
| Baton Rouge, LA | 82,426 | 63,115 | 30.6% |
| Sacramento–Roseville–Arden–Arcade, CA | 94,453 | 71,635 | 31.9% |
| Salt Lake City, UT | 87,218 | 65,541 | 33.1% |
| Virginia Beach–Norfolk–Newport News, VA-NC | 77,327 | 58,068 | 33.2% |
| Columbia, SC | 77,529 | 57,356 | 35.2% |
| New Haven–Milford, CT | 90,709 | 67,040 | 35.3% |
| Tulsa, OK | 81,186 | 59,812 | 35.7% |
| Lancaster, PA | 86,678 | 63,805 | 35.8% |
| San Antonio–New Braunfels, TX | 77,917 | 57,192 | 36.2% |
| Albuquerque, NM | 73,652 | 53,952 | 36.5% |
| Madison, WI | 86,262 | 63,178 | 36.5% |
| Grand Rapids–Wyoming, MI | 82,682 | 60,013 | 37.8% |
| Augusta–Richmond County, GA-SC | 73,407 | 53,274 | 37.8% |
| Boise, ID | 82,784 | 59,897 | 38.2% |
| Deltona–Daytona Beach–Ormond Beach, FL | 72,002 | 52,009 | 38.4% |
| Urban Honolulu, HI | 84,405 | 60,880 | 38.6% |
| National | 92,608 | 59,707 | 55.1% |

Note: Based on the author's calculations from the ACS. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. Large MSAs are restricted to those with year 2010 population greater than 500,000.

COLLEGE EARNINGS PREMIUMS BY RACE AND ETHNICITY

The CEPs documented thus far have combined American-born workers of all races and ethnicities. This section classifies workers into mutually exclusive racial/ethnic groups including Asian, black, Hispanic, and white workers.²³ Although some workers do not fit into these groups, they are not examined due to small sample sizes²⁴ (see *Appendix B* for state-level CEPs by racial/ethnic group).

FINDING 5: The college earnings premium varies by race/ethnicity, with larger premiums for white and Asian workers than other groups.

The CEPs documented thus far have combined all American-born workers, but differences appear when we disaggregate workers by racial and ethnic background.

Nationally, Asian and white workers earn more at every education level than do Hispanic and black workers, but the two former groups also have greater CEPs (Table 7). The bachelor's premium versus that of an associate degree is highest for Asian workers (61.0 percent), and white workers have the second-highest premium (55.9 percent). Hispanic workers have the lowest bachelor's degree premium versus associate degree premium (36.7 percent), and the premium for black workers (38.2 percent) is also below the national average of 55.1 percent.

The large bachelor's premiums for white and Asian workers reflect the much larger disparity in earnings for bachelor's degree holders across racial/ethnic groups than for workers with only a high school diploma. White and Asian workers with high school diplomas outearn their black and Hispanic counterparts, and the largest gap—that between white and black workers—is \$12,265 (column 1). Though substantial, this difference pales in comparison to the difference between these groups for bachelor's degree holders, a difference exceeding \$30,000 (column 3).

Table 7. College earnings premiums are generally higher for Asian and white workers than for black and Hispanic workers.

| Race/ Ethnicity | High School (1) | Associate Degree (2) | Bachelor's Degree (3) | % Diff Associate- High School (4) | % Diff Bachelor's- High School (5) | % Diff Bachelor's- Associate (6) |
|--------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|--|---|---|
| Asian | \$47,544 | \$58,634 | \$94,420 | 23.3% | 98.6% | 61.0% |
| Black | 40,596 | 47,981 | 66,324 | 18.2% | 63.4% | 38.2% |
| Hispanic | 44,742 | 55,897 | 76,402 | 24.9% | 70.8% | 36.7% |
| White | 52,861 | 62,128 | 96,869 | 17.5% | 83.3% | 55.9% |
| National | 50,151 | 59,707 | 92,608 | 19.1% | 84.7% | 55.1% |

Note: Based on the author's calculations from the ACS. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S.

Although differences across race and ethnicity merit examination, their interpretation is less clear. Earnings and earnings premiums that are less than corresponding estimates for white workers may reflect some combination of labor-market discrimination, differing educational concentrations or quality, intergenerational transmission of human capital, and/or numerous other factors.

Table 8 shows the states with the largest and smallest bachelor's degree premiums for black workers. The states with the largest bachelor's degree premium versus associate degree premium for black workers are Colorado (55.6 percent) and Arizona (55.0 percent), and the states with the largest bachelor's premiums versus high school diploma premiums for the same category are New Jersey (88.5 percent) and Florida (75.8 percent). The states with the lowest bachelor's degree premiums versus associate degree premiums are Oklahoma (9.8 percent) and Arkansas (17.7 percent).

Table 8. Colorado and Arizona have the highest bachelor's degree (versus associate degree) premiums for black workers, while Oklahoma and Arkansas have the lowest.

| TOP 10 | | | BOTTOM 10 | | |
|----------------|----------------------|------------------------|-------------|----------------------|------------------------|
| State | Bachelor's–Associate | Bachelor's–High School | State | Bachelor's–Associate | Bachelor's–High School |
| Colorado | 55.6% | 63.7% | Oklahoma | 9.8% | 34.6% |
| Arizona | 55.0% | 61.6% | Arkansas | 17.7% | 49.8% |
| Ohio | 47.7% | 61.2% | Indiana | 22.3% | 48.8% |
| Florida | 46.9% | 75.8% | Louisiana | 23.3% | 50.6% |
| New Jersey | 46.6% | 88.5% | Illinois | 24.5% | 53.2% |
| Virginia | 46.3% | 72.5% | Mississippi | 24.7% | 34.0% |
| Michigan | 45.9% | 59.7% | Connecticut | 24.7% | 18.2% |
| Georgia | 40.1% | 66.3% | Washington | 25.4% | 38.8% |
| North Carolina | 39.8% | 58.1% | Alabama | 27.7% | 49.9% |
| California | 39.1% | 68.7% | Maryland | 29.0% | 60.9% |

Note: The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. To be included in this table, each state must have at least ninety black workers in the analytical sample in each of the three education groups (high school diploma, associate degree, and bachelor's degree holders). States are ranked by the bachelor's degree (versus associate degree) premium. Note that the bachelor's–high school premium is smaller than the bachelor's–associate premium in Connecticut, where black workers with high school diplomas slightly outearn black workers with associate degrees. For data on earnings for each racial/ethnic group in each state, see Appendix B.

Table 9 shows the states with the largest and smallest bachelor's degree premiums for Hispanic workers. The states with the largest bachelor's degree premiums versus associate degree premiums for these same workers are Georgia (56.6 percent), Michigan (56.4 percent), and Ohio (54.6 percent), and the states with the largest bachelor's degree premiums versus high school diploma premiums for Hispanic workers are Virginia (85.3 percent), Florida (85.2 percent), and Michigan (84.7 percent). The states with the lowest bachelor's degree premiums versus associate degree premiums are Indiana (17.3 percent) and Oregon (24.8 percent), although Oregon has a bachelor's degree premium versus a high school diploma (75.5 percent) that is higher than average for Hispanic workers.

Table 9. Georgia and Michigan have the highest bachelor's degree (versus associate degree) premiums for Hispanic workers, while Indiana and Oregon have the lowest.

| TOP 10 | | | BOTTOM 10 | | |
|---------------|----------------------|------------------------|------------|----------------------|------------------------|
| State | Bachelor's-Associate | Bachelor's-High School | State | Bachelor's-Associate | Bachelor's-High School |
| Georgia | 56.6% | 76.6% | Indiana | 17.3% | 26.3% |
| Michigan | 56.4% | 84.7% | Oregon | 24.8% | 75.5% |
| Ohio | 54.6% | 58.5% | Nevada | 27.3% | 55.6% |
| Pennsylvania | 46.9% | 57.6% | Texas | 28.8% | 61.9% |
| Virginia | 42.8% | 85.3% | New Mexico | 29.5% | 53.1% |
| Massachusetts | 41.5% | 79.7% | New Jersey | 31.3% | 70.0% |
| Illinois | 40.5% | 70.5% | Colorado | 33.0% | 54.9% |
| Florida | 40.3% | 85.2% | New York | 34.3% | 73.2% |
| Connecticut | 40.3% | 66.9% | Washington | 34.4% | 62.0% |
| California | 37.0% | 78.1% | Arizona | 35.8% | 73.5% |

Note: The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. To be included in this table, each state must have at least ninety black workers in the analytical sample in each of the three education groups (high school diploma, associate degree, and bachelor's degree holders). States are ranked by the bachelor's degree (versus associate degree) premium. For data on earnings for each racial/ethnic group in each state, see Appendix B.

Implications

In all fifty states and D.C., workers with bachelor's degrees consistently outearn workers with less education, although these differences vary. The United States is a large and diverse land with changing needs for skilled labor in different parts of the country, and this analysis finds the lowest CEPs accrue to workers in the country's rural areas. In the natural resource economies of states like the Dakotas, Alaska, and Wyoming, the wage disparities are especially low, particularly for associate degrees.

In light of these findings, three key implications merit attention.

1. When students make decisions about whether to pursue higher education and which kind, they should take geography into account.

In line with the idea that urban employment increases labor productivity and worker earnings, we find that earnings are higher in more populous states with large urban areas than in less populous and more rural states. For example, the bachelor's degree (versus associate degree) premium is 57.0 percent in the largest MSAs but just 34.0 percent in MSAs with fewer than 500,000 inhabitants. Thus, young people planning to live in larger cities should be aware that some form of higher education may be necessary to attain a comfortable standard of living, especially given sharply rising housing costs in many of the nation's thriving urban centers.²⁵ At the same time, those intending to work in rural areas or small cities should recognize that the financial return on many types of higher education is often more modest in those areas, although some fields of study may still be reasonably lucrative in those less populous areas.

This basic takeaway suggests that context matters in decisions about educational investments. Young people should consider what type of community they may want to live in, explore the possible career paths and earnings opportunities that they can expect, and choose an education route that offers a good investment for them given their particular preferences, circumstances, and resources.

2. The policymaking and research communities should help students understand how education and labor markets intersect.

Because job markets and education premiums are context dependent, high schools and higher education institutions are ideal institutions to spearhead efforts to inform students about education opportunities and related job prospects. However, these institutions often lack the resources and incentives to provide good information. High schools often have insufficient college- and career-counseling services, and colleges and universities face incentives to recruit for tuition dollars, regardless of the actual benefits for students.

Unfortunately, students sometimes pursue meaningless credentials with little demonstrated market value, even when such credentials are explicitly vocational or occupationally focused. For example, an analysis by New America’s Kevin Carey found that most students who earned medical-assistant credentials attended programs where the average graduate earned less than \$16,000 after completion.²⁶ Coupled with the absence of local labor-market data, misleading facts from schools’ marketing departments contribute to poorly informed choices about what college to attend and what field to study.

Local policymakers and researchers can help by providing relevant and actionable information to students and other stakeholders. In Kentucky, for example, state leaders commissioned analyses to identify fields with the most career opportunities and the schools and technical academies that had programs leading to careers in those fields. Those data resulted in an interactive heat map showing where students had the most and least access to these programs.²⁷ In Wisconsin, state leaders developed a set of customized electronic portals that provide information about regional career opportunities to local school staff and students, including descriptions of multiple potential career pathways and what career and technical courses, work-based learning requirements, and/or postsecondary academic preparation are needed for each pathway.²⁸

3. Many less populous places will likely continue to struggle to prosper.

Rural areas and small urban areas tend to have relatively low CEPs—both because the demand for college-educated labor is limited and because the demand for high-school-educated labor is often relatively strong. This is especially true in areas with considerable natural resources employment such as fossil fuel extraction and mining.

The higher productivity and earnings in large urban areas will continue to put rural areas and smaller urban areas at a significant disadvantage in attracting and retaining workers, especially those who are young and highly educated. Less populous areas also have a lower cost of living and can offer consumption and lifestyle amenities that many people find attractive, though such benefits are not always enough to attract workers.

For many highly educated workers, the urban-rural earnings difference is simply too large for them to choose a rural labor market. Their choice, in turn, affects less educated workers, too, because highly educated workers tend to create spillovers that benefit less educated workers in the same labor market. When less populous areas lose highly educated workers, tax bases suffer, fewer new jobs are created, and opportunities diminish.

Better infrastructure such as transportation and Internet access may help some rural areas, albeit at a cost to taxpayers. Furthermore, some rural areas may be sustainable with effective policy interventions or the development of skilled remote workers,²⁹ but some may be too disadvantaged to prosper, even with heavy investments from outside the community. Simply put, it is imperative that the policy and research communities continue to study, discuss, and experiment with possible interventions to help lagging areas.

The U.S. is not a single uniform labor market but a collection of many local labor markets. Each has its own particular context and characteristics that carry implications within its geographical area both for wages and CEPs. This diversity in labor markets often gets lost in national policy conversations. But based on these findings, local policymakers should reconsider their local context and the role that higher education—including community colleges, industry-endorsed credential programs, and four-year institutions—should play in their communities to accommodate students with differing needs and aspirations.

Section V:

State Profiles

This section reports the college earnings premiums for each state and its most populous MSA(s). For MSAs that cross state boundaries, the figures presented include the full MSA.

| | | | | | |
|----------------------------|----|------------------------|-----|------------------------|-----|
| Alabama..... | 44 | Kentucky..... | 78 | North Dakota* | 112 |
| Alaska* | 46 | Louisiana** | 80 | Ohio** | 113 |
| Arizona** | 47 | Maine | 83 | Oklahoma** | 116 |
| Arkansas | 50 | Maryland..... | 84 | Oregon | 119 |
| California** | 52 | Massachusetts** | 86 | Pennsylvania** | 121 |
| Colorado** | 55 | Michigan | 89 | Rhode Island..... | 124 |
| Connecticut** | 58 | Minnesota | 92 | South Carolina** | 125 |
| Delaware* | 61 | Mississippi..... | 93 | South Dakota* | 128 |
| District of Columbia | 62 | Missouri** | 95 | Tennessee** | 129 |
| Florida** | 63 | Montana* | 98 | Texas** | 132 |
| Georgia** | 66 | Nebraska | 99 | Utah** | 135 |
| Hawaii | 69 | Nevada..... | 100 | Vermont* | 137 |
| Idaho | 71 | New Hampshire* | 102 | Virginia** | 138 |
| Illinois..... | 72 | New Jersey* | 103 | Washington** | 141 |
| Indiana | 74 | New Mexico..... | 104 | West Virginia* | 144 |
| Iowa | 76 | New York** | 106 | Wisconsin** | 145 |
| Kansas..... | 77 | North Carolina** | 109 | Wyoming* | 147 |

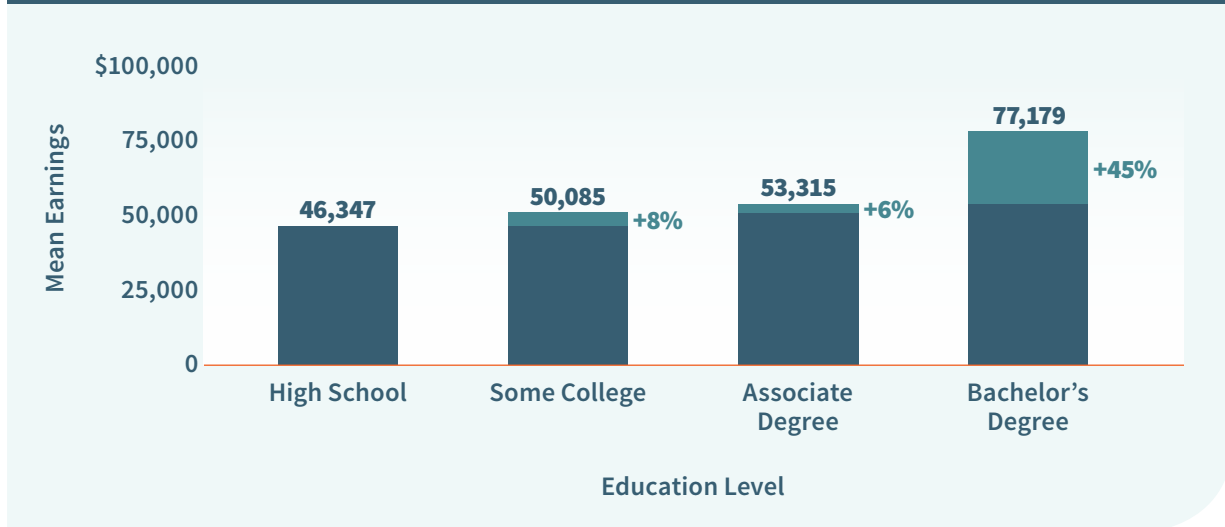
*State's largest MSA is not reported because its population is less than 500,000.

**State has multiple large cities so data for the two largest MSAs are reported.

Alabama

On average, Alabamians with bachelor's degrees earn 44.8 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$77,179 versus \$53,315) and 66.5 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure AL-1).

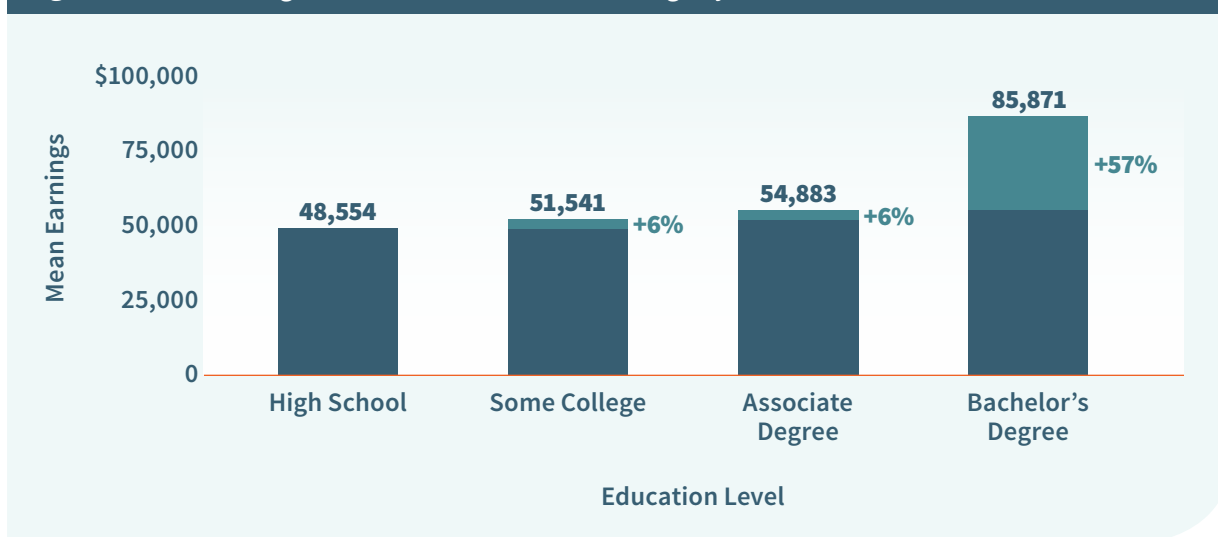
Figure AL-1. Alabama mean earnings by education level



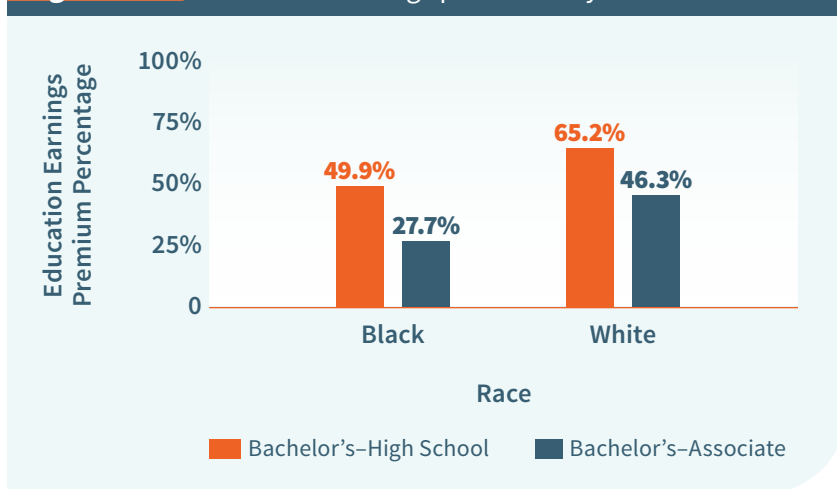
Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the difference from the next-highest level of education in the figure.

The largest MSA in Alabama is Birmingham-Hoover.¹ On average, workers with bachelor's degrees earn 56.6 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$85,871 versus \$54,833) and 76.9 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure AL-2). Education earnings premiums by race show that premiums are higher for white workers than for black workers. Black bachelor's degree holders in Alabama earn 27.7 percent more than black workers with associate degrees in the state and 49.9 percent more than black high school graduates. For white workers in Alabama, bachelor's degree holders enjoy a 46.3 percent premium over associate degree holders and a 65.2 percent earnings premium relative to high school graduates (Figure AL-3).

1. Data for a second MSA are reported only when a state has more than one large MSA, defined as a metro area with population greater than 500,000.

Figure AL-2. Birmingham-Hoover MSA mean earnings by education level

Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the difference from the next-highest level of education in the figure.

Figure AL-3. Education earnings premiums by race in Alabama

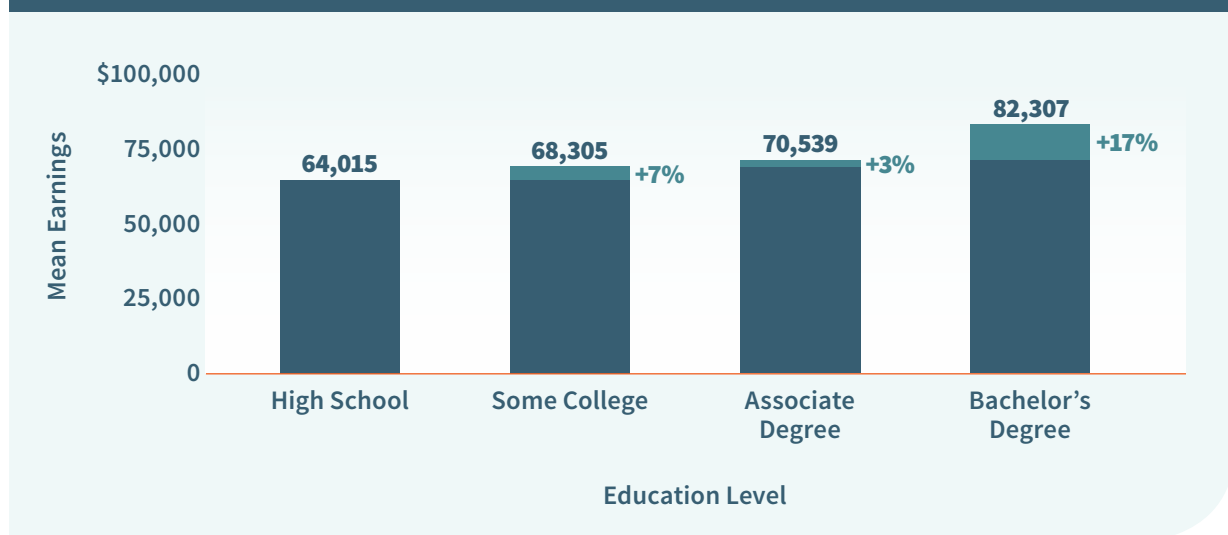
Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The analysis by race/ethnicity is restricted to those jurisdictions with at least ninety workers in the sample by both state and race/ethnicity for each of the three analyzed education groups (high school graduates, workers with associate degrees, and workers with bachelor's degrees).

Alaska

On average, Alaskans with bachelor's degrees earn 16.7 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$82,307 versus \$70,539) and 28.6 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure AK-1).

Alaska has no MSA with population greater than 500,000.

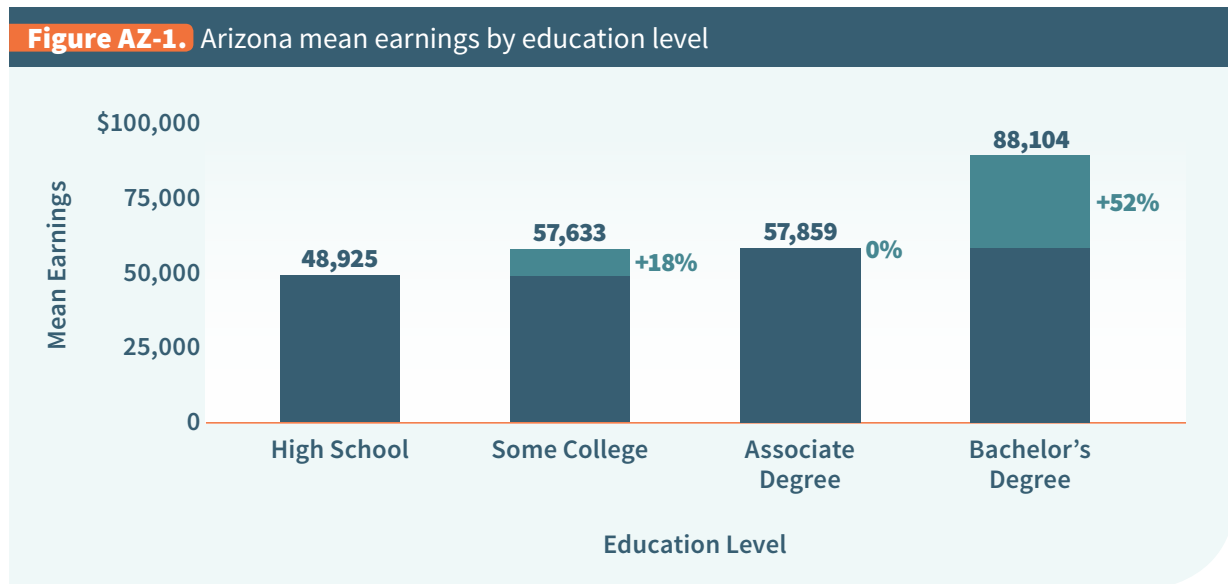
Figure AK-1. Alaska mean earnings by education level



Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the difference from the next-highest level of education in the figure.

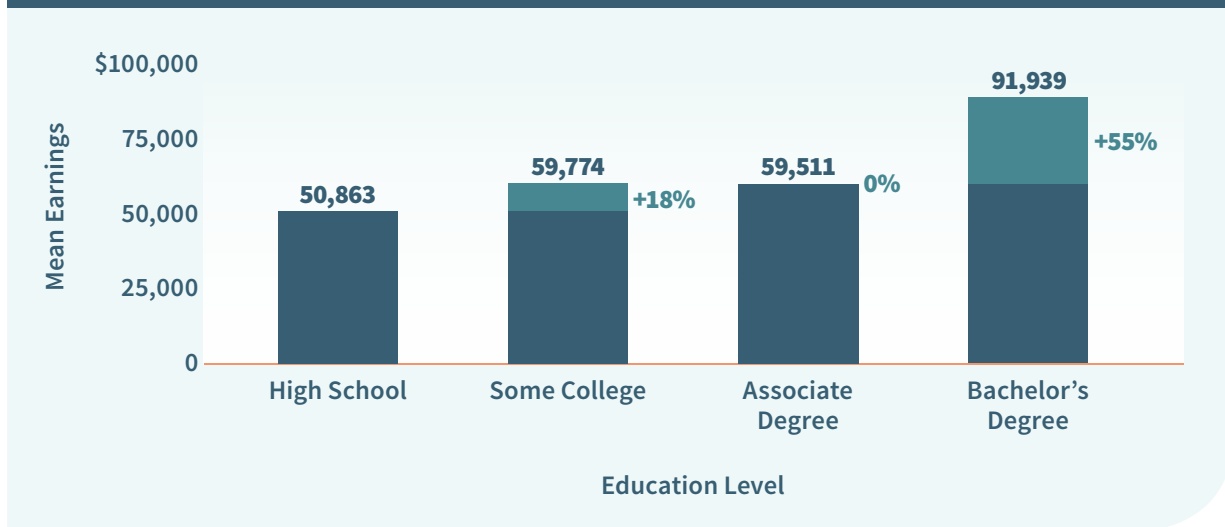
Arizona

On average, Arizonans with bachelor's degrees earn 52.3 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$88,104 versus \$57,859) and 80.1 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure AZ-1).

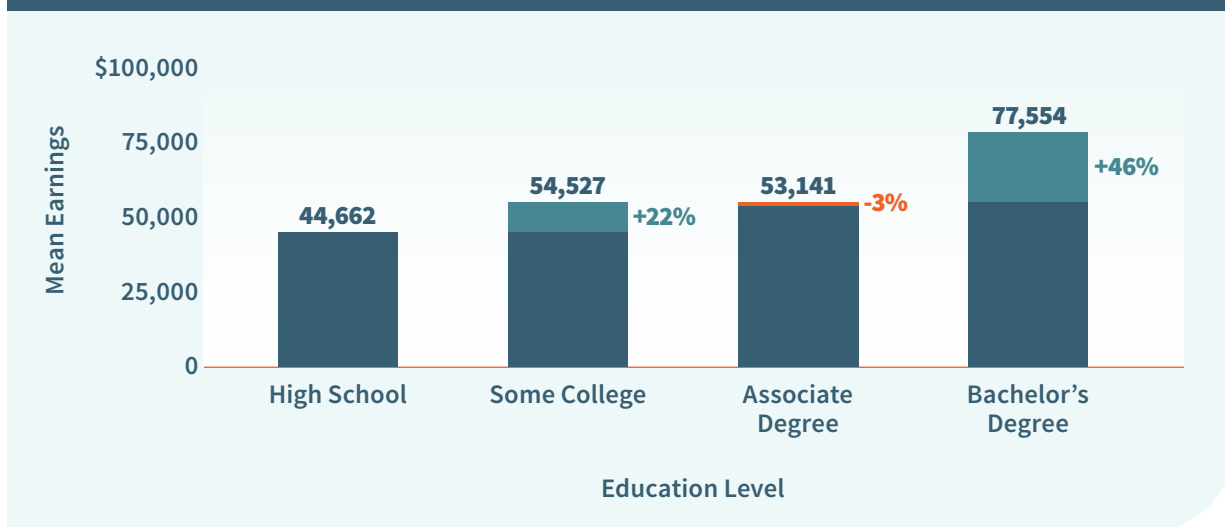


Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the difference from the next-highest level of education in the figure.

The largest MSA in Arizona is Phoenix-Mesa-Scottsdale. On average, workers with bachelor's degrees earn 54.5 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$91,939 versus \$59,511) and 80.8 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure AZ-2). The second largest MSA in Arizona is Tucson. On average, workers with bachelor's degrees earn 45.9 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$77,554 versus \$53,141) and 73.6 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure AZ-3).

Figure AZ-2. Phoenix-Mesa-Scottsdale MSA mean earnings by education level

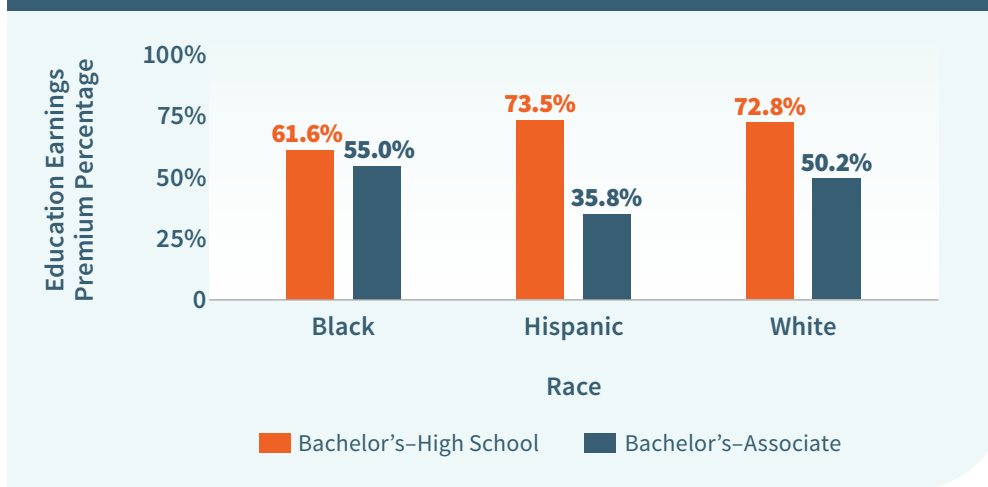
Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the increase from the next-highest level of education in the figure.

Figure AZ-3. Tucson MSA mean earnings by education level

Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the increase from the next-highest level of education in the figure, and the percentage change in orange notes a decrease from the next-highest level of education.

Education earnings premiums by race show that the bachelor's premium versus a high school diploma is higher for Hispanic and white workers than for black workers, but the bachelor's premium versus an associate degree is higher for black and white workers than for Hispanic workers. Black bachelor's degree holders in Arizona earn 55.0 percent more than black workers with associate degrees and 61.6 percent more than black high school graduates in the state. Hispanic bachelor's degree holders earn 35.8 percent more than Hispanic workers with associate degrees and 73.5 percent more than Hispanic high school graduates in the state. For white workers in Arizona, bachelor's degree holders enjoy a 50.2 percent premium over associate degree holders and a 72.8 percent earnings premium relative to high school graduates (Figure AZ-4).

Figure AZ-4. Education earnings premiums by race in Arizona

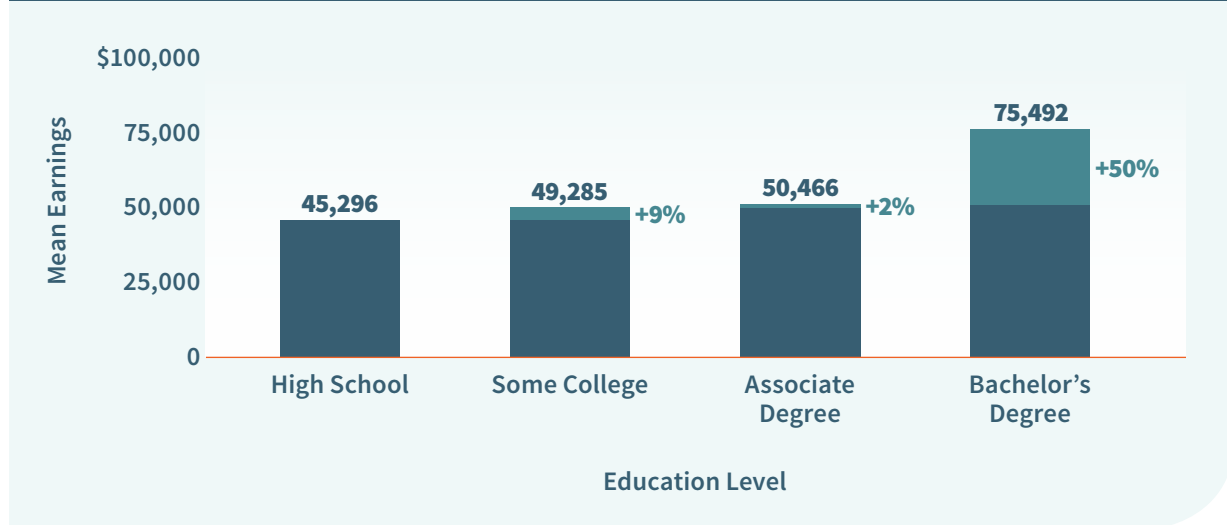


Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The analysis by race/ethnicity is restricted to those jurisdictions with at least ninety workers in the sample by both state and race/ethnicity for each of the three analyzed education groups (high school graduates, workers with associate degrees, and workers with bachelor's degrees).

Arkansas

On average, Arkansans with bachelor's degrees earn 49.6 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$75,492 versus \$50,466) and 66.7 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure AR-1).

Figure AR-1. Arkansas mean earnings by education level

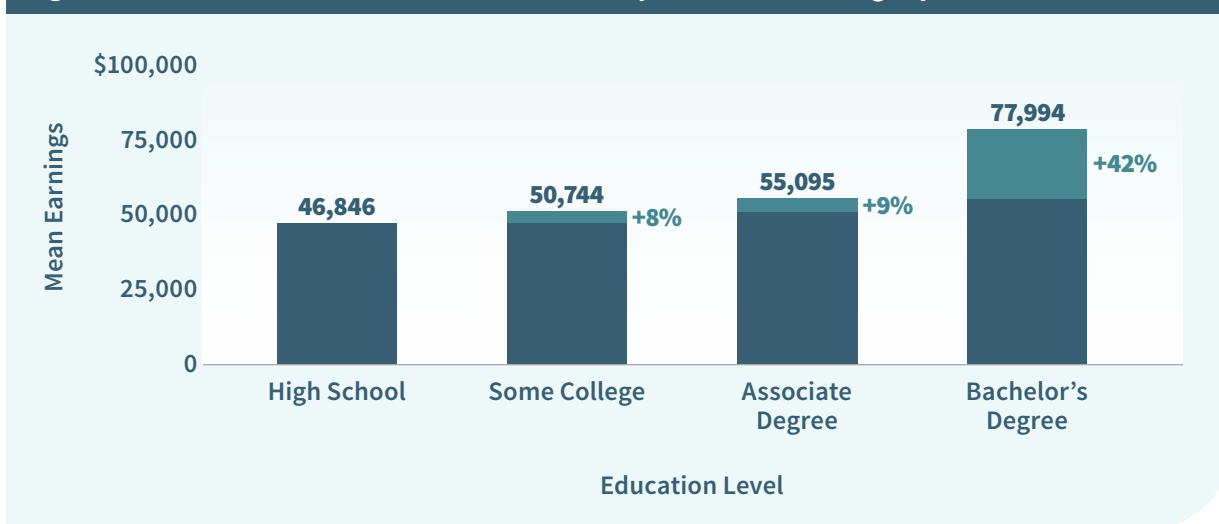


Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the difference from the next-highest level of education in the figure.

The largest MSA in Arkansas is Little Rock-North Little Rock-Conway.¹ On average, workers with bachelor's degrees earn 41.6 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$77,994 versus \$55,095) and 66.5 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure AR-2). Education earnings premiums by race show that premiums are higher for white workers than for black workers. Black bachelor's degree holders in Arkansas earn 17.7 percent more than black workers with associate degrees and 49.8 percent more than black high school graduates in the state. For white workers in Arkansas, bachelor's degree holders enjoy a 52.2 percent premium over associate degree holders and a 64.1 percent earnings premium relative to high school graduates (Figure AR-3).

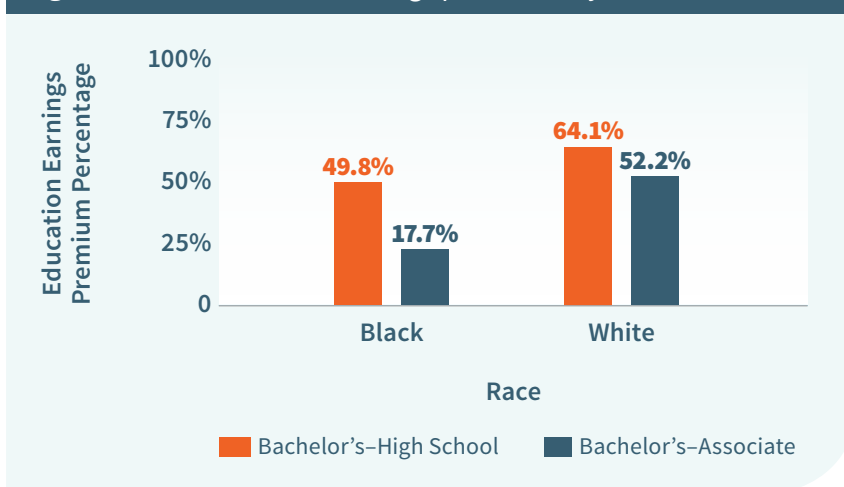
1. Data for a second MSA are reported only when a state has more than one large MSA, defined as a metro area with population greater than 500,000.

Figure AR-2. Little Rock-North Little Rock-Conway MSA mean earnings by education level



Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the difference from the next-highest level of education in the figure.

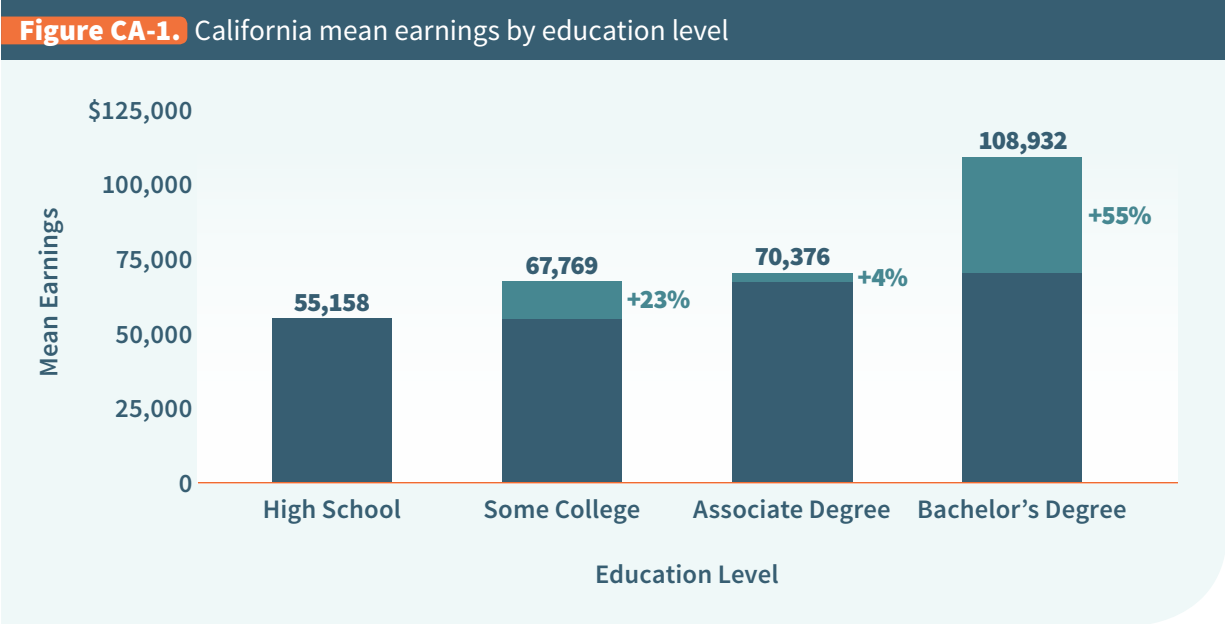
Figure AR-3. Education earnings premiums by race in Arkansas



Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The analysis by race/ethnicity is restricted to those jurisdictions with at least ninety workers in the sample by both state and race/ethnicity for each of the three analyzed education groups (high school graduates, workers with associate degrees, and workers with bachelor's degrees).

California

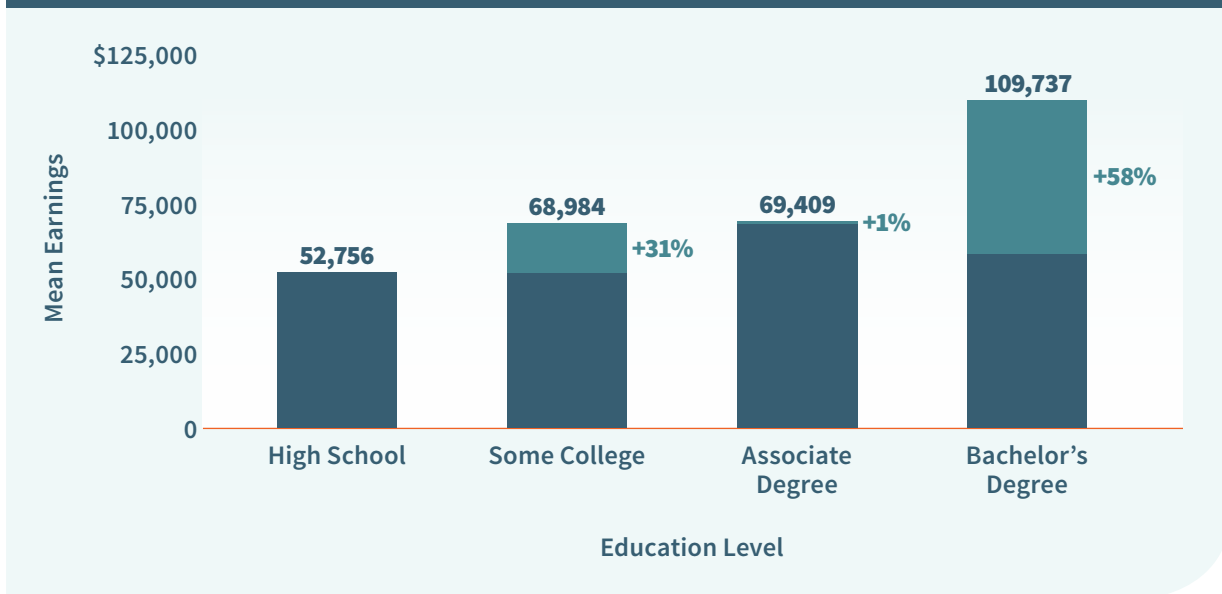
On average, Californians with bachelor’s degrees earn 54.8 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$108,932 versus \$70,376) and 97.5 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure CA-1).



Note: Based on author’s calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the difference from the next-highest level of education in the figure.

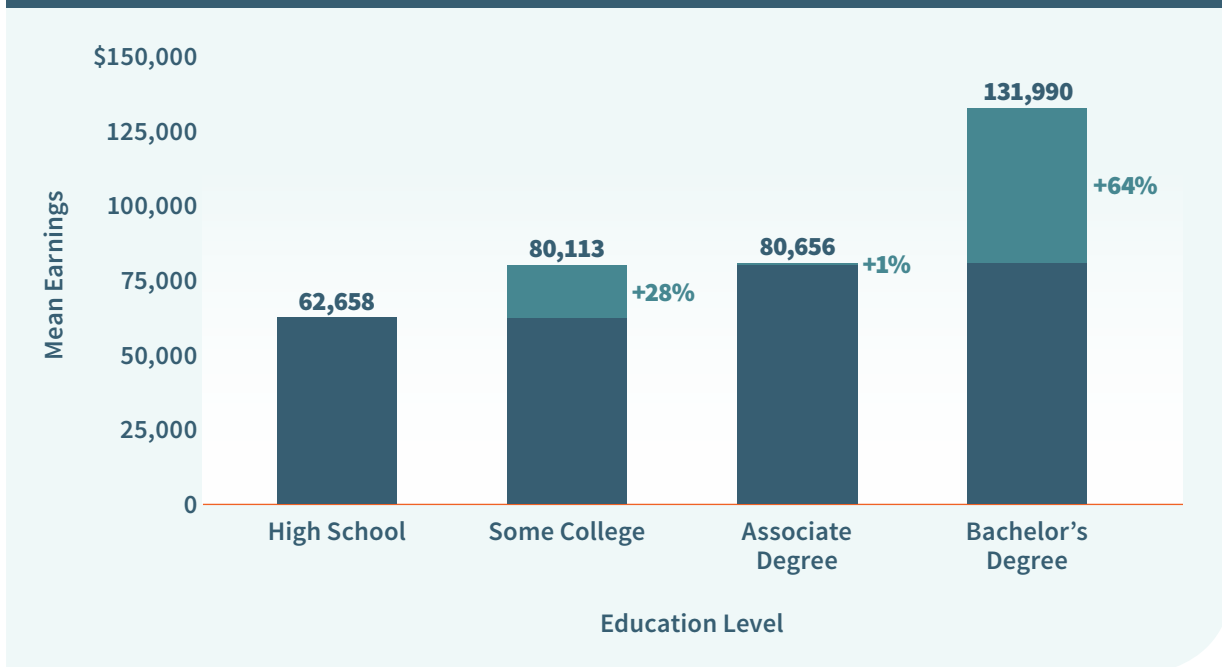
The largest MSA in California is Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim. On average, workers with bachelor’s degrees earn 58.1 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$109,737 versus \$69,409) and 108.0 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure CA-2). The second largest MSA in California is San Francisco-Oakland-Hayward. On average, workers with bachelor’s degrees earn 63.6 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$131,990 versus \$80,656) and 110.7 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure CA-3).

Figure CA-2. Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim MSA mean earnings by education level



Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the difference from the next-highest level of education in the figure.

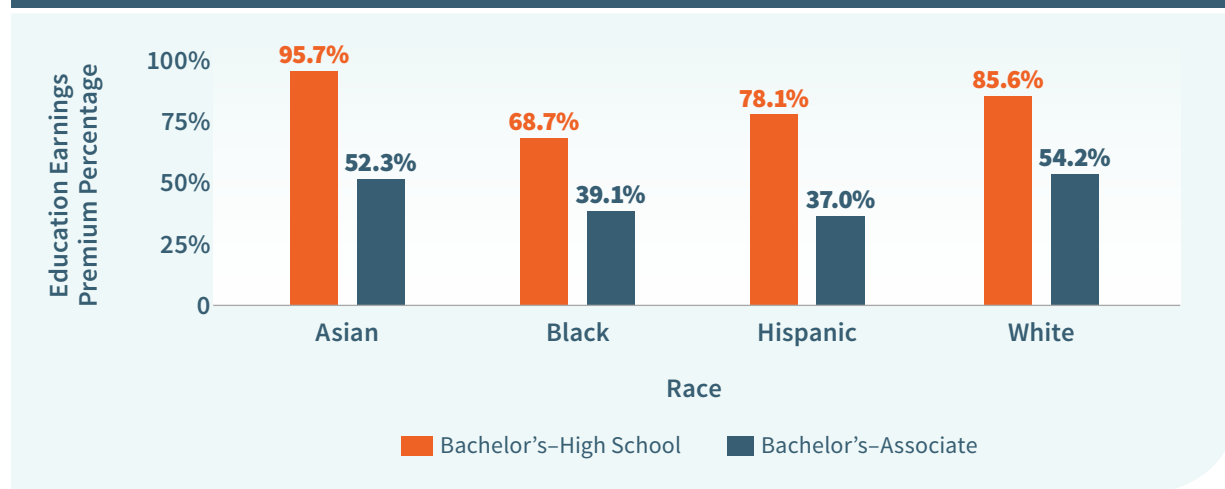
Figure CA-3. San Francisco-Oakland-Hayward MSA mean earnings by education level



Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the difference from the next-highest level of education in the figure.

Education earnings premiums by race show that premiums are higher for Asian and white workers than for black and Hispanic workers. Asian bachelor’s degree holders in California earn 52.3 percent more than Asian workers with associate degrees and 95.7 percent more than Asian high school graduates in the state. Black bachelor’s degree holders earn 39.1 percent more than black workers with associate degrees and 68.7 percent more than black high school graduates in the state. Hispanic bachelor’s degree holders earn 37.0 percent more than Hispanic workers with associate degrees and 78.1 percent more than Hispanic high school graduates in the state. For white workers in California, bachelor’s degree holders enjoy a 54.2 percent premium over associate degree holders and an 85.6 percent earnings premium relative to high school graduates (Figure CA-4).

Figure CA-4. Education earnings premiums by race in California

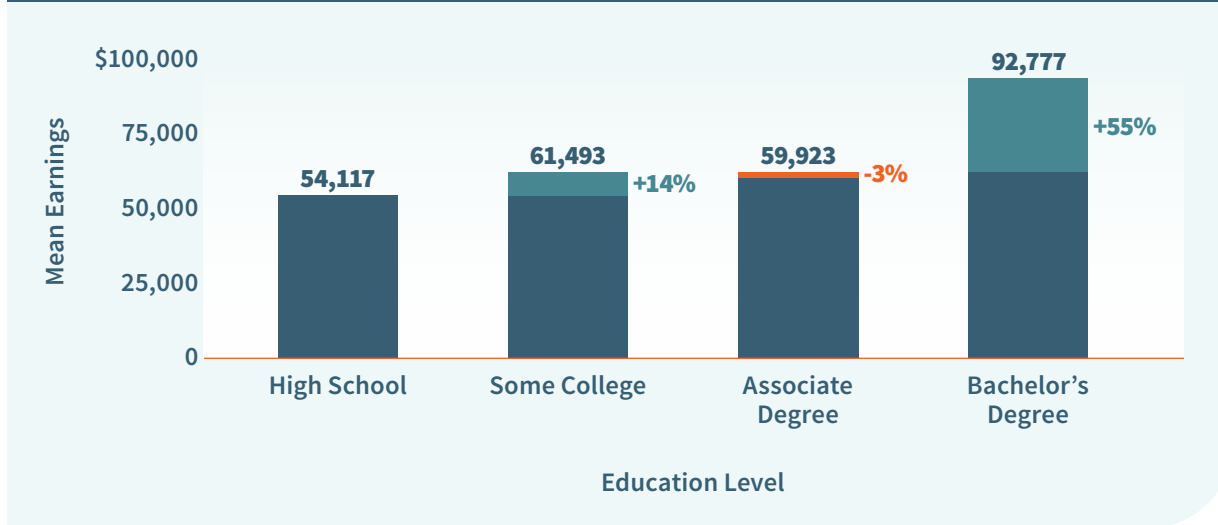


Note: Based on author’s calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The analysis by race/ethnicity is restricted to those jurisdictions with at least ninety workers in the sample by both state and race/ethnicity for each of the three analyzed education groups (high school graduates, workers with associate degrees, and workers with bachelor’s degrees).

Colorado

On average, Coloradans with bachelor's degrees earn 54.8 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$92,777 versus \$59,923) and 71.4 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure CO-1).

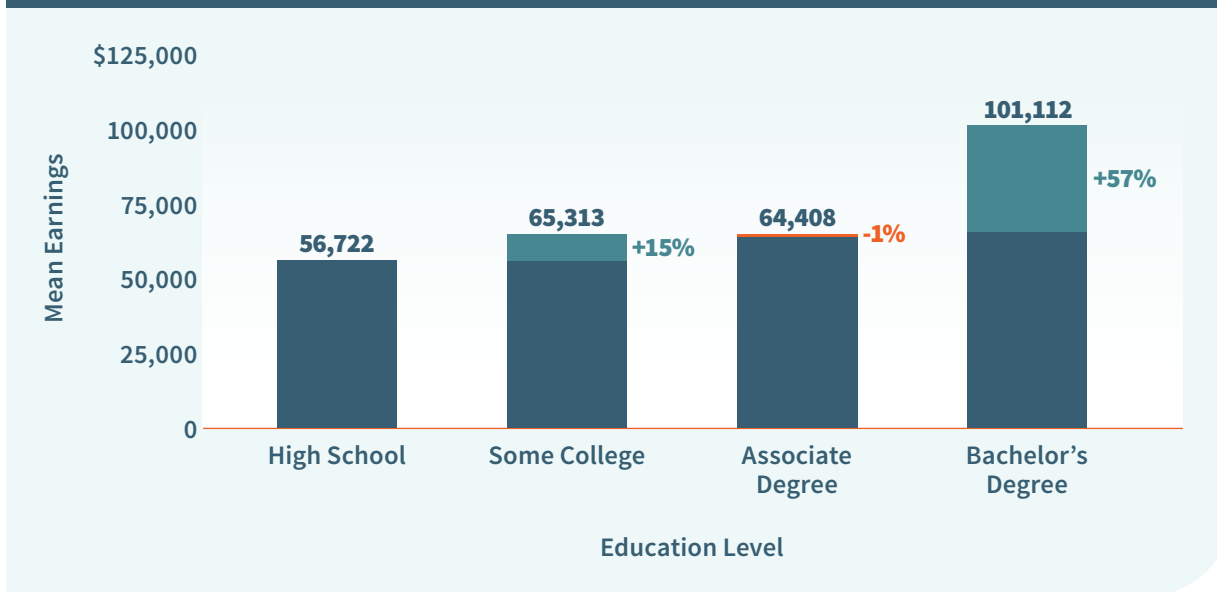
Figure CO-1. Colorado mean earnings by education level



Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the increase from the next-highest level of education in the figure, and the percentage change in orange notes a decrease from the next-highest level of education.

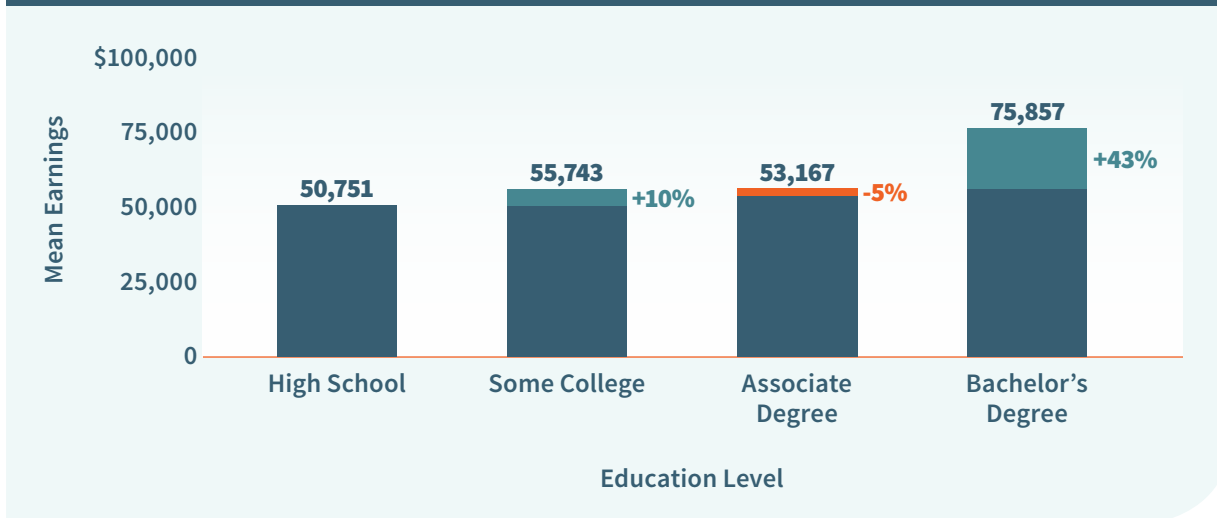
The largest MSA in Colorado is Denver-Aurora-Lakewood. On average, workers with bachelor's degrees earn 57.0 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$101,112 versus \$64,408) and 78.3 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure CO-2). The second largest MSA in Colorado is Colorado Springs. On average, workers with bachelor's degrees earn 42.7 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$75,857 versus \$53,167) and 49.5 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure CO-3).

Figure CO-2. Denver-Aurora-Lakewood MSA mean earnings by education level



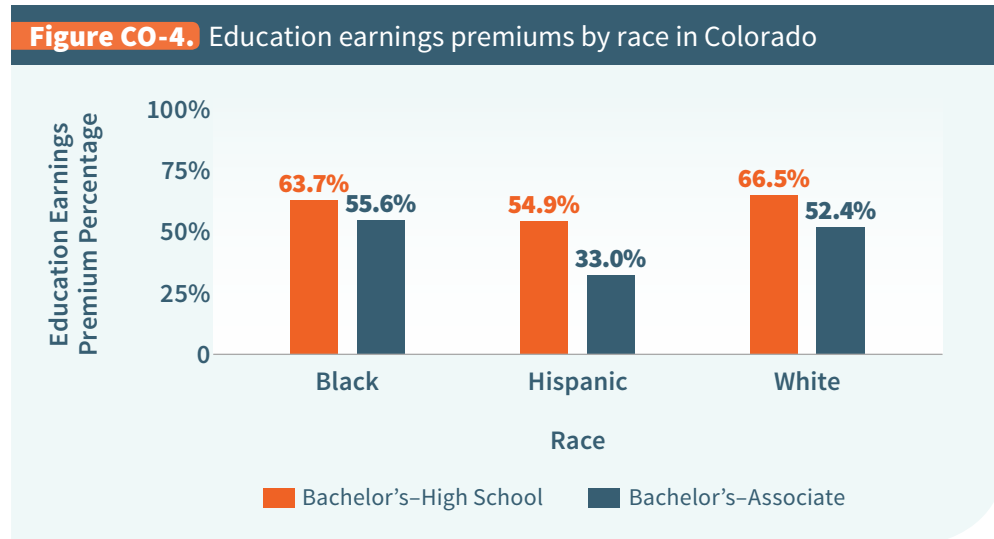
Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the increase from the next-highest level of education in the figure, and the percentage change in orange notes a decrease from the next-highest level of education.

Figure CO-3. Colorado Springs MSA mean earnings by education level



Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the increase from the next-highest level of education in the figure, and the percentage change in orange notes a decrease from the next-highest level of education.

Education earnings premiums by race show that premiums are higher for black and white workers than for Hispanic workers. Black bachelor’s degree holders in Colorado earn 55.6 percent more than black workers with associate degrees and 63.7 percent more than black high school graduates in the state. Hispanic bachelor’s degree holders earn 33.0 percent more than Hispanic workers with associate degrees and 54.9 percent more than Hispanic high school graduates in the state. For white workers in Colorado, bachelor’s degree holders enjoy a 52.4 percent premium over associate degree holders and a 66.5 percent earnings premium relative to high school graduates (Figure CO-4).

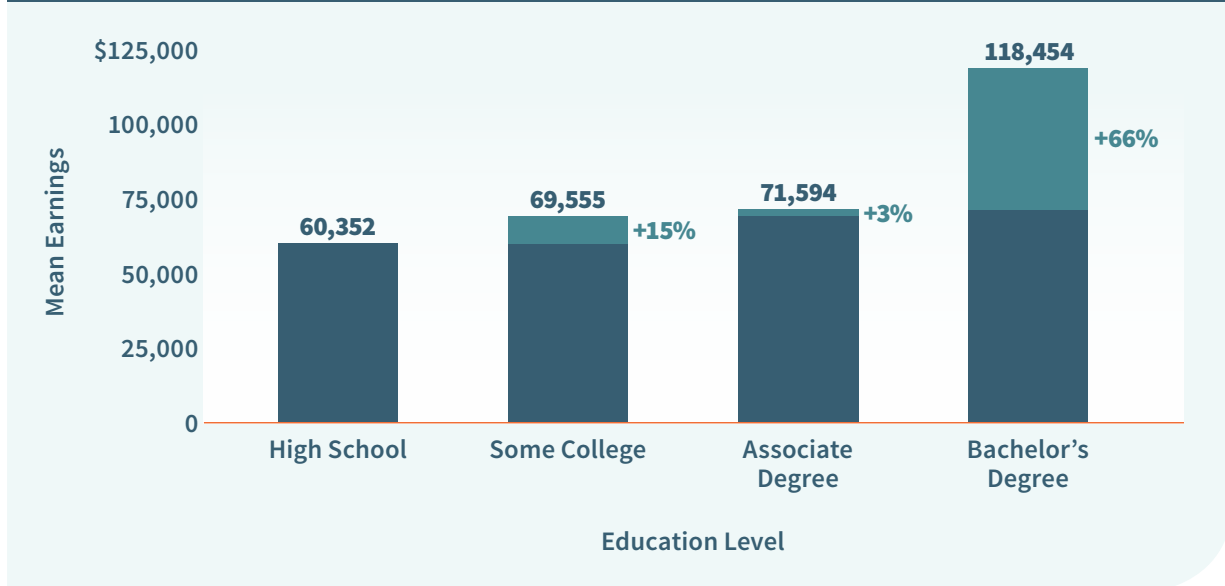


Note: Based on author’s calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The analysis by race/ethnicity is restricted to those jurisdictions with at least ninety workers in the sample by both state and race/ethnicity for each of the three analyzed education groups (high school graduates, workers with associate degrees, and workers with bachelor’s degrees).

Connecticut

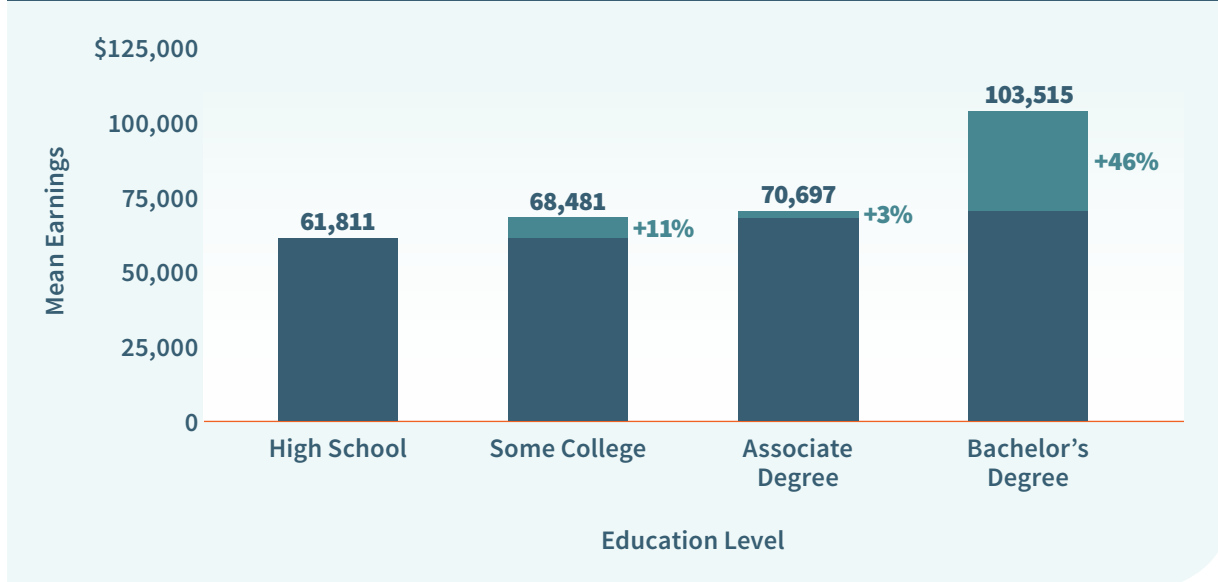
On average, Connecticuters with bachelor's degrees earn 65.5 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$118,454 versus \$71,594) and 96.3 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure CT-1).

Figure CT-1. Connecticut mean earnings by education level

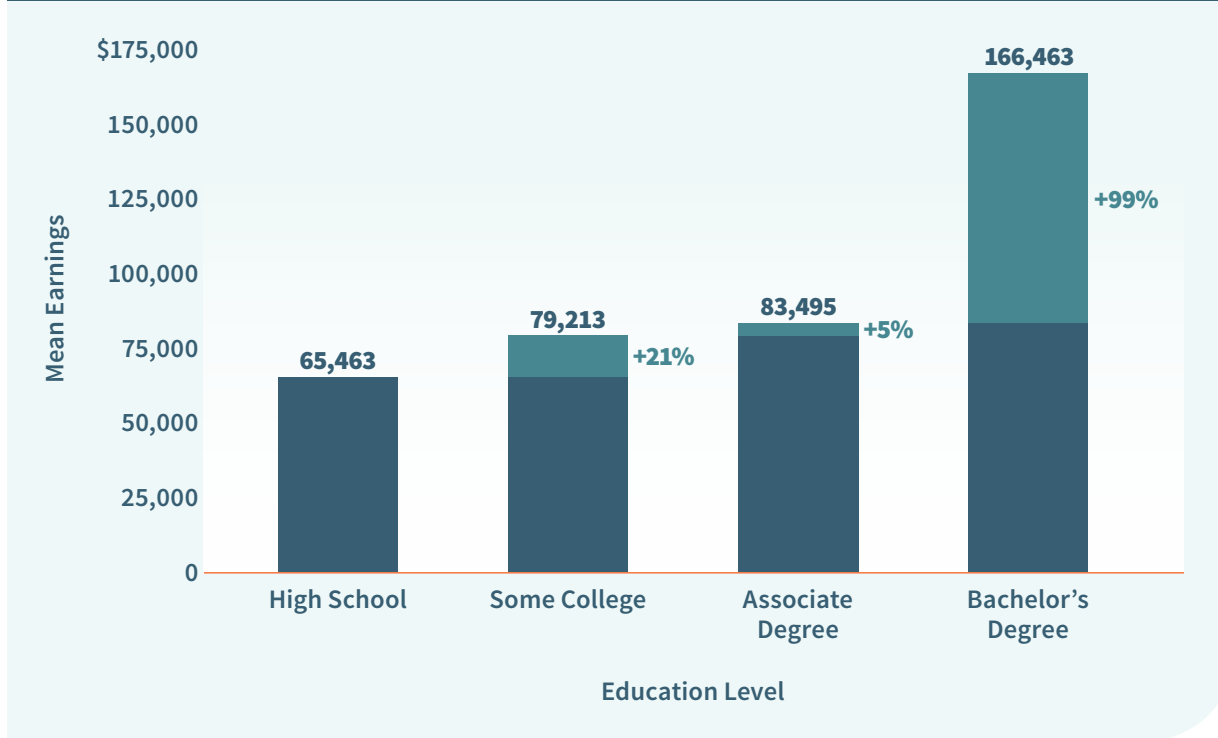


Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the difference from the next-highest level of education in the figure.

The largest MSA in Connecticut is Hartford-West Hartford-East Hartford. On average, workers with bachelor's degrees earn 46.4 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$103,515 versus \$70,697) and 67.5 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure CT-2). The second largest MSA in Connecticut is Bridgeport-Stamford-Norwalk. On average, workers with bachelor's degrees earn 99.4 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$166,463 versus \$83,495) and 154.3 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure CT-3).

Figure CT-2. Hartford-West Hartford-East Hartford MSA mean earnings by education level

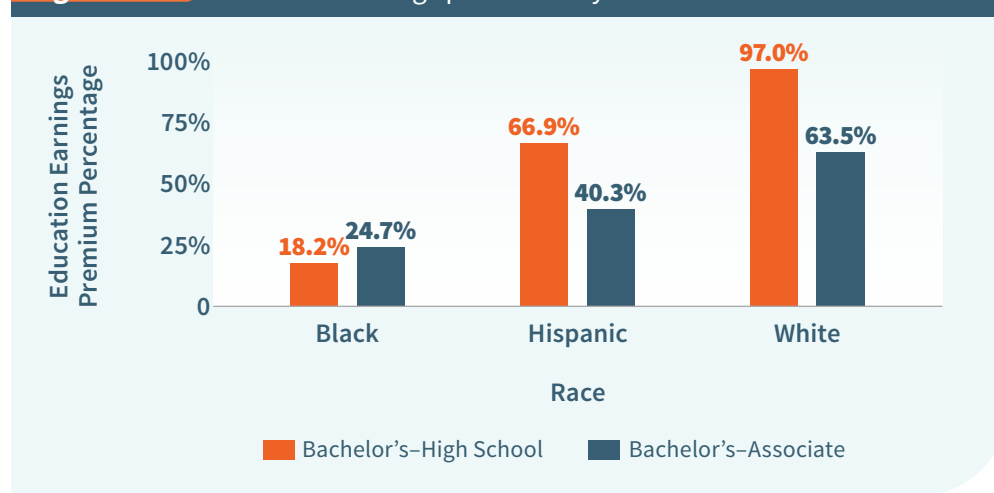
Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the difference from the next-highest level of education in the figure.

Figure CT-3. Bridgeport-Stamford-Norwalk MSA mean earnings by education level

Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the difference from the next-highest level of education in the figure.

Education earnings premiums by race show that premiums are higher for white workers than for black and Hispanic workers. Black bachelor's degree holders in Connecticut earn 24.7 percent more than black workers with associate degrees and 18.2 percent more than black high school graduates in the state. Hispanic bachelor's degree holders earn 40.3 percent more than Hispanic workers with associate degrees and 66.9 percent more than Hispanic high school graduates in the state. For white workers in Connecticut, bachelor's degree holders enjoy a 63.5 percent premium over associate degree holders and a 97.0 percent earnings premium relative to high school graduates (Figure CT-4).

Figure CT-4. Education earnings premiums by race in Connecticut



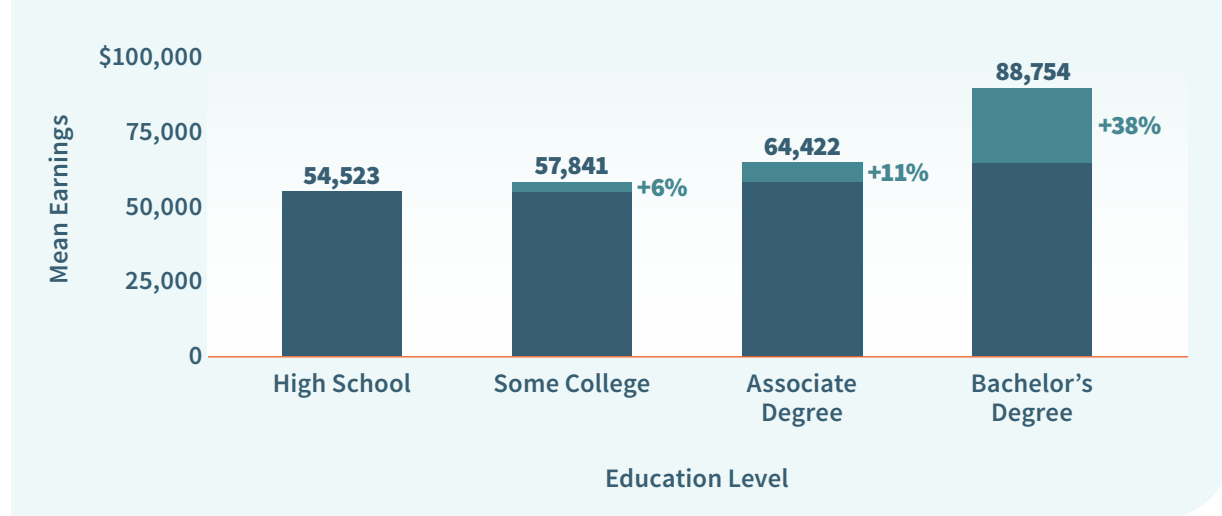
Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The analysis by race/ethnicity is restricted to those jurisdictions with at least ninety workers in the sample by both state and race/ethnicity for each of the three analyzed education groups (high school graduates, workers with associate degrees, and workers with bachelor's degrees).

Delaware

On average, Delawareans with bachelor's degrees earn 37.8 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$88,754 versus \$64,422) and 62.8 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure DE-1).

Delaware has no MSA with population greater than 500,000.

Figure DE-1. Delaware mean earnings by education level



Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the difference from the next-highest level of education in the figure.

District of Columbia

On average, Washingtonians with bachelor's degrees earn 78.6 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$114,706 versus \$64,221) and 97.4 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure DC-1). The largest MSA in the District of Columbia is Washington-Arlington-Alexandria.¹ On average, workers with bachelor's degrees earn 56.5 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$116,815 versus \$74,653) and 88.3 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure DC-2).

Figure DC-1. District of Columbia mean earnings by education level

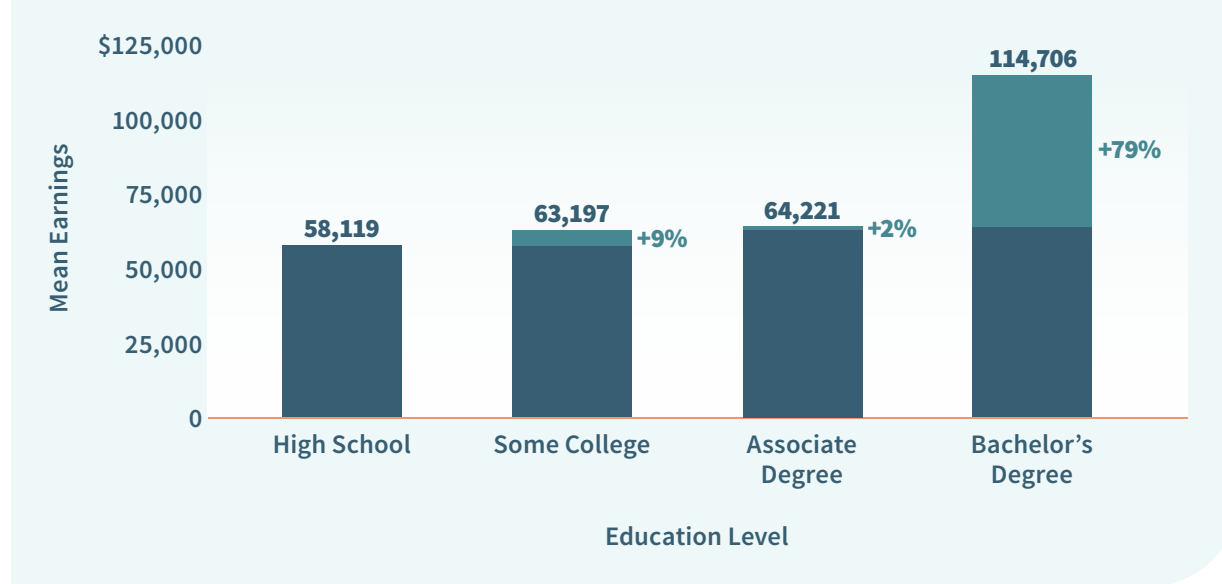
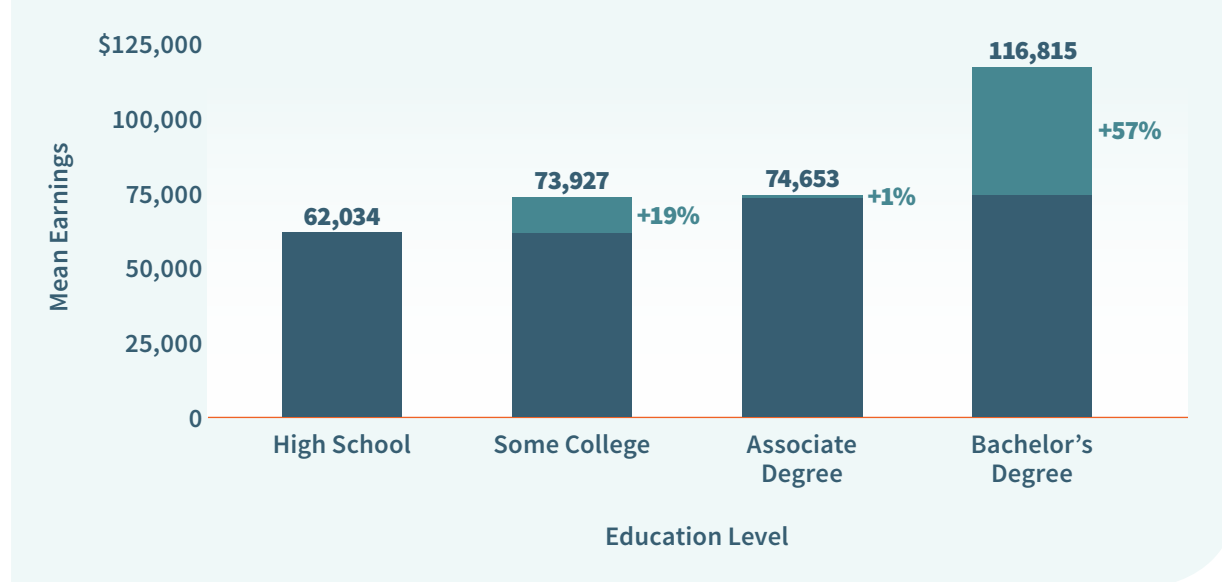


Figure DC-2. Washington-Arlington-Alexandria MSA mean earnings by education level

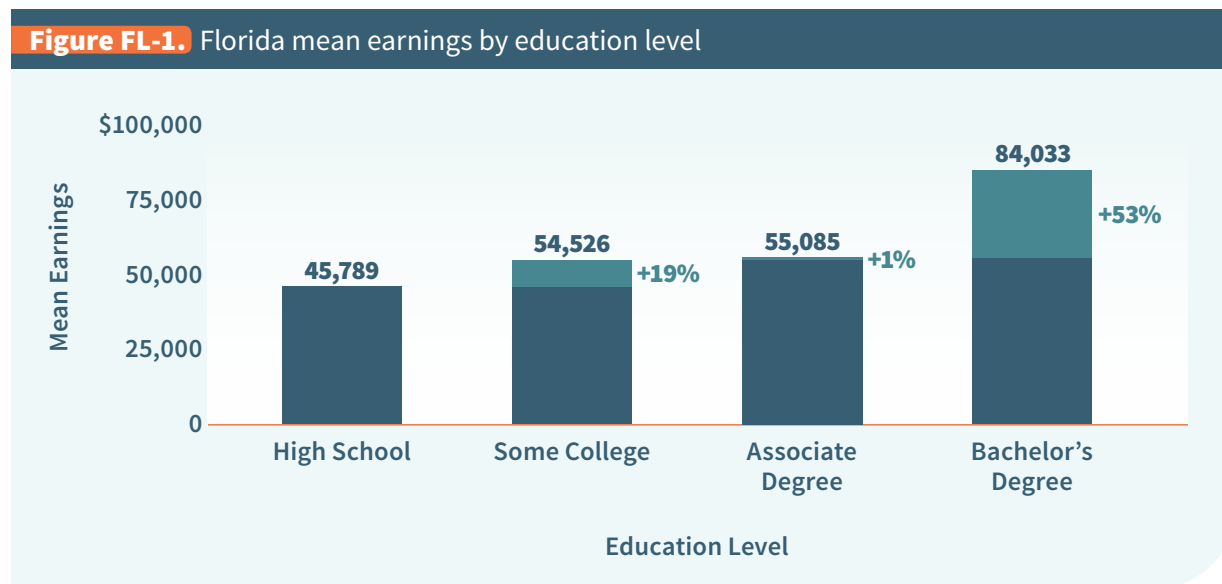


Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The samples are limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the difference from the next-highest level of education in the figure.

1. Data for a second MSA are reported only when a state (or, in this case, the District of Columbia) has more than one large MSA, defined as a metro area with population greater than 500,000.

Florida

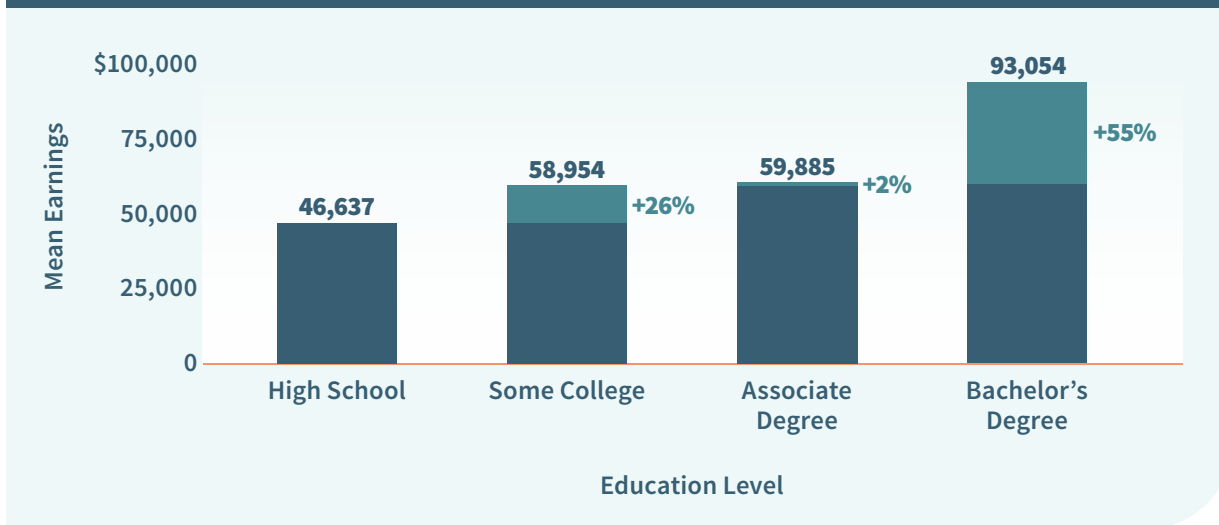
On average, Floridians with bachelor's degrees earn 52.6 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$84,033 versus \$55,085) and 83.5 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure FL-1).



Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the difference from the next-highest level of education in the figure.

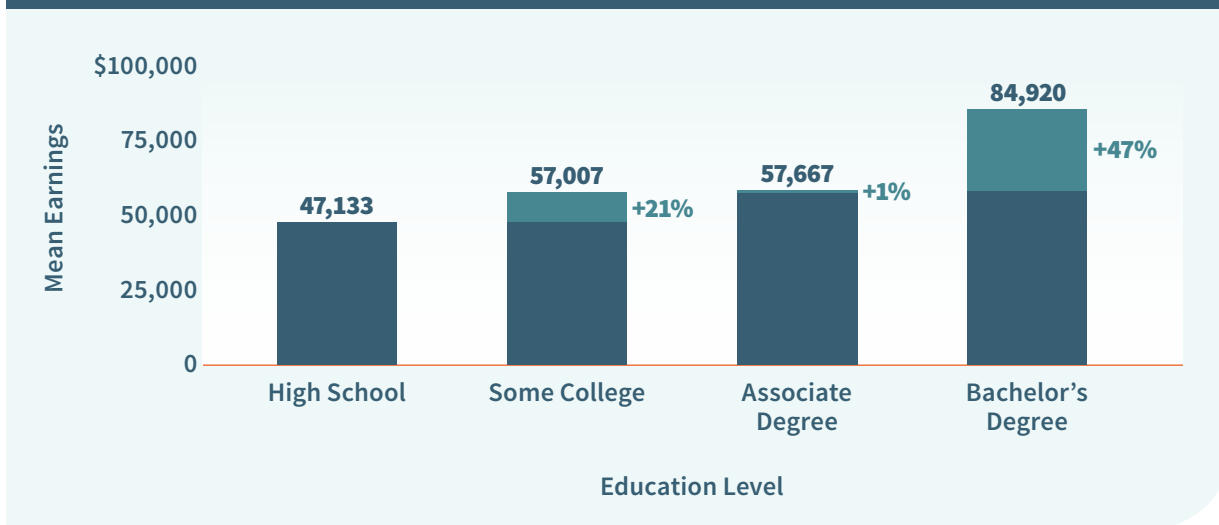
The largest MSA in Florida is Miami-Fort Lauderdale-West Palm Beach. On average, workers with bachelor's degrees earn 55.4 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$93,054 versus \$59,885) and 99.5 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure FL-2). The second largest MSA in Florida is Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater. On average, workers with bachelor's degrees earn 47.3 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$84,920 versus \$57,667) and 80.2 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure FL-3).

Figure FL-2. Miami-Fort Lauderdale-West Palm Beach MSA mean earnings by education level



Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the difference from the next-highest level of education in the figure.

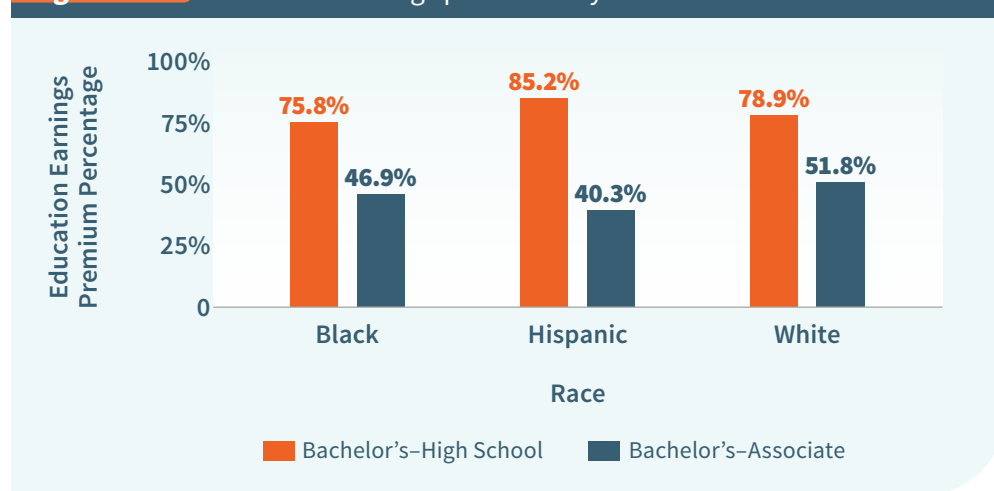
Figure FL-3. Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater MSA mean earnings by education level



Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the difference from the next-highest level of education in the figure.

Education earnings premiums by race show that premiums are higher for black and white workers than for Hispanic workers. Black bachelor's degree holders in Florida earn 46.9 percent more than black workers with associate degrees and 75.8 percent more than black high school graduates in the state. Hispanic bachelor's degree holders earn 40.3 percent more than Hispanic workers with associate degrees and 85.2 percent more than Hispanic high school graduates in the state. For white workers in Florida, bachelor's degree holders enjoy a 51.8 percent premium over associate degree holders and a 78.9 percent earnings premium relative to high school graduates (Figure FL-4).

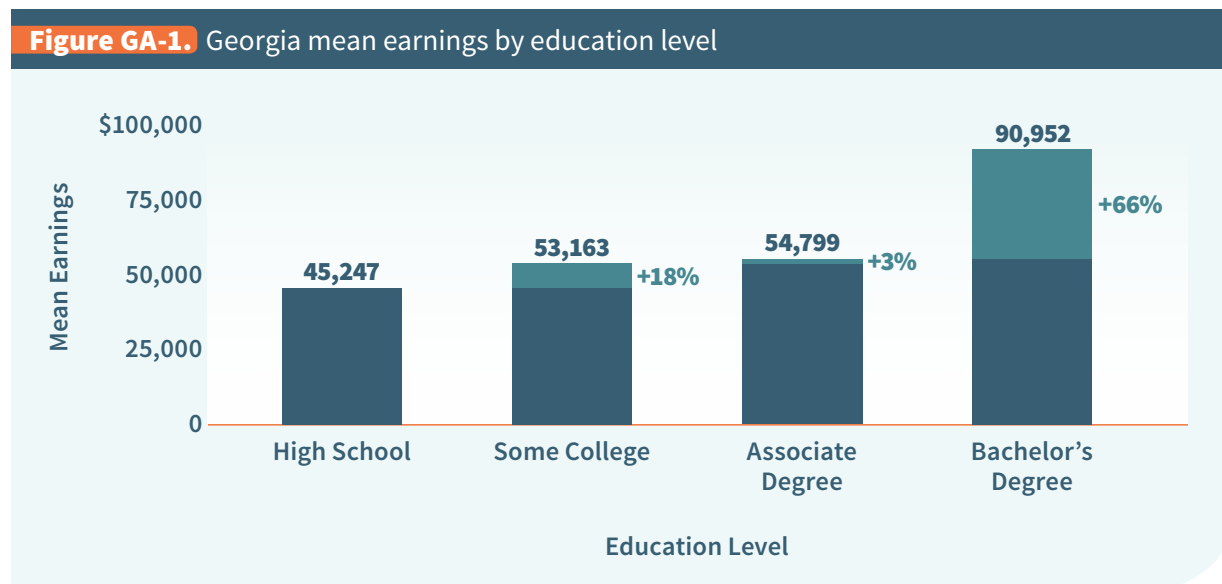
Figure FL-4. Education earnings premiums by race in Florida



Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The analysis by race/ethnicity is restricted to those jurisdictions with at least ninety workers in the sample by both state and race/ethnicity for each of the three analyzed education groups (high school graduates, workers with associate degrees, and workers with bachelor's degrees).

Georgia

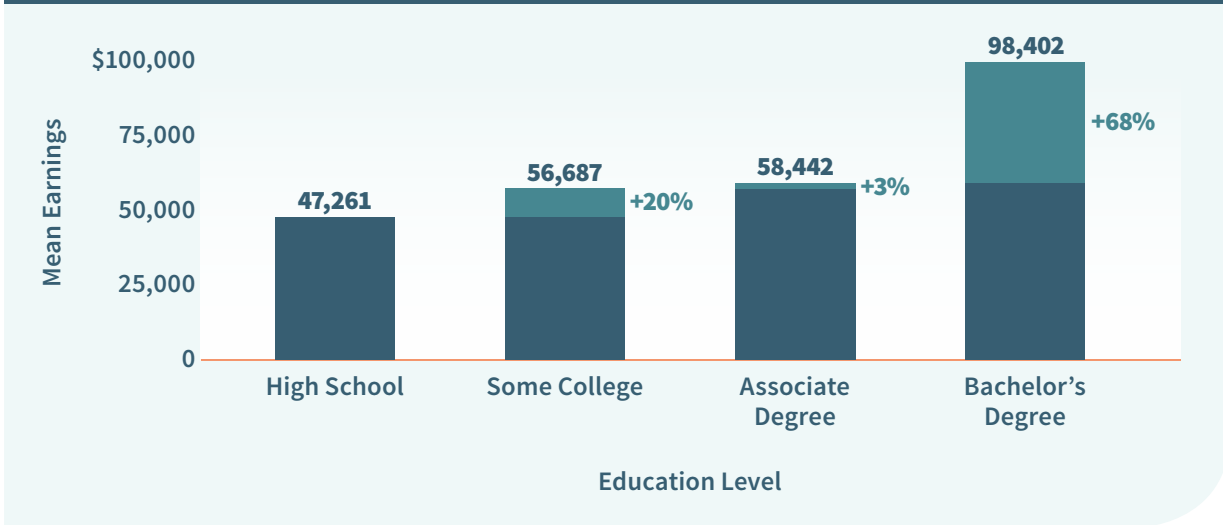
On average, Georgians with bachelor's degrees earn 66.0 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$90,952 versus \$54,799) and 101.0 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure GA-1).



Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the difference from the next-highest level of education in the figure.

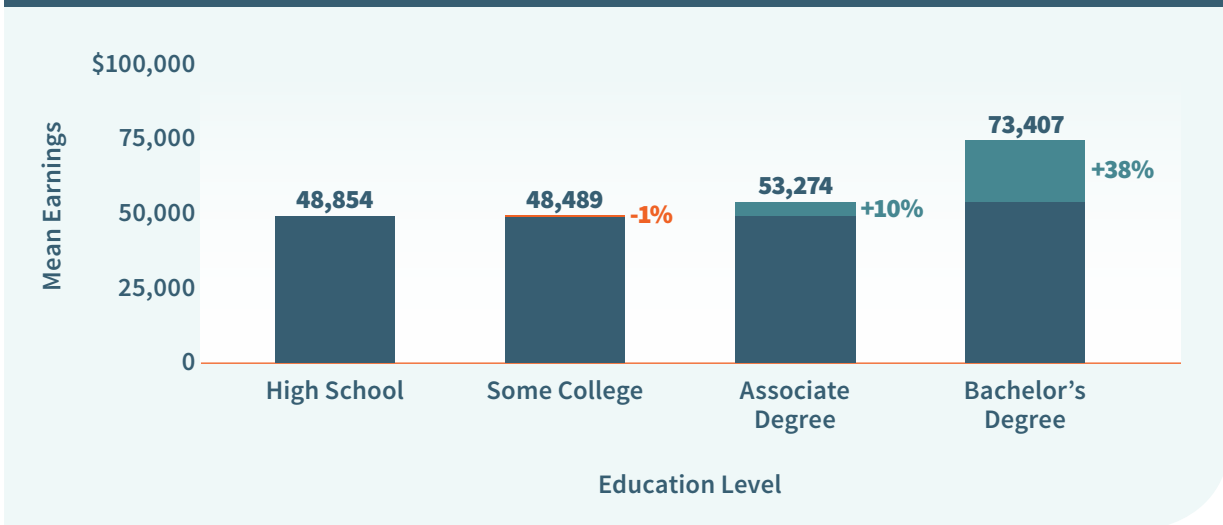
The largest MSA in Georgia is Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Roswell. On average, workers with bachelor's degrees earn 68.4 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$98,402 versus \$58,442) and 108.2 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure GA-2). The second largest MSA in Georgia is Augusta-Richmond County. On average, workers with bachelor's degrees earn 37.8 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$73,407 versus \$53,274) and 50.3 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure GA-3).

Figure GA-2. Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Roswell MSA mean earnings by education level



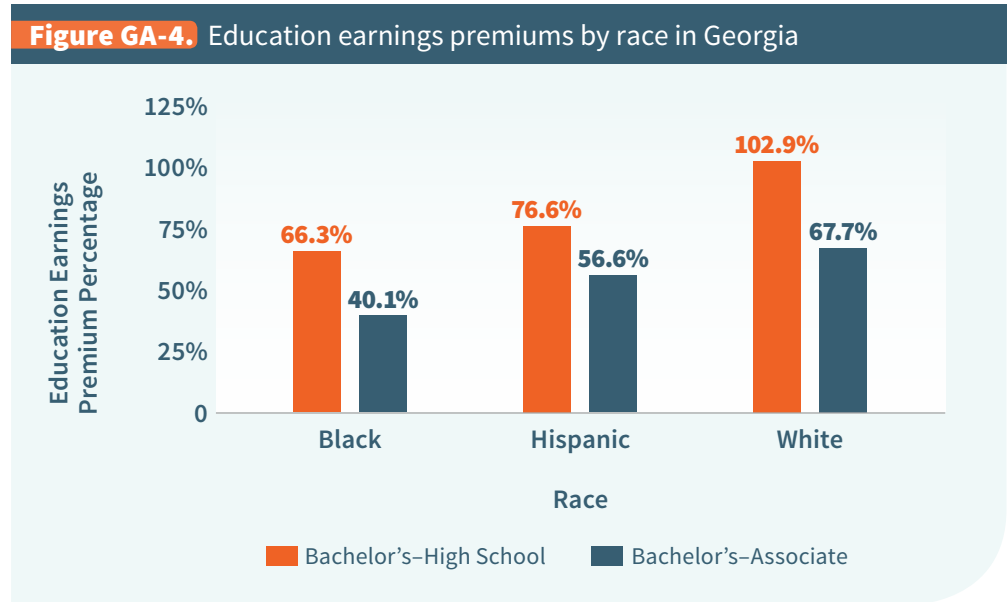
Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the difference from the next-highest level of education in the figure.

Figure GA-3. Augusta-Richmond County MSA mean earnings by education level



Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the increase from the next-highest level of education in the figure, and the percentage change in orange notes a decrease from the next-highest level of education.

Education earnings premiums by race show that premiums are higher for white workers than for black and Hispanic workers. Black bachelor’s degree holders in Georgia earn 40.1 percent more than black workers with associate degrees and 66.3 percent more than black high school graduates in the state. Hispanic bachelor’s degree holders earn 56.6 percent more than Hispanic workers with associate degrees and 76.6 percent more than Hispanic high school graduates in the state. For white workers in Georgia, bachelor’s degree holders enjoy a 67.7 percent premium over associate degree holders and a 102.9 percent earnings premium relative to high school graduates (Figure GA-4).

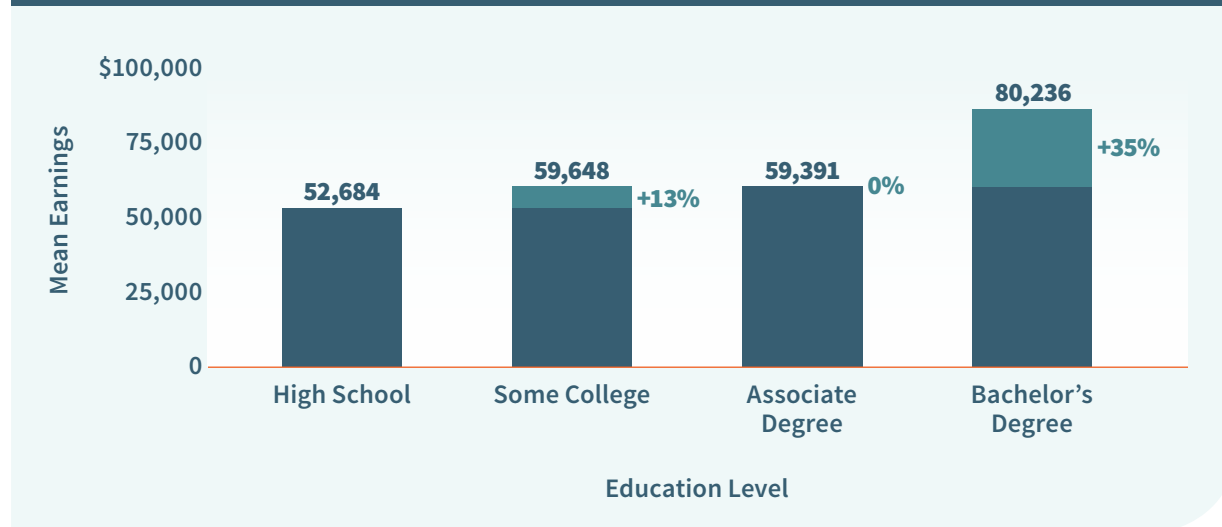


Note: Based on author’s calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The analysis by race/ethnicity is restricted to those jurisdictions with at least ninety workers in the sample by both state and race/ethnicity for each of the three analyzed education groups (high school graduates, workers with associate degrees, and workers with bachelor’s degrees).

Hawaii

On average, Hawaiians with bachelor's degrees earn 35.1 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$80,236 versus \$59,391) and 52.3 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure HI-1).

Figure HI-1. Hawaii mean earnings by education level

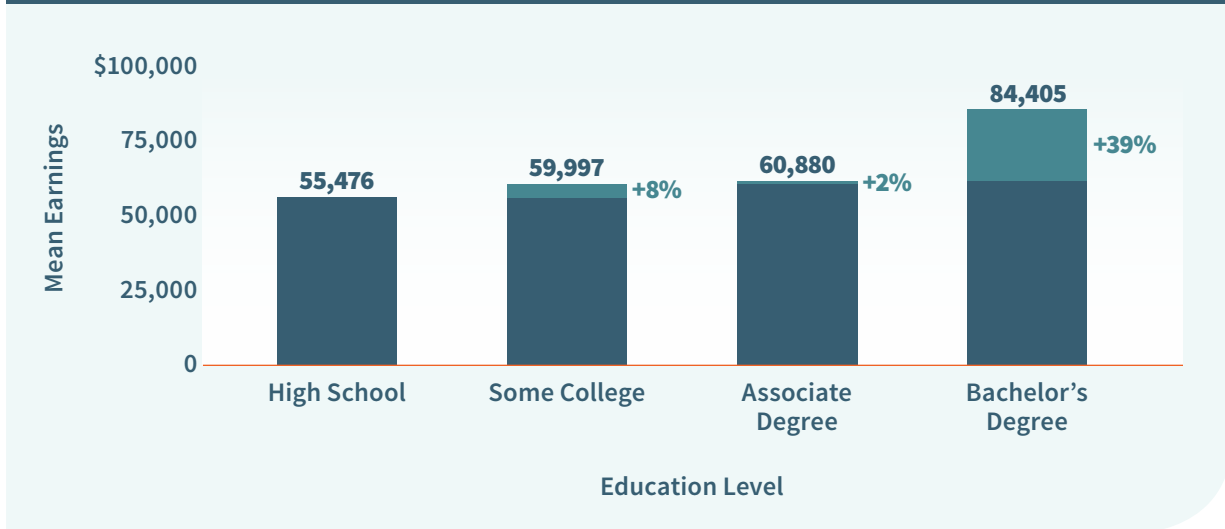


Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the increase from the next-highest level of education in the figure.

The largest MSA in Hawaii is Urban Honolulu.¹ On average, workers with bachelor's degrees earn 38.6 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$84,405 versus \$60,880) and 52.1 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure HI-2). Education earnings premiums by race show that the bachelor's premium versus a high school diploma is similar for Asian and white workers, but the bachelor's premium versus an associate degree is higher for white workers than for Asian workers. Asian bachelor's degree holders in Hawaii earn 25.1 percent more than Asian workers with associate degrees and 49.7 percent more than Asian high school graduates in the state. For white workers in Hawaii, bachelor's degree holders enjoy a 46.7 percent premium over associate degree holders and a 48.0 percent earnings premium relative to high school graduates (Figure HI-3).

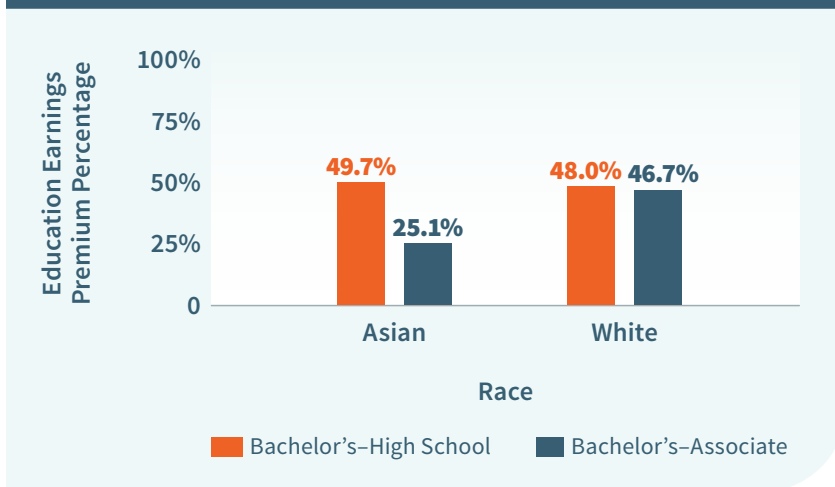
1. Data for a second MSA are reported only when a state has more than one large MSA, defined as a metro area with population greater than 500,000.

Figure HI-2. Urban Honolulu MSA mean earnings by education level



Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the difference from the next-highest level of education in the figure.

Figure HI-3. Education earnings premiums by race in Hawaii



Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The analysis by race/ethnicity is restricted to those jurisdictions with at least ninety workers in the sample by both state and race/ethnicity for each of the three analyzed education groups (high school graduates, workers with associate degrees, and workers with bachelor's degrees).

Idaho

On average, Idahoans with bachelor's degrees earn 39.9 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$79,114 versus \$56,550) and 67.7 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure ID-1). The largest MSA in Idaho is Boise.¹ On average, workers with bachelor's degrees earn 38.2 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$82,784 versus \$59,897) and 83.9 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure ID-2).

Figure ID-1. Idaho mean earnings by education level

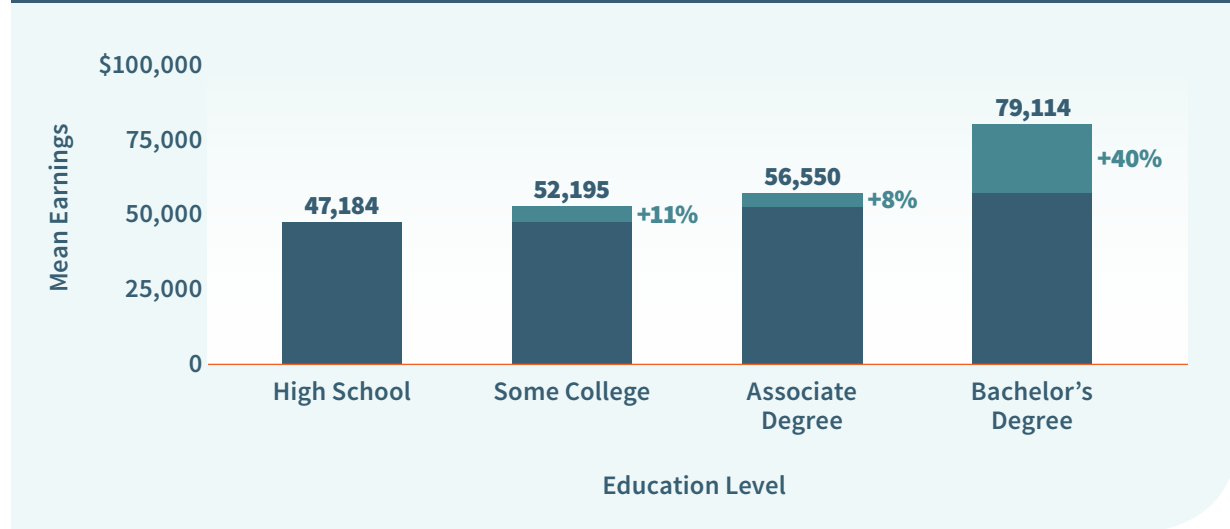
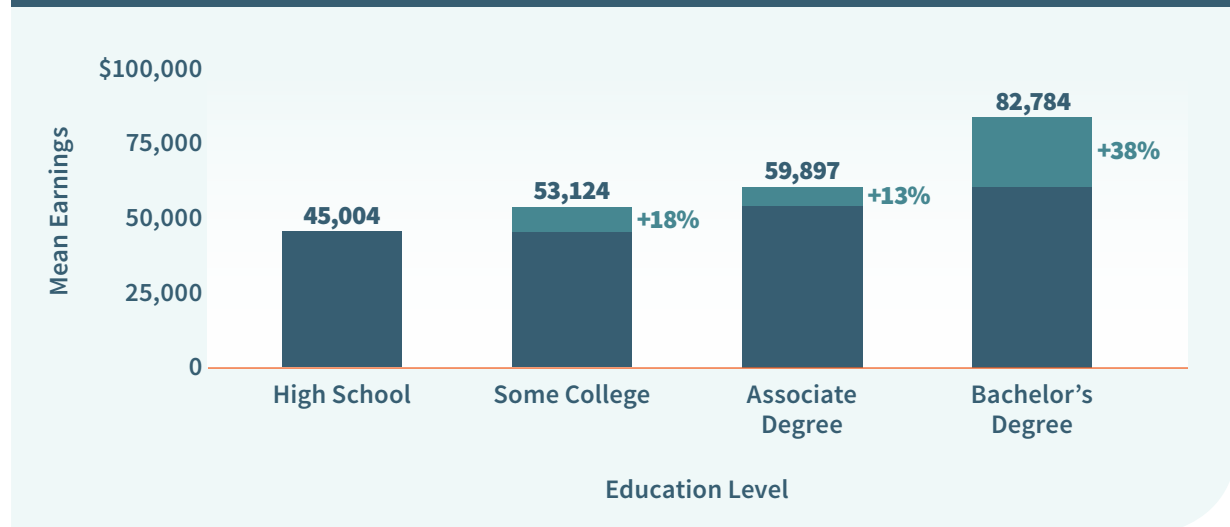


Figure ID-2. Boise MSA mean earnings by education level



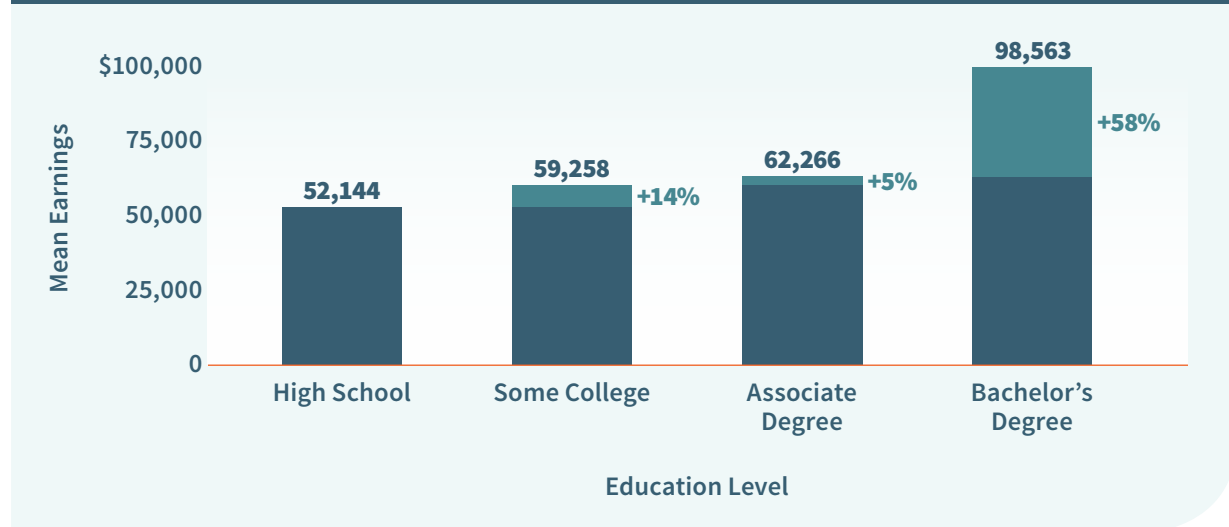
Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The samples are limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the difference from the next-highest level of education in the figure.

1. Data for a second MSA are reported only when a state has more than one large MSA, defined as a metro area with population greater than 500,000.

Illinois

On average, Illinoisans with bachelor's degrees earn 58.3 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$98,563 versus \$62,266) and 89.0 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure IL-1).

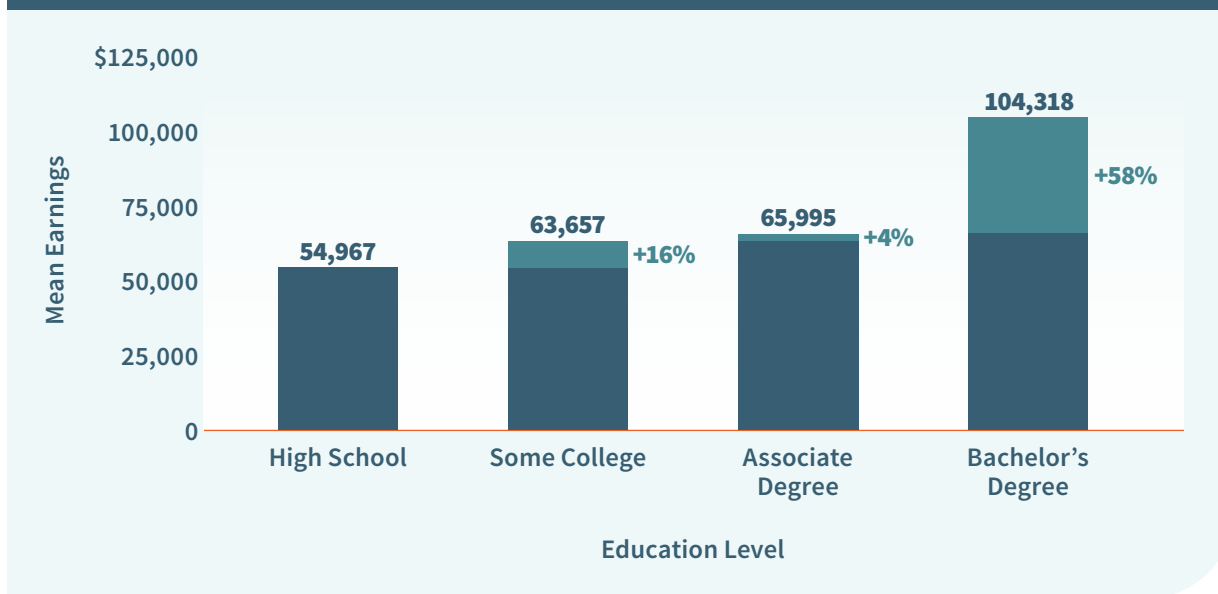
Figure IL-1. Illinois mean earnings by education level



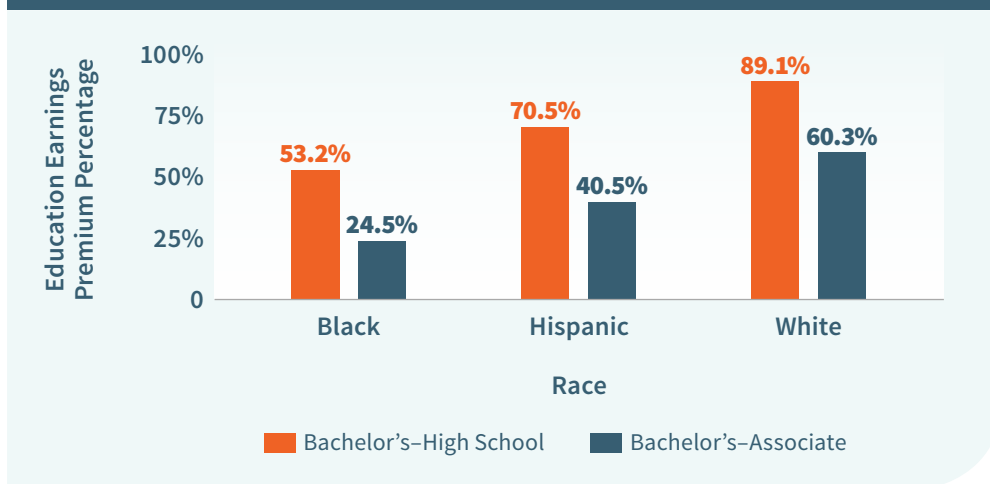
Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the difference from the next-highest level of education in the figure.

The largest MSA in Illinois is Chicago-Naperville-Elgin.¹ On average, workers with bachelor's degrees earn 58.1 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$104,318 versus \$65,995) and 89.8 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure IL-2). Education earnings premiums by race show that premiums are higher for white workers than for black and Hispanic workers. Black bachelor's degree holders in Illinois earn 24.5 percent more than black workers with associate degrees and 53.2 percent more than black high school graduates in the state. Hispanic bachelor's degree holders earn 40.5 percent more than Hispanic workers with associate degrees and 70.5 percent more than Hispanic high school graduates in the state. For white workers in Illinois, bachelor's degree holders enjoy a 60.3 percent premium over associate degree holders and an 89.1 percent earnings premium relative to high school graduates (Figure IL-3).

1. Data for a second MSA are reported only when a state has more than one large MSA, defined as a metro area with population greater than 500,000.

Figure IL-2. Chicago-Naperville-Elgin MSA mean earnings by education level

Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the difference from the next-highest level of education in the figure.

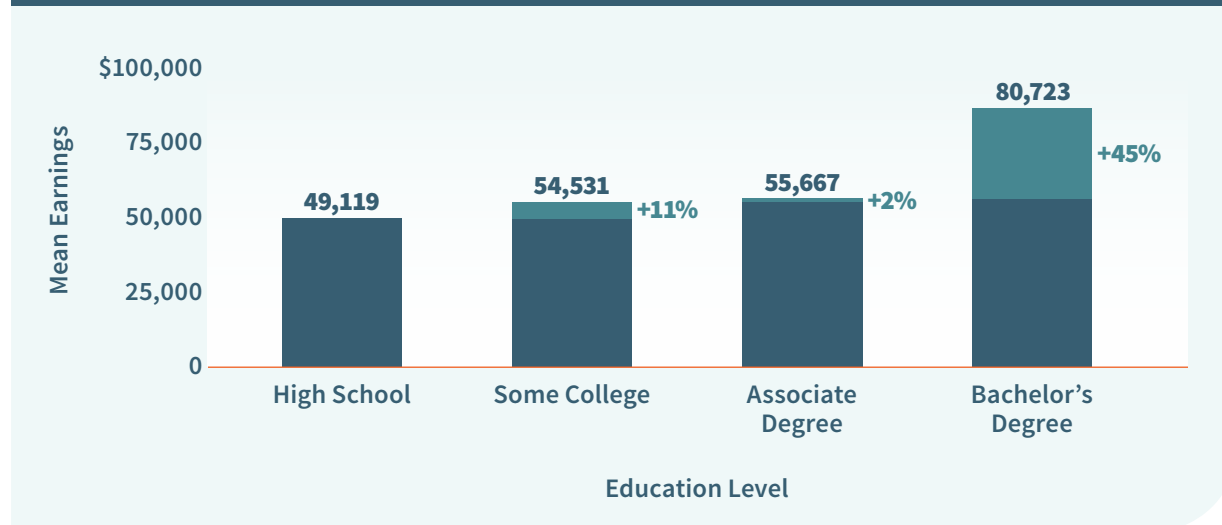
Figure IL-3. Education earnings premiums by race in Illinois

Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The analysis by race/ethnicity is restricted to those jurisdictions with at least ninety workers in the sample by both state and race/ethnicity for each of the three analyzed education groups (high school graduates, workers with associate degrees, and workers with bachelor's degrees).

Indiana

On average, Indianans with bachelor's degrees earn 45.0 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$80,723 versus \$55,667) and 64.3 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure IN-1).

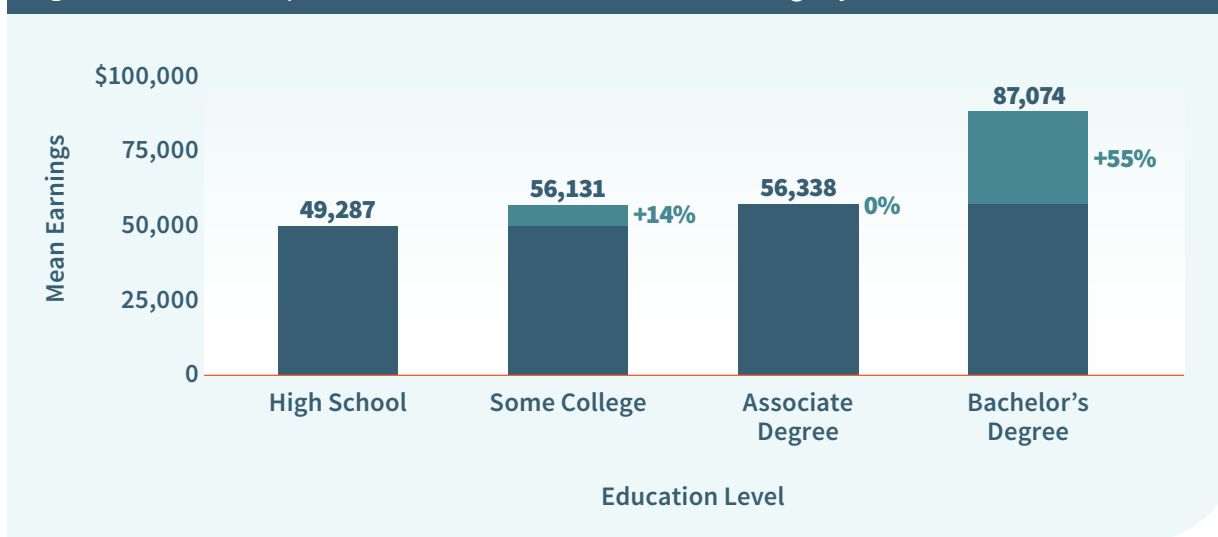
Figure IN-1. Indiana mean earnings by education level



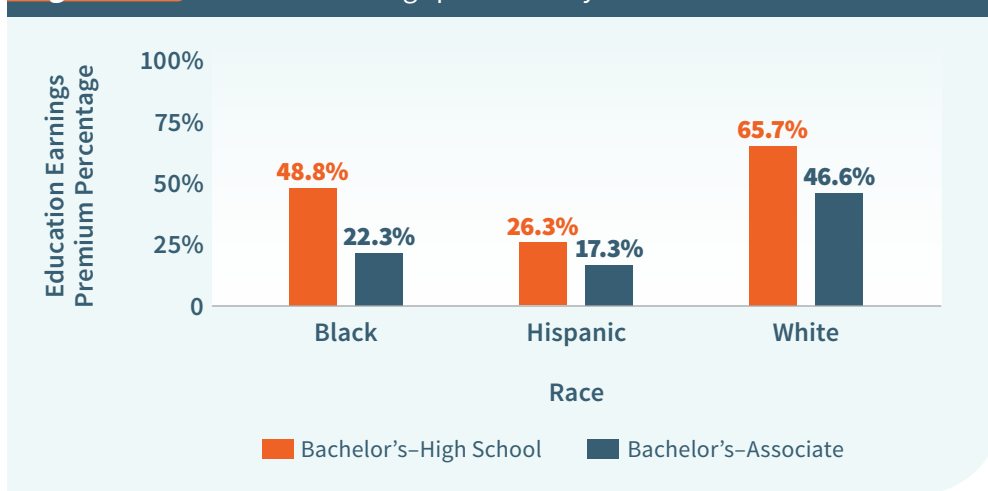
Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the difference from the next-highest level of education in the figure.

The largest MSA in Indiana is Indianapolis-Carmel-Anderson.¹ On average, workers with bachelor's degrees earn 54.6 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$87,074 versus \$56,338) and 76.7 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure IN-2). Education earnings premiums by race show that premiums are higher for white workers than for black and Hispanic workers. Black bachelor's degree holders in Indiana earn 22.3 percent more than black workers with associate degrees and 48.8 percent more than black high school graduates in the state. Hispanic bachelor's degree holders earn 17.3 percent more than Hispanic workers with associate degrees and 26.3 percent more than Hispanic high school graduates in the state. For white workers in Indiana, bachelor's degree holders enjoy a 46.6 percent premium over associate degree holders and a 65.7 percent earnings premium relative to high school graduates (Figure IN-3).

1. Data for a second MSA are reported only when a state has more than one large MSA, defined as a metro area with population greater than 500,000.

Figure IN-2. Indianapolis-Carmel-Anderson MSA mean earnings by education level

Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the difference from the next-highest level of education in the figure.

Figure IN-3. Education earnings premiums by race in Indiana

Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The analysis by race/ethnicity is restricted to those jurisdictions with at least ninety workers in the sample by both state and race/ethnicity for each of the three analyzed education groups (high school graduates, workers with associate degrees, and workers with bachelor's degrees).

Iowa

On average, Iowans with bachelor's degrees earn 38.6 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$77,259 versus \$55,755) and 50.8 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure IA-1). The largest MSA in Iowa is Des Moines-West Des Moines.¹ On average, workers with bachelor's degrees earn 44.4 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$87,434 versus \$60,548) and 67.1 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure IA-2).

Figure IA-1. Iowa mean earnings by education level

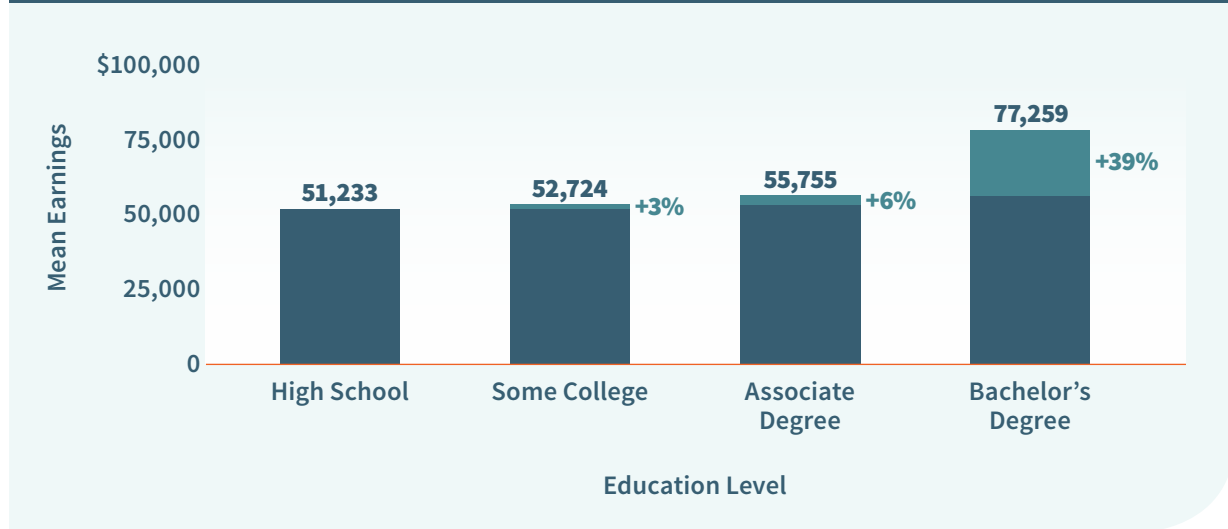
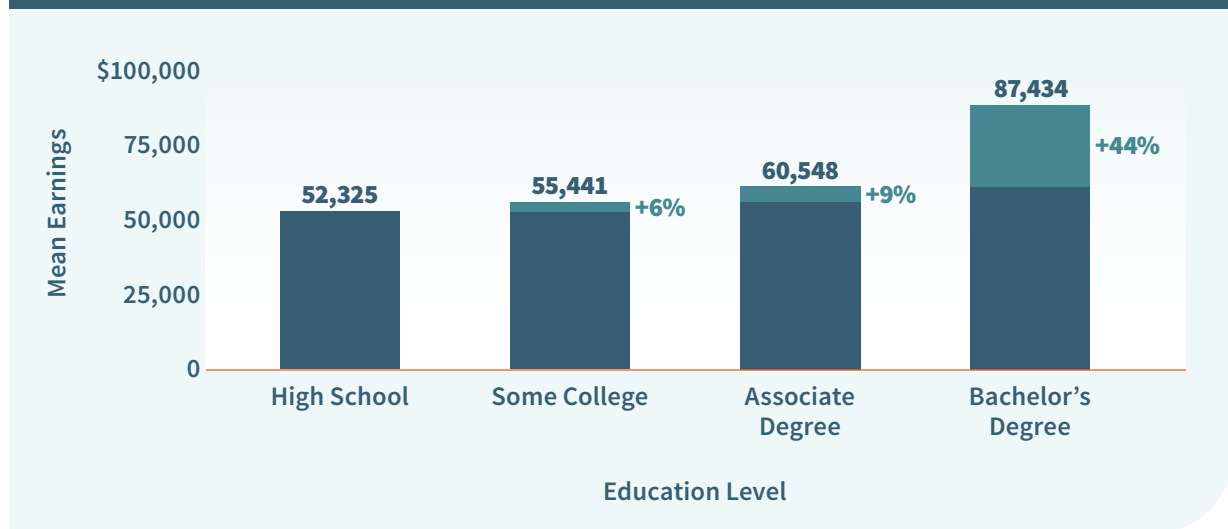


Figure IA-2. Des Moines-West Des Moines MSA mean earnings by education level



Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The samples are limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the difference from the next-highest level of education in the figure.

1. Data for a second MSA are reported only when a state has more than one large MSA, defined as a metro area with population greater than 500,000.

Kansas

On average, Kansans with bachelor's degrees earn 49.3 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$82,470 versus \$55,238) and 74.4 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure KS-1). The largest MSA in Kansas is Wichita.¹ On average, workers with bachelor's degrees earn 47.2 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$78,933 versus \$53,635) and 70.1 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure KS-2).

Figure KS-1. Kansas mean earnings by education level

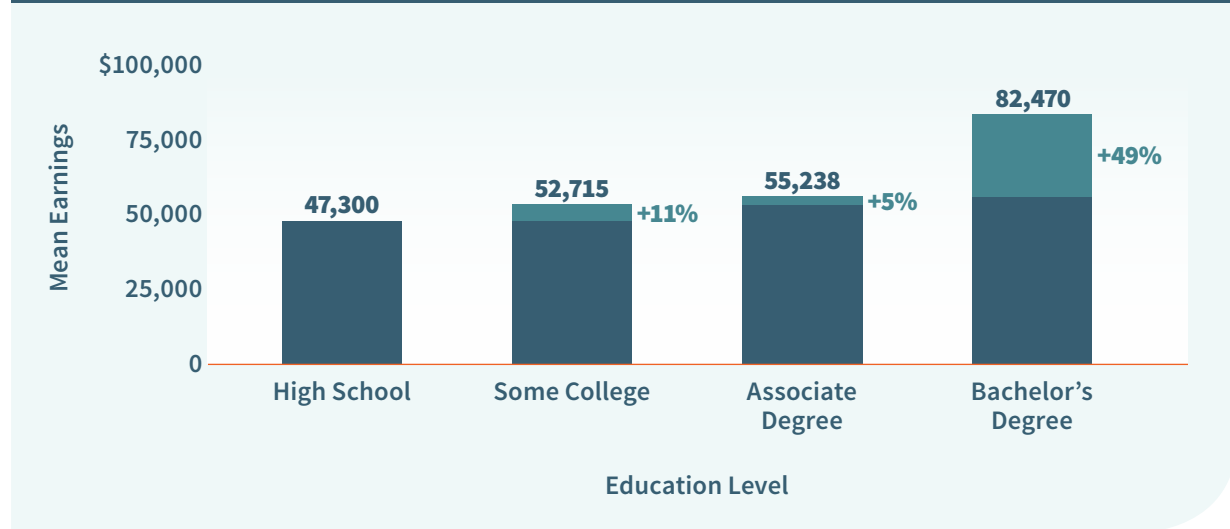
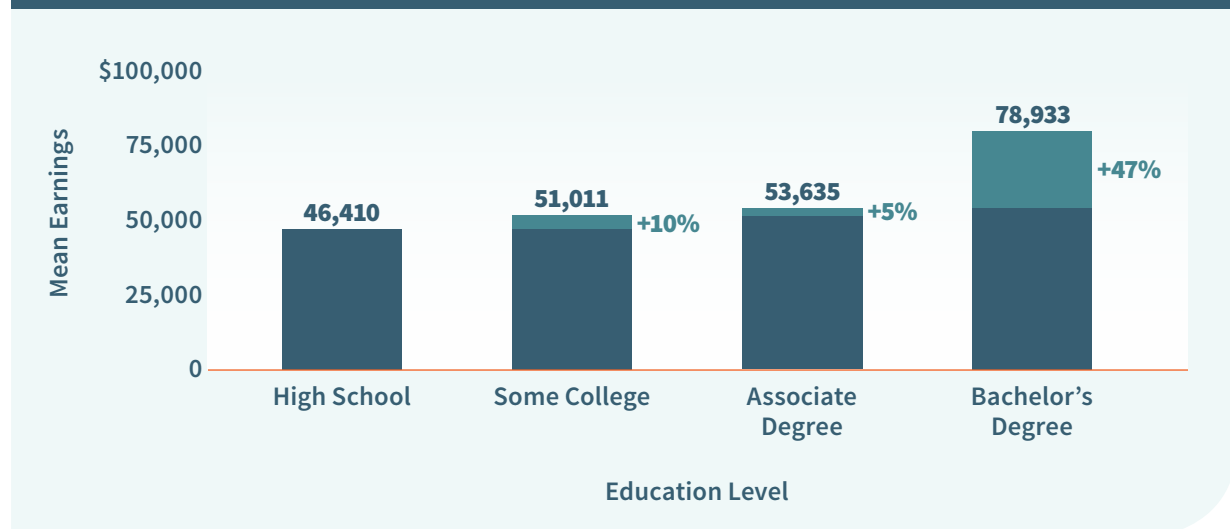


Figure KS-2. Wichita MSA mean earnings by education level



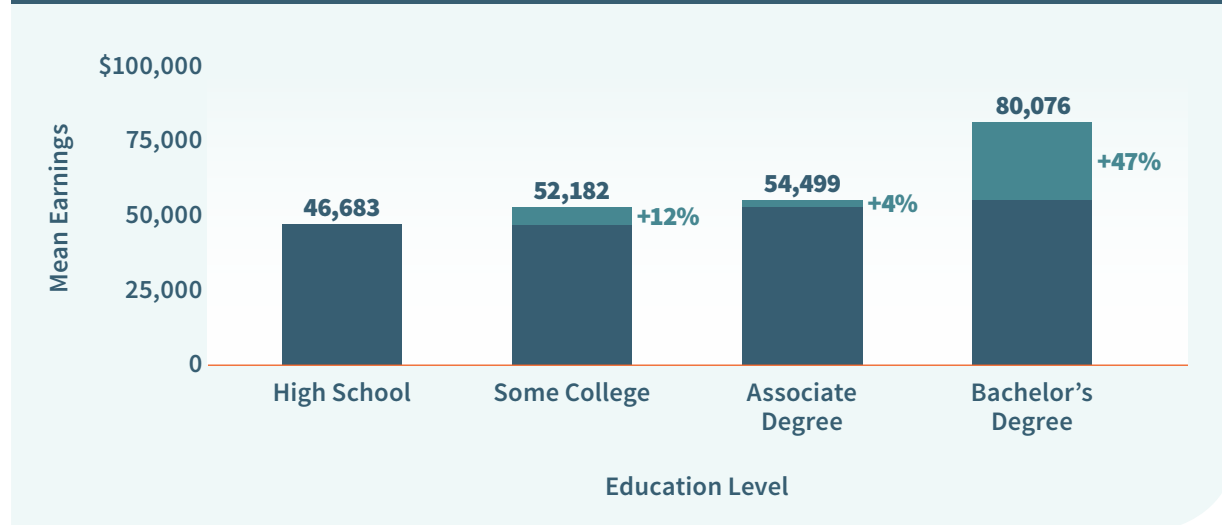
Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The samples are limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the difference from the next-highest level of education in the figure.

1. Data for a second MSA are reported only when a state has more than one large MSA, defined as a metro area with population greater than 500,000.

Kentucky

On average, Kentuckians with bachelor's degrees earn 46.9 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$80,076 versus \$54,499) and 71.5 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure KY-1).

Figure KY-1. Kentucky mean earnings by education level

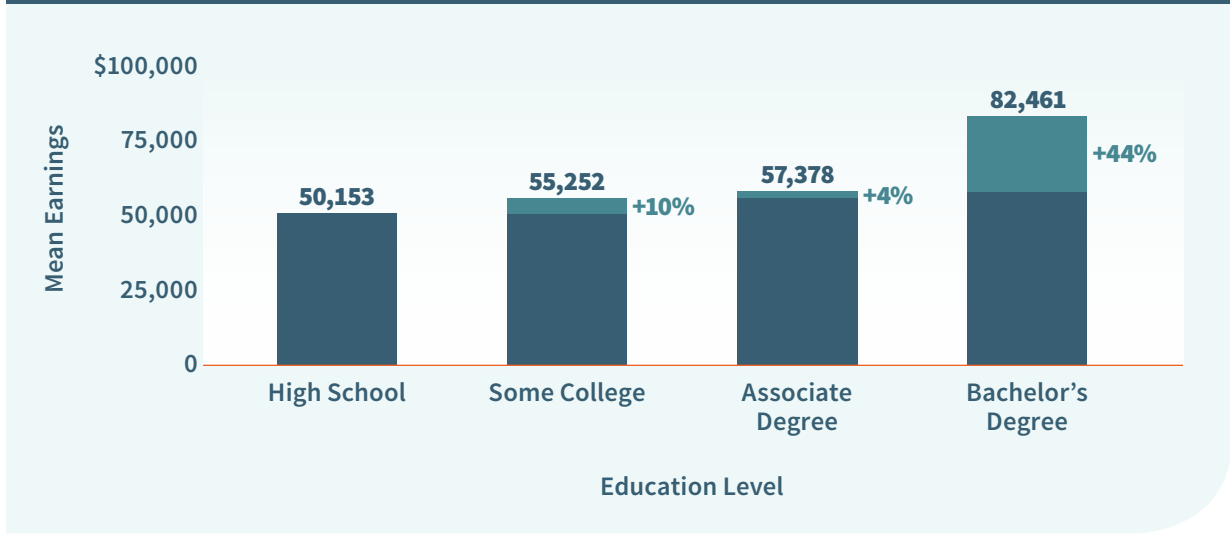


Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the difference from the next-highest level of education in the figure.

The largest MSA in Kentucky is Louisville-Jefferson County.¹ On average, workers with bachelor's degrees earn 43.7 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$82,461 versus \$57,378) and 64.4 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure KY-2). Education earnings premiums by race show that premiums are higher for white workers than for black workers. Black bachelor's degree holders in Kentucky earn 29.9 percent more than black workers with associate degrees and 55.8 percent more than black high school graduates in the state. For white workers in Kentucky, bachelor's degree holders enjoy a 48.1 percent premium over associate degree holders and a 72.9 percent earnings premium relative to high school graduates (Figure KY-3).

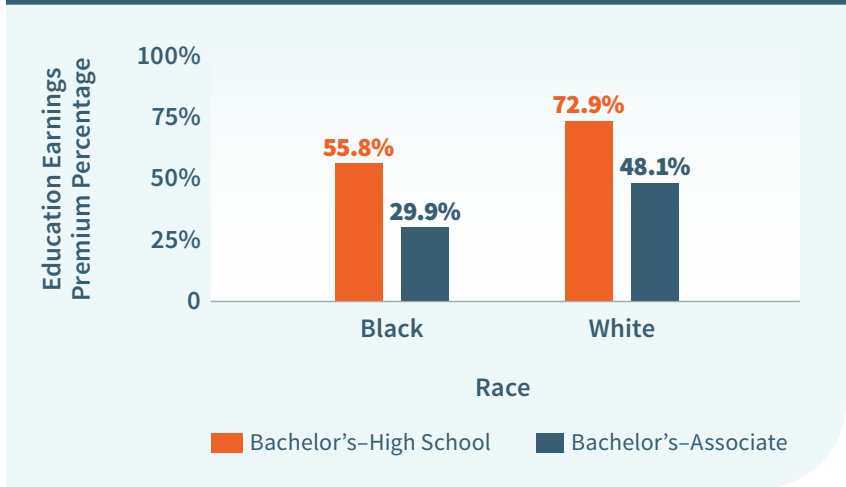
1. Data for a second MSA are reported only when a state has more than one large MSA, defined as a metro area with population greater than 500,000.

Figure KY-2. Louisville-Jefferson County MSA mean earnings by education level



Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the difference from the next-highest level of education in the figure.

Figure KY-3. Education earnings premiums by race in Kentucky

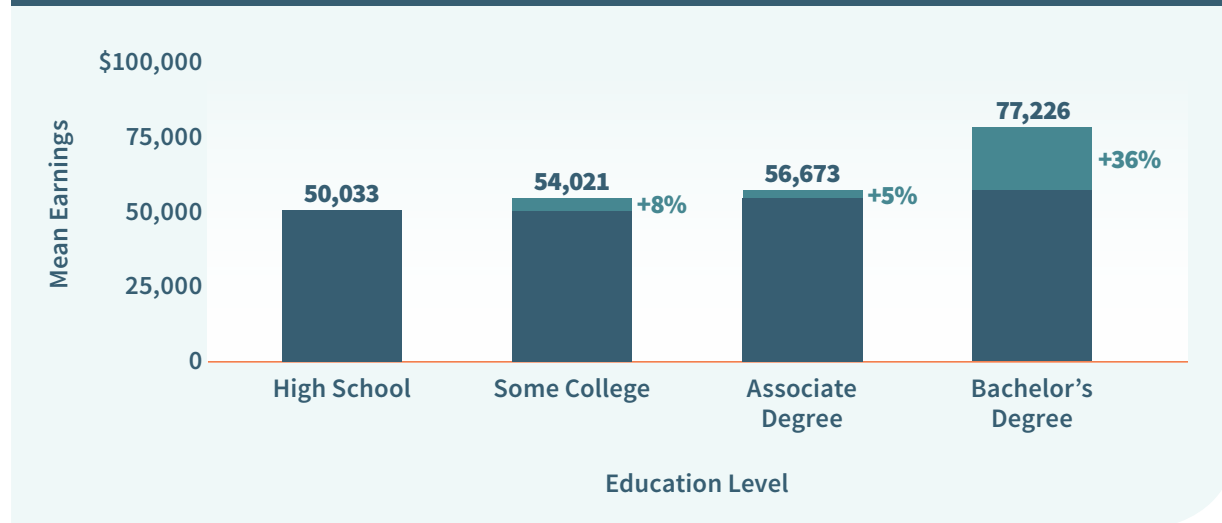


Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The analysis by race/ethnicity is restricted to those jurisdictions with at least ninety workers in the sample by both state and race/ethnicity for each of the three analyzed education groups (high school graduates, workers with associate degrees, and workers with bachelor's degrees).

Louisiana

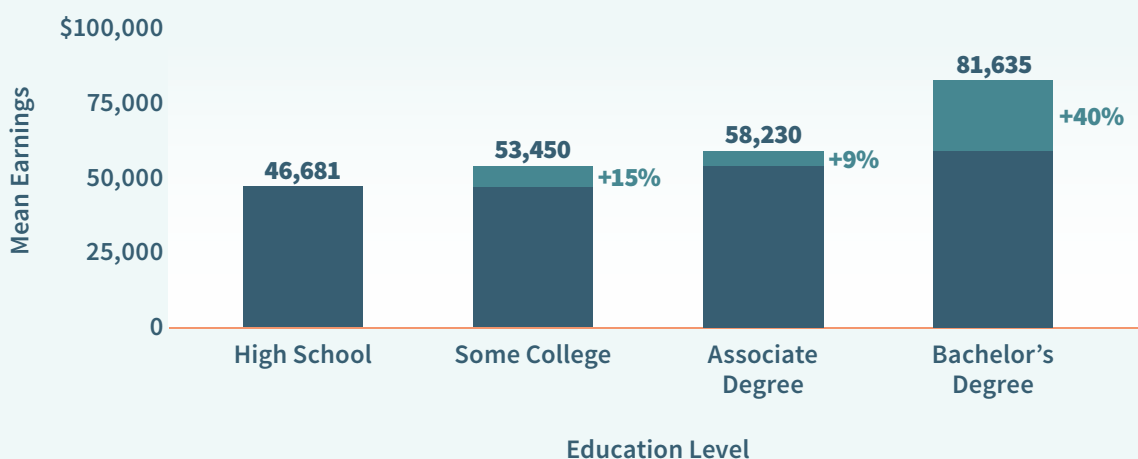
On average, Louisianians with bachelor's degrees earn 36.3 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$77,226 versus \$56,673) and 54.4 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure LA-1).

Figure LA-1. Louisiana mean earnings by education level

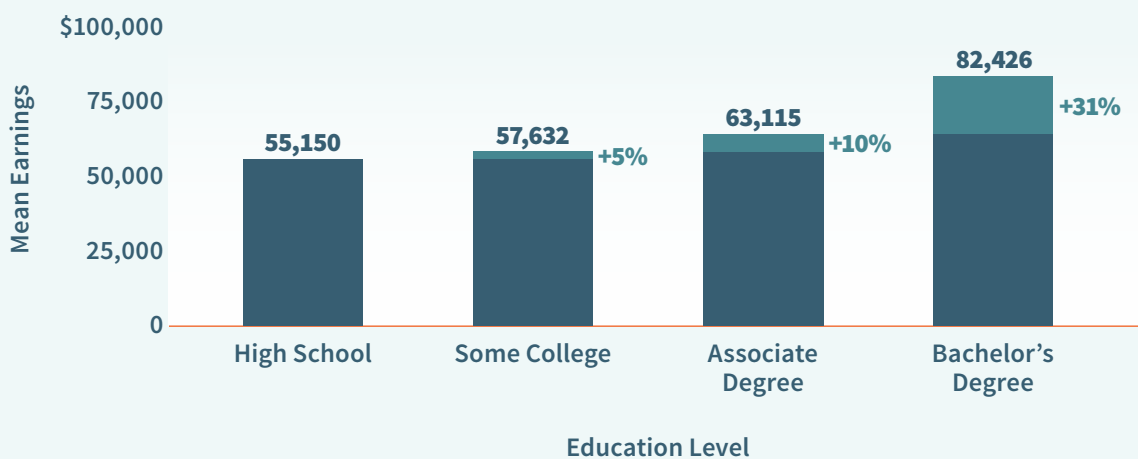


Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the difference from the next-highest level of education in the figure.

The largest MSA in Louisiana is New Orleans-Metairie. On average, workers with bachelor's degrees earn 40.2 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$81,635 versus \$58,230) and 74.9 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure LA-2). The second largest MSA in Louisiana is Baton Rouge. On average, workers with bachelor's degrees earn 30.6 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$82,426 versus \$63,115) and 49.5 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure LA-3).

Figure LA-2. New Orleans-Metairie MSA mean earnings by education level

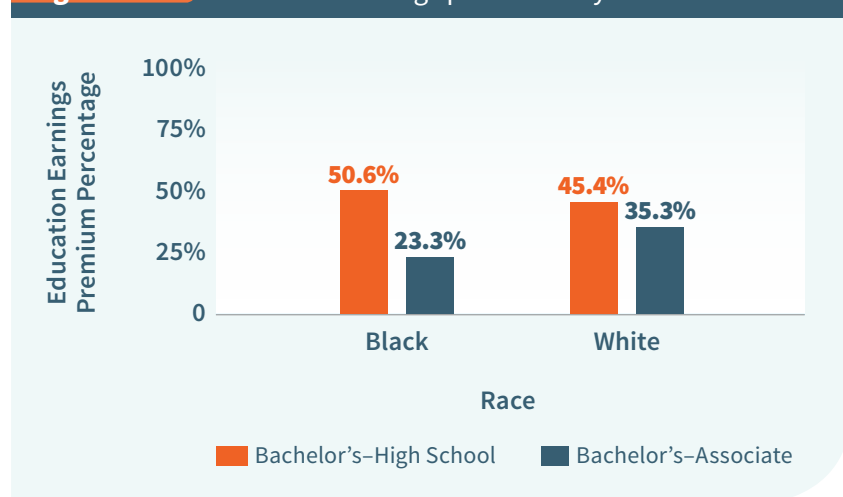
Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the difference from the next-highest level of education in the figure.

Figure LA-3. Baton Rouge MSA mean earnings by education level

Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the difference from the next-highest level of education in the figure.

Education earnings premiums by race show that the bachelor's premium versus a high school diploma is higher for black workers than for white workers, but the bachelor's premium versus an associate degree is higher for white workers than for black workers. Black bachelor's degree holders in Louisiana earn 23.3 percent more than black workers with associate degrees and 50.6 percent more than black high school graduates in the state. For white workers in Louisiana, bachelor's degree holders enjoy a 35.3 percent premium over associate degree holders and a 45.4 percent earnings premium relative to high school graduates (Figure LA-4).

Figure LA-4. Education earnings premiums by race in Louisiana



Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The analysis by race/ethnicity is restricted to those jurisdictions with at least ninety workers in the sample by both state and race/ethnicity for each of the three analyzed education groups (high school graduates, workers with associate degrees, and workers with bachelor's degrees).

Maine

On average, Mainers with bachelor's degrees earn 40.9 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$75,475 versus \$53,560) and 61.0 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure ME-1). The largest MSA in Maine is Portland-South Portland.¹ On average, workers with bachelor's degrees earn 56.6 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$85,333 versus \$54,498) and 75.8 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure ME-2).

Figure ME-1. Maine mean earnings by education level

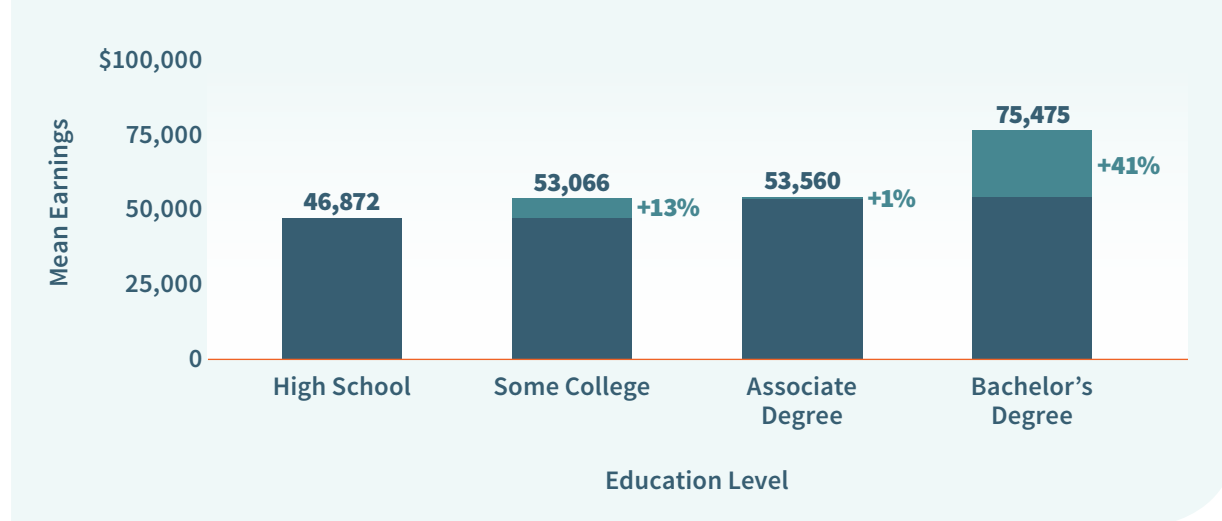
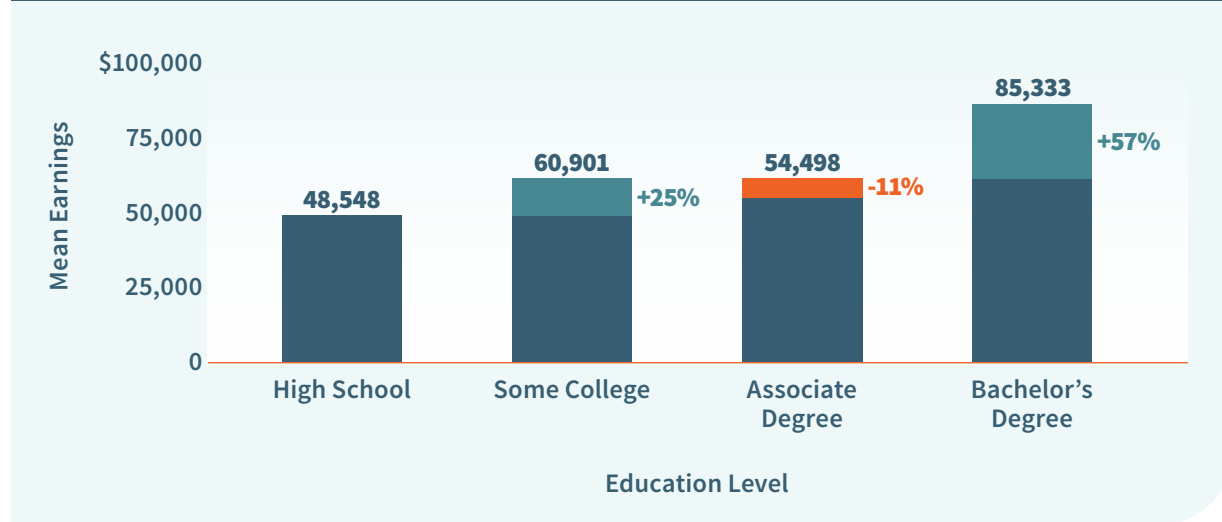


Figure ME-2. Portland-South Portland MSA mean earnings by education level

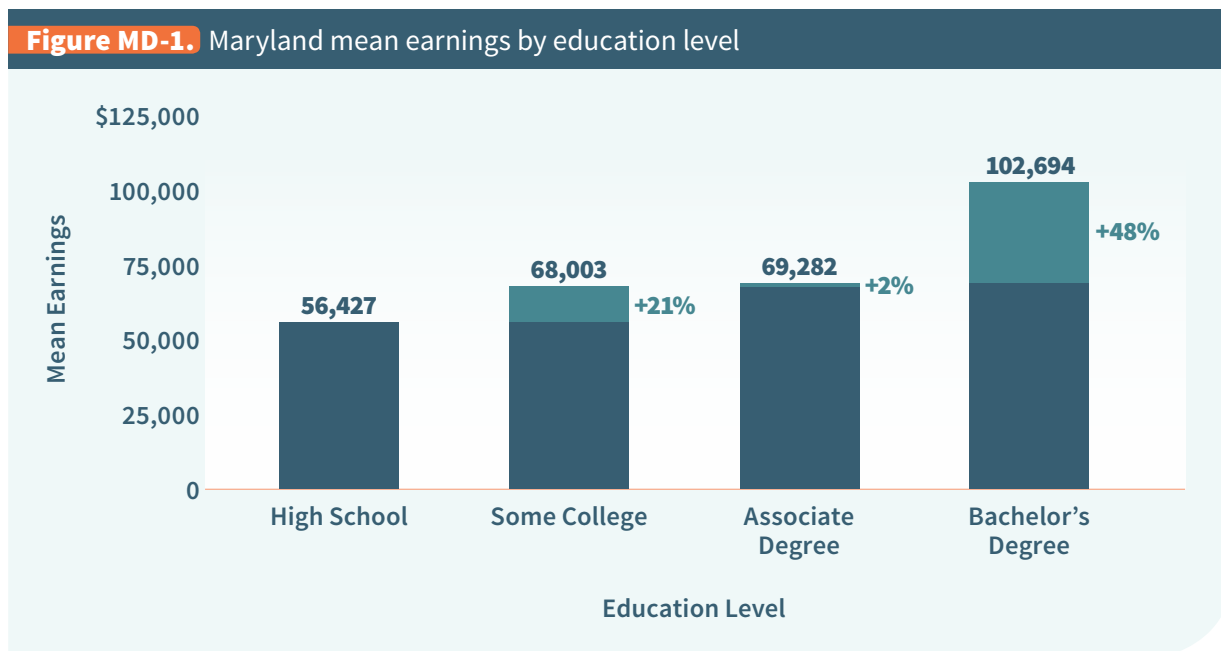


Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The samples are limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the increase from the next-highest level of education in the figure, and the percentage change in orange notes a decrease from the next-highest level of education.

1. Data for a second MSA are reported only when a state has more than one large MSA, defined as a metro area with population greater than 500,000.

Maryland

On average, Marylanders with bachelor's degrees earn 48.2 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$102,694 versus \$69,282) and 82.0 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure MD-1).

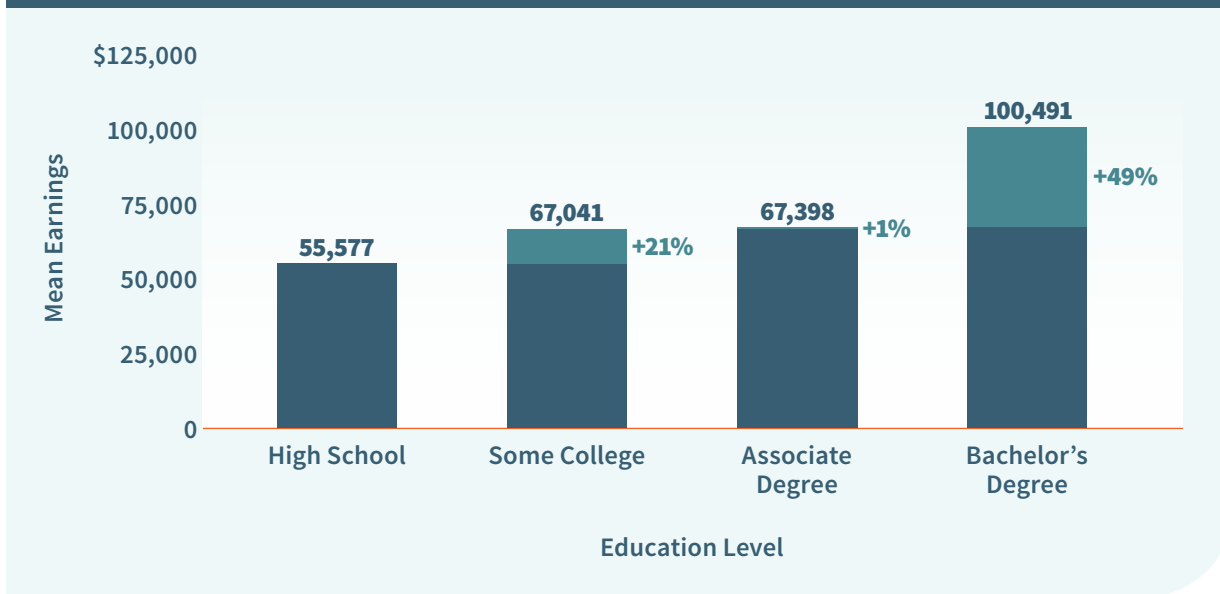


Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the difference from the next-highest level of education in the figure.

The largest MSA in Maryland is Baltimore-Columbia-Towson. On average, workers with bachelor's degrees earn 49.1 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$100,491 versus \$67,398) and 80.8 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure MD-2). Education earnings premiums by race show that premiums are higher for white workers than for black workers. Black bachelor's degree holders in Maryland earn 29.0 percent more than black workers with associate degrees and 60.9 percent more than black high school graduates in the state. For white workers in Maryland, bachelor's degree holders enjoy a 52.6 percent premium over associate degree holders and an 84.7 percent earnings premium relative to high school graduates (Figure MD-3).

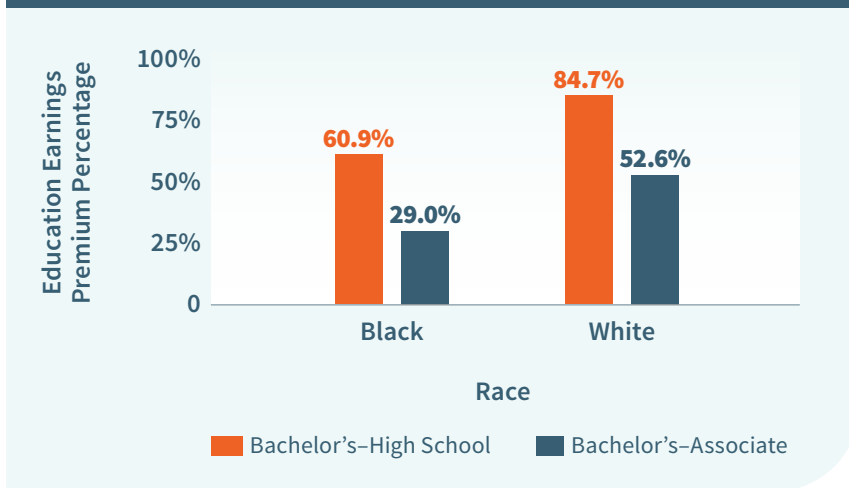
1. Data for a second MSA are reported only when a state has more than one large MSA, defined as a metro area with population greater than 500,000.

Figure MD-2. Baltimore-Columbia-Towson MSA mean earnings by education level



Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the difference from the next-highest level of education in the figure.

Figure MD-3. Education earnings premiums by race in Maryland

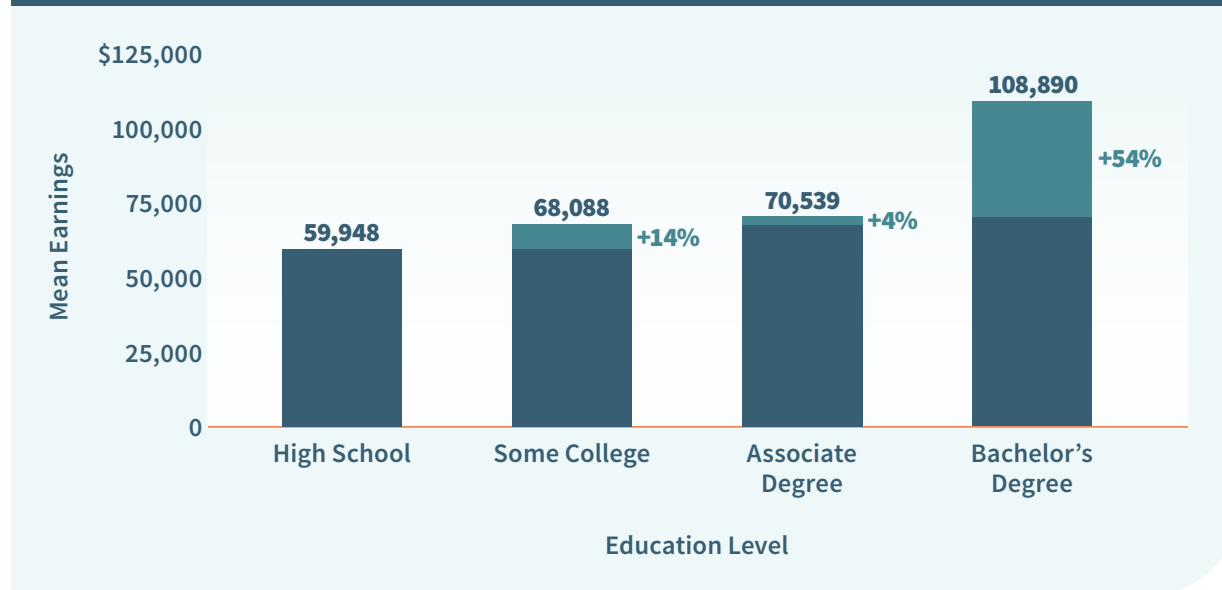


Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The analysis by race/ethnicity is restricted to those jurisdictions with at least ninety workers in the sample by both state and race/ethnicity for each of the three analyzed education groups (high school graduates, workers with associate degrees, and workers with bachelor's degrees).

Massachusetts

On average, Massachusettsans with bachelor's degrees earn 54.4 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$108,890 versus \$70,539) and 81.6 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure MA-1).

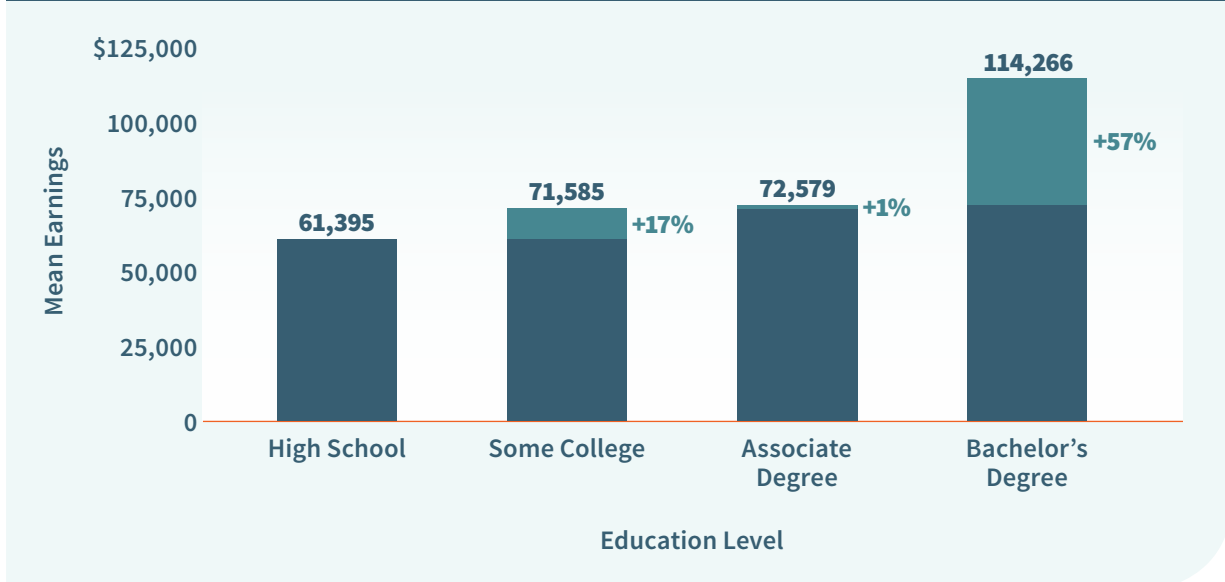
Figure MA-1. Massachusetts mean earnings by education level



Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the difference from the next-highest level of education in the figure.

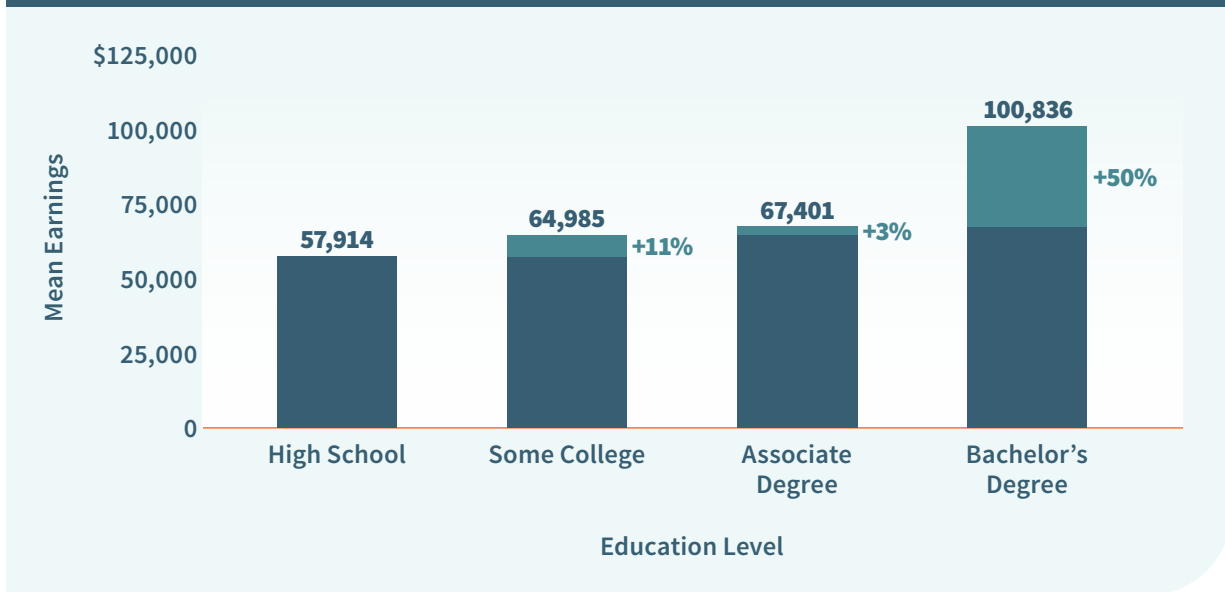
The largest MSA in Massachusetts is Boston-Cambridge-Newton. On average, workers with bachelor's degrees earn 57.4 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$114,266 versus \$72,579) and 86.1 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure MA-2). The second largest MSA in Massachusetts is Worcester. On average, workers with bachelor's degrees earn 49.6 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$100,836 versus \$67,401) and 74.1 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure MA-3).

Figure MA-2. Boston-Cambridge-Newton MSA mean earnings by education level



Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the difference from the next-highest level of education in the figure.

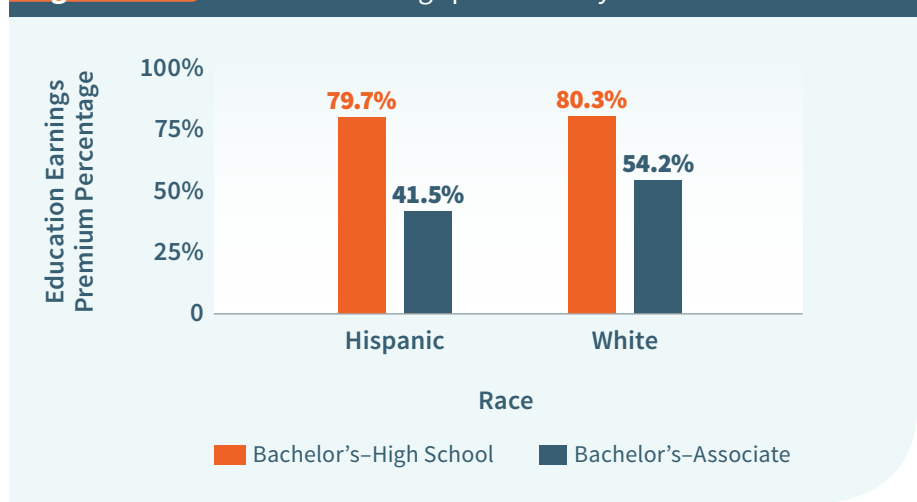
Figure MA-3. Worcester MSA mean earnings by education level



Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the difference from the next-highest level of education in the figure.

Education earnings premiums by race show that the bachelor’s premium versus a high school diploma is similar for Hispanic and white workers, but the bachelor’s premium versus an associate degree is higher for white workers than for Hispanic workers. Hispanic bachelor’s degree holders in Massachusetts earn 41.5 percent more than Hispanic workers with associate degrees and 79.7 percent more than Hispanic high school graduates in the state. For white workers in Massachusetts, bachelor’s degree holders enjoy a 54.2 percent premium over associate degree holders and an 80.3 percent earnings premium relative to high school graduates (Figure MA-4).

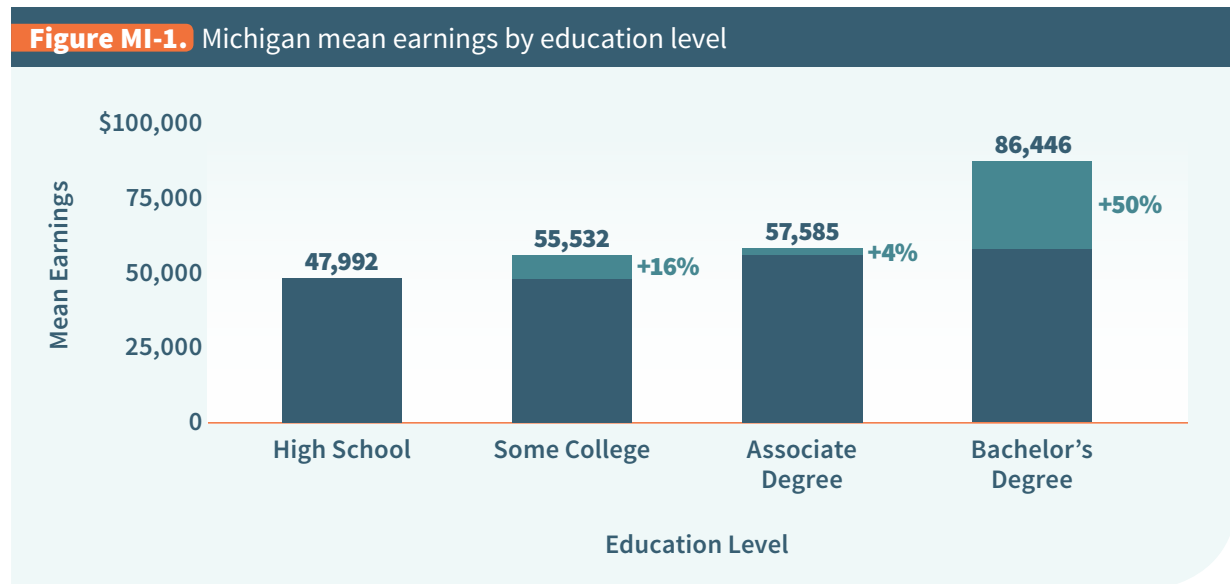
Figure MA-4. Education earnings premiums by race in Massachusetts



Note: Based on author’s calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The analysis by race/ethnicity is restricted to those jurisdictions with at least ninety workers in the sample by both state and race/ethnicity for each of the three analyzed education groups (high school graduates, workers with associate degrees, and workers with bachelor’s degrees).

Michigan

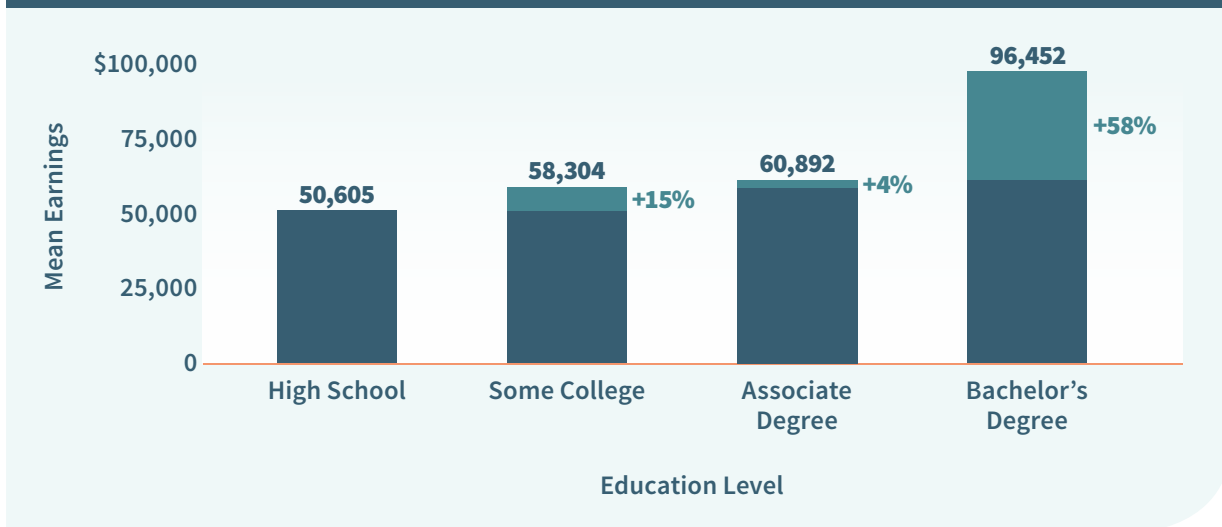
On average, Michiganders with bachelor's degrees earn 50.1 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$86,446 versus \$57,585) and 80.1 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure MI-1).



Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the difference from the next-highest level of education in the figure.

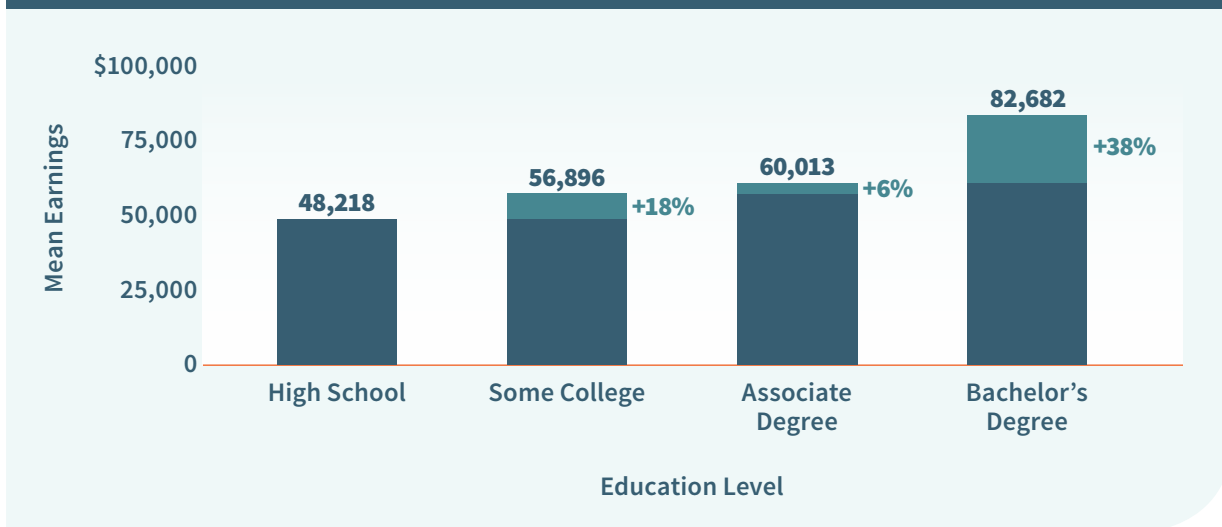
The largest MSA in Michigan is Detroit-Warren-Dearborn. On average, workers with bachelor's degrees earn 58.4 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$96,452 versus \$60,892) and 90.6 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure MI-2). The second largest MSA in Michigan is Grand Rapids-Wyoming. On average, workers with bachelor's degrees earn 37.8 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$82,682 versus \$60,013) and 71.5 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure MI-3).

Figure MI-2. Detroit-Warren-Dearborn MSA mean earnings by education level



Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the difference from the next-highest level of education in the figure.

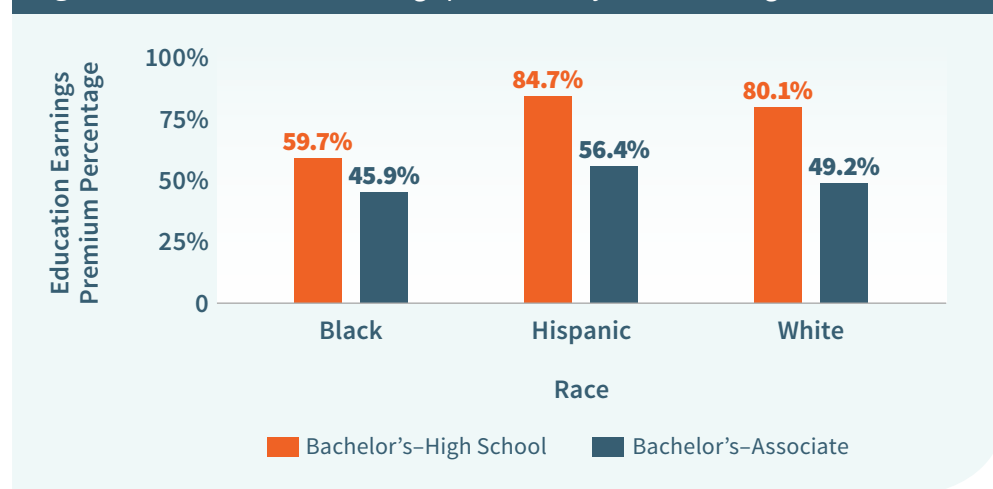
Figure MI-3. Grand Rapids-Wyoming MSA mean earnings by education level



Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the difference from the next-highest level of education in the figure.

Education earnings premiums by race show that the premiums are higher for Hispanic and white workers than for black workers. Black bachelor's degree holders in Michigan earn 45.9 percent more than black workers with associate degrees and 59.7 percent more than black high school graduates in the state. Hispanic bachelor's degree holders earn 56.4 percent more than Hispanic workers with associate degrees and 84.7 percent more than Hispanic high school graduates in the state. For white workers in Michigan, bachelor's degree holders enjoy a 49.2 percent premium over associate degree holders and an 80.1 percent earnings premium relative to high school graduates (Figure MI-4).

Figure MI-4. Education earnings premiums by race in Michigan



Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The analysis by race/ethnicity is restricted to those jurisdictions with at least ninety workers in the sample by both state and race/ethnicity for each of the three analyzed education groups (high school graduates, workers with associate degrees, and workers with bachelor's degrees).

Minnesota

On average, Minnesotans with bachelor's degrees earn 46.5 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$91,856 versus \$62,695) and 78.0 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure MN-1). The largest MSA in Minnesota is Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington.¹ On average, workers with bachelor's degrees earn 49.5 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$98,244 versus \$65,715) and 83.6 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure MN-2).

Figure MN-1. Minnesota mean earnings by education level

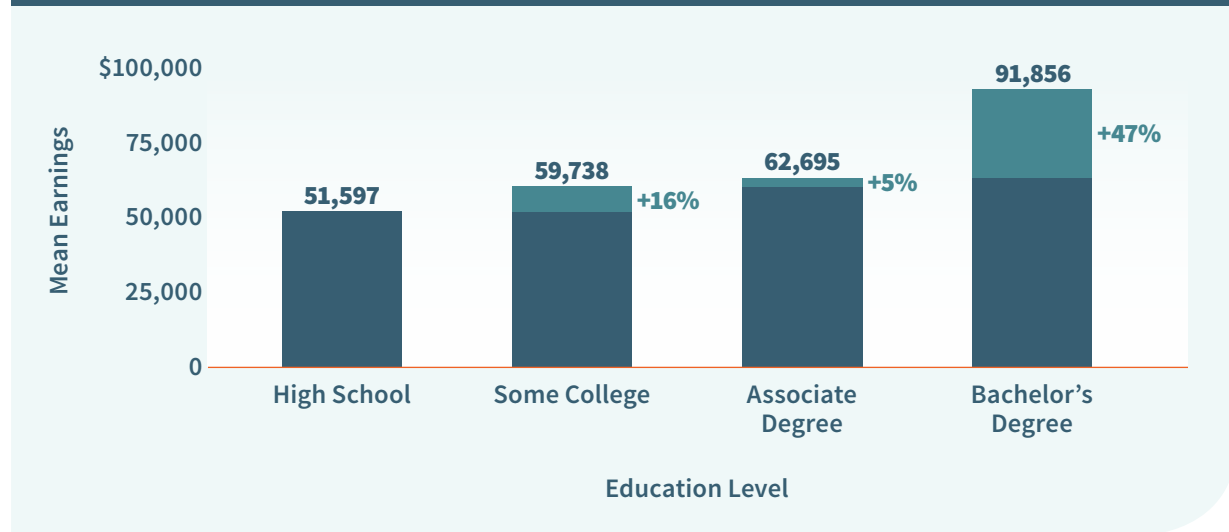
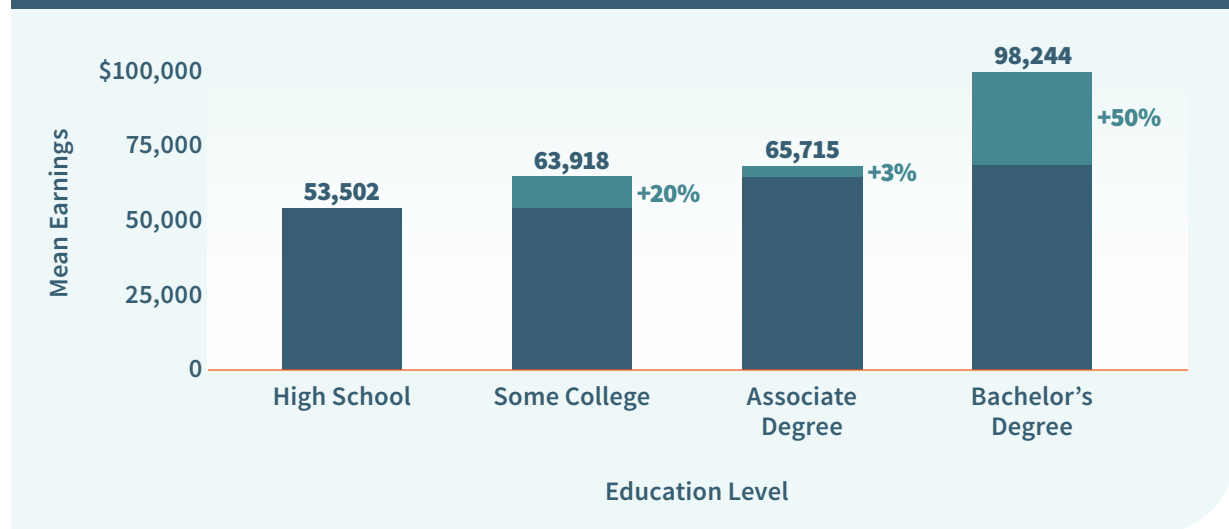


Figure MN-2. Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington MSA mean earnings by education level



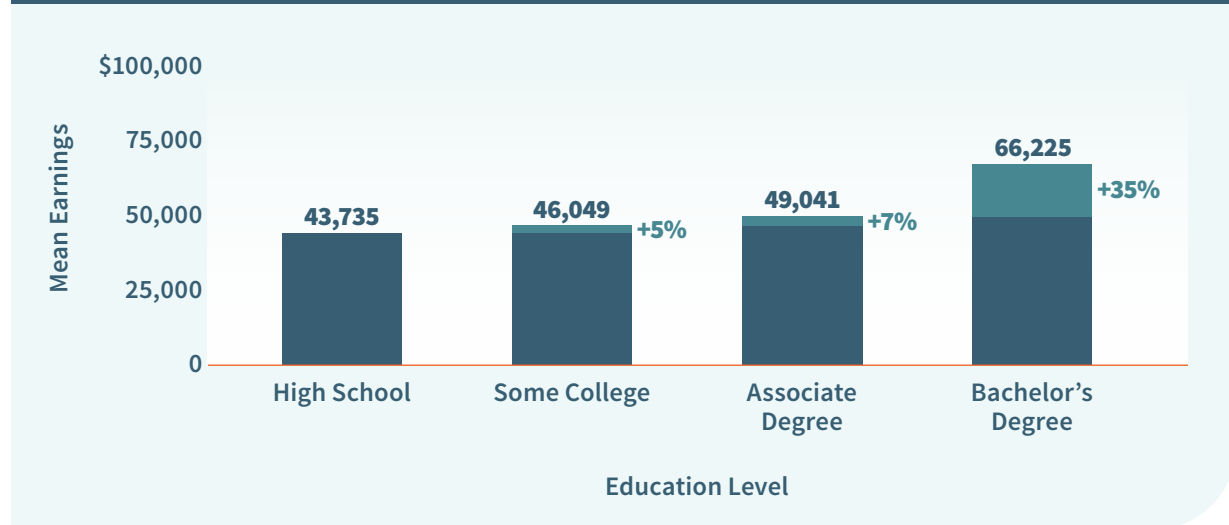
Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The samples are limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the difference from the next-highest level of education in the figure.

1. Data for a second MSA are reported only when a state has more than one large MSA, defined as a metro area with population greater than 500,000.

Mississippi

On average, Mississippians with bachelor's degrees earn 35.0 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$66,225 versus \$49,041) and 51.4 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure MS-1).

Figure MS-1. Mississippi mean earnings by education level

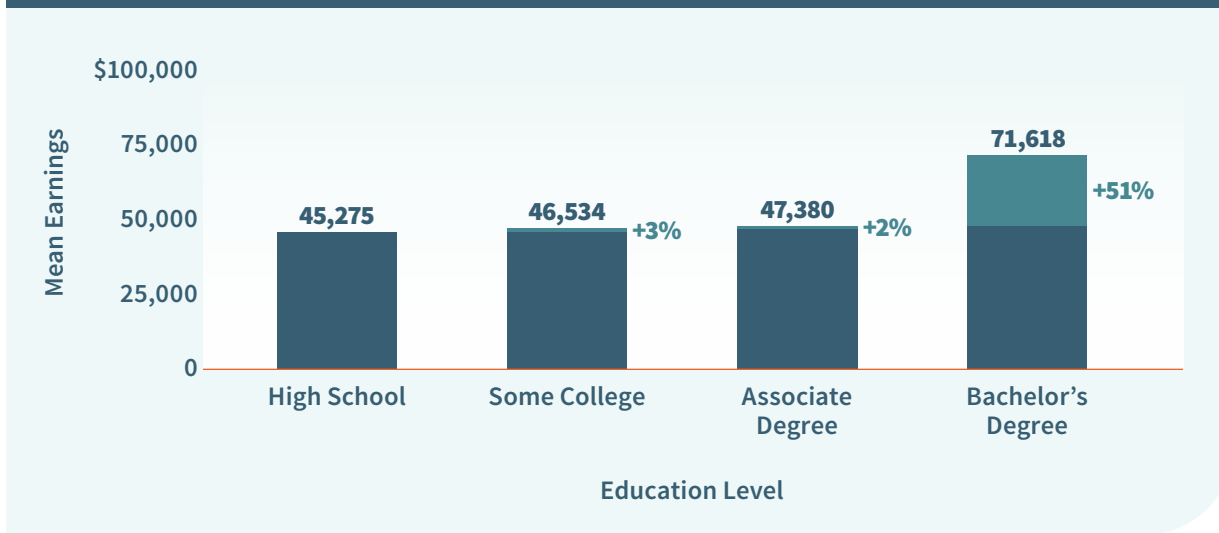


Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the difference from the next-highest level of education in the figure.

The largest MSA in Mississippi is Jackson.¹ On average, workers with bachelor's degrees earn 51.2 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$71,618 versus \$47,380) and 58.2 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure MS-2). Education earnings premiums by race show that premiums are higher for white workers than for black workers. Black bachelor's degree holders in Mississippi earn 24.7 percent more than black workers with associate degrees in the state and 34.0 percent more than black high school graduates. For white workers in Mississippi, bachelor's degree holders enjoy a 32.1 percent premium over associate degree holders and a 44.5 percent earnings premium relative to high school graduates and (Figure MS-3).

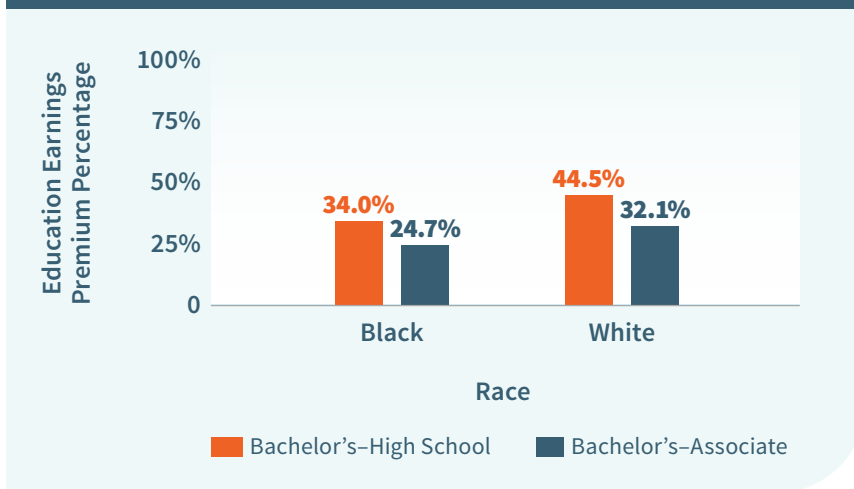
1. Data for a second MSA are reported only when a state has more than one large MSA, defined as a metro area with population greater than 500,000.

Figure MS-2. Jackson MSA mean earnings by education level



Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the difference from the next-highest level of education in the figure.

Figure MS-3. Education earnings premiums by race in Mississippi

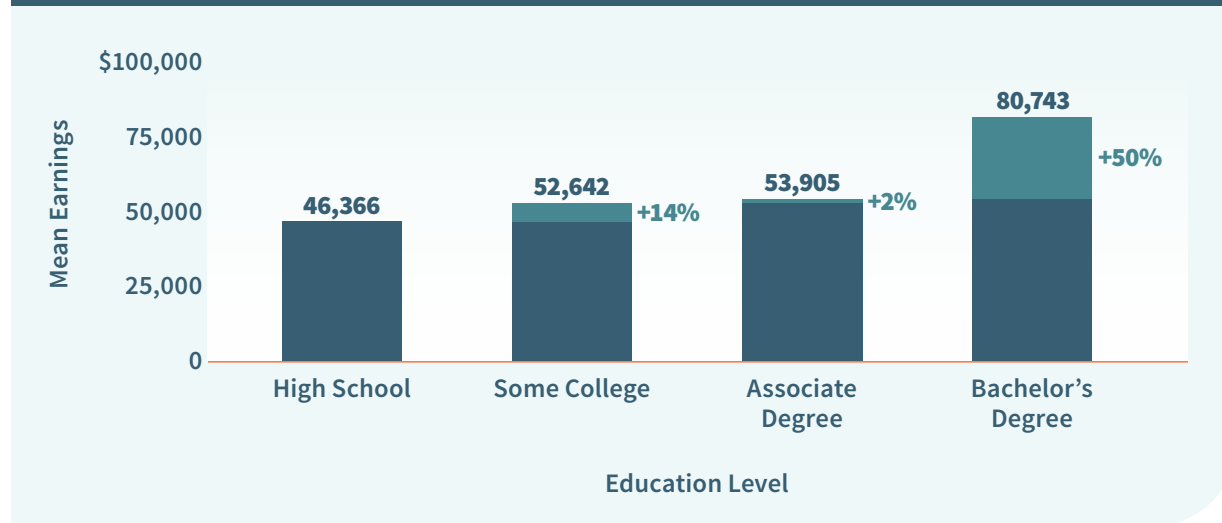


Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The analysis by race/ethnicity is restricted to those jurisdictions with at least ninety workers in the sample by both state and race/ethnicity for each of the three analyzed education groups (high school graduates, workers with associate degrees, and workers with bachelor's degrees).

Missouri

On average, Missourians with bachelor's degrees earn 49.8 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$80,743 versus \$53,905) and 74.1 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure MO-1).

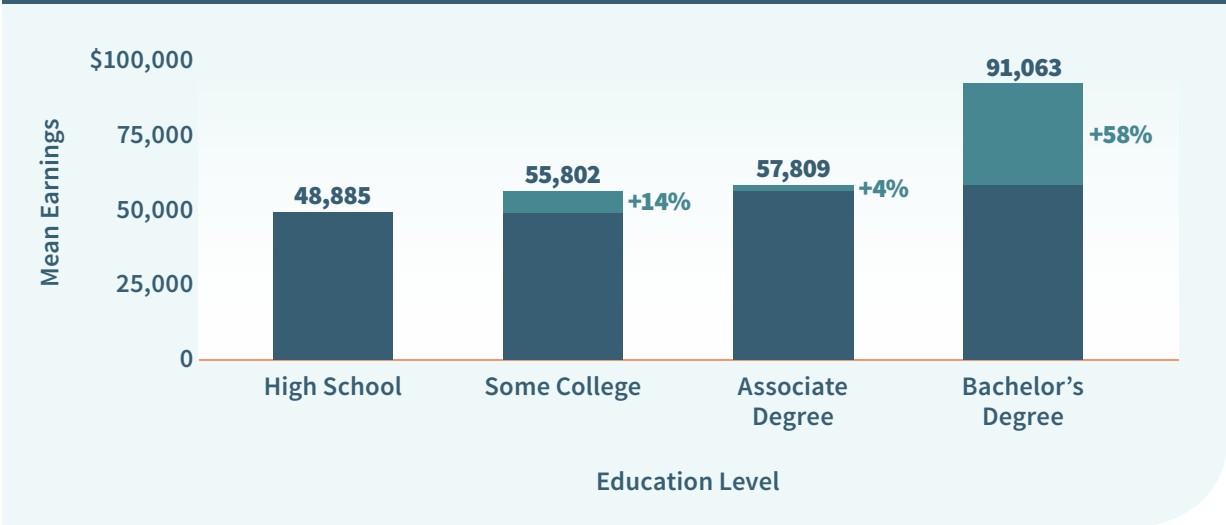
Figure MO-1. Missouri mean earnings by education level



Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the difference from the next-highest level of education in the figure.

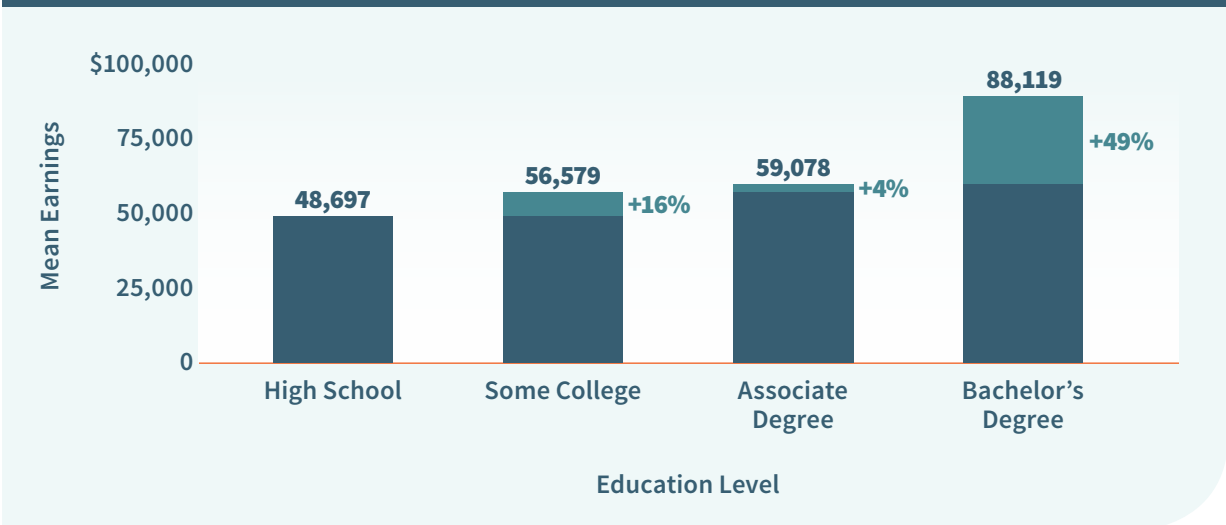
The largest MSA in Missouri is St. Louis. On average, workers with bachelor's degrees earn 57.5 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$91,063 versus \$57,809) and 86.4 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure MO-2). The second largest MSA in Missouri is Kansas City. On average, workers with bachelor's degrees earn 49.2 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$88,119 versus \$59,078) and 81.0 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure MO-3).

Figure MO-2. St. Louis MSA mean earnings by education level



Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the difference from the next-highest level of education in the figure.

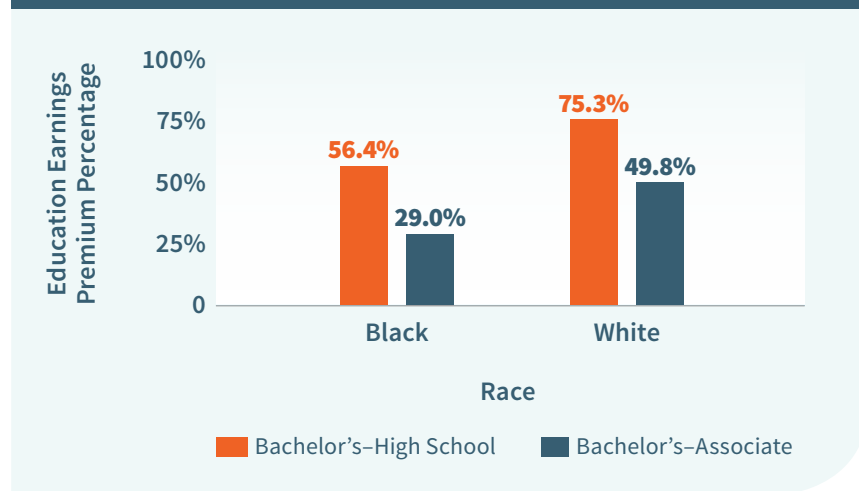
Figure MO-3. Kansas City MSA mean earnings by education level



Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the difference from the next-highest level of education in the figure.

Education earnings premiums by race show that premiums are higher for white workers than for black workers. Black bachelor's degree holders in Missouri earn 29.0 percent more than black workers with associate degrees and 56.4 percent more than black high school graduates in the state. For white workers in Missouri, bachelor's degree holders enjoy a 49.8 percent premium over associate degree holders and a 75.3 percent earnings premium relative to high school graduates (Figure MO-4).

Figure MO-4. Education earnings premiums by race in Missouri



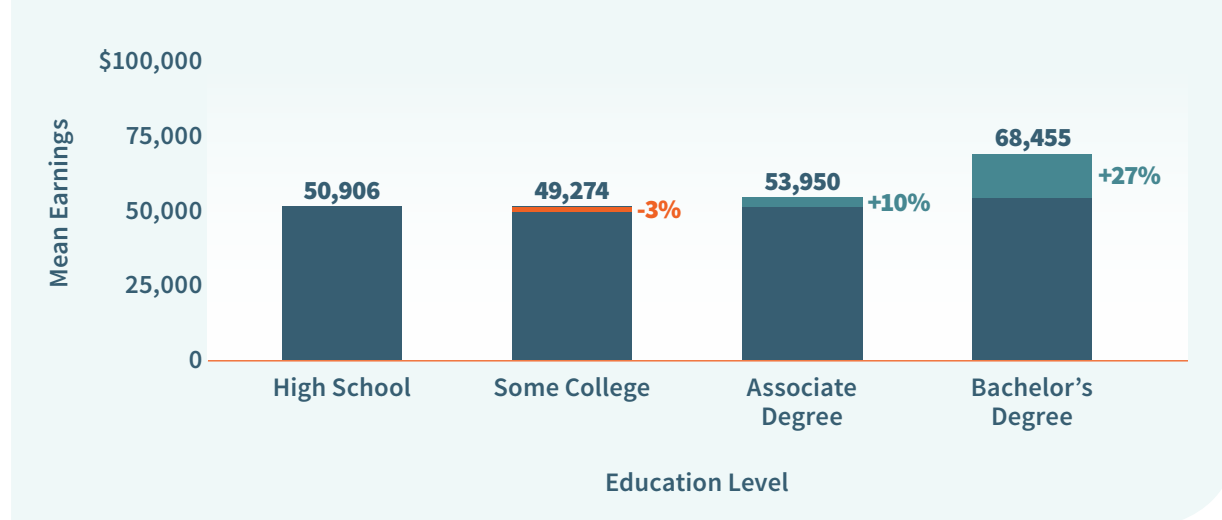
Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The analysis by race/ethnicity is restricted to those jurisdictions with at least ninety workers in the sample by both state and race/ethnicity for each of the three analyzed education groups (high school graduates, workers with associate degrees, and workers with bachelor's degrees).

Montana

On average, Montanans with bachelor's degrees earn 26.9 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$68,455 versus \$53,950) and 34.5 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure MT-1).

Montana has no MSA with population greater than 500,000.

Figure MT-1. Montana mean earnings by education level



Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the increase from the next-highest level of education in the figure, and the percentage change in orange notes a decrease from the next-highest level of education.

Nebraska

On average, Nebraskans with bachelor's degrees earn 42.2 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$77,968 versus \$54,817) and 56.7 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure NE-1). The largest MSA in Nebraska is Omaha-Council Bluffs.¹ On average, workers with bachelor's degrees earn 47.0 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$84,231 versus \$57,299) and 60.8 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure NE-2).

Figure NE-1. Nebraska mean earnings by education level

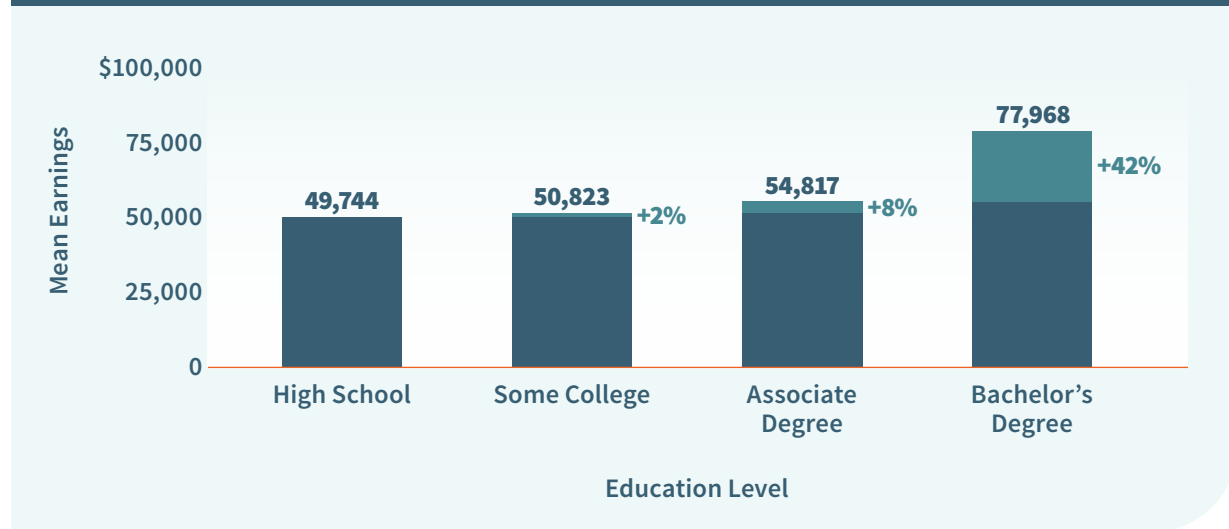
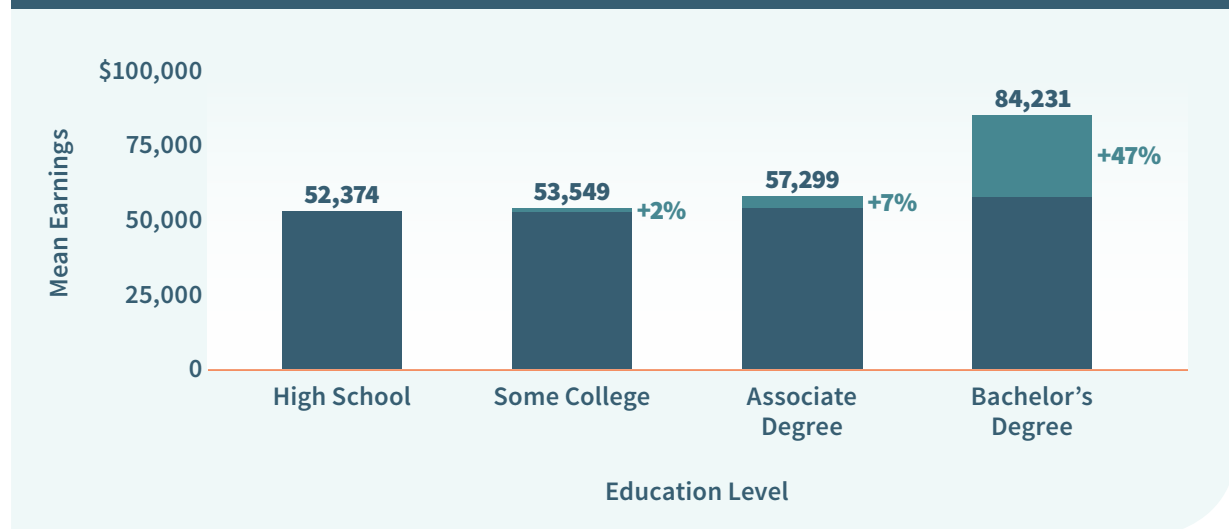


Figure NE-2. Omaha-Council Bluffs MSA mean earnings by education level



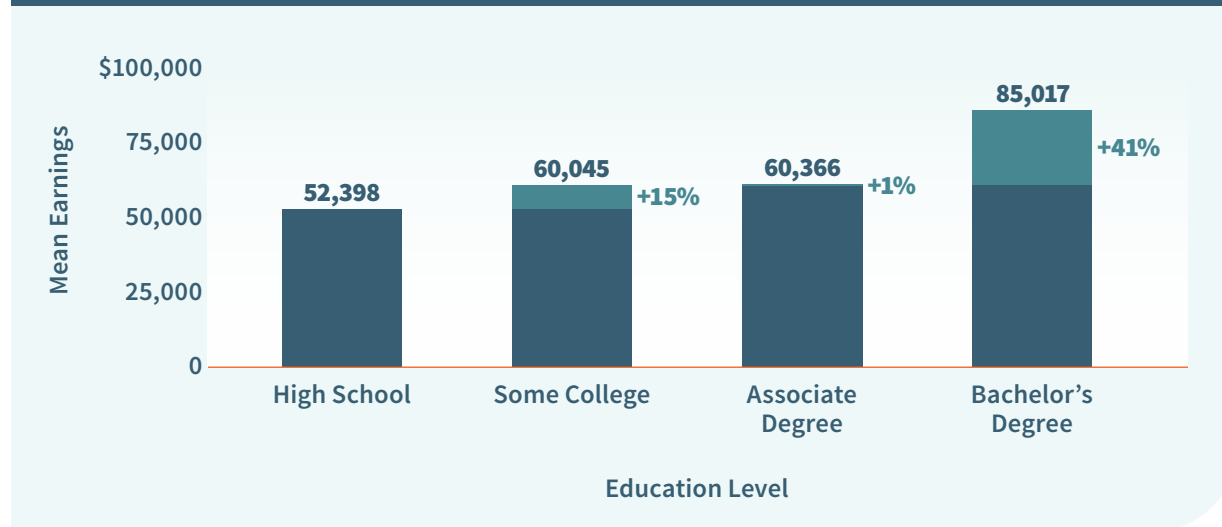
Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The samples are limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the difference from the next-highest level of education in the figure.

1. Data for a second MSA are reported only when a state has more than one large MSA, defined as a metro area with population greater than 500,000.

Nevada

On average, Nevadans with bachelor's degrees earn 40.8 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$85,017 versus \$60,366) and 62.3 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure NV-1).

Figure NV-1. Nevada mean earnings by education level

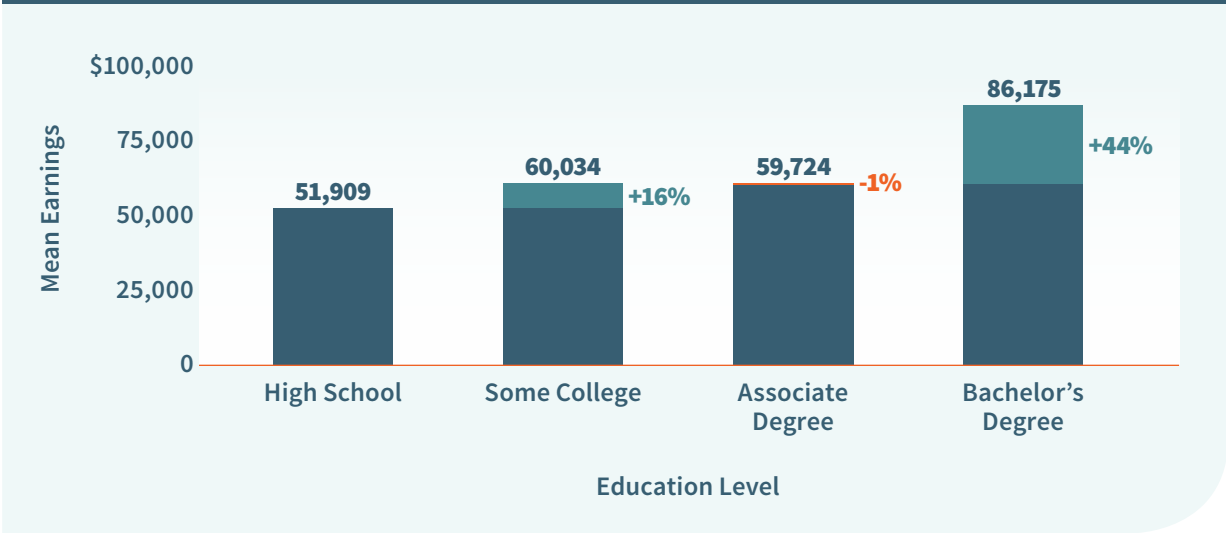


Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the difference from the next-highest level of education in the figure.

The largest MSA in Nevada is Las Vegas-Henderson-Paradise.¹ On average, workers with bachelor's degrees earn 44.3 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$86,175 versus \$59,724) and 66.0 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure NV-2). Education earnings premiums by race show that premiums are higher for white workers than for Hispanic workers. Hispanic bachelor's degree holders in Nevada earn 27.3 percent more than Hispanic workers with associate degrees and 55.6 percent more than Hispanic high school graduates in the state. For white workers in Nevada, bachelor's degree holders enjoy a 39.5 percent premium over associate degree holders and a 61.4 percent earnings premium relative to high school graduates (Figure NV-3).

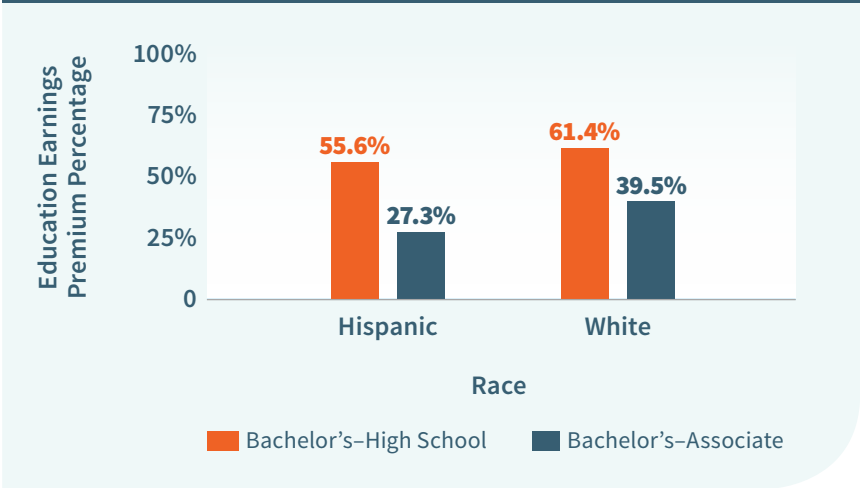
1. Data for a second MSA are reported only when a state has more than one large MSA, defined as a metro area with population greater than 500,000.

Figure NV-2. Las Vegas-Henderson-Paradise MSA mean earnings by education level



Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the increase from the next-highest level of education in the figure, and the percentage change in orange notes a decrease from the next-highest level of education.

Figure NV-3. Education earnings premiums by race in Nevada



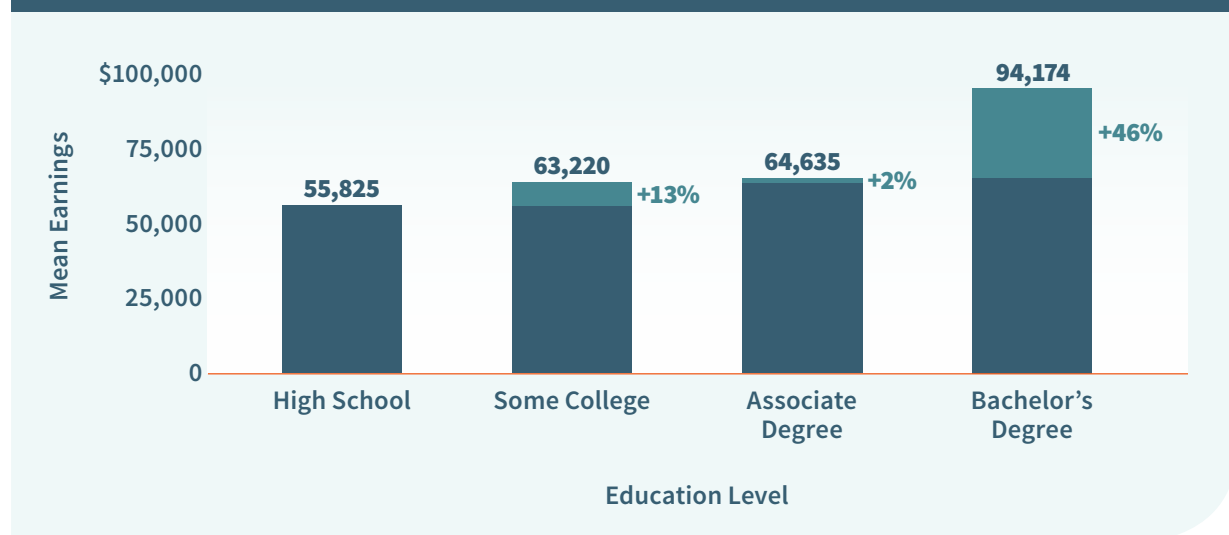
Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The analysis by race/ethnicity is restricted to those jurisdictions with at least ninety workers in the sample by both state and race/ethnicity for each of the three analyzed education groups (high school graduates, workers with associate degrees, and workers with bachelor's degrees).

New Hampshire

On average, New Hampshire residents with bachelor's degrees earn 45.7 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$94,174 versus \$64,635) and 68.7 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure NH-1).

New Hampshire has no MSA with population greater than 500,000.

Figure NH-1. New Hampshire mean earnings by education level



Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the difference from the next-highest level of education in the figure.

New Jersey

On average, New Jerseyans with bachelor's degrees earn 64.3 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$119,789 versus \$72,908) and 97.3 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure NJ-1). New Jersey has no MSA with population greater than 500,000.

Education earnings premiums by race show that premiums are higher for white workers than for black and Hispanic workers. Black bachelor's degree holders in New Jersey earn 46.6 percent more than black workers with associate degrees and 88.5 percent more than black high school graduates in the state. Hispanic bachelor's degree holders earn 31.3 percent more than Hispanic workers with associate degrees and 70.0 percent more than Hispanic high school graduates in the state. For white workers in New Jersey, bachelor's degree holders enjoy a 64.3 percent premium over associate degree holders and a 91.6 percent earnings premium relative to high school graduates (Figure NJ-2).

Figure NJ-1. New Jersey mean earnings by education level

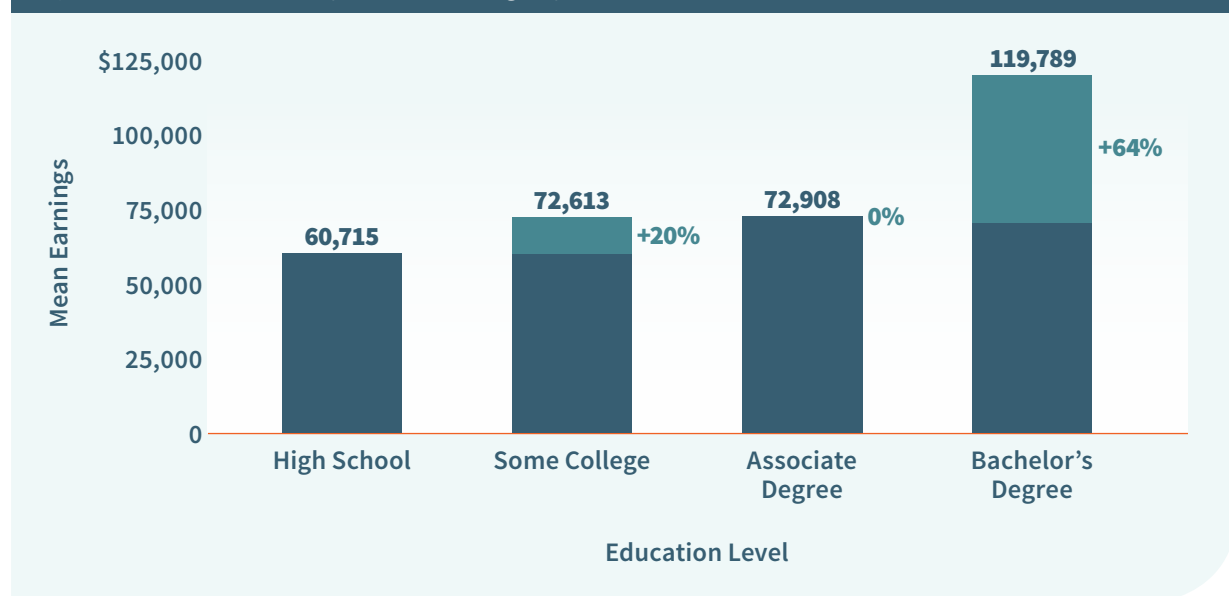
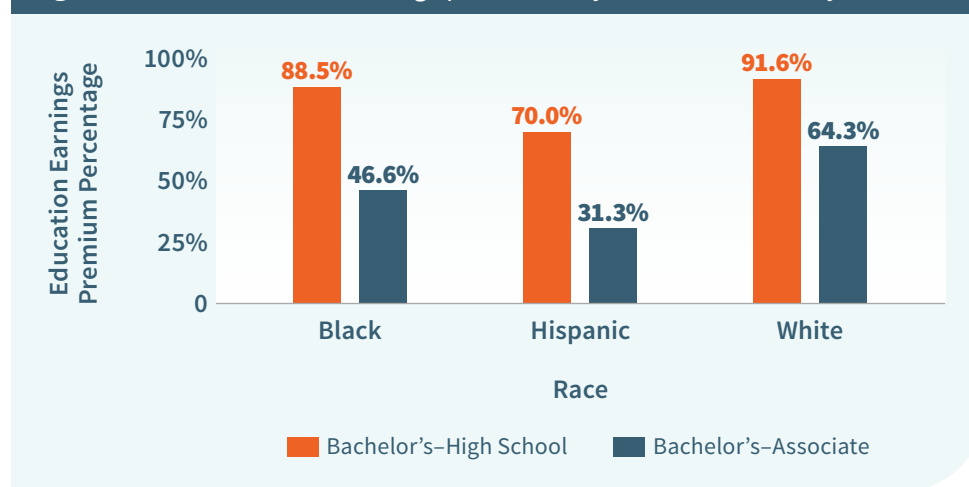


Figure NJ-2. Education earnings premiums by race in New Jersey

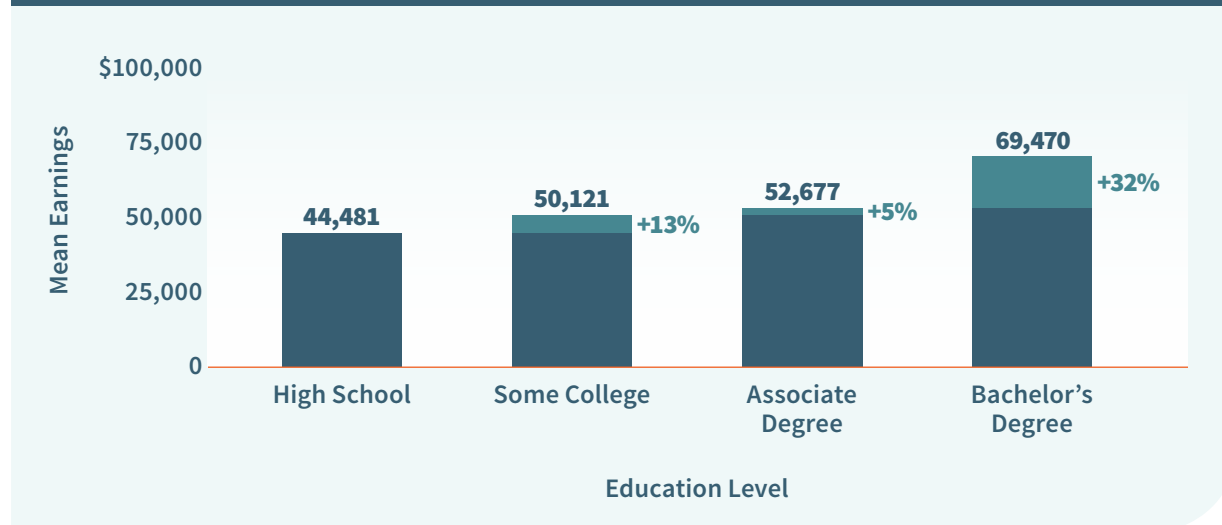


Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the difference from the next-highest level of education in the figure. The analysis by race/ethnicity is restricted to those jurisdictions with at least ninety workers in the sample by both state and race/ethnicity for each of the three analyzed education groups (high school graduates, workers with associate degrees, and workers with bachelor's degrees).

New Mexico

On average, New Mexicans with bachelor's degrees earn 31.9 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$69,470 versus \$52,677) and 56.2 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure NM-1).

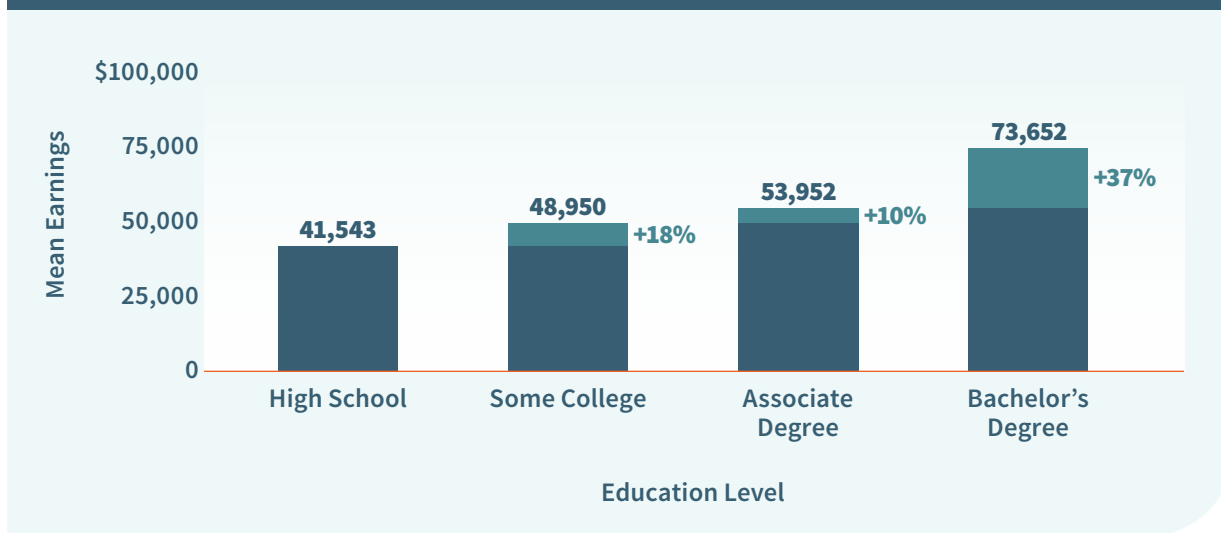
Figure NM-1. New Mexico mean earnings by education level



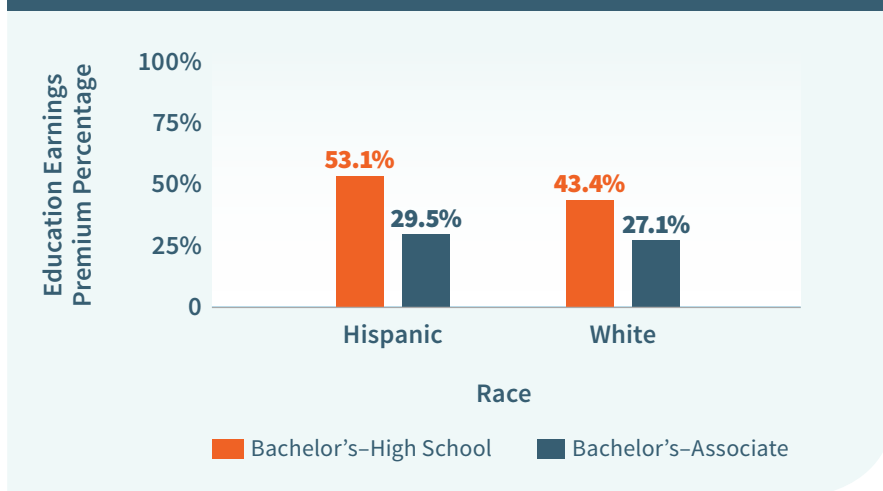
Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the difference from the next-highest level of education in the figure.

The largest MSA in New Mexico is Albuquerque.¹ On average, workers with bachelor's degrees earn 36.5 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$73,652 versus \$53,952) and 77.3 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure NM-2). Education earnings premiums by race show that premiums are higher for Hispanic workers than for white workers. Hispanic bachelor's degree holders in New Mexico earn 29.5 percent more than Hispanic workers with associate degrees and 53.1 percent more than Hispanic high school graduates in the state. For white workers in New Mexico, bachelor's degree holders enjoy a 27.1 percent premium over associate degree holders and a 43.4 percent earnings premium relative to high school graduates (Figure NM-3).

1. Data for a second MSA are reported only when a state has more than one large MSA, defined as a metro area with population greater than 500,000.

Figure NM-2. Albuquerque MSA mean earnings by education level

Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the difference from the next-highest level of education in the figure.

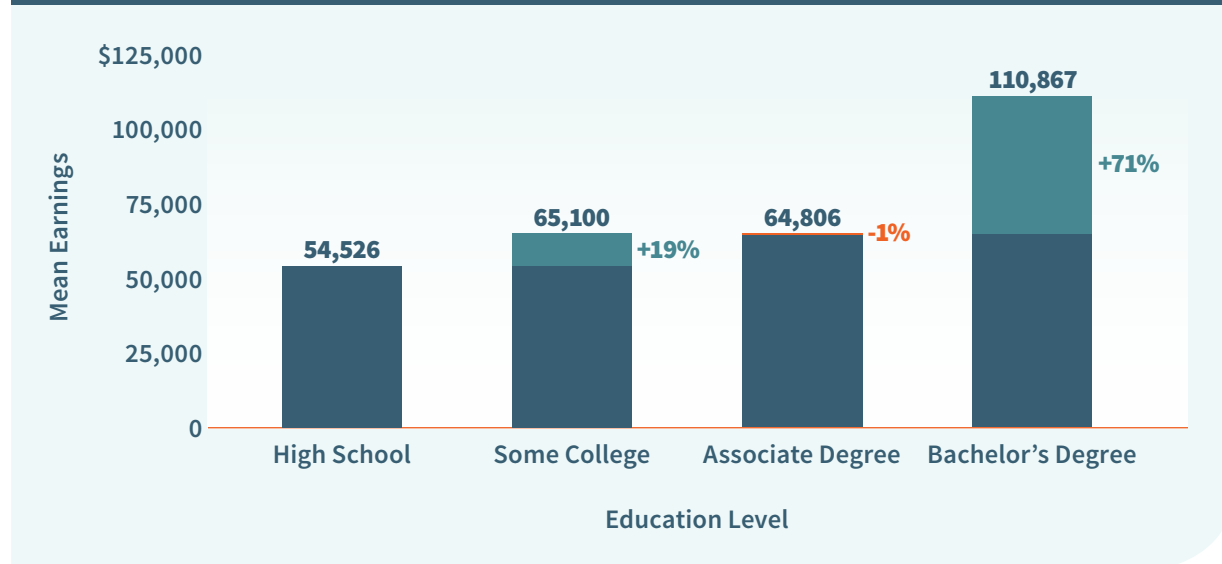
Figure NM-3. Education earnings premiums by race in New Mexico

Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The analysis by race/ethnicity is restricted to those jurisdictions with at least ninety workers in the sample by both state and race/ethnicity for each of the three analyzed education groups (high school graduates, workers with associate degrees, and workers with bachelor's degrees).

New York

On average, New Yorkers with bachelor's degrees earn 71.1 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$110,867 versus \$64,806) and 103.3 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure NY-1).

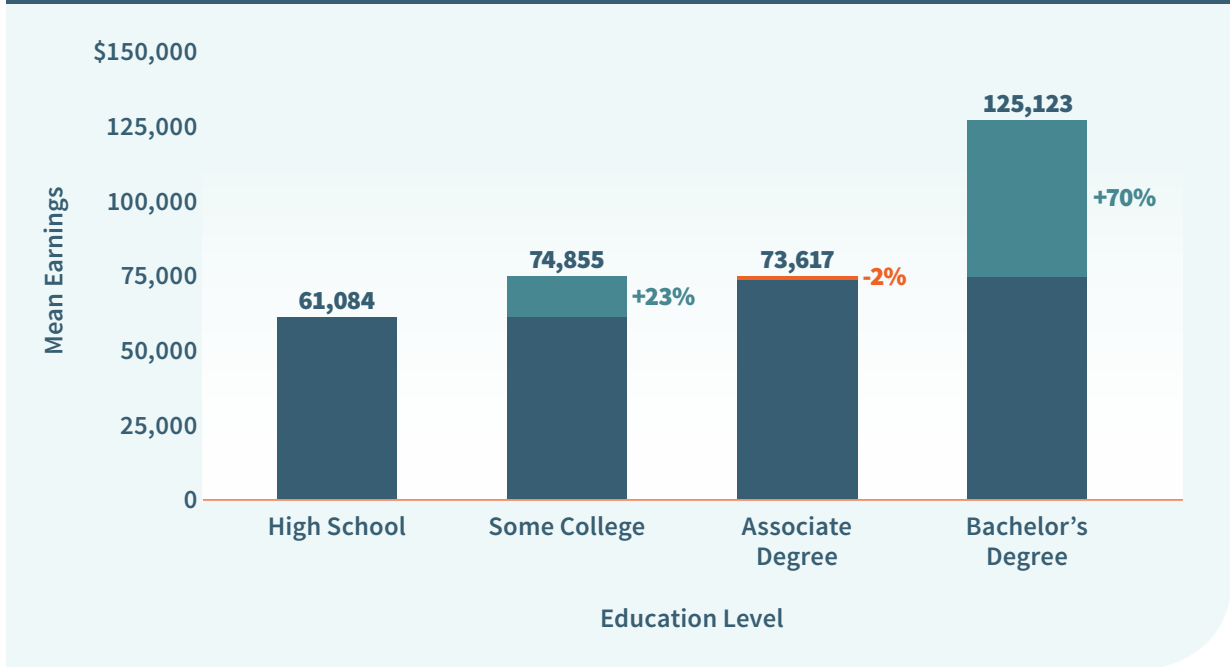
Figure NY-1. New York mean earnings by education level



Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the increase from the next-highest level of education in the figure, and the percentage change in orange notes a decrease from the next-highest level of education.

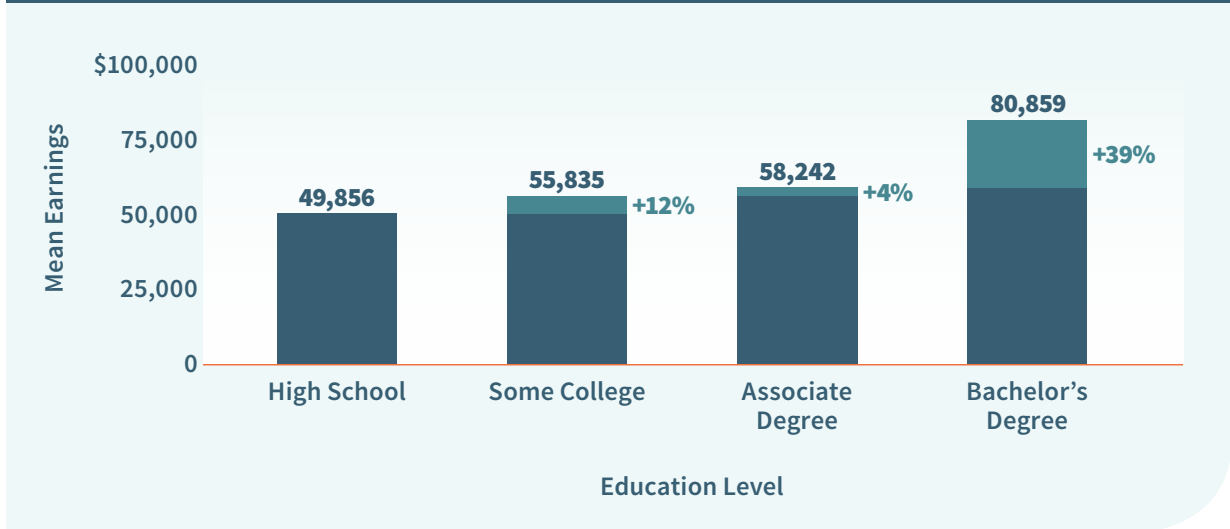
The largest MSA in New York is New York-Newark-Jersey City. On average, workers with bachelor's degrees earn 70.0 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$125,123 versus \$73,617) and 104.8 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure NY-2). The second largest MSA in New York is Buffalo-Cheektowaga-Niagara Falls. On average, workers with bachelor's degrees earn 38.8 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$80,859 versus \$58,242) and 62.2 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure NY-3).

Figure NY-2. New York-Newark-Jersey City MSA mean earnings by education level



Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the increase from the next-highest level of education in the figure, and the percentage change in orange notes a decrease from the next-highest level of education.

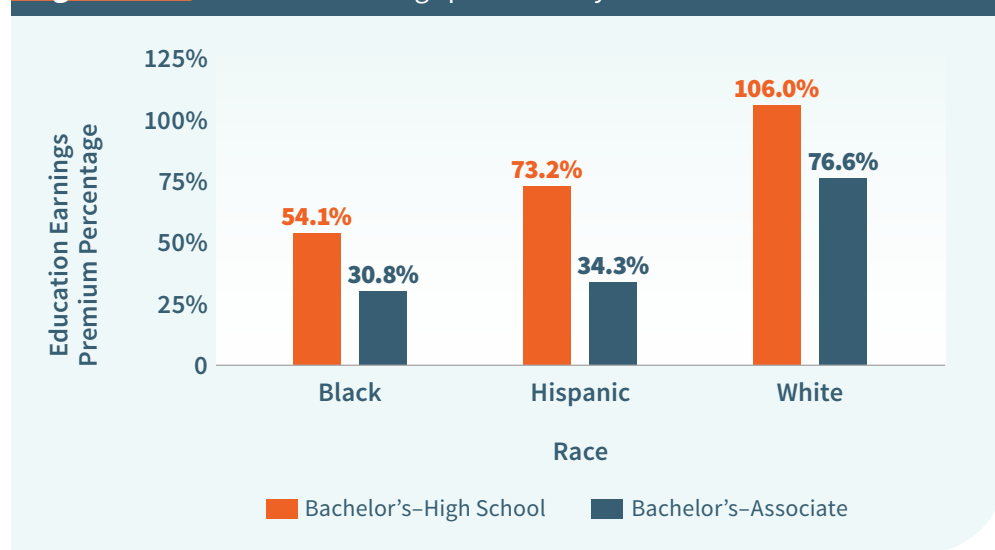
Figure NY-3. Buffalo-Cheektowaga-Niagara Falls MSA mean earnings by education level



Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the difference from the next-highest level of education in the figure.

Education earnings premiums by race show that premiums are higher for white workers than for black and Hispanic workers. Black bachelor's degree holders in New York earn 30.8 percent more than black workers with associate degrees and 54.1 percent more than black high school graduates in the state. Hispanic bachelor's degree holders earn 34.3 percent more than Hispanic workers with associate degrees in the state and 73.2 percent more than Hispanic high school graduates in the state. For white workers in New York, bachelor's degree holders enjoy a 76.6 percent premium over associate degree holders and a 106.0 percent earnings premium relative to high school graduates (Figure NY-4).

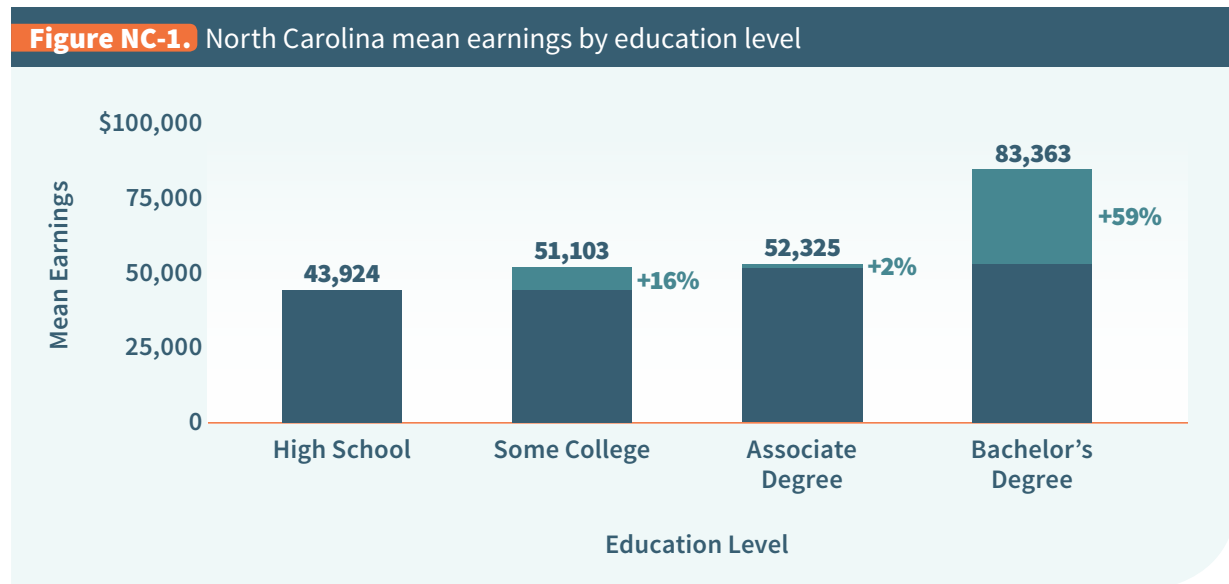
Figure NY-4. Education earnings premiums by race in New York



Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The analysis by race/ethnicity is restricted to those jurisdictions with at least ninety workers in the sample by both state and race/ethnicity for each of the three analyzed education groups (high school graduates, workers with associate degrees, and workers with bachelor's degrees).

North Carolina

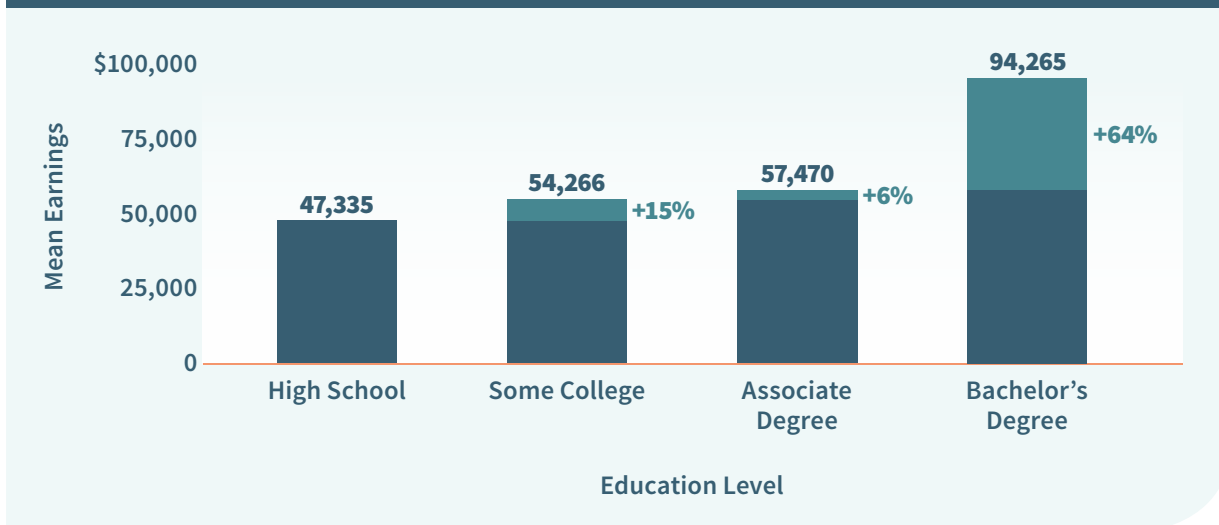
On average, North Carolinians with bachelor's degrees earn 59.3 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$83,363 versus \$52,325) and 89.8 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure NC-1).



Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the difference from the next-highest level of education in the figure.

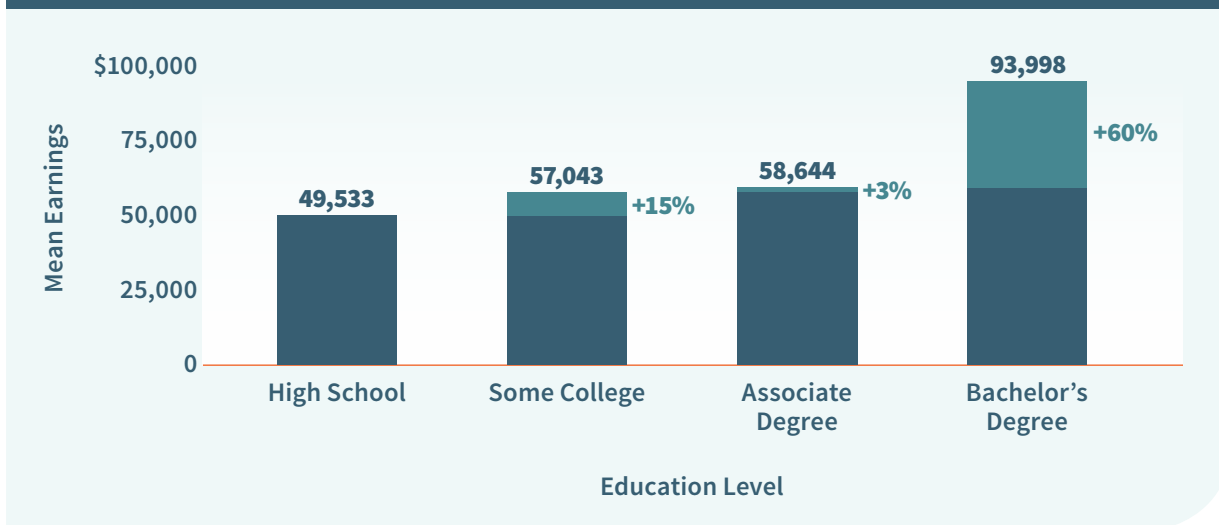
The largest MSA in North Carolina is Charlotte-Concord-Gastonia. On average, workers with bachelor's degrees earn 64.0 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$94,265 versus \$57,470) and 99.1 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure NC-2). The second largest MSA in North Carolina is Raleigh. On average, workers with bachelor's degrees earn 60.2 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$93,998 versus \$58,664) and 89.8 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure NC-3).

Figure NC-2. Charlotte-Concord-Gastonia MSA mean earnings by education level



Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the difference from the next-highest level of education in the figure.

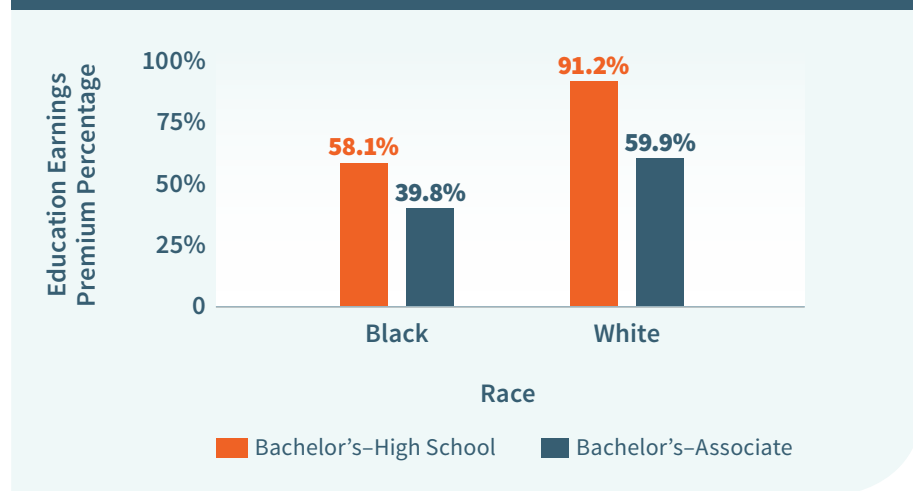
Figure NC-3. Raleigh MSA mean earnings by education level



Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the difference from the next-highest level of education in the figure.

Education earnings premiums by race show that premiums are higher for white workers than for black workers. Black bachelor's degree holders in North Carolina earn 39.8 percent more than black workers with associate degrees in the state and 58.1 percent more than black high school graduates. For white workers in North Carolina, bachelor's degree holders enjoy a 59.9 percent premium over associate degree holders and a 91.2 percent earnings premium relative to high school graduates (Figure NC-4).

Figure NC-4. Education earnings premiums by race in North Carolina



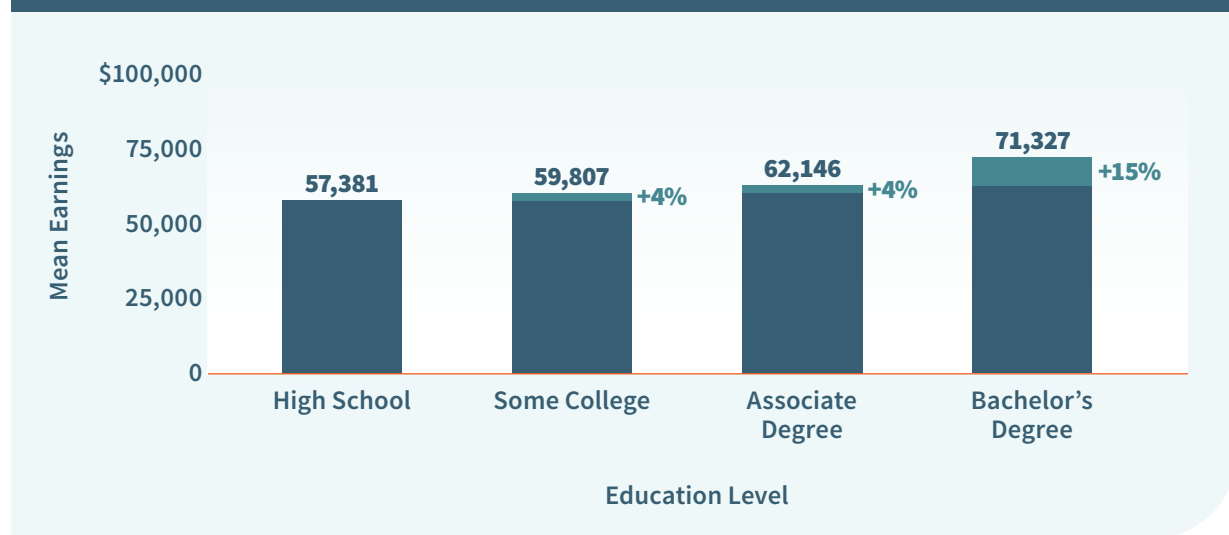
Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The analysis by race/ethnicity is restricted to those jurisdictions with at least ninety workers in the sample by both state and race/ethnicity for each of the three analyzed education groups (high school graduates, workers with associate degrees, and workers with bachelor's degrees).

North Dakota

On average, North Dakotans with bachelor's degrees earn 14.8 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$71,327 versus \$62,146) and 24.3 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure ND-1).

North Dakota has no MSA with population greater than 500,000.

Figure ND-1. North Dakota mean earnings by education level

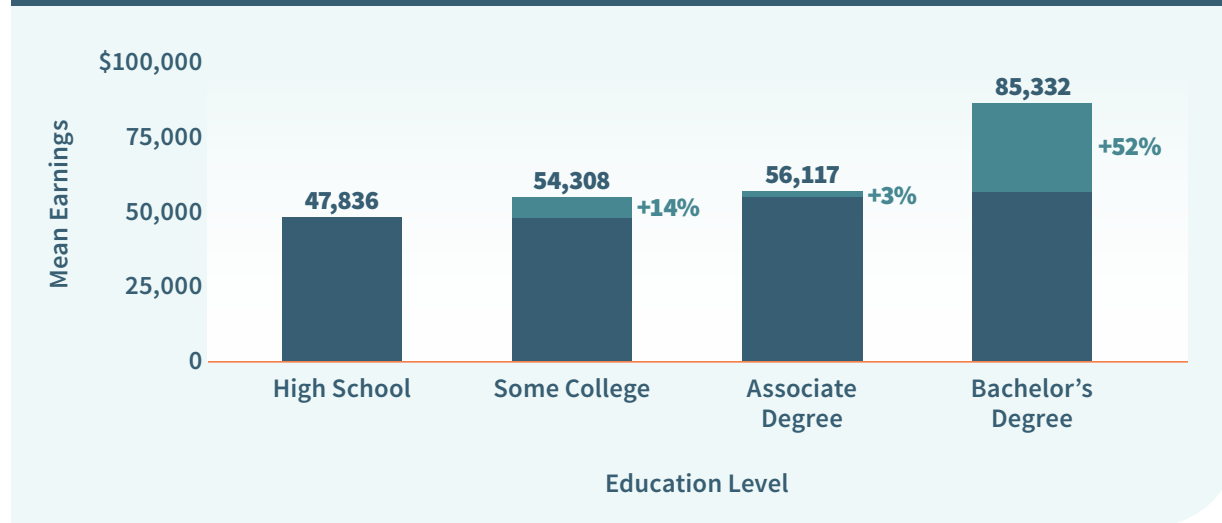


Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the difference from the next-highest level of education in the figure.

Ohio

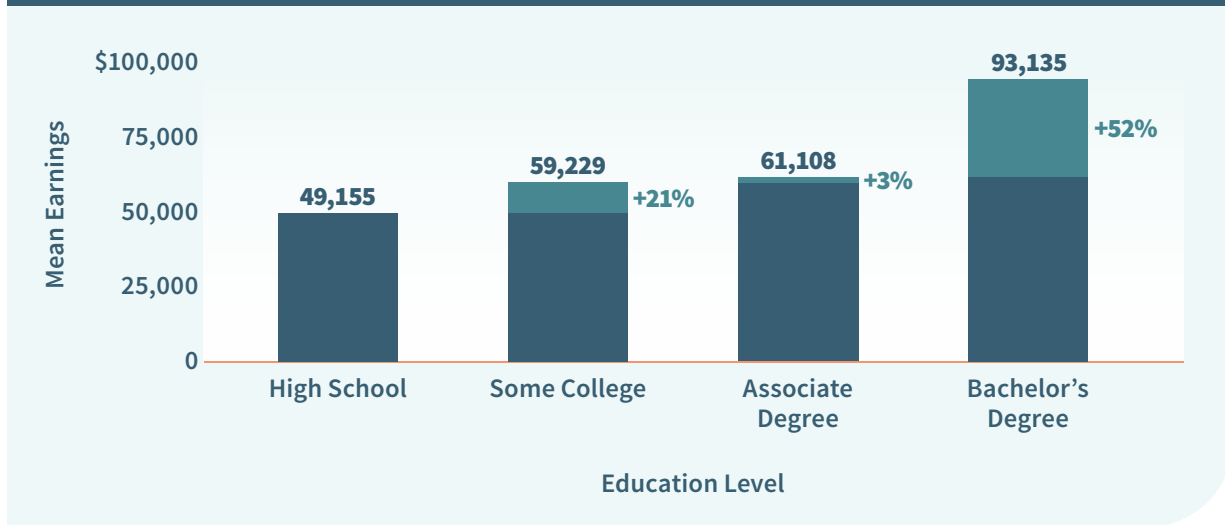
On average, Ohioans with bachelor's degrees earn 52.1 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$85,332 versus \$56,117) and 78.4 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure OH-1).

Figure OH-1. Ohio mean earnings by education level

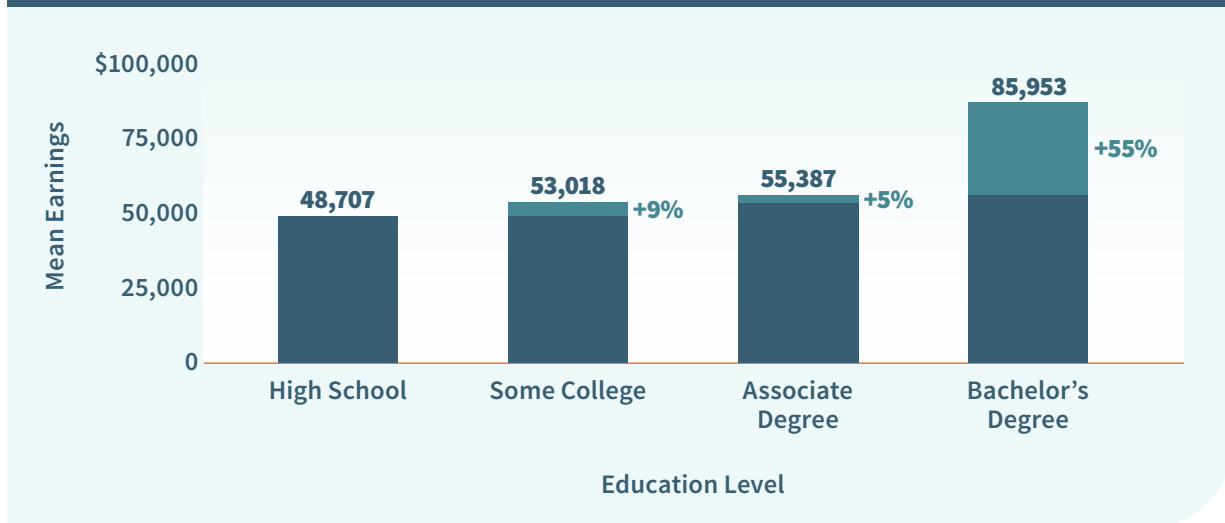


Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the difference from the next-highest level of education in the figure.

The largest MSA in Ohio is Cincinnati. On average, workers with bachelor's degrees earn 52.4 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$93,135 versus \$61,108) and 89.5 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure OH-2). The second largest MSA in Ohio is Cleveland-Elyria. On average, workers with bachelor's degrees earn 55.2 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$85,953 versus \$55,387) and 76.5 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure OH-3).

Figure OH-2. Cincinnati MSA mean earnings by education level

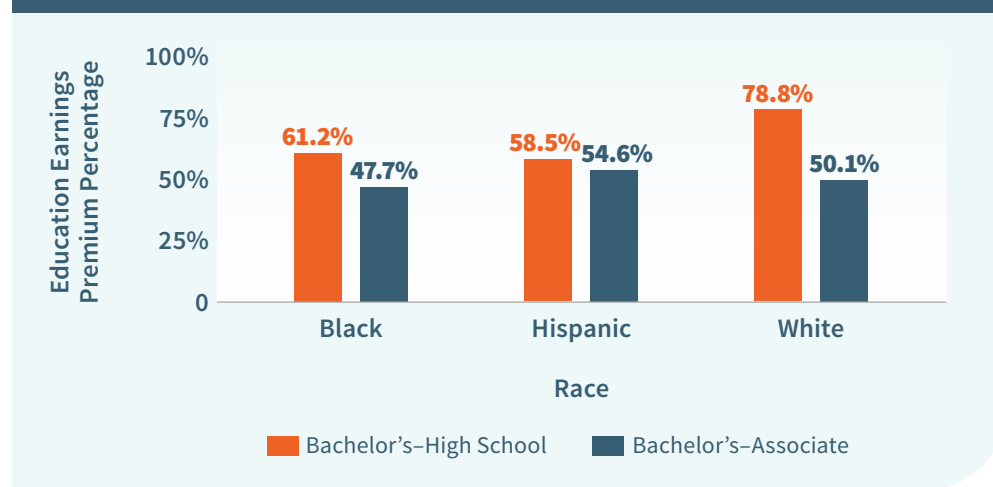
Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the difference from the next-highest level of education in the figure.

Figure OH-3. Cleveland-Elyria MSA mean earnings by education level

Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the difference from the next-highest level of education in the figure.

Education earnings premiums by race show that the bachelor's premium versus a high school diploma is highest for white workers, but the bachelor's premium versus an associate degree is highest for Hispanic workers. Black bachelor's degree holders in Ohio earn 47.7 percent more than black workers with associate degrees in the state and 61.2 percent more than black high school graduates. Hispanic bachelor's degree holders earn 54.6 percent more than Hispanic workers with associate degrees and 58.5 percent more than Hispanic high school graduates in the state. For white workers in Ohio, bachelor's degree holders enjoy a 50.1 percent premium over associate degree holders and a 78.8 percent earnings premium relative to high school graduates (Figure OH-4).

Figure OH-4. Education earnings premiums by race in Ohio

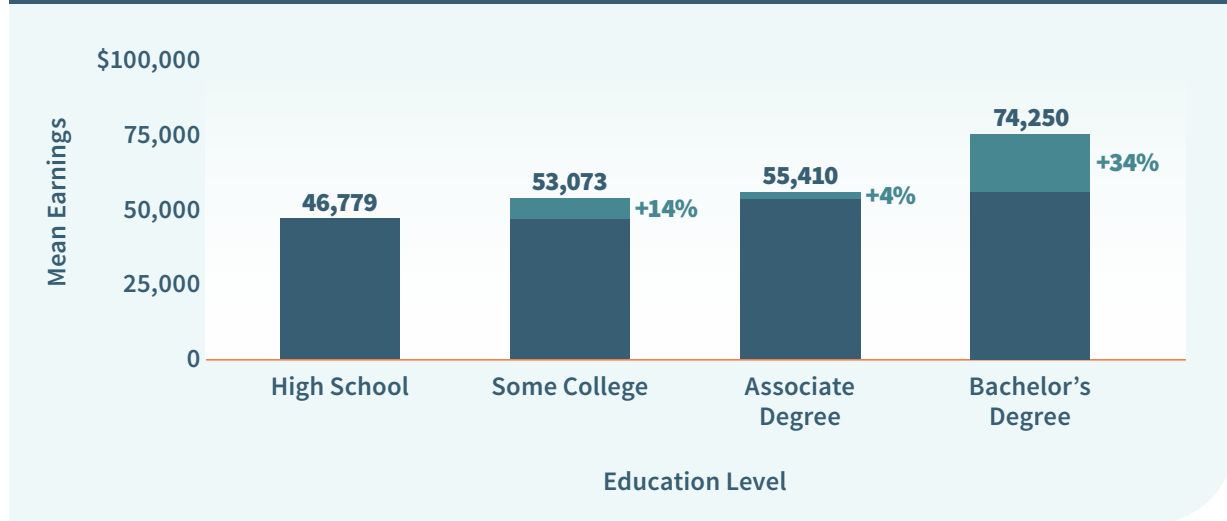


Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The analysis by race/ethnicity is restricted to those jurisdictions with at least ninety workers in the sample by both state and race/ethnicity for each of the three analyzed education groups (high school graduates, workers with associate degrees, and workers with bachelor's degrees).

Oklahoma

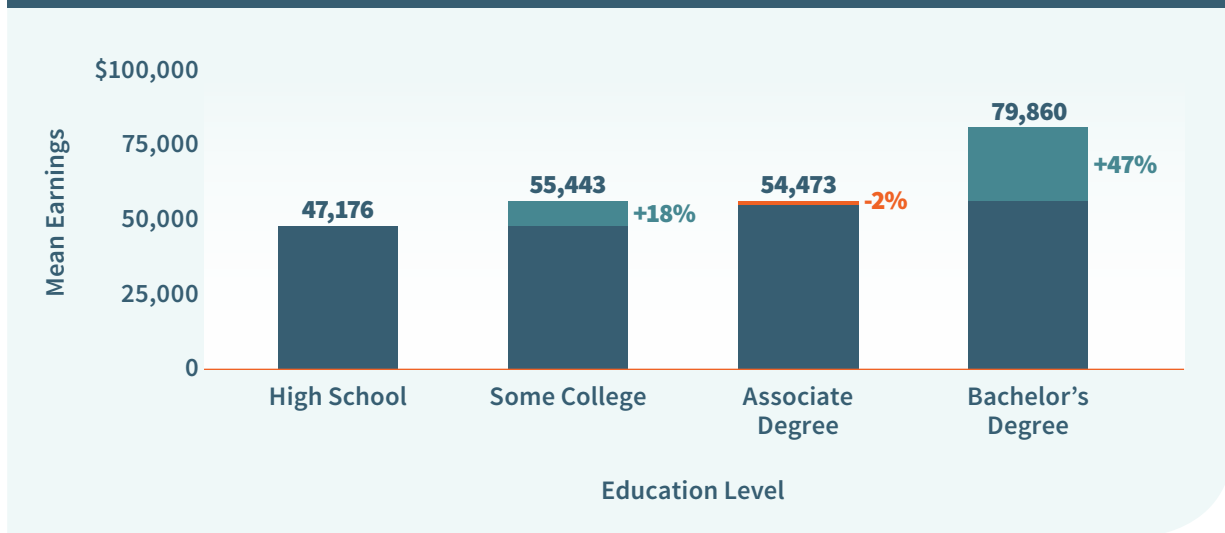
On average, Oklahomans with bachelor's degrees earn 34.0 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$74,250 versus \$55,410) and 58.7 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure OK-1).

Figure OK-1. Oklahoma mean earnings by education level

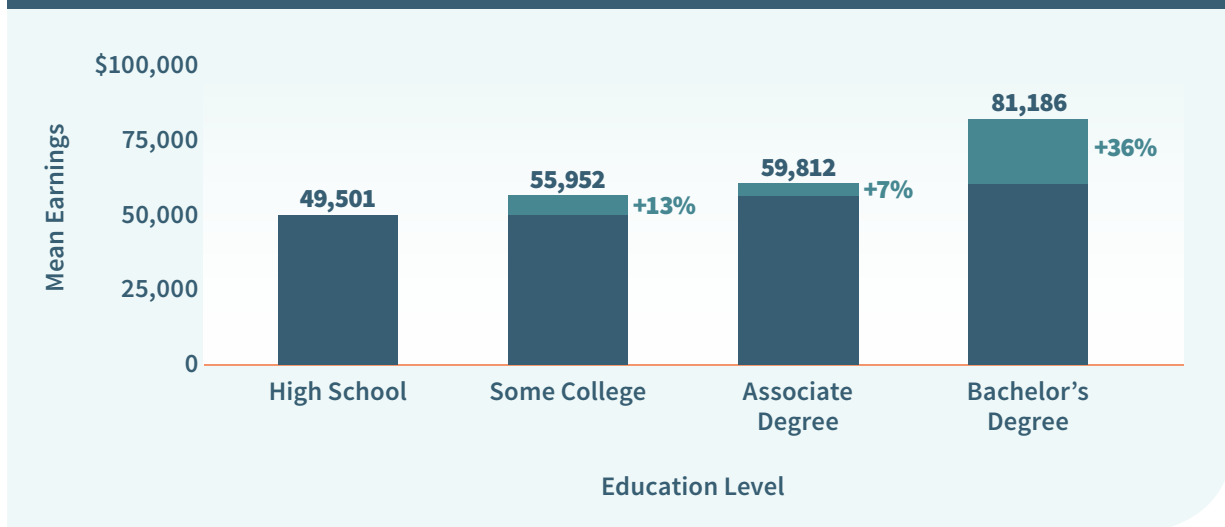


Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the difference from the next-highest level of education in the figure.

The largest MSA in Oklahoma is Oklahoma City. On average, workers with bachelor's degrees earn 46.6 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$79,860 versus \$54,473) and 69.3 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure OK-2). The second largest MSA in Oklahoma is Tulsa. On average, workers with bachelor's degrees earn 35.7 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$81,186 versus \$59,812) and 64.0 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure OK-3).

Figure OK-2. Oklahoma City MSA mean earnings by education level

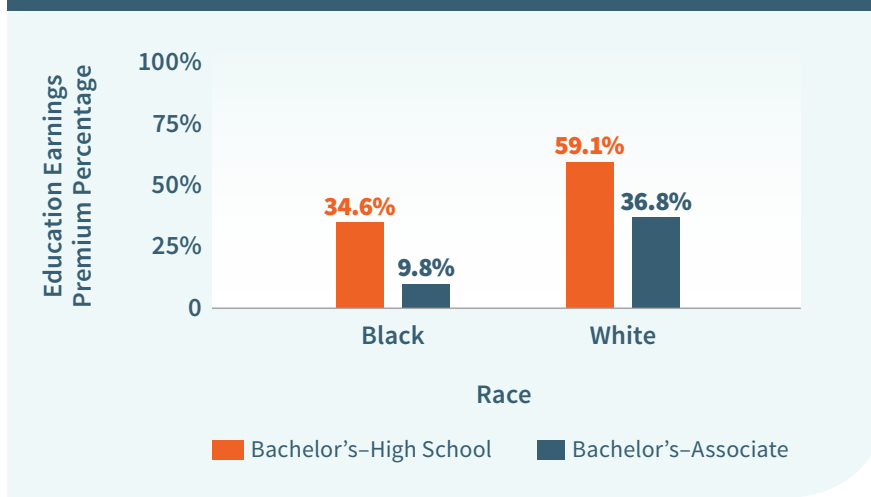
Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the increase from the next-highest level of education in the figure, and the percentage change in orange notes a decrease from the next-highest level of education.

Figure OK-3. Tulsa MSA mean earnings by education level

Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the difference from the next-highest level of education in the figure.

Education earnings premiums by race show that premiums are higher for white workers than for black workers. Black bachelor's degree holders in Oklahoma earn 9.8 percent more than black workers with associate degrees in the state and 34.6 percent more than black high school graduates. For white workers in Oklahoma, bachelor's degree holders enjoy a 36.8 percent premium over associate degree holders and a 59.1 percent earnings premium relative to high school graduates (Figure OK-4).

Figure OK-4. Education earnings premiums by race in Oklahoma

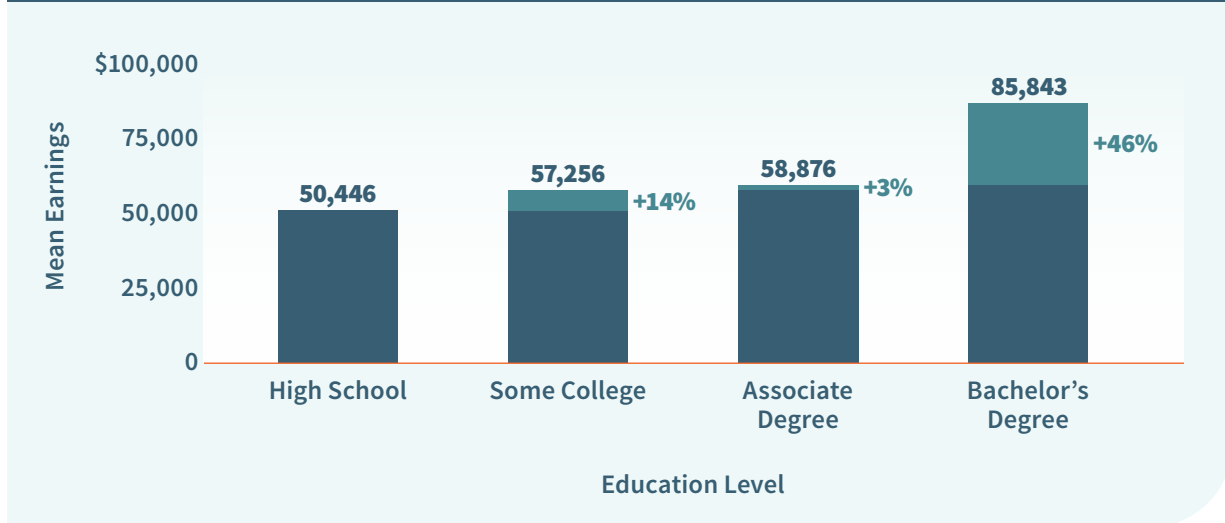


Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The analysis by race/ethnicity is restricted to those jurisdictions with at least ninety workers in the sample by both state and race/ethnicity for each of the three analyzed education groups (high school graduates, workers with associate degrees, and workers with bachelor's degrees).

Oregon

On average, Oregonians with bachelor's degrees earn 45.8 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$85,843 versus \$58,876) and 70.2 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure OR-1).

Figure OR-1. Oregon mean earnings by education level

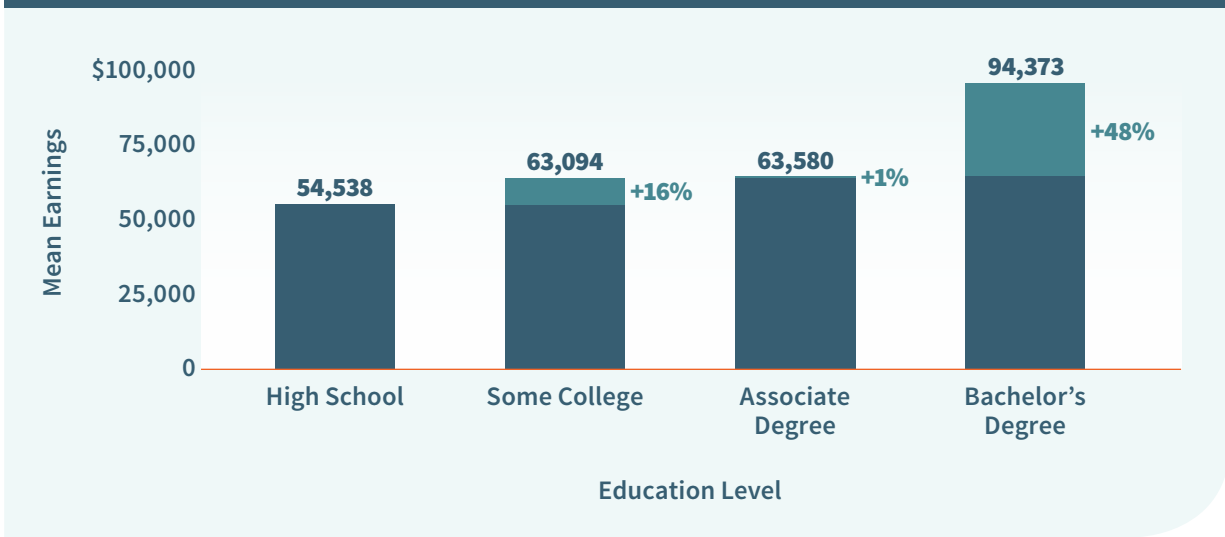


Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the difference from the next-highest level of education in the figure.

The largest MSA in Oregon is Portland-Vancouver-Hillsboro.¹ On average, workers with bachelor's degrees earn 48.4 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$94,373 versus \$63,580) and 73.0 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure OR-2). Education earnings premiums by race show that the bachelor's premium versus a high school diploma is higher for Hispanic workers than for white workers, but the bachelor's premium versus an associate degree is higher for white workers than for Hispanic workers. Hispanic bachelor's degree holders in Oregon earn 24.8 percent more than Hispanic workers with associate degrees in the state and 75.5 percent more than Hispanic high school graduates. For white workers in Oregon, bachelor's degree holders enjoy a 45.0 percent premium over associate degree holders and a 68.6 percent earnings premium relative to high school graduates (Figure OR-3).

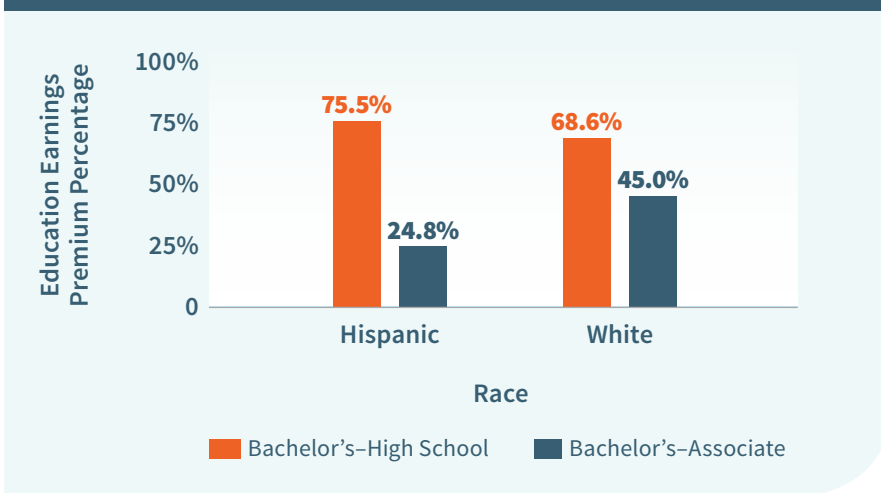
1. Data for a second MSA are reported only when a state has more than one large MSA, defined as a metro area with population greater than 500,000.

Figure OR-2. Portland-Vancouver-Hillsboro MSA mean earnings by education level



Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the difference from the next-highest level of education in the figure.

Figure OR-3. Education earnings premiums by race in Oregon

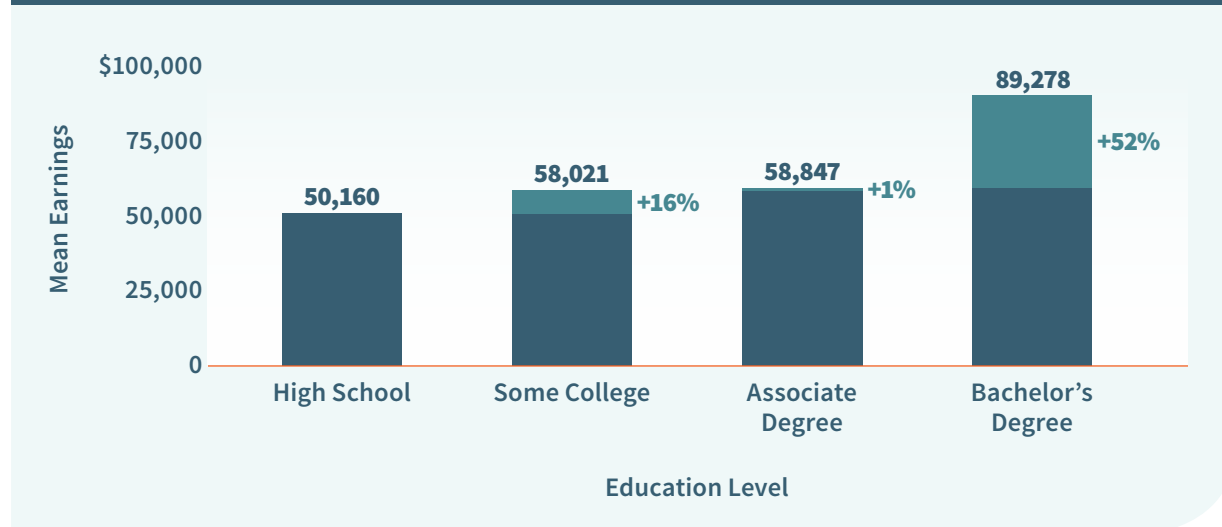


Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The analysis by race/ethnicity is restricted to those jurisdictions with at least ninety workers in the sample by both state and race/ethnicity for each of the three analyzed education groups (high school graduates, workers with associate degrees, and workers with bachelor's degrees).

Pennsylvania

On average, Pennsylvanians with bachelor's degrees earn 51.7 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$89,278 versus \$58,847) and 78.0 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure PA-1).

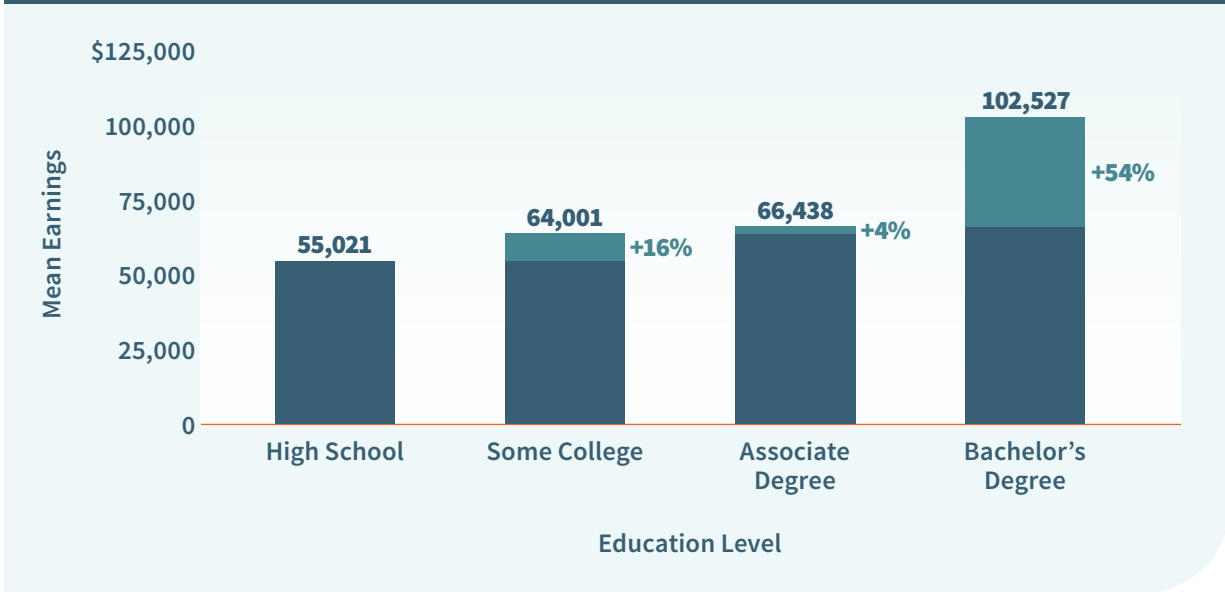
Figure PA-1. Pennsylvania mean earnings by education level



Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the difference from the next-highest level of education in the figure.

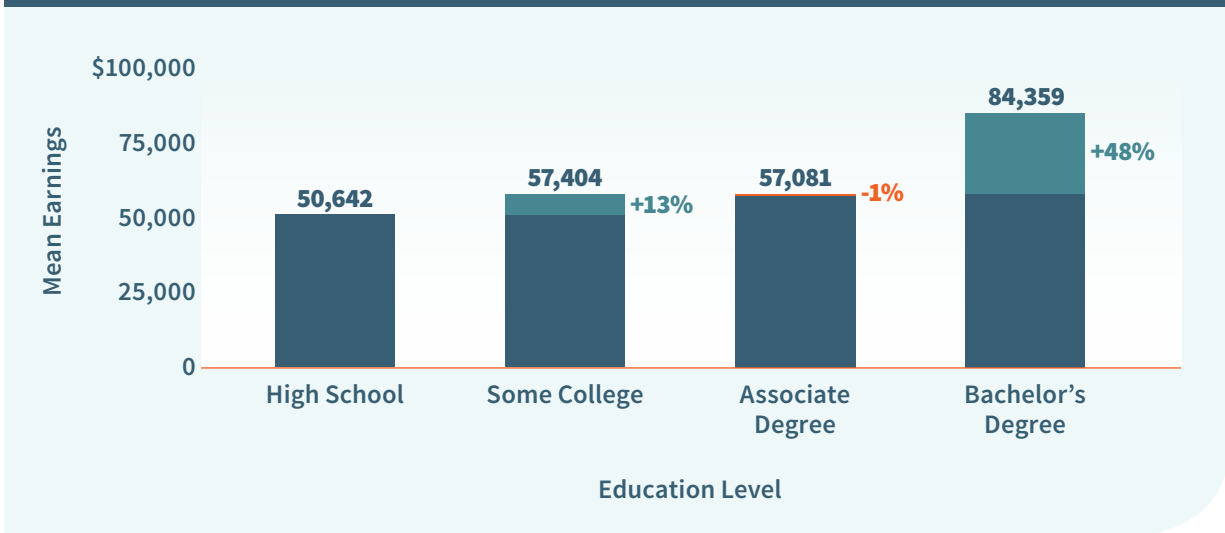
The largest MSA in Pennsylvania is Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington. On average, workers with bachelor's degrees earn 54.3 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$102,527 versus \$66,438) and 86.3 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure PA-2). The second largest MSA in Pennsylvania is Pittsburgh. On average, workers with bachelor's degrees earn 47.8 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$84,359 versus \$57,081) and 66.6 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure PA-3).

Figure PA-2. Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington MSA mean earnings by education level



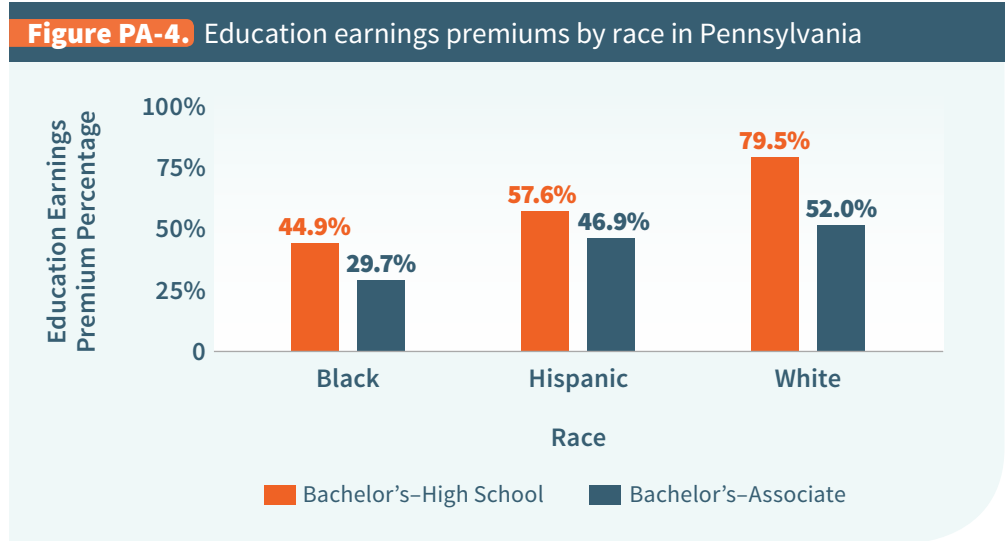
Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the difference from the next-highest level of education in the figure.

Figure PA-3. Pittsburgh MSA mean earnings by education level



Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the increase from the next-highest level of education in the figure, and the percentage change in orange notes a decrease from the next-highest level of education.

Education earnings premiums by race show that premiums are higher for white workers than for black and Hispanic workers. Black bachelor’s degree holders in Pennsylvania earn 29.7 percent more than black workers with associate degrees in the state and 44.9 percent more than black high school graduates. Hispanic bachelor’s degree holders earn 46.9 percent more than Hispanic workers with associate degrees and 57.6 percent more than Hispanic high school graduates in the state. For white workers in Pennsylvania, bachelor’s degree holders enjoy a 52.0 percent premium over associate degree holders and a 79.5 percent earnings premium relative to high school graduates (Figure PA-4).



Note: Based on author’s calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The analysis by race/ethnicity is restricted to those jurisdictions with at least ninety workers in the sample by both state and race/ethnicity for each of the three analyzed education groups (high school graduates, workers with associate degrees, and workers with bachelor’s degrees).

Rhode Island

On average, Rhode Islanders with bachelor's degrees earn 46.7 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$93,401 versus \$63,647) and 62.9 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure RI-1). The largest MSA in Rhode Island is Providence-Warwick.¹ On average, workers with bachelor's degrees earn 44.1 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$92,653 versus \$64,309) and 61.3 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure RI-2).

Figure RI-1. Rhode Island mean earnings by education level

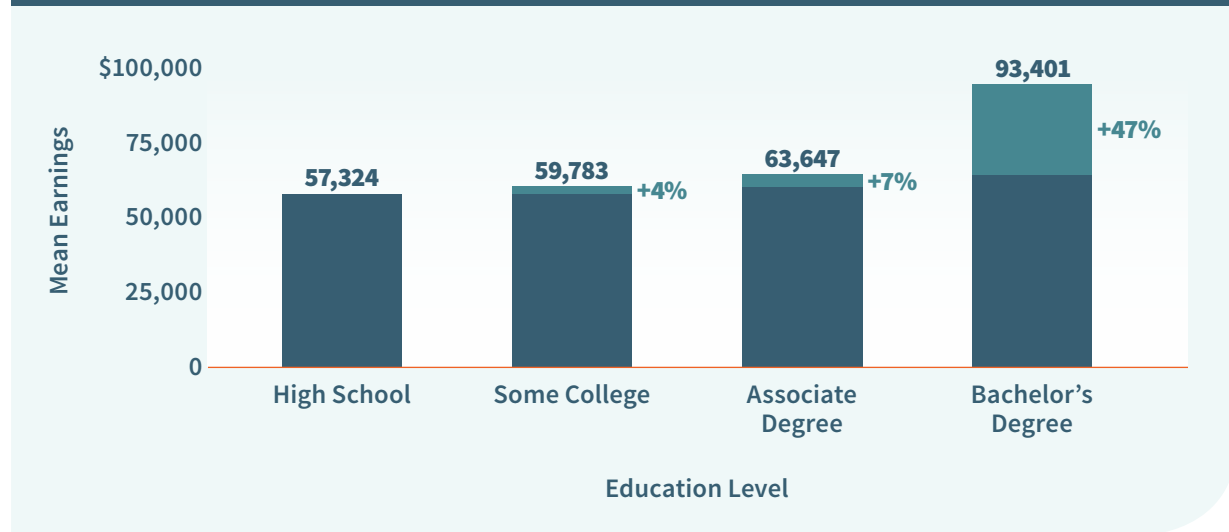
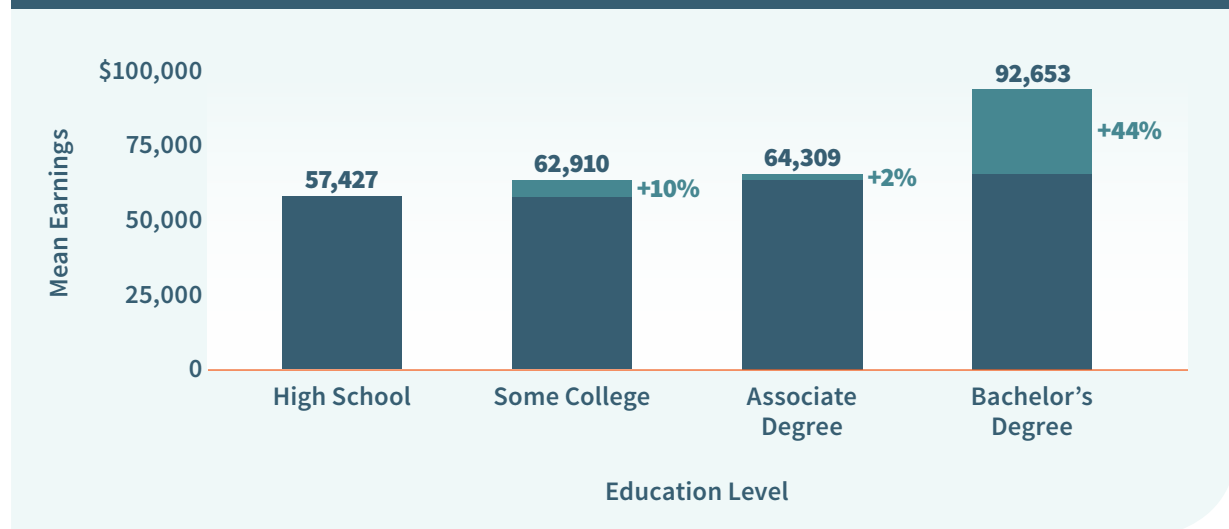


Figure RI-2. Providence-Warwick MSA mean earnings by education level



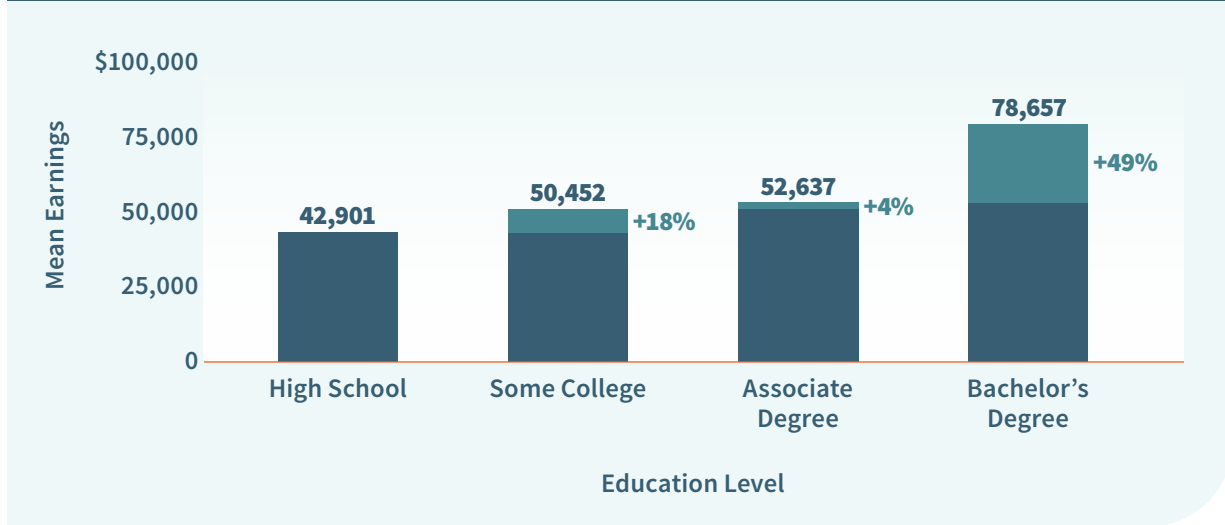
Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The samples are limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the difference from the next-highest level of education in the figure.

1. Data for a second MSA are reported only when a state has more than one large MSA, defined as a metro area with population greater than 500,000.

South Carolina

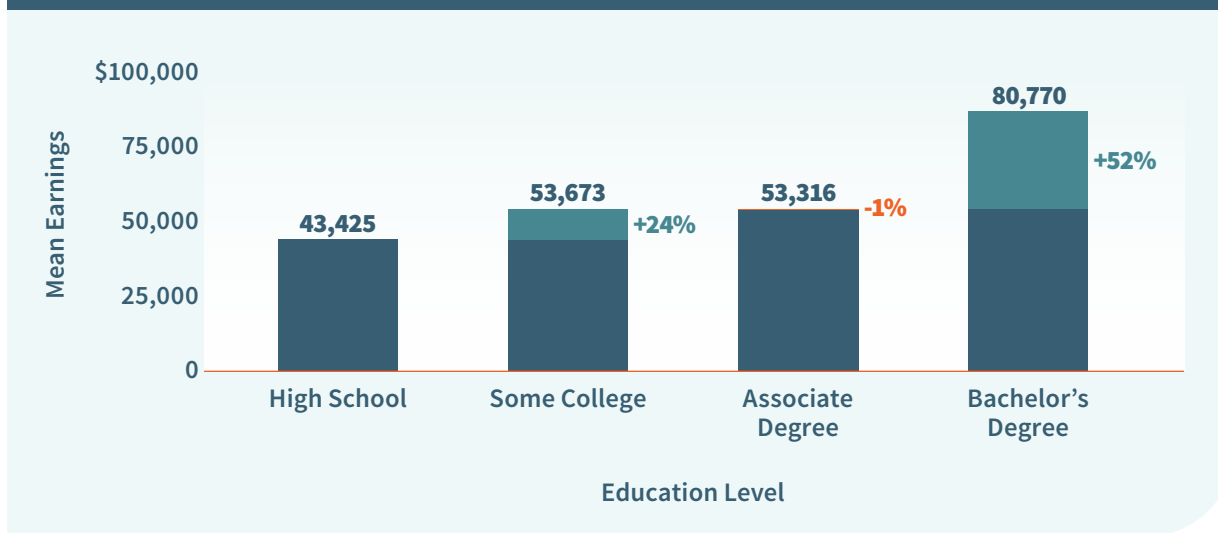
On average, South Carolinians with bachelor's degrees earn 49.4 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$78,657 versus \$52,637) and 83.3 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure SC-1).

Figure SC-1. South Carolina mean earnings by education level

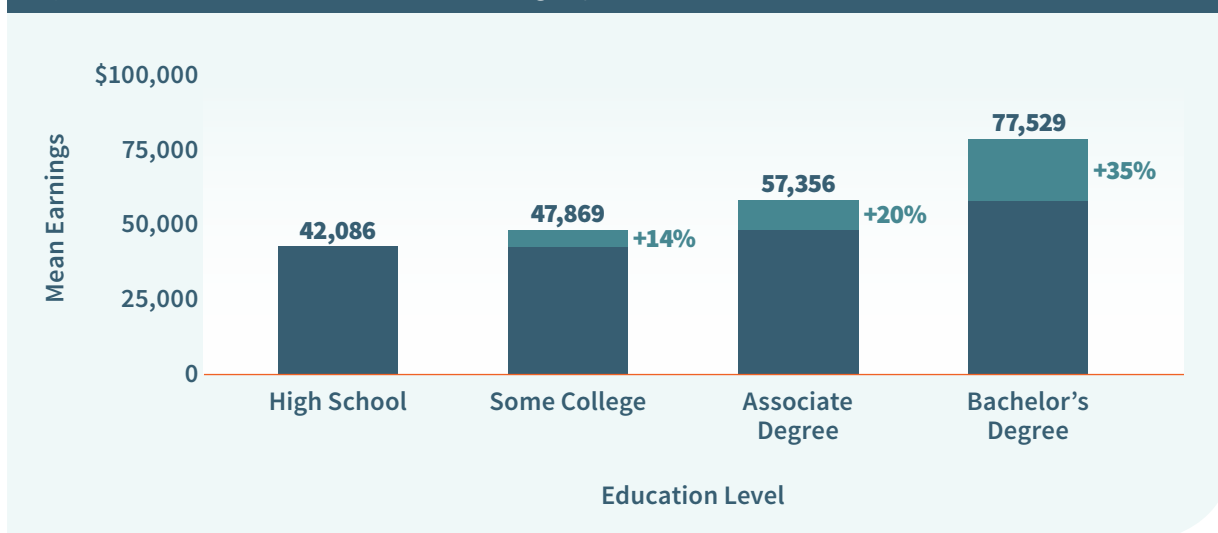


Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the difference from the next-highest level of education in the figure.

The largest MSA in South Carolina is Greenville-Anderson-Mauldin. On average, workers with bachelor's degrees earn 51.5 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$80,770 versus \$53,316) and 86.0 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure SC-2). The second largest MSA in South Carolina is Columbia. On average, workers with bachelor's degrees earn 35.2 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$77,529 versus \$57,356) and 84.2 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure SC-3).

Figure SC-2. Greenville-Anderson-Mauldin MSA mean earnings by education level

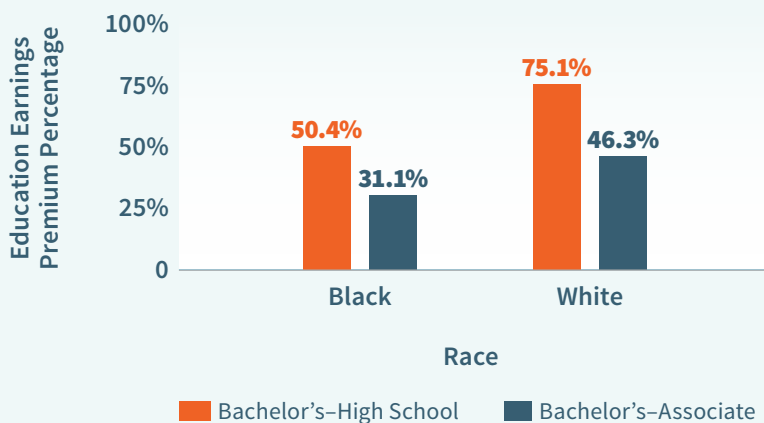
Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the increase from the next-highest level of education in the figure, and the percentage change in orange notes a decrease from the next-highest level of education.

Figure SC-3. Columbia MSA mean earnings by education level

Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the difference from the next-highest level of education in the figure.

Education earnings premiums by race show that premiums are higher for white workers than for black workers. Black bachelor's degree holders in South Carolina earn 31.1 percent more than black workers with associate degrees in the state and 50.4 percent more than black high school graduates. For white workers in South Carolina, bachelor's degree holders enjoy a 46.3 percent premium over associate degree holders and a 75.1 percent earnings premium relative to high school graduates (Figure SC-4).

Figure SC-4. Education earnings premiums by race in South Carolina



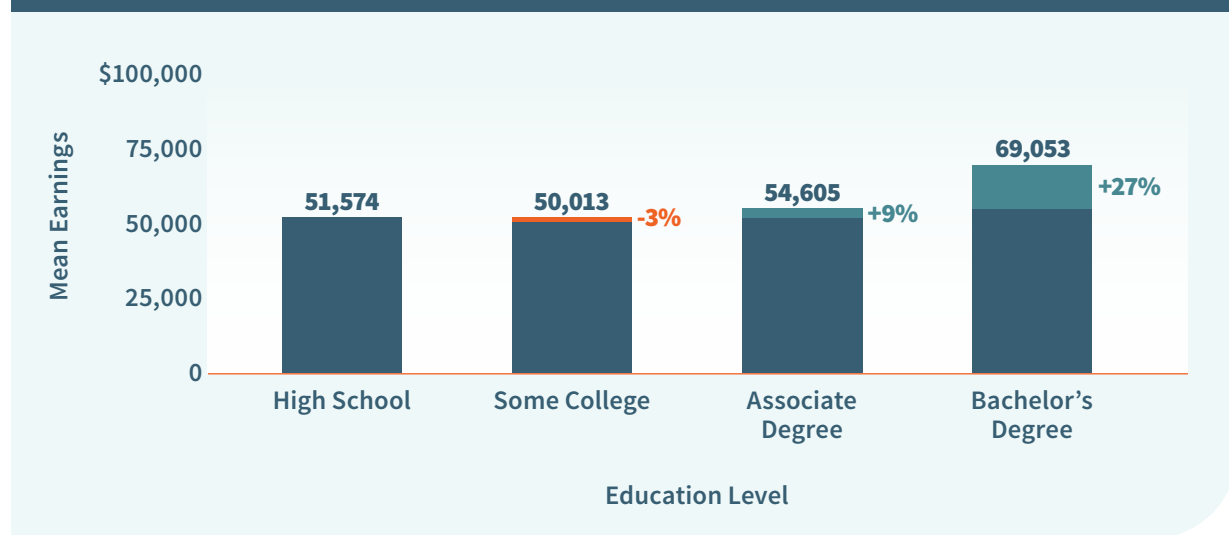
Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The analysis by race/ethnicity is restricted to those jurisdictions with at least ninety workers in the sample by both state and race/ethnicity for each of the three analyzed education groups (high school graduates, workers with associate degrees, and workers with bachelor's degrees).

South Dakota

On average, South Dakotans with bachelor's degrees earn 26.5 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$69,053 versus \$54,605) and 33.9 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure SD-1).

South Dakota has no MSA with population greater than 500,000.

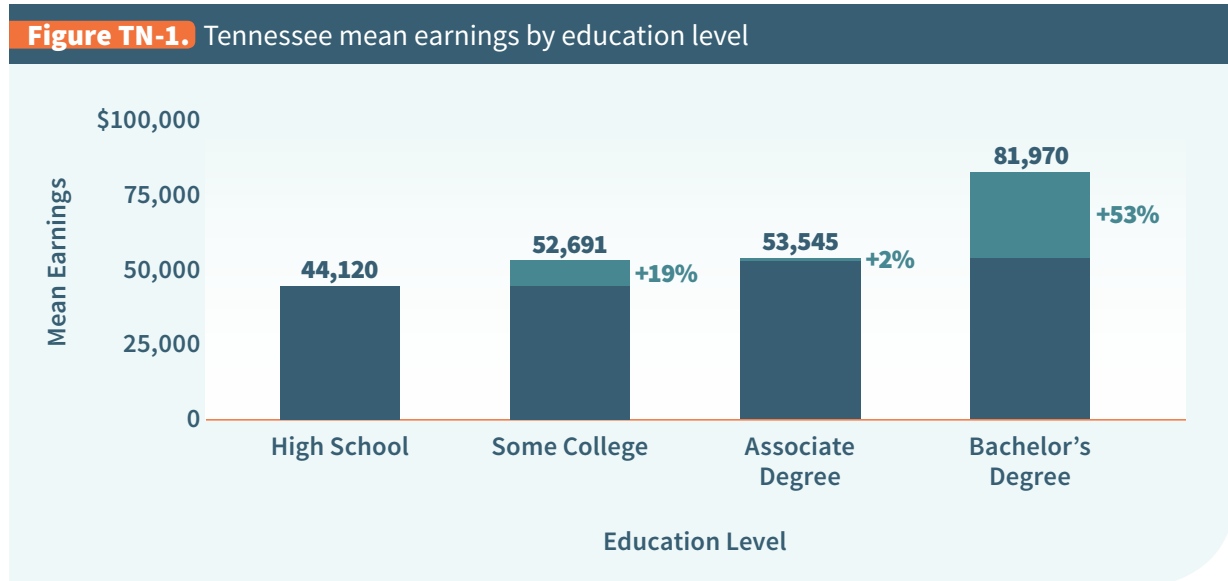
Figure SD-1. South Dakota mean earnings by education level



Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the increase from the next-highest level of education in the figure, and the percentage change in orange notes a decrease from the next-highest level of education.

Tennessee

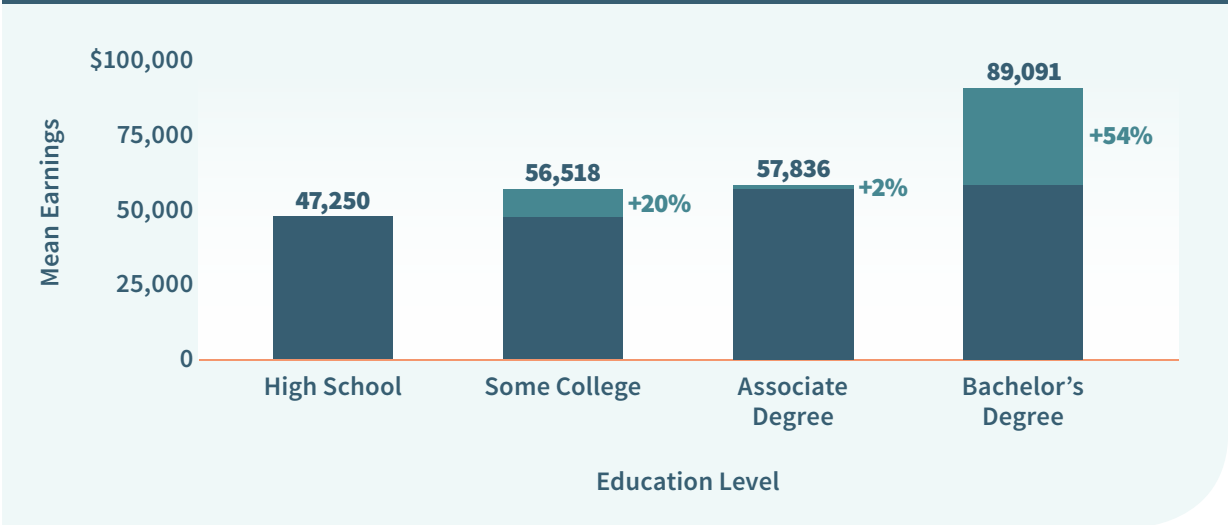
On average, Tennesseans with bachelor's degrees earn 53.1 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$81,970 versus \$53,545) and 85.8 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure TN-1).



Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the difference from the next-highest level of education in the figure.

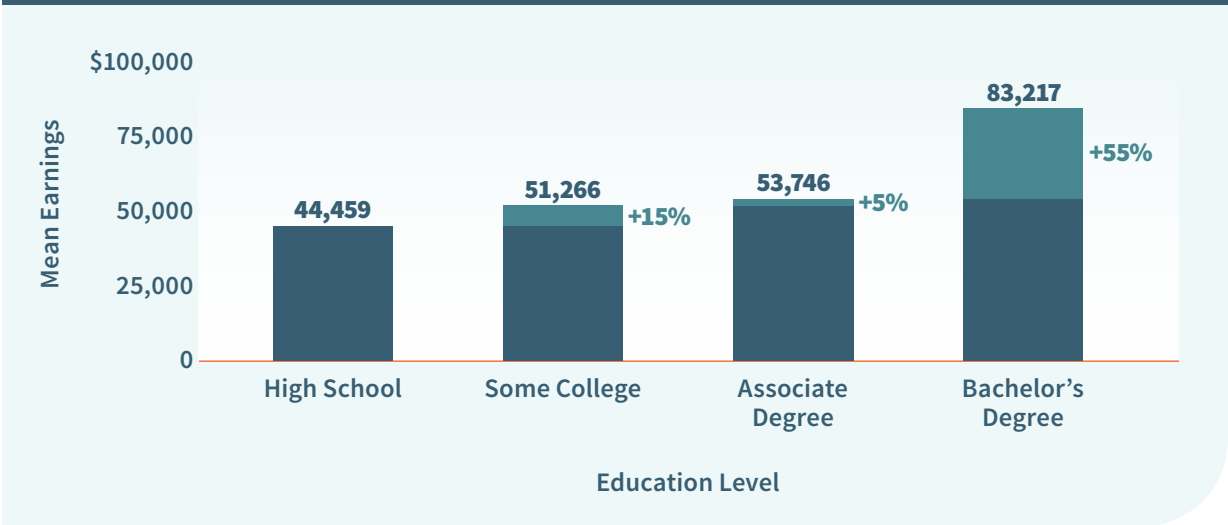
The largest MSA in Tennessee is Nashville-Davidson-Murfreesboro-Franklin. On average, workers with bachelor's degrees earn 54.0 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$89,091 versus \$57,836) and 88.6 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure TN-2). The second largest MSA in Tennessee is Memphis. On average, workers with bachelor's degrees earn 54.8 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$83,217 versus \$53,746) and 87.2 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure TN-3).

Figure TN-2. Nashville-Davidson-Murfreesboro-Franklin MSA mean earnings by education level



Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the difference from the next-highest level of education in the figure.

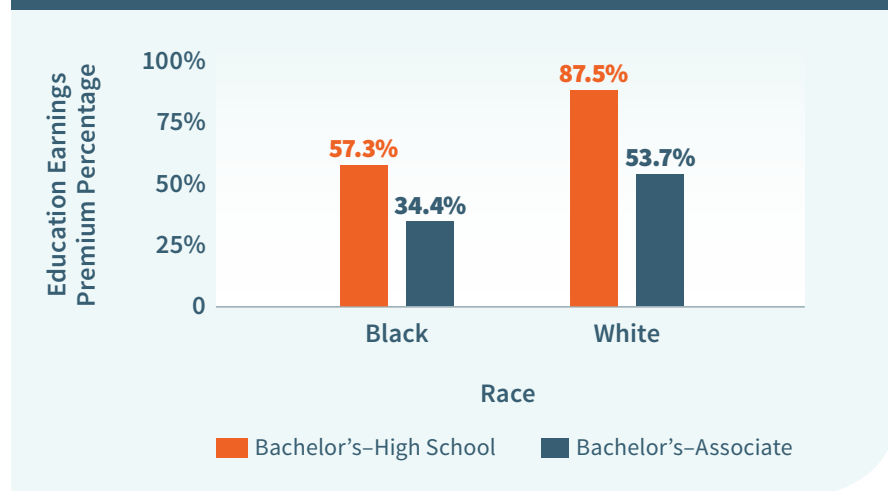
Figure TN-3. Memphis MSA mean earnings by education level



Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the difference from the next-highest level of education in the figure.

Education earnings premiums by race show that premiums are higher for white workers than for black workers. Black bachelor's degree holders in Tennessee earn 34.4 percent more than black workers with associate degrees in the state and 57.3 percent more than black high school graduates. For white workers in Tennessee, bachelor's degree holders enjoy a 53.7 percent premium over associate degree holders and an 87.5 percent earnings premium relative to high school graduates (Figure TN-4).

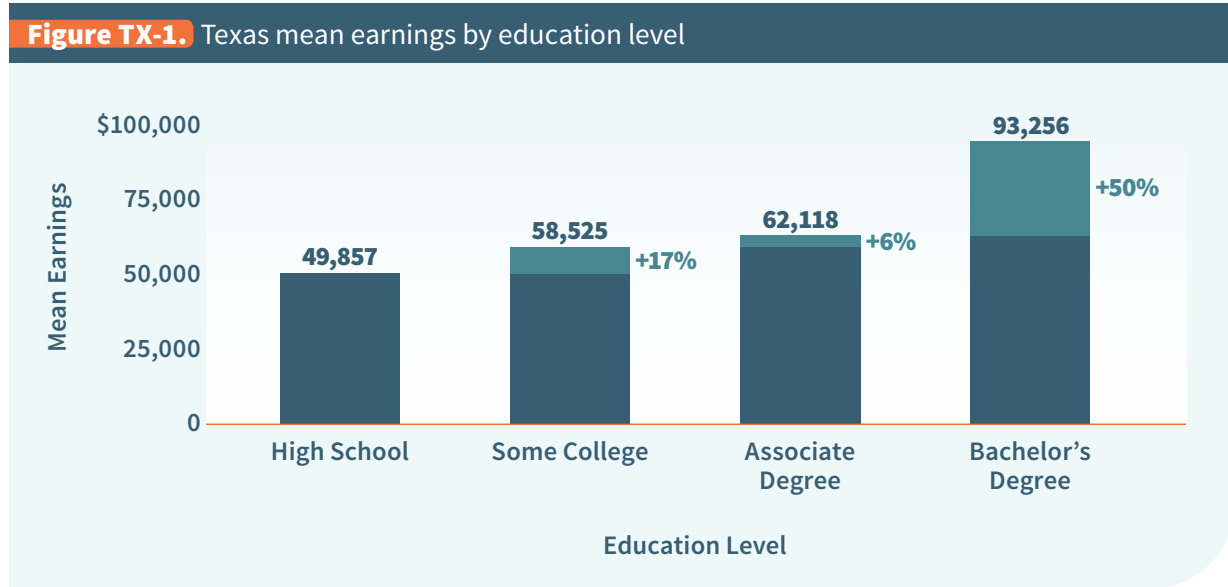
Figure TN-4. Education earnings premiums by race in Tennessee



Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The analysis by race/ethnicity is restricted to those jurisdictions with at least ninety workers in the sample by both state and race/ethnicity for each of the three analyzed education groups (high school graduates, workers with associate degrees, and workers with bachelor's degrees).

Texas

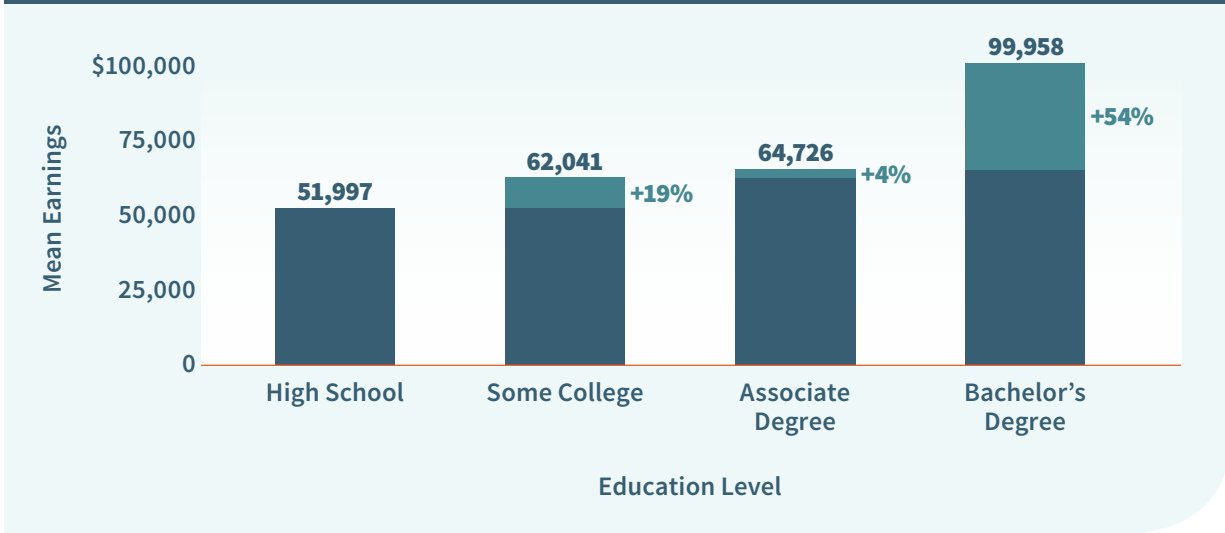
On average, Texans with bachelor's degrees earn 50.1 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$93,256 versus \$62,118) and 87.0 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure TX-1).



Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the difference from the next-highest level of education in the figure.

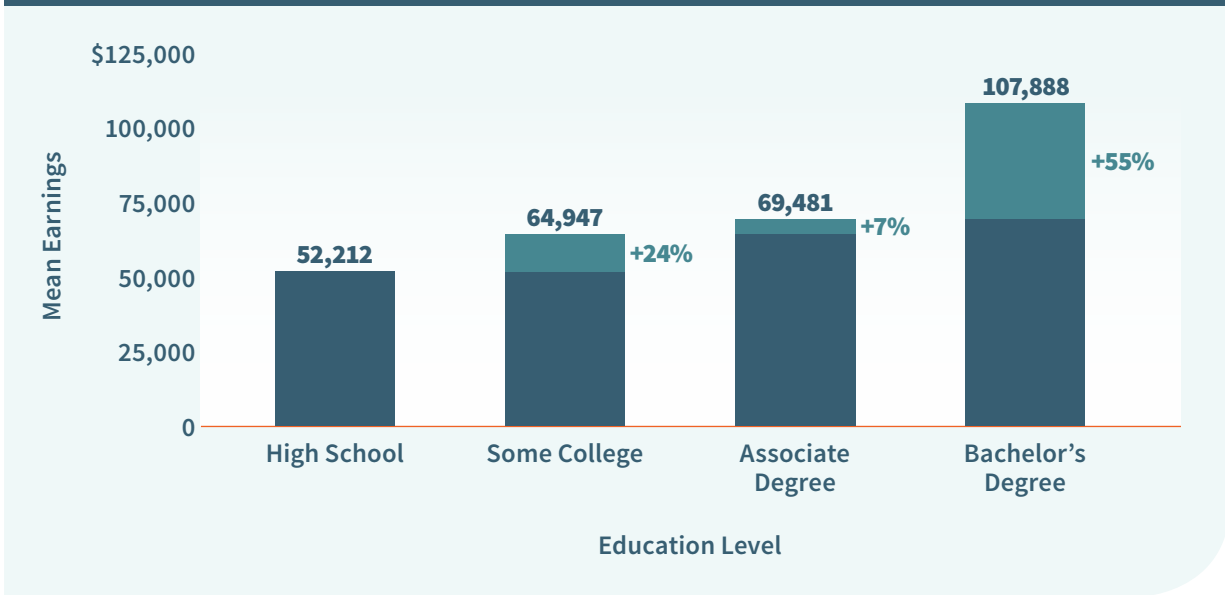
The largest MSA in Texas is Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington. On average, workers with bachelor's degrees earn 54.4 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$99,958 versus \$64,726) and 92.2 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure TX-2). The second largest MSA in Texas is Houston-The Woodlands-Sugar Land. On average, workers with bachelor's degrees earn 55.3 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$107,888 versus \$69,481) and 106.6 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure TX-3).

Figure TX-2. Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington MSA mean earnings by education level



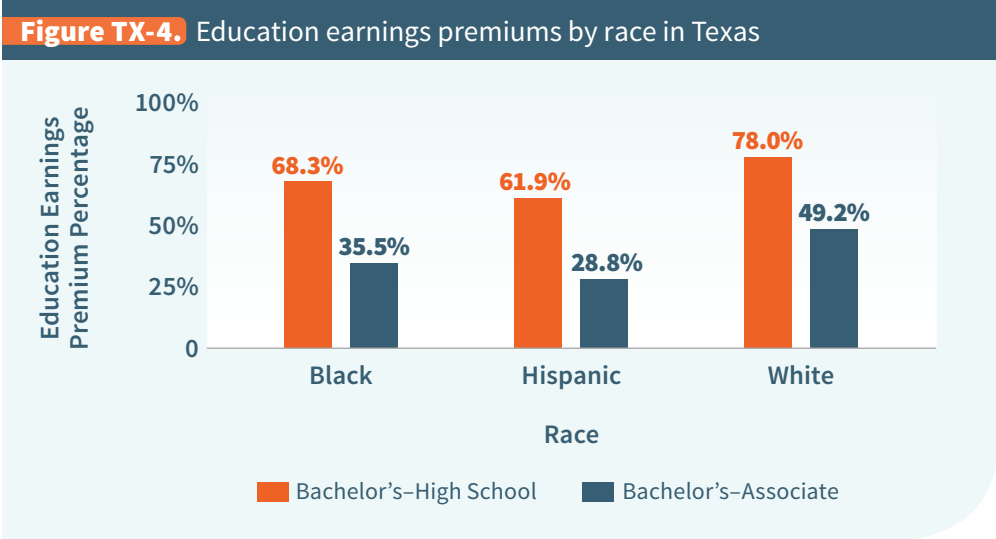
Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the difference from the next-highest level of education in the figure.

Figure TX-3. Houston-The Woodlands-Sugar Land MSA mean earnings by education level



Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the difference from the next-highest level of education in the figure.

Education earnings premiums by race show that premiums are higher for white workers than for black and Hispanic workers. Black bachelor’s degree holders in Texas earn 35.5 percent more than black workers with associate degrees in the state and 68.3 percent more than black high school graduates. Hispanic bachelor’s degree holders earn 28.8 percent more than Hispanic workers with associate degrees and 61.9 percent more than Hispanic high school graduates in the state. For white workers in Texas, bachelor’s degree holders enjoy a 49.2 percent premium over associate degree holders and a 78.0 percent earnings premium relative to high school graduates (Figure TX-4).

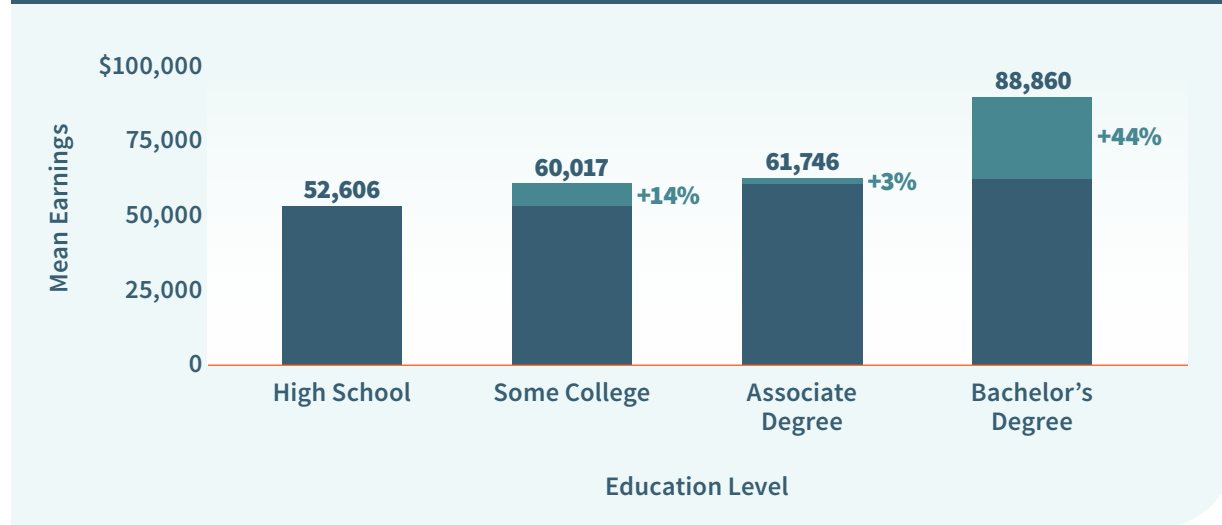


Note: Based on author’s calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The analysis by race/ethnicity is restricted to those jurisdictions with at least ninety workers in the sample by both state and race/ethnicity for each of the three analyzed education groups (high school graduates, workers with associate degrees, and workers with bachelor’s degrees).

Utah

On average, Utahans with bachelor's degrees earn 43.9 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$88,860 versus \$61,746) and 68.9 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure UT-1).

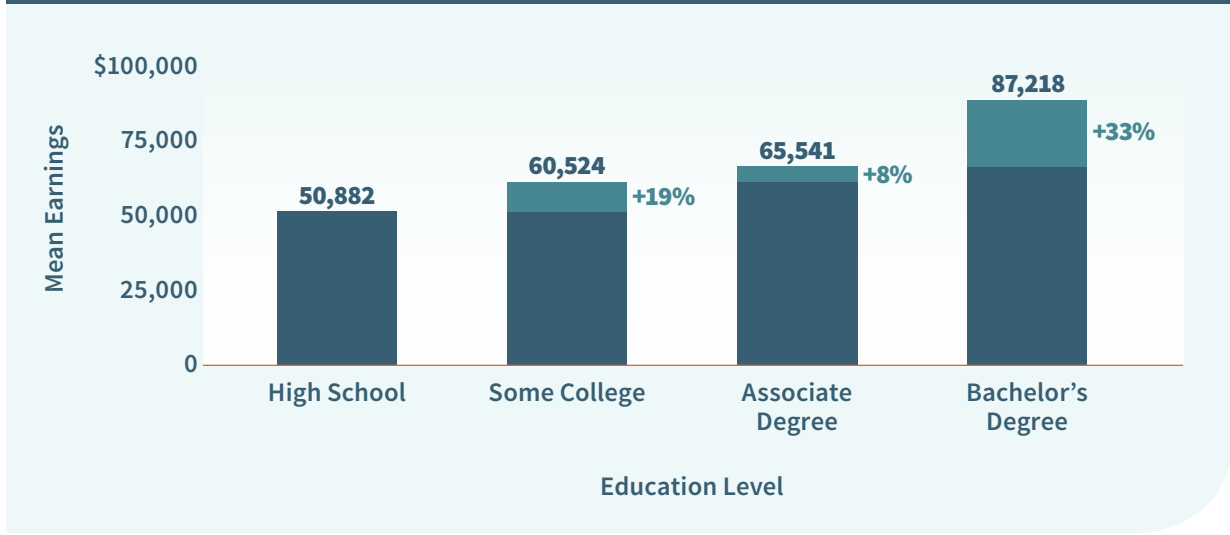
Figure UT-1. Utah mean earnings by education level



Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the difference from the next-highest level of education in the figure.

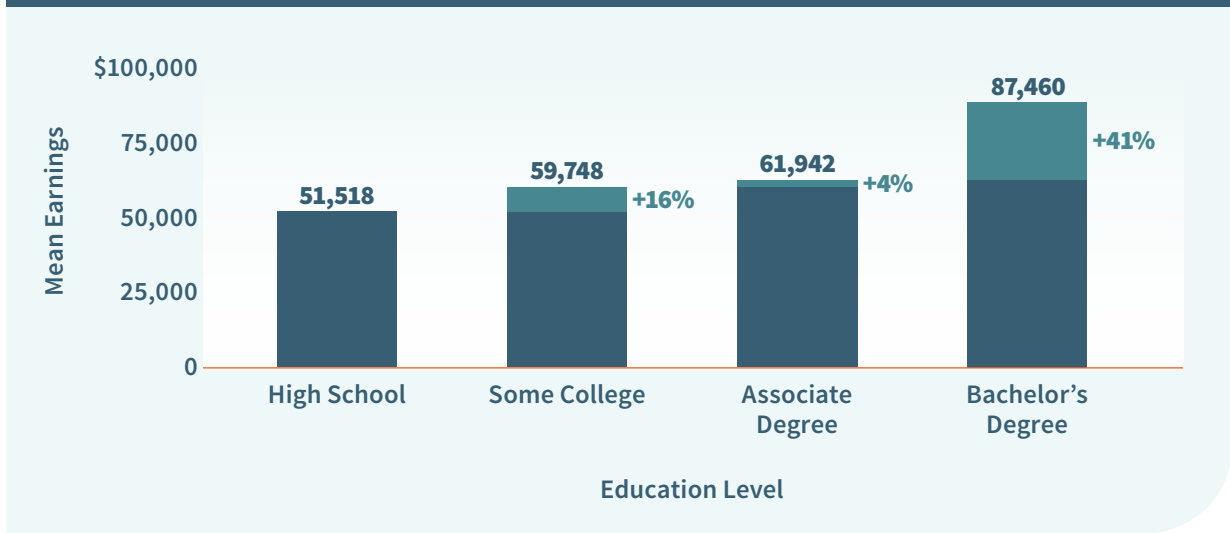
The largest MSA in Utah is Salt Lake City. On average, workers with bachelor's degrees earn 33.1 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$87,218 versus \$65,541) and 71.4 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure UT-2). The second largest MSA in Utah is Ogden-Clearfield. On average, workers with bachelor's degrees earn 41.2 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$87,460 versus \$61,942) and 69.8 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure UT-3).

Figure UT-2. Salt Lake City MSA mean earnings by education level



Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the difference from the next-highest level of education in the figure.

Figure UT-3. Ogden-Clearfield MSA mean earnings by education level

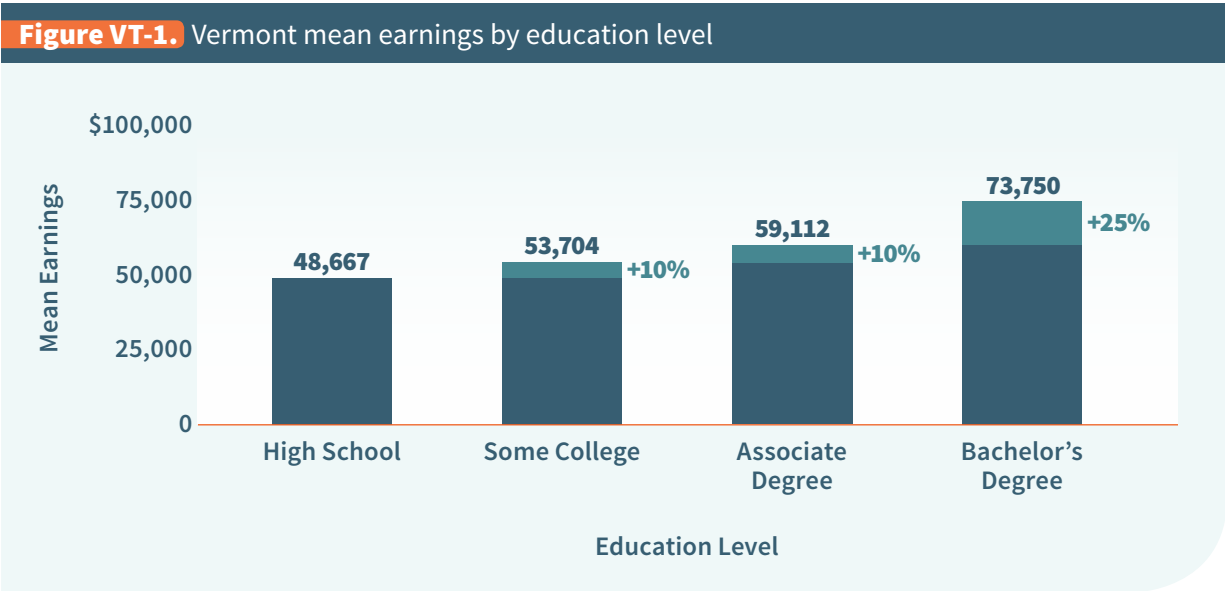


Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the difference from the next-highest level of education in the figure.

Vermont

On average, Vermonters with bachelor's degrees earn 24.8 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$73,750 versus \$59,112) and 51.5 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure VT-1).

Vermont has no MSA with population greater than 500,000.

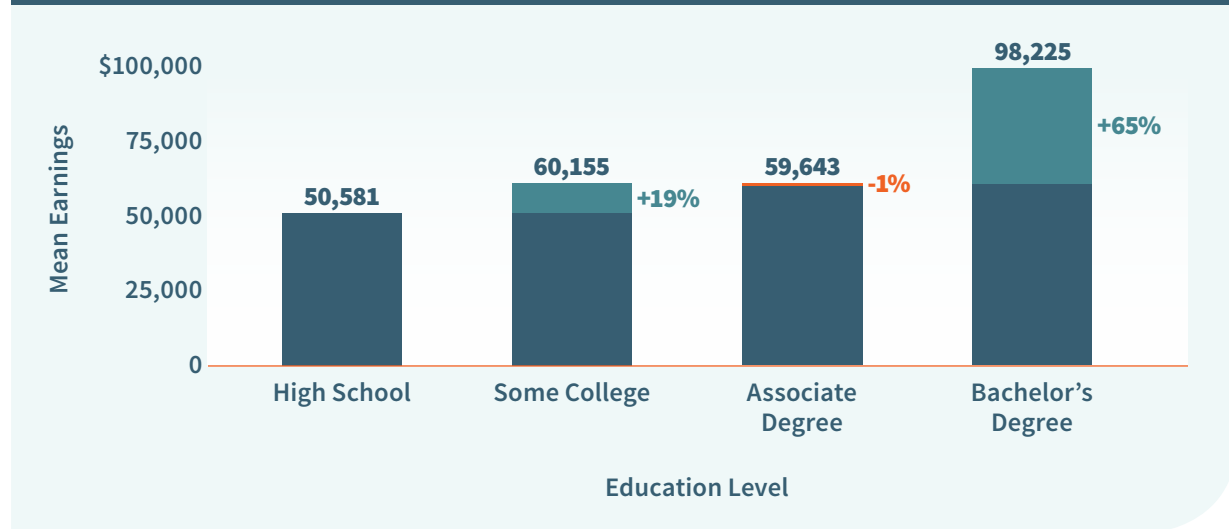


Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the difference from the next-highest level of education in the figure.

Virginia

On average, Virginians with bachelor's degrees earn 64.7 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$98,225 versus \$59,643) and 94.2 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure VA-1).

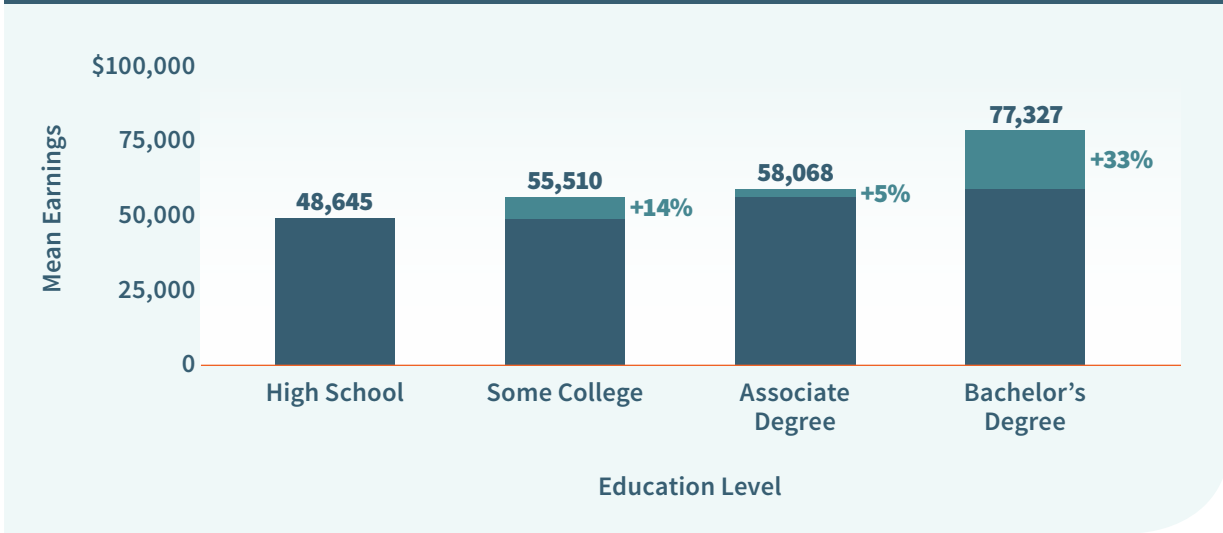
Figure VA-1. Virginia mean earnings by education level



Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the increase from the next-highest level of education in the figure, and the percentage change in orange notes a decrease from the next-highest level of education.

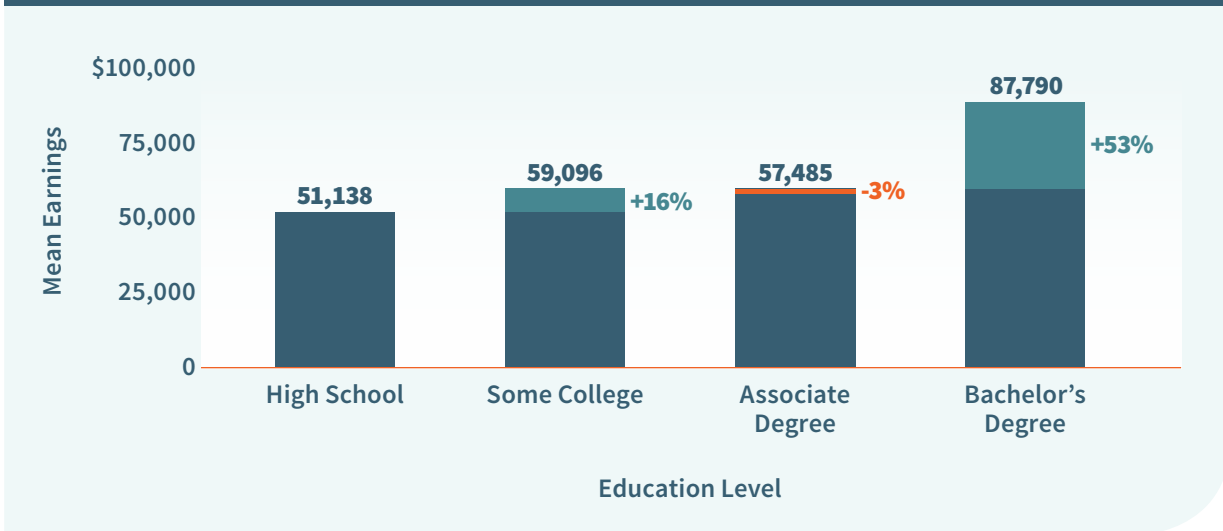
The largest MSA in Virginia is Virginia Beach-Norfolk-Newport News. On average, workers with bachelor's degrees earn 33.2 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$77,327 versus \$58,068) and 59.0 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure VA-2). The second largest MSA in Virginia is Richmond. On average, workers with bachelor's degrees earn 52.7 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$87,790 versus \$57,485) and 71.7 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure VA-3).

Figure VA-2. Virginia Beach-Norfolk-Newport News MSA mean earnings by education level



Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the difference from the next-highest level of education in the figure.

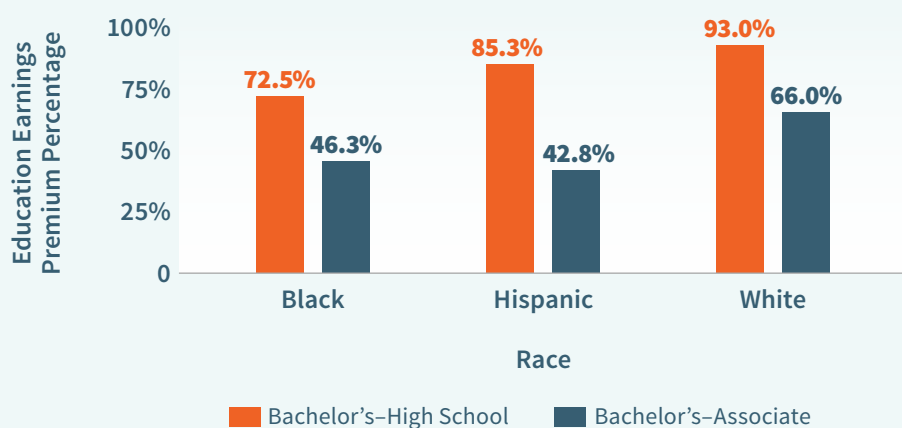
Figure VA-3. Richmond MSA mean earnings by education level



Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the increase from the next-highest level of education in the figure, and the percentage change in orange notes a decrease from the next-highest level of education.

Education earnings premiums by race show that premiums are higher for white workers than for black and Hispanic workers. Black bachelor's degree holders in Virginia earn 46.3 percent more than black workers with associate degrees in the state and 72.5 percent more than black high school graduates. Hispanic bachelor's degree holders earn 42.8 percent more than Hispanic workers with associate degrees and 85.3 percent more than Hispanic high school graduates in the state. For white workers, bachelor's degree holders enjoy a 66.0 percent premium over associate degree holders and a 93.0 percent earnings premium relative to high school graduates (Figure VA-4).

Figure VA-4. Education earnings premiums by race in Virginia

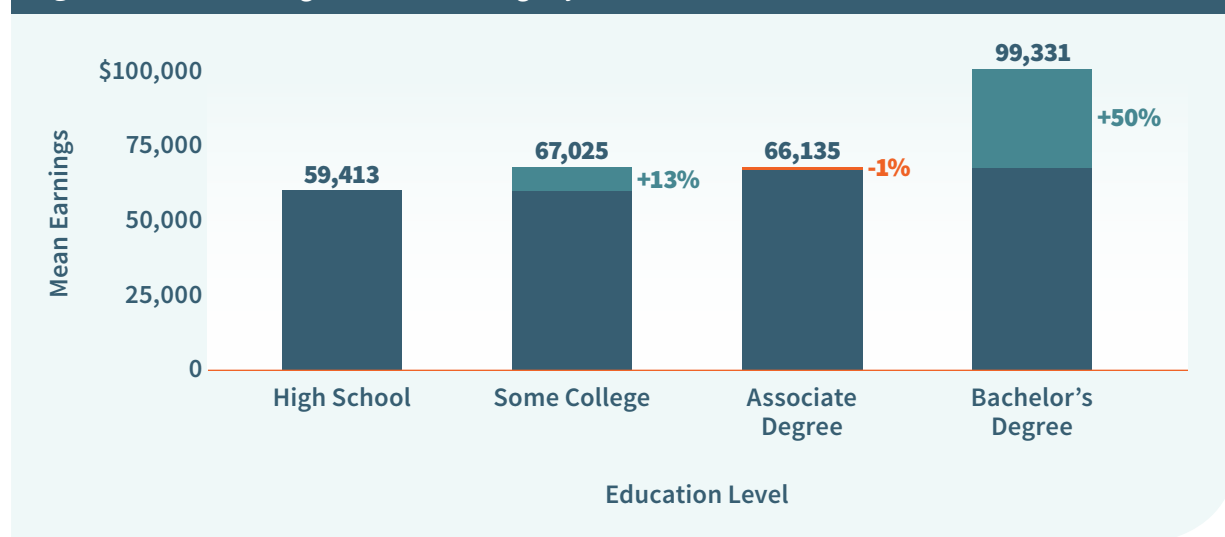


Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The analysis by race/ethnicity is restricted to those jurisdictions with at least ninety workers in the sample by both state and race/ethnicity for each of the three analyzed education groups (high school graduates, workers with associate degrees, and workers with bachelor's degrees).

Washington

On average, Washingtonians with bachelor's degrees earn 50.2 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$99,331 versus \$66,135) and 67.2 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure WA-1).

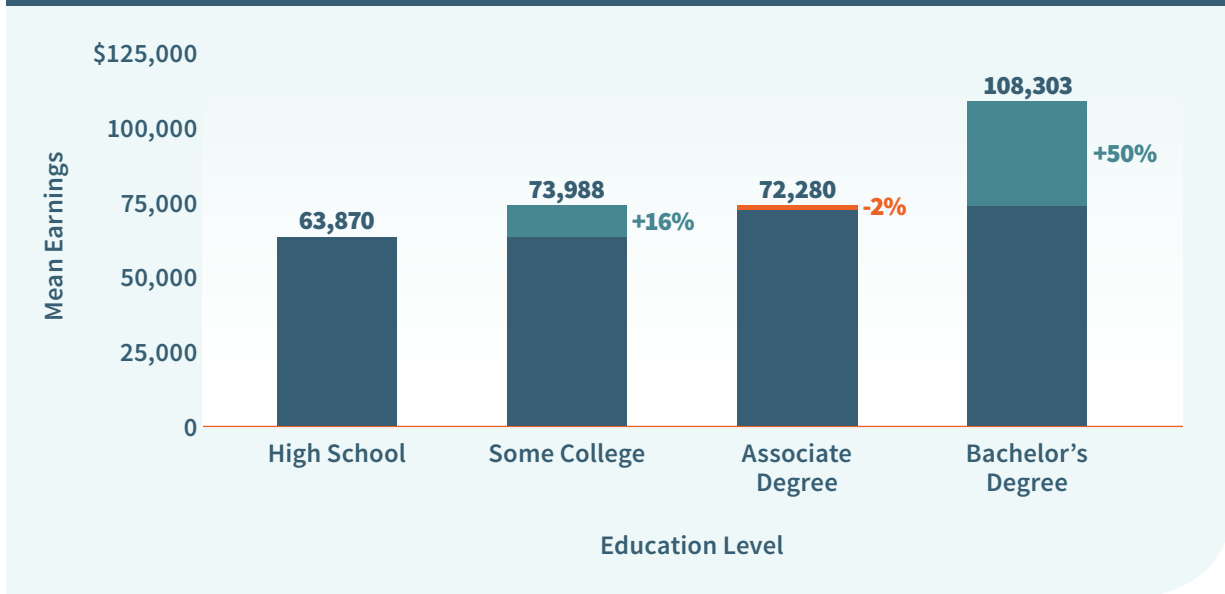
Figure WA-1. Washington mean earnings by education level



Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the increase from the next-highest level of education in the figure, and the percentage change in orange notes a decrease from the next-highest level of education.

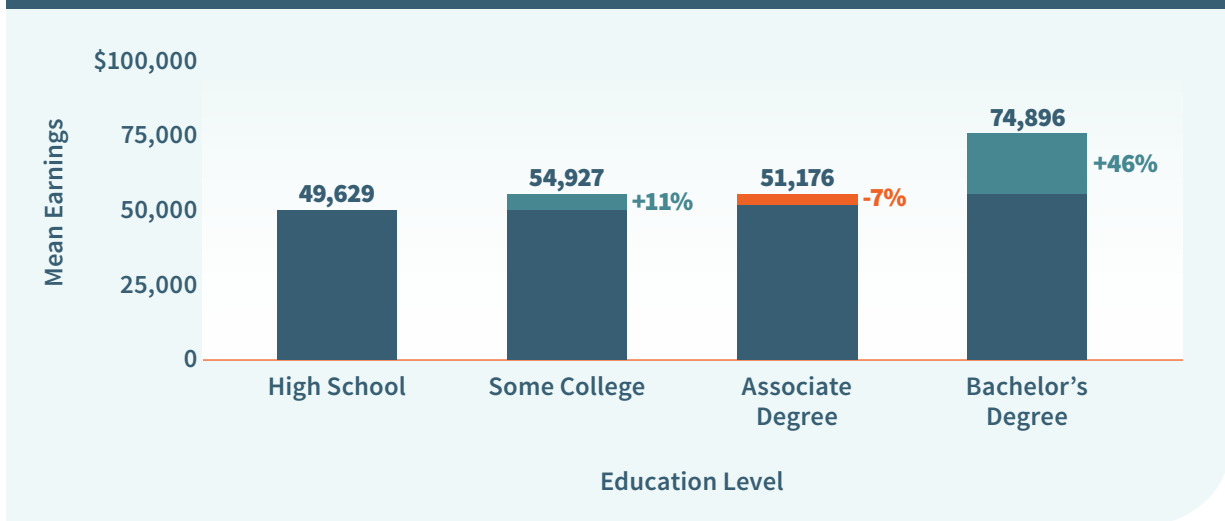
The largest MSA in Washington is Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue. On average, workers with bachelor's degrees earn 49.8 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$108,303 versus \$72,280) and 69.6 more than those with high school diplomas (Figure WA-2). The second largest MSA in Washington is Spokane-Spokane Valley. On average, workers with bachelor's degrees earn 46.3 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$74,896 versus \$51,176) and 50.9 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure WA-3).

Figure WA-2. Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue MSA mean earnings by education level



Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the increase from the next-highest level of education in the figure, and the percentage change in orange notes a decrease from the next-highest level of education.

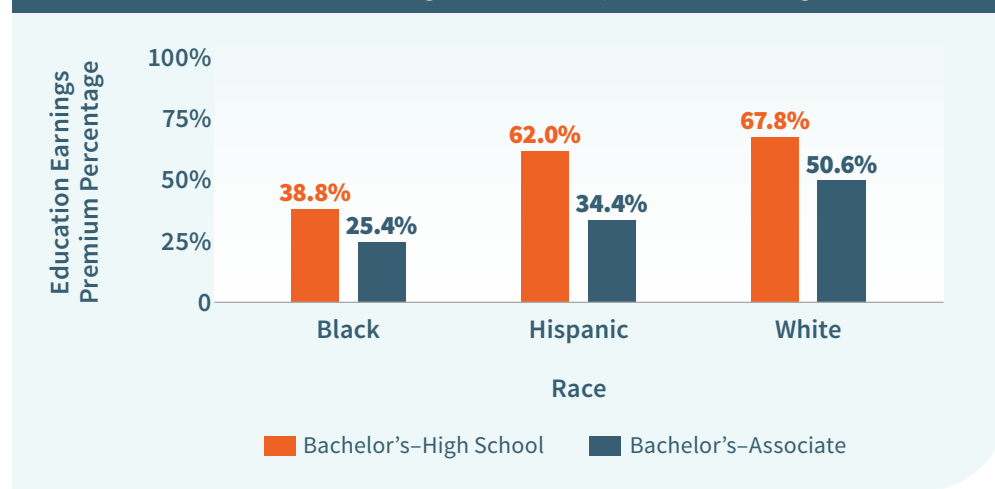
Figure WA-3. Spokane-Spokane Valley MSA mean earnings by education level



Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the increase from the next-highest level of education in the figure, and the percentage change in orange notes a decrease from the next-highest level of education.

Education earnings premiums by race show that premiums are higher for white workers than for black and Hispanic workers. Black bachelor's degree holders in Washington earn 25.4 percent more than black workers with associate degrees in the state and 38.8 percent more than black high school graduates. Hispanic bachelor's degree holders earn 34.4 percent more than Hispanic workers with associate degrees and 62.0 percent more than Hispanic high school graduates in the state. For white workers in Washington, bachelor's degree holders enjoy a 50.6 percent premium over associate degree holders and a 67.8 percent earnings premium relative to high school graduates (Figure WA-4).

Figure WA-4. Education earnings premiums by race in Washington

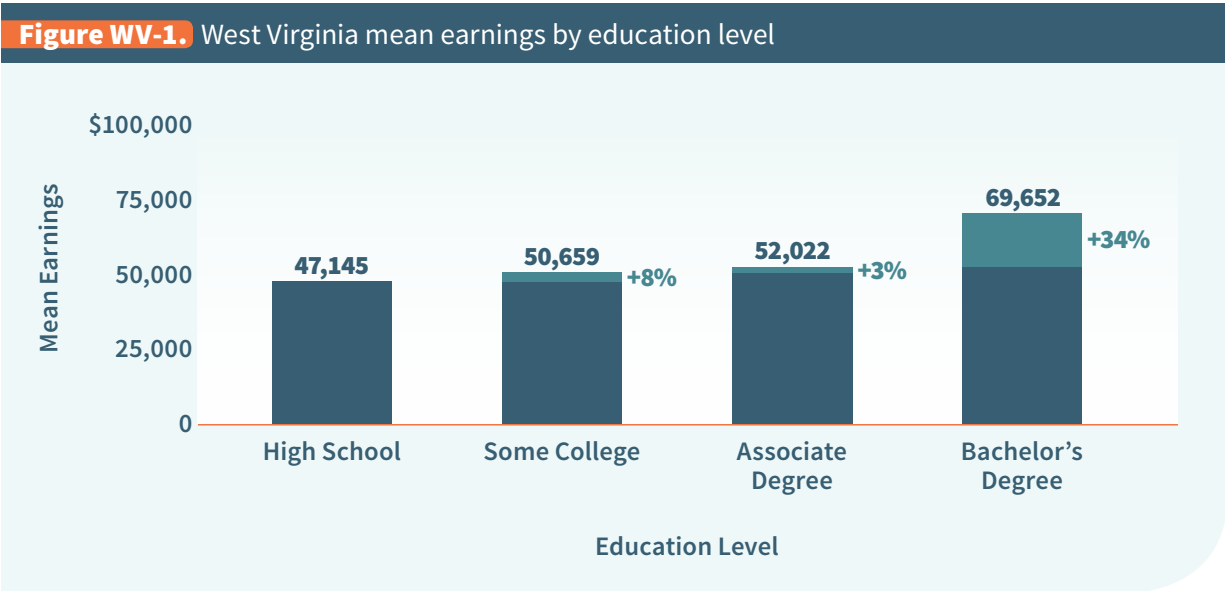


Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The analysis by race/ethnicity is restricted to those jurisdictions with at least ninety workers in the sample by both state and race/ethnicity for each of the three analyzed education groups (high school graduates, workers with associate degrees, and workers with bachelor's degrees).

West Virginia

On average, West Virginians with bachelor’s degrees earn 33.9 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$69,652 versus \$52,022) and 47.7 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure WV-1).

West Virginia has no MSA with population greater than 500,000.

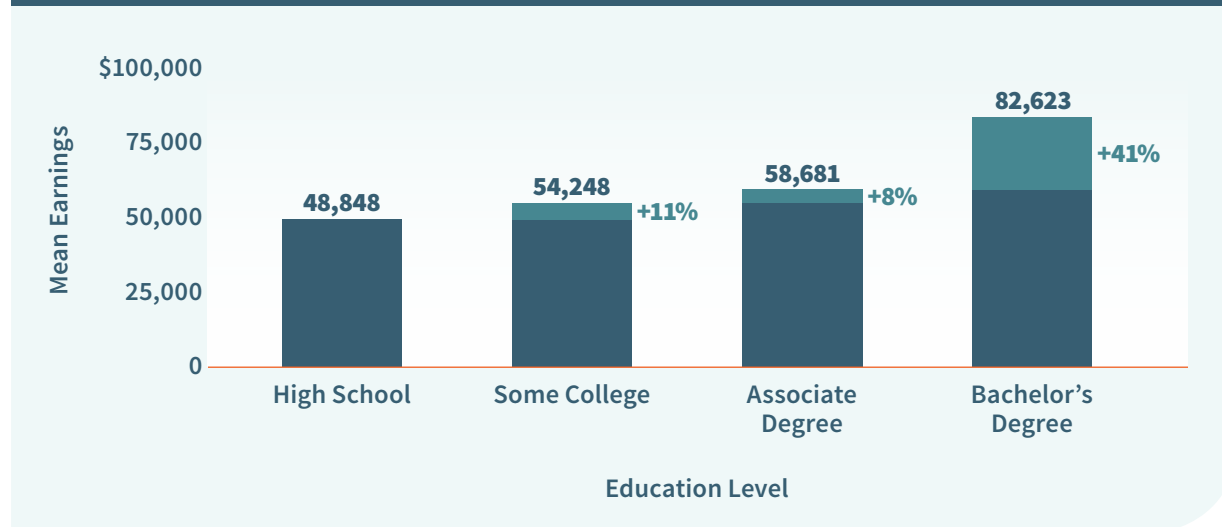


Note: Based on author’s calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the difference from the next-highest level of education in the figure.

Wisconsin

On average, Wisconsinites with bachelor's degrees earn 40.8 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$82,623 versus \$58,681) and 69.1 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure WI-1).

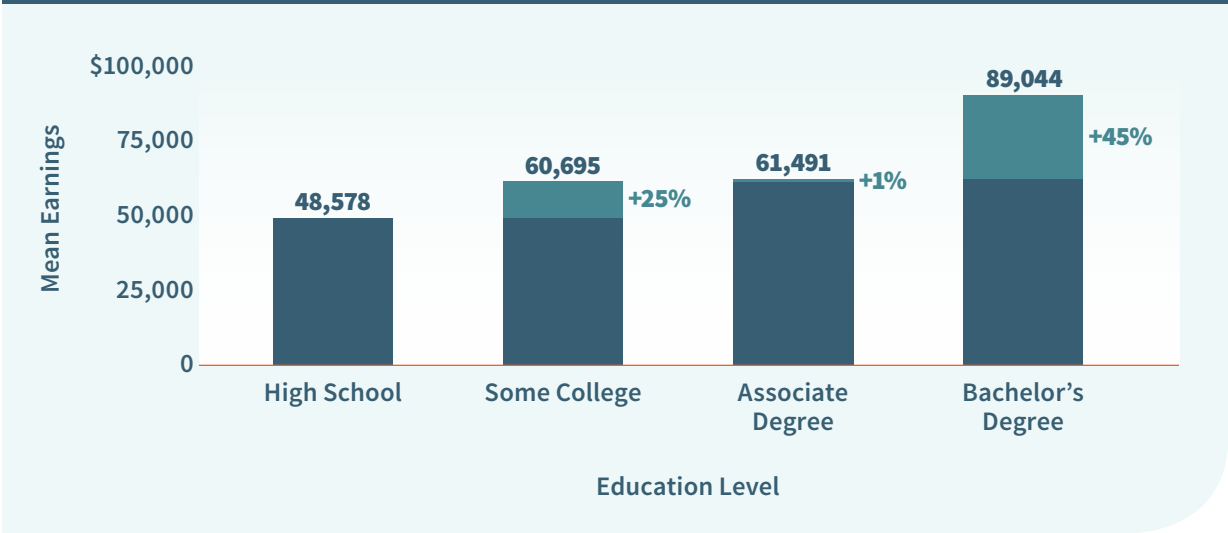
Figure WI-1. Wisconsin mean earnings by education level



Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the difference from the next-highest level of education in the figure.

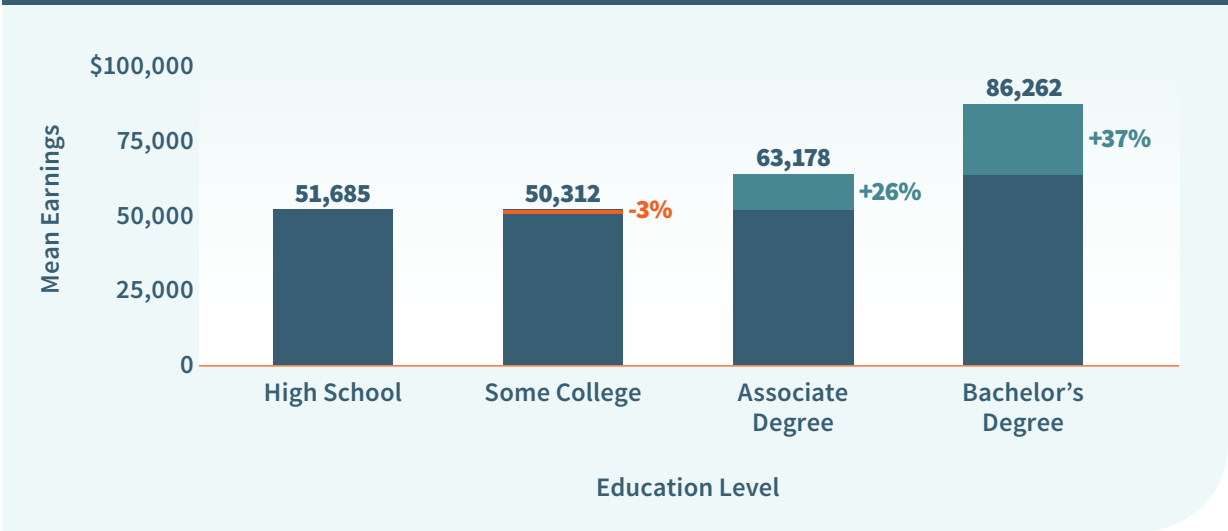
The largest MSA in Wisconsin is Milwaukee-Waukesha-West Allis. On average, workers with bachelor's degrees earn 44.8 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$89,044 versus \$61,491) and 83.3 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure WI-2). The second largest MSA in Wisconsin is Madison. On average, workers with bachelor's degrees earn 36.5 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$86,262 versus \$63,178) and 66.9 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure WI-3).

Figure WI-2. Milwaukee-Waukesha-West Allis MSA mean earnings by education level



Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the difference from the next-highest level of education in the figure.

Figure WI-3. Madison MSA mean earnings by education level



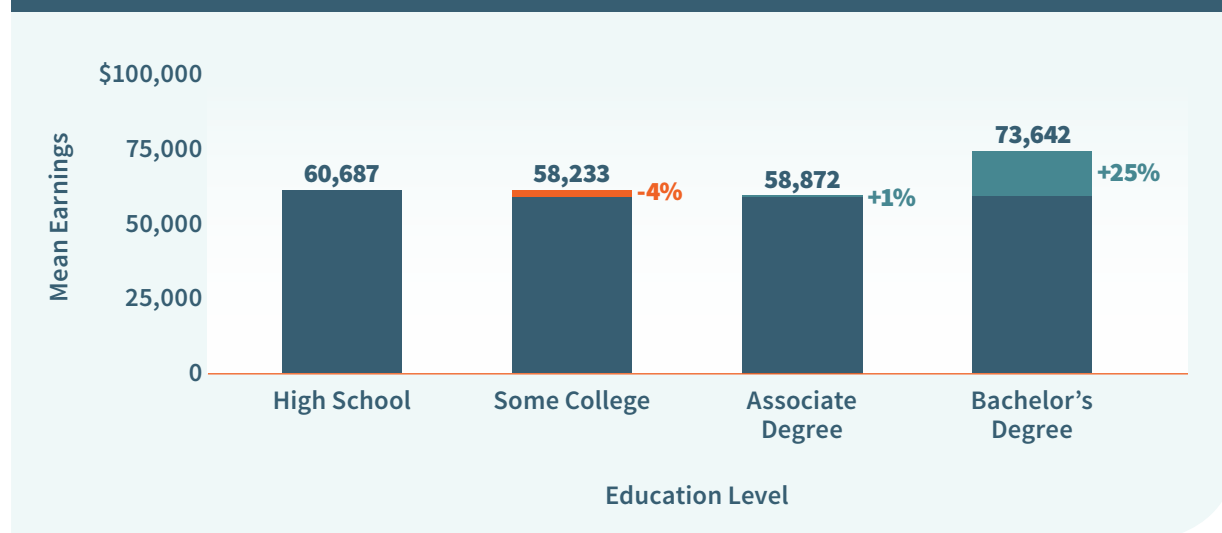
Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the increase from the next-highest level of education in the figure, and the percentage change in orange notes a decrease from the next-highest level of education.

Wyoming

On average, Wyomingites with bachelor's degrees earn 25.1 percent more than those with associate degrees (\$73,642 versus \$58,872) and 21.3 percent more than those with high school diplomas (Figure WY-1).

Wyoming has no MSA with population greater than 500,000.

Figure WY-1. Wyoming mean earnings by education level



Note: Based on author's calculations from the American Community Survey. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The percentage change in teal notes the increase from the next-highest level of education in the figure, and the percentage change in orange notes a decrease from the next-highest level of education.

Endnotes

1. Based on the author's calculations from the ACS.
2. The report does not focus on workers with graduate degrees because bachelor's degrees are generally necessary for graduate-program enrollment. Earnings for graduate degree holders reflect both their bachelor's degrees and graduate degrees, and few young people are making marginal decisions between no college and completing a graduate degree.
3. Readers may also be interested in the College Scorecard project conducted by the U.S. Department of Education with information on earnings by institution at <https://collegescorecard.ed.gov>.
4. Michael Spence, "Job market signaling," *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 87, no. 3 (1973): 355–74.
5. Jennifer Ma, Matea Pender, and Meredith Welch, "Education Pays 2016: The Benefits of Higher Education for Individuals and Society," *Trends in Higher Education Series* (New York, NY: College Board, 2016), <https://trends.collegeboard.org/sites/default/files/education-pays-2016-full-report.pdf>; and Philip Oreopoulos and Uros Petronijevic, "Making college worth it: A review of the returns to higher education," *The Future of Children* 23, no. 1 (2013): 41–65.
6. Full-time work is defined as forty or more hours per week. Full-year work is defined as fifty or more weeks during the year, including time for paid vacation and sick leave. Foreign-born workers are excluded because much of their human-capital investments may have occurred before entering the U.S. and some of their prior human capital may not directly transfer to the U.S. labor market. Workers under age thirty are excluded because they are often still finishing their education and figuring out their career paths. Older workers often transition toward partial retirement and make employment decisions with nonfinancial motivations playing a major role. Part-time and part-year workers may also be weakly attached to the labor market and have various nonfinancial motivations. The data were accessed via IPUMS-USA from <https://usa.ipums.org/usa>. Steven Ruggles, Sarah Flood, Ronald Goeken, Josiah Grover, Erin Meyer, Jose Pacas and Matthew Sobek, "IPUMS USA: Version 9.0 [dataset]" (Minneapolis, MN: IPUMS, 2019), <https://doi.org/10.18128/D010.V9.0>.
7. Including part-year workers would also complicate the analysis because one cannot observe and account for the exact number of weeks they work; the ACS only reports weeks worked in broad intervals. Workers with different education levels and locations can differ in weeks worked, and failing to account for this can alter the interpretation of earnings differences.
8. Table A2 illustrates how national mean earnings by education and corresponding CEPs vary with altering the sample restrictions. Broadening the sample by defining full-time, full-year workers as those working at least forty-eight weeks per year and at least thirty-five hours per week decreases mean earnings for each education level as expected, but the CEPs are very similar to the main sample. Relaxing the age restriction to include persons ages twenty-two and up also yields lower mean earnings, especially for bachelor's degree holders, resulting in moderately reduced bachelor's degree earnings premiums. Including immigrants reduces mean earnings for each education group but increases the CEPs slightly.
9. The high school diploma group excludes GED recipients. The group with some college but no degree includes both persons who have earned technical certificates (but no degree) from colleges and persons who enrolled in a college degree or certificate program but did not complete it. The associate degree group includes both vocational and academic two-year degree programs. Lastly, the bachelor's degree group includes only persons whose highest education is a bachelor's degree; persons with a graduate degree are excluded from this group, but they are briefly examined as a separate group in the appendix tables.
10. College Atlas, "Most Popular Associate Degrees by Gender," June 29, 2018, <https://www.collegeatlas.org/top-associate-degrees-by-gender>.
11. For more information on the value of nondegree credentials, see Amy Ellen Duke-Benfield, Bryan Wilson, Kermit Kaleba, and Jenna Leventoff, *Expanding Opportunities: Defining Quality Non-Degree Credentials for States* (Washington, D.C.: National Skills Coalition, September 2019).

12. In *Appendix A*, Table A3 reports the standard deviation and coefficient of variation across states for mean earnings by education level and the earnings premiums to assess the relative dispersion across states. Notably, these measures indicate that mean earnings for workers with bachelor's degrees are considerably more dispersed across states than means for workers with high school diplomas, some college, and associate degrees. Table A4 reports the mean earnings by education level and the CEPs for all fifty states and D.C. Table A5 replicates table A4 but does so by limiting the sample to workers residing in their state of birth and thus excludes in-migrants who may make migration decisions in response to earnings levels and premiums; estimates are largely similar. Table A6 reports median earnings by education level and CEPs by state. Medians are typically smaller than means, and bachelor's degree to high school graduate earnings premiums are often smaller for medians than means. However, the patterns across states are generally similar. In other words, states that rank highly via means also rank highly via medians.
13. More than 90 percent of the U.S. population lives in metropolitan areas, and areas that do not fall within an MSA can be considered nonurban areas. *Appendix C* provides more detail on how individuals are linked to metropolitan and nonmetropolitan areas.
14. Edward L. Glaeser and David C. Maré, "Cities and Skills," *Journal of Labor Economics* 19, no. 2 (2001): 316–42; Jeffrey J. Yankow, "Why Do Cities Pay More? An Empirical Examination of Some Competing Theories of the Urban Wage Premium," *Journal of Urban Economics* 60, no. 2 (2006): 139–61; and Nathaniel Baum-Snow and Ronni Pavan, "Understanding the City Size Wage Gap," *The Review of Economic Studies* 79, no. 1 (2012): 88–127.
15. Edward L. Glaeser and Matthew G. Resseger, "The Complementarity between Cities and Skills," *Journal of Regional Science* 50, no. 1 (2010): 221–44; Nathaniel Baum-Snow, Matthew Freedman, and Ronni Pavan, "Why Has Urban Inequality Increased?" *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics* 10, no. 4 (2018): 1–42; David H. Autor, "Work of the Past, Work of the Future," *AEA Papers and Proceedings* 109 (2019): 1–32; and Farid Farrokhi and David Jinkins, "Wage Inequality and the Location of Cities," *Journal of Urban Economics* 111 (2019): 76–92.
16. In 2010, these four MSA groups accounted for 27.1 percent (less than 0.5 million), 16.8 percent (0.5 million to 1.5 million), 18.1 percent (1.5 million to four million), and 31.8 percent (more than four million) of the U.S. population, respectively.
17. Table A10 reports median earnings for the four main education groups by MSA status and MSA population size. Medians are consistently less than means, as discussed previously, but the patterns across education and MSAs' status and size are similar to that for means in Figure 1.
18. Paul Campos, "The Real Reason College Tuition Costs So Much," *New York Times*, April 4, 2015, <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/04/05/opinion/sunday/the-real-reason-college-tuition-costs-so-much.html>.
19. Many states are divided into community college districts, which help fund local two-year colleges via property taxes or other local revenue sources. Students who reside in a district pay the in-district rate. Students residing within the state but outside the district typically pay a slightly higher in-state rate that is still well below the out-of-state rate. For data on the cost of tuition at two-year and four-year institutions in each state, see Table A12.
20. This exercise is similar in spirit but different in assumptions and implementation to the following: Lee J. Miller and Wei Lu, "College Education 'Opportunity Cost' Depends on Where You Live," *Bloomberg News*, July 13, 2019, accessed December 11, 2019, <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2019-07-13/college-education-opportunity-cost-depends-on-where-you-live>.
21. The \$30,000 assumption for lost earnings is less than the average earnings for high school graduates reported previously because (1) college students are typically younger and would earn lower wages than the average adult high school graduate in the analytic sample and (2) college students are still able to participate in paid employment and earn some income.
22. Full data are shown in Table A11.
23. These workers are non-Hispanic unless otherwise noted.

24. This section classifies workers into mutually exclusive racial/ethnic groups including Asian, black, Hispanic, and white. Although some workers do not fit into these groups, they are not examined because of small sample sizes. CEPs are computed for these groups for selected states with relatively large sample sizes. Even for the relatively large minority groups, sample sizes are small in some states. This analysis by race/ethnicity is restricted to those jurisdictions with at least ninety workers in the analytical sample by state and race/ethnicity for each of the three analyzed education groups (high school graduates, workers with associate degrees, and workers with bachelor's degrees). This includes all fifty states for white workers, twenty-seven states for black workers, twenty states for Hispanic workers, and only two states for Asian workers. To see incomes for each state and education level by racial/ethnic group, see *Appendix B*.
25. Philip Hoxie, Daniel Shoag, and Stan Veuger, "Moving to density: Half a century of housing costs and wage premia from Queens to King Salmon," AEI Economics Working Paper, December 2019, <https://www.aei.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/01/Hoxie-Shoag-Veuger-Moving-to-Density-WP.pdf>.
26. Kevin Carey, "When Higher Education Doesn't Deliver on Its Promise," *New York Times*, October 4, 2014.
27. Advance CTE, "New Skills for Youth Phase One Snapshot: Kentucky" (Silver Spring, MD: Advance CTE, 2017), https://cte.careertech.org/sites/default/files/files/resources/Kentucky_Phase_One_Snapshot_2017.pdf.
28. Advance CTE, "New Skills for Youth 2018 Snapshot: Wisconsin" (Silver Spring, MD: Advance CTE, March 2019), <https://careertech.org/resource/wisconsin-2018-nsfy-snapshot>.
29. Kentucky recently identified information technology as a promising field in rural and deindustrialized regions, where telecommuting presents the opportunity to earn a high salary without moving or commuting.
30. Unobservable worker characteristics and locational sorting may be influencing the mean earnings of black high school graduates in Connecticut, but it is not clear why such patterns would differ so strongly by education level and yield very low CEPs for black workers in that area.

Appendix A: Additional Tables

NATIONAL TABLES

Table A1. National mean and median earnings by education level

| | High School | Some College | Associate Degree | Bachelor's Degree | % Diff Associate-High School | % Diff Bachelor's-High School |
|---------|-------------|--------------|------------------|-------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Means | \$50,151 | \$58,212 | \$59,707 | \$92,608 | 19.1% | 84.7% |
| Medians | 41,951 | 47,790 | 51,345 | 71,883 | 22.4% | 71.4% |

Note: Based on the author's calculations from the ACS. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S.

Table A2. National mean earnings by education level for alternative sample restrictions

| | High School | Some College | Associate Degree | Bachelor's Degree | % Diff Associate-High School | % Diff Bachelor's-High School |
|---------------------------------|-------------|--------------|------------------|-------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Main sample | \$50,151 | \$58,212 | \$59,707 | \$92,608 | 19.1% | 84.7% |
| Working 48+ weeks and 35+ hours | 48,897 | 56,554 | 58,323 | 90,657 | 19.3% | 85.4% |
| Ages 22+ | 47,470 | 54,281 | 56,949 | 84,530 | 20.0% | 78.1% |
| Including immigrants | 48,343 | 57,408 | 59,133 | 91,336 | 22.3% | 88.9% |

Note: Based on the author's calculations from the ACS. The main sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The other samples change one criterion at a time as indicated while keeping the other criteria the same as the main sample.

STATE TABLES

Table A3. Summary of dispersion across states

| | High School | Some College | Associate Degree | Bachelor's Degree | Graduate Degree | % Diff BD-HS | % Diff AD-HS | % Diff BD-AD |
|--------------------------|-------------|--------------|------------------|-------------------|-----------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| Standard deviation | \$5,241 | \$6,286 | \$5,921 | \$13,223 | \$15,246 | 19.8% | 5.5% | 13.1% |
| Coefficient of variation | 0.103 | 0.110 | 0.100 | 0.153 | 0.138 | 0.286 | 0.346 | 0.286 |

Table A4. Mean earnings by state and education level

| STATE | High School | Some College | Associate Degree | Bachelor's Degree | Graduate Degree | % Diff BD-HS | % Diff AD-HS | % Diff BD-AD |
|----------------------|-------------|--------------|------------------|-------------------|-----------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| Alabama | \$46,347 | \$50,085 | \$53,315 | \$77,179 | \$95,509 | 66.5% | 15.0% | 44.8% |
| Alaska | 64,015 | 68,305 | 70,539 | 82,307 | 110,970 | 28.6% | 10.2% | 16.7% |
| Arizona | 48,925 | 57,633 | 57,859 | 88,104 | 107,881 | 80.1% | 18.3% | 52.3% |
| Arkansas | 45,296 | 49,285 | 50,466 | 75,492 | 95,560 | 66.7% | 11.4% | 49.6% |
| California | 55,158 | 67,769 | 70,376 | 108,932 | 140,086 | 97.5% | 27.6% | 54.8% |
| Colorado | 54,117 | 61,493 | 59,923 | 92,777 | 112,731 | 71.4% | 10.7% | 54.8% |
| Connecticut | 60,352 | 69,555 | 71,594 | 118,454 | 148,611 | 96.3% | 18.6% | 65.5% |
| Delaware | 54,523 | 57,841 | 64,422 | 88,754 | 115,932 | 62.8% | 18.2% | 37.8% |
| District of Columbia | 58,119 | 63,197 | 64,221 | 114,706 | 133,349 | 97.4% | 10.5% | 78.6% |
| Florida | 45,789 | 54,526 | 55,085 | 84,033 | 111,495 | 83.5% | 20.3% | 52.6% |
| Georgia | 45,247 | 53,163 | 54,799 | 90,952 | 106,206 | 101.0% | 21.1% | 66.0% |
| Hawaii | 52,684 | 59,648 | 59,391 | 80,236 | 101,078 | 52.3% | 12.7% | 35.1% |
| Idaho | 47,184 | 52,195 | 56,550 | 79,114 | 100,827 | 67.7% | 19.9% | 39.9% |
| Illinois | 52,144 | 59,258 | 62,266 | 98,563 | 126,705 | 89.0% | 19.4% | 58.3% |
| Indiana | 49,119 | 54,531 | 55,667 | 80,723 | 103,840 | 64.3% | 13.3% | 45.0% |
| Iowa | 51,233 | 52,724 | 55,755 | 77,259 | 106,679 | 50.8% | 8.8% | 38.6% |
| Kansas | 47,300 | 52,715 | 55,238 | 82,470 | 99,560 | 74.4% | 16.8% | 49.3% |
| Kentucky | 46,683 | 52,182 | 54,499 | 80,076 | 97,510 | 71.5% | 16.7% | 46.9% |
| Louisiana | 50,033 | 54,021 | 56,673 | 77,226 | 100,595 | 54.4% | 13.3% | 36.3% |
| Maine | 46,872 | 53,066 | 53,560 | 75,475 | 92,509 | 61.0% | 14.3% | 40.9% |
| Maryland | 56,427 | 68,003 | 69,282 | 102,694 | 126,187 | 82.0% | 22.8% | 48.2% |
| Massachusetts | 59,948 | 68,088 | 70,539 | 108,890 | 136,317 | 81.6% | 17.7% | 54.4% |
| Michigan | 47,992 | 55,532 | 57,585 | 86,446 | 110,790 | 80.1% | 20.0% | 50.1% |

continued...

Table A4 (continued). Mean earnings by state and education level

| STATE | High School | Some College | Associate Degree | Bachelor's Degree | Graduate Degree | % Diff BD-HS | % Diff AD-HS | % Diff BD-AD |
|----------------|-------------|--------------|------------------|-------------------|-----------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| Minnesota | \$51,597 | \$59,738 | \$62,695 | \$91,856 | \$124,720 | 78.0% | 21.5% | 46.5% |
| Mississippi | 43,735 | 46,049 | 49,041 | 66,225 | 84,172 | 51.4% | 12.1% | 35.0% |
| Missouri | 46,366 | 52,642 | 53,905 | 80,743 | 100,741 | 74.1% | 16.3% | 49.8% |
| Montana | 50,906 | 49,274 | 53,950 | 68,455 | 98,124 | 34.5% | 6.0% | 26.9% |
| Nebraska | 49,744 | 50,823 | 54,817 | 77,968 | 101,169 | 56.7% | 10.2% | 42.2% |
| Nevada | 52,398 | 60,045 | 60,366 | 85,017 | 106,781 | 62.3% | 15.2% | 40.8% |
| New Hampshire | 55,825 | 63,220 | 64,635 | 94,174 | 122,205 | 68.7% | 15.8% | 45.7% |
| New Jersey | 60,715 | 72,613 | 72,908 | 119,789 | 150,650 | 97.3% | 20.1% | 64.3% |
| New Mexico | 44,481 | 50,121 | 52,677 | 69,470 | 94,280 | 56.2% | 18.4% | 31.9% |
| New York | 54,526 | 65,100 | 64,806 | 110,867 | 139,764 | 103.3% | 18.9% | 71.1% |
| North Carolina | 43,924 | 51,103 | 52,325 | 83,363 | 109,000 | 89.8% | 19.1% | 59.3% |
| North Dakota | 57,381 | 59,807 | 62,146 | 71,327 | 95,625 | 24.3% | 8.3% | 14.8% |
| Ohio | 47,836 | 54,308 | 56,117 | 85,332 | 106,862 | 78.4% | 17.3% | 52.1% |
| Oklahoma | 46,779 | 53,073 | 55,410 | 74,250 | 99,783 | 58.7% | 18.5% | 34.0% |
| Oregon | 50,446 | 57,256 | 58,876 | 85,843 | 105,665 | 70.2% | 16.7% | 45.8% |
| Pennsylvania | 50,160 | 58,021 | 58,847 | 89,278 | 118,747 | 78.0% | 17.3% | 51.7% |
| Rhode Island | 57,324 | 59,783 | 63,647 | 93,401 | 114,966 | 62.9% | 11.0% | 46.7% |
| South Carolina | 42,901 | 50,452 | 52,637 | 78,657 | 94,726 | 83.3% | 22.7% | 49.4% |
| South Dakota | 51,574 | 50,013 | 54,605 | 69,053 | 100,244 | 33.9% | 5.9% | 26.5% |
| Tennessee | 44,120 | 52,691 | 53,545 | 81,970 | 105,154 | 85.8% | 21.4% | 53.1% |
| Texas | 49,857 | 58,525 | 62,118 | 93,256 | 120,725 | 87.0% | 24.6% | 50.1% |
| Utah | 52,606 | 60,017 | 61,746 | 88,860 | 111,545 | 68.9% | 17.4% | 43.9% |
| Vermont | 48,667 | 53,704 | 59,112 | 73,750 | 99,126 | 51.5% | 21.5% | 24.8% |
| Virginia | 50,581 | 60,155 | 59,643 | 98,225 | 122,998 | 94.2% | 17.9% | 64.7% |
| Washington | 59,413 | 67,025 | 66,135 | 99,331 | 120,333 | 67.2% | 11.3% | 50.2% |
| West Virginia | 47,145 | 50,659 | 52,022 | 69,652 | 89,401 | 47.7% | 10.3% | 33.9% |
| Wisconsin | 48,848 | 54,248 | 58,681 | 82,623 | 107,485 | 69.1% | 20.1% | 40.8% |
| Wyoming | 60,687 | 58,233 | 58,872 | 73,642 | 95,004 | 21.3% | -3.0% | 25.1% |

Note: Based on the author's calculations from the ACS. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S.

Table A5. Mean earnings by state and education level for workers in their birth state

| STATE | High School | Some College | Associate Degree | Bachelor's Degree | Graduate Degree | % Diff AD-HS | % Diff BD-AD |
|----------------------|-------------|--------------|------------------|-------------------|-----------------|--------------|--------------|
| Alabama | \$46,192 | \$49,326 | \$51,818 | \$74,280 | \$86,069 | 12.2% | 43.3% |
| Alaska | 62,213 | 60,183 | 57,615 | 81,664 | 103,363 | -7.4% | 41.7% |
| Arizona | 45,776 | 51,790 | 52,601 | 76,831 | 98,035 | 14.9% | 46.1% |
| Arkansas | 45,352 | 48,696 | 49,076 | 72,667 | 84,097 | 8.2% | 48.1% |
| California | 53,517 | 65,480 | 68,354 | 100,599 | 126,019 | 27.7% | 47.2% |
| Colorado | 51,645 | 56,905 | 55,717 | 83,266 | 99,421 | 7.9% | 49.4% |
| Connecticut | 59,336 | 66,815 | 70,073 | 100,170 | 119,126 | 18.1% | 43.0% |
| Delaware | 55,634 | 58,313 | 61,134 | 79,625 | 118,007 | 9.9% | 30.2% |
| District of Columbia | 57,746 | 57,272 | 52,956 | 101,280 | 109,491 | -8.3% | 91.3% |
| Florida | 43,172 | 49,534 | 51,310 | 74,807 | 100,389 | 18.9% | 45.8% |
| Georgia | 43,962 | 49,901 | 51,920 | 80,033 | 90,653 | 18.1% | 54.1% |
| Hawaii | 50,448 | 55,716 | 58,409 | 76,334 | 90,510 | 15.8% | 30.7% |
| Idaho | 47,496 | 51,137 | 54,882 | 77,875 | 99,789 | 15.6% | 41.9% |
| Illinois | 51,872 | 58,412 | 61,049 | 92,799 | 116,216 | 17.7% | 52.0% |
| Indiana | 48,762 | 52,865 | 54,680 | 76,887 | 98,201 | 12.1% | 40.6% |
| Iowa | 50,839 | 53,299 | 56,217 | 76,808 | 102,210 | 10.6% | 36.6% |
| Kansas | 48,141 | 51,640 | 54,288 | 72,794 | 91,607 | 12.8% | 34.1% |
| Kentucky | 46,644 | 51,461 | 54,139 | 76,362 | 90,169 | 16.1% | 41.0% |
| Louisiana | 49,928 | 53,810 | 55,994 | 74,024 | 94,838 | 12.1% | 32.2% |
| Maine | 46,379 | 51,622 | 54,540 | 70,250 | 86,277 | 17.6% | 28.8% |
| Maryland | 54,370 | 64,008 | 63,102 | 95,002 | 112,149 | 16.1% | 50.6% |
| Massachusetts | 59,808 | 67,776 | 69,987 | 102,796 | 125,044 | 17.0% | 46.9% |
| Michigan | 47,874 | 55,829 | 57,685 | 84,427 | 104,945 | 20.5% | 46.4% |
| Minnesota | 52,245 | 59,412 | 63,501 | 88,477 | 116,094 | 21.5% | 39.3% |
| Mississippi | 41,881 | 44,016 | 47,693 | 63,201 | 78,251 | 13.9% | 32.5% |
| Missouri | 46,309 | 52,034 | 54,595 | 78,810 | 92,068 | 17.9% | 44.4% |
| Montana | 49,745 | 50,678 | 54,687 | 65,475 | 91,131 | 9.9% | 19.7% |
| Nebraska | 48,771 | 50,689 | 55,010 | 74,957 | 98,524 | 12.8% | 36.3% |
| Nevada | 50,187 | 57,411 | 58,747 | 81,719 | 100,439 | 17.1% | 39.1% |
| New Hampshire | 53,781 | 60,218 | 64,340 | 82,448 | 101,076 | 19.6% | 28.1% |
| New Jersey | 60,012 | 69,562 | 70,566 | 109,889 | 137,718 | 17.6% | 55.7% |
| New Mexico | 42,512 | 48,322 | 51,017 | 68,469 | 80,278 | 20.0% | 34.2% |
| New York | 54,628 | 64,831 | 64,520 | 104,072 | 131,148 | 18.1% | 61.3% |
| North Carolina | 42,228 | 47,972 | 50,362 | 74,456 | 90,284 | 19.3% | 47.8% |
| North Dakota | 59,779 | 61,434 | 63,390 | 70,666 | 99,661 | 6.0% | 11.5% |
| Ohio | 47,755 | 53,445 | 55,591 | 82,874 | 100,698 | 16.4% | 49.1% |

continued...

Table A5 (continued). Mean earnings by state and education level for workers in their birth state

| STATE | High School | Some College | Associate Degree | Bachelor's Degree | Graduate Degree | % Diff AD-HS | % Diff BD-AD |
|----------------|-------------|--------------|------------------|-------------------|-----------------|--------------|--------------|
| Oklahoma | \$46,615 | \$50,992 | \$55,346 | \$71,423 | \$96,321 | 18.7% | 29.0% |
| Oregon | 49,720 | 56,329 | 58,860 | 81,955 | 91,660 | 18.4% | 39.2% |
| Pennsylvania | 49,961 | 56,695 | 58,183 | 85,872 | 110,545 | 16.5% | 47.6% |
| Rhode Island | 56,745 | 60,799 | 64,193 | 85,130 | 104,133 | 13.1% | 32.6% |
| South Carolina | 40,599 | 47,270 | 49,216 | 70,051 | 82,747 | 21.2% | 42.3% |
| South Dakota | 51,788 | 50,293 | 54,537 | 69,398 | 89,060 | 5.3% | 27.2% |
| Tennessee | 43,636 | 50,672 | 51,348 | 74,881 | 96,256 | 17.7% | 45.8% |
| Texas | 48,456 | 56,101 | 59,776 | 84,754 | 108,263 | 23.4% | 41.8% |
| Utah | 52,898 | 59,797 | 62,109 | 88,335 | 109,912 | 17.4% | 42.2% |
| Vermont | 48,100 | 52,868 | 60,709 | 73,254 | 90,655 | 26.2% | 20.7% |
| Virginia | 47,654 | 54,345 | 55,668 | 84,166 | 101,092 | 16.8% | 51.2% |
| Washington | 59,454 | 65,299 | 66,416 | 94,047 | 106,867 | 11.7% | 41.6% |
| West Virginia | 47,271 | 49,994 | 48,761 | 68,703 | 88,370 | 3.2% | 40.9% |
| Wisconsin | 49,381 | 53,838 | 58,729 | 80,118 | 100,063 | 18.9% | 36.4% |
| Wyoming | 53,187 | 58,069 | 60,307 | 75,843 | 96,752 | 13.4% | 25.8% |

Note: Based on the author's calculations from the ACS. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. and reside in their birth state.

Table A6. Median earnings by state and education level

| STATE | High School | Some College | Associate Degree | Bachelor's Degree | Graduate Degree | % Diff BD-HS | % Diff AD-HS | % Diff BD-AD |
|----------------------|-------------|--------------|------------------|-------------------|-----------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| Alabama | \$37,170 | \$42,055 | \$45,697 | \$61,877 | \$71,883 | 66.5% | 22.9% | 35.4% |
| Alaska | 56,479 | 57,348 | 63,720 | 73,414 | 89,145 | 30.0% | 12.8% | 15.2% |
| Arizona | 41,076 | 47,790 | 49,292 | 69,030 | 79,706 | 68.1% | 20.0% | 40.0% |
| Arkansas | 36,707 | 40,902 | 44,604 | 57,682 | 67,121 | 57.1% | 21.5% | 29.3% |
| California | 45,666 | 54,536 | 59,560 | 84,960 | 102,689 | 86.0% | 30.4% | 42.6% |
| Colorado | 46,210 | 51,345 | 51,345 | 72,216 | 85,232 | 56.3% | 11.1% | 40.6% |
| Connecticut | 51,345 | 57,682 | 62,926 | 84,960 | 102,689 | 65.5% | 22.6% | 35.0% |
| Delaware | 44,048 | 49,502 | 53,100 | 73,414 | 83,901 | 66.7% | 20.5% | 38.3% |
| District of Columbia | 41,951 | 53,398 | 56,286 | 94,389 | 106,974 | 125.0% | 34.2% | 67.7% |
| Florida | 37,170 | 43,011 | 46,728 | 62,658 | 78,657 | 68.6% | 25.7% | 34.1% |
| Georgia | 38,232 | 43,542 | 47,032 | 68,170 | 74,462 | 78.3% | 23.0% | 44.9% |
| Hawaii | 42,480 | 50,341 | 51,389 | 65,844 | 78,657 | 55.0% | 21.0% | 28.1% |
| Idaho | 41,076 | 44,179 | 47,790 | 60,828 | 73,936 | 48.1% | 16.3% | 27.3% |
| Illinois | 43,130 | 51,345 | 53,100 | 77,017 | 90,367 | 78.6% | 23.1% | 45.0% |
| Indiana | 41,951 | 45,666 | 47,790 | 63,720 | 75,511 | 51.9% | 13.9% | 33.3% |

continued...

Table A6 (continued). Median earnings by state and education level

| STATE | High School | Some College | Associate Degree | Bachelor's Degree | Graduate Degree | % Diff BD-HS | % Diff AD-HS | % Diff BD-AD |
|----------------|-------------|--------------|------------------|-------------------|-----------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| Iowa | \$42,480 | \$46,210 | \$49,914 | \$62,926 | \$76,464 | 48.1% | 17.5% | 26.1% |
| Kansas | 41,076 | 44,156 | 49,291 | 63,720 | 72,216 | 55.1% | 20.0% | 29.3% |
| Kentucky | 40,462 | 42,999 | 48,453 | 62,926 | 66,906 | 55.5% | 19.7% | 29.9% |
| Louisiana | 39,022 | 42,480 | 47,237 | 58,410 | 71,154 | 49.7% | 21.1% | 23.7% |
| Maine | 41,076 | 46,210 | 47,237 | 58,731 | 71,883 | 43.0% | 15.0% | 24.3% |
| Maryland | 48,264 | 57,682 | 61,877 | 84,960 | 102,779 | 76.0% | 28.2% | 37.3% |
| Massachusetts | 52,372 | 57,682 | 62,926 | 87,084 | 100,681 | 66.3% | 20.2% | 38.4% |
| Michigan | 41,076 | 46,210 | 50,764 | 69,030 | 83,898 | 68.1% | 23.6% | 36.0% |
| Minnesota | 44,048 | 49,292 | 54,425 | 73,414 | 88,146 | 66.7% | 23.6% | 34.9% |
| Mississippi | 35,658 | 38,804 | 42,480 | 52,038 | 61,614 | 45.9% | 19.1% | 22.5% |
| Missouri | 39,853 | 42,480 | 46,728 | 61,614 | 71,883 | 54.6% | 17.3% | 31.9% |
| Montana | 41,951 | 41,076 | 44,048 | 54,162 | 67,775 | 29.1% | 5.0% | 23.0% |
| Nebraska | 41,951 | 43,130 | 47,790 | 61,596 | 73,414 | 46.8% | 13.9% | 28.9% |
| Nevada | 42,719 | 48,852 | 52,438 | 66,748 | 78,657 | 56.3% | 22.8% | 27.3% |
| New Hampshire | 47,194 | 52,438 | 58,410 | 76,464 | 88,096 | 62.0% | 23.8% | 30.9% |
| New Jersey | 52,438 | 60,534 | 62,658 | 92,291 | 106,200 | 76.0% | 19.5% | 47.3% |
| New Mexico | 36,707 | 41,076 | 47,404 | 56,479 | 74,340 | 53.9% | 29.1% | 19.1% |
| New York | 46,210 | 52,438 | 54,528 | 82,151 | 95,580 | 77.8% | 18.0% | 50.7% |
| North Carolina | 37,170 | 42,480 | 45,097 | 62,926 | 77,017 | 69.3% | 21.3% | 39.5% |
| North Dakota | 43,130 | 49,292 | 51,345 | 57,682 | 71,883 | 33.7% | 19.0% | 12.3% |
| Ohio | 41,951 | 46,210 | 49,291 | 68,170 | 79,650 | 62.5% | 17.5% | 38.3% |
| Oklahoma | 39,022 | 42,999 | 49,914 | 55,452 | 71,883 | 42.1% | 27.9% | 11.1% |
| Oregon | 42,821 | 48,059 | 51,345 | 69,218 | 82,151 | 61.6% | 19.9% | 34.8% |
| Pennsylvania | 42,999 | 48,777 | 52,372 | 71,316 | 87,084 | 65.9% | 21.8% | 36.2% |
| Rhode Island | 48,640 | 53,100 | 55,585 | 73,936 | 89,145 | 52.0% | 14.3% | 33.0% |
| South Carolina | 35,941 | 41,418 | 45,097 | 61,614 | 66,748 | 71.4% | 25.5% | 36.6% |
| South Dakota | 41,076 | 41,951 | 46,210 | 53,100 | 65,023 | 29.3% | 12.5% | 14.9% |
| Tennessee | 37,170 | 42,480 | 46,210 | 61,614 | 72,216 | 65.8% | 24.3% | 33.3% |
| Texas | 40,902 | 47,237 | 52,438 | 69,030 | 83,901 | 68.8% | 28.2% | 31.6% |
| Utah | 44,604 | 50,764 | 52,438 | 71,154 | 87,286 | 59.5% | 17.6% | 35.7% |
| Vermont | 42,480 | 47,194 | 52,438 | 57,682 | 74,340 | 35.8% | 23.4% | 10.0% |
| Virginia | 41,951 | 50,976 | 51,345 | 80,098 | 102,689 | 90.9% | 22.4% | 56.0% |
| Washington | 50,976 | 54,536 | 56,633 | 80,098 | 90,270 | 57.1% | 11.1% | 41.4% |
| West Virginia | 39,294 | 41,076 | 44,048 | 55,452 | 69,030 | 41.1% | 12.1% | 25.9% |
| Wisconsin | 42,480 | 46,724 | 52,038 | 65,721 | 77,017 | 54.7% | 22.5% | 26.3% |
| Wyoming | 51,345 | 49,291 | 52,372 | 58,731 | 70,958 | 14.4% | 2.0% | 12.1% |

Note: Based on the author's calculations from the ACS. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S.

Table A7. Mean earnings for high school graduates with and without cost-of-living adjustment

| STATE | WITH ADJUSTMENT | | WITHOUT ADJUSTMENT | |
|---------------|-----------------|------|--------------------|------|
| | Mean | Rank | Mean | Rank |
| Wyoming | \$63,143 | 1 | \$60,687 | 3 |
| North Dakota | 63,035 | 2 | 57,381 | 8 |
| Alaska | 60,981 | 3 | 64,015 | 1 |
| South Dakota | 58,564 | 4 | 51,574 | 21 |
| Rhode Island | 57,632 | 5 | 57,324 | 9 |
| Iowa | 57,029 | 6 | 51,233 | 22 |
| Washington | 56,154 | 7 | 59,413 | 6 |
| Connecticut | 55,724 | 8 | 60,352 | 4 |
| Massachusetts | 55,575 | 9 | 59,948 | 5 |
| Louisiana | 55,381 | 10 | 50,033 | 27 |
| Nebraska | 55,309 | 11 | 49,744 | 29 |
| Indiana | 54,636 | 12 | 49,119 | 30 |
| Delaware | 54,484 | 13 | 54,523 | 14 |
| Utah | 54,328 | 14 | 52,606 | 17 |
| Nevada | 53,831 | 15 | 52,398 | 18 |
| Montana | 53,793 | 16 | 50,906 | 23 |
| Ohio | 53,706 | 17 | 47,836 | 35 |
| West Virginia | 53,702 | 18 | 47,145 | 38 |
| New Jersey | 53,633 | 19 | 60,715 | 2 |
| Alabama | 53,437 | 20 | 46,347 | 43 |
| Minnesota | 53,013 | 21 | 51,597 | 20 |
| Kentucky | 52,943 | 22 | 46,683 | 41 |
| Illinois | 52,811 | 23 | 52,144 | 19 |
| New Hampshire | 52,736 | 24 | 55,825 | 11 |
| Wisconsin | 52,728 | 25 | 48,848 | 32 |
| Colorado | 52,676 | 26 | 54,117 | 15 |
| Kansas | 52,496 | 27 | 47,300 | 36 |
| Oklahoma | 52,386 | 28 | 46,779 | 40 |
| Arkansas | 52,088 | 29 | 45,296 | 45 |
| Missouri | 51,786 | 30 | 46,366 | 42 |
| Michigan | 51,604 | 31 | 47,992 | 34 |
| Maryland | 51,546 | 32 | 56,427 | 10 |
| Texas | 51,488 | 33 | 49,857 | 28 |
| Pennsylvania | 51,077 | 34 | 50,160 | 26 |
| Oregon | 50,871 | 35 | 50,446 | 25 |

continued...

Table A7 (continued). Mean earnings for high school graduates with and without cost-of-living adjustment

| STATE | WITH ADJUSTMENT | | WITHOUT ADJUSTMENT | |
|----------------------|-----------------|------|--------------------|------|
| | Mean | Rank | Mean | Rank |
| Arizona | \$50,857 | 36 | \$48,925 | 31 |
| Mississippi | 50,765 | 37 | 43,735 | 50 |
| Idaho | 50,704 | 38 | 47,184 | 37 |
| District of Columbia | 50,018 | 39 | 58,119 | 7 |
| Virginia | 49,445 | 40 | 50,581 | 24 |
| Tennessee | 48,915 | 41 | 44,120 | 48 |
| Georgia | 48,881 | 42 | 45,247 | 46 |
| California | 48,225 | 43 | 55,158 | 12 |
| North Carolina | 48,178 | 44 | 43,924 | 49 |
| New Mexico | 47,593 | 45 | 44,481 | 47 |
| Vermont | 47,531 | 46 | 48,667 | 33 |
| South Carolina | 47,473 | 47 | 42,901 | 51 |
| Maine | 47,457 | 48 | 46,872 | 39 |
| New York | 47,047 | 49 | 54,526 | 13 |
| Florida | 45,909 | 50 | 45,789 | 44 |
| Hawaii | 44,373 | 51 | 52,684 | 16 |

Note: Cost-of-living adjustment is via the Regional Price Parities produced by the U.S. Bureau of Economic Analysis.

MSA AND NON-MSA COMPARISON TABLES

Table A8. Mean earnings in small metropolitan areas by BEA region and education level

| BEA Region | High School | Some College | Associate Degree | Bachelor's Degree | Graduate Degree | % Diff BD-HS | % Diff AD-HS | % Diff BD-AD |
|----------------|-------------|--------------|------------------|-------------------|-----------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| New England | \$55,770 | \$59,893 | \$63,817 | \$89,260 | \$113,044 | 60.1% | 14.4% | 39.9% |
| Midwest | 50,697 | 57,498 | 59,081 | 81,376 | 107,025 | 60.5% | 16.5% | 37.7% |
| Great Lakes | 48,494 | 53,294 | 55,974 | 78,793 | 101,662 | 62.5% | 15.4% | 40.8% |
| Plains | 50,146 | 52,562 | 55,927 | 71,856 | 98,954 | 43.3% | 11.5% | 28.5% |
| Southeast | 45,159 | 50,910 | 52,913 | 74,577 | 96,546 | 65.1% | 17.2% | 40.9% |
| Southwest | 48,082 | 52,427 | 57,200 | 75,533 | 98,627 | 57.1% | 19.0% | 32.1% |
| Rocky Mountain | 53,003 | 56,522 | 56,416 | 82,881 | 106,805 | 56.4% | 6.4% | 46.9% |
| Far West | 54,913 | 61,895 | 64,254 | 87,235 | 111,042 | 58.9% | 17.0% | 35.8% |

Note: Based on the author's calculations from the ACS. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S.

Table A9. Mean earnings in nonmetropolitan areas by BEA region and education level

| BEA Region | High School | Some College | Associate Degree | Bachelor's Degree | Graduate Degree | % Diff BD-HS | % Diff AD-HS | % Diff BD-AD |
|----------------|-------------|--------------|------------------|-------------------|-----------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| New England | \$49,354 | \$53,672 | \$57,697 | \$71,403 | \$103,054 | 44.7% | 16.9% | 23.8% |
| Midwest | 45,893 | 51,716 | 52,194 | 67,225 | 89,485 | 46.5% | 13.7% | 28.8% |
| Great Lakes | 46,773 | 50,153 | 54,399 | 71,240 | 90,658 | 52.3% | 16.3% | 31.0% |
| Plains | 46,176 | 48,405 | 51,981 | 64,834 | 85,820 | 40.4% | 12.6% | 24.7% |
| Southeast | 42,916 | 45,940 | 47,364 | 64,263 | 80,800 | 49.7% | 10.4% | 35.7% |
| Southwest | 48,205 | 49,871 | 51,884 | 64,141 | 85,488 | 33.1% | 7.6% | 23.6% |
| Rocky Mountain | 53,672 | 54,895 | 55,208 | 73,092 | 97,429 | 36.2% | 2.9% | 32.4% |
| Far West | 52,837 | 57,952 | 59,706 | 71,922 | 93,811 | 36.1% | 13.0% | 20.5% |

Note: Based on the author's calculations from the ACS. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S.

Table A10. Median earnings by education level and MSA status and size

| MSA Status and Size | High School | Some College | Associate Degree | Bachelor's Degree | % Diff AD-HS | % Diff BD-HS |
|---------------------------|-------------|--------------|------------------|-------------------|--------------|--------------|
| Non-MSA | \$39,022 | \$41,951 | \$45,666 | \$53,487 | 17.0% | 37.1% |
| MSA, population < 0.5M | 41,076 | 45,097 | 49,292 | 62,658 | 20.0% | 52.5% |
| MSA, population 0.5M–1.5M | 41,951 | 46,210 | 50,976 | 66,906 | 21.5% | 59.5% |
| MSA, population 1.5M–4M | 42,480 | 50,446 | 53,100 | 74,340 | 25.0% | 75.0% |
| MSA, population > 4M | 45,666 | 53,100 | 56,633 | 83,901 | 24.0% | 83.7% |

Note: Based on the author's calculations from the ACS. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. MSA population is as of year 2010 and reported in millions (M).

Table A11. Mean earnings and college earnings premiums for 104 large MSAs by education level

| CITY | High School | Some College | Associate Degree | Bachelor's Degree | Graduate Degree | % Diff BD-HS | % Diff AD-HS | % Diff BD-AD |
|---------------------------------------|-------------|--------------|------------------|-------------------|-----------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| Akron, OH | \$48,387 | \$56,172 | \$57,416 | \$86,995 | \$106,952 | 79.8% | 18.7% | 51.5% |
| Albany-Schenectady-Troy, NY | 53,743 | 57,433 | 65,710 | 92,035 | 112,693 | 71.2% | 22.3% | 40.1% |
| Albuquerque, NM | 41,543 | 48,950 | 53,952 | 73,652 | 100,394 | 77.3% | 29.9% | 36.5% |
| Allentown-Bethlehem-Easton, PA-NJ | 51,647 | 60,963 | 61,488 | 93,611 | 122,119 | 81.3% | 19.1% | 52.2% |
| Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Roswell, GA | 47,261 | 56,687 | 58,442 | 98,402 | 112,840 | 108.2% | 23.7% | 68.4% |
| Augusta-Richmond County, GA-SC | 48,854 | 48,489 | 53,274 | 73,407 | 95,086 | 50.3% | 9.0% | 37.8% |
| Austin-Round Rock, TX | 53,022 | 62,015 | 61,025 | 96,185 | 121,708 | 81.4% | 15.1% | 57.6% |
| Bakersfield, CA | 57,389 | 60,948 | 68,143 | 87,813 | 103,264 | 53.0% | 18.7% | 28.9% |
| Baltimore-Columbia-Towson, MD | 55,577 | 67,041 | 67,398 | 100,491 | 123,029 | 80.8% | 21.3% | 49.1% |
| Baton Rouge, LA | 55,150 | 57,632 | 63,115 | 82,426 | 101,667 | 49.5% | 14.4% | 30.6% |
| Birmingham-Hoover, AL | 48,554 | 51,541 | 54,833 | 85,871 | 106,185 | 76.9% | 12.9% | 56.6% |
| Boise City, ID | 45,004 | 53,124 | 59,897 | 82,784 | 103,271 | 83.9% | 33.1% | 38.2% |
| Boston-Cambridge-Newton, MA-NH | 61,395 | 71,585 | 72,579 | 114,266 | 143,248 | 86.1% | 18.2% | 57.4% |
| Bridgeport-Stamford-Norwalk, CT | 65,463 | 79,213 | 83,495 | 166,463 | 200,320 | 154.3% | 27.5% | 99.4% |
| Buffalo-Cheektowaga-Niagara Falls, NY | 49,856 | 55,835 | 58,242 | 80,859 | 95,847 | 62.2% | 16.8% | 38.8% |
| Cape Coral-Fort Myers, FL | 45,562 | 53,191 | 53,533 | 76,920 | 104,542 | 68.8% | 17.5% | 43.7% |
| Charleston-North Charleston, SC | 47,268 | 53,890 | 50,760 | 82,319 | 106,868 | 74.2% | 7.4% | 62.2% |
| Charlotte-Concord-Gastonia, NC-SC | 47,335 | 54,266 | 57,470 | 94,265 | 124,662 | 99.1% | 21.4% | 64.0% |

continued...

Table A11 (continued). Mean earnings and college earnings premiums for 104 large MSAs by education level

| CITY | High School | Some College | Associate Degree | Bachelor's Degree | Graduate Degree | % Diff BD-HS | % Diff AD-HS | % Diff BD-AD |
|--|-------------|--------------|------------------|-------------------|-----------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| Chattanooga, TN-GA | \$46,052 | \$52,247 | \$51,160 | \$84,163 | \$108,661 | 82.8% | 11.1% | 64.5% |
| Chicago-Naperville-Elgin, IL-IN-WI | 54,967 | 63,657 | 65,995 | 104,318 | 133,364 | 89.8% | 20.1% | 58.1% |
| Cincinnati, OH-KY-IN | 49,155 | 59,229 | 61,108 | 93,135 | 119,838 | 89.5% | 24.3% | 52.4% |
| Cleveland-Elyria, OH | 48,707 | 53,018 | 55,387 | 85,953 | 114,715 | 76.5% | 13.7% | 55.2% |
| Colorado Springs, CO | 50,751 | 55,743 | 53,167 | 75,857 | 102,381 | 49.5% | 4.8% | 42.7% |
| Columbia, SC | 42,086 | 47,869 | 57,356 | 77,529 | 93,972 | 84.2% | 36.3% | 35.2% |
| Columbus, OH | 48,117 | 57,647 | 57,483 | 92,506 | 112,478 | 92.3% | 19.5% | 60.9% |
| Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX | 51,997 | 62,041 | 64,726 | 99,958 | 128,281 | 92.2% | 24.5% | 54.4% |
| Dayton, OH | 46,761 | 53,219 | 53,096 | 78,592 | 95,725 | 68.1% | 13.5% | 48.0% |
| Deltona-Daytona Beach-Ormond Beach, FL | 44,954 | 47,806 | 52,009 | 72,002 | 97,244 | 60.2% | 15.7% | 38.4% |
| Denver-Aurora-Lakewood, CO | 56,722 | 65,313 | 64,408 | 101,112 | 119,936 | 78.3% | 13.5% | 57.0% |
| Des Moines-West Des Moines, IA | 52,325 | 55,441 | 60,548 | 87,434 | 118,770 | 67.1% | 15.7% | 44.4% |
| Detroit-Warren-Dearborn, MI | 50,605 | 58,304 | 60,892 | 96,452 | 118,122 | 90.6% | 20.3% | 58.4% |
| Durham-Chapel Hill, NC | 44,632 | 53,753 | 59,375 | 86,117 | 117,466 | 92.9% | 33.0% | 45.0% |
| El Paso, TX | 41,303 | 48,806 | 49,657 | 62,421 | 88,378 | 51.1% | 20.2% | 25.7% |
| Fresno, CA | 51,556 | 58,361 | 60,345 | 88,811 | 115,049 | 72.3% | 17.0% | 47.2% |
| Grand Rapids-Wyoming, MI | 48,218 | 56,896 | 60,013 | 82,682 | 111,612 | 71.5% | 24.5% | 37.8% |
| Greensboro-High Point, NC | 42,668 | 49,199 | 49,683 | 77,743 | 106,373 | 82.2% | 16.4% | 56.5% |
| Greenville-Anderson-Mauldin, SC | 43,425 | 53,673 | 53,316 | 80,770 | 96,086 | 86.0% | 22.8% | 51.5% |
| Harrisburg-Carlisle, PA | 45,435 | 56,011 | 63,198 | 89,338 | 104,331 | 96.6% | 39.1% | 41.4% |
| Hartford-W. Hartford-E. Hartford, CT | 61,811 | 68,481 | 70,697 | 103,515 | 132,019 | 67.5% | 14.4% | 46.4% |
| Houston-Woodlands-Sugar Land, TX | 52,212 | 64,947 | 69,481 | 107,888 | 139,118 | 106.6% | 33.1% | 55.3% |
| Indianapolis-Carmel-Anderson, IN | 49,287 | 56,131 | 56,338 | 87,074 | 114,031 | 76.7% | 14.3% | 54.6% |
| Jackson, MS | 45,275 | 46,534 | 47,380 | 71,618 | 91,001 | 58.2% | 4.6% | 51.2% |
| Jacksonville, FL | 46,919 | 56,715 | 53,539 | 85,875 | 110,790 | 83.0% | 14.1% | 60.4% |
| Kansas City, MO-KS | 48,697 | 56,579 | 59,078 | 88,119 | 107,869 | 81.0% | 21.3% | 49.2% |
| Knoxville, TN | 44,462 | 53,394 | 53,608 | 77,612 | 101,961 | 74.6% | 20.6% | 44.8% |
| Lakeland-Winter Haven, FL | 42,891 | 51,236 | 55,294 | 66,570 | 83,725 | 55.2% | 28.9% | 20.4% |
| Lancaster, PA | 53,892 | 58,812 | 63,805 | 86,678 | 102,097 | 60.8% | 18.4% | 35.8% |
| Las Vegas-Henderson-Paradise, NV | 51,909 | 60,034 | 59,724 | 86,175 | 106,155 | 66.0% | 15.1% | 44.3% |

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Table A11 (continued). Mean earnings and college earnings premiums for 104 large MSAs by education level

| CITY | High School | Some College | Associate Degree | Bachelor's Degree | Graduate Degree | % Diff BD-HS | % Diff AD-HS | % Diff BD-AD |
|--|-------------|--------------|------------------|-------------------|-----------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| Little Rock-North Little Rock-Conway, AR | \$46,846 | \$50,744 | \$55,095 | \$77,994 | \$100,956 | 66.5% | 17.6% | 41.6% |
| Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim, CA | 52,756 | 68,984 | 69,409 | 109,737 | 139,707 | 108.0% | 31.6% | 58.1% |
| Louisville/Jefferson County, KY-IN | 50,153 | 55,252 | 57,378 | 82,461 | 107,421 | 64.4% | 14.4% | 43.7% |
| Madison, WI | 51,685 | 50,312 | 63,178 | 86,262 | 121,606 | 66.9% | 22.2% | 36.5% |
| McAllen-Edinburg-Mission, TX | 44,506 | 47,496 | 53,640 | 68,215 | 83,821 | 53.3% | 20.5% | 27.2% |
| Memphis, TN-MS-AR | 44,459 | 51,266 | 53,746 | 83,217 | 106,217 | 87.2% | 20.9% | 54.8% |
| Miami-Fort Lauderdale-West Palm Beach, FL | 46,637 | 58,954 | 59,885 | 93,054 | 125,724 | 99.5% | 28.4% | 55.4% |
| Milwaukee-Waukesha-West Allis, WI | 48,578 | 60,695 | 61,491 | 89,044 | 114,377 | 83.3% | 26.6% | 44.8% |
| Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI | 53,502 | 63,918 | 65,715 | 98,244 | 129,011 | 83.6% | 22.8% | 49.5% |
| Modesto, CA | 55,857 | 63,211 | 67,343 | 80,572 | 114,299 | 44.2% | 20.6% | 19.6% |
| Nashville-Davidson-Murfreesboro-Franklin, TN | 47,250 | 56,518 | 57,836 | 89,091 | 115,225 | 88.6% | 22.4% | 54.0% |
| New Haven-Milford, CT | 56,710 | 65,197 | 67,040 | 90,709 | 123,387 | 60.0% | 18.2% | 35.3% |
| New Orleans-Metairie, LA | 46,681 | 53,450 | 58,230 | 81,635 | 108,281 | 74.9% | 24.7% | 40.2% |
| New York-Newark-Jersey City, NY-NJ-PA | 61,084 | 74,855 | 73,617 | 125,123 | 156,396 | 104.8% | 20.5% | 70.0% |
| North Port-Sarasota-Bradenton, FL | 45,324 | 56,860 | 54,750 | 84,686 | 103,036 | 86.8% | 20.8% | 54.7% |
| Ogden-Clearfield, UT | 51,518 | 59,748 | 61,942 | 87,460 | 104,481 | 69.8% | 20.2% | 41.2% |
| Oklahoma City, OK | 47,176 | 55,443 | 54,473 | 79,860 | 104,792 | 69.3% | 15.5% | 46.6% |
| Omaha-Council Bluffs, NE-IA | 52,374 | 53,549 | 57,299 | 84,231 | 103,956 | 60.8% | 9.4% | 47.0% |
| Orlando-Kissimmee-Sanford, FL | 45,914 | 54,610 | 53,330 | 86,453 | 106,020 | 88.3% | 16.2% | 62.1% |
| Oxnard-Thousand Oaks-Ventura, CA | 61,151 | 72,989 | 73,251 | 111,813 | 138,874 | 82.8% | 19.8% | 52.6% |
| Palm Bay-Melbourne-Titusville, FL | 44,593 | 50,508 | 48,630 | 82,657 | 111,492 | 85.4% | 9.1% | 70.0% |
| Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD | 55,021 | 64,001 | 66,438 | 102,527 | 131,637 | 86.3% | 20.7% | 54.3% |
| Phoenix-Mesa-Scottsdale, AZ | 50,863 | 59,744 | 59,511 | 91,939 | 111,589 | 80.8% | 17.0% | 54.5% |
| Pittsburgh, PA | 50,642 | 57,404 | 57,081 | 84,359 | 119,915 | 66.6% | 12.7% | 47.8% |
| Portland-South Portland, ME | 48,548 | 60,901 | 54,498 | 85,333 | 95,104 | 75.8% | 12.3% | 56.6% |
| Portland-Vancouver-Hillsboro, OR-WA | 54,538 | 63,094 | 63,580 | 94,373 | 109,278 | 73.0% | 16.6% | 48.4% |
| Providence-Warwick, RI-MA | 57,427 | 62,910 | 64,309 | 92,653 | 115,440 | 61.3% | 12.0% | 44.1% |

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Table A11 (continued). Mean earnings and college earnings premiums for 104 large MSAs by education level

| CITY | High School | Some College | Associate Degree | Bachelor's Degree | Graduate Degree | % Diff BD-HS | % Diff AD-HS | % Diff BD-AD |
|--|-------------|--------------|------------------|-------------------|-----------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| Provo-Orem, UT | \$59,599 | \$62,918 | \$62,245 | \$94,356 | \$111,942 | 58.3% | 4.4% | 51.6% |
| Raleigh, NC | 49,533 | 57,043 | 58,664 | 93,998 | 111,246 | 89.8% | 18.4% | 60.2% |
| Richmond, VA | 51,138 | 59,096 | 57,485 | 87,790 | 106,792 | 71.7% | 12.4% | 52.7% |
| Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA | 53,474 | 62,443 | 67,481 | 86,446 | 104,647 | 61.7% | 26.2% | 28.1% |
| Rochester, NY | 49,730 | 52,215 | 58,251 | 84,550 | 102,439 | 70.0% | 17.1% | 45.1% |
| Sacramento-Roseville-Arden-Arcade, CA | 55,751 | 64,714 | 71,635 | 94,453 | 119,240 | 69.4% | 28.5% | 31.9% |
| Salt Lake City, UT | 50,882 | 60,524 | 65,541 | 87,218 | 112,522 | 71.4% | 28.8% | 33.1% |
| San Antonio-New Braunfels, TX | 42,436 | 53,814 | 57,192 | 77,917 | 102,429 | 83.6% | 34.8% | 36.2% |
| San Diego-Carlsbad, CA | 55,129 | 64,154 | 64,892 | 100,235 | 127,841 | 81.8% | 17.7% | 54.5% |
| San Francisco-Oakland-Hayward, CA | 62,658 | 80,113 | 80,656 | 131,990 | 169,134 | 110.7% | 28.7% | 63.6% |
| San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA | 60,676 | 90,153 | 89,871 | 141,276 | 178,919 | 132.8% | 48.1% | 57.2% |
| Scranton-Wilkes-Barre-Hazleton, PA | 47,844 | 52,275 | 57,880 | 73,600 | 96,484 | 53.8% | 21.0% | 27.2% |
| Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA | 63,870 | 73,988 | 72,280 | 108,303 | 132,641 | 69.6% | 13.2% | 49.8% |
| Spokane-Spokane Valley, WA | 49,629 | 54,927 | 51,176 | 74,896 | 103,973 | 50.9% | 3.1% | 46.3% |
| Springfield, MA | 55,502 | 60,145 | 67,191 | 83,344 | 98,180 | 50.2% | 21.1% | 24.0% |
| St. Louis, MO-IL | 48,855 | 55,802 | 57,809 | 91,063 | 109,861 | 86.4% | 18.3% | 57.5% |
| Stockton-Lodi, CA | 58,738 | 65,935 | 72,368 | 92,177 | 106,371 | 56.9% | 23.2% | 27.4% |
| Syracuse, NY | 49,917 | 55,305 | 58,158 | 82,208 | 103,477 | 64.7% | 16.5% | 41.4% |
| Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL | 47,133 | 57,007 | 57,667 | 84,920 | 113,120 | 80.2% | 22.3% | 47.3% |
| Toledo, OH | 50,347 | 53,667 | 58,093 | 84,387 | 100,014 | 67.6% | 15.4% | 45.3% |
| Tucson, AZ | 44,662 | 54,527 | 53,141 | 77,554 | 102,773 | 73.6% | 19.0% | 45.9% |
| Tulsa, OK | 49,501 | 55,952 | 59,812 | 81,186 | 106,601 | 64.0% | 20.8% | 35.7% |
| Urban Honolulu, HI | 55,476 | 59,997 | 60,880 | 84,405 | 104,188 | 52.1% | 9.7% | 38.6% |
| Virginia Beach-Norfolk-Newport News, VA-NC | 48,645 | 55,510 | 58,068 | 77,327 | 100,375 | 59.0% | 19.4% | 33.2% |
| Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV | 62,034 | 73,927 | 74,653 | 116,815 | 137,467 | 88.3% | 20.3% | 56.5% |
| Wichita, KS | 46,410 | 51,011 | 53,635 | 78,933 | 92,764 | 70.1% | 15.6% | 47.2% |
| Winston-Salem, NC | 43,933 | 48,558 | 54,769 | 79,698 | 112,900 | 81.4% | 24.7% | 45.5% |
| Worcester, MA-CT | 57,914 | 64,985 | 67,401 | 100,836 | 115,141 | 74.1% | 16.4% | 49.6% |
| Youngstown-Warren-Boardman, OH-PA | 45,078 | 47,700 | 52,683 | 73,975 | 88,137 | 64.1% | 16.9% | 40.4% |

Note: Based on the author's calculations from the ACS. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. Large MSAs are restricted to those with year 2010 population greater than 500,000.

TUITION TABLE

Table A12. Mean resident tuition and fees by state at two- and four-year public colleges and universities, 2018–19

| STATE | Two-year Colleges | Four-year Colleges and Universities | STATE | Two-year Colleges | Four-year Colleges and Universities |
|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Alabama | \$4,760 | \$10,870 | Montana | \$3,730 | \$7,100 |
| Alaska | N/A | 7,820 | Nebraska | 3,180 | 8,510 |
| Arizona | 2,580 | 11,540 | Nevada | 3,400 | 7,660 |
| Arkansas | 3,700 | 8,710 | New Hampshire | 7,090 | 16,460 |
| California | 1,430 | 9,870 | New Jersey | 5,040 | 14,180 |
| Colorado | 4,510 | 11,140 | New Mexico | 1,840 | 7,130 |
| Connecticut | 4,400 | 12,760 | New York | 5,490 | 8,190 |
| Delaware | 4,850 | 12,700 | North Carolina | 2,470 | 7,220 |
| District of Columbia | N/A | 8,250 | North Dakota | 4,830 | 8,660 |
| Florida | 3,250 | 6,360 | Ohio | 4,720 | 10,790 |
| Georgia | 3,810 | 8,580 | Oklahoma | 4,380 | 8,750 |
| Hawaii | 3,920 | 10,800 | Oregon | 5,310 | 10,610 |
| Idaho | 4,190 | 7,590 | Pennsylvania | 5,480 | 14,770 |
| Illinois | 4,140 | 13,970 | Rhode Island | 4,560 | 12,530 |
| Indiana | 4,710 | 9,490 | South Carolina | 5,640 | 12,950 |
| Iowa | 5,320 | 9,080 | South Dakota | 6,700 | 8,690 |
| Kansas | 3,130 | 9,100 | Tennessee | 4,560 | 9,950 |
| Kentucky | 5,310 | 10,710 | Texas | 2,620 | 10,300 |
| Louisiana | 4,190 | 9,550 | Utah | 3,810 | 6,990 |
| Maine | 3,750 | 10,230 | Vermont | 8,190 | 16,610 |
| Maryland | 4,680 | 9,900 | Virginia | 5,260 | 13,490 |
| Massachusetts | 6,300 | 13,200 | Washington | 4,440 | 9,760 |
| Michigan | 3,860 | 13,420 | West Virginia | 4,320 | 8,290 |
| Minnesota | 5,440 | 11,540 | Wisconsin | 4,550 | 9,080 |
| Mississippi | 3,190 | 8,420 | Wyoming | 3,240 | 5,400 |
| Missouri | 3,580 | 8,670 | United States | 3,660 | 10,230 |

Note: Tuition and fee rates are for in-state residents attending four-year colleges and universities and for in-district residents attending two-year colleges. Jennifer Ma, Sandy Baum, Matea Pender, and CJ Libassi, Trends in College Pricing 2018 (New York, NY: The College Board, 2018).

Appendix B: College Earnings Premiums By Race

Table B1 reports selected mean earnings and CEPs by state and for each of the largest racial/ethnic groups.

For black workers, one key point merits attention. First, although they experience considerable variation in the CEPs across states, the earnings premiums for black workers with bachelor's degrees (compared to those with high school diplomas) are often much smaller than for white workers. An extreme example is Connecticut, where the bachelor's to high school earnings premium is only 18.2 percent for black workers compared to 97.0 percent for white workers.³⁰ The bachelor's degree premium for black workers is also much lower than for white workers in New York, Georgia, Virginia, Illinois, California, and several other states.

Hispanic workers also exhibit distinctive differences in CEPs across the twenty states for which sample size was sufficient to produce reliable estimates. For example, the bachelor's to high school earnings premium for Hispanic workers is smaller than the premium for white workers but larger than the premium for black workers in several states, including California, Connecticut, Georgia, Illinois, New York, and Virginia. Interestingly, the bachelor's to high school earnings premium for Hispanic workers exceeds that for white workers in Florida and Michigan. Indiana, on the other hand, stands out for having an especially low bachelor's to high school earnings premium for Hispanic workers of only 26.3 percent.

Table B1. The bachelor's premium over a high school diploma is greatest in New Jersey for black workers, Virginia for Hispanic workers, and New York for white workers.

| STATE | Asian Bachelor's Degree Premium | | Black Bachelor's Degree Premium | | Hispanic Bachelor's Degree Premium | | White Bachelor's Degree Premium | |
|----------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------|
| | Relative to High School | Relative to Associate | Relative to High School | Relative to Associate | Relative to High School | Relative to Associate | Relative to High School | Relative to Associate |
| New York | - | - | 54.1% | 30.8% | 73.2% | 34.3% | 106.0% | 76.6% |
| Georgia | - | - | 66.3% | 40.1% | 76.6% | 56.6% | 102.9% | 67.7% |
| Virginia | - | - | 72.5% | 46.3% | 85.3% | 42.8% | 93.0% | 66.0% |
| New Jersey | - | - | 88.5% | 46.6% | 70.0% | 31.3% | 91.6% | 64.3% |
| Connecticut | - | - | 18.2% | 24.7% | 66.9% | 40.3% | 97.0% | 63.5% |
| Illinois | - | - | 53.2% | 24.5% | 70.5% | 40.5% | 89.1% | 60.3% |
| North Carolina | - | - | 58.1% | 39.8% | - | - | 91.2% | 59.9% |
| California | 95.7% | 52.3% | 68.7% | 39.1% | 78.1% | 37.0% | 85.6% | 54.2% |
| Massachusetts | - | - | - | - | 79.7% | 41.5% | 80.3% | 54.2% |
| Tennessee | - | - | 57.3% | 34.4% | - | - | 87.5% | 53.7% |
| Maryland | - | - | 60.9% | 29.0% | - | - | 84.7% | 52.6% |

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Table B1 (continued). The bachelor's premium over a high school diploma is greatest in New Jersey for black workers, Virginia for Hispanic workers, and New York for white workers.

| STATE | Asian Bachelor's Degree Premium | | Black Bachelor's Degree Premium | | Hispanic Bachelor's Degree Premium | | White Bachelor's Degree Premium | |
|----------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------|
| | Relative to High School | Relative to Associate | Relative to High School | Relative to Associate | Relative to High School | Relative to Associate | Relative to High School | Relative to Associate |
| Colorado | - | - | 63.7% | 55.6% | 54.9% | 33.0% | 66.5% | 52.4% |
| Arkansas | - | - | 49.8% | 17.7% | - | - | 64.1% | 52.2% |
| Pennsylvania | - | - | 44.9% | 29.7% | 57.6% | 46.9% | 79.5% | 52.0% |
| Florida | - | - | 75.8% | 46.9% | 85.2% | 40.3% | 78.9% | 51.8% |
| Washington | - | - | 38.8% | 25.4% | 62.0% | 34.4% | 67.8% | 50.6% |
| Arizona | - | - | 61.6% | 55.0% | 73.5% | 35.8% | 72.8% | 50.2% |
| Kansas | - | - | - | - | - | - | 74.2% | 50.1% |
| Ohio | - | - | 61.2% | 47.7% | 58.5% | 54.6% | 78.8% | 50.1% |
| Missouri | - | - | 56.4% | 29.0% | - | - | 75.3% | 49.8% |
| Michigan | - | - | 59.7% | 45.9% | 84.7% | 56.4% | 80.1% | 49.2% |
| Texas | - | - | 68.3% | 35.5% | 61.9% | 28.8% | 78.0% | 49.2% |
| Kentucky | - | - | 55.8% | 29.9% | - | - | 72.9% | 48.1% |
| Rhode Island | - | - | - | - | - | - | 61.2% | 46.9% |
| Hawaii | 49.7% | 25.1% | - | - | - | - | 48.0% | 46.7% |
| Indiana | - | - | 48.8% | 22.3% | 26.3% | 17.3% | 65.7% | 46.6% |
| Minnesota | - | - | - | - | - | - | 77.4% | 46.3% |
| South Carolina | - | - | 50.4% | 31.1% | - | - | 75.1% | 46.3% |
| Alabama | - | - | 49.9% | 27.7% | - | - | 65.2% | 46.3% |
| Oregon | - | - | - | - | 75.5% | 24.8% | 68.6% | 45.0% |
| New Hampshire | - | - | - | - | - | - | 67.2% | 44.2% |
| Utah | - | - | - | - | - | - | 67.1% | 42.4% |
| Nebraska | - | - | - | - | - | - | 56.4% | 42.2% |
| Maine | - | - | - | - | - | - | 62.4% | 41.0% |
| Wisconsin | - | - | - | - | - | - | 67.8% | 40.9% |
| Delaware | - | - | - | - | - | - | 63.6% | 40.4% |
| Idaho | - | - | - | - | - | - | 66.5% | 40.2% |
| Nevada | - | - | - | - | 55.6% | 27.3% | 61.4% | 39.5% |
| Iowa | - | - | - | - | - | - | 50.8% | 38.3% |

continued...

Table B1 (continued). The bachelor's premium over a high school diploma is greatest in New Jersey for black workers, Virginia for Hispanic workers, and New York for white workers.

| STATE | Asian Bachelor's Degree Premium | | Black Bachelor's Degree Premium | | Hispanic Bachelor's Degree Premium | | White Bachelor's Degree Premium | |
|---------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------|
| | Relative to High School | Relative to Associate | Relative to High School | Relative to Associate | Relative to High School | Relative to Associate | Relative to High School | Relative to Associate |
| Oklahoma | - | - | 34.6% | 9.8% | - | - | 59.1% | 36.8% |
| Louisiana | - | - | 50.6% | 23.3% | - | - | 45.4% | 35.3% |
| West Virginia | - | - | - | - | - | - | 49.4% | 34.6% |
| Mississippi | - | - | 34.0% | 24.7% | - | - | 44.5% | 32.1% |
| South Dakota | - | - | - | - | - | - | 34.5% | 28.8% |
| New Mexico | - | - | - | - | 53.1% | 29.5% | 43.4% | 27.1% |
| Montana | - | - | - | - | - | - | 35.8% | 26.7% |
| Vermont | - | - | - | - | - | - | 53.3% | 25.9% |
| Wyoming | - | - | - | - | - | - | 21.1% | 25.7% |
| Alaska | - | - | - | - | - | - | 20.2% | 18.3% |
| North Dakota | - | - | - | - | - | - | 22.2% | 13.9% |

Note: Based on the author's calculations from the ACS. The table is sorted by the bachelor's versus associate degree premium for the largest group, white workers (last column). Cells are blue if the bachelor's degree premium is greater than 75 percent over the high school diploma premium or greater than 50 percent over the associate degree premium; yellow if the bachelor's degree premium is less than 75 percent but more than 50 percent over the high school diploma premium or less than 50 percent but more than 35 percent over the associate degree premium; and red if the bachelor's degree premium is less than 50 percent over the high school diploma premium or less than 35 percent over the associate degree premium. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The analysis by race/ethnicity is restricted to those jurisdictions with at least ninety workers in the analytical sample by state and race/ethnicity for each of the three analyzed education groups (high school graduates, workers with associate degrees, and workers with bachelor's degrees).

Tables B2-B5 show college earnings and CEPs for workers by state and race. The analysis by race/ethnicity is restricted to those jurisdictions with at least ninety workers in the sample by both state and race/ethnicity for each of the three analyzed education groups (high school graduates, workers with associate degrees, and workers with bachelor's degrees).

Table B2. College earnings premiums by state for white workers

| STATE | High School | Associate Degree | Bachelor's Degree | % Diff Associate-High School | % Diff Bachelor's-High School |
|----------------|-------------|------------------|-------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| New York | \$56,827 | \$66,311 | \$117,087 | 16.7% | 106.0% |
| Georgia | 49,669 | 60,078 | 100,772 | 21.0% | 102.9% |
| Connecticut | 62,473 | 75,272 | 123,081 | 20.5% | 97.0% |
| Virginia | 53,333 | 62,019 | 102,947 | 16.3% | 93.0% |
| New Jersey | 65,989 | 76,982 | 126,466 | 16.7% | 91.6% |
| North Carolina | 46,559 | 55,667 | 88,999 | 19.6% | 91.2% |
| Illinois | 54,703 | 64,560 | 103,463 | 18.0% | 89.1% |
| Tennessee | 45,767 | 55,830 | 85,793 | 22.0% | 87.5% |
| California | 64,734 | 77,921 | 120,118 | 20.4% | 85.6% |
| Maryland | 60,426 | 73,123 | 111,584 | 21.0% | 84.7% |
| Massachusetts | 61,543 | 71,985 | 110,968 | 17.0% | 80.3% |
| Michigan | 49,347 | 59,573 | 88,895 | 20.7% | 80.1% |
| Pennsylvania | 50,772 | 59,962 | 91,131 | 18.1% | 79.5% |
| Florida | 49,551 | 58,387 | 88,628 | 17.8% | 78.9% |
| Ohio | 48,901 | 58,268 | 87,457 | 19.2% | 78.8% |
| Texas | 57,876 | 69,065 | 103,044 | 19.3% | 78.0% |
| Minnesota | 52,317 | 63,436 | 92,816 | 21.3% | 77.4% |
| Missouri | 47,178 | 55,219 | 82,696 | 17.0% | 75.3% |
| South Carolina | 47,778 | 57,178 | 83,653 | 19.7% | 75.1% |
| Kansas | 48,296 | 56,051 | 84,145 | 16.1% | 74.2% |
| Kentucky | 47,310 | 55,224 | 81,808 | 16.7% | 72.9% |
| Arizona | 53,701 | 61,777 | 92,819 | 15.0% | 72.8% |
| Oregon | 51,395 | 59,747 | 86,627 | 16.3% | 68.6% |
| Wisconsin | 49,803 | 59,303 | 83,583 | 19.1% | 67.8% |
| Washington | 60,569 | 67,472 | 101,611 | 11.4% | 67.8% |
| New Hampshire | 55,927 | 64,834 | 93,515 | 15.9% | 67.2% |
| Utah | 53,541 | 62,828 | 89,460 | 17.3% | 67.1% |

continued...

Table B2 (continued). College earnings premiums by state for white workers

| STATE | High School | Associate Degree | Bachelor's Degree | % Diff Associate-High School | % Diff Bachelor's-High School |
|---------------|-------------|------------------|-------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Colorado | 57,136 | 62,408 | 95,132 | 9.2% | 66.5% |
| Idaho | \$48,073 | \$57,089 | \$80,036 | 18.8% | 66.5% |
| Indiana | 50,013 | 56,513 | 82,849 | 13.0% | 65.7% |
| Alabama | 50,132 | 56,610 | 82,804 | 12.9% | 65.2% |
| Arkansas | 47,924 | 51,673 | 78,630 | 7.8% | 64.1% |
| Delaware | 57,191 | 66,632 | 93,571 | 16.5% | 63.6% |
| Maine | 46,629 | 53,679 | 75,707 | 15.1% | 62.4% |
| Nevada | 55,653 | 64,406 | 89,830 | 15.7% | 61.4% |
| Rhode Island | 58,355 | 64,039 | 94,059 | 9.7% | 61.2% |
| Oklahoma | 48,741 | 56,686 | 77,572 | 16.3% | 59.1% |
| Nebraska | 50,391 | 55,424 | 78,834 | 10.0% | 56.4% |
| Vermont | 48,806 | 59,422 | 74,817 | 21.8% | 53.3% |
| Iowa | 51,628 | 56,314 | 77,879 | 9.1% | 50.8% |
| West Virginia | 47,213 | 52,397 | 70,514 | 11.0% | 49.4% |
| Hawaii | 62,397 | 62,936 | 92,346 | 0.9% | 48.0% |
| Louisiana | 57,534 | 61,830 | 83,648 | 7.5% | 45.4% |
| Mississippi | 50,729 | 55,483 | 73,305 | 9.4% | 44.5% |
| New Mexico | 51,946 | 58,618 | 74,492 | 12.8% | 43.4% |
| Montana | 51,266 | 54,916 | 69,603 | 7.1% | 35.8% |
| South Dakota | 52,417 | 54,722 | 70,491 | 4.4% | 34.5% |
| North Dakota | 59,072 | 63,406 | 72,197 | 7.3% | 22.2% |
| Wyoming | 61,771 | 59,514 | 74,824 | -3.7% | 21.1% |
| Alaska | 70,195 | 71,350 | 84,377 | 1.6% | 20.2% |

Note: Based on the author's calculations from the ACS. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The analysis by race/ethnicity is restricted to those jurisdictions with at least ninety workers in the analytical sample by state and race/ethnicity for each of the three analyzed education groups (high school graduates, workers with associate degrees, and workers with bachelor's degrees).

Table B3. College earnings premiums for black workers in selected states

| STATE | High School | Associate Degree | Bachelor's Degree | % Diff Associate-High School | % Diff Bachelor's-High School |
|----------------|-------------|------------------|-------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| New Jersey | \$45,523 | \$58,528 | \$85,825 | 28.6% | 88.5% |
| Florida | 35,807 | 42,838 | 62,941 | 19.6% | 75.8% |
| Virginia | 42,811 | 50,469 | 73,844 | 17.9% | 72.5% |
| California | 47,273 | 57,328 | 79,727 | 21.3% | 68.7% |
| Texas | 40,074 | 49,768 | 67,446 | 24.2% | 68.3% |
| Georgia | 38,544 | 45,741 | 64,094 | 18.7% | 66.3% |
| Colorado | 44,033 | 46,316 | 72,063 | 5.2% | 63.7% |
| Arizona | 41,908 | 43,698 | 67,715 | 4.3% | 61.6% |
| Ohio | 38,668 | 42,180 | 62,316 | 9.1% | 61.2% |
| Maryland | 50,557 | 63,079 | 81,370 | 24.8% | 60.9% |
| Michigan | 39,799 | 43,570 | 63,566 | 9.5% | 59.7% |
| North Carolina | 37,045 | 41,913 | 58,578 | 13.1% | 58.1% |
| Tennessee | 37,499 | 43,880 | 58,996 | 17.0% | 57.3% |
| Missouri | 38,863 | 47,099 | 60,780 | 21.2% | 56.4% |
| Kentucky | 39,224 | 47,064 | 61,129 | 20.0% | 55.8% |
| New York | 46,340 | 54,585 | 71,420 | 17.8% | 54.1% |
| Illinois | 44,000 | 54,124 | 67,406 | 23.0% | 53.2% |
| Louisiana | 36,169 | 44,163 | 54,472 | 22.1% | 50.6% |
| South Carolina | 35,384 | 40,603 | 53,225 | 14.7% | 50.4% |
| Alabama | 37,930 | 44,519 | 56,851 | 17.4% | 49.9% |
| Arkansas | 34,702 | 44,171 | 51,969 | 27.3% | 49.8% |
| Indiana | 39,616 | 48,180 | 58,933 | 21.6% | 48.8% |
| Pennsylvania | 45,413 | 50,755 | 65,824 | 11.8% | 44.9% |
| Washington | 54,172 | 59,984 | 75,209 | 10.7% | 38.8% |
| Oklahoma | 37,020 | 45,393 | 49,831 | 22.6% | 34.6% |
| Mississippi | 35,270 | 37,916 | 47,266 | 7.5% | 34.0% |
| Connecticut | 53,250 | 50,453 | 62,924 | -5.3% | 18.2% |

Note: Based on the author's calculations from the ACS. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The analysis by race/ethnicity is restricted to those jurisdictions with at least ninety workers in the analytical sample by state and race/ethnicity for each of the three analyzed education groups (high school graduates, workers with associate degrees, and workers with bachelor's degrees).

Table B4. College earnings premiums for Hispanic workers in selected states

| STATE | High School | Associate Degree | Bachelor's Degree | % Diff Associate-High School | % Diff Bachelor's-High School |
|---------------|-------------|------------------|-------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Virginia | \$48,957 | \$63,529 | \$90,723 | 29.8% | 85.3% |
| Florida | 39,959 | 52,756 | 73,994 | 32.0% | 85.2% |
| Michigan | 44,035 | 51,994 | 81,342 | 18.1% | 84.7% |
| Massachusetts | 46,921 | 59,587 | 84,304 | 27.0% | 79.7% |
| California | 46,220 | 60,115 | 82,335 | 30.1% | 78.1% |
| Georgia | 44,585 | 50,285 | 78,748 | 12.8% | 76.6% |
| Oregon | 40,237 | 56,550 | 70,598 | 40.5% | 75.5% |
| Arizona | 40,408 | 51,622 | 70,103 | 27.8% | 73.5% |
| New York | 48,877 | 63,045 | 84,643 | 29.0% | 73.2% |
| Illinois | 44,961 | 54,548 | 76,654 | 21.3% | 70.5% |
| New Jersey | 52,681 | 68,209 | 89,554 | 29.5% | 70.0% |
| Connecticut | 51,001 | 60,707 | 85,145 | 19.0% | 66.9% |
| Washington | 49,849 | 60,092 | 80,771 | 20.5% | 62.0% |
| Texas | 42,941 | 53,962 | 69,518 | 25.7% | 61.9% |
| Ohio | 45,157 | 46,309 | 71,573 | 2.6% | 58.5% |
| Pennsylvania | 45,450 | 48,770 | 71,651 | 7.3% | 57.6% |
| Nevada | 45,801 | 55,993 | 71,276 | 22.3% | 55.6% |
| Colorado | 45,388 | 52,830 | 70,291 | 16.4% | 54.9% |
| New Mexico | 41,379 | 48,935 | 63,358 | 18.3% | 53.1% |
| Indiana | 47,634 | 51,300 | 60,177 | 7.7% | 26.3% |

Note: Based on the author's calculations from the ACS. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The analysis by race/ethnicity is restricted to those jurisdictions with at least ninety workers in the analytical sample by state and race/ethnicity for each of the three analyzed education groups (high school graduates, workers with associate degrees, and workers with bachelor's degrees).

Table B5. College earnings premiums for Asian workers in selected states

| STATE | High School | Associate Degree | Bachelor's Degree | % Diff Associate-High School | % Diff Bachelor's-High School |
|------------|-------------|------------------|-------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| California | \$50,091 | \$64,392 | \$98,044 | 28.5% | 95.7% |
| Hawaii | 48,739 | 58,335 | 72,985 | 19.7% | 49.7% |

Note: Based on the author's calculations from the ACS. The sample is limited to full-time, full-year workers, ages thirty to fifty-nine, who were born in the U.S. The analysis by race/ethnicity is restricted to those jurisdictions with at least ninety workers in the analytical sample by state and race/ethnicity for each of the three analyzed education groups (high school graduates, workers with associate degrees, and workers with bachelor's degrees).

Appendix C: Geographical Areas in the ACS

Individuals are linked to metropolitan areas and nonmetropolitan areas based on geography defined by the U.S. Census Bureau. A metropolitan area consists of a core urban area of at least fifty thousand people and the surrounding counties that are economically integrated with the urban core based on commuting flows between places of work and residence. Counties that are not part of a metropolitan area are considered nonmetropolitan.

Individual-level data from the American Community Survey (ACS) do not precisely identify the substate location for some workers. The smallest identifiable geographic areas available in the ACS data are called Public Use Microdata Areas (PUMAs). PUMAs are required to have a population of at least one hundred thousand in order to help protect survey respondent confidentiality. PUMAs can be a single county, group of adjacent counties, or subcounty area. Most PUMAs can be perfectly assigned to an MSA or non-MSA, but not all PUMAs are wholly within a single MSA or non-MSA. Some PUMAs include both areas that belong to an MSA and nonmetropolitan areas. A few PUMAs include parts of two or more MSAs. These mixed PUMAs were constructed as such by the U.S. Census Bureau to achieve the population requirement of one hundred thousand.

Each PUMA is assigned to an MSA if the majority of the PUMA population is within that MSA. The remaining PUMAs are classified as non-MSA if they are wholly non-MSA. PUMAs that are partially within an MSA but have less than half of their population in a single MSA are excluded from the substate analysis. Large MSAs typically include multiple PUMAs, but smaller MSAs often consist of a single PUMA.