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# What Determines Americans' Income: An Intersectional Multivariate Analysis of Americans' Income

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What Determines Americans' Income:  
An Intersectional Multivariate Analysis of Americans' Income

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Honors Program Capstone  
Sociology 4815  
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## **INTRODUCTION**

In a capitalistic society, Americans are socialized to value the earning of money more than anything. Americans are told that the best way to make this money is to go to college and further their education. Yet, millionaires such as Steve Jobs and Oprah Winfrey never bothered to earn a college degree. This begs one to question if education is the only factor in earning a sizable income. If not the only factor, is it the most important?

When addressing the question of if education is the only factor, the wage gap supplies a partial answer. We know that because the wage gap exists between those with the same level of education, there are other elements to consider when looking at income earnings. Social and income inequality go hand-in-hand as contemporary research has shown gender and race can influence one's salary as well. Although the wage gap is denied by some Americans, one cannot deny that prejudice is alive and well in the economy. This research seeks to answer the question: What contributes to an American's income? Does education level truly affect their income or are there more prominent factors?

## **LITERATURE REVIEW**

As the intersectional feminist movement has grown in recent years, the wage-gap has been a subject of controversy and research. Many researchers have looked into the cause of income. For instance, in one study, researchers (Gabriel and Schmitz, 2017) observed two general wage trends for white, black and Hispanic females, relative to white males using data from the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth (NLSY) over the period of 1990-2012. They excluded full-time military, self-employed, and those with missing information on relevant variables. The study investigated long-term trends in relative gender wage levels, and explored

whether the composition of the male-female wage gap changes over time as women gained labor market experience. Their analysis of NLSY data indicates that in the 1990s, female hourly earnings, relative to white males, declined for white, black, and Hispanic women. This trend reversed itself somewhat during the early 2000s. However, during the latter part of that decade female wage ratios remained relatively flat and then started to decline. This study found that, after the Great Recession of 2007-2009, the wage differential decreased.

A recent study, conducted by Chapman and Benis (2017), analyzed the intersectionality of gender, race, and region in the gender wage gap. They used data from the 2015 National Women's Law Center that quantifies the wage gap for each state for racial groups. They wanted to test three hypotheses: There is a significant difference in annual median wages between male and female full-time, full-year employees; there is a significant difference in the gender wage gaps between white, non-Hispanic, African-American, and Latinx groups and there is a significant effect of region on the gender wage gap for each group, even when controlling for demographic and economic factors.

They found a significant difference in men and women's median annual earnings for full-time, full year employees. They also show that the gender wage gap is not uniform across racial groupings, with the African-American and Latinx groups having significantly higher wage gaps than their white, non-Hispanic counterparts. Through a series of regression models, they also find the impact of geography even when controlling for economic and demographic differences.

A cross-sectional study (Nadler et al. 2016) was conducted using two United States national samples of full time private sector salary workers from 2002 and 2008 to examine the

effects of education level and gender on salary, job satisfaction, and work schedule autonomy. It was hypothesized that the differences between men and women on pay, job satisfaction, and work schedule autonomy would increase as education level increased. Through a series of ANOVA tests and a multiple regression model, they found that the gender pay gap persisted at higher levels of education across the two national samples. Although education level was related to increases in salaries, this was more of an advantage for men than for women. In both samples, gender wage disparity increased with educational attainment. While I don't look into all aspects of the aforementioned research such as region, job satisfaction, or trends over 20+ years, my approach to the determination of income includes aspects from all three of the aforementioned studies. I take into account subject's sex, race, and education, as well as their parents education.

### **HYPOTHESES**

I begin with six research hypotheses. Three of these describe the relationship between income level and demographics. There still exists a societal hierarchy that puts white, upper-class males on top. Because of this, I hypothesize that people at the top of this hierarchy, who are socially privileged, will earn more than those in a lower position. More specifically:

1. White people are more likely to earn more than non-white people;
2. Males have a higher income than females;
3. Upper class people are more likely to earn more than those in a lower class;

As stated in my introduction, Americans are taught that the best way to make more money is to go to college and further their education. Because of this, I am interested in the role education level of the respondent and their parents can play on income level. I hypothesize that:

4. People who have completed a higher educational degree will report earning more than those with a lower level of education.
5. The higher the respondent's father's degree, the more the respondent reports making;
6. The higher the respondent's mother's degree, the more the respondent reports making;

People with parents who have completed a college degree or higher tend to have the financial resources for themselves to be put through higher education as well. A respondent being born into a higher social class can also work positively in their favor, allowing them a greater chance of social mobility due to more financial resources such as a higher income.

## **METHODS**

To test my hypotheses, I use data from the General Social Survey (GSS). The GSS is a national representative survey that has been conducted regularly since 1972. Using a random sample of non-institutionalized Americans over the age of 17, face-to-face interviews are conducted and data is gathered. My data are a subset of the 2014 Survey, and include a total of 2,538 cases and 101 variables. Seven of these variables are included in this analysis; they are described below, with their labels in parentheses. All missing data (e.g., NAP, NA, DK) were excluded from the analysis.

The only dependent variable in this analysis measures the respondent's income (RINCOME06). It is measured in the Survey with over 25 income categories of various sizes that range from 1 = Less than \$1,000 to 25 = \$150,000 or over. I recoded this data as 1 = less than \$1,000 to \$49,999; 2 = \$50,000 to \$89,999; 3 = \$90,000 to \$150,000 or over. Three

independent variables were the respondent's highest degree earned (DEGREE), the highest degree of the respondent's mother (MADEG), and the highest degree of the respondent's father (PADEG). All three consisted of four categories, 1 = High School; 2 = Junior College; 3 = Bachelor; 4 = Graduate.

Three demographic variables were also analysed. The first was the respondent's sex (SEX): 1 = Male and 2 = Female. Race (RACE) was also used and recoded from the original three categories (1 = White; 2 = Black; 3 = Other) into just two: 1 = White and 2 = Non-white. The original "Other" category did not have enough respondents in it for meaningful analyses; in addition, "Other" is too vague as we cannot identify the racial background of the people within this category so it was treated as missing data. My final demographic variable was the respondent's social class (CLASS). Respondents reported their social class according to one of four categories: 1 = Lower class; 2 = Working class; 3 = Middle class; 4 = Upper class.

## **ANALYSIS**

### *Univariate Results*

Tables 1 through 7 present summary statistics for each of the seven variables included in the analysis.<sup>1</sup> We can see from the table that most (66.1%) of respondents reported earning between under \$1,000 to \$49,999 while only 11.1% of respondents reported earning \$90,000 to \$150,000 or over. Less than \$1,000 to \$49,999 was the mean, modal and median response. Interestingly, over half (57.5%) of the sample's highest degree earned was only a highschool degree, which was the median and modal response, however the mean response was 1.8. Of the sample population, the respondent's father's highest earned degree was also a high school

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<sup>1</sup> Please see Appendix A for each table as well as graphical presentations of each variable's distribution.

diploma (64.2%) and, not surprisingly, the respondent's mother's highest earned degree was a high school diploma as well (70%). However, 19% of father's earned a bachelors, while only 13.8% of mother's completed a bachelor degree. Both parents had high school as a modal and median response. Their means did differ, father's of the respondent's mean was 1.78 whereas the mothers of the respondent's was 1.59. Regarding demographic variables, the majority of the sample were composed of white people (83%), females (55%), and those in the working class (46.1%). The modal and median response was working class, while the mean of 2.38 was between working and middle class.

*Bivariate Results*

Because race and sex have only two categories each, I conducted two-tailed t-tests. The results are presented in Table 2 below.

Table 2. Means of Selected Independent Variables (two-tailed t-tests)

<b>Variables</b>	<b>Means</b>
<i>Race</i>	
White	1.50
Non-White	1.28
<i>Sex</i>	
Male	1.62
Female	1.28

Source: 2014 General Social Survey

Male respondents reported a mean income level of 1.62; among those who were female, it was 1.28, which indicates males make more money, on average (higher scores indicate higher incomes). The difference was statistically significant ( $t = 9.844, p = .000$ ). These results support my hypothesis regarding sex and income level. White respondents (1.50) reported slightly higher

incomes, on average, than non-white respondents (1.27). This difference was also statistically significant ( $t = 4.705, p = .000$ ), so my hypothesis is supported.

I examined the statistical significance of the relationships between income amount and the other four independent variables by using an analysis of variance (ANOVA), since each of these independents has more than two categories. Table 3 presents the results.

Table 3. Means of Selected Independent Variables (ANOVAs)

<b>Variables</b>	<b>Means</b>
<i>Class</i>	
Lower Class	1.02
Working Class	1.25
Middle Class	1.70
Upper Class	2.32
<i>Respondent's Degree</i>	
High School	1.28
Junior College	1.36
Bachelor	1.71
Graduate	1.98
<i>Mother of Respondent's Degree</i>	
High School	1.47
Junior College	1.40
Bachelor	1.55
Graduate	1.72
<i>Father of Respondent's Degree</i>	
High School	1.47
Junior College	1.42
Bachelor	1.63
Graduate	1.61

Source: 2014 General Social Survey

At least one of the means for subjective class identification is significantly different from the others ( $F = 100.769, p = .000$ ). Upper Class respondents reported higher incomes. The same is true of the respondent's highest degree earned ( $F = 78.178, p = .000$ ). Respondents with a

higher level of education themselves earn a higher income than those with a lower-level education. The higher the degree of the respondent's mother ( $F = 4.138$   $p = .006$ ), the higher their income. The same is true for those with fathers with a higher degree ( $F = 3.290$   $p = .020$ ). My four research hypotheses regarding these variables are supported.

Tables 4 and 5 present cross-tabulations of the respondent's sex and race with their self-reported income. Because each of these independent variables is nominal, the nominal measure of association was used. Cramer's V is the appropriate measure to use since the dependent variable has more than two categories, which prevents the use of phi.

Table 4. Cross-Tabulation of Income with Recoded Marital Status

	<b>Male</b>	<b>Female</b>
<b>Under \$1,000 to \$49,999</b>	55.3 (415)	76.6 (592)
<b>\$50,000 to \$89,999</b>	27.3 (205)	18.4 (142)
<b>\$90,000 to \$150,000 or over</b>	17.3 (130)	5.0 (39)
TOTAL	100.0 (750)	100.0 (773)

*Source:* 2014 General Social Survey

*Note:* Numbers in parentheses are frequencies.

More females (76.6%) earn under \$1,000 to \$49,999 than males (55.3%). However, about 12.3% more males earn \$90,000 to \$150,000 or over even with more females in the overall sample (see Table 4). Indicating that as income level gets higher, less females report making that high income level. The strength of the relationship between the two variables is roughly moderate, but statistically significant ( $V = .245$ ,  $p = .000$ ).

The relationship between recoded race and income is weaker but statistically significant at the .05 level ( $V = .128$ ,  $p = .000$ ). Although 77.8% of non-white respondents reported earning

under \$1,000 to \$49,999 and 62.5% of white respondents reported earning the same, more white respondents (24.6%) reported earning \$50,000 to \$89,000 than non-white respondents (16.9%). More white respondents reported earning \$90,000 to \$150,000 or over than non-white respondents (see Table 5).

Table 5. Cross-Tabulation of Income with Recoded Race

	<b>White</b>	<b>Non-White</b>
<b>Under \$1,000 to \$49,999</b>	62.5 (699)	77.8 (189)
<b>\$50,000 to \$89,999</b>	24.6 (275)	16.9 (41)
<b>\$90,000 to \$150,000 or over</b>	13.0 (145)	5.3 (13)
TOTAL	100.0 (1119)	100.0 (243)

*Source:* 2014 General Social Survey

*Note:* Numbers in parentheses are frequencies.

The other four independent variables are ordinal, so I was able to use gamma rather than Cramer's V to assess the magnitude of the relationships. The values of gamma reported for the four bivariate relationships described below in Tables 6 through 9 were all statistically significant. Table 6 depicts the relationship between the respondent's income and their subjective class. Some instances of how respondents classified themselves in terms of class did not necessarily line up with their income level. For instance, a quarter of respondents (25.6%) who classify themselves as Upper Class make under \$1,000 to \$49,999. A few respondents (4.1%) classify themselves as Working Class while their reported income is \$90,000 to \$150,000 or over. The value of gamma is .650 which suggests a fairly strong and positive relationship. This data is also statistically significant ( $p = .000$ ).

Table 6. Cross-Tabulation of Income with Respondent's Class

	<b>Lower Class</b>	<b>Working Class</b>	<b>Middle Class</b>	<b>Upper Class</b>
<b>Under \$1,000 to \$49,999</b>	98.6 (73)	79.3 (626)	47.6 (290)	25.6 (11)
<b>\$50,000 to \$89,999</b>	1.4 (1)	16.5 (130)	34.3 (209)	16.3 (7)
<b>\$90,000 to \$150,000 or over</b>	0.0 (0)	4.2 (33)	18.1 (110)	58.1 (25)
<b>TOTAL</b>	100 (74)	100 (789)	100 (609)	100 (43)

*Source:* 2014 General Social Survey

*Note:* Numbers in parentheses are frequencies.

Table 7 below presents the cross-tabulation of income with the respondent's highest degree earned. The table suggests a positive relationship between the two variables. The higher the respondent's degree earned the more money they make. The value of gamma is .525, suggesting the relationship is moderate in strength and it is also statistically significant ( $p = .000$ ). Those with high school diplomas as their highest degree earned (77.9%) make the least amount of money within the sample. Respondents with a graduate degree (30.3%) report earning the income of \$90,000 to \$150,000 or over which is more than respondents with a high school diploma (5.7%).

Table 7. Cross-Tabulation of Income with Respondent's Highest Earned Degree

	<b>High School</b>	<b>Junior College</b>	<b>Bachelor</b>	<b>Graduate</b>
<b>Under \$1,000 to \$49,999</b>	77.9 (590)	66.7 (90)	48.1 (152)	32.3 (64)
<b>\$50,000 to \$89,999</b>	16.4 (124)	26.7 (35)	33.2 (105)	37.4 (74)
<b>\$90,000 to \$150,000 or over</b>	5.7 (43)	4.6 (6)	18.7 (59)	30.3 (60)
<b>TOTAL</b>	100 (757)	100 (131)	100 (316)	100 (198)

*Source:* 2014 General Social Survey

*Note:* Numbers in parentheses are frequencies.

From Table 8, we can see that respondents with fathers with higher degrees earned

reported earning a higher income than those with fathers with lower degrees. Over half (65.6%) of the people with a father with a highest degree of a high school diploma achieved reported earning under \$1,000 to \$49,999; whereas less than a quarter (12.5%) of those same people report earning \$90,000 to \$150,000 or over. The value of gamma is .163, indicating a generally weak and positive relationship between the two variables. The relationship between these two variables is weaker than that between income and the respondent's highest earned degree. This relationship is also statistically significant ( $p = .003$ ) although slightly less significant than the findings of table 7.

Table 8. Cross-Tabulation of Income with Respondent's Father's Highest Earned Degree

	<b>High School</b>	<b>Junior College</b>	<b>Bachelor</b>	<b>Graduate</b>
<b>Under \$1,000 to \$49,999</b>	65.6 (356)	65.4 (34)	52.2 (94)	55.0 (60)
<b>\$50,000 to \$89,999</b>	22.1 (120)	26.9 (14)	32.8 (59)	28.4 (31)
<b>\$90,000 to \$150,000 or over</b>	12.3 (67)	7.7 (4)	15.0 (27)	16.5 (18)
TOTAL	100 (543)	100 (52)	100 (180)	100 (109)

*Source:* 2014 General Social Survey

*Note:* Numbers in parentheses are frequencies.

Table 9 below presents the cross-tabulation of income with the respondent's mother's highest degree earned. Interestingly enough, the data shown here overall is within 6% similarity to the data presented in Table 8. Almost half (49.5%) of respondents whose mother's highest earned degree is a graduate degree, reported earning under \$1,000 to \$49,999; less than a quarter (21.1%) of those same people reported earning \$90,000 to \$150,000 or over. The value of gamma is .127 which indicates that this is a weak, positive relationship. Like respondent's father's highest earned degree, the data for the respondent's mother is also statistically significant ( $p = .016$ ) but it is less significant than both the respondent's highest earned degree

and the respondent's father's highest earned degree.

Table 9. Cross-Tabulation of Income with Respondent's Mother's Highest Earned Degree

	<b>High School</b>	<b>Junior College</b>	<b>Bachelor</b>	<b>Graduate</b>
<b>Under \$1,000 to \$49,999</b>	65.0 (485)	68.7 (68)	58.8 (104)	49.5 (47)
<b>\$50,000 to \$89,999</b>	22.7 (169)	22.2 (22)	27.7 (49)	29.5 (28)
<b>\$90,000 to \$150,000 or over</b>	12.3 (92)	9.1 (9)	13.6 (24)	21.1 (20)
<b>TOTAL</b>	100 (746)	100 (99)	100 (177)	100 (95)

*Source:* 2014 General Social Survey

*Note:* Numbers in parentheses are frequencies.

*Multivariate Results*

While bivariate analyses allows us to compare two variables, it can be limiting in that any of these relationships may be impacted by other variables. For example, the relationship between income and sex may actually be caused by a third and fourth variable—the respondent's race and their highest earned degree. A common statistic used to describe the gender wage gap is that white women working full time in the United States are typically paid just 79 percent of what white men are paid, a gap of 21 percent. Meanwhile, among full-time workers, women or color had lower median annual earnings compared to white women. However, these studies tend to focus solely on race, gender, and income but what if some subjects have lower education levels than others? The higher one's degree level, the more they can make. To see how multiple variables can affect what we're measuring, we can simultaneously examine the relationships between each of our independent variables and the dependent by using multiple regression analysis.

Table 10. Unstandardized and Standardized Multiple Regression Coefficients Variables

<b>Variables</b>	<b>Coefficients</b>	<b>Beta</b>	<b>T Statistics</b>
Sex	-.346 (.048)	-.237	-7.202*
Class	.359 (.048)	.302	8.099*
Respondent's Highest Earned Degree	.168 (.023)	.275	7.354*
Respondent's Mother's Highest Earned Degree	-.031 (.025)	-.045	-1.213
Respondent's Father's Highest Earned Degree	-.046 (.024)	-.072	-1.913
Race	.040 (.078)	.017	.513
<i>Constant</i>	.883 (.158)	--	5.605*

*Source:* 2014 General Social Survey

*Note:* Numbers in parentheses are standard errors.

\*  $p < .001$

I entered all six independent variables into an ordinary least squares (OLS) regression model. The model was statistically significant at the .001 level ( $F = 42.70$ ,  $p = .000$ ). Taken together, the six independent variables explain 27% ( $R^2 = .270$ ) of the variation in income; 73% of the variation is left unexplained by this model. The constant, the coefficients, and beta-weights for each variable are presented in Table 10 above.

Each coefficient tells us the change in income for a one-unit change in that particular independent variable, holding the other independent variables constant. Sex, self-reported class, and the respondent's highest earned degree are significantly related to income level and were all statistically significant ( $p = .000$ ). As a reminder, the higher values of the dependent variable

indicate higher levels of income. As we move from one category of sex to the next—from male to female respondents—the income variable decreases in value by .346 holding the other independent variables constant. This tells us that females earn a lower income than males. Moving from one category of class to the next (i.e., from lower to working to middle to upper class), the value of the dependent variable increases; the coefficient is .346, holding the other independent variables constant, therefore people in higher self-reported classes earn higher incomes. As the respondent's highest earned degree increased (i.e., from high school diploma to junior college to bachelor degree to graduate degree) the dependent variable increased in value by .168 holding the other independent variables constant. Therefore, the higher the degree the respondent achieves, the more they report getting paid.

The respondent's mother's as well as their father's highest earned degree were measured in the same categories as the respondent's highest earned degree (i.e., from high school diploma to junior college to bachelor degree to graduate degree). As the respondent's mother's highest earned degree value increased, the dependent variable decreased in value by .031 holding the other independent variables constant ( $p = .225$ ). As the respondent's father's highest earned degree value increased, the dependent variable decreased in value by .046 holding the other independent variables constant ( $p = .056$ ). The higher the respondent's parent's degree, the lower their income level. When we move from one category of race to the next—from white to nonwhite— income level increased in value by .040 holding the other independent variables constant ( $p = .608$ ), meaning that non-white respondents reported higher levels of income than white respondents. These three independent variables, (respondent's father's highest earned degree, respondent's mother's highest earned degree, and race) were not statistically significant

although the respondent's mother's highest degree earned and race were much less significant than the respondent's father's highest degree earned. Because these three variables were not significantly significant, they happened by chance.

The beta-weights indicate that the variables with the strongest impact on income, beginning with the most important, were the respondent's subjective class, their highest earned degree, and their sex. Not surprisingly, these three variables were also statistically significant. The respondent's father's highest earned degree was the next strongest, followed by the respondent's mother's highest earned degree, and the respondent's race. As mentioned before, none of these three were statistically significant.

## **DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION**

Each of my six research hypotheses was supported by the bivariate analyses and statistically significant. The results of the multiple regression demonstrate that while some of the six variables had more of an impact than others, the overall variables did have a substantive effect on income. Taken together, they accounted for exactly 27% of the variation in income level. It is likely that the remaining 73% is largely composed of other variables not included in this research.

While class was the variable with the strongest impact, researchers may consider looking into the respondent's family income when the respondent was sixteen years old (INCOM16). People are typically born into a social class and their parent's social class determines their social mobility. Therefore, what determines a person's opportunities in adulthood are based on their family's social class and income during their childhood. By factoring in the respondent's family income when they were sixteen, researchers may have a better understanding of why respondents

earn what they do. Perhaps their family was too not financially fortunate, allowing the respondent to only attend public schooling through high school. This may cause the respondent to have a low economic capital in adulthood.

Regarding race, sociologists have conducted a plethora of research regarding racism that have proven it's still alive in the United States so when my multiple regression model showed it as the weakest impact on income, I was surprised. Looking at the data, "race" was considered "white" or "non-white" which doesn't really define different races well enough. To explore race's impact further and more accurately, future researchers may consider using the respondent's skin color (COLOR) as a factor. Physical appearances are crucial for first impressions because while people don't tend to flat out as a person's race upon meeting, they do make inferences based on skin color. While someone may be white-passing in skin tone, they may be of a race not considered "white".

Two new variables to consider may be if the respondent was born in this country (BORN) and/or if the respondent is a citizen of the United States (CITIZEN). The American Dream has been sought after for centuries but it may be slowly becoming less attainable.. If the respondent was not born in the United States and immigrated, they may have a language barrier or a cultural barrier that hinders them from integrating into the culture which can make it hard to work. If the respondent is not a citizen of the United States, legally the respondent needs to obtain additional documentation to be able to work which isn't always easy or realistic for the respondent to do. The current study represents a first effort at this investigation but more variables may be at play when it comes to income.

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APPENDIX A

Table and Graphical Presentations of Univariate Analyses

Figure A1. Respondent's Class

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Lower Class	228	9.1
Working Class	1160	46.1
Middle Class	1065	42.3
Upper Class	66	2.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>2519</b>	<b>100.00</b>

Figure A2. Respondent's Highest Earned Degree

	Frequency	Valid Percent
High School	1269	57.5
Junior College	186	8.4
Bachelor	472	21.4
Graduate	281	12.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>2208</b>	<b>100.00</b>

Figure A3. Respondent's Mother's Highest Earned Degree

	Frequency	Valid Percent
High School	1160	70.0
Junior College	139	8.4
Bachelor	228	13.8
Graduate	131	7.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>1658</b>	<b>100.00</b>

Figure A4. Responder's Father's Highest Earned Degree

	Frequency	Valid Percent
High School	852	64.2
Junior College	66	5.0
Bachelor	252	19.0
Graduate	157	11.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>1327</b>	<b>100.00</b>

Figure A5. Respondent's Income

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Under \$1,000 to \$49,999	1007	66.1
\$50,000 to \$89,999	347	22.8
\$90,000 to \$150,000 or over	169	11.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>1523</b>	<b>100.00</b>

Figure A6. Respondent's Race

	Frequency	Valid Percent
White	1890	83.0
Non-White	386	17.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>2276</b>	<b>100.00</b>

Figure A7. Respondent's Sex

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Male	1141	45.0
Female	1397	55.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>2538</b>	<b>100.00</b>

Figure A8: Respondent's Class

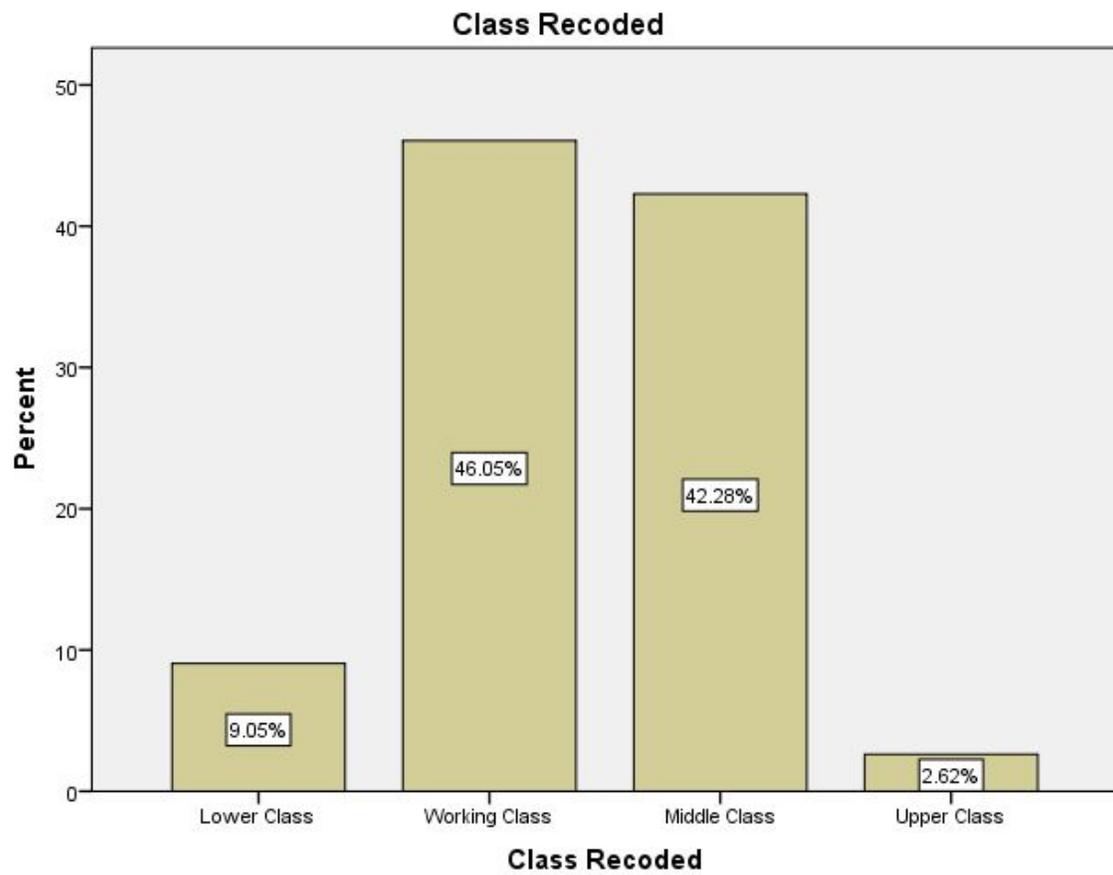


Figure A9. Respondent's Highest Earned Degree

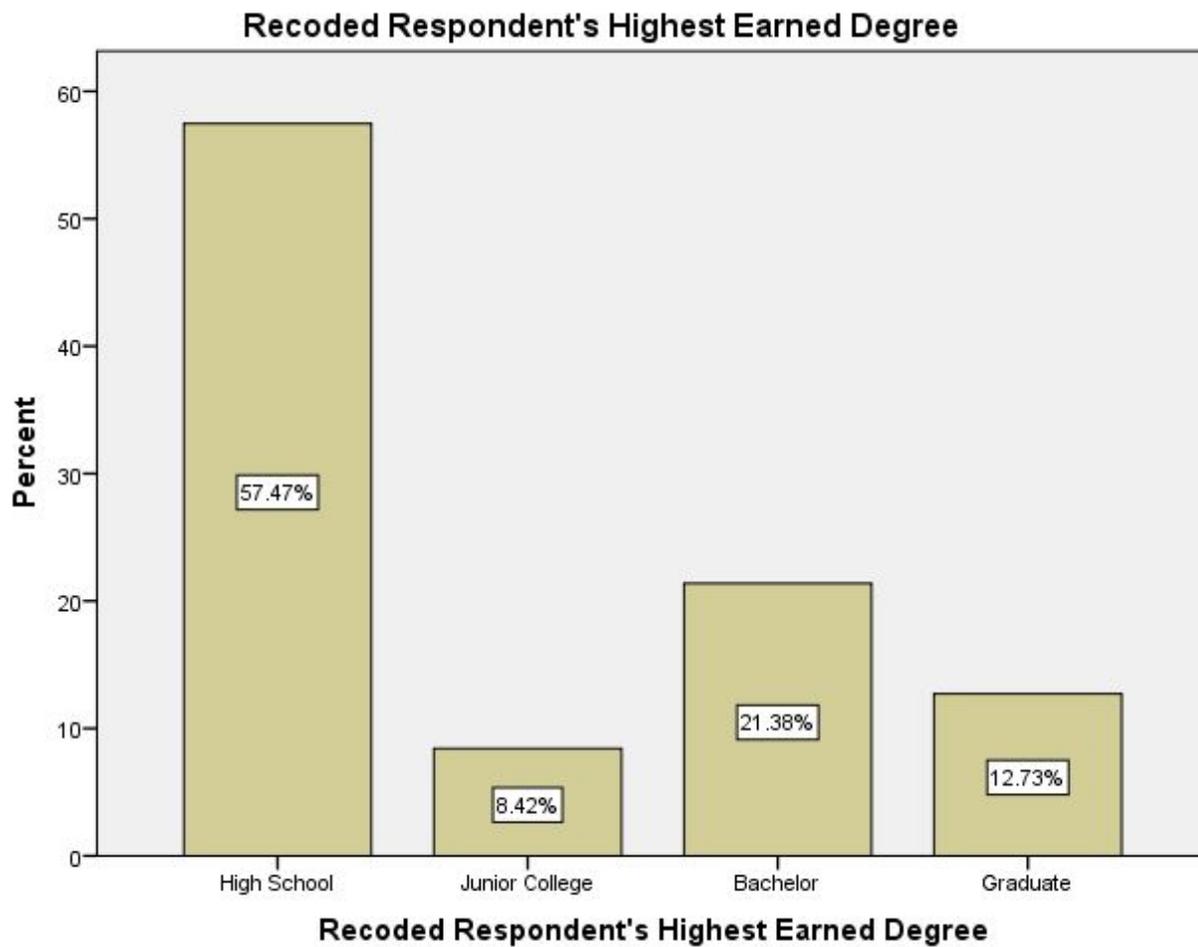


Figure A10. Respondent's Mother's Highest Earned Degree

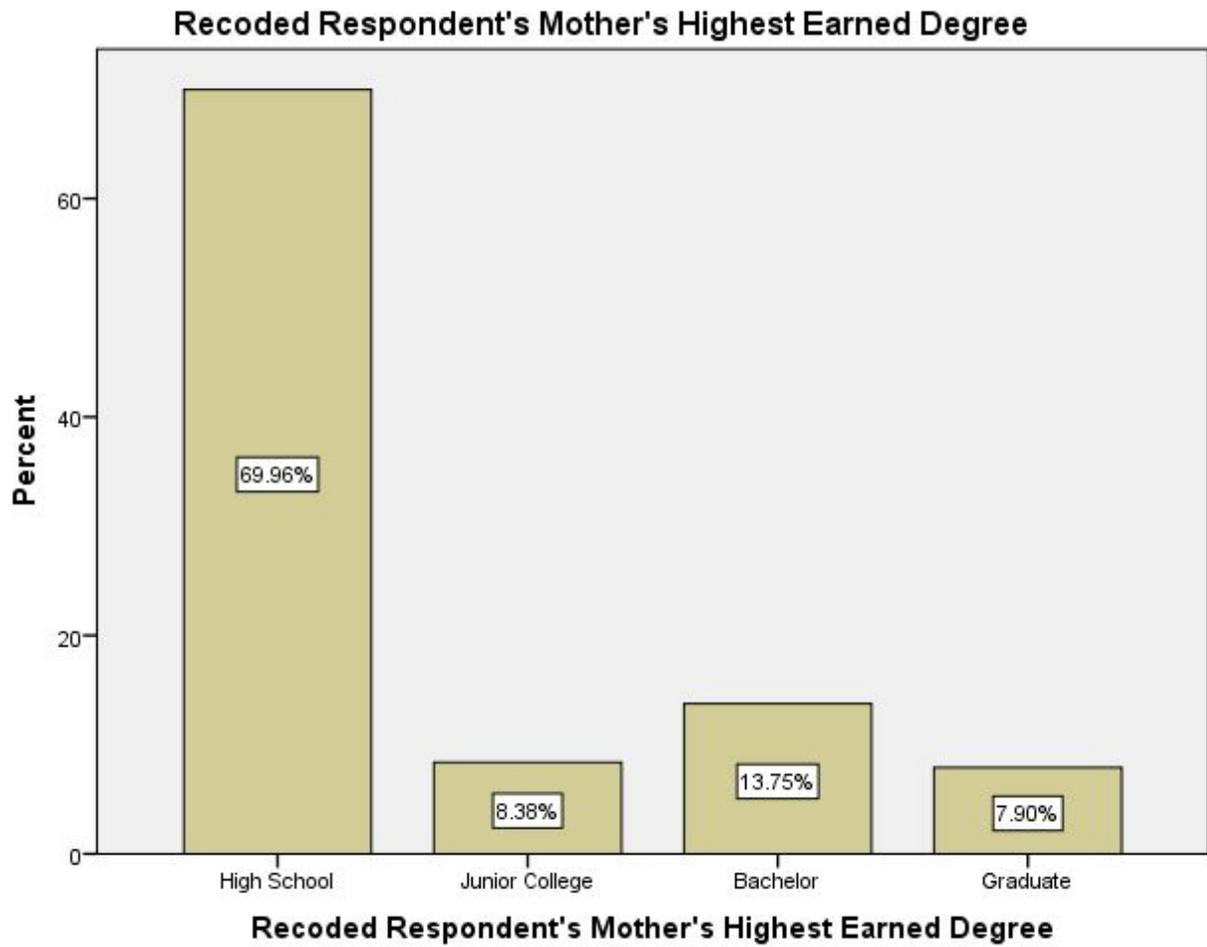


Figure A11. Respondent's Father's Highest Earned Degree

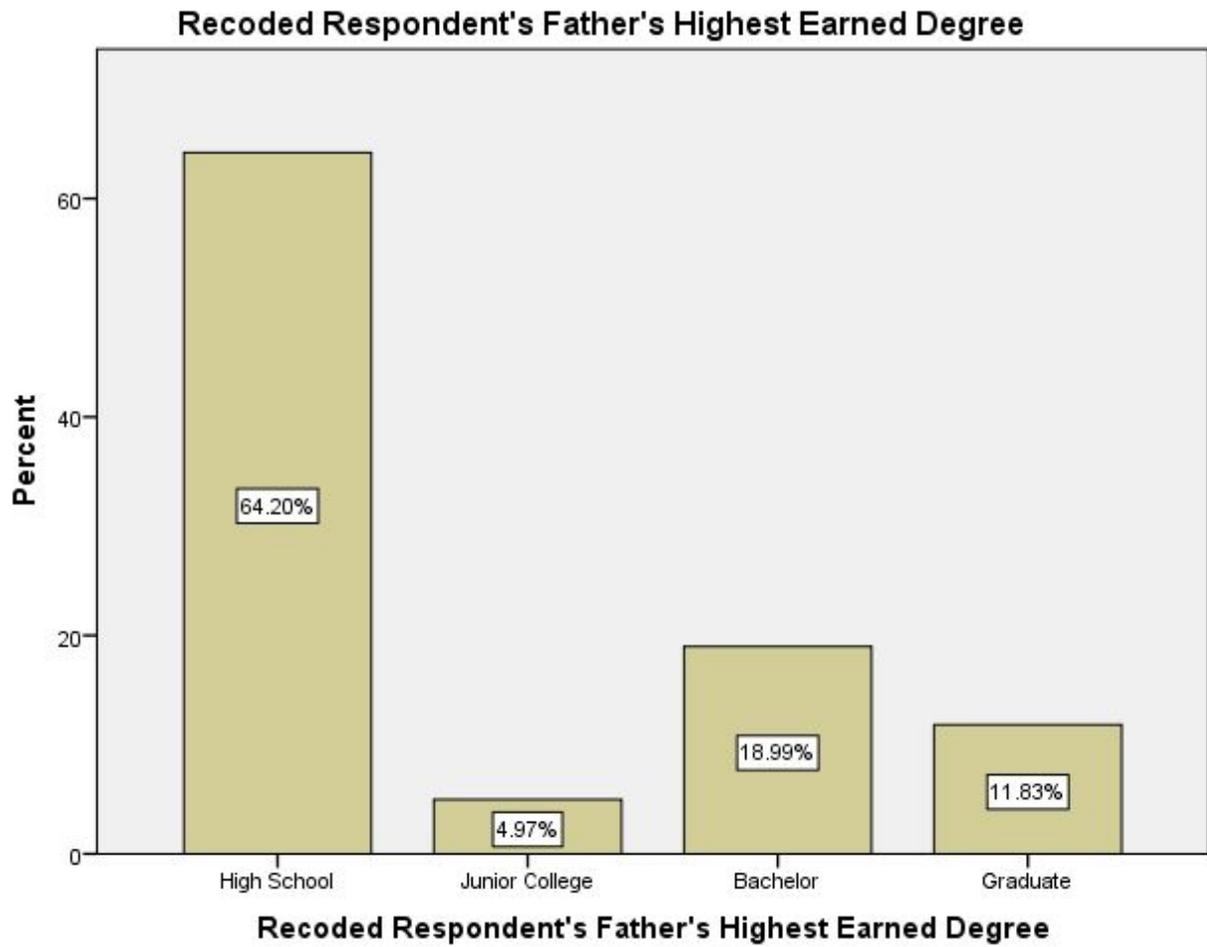


Figure A12. Respondent's Income

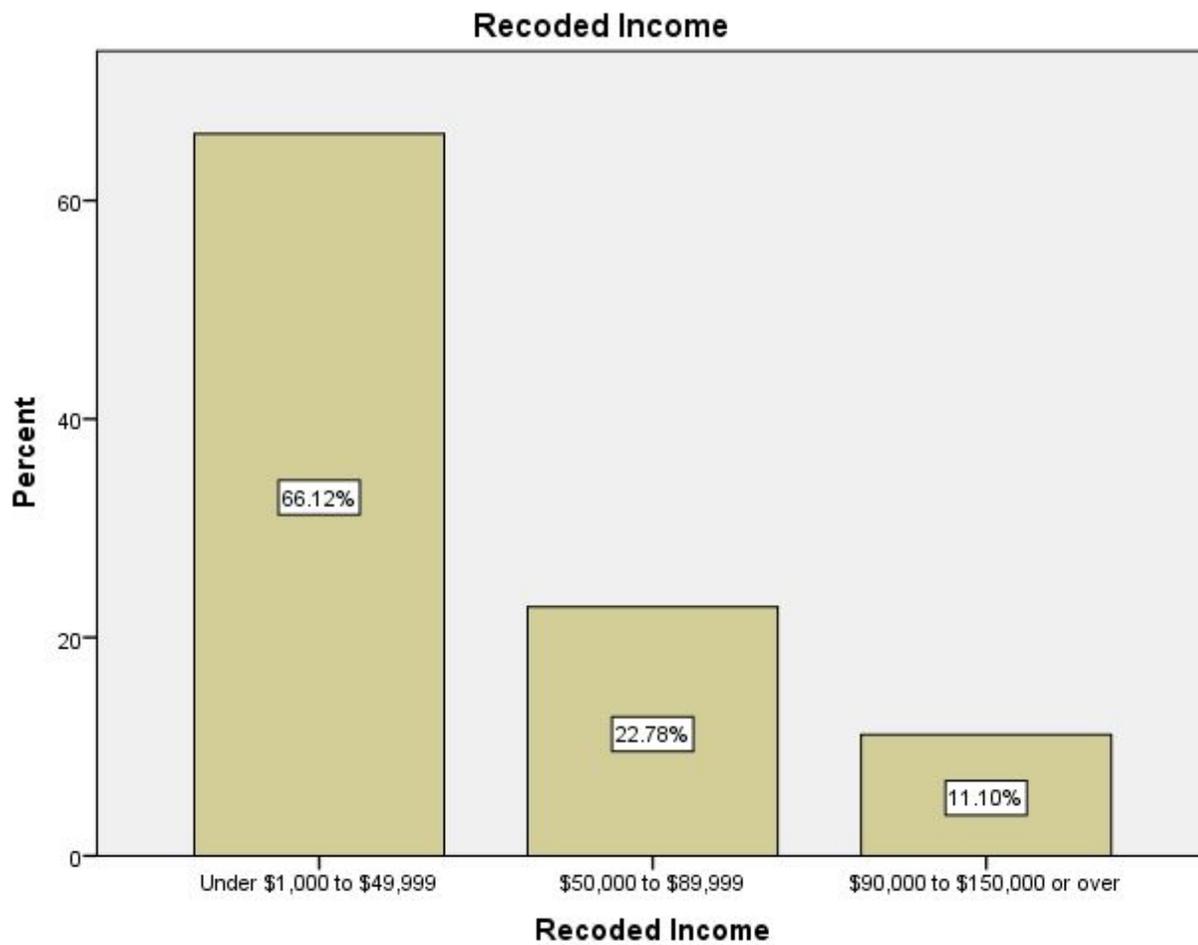


Figure A13. Respondent's Race

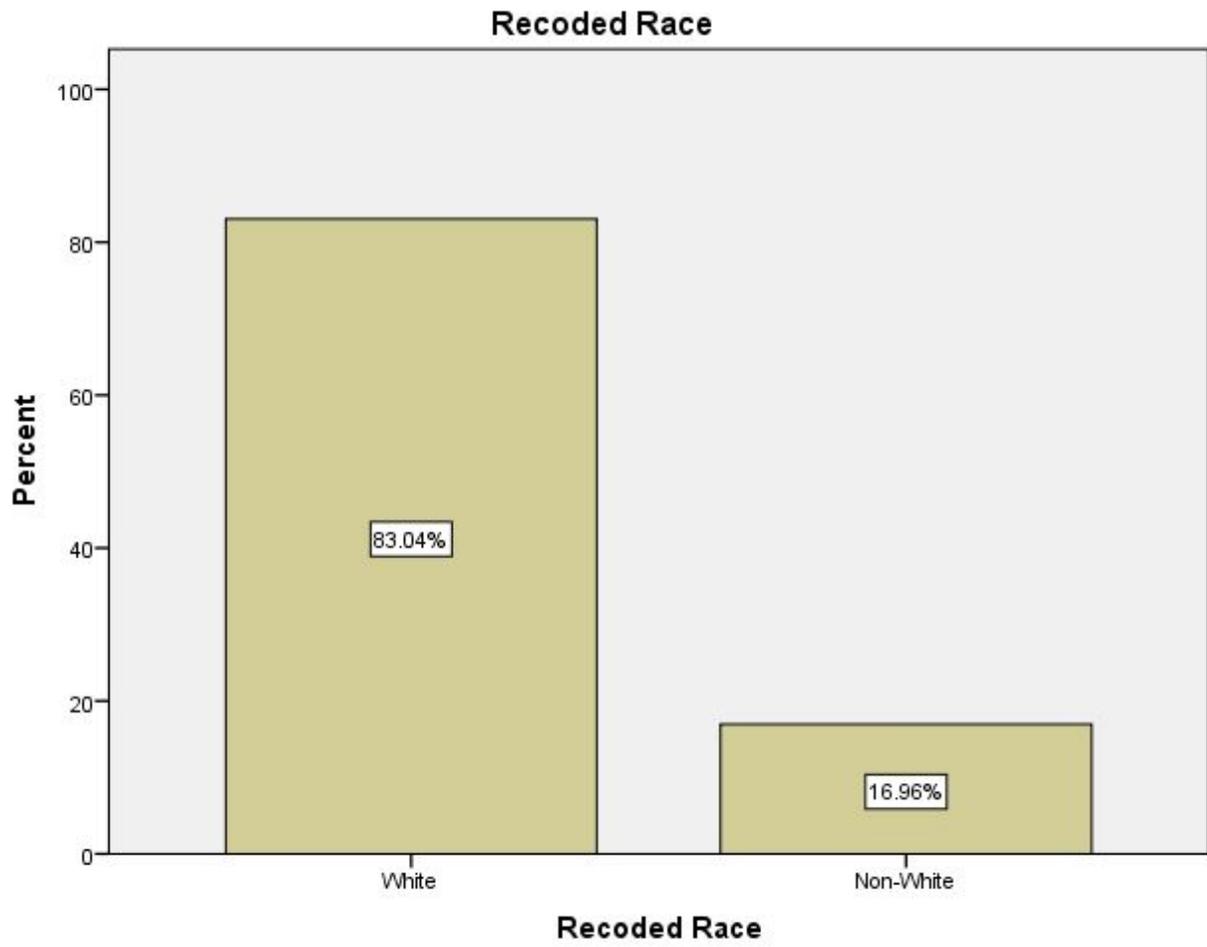


Figure A14. Sex of 2014 General Social Survey Respondents

