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I Have My Degree, Now I Want a Ring: The Link Between Educational Attainment and a Happy Marriage

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ABSTRACT

The research reported here used measures of educational attainment and happiness of marriage to assess how happy college educated women are in their marriages relative to their non college educated counterparts. A regression analysis of data from the 2018 General Social Survey American indicated that there is no link between marital happiness and degree attained based on gender. The greatest indicated likelihood of being in a happy marriage of the highest quality is among those who are white identifying people, net of the estimated effects of time since first marriage and several variables that might commonly affect marital happiness such as sex, age and race. The non-significant relationship between the degree variable and happiness of marriage can be due to many factors but it would be premature to conclude that there is absolutely not relationship between degree and happiness of marriage, especially given the existing scholarship. However, the findings do suggest that white people are more likely to say they are very happy in their marriages, pursue and attain a college education, and are older compared to their counterparts. These results are very telling of one of many socially constructed institutions that benefits white individuals and provides more advantages that increase the chances of marital success and happiness.

Is what people say true? Happy wife happy life? The societal expectation of marriage is something most people are faced with in their lifetime as it is a traditional ideal that is learned from observation, stories, the media and religion. However, researchers note that in recent years there has been a shift in marriage and family life along educational lines for men and women. College educated adults are more likely to get married than their non-college educated peers (Wang 2015). Historically, women with more education have been the less likely to marry and have children, but this marriage gap has worn down as the returns to marriage have changed. Marriage and remarriage rates have risen for women with college degrees compared to women with fewer years of education. However, the patterns of, and reasons for, entering a marriage have changed. Often, marriages were formed as economic arrangements in order to secure a more favorable position for one's self or one's family. Modern times have allowed these concepts to change and evolve. Women no longer have to depend on their husbands for financial, social or political security. As a result, college educated women marry later, are less likely to view marriage as "financial security" because they themselves are financially well off, and are not only the least likely to divorce, and have had the biggest decrease in divorce since the 1970s compared to women without college degrees (Isen and Stevenson 2008).

The social institution of marriage and family are constantly changing. In the last few decades, marriage and divorce rates have risen and subsequently fallen, and this fluctuation that has occurred is in part due to the social, economic and political changes that have impacted the reasons for individuals to form and invest in marriages and families. These changes have impacted the behavior of individuals of different educational backgrounds. It is important to recognize that there are gains from forming a family and that is one of the reasons individuals chose to get married. Gary Becker's economic theory of families based on "production

complementarities," in which husband and wife both are active in the labor market and domestic responsibilities, are more productive together than apart. Becker emphasized that families are production units that produce both goods in the household and in the marketplace. By having one person focus on domestic responsibilities while the other supports the spouse and children financially, couples are more efficient than singles (Isen and Stevenson 2008). In addition, because college educated individuals tend to have higher incomes and as a result of the union of marriage, it becomes one income in the household, there are more financial benefits. Lastly, as times progress, social norms change, and more individuals gain the right to marry, studying marriage is crucial to sociology because marriage is linked to other institutions such as economics, religion and family.

All in all, these changes in family life offer increased benefits from marriage that impact not only who gets married but the type of matches that form because most college educated individuals desire to marry someone similar to them according to the theory of positive assortative mating. This will in turn lead to higher marriage satisfactions for individuals. Thus, I hypothesize, women with college degrees are more likely to be in happy marriages compared to women without college degrees.

LITERATURE REVIEW

This research investigates the connections between educational attainment and a happy marriage. To understand recent relevant scholarship and the research presented in this study, I will begin with an overview of how the social construction of marriage is heavily embedded in societies and economic relationships. Then, I will describe how social exchange theory explains the productivity and rewards of marriage . Following this, I will explain the gendered norms that

plague society when it comes to women being single. Finally, I will close with explaining the importance of women's independence when they are engaging in a matrimony.

Social Construction of Marriage

The universality of marriage does not mean that everyone in a given society gets married, but it does mean there is a long-standing history of the foundation of marriage in societies. Many social scholars describe marriage as one of the universal social institutions (Sharp and Ganong 2011; Sharp and Ganong 2007; Wilcox and Dew 2010; Amato et al. 2007; Nock 1998). In addition to the social construction of marriage, there are assumptions about the union of marriage that lead to a widespread belief that those who are married are happier and lead more fulfilling lives. Furthermore, because marriage is foundational for many aspects of society and for establishing a legitimate family, most people strive to get married and build families at one point in their lives because of this popular notion. When scholars posit that marriage is universal, they do not mean that marriage and family customs are the same in all societies. Its purposes, functions and forms may differ from society to society, but it is present everywhere as an institution supported by a set of beliefs, norms, social pressures and continues to be an ideal throughout American culture (Goldstein and Kenney 2001).

As shown, marriage is a crucial part of society but the process of getting to the altar is one that requires thinking prior to doing so. Scholars such as Goldstein and Kenney (2001) describe the economic theories that explain why people get married in the first place. Goldstein and Kenney (2001) say "Individuals would be more productive as joint economic unit …gains from marriage" (510). Money and the financial security marriage can provide often prompt people to enter a marriage either to gain more assets or protect the assets they already have. However, there is a gender component to this aspect of marriage because women who have secured economic

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independence prior to getting married often leads them to delay marriages and parenthood until later on in their lives (Goldstein and Kenney 2001). Furthermore, in the event that marriage occurs, the exchange that is happening when two people decide to get married whether that exchange is emotional, financial, etc. the stability of that union is positively attributed to the woman's educational attainment (Boertien and Härkönen 2018). In addition, women who are college educated marry later, are less likely to view marriage as "financial security" because they themselves are financially well off and are also the least likely to divorce (Isen and Stevenson 2008).

Social Exchange and Marriage Gains

Being financially well off is a good quality to have and also advantageous in the marriage market. However, there is a gendered difference between how financial stability is perceived between men and women. Women who have achieved economic independence and are career driven are perceived as less desirable partners for marriage while men do not experience discrimination or seem less desirable in the dating and/or marriage realm. Women who are career driven, and financially well off are thought to be less interested in fulfilling domestic duties and seem less attractive in the dating pool creating a double standard between men and women (Torr 2011; Goldstein and Kenney 2001). Furthermore, when getting married there is often an assumption, whether conscious or unconscious, that one partner, usually being the woman, will perform most if not all domestic duties including raising children if that is desired. This distribution of duties and assignment of roles then allows the other person in the union to provide economically for the couple outside of the physical household. As shown, there is a social exchange that takes place when getting married and often the benefits of that exchange are what keep people in their marriages (Schoen et al. 2002). Furthermore, the concept of utility

maximization explains that individuals seek to get the highest satisfaction from their economic decisions and as illustrated by Goldstein & Kenney (2001) having joint economic profits are extremely beneficial for marriage unions (Schoen et al. 2002). In addition, because marriage legitimizes the formation of a new family, Gary Becker's economic theory of families (1981) argues that individuals who are married and have children are more productive in the household as a unit than single people (Isen and Stevenson 2008). They are also more productive in the labor market because often both parties work and take care of the household. Further, people that are higher income earners and who are also college educated are more likely to get married, stay married, and raise children in a marriage in part because of the financial implications (Ellwood and Jenks 2004; Goldstein and Kenney 2001; Martin 2006; Musick et al. 2011; Raley and Bumpass 2003). Scholars who proposed gendered theories of marital dissolution also suggest that divorce rates are at their lowest and continue to decline among women who completed their college degrees after their first marriage (Martin 2006). Because college educated individuals tend to be a better match, according to the theory of positive assortative mating, they have greater expectations for their marriages that include longevity of the marriage and also happiness of marriage. Not to mention, because college educated individuals tend to be higher income earners, the structure of marriage gives them plenty of advantages that increases the odds that they will have successful marriages which can also influence how happy they are in their marriages.

Singlism

Financial security and protecting assets might lead many individuals down the aisle but there are social pressures and stigmatization that happens in society that plays a role in individuals'

decision to get married and form families. Many scholars cite the theory of "singlism" as societies views and mistreatment of people, specifically women, who are single compared to women who are not single (DePaulo and Morris 2005; Sharp and Ganong 2011; Simpson 2015). Women often face stronger pressures and discrimination for being single and not baring children after a certain age. Their status as singles leads singles to be stereotyped as inferior compared to adults in relationships or married adults. Gendered negative stereotypes can be stronger for women than for men and are more gravely affected as they experience struggles to accept their social identity as single people (Simpson 2015). In addition to struggling to accept single identity, women also experience social pressures to want to get married and have children because gender norms posit that women should want to get married and bare children at some point in their lives. These social pressures can negatively impact the happiness that women experience in their marriages because they might feel forced or trapped to remain in a marriage and put up a façade of living the ideal life of a wife and a mother which can be far from what the reality actually is for them. However, because of political, social and economic changes women nowadays have more opportunities to choose to be more than housewives and mothers.

Women's Independence and Marriage Prospects

Many women now have the luxury to design their lives whether that includes a career, school while choosing to put off motherhood or not have children at all. Women have gained more independence and access to things that they did not have access to in previous decades such as the ability to own a bank account Nowadays, women's financial stability and educational attainment are a prerequisite for marriage and are understood to be just as important as men's financial contributions in a union (Cherlin 2009; Gibson-Davis 2009). The importance of women being

financial stable and independent shows a shift in the marriage and family institution. Men who had good monetary values and assets would translate into good marriage prospects but women who were college educated had lower changes of marriage (Goldin 2004). In recent years however, higher years of schooling meant higher probability of marriage for women (Musick et al. 2011). Furthermore, many studies indicate the percentage of men and women reporting being "very happy" in their marriage is lowest where neither has completed a four-year college degree. Isen and Stevenson (2008) said the data indicate that modern college-educated women are more likely than other groups of women to be married at age 40, are less likely to divorce, and are more likely to describe their marriages as "happy" (no matter what their income is) compared to other groups of women.

Although studies show that college educated women are less likely to divorce and are more likely to be happily married, the commonly posited "women's independence" has an effect on the exchange and bargaining that women do in marriages. The partner who has more resources, such as income from employment, is better equipped to bargain and exchange for what they want when troubles arise in the marriage which leads to greater marital satisfaction (Cohen et al. 2001; Bittman et al, 2003; Schoen et al. 2002). When women are financially stable and are able to take care of themselves and their children, if they have any, allows for them to be able to exit the marriage without fear of economic consequences. Even though women's employment has been substantially increasing and women have access to so many resources, this theory of exchange and bargaining has to be gendered because women often experience more difficulty bargaining in their marriage than men (Risman 1998). This is in part due to the fact that men were less likely to want to compromise to perform household chores because they perceive that as "women's duties" to take care of the home. This may have changed over time as women have also been becoming

providers, and heads of households possibly leading to higher marriage satisfaction and longer marriages overall.

All in all, the reasons that people initially get married and the reasons why people stay married or are happy in their marriages may be very different. This current study aims to examine the likelihood that college educated women end up in happy marriages compared to non-college educated women while taking into consideration the different factors that influence the prospects of marriage and marital satisfaction such as age, race, and sex.

RESEARCH METHODS

Data and Sample

Data from this study are drawn from the 2018 General Social Survey (Smith et al. 2018). For further information on how the data were collected, see http://gss.norc.org/ where all the necessary information is available. Beginning in 2006, the GSS began collecting English and Spanish interviews, all with a median length of about one and a half hours conducted with a target population of noninstitutionalized adults living in households across the United States who speak English or Spanish. This led to a total sample size in 2018 of *N = 4323* with a response rate of 59.5% (percent). The unit of analysis for this data set is individuals with participating respondents being randomly chosen in a sample from a mix of urban, suburban, and rural areas. Furthermore, the data is subsetted to only look at currently married people who have never been divorced before because to study the happiness of marriage of respondent's as people who have never been married, or are divorced or widowed do not contribute to the data. To create this subset, I used the MARITAL variable which asks respondents: Are you currently--married, widowed, divorced, separated, or have you never been married? The coding schemes assigned to each response is as follows: 1= married, 2=widowed, 3=divorced, 4=separated, 5=never married,

9=no answer. I proceeded to select listwise cases using in which only people who are currently married would be the whole sample then deleting respondents who are divorced, never married, widowed, separated or gave no answer After subsetting the data to only look at married people, I had a sample size of *N = 988.* As shown, the new sample size is much smaller than the original population because most respondents of the survey are not currently married.

Independent Variable

Using the data from the 2006 General Social Survey, this paper will examine the effect that educational attainment has on marital happiness for college educated individuals. This concept will be operationalized using the independent variable, degree, indicating highest level of education completed. The content of the question for the variable DEGREE is as follows: RESPONDENT'S DEGREE. The values assigned are as follows: 0= Less than high school, 1= High school, 2= junior college, 3= bachelor, 4=graduate, 8= don't know, 9= no answer. There were zero missing cases in this variable so there was no need to perform a listwise deletion with an of *N=998.*

Dependent Variable

Marital happiness is measured by the happiness of marriage variable, HAPMAR, which states as follows: Would you say that your marriage is very happy, pretty happy, or not too happy? The coding scheme for responses are as follows: 1= Very happy, 2= Pretty happy, 3= Not too happy, 8= Don't know, 9=No answer, and 0=Not applicable. After performing a listwise deletion of cases the sample size for the HAPMAR variable decreased from *N=998* to *N=988.* For the purposes of this project, a scale depicting happiness is needed to measure respondents'

level of happiness in their marriages so I reverse coded the HAPMAR variable in which case the new values and labels are as follows: 1= Not too happy, 2= Pretty happy, 3= Very Happy. In this case, the lowest value of 1 shows low levels if happiness in the marriage and the highest level 3 depicts higher levels of happiness in the marriage.

Control Variables

For the purpose of this study, it is necessary to control for race, age, and sex. Studies show that patterns of marriage and the differences in educational attainment differ significantly by race and ethnicity (Wang, 2015). Questions associated with the race variable are as follows: What race do you consider yourself? The codes assigned to each response is as follows: 1= White, 2= Black, and 3= Other. Because race is a nominal variable, I had to dummy it so that one value equals 0 and one value equals 1. I decided to recode race into "white" in which 1 were respondents who identified as white and 0 was respondents s who identified as Black or Other (nonwhite). This allows to look at one group of people more closely and make comparisons between racial groups.

For the second control variable, age, the question associated with the variable states: RESPONDENT'S AGE with the codes ranging from 18 years old to 88, with 89= 89 years or older, 98= Don't know and 99= No answer. According to many scholars, there seems to be a relationship between the age women get married and their educational attainment. There were zero missing cases of this variable, so there was no need to perform listwise deletion.

For the last control variable, sex, the question associated with the variable states: RESPONDENTS SEX with codes 1=Male and 2=Female. Because sex is a nominal variable, I had to dummy it so that one value equals 0 and one value equals 1. I decided to recode sex into

"woman" in which 0= men and 1= women because I wanted to closely look at how being a woman impacts educational attainment and happiness of marriage.

FINDINGS

Univariate Results

Table 1 portrays the means, medians, and standard deviations of the independent, dependent and control variables. According to table 1, the average respondent's degree was between 1 and 2 with a mean of 1.89. This means that the average respondent completed a high school degree. As seen in figure 1, the distribution of respondent's degree shows that 50% of respondents completed their high school diploma with 20% completing their bachelor's degree. In addition, table 1 also depicts that the average respondents reported being between 2 and 3 with a mean of 2.61. This means that the average person feels "pretty happy" in their marriage being closer to "very happy". The standard deviation of .054 is less than one meaning that most respondents were closer to the mean of 2.61 which falls at most respondents being "pretty happy" and close to "very happy" in their marriages. As seen in figure 2, more than 60% of respondents reported being "very happy" in their marriages with 33% reporting that they are "pretty happy" in their marriages.

[Insert Table 1 about here]

[Insert Figure 1 about here]

[Insert Figure 2 about here]

Figure 3 shows the distribution of the age of respondents which shows that 40% of respondents fall in the age of 34 years old with only 18% falling between the ages of 18 and 21 and 87 and 88 years old. In table 1, the average age of respondents was 50.42 years old with a

standard deviation of 15.51 years meaning that most respondents fall between the ages of 35 and 65 years old. Figure 4 shows the distribution of white respondents with almost 80% of respondents identifying as white and over 20% identifying as non-white (Black or other). according to table 1, the mean of this distribution is 0.79 which means that most respondents were closer to 1 which equals white with a standard deviation of 0.41. Because the standard deviation is less than 1 that means that most respondents fall closer to the mean. In figure 5, the distribution of women identifying respondents is shown with 53% of people identifying as women and 47% of people identifying as men. In table 1, the mean of the distribution is 0.53 which means that there is more than 50% of people identifying as women with a standard deviation of 0.50 which is less than 1 which means that most people identify as women.

[Insert Figure 3 about here]

[Insert Figure 4 about here]

[Insert Figure 5 about here]

Bivariate Results

There were three statistically significant relationships between variables in this bivariate study (See Table 2). The relationship between being white and happiness is statistically significant with a very weak correlation of .117 which means that white people are happier in their marriages than non-white people. In addition, there is a statistically significant relationship between being white and the degree variable with a weak correlation of .109 which means that white people are more likely to complete higher degrees. Lastly, there is a statistically significant relationship between age and being white with a weak correlation of .110 which means that the older you are the more likely it is that you are white.

There were many non-significant relationships between variables in this current study (See Table 2). The relationship between the degree variable and the happiness of marriage variable is not statistically significant at the .05 level which means that people who complete higher levels of education and have more education are no more or less happy in their marriages. Similarly, there is no statistical significance between happiness of marriage and age which means there is no difference in marital happiness between younger and older people; There is no statistical significance between happiness of marriage and being a woman which means women are no more happy in their marriages than men; The relationship between age and degree is also not statistically significant which means older people are no more or less educated than younger people. The relationship between identifying as a woman and degree is not statistically significant which means that women are no more or less educated than men.

Multivariate Results

A regression model was ran to further examine the relationship between degree and happiness of marriage variables. As shown in Table 3, 1.6% of the variance in happiness of marriage variable can be explained by degree variable (R^2=.016). Furthermore, the *F* test for this regression model was statistically significant at the .05 level which means that the model is significantly different than the y-intercept only model.

[Insert Table 3 about here]

Table 3 also shows that this regression model only yielded one significant variable which was the white recoded variable. The unstandardized coefficient of the white variable has a value of .150 which means white respondents are .15 happier in their marriages on a three-point scale than non-white respondents. On a supplemental analysis, I ran the regression model separately

for men and women to differentiate possible differences in the effect of education on marital happiness between the genders. I found that there are no major differences in happiness of marriage between men and women.

According to the regression coefficients, neither of the primary independent variables were of statistical significance at the .05 level. Because these results were not statistically significant, I cannot say with confidence that sex and education level have an effect on marital happiness.

DISCUSSION

Given the context of the current literature, it is very surprising that there is no statistically significant relationship between educational attainment and happiness of marriage. Many scholars have identified a strong relationship between educational attainment and the likelihood of marriage predicting the longevity of said marriage yet results from this study show that the original hypothesis, women with college degrees are more likely to be in happy marriages compared to women without college degrees, can be rejected. This means that women with college degrees are no more or less likely to get married than women without college degrees. Recent literature builds on the gendered component of marriages and how women's economic independence and educational attainment does have some relationship with the stability of a marriage and often is credited with improving the marriage. However, most variables were proven to not be significant at the .05 level except the white control variable which was the only variable that was significant on both the correlation matrix and the regression model.

This study still shows how being white has a positive and significant impact on likelihood of getting a college degree, the happiness of marriage and age. Because of the racist and white

supremacist ideals that are upheld in most if not all-American institutions, white people have historically received privileges based on their race. One of the biggest privileges is access to good education and the ability to pursue higher education compared to Black people and people of other races in the United States. On the other hand, white people showing to be happier in their marriages than non-white people can be due to a variety of factors. These factors can include money and access to generational wealth, broader social networks in which positive assortative mating can happen, the ability and economic status to go to college, etc. Gary Becker's theory of forming families (1981) can be applied to these results because, receiving a college degree may be good for things such as getting a higher paying job, being more productive withing the household and simultaneously in the labor market which can benefit college educated individuals but not necessarily for improving the overall quality marriage.

Furthermore, marital happiness is very difficult to measure because there are an array of factors that contribute to the success or the demise of a marriage. Not to mention, not every marriage is the same and there is no standard marriage. Many studies show how couples with children may experience different experiences in their marriages because there is extra labor when it comes to having and raising children which often puts a strain on the couple financially and emotionally. In addition, money and lack of intimacy prove to be two of the most common causes divorce. There are many factors that contribute to a successful marriage but as many statistics show, money is one of the biggest reasons for marital dissolution. Money and bills can cause a lot of stress and a lack of money or even a gap in how much money each partner contributes to the household can lead to power struggles within the relationship often causing problems in the marriage that may be hard to repair. Looking at George Homans social exchange theory, when the costs of the relationship are higher than the rewards, such as if a lot of effort or

money were put into a relationship and not reciprocated, then the relationship will most likely deteriorate and end. When there is an unequal share of responsibility, unequal distribution of income then it is very possible that happiness within the marriage will decrease leading to a possible end of the union.

Limitations

The results of this study may not have shown many significant relationships between variables probably due to certain key limitations of the study. For example, the GSS question associated with the happiness of marriage variable can be a good example of why this is not the best way to measure respondents' happiness of marriage. People may not want to say they are unhappy in their marriages because of fear of judgement or ridicule. In addition, the question itself does not leave room to consider feelings of everyday happiness in the marriage. Respondents who answered that their marriage is "unhappy" or "pretty happy" may have resulted from current feelings of indifference or dissatisfaction. Posing a longitudinal survey question such as "In the last 30 days, how often did you feel happy, pretty happy, or unhappy with your marriage?" would more accurately describe the feelings of happiness respondents do or do not feel in their current marriages. Furthermore, possibly adding a subset of people who have been divorced and then remarried to compare levels of happiness between their first marriage and second marriage. In addition, that data can possibly contribute to identifying key reasons of marital dissolution.

Another key limitation of the current study is its small sample size (N = 988). This logistic posed a challenge because it is limited and cannot be used to predict statistical power of the analyses. Furthermore, with the exclusion of missing data and subsetting to only look at

people who are currently married or have never been divorced, the sample then became too small to make it a generalizable study. More specifically, the current study might have been strengthened by the inclusion of more control variables such as asking for respondents' income and number of children.

CONCLUSION

This research uses theories of economy and social exchange to attempt to uncover the relationship between educational attainment and a happy marriage using quantitative methods. Drawing on the current literature of marriage and marital quality, the results disproved the initial hypothesis and shed light on nuanced characteristics of what makes a marriage happy or successful. Results showed how white identifying people are more likely to say that they are in very happy marriages compared to non-white people, white people are more likely to be college educated compared to non-white people, and lastly, white people are more likely to be older than their non-white counterparts answering the survey.

Knowing how marriage is one of the most powerful institutions in America, it is not surprising to see that white people are the ones benefiting from it the most. In both the private and public spheres of society, marriage serves as a foundation for what is known as the family while is often defined by people in power who more often than not tend to be white, male and part of the upper-class society. Aside from the foundation that marriage provides, there is something to be said about the socialization and exchange that happens within a marriage. Because people are more likely to want to marry someone who reflects their values, beliefs and status, according to positive assortative mating, a status such as being a college graduate will boost the prospects of marriage for men and women, alike. However, because most often white

identifying people have the most access to pursue higher education and consequently become higher income earners, this improves their chances of being in a good quality marriage overall. Often, certain groups of people are deprived of the things they need to live such as good education because of the unfair and unjust systems set up to oppress them. This then turns into a cycle in which not getting the things necessitated will bring greater disadvantage in institutions such as marriage. In the end, this study aimed to link educational attainment with the prospects of being in a happy and successful marriage that is impacted by a varying degree of factors such as age, sex and race.

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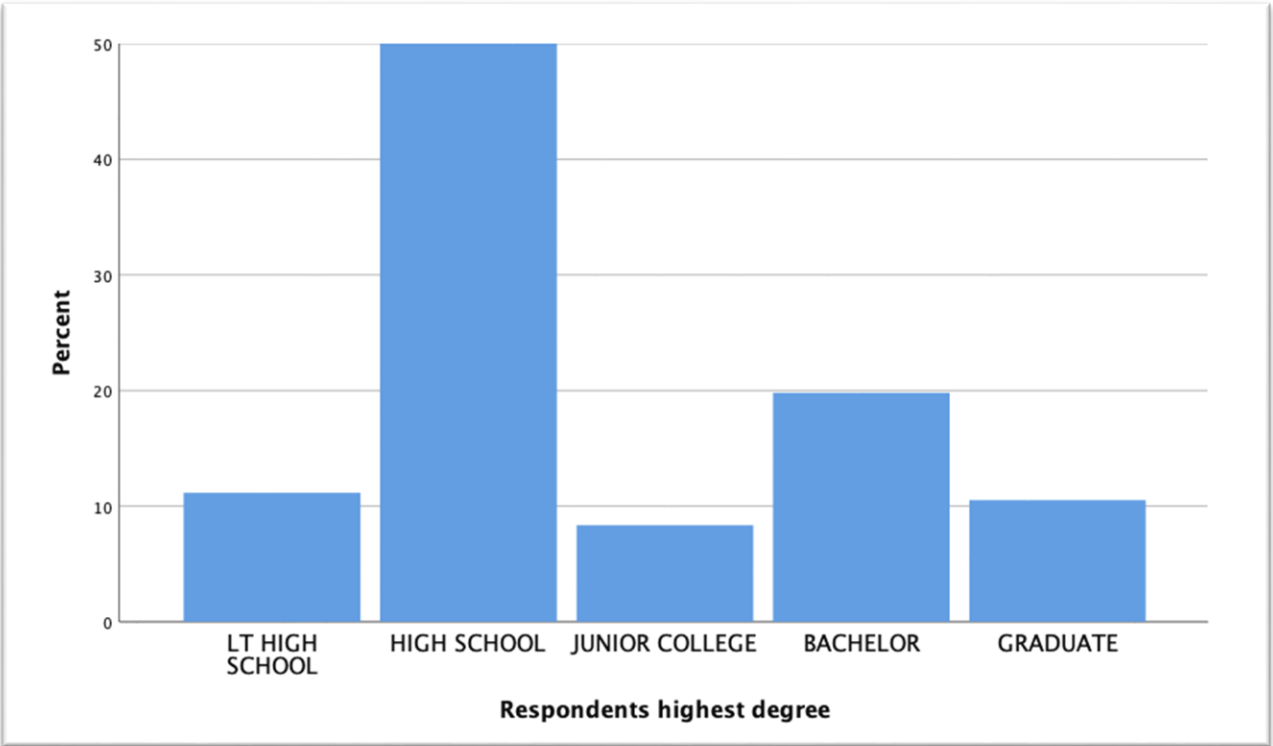   Institutional Models of Marriage." *Social Science Research* 39(5):687-699.
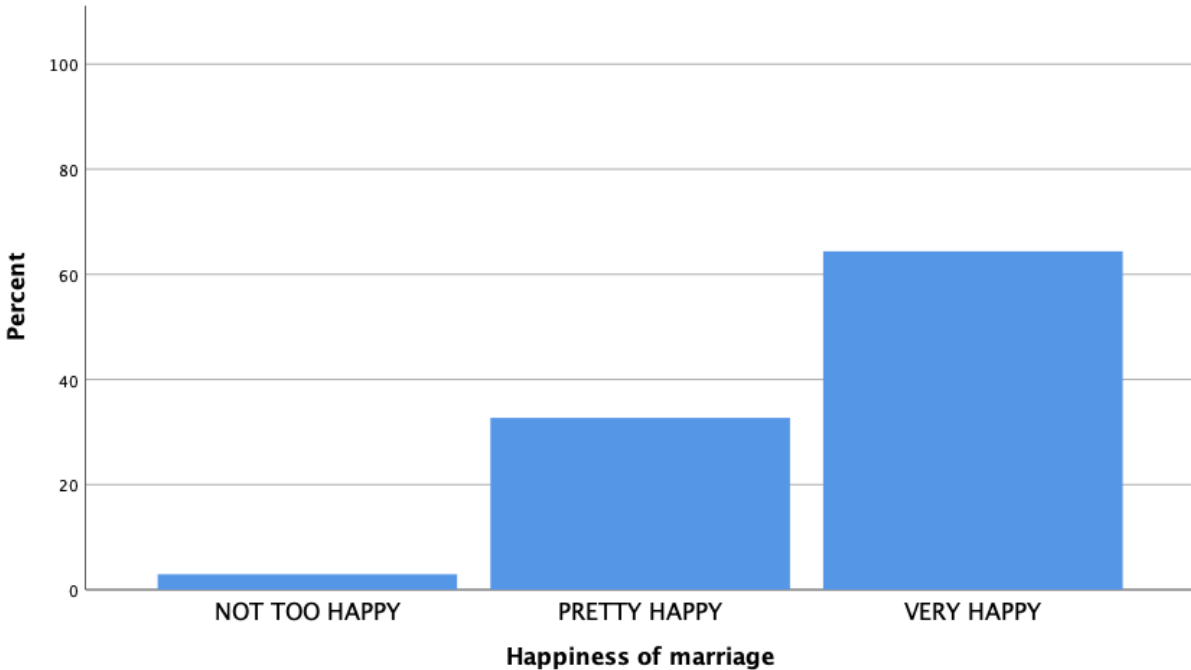
Figure 1. Bar Graph of Respondent's Degree, *N*=988.

Figure 2. Bar Graph of Respondents' Happiness of Marriage, *N*=988.

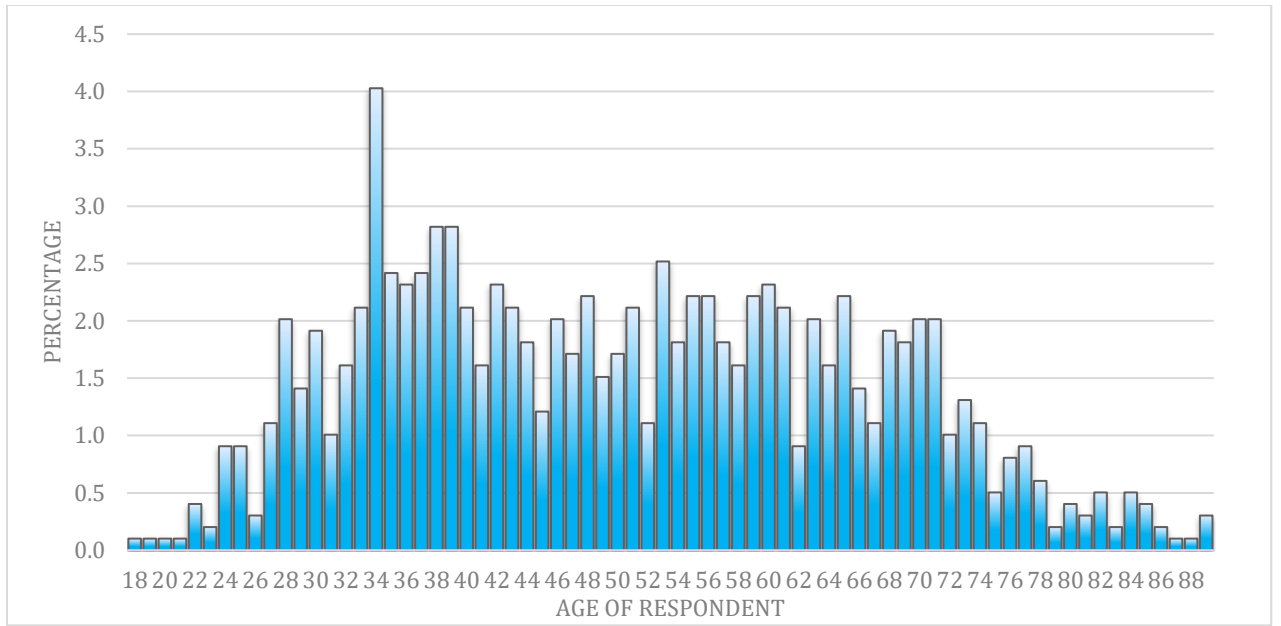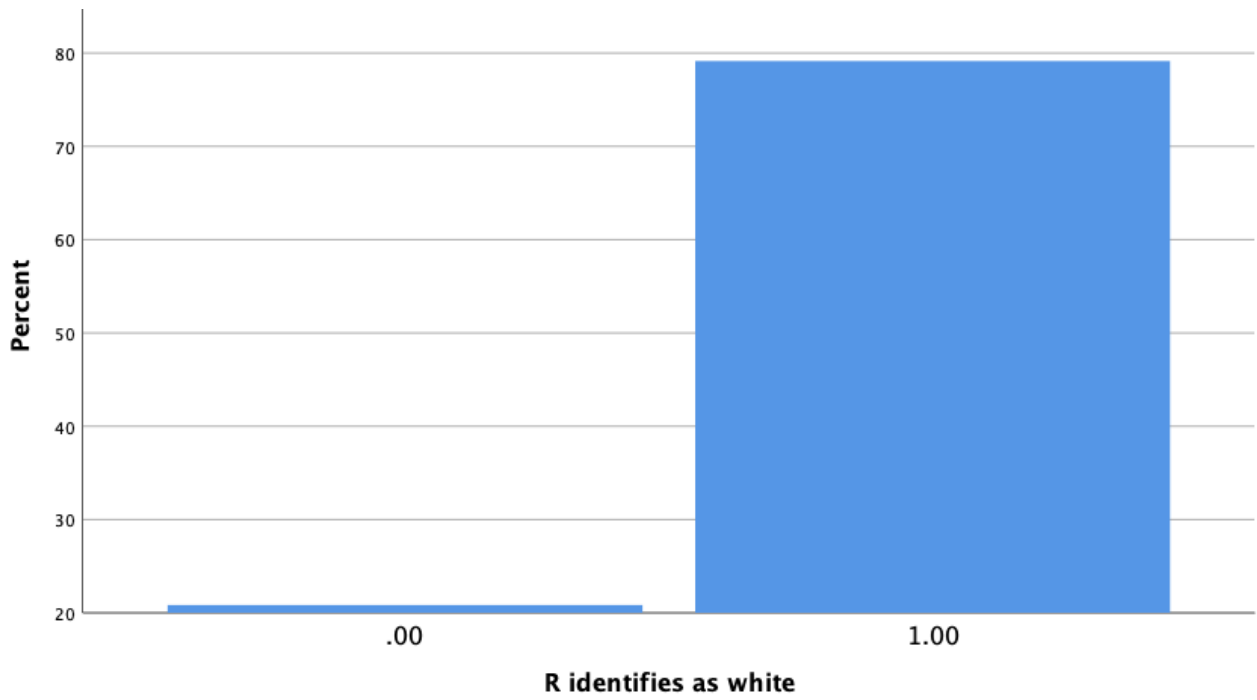Figure 3. Bar Graph of Age of Respondents, *N*=988.

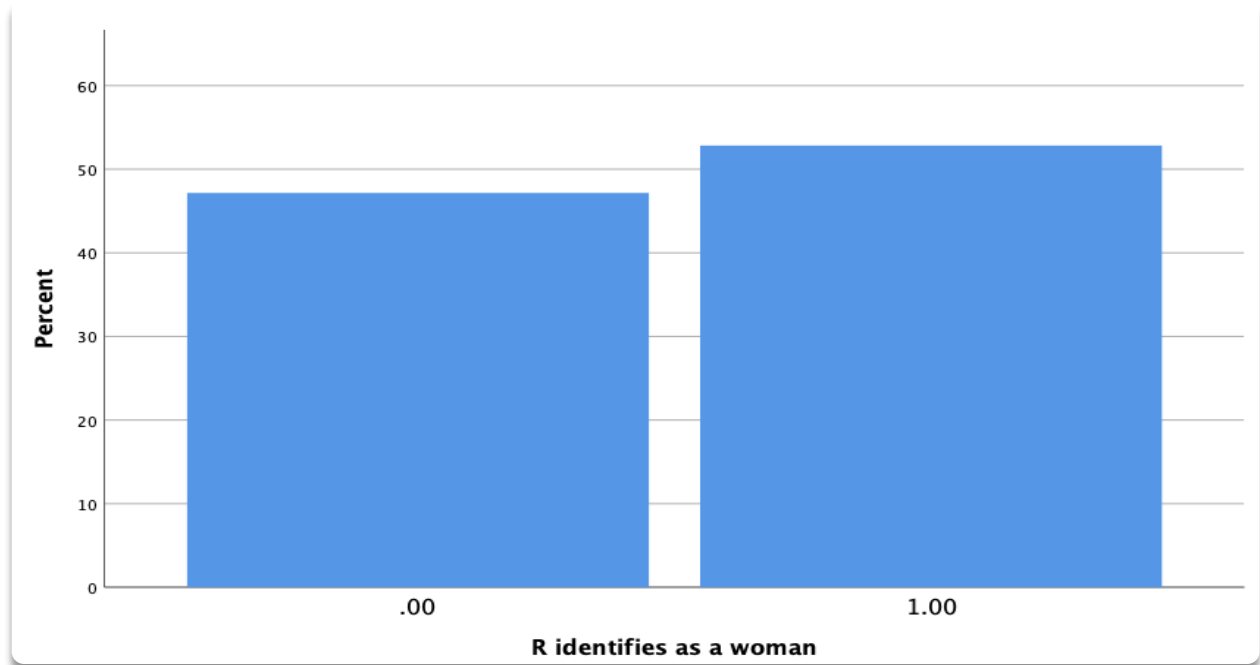Figure 4. Bar Graph of White Identifying Respondents, *N*=988.

Figure 5. Bar Graph of Women Identifying Respondents, *N*=988.

Table 1. Means, Medians and Standard Deviations of All Variables, *N*=988.

Variables	Mean	Median	Std. Deviation
R's highest degree	1.89	1.00	1.27
Happiness of marriage	2.61	3.00	.54
Age	50.42	50.00	15.51
Women	.53	1.00	.50
White	.79	1.00	.41

Table 2. Correlations Between Degree and Happiness of Marriage, *N*=988.

Variables	R's highest degree	Age	Women	White
Happiness of marriage	.041	.03	-.032	.117*
R's highest degree		-.027	.042	.109*
Age			-.179*	.110*
Women				-.001

p<0.05

Table 3. Regression Model of Happiness of Marriage on All Variables, $N = 988$.

Variables	b	β
R's highest degree	.013	.031
Age	.000	.013
White	.150	-.112*
Women	-.034	-.031
Constant	2.466	

*$p<.05$; $R^2= 0.016$; $F(4, 983)=3.952$