

self-esteem
competitive pay
enjoy working
new skills
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health benefits
**50+ Hispanic Workers:
A Growing Segment of the U.S. Workforce**
age-friendly
money job security
accomplishment
flexible hours
helping other

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Background

With employers struggling to meet the challenges of the recession and unemployment rates at their highest levels in decades, discussions of labor shortages seem out of place in the first half of 2009. Despite the current economic downturn, however, the shifting demographics of the U.S. workforce will create significant long-term challenges for which employers need to prepare. As the population ages, the traditional labor pool—workers ages 25 to 54—is stagnating. Older adults, whose numbers are soaring, provide a potential solution to employers who seek the experience, knowledge, and skills necessary to get through these tough times. By ensuring that their workforces include experienced and knowledgeable older workers, employers could prevent the loss of key skills and institutional knowledge that could damage their organization’s current and future competitiveness.

Hispanics represent one of the fastest growing segments of the older population, and thus could be an important target for employer efforts to attract and retain older workers. This report examines older Hispanic workers and the contributions they make to employers and the economy. It describes the older Hispanic population, focusing on its size, educational attainment, health status, and likely changes in these characteristics over the coming decades. The report then documents the work experiences of older Hispanics—the number and share that are employed, where they work, and how much they earn—and their attitudes toward work. Finally, the report discusses various ways of promoting older Hispanics’ employment.

The report’s discussion of approaches to increase employment prospects for older Hispanics focuses on employer practices as well as policy options. Issues addressed include training, flexibility, caregiving, recruitment strategies, and workplace culture. Although changes in immigration policy would have important repercussions for undocumented immigrants, the majority of whom are Hispanic, the report does not address this issue.

The report uses the terms Hispanic and Latino interchangeably. Although the older Hispanic population in the U.S. is quite heterogeneous, data limitations prevent us from distinguishing outcomes by country of origin. While there is no well-established age criterion for an older worker, this report focuses on ages 50 to 69. (Data limitations sometimes restrict the analysis to other age ranges.) Adults ages 70 and older are excluded because they are much less likely to work than younger seniors. The analysis compares Hispanics with non-Hispanic whites and non-Hispanic blacks, and draws distinctions between U.S.-born and foreign-born Hispanics and between men and women.

Key Findings

The portrait of older Hispanic workers that emerges from this overview shows a group that should appeal to many employers, yet faces significant labor market challenges. Older Hispanics participate in the labor force at relatively high rates, and work in a wide range of occupations and

industries, although Hispanic men are disproportionately represented in construction. Survey results for older Hispanic workers indicate that they are dependable, in that they rarely miss work. The vast majority report that they enjoy their jobs, suggesting that they are engaged and productive employees. Moreover, based on life expectancy as well as self reports of health status, older Hispanics generally appear to be at least as healthy as non-Hispanic whites and healthier than blacks. Many are also fluent in English as well as Spanish, which makes them valuable employees to companies hoping to benefit from the purchasing power of the growing Hispanic market. The future outlook for older Hispanics is promising. Latinos will make up nearly one-seventh of all Americans ages 50 to 69 by 2020 and one-fourth by 2050. Older Hispanics' educational attainment will also improve rapidly over time, especially as the foreign-born share of the population declines.

Nonetheless, many older Hispanics face substantial challenges in the workplace. They earn low wages and few benefits. In fact, their relatively strong attendance records may partially reflect an inability to afford time off due to lower wages and less access to paid leave. They also tend to work in physically demanding jobs that are often difficult to maintain into later life. Moreover, older Hispanics' self reports of high job satisfaction and relatively good health might reflect cultural differences in how people respond to surveys instead of true differences in work attitudes. For example, some research suggests that Hispanics are more likely than non-Hispanic whites to agree with survey questions, regardless of the topic. Finally, the 2007-2009 recession, which has reduced employment rates and earnings for all groups, has hit older Hispanics especially hard.

Various policy reforms could boost older Hispanics' employment and earnings. Additionally, by adopting certain strategies, employers could more fully leverage the skills and potential of this population. These policy options and strategies for employers are discussed in more detail later in the report.

The Older Hispanic Population

There were 5.6 million Latinos ages 50 to 69 living in the U.S. in 2007. This population will become increasingly important to employers in coming years as the number of older Hispanics grows.

- Between 1980 and 2007, Latinos' share of the national population grew from about 7 percent to 15 percent, as a result of immigration and high fertility rates. About 45.5 million Hispanics lived in the U.S. in 2007, about three times as many as in 1980.
- The U.S. Census Bureau estimates that the number of Latinos will nearly triple again between 2007 and 2050, reaching 133 million. Latinos will make up about 19 percent of the population in 2020 and 30 percent in 2050.
- The number of Hispanics ages 50 to 69 is expected to nearly quadruple by 2050, reaching 22.2 million. In 2020, Latinos will account for about 13 percent of the U.S. population ages 50 to 69, up from 9 percent in 2007. By 2050, they will account for about 24 percent of the ages-50-to-69 population.

- In 2007, about 57 percent of Hispanics ages 50 to 69 were foreign-born, compared with only 9 percent of their non-Hispanic counterparts.

Educational Attainment

Older Hispanics have generally completed less schooling than non-Hispanic whites or blacks. Over time, however, their average educational attainment will improve because today's younger Hispanics are better educated than previous generations. Many foreign-born Hispanics, especially those with little education, are not fluent in English, limiting their employment options. However, many employers value bilingualism, boosting employment prospects for those Hispanics proficient in both English and Spanish.

- In 2007, 41 percent of Hispanics ages 50 to 69 lacked a high school diploma, compared with only 18 percent of non-Hispanic blacks and 8 percent of non-Hispanic whites in the same age group. Foreign-born Latinos have less education than those born in the U.S.
- In 2007, 55 percent of foreign-born Hispanics ages 50 to 69 did not speak English well.
- Educational levels are much higher for younger Hispanics than their older counterparts. For U.S.-born Latinos, high school completion rates in 2007 increased from 61 percent at ages 65 to 69 to 81 percent at ages 50 to 54 to 86 percent at ages 30 to 39.
- Those born outside the U.S. will make up a smaller share of the older Hispanic population in the future, raising Latinos' average educational and English proficiency levels.
- Projections indicate that only about 24 percent of older Hispanics will lack a high school diploma in 2050, only about three-fifths the rate that prevailed in 2007.

Health Status

Health status is an important determinant of employment, especially at older ages. Health problems often force older adults into retirement and limit their earnings potential. Older Hispanics tend to be healthier than their non-Hispanic black counterparts, and about as healthy as their non-Hispanic white counterparts.

- In 2006-2008, 15 percent of Hispanics ages 50 to 69 reported work disabilities, compared with 24 percent of non-Hispanic blacks and 14 percent of non-Hispanic whites.
- In 2006, 22 percent of Hispanics ages 53 to 69 did not report any of eight major medical conditions (arthritis, cancer, diabetes, heart problems, high blood pressure, lung problems, psychological problems, and stroke), compared with 14 percent of non-Hispanic blacks.
- At age 65, Hispanics can expect to live three years longer than non-Hispanic whites. Longer life expectancy is generally associated with better health.
- Foreign-born Hispanics tend to be healthier than U.S.-born Hispanics, despite the fact that U.S. natives generally have higher incomes and more education and wealth.

Labor Market Experiences of Older Hispanics

Older Hispanic men are just as likely to work as non-Hispanic whites, and more likely to work than non-Hispanic blacks. Older Hispanic women are less likely to participate in the labor force than their non-Hispanic white or black counterparts, but the differences are modest.

- About 3.2 million Hispanics ages 50 to 69 were employed in 2007.
- In 2007, 71 percent of Hispanic men ages 50 to 69 participated in the labor force (i.e., were employed or looking for work), about the same rate as for non-Hispanic white men. Only 58 percent of older black men participated in the labor force.
- Only 51 percent of Hispanic women ages 50 to 69 participated in the labor force in 2007, compared with 58 percent of non-Hispanic whites and 55 percent of non-Hispanic blacks.
- As with other racial and ethnic groups, participation rates for older Hispanics increase with education and decline at older ages.

Wages and Benefits

Older Hispanic workers receive relatively little compensation, partly because of their generally limited education. The typical older Hispanic male worker employed full-time in a wage and salary job earns only about three-fifths as much as his non-Hispanic white counterpart and only about four-fifths as much as his non-Hispanic black counterpart. Typical earnings for older Hispanic women similarly lag behind those for whites and blacks. And relatively few older Hispanic workers receive health or retirement benefits from their employers.

- In 2007, median annual earnings for Hispanic men ages 50 to 69 employed full-time as wage and salary workers totaled about \$30,400, compared with about \$50,600 for non-Hispanic whites and about \$36,400 for non-Hispanic blacks. Older U.S.-born Hispanic men tend to earn more than blacks and their foreign-born Hispanic counterparts, but less than whites.
- Median 2007 earnings for Hispanic women ages 50 to 69 stood at about \$24,300, compared with about \$36,400 for their non-Hispanic white counterparts and about \$31,400 for their non-Hispanic black counterparts. As with men, U.S.-born Hispanic women generally earn more than foreign-born Hispanics.
- Slightly less than half (49 percent) of employed Hispanic wage and salary workers ages 50 to 69 received health benefits from their employers in 2006-2008, compared with 62 percent of non-Hispanic blacks and 65 percent of non-Hispanic whites. Coverage rates were much higher for older U.S.-born Hispanics (59 percent) than those born outside the U.S. (43 percent).
- Among employed wage and salary workers ages 50 to 69 in 2006-2008, less than two-fifths (38 percent) of Hispanics were offered employer-sponsored retirement plans, compared with 55 percent of non-Hispanic blacks and 62 percent of non-Hispanic whites.

Contributions to Economy

Despite generally low earnings, older Hispanics significantly contribute to the economy, as measured by aggregated earnings. They are also dependable workers.

- In 2007, Hispanic workers ages 50 to 69 earned a total of \$126 billion. Their contributions will more than double between 2007 and 2020, to \$303 billion in inflation-adjusted 2007 dollars, and then nearly triple again, to \$892 billion, by 2050.
- In 2006, only 32 percent of Hispanic workers ages 53 to 69 reported missing work during the past 12 months because of health problems. By contrast, about 45 percent of non-Hispanic whites (and others who are neither black nor Hispanic) missed at least some work. Hispanics' low absenteeism rate is a sign of dependability, a trait of considerable value to employers. However, their relatively strong attendance records may partially reflect an inability to afford time off due to lower wages and less access to paid leave.

Job Characteristics and Job Satisfaction

The majority of older Hispanic workers (58 percent) are in low-skilled occupations (requiring only a high school diploma or limited vocational training beyond high school), and only 19 percent are in high-skilled jobs (typically requiring at least a Bachelor's degree). The distribution of non-Hispanic blacks largely mirrors that of Hispanics. In contrast, only 33 percent of non-Hispanic whites work in low-skilled jobs.

- However, well-educated Hispanics are often under-employed, working in jobs for which they are overqualified. About one-fifth (21 percent) of all college-educated older Hispanics work in jobs that require little or no preparation, compared with 16 percent of non-Hispanic blacks and only 11 percent of non-Hispanic whites.

Older Hispanic workers tend to hold jobs that are more physically demanding, requiring more lifting, climbing, balancing, and stooping, than older non-Hispanics. On a scale from 0 to 100, where 0 indicates that the activity is not important at all and 100 indicates that it is extremely important, physical activities earn a mean score of 51 among jobs held by older Latinos, compared with 40 for non-Hispanic whites. Additionally, for those occupations in which physical activity is important, the level of required physical activity is higher for older Hispanics than non-Hispanics.

- However, the share of older Latinos who report being in stressful jobs (49 percent) is lower than for non-Hispanic whites and others who are neither black nor Hispanic (62 percent).
- Older Hispanics are no more likely than older non-Hispanic whites to report that their jobs nearly always require intense concentration or skill in dealing with others, and are less likely than non-Hispanic whites to hold jobs with management responsibilities.

Older Hispanics also seem to be happier at their current jobs than other groups. An impressive 95 percent of Hispanic workers ages 53 to 69 say that they "really enjoy going to work," compared with 86 percent of non-Hispanic blacks and 87 percent of non-Hispanic whites and other non-

Hispanics. However, the apparent high level of job satisfaction among older Hispanic workers might reflect a cultural bias toward responding favorably to surveys instead of true differences in work attitudes.

Older Hispanics' Job Security

Older workers face two principal risks to employment security—layoffs and health problems that force people to stop working. These shocks disrupt careers and complicate the transition into retirement.

- Older Hispanic workers are particularly vulnerable to layoffs. Nearly one-third (32 percent) of Hispanics who separated from a job between 1992 and 2006 after age 51 were laid off, compared with slightly fewer than one-fifth (19 percent) of non-Hispanic blacks and one-fourth (24 percent) of non-Hispanic whites and other non-Hispanics.
- Hispanic workers who leave their jobs after age 51 are more likely than non-Hispanic whites to cite health reasons for the separation (22 percent vs. 17 percent), but they are less likely than non-Hispanic blacks to quit because of health problems. Fully three in ten older non-Hispanic blacks who leave their jobs attribute their departures to poor health.
- Older Hispanics are more likely than non-Hispanic blacks to leave their jobs for family reasons (9 percent vs. 4 percent), consistent with evidence that Hispanics are more likely to provide care to family members than other racial and ethnic groups.

Impact of the 2007-2009 Recession

Hispanics' employment situation has sharply deteriorated as the economy has fallen into recession. Between November 2007 (just before the current recession began) and February 2009, the number of Hispanics out of work and looking for jobs increased by about 1.2 million. The economic slowdown hit foreign-born Hispanics particularly hard, as the unemployment rate in the construction industry—where many work—more than tripled during the first 15 months of the recession, reaching 21.4 percent in February 2009. The January 2009 unemployment rate for Hispanics ages 55 and older was 9.1 percent for men and 7.0 percent for women.

Additionally, a recent survey found that older Hispanic workers who lack confidence in their ability to find another job are more likely than non-Hispanic whites and blacks to attribute their concerns to a lack of communication skills (presumably reflecting language barriers) and computer skills.

Implications for Employers

For employers, the considerable size of the older Hispanic workforce and the growth expected over the next few decades present a valuable opportunity for leveraging these workers' skills and talents. Their dependability and strong work ethic, loyalty, and relatively good health suggest that recruitment and retention strategies targeting these workers would benefit employers. Bilingual Hispanics should be particularly valuable. Employers interested in tapping into this growing segment of the workforce should consider how simple modifications to their current recruitment and retention strategies may help target older Hispanics. Examples of ways to modify existing strategies include the following:

- Use recruiting channels that are likely to reach Hispanics, including media outlets and organizations that serve this population and that they trust.
- Develop recruiting materials in English and Spanish if your organization is open to hiring workers who are not fluent in English. The use of bilingual materials may also help recruit bilingual job seekers, not only those with limited English language skills, because it signals that your company understands and appreciates the value of a diverse workforce.
- Consider how your organization can offer flexible work options, caregiving information, or other benefits that may be particularly useful to workers who face caregiving responsibilities. Such benefits may be particularly attractive to Hispanic workers because many assume responsibility for the care of family members.
- Implement mentoring or retraining programs to help older workers in physically demanding jobs transition into managerial positions or other jobs that require less physical exertion. Such programs could help your organization retain older Hispanic workers as well as other older workers with critical knowledge important to your company who may eventually be forced to seek a less physically demanding job. Training in the use of technology may be particularly useful in this regard.
- Consider offering educational opportunities to workers or job seekers who appear to be a suitable match for your organization in many respects but who lack a few skills that your organization deems important. Training that may boost recruitment and retention of valuable employees includes the following:
 - English-as-a-Second-Language training to workers who have the job skills that your organization requires but who lack sufficient knowledge of English.
 - Skills training to workers who have proven themselves to be dependable and hard-working but who lack certain skills necessary to advance in your organization.
- Consider training for managers that encourages them to embrace diversity in the workplace, educates them about cultural differences, and emphasizes the value that diverse viewpoints can bring to an organization. Such training may help reduce discrimination that can hurt employment prospects for Hispanics and other minorities.

- Consider organizing employee resource groups as an informal mechanism for employees to develop networks with other employees with similar interests or backgrounds. Employers may find that Hispanic employee resource groups help recruit and retain Hispanic workers.

Policy Options to Boost Older Hispanics' Employment and Earnings

While some older Hispanic workers certainly hold advanced degrees, they are much more likely than non-Hispanics to lack a high school diploma or any formal education beyond high school. Those older Hispanics with only limited education and skills would likely benefit from various policy reforms designed to help the low-skilled workforce. One-Stop Career Centers, funded by the Workforce Investment Act of 1998 (WIA), provide workers with employment and training services. The Senior Community Service Employment Program, funded by the U.S. Department of Labor, is the nation's only workforce development program geared specifically to older adults. To really make a difference for older Hispanics as well as other workers, however, these workforce development programs need much more government funding. The following are some changes to these programs that could benefit older Hispanic workers:

- Workforce development programs could be redesigned to better serve older workers. They should better promote partnerships between education providers and employers in key industries, and should systematically identify labor-market opportunities in growing sectors of the economy in each state. It is important that programs offer participants financial supports, such as modest stipends, to improve access to education and training.
- To better serve older Hispanics, workforce development programs should integrate job training with English-language acquisition and cultural orientation. They should create incentives for states to serve people with limited English proficiency, and adjust project performance measures for the language skills of participants. One-Stop Centers should increase their outreach to older Hispanics, and ensure that their staffs include Spanish-speaking counselors.

Initiatives to promote education among younger Hispanics would likely boost employment outcomes at younger ages and eventually translate into gains for older Hispanics, as the beneficiaries of these efforts grow older.

Older Hispanics would also likely benefit from policies that promote workplace flexibility and provide better support to family caregivers, because many older Hispanics serve as caregivers and seem especially concerned about work-family balance. Possible approaches include the following:

- Various labor laws, such as the National Labor Relations Act of 1935, could be reformed to promote workplace flexibility and encourage employers and employees to work together to create flexible employment options.
- The availability of time off for caregiving or illness could be expanded. For example, the Family and Medical Leave Act (FMLA) guarantees workers up to 12 weeks of unpaid leave in any 12-month period to care for a newborn child (or newly adopted child); care

for an ill child, spouse, or parent; or deal with one's own health problems. However, the law only covers workers in firms with 50 or more employees who have worked for the employer for at least 12 months and at least 1,250 hours that year. Extending protections, such as those provided by FMLA, to a larger segment of the workforce would help older Hispanics.

- Public assistance to caregivers could be strengthened. Such assistance is provided through the National Family Caregiver Support Program (NFCSP), but services are limited, partly because funding has been inadequate.

Other policy initiatives that could boost economic security for older Hispanic workers include raising the minimum wage, extending living wage laws (which exist in certain localities and require employers that receive government contracts to pay above-market wages), and increasing health insurance coverage and private pension plan coverage.

In summary, the evidence assembled in this overview shows that older Hispanic workers make valuable contributions to employers and the economy, and that their roles will grow more important over time. Their dependability and strong work ethic, loyalty, relatively good health, and growing numbers suggest that employers would benefit from implementing recruitment and retention strategies that target these workers. Additionally, policymakers can undertake a number of initiatives to improve their employment and earnings. Finally, more research on older Hispanic workers would shed additional light on their current and future prospects.

INTRODUCTION

With employers struggling to meet the challenges of the recession and unemployment rates at their highest levels in decades, discussions of labor shortages seem out of place in the first half of 2009. Despite the current economic downturn, however, shifting demographics will create significant long-term challenges for many employers. As the population ages, the traditional labor pool—workers ages 25 to 54—is stagnating. For example, between 2008 and 2020, the number of adults ages 25 to 54 will increase by only 2 percent, while the total population will grow by 12 percent (U.S. Census Bureau 2008c). Once the recession ends and employers can afford to ramp up their hiring again, the growing scarcity of working-age adults could force employers to raise wages and could lead to shortages in certain specialized fields. Before the recession began, labor pressures were already affecting selected industries, including oil, gas, energy, health care, and government (Morton, Foster, and Sedlar 2005). Population aging also threatens the nation’s prosperity. In the long term, a stagnant labor pool could slow economic growth and reduce tax revenues needed to finance government services.

Older adults provide a potential solution to the looming labor shortage. They offer employers a mature, experienced, and skilled source of labor. As the growth in the younger adult population slows, the older population is soaring. Between 2008 and 2020, for example, the number of adults ages 55 to 69 will increase by 34 percent (U.S. Census Bureau 2008c). However, older adults’ employment potential is not yet being fully realized. Employment rates for older men are now much lower than they used to be. For example, only 45 percent of men ages 55 and older participated in the labor force in 2007, down from 71 percent in 1948 (Bureau of Labor Statistics 2009b). But there are now clear signs that older Americans are willing and able to continue working. Government data show that over the past 20 years labor force participation rates for adults ages 65 to 69 have increased by 9 percentage points for men and 11 percentage points for women (Bureau of Labor Statistics 2009b). A 2007 AARP survey of workers ages 45 to 74 found that 7 in 10 expected to work in some capacity during “retirement” (AARP 2008). By ensuring that their workforces include experienced and knowledgeable older workers, employers could prevent the loss of key skills and institutional knowledge that could damage their organization’s current and future competitiveness.

Hispanics represent one of the fastest growing segments of the older population, and thus could be an important part of employer efforts to attract older workers. Despite their growing importance, we know relatively little about older Hispanics, who have been described as the invisible Baby Boomers (Gassoumis, Wilber, and Torres-Gil 2008). This report examines older Hispanic workers and the contributions they make to employers and the economy. It begins by describing the older Hispanic population, focusing on its size, educational attainment, health status, and likely changes in these characteristics over the coming decades. The next, and largest, section of the report documents labor market outcomes for older Hispanics—the number and share who are employed, where they work, and how much they earn—and their attitudes toward work and retirement. We also quantify the value of older Hispanics’ paid employment and how it will likely grow over the next several decades. The final section of the report discusses various ways of promoting older Hispanics’ employment.

The report's discussion of approaches to increase employment prospects for older Hispanics focuses on employer practices as well as policy options. Issues addressed include training, flexibility, caregiving, recruitment strategies, and workplace culture. Although changes in immigration policy would have important repercussions for undocumented immigrants, about three quarters of whom are Hispanic (Passel and Cohn, 2009), the report does not address this issue.

The terms "Hispanic" and "Latino" are used interchangeably in this report, as are the terms "immigrant" and "foreign-born." Although the older Hispanic population in the U.S. is quite heterogeneous, data limitations prevent us from distinguishing outcomes by country of origin. Of foreign-born Hispanics ages 50 to 69 in 2007, 55 percent are from Mexico, 10 percent are from Cuba, 6 percent are from El Salvador, another 6 percent are from the Dominican Republic, 5 percent are from Columbia, and 19 percent are from other countries.¹ While there is no well-established age criterion for an older worker, the analysis focuses on ages 50 to 69, and examines how outcomes vary for different age groups within this range. Adults ages 70 and older are excluded because they are much less likely to work than younger seniors (although some people in all race and ethnic groups continue to work well into their eighties and beyond, of course). The report compares Hispanics with non-Hispanic whites and non-Hispanic blacks, and draws distinctions between U.S.-born and foreign-born Hispanics and between men and women.² Key findings are presented in the body of the report; appendix tables report additional details.

Sources

In addition to drawing on results from previously published studies, this report uses data from the U.S. Census Bureau, U.S. Department of Labor, University of Michigan, and Urban Institute, each of which provides information on different facets of older Hispanics and their employment situation. The report relies most heavily on the U.S. Census Bureau's American Community Survey (ACS), a nationwide household survey that collects information on demographic, housing, social, and economic characteristics. Begun in 2005, it interviews about 2 million households every year. In 2007, the ACS collected data on 50,624 Hispanics ages 50 to 69, more than enough for meaningful analysis. Tabulations of health status, employer-sponsored retirement plans, and employer-sponsored health insurance coverage use data from the Census Bureau's Current Population Survey (CPS), a monthly national household survey of about 50,000 households.³ Our CPS analyses pool data from three consecutive March interviews (2006, 2007, and 2008) so that we have enough observations on older Hispanics (12,395 ages 50 to 69) to describe their health status and employee benefits.

The U.S. Department of Labor's Employment and Training Administration compiles the Occupational Information Network (O*NET), a comprehensive database of job characteristics. It rates about 800 occupations on more than 200 scales, including required skills, abilities, education and training, knowledge, work styles, tasks performed, and characteristics of the physical work environment. For example, O*NET rates the importance of physical activities in different occupations on a scale from 0 to 100, where 0 signifies that the activity is not important at all, 50 signifies that it is important, and 100 signifies that it is extremely important. Occupations are also rated from 0 to 100 on the level of physical activities they entail, where 0

signifies “walk between work stations in a small office,” 50 signifies “paint the outside of a house,” and 100 signifies the “highest level.” Additionally, O*NET classifies occupations into five educational and training groups: those that require little or no preparation (such as only a high school diploma), some vocational training after high school, a two-year college degree, a Bachelor’s degree, and more than a Bachelor’s degree. We linked this occupational information to individual workers in the ACS to compare the skill requirements and physical demands of jobs held by older Hispanic and non-Hispanic workers.

The Health and Retirement Study (HRS) is a national, longitudinal survey of older Americans. Fielded by the University of Michigan with primary funding from the National Institute on Aging, it began in 1992 by interviewing about 12,600 adults ages 51 to 61 and their spouses. These respondents have been reinterviewed every other year. Additional cohorts were added to the study in 1998 and 2004, so that the HRS now collects data every two years from more than 22,000 adults over age 50. It oversamples Hispanics and African Americans. The HRS collects information on job characteristics, chronic health conditions, and the reasons respondents give for leaving their jobs (among many other topics). Data are now available through 2006, allowing us to provide recent snapshots of older workers’ jobs and health and to examine job separations over a 14-year period. The survey oversamples Hispanics and African Americans. In 2006, the HRS collected data on 1,000 Hispanics ages 53 to 69.⁴ It also asked respondents whether they were born in the U.S., but the sample sizes are not always large enough to make meaningful comparisons between older U.S.-born Hispanics and their foreign-born counterparts, especially among workers.

Finally, DYNASIM3, the Urban Institute’s dynamic microsimulation model, provides projections of the Hispanic population through 2050. Starting with a representative sample of individuals and families from the 1990 to 1993 panels of the Survey of Income and Program Participation (SIPP), the model “ages” the data year by year, simulating such demographic events as births, deaths, marriages, and divorces, and such economic events as labor force participation, earnings, hours of work, and retirement. The model simulates Social Security coverage and benefits, employer-sponsored pension participation, and benefit payments and pension assets. It also simulates housing and financial assets, health status, living arrangements, and income from other family members. Each demographic and economic characteristic modeled in *DYNASIM3* uses the latest and most appropriate data available, and many of the model predictions are calibrated to external targets.⁵ The model has been used in a wide range of different studies, including analyses of Social Security reform proposals (Favreault et al. 2004), the retirement preparedness of the baby boomers (Butrica and Uccello 2004), and future long-term care arrangements (Johnson, Toohey, and Wiener 2007).

Overview of Key Findings

The portrait of older Hispanic workers that emerges from this overview shows a group that should appeal to many employers, yet faces significant labor market challenges. Older Hispanics participate in the labor force at relatively high rates, and work in a wide range of occupations and industries, although Hispanic men are disproportionately represented in construction. Survey results for older Hispanic workers indicate that they are dependable, in that

they rarely miss work, and the vast majority report that they enjoy their jobs, which suggests that they are engaged and productive employees. Moreover, older Hispanics generally appear to be at least as healthy as non-Hispanic whites and healthier than blacks. Many are also fluent in English as well as Spanish, which makes them valuable employees to companies hoping to benefit from the purchasing power of the growing Hispanic market. The future outlook for older Hispanics is promising. Latinos will make up nearly one-seventh of all Americans ages 50 to 69 by 2020 and one-fourth by 2050. Older Hispanics' educational attainment will also improve rapidly over time, especially as the foreign-born share of the population declines.

Nonetheless, many older Hispanics face substantial challenges in the workplace. They earn low wages and few benefits. They tend to work in physically demanding jobs that are often difficult to maintain into later life. The 2007-2009 recession, which has reduced employment rates and earnings for all groups, has hit older Hispanics especially hard. Various policy reforms could boost their employment and earnings. Additionally, by adopting certain recruitment and retention strategies, employers could more fully leverage the skills and potential of this population. These policy options and strategies for employers are discussed in more detail at the end of this report.

DETAILED FINDINGS

The Older Hispanic Population

As their numbers grow and their characteristics change, older Hispanics merit increased attention from employers. The population of older Hispanics is soaring, and their educational qualifications are improving. In 2050 there will be four times as many Latinos ages 50 to 69 as there are today. Additionally, as the evidence below shows, older Hispanics tend to be in relatively good health, increasing their work ability and reducing health care costs for employers.

How Many Older Hispanics Are There?

Hispanics are one of the fastest growing segments of the U.S. population. Between 1980 and 2007, immigration and relatively high birth rates boosted Latinos' share of the national population from about 7 to 15 percent (exhibit 1).⁶ About 45.5 million Hispanics lived in the U.S. in 2007, about three times as many as in 1980.

These high growth rates will likely continue. The U.S. Census Bureau estimates that the number of Latinos will nearly triple again between 2007 and 2050, reaching 133 million.⁷ Latinos will make up about 19 percent of the population in 2020 and 30 percent in 2050. This surge in the Latino population will account for more than 60 percent of the overall growth of the

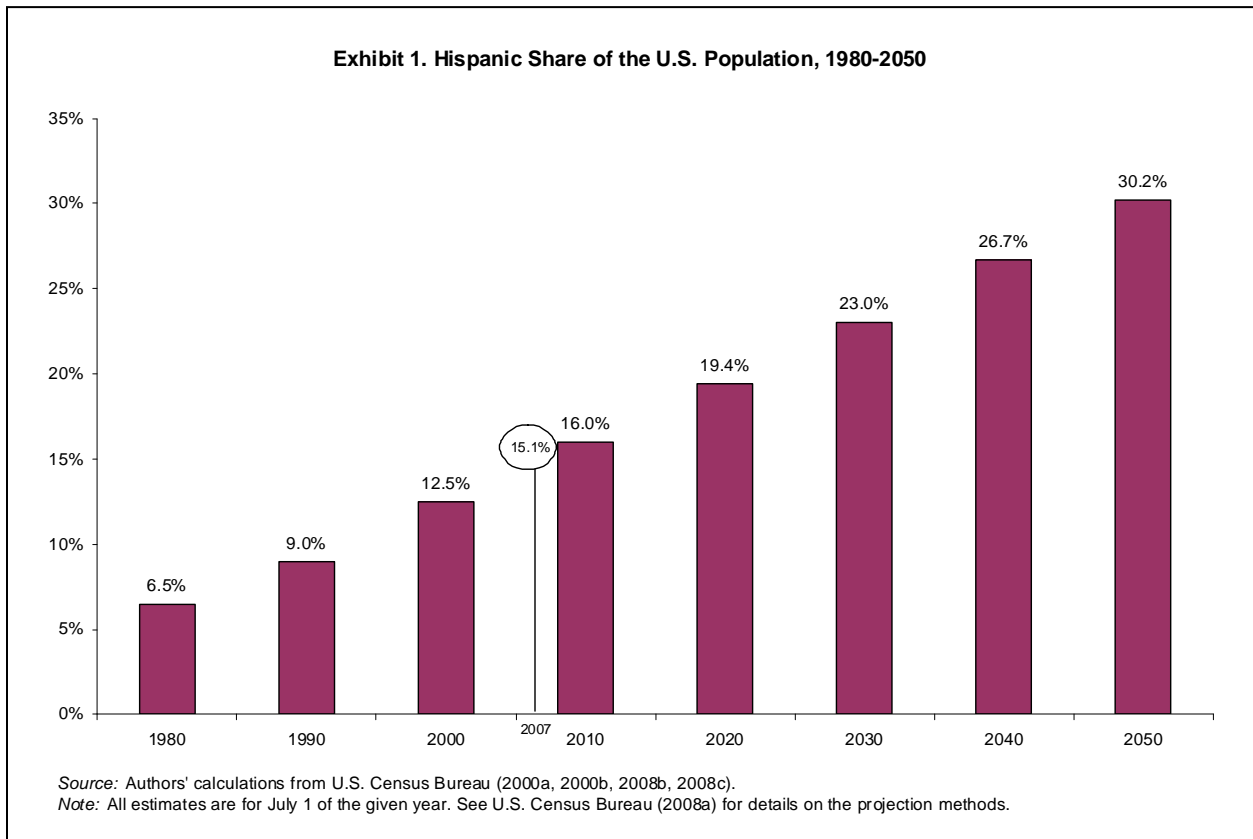


Exhibit 2. U.S. Population by Age and Hispanic Origin, 1980-2050

Year	All Ages			Ages 50-69		
	Number (in thousands)		Percent	Number (in thousands)		Percent
	Total	Hispanic	Hispanic	Total	Hispanic	Hispanic
1980	227,225	14,869	6.5	42,258	1,638	3.9
1990	249,464	22,571	9.0	42,540	2,388	5.6
2000	282,194	35,649	12.6	51,708	3,723	7.2
2007	301,621	45,504	15.1	64,478	5,576	8.6
2010	310,233	49,726	16.0	70,645	6,678	9.5
2020	341,387	66,365	19.4	81,716	10,870	13.3
2030	373,504	85,931	23.0	81,734	15,108	18.5
2040	405,655	108,223	26.7	86,230	18,242	21.2
2050	439,010	132,792	30.2	94,099	22,211	23.6
Change, 1980-2007						
Number (in thousands)	74,396	30,636		22,220	3,938	
Percent increase	33	206		53	240	
Projected change, 2007-2050						
Number (in thousands)	137,389	87,288		29,621	16,635	
Percent increase	46	192		46	298	

Source: Authors' calculations from U.S. Census Bureau (2000a, 2000b, 2008b, 2008c).

Note: All estimates are for July 1 of the given year. For details about Census projections, see U.S. Census Bureau (2008a).

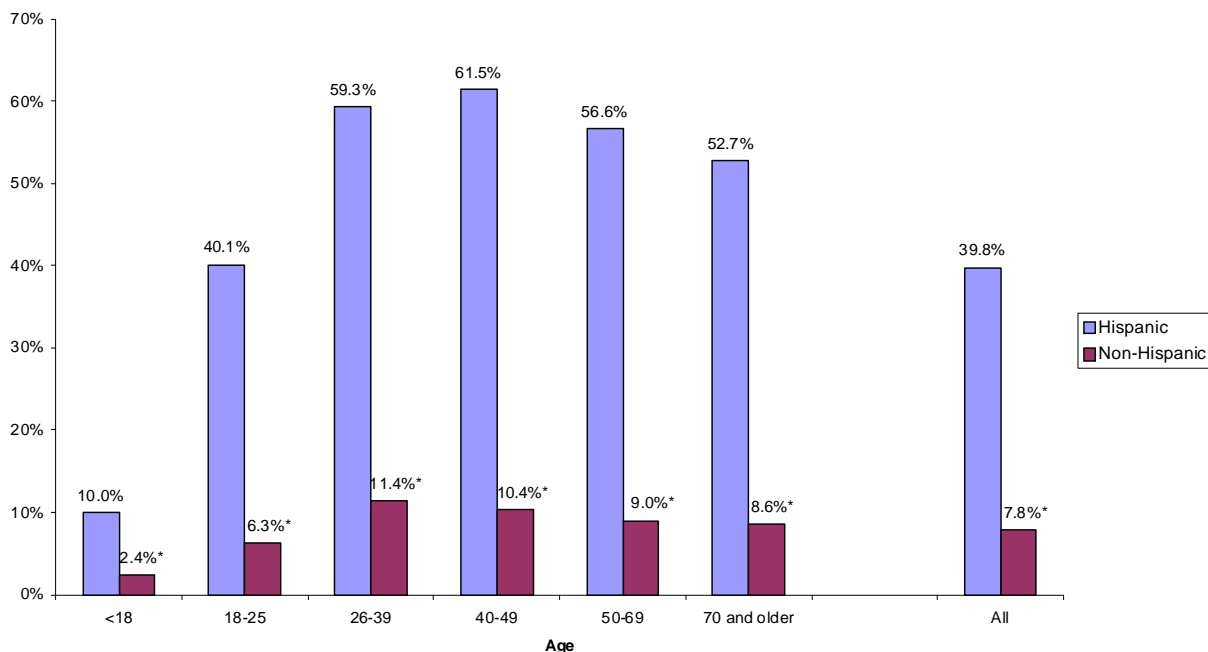
population between 2007 and 2050; 87 million of the more than 138 million additional Americans will be Hispanic.

The older Hispanic population will grow even more rapidly than the total Hispanic population. Between 2007 and 2050, the number of Latinos ages 50 to 69 is projected to nearly quadruple, growing from 5.6 million to 22.2 million (exhibit 2). In 2020, Latinos will account for about 13 percent of the U.S. population ages 50 to 69, up from 9 percent in 2007. By 2050, they will account for about 24 percent of the ages-50-to-69 population.⁸

What is the Role of Immigration?

Unlike most other groups in the population, older Hispanics are predominantly immigrants. In 2007, about 57 percent of Hispanics ages 50 to 69 were foreign-born, compared with only 9 percent of their non-Hispanic counterparts (exhibit 3). Immigration status is important because immigrants tend to earn less than U.S.-born individuals and accumulate less retirement wealth. For example, earnings are about 16 percent lower for immigrants than natives, primarily because immigrants tend to have less education (Borjas 1999). A lifetime of lower earnings generally translates into lower retirement savings for immigrants. According to one study, the shortfall in net worth for older Hispanics relative to older non-Hispanics totals about \$100,000 (Sevak and Schmidt 2007).

Exhibit 3. Foreign-Born Share of the U.S. Population, by Age and Hispanic Origin, 2007

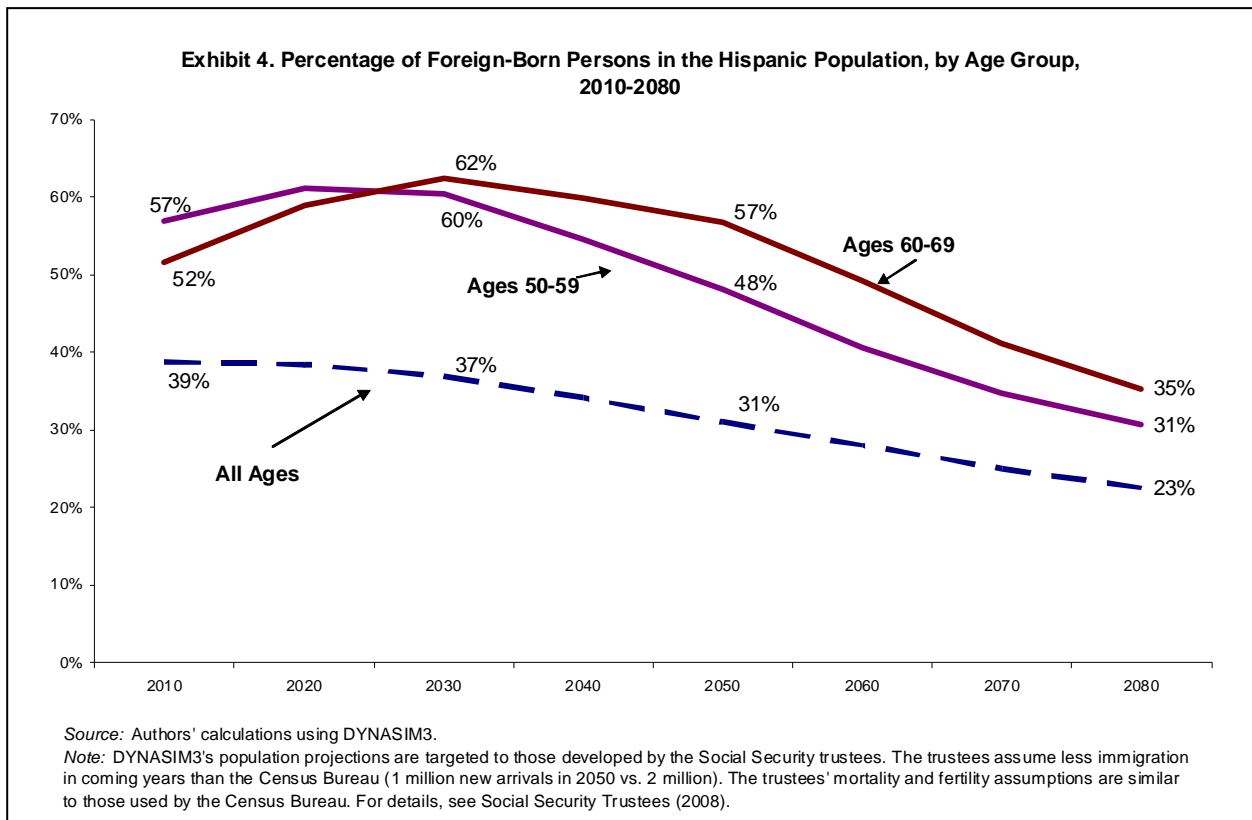


Source: Authors' calculations from the 2007 American Community Survey (ACS).

Note: Estimates are based on a sample of 372,143 Hispanics and 2,622,519 non-Hispanics. * indicates that estimate differs significantly ($p < .05$) from estimate for Hispanics.

In the future, however, immigrants will represent a shrinking portion of the Hispanic population. Current projections indicate that between 2010 and 2080, the share of Latinos that are foreign-born will fall from 39 to 23 percent (exhibit 4). This dramatic change arises from Hispanics' high birth rates and the growth in the U.S. Hispanic population. Already, more than twice as many Hispanics are born in the country each year than arrive from abroad (Martin et al. 2007; U.S. Department of Homeland Security 2008), and this differential will grow over time as the number of Hispanics in the U.S. increases, boosting the number of Hispanic births.⁹

Rapid changes are also expected in the composition of the older Latino population. With the aging of younger Latinos (who are more likely to have been born in the U.S. than their older counterparts), immigrants will make up a smaller share of the older Hispanic population in the future. The proportion of Latinos ages 50 to 59 who are foreign-born will fall from 57 percent in 2010 to 48 percent in 2050. By 2080, only 31 percent of the Latino population ages 50 to 59 will have been born outside the U.S. The share will increase in the short term, however, as the large wave of younger Hispanics who arrived in the U.S. since 1990 grows older.



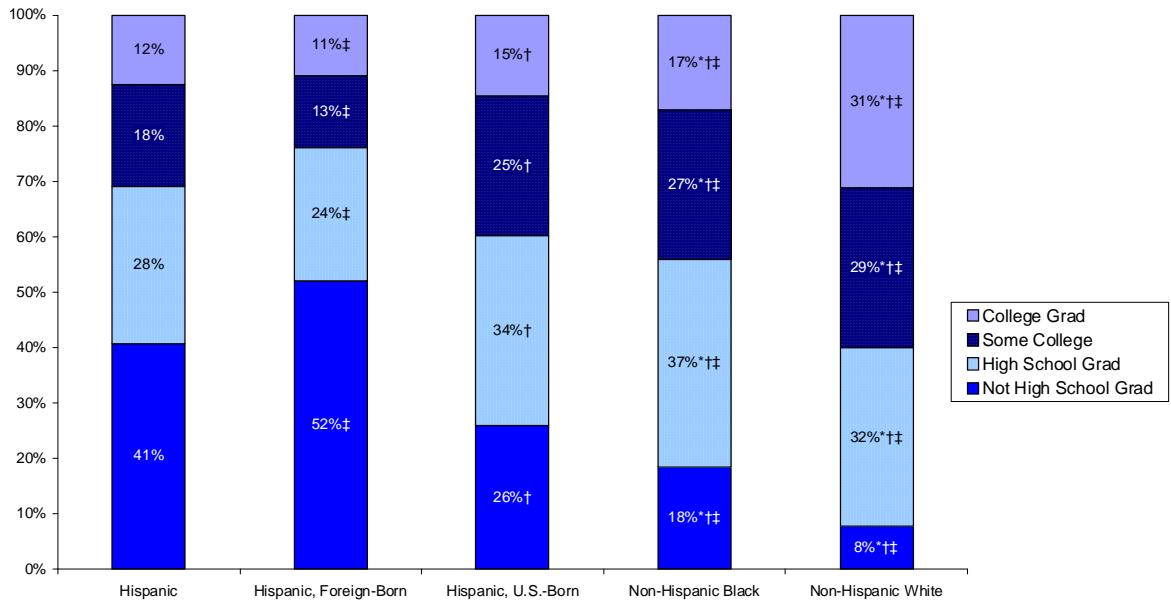
How Much Schooling Do Older Hispanics Have?

Older Hispanics have less education than other population groups. In 2007, 41 percent of Hispanics ages 50 to 69 lacked a high school diploma, compared with only 18 percent of non-Hispanic blacks and 8 percent of non-Hispanic whites in the same age group (exhibit 5). Only 12 percent of Latinos ages 50 to 69 earned at least a Bachelor's degree. By contrast, 17 percent of non-Hispanic blacks and 31 percent of non-Hispanic whites completed college.

Older workers with low educational levels, such as many older Latinos, generally face challenges as they near the end of their work lives. Better-educated adults typically receive higher earnings than those with less education. For example, lifetime earnings are about 20 percent higher for high school graduates than those who did not complete high school and about twice as high for college graduates as high school dropouts (Day and Newberger 2002).¹⁰ Better-educated adults also tend to live longer and healthier lives, boosting their ability to work in old age.¹¹ Additionally, better-educated adults generally hold jobs that do not require many physically demanding activities (Johnson, Mermin, and Resseger 2007), increasing their later-life employment prospects.

Many foreign-born Hispanics, especially those with limited education, are not fluent in English, limiting their employment options. In 2007, 55 percent of foreign-born Hispanics ages 50 to 69 (and 8 percent of those born in the U.S.) did not speak English well (exhibit 6). English proficiency is strongly related to educational attainment. Nearly three-fourths of foreign-born Hispanics ages 50 to 69 who did not complete high school do not speak English well, compared

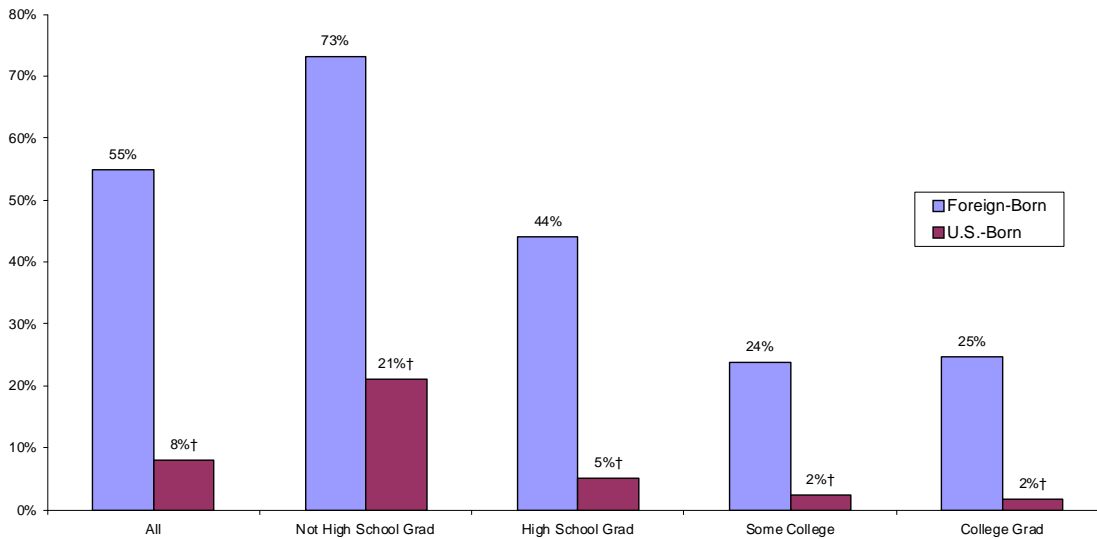
Exhibit 5. Educational Attainment of Adults Ages 50-69, by Race and Hispanic Origin, 2007



Source: Authors' calculations from the 2007 American Community Survey.

Note: College graduates include those with at least a Bachelor's degree. Estimates are based on a sample of 50,624 Hispanics (26,908 foreign-born and 23,716 U.S.-born), 62,889 non-Hispanic blacks, and 582,516 non-Hispanic whites. Symbols indicate that estimate differs significantly ($p < .05$) from that for all Hispanics (*), foreign-born Hispanics (†), and U.S.-born Hispanics (‡).

Exhibit 6. Percentage of Hispanics Ages 50-69 Who Do Not Speak English Well, by Education and Nativity, 2007



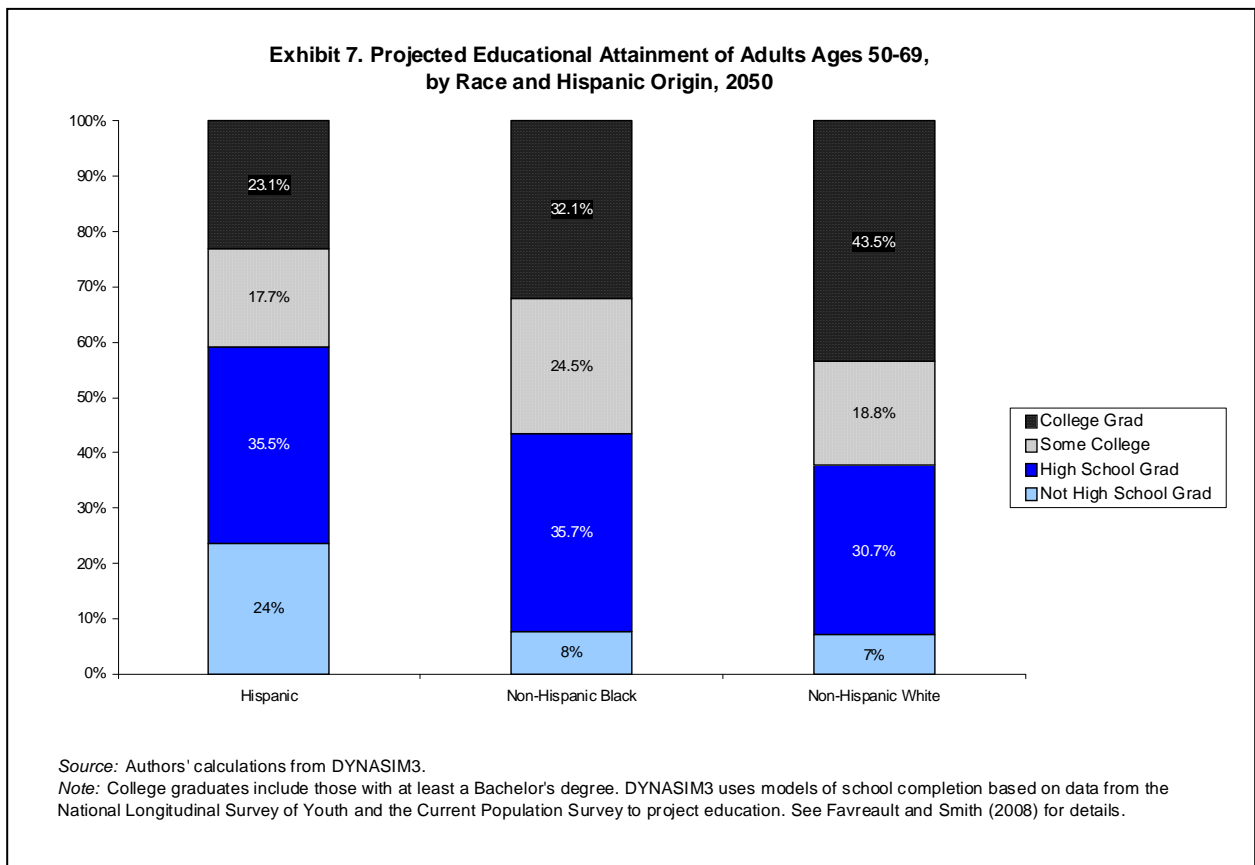
Source: Authors' calculations from the 2007 American Community Survey.

Note: College graduates include those with at least a Bachelor's degree. Estimates are based on a sample of 26,908 foreign-born Hispanics (13,592 without high school diplomas, 6,326 high school graduates, 3,808 with some college, 3,182 college graduates) and 23,716 U.S.-born Hispanics (5,701 without high school diplomas, 7,993 high school graduates, 6,370 with some college, 3,652 college graduates). † indicates that estimate differs significantly ($p < .05$) from estimate for foreign-born Hispanics.

with about one-quarter of college graduates. Among U.S.-born Hispanics ages 50 to 69, about one in five of those who did not complete high school do not speak English well. Only 1 in 50 older U.S.-born Hispanics who completed college are not fluent in English.

On the other hand, a considerable number of Hispanics are fluent in both Spanish and English. In fact, among Latinos of all ages, 24 percent are fully bilingual, meaning that they are equally like to speak English or Spanish when at home. Another 20 percent are English dominant, meaning that they speak English only or English more than Spanish at home; and the remaining 56 percent are Spanish dominant and speak Spanish either exclusively or more than English at home. (Synovate 2008.) Many employers value bilingualism, especially as the nation diversifies, boosting employment prospects for those Hispanics who speak both Spanish and English well.

Immigration is the major factor behind older Hispanic’s limited educational attainment. Foreign-born Latinos have much less education than those born in the U.S. Among Hispanics ages 50 to 54 in 2007, for example, one-half of immigrants lacked a high-school diploma, compared with only about one-fifth of those born in the U.S. (See appendix table A1 for details.) But immigration does not fully explain Hispanics’ limited educational levels. U.S.-born Hispanics lag behind non-Hispanic whites and blacks (although the educational gap relative to blacks is quite small below age 50). Socio-economic factors, including parental education and occupation, poverty status, and family income, are the most important determinants of educational attainment.¹²



Educational levels are much higher for younger Hispanics than their older counterparts, which bodes well for the employment prospects of future cohorts of older Hispanic workers. For U.S.-born Latinos, high school completion rates in 2007 increase from 61 percent at ages 65 to 69 to 81 percent at ages 50 to 54 to 86 percent at ages 30 to 39. Those ages 30 to 39 are now nearly twice as likely to have completed four or more years of college as those ages 65 to 69. High school graduation rates for foreign-born Hispanics are also higher among the younger population, although their college graduation rates are similar across age groups (appendix table A1).

Looking forward, these trends suggest that older Hispanics will be better educated in coming years and thus more attractive to employers. Projections indicate that only about 24 percent of older Hispanics will lack a high school diploma in 2050, only about three-fifths the rate that prevailed in 2007 (exhibit 7).

How Healthy Are Older Hispanics?

Health status is an important determinant of employment, especially at older ages. Health problems often force older adults into retirement and limit their earnings potential. Health status is a complex, multidimensional concept that is difficult to summarize in a single measure. Many

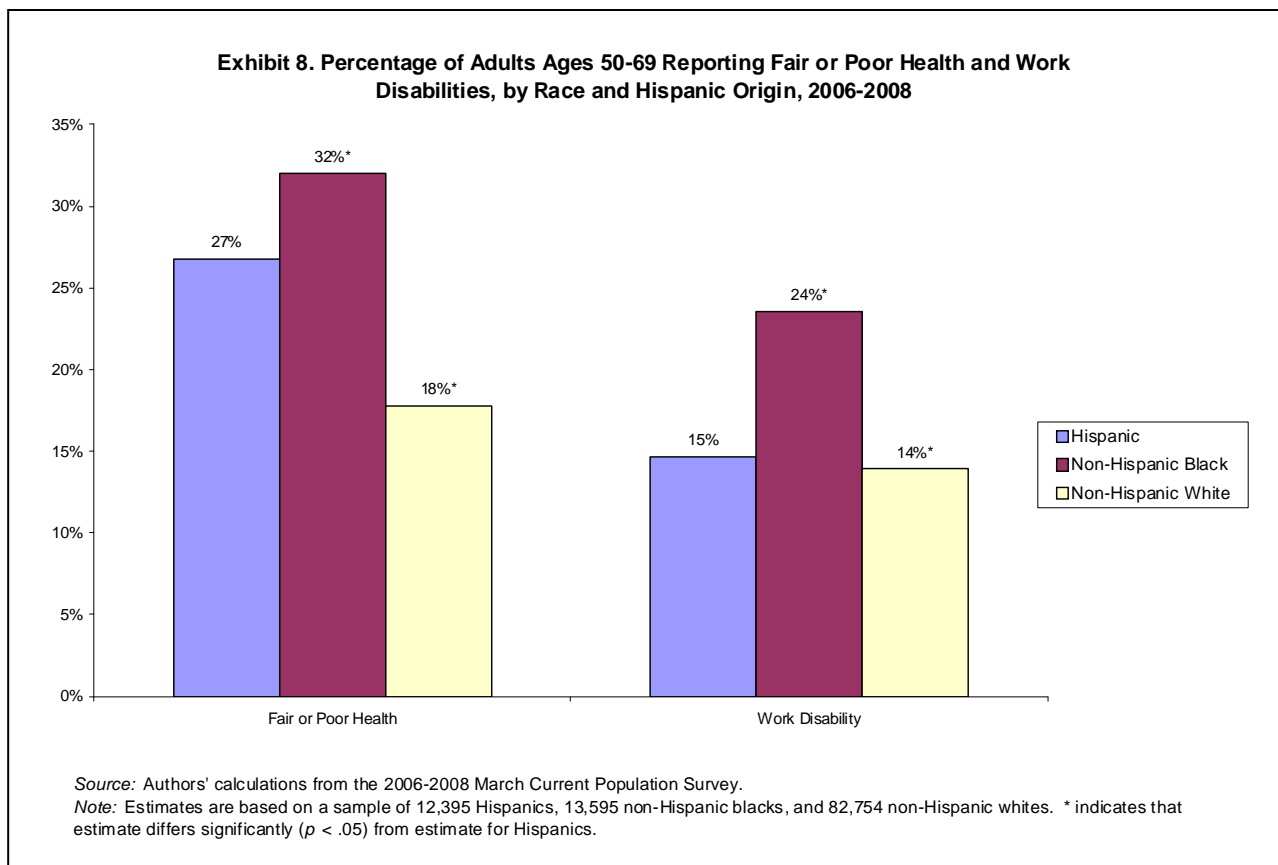


Exhibit 9. Percentage of Adults Ages 53-69 With Selected Medical Conditions, by Race, Hispanic Origin, and Nativity, 2006 (%)

	Hispanic			Non-Hispanic	
	All	Foreign-Born	U.S.-Born	Black	White and Other
Arthritis	47.7	41.7 [‡]	54.6 [†]	54.0 ^{*†}	49.8 [†]
Cancer	8.2	6.4	10.3	7.5	10.1 [†]
Diabetes	24.1	22.8	25.6	28.6 ^{*†}	15.4 ^{*†‡}
Heart Problems	13.8	14.3	13.2	19.3 ^{*†‡}	17.2 ^{*‡}
High Blood Pressure	48.5	45.5	51.9	67.7 ^{*†‡}	46.4
Lung Problems	6.0	5.3	6.7	7.4	8.8 ^{*‡}
Psychological Problems	20.1	20.3	19.9	15.3 ^{*‡}	18.8
Stroke	3.6	3.6	3.5	8.8 ^{*†‡}	3.3
Any Condition	78.1	73.5 [‡]	83.2 [†]	85.5 ^{*†}	79.1 [†]
<i>Number of observations</i>	<i>1,000</i>	<i>555</i>	<i>444</i>	<i>6,966</i>	<i>1,405</i>

Source: Authors' calculations from the 2006 Health and Retirement Study (HRS).

Note: Estimates are restricted to adults ages 53 to 69 because the 2006 HRS does not survey a nationally representative sample of adults younger than 53. Symbols indicate that estimate differs significantly ($p < .05$) from that for non-Hispanics (*), foreign-born Hispanics (†), and U.S.-born Hispanics (‡).

surveys ask respondents to rate their overall health as excellent, very good, good, fair, or poor. Although observed racial and ethnic disparities in this measure, like other self reports of health status, may reflect cultural differences in the tendency to acknowledge health problems, this measure is closely correlated with retirement decisions (McGarry 2004) and is a reliable predictor of future mortality (Benyamini and Idler 1999). In this section, we examine three measures of older Hispanics' health: overall health status, work disabilities, and chronic medical conditions.

Older Hispanics are less likely than older non-Hispanic blacks, but more likely than older non-Hispanic whites, to report fair or poor health (exhibit 8). In the three-year period from 2006 to 2008, slightly more than one-quarter of Hispanics ages 50 to 69 reported fair or poor health.

Hispanics are also less likely than non-Hispanic blacks to report work disabilities—defined as health problems that limit the type or amount of work that can be performed—another common measure of work capacity. From 2006 to 2008, 15 percent of Hispanics ages 50 to 69 reported work disabilities, compared with 24 percent of non-Hispanic blacks. Work disabilities are only slightly more prevalent among Hispanics than non-Hispanic whites.

Chronic medical conditions often reduce work ability at older ages, although the relationship is not exact. Many people who have been diagnosed with health problems can

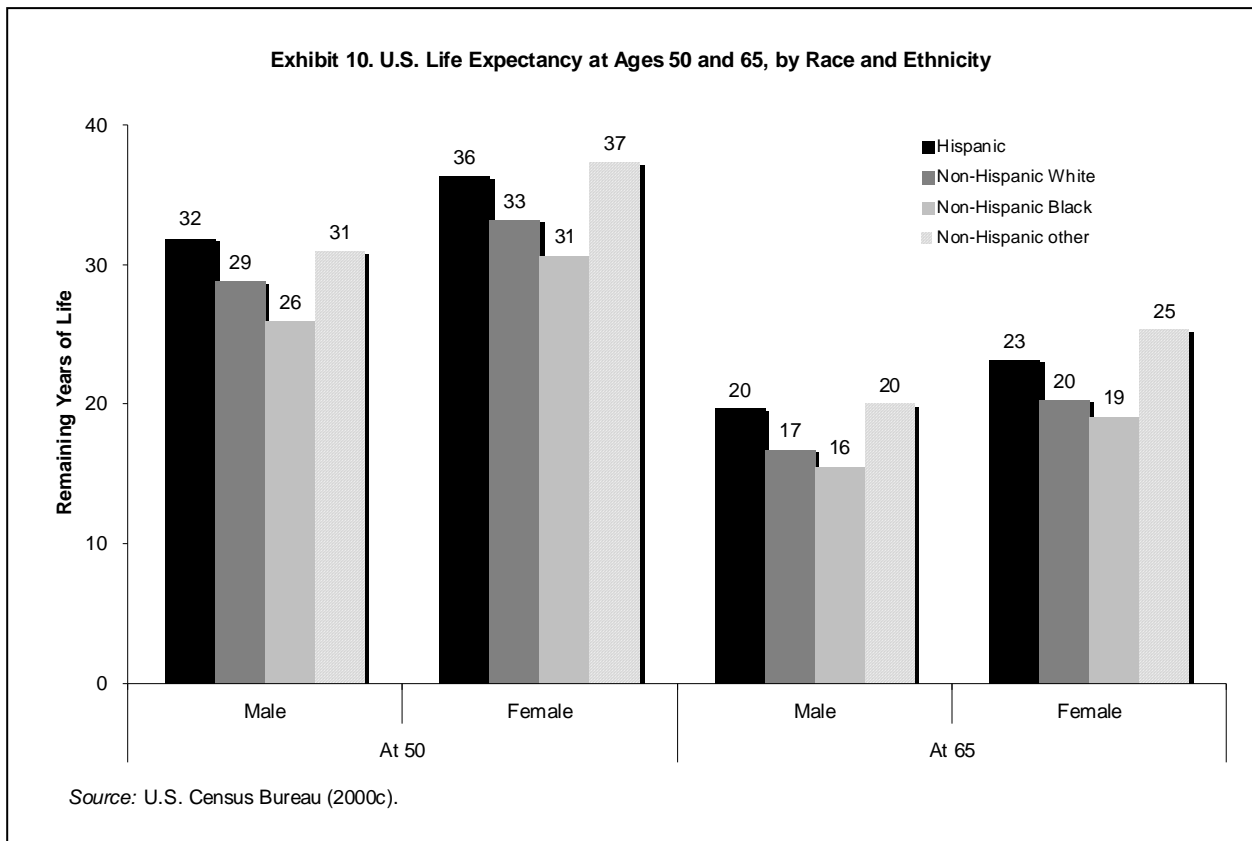
manage their conditions with proper treatment, for example, enabling them to work productively. Additionally, chronic conditions may affect some workers but not others, depending on the type of work performed. Heart problems, for instance, may limit physically demanding work activities, but not necessarily office work.

Medical conditions are generally less common among older Hispanics than older non-Hispanic blacks. Among adults ages 53 to 69, 78 percent of Hispanics reported in 2006 that they had been diagnosed with at least one of the following conditions: arthritis, cancer, diabetes, heart problems, high blood pressure, serious lung problems, psychological problems, or stroke (exhibit 9).¹³ By comparison, about 86 percent of non-Hispanic blacks reported one or more of these conditions. Overall, medical conditions are about as prevalent among older Hispanics as non-Hispanic whites. Older Hispanics are less likely than other older adults to experience heart problems. Arthritis, high blood pressure, and stroke are more common among blacks than Hispanics, and cancer and lung problems are more common among non-Hispanic whites and others who are neither black nor Hispanic than Hispanics. Hispanics are much more likely than non-Hispanic whites and others who are neither black nor Hispanic to report diabetes (24 percent vs. 15 percent), but less likely than non-Hispanic blacks.

U.S.-born Latinos generally report worse health than those born outside the U.S. For example, 83 percent of U.S.-born Hispanics ages 53 to 69 have at least one chronic medical condition, compared with 74 percent of their foreign-born counterparts. Older U.S.-born Latinos are also more likely to report work disabilities and fair or poor health than those born abroad. (For details, see appendix table A2.) These results are consistent with other evidence that immigrants are generally healthier than people born in the U.S., partly because relatively healthy individuals are more likely to move to a different country than those with health problems (Jasso et al. 2004; McDonald 2004; Marmot et al. 1984). Immigrants' health tends to worsen with time spent in the U.S., converging to the level of their U.S.-born counterparts, because many immigrants adopt the poor health behaviors exhibited by many U.S. natives, such as limited exercise and poor diets (Antecol and Bedard 2005; Kasl and Berkman 1983; Stephen et al. 1994).

These measures of health status are based on self reports of health problems, which sometimes differ from more objective measures. For example, observed racial and ethnic disparities may reflect cultural differences in the way people view health limitations or in the tendency to acknowledge them, rather than variation in the prevalence of real health problems. A more objective approach is to compare mortality rates across groups, which are closely related to health status and are not affected much by reporting biases. This measure, like many of the subjective measures discussed earlier, reveals a health advantage for Latinos. At age 50, Hispanics can expect to live three years longer than non-Hispanic white men and women, five years longer than non-Hispanic black women, and six years longer than non-Hispanic black men (exhibit 10).¹⁴ At age 65, Hispanics can expect to live three years longer than non-Hispanic white men and women, and four years longer than non-Hispanic black men and women.

Taken together, the available evidence suggests that older Hispanics are healthier than their non-Hispanic black counterparts and at least as healthy as their non-Hispanic white counterparts. The conclusion that Hispanics' health tends to be as good as non-Hispanic whites'



health is surprising, and is sometimes referred to as the “Latino Health Paradox,” because socioeconomic indicators tend to be lower for Hispanics—especially those born outside the U.S.¹⁵ However, this paradox does not appear to hold for some dimensions of health, such as obesity, diabetes, and overall health status, and Hispanics’ health advantage seems to dissipate with acculturation (Taningco 2007). Nonetheless, older Latinos’ relatively low disability rates and longer life expectancies should appeal to employers.

Summary

Many aspects of the picture of older Hispanics that emerges from this description of their demographic and health characteristics should attract prospective employers. With their numbers increasing rapidly, older Hispanics could help fill labor shortages that may soon develop as the younger labor pool stagnates. Older Hispanic employees may be especially well-equipped to serve clients and customers in the burgeoning Hispanic population and to train and mentor younger Hispanic workers. Older Latinos’ relatively robust health should appeal to employers because it implies strong work ability, relatively low turnover rates, and relatively modest health care costs. However, because most of the health advantages enjoyed by today’s older Hispanics are confined to the foreign-born, future generations of older Hispanics may not enjoy the same health advantages if they are more assimilated into U.S. culture than today’s older Hispanics. One drawback for today’s older Hispanics as a group is their limited overall educational level, but high school and college completion rates are considerably higher among younger Hispanics, especially those born in the U.S., implying higher levels of educational attainment for older Hispanics in coming years.

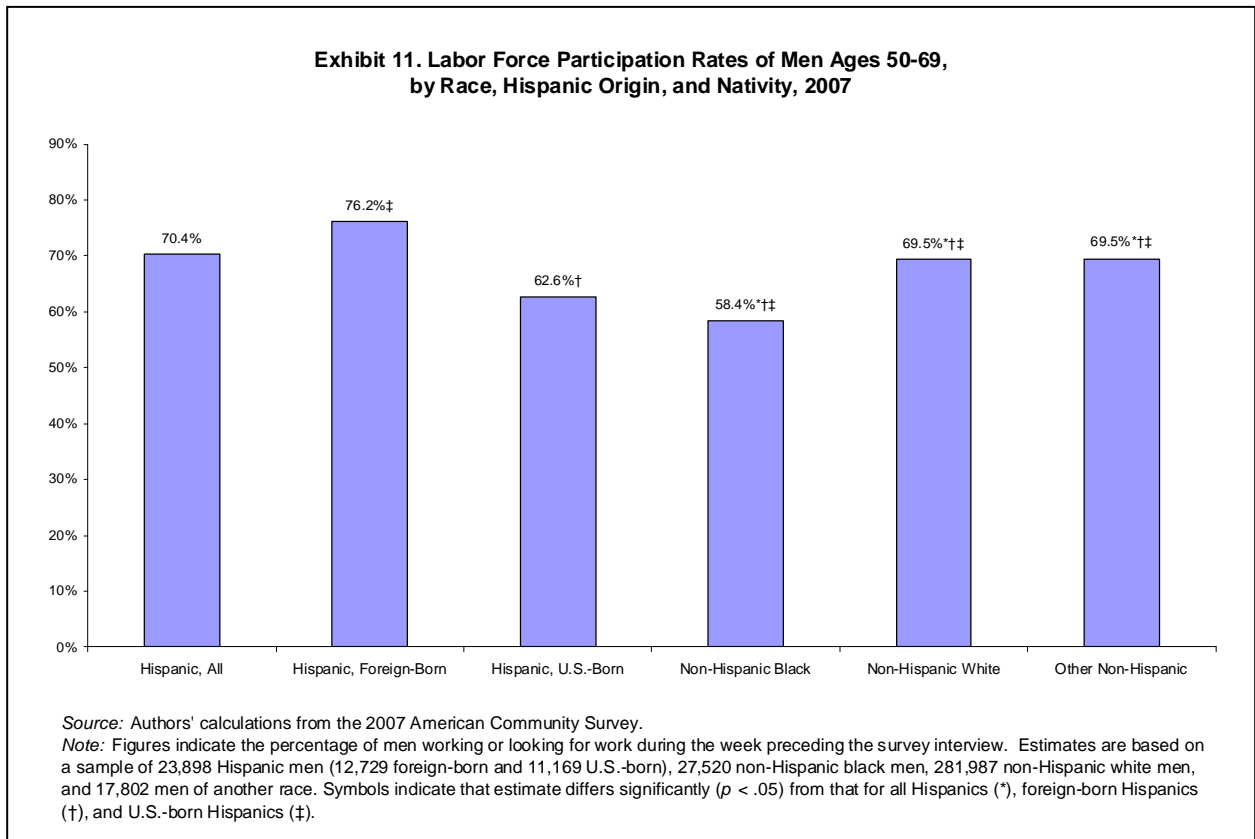
Labor Market Experiences of Older Hispanics

Many older Hispanics participate in the labor market, but they tend to earn low wages and receive few benefits. Nonetheless, they make significant contributions to the economy, and these contributions will increase substantially over time as the number of older Hispanics grows and their educational attainment improves. Older Latinos work in a wide range of occupations, but they are concentrated within the agriculture and construction industries. Their jobs tend to be physically demanding, but older Hispanics exhibit low absenteeism rates and generally report that they enjoy going to work. However, many older Latinos have been displaced from their jobs over the past 15 years, a development that is likely to accelerate as the economy worsens.

How Many Older Hispanics Work?

About 3.2 million Hispanics ages 50 to 69 were employed in 2007, accounting for 8 percent of all employed workers in that age group.¹⁶ There were 1.8 million employed older Hispanic men and 1.4 million employed older Hispanic women.

The majority of older Hispanic men, like those in other racial and ethnic groups, work. In 2007, seven in ten Hispanic men ages 50 to 69 participated in the labor force (by working or looking for work), nearly identical to the rate for non-Hispanic whites and substantially higher than the rate for non-Hispanic blacks (exhibit 11). Participation rates are especially high for foreign-born Hispanics, more than three-quarters of whom were in the labor force in 2007. At all



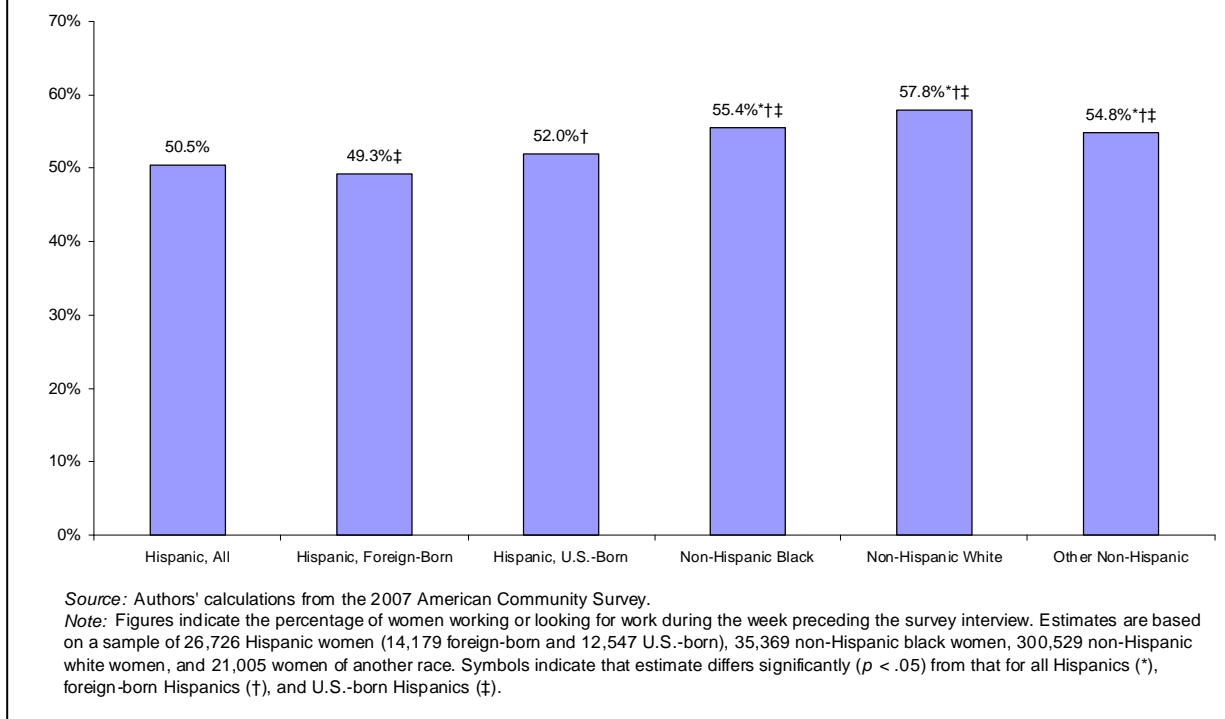
ages, Hispanics born outside the U.S. are more likely to belong to the labor force than non-Hispanic whites. U.S.-born Hispanics, by contrast, are less likely to participate in the labor force than non-Hispanic whites, but more likely than non-Hispanic blacks.

Labor force participation rates among older adults decline with age for all racial and ethnic groups. At ages 50 to 54, 84 percent of Hispanic men are in the labor force, compared with 59 percent at ages 60 to 64. (See appendix table A3 for details.) Yet even at ages 65 to 69, after eligibility for Social Security has begun, 37 percent of Hispanic men participate in the labor force. The availability of Social Security is less likely to encourage retirement among foreign-born Hispanics than other groups because undocumented foreign-born workers will never collect benefits, even though the vast majority contribute to the system. The relatively high participation rate for Hispanic men ages 65 to 69 is driven by those born outside the U.S., 42 percent of whom participate in the labor force. The rate is much lower for U.S.-born Hispanic men ages 65 to 69, who are somewhat less likely to participate than their non-Hispanic white counterparts (31 percent vs. 36 percent).

As with other racial and ethnic groups, labor force participation rates for older Hispanic men increase with education. At ages 50 to 69, about four-fifths of older Hispanic men who completed college participated in the labor force in 2007, compared with only about two-thirds of those who failed to complete high school (appendix table A4). However, labor force participation varies less with educational attainment for older Hispanic men than for non-Hispanic men. Among non-Hispanic black men, for example, college graduates are about twice as likely to participate in the labor force as those who did not complete high school. Older Hispanic men are more likely to participate in the labor force than non-Hispanics at every educational level, but the gap is especially large among those who did not complete high school. For example, two-thirds (67 percent) of Hispanic men ages 50 to 69 without high school diplomas are in the labor force, compared with just 44 percent of their non-Hispanic white counterparts and 38 percent of their non-Hispanic black counterparts. The participation rate for foreign-born Hispanic men ages 50 to 69 who did not complete high school exceeds the rate for non-Hispanic black men by 35 percentage points (73 percent vs. 38 percent).

Labor force participation rates are quite low for older Hispanic women. In 2007, only about one-half of Hispanic women ages 50 to 69 participated in the labor force, below the rate for their non-Hispanic counterparts (exhibit 12). At ages 50 to 64, non-Hispanic white women are about 10 percentage points more likely to participate than Hispanic women, but the difference falls to only about 4 percentage points at ages 65 to 69. However, participation rates for women without high school diplomas are higher for Hispanics than non-Hispanic whites (about 38 percent vs. 28 percent at ages 50 to 69, as shown in appendix table A5). In a reverse of the observed pattern for men, foreign-born older Hispanic women are less likely to participate in the labor force than those born in the U.S. (except among those who did not complete high school and those with some college education but less than a four-year degree). The participation gap between foreign-born and U.S.-born Hispanic women has been attributed to foreign-born women's limited language skills, lower educational levels, and large family sizes (Reimers 1985).

Exhibit 12. Labor Force Participation Rates of Women Ages 50-69, by Race, Hispanic Origin, and Nativity, 2007

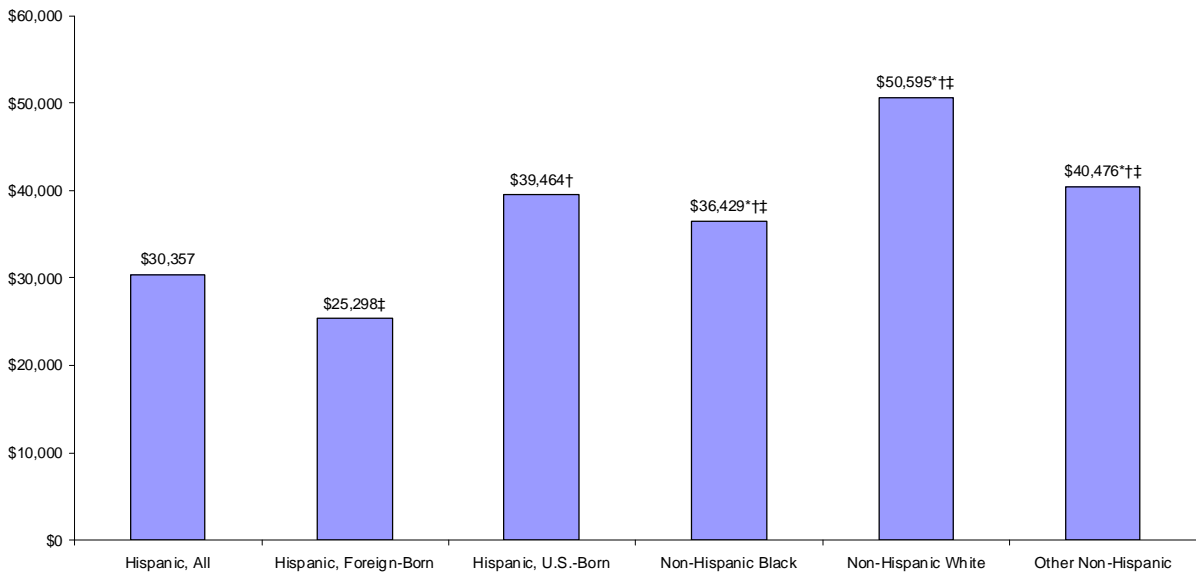


Why Do Older Hispanics Work?

Financial need appears to be the primary reason for working among older Hispanics as well as non-Hispanic whites and blacks, according to a spring 2007 AARP survey of workers ages 45 to 74 (AARP 2008). When identifying the single most important reason that they work, older workers from all three racial and ethnic groups name “need the money” most often. Non-Hispanic whites (39 percent) and non-Hispanic blacks (38 percent) are more likely than Hispanics (29 percent) to specify “need the money.” However, older Hispanics are about twice as likely as non-Hispanic whites (23 percent vs. 10 percent) to point to the “need to support other family members,” which is clearly an aspect of financial need. Working to support family members is especially common among older foreign-born Hispanic workers—approximately one in three (35 percent) cite this as their most important reason for working, compared with just about one in ten (11 percent) U.S.-born Hispanics.

In addition to working for financial reasons, older Hispanics also report that they work because they enjoy working. In fact, when allowed to cite more than one reason for working, Hispanics are just as likely to refer to the need for money as to refer to the fact that they enjoy working. When forced to name the most important reason for working, however, older Hispanics are less likely than non-Hispanic whites to name enjoyment (7 percent vs. 12 percent). These findings suggest that, although older Hispanics may be particularly likely to say that they enjoy their jobs, financial need and the need to support family members are their main reasons for working.

Exhibit 13. Median Earnings for Full-Time Male Wage and Salary Workers Ages 50-69, by Race, Hispanic Origin, and Nativity, 2007



Source: Authors' calculations from the 2007 American Community Survey.

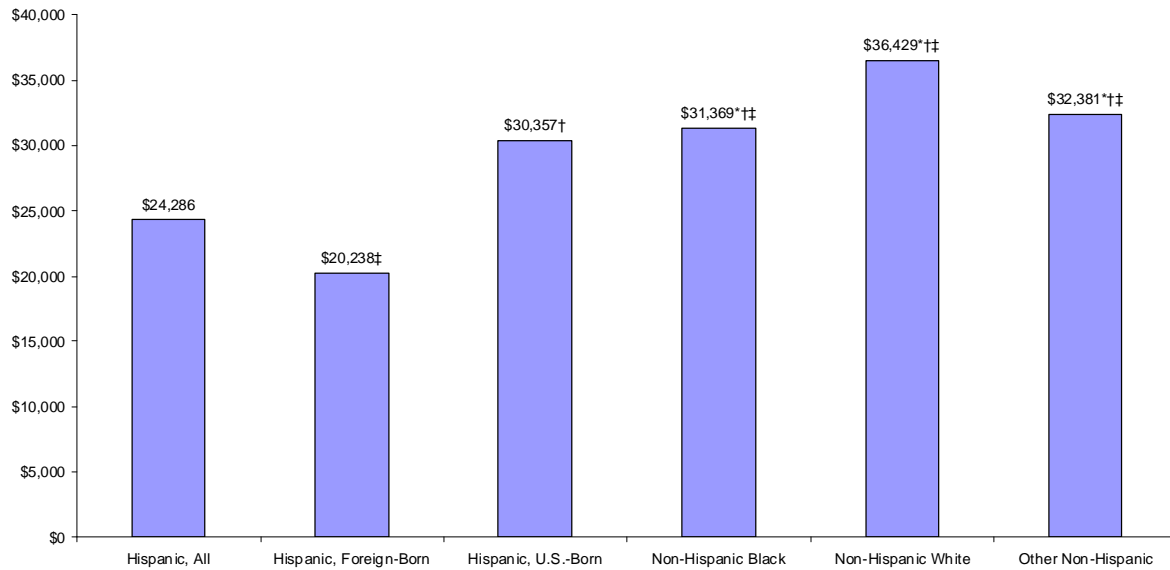
Note: Estimates are based on a sample of 14,164 Hispanic men (8,305 foreign-born and 5,859 U.S.-born), 12,687 non-Hispanic black men, 164,905 non-Hispanic white men, and 10,365 men of another race. Symbols indicate that estimate differs significantly ($p < .05$) from that for all Hispanics (*), foreign-born Hispanics (†), and U.S.-born Hispanics (‡), using a nonparametric K-sample test on the equality of medians.

How Much Do Older Hispanics Earn?

Older Hispanics typically work for low wages. In 2007, median annual earnings for Hispanic men ages 50 to 69 employed full-time as wage and salary workers totaled about \$30,400, compared with about \$50,600 for non-Hispanic whites and about \$36,400 for non-Hispanic blacks (exhibit 13). Older Hispanic women also earn less than older non-Hispanic women. Median 2007 earnings for Hispanic women ages 50 to 69 stood at about \$24,300, compared with about \$36,400 for their non-Hispanic white counterparts and about \$31,400 for their non-Hispanic black counterparts (exhibit 14).

Immigration explains much of the earnings gap between Hispanics and other groups. Foreign-born Hispanics generally earn less than other ethno-racial groups. Older U.S.-born Hispanic men employed full-time earn somewhat more than older non-Hispanic black men, on average, especially among those who completed college (appendix table A6). Among women, median annual earnings are lower for older U.S.-born Hispanics than non-Hispanic blacks, but the difference is small and is driven by the relatively low earnings of older U.S.-born Hispanic women who did not complete high school. In fact, older U.S.-born Hispanic women with at least a high school diploma earn somewhat more than their non-Hispanic black counterparts (appendix table A7). U.S.-born Hispanic men and women earn less than non-Hispanic whites, however, within all educational groups.

Exhibit 14. Median Earnings for Full-Time Female Wage and Salary Workers Ages 50-69, by Race, Hispanic Origin, and Nativity, 2007



Source: Authors' calculations from the 2007 American Community Survey.

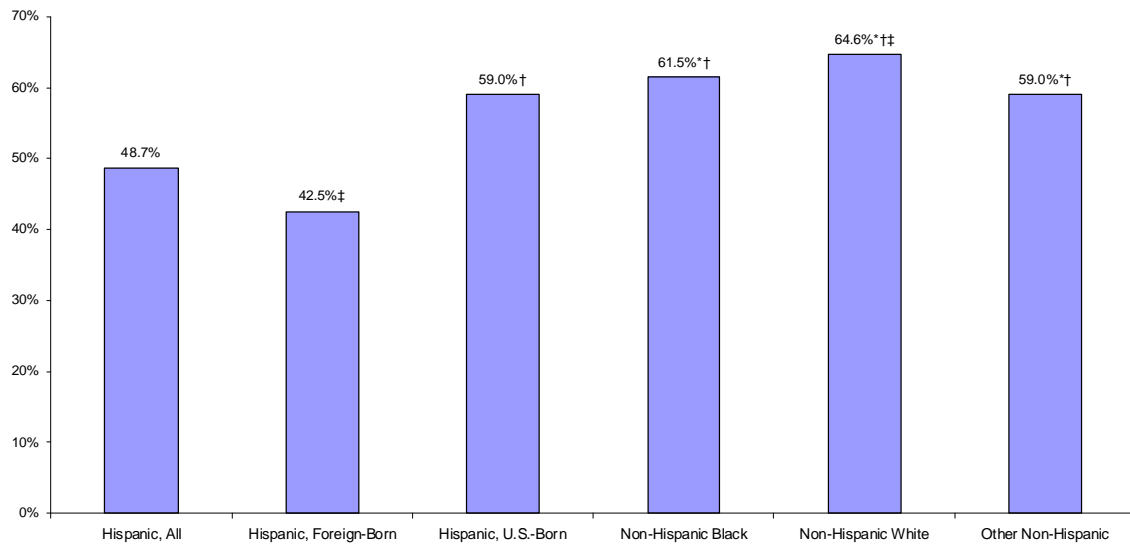
Note: Estimates are based on a sample of 9,710 Hispanic women (4,886 foreign-born and 4,824 U.S.-born), 14,172 non-Hispanic black women, 122,359 non-Hispanic white women, and 8,723 women of another race. Symbols indicate that estimate differs significantly ($p < .05$) from that for all Hispanics (*), foreign-born Hispanics (†), and U.S.-born Hispanics (‡), using a nonparametric K-sample test on the equality of medians.

How Likely Are Older Hispanics To Receive Benefits?

Hispanic workers generally receive few employment-related benefits. The share of older Hispanic wage and salary workers with health benefits from their current employer stands at only about 49 percent, compared with about 65 percent for non-Hispanic whites and 62 percent for non-Hispanic blacks (exhibit 15). Employer-sponsored health insurance coverage rates for U.S.-born Hispanics reach 59 percent, about 16 percentage points higher than those for foreign-born Hispanics but still below the rate for non-Hispanic whites.

Hispanic workers are also less likely to work for an employer that offers retirement plans. Employer-sponsored retirement plans are available to only about 38 percent of older Hispanic wage and salary workers, compared with about 64 percent of non-Hispanic whites and 55 percent of non-Hispanic blacks (exhibit 16). Additionally, older Hispanic workers are somewhat less likely than whites to participate in retirement plans when they are offered (84 percent of Hispanics vs. 87 percent of non-Hispanic whites). Most retirement plans are 401(k)-type plans that require participants to contribute to the plan, reducing their take-home pay. Only about 32 percent of older Hispanic wage and salary workers participated in an employer-sponsored retirement plan in 2006 to 2008, compared with about 56 percent of non-Hispanic whites and 46 percent of non-Hispanic blacks. These low benefit levels, combined with relatively low earnings, may reduce work incentives for older Hispanics. However, a lifetime of low pay and few benefits threatens many Latinos' later-life financial security, forcing many to remain at work at older ages.

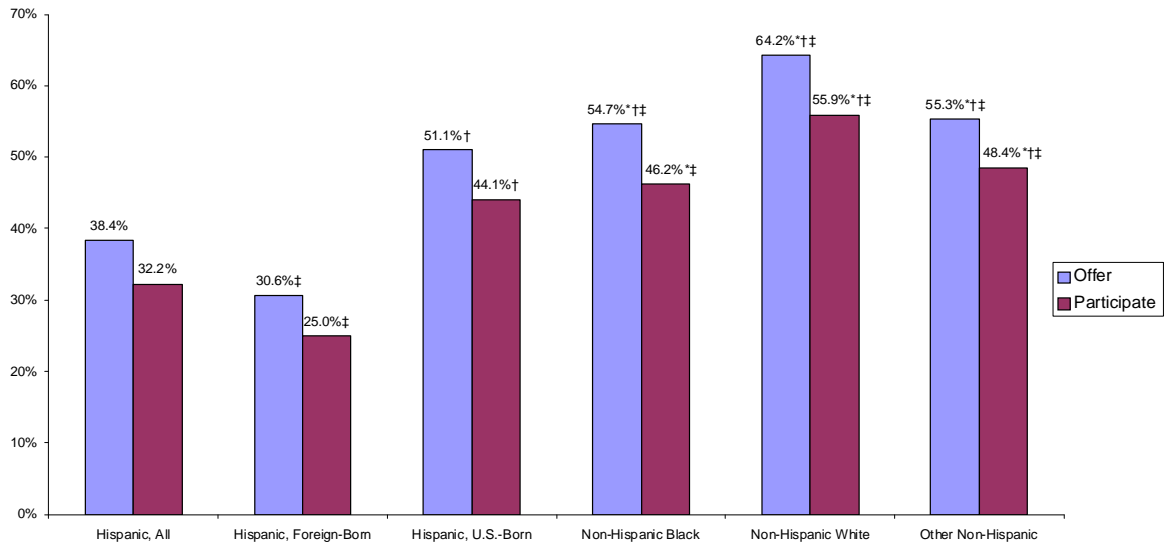
Exhibit 15. Percentage of Wage and Salary Workers Ages 50-69 Receiving Health Benefits from Their Current Employer, by Race, Hispanic Origin, and Nativity, 2006-2008



Source: Authors' calculations from the March 2006, March 2007, and March 2008 Current Population Survey.

Note: Estimates are based on a sample of 5,562 Hispanic workers (3,359 foreign-born and 2,203 U.S.-born), 5,143 non-Hispanic black workers, 35,885 non-Hispanic white workers, and 3,797 workers of another race. Symbols indicate that estimate differs significantly ($p < .05$) from that for all Hispanics (*), foreign-born Hispanics (†), and U.S.-born Hispanics (‡).

Exhibit 16. Percentage of Wage and Salary Workers Ages 50-69 with Employer-Sponsored Retirement Plans, by Race, Hispanic Origin, and Nativity, 2006-2008

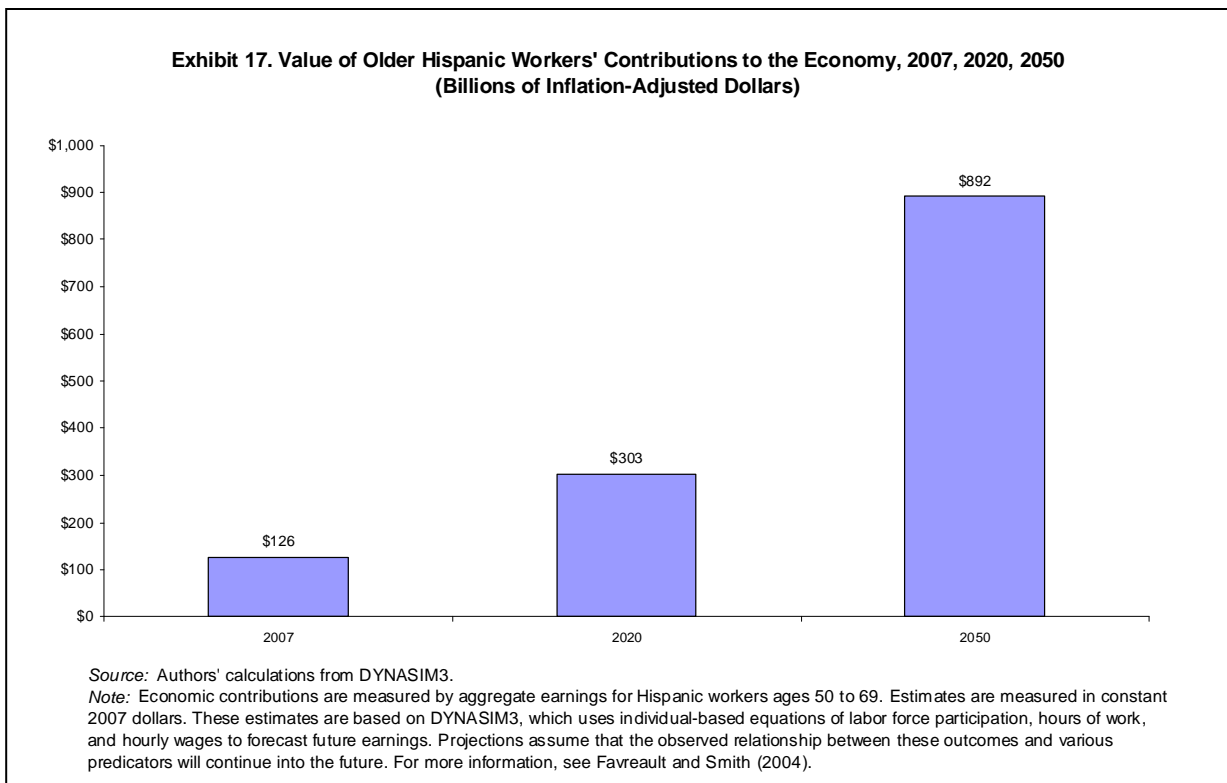


Source: Authors' calculations from the March 2006, March 2007, and March 2008 Current Population Survey.

Note: Estimates are based on a sample of 5,562 Hispanic workers (3,359 foreign-born and 2,203 U.S.-born), 5,143 non-Hispanic black workers, 35,885 non-Hispanic white workers, and 3,797 workers of another race. Symbols indicate that estimate differs significantly ($p < .05$) from that for all Hispanics (*), foreign-born Hispanics (†), and U.S.-born Hispanics (‡).

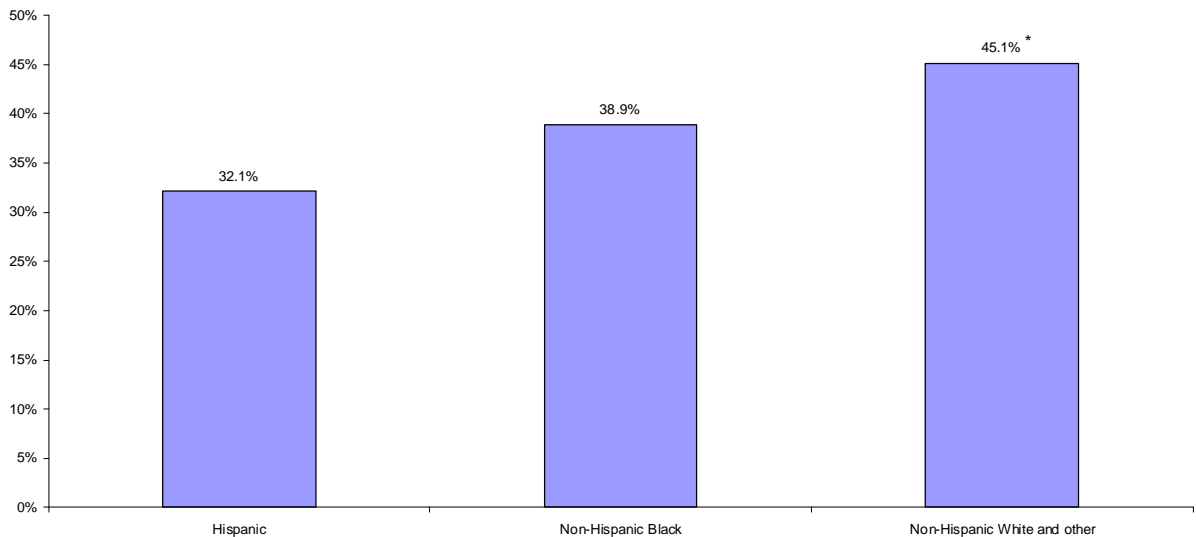
How Can the Value of Older Hispanics' Work Be Quantified?

Despite generally low earnings, older Hispanics significantly contribute to the economy and are dependable workers. Aggregate earnings provide one measure of the value of workers' economic contributions, under the standard economic assumption that wages reflect productivity. In 2007, Hispanic workers ages 50 to 69 earned a total of \$126 billion (exhibit 17). Their economic contributions will increase rapidly over time as the population grows and their educational attainment improves. We estimate that their contributions will more than double between 2007 and 2020, to \$303 billion in inflation-adjusted 2007 dollars. Their contributions will then nearly triple again, to \$892 billion, by 2050. Hispanics will account for nearly one-fifth of the total earnings received by all workers ages 50 to 69 in 2050, up from one-sixteenth in 2007.



Additionally, older Hispanic workers' low rates of absenteeism represent dependability—a trait that is of considerable value to employers. In 2006, only 32 percent of Hispanic workers ages 53 to 69 reported missing work during the past 12 months because of health problems (exhibit 18).¹⁷ By contrast, about 45 percent of non-Hispanic whites (and others who are neither black nor Hispanic) missed at least some work. Hispanics' low absenteeism rates could reflect their strong work ethic, lack of benefits and low wages (so that they cannot afford to miss work), or fears about losing their jobs. Regardless of the motivation, older Hispanic's dependability likely appeals to employers.

Exhibit 18. Percentage of Wage and Salary Workers Ages 53-69 Who Missed Work During the Past 12 Months Because of Health Problems, by Race and Hispanic Origin, 2006



Source: Authors' calculations from the 2006 Health and Retirement Study.

Note: Based on self-reports of survey respondents. Estimates are based on a sample of 361 Hispanic workers, 550 non-Hispanic black workers, and 2,844 non-Hispanic white workers or those of another race. Respondents ages 50 to 52 are excluded because the 2006 HRS does not survey a nationally representative sample of adults younger than 53. * indicates that estimate differs significantly ($p < .05$) from estimate for Hispanics.

What Types of Jobs Do Older Hispanics Hold?

Older Latinos work in a wide range of industries and occupations, although they are disproportionately represented in certain sectors of the economy. Many older Hispanics are found in low-skilled jobs, even some with college degrees, and relatively few work for themselves.

Industry

Older Hispanic men are more likely to work in agriculture or construction than non-Hispanic workers. Exhibit 19 shows that 21 percent of employed Hispanic men ages 50 to 69 work in these two industries, a much larger share than for non-Hispanic blacks (10 percent) or non-Hispanic whites (14 percent). Hispanics, on the other hand, are less likely than non-Hispanics to be in the service sector—only 26 percent of employed older Latino men work in services, compared with 30 percent or more for other groups. In contrast, the distribution of employed older women across industries does not differ much between Hispanics and non-Hispanics. In 2007, 58 percent of employed Hispanic women ages 50 to 69 worked in the services sector, 13 percent worked in retail trade, and 11 percent worked in manufacturing, similar to the distribution for non-Hispanic white women (exhibit 20). However, older Latinas, especially those born outside the U.S., are less likely than non-Hispanic whites and blacks to work in the financial, insurance, and real estate sector.

Exhibit 19. Industry Distribution of Employed Men Ages 50-69, by Race, Hispanic Origin, and Nativity, 2007 (%)

	Hispanic			Non-Hispanic		
	All	Foreign-Born	U.S.-Born	White	Black	Other
Agriculture	6.6	9.0 [‡]	2.7 [†]	2.9 ^{*†‡}	1.6 ^{*†‡}	1.8 ^{*†‡}
Mining	0.7	0.5 [‡]	1.1 [†]	0.9 ^{*†‡}	0.4 ^{*†‡}	0.3 ^{*†‡}
Construction	14.7	16.8 [‡]	11.3 [†]	10.6 ^{*†‡}	8.1 ^{*†‡}	6.4 ^{*†‡}
Manufacturing	17.1	18.0 [‡]	15.8 [†]	17.4 ^{*†‡}	15.9 ^{*†‡}	16.8 ^{*†‡}
Transportation, Communications, Utilities	10.4	9.1 [‡]	12.4 [†]	10.6 ^{*†‡}	16.8 ^{*†‡}	9.5 ^{*†‡}
Wholesale Trade	4.4	4.7 [‡]	4.0 [†]	4.8 ^{*†‡}	2.8 ^{*†‡}	4.1 ^{*†‡}
Retail Trade	12.5	13.2 [‡]	11.3 [†]	10.8 ^{*†‡}	8.3 ^{*†‡}	16.3 ^{*†‡}
Finance, Insurance, Real Estate	4.2	3.5 [‡]	5.3 [†]	6.7 ^{*†‡}	4.3 ^{*†‡}	5.6 ^{*†‡}
Services	25.6	23.7 [‡]	28.8 [†]	29.9 ^{*†‡}	33.9 ^{*†‡}	33.5 ^{*†‡}
Public Administration	3.8	1.5 [‡]	7.5 [†]	5.4 ^{*†‡}	7.9 ^{*†‡}	5.6 ^{*†‡}
<i>Number of observations</i>	15,577	9,022	6,555	186,787	14,436	11,558

Source: Authors' calculations from the 2007 American Community Survey.

Note: Symbols indicate that estimate differs significantly ($p < .05$) from that for all Hispanics (*), foreign-born Hispanics (†), and U.S.-born Hispanics (‡).

Exhibit 20. Industry Distribution of Employed Women Ages 50-69, by Race, Hispanic Origin, and Nativity, 2007 (%)

	Hispanic			Non-Hispanic		
	All	Foreign-Born	U.S.-Born	White	Black	Other
Agriculture	1.0	1.3 [‡]	0.5 [†]	1.1 ^{*†‡}	0.2 ^{*†‡}	0.8 ^{*†‡}
Mining	0.1	0.0 [‡]	0.2 [†]	0.2 ^{*†‡}	0.1 ^{*†‡}	0.0 ^{*†‡}
Construction	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.8 ^{*†‡}	0.5 ^{*†‡}	0.9 ^{*†‡}
Manufacturing	10.8	13.0 [‡]	8.2 [†]	8.0 ^{*†‡}	7.5 ^{*†‡}	11.2 ^{*†‡}
Transportation, Communications, Utilities	3.6	2.5 [‡]	5.1 [†]	4.3 ^{*†‡}	5.6 ^{*†‡}	4.3 ^{*†‡}
Wholesale Trade	2.3	2.8 [‡]	1.7 [†]	2.1 ^{*†‡}	0.9 ^{*†‡}	2.6 ^{*†‡}
Retail Trade	13.4	15.3 [‡]	11.0 [†]	13.5 ^{*†‡}	8.6 ^{*†‡}	15.9 ^{*†‡}
Finance, Insurance, Real Estate	5.4	4.3 [‡]	6.6 [†]	9.1 ^{*†‡}	6.1 ^{*†‡}	6.8 ^{*†‡}
Services	57.7	57.2 [‡]	58.4 [†]	54.6 ^{*†‡}	61.2 ^{*†‡}	51.5 ^{*†‡}
Public Administration	4.8	2.5 [‡]	7.4 [†]	5.3 ^{*†‡}	9.4 ^{*†‡}	6.0 ^{*†‡}
<i>Number of observations</i>	12,806	6,577	6,229	166,248	18,122	10,969

Source: Authors' calculations from the 2007 American Community Survey.

Note: Symbols indicate that estimate differs significantly ($p < .05$) from that for all Hispanics (*), foreign-born Hispanics (†), and U.S.-born Hispanics (‡).

Exhibit 21. Occupational Distribution of Employed Men Ages 50-69, by Race, Hispanic Origin, and Nativity, 2007 (%)

	Hispanic			Non-Hispanic		
	All	Foreign-Born	U.S.-Born	White	Black	Other
Management	8.9	6.5 [‡]	12.9 [†]	20.0 ^{* †‡}	9.7 ^{* †‡}	16.2 ^{* †‡}
Professional	7.1	4.8 [‡]	10.8 [†]	16.9 ^{* †‡}	11.6 ^{* †‡}	18.0 ^{* †‡}
Technical	1.4	1.0 [‡]	2.1 [†]	3.2 ^{* †‡}	2.3 ^{* †‡}	3.9 ^{* †‡}
<i>Subtotal</i>	17.5	12.3 [‡]	25.8 [†]	40.1 ^{* †‡}	23.6 ^{* †‡}	38.1 ^{* †‡}
Sales	6.7	5.5 [‡]	8.6 [†]	12.5 ^{* †‡}	5.5 ^{* †‡}	10.8 ^{* †‡}
Administrative Support	5.8	4.4 [‡]	7.9 [†]	6.5 ^{* †‡}	9.2 ^{* †‡}	7.8 ^{* †‡}
Services	16.1	16.9 [‡]	14.7 [†]	7.1 ^{* †‡}	18.5 ^{* †‡}	14.9 ^{* †‡}
Farming, Fishing, and Forestry	7.5	10.2 [‡]	3.3 [†]	3.1 ^{* †‡}	2.3 ^{* †‡}	1.9 ^{* †‡}
Mechanics	6.6	6.5 [‡]	6.8 [†]	6.0 ^{* †‡}	5.3 ^{* †‡}	4.2 ^{* †‡}
Construction	9.6	11.0 [‡]	7.4 [†]	6.3 ^{* †‡}	5.4 ^{* †‡}	4.0 ^{* †‡}
Extractive	0.2	0.1 [‡]	0.2 [†]	0.1 ^{* †‡}	0.2 ^{* †‡}	0.0 ^{* †‡}
Precision Production	3.7	3.7 [‡]	3.7 [†]	3.3 ^{* †‡}	3.4 ^{* †‡}	3.6 ^{* †‡}
Machine Operators	8.9	10.5 [‡]	6.2 [†]	4.7 ^{* †‡}	7.4 ^{* †‡}	6.2 ^{* †‡}
Transportation	17.4	18.8 [‡]	15.2 [†]	10.3 ^{* †‡}	19.3 ^{* †‡}	8.5 ^{* †‡}
<i>Subtotal</i>	54.0	60.8 [‡]	42.9 [†]	33.9 ^{* †‡}	43.2 ^{* †‡}	28.4 ^{* †‡}
<i>Number of observations</i>	15,577	9,022	6,555	186,787	14,436	11,558

Source: Authors' calculations from the 2007 American Community Survey.

Note: Symbols indicate that estimate differs significantly ($p < .05$) from that for all Hispanics (*), foreign-born Hispanics (†), and U.S.-born Hispanics (‡).

Occupation

Older Latinos are notably underrepresented in managerial, professional, and technical occupations. For instance, only 18 percent of employed Hispanic men ages 50 to 69 work in these jobs, less than half the share for their non-Hispanic white counterparts (exhibit 21). Relative to non-Hispanic whites, older employed Latino men are more likely to work in service, construction, and transportation occupations, and in those related to farming, fishing and forestry. Among older employed women, Hispanics are much more likely than non-Hispanics to work in services occupations, which employ more than a third of them (exhibit 22). Like men, they are underrepresented in management, professional and technical occupations.

Again, immigration accounts for much of the differences between Hispanics and non-Hispanics. The industry and occupational distributions of U.S.-born Hispanic workers are quite close to those of non-Hispanic blacks, the other large minority group. Foreign-born Hispanics—not those born in the U.S.—are heavily concentrated in agriculture and construction industries (where about one-quarter of them work) and are much less likely to be in white-collar jobs. For example, only about one in eight older foreign-born employed Hispanic men work in management, professional, or technical positions, compared with about one in four older U.S.-born Hispanic men and non-Hispanic black men and about two in five non-Hispanic white men.

Exhibit 22. Occupational Distribution of Employed Women Ages 50-69, by Race, Hispanic Origin, and Nativity, 2007 (%)

	Hispanic			Non-Hispanic		
	All	Foreign-Born	U.S.-Born	White	Black	Other
Management	7.9	5.2 [‡]	11.2 [†]	14.5 ^{*††}	10.8 ^{*††}	12.6 ^{*††}
Professional	13.5	9.2 [‡]	18.7 [†]	24.2 ^{*††}	18.5 ^{*††}	20.4 ^{*††}
Technical	2.1	1.4 [‡]	3.0 [†]	3.8 ^{*††}	4.4 ^{*††}	3.8 ^{*††}
<i>Subtotal</i>	23.5	15.8 [‡]	32.8 [†]	42.5 ^{*††}	33.7 ^{*††}	36.7 ^{*††}
Sales	7.7	7.4 [‡]	8.1 [†]	10.9 ^{*††}	6.1 ^{*††}	10.4 ^{*††}
Administrative Support	19.2	12.7 [‡]	27.2 [†]	26.9 ^{*††}	21.5 ^{*††}	18.5 ^{*††}
Services	35.0	45.2 [‡]	22.7 [†]	12.4 ^{*††}	29.0 ^{*††}	22.2 ^{*††}
Farming, Fishing, and Forestry	1.1	1.6 [‡]	0.5 [†]	0.8 ^{*††}	0.2 ^{*††}	0.6 ^{*††}
Mechanics	0.4	0.3 [‡]	0.6 [†]	0.3 ^{*††}	0.3 [‡]	0.4 ^{*††}
Construction	0.3	0.4 [‡]	0.2 [†]	0.2 ^{*††}	0.2 ^{*††}	0.1 ^{*††}
Precision Production	1.9	2.3 [‡]	1.3 [†]	1.3 ^{*††}	1.0 ^{*††}	1.8 ^{*††}
Machine Operators	7.5	10.0 [‡]	4.5 [†]	2.8 ^{*††}	4.9 ^{*††}	7.2 ^{*††}
Transportation	3.4	4.4 [‡]	2.2 [†]	1.9 ^{*††}	3.1 ^{*††}	2.0 ^{*††}
<i>Subtotal</i>	14.5	18.9 [‡]	9.3 [†]	7.3 ^{*††}	9.8 ^{*††}	12.2 ^{*††}
<i>Number of observations</i>	12,806	6,577	6,229	166,248	18,122	10,969

Source: Authors' calculations from the 2007 American Community Survey.

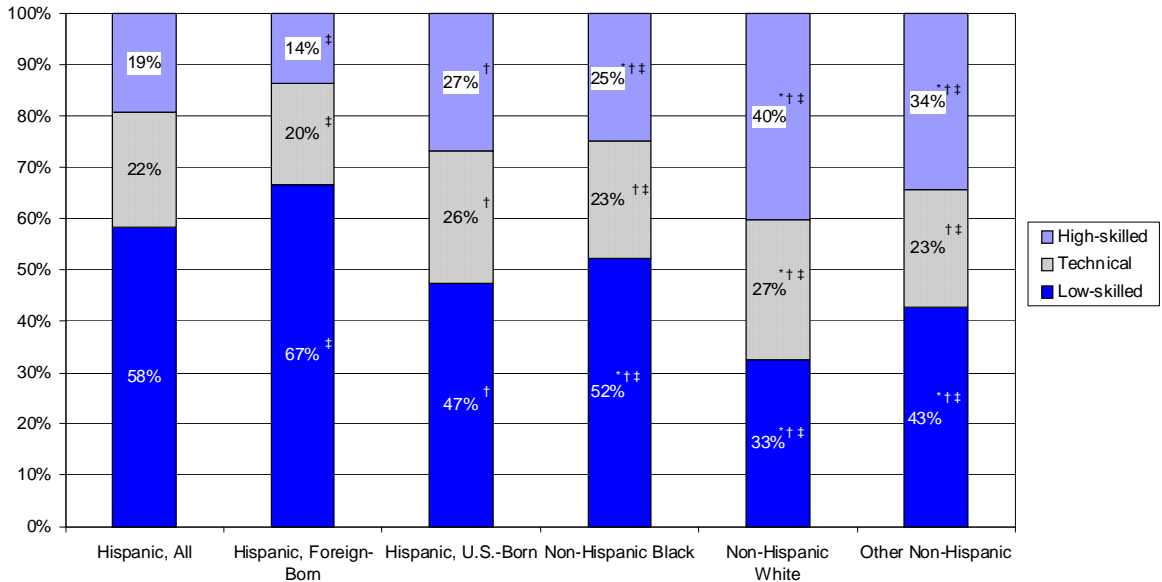
Note: Symbols indicate that estimate differs significantly ($p < .05$) from that for all Hispanics (*), foreign-born Hispanics (†), and U.S.-born Hispanics (‡).

Skill requirements

One concern is that employers are not taking full advantage of the skills that Hispanics offer. Exhibit 23 shows that most older Hispanic workers (58 percent) are in low-skilled occupations, and only 19 percent are in high-skilled jobs.¹⁸ The distribution of non-Hispanic blacks largely mirrors that of Hispanics. In contrast, non-Hispanic whites are much less likely to work in low-skilled jobs (only 33 percent) and much more likely to be in high-skilled occupations (40 percent).

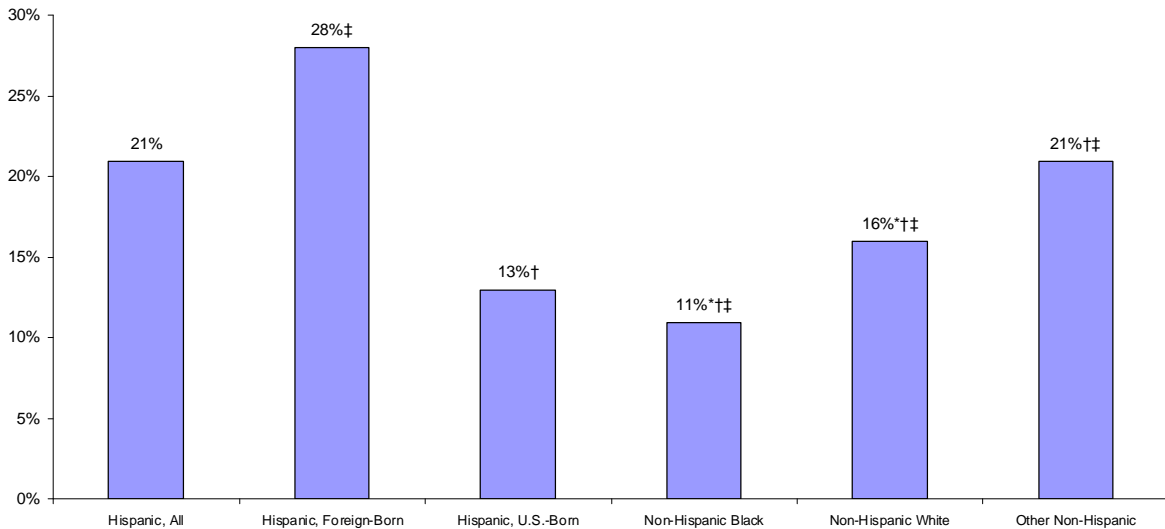
On the surface, it appears that most older Hispanics are prepared for only low-skilled jobs—they generally have limited education and the majority work in occupations that require little training. But many older Hispanics are not employed to their full potential. Well-educated Hispanics are often under-employed, working in jobs for which they are overqualified. In fact, 21 percent of all college-educated older Hispanics are working in jobs that require little or no preparation, compared with 16 percent of non-Hispanic whites and only 11 percent of non-Hispanic blacks (exhibit 24). This skill underutilization is much more common for Hispanic immigrants who are college-educated, 28 percent of whom are in low-skilled jobs.¹⁹ According to AARP's 2007 survey of older workers, Hispanics (61 percent) are less likely than non-Hispanic whites (69 percent) and blacks (71 percent) to say that their jobs allow them to utilize

Exhibit 23. Distribution of Skill Requirements of Jobs Held by Workers Ages 50-69, By Race and Hispanic Origin, 2007



Source: Authors' calculations from the 2007 American Community Survey and the Occupational Information Network (O*NET).
 Note: Low-skilled jobs are defined as those that require little or no preparation (no more than a high school diploma) or limited training beyond high school, according to O*NET ratings. Technical jobs are defined as those that require a two-year college degree, and high-skilled jobs as those that require a Bachelor's degree or more. Estimates are based on a sample of 37,167 Hispanic workers (20,019 foreign-born and 17,148 U.S.-born), 45,136 non-Hispanic black workers, 457,688 non-Hispanic white workers, and 29,399 non-Hispanic workers of another race. Symbols indicate that estimate differs significantly ($p < .05$) from that for all Hispanics (*), foreign-born Hispanics (†), and U.S.-born Hispanics (‡).

Exhibit 24. Percentage of College-Educated Workers Ages 50-69 in Low-Skilled Occupations, By Race and Hispanic Origin, 2007



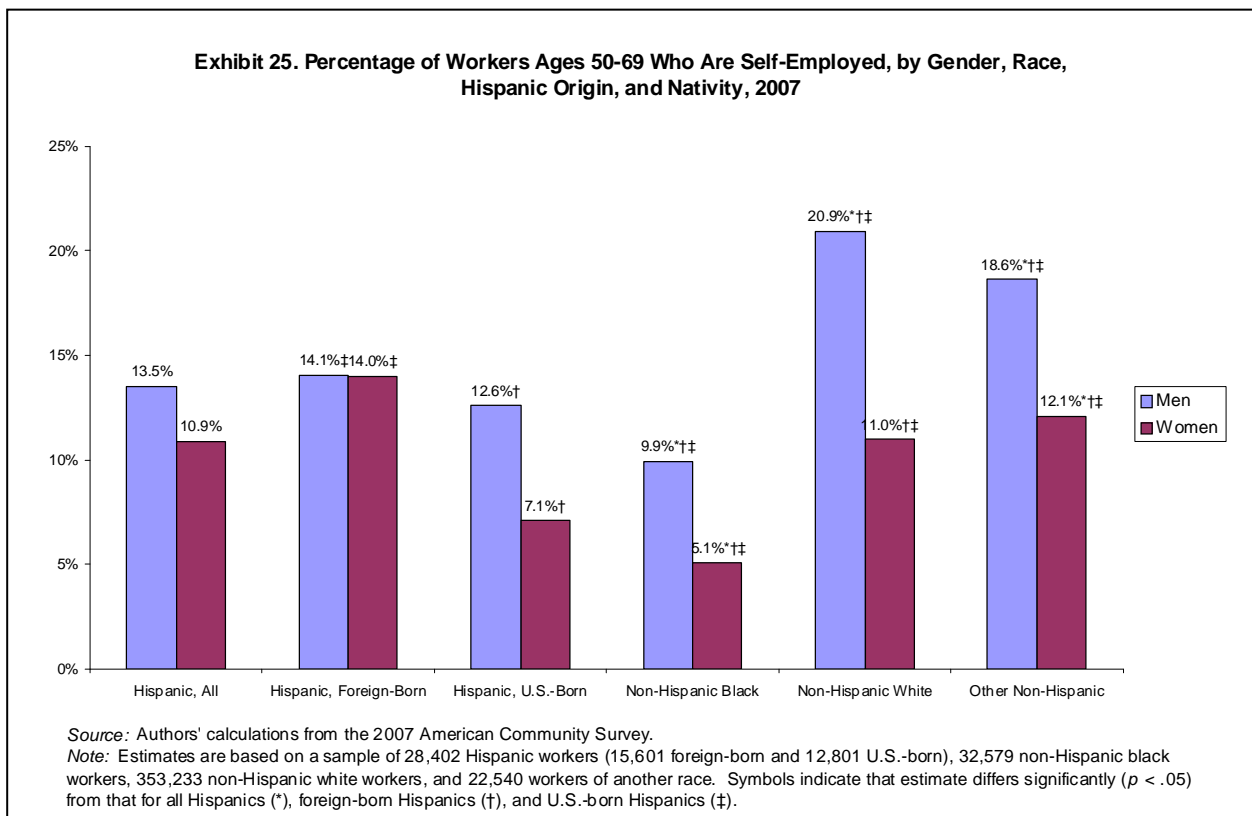
Source: Authors' calculations from the 2007 American Community Survey and the Occupational Information Network (O*NET).
 Note: Low-skilled occupations require little or some preparation and might require a high school diploma and some vocational training. Examples include cashiers, carpet installers, office clerks, and security guards. Estimates are based on a sample of 6,098 Hispanic workers (2,811 foreign-born and 3,287 U.S.-born), 9,669 non-Hispanic black workers, 155,949 non-Hispanic white workers, and 12,090 workers of another race. Symbols indicate that estimate differs significantly ($p < .05$) from that for all Hispanics (*), foreign-born Hispanics (†), and U.S.-born Hispanics (‡).

their skills and talents “a lot.” Foreign-born older Hispanics are particularly likely to report that they do not fully utilize their skills, with about one in five saying that their skills are used “only a little” or “not at all,” compared with one in ten U.S-born Hispanics (AARP 2008). Employers may not value diplomas and degrees obtained from foreign schools and universities as highly as those granted from U.S. institutions, which may partly explain foreign-born older Hispanics’ difficulty obtaining employment that fully utilizes their skills and talents. Limited proficiency in English may be another barrier to full utilization of skills among foreign-born older Hispanics.

Self-Employment

Self-employment is common among older workers, with the share of employed adults who work for themselves increasing with age as people enter their fifties (Karoly and Zissimopoulos 2004). Employed older Hispanic men are less likely than non-Hispanic white men to work for themselves. In 2007, 14 percent of employed Latino men ages 50 to 69 were self-employed, compared with 21 percent of older non-Hispanic white men (exhibit 25). Self-employment rates are even lower for non-Hispanic blacks. These low-rates of self-employment may reflect difficulty gaining access to the financial capital needed to start a new business. However, employed older Hispanic women are no less likely to work for themselves than their non-Hispanic white counterparts. Interestingly, when asked about “retirement” work plans, older Hispanic and black workers in AARP’s 2007 survey were more likely than non-Hispanic whites to report intentions to become self-employed (AARP 2008).

Foreign-born Hispanics are more likely to be self employed than U.S.-born Hispanics, consistent with research showing high rates of self-employment among immigrants (Borjas



1986; Fairlie and Meyer 1996). Possible explanations for the high rate of self-employment among those born outside the U.S. include the difficulty that some immigrants encounter finding work as salaried employees because of language barriers, limited education, and discrimination (Light 1972, 1979; Sowell 1981; Moore 1983). Some researchers have argued that ethnic enclaves and networks promote self-employment (Borjas 1986; Light 1972). Others point to immigrants' strong managerial ability (Lucas 1978) and high tolerance for risk (Kihlstrom and Laffont 1979) as explanations for their tendency to work for themselves.

What Activities Do Older Hispanics Perform on the Job?

Older Hispanic workers tend to hold jobs that are more physically demanding, requiring more lifting, climbing, balancing, and stooping, than older non-Hispanics. On a scale from 0 to 100, where 0 indicates that the activity is not important at all and 100 indicates that it is extremely important, physical activities earn a mean score of 51 among jobs held by older Latinos, compared with 40 for non-Hispanic whites (exhibit 26).²⁰ Additionally, for those occupations in which physical activity is important, the level of required physical activity is higher for older Hispanics (especially those born outside the U.S.) than non-Hispanics. Older Hispanics are also more likely to report that their jobs require "lots of physical effort" than non-Hispanic whites (44 percent vs. 29 percent) (exhibit 27).

In other respects, however, the jobs held by older Hispanics tend to be less demanding or at least no more demanding than those held by other groups. For example, the share of older

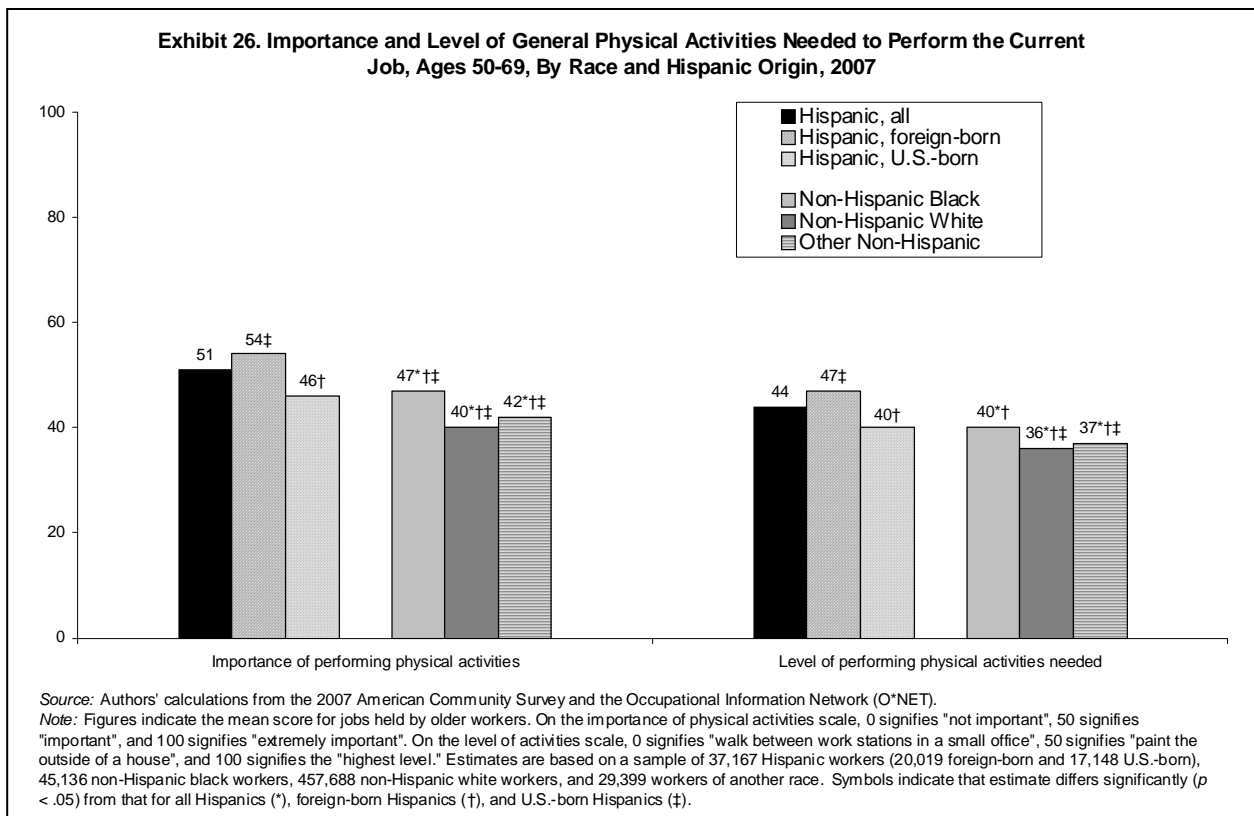
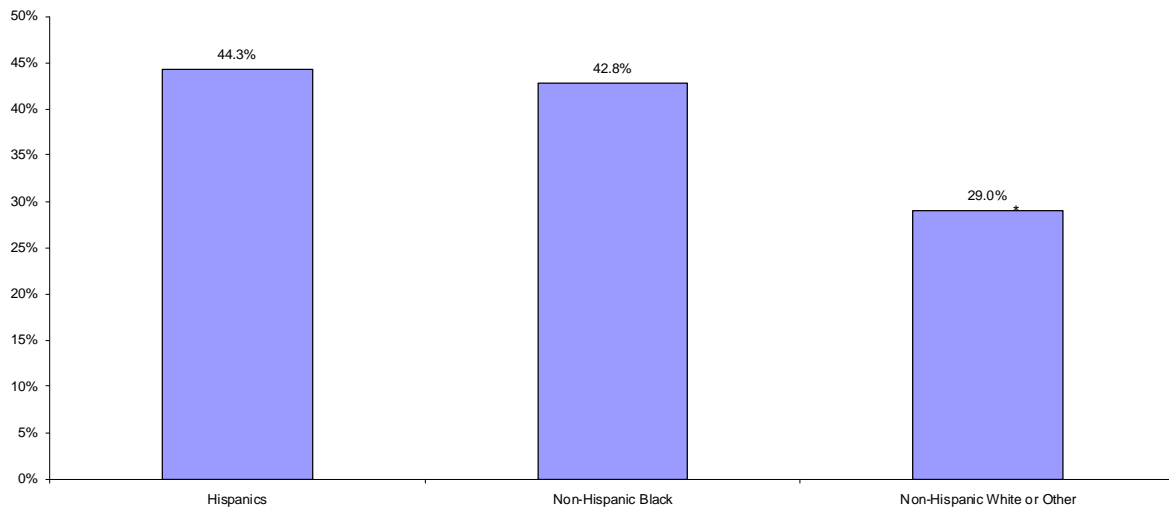


Exhibit 27. Percentage of Wage and Salary Workers Ages 53-69 at Jobs That Require Lots of Physical Effort All or Most of the Time, by Race and Hispanic Origin, 2006

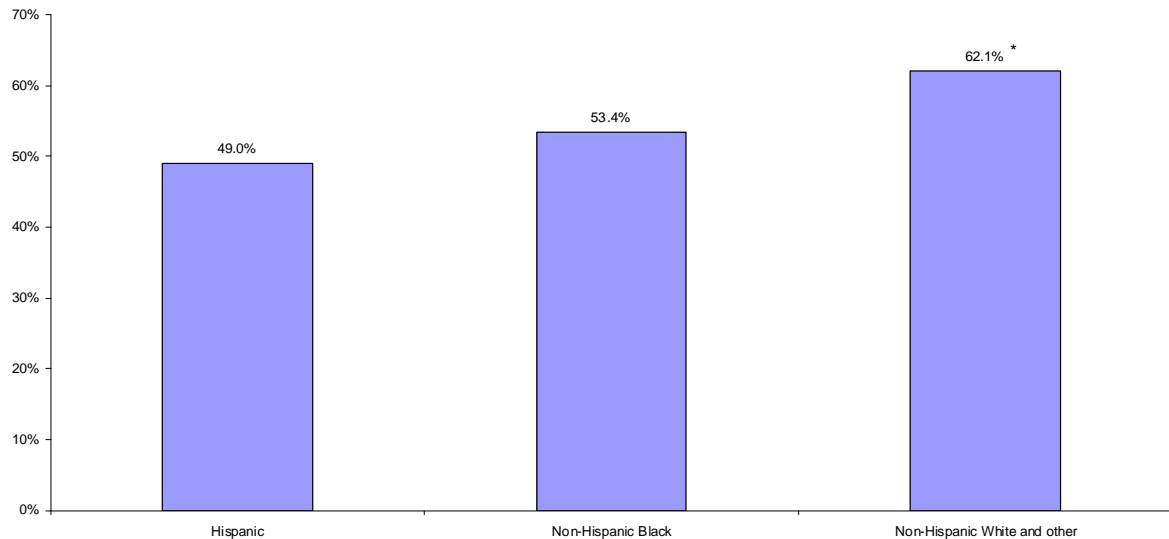


Source: Authors' calculations from the 2006 Health and Retirement Study.

Note: Job demands are self-reported by survey respondents. Estimates are based on a sample of 189 Hispanic workers, 333 non-Hispanic black workers, and 1,716 non-Hispanic white workers or those of another race. Respondents ages 50 to 52 are excluded because the 2006 HRS does not survey a nationally representative sample of adults younger than 53. * indicates that estimate differs significantly ($p < .05$) from estimate for Hispanics.

Latinos who report being in stressful jobs (49 percent) is lower than for non-Hispanic whites and others who are neither black nor Hispanic (62 percent) (exhibit 28). Older Hispanics are no more

Exhibit 28. Percentage of Wage and Salary Workers Ages 53-69 With Stressful Jobs, by Race and Hispanic Origin, 2006



Source: Authors' calculations from the 2006 HRS.

Note: Based on the share who agree or strongly agree with the statement that their "job involves a lot of stress." Estimates are based on a sample of 327 Hispanic workers, 524 non-Hispanic black workers, and 2,729 non-Hispanic white workers or those of another race. Respondents ages 50 to 52 are excluded because the 2006 HRS does not survey a nationally representative sample of adults younger than 53. * indicates that estimate differs significantly ($p < .05$) from estimate for Hispanics.

Exhibit 29. Percentage of Wage and Salary Workers Ages 53-69 at Jobs That Impose Selected Demands All or Most of the Time, by Race and Hispanic Origin, 2006

	Hispanics	Non-Hispanic Black	Non-Hispanic White or Other
Intense Concentration	81.9	80.3	84.2
Skill in Dealing with Others	83.6	90.4	89.6
<i>Number of observations</i>	189	333	1716

Source: Authors' calculations from the 2006 Health and Retirement Study.

Note: Job demands are self-reported by survey respondents. Respondents ages 50 to 52 are excluded because the 2006 HRS does not survey a nationally representative sample of adults younger than 53. Percentages for Hispanics do not differ significantly ($p < .05$) from percentages for non-Hispanics blacks or whites.

likely than older non-Hispanic whites to report that their jobs nearly always require intense concentration or skill in dealing with others (exhibit 29). They are less likely than non-Hispanic whites to hold jobs with management responsibilities, partly because they are less likely to have graduated from college (exhibit 30). However, perhaps for the same reason, older Hispanics are less likely to hold jobs with flexible work options. For example, 27 percent of Hispanic workers ages 53 to 69 report that their employers would allow them to reduce their hours (and pay) if they wished to work less, compared with 35 percent of non-Hispanic whites (and others who are neither black nor Hispanic).

Exhibit 30. Percentage of Wage and Salary Workers Ages 53-69 With Jobs that Offer Flexibility and Involve Management Responsibilities, by Race and Hispanic Origin, 2006

	Hispanics	Non-Hispanic Black	Non-Hispanic White or Other
Flexible Work Options	27.4	32.1	35.3*
Management Responsibilities	11.6	10.7	17.8*
<i>Number of observations</i>	189	333	1716

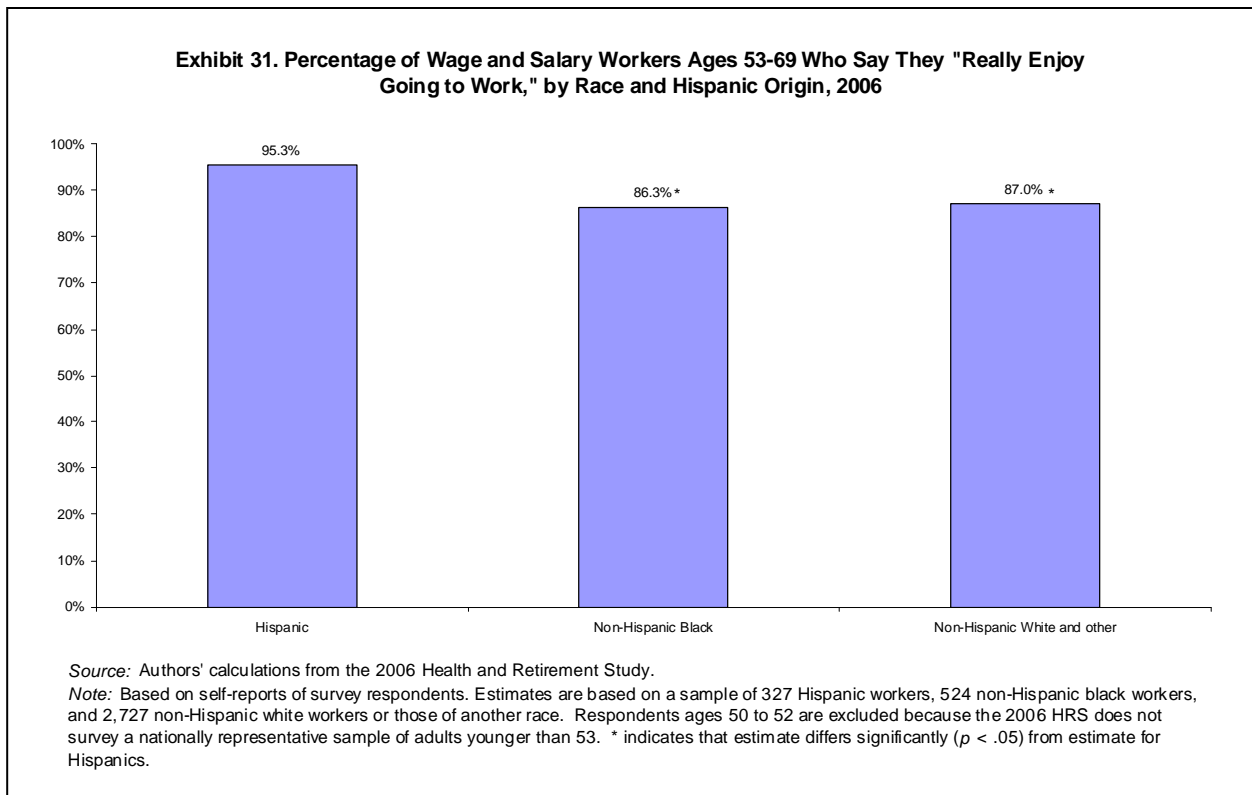
Source: Authors' calculations from the 2006 Health and Retirement Study.

Note: Job characteristics are self-reported by survey respondents. Flexible work options refer to the ability to reduce hours (and pay) if workers choose to do so. Management responsibilities refer to pay and promotion decisions. Respondents ages 50 to 52 are excluded because the 2006 HRS does not survey a nationally representative sample of adults younger than 53. * indicates that estimate differs significantly ($p < .05$) from estimate for Hispanics.

How Happy Are Older Hispanics at Their Jobs?

Finally, older Hispanics seem to be happier at their current jobs than other groups. An impressive 95 percent of Hispanic workers say that they “really enjoy going to work,” compared with 86 percent of non-Hispanic blacks and 87 percent of non-Hispanic whites and other non-

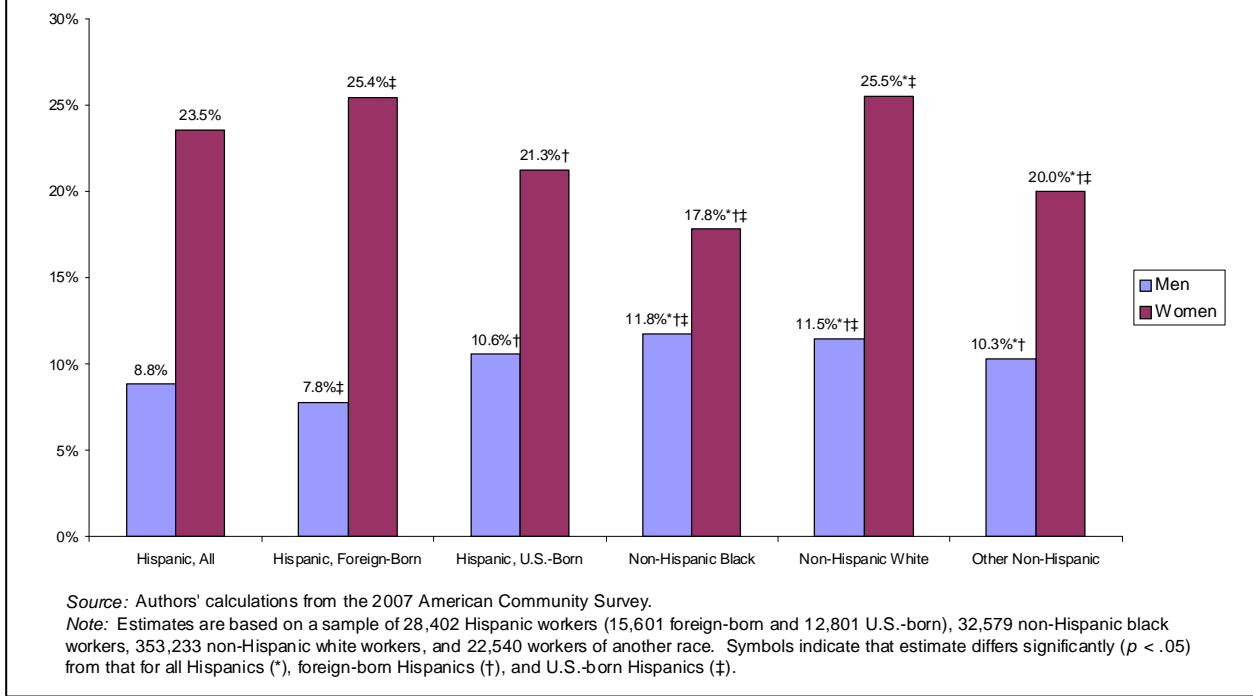
Hispanics (exhibit 31). This finding is especially striking because older Hispanics are less likely to hold professional and other high-prestige jobs than non-Hispanics, and workers in these occupations tend to express more job satisfaction (Smith 2007). The apparent high level of job satisfaction among older Hispanic workers might reflect cultural differences in how people respond to surveys instead of true differences in work attitudes. For example, some research suggests that Hispanics are more likely than non-Hispanic whites to agree with survey questions, regardless of the topic (Marin, Gamba, and Marin 1992). Nonetheless, in surveys of workers of all ages, Hispanics are no more likely than non-Hispanics to report job satisfaction (Pew Research Center 2008; Smith 2007), leaving open the possibility that older Hispanics are especially satisfied with their jobs.



How Many Hours Do Older Hispanics Work?

Employed older Hispanic male workers are somewhat less likely to work part-time than non-Hispanics. In 2007, for example, 9 percent of employed Hispanic men ages 50 to 69 worked fewer than 35 hours per week, compared with 12 percent of non-Hispanic whites and non-Hispanic blacks (exhibit 32). Older Hispanics' somewhat greater tendency to work full-time may reflect financial need—they may simply be unable to afford to cutback their work hours. Foreign-born older Hispanic men are less likely to work part-time than U.S.-born Hispanic men. Employed older Hispanic women are somewhat less likely than their non-Hispanic white counterparts to work part-time, but much more likely than their non-Hispanic black counterparts. As with other racial and ethnic groups, older Hispanics become more likely to work part-time as

Exhibit 32. Percentage of Wage and Salary Workers Ages 50-69 Employed Part-Time, by Gender, Race, Hispanic Origin, and Nativity, 2007

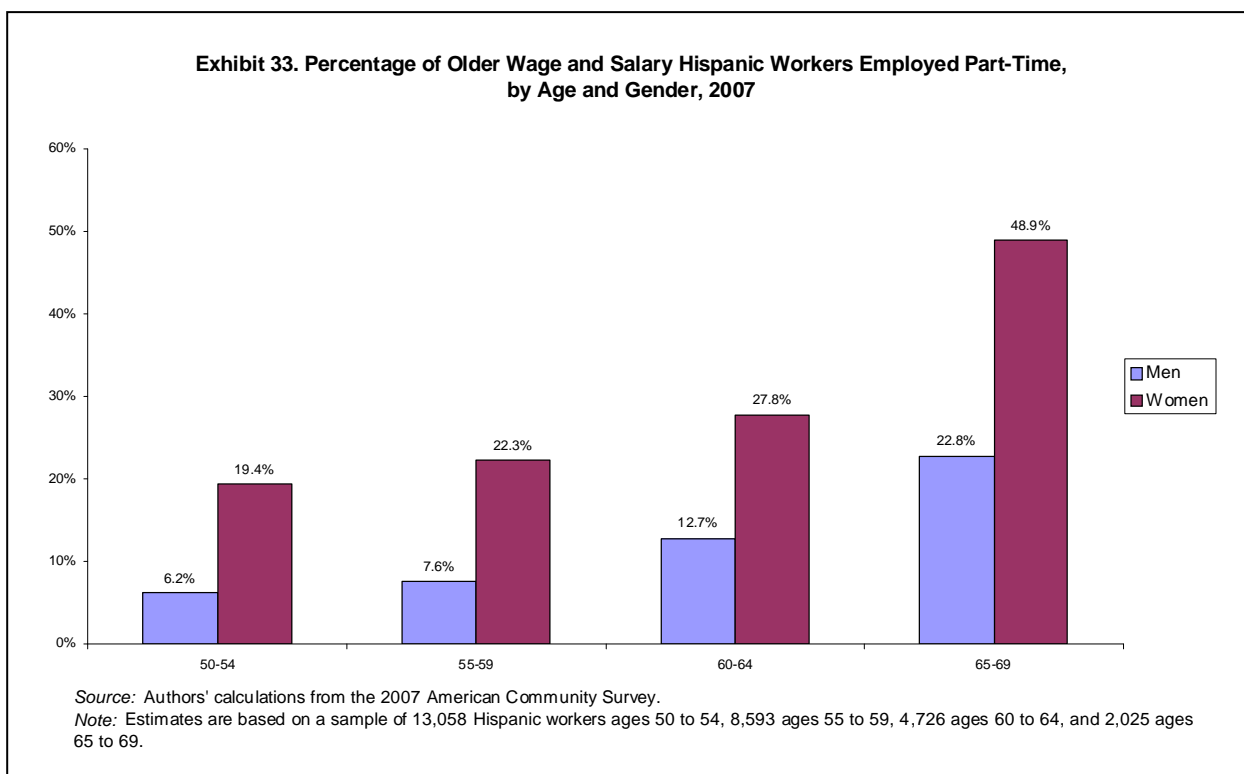


they age (exhibit 33). For example, the share of employed Hispanic men working part-time increases from 6 percent at ages 50 to 54 to 23 percent at ages 65 to 69. In AARP’s 2007 survey, about four in ten (44 percent) older Hispanic workers said that they plan to work part-time in “retirement,” similar to the share of non-Hispanic white and black older workers with such intentions (AARP 2008).

What Job Attributes Do Older Hispanics Seek?

When asked to cite the essential elements of their “ideal job,” older workers in all three race and ethnic groups most frequently cite the “chance to use [their] skills and talents” (AARP 2008). More than nine in ten older workers in each race and ethnic group consider this to be an essential part of their ideal job. However, foreign-born older Hispanics are particularly likely to desire this opportunity (98 percent vs. 91 percent of U.S.-born Hispanics), which may reflect the greater degree to which their current jobs underutilize their skills. Other job elements near the top of older Hispanics’ wish list include a “friendly work environment” and having “the chance to do something worthwhile.”

Compared to older non-Hispanic white workers, Hispanics are more likely to identify multiple elements as essential to their ideal job, including financial aspects (health benefits, retirement benefits and competitive pay) and non-financial attributes (such as respect from their boss and co-workers and the chance to learn something new). Foreign-born Hispanics are



especially likely to name these items as essential to their ideal job, perhaps because they are less likely than U.S.-born Hispanics to hold jobs that provide such benefits.

What Are the Main Risks to Older Hispanics' Job Security?

Older workers face two principal risks to employment security—layoffs and health problems that force people to stop working. These shocks disrupt careers and complicate the transition into retirement. Only a small share of workers who develop disabilities in their fifties and early sixties receive Social Security disability benefits, and those with disabilities who do not receive disability benefits end up with less retirement income and wealth than workers who remain healthy until age 62 (Johnson, Mermin, and Murphy 2007; Johnson, Mermin, and Uccello 2005). Although older workers are less likely to lose their jobs to layoffs than younger workers (Munnell et al. 2006), older displaced workers often encounter difficulty finding new good-paying jobs. Relatively few older laid-off workers become re-employed (Maestas and Li 2006), and those that become re-employed generally earn substantially less on their new jobs than their old jobs (Couch, Jolly, and Placzek 2009).

Older Hispanic workers are particularly vulnerable to layoffs. Nearly one-third (32 percent) of Hispanics who separated from a job between 1992 and 2006 after age 51 were laid off, compared with slightly fewer than one-fifth (19 percent) of non-Hispanic blacks and one-fourth (24 percent) of non-Hispanic whites and other non-Hispanics (exhibit 34). AARP's 2007 survey also detected a higher incidence of job loss among older Hispanics than non-Hispanic whites, with about one in four older Hispanic and black workers reporting that they had lost a job

Exhibit 34. Reasons for Job Separations, Among Wage and Salary Workers Who Leave Their Jobs After Age 51, by Race and Hispanic Origin (%)

	Layoffs or Health			Retire	Family concerns	Quit	Other	Number of Obs.
	Layoff	Health	Total					
Hispanics	31.9	22.2	52.0	35.3	8.5	14.5	2.0	521
Non-Hispanic Blacks	19.2*	30.0*	48.4	43.6*	3.6*	13.6	1.8	1,011
Non-Hispanic Whites and Others	23.8*	16.7*	39.0*	48.2*	6.2	17.1	1.7	4,879
All	23.9	18.2	40.7	47.0	6.1	16.6	1.7	6,411

Source: Authors' calculations from the 1992 to 2006 waves of the Health and Retirement Study.

Note: The sample is restricted to respondents who separated from a job between 1992 and 2006 after age 51. The table shows the percentage who reported the specified reasons for separating. Some workers leave more than one job, and some report multiple reasons for leaving a single job, so the estimates do not sum to 100 percent. Layoffs include business closings. * indicates that estimate differs significantly ($p < .05$) from estimate for Hispanics.

during the past five years, compared with fewer than one in five non-Hispanic whites (AARP 2008).

Hispanic workers who leave their jobs after age 51 are more likely than non-Hispanic whites to cite health reasons for the separation (22 percent vs. 17 percent), but they are less likely than non-Hispanic blacks to quit because of health problems. Fully three in ten older non-Hispanic blacks who leave their jobs attribute their departures to poor health. These patterns are consistent with evidence of especially high rates of health problems among older non-Hispanic blacks.

Considering health problems and job layoffs together, slightly more than half (52 percent) of older separating Hispanic workers cited these two factors as reasons for leaving their jobs, not significantly more than the share for non-Hispanic blacks. However, fewer than four in ten (39 percent) of their non-Hispanic white counterparts attributed their job separations to health problems or job layoffs. Additionally, older Hispanics are more likely than non-Hispanic blacks to leave their jobs for family reasons (9 percent vs. 4 percent), consistent with evidence that Hispanics are more likely to provide care to family members than other racial and ethnic groups (Evercare and National Alliance for Caregiving 2008). Finally, Hispanics are less likely than non-Hispanic whites and blacks to cite retirement as the reason for leaving their jobs at older ages. Nearly one-half of non-Hispanic whites (48 percent) separating from their jobs after age 51 reported that they left to retire, compared with slightly more than one-third (35 percent) of Hispanics.

Older Hispanics' job insecurity results partly from their limited educational attainment. Well-educated workers are less likely to be laid off from their jobs than those with less schooling. Indeed, 41 percent of Hispanics who did not graduate from high school and left their jobs after age 51 were laid off from those jobs, compared with only 18 percent of older Hispanics who completed four or more year of college (exhibit 35). However, among older workers who did not complete high school, layoff rates were higher for Hispanics than for non-Hispanic whites and blacks. For example, only one-quarter of non-Hispanic white separators without high

Exhibit 35. Reasons for Job Separations, Among Wage and Salary Workers Who Leave Their Jobs After Age 51, by Education, Race and Hispanic Origin (%)

	Layoffs or Health			Retire	Family concerns	Quit	Other	Number of Obs.
	Layoff	Health	Total					
Hispanics								
Not high school graduate	41.1	21.9	60.3	25.9	6.9	16.0	2.7	286
High school graduate	27.7	26.1	53.4	37.8	8.7	16.6	0.0	121
4 or more years of college	17.5	18.4	33.3	52.0	11.7	8.9	2.6	111
Non-Hispanic Blacks								
Not high school graduate	23.7*	38.6*	61.1	35.1*	3.8	8.9*	1.9	343
High school graduate	18.2*	28.7*	45.8	46.2*	3.5*	14.0	1.5	338
4 or more years of college	16.7*	24.2*	40.1	47.9*	3.6*	17.3	1.9	325
Non-Hispanic Whites and Others								
Not high school graduate	24.8*	29.7	51.9*	38.6*	4.0	14.8	1.1	729
High school graduate	24.9*	17.0	40.0*	46.5*	7.1	17.6	1.4	1,983
4 or more years of college	22.6*	12.6	34.6*	52.4*	6.0	17.2	2.2	2,164
All								
Not high school graduate	27.5	19.8	54.9	35.8	4.6	14.0	1.5	1,358
High school graduate	24.4	18.4	41.0	46.2	6.8	17.3	1.3	2,442
4 or more years of college	22.0	13.7	35.0	52.1	6.0	16.9	2.2	2,600

Source: Authors' calculations from the 1992 to 2006 waves of the Health and Retirement Study.

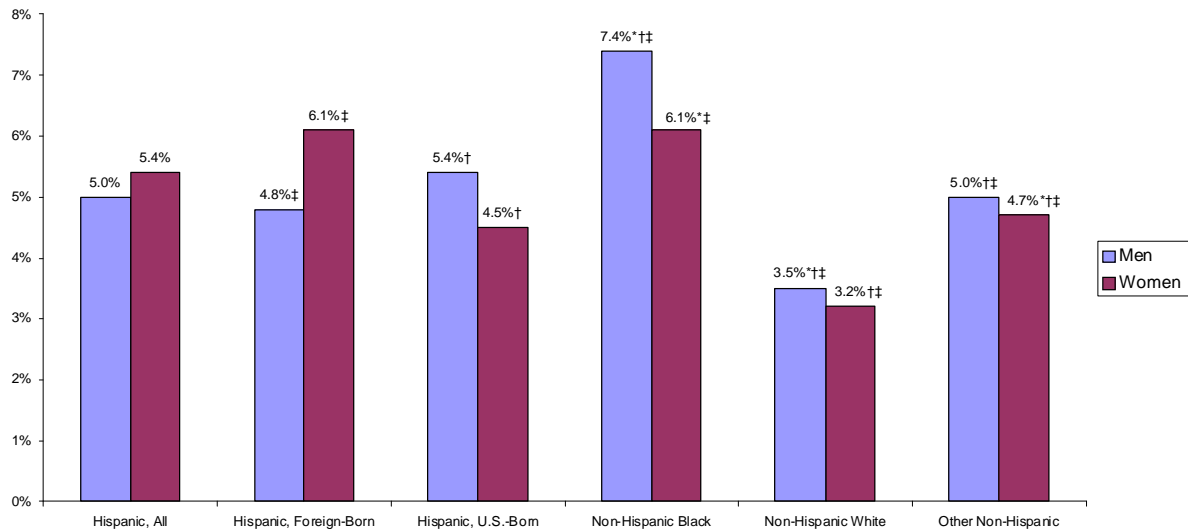
Note: The sample is restricted to respondents who separated from a job between 1992 and 2006 after age 51. The table shows the percentage who reported the specified reasons for separating. Some workers leave more than one job, and some report multiple reasons for leaving a single job, so the estimates do not sum to 100 percent. Layoffs include business closings. * indicates that estimate differs significantly ($p < .05$) from estimate for Hispanics.

school diplomas were laid off. On the other hand, older non-Hispanic white college graduates were more likely to be laid off from their jobs than their Hispanic counterparts.

In 2007, unemployment rates were relatively low for older Hispanics, but higher than for non-Hispanic whites. Five percent of Hispanic men and 5.4 percent of Hispanic women ages 50 to 69 were out of work and looking for jobs in 2007 (exhibit 36). The Pew Hispanic Center reported that the gap between the Hispanic and non-Hispanic unemployment rates hit an all-time low before the current recession began (Kochhar 2008). The Hispanic unemployment rate has fallen rapidly in recent years because the post-2001 economic boom was fueled largely by growth in the construction sector, which employs many Hispanic workers.

However, Hispanics' employment situation has sharply deteriorated as the economy has fallen into recession. Between November 2007 (just before the current recession began) and February 2009, the number of Hispanics out of work and looking for jobs increased by about 1.2 million (Bureau of Labor Statistics 2009b). The economic slowdown hit foreign-born Hispanics particularly hard, as the unemployment rate in the construction industry—where many work—more than tripled during the first 15 months of the recession, surging from 6.2 percent in November 2007 to 21.4 percent in February 2009 (Bureau of Labor Statistics 2007, 2009a). As a result, the unemployment rate for foreign-born Hispanics increased by 2 full percentage points (to 7.5 percent) between the first quarter of 2007 and the first quarter of 2008, compared with an increase of only 0.2 percentage points (to 6.9 percent) for U.S.-born Hispanics (Kochhar 2008). More recent statistics show that the unemployment rate for Hispanic men ages 55 and older reached 9.1 percent in January 2009, up from 3.7 percent in November 2007 (Johnson and

Exhibit 36. Unemployment Rates at Ages 50 to 69, by Gender, Race, Hispanic Origin, and Nativity, 2007



Source: Authors' calculations from the 2007 American Community Survey.

Note: Estimates are based on a sample of 14,879 Hispanic men (8,704 foreign-born and 6,175 U.S.-born), 10,225 Hispanic women (5,184 foreign-born and 5,041 U.S.-born), 13,626 non-Hispanic black men, 15,036 non-Hispanic black women, 170,677 non-Hispanic white men, 126,274 non-Hispanic white women, 10,883 men of another race, and 9,133 women of another race. Symbols indicate that estimate differs significantly ($p < .05$) from that for all Hispanics (*), foreign-born Hispanics (†), and U.S.-born Hispanics (‡).

Mommaerts 2009). The unemployment rate for Hispanic women ages 55 and older grew by only 1 percentage point over the period, to 7.0 percent, because older Hispanic women are much less likely than older Hispanic men to work in the hard-hit construction and manufacturing sectors.

The current recession might deal a major blow to older Hispanics' economic security. Their high rates of labor force participation, coupled with relatively low unemployment rates in the years leading up to 2007, enabled many older Hispanics to count on labor earnings well into their 60s to support themselves and their families. But the recent increase in the unemployment rate suggests that many of these older workers, especially those who are foreign-born, might not be able to find jobs. Older Hispanics' relatively high rate of employment in the cyclical construction industry makes them more susceptible to layoffs than non-Hispanics. Media reports in late 2008 and early 2009 suggest that many foreign-born Hispanics are returning to Latin America as employment opportunities in the U.S. disappear (Chardy 2008; Jordan 2008).

AARP's 2007 survey found that older Hispanic workers who lack confidence in their ability to find another job are more likely than non-Hispanic whites and blacks to attribute their concerns to a lack of communication skills (presumably reflecting language barriers) and computer skills (AARP 2008). Not surprisingly, concerns about language skills are much more prominent among foreign-born Hispanics than those born in the U.S. However, U.S.-born Hispanics and their foreign-born counterparts are equally likely to express concerns about their computer skills.

What Other Challenges Do Older Hispanic Workers Face?

Work-life balance appears to be a challenge for older Hispanic workers, especially for those born outside the U.S. According to AARP's 2007 survey, more than three in four older Hispanic workers (78 percent) strongly or somewhat agree that they are looking for ways to better balance their work and personal lives (AARP 2008). This finding is consistent with older Hispanics' relatively strong tendency to cite family concerns as a reason for leaving their jobs. Foreign-born Hispanics are especially likely to report concerns about work-life balance (with 88 percent feeling this way), whereas U.S.-born Hispanics are not significantly more likely than non-Hispanic whites (69 percent vs. 66 percent) or blacks (68 percent) to express these feelings. Foreign-born Hispanic workers' relatively strong desire for better work-life balance may reflect the fact that they are somewhat more likely than U.S.-born Hispanics to have family-related responsibilities, such as caring for a child, parent-in-law, or another adult relative.

Keeping up with technology also appears to be a challenge for this population. Whereas only one in four older non-Hispanic white workers and less than one in three blacks strongly or somewhat agree that they have difficulty keeping up with the technology required to perform their jobs, nearly half (46 percent) of older Hispanics express this concern. Foreign-born older Hispanics, who tend to be less well-educated than their U.S.-born counterparts, are much more likely than U.S.-born Hispanics to feel this way, with three in five expressing these concerns.

Employment discrimination based on race and ethnicity or age is another issue that has affected some older workers. Although most older Hispanic workers do not feel that their employer has discriminated against them, just over one in ten (12 percent) reported in AARP's 2007 survey that their employer generally treats them worse because of their race or ethnicity (AARP 2008). Older Hispanics are about as likely as blacks to report such discrimination (16 percent of whom reported being treated worse because of their race), but more likely than non-Hispanic whites (4 percent). About one in seven older Hispanics (14 percent) report having ever experienced age discrimination, about the same share as older workers in the other two groups (13 percent of whites and 8 percent of blacks).

DISCUSSION

This overview of older Hispanic workers reveals numerous attributes that appeal to employers. Older Hispanic men are just as likely to work as non-Hispanic whites, and more likely to work than non-Hispanic blacks. Older Hispanic women are less likely to participate in the labor force than their non-Hispanic white or black counterparts, but the differences are fairly modest. Many are bilingual, an increasingly valuable skill as the nation diversifies. Older Latinos work in a wide range of occupations and industries, although Hispanic men are disproportionately represented in construction. Older Hispanics generally appear to be at least as healthy as non-Hispanic whites and healthier than blacks. They are less likely than non-Hispanic blacks to describe their overall health status as only fair or poor and they are less likely to report serious medical conditions or work disabilities. Hispanics also exhibit lower mortality rates than whites or blacks. Additionally, survey results for older Hispanic workers indicate that they are dependable, in that they rarely miss work, and the vast majority report that they enjoy their jobs (although this finding could reflect a cultural bias toward agreeing with survey questions rather than genuine job satisfaction).

The future outlook for older Hispanic workers is especially encouraging for both employers and workers. As a result of relatively high birth rates and high levels of immigration over the past quarter-century, Hispanics will make up nearly one-seventh of all Americans ages 50 to 69 by 2020 and one-fourth by 2050. As the supply of younger workers stagnates over the next few decades, employers will likely increasingly value the contributions of older Hispanic workers. Older Latinos' educational attainment will also improve rapidly over time, especially as the foreign-born share of the population declines. Even as late as 2050, however, older Hispanics will remain less likely to have completed high school than non-Hispanic whites or blacks.

Nonetheless, many older Hispanics face substantial challenges in the workplace. They tend to receive relatively little compensation. The median older Hispanic male worker employed full-time in a wage and salary job earns only about three-fifths as much as his non-Hispanic white counterpart and only about four-fifths as much as his non-Hispanic black counterpart. Typical earnings for older Hispanic women similarly lag behind those for whites and blacks. And relatively few older Hispanic workers receive health or retirement benefits from their employers. Additionally, many older Hispanics work in physically demanding jobs that are often difficult to maintain into later life. These challenges stem partly from older Hispanics' generally limited education and English language proficiency. However, many appear to work in jobs for which they are overqualified. About one-fifth of older Hispanics with college degrees, including more than one-fourth of those born outside the U.S., work in low-skilled jobs.

With the recession intensifying in 2009, employment rates and earnings are declining for all racial and ethnic groups, but Hispanics are being hit especially hard. During the first 15 months of the recession, the Hispanic unemployment rate increased by 5.2 percentage points, to 10.9 percent in February 2009 (Bureau of Labor Statistics 2009b). Hispanic men's disproportionate representation in the cyclical construction industry puts them at special risk. The 2009 American Recovery and Reinvestment Act, designed to stimulate the economy and reduce unemployment, could help boost older Hispanics' employment prospects, especially given the initiative's focus on infrastructure development and this population's relatively high

concentration in construction jobs. However, the physically demanding nature of such jobs may make them a poor fit for many older workers, including many older Hispanics.

Implications for Employers

For employers, the considerable size of the older Hispanic workforce and the growth expected over the next few decades present a valuable opportunity for leveraging these workers' skills and talents. Their dependability and strong work ethic, loyalty, and relatively good health suggest that recruitment and retention strategies targeting these workers would benefit employers. Bilingual Hispanics should be particularly valuable. Employers interested in tapping into this growing segment of the workforce should consider how simple modifications to their current recruitment and retention strategies may help target older Hispanics. Examples of ways to modify existing strategies include the following:

- Use recruiting channels that are likely to reach Hispanics, including media outlets and organizations that serve this population and that they trust.
- Develop recruiting materials in English and Spanish if your organization is open to hiring workers who are not fluent in English. The use of bilingual materials may help recruit bilingual job seekers, not only those with limited English language skills, because it signals that your company understands and appreciates the value of a diverse workforce.
- Consider how your organization can offer flexible work options, caregiving information, or other benefits that may be particularly useful to workers who face caregiving responsibilities. Such benefits may be particularly attractive to Hispanic workers because many assume responsibility for the care of family members.
- Implement mentoring or retraining programs to help older workers in physically demanding jobs transition into managerial positions or other jobs that require less physical exertion. Such programs could help your organization retain older Hispanic workers as well as other older workers with critical knowledge important to your company who may eventually be forced to seek a less physically demanding job. Training in the use of technology may be particularly useful in this regard.
- Consider offering educational opportunities to workers or job seekers who appear to be a suitable match for your organization in many respects but who lack one or two skills that your organization deems important. Training that may boost recruitment and retention of valuable employees includes the following:
 - English-as-a-Second-Language training to workers who have the job skills that your organization requires but who lack sufficient knowledge of English.
 - Skills training to workers who have proven themselves to be dependable and hard-working but who lack certain skills necessary to advance in your organization.
- Consider training for managers that encourages them to embrace diversity in the workplace, educates them about cultural differences, and emphasizes the value that diverse viewpoints can bring to an organization. Such training may help reduce the

prevalence of discrimination that can hurt employment prospects for Hispanics and other minorities.

- Consider organizing employee resource groups as an informal mechanism for employees to develop networks with other employees with similar interests or backgrounds. Employers may find that Hispanic employee resource groups help recruit and retain Hispanic workers.

Policy Options to Boost Older Hispanics' Employment and Earnings

Although some older Hispanic workers hold advanced degrees, they are less likely than non-Hispanic white workers and non-Hispanic black workers to have completed high school or to have obtained any formal education beyond high school. Those older Hispanics with limited education and skills would likely benefit from various policy reforms designed to help the low-skilled workforce. One-Stop Career Centers, funded by the Workforce Investment Act of 1998 (WIA), provide workers with employment and training services. These centers serve workers of all ages, but there is some concern that performance appraisal standards discourage centers from serving older workers (General Accounting Office 2003). Nonetheless, some states are taking additional steps to serve older workers through these programs. Ohio, for example, has tailored four centers specifically for seniors (Eyster, Johnson, and Toder 2008). The Senior Community Service Employment Program (SCSEP), funded by the U.S. Department of Labor, is the nation's only workforce development program geared specifically to older adults.²¹ It helps workers ages 55 and older with incomes below 125 percent of the federal poverty level gain job skills by offering training (such as computer classes), placing participants in subsidized, part-time community service assignments, and providing other supportive services.

To really make a difference for older Hispanic workers (as well as other workers), however, these workforce development programs need much more funding. Government funding for training has declined by nearly 70 percent since the late 1970s (Holzer and Martinson 2008). The potential demand for SCSEP services substantially exceeds the available program slots. In 2007, about 9.2 million adults ages 55 to 74 were eligible for SCSEP services, but the program served only about 80,000 adults (Sum and Khatiwada 2008).

In addition to receiving more funding, workforce development programs could be redesigned to better serve workers of all ages, races, and ethnic groups, including older Hispanics. Workforce development programs should promote partnerships between education providers and employers in key industries, and should systematically identify labor-market opportunities in growing sectors of the economy in each state (Holzer 2008). It is important that programs offer participants financial supports, such as modest stipends, to improve access to education and training. Otherwise, those who need training most would not generally be able to afford it.

Other reforms could direct more services to older Hispanics, who appear to use One-Stop Centers less intensively than other groups. In 2006, for example, Hispanics made up 25 percent of One-Stop clients age 55 and older who received basic services, such as access to employment listings, but only 14 percent of those who received more valuable job training services.²² One-

Stop Centers should increase their outreach to older Hispanics, and ensure that their staffs include Spanish-speaking counselors. Workforce development programs should integrate job training with English-language acquisition and cultural orientation (Grantmakers Concerned With Immigrants and Refugees 2003). They should create incentives for states to serve people with limited English proficiency, and adjust project performance measures for the language skills of participants (Thomas-Breitfeld and Liu 2003). Programs that disproportionately serve clients with limited English language skills often perform poorly against standard benchmarks because job applicants who are not fluent in English are difficult to place. As a result, centers may be reluctant to invest much time with these clients. These barriers could be minimized if the Department of Labor used measures that explicitly accounted for clients' English language skills when evaluating these programs.

Initiatives to promote education among younger Hispanics would likely boost employment outcomes at younger ages and eventually translate into gains for older Hispanics as the beneficiaries of these efforts grow older. Examples include increased public investments in improving early education opportunities, reforming school practices in the K-12 years, and improving access to higher education (Heckman 2008; Jacob and Ludwig forthcoming).

Various labor laws, such as the National Labor Relations Act of 1953 (NLRA) and the Fair Labor Standards Act, could also be reformed to promote workplace flexibility and to encourage employers and employees to work together to create flexible employment options (Workplace Flexibility 2010 undated). Older Hispanics would likely benefit from policies that promote workplace flexibility and provide better support to family caregivers because many older Hispanics serve as caregivers and seem especially concerned about work-family balance. About 53 percent of all people caring for their frail parents (regardless of race or ethnicity) are employed full-time, and another 10 percent are employed part-time (Johnson and Wiener 2006). Care responsibilities sometimes interfere with paid employment. Somewhat more than half (57 percent) of employed caregivers report that they sometimes have to go to work late, leave early, or take time off to attend to their care duties, and 17 percent said they had to take a leave of absence (National Alliance for Caregiving and AARP 2004). Fewer than one third of companies with 50 or more employees have programs to support elder care (Galinsky, Bond, and Sakai 2008). And few employers offer flexible work arrangements that would help employees balance workplace and family responsibilities. For example, only slightly more than one-third of employers with 50 or more employees allow all workers to periodically change their starting or quitting times, within some range of hours (Galinsky, Bond, and Sakai 2008).

Few programs now support family caregivers. The Family and Medical Leave Act (FMLA), enacted in 1993, guarantees workers up to 12 weeks of unpaid leave in any 12-month period to care for a newborn child (or newly adopted child); care for an ill child, spouse, or parent; or deal with one's own health problems. However, the law only covers workers in firms with 50 or more employees who have worked for the employer for at least 12 months and at least 1,250 hours that year. As a result, only about 47 percent of private-sector workers qualify for FMLA leave (Waldfogel 2001). One-sixth of all employees participating in a 2000 survey took leave for family or medical reasons in the 18 months prior to the survey (Waldfogel 2001). Most use leave to deal with their own health problems or to care for a newly born or adopted child.

However, older workers who are eligible for FMLA leave are more likely to use leave to care for ill family members than to care for a newly born or newly adopted child (AARP 2007).

Extending FMLA protections to a larger segment of the workforce would help older Hispanics, but providing compensated leave would help even more, because few can afford unpaid leave. California is the only state with a comprehensive paid family and medical leave insurance program (Johnson 2007). Funded solely by employee contributions, the program pays workers up to 60 percent of their wages when they take leave to care for newborns, newly adopted children, newly placed foster children, or seriously ill family members or domestic partners. Workers can receive up to six weeks of paid leave per year.

Public assistance to caregivers is provided through the National Family Caregiver Support Program (NFCSP) and Medicaid, but services are limited. NFCSP provides states with funding to provide caregivers with individual counseling and training, respite care for temporary relief from care obligations, and information about community services. It also funds limited supplemental services, such as emergency response systems and home modifications, to supplement family care. The program's funding, however, has been inadequate, limiting its impact (Wisendale 2008). Medicaid supplies the majority of public funding for home and community-based care, mainly through its waiver programs. These joint federal-state programs focus on the care recipient, but indirectly sustain family members in their caregiver roles. However, eligibility criteria are strict, disqualifying many families who need assistance, and funding constraints limit services even for those who qualify (Johnson 2007). Expanding these programs could help older Latino caregivers to remain employed.

Other policy initiatives could more generally boost economic security for older Hispanic workers. Raising minimum wage levels and extending living wage laws (which exist in certain localities and require employers that receive government contracts to pay above-market wages) could increase earnings for some older Latinos. Reforms designed to increase health insurance coverage and private pension plan coverage would also help, especially since many older Hispanics are uninsured and lack retirement savings. For example, the health reform plan that President Obama proposed during the 2008 presidential campaign would likely increase health insurance coverage rates substantially by enabling workers without access to employer-sponsored benefits to purchase insurance through a national system, with subsidies for low-income people (Holahan and Blumberg 2008). Reforms to promote retirement savings include enhancing the saver's credit, which provides federal government matches of up to 50 percent of the first \$2,000 in retirement savings by low-income adults. Making the tax credit refundable would better encourage savings by low-income adults with little tax liability. Other proposals that have been put forth by some organizations would require employers to allow workers to make payroll-deduction deposits to Individual Retirement Accounts or 401(k) plans, perhaps with a government match (Calabrese 2007; Iwry and John 2006). Continued vigilance in rooting out workplace discrimination would also help protect older Hispanics' rights, as would greater availability of subsidized legal services.

Finally, certain Social Security reforms could have important implications for older Hispanics. Creating an enhanced minimum benefit could boost retirement security for the sizable number of Hispanics with very low lifetime earnings. However, raising Social Security's early

entitlement age beyond 62, as some policy analysts recommend, could create difficulties for older Hispanics in physically demanding jobs who may be unable to continue working into their mid sixties.

Summary

The evidence assembled in this report shows that older Hispanic workers make valuable contributions to employers and the economy, and that their roles will grow more important over time. Their dependability and strong work ethic, loyalty, relatively good health, and growing numbers suggest that employers would benefit from implementing recruitment and retention strategies that target these workers. Additionally, policymakers can undertake a number of initiatives to improve their employment and earnings. Finally, more research on older Hispanic workers would shed additional light on their current and future prospects.

NOTES

¹ This breakdown is based on the authors' calculations from the 2007 American Community Survey (ACS).

² The report classifies Hispanics born in Puerto Rico and U.S. territories as U.S. born.

³ Health insurance coverage is being added to the ACS in 2008.

⁴ The youngest 2006 respondents are age 53, because the latest cohort ages 51 to 56 was introduced in 2004.

⁵ For additional information on DYNASIM3, see Favreault and Smith (2004).

⁶ In 2005, the total fertility rate (defined as the number of live births per 1,000 women ages 15 to 44) was 99.4 for Hispanics, compared with only 60.4 for non-Hispanics (Martin et al. 2007). Between 1980 and 2007, 10.8 million people from Mexico, the Caribbean, and Central and South America obtained legal permanent residence status in the U.S., 45 percent of all legal permanent immigrants during the period (U.S. Department of Homeland Security 2008).

⁷ Population projections depend on assumptions about fertility, mortality, and immigration. The Census Bureau projections assume that life expectancy will increase gradually over time, while total fertility rates will remain roughly constant for all ethnic and racial groups combined. However, the Census Bureau assumes that mortality and fertility rates will converge over time for ethnic and racial groups, eliminating Hispanics' current advantage over non-Hispanics in life expectancy by 2075 and their fertility advantage by 2100. Additionally, the Census Bureau assumes that net international immigration will increase gradually over time, from 1.2 million in 2001 to 2.0 million in 2050, but remain roughly constant as a share of the population. According to the projections, Hispanics will continue to make up slightly more than one-half of all new immigrants. For details, see U.S. Census Bureau (2008a). Population projections from the Pew Research Center, using somewhat different assumptions and methods, are similar to the Census forecasts (Passel and Cohn 2008).

⁸ Projections of the older population are generally more reliable than those for the younger population. Because adults who will be age 50 or older 50 years from now have already been born, it is not necessary to forecast future fertility rates. Additionally, most people immigrate at relatively young ages, so estimates of the future older population are less sensitive to immigration assumptions than projections of the younger population.

⁹ See Passel and Cohn (2008) for more information.

¹⁰ For a review of the relationship between education and earnings, see Card (1999).

¹¹ Disability-free life expectancy at age 50 is now 13 years for high school dropouts, 18 years for high school graduates, and 23 years for college graduates (Munnell, Soto, and Golub-Sass 2008). For a review of the link between health and education, see Cutler and Lleras-Muney (2006).

¹² For example, a study on a random sample of more than 3,000 households in Los Angeles shows that mother's education explains all of the racial and ethnic differences in math and reading test scores (Lara-Cinisomo et al. 2004).

¹³ These figures are restricted to adults ages 53 to 69 because the 2006 HRS, on which the estimates are based, does not survey a nationally representative sample of adults younger than 53.

¹⁴ The life expectancy measure for Hispanics includes both those born in the U.S. and those born outside the country.

¹⁵ See Morales et al. (2002) for a review of the paradox.

¹⁶ These statistics are based on data from the 2007 ACS.

¹⁷ These results are from the 2006 HRS. The estimates exclude workers ages 50 to 52 because the 2006 HRS does not survey a nationally representative sample of adults younger than 53.

¹⁸ Low-skilled jobs are defined as those that require little or no preparation (no more than a high school diploma) or limited vocational training beyond high school, according to O*NET ratings. Examples include cashiers, carpet installers, office clerks, and security guards. High-skilled jobs, including accountants, civil engineers, chief executives, and lawyers, involve “considerable or extensive” preparation and typically require a Bachelor’s degree as the minimum formal education. The remaining category identifies technical jobs that require vocational training or an associate’s degree. These occupations include barbers, commercial drivers, legal secretaries, and plumbers.

¹⁹ Batalova and Fix (2008) also report a striking underutilization of skills among all immigrants, regardless of ethnicity.

²⁰ We merged occupational data from the ACS with detailed descriptions of the specific job activities from the Occupational Information Network (O*NET) to measure the physical demands made by jobs held by older workers. The O*NET work activities survey includes a question about the importance and level of “performing general physical activities” for each occupation. These activities “require considerable use of your arms and legs and moving your whole body, such as climbing, lifting, balancing, walking, stooping, and handling materials.” For additional information on O*NET, visit <http://www.onetcenter.org>.

²¹ The AARP Foundation is one of several national organizations that administer SCSEP through a grant awarded by the Department of Labor.

²² These estimates are based on the authors’ calculations from the U.S. Department of Labor’s federal research and evaluation databases. For more information, see <http://www.fred-info.org/WIAAdults.htm>.

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APPENDIX A: Gaps in the Literature

There are still a number of unanswered questions about older Hispanics and their labor market experiences. Potential research questions including the following:

- How do older Hispanics find their jobs? Do they use an agency, word-of-mouth, or the Internet? How do their job search strategies compare to those used by non-Hispanics and younger Hispanics?
- What is the typical career path for Latinos? This overview shows where older Latinos are in terms of employment and earnings, but how did they get there? Do they switch jobs more frequently than non-Hispanics, or do they tend to spend many years with a single employer? Do they tend to work within the same industry and occupation, or do they move across industries and occupations? How does their earnings growth compare to that for non-Hispanics?
- How do older Hispanics transition into retirement, and how do those transitions compare to non-Hispanics? How many work in “retirement” and what types of jobs do they hold? When do they tend to retire from their career jobs?
- What types of jobs do older self-employed Latinos hold? What barriers to self-employment do older Hispanics face?
- What factors drive the observed differences in older ages between Hispanics and non-Hispanics in employment and earnings?
- How do Hispanics accumulate retirement savings, and how well prepared are they for retirement? What assets do they hold, how do they invest them, and what attitudes do they hold toward financial institutions? How financially literate are they? What do saving patterns look like for immigrants? The common perception is that immigrant Hispanics send lots of money to their home countries. If true, and if they plan to return to their home countries, do their U.S. asset holdings understate their true retirement wealth?
- How many Hispanic immigrants return to their home countries? Who leaves, who stays?
- How do these various outcomes differ by country of origin? Most studies, including this one, treat Hispanics as a single group, yet it is well known that Mexicans, Cubans, Puerto Ricans, and others differ from each other.

Data limitations make many of these research questions difficult to answer. Yet, there are a number of surveys that could generate useful insights. The American Community Survey, for example, includes timely data on a large sample of Hispanics, and identifies Hispanics by country of origin. The Health and Retirement Study oversamples Hispanics, and has been tracking their employment, earnings, and health outcomes for more than a decade.

APPENDIX B: Hispanics Ages 50 to 69 by Detailed Hispanic Origin

Hispanics Ages 50 to 69 by Detailed Hispanic Origin

	Total	Percent
Mexican	3,057,265	55.0
Puerto Rican	641,842	11.6
Cuban	340,453	6.1
Dominican	179,101	3.2
Salvadoran	173,960	3.1
Colombian	145,328	2.6
Peruvian	89,918	1.6
Guatemalan	77,665	1.4
Ecuadorian	74,756	1.3
Spaniard	65,481	1.2
Nicaraguan	55,137	1.0
Honduran	48,136	0.9
Argentinean	31,875	0.6
Costa Rican	19,863	0.4
Panamanian	23,779	0.4
Chilean	20,284	0.4
Venezuelan	18,277	0.3
Bolivian	9,365	0.2
Uruguayan	7,796	0.1
Paraguayan	2,483	0.0
Other Central American	16,083	0.3
Other South American	15,086	0.3
All Other Spanish/Hispanic/Latino	440,203	7.9
Total	5,554,136	100.0

Source: AARP calculations from the 2007 American Community Survey.
 Estimates are based on a sample of 50,624 Hispanics (26,908 foreign-born and 23,716 U.S.-born).

APPENDIX C: Data Tables

Table A1. Educational Attainment of Adults Ages 30 to 69, by Age, Hispanic Origin, Race, and Nativity, 2007 (%)

	Age						All	Number of Obs (Ages 30-69)
	30-39	40-49	50-54	55-59	60-64	65-69		
Hispanics								
All								
Not high school graduate	33	34	37	38	44	49	36	52,848
High school graduate	33	31	29	28	28	28	31	47,029
Some college	21	21	20	20	17	13	20	34,149
4 or more years of college	13	14	14	14	11	10	13	23,486
Foreign-born								
Not high school graduate	45	45	50	51	54	58	47	41,067
High school graduate	32	28	24	24	24	23	29	24,897
Some college	13	15	14	13	12	10	14	13,376
4 or more years of college	10	12	12	12	9	9	11	10,909
U.S.-born								
Not high school graduate	14	17	19	23	33	39	19	11,781
High school graduate	34	35	36	34	33	33	34	22,132
Some college	33	31	29	28	22	18	30	20,773
4 or more years of college	19	17	16	16	13	10	17	12,577
Non-Hispanic Black								
Not high school graduate	10	12	14	16	23	29	14	20,825
High school graduate	37	39	38	37	37	38	38	52,239
Some college	32	31	30	30	24	20	30	42,358
4 or more years of college	20	18	19	18	16	14	18	26,851
Non-Hispanic White								
Not high school graduate	5	6	6	6	9	13	7	74,220
High school graduate	27	32	32	30	33	37	31	356,218
Some college	31	30	31	30	27	25	30	343,950
4 or more years of college	37	32	32	34	31	25	33	374,943
Other Non-Hispanic								
Not high school graduate	7	11	13	15	17	23	11	10,473
High school graduate	20	25	26	25	25	26	24	22,254
Some college	22	24	24	23	21	20	23	22,894
4 or more years of college	51	41	37	37	36	31	42	42,369

Source: Authors' calculations from the 2007 American Community Survey.

Table A2. Percentage of Adults Ages 30 to 69 Reporting Fair or Poor Health or Work Disabilities, by Age, Race, Hispanic Origin, and Nativity, 2006-2008

	Age						All	Number of Obs (Ages 30-69)
	30-39	40-49	50-54	55-59	60-64	65-69		
Hispanics								
All								42,276
Fair or poor health	7	13	21	25	31	38	15	
Work disability	3	7	11	14	20	18	7	
Foreign-born								
All								24,872
Fair or poor health	7	12	18	24	29	37	13	
Work disability	2	4	8	11	15	17	5	
U.S.-born								
All								17,404
Fair or poor health	9	16	25	28	34	38	18	
Work disability	5	11	15	18	25	20	11	
Non-Hispanic Black								
All								32,278
Fair or poor health	11	17	25	32	37	43	21	
Work disability	7	12	19	24	29	28	15	
Non-Hispanic White								
All								202,903
Fair or poor health	6	10	14	17	20	23	13	
Work disability	5	8	11	13	17	17	10	
Other Non-Hispanic								
All								23,831
Fair or poor health	6	11	17	20	24	27	13	
Work disability	3	6	10	13	18	16	8	

Source: Authors' calculations from the March 2006, March 2007, and March 2008 Current Population Survey.

Table A3. Labor Force Participation Rates of Men and Women Ages 30 to 69 , by Age, Race, Hispanic Origin, and Nativity, 2007

	Age						All	Number of Obs (Ages 30-69)
	30-39	40-49	50-54	55-59	60-64	65-69		
Hispanics								
All								
Men	90.1	88.0	84.2	76.1	58.6	36.7	84.0	77,720
Women	65.9	70.3	65.7	56.1	38.9	21.0	62.4	79,792
Foreign-born								
Men	92.4	91.0	88.1	82.8	64.9	41.8	87.9	45,486
Women	59.2	68.0	62.6	55.2	38.8	20.9	59.0	44,763
U.S.-born								
Men	86.0	82.7	78.6	67.3	51.1	31.0	77.8	32,234
Women	75.4	73.7	70.1	57.2	39.0	21.1	67.3	35,029
Non-Hispanic Black								
Men	78.4	76.7	72.0	63.5	47.5	28.5	70.4	64,366
Women	81.0	76.8	72.4	60.9	43.9	23.8	69.5	77,907
Non-Hispanic White								
Men	91.5	89.7	86.3	78.4	59.7	35.7	80.8	560,976
Women	75.9	77.6	75.6	66.8	48.1	25.2	67.8	588,355
Other Non-Hispanic								
Men	88.3	86.6	84.0	75.2	60.9	36.6	81.2	45,364
Women	69.8	72.9	70.7	61.0	44.6	22.1	65.2	52,626

Source: Authors' calculations from the 2007 American Community Survey.

Note: Entries indicate the percentage of adults working or looking for work at some point during 2007.

Table A4. Labor Force Participation Rates of Men Ages 50 to 69, by Age, Hispanic Origin, Race, Nativity, and Education, 2007 (%)

	Age				All	Number of Obs (Ages 50-69)
	50-54	55-59	60-64	65-69		
Hispanics						
All						
Not high school graduate	83	74	55	33	67	9,034
High school graduate	81	74	57	36	69	6,572
Some college	85	76	61	38	73	4,762
4 or more years of college	92	86	70	52	81	3,530
Foreign-born						
Not high school graduate	87	80	61	39	73	6,461
High school graduate	88	85	65	40	77	2,881
Some college	89	85	72	47	81	1,721
4 or more years of college	93	89	74	55	83	1,666
U.S.-born						
Not high school graduate	66	54	43	23	48	2,573
High school graduate	76	65	49	33	62	3,691
Some college	83	71	55	32	68	3,041
4 or more years of college	92	82	66	49	79	1,864
Non-Hispanic Black						
Not high school graduate	47	47	35	20	38	5,513
High school graduate	70	61	46	28	57	10,255
Some college	78	68	50	35	65	7,119
4 or more years of college	89	79	65	40	75	4,633
Non-Hispanic White						
Not high school graduate	62	53	39	23	44	22,567
High school graduate	83	72	53	31	64	86,438
Some college	87	79	59	36	71	78,274
4 or more years of college	94	87	70	46	79	94,708
Other Non-Hispanic						
Not high school graduate	71	61	40	24	52	2,230
High school graduate	79	70	56	29	64	4,236
Some college	85	71	55	35	69	4,226
4 or more years of college	91	84	73	48	79	7,110

Source: Authors' calculations from the 2007 American Community Survey.

Table A5. Labor Force Participation Rates of Women Ages 50 to 69, by Age, Hispanic Origin, Race, Nativity, and Education, 2007 (%)

	Age				All	Number of Obs (Ages 50-69)
	50-54	55-59	60-64	65-69		
Hispanics						
All						
Not high school graduate	52.6	43.9	28.4	14.9	37.5	10,259
High school graduate	66.5	58.3	42.0	22.3	52.3	7,747
Some college	76.1	66.6	51.7	31.6	63.8	5,416
4 or more years of college	83.5	72.7	57.8	37.9	71.0	3,304
Foreign-born						
Not high school graduate	55.3	46.2	31.1	15.0	40.8	7,131
High school graduate	62.4	58.1	42.0	24.2	51.2	3,445
Some college	74.9	71.8	54.3	36.2	65.4	2,087
4 or more years of college	79.6	69.0	55.2	36.0	67.3	1,516
U.S.-born						
Not high school graduate	42.9	37.8	23.2	14.7	29.5	3,128
High school graduate	70.6	58.4	41.9	20.6	53.2	4,302
Some college	77.0	63.2	49.6	28.2	62.7	3,329
4 or more years of college	87.1	76.1	60.1	40.1	74.5	1,788
Non-Hispanic Black						
Not high school graduate	45.7	38.6	30.3	15.7	32.3	6,035
High school graduate	68.4	57.4	41.1	23.3	52.0	12,722
Some college	77.3	65.3	50.5	31.3	63.2	10,229
4 or more years of college	88.0	78.6	58.8	30.5	72.9	6,383
Non-Hispanic White						
Not high school graduate	42.1	34.9	26.2	14.5	28.0	21,594
High school graduate	70.3	61.3	44.3	22.8	51.5	104,413
Some college	78.3	69.5	52.2	29.4	62.5	90,610
4 or more years of college	83.4	75.6	55.9	31.1	68.2	83,912
Other Non-Hispanic						
Not high school graduate	53.7	44.9	27.3	11.0	35.3	3,577
High school graduate	65.4	53.3	40.4	20.7	49.5	5,490
Some college	71.8	67.1	50.4	26.1	59.7	4,949
4 or more years of college	80.6	71.4	55.7	32.3	67.0	6,989

Source: Authors' calculations from the 2007 American Community Survey.

Table A6. Median Earnings for Men Ages 50 to 69 Employed Full-Time as Wage and Salary Workers, by Age, Hispanic Origin, Race, Nativity, and Education, 2007 (\$)

	Age				All	Number of Obs (Ages 50-69)
	50-54	55-59	60-64	65-69		
Hispanics						
All						
Not high school graduate	23,274	23,274	20,238	20,238	22,262	4,876
High school graduate	30,357	30,357	30,357	26,310	30,357	3,822
Some college	42,500	40,476	38,452	31,369	40,476	2,956
4 or more years of college	56,667	55,655	50,595	36,429	54,643	2,510
Foreign-born						
Not high school graduate	22,262	22,262	19,429	20,238	21,857	3,986
High school graduate	27,321	27,018	28,333	25,298	27,321	1,910
Some college	38,452	35,417	33,393	32,027	36,429	1,189
4 or more years of college	45,536	42,095	40,476	25,298	41,893	1,220
U.S.-born						
Not high school graduate	28,333	26,310	23,274	27,321	26,310	890
High school graduate	35,417	34,405	34,405	27,321	34,202	1,912
Some college	45,536	45,536	40,476	31,369	45,030	1,767
4 or more years of college	67,798	62,738	60,714	60,714	64,762	1,290
Non-Hispanic Black						
Not high school graduate	22,363	24,286	25,298	22,869	23,679	1,481
High school graduate	30,357	32,381	33,393	30,357	30,357	4,539
Some college	40,476	40,476	36,833	30,357	40,476	3,740
4 or more years of college	51,607	56,667	56,667	56,667	54,643	2,927
Non-Hispanic White						
Not high school graduate	30,357	30,357	30,357	23,274	30,357	7,708
High school graduate	40,476	40,476	37,845	30,357	40,476	46,421
Some college	50,595	48,571	46,548	38,452	48,571	47,131
4 or more years of college	77,917	72,857	70,833	62,738	73,869	63,645
Other Non-Hispanic						
Not high school graduate	23,274	24,286	23,982	20,238	23,780	864
High school graduate	30,357	28,333	28,333	28,941	30,155	2,184
Some college	40,476	38,452	38,452	26,310	40,476	2,447
4 or more years of college	60,714	60,714	60,714	55,655	60,714	4,870

Source: Authors' calculations from the 2007 American Community Survey.

Note: The sample is restricted to men working 35 or more hours per week. Self-employed workers are excluded.

Table A7. Median Earnings for Women Ages 50 to 69 Employed Full-Time as Wage and Salary Workers, by Age, Hispanic Origin, Race, Nativity, and Education, 2007 (\$)

	Age					Number of Obs (Ages 50-69)
	50-54	55-59	60-64	65-69	All	
Hispanics						
All						
Not high school graduate	16,190	16,190	15,786	15,482	16,190	2,370
High school graduate	24,286	23,274	23,476	21,250	23,476	2,852
Some college	30,357	32,381	30,357	27,827	30,357	2,601
4 or more years of college	46,952	50,595	47,964	30,863	46,851	1,887
Foreign-born						
Not high school graduate	15,988	16,190	15,179	13,863	15,583	1,831
High school graduate	20,238	20,238	20,238	21,250	20,238	1,247
Some college	27,321	27,321	29,345	26,310	27,321	997
4 or more years of college	38,452	36,429	42,500	20,238	38,452	811
U.S.-born						
Not high school graduate	17,000	17,202	17,202	18,214	17,202	539
High school graduate	26,512	25,298	26,310	21,250	25,804	1,605
Some college	34,405	35,417	30,357	30,357	33,899	1,604
4 or more years of college	51,607	55,655	50,595	45,536	51,607	1,076
Non-Hispanic Black						
Not high school graduate	19,732	19,226	21,351	19,226	20,238	1,143
High school graduate	25,298	26,310	25,298	22,262	25,298	4,772
Some college	33,393	32,381	31,369	30,357	32,381	5,003
4 or more years of college	50,595	51,607	53,631	45,536	50,595	3,794
Non-Hispanic White						
Not high school graduate	20,238	21,250	21,250	19,935	21,250	3,642
High school graduate	28,333	28,333	27,321	25,196	27,625	36,590
Some college	35,417	35,417	35,214	31,875	35,417	39,987
4 or more years of college	53,631	53,631	50,595	45,030	52,619	42,140
Other Non-Hispanic						
Not high school graduate	20,238	18,619	20,238	18,214	19,226	818
High school graduate	24,286	25,298	24,286	24,286	24,286	1,934
Some college	33,393	34,405	32,381	30,357	32,887	2,209
4 or more years of college	50,595	50,595	45,536	40,476	50,595	3,762

Source: Authors' calculations from the 2007 American Community Survey.

Note: The sample is restricted to women working 35 or more hours per week. Self-employed workers are excluded.



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