The growing presence of Hispanics in the U.S. work force

Between 1980 and 1987, the number of Hispanic workers rose dramatically, accounting for almost a fifth of the Nation's employment growth; the increase for Hispanic women was especially sharp

PETER CATTAN

One of the outstanding features of the employment expansion during the 1980's has been the rapid growth of Hispanics in the U.S. labor market. This growth has been fueled by a large inflow of Hispanics from Mexico, Central and South America, and the Caribbean. Civil wars, economic problems, and poverty in some of these areas have induced large numbers of workers to migrate to the United States in search of jobs and better opportunities. Combined with the number of Hispanics currently living here, the continuing large inflow has made them the Nation's fastest growing labor force group. Thus, while the non-Hispanic work force rose by 10.4 percent between 1980 and 1987, the number of Hispanic workers increased by 39 percent, reaching 8.5 million in 1987.

In recent years, procedures have been developed which are designed to improve Hispanic population estimates from the Current Population Survey (CPS), the main source of the data in this report. This article is based on these revised data.¹

Although Hispanics made up slightly under 7 percent of total employment, they accounted for almost a fifth of the total increase in the Nation's jobs between 1980 and

1987. In all, Hispanic employment increased by 2.3 million during the period covered. (See table 1.) Mexican-Americans—by far the largest group of Hispanics—were also the fastest-growing group; their employment total rose by nearly 50 percent over the 1980–87 period, as shown in the following tabulation. ²

Number in thousands			Change, I	980-87
Number in thousands	1980	1987	Number	Percent
Total, Hispanic origin	5,457	7,790	2,333	43
Mexican	3,175	4,690	1,515	48
Puerto Rican	600	744	144	24
Cuban	409	518	109	27
Other Hispanics	1,273	1,838	565	44

The rate of Hispanic employment growth has been particularly impressive following the onset of the current expansion. Since 1983, Hispanic employment has increased by 28 percent, almost three times the rate for other workers. This resulted from the surge in the Hispanic population noted earlier. To a lesser extent, the sharper pace of Hispanic employment growth also resulted from somewhat greater increases in the percentage of this population that is employed—the employment-population ratio. As shown in the following tabulation, the ratio for Hispanics rose in spurts—by about $5\frac{1}{2}$ percentage points between 1983 and 1987, compared with $3\frac{1}{2}$ points for non-Hispanics. Also, the ratio had declined

Peter Cattan is an economist in the Division of Labor Force Statistics, Bureau of Labor Statistics.

more sharply for Hispanics than for non-Hispanics between 1980 and 1982, a period punctuated by two recessions.

Employment-population ratios Year Hispanic Non-Hispanic Difference 1980 57.6 59.3 -1.71981 57.4 59.1 -1.71982 54.9 58.0 -3.11983 55.1 58.1 -3.01984 57.9 59.6 -1.71985 57.8 60.3 -2.51986 58.5 60.9 -2.41987 60.5 61.6 -1.1

For both groups, much of the post-recession increase in employment-population ratios restored recession-induced declines. However, despite the greater increase in the ratio for Hispanics since 1983, the proportion of those who are employed continues to be below that for other workers.

The dramatic increase in Hispanic employment is expected to continue for many years. According to BLS projections, the Hispanic civilian labor force will grow by 74 percent between 1986 and the end of the century, outdistancing other labor force subgroups. Projections indicate that by the year 2000, Hispanics will make up 10 percent of the Nation's labor force, up from 7 percent in 1986. This is expected to occur because of continued sharp population growth as well as increases in the percent of Hispanics in the work force.³

Employment growth by sex

Women. The continued sharp growth in employment among all women in this country has been well documented. Hispanic women have shown the most rapid gains. Paced by sharp population growth, their employment levels have shown an increase of almost 50 percent since 1980, about $2\frac{1}{2}$ times the rate for other women. (See

Table 1. Civilian noninstitutional population and employment by Hispanic origin, age, and sex, annual averages and change,

	Hispanic				Non-Hispanic			
Population, employment, age, and sex	1980	1987	Change	, 1980 – 87	1980	4007	Change,	1980-87
			Level	Percent	1980	1987	Level	Percent
Population		,						
otal, 16 years and older	9.598	12,867	3,269	24.4	450.440			
16 to 19	1,281	1,332	-,	34.1	158,148	169,885	11,739	7.4
20 to 24	1,564	, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,	51	4.0	15,262	13,274	-1,988	-13.0
25 to 44		1,910	346	22.1	19,072	17,061	-2,011	-10.5
45 and older	4,083	6,178	2,095	51.3	58,052	69,873	11,821	20.4
	2,670	3,448	778	29.1	65,763	69,678	3,915	6.0
Men, 16 years and older	4.689	6.371	1.682	35.9	74.700			
16 to 19	653	671			74,709	80,528	5,819	7.8
20 to 24	792	985	18	2.8	7,607	6,664	-943	-12.4
25 to 44	2,005		193	24.4	9,231	8,210	-1,021	-11.1
45 and older		3,130	1,125	56.1	28,228	34,126	5,898	20.9
	1,238	1,586	348	28.1	29,644	31,528	1,884	6.4
Women, 16 years and older	4.909	6.496	1,587	200	20.400			
16 to 19	628	661		32.3	83,439	89,357	5,918	7.1
20 to 24	771	925	33	5.3	7,655	6,610	-1,045	-13.7
25 to 44			154	20.0	9,841	8,851	-990	-10.1
45 and older	2,078	3,048	970	46.7	29,824	35,747	5,923	19.9
	1,432	1,862	430	30.0	36,119	38,150	2,031	5.6
Employment								
otal, 16 years and older	5.527	7,790	2,263	400				
16 to 19	500	474		40.9	93,776	104,651	10,874	11.6
20 to 24	998		-26	-5.2	7,211	6,167	-1,045	-14.5
25 to 44		1,273	275	27.6	13,089	12,251	-838	-6.4
45 and older	2,749	4,444	1,695	61.7	43,976	55,839	11,863	27.0
	1,280	1,599	319	24.9	29,500	30,393	893	3.0
Men, 16 years and older	3.448	4,713	1.265	007			1	
16 to 19	306	268	,	36.7	53,738	57,394	3,656	6.8
20 to 24	611		-38	-12.4	3,779	3,113	-666	-17.6
25 to 44	* ' '	777	166	27.2	6,921	6,281	-640	-9.2
45 and older	1,727	2,708	981	56.8	25,460	30,677	5,217	20.5
	803	959	156	19.4	17,579	17,323	-256	-1.5
Vomen, 16 years and older	2.079	3,077	998	400	40.000			
16 to 19	193	206		48.0	40,038	47,257	7,219	18.0
20 to 24	387		13	6.7	3,432	3,054	-378	-11.0
25 to 44		496	109	28.2	6,168	5,970	-198	-3.2
45 and older	1,022	1,736	714	69.9	18,516	25,162	6.646	35.9
	478	640	162	33.9	11,921	13,070	1,149	9.6

table 2.) In addition, the proportion of Hispanic women who were employed has increased faster than that of non-Hispanic women since 1983. As indicated in the following tabulation, employment-population ratios for Hispanic women rebounded from a low of 41 percent in 1983, rising to more than 47 percent in 1987. Hispanic women have historically been less likely to be employed than other women, and their employment-population ratio is still relatively low.

	Employment-population ratios of women						
Year	Hispanic	Non-Hispanic	Difference				
1980	42.4	48.0	-5.6				
1981	43.0	48.3	-5.3				
1982	41.3	48.1	-6.8				
1983	41.1	48.5	-7.4				
1984	44.2	49.8	-5.6				
1985	43.8	50.9	-7.1				
1986	44.7	51.9	-7.2				
1987	47.4	52.9	-5.5				

Some analysts emphasize cultural differences in sexrole attitudes to explain why Hispanic women have traditionally had lower likelihoods of employment.⁵ In an empirical examination of this view, Vilma Ortiz and Rosemary Santana Cooney find that differences in educational attainments are more important determinants of ethnic differences in labor force participation than traditional attitudes toward women's role in the labor force.6 Data from the March 1987 CPS confirm that ethnic differences in educational attainment need to be taken into account. As the following tabulation shows, Hispanic women 25 years and older are much less likely than other women to complete high school—a major determinant of employability. Indeed, among women with similar levels of schooling, Hispanics are more likely to work than their counterparts.7

_	Percent of	the population
	Hispanic	Non-Hispanic
Total Less than 4 years of high	100	100
school	50	23
4 years of high school	30	42
1 year or more of college	20	35

	Employm	ient-popula	ation ratio
	Hispanic	Non- Hispanic	Difference
Less than 4 years of high school	30.5	24.7	5.8
4 years of high school	58.9	53.4	5.5
college	71.6	66.7	4.9

Men. Although the rate of job growth for Hispanic men during the 1980's was somewhat less than that of Hispanic women, it was sharply higher than that of non-Hispanic men. Even during the 1981–83 period when the employment of non-Hispanic men declined, employment of Hispanic men rose moderately, solely on the strength of population growth.

As the following tabulation shows, the trends in employment-population ratios between 1980 and 1987 have been similar for both Hispanic and non-Hispanic men. The percentages employed declined during the recessionary period of the early 1980's, but ratios for both groups continued to rise during the subsequent 5 years, as the upturn in the business cycle provided increased employment opportunities. To a lesser extent, demographics also may have been a factor behind the increase in proportions working. For example, during the past 5 years, a portion of the baby boom generation entered age categories with higher rates of labor force participation.

Employment-population re	atios of	men
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Year	Hispanic	Non- Hispanic	Difference
1980	73.5	71.9	1.6
1981	72.4	71.2	1.2
1982	68.9	69.0	1
1983	69.4	68.8	.6
1984	72.1	70.6	1.5
1985	72.1	70.8	1.3
1986	72.5	70.9	1.6
1987	74.0	71.3	2.7

The rise in the employment-population ratios of all working-age men during the most recent expansionary period occurred during a long-term decline. For more than 30 years, their employment-population ratio has been declining slowly but steadily, primarily because of earlier retirement among older men. In 1987, the ratio was 10 percentage points below those which prevailed in the late 1940's. Thus, the recent rise in the ratios for men only represents a return to 1980 rates and not a reversal of the secular trend.

The employment-population ratio for Hispanic men in 1987 was 74 percent, almost 3 points higher than for non-Hispanic men. As shown below, this is due, in part, to the fact that two-thirds of all working-age Hispanic men are 20 to 44 years old and are thus more concentrated than non-Hispanics in the age categories where labor force participation is at its highest.

The ratios for Hispanic men were higher than those of non-Hispanic men for two age groups: 20- to 24-year-olds and those age 45 and older. The ethnic differential for the younger age group may be due to the higher likelihood of enrollment of non-Hispanics in college, while the differen-

Table 2. Change in civilian noninstitutional population and employment by Hispanic origin and sex, 16 years and over, annual averages, 1980-87

	Change in population				Change in employment			
Year	Hispanic Non-Hispanic		spanic	Hispanic		Non-Hispanic		
1007	Level (in thousands)	Percent	Level (in thousands)	Percent	Level (in thousands)	Percent	Level (in thousands)	Percen
Total								
1980 to 1987	3,269	34.1	11,739	7.4	2,263	40.9	10,874	11.6
1980-1981	522	5.4	1.863	1.2	286	F 0	000	_
1981 – 1982	460	4.5	1,681	1.1	_8	5.2	808	.9
1982-1983	449	4.2	1,495	.9	267	1	-863	9
1983-1984	449	4.1	1,719	1.1		4.6	1,041	1.1
1984 – 1985	437	3.8	1.386		579	9.5	3,592	3.8
1985 – 1986	429	3.6	1,952	.8	237	3.6	1,908	1.9
1986 – 1987	523	4.2	1,643	1.2 1.0	331 571	4.8 7.9	2,116 2,272	2.1 2.2
Men								
980 to 1987	1,682	35.9	5,819	7.8	1,265	36.7	3,656	6.8
1980-1981	279	6.0	834	1.1	ا مدد ا			
1981 – 1982	235	4.7	777	1.0	149	4.3	62	.1
1982-1983	229	4.4	779		-14	4	-1,112	-2.1
1983-1984	229	4.2	845	1.0	188	5.2	328	.6
1984-1985	224	4.0		1.1	312	8.3	1,992	3.8
1985-1986	221	3.8	640	.8	162	4.0	638	1.2
1986 – 1987	265	4.3	1,108 836	1.4 1.0	183 285	4.3 6.4	818 930	1.5 1.6
Women								
980 to 1987	1,587	32.3	5,918	7.1	998	48.0	7.219	18.0
1980-1981	040						,,,,,,,	10.0
1981 – 1982	242	4.9	1,028	1.2	137	6.6	746	1.9
1982 – 1983	226	4.4	904	1.1	6	.3	250	.6
1983_1084	220	4.1	716	.8	79	3.6	712	1.7
1983 - 1984	219	3.9	875	1.0	267	11.6	1,601	3.8
1984-1985	213	3.7	745	.9	74	2.9	1,270	2.9
1985 - 1986	209	3.5	844	1.0	149	5.6	1,298	2.9
1986-1987	258	4.1	806	.9	286	10.2	1,342	2.9

tial for older workers may result from the tendency of non-Hispanics to retire younger.

		nt-population nen, 1987		t of the lation
	Hispanic	Non- Hispanic	Hispanic	Non- Hispanic
16 years and				-
older	74.0	71.3	100.0	100.0
16 to 19	39.9	46.7	10.5	8.3
20 to 24	78.9	76.5	15.5	10.2
25 to 44 45 and	86.5	89.9	49.1	42.4
older	60.5	54.9	24.9	39.2

Unemployment

Because much of the sharp rise in Hispanic employment since 1983 was accompanied by an increase in the labor force, the decline in the level and rate of unemployment among Hispanics was in line with that of the rest of the work force over the 1983-87 economic expansion. (See table 3.) Thus, at 8.8 percent in 1987, the Hispanic unemployment rate remained about $1\frac{1}{2}$ times higher than that of the remainder of the population, a ratio that has been remarkably constant throughout the decade. However, the Hispanic rate was below that of black workers, who continue to have the highest jobless rate of any race or ethnic group.

Reasons for the high rates among Hispanics include their relatively low levels of educational attainment; the large numbers who have immigrated to the United States in recent years, and thus their greater likelihood of being labor market entrants; 10 and their concentrations in job categories which are especially vulnerable to business cycle downturns. 11 Among the individual Hispanic ethnic groups, Puerto Ricans and Mexicans had the highest jobless rates in 1987—about 10 percent—while the Cuban rate was about 5 percent.

Employment patterns by occupation, 1983-87

Although Hispanic men and women have had some degree of occupational upgrading during the decade, they are still somewhat more likely than the overall work force to be employed in lower skilled, lower paid occupations. 12 As expected, most of the increase in the employment of Hispanic women occurred in mid-level occupations where Hispanic women are predominantly employed—technical, sales, and administrative support—and the generally lower paid service occupations, which together account for three-fifths of the employment of Hispanic women. Another 22 percent of the gain was in higher paid jobs as managers and professionals—who accounted for only 15 percent of Hispanic women's employment. (See table 4.) In contrast, almost half of the increase in the employment of non-Hispanic women was accounted for by managerial and professional positions, where one fourth of non-Hispanic women are employed. Jobs for both groups of women continue to be concentrated in the technical, sales, and administrative support category.

The occupational improvement among Hispanic men was not as marked. Job growth for Hispanic men was concentrated in occupations requiring intermediate skills—operators, fabricators, and laborers—which accounted for nearly a third of their employment. In contrast, job growth for non-Hispanic men—like that for women—was concentrated in managerial and professional positions, which accounted for more than one fourth of their employment.

Reflecting their concentration in occupations requiring lower levels of training and formal education, Hispanic wage and salary workers employed full time typically earned less than their non-Hispanic counterparts. Hispanic workers averaged \$284 a week in 1987, about three-fourths the earnings of all full-time wage and salary workers.

Table 3. Unemployment levels and rates by Hispanic origin and sex, 16 years and over, annual averages, 1980–87

	To	tal	М	en	Wor	men
Year	Hispanic	Non- Hispanic	Hispanic	Non- Hispanic	Hispanic	Non- Hispanic
		Unemplo	yment le	vels (in the	usands)	
1980	620	7,017	370	3,897	249	3,121
1981	678	7,595	408	4,169	269	3,427
1982	929	9,749	565	5,614	364	4,135
1983	961	9,756	591	5,669	369	4,088
1984	800	7,739	480	4,264	320	3,474
1985	811	7,501	483	4,038	327	3,464
1986	857	7,380	520	4,010	337	3,370
1987	751	6,674	451	3,650	300	3,024
			Unemploy	ment rate	8	
1980	10.1	7.0	9.7	6.8	10.7	7.2
1981	10.4	7.4	10.2	7.2	10.8	7.8
1982	13.8	9.4	13.6	9.6	14.1	9.2
1983	13.7	9.3	13.6	9.7	13.8	8.9
1984	10.7	7.3	10.5	7.2	11.1	7.4
1985	10.5	7.0	10.2	6.8	11.0	7.2
1986	10.6	6.7	10.5	6.6	10.8	6.8
1987	8.8	6.0	8.7	6.0	8.9	6.0

----FOOTNOTES-

¹Hispanics refers to all persons who identify themselves as of Mexican, Puerto Rican (living on the mainland), Cuban, Central or South American, or of other Hispanic origin or descent. *Non-Hispanics* is a residual category referring to persons of all other origins or descents.

The Current Population Survey (CPS) is a monthly sample survey of about 125,000 persons in some 60,000 households representing the U.S. working-age population (16 years and over). (Beginning in April 1988, the size of the CPS sample was cut back to 55,800 households.) Conducted for the Bureau of Labor Statistics by the Bureau of the Census, the CPS provides information on the Nation's labor force, employment, and unemployment by economic and demographic characteristics. Beginning in January 1986, the Census Bureau introduced major changes into the independent population estimates used in the weighting procedure for the CPS. The new weights compensate for

		Hispanic			Non-Hispanic	
Occupation	Percent distribution, 1987	Share of total growth, 1983—87	Percent change, 1983 – 87	Percent distribution, 1987	Share of total growth, 1983 – 87	Percent change, 1983 – 87
Men, 16 years and older	100.0	100.0	25.0	100.0	100.0	8.3
Managerial and professional specialty	12.0	13.8	30.0	25.9	31.8	10.3
Technical, sales, and administrative support	15.7	21.4	37.5	20.3	25.1	10.4
Service occupations	13.9	10.5	17.0	9.2	6.7	5.9
Precision production, craft, and repair	20.5	17.9	21.0	19.9	21.0	8.7
Operators, fabricators, and laborers	29.1	25.4	21.1	20.2	21.2	8.7
Farming, forestry, and fishing	8.9	11.0	33.2	4.4	-5.9	-9.2
Women, 16 years and older	100.0	100.0	33.7	100.0	100.0	13.2
Managerial and professional specialty	14.7	22.2	61.2	25.0	44.5	26.2
Technical, sales, and administrative support	39.9	34.0	27.4	45.5	40.9	11.7
Service occupations	23.3	26.4	40.1	17.8	10.9	7.7
Precision production, craft, and repair	3.7 16.9	2.7	22.3	2.2	2.4	14.6
Farming, forestry, and fishing	1.5	14.4	27.5 2.3	8.4	2.1	2.9 -7.1

MONTHLY LABOR REVIEW August 1988 • Hispanics in the U.S. Work Force

underestimates of illegal immigrants and legal emigrants, and substantially raised the population and employment estimates of Hispanics. Major series (for example, numbers in the population and labor force by sex and age) were revised back to 1980, while more detailed data (for example, employment by occupation) are available in revised form only back to 1986.

For an overview of the recent changes and their effect on the CPS, see Jeffrey Passel, "Changes in the Estimation Procedure in the Current Population Survey Beginning in January 1986," Employment and Earnings, February 1986, pp. 7–10. For additional detail on procedures and findings concerning estimates of legal and illegal immigration and emigration, see Robert Warren and Jeffrey Passel, "A Count of the Uncountable: Estimates of Undocumented Aliens Counted in the 1980 United States Census," Demography, August 1987, pp. 375–94; and Karen Woodrow, Jeffrey Passel, and Robert Warren, "Recent Immigration to the United States—Legal and Undocumented: Analysis of Data from the June 1986 Current Population Survey," paper presented at the 1987 annual meetings of the Population Association of America, Chicago, IL, Apr. 29–May 2. For an overview of earlier changes in the CPS weights, see Philip Rones, "Revisions in Hispanic population and labor force data," Monthly Labor Review, March 1985, pp. 43–44.

²Data by country of origin for 1980 were derived from the 1980 census; 1987 figures are annual averages from the CPS.

³See Howard N Fullerton, Jr., "Labor force projections: 1986 to 2000," *Monthly Labor Review*, September 1987, pp. 19-29.

⁴See Susan E. Shank, "Women and the labor market: the link grows stronger," *Monthly Labor Review*, March 1988, pp. 3-8; Daniel T. Lichter and Janice A. Costanzo, "How do demographic changes affect the labor force participation of women?" *Monthly Labor Review*, November 1987, pp. 23-25; and Howard Hayghe, "Rise in mothers' labor force activity includes those with young children," *Monthly Labor Review*, February 1986, pp. 43-45.

⁵For a critical overview of this perspective, see Vilma Ortiz and Rosemary Santana Cooney, "Sex-Role Attitudes and Labor Force Participation among Young Hispanic Females and Non-Hispanic White Females," Social Science Quarterly, June 1984, pp. 392-400.

⁶Ibid.

⁷For a similar finding using the 1976 Survey of Income and Education, see George J. Borjas and Marta Tienda, *Hispanics in the U.S. Economy* (Orlando, FL, Academic Press, 1985), p. 8. For additional perspectives on the labor force participation of women, see Marta Tienda and Jennifer Glass, "Household Structure and Labor Force Participa-

tion of Black, Hispanic and White Mothers," *Demography*, August 1985, pp. 381-94; Shelley A. Smith and Marta Tienda, "The Doubly Disadvantaged: Women of Color in the U.S. Labor Force," in Ann Stromberg and Shirley Harkess, eds., *Working Women*, 2d ed. (Palo Alto, CA, Mayfield Publishing Co., 1987); Edna Acosta-Belen, *The Puerto Rican Woman: Perspectives on Culture, History and Society* (New York, Praeger, 1986); and Borjas and Tienda, *Hispanics in the U.S. Economy*, chs. 7 and 8.

⁸For an overview of the employment status of married men (the vast majority of all men in the labor force), see Howard Hayghe and Steven Haugen, "A profile of husbands in today's labor market," *Monthly Labor Review*, October 1987, pp. 12-17.

⁹CPS data on persons of Hispanic origin are tabulated separately without regard to race, which means they are also included in the data for white and black workers.

¹⁰ Research has shown that the extent of unemployment among recent immigrants to the United States drops sharply over time, and about a decade after their arrival their unemployment rates are very similar to those of native-born workers. See Ellen Sehgal, "Foreign born in the U.S. labor market: the results of a special survey," *Monthly Labor Review*, July 1985, pp. 18-24.

¹¹As occurred in the 1980's, the Hispanic unemployment rate rose and fell more sharply during the 1970's than that of non-Hispanics. For an analysis of trends in Hispanic unemployment between 1973 and 1984, see Gregory DeFreitas, "A Time-Series Analysis of Hispanic Unemployment," *Journal of Human Resources*, Winter 1986, pp. 24–43.

12 This analysis of Hispanic occupational employment is limited to the 1983-87 period because of a major revision of the 1980 census occupational classification system which was implemented in the 1983 CPS. See Gloria Peterson Green and others, "Revisions in the Current Population Survey Beginning in January 1983," *Employment and Earnings*, February 1983, pp. 7-15.

Estimates of occupational employment before 1986 were not revised to reflect the changes in weights introduced into the CPS. (See footnote 1.) The analysis presented here uses the original 1983 percent distributions of Hispanic men and women across the major occupational categories. To obtain levels of occupational employment consistent with the revised 1983 data on total employment of Hispanics by sex, the percentages in each occupation were multiplied by the revised totals. The underlying assumption was that if the revised estimation procedures for Hispanic employment levels were to be applied to occupational characteristics, the percentage distributions would not be significantly affected.