

# Chapter 7.

## The Relationship of Youth Employment to Future Educational Attainment and Labor Market Experience

The Report on the Youth Labor Force was revised in November 2000.

### Introduction

This chapter examines the relationship between youths' work activities while in school and their future educational attainment and labor market success. It begins with an overview of the economics literature concerning possible impacts. This overview is followed by an analysis of the most recent data from the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth 1979 (NLSY79). By following the lives of the NLSY79 respondents over the last 20 years, this survey permits one to describe the relationship between the number of hours and weeks of work during school months while aged 16 and 17, and later outcomes in terms of college attendance, weeks worked each year, and the number of jobs held from age 18 through 30. However, as implied by the literature review, this relationship cannot be interpreted as showing cause and effect.

### The effects of youth employment

Whether youths should work during their high school years, and how much they should work, has received considerable policy attention over the last 25 years. In the mid-1970s, no fewer than three Federal Commissions studied secondary education and recommended policies to encourage youths to gain at least some work experience to ease the transition from school into adulthood.<sup>1</sup> In contrast, the National Commission on Excellence in Education recommended that youths spend more time on academic studies, and downplayed the value of employment during high school.<sup>2</sup>

The early 1990s saw a number of news media reports that generated concerns about child labor problems. Those concerns led to the 1998 study of the health, safety, and developmental impacts of youth employment by the Board on Children, Youth, and Families of the Institute of Medicine, National Research Council (NRC).<sup>3</sup> The NRC panel favored a new standard limiting the weekly maximum number of hours of work for 16- and 17-year-olds during the school year.

Over this same period, numerous economic research studies have examined the issue of the long-run effects of working while young. In general, researchers, even when finding positive effects, are deliberately cautious in interpreting their results. Using data from the NLSY79 survey, V. Joseph Hotz and others find that men who worked while in high school have higher average hourly wages at age 27 (\$10.75) than those who did not (\$9.69).<sup>4</sup> As the authors point out, however, it is possible that these results do not demonstrate that working while in school has positive impacts.<sup>5</sup> Instead, the findings may simply reflect pre-existing differences among groups of youths—that is, more able or “better connected” youths acquire jobs during their early years, and these same youths have better subsequent employment and schooling opportunities.

Echoing this same caution, the 1998 NRC report states: “Young people who work may be different before they begin to work than those who do not work and those who work long hours may be different than those who work

fewer hours. For example, adolescents who are not interested in school may choose to work longer hours than those who enjoy school....”<sup>6</sup> Another reason for caution is that many studies have been able to observe only early outcomes from working while young, leaving open the question of whether effects lessen with age.<sup>7</sup> Yet another consideration is that how many hours one works while young may be critically related to later outcomes, which is not always addressed in studies.

What does the research show? The 1998 NRC report reviewed the available research and concluded that: “Low intensity employment may support post-secondary educational outcomes while high-intensity employment may hinder them.”<sup>8</sup> In general, although studies differ in their samples and definitions, they often use 20 or fewer hours of work per week as the dividing line between high- and low-intensity work.

As noted, there has been some question about whether the positive effects found in studies are temporary, and will dissipate or disappear at older ages. A recent study by Audrey Light examined the effect of high school employment on wages throughout the 9 years following high school for men who did not continue their education.<sup>9</sup> Her research, which allows for different intensities of work, used the NLSY79. She found that high school employment has a positive, skill-enhancing effect on wages for the first 6 years after graduation, which disappears by 9 years after graduation.

These results contrast with those of Christopher Ruhm, who also used

the NLSY79 but concluded that working during the senior year in high school is associated with positive labor market outcomes 6 to 9 years later, with particularly large benefits associated with moderate work hours for female youths.<sup>10</sup> The positive outcomes include higher annual earnings, a greater likelihood of receiving fringe benefits, and having higher status occupations. Ruhm, however, also finds a negative impact of working while young on the amount of education received, and that work during the sophomore and junior years of high school is not associated with positive future labor market outcomes.

Finally, the recent study by Hotz and others, which also used the NLSY79 data but for young men only, concludes that findings of generally positive impacts may be sensitive to the choice of method used for the analysis. The authors' preferred method provides estimates that imply that going to school and not working has much bigger payoffs to wages at age 27 than combining school and part-time work.<sup>11</sup> One drawback to this study, however, is that it does not examine the impact on adult wages of the number of hours of work each week (for example, fewer than or more than 20 hours per week) or the timing of work (such as during the

school year or the summer) while young.

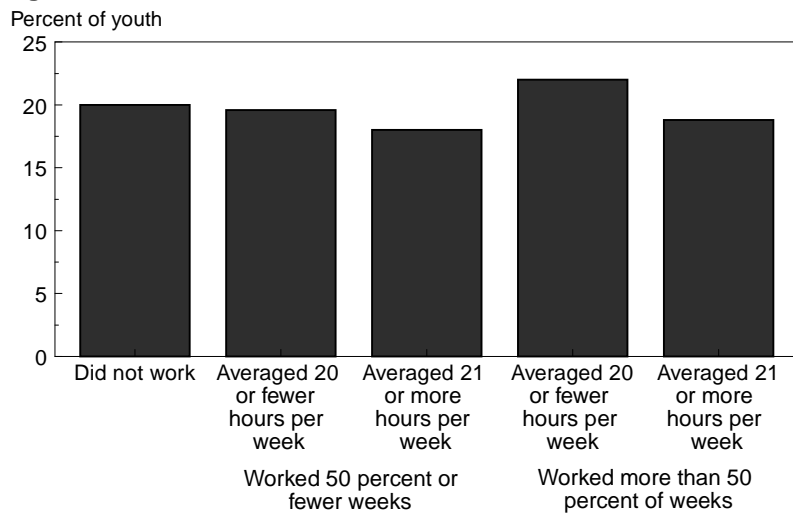
In conclusion, the evidence on the impact of working while young is somewhat mixed. These studies generally point to a positive impact on the likelihood of being employed, but do not find a lasting effect in the form of receiving higher wages. There also are important caveats to consider, such as possible systematic differences, not fully accounted for in the research studies, in the characteristics of those who choose to work while young—especially those who work more hours, as compared to those who do not work or who work fewer hours. And there is still the question of whether positive effects that are found are temporary and will dissipate or disappear at older ages.

### Evidence from the NLSY79

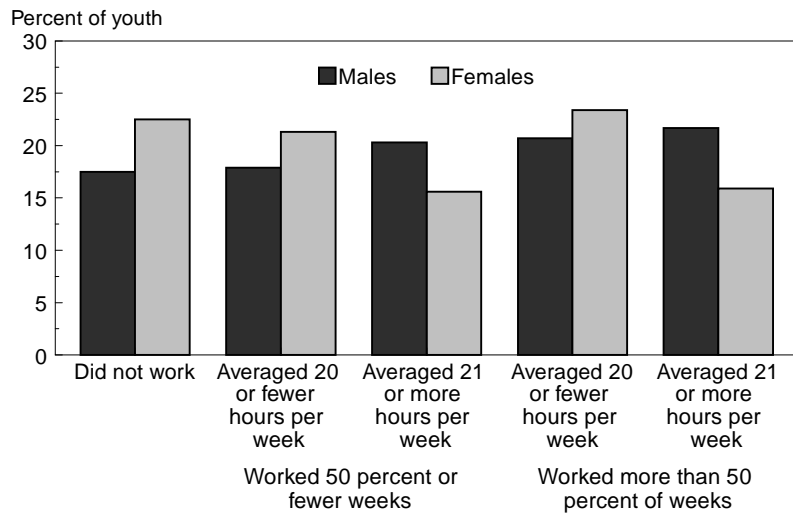
This part of the chapter describes labor market experience in young adulthood and educational attainment separately for individuals who differ on the basis of their work activities while in school. The data used are from the NLSY79, a nationally representative sample of 12,686 young men and women who were born between January 1, 1957 and December 31, 1964. The first NLSY79 interview took place in 1979, when respondents were aged 14 to 22. Respondents were interviewed annually through 1994 and are now surveyed biennially. This analysis uses data for respondents in the birth years 1962-64, for whom details on employment are available beginning at age 16.

These individuals are now in their thirties, and thus the NLSY79 can be used to examine the relationship between youth employment and later educational and employment experience. Without controlling for other factors that can influence outcomes—in particular, the characteristics of those who choose to work (and those who choose to work more intensively) during high school—the tables and charts shown below cannot imply a causality between youth employment and longer-term outcomes. However, given the unique

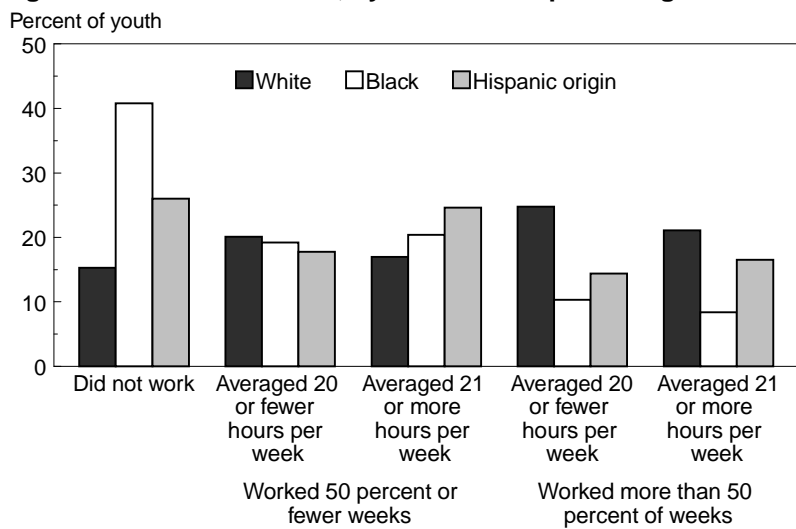
**Chart 7.1. Work status during the school year of youths while aged 16 and 17 in 1978-82**



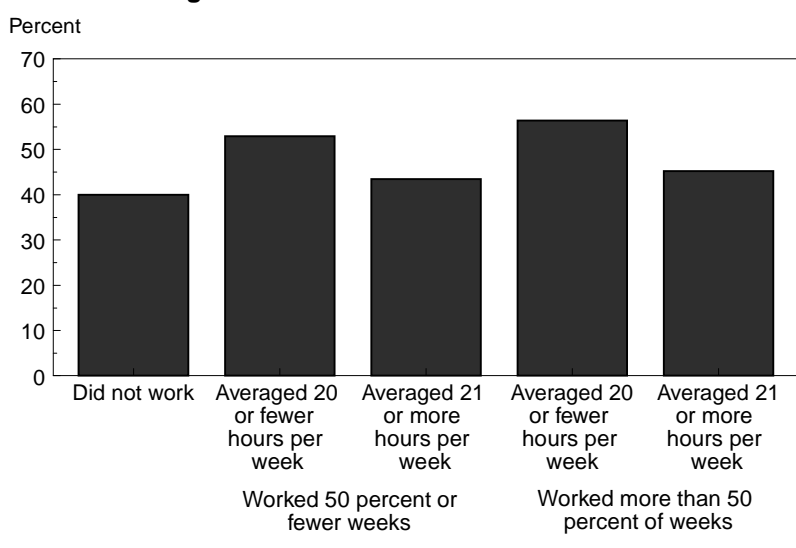
**Chart 7.2. Work status during the school year of youths while aged 16 and 17 in 1978-82, by sex**



**Chart 7.3. Work status during the school year of youths while aged 16 and 17 in 1978-82, by race and Hispanic origin**



**Chart 7.4. Percent of individuals with at least some college education at age 30, by average hours worked during school weeks while aged 16 and 17 in 1978-82**



longitudinal nature of the data, they provide valuable insight into the possible relationship between youth employment and adult outcomes.

### School-year employment while aged 16 and 17

The findings in this section pertain to work experience during the school year while aged 16 and 17. Note that work experience while 16 and 17 for this group born in 1962-64 occurred during calendar years 1978-82. These years include the last 2 years of a business cycle expansion and both the 1980 and 1981-82 recessions.

To highlight the separate effects of the number of weeks worked and the number of hours worked during the week, individuals are grouped into five categories of work intensity throughout this analysis and in the sections that follow. They are:

- (1) youths who did not work during school weeks while 16 and 17;
- (2) youths who worked 50 percent of school weeks or fewer, and averaged 20 or fewer hours of work per week;
- (3) youths who worked 50 percent of school weeks or fewer, and

averaged more than 20 hours of work per week;

- (4) youths who worked more than 50 percent of school weeks, and averaged 20 or fewer hours of work per week; and
- (5) youths who worked more than 50 percent of school weeks, and averaged more than 20 hours of work per week.

Twenty percent of these individuals never worked at any point during the school year while they were aged 16 and 17.<sup>12</sup> (See chart 7.1.) About 41 percent worked more than half of all school weeks. These youths are fairly evenly split between averaging 20 or fewer hours per week and more than 20 hours per week.<sup>13</sup> The same is true for those who worked a relatively low percentage of school weeks (50 percent or fewer).

Male youths were more likely than female youths to have worked during school weeks (83 and 78 percent, respectively). (See chart 7.2.) In addition, working male youths averaged more hours of work per school week than did working female youths.

Black 16- and 17-year-olds were substantially less likely to have worked during school weeks (59 percent) than were whites (85 percent) or Hispanics (74 percent). (See chart 7.3.) Hispanics were more likely to work high average hours and a relatively low percentage of weeks, as compared to whites and blacks. Whites, on the other hand, were more likely to average high numbers of hours per week and to work a relatively high percentage of weeks compared to blacks and Hispanics.

There also were significant differences in the likelihood of working based on family income. Youths in families with incomes of less than \$25,000 were less likely to work than were youths in families in higher income groups. (See table 7.1.) Youths in families with incomes over \$70,000 were both more likely to average low hours per week and to work a high percentage of school weeks, compared with

youths in lower family income groups.

In summary, a majority of 16- and 17-year-old youths in 1978-82 worked at some point during the school term and, as is the case for today's youths, their work patterns varied notably by demographic characteristics. For example, in chapter 3, we saw that male youths aged 14 and 15 in 1994-97 were more likely than female youths to work a relatively high percentage of school weeks and to average high numbers of hours during those weeks.<sup>14</sup> The same pattern is found for 16- and 17-year-

olds in 1978-82. Whites in both cohorts are also more likely than blacks or Hispanics to work a high percentage of school weeks and to average high hours during those weeks. We next examine the relationship between youth employment while aged 16 and 17 and later educational and employment experience.

### Educational attainment at age 30

Consistent with the general findings in the literature, individuals who worked

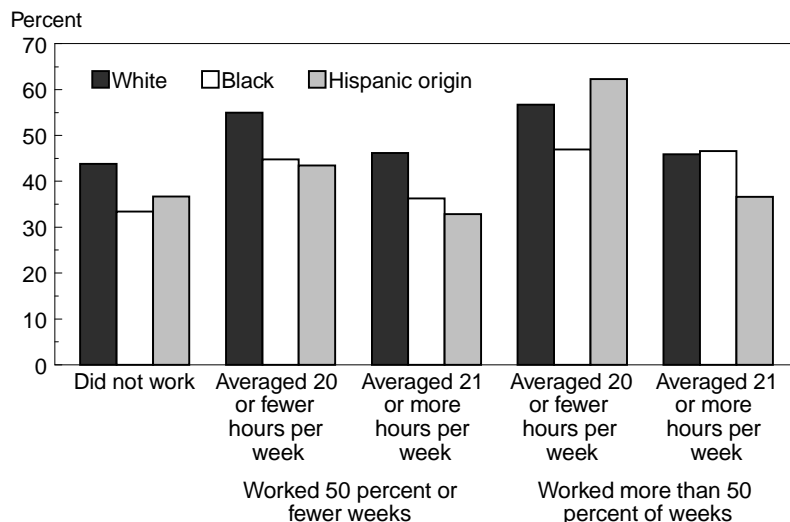
but averaged 20 hours or fewer per school week while aged 16 and 17 were more likely than other youths to have at least some college education by age 30. (See chart 7.4.) More specifically, more than half of youths who worked 20 or fewer hours per week while in school had at least some college education by age 30. In contrast, fewer than half of those who did not work or who worked more than 20 hours a week had achieved similar education levels by age 30. These findings hold regardless of whether one worked more or fewer than 50 percent of weeks while in school. The same pattern also is generally evident for men and women separately. (See chart 7.5.)

The overall findings just discussed hold for whites as well. In contrast, educational attainment of blacks and Hispanics is not so clearly related to hours worked while aged 16 and 17. Fewer than half of blacks in each of the five work intensity groups had any college education by age 30. Well over half of Hispanics who worked more than 50 percent of school weeks but 20 or fewer hours a week had some college education by age 30, whereas fewer than half of Hispanics in each of the other work intensity categories had any college education. (See chart 7.6.)

**Chart 7.5. Percent of individuals with at least some college education at age 30, by average hours worked during school weeks while aged 16 and 17 in 1978-82, by sex**



**Chart 7.6. Percent of individuals with at least some college education at age 30, by average hours worked during school weeks while aged 16 and 17 in 1978-82, by race and Hispanic origin**

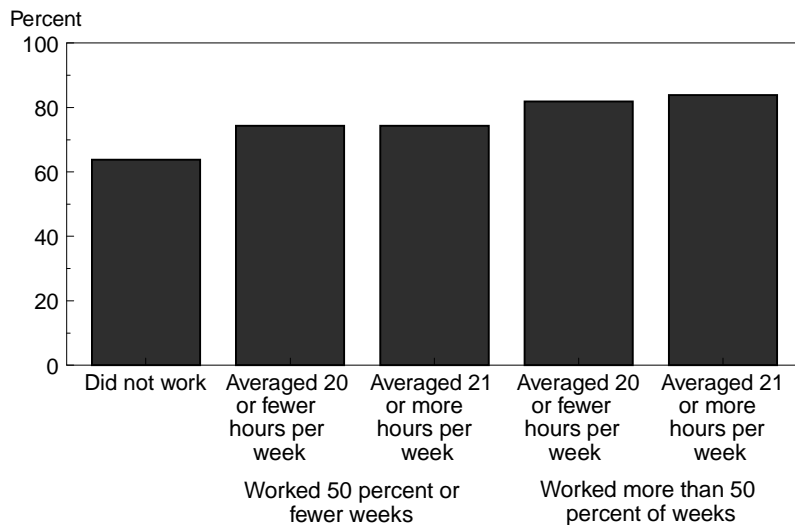


### Work experience while aged 18 through 30

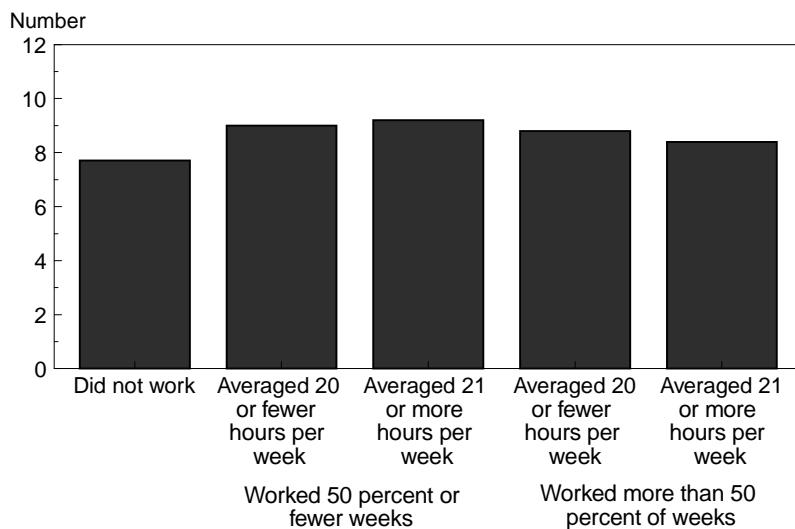
The NLSY79 provides detailed work history information. This analysis examines the percent of weeks worked by individuals over the years when they are aged 18 to 30. The analysis continues to focus on groups divided by work intensity while aged 16 and 17 and in school.

In general, what emerges is that each step up in the percent of school weeks spent in work is associated with a step up in the percent of weeks worked in the following 13 years, regardless of the category of hours worked per week. (See chart 7.7.) In particular, individuals who did not work during school weeks while aged 16 and 17 worked 64 percent of weeks from age 18 through 30. Those who worked 50 percent of

**Chart 7.7. Percent of weeks worked while aged 18 to 30 in 1980-95, by average hours worked during school weeks while aged 16 and 17 in 1978-82**



**Chart 7.8. Average number of jobs held by individuals while aged 18 to 30 in 1980-95, by average hours worked during school weeks while aged 16 and 17 in 1978-82**



school weeks or less while aged 16 and 17 worked an average of 74 percent of weeks while aged 18 to 30. The percentage is even higher (between 82 and 84 percent, depending on the category of hours worked per week) for youths who worked more than 50 percent of school weeks at these ages. This overall step-up pattern also holds over age 18 to 30 for both men and women and regardless of race and ethnicity.

This pattern—each step up in school workweeks while 16 and 17 is associated with a step up in workweeks

when older—also holds for the narrower age ranges of 18 to 22, 23 to 26, and 27 to 30. (See table 7.2.) The percent of weeks worked rises from ages 18 to 22 to ages 23 to 26, but then remains steady while persons are aged 27 to 30.

Various measures in this report have generally shown that white youths work more than black youths. Table 7.2 indicates that whites also typically work more weeks from age 18 to 30 than do blacks, regardless of their work intensity while in school. The excep-

tion is that, for individuals with the most intensive work experience while young (worked more than 50 percent of school weeks and averaged 21 or more hours per week), there is no significant difference between the percent of weeks worked by blacks and that worked by whites from age 18 through 30.

Table 7.2 shows that, from age 23 through 30, those with some college work more weeks than do those with no college. For those 18 through 22, however, this reverses, probably because individuals in the higher education category engage in further education during those years. The overall step-up pattern in workweeks for young adults associated with their school workweeks while aged 16 and 17 holds for individuals in both the higher and lower educational groups. For those individuals with some college, however, the percent of weeks worked while aged 27 to 30 differs little among those with different work experiences while young.

### Number of jobs held while aged 18 through 30

This section examines the number of jobs individuals held during various periods when they were aged 18 through 30, again grouping them by hours and percent of weeks worked during school weeks while they were aged 16 and 17. Young workers have a great deal of job mobility during their early years in the labor market, and thus hold a relatively high number of jobs. Early job mobility may represent job shopping, and may be beneficial for a variety of reasons. For example, it can allow young workers to learn about different work environments. However, as workers age, they tend to have less job mobility, which may represent the occurrence of better matches between workers and their jobs.<sup>15</sup>

From age 18 through age 30, individuals who did not work while aged 16 and 17 held a lower average number of jobs than did those who worked at these ages. (See chart 7.8.) While this relationship also holds for the narrower range from age 18 to 22, across the older age ranges the number of jobs is fairly

similar across all categories of work while young. (See table 7.3.)

Men held an average of 8.9 jobs and women held an average of 8.4 jobs from age 18 to age 30. While aged 18 to 22, men and women held about the same number of jobs within all categories of work while 16 and 17. From age 27 to age 30, however, men held a higher number of jobs than did women within most categories of work while 16 and 17.

Whites held more jobs (8.7) than did blacks or Hispanics (8.3 and 8.2 respectively) from age 18 through age 30. Whites tend to hold more jobs from age 18 to 22 than do blacks across most work categories while young. However, from age 27 to 30, whites hold either

the same number or fewer jobs than do blacks within each category of work while young.

Individuals with at least some college education held 9.1 jobs from age 18 through 30, in contrast to 8.2 jobs held by those with a high school diploma or less education. Over these ages, within both education categories, individuals who did not work while 16 and 17 generally held a lower average number of jobs than did those who worked while 16 and 17.

## Conclusion

In summary, 80 percent of individuals born in the years 1962 to 1964 worked at some point during the school year when they were aged 16 and 17. Indi-

viduals who worked while aged 16 and 17 but spent 20 or fewer hours per week at work were more likely than others to have acquired some college education by age 30. In addition, a higher percentage of weeks worked while young is associated with greater work experience through age 30. This does not necessarily imply that early work experience causes these later outcomes. For example, it may be that those who work while young are also those with higher motivation or more economic opportunities. Thus, although those with work experience while young have certain desirable outcomes, these outcomes may in fact be due to the underlying characteristics of the youths themselves.

This chapter was contributed by Donna Rothstein, a research economist with the Bureau of Labor Statistics, and Marilyn Manser, an associate commissioner with the Bureau. The authors thank Michael Horrigan for helpful comments, and Alexander Eidelman for excellent research assistance.

<sup>1</sup>See the National Commission on the Reform of Secondary Education, *The Reform of Secondary Education* (New York, McGraw Hill, 1973); the President's Science Advisory Committee, *Youth: Transition to Adulthood* (Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1974); and the National Panel on High School and Adolescent Education, *The Education of Adolescents: The Final Report and Recommendations of the National Panel on High School and Adolescent Education* (Washington, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, 1976).

<sup>2</sup>See National Commission on Excellence in Education, *A Nation at Risk: The Imperative for Education Reform* (Washington, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1983).

<sup>3</sup>See National Research Council, *Protecting Youth at Work* (Washington, National Academy Press, 1998). The NRC study was sponsored by the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health with support by other agencies, including the Wage and Hour Division of the U.S. Department of Labor. The study also provided a number of recommendations for possible changes to regulations and data collection and for increased research.

<sup>4</sup>V. Joseph Hotz, Lixin Xu, Marta Tienda, and Avner Ahtuv, "Are There Returns to the Wages of Young Men from Working While in School," Unpublished paper (University of California at Los Angeles, De-

partment of Economics, June 1999).

<sup>5</sup>Hotz and others, "Are There Returns," p. 14.

<sup>6</sup>Technically, these estimation problems arise because of the existence of selection effects and unobserved heterogeneity. See National Research Council, *Protecting Youth at Work*, p. 113.

<sup>7</sup>See the National Research Council, *Protecting Youth at Work*, pp. 121-24, for a more detailed summary and references to the earlier literature.

<sup>8</sup>National Research Council, *Protecting Youth at Work*, p. 117.

<sup>9</sup>See Audrey Light, "High School Employment, High School Curriculum, and Post-school Wages," *Economics of Education Review*, vol. 18, 1999, 291-309.

<sup>10</sup>See Christopher J. Ruhm, "Is High School Employment Consumption or Investment?" *Journal of Labor Economics*, vol. 15, no. 4, 1997, pp. 735-76.

<sup>11</sup>Their preferred econometric technique (the "dynamic selection control" estimation technique) controls for the impact of unobserved differences between respondents that affect their decisions to work while enrolled in school, and also influence the wage offers they receive at older ages.

<sup>12</sup>The expression "while 16 and 17" refers to the 2-year period between the youths' 16th and 18th birthdays. School weeks exclude those in June, July, August, the last week in December, and the first week in January.

If a youth dropped out or graduated from high school while 17, only those school weeks prior to this occurrence are used in calculations. Youths who dropped out or graduated from high school while 16 are excluded.

<sup>13</sup>Hours are averaged over school weeks

in which the youth worked. Hours are defined according to the following methodology: Survey respondents report usual hours per week as of each job's stop date (or the interview date for ongoing jobs). Hours reported for each job are then back-filled to the job's start date. Therefore, there is a total number of hours worked across all jobs reported for each week a youth worked. Hours per week are then averaged over the academic weeks worked while age 16 and 17 (prior to dropping out or graduating from school). Given this methodology, work hours from other time periods (for example, summer, after the youth turned 18, after the youth dropped out or graduated from school) are sometimes back-filled into school-year weeks. This can potentially lead to an overstatement of average hours. On average, about one-third (32 percent) of academic weeks worked while 16 and 17 were back-filled with hours from another time period—8 percent of school year weeks worked were back-filled with summer hours, 15 percent were back-filled with work hours information from after the youth turned 18, and 9 percent were back-filled with work hours information from other time periods, such as subsequent to dropping out or graduating from school.

<sup>14</sup>In chapter 3, "high" hours are defined as 15 or more, rather than 21 or more as in this chapter. We chose a different work break-point because we examined work behavior of younger youths in chapter 3 (14- and 15-year-olds), who, on average, work fewer hours during the school-term.

<sup>15</sup>For additional discussion, see *Work and Family: Jobs Held and Weeks Worked by Young Adults*, Report 827, August 1992, Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Table 7.1. **Work status during the school year of youths aged 16 to 17 in 1978-82: Individuals aged 14 to 16 on December 31, 1978, by sex, race, Hispanic origin, and family income**

Age in 1978-82 and characteristic	Did not work	Worked 50 percent or fewer of school weeks		Worked more than 50 percent of school weeks	
		Averaged 20 or fewer hours per week	Averaged 21 or more hours per week	Averaged 20 or fewer hours per week	Averaged 21 or more hours per week
Total, aged 16 and 17 in 1978-82.....	20.0	19.6	18.0	22.0	18.8
Male youths .....	17.5	17.9	20.3	20.7	21.7
Female youths .....	22.5	21.3	15.6	23.4	15.9
White .....	15.3	20.1	17.0	24.8	21.1
Black .....	40.8	19.2	20.4	10.3	8.4
Hispanic origin .....	26.0	17.8	24.6	14.4	16.5
Family income in 1979 (in 1996 dollars) ...					
Less than \$25,000 .....	31.6	18.8	22.3	12.4	13.7
\$25,000 to 44,999 .....	23.6	19.3	17.0	19.7	18.8
\$45,000 to 69,999 .....	11.2	22.3	16.8	24.7	23.4
\$70,000 and over .....	11.4	21.2	14.8	33.8	17.9

NOTE: The National Longitudinal Survey of Youth 1979 consists of persons aged 14 to 22 in 1979. The columns exclude individuals who had turned 16 before 1978.

Rows do not add to 100 due to the nonreporting of information on hours and weeks of work for a small number of

working respondents.

Race and Hispanic origin groups are mutually exclusive. Totals include American Indians, Alaskan Natives, and Asians and Pacific Islanders, not shown separately.

Table 7.2. Percent of weeks employed for individuals aged 18 to 30 in 1980-95, categorized by percent of school weeks and number of hours worked while aged 16 and 17, by age, education, sex, race, and Hispanic origin

Age in 1980-95 and characteristic	Total	Did not work	Worked 50 percent or fewer of school weeks		Worked more than 50 percent of school weeks	
			Averaged 20 or fewer hours per week	Averaged 21 or more hours per week	Averaged 20 or fewer hours per week	Averaged 21 or more hours per week
Total, aged 18 to 30 in 1980-95.....	75.7	63.8	74.3	74.3	81.8	83.9
Men .....	81.3	70.1	79.6	78.1	87.1	89.0
Women .....	70.0	58.7	69.8	69.2	77.0	76.6
White .....	78.1	67.7	75.7	76.5	82.5	83.9
Black .....	64.6	56.2	66.7	68.0	72.1	82.5
Hispanic origin .....	72.7	62.7	72.9	70.7	79.9	84.8
High school or less .....	73.3	59.5	71.8	72.0	82.5	83.0
Some college or more .....	78.3	70.0	76.6	77.3	81.2	85.0
Total, aged 18 to 22 in 1980-87.....	65.9	48.0	63.5	63.0	75.5	78.8
Men .....	69.2	52.8	64.6	65.0	76.7	83.0
Women .....	62.5	44.1	62.5	60.2	74.5	73.1
White .....	68.9	52.0	65.6	64.7	76.6	78.8
Black .....	51.3	40.0	51.4	58.9	60.3	75.7
Hispanic origin .....	62.8	47.9	63.5	58.6	74.4	82.0
High school or less .....	67.4	48.4	65.3	65.2	80.7	81.2
Some college or more .....	64.2	47.2	61.9	60.1	71.5	76.0
Total, aged 23 to 26 in 1985-91.....	80.5	70.5	79.8	80.1	85.0	87.1
Men .....	86.5	78.0	85.7	84.0	90.3	92.8
Women .....	74.5	64.6	74.8	74.9	80.4	79.3
White .....	82.8	74.7	81.1	82.4	85.7	87.2
Black .....	70.6	62.2	74.6	74.2	77.1	85.9
Hispanic origin .....	76.5	69.1	74.2	76.7	79.9	87.5
High school or less .....	76.2	64.4	75.3	75.9	82.8	84.8
Some college or more .....	85.2	79.8	83.7	85.6	86.7	89.9
Total, aged 27 to 30 in 1989-95.....	80.8	73.2	79.7	80.1	85.0	85.8
Men .....	88.2	80.4	88.7	85.3	93.5	91.5
Women .....	73.4	67.6	72.0	73.1	77.3	77.8
White .....	82.8	76.8	80.7	82.7	85.5	86.0
Black .....	71.7	66.2	74.1	71.0	78.2	86.2
Hispanic origin .....	78.2	71.7	79.8	76.7	82.5	84.8
High school or less .....	76.4	66.3	74.8	75.1	83.7	83.5
Some college or more .....	85.7	83.4	84.0	86.8	85.9	88.7

NOTE: The National Longitudinal Survey of Youth 1979 consists of persons aged 14 to 22 in 1979. The columns exclude individuals who had turned 16 before 1978.

Race and Hispanic origin groups are mutually exclusive. Totals include American Indians, Alaskan Natives, and Asians and Pacific Islanders, not shown separately.



Table 7.3. Number of jobs held by individuals aged 18 to 30 in 1980-95, categorized by percent of school weeks and number of hours worked while aged 16 and 17, by age, education, sex, race, and Hispanic origin

Age in 1980-95 and characteristic	Total	Did not work	Worked 50 percent or fewer of school weeks		Worked more than 50 percent of school weeks	
			Averaged 20 or fewer hours per week	Averaged 21 or more hours per week	Averaged 20 or fewer hours per week	Averaged 21 or more hours per week
Total, aged 18 to 30 in 1980-95 .....	8.6	7.7	9.0	9.2	8.8	8.4
Men .....	8.9	8.3	9.3	9.3	8.8	8.8
Women .....	8.4	7.2	8.8	9.1	8.8	7.9
White .....	8.7	8.1	9.1	9.3	8.7	8.4
Black .....	8.3	7.4	8.5	9.3	8.7	9.0
Hispanic origin .....	8.2	6.2	9.5	8.4	9.5	8.6
High school or less .....	8.2	7.1	8.9	9.2	8.0	8.1
Some college or more .....	9.1	8.5	9.1	9.3	9.5	8.9
Total, aged 18 to 22 in 1980-87 .....	4.5	3.5	4.7	4.7	4.9	4.6
Men .....	4.5	3.7	4.7	4.7	4.9	4.6
Women .....	4.4	3.4	4.7	4.7	5.0	4.5
White .....	4.6	3.9	4.8	4.8	5.0	4.6
Black .....	3.7	3.0	4.1	4.4	4.3	4.2
Hispanic origin .....	4.2	2.8	5.0	4.3	5.0	4.5
High school or less .....	4.1	3.2	4.4	4.6	4.5	4.3
Some college or more .....	4.8	4.0	4.9	4.8	5.3	5.0
Total, aged 23 to 26 in 1985-91 .....	3.0	2.8	3.0	3.0	3.1	3.0
Men .....	3.1	3.1	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.2
Women .....	2.8	2.5	3.0	3.0	3.1	2.6
White .....	3.0	2.9	3.0	3.0	3.1	2.9
Black .....	2.9	2.7	3.0	3.1	2.8	3.2
Hispanic origin .....	2.8	2.4	3.0	2.7	3.1	3.0
High school or less .....	2.7	2.5	2.9	2.9	2.7	2.8
Some college or more .....	3.2	3.2	3.2	3.1	3.3	3.2
Total, aged 27 to 30 in 1989-95 .....	3.0	3.0	3.1	3.3	2.8	2.9
Men .....	3.2	3.2	3.3	3.4	2.9	3.2
Women .....	2.8	2.8	2.9	3.2	2.7	2.6
White .....	3.0	3.0	3.1	3.3	2.7	2.9
Black .....	3.2	3.0	3.0	3.4	3.2	3.5
Hispanic origin .....	2.9	2.4	3.1	3.0	3.2	3.0
High school or less .....	3.0	2.8	3.3	3.4	2.7	3.0
Some college or more .....	3.0	3.1	2.9	3.3	2.9	2.9

NOTE: The National Longitudinal Survey of Youth 1979 consists of persons aged 14 to 22 in 1979. The columns exclude individuals who had turned 16 before 1978.

Race and Hispanic origin groups are mutually exclusive. Totals include American Indians, Alaskan Natives, and Asians and Pacific Islanders, not shown separately.