

**HISPANIC HIGH SCHOOL COMPLETION: THE ROLE AND VALUE OF THE
GED**

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Many Hispanic adults have not graduated from high school yet relatively few Hispanic high school dropouts have finished high school by obtaining a GED or alternative high school credential. Only about 4% of Hispanic adults (representing 9% of adult Hispanic school dropouts) have a GED as their highest educational degree completed, matching the prevalence of the GED among white adults (4%). GEDs are not prevalent among Hispanics in part because of the large presence of immigrants among Hispanic school dropouts. Few Hispanic immigrants complete GEDs and the crosssectional evidence suggests that immigrants only seize the opportunity to finish high school as their time in the United States increases. Lack of English language fluency may also impede Hispanic dropouts from obtaining GEDs. The evidence is mixed on how valuable a GED is in the labor market. Among native-born Hispanic workers, dropouts with a GED are paid substantially less than Hispanics who graduated high school with a regular high school diploma, consistent with the research demonstrating the “non-equivalence” of the GED. But Hispanic foreign-born school dropouts who have obtained a GED are paid more than those who graduated high school, consistent with the hypothesis that U.S. employers may have difficulty sizing up the merits of workers with degrees earned abroad.

Keywords: Education, benefits of education, Hispanic, wages, labor market returns, immigration

JEL-Code: I20, J61, J15

Introduction

One of the more formidable barriers to economic opportunity and success facing Hispanics is the low level of educational attainment Hispanics bring to the labor market. About 40% of Hispanic adults have not at least graduated high school with a regular high school diploma, far and away the lowest level of high school attainment of any of the major U.S. racial/ethnic groups. The overwhelming majority of these Hispanic adults are older than the traditional age of high school students and very few are enrolled in high school and pursuing the high school credits required for their high school diploma. Indeed, some of them have never sat in a U.S. high school classroom. So Hispanics potentially could be large beneficiaries of “second chance” educational programs or “dropout recovery” programs offered by states and localities. The nation’s largest second chance educational program is the General Educational Development (GED) credential. Administered by the GED Testing Service, candidates for a GED must pass five subject tests, with the minimum passing scores and other requirements set by state education authorities. Upon completion of the requirements, the recipient receives a GED certificate which certifies that the adult has American high school level academic skills.

A robust research literature examines the costs and benefits of the GED program but much less attention has focused on the role of the GED in Hispanic education. This is surprising in light of the fact that many Hispanic adults have not graduated high school. New nationally representative data has recently become available that enables one to distinguish between adults who completed high school by graduating with a high school diploma versus completion by alternative certification (ie, GED). This paper utilizes this data in order to gauge how many Hispanic adults attain GED certifications and whether obtaining a GED helps a Hispanic dropout in the labor market and other facets of life.

For several reasons it is often asserted that racial/ethnic minorities are more likely to complete high school via the GED than their majority white counterparts. First, in the nation’s correctional system prisons and jails provide substantial amounts of GED test prep to their inmates such that minority youth are more likely to get GEDs via this route than white youth. Similarly, manpower training and education programs (such as the Job Corps and Adult Basic Education) prepare enrollees to obtain GEDs and, again, these programs tend to draw on young minority populations.

It is not clear though that Hispanic youth disproportionately obtain GEDs compared to white youth. Hispanic youth are clearly less likely to graduate high school, but it may not be because they disproportionately obtain GEDs. First, a portion of Hispanic youth are immigrants and hence they have less access to both the nation's correctional system and adult manpower and training programs. For example, if we examine male incarceration rates, about 10% of 25-to-29 year-old black males are incarcerated in a state, federal or local correctional facility. This compares to 4% and about 1.5% for Hispanic and white males, respectively, in the same age group (U.S. Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2010).¹ Second, in a widely cited research investigation Heckman and LaFontaine (2007) attempted to estimate the bias in the nation's high school graduation rate as a result of counting GED recipients as high school graduates. After excluding immigrants they report that the white high school graduation rate is biased upward by 7.6 percentage points as a result of GEDs and the Hispanic high school graduation rate is biased upward by 7.3 percentage points.² These indirect estimates suggest that Hispanic young adults may not disproportionately obtain GEDs and that the number of people finishing high school by obtaining a GED is somewhat limited. The new Census data helps illuminate how many adults finished high school via a GED.

One of the most promising ways that dropouts might benefit from acquiring a GED is that the dropout might pursue postsecondary education and training. Most degree-granting institutions of higher education require a high school diploma or its equivalent for admission. So credentialed dropouts might pursue more postsecondary education and different types of postsecondary education and training than uncredentialed dropouts. The success of the GED in spurring further education is decidedly mixed. On the one hand, GED recipients do obtain more postsecondary education than uncredentialed dropouts and a different kind. Dropouts without a GED almost exclusively enroll in certificate programs and non-degree granting institutions of

¹ Census data indicate that young foreign-born Hispanic males are less likely to be incarcerated native-born Hispanic males. The incarceration rate of young foreign-born Hispanic males is about equal to the rate of incarceration of young white males (Fry, 2009). However, it is not clear that the U.S. Census Bureau collects highly accurate data on the characteristics of institutionalized populations (Camarota and Vaughn, 2009).

² Tabulations from the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth 1997 also indicate that Hispanic youth are less likely to attain GEDs than white youth. At age 22, 6% of Hispanic youth had a GED and were not enrolled college, in comparison to 7% of white youth (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2010).

higher education. GED recipients are much more likely to enroll in degree-granting institutions. However, the vast majority of GED recipients pursuing postsecondary education initially enroll in public two-year or fewer –than-two-year institutions. And the rate at which GED recipients graduate postsecondary education programs is low. About 10% of GED recipients who enroll in postsecondary education complete their program (GED Testing Service, 2010a).

This investigation of Hispanics and the GED proceeds as follows. After a brief review of the data source, the paper first examines the prevalence of GED attainment among Hispanic adults. The third section turns to the value of the GED for Hispanic dropouts and shows that some Hispanic workers seem to have relatively large labor market returns for obtaining a GED. These gains remain after controlling for the observable characteristics of the workers.

Data

This paper analyzes the educational profile of Hispanics utilizing the 2008 American Community Survey (ACS). Beginning in 2008, the ACS educational attainment question distinguished between respondents obtaining a regular high school diploma or finishing high school by GED or alternative credential.³ The question solicits the respondent’s highest degree attained. Persons who terminated their education with a GED or high school diploma are identified. However, for individuals who completed some college credits or a postsecondary degree, the manner in which they completed high school is not known. This is an important data limitation because one of the important functions of a GED is that it provides the GED recipient access to further education and training in two-year and four-year colleges. The ACS does not provide insights into the extent to which persons obtaining GEDs pursue college and obtain postsecondary degrees.

The ACS is a very large sample of the entire resident population (including those institutionalized or in the armed forces) and the sample analyzed herein has 236,749 Hispanics

³ Specifically, the manner of high school completion is derived from responses to “What is the highest degree or level of school this person has COMPLETED?”

age 20 and older. Adults enrolled in school and who had not finished high school were not included.⁴ All descriptive results reported herein are appropriately weighted.

Which Hispanics Have GEDs?

Among the entire Hispanic adult population relatively few Latinos have ended their education with a GED. And among most Hispanic subgroups the GED is not prevalent. In 2008 fewer than 1-in-20 Hispanic adults had a GED (Table 1). One way to account for the low incidence of GEDs among Hispanics is to focus on the role of the GED by nativity. A majority of Hispanic adults are immigrants. Among the minority native Hispanic adult population 75% have at least a high school diploma or more education, limiting the role of the GED. The larger foreign-born Hispanic adult population tends to be much more poorly educated and one might therefore expect the GED to play a greater role. Yet Hispanic immigrants are even less likely to have a GED than their native counterparts. Only 3% of Hispanic immigrants have a GED.

About the only subgroup of Hispanic adults with a sizable proportion of GED holders are Hispanics institutionalized in correctional facilities and nursing homes. About 13% of institutionalized Hispanics have a GED as their highest credential. But this is a very small Hispanic subgroup as fewer than 2% of Hispanic adults were institutionalized in 2008.

There is more variation in the role of the GED if we examine the share of dropouts who have a GED (col. 6 of Table 1). About 1-out-of-5 native-born Hispanic dropouts has a GED. In comparison, the GED has little presence among the much larger foreign-born dropout population. Only 1-out-of-20 Hispanic immigrant dropouts have a GED.

The GED tests are available in Spanish and French as well as English so English proficiency is not a prerequisite for passing the GED tests. Yet, very few Hispanic adults who report speaking English with difficulty have a GED. Only 4% of Hispanic dropouts who speak English with difficulty have a GED in comparison to 19% of dropouts who report speaking English “very well.”

⁴ Among those born outside the U.S. there were a small number of cases in which the immigrant’s reported years in the U.S. exceeded his/her age. These anomalous cases were dropped.

By national origin the Hispanic groups that tend to be the most poorly educated also tend to be the least likely to have a GED. Hispanics of Mexican origin and of other Central American origins (Salvadoran, Guatemalan, and Honduran) are the least likely to have a regular high school diploma or more education. Although these groups are the most likely to be high school dropouts, fewer than 9% of the dropouts of these origins have GEDs and hence they are below average in attainment of GEDs.

Hispanic Immigrants and the GED Since such a relatively large share of Hispanic immigrants dropped out of high school, one might expect that GED receipt would be more pervasive among immigrants. The crosssectional data suggest it takes time for immigrants to learn about the GED and obtain the alternative credential. Only 1% of the most recently arrived immigrants has a GED (Table 2). Among Hispanic immigrants who arrived in the 1970s, 4% have a GED. So it is possible that the GED is similar to other aspects of immigrants' educational experiences in America. With greater time in the U.S. immigrants learn to speak English (Chiswick and Miller, 1998). Also, immigrants improve their level of schooling as they spend more time in the U.S. (Betts and Lofstrom, 2000).

The Value of the GED among Hispanics

Spurred by Cameron and Heckman's (1993) well-known research investigation questioning the labor market equivalence of the GED, a growing literature examines the value of acquiring a GED for individuals who dropped out of high school (for example, Heckman, Humphries, and Mader (2010); Tyler and Lofstrom (2008)). Much less research has examined the returns of acquiring a GED among Hispanics.

Table 3 presents some simple tabulations of labor market outcomes and other outcomes of interest among Hispanics. With the exception of earnings, Hispanics who attained a GED have similar labor force characteristics to other Hispanic high school dropouts. About two-thirds of dropouts were employed compared to three quarters of Hispanics who graduated high school with a diploma. Hispanic dropouts had a higher unemployment rate than their more educated peers. Hispanic GED holders were less likely than high school graduates to work at least 48 weeks in the year prior to the interview. And Hispanic high school dropouts worked the same number of hours per week regardless of whether they had a GED or not.

Beyond the labor market there is some evidence that Hispanic dropouts might benefit from having a GED. Although high school completion might not be a requirement to serve in the U.S. armed forces, virtually all enlisted personnel in the armed forces are either high school graduates or have a GED. So having a GED provides a young Hispanic dropout with the opportunity to serve in the military. Only about 1% of Hispanic dropouts lacking a high school credential are military veterans compared to 5% of Hispanics with a GED. The average household income of Hispanic dropouts who have a GED (\$57,995) also exceeds that of uncredentialed Hispanic dropouts (\$50,177), although it trails that of Hispanic high school graduates (\$62,872).

Earnings Unfortunately the 2008 ACS does not have a continuous measure of the number of weeks that the respondent worked in the previous twelve months. Since a measure of the wage rate can not be constructed, we can examine annual earnings among full-year, full-time workers. There are well-over 100,000 full-year, full-time Hispanic workers (age 20 to 64) in the 2008 ACS.

The mean earnings of Hispanic workers who have a GED are higher than Hispanics who graduated high school (Figure 1). This is a very surprising result. First, among nonHispanics, dropouts who obtain a GED earn on average less than nonHispanics who graduated high school. Second, GED holders are high school dropouts therefore they have completed fewer years of schooling than high school graduates. Figures are not available for Hispanics, but the typical GED holder (of all race/ethnicities) has about 10 years of schooling or two years less schooling than a high school graduate (Clark and Jaeger, 2006).⁵ Most individuals acquiring a GED do expend hours preparing for the tests but the hours spent in test preparation are not anywhere near commensurate with the number of hours devoted to class time in a typical school year. In short, GED holders have devoted substantially less time to schooling than high school graduates and we would expect them to earn less.

The earnings advantage of a GED holder compared to a full-fledged high school graduate is however not widespread among Hispanic workers. Table 4 reports the average earnings of

⁵ Among persons passing the GED in 2009, 55% had completed at most the 10th grade, 37% had completed the 11th grade and 8% had completed 12th grade (GED Testing Service, 2010b).

full-time, full-year Hispanic workers by gender and nativity. Among immigrant men those who have a GED earn substantially more on average than their counterparts who graduated high school. The GED advantage is only apparent among foreign-born male workers. Among native-born male workers and among female workers those who have a GED earn less than high school graduates.

Regression Analysis Hispanic GED holders have characteristics that differ from Hispanic adults with other education credentials and therefore the earnings tabulations in Table 4 are only suggestive. For example, among Hispanic immigrants, the GED holders have better English speaking skills and have been in the U.S. longer. Both of these characteristics would tend to boost earnings. In order to disentangle whether the GED's earnings impacts are causal a standard earnings regression analysis was performed on the Hispanic adults who worked full-year, full-time in 2007. The dependent variable is the natural logarithm of earnings. Separate regressions were estimated for males and females and immigrants versus natives.

Regressors include geographic controls (residence in the South and residence in a metropolitan area), a dummy variable for currently being married, a quadratic in potential labor market experience, a dummy variable for English speaking fluency⁶, and dummy variables for Hispanic national origin group identity. Regressions on foreign-born workers also included a quadratic in years since migration.

Regressions on foreign-born Hispanic workers were further subdivided by distinguishing between immigrants who were educated in the United States and those educated abroad. Most Hispanic immigrants arrive in the U.S. during adulthood and receive most of their education abroad. Immigrants who arrived in the US at age 13 or later are considered "adult arrivals." Hispanic immigrants who arrived during childhood (before age 13) presumably received some (if not all) of their education in U.S. schools and are much more likely to have at least graduated high school with a regular high school diploma than Hispanic immigrant adult arrivals.

⁶ Adults who reported speaking only English or speaking English "very well" were classified as English fluent. Adults speaking English less than "very well" were considered not English fluent.

Figure 2 reports on the regression coefficients of interest. The omitted reference group is uncredentialed high school dropouts, so the coefficients on highest educational attainment refer to the earnings gain compared to a worker that has not completed high school. For native-born Hispanic workers, completion of a GED results in a statistically significant boost to earnings of 9% for males and 15% for females over the earnings of uncredentialed dropouts. However, GED completers earn less than workers who graduated high school with a regular high school diploma. For example, among native-born male Hispanic workers, those who graduated high school earn an estimated 17% more than uncredentialed dropouts and nearly twice as much as his counterpart that completed a GED. So a GED may have some value but it is clearly not equivalent to graduating high school with a regular diploma in the labor market.

Hispanic immigrants who arrive in the U.S. early in childhood and were largely educated in U.S. schools have similar estimated returns to education as native-born workers. The estimated coefficients on GED completion are not statistically significant so it is not clear that the GED has much payoff for these immigrant workers.

Among Hispanic male immigrants who arrived in the U.S. during adulthood attainment of a GED may have a high payoff. Among these immigrants GED holders earn 11% more than uncredentialed dropouts. Those who graduated high school with a diploma earn only 7% more than uncredentialed dropouts. Statistically, the estimated returns for GED holders and high school graduates are not different from one another, so for male adult immigrant arrivals attainment of a GED may be equivalent to high school graduation.

Why might GEDs be more valuable for immigrant workers than native-born workers? GEDs might have a signaling value for immigrant workers. Adult immigrant arrivals who graduated high school were educated in high schools abroad and employers may not be able to evaluate the merits of credentials earned abroad. Employers may have more familiarity with the abilities of GED holders and consequently pay a premium to male Hispanic immigrants obtaining GEDs.

Though not the focus of this paper, the general pattern of education returns displayed in Figure 2 suggest that the returns to schooling are greater for native-born Hispanics than Hispanic

immigrants. This is consistent with a number of empirical wage studies showing that immigrants have lower returns to education than natives (Friedberg, 2000; Betts and Lofstrom, 2000).

Limitations

The results above suggest that the GED may have some payoff in the labor market for Hispanics, particularly for Hispanic male immigrants. However, they may suffer from omitted variables bias. A key limitation of this analysis is that it does not control for actual years of school completed because years of schooling is unknown for dropouts who obtained a GED. Some of the earnings impact of obtaining a GED relative to uncredentialed dropouts may reflect the fact that those who obtained a GED stayed in school longer than uncredentialed dropouts.

As is often the case in studies of returns to education, this analysis also was not able to control for cognitive ability. Prior empirical work indicates that dropouts who obtain a GED tend to have higher measured cognitive abilities than uncredentialed dropouts. So some of the measured impact of the GED may not be causal and reflect differences in unobserved abilities that are correlated with educational attainment.

Conclusion

Empirical evidence suggests that the GED could usefully play a much larger role in the education of Hispanics, particularly Hispanic immigrants. The Hispanic immigrant population is one of the country's least educated populations. Less than half of Hispanic immigrant adults have attained at least a regular high school diploma. Yet the large Hispanic immigrant high school dropout population has very limited exposure to the GED. Only 1-in-20 Hispanic immigrant dropouts has a GED. In comparison 1-in-5 adult high school dropouts in the population at large has obtained a GED.

Though the evidence is far from ironclad, employers may reward Hispanic immigrants who have obtained a GED. Immigrant dropouts with GEDs tend to be paid more than immigrants that have graduated high school with a regular diploma, a finding that remains after controlling for observable differences between the GED holders and the high school graduates. This suggests that employers may have difficulty evaluating the merits of a high school

education obtained abroad and that the GED is rewarded because employers may be more familiar with the productivity of workers possessing a U.S.-based credential.

One reason very few immigrant Hispanic dropouts have GEDs is because it seems to take time for them to learn about formal U.S. institutions, including the opportunity to complete high school by preparing for and passing a GED. With greater time in the United States, more Hispanic immigrants complete GEDs. Yet the immigrant Hispanic dropout population seems to be one of the more underserved populations in the nation's patchwork of second-chance education and training systems.

Table 1. Distribution of Educational Attainment of Hispanic Adults Age 20 and Older, 2008

	Did Not Complete High School	Obtained High School Equivalency (GED)	High School Diploma or More	Total	GED Share of Dropouts
Hispanics	10,841,000	1,083,000	17,111,000	29,035,000	
% share	37	4	59	100	9
Male	39	4	57	100	9
Female	35	3	61	100	9
Age					
20 to 29	29	4	67	100	11
30 to 39	37	4	60	100	9
40 to 49	37	4	59	100	10
50 to 59	39	4	57	100	10
60 or older	54	3	43	100	5
Native born	20	5	75	100	21
Foreign born ¹	50	3	48	100	5
Native born by Age					
20 to 29	16	5	80	100	23
30 to 39	16	6	78	100	25
40 to 49	17	6	77	100	25
50 to 59	20	5	75	100	21
60 or older	42	5	53	100	10
Foreign born by Age					
20 to 29	45	2	52	100	5
30 to 39	49	3	49	100	5
40 to 49	48	3	49	100	6
50 to 59	50	3	46	100	6
60 or older	61	2	37	100	3
English ability					
Speaks only English	17	5	78	100	23
Speaks very well	20	5	75	100	19
Speaks with difficulty	59	3	38	100	4
National Origin					
Mexican	43	4	54	100	8
Puerto Rican	25	6	68	100	20
Cuban	23	3	74	100	13
Salvadoran	50	3	47	100	5
Dominican	34	4	62	100	10
Guatemalan	53	2	45	100	4
Colombian	15	3	82	100	14
Honduran	49	2	48	100	4
Ecuadorian	29	3	68	100	9
Peruvian	11	2	88	100	14
Other Hispanic	18	4	78	100	18
Not institutionalized	37	4	59	100	9
Institutionalized	54	13	33	100	20

Note: Universe is the adult population not enrolled in high school.

¹Includes persons born in Puerto Rico

Source: 2008 American Community Survey IPUMS

Table 2 Distribution of Educational Attainment of Foreign Born¹ Hispanic Adults Age 20 and Older, 2008

	<u>Dropouts</u>				
	Did Not Complete High School	Obtained High School Equivalency (GED)	High School Diploma or More	Total	GED Share of Dropouts
Arrival cohort					
2005 to 2008	51	1	47	100	3
2000 to 2004	51	2	48	100	4
the 1990s	51	3	47	100	5
the 1980s	49	3	48	100	6
the 1970s	51	4	45	100	7
before 1970	44	3	52	100	7
Age at arrival categories					
under 5	23	4	73	100	16
5 to 9	27	4	70	100	12
10 to 14	42	3	54	100	7
15 and up	54	3	44	100	4
English ability					
speaks only English	37	3	59	100	8
speaks very well	21	4	75	100	15
speaks with difficulty	60	2	37	100	4

Note: Universe is the adult population not enrolled in high school.

¹Includes persons born in Puerto Rico

Source: 2008 American Community Survey IPUMS

Table 3 Outcomes of Hispanic Adults 20 Years and Older

<u>Outcome</u>	<u>Dropouts</u>			
	Did Not Complete High School	GED	HS Diploma	Some College or More
<u>Labor Market Outcomes of 20- to- 64 Year-olds</u>				
Employed (in %)	66	67	74	80
Unemployment Rate	8	9	7	5
Worked at least 48 weeks last year (in %) ¹	76	75	80	81
Mean Usual Hours Worked per Week ¹	39.6	39.6	39.8	39.8
Mean Earnings for Full-year, Full-time workers ²	\$27,635	\$33,504	\$32,972	\$48,621
<u>Other Outcomes of Adults 20 Years and Older</u>				
Married (in %)	47	43	45	47
Institutionalized (in %)	2	6	1	1
Veteran Status (in %)	1	5	4	7
<u>Mean Household Income</u>	<u>\$50,177</u>	<u>\$57,995</u>	<u>\$62,872</u>	<u>\$81,868</u>

Note: Universe is the adult population not enrolled in high school.

¹Tabulated among those who worked last year.

²Full-year, full-time refers to those who worked at least 48 weeks last year and usually worked at least 36 hours per week

Source: 2008 American Community Survey IPUMS

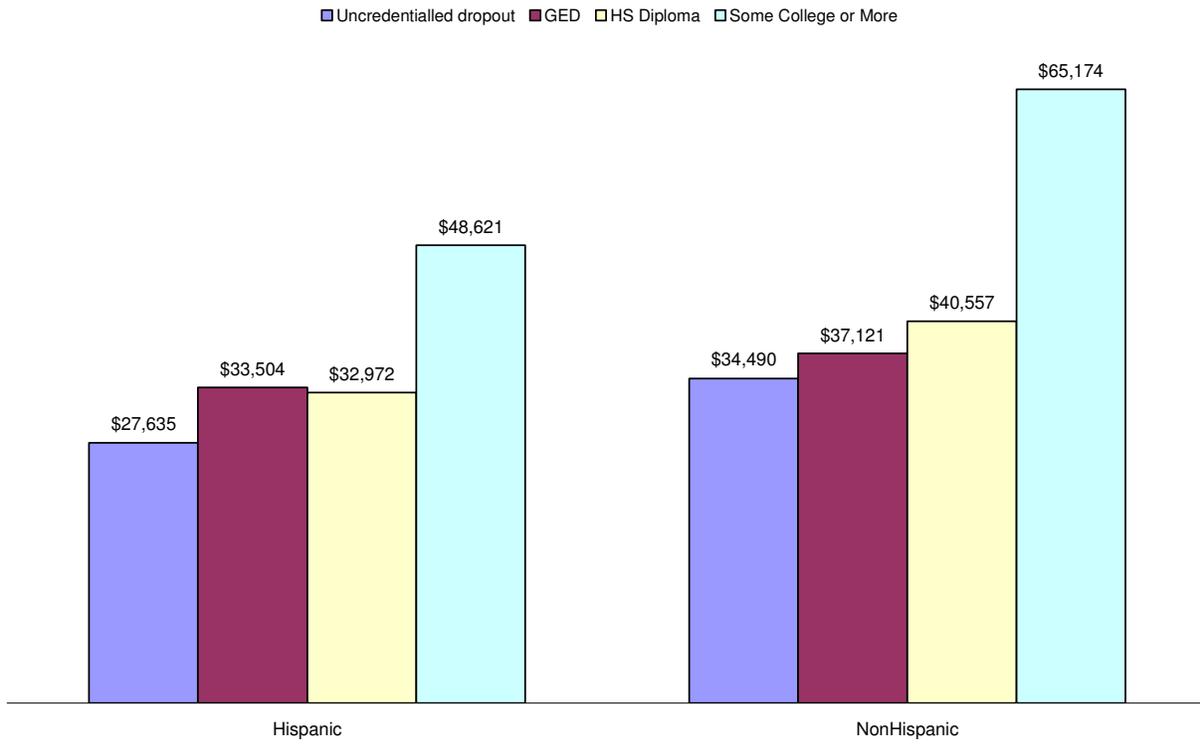
Table 4 Earnings of Full-time, Full-year Hispanic Workers (20- to 64 Year-olds)

	<u>Dropouts</u>			
	Did Not Complete High School	Obtained High School Equivalency (GED)	High School Diploma	Some College or More
	<u>Mean</u>			
	Males			
Native born	\$32,957	\$37,296	\$38,907	\$56,590
Foreign born ¹	\$28,867	\$36,236	\$32,465	\$51,289
	Females			
Native born	\$25,014	\$29,895	\$31,293	\$43,011
Foreign born	\$21,497	\$25,697	\$26,151	\$39,537
	<u>Median</u>			
	Males			
Native born	\$27,497	\$30,552	\$32,588	\$45,828
Foreign born	\$24,441	\$30,552	\$26,478	\$39,717
	Females			
Native born	\$21,182	\$26,478	\$27,293	\$35,644
Foreign born	\$18,331	\$23,423	\$22,405	\$32,181

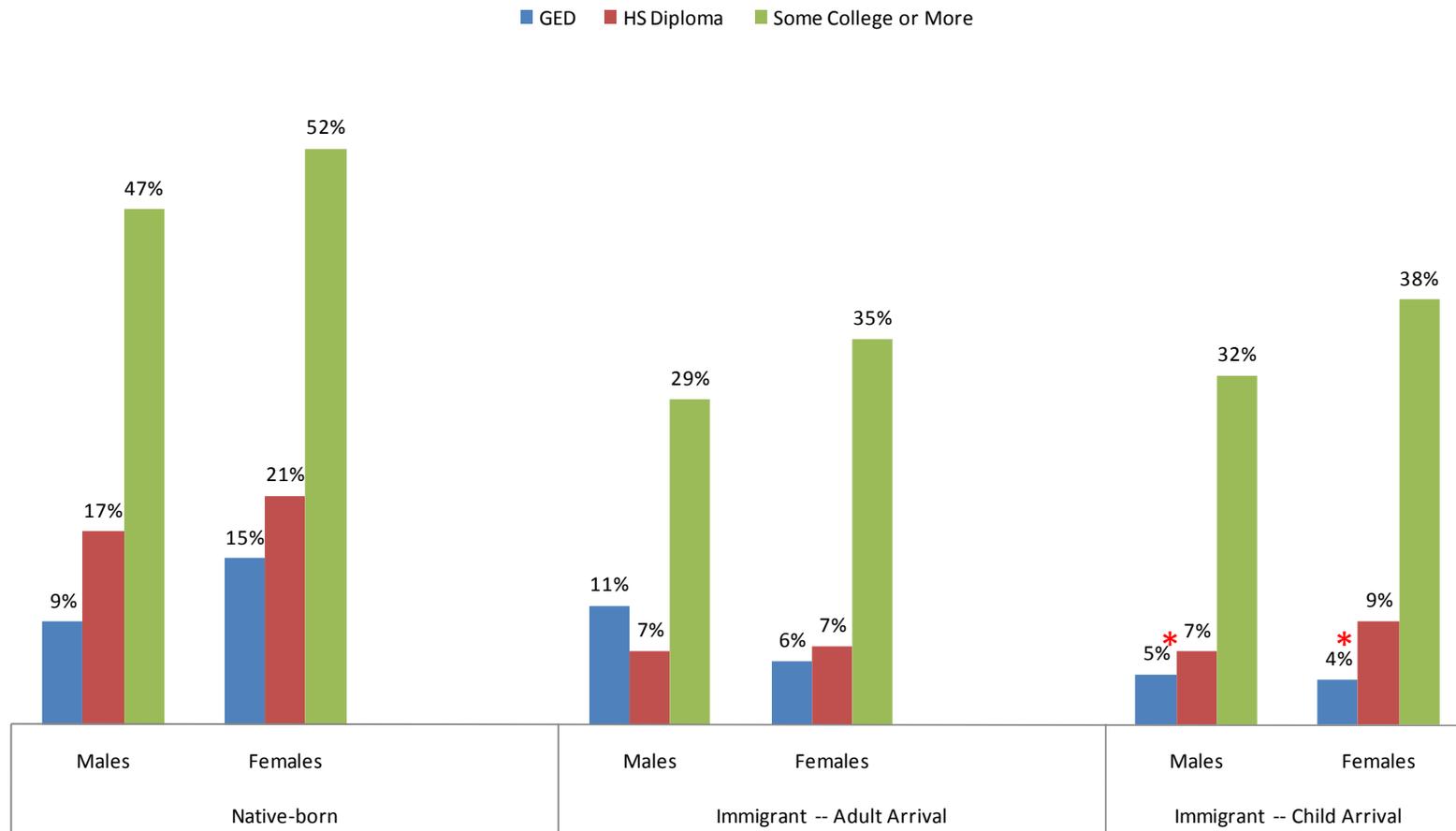
Note: ¹Includes workers born in Puerto Rico

Source: 2008 American Community Survey IPUMS

Figure 1. Mean Earnings of Full-time, Full-year Workers by Education -- 2008



**Figure 2. Estimated Earnings Premium for Hispanic Full-year, Full-time Workers -- 2008
(uncredentialed high school dropout omitted reference group)**



*Not statistically different from zero.

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Appendix Table 1. Hispanic Earnings Equations for Full-time, Full-Year Workers 2008

Dependent Variable is Log Annual Earnings

Regressor	Native-born				Immigrant--Adult Arrival				Immigrant--Child Arrival			
	Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female	
	coefficient	standard error	coefficient	standard error	coefficient	standard error	coefficient	standard error	coefficient	standard error	coefficient	standard error
Intercept	9.48531	0.02278	9.31884	0.02607	9.83877	0.02179	9.76773	0.03054	9.50435	0.06491	9.28998	0.07882
GED	0.09297	0.01889	0.15055	0.023	0.10798	0.01832	0.05697	0.02365	0.04585	0.04104	0.04086	0.04771
DIPLOMA	0.17494	0.0122	0.20726	0.01579	0.06696	0.00834	0.07056	0.0123	0.0662	0.02132	0.0936	0.02906
SOME COLLEGE or more	0.46635	0.01128	0.52153	0.01461	0.2941	0.00879	0.34956	0.01207	0.31653	0.02216	0.38474	0.02872
Married	0.24828	0.00772	0.12202	0.00787	0.1688	0.00661	0.05618	0.00848	0.22121	0.01563	0.07403	0.01668
South	-0.09383	0.00747	-0.11437	0.00798	-0.03496	0.0065	-0.07978	0.00915	-0.07207	0.01567	-0.12766	0.01783
MSA	0.13839	0.01046	0.22662	0.01173	0.06216	0.0103	0.02263	0.01648	0.03742	0.02558	0.09818	0.03313
Potential experience	0.04872	0.0012	0.0368	0.00124	0.01549	0.00115	0.00498	0.00162	0.02842	0.00349	0.02002	0.00398
Pot exp sq	-0.0008546	0.0000268	-0.0006401	2.847E-05	-0.0003227	2.092E-05	-0.0001432	2.966E-05	-0.0008242	7.239E-05	-0.000596	8.322E-05
Good English	0.11954	0.01283	0.11946	0.01485	0.20149	0.00772	0.23875	0.01028	0.12404	0.01797	0.14424	0.02257
Years since migration					0.01734	0.00117	0.01156	0.00162	0.0177	0.00443	0.02404	0.00529
YSM sq					-0.0001518	2.887E-05	-2.215E-05	3.809E-05	1.923E-05	6.616E-05	-8.285E-05	7.717E-05
Mexican	-0.06278	0.0115	-0.05122	0.01188	-0.23823	0.01322	-0.19573	0.01563	-0.11564	0.02961	-0.18651	0.03085
Puerto Rican	-0.00973	0.01502	0.02723	0.01552	-0.09377	0.01926	0.01032	0.02126	-0.09457	0.03556	-0.14173	0.03701
Cuban	0.15794	0.02275	0.20878	0.02374	-0.1337	0.02005	-0.10031	0.02298	0.14458	0.03713	0.02867	0.03816
Salvadoran	-0.06358	0.0397	0.00609	0.04302	-0.16911	0.01736	-0.12191	0.02082	-0.01078	0.04352	-0.07664	0.04659
Dominican	-0.07427	0.03485	-0.02024	0.03496	-0.21464	0.02274	-0.17856	0.02306	0.01169	0.04976	-0.08333	0.04796
Guatemalan	0.01135	0.05465	0.04769	0.05622	-0.25936	0.01935	-0.14266	0.02707	-0.10793	0.05246	-0.02313	0.05863
Colombian	0.187	0.03699	0.12901	0.03909	-0.07498	0.0214	-0.00228	0.02246	-0.00727	0.0511	0.00476	0.05139
Honduran	0.01297	0.06533	-0.06197	0.06399	-0.219	0.02477	-0.13127	0.03	-0.0491	0.06408	-0.1092	0.08189
Ecuadorian	0.02376	0.04672	0.15833	0.05373	-0.14364	0.0247	-0.09861	0.03099	-0.05258	0.06358	-0.04572	0.07545
Peruvian	0.04761	0.05458	0.15569	0.05568	-0.07561	0.02489	-0.05792	0.0263	0.04469	0.07497	-0.02635	0.07434
Adjusted R ²	0.2512		0.1901		0.2166		0.2476		0.2998		0.2788	
Sample Size	26,054		21,599		31,873		15,128		6,414		4,431	