

Chapter 2

The Future of Hispanics May Determine the Socioeconomic Future of the United States

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The growth of Latino populations is widely recognized (Bean and Tienda 1987; Bergad and Klein 2010; Murdock 1995; Murdock et al. 2003, 2013, 2014; Ramos 2005) and this growth and the health, education and socioeconomic characteristics of their households and families are receiving increased and much needed attention (Angel and Angel 2009; Murdock et al. 2012). Long seen as a major component of the populations and rates of population growth in states in the southwestern United States, such as California, Texas, Arizona, and New Mexico, the growth of the Latino population has become pervasive across the United States. In fact, some have argued (see Murdock et al. 1997, 2003, 2014; Murdock 1995; Ramos 2005) that in large part the future of the United States overall is increasingly linked to the future of its Latino population.

However, with rates of poverty that are generally two to three times as high as those for non-Hispanic whites and incomes that are only 60–75 % (depending on the area) of those for non-Hispanic white, and with educational levels that are the lowest of any major racial/ethnic group in the United States (e.g., in 2010, 38 % of Hispanics in the United States had less than a high school level of education compared to 18 % of African Americans and 9 % of non-Hispanic whites), it is not clear what the socioeconomic future will be for Latinos in the United States. It is equally unclear whether their impacts (in the absence of increased opportunities for educational attainment) will lead to a younger more vibrant United States in the future or to a nation that is poorer and less competitive. This chapter examines issues related

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to the growth of Latino populations and their potential socioeconomic impacts on the United States.

The analysis presented is informed by literature that asserts that demographic structure can largely determine the socioeconomic characteristics of states and the Nation as a whole and that the major link between demographic structure and socioeconomic change is mediated through education (Lutz 2013; Cuaresma et al. 2014). We argue with Lutz (2013) and Murdock et al. (2014) that demographic structure may have aggregate effects that have no micro-level analogue. We further argue in agreement with Cuaresma et al. (2014) that differences in educational attainment are the major factors affecting the relative socioeconomic conditions of major population groups such as Hispanics and non-Hispanic Blacks when compared to non-Hispanic whites.

These effects are documented in an extensive literature. As delineated below there are substantially lower levels of socioeconomic resources in Hispanic and non-Hispanic black households compared to non-Hispanic white households but, as noted in the quote provided below, these differences may be related to higher levels of education for non-Hispanic whites. In fact, this literature suggests that not only for individuals, but for populations as a whole (see Cuaresma et al. 2014), educational attainment may lead to population-wide benefits and be largely responsible for the societal-level economic benefits once attributed to the age structure of western populations, i.e., the often noted benefits of the “demographic dividend”.

For example, Murdock et al. (2014, pp. 7–8) have noted the strong relationship that exists between education and income (Romer 1990) in multiple countries (Mincer 1974; Card 1999; Ashenfelter and Rouse 1999; Abdullah et al. 2011) across time periods to the present (Becker 1967; Hanoch 1967; Schultz 1968; U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics 2011). Such studies show that increased education results in increased income. Murdock et al. (2014) note that work by Cheeseman-Day and Newburger (2002) documents that college graduates, on average, make more than \$ 1 million more lifetime income than high school dropouts. They further point out that analyses by Julian and Kominski (2011) show that non-Hispanic whites males with graduate degrees make more than \$ 1.9 million more in their lifetime than non-Hispanic whites with less than a high school degree and indicate that lifetime differences of \$ 1.6, \$ 1.4, and \$ 2.3 million are evident for Hispanic males, non-Hispanic black males and non-Hispanic Asian males with the same educational differences. They conclude that although racial/ethnic differences clearly exist, education pays for all racial/ethnic groups.

Murdock and his colleagues (2014) also cite literature that indicates that individuals with higher levels of education experience less unemployment and work in higher paying occupations than their less well-educated counterparts. They cite works by Cohn and Addison (1998) and Abdullah et al. (2011) that indicate that children's future income is largely determined by the education they obtain. Because poor children are less likely to do well in school they tend to attain low levels of educational attainment resulting in employment in occupations that are lower paying and, as a result, have lower incomes.

When examined at the macro level (i.e., for states and nations) empirical findings (see U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics 2011) also indicate strong relationships between a nation's general level of education and aggregate income. Studies by numerous scholars (Denison 1962; Bowman and Anderson 1963; Schultz 1963) have estimated the contribution of education expenditures to national income and how state educational expenditures affect state income. These analyses have consistently found that increased education leads to higher state and national income (Tolley and Olson 1971; Davern and Fisher 2001). Murdock et al. (2014) cite a study by McKinsey and Company (2009) that concludes that if the educational achievement gap between Hispanics and non-Hispanic blacks and non-Hispanic white students in the United States continue it will have the effect of a permanent national recession. McKinsey and Company (2009) maintain that had the achievement and related economic gap not existed so that all groups earned at the level of non-Hispanic whites, GDP in 2008 would have been \$ 310–\$ 525 billion higher and, if the gaps between all minorities and non-Hispanic whites had been eliminated, the GDP would have been between \$ 400 and \$ 675 billion higher. These represent increases in GDP of 2–4 % and 3–5 % respectively. Yet another analysis of 64 empirical studies (Abdullah et al. 2011) examining 868 estimates of the effects of education on income found that education was an important factor for reducing income differences among racial/ethnic groups.

What such analyses demonstrate is that education may be the key factor for closing socioeconomic differences among racial/ethnic groups. As such, education may not only largely explain socioeconomic disparities among racial/ethnic groups but may also provide the major means for eliminating such disparities (Cohen and Soto 2007; Bloom et al. 2009).

Based on the premises above, we provide descriptions of three sets of conditions related to the demographic and socioeconomic future of Latino populations and their socioeconomic impacts on the United States. These are:

1. The extent to which Hispanic population growth is, and will continue to, dominate population growth not only in “Hispanic” states but in the United States as a whole;
2. The level of socioeconomic and educational disadvantage in the Latino population;
3. The role that improved education may have in changing the socioeconomic future of Latinos and through them the socioeconomic future of Hispanic states such as Texas and the United States as a whole.

In addressing these factors we provide an overview of Hispanic population growth in the United States and their current socioeconomic characteristics and, using the example of Texas, delineate the potential socioeconomic impacts of such growth depending on the extent to which Latino populations are provided with the opportunities to obtain the skills and education they need to be competitive. The chapter is descriptive of both what is, and what could be the future of Latinos in both states, such as Texas, and the United States as a whole, and of what the effects of this population may be on the overall socioeconomic characteristics of both areas in the coming decades.

Table 2.1 Total population and percent population change in Texas and the United States, 1850–2010. (Source: Derived from the U.S. Census Bureau decennial census April 1 of reported year)

Year	Total population		Percent change	
	Texas	U.S.	Texas	U.S.
1850	212,592	23,191,876	–	–
1860	604,215	31,443,321	184.2	35.6
1870	818,579	39,818,449	35.5	26.6
1880	1,591,749	50,155,783	94.5	26.0
1890	2,235,527	62,947,714	40.4	25.5
1900	3,048,710	75,994,575	36.4	20.7
1910	3,896,542	91,972,266	27.8	21.0
1920	4,663,228	105,710,620	19.7	14.9
1930	5,824,715	122,775,046	24.9	16.1
1940	6,414,824	131,669,275	10.1	7.2
1950	7,711,194	150,697,361	20.2	14.5
1960	9,579,677	179,323,175	24.2	19.0
1970	11,196,730	203,302,031	16.9	13.4
1980	14,229,191	226,545,805	27.1	11.4
1990	16,986,510	248,709,873	19.4	9.8
2000	20,851,820	281,421,906	22.8	13.2
2010	25,145,561	308,745,538	20.6	9.7

Current and Future Patterns of Population Growth in Texas and the United States

Current Patterns of Population Growth and Diversification

Population growth in both the United States as a whole and in key Hispanic states, such as Texas, has been extensive. In the 50 years from 1960 to 2010 (see Table 2.1), the United States population increased by 129.4 million people, by 72.2% and Texas population increased by 15.6 million or 162.5%. In recent decades this growth has been increasingly dependent on minority population growth, particularly Hispanic population growth.

Tables 2.2 and 2.3 provide data on the growth of racial/ethnic populations in Texas and the United States from 2000 to 2010. The data in Table 2.2 show that Texas' population increase of about 4.3 million or 20.6% during the decade from 2000 to 2010 was largely a result of minority, particularly Hispanic, population growth. The non-Hispanic white population increased by only 4.2% and accounted for only 10.8% of the total net growth in Texas population from 2000 to 2010 whereas Hispanic population growth was 41.8% and accounted for 65% of net growth, non-Hispanic black populations increased by 22.1% and accounted for 12.2% of the net growth, and non-Hispanic Asian populations increased by 71.1% and accounted

Table 2.2 Population, population change, and proportion of the total population by race/ethnicity for Texas, 2000 and 2010. (Source: Murdock 2014)

Race/ ethnicity ^a	Population		Population change			Percent of total population	
	2000	2010	Numeric	Percent	Percent of total change	2000	2010
NH white	10,933,313	11,397,345	464,032	4.2	10.8	52.4	45.3
Hispanic (all races)	6,669,666	9,460,921	2,791,255	41.8	65.0	32.0	37.6
NH black	2,364,255	2,886,825	522,570	22.1	12.2	11.3	11.5
NH Asian	554,445	948,426	393,981	71.1	9.2	2.7	3.8
NH other	330,141	452,044	121,903	36.9	2.8	1.6	1.8
Total	20,851,820	25,145,561	4,293,741	20.6	100.0	100.0	100.0

^a Hispanic includes persons of all races. All other race/ethnicity categories shown here are non-Hispanic. non-Hispanic other includes persons identifying themselves as non-Hispanic American Indian or Alaska Native, non-Hispanic Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander, non-Hispanic some other race, or non-Hispanic and a combination of two or more races

Table 2.3 Population, population change, and proportion of the total population by race/ethnicity for the United States, 2000 and 2010. (Source: Murdock 2014)

Race/ ethnicity ^a	Population		Population change			Percent of total population	
	2000	2010	Numeric	Percent	Percent of total change	2000	2010
NH white	194,552,774	196,817,552	2,264,778	1.2	8.3	69.1	63.7
Hispanic (all races)	35,305,818	50,477,594	15,171,776	43.0	55.5	12.5	16.3
NH black	33,947,837	37,685,848	3,738,011	11.0	13.7	12.1	12.2
NH Asian	10,123,169	14,465,124	4,341,955	42.9	15.9	3.6	4.7
NH other	7,492,308	9,299,420	1,807,112	24.1	6.6	2.7	3.0
Total	281,421,906	308,745,538	27,323,632	9.7	100.0	100.0	100.0

^a Hispanic includes persons of all races. All other race/ethnicity categories shown here are non-Hispanic. non-Hispanic other includes persons identifying themselves as non-Hispanic American Indian or Alaska Native, non-Hispanic Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander, non-Hispanic some other race, or non-Hispanic and a combination of two or more races

for 9.2% of the net growth in the total population. All other non-Hispanic populations increased by 36.9% and accounted for 2.8% of net growth. As a result of such changes, Texas became a majority minority state by 2010 (along with California, Hawaii and New Mexico) with non-Hispanic whites decreasing from 52.4% of the total population in 2000 to 45.3% in 2010 while Hispanic populations accounted for 37.6% non-Hispanic black populations for 11.5% non-Hispanic Asian populations for 3.8% and all other populations for 1.8% of the total population of Texas in 2010.

Although extensive and diverse, such a pattern of population growth would not be seen as unusual by many because Texas is a “Hispanic” state, with patterns similar to those in Arizona, California, Florida, and New Mexico. Many residents of the United States believe that such patterns of minority growth are largely limited to such diverse states and these state are believed by many to have patterns that differ substantially from those for the Nation as a whole.

The data in Table 2.3 suggest that rather than being unique such patterns are increasingly pervasive across the Nation. As shown in this table, in the United States as a whole, the non-Hispanic white population increased by only 1.2% from 2000 to 2010 and accounted for only 8.3% of the total net change in the population in the decade. Although the total population remained 63.7% non-Hispanic white in 2010, from 2000 to 2010, 55.5% of the net growth in the United States as a whole was due to Hispanics; 13.7% was due to non-Hispanic black; 15.9% due to non-Hispanic Asians; and 6.6% was a result of growth in other non-Hispanic minority populations. The overall effect of minority population growth, particularly Hispanic population growth, on total population growth in the United States was larger than the effect of such growth on total population change in Texas.

The extent and impact of minority population growth is thus evident in both states, such as Texas, and in the Nation as a whole. Analyses not shown here (due to space limitations) indicate that minority growth is increasingly the largest source of population growth not only in large central city counties but also in suburban and nonmetropolitan counties in the Nation and is increasingly the dominant source of growth in the Northeast, Midwest, Southern, and Western regions (as defined by the United States Census Bureau) of the United States (see Murdock et al. 2014).

The dominance of minority population growth is also evident in an examination of county population growth from 2000 to 2010. For example, if one examines counties in Texas with at least 100 persons in a racial/ethnic group (thereby eliminating counties in which such a group plays a very limited role in overall patterns of change in the county) the dominance of minority population growth is evident. Such data on population change in racial/ethnic groups from 2000 to 2010 show that of the 252 (of 254 total) counties in Texas with sufficient numbers (i.e., 100 or more) of non-Hispanic white population members there were increases in non-Hispanic white populations in 91 counties and declines in non-Hispanic white populations in 161 counties. The number of increasing relative to declining counties (for counties with 100 or more population group members) for Hispanics was 228 increasing and 22 decreasing; for non-Hispanic Black populations 83 counties showed increases and 102 showed declines; and for non-Hispanic Asian and other populations there were 97 increasing and 7 declining counties from 2000 to 2010. In percentage terms this indicates that there were increases in non-Hispanic whites in only 36.1% of Texas relevant (252) counties, increases in Hispanic populations in 91.2% of relevant (250) counties, increases in non-Hispanic black populations in 55.1% of relevant (185) counties, and increases in non-Hispanic Asian and other populations in 93.3% of relevant (107) counties from 2000 to 2010.

If one examines these patterns for the United States, as a whole, there were similar patterns for the 2000 to 2010 decade. There were increases in non-Hispanic

white populations in 46.7% of the relevant (3133) counties, increases in the number of Hispanics in 96.5% of the relevant (2797) counties, increases in 67.3% of the relevant (2212) counties for non-Hispanic black populations, and increases in 95.1% of the relevant (1660) counties for non-Hispanic Asian and other populations. It is evident that recent population growth in the United States, as in Texas, has been largely due to minority, particularly Hispanic, population growth.

This pattern of more rapid growth in minority, particularly Hispanic, than non-Hispanic white populations is particularly evident in the child population. Analyses of the same form of data as shown in Table 2.2 and 2.3 for adults, for children indicated that there was an absolute numerical decline in the number of non-Hispanic white children in both the State of Texas and the United States as a whole from 2000 to 2010. In fact, an examination of 2000 to 2010 population data for the United States, indicated that if the decline of more than 4.3 million non-Hispanic white and the decline of 248,000 non-Hispanic black children from 2000 to 2010 had not been offset by an increase of nearly 4.8 million Hispanic children, the United States would have experienced one of the largest declines in its child population in its history. Total population growth, particularly for younger populations, is increasingly dependent on minority, particularly Hispanic, population growth. Since patterns of change in child populations are indicative of the future of population change overall, they strongly suggest that future populations may be even more determined by Hispanic population growth not only in states such as Texas but in the United States overall.

Projections of the Population of Texas and the United States

Projections for Texas

Projections of the population of Texas and the United States indicate increasing minority populations in both Texas and the United States as a whole, and increasing contributions of minority, particularly Hispanic, populations to total population growth in both areas. As indicated in Table 2.4, Texas is projected to show substantial population growth in the coming decades. Under the scenario that assumes that levels of growth of the 2000 to 2010 time period continue, Texas would have a population of 55.2 million people in 2050 up from 25.1 million in 2010. This increase of more than 30 million people would include an increase of only 628,000 non-Hispanic whites accounting for just 2.1% of net population growth from 2010 to 2050. By comparison, the non-Hispanic black population is projected to increase by 2.3 million accounting for 7.7% of the net increase, non-Hispanic Asians and others are projected to increase by about 5.9 million persons and account for 19.5% of the net increase and Hispanics are projected to increase by 21.2 million and account for 70.7% of the net increase from 2010 to 2050.

Table 2.4 Population in Texas by race/ethnicity in 2010 and projections of the population in Texas by race/ethnicity from 2020 to 2050 under alternative assumptions of age and race/ethnicity-specific rates of net migration

Year	NH ^a white	NH black	Hispanic	NH Asian and other ^b	Total
<i>Assuming zero net migration</i>					
2010	11,397,345	2,886,825	9,460,921	1,400,470	25,145,561
2020	11,576,595	3,122,637	11,137,672	1,536,693	27,373,597
2030	11,501,020	3,280,941	12,869,753	1,638,249	29,289,963
2040	11,182,576	3,355,500	14,570,851	1,714,232	30,823,159
2050	10,766,622	3,366,528	16,191,150	1,728,206	32,052,506
<i>Assuming net migration equal to one-half of 2000–2010</i>					
2010	11,397,345	2,886,825	9,460,921	1,400,470	25,145,561
2020	11,752,530	3,295,198	12,031,059	1,825,130	28,903,917
2030	11,850,180	3,658,997	15,082,058	2,309,763	32,900,998
2040	11,676,157	3,951,909	18,489,803	2,881,525	36,999,394
2050	11,376,576	4,182,155	22,268,390	3,483,178	41,310,299
<i>Assuming net migration equal to 2000–2010</i>					
2010	11,397,345	2,886,825	9,460,921	1,400,470	25,145,561
2020	11,931,815	3,477,928	13,003,159	2,170,409	30,583,311
2030	12,211,664	4,080,453	17,702,132	3,288,536	37,282,785
2040	12,194,151	4,653,725	23,514,974	4,953,861	45,316,711
2050	12,024,913	5,195,861	30,701,208	7,283,548	55,205,530

^a NH refers to non-Hispanic; values shown are only for the non-Hispanic persons in each race category. Hispanic includes Hispanics of all races

^b NH Asian and other category includes non-Hispanic persons who identify themselves as belonging to two or more race groups

Under the scenario that assumes growth levels only one-half of those of the 2000 to 2010 decade, the increase of 16.1 million people from the 25.1 million in 2010 to a population of 41.3 million in 2050, the growth of minority populations would play an even larger role in the determination of overall levels of growth. This projection, would involve an absolute **decline** of roughly 21,000 non-Hispanic whites and increases of 1.3 million non-Hispanic black, 2.1 million non-Hispanic Asian and others and an increase of 12.8 million Hispanics. The three minority populations would account for 8.0, 12.9 and 79.2% respectively, of the net increase in the total population (with the non-Hispanic white population accounting for –0.1% of the net change).

Thus, under the two scenarios noted above non-Hispanic whites would account for between 22 and 28% of the total population in 2050, non-Hispanic blacks for 9–10% of the population, non-Hispanic Asians and others for 8–13% of the total population and Hispanics for 54–56% of the total population by 2050. When examined by age group (see Table 2.5), by 2050 Hispanics would be the largest single population group in every age group and would be less than 50% only in the age

Table 2.5 Percent of the population by age group and race/ethnicity in 2010 and projected percent of the population by age group and race/ethnicity from 2030 to 2050 assuming age and race/ethnicity-specific net migration equal to 2000–2010 for the State of Texas (Scenario 1.0)

Age	NH ^a white	NH black	Hispanic	NH Asian and other ^b	Total
<i>2010</i>					
<18	20.4	28.1	35.1	29.6	27.3
18–24	8.7	11.2	11.7	10.2	10.2
25–44	25.7	29.1	30.1	32.3	28.2
45–64	29.8	24.0	17.5	21.4	24.0
65+	15.4	7.6	5.6	6.5	10.3
<i>2030</i>					
<18	19.3	23.4	29.7	21.7	24.9
18–24	7.5	9.6	10.8	11.5	9.6
25–44	23.0	27.2	29.9	31.6	27.5
45–64	24.3	24.2	19.8	24.1	22.2
65+	25.9	15.6	9.8	11.1	15.8
<i>2050</i>					
<18	18.2	20.7	27.3	21.9	24.0
18–24	7.4	8.9	10.6	8.6	9.4
25–44	23.0	25.5	27.8	30.5	26.9
45–64	23.7	25.6	21.4	24.9	22.8
65+	27.7	19.3	12.9	14.1	16.9

^a NH refers to non-Hispanic; values shown are only for the non-Hispanic persons in each race category. Hispanic includes Hispanics of all races

^b NH Asian and other category includes non-Hispanic persons who identify themselves as belonging to two or more race groups

group of 65 years of age or older (for which they would represent 42.5% of the total population of that age, a larger percentage of persons in that age group than that represented by any other racial/ethnic group).

For a population in a very diverse state such as Texas there is little doubt that minority populations today will be the demographically dominant populations of the future. The future welfare of such states will be determined by the education and socioeconomic opportunities and accomplishments of its minority, and particularly, its Hispanic population.

Projections for the United States

Recent projections of the United States population verify similar patterns (United States Census Bureau 2012) to those for states such as Texas for the United States as a whole. As shown in Table 2.6, under this projection, the non-Hispanic white population is projected to decline from 196.8 million in 2010 to 178.9 million in

Table 2.6 U.S. population by race and Hispanic origin: census 2010 and projected for 2020–2060. (Source: U.S. Census Bureau 2010 Census and 2012 National Projections)

Year	(Resident population as of July 1, number in thousands)					
	Non-Hispanic				Hispanic (any race)	Total
	White alone	Black alone	Asian alone	All other races		
2010	196,818	37,686	14,465	9,299	50,478	308,746
2020	199,312	41,776	18,246	10,778	63,784	333,896
2030	198,818	45,452	22,044	13,502	78,655	358,471
2040	193,887	48,769	25,881	16,603	94,876	380,016
2050	186,334	51,988	29,583	20,166	111,732	399,803
2060	178,952	55,302	33,106	24,128	128,780	420,268

2060 while the non-Hispanic black population increases from 37.7 to 55.3 million, the non-Hispanic Asian population increases from 14.5 to 33.1 million, all other non-Hispanic populations would increase from 9.3 to 24.1 million. However, the Hispanic population is projected to increase from 50.5 to 128.8 million persons from 2010 to 2060. All of the net increase in the total population of the United States from 2010 to 2060 will be due to populations other than non-Hispanic whites (because non-Hispanic whites are projected to decline) and, of the projected **net increase** in the total population, 60.5% is projected to be due to the Hispanic population, 13.6% to the non-Hispanic black population and 25.9% to non-Hispanic Asian and other non-Hispanic populations.

The projected population will also show a general aging but much less so for minority than for non-Hispanic white populations. An examination of projections data from the United States Census Bureau indicates that the overall population will age such that by 2060 nearly 22% of the entire population of the United States will be 65 years of age or older while the percentages in this age group made up of persons from different racial/ethnic groups would vary substantially. In 2010, the majority in all age groups were non-Hispanic white but for the elderly population (persons 65 years of age or older) 80% of this population in the United States was non-Hispanic white while 8.4% were non-Hispanic black, 4.7% were members of Asian and other non-Hispanic groups and 6.9% were Hispanic. By 2050, the only age group in which a majority of the population would be non-Hispanic white would be the age group 65 years of age or older. Even in this age group there would be significant change with the percent of all elderly who would be non-Hispanic white declining to 55.8% while non-Hispanic blacks account for 12.5% Asian and other non-Hispanic population groups for 10.4% and Hispanics for 21.3% of the elderly population in 2060. By 2042, no single racial/ethnic group will account for 50% or more of the total population and, by 2060, 42.6% of the total population would be non-Hispanic white, 13.2% non-Hispanic black, 13.6% non-Hispanic Asian and other, and 30.6% would be Hispanic. In both major Hispanic States, such as Texas and California, and in the Nation as a whole, minority, particularly Hispanic, populations will be of increasing importance in determining the future population of all ages.

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