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HIGH SCHOOL STUDENT EMPLOYMENT IN BEXAR COUNTY: PREVALENCE, TRENDS, & PATTERNS

A RESEARCH BRIEF COMMISSIONED BY SA WORKS & THE SAN ANTONIO ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT FOUNDATION

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High School Employment in Bexar County

Prevalence, Patterns, and Trends

Executive Summary

In 2020, the Urban Education Institute at UTSA was commissioned by SA Works to analyze the prevalence of employment of high school students who attended school during 2000 to 2018. SA Works is an industry-led strategic workforce development organization whose mission is to help "develop true career pathways that lead to meaningful employment opportunities for all San Antonio and Bexar County residents."[1]

This research provides a comprehensive description of employment patterns of high school students across nearly two decades and disaggregates findings by important characteristics such as race and ethnicity, economic status, language ability, special education status, and academic coursework taken. This allows us to see which groups are being left behind, and lays the foundation for more targeted interventions and future research. Employment patterns changed significantly during the 2007-2009 Great Recession, and high school employment rates have not recovered to pre-recession numbers.

The research team used student-level, longitudinal data collected by the Texas Education Agency and the Texas Workforce Commission and stored at the University of Texas Education Research Center to complete this descriptive research.

These findings describe the employment activity of 210,858 students: the on-time high school graduates from 15 cohorts of students, beginning with the cohort of students who entered 9th grade in school year 2000-2001 and graduated from high school in school year 2003-2004, and ending with the cohort of students who entered 9th grade in school year 2014-2015 and graduated from high school in school year 2017-2018.

[1] http://www.sanantonioworks.org/vision/

Key Findings

Nearly 3 out of 4 high school students worked for pay at some point during their high school years.

The prevalence of employment varied by cohort and followed broader economic conditions. For example, 83% of the cohort of students who attended high school from 2003 to 2007 worked at some point in high school; whereas only 67.7% of the cohort of students who attended high school from 2007 to 2011 (during the peak of the Great Recession) worked. The proportion of employed students increased after the Great Recession but not to pre-Recession rates. Of the last cohort studied, 73.7% were employed at some point during their high school years (2014 through 2018).

High school employment dropped following the Great Recession.

This analysis shows how common working one, two, three, and four years in high school was, across time. For students in the first cohort, working two years in high school was most common, followed by working three years. The cohorts that attended high school during the Great Recession more commonly worked just one year in high school, and the proportion who worked three years dropped substantially. The last cohort included in the study most commonly worked for two years out of high school, followed by working for one year. The proportion of students who worked for three years out of high school has not recovered to pre-recession levels.

Employment rates for Hispanic, White, and Black students were statistically equivalent, but a smaller proportion of Asian students worked during high school.

Researchers examined the prevalence of high school employment for different groups of students to see if any populations were employed at noticeably higher or lower rates than the average of 74.7%. Employment rates for Hispanic, White, and Black students were statistically equivalent, but a smaller proportion of Asian students (61.5%) worked during high school. Male and female students worked at statistically equivalent rates, as did students who were categorized as economically disadvantaged versus not.

Students with limited English proficiency and students who received special education services were employed at lower rates, suggesting the need for more support in workforce opportunities.

Students who had limited English proficiency and students who received special education services were employed at a much lower rates – approximately 65.5% and 64.9% employment for each group, respectively, compared to the overall average of 74.7%. Furthermore, the gap in employment between students who received special education services and their peers who did not widened following the Great Recession.

These patterns indicate that students in these two populations need more support in securing employment opportunities.

The top industries employing Bexar County high school students were food services, retail, and arts & entertainment.

Of the high school students who worked, 58.9% were employed in the "Accommodations and Food Services" industry, 32.1% worked in the "Retail Trade" industry, and 15.6% worked in the "Arts, Entertainment, and Recreation" industry. These industries have been hard hit by the current economic downturn caused by the COVID-19 pandemic. While our study does not include employment information for this past year, these historic trends suggest that high school students were most likely to be negatively impacted by the COVID-19 pandemic.

High school students spend more time working as they age and spend more time working during the summers at all ages.

The average number of hours per week employed students worked during the school year was about 5 hours in 9th and 10th grades, then rose to about 9 hours in 11th grade and 12 hours in 12th grade. The hours per week worked during the summer were higher, with a range of 13 hours per week in 9th grade to 18 hours per week in 12th grade.

No statistical difference in completing advanced high school and college preparatory coursework was found between students who worked and those who did not.

Of students who worked, 19.1% earned dual credit and 47.6% earned AP/IB credit. For students who did not work, these figures were 22.0% and 52.1%, respectively. Though rates of participation were slightly higher for those who did not work, the difference between these two groups was not statistically significant. This suggests that college preparatory coursework and having some employment experience did not act as substitutes for each other.

Students who did not work earned more Career Technical Education (CTE) credits than their employed peers.

Students who did not acquire work experience participated in CTE coursework at a rate statistically equivalent to their peers who were employed: 94% vs. 96%. However, of those who did participate in CTE, students who did not work earned more CTE credits than their employed peers: 4.10 CTE credits vs. 3.60 CTE credits earned. Because 25% of high school students did not work, this means that nearly 1 out of 4 students benefited from CTE curricula but were not able to leverage this classroom experience with work-based learning in the form of paid employment.

High School Student Employment in Bexar County

Prevalence, Patterns, and Trends

Research Brief

Introduction

In 2020, the Urban Education Institute at UTSA was commissioned by SA Works to analyze the prevalence of employment of high school students during 2000 to 2018. SA Works is an industry-led strategic workforce development organization whose mission is to help "develop true career pathways that lead to meaningful employment opportunities for all San Antonio and Bexar County residents."[2]

The research team used student-level longitudinal data collected by the Texas Education Agency and the Texas Workforce Commission and stored at the University of Texas Education Research Center to complete this longitudinal, descriptive nonexperimental research.

This research brief answers the following questions:

1. How prevalent is employment among high school students in Bexar County?
2. How have high school employment rates changed over the past 15 cohorts of students?
3. Do high school employment patterns differ by student subgroups?
4. In what industries do high school students find employment?
5. How much time do high school students spend working during the school year and summer break?

These findings describe the employment activity of on-time high school graduates from 15 cohorts of students, beginning with the cohort of students who entered 9th grade in school year 2000-2001 and graduated from high school in school year 2003-2004, and ending with the cohort of students who entered 9th grade in school year 2014-2015 and graduated from high school in school year 2017-2018. In the following sections, each cohort is labeled by the cohort's 9th grade spring semester entry year. For example, the cohort of students who entered 9th grade in school year 2000-2001 is labeled as the 2001 cohort.

The Texas Workforce Commission's (TWC) longitudinal dataset includes individual-level earnings per quarter. If a student had any record of earnings in any given quarter during their high school years (including the summer immediately following high school graduation), the research team categorized them as employed in that quarter. Due to the TWC's quarter structure, the team was not able to directly compare employment during the

[2] http://www.sanantonioworks.org/vision/

traditional school year months (September through May) with employment during traditional summer months (June through August), since these months do not fall neatly into quarter categories. We have approximated the school year period of time to mean Q4, Q1, and Q2 and the summer period of time to mean Q3. For example, for the 2001 cohort's first year of high school, the school year would be October 2000 through June 2001, and the summer would be July through September 2001.

Study Population Characteristics and Employment Rates

This research included data for 210,858 students, the total number of on-time high school graduates in Bexar County for 15 cohorts of students, starting with the 2001 cohort and ending with the 2015 cohort. As shown in Table 1, the population of on-time high school graduates has grown steadily from 11,438 in the spring of 2001 to 17,475 in the spring of 2015.

Table 1
Distribution of On-time High School Graduates, HS-Entry Cohorts 2000-01 to 2014-15

Cohort Year	Number of Students	Percent of Total
2001	11,438	5.1
2002	11,598	5.2
2003	11,341	5.1
2004	11,203	5.0
2005	11,839	5.3
2006	12,523	5.6
2007	13,613	6.1
2008	14,320	6.4
2009	14,900	6.7
2010	15,359	6.9
2011	15,718	7.1
2012	16,015	7.2
2013	16,719	7.5
2014	16,797	7.5
2015	17,475	7.9
Total	210,858	100

The study population reflects the demographics of San Antonio youth as shown in Table 2. Nearly 2 out of 3 students identified as Hispanic. Half the population were female. And a majority were identified as economically disadvantaged. Almost 5% were limited English proficient and 10% received special education services.

Table 2
Characteristics of Study Population, High School Entry Cohorts 2000-01 through 2014-15

	All Students *n=210,858*
Subgroup	*Percentage (%)*
Race & Ethnicity	
Hispanic	64.5
White	24.2
Black	7.9
Asian	2.2
Other	1.03
Gender	
Female	50.2
Limited English Proficiency Status	
LEP	4.43
Special Education Status	
Received special education services	10.1
Economic Status	
Economically disadvantaged	51.3

Incidence of Employment. To identify subgroups who may have been disproportionately employed or not employed, researchers estimated the percent employed overall and for various student subgroups, as shown in Table 3. Only three subgroups diverged significantly from the overall employment rate. These three groups were Asian students, students with limited English proficiency, and students who received special education services. Asian students worked during high school about 13 percentage points less than the overall average. Students with limited English proficiency and students who received special education services worked about 10 percentage points less than the overall average. Notably, working during high school did not differ significantly by gender nor economic status.

Table 3
Percent Employed by Student Subgroups

Subgroup	Percentage Employed (%)
All Students	74.7
Race & Ethnicity	
Hispanic	74.4
White	76.0
Black	76.9
Asian	61.5
Other	71.9
Gender	
Female	74.6
Male	74.8
Limited English Proficiency Status	
LEP	65.5
Not LEP	75.0
Special Education Status	
Received special education services	64.9
Did not receive special education services	75.8
Economic Status	
Economically disadvantaged	74.5
Not economically disadvantaged	74.9

Coursework. A common concern with youth employment is that it may harm their classroom studies. Researchers found no evidence of this potential tradeoff. As shown in Table 4, no statistical difference in completing advanced high school and college preparatory coursework was found between students who worked and those who did not. Of students who worked, 19.1% earned dual credit and 47.6% earned AP/IB credit. For students who did not work, these figures were 22.0% and 52.1%, respectively. Though rates of participation were slightly higher for those who did not work, the difference between these two groups was not statistically significant. This suggests that college preparatory coursework and having some employment experience did not act as substitutes for each other.

Students who did not work earned more Career Technical Education (CTE) credits than their employed peers but, by definition, missed out on work-based learning through employment.

Students who did not acquire work experience participated in CTE coursework at a rate statistically equivalent to their peers who did experience employment: 94% vs. 96%. However, of those who did participate in CTE, students who did not work earned more CTE credits than their employed peers: 4.10 CTE credits vs. 3.60 CTE credits earned. Because 25% of high school students did not work, this means that nearly 1 out of 4 students benefited from CTE curricula but were not able to leverage this classroom experience with work-based learning in the form of paid employment.

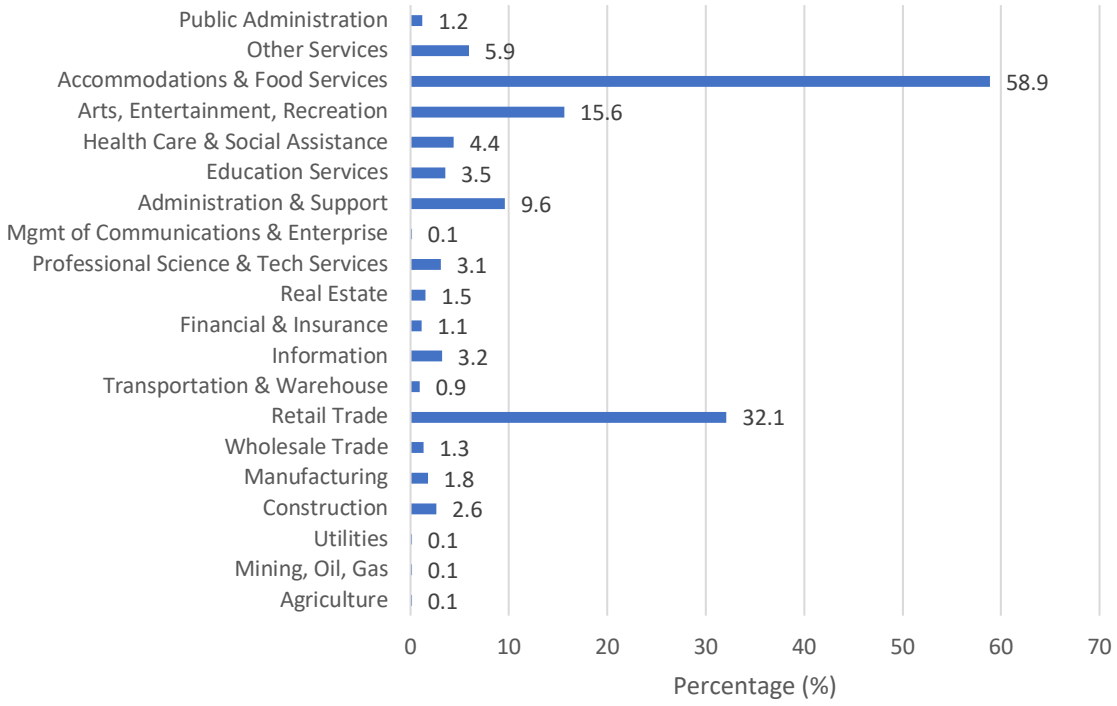
Table 4
Coursework of Study Population Overall and by Employment History, HS-Entry Cohorts 2000-01 to 2014-15

	All Students		Worked		Did Not Work	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Dual credit participation rate (%)	0.199	0.399	0.191	0.393	0.220	0.415
CTE credit participation rate (%)	0.953	0.211	0.958	0.958	0.938	0.241
CTE dual credit participation rate (%)	0.046	0.209	0.046	0.209	0.046	0.209
AP/IB participation rate (%)	0.488	0.500	0.476	0.499	0.521	0.500
Amount of dual credit earned by participants	2.473	2.186	2.421	2.154	2.607	2.260
Amount of CTE credit earned by participants	4.100	2.269	3.596	2.631	4.097	2.909
Amoount of CTE dual credit earned by participants	1.177	0.599	1.184	0.591	1.154	0.621
Amount of AP/IB credit earned by participants	3.732	2.718	4.091	2.243	4.127	2.345

Note: Means and standar deviations of No. dual credit(s) earned are conditioned to students who eaerned any dual credit (dual credit(s) earned >0). Same rule is applied to other coursework variables.

Industry Sectors. Students primarily found employment in three sectors as defined by the North American Industry Classification System (NAICS) codes. As shown in Figure 1, the largest percentage of students worked in the Accommodations and Food Services industry (58.9%), followed by Retail Trade (32.1%), Arts, Entertainment and Recreation (15.6%) and Administration and Support (9.6%).

Figure 1
Distribution of employment across industry categories, all cohorts



Intensity of Employment. Researchers estimated the average number of hours worked per employed student for each year in school, disaggregated by school year and summer seasons, by taking the total amount earned in each quarter and dividing by the minimum wage amount of the year the wages were earned. As shown in Table 5, the number of hours per week that employed students worked increased in each year of high school, with a range of about 5 hours per week in 9th grade to almost 12 hours per week in 12th grade during the school year seasons. For the summer seasons, this range was about 13 hours per week in 9th grade to about 18 hours per week in 12th grade.

Table 5
Average number of hours per week employed students worked, school year and summer seasons, all cohorts

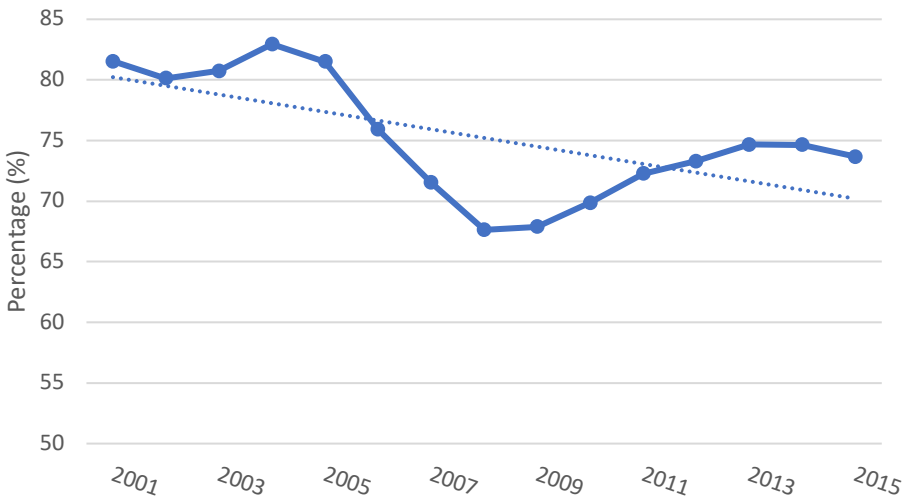
	Number of Observations	Hours per Week (avg.)	Standard Deviation
School Year			
9th grade	7,205	5.1	7.1
10th grade	38,329	5.3	5.9
11th grade	85,112	8.7	8.2
12th grade	118,223	11.7	9.5
Summer			
9th grade	8,720	13.1	9.5
10th grade	49,603	15.2	9.8
11th grade	84,708	17.1	10.2
12th grade	101,924	18.1	10.8

Note: This table includes data for students who worked between >0 and 40 hours per week.

Employment Patterns Over Time

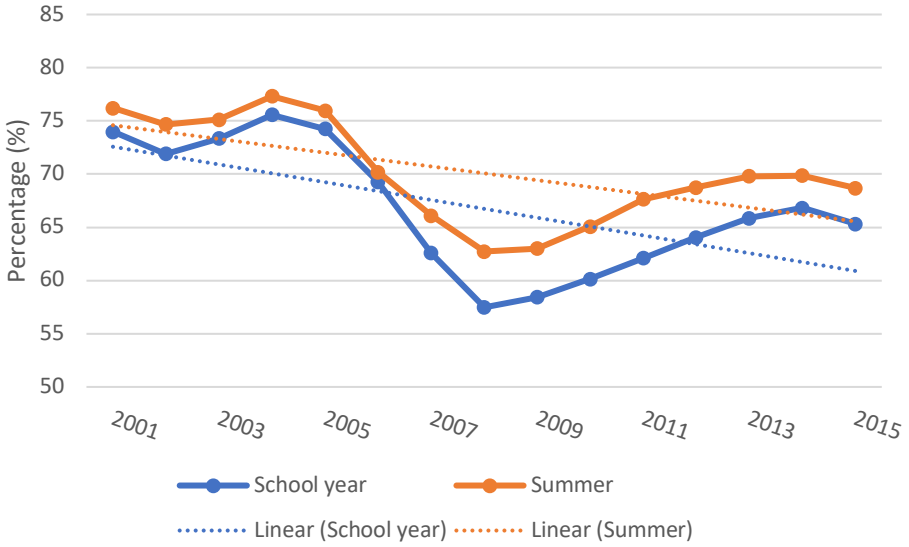
For the student cohorts of the early 2000s, the percentage of students who worked at any point during their high school years hovered between 80-83%. Following the Great Recession, the 2005 cohort experienced a drop in employment – down to 76% – and the subsequent two cohorts continued this downward trend. Starting with the 2009 cohort, the percentages increased, but not to the pre-recession levels of the early 2000s, as shown in Figure 2.

Figure 2
Percentage of students who worked during high school at any point, per cohort



For each cohort, a larger percentage of students worked during their high school summers than during the school year months. The difference in during summer and school year employment percentages averaged to about 1.8 percentage points for cohorts 2001 through 2006, whereas this average difference widened to about 4.3 percentage points for the subsequent group of cohorts, as shown in Figure 3. This suggests that employment during the school year was impacted by the Great Recession to a greater degree than summer employment.

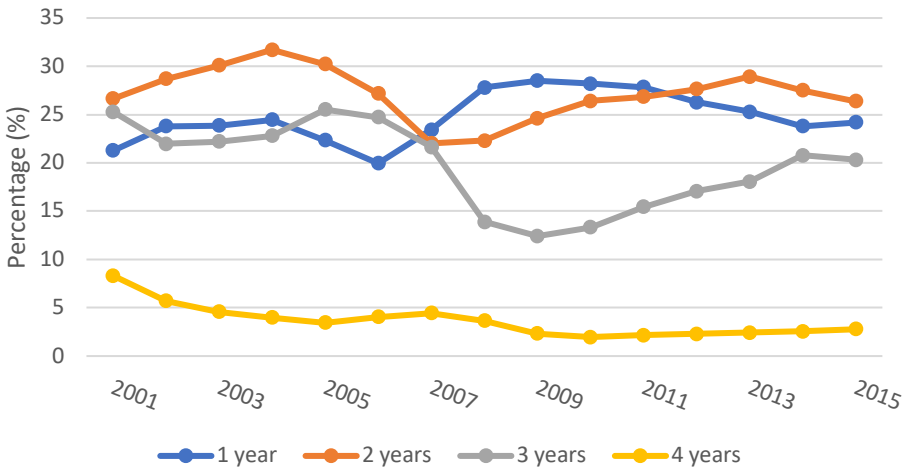
Figure 3
Percentage of students who worked during high school in school year and summer season, per cohort



Frequency of Years Employed. For each student, the research team calculated the total number of years during which the student was employed in high school. For example, if a student worked at some point during their sophomore year and then again during their senior year, this would be counted as having worked during two years in high school.

Across all cohorts, a relatively small percentage of students worked during all four years of high school, and this has declined over time, as shown in Figure 4. In the cohorts of the early 2000s, the highest percentage of students worked during two of their high school years, but for the 2007 through 2011 cohorts, working just one year out of high school became more common, and working three years out of high school dropped dramatically. In cohorts since 2011, working two years out of high school returned to most common for students, and the percentages of students who worked three years out of high school also increased, though not back to pre-recession levels. Once again, researchers found a pattern of general decline in high school employment following the recession.

Figure 4
Percentage of students who worked at any point during 1, 2, 3, and 4 years of high school, per cohort

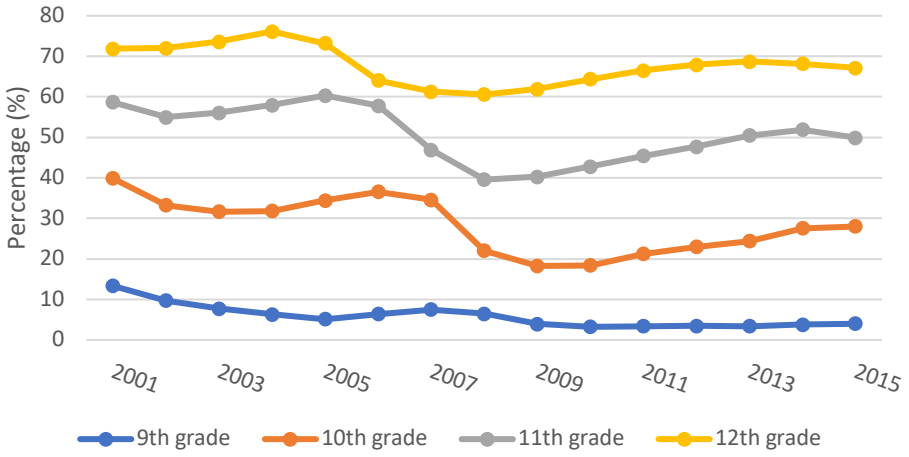


Employment by Grade. Because school grades are organized by age, analyzing employment by grade effectively means analyzing employment by age. Students in grades 9th, 10th, 11th, and 12th are typically of age 14, 15, 16, and 17, respectively.

Youth employment should be expected to increase as students age for a number of reasons including state and federal regulations. It is illegal to employ a youth under the age of 14 outside certain exemptions. Youth of ages 14 and 15 may work, but their maximum number of work hours are restricted and must take place outside of school hours. Youth 16 and older may work without caps on their hours worked.

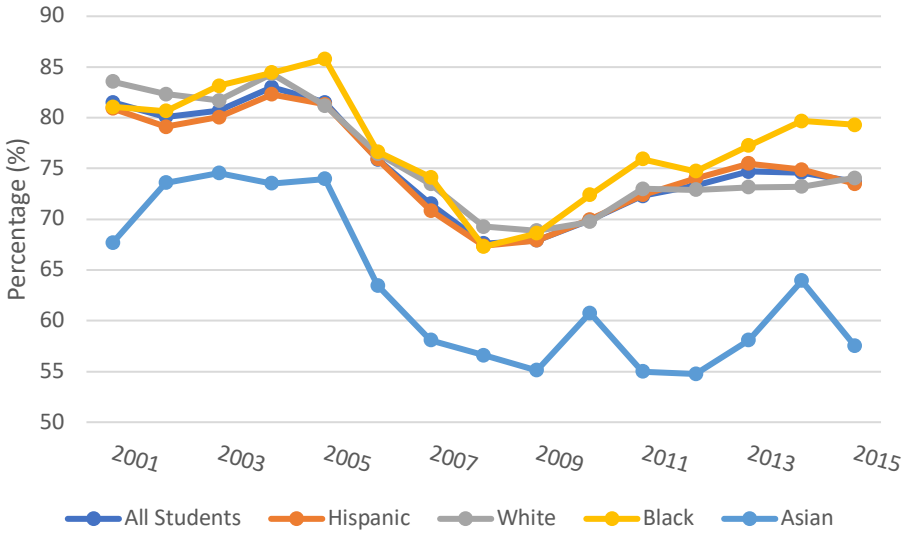
The research team found that the percentage of students who worked increased as students progressed by grade level as shown in Figure 5. The most recent cohort of students had a likelihood of employment in 9th, 10th, 11th, and 12th grade equal to 5%, 30%, 50%, and 70%, respectively. Moreover, falling post-recession employment rates were present in each grade level.

Figure 5
Percentage of students who worked at any point during each year of high school, per cohort



Employment by Race & Ethnic Subgroups. Researchers examined the prevalence of high school employment for different groups of students over time to see if any populations were employed at noticeably higher or lower rates than the overall average. As shown in Figure 6, employment rates for Hispanic, White, and Black students were statistically equivalent, but a smaller proportion of Asian students worked during high school.

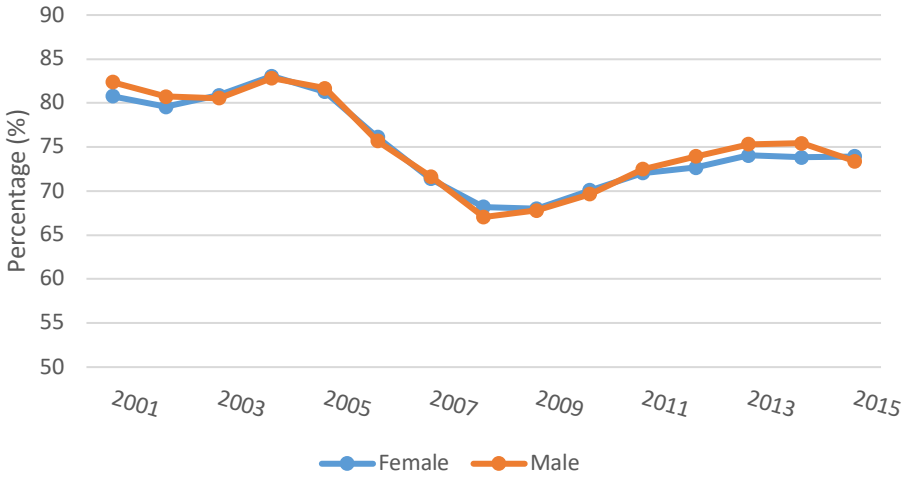
Figure 6
Percentage of students who worked during high school at any point, per cohort, race and ethnicity subgroups



Note: The "Other" subgroup has been left off of this figure due to its small sample size, which caused the longitudinal data to be highly variable. The "Asian" subgroup also has a small sample size, which explains this group's volatility in the above figure.

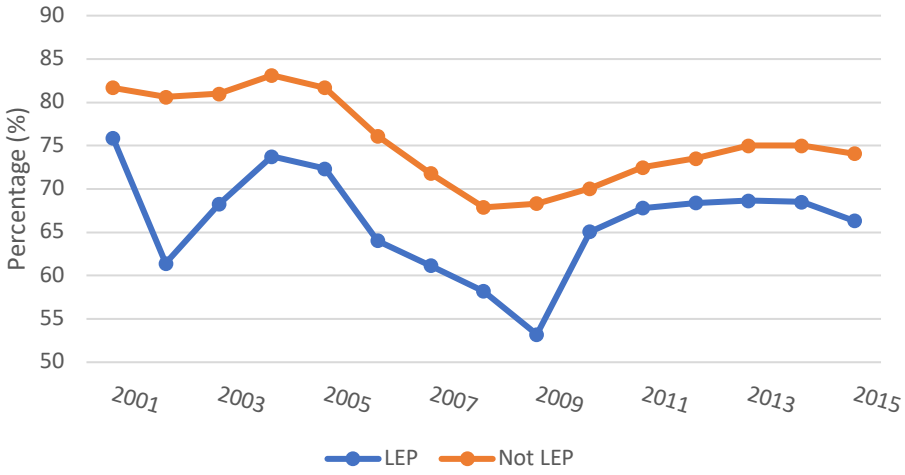
Employment by Gender. Male and female students worked at statistically equivalent rates across all cohorts, as shown in Figure 7.

Figure 7
Percentage of students who worked during high school at any point, per cohort, gender subgroups



Employment by LEP Status. Students categorized as having limited English proficiency (LEP) were a small fraction of the total population of students, approximately 4.4%. Because of their small size, their rate of employment varied more across cohorts but was consistently lower than those of their non-LEP peers, as displayed in Figure 8.

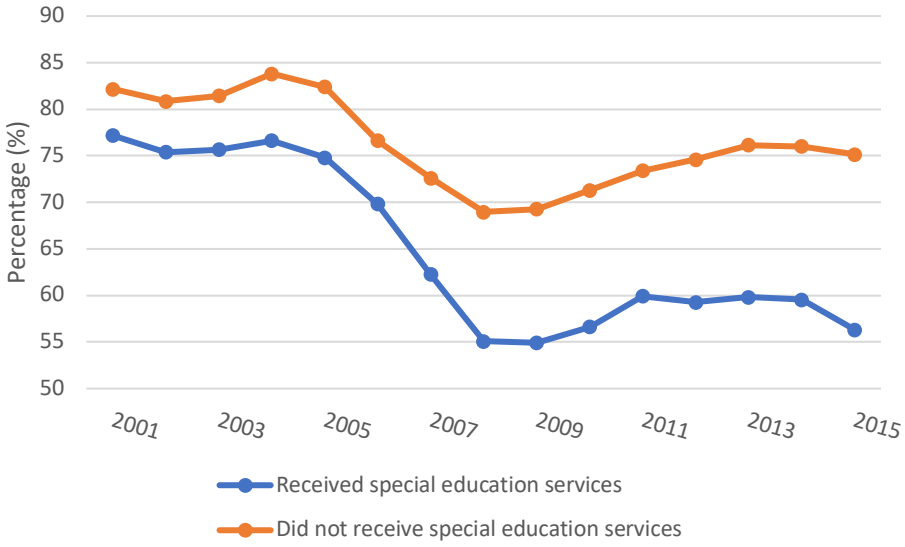
Figure 8
Percentage of students who worked during high school at any point, per cohort, Limited English Proficiency status subgroups



Note: The "Not LEP" subgroup has a relatively small sample size, which explains this group's volatility in the above figure.

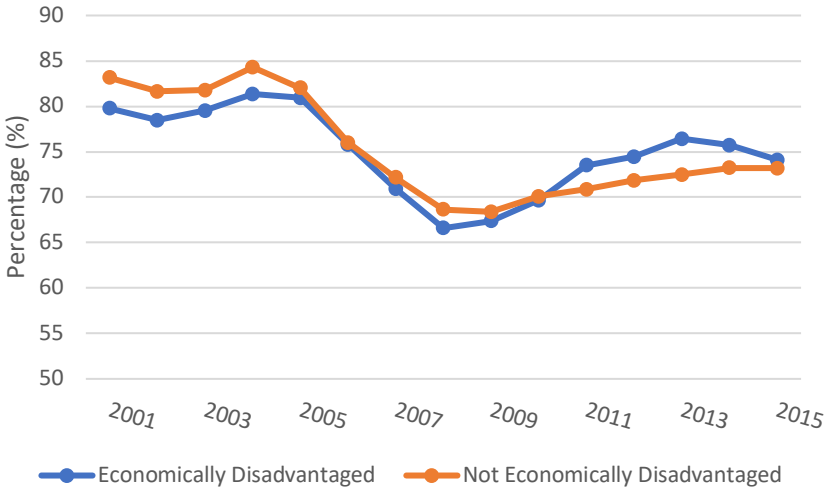
Employment by Special Education Needs. Students identified as needing special education services consistently had lower rates of employment than their peers who did not need special education services, as displayed in Figure 9. Furthermore, their gap in employment widened following the Great Recession.

Figure 9
Percentage of students who worked during high school at any point, per cohort, special education status subgroups



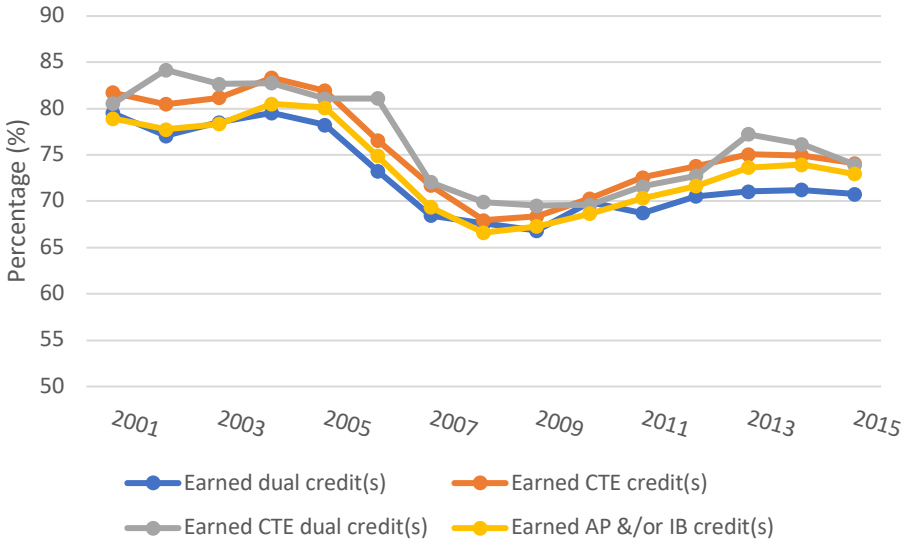
Employment by Economically Disadvantaged Status. Students from economically disadvantaged backgrounds had employment rates statistically equivalent to their peers who were not identified as economically disadvantaged, as displayed in Figure 10.

Figure 10
Percentage of students who worked during high school at any point, per cohort, economic status subgroups



Employment by Coursework Enrollment. Students who participated in college preparatory coursework did not have consistently different rates of employment than their peers who participated in CTE coursework over time, as displayed in Figure 11.

Figure 11
Percentage of students who worked during high school at any point, per cohort, high school coursework subgroups



Appendix

Table A1
Percentage of students who worked during high school at any point, per cohort

Cohort Year	Percentage (%)
All	74.7
2001	81.5
2002	80.1
2003	80.7
2004	83.0
2005	81.5
2006	75.9
2007	71.5
2008	67.6
2009	67.9
2010	69.9
2011	72.3
2012	73.3
2013	74.7
2014	74.6
2015	73.7

Table A2

Percentage of students who worked during high school in school year and summer season, per cohort

	School Year	Summer
Cohort Year	*Percentage (%)*	
All	66.1	69.6
2001	74.0	76.2
2002	71.9	74.7
2003	73.3	75.1
2004	75.6	77.3
2005	74.3	76.0
2006	69.3	70.2
2007	62.6	66.1
2008	57.5	62.7
2009	58.4	63.0
2010	60.2	65.1
2011	62.1	67.6
2012	64.1	68.7
2013	65.9	69.8
2014	66.8	69.9
2015	65.3	68.7

Table A3

Percentage of students who worked at any point during 1, 2, 3, and 4 years of high school, per cohort

	1 year	2 years	3 years	4 years
Cohort Year		*Percentage (%)*		
All	24.9	27.0	19.2	3.5
2001	21.3	26.6	25.3	8.3
2002	23.8	28.7	22.0	5.7
2003	23.9	30.1	22.2	4.6
2004	24.5	31.7	22.8	4.0
2005	22.3	30.2	25.5	3.4
2006	20.0	27.2	24.7	4.1
2007	23.4	22.0	21.6	4.5
2008	27.8	22.3	13.9	3.7
2009	28.5	24.6	12.4	2.3
2010	28.2	26.4	13.3	2.0
2011	27.8	26.8	15.4	2.2
2012	26.3	27.6	17.1	2.3
2013	25.3	28.9	18.1	2.4
2014	23.8	27.5	20.8	2.6
2015	24.2	26.4	20.3	2.8

Table A4

Percentage of students who worked at any point during each year of high school, per cohort

	9th grade	10th grade	11th grade	12th grade
Cohort Year		*Percentage (%)*		
All	5.5	27.6	50.0	67.5
2001	13.3	39.8	58.7	71.9
2002	9.7	33.2	55.0	72.0
2003	7.7	31.6	56.0	73.6
2004	6.3	31.8	58.0	76.1
2005	5.1	34.4	60.3	73.2
2006	6.4	36.5	57.8	64.0
2007	7.5	34.6	46.9	61.2
2008	6.5	22.0	39.6	60.6
2009	3.9	18.3	40.3	61.9
2010	3.2	18.4	42.8	64.4
2011	3.4	21.2	45.4	66.5
2012	3.5	22.9	47.7	67.9
2013	3.4	24.4	50.5	68.7
2014	3.8	27.6	51.9	68.1
2015	4.0	28.0	49.9	67.1

Table A5

Percentage of students who worked during high school at any point, per cohort, race and ethnicity subgroups

	All	Hispanic	White	Black	Asian
Cohort Year			*Percentage (%)*		
2001	81.5	80.9	83.6	81.1	67.7
2002	80.1	79.1	82.3	80.7	73.6
2003	80.7	80.0	81.7	83.2	74.5
2004	83.0	82.3	84.3	84.4	73.5
2005	81.5	81.3	81.2	85.8	74.0
2006	75.9	75.9	76.5	76.7	63.5
2007	71.5	70.9	73.5	74.1	58.1
2008	67.6	67.4	69.3	67.3	56.6
2009	67.9	67.9	68.9	68.6	55.1
2010	69.9	70.0	69.8	72.4	60.8
2011	72.3	72.4	73.0	75.9	55.0
2012	73.3	74.0	72.9	74.7	54.8
2013	74.7	75.5	73.1	77.2	58.1
2014	74.6	74.9	73.2	79.7	64.0
2015	73.7	73.5	74.1	79.3	57.5

Table A6

Percentage of students who worked during high school at any point, per cohort, gender subgroups

	Female	Male
Cohort Year	*Percentage (%)*	
2001	80.8	82.4
2002	79.6	80.7
2003	80.9	80.6
2004	83.1	82.8
2005	81.3	81.7
2006	76.1	75.7
2007	71.4	71.7
2008	68.2	67.1
2009	68.0	67.8
2010	70.1	69.7
2011	72.0	72.5
2012	72.7	73.9
2013	74.0	75.3
2014	73.8	75.4
2015	73.9	73.4

Table A7

Percentage of students who worked during high school at any point, per cohort, Limited English Proficiency subgroups

	LEP	Not LEP
Cohort Year	*Percentage (%)*	
2001	75.9	81.7
2002	61.4	80.6
2003	68.2	81.0
2004	73.7	83.1
2005	72.4	81.7
2006	64.0	76.1
2007	61.1	71.8
2008	58.2	67.9
2009	53.2	68.3
2010	65.1	70.0
2011	67.8	72.5
2012	68.4	73.5
2013	68.6	75.0
2014	68.5	75.0
2015	66.3	74.1

Table A8

Percentage of students who worked during high school at any point, per cohort, special education status subgroups

	Received Special Education Services	Did Not Receive Special Education Services
Cohort Year	*Percentage (%)*	
2001	77.2	82.2
2002	75.4	80.9
2003	75.7	81.4
2004	76.6	83.8
2005	74.8	82.4
2006	69.8	76.6
2007	62.3	72.6
2008	55.1	69.0
2009	54.9	69.3
2010	56.6	71.3
2011	59.9	73.4
2012	59.3	74.6
2013	59.8	76.2
2014	59.5	76.0
2015	56.3	75.2

Table A9

Percentage of students who worked during high school at any point, per cohort, economic status subgroups

	Economically Disadvantaged	Not Economically Disadvantaged
Cohort Year	*Percentage (%)*	
2001	79.8	83.2
2002	78.5	81.7
2003	79.5	81.8
2004	81.4	84.3
2005	81.0	82.0
2006	75.8	76.0
2007	70.9	72.2
2008	66.6	68.6
2009	67.4	68.4
2010	69.7	70.1
2011	73.5	70.9
2012	74.5	71.9
2013	76.4	72.5
2014	75.7	73.2
2015	74.1	73.2

Table A10

Percentage of students who worked during high school at any point, per cohort, high school coursework subgroups

	Earned dual credit(s)	Earned CTE credit(s)	Earned CTE dual credit(s)	Earned AP and/or IB credit(s)
Cohort Year		*Percentage (%)*		
2001	79.5	81.7	80.6	78.9
2002	77.1	80.5	84.2	77.8
2003	78.5	81.2	82.7	78.4
2004	79.5	83.3	82.8	80.5
2005	78.2	81.9	81.1	80.1
2006	73.3	76.6	81.1	74.9
2007	68.5	71.7	72.1	69.4
2008	67.6	68.0	69.9	66.6
2009	66.8	68.4	69.5	67.3
2010	69.9	70.3	69.6	68.7
2011	68.7	72.6	71.6	70.3
2012	70.5	73.8	72.7	71.6
2013	71.0	75.0	77.3	73.6
2014	71.2	75.0	76.2	74.0
2015	70.8	74.1	73.9	73.0