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Barriers to the Employment and Work-Place Advancement of Latinos

Mauricio Gaston

United States Glass Ceiling Commission

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Barriers to the Employment and Work-Place Advancement of Latinos

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Glass Ceiling Report

FINAL

**Barriers to the Employment and
Work-Place Advancement of Latinos**

A Report to
The Glass Ceiling Commission
U.S. Department of Labor

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Preface

This study was commissioned by the Glass Ceiling Commission of the U.S. Department of Labor to the Gastón Institute. Several people among our staff and an outside consultant participated in its preparation: Edwin Meléndez is the principal investigator of the study; Françoise Carré served as project manager and is the primary author of the section on changes in employment structures; Evangelina Holvino, a consultant to the project, is the primary author of the section on organizational practices; Christina Gomez is the primary author of the subsection on Latino women; Michael Stoll, Silvia Dorado, and Diana Negron served as research assistants in charge of data processing for the project; and Martha Kelly and Linda Kluz assisted with clerical work and editing, respectively.

Executive Summary

This study examines barriers to the employment and work-place advancement of Latinos. The understanding of these barriers requires the consideration of factors affecting access to employment and advancement in firms, occupations, and industries. We have organized the discussion of the factors affecting the work-place situation of Latinos under the major headings of employment structures and work-place organizations. Employment structures refer to the labor-market context in which work organizations operate. The advancement of Latinos within organizations is affected by the structure of career ladders, stereotypes, intergroup relations, and work-place culture.

In 1992, Latinos represented 7.9 percent of the labor force or 9.9 million workers—an increase of 3.4 million from the previous decade. Mexicans are the largest Latino group, constituting 62 percent of the labor force. Puerto Ricans, Cubans, and Central and South Americans are the other large groups of Latinos. Despite the growing importance of this segment of the labor force, Latinos face great barriers to their advancement in the labor force and the work place.

Despite gains in absolute numbers for Latinos in managerial and specialty professions, Latinos remain underrepresented in these occupations. Latinos are earning higher degrees in the fields necessary for advancement, yet there are small numbers of Latino managers and professionals. The core of the problem remains: the number of Latinos earning higher degrees is too small to make an impact on their pattern of representation among management and specialty professions.

The labor-market standing of Latinos greatly contributes to their growing representation among the working poor. Several factors contribute to their disadvantage in labor markets. Latinos are overrepresented in low-wage occupations, have a higher incidence of part-year, part-time employment, and have substantially lower earnings than whites. In 1991, Latino men earned 60 cents for each dollar of white men's median earnings, while Latino women earned 78 cents for each dollar of white women's median earnings.

In part, labor-market outcomes are explained by the lower educational attainment of Latinos and other population characteristics. However, the persistent segmentation of Latinos in low-wage occupations, unusually high rates of intermittent work, and high unemployment suggest that there are other factors at play. This study presents evidence that indicate that changes in employment structures and barriers in work-place organizations play a critical role in creating and reproducing the Latino labor-market disadvantage.

One of the most important developments in labor markets during the last two decades is the erosion of internal labor markets. Employers are responding to intensified competitive conditions during the 1980s, such as increased international competition in domestic markets and deregulation in telecommunications, banking, insurance, and other industries. The development of information technologies and the diffusion of secondary and postsecondary education have enabled employers to cut labor costs. In particular, firms are recruiting externally greater number of workers for positions that once were filled by workers who had been trained in-house. A

growing number of entry-level jobs have become divorced from internal training and career ladders.

The erosion of internal labor markets results in both diminished opportunities through seniority and job experience for incumbent Latino workers and in reduced numbers of job opportunities for future cohorts. Reduced opportunities will likely result in shortened job tenure and limited earnings growth in the medium and longer term. Other consequences of structural changes at the firm level are reflected in shifts in industry and the occupational distribution of employment, with rapid decline in some manufacturing industries where Latinos are overrepresented, and in the rise of part-time and temporary work.

We present information that documents the impact of structural change on the labor-market experience of Latino workers. These include: job displacement, part-time and part-year work, the decline of unionization, the employment of immigrants, and the impact of spatial restructuring.

- Latinos experienced job displacement relatively more frequently than white workers. In a study based on the 1992 displaced worker survey, Gardner (1993) found that 11.8 percent of Latinos lost their jobs due to plant or company closing or moves, the highest likelihood of displacement during the 1987-91 period of any ethnic or racial group.
- Following similar patterns for all unionized workers between 1986 and 1992, unionization rates for Latinos declined 3.0 percentage points to 17 percent. However, reporting on 23- to 30-year-olds for the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth, De Freitas (1992) notes that union coverage is greater among young Latinos than among whites, 20.5 percent versus 16.7 percent.
- Deindustrialization and cost-cutting competitive pressures in the manufacturing sector have induced downward pressure on Latino workers' wages and limited their access to training and job advancement. However, modernizing of manufacturing operations in some firms has resulted in skill upgrading, higher wages, and better employment opportunities for Latinos.
- Latinos have the lowest full-time and full-year employment rate. Part-year employment is particularly high among Latino workers. Most Latinos working part-time do so for economic reasons and not by choice. Part-year employment is associated with the dramatic decline of the demand for operatives in nondurable manufacturing and to the higher educational requirements of new work processes.
- The spatial rearrangement of jobs and the type of occupations that experienced rapid growth have been particularly harmful to Latinos in Northeast cities. For instance, the decline in labor-force-participation rates for Puerto Rican women is associated with the dramatic decline of the demand for operatives in nondurable manufacturing and to the higher educational requirements of new work processes.

At this point, the Latino work force is primarily affected by the compositional shift of employment away from manufacturing, which has resulted in further concentration of Latinos in farming and service occupations, both of which entail low wages and few benefits. Additionally, the erosion of internal labor markets (job ladders within firms) will likely result both in diminished opportunity through seniority and experience for Latino incumbent workers and in reduced numbers of job opportunities for future cohorts.

Despite the significant progress in understanding the barriers to the work-place advancement for minorities and women, the specific mechanisms whereby the organization of work affects the advancement of Latinos in the work place remain elusive. Most studies provide descriptive evidence of the differences in labor-market standing between Latinos and other workers, while very few studies focus on how work-place practices may create structural barriers that result in differential and adverse treatment of Latinos.

Although most studies found in the literature can be grouped under the general headings of discrimination in the work place, we have organized the discussion of work-place barriers into four major categories: (1) the structure of work or career ladders; (2) stereotypes and how these interact with managerial styles; (3) intergroup relations and group subordination; (4) and work-place culture. Our main findings in each of these areas are:

- Discriminatory practices in the recruitment and hiring of Latinos result in the underrepresentation of Latinos in entry-level jobs and at all levels of hierarchies in organizations. According to a recent study, discrimination is particularly prevalent for city jobs that do not require a college degree and are not widely advertised.
- Among the most damaging discriminatory work-place practices experienced by Latinos are: the tracking of Latino candidates to certain kinds of jobs only; the lack of culturally-sensitive mentors who can build upon Latino culture and values and overcome language and acculturation issues; and the stereotyping of Latinos as poor, persons of color, and uneducated who lack potential as good leaders and managers.
- Latinos are affected by the prevalent practice of defining race relations in work organizations primarily in terms of black/white relations. This focus ignores ethnicity as an important category in determining social identity.
- Latinos are adversely affected by the assumption that advancement within work organizations requires assimilation and acculturation to the dominant Anglo culture. Comparisons between Latinos and Anglos based on dominant perceptions mistakenly point to a lack of behavioral traits considered very important in determining managerial potential and appropriate work ethic.
- Cultural traits regarding Latino interpersonal relations and forms of communication may, in the appropriate context, result in better managerial practices in work-place organizations. A recent study found that Latino managers are people-oriented, have a

direct approach to conflict, and have flexible attitudes toward hierarchy.

- Latino women are affected by the structure of work, family responsibilities, and cultural biases in ways that are unique, distinct from the ways in which other women or Latino men are affected by these factors. Family responsibilities are an important barrier to the work-place advancement of Latino women to the extent that they are the primary care providers for children, they have relatively high fertility rates and large families, and very few employers offer the flexibility or benefits to facilitate their dual family and work roles.

Previous studies have argued that language fluency was the primary impediment to Latino advancement in the work place. We argue that structural barriers in labor markets and the work place have become greater impediments over the years. Language acquisition and bilingual education, though important, are only part of the solutions. Our policy recommendations focus on strategies targeted to remedy the challenges posed by changing employment structures and work-place dynamics. We formulate the following recommendations regarding changes in the job structure; in some ways, they overlap with those recommendations made for the work force as a whole.

- Latino workers will benefit from policies that provide incentives and an institutional context for firms to stay away from cost-cutting production strategies. Instead, firms should be encouraged to adopt innovative production organizations that require continuous skills enhancement for workers and broader job definitions. Young Latino workers will benefit particularly from continuous on-the-job skills enhancement because they have the lowest level of educational attainment of any worker group.
- Latino workers are disproportionately represented among displaced workers and will benefit from the improvement of training and job-placement services provided by state employment services and retraining programs.
- Latino workers, because of their higher than average experience with part-year employment and because they tend to hold jobs that do not provide benefits (pension, health insurance), will gain from reforms to the system of benefit provision, be it the benefits provided as a matter of legal obligation or employer-provided, job-related benefits.
- Latino workers will benefit from institutional reforms to the framework for union organization and collective bargaining. Latino workers concentrate in industries and occupations in which union organization has historically raised wages and improved working conditions and promotion opportunities for workers; thus, they stand to benefit from greater ease of union organization and improved access to coverage from a collective bargaining agreement.
- Latino workers are highly concentrated in agriculture. Thus, Latino workers will gain

from reforms that mandate employers to provide a minimum standard of benefits (pension, health insurance, and a higher minimum wage), as well as work-place health and safety provisions (minimal use of pesticides, provision of health and safety equipment).

We offer the following recommendations regarding work organizations.

- Regular, random audits should be used more vigorously by the Justice Department to enforce equal employment opportunity laws and regulations and repeated violations should entail stiff penalties. In the audits, a pair of equally qualified individuals of different race or ethnicity apply to jobs listed in newspapers of general circulation. For example, recent audits have demonstrated the extent of employer discrimination against Latinos and the direct impact of the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) in increasing employers' discriminatory practices.
- The effectiveness of audits will be greatly enhanced if employers are legally mandated to post all jobs at the local employment offices. Many entry-level positions are currently filled using other employers, recruiters, or incumbent workers; this practice is discriminatory given that Latinos, as other minorities or women, are not connected to mainstream job networks.
- Employers should enter into formal arrangements with community and professional job clearing houses that connect qualified Latino applicants with potential employers. Formal agreements could be encouraged by tying economic development grants from cities and states to successful recruitment (as certified by the clearing house) of residents of targeted communities or members of ethnic groups.

In addition to policies dealing with access to jobs, we recommend policies targeting the advancement of Latinos within organizations.

- The formation of Latino caucuses or networks within large corporations and professional associations would parallel the formal and informal webs of relationships developed by majority workers. "Interest group" organizations promote work-place multiculturalism and benefit workers as well as employers. The latter benefit because these groups provide a support network for Latino employees. These groups promote informal mentoring that helps younger workers advance within organizations.
- Employers should implement multicultural sensitivity training in the work place directed to personnel at all levels. Workshops on the history and traditions of other cultures promote an understanding of the diverse strengths that workers bring to the work place. People-oriented work groups help managers appreciate the skills of Latinos and recognize the impact these workers have on peers and customers. Bilingual/bicultural employees, for instance, should be rewarded more often for their role in the work place and their contributions in relations with customers.

- Latino women have a greater number of children, large extended families, and often are responsible for caring for the elderly. Thus, corporate- and publicly-funded daycare facilitates labor-force participation for Latino women. Flexible work schedules (flexitime or sliding schedules) allow mothers with infants or school-aged children to work. Finally, family and parental leaves may allow Latino women to respond to health and other family emergencies without jeopardizing their work.

In addition to policy recommendations, we suggest a number of areas for further research that will yield additional information for policy formulation.

- The causes of the high rates of job displacement for Latinos during the 1987-1991 period remain to be determined.
- Further research can identify the factors that contribute to the high incidence of part-year and part-time employment among Latino workers, particularly women workers, relative to other groups.
- Policy research is needed on the eligibility of Latino workers for job-related benefits such as pension, health insurance, or vacation time.
- Further documentation is required of the organizational, product market, and policy conditions that make it possible for firms to introduce innovative work processes requiring an investment in skills training for immigrant Latino workers and resulting in higher earnings. In particular, documentation of the context of policy incentives and constraints, and of the subsidies to work place-based training, will generate directions for exploring policy action that can foster skills upgrading and innovative work processes and thus result in improved outcomes for Latino workers.
- Research will be needed to shed light on how the employment opportunities of Latino workers in urban centers have been adversely affected by recent changes in the skills requirements of jobs and in their geographical distribution. Such research will help determine the relative effects of the "skills mismatch" versus the "spatial mismatch" between Latino workers and jobs.

In terms of further research on Latinos in work organizations, we put forth the following priorities:

- Research needs to focus on the empirically-based development of new models of race and ethnicity in organizations, especially those models that pay more attention to issues of language discrimination.
- Qualitative and ethnographic accounts that include the perspective of the Latino workers and managers themselves are needed.

- Research should be expanded on the effects of targeted organizational practices such as affirmative action and work-place diversity.
- Case studies of successful Latino entrepreneurship and of constructive involvement in community-based organizations will contribute to the formulation of models of alternative practices, helping Latinos work better in organizations.

The following questions should also guide further research on Latino in work organizations:

- Does the focus on managerial advancement as the primary means of improvement in organizations limits opportunities for Latinos? If so, how?
- What does an understanding that stereotypes are specific to national origin subgroups (for example, Mexican versus Puerto Rican) suggest about distinct strategies to deal with discrimination for members of different minority groups?
- How do pay and other job inequalities reproduce themselves in the structure of work? What alternative forms of work organization and rewards have been implemented to ameliorate race and gender inequalities in the work place?
- How have concerns about implementing a diversity agenda been successfully related to goals of productivity, growth, and work-group performance enhancement?

Given the growing presence of Latinos in American work places, a thorough understanding of their work experiences would enhance organizational effectiveness and social progress. Furthermore, it is insufficient that a "minority perspective" is used or that research particular to African Americans (or other minority groups) be mechanically extended to apply to Latinos. Because of the historical, cultural, and present-day situation of Latinos, their experience in the work force is unique.

Introduction

According to the U.S. Department of Labor, the glass ceiling is defined as "those barriers based on attitudinal or organizational bias that prevent qualified individuals from advancing upward in their organizations into managerial-level positions" (U.S. Department of Labor, 1991). However, the term glass ceiling has been increasingly used to describe the barriers women face in the work place. More specifically, it refers to the problem of middle-management women, usually white women, and their lack of representation in upper-level positions. Women reach certain levels within organizations but face an invisible barrier that prevents their advancement to higher level positions (U.S. Merit Systems Protection Board, 1992, p. 2.).

Current use of the term glass ceiling also includes minorities in the work force. Like white women, they too have experienced obstacles in their career advancement. However, the term glass ceiling already implies entrance into the work force and specifically it suggests occupational mobility on a career track. Career advancement has become an increasingly important work-place issue for white women who have successfully increased their numbers in the work place during the last decades, and who have made some headway in professional occupations. However, it is important to understand that not all people work, that all jobs may not entail full-time, full-year employment, and that not all jobs necessarily lead to advancement. For example, individuals in a career such as an assistant accountant may have the opportunity to advance to accountant, while other occupations, such as a seamstress in a factory, never offer the opportunity for promotion within the organization of that particular work place.

Occupational advancement may take a very different form for a factory or farm worker than for someone employed where there are career ladders. For secondary labor-market workers, where there are no well-defined mechanisms for internal promotions or where lateral transfers within occupations are not conducive to professional advancement, full-time and full-year employment and steady gains in earning are the primary factors inducing long-term economic well-being.

It should be apparent from the above discussion that we consider the glass ceiling concept to be pertinent only to a subsample of the work-force population. For minorities, who generally have a higher representation in occupations where advancement up the corporate ladder is not always an option, the understanding of the barriers to advancement in the work place require a broader conceptual framework. For Latinos in particular, the examination of work-place advancement must include factors affecting access to employment in certain occupations and industries as well as promotion practices within organizations.

In many ways, Latinos constitute a special case in labor markets. As a linguistic and ethnic minority, and a population with a large proportion of immigrants, Latinos certainly face a language and cultural barrier to their advancement in the job market and the work place. However, to some extent the experience of a growing proportion of Latinos is similar to that of other workers affected by structural changes in labor markets, and to that extent, the situation of Latinos defines the barriers to advancement of the average worker.

How special is the situation of Latinos in labor markets? In 1982, the National Commission for Employment Policy issued a report titled *Hispanics and Jobs: Barriers to Progress*. They concluded that "Hispanics generally experience common barriers to labor-market success: lack of proficiency in English, low levels of formal schooling, and discrimination" (p. i). During the following decade, research on the labor-market standing of Latinos expanded tremendously. For the most part, new research demonstrated to what extent each of these main factors could explain employment or earnings differentials with respect to other workers (Borges and Tienda, 1985; Bean and Tienda, 1987). One could argue that the consensus among researchers has moved away from the importance attached to English proficiency and education as determinants of long-term disadvantage for this population. Statistical tests, for instance, are largely inconclusive as to what extent English proficiency and other factors related to the migrant experience are a sizeable explanatory variable for differences in earnings. Similarly, over the last decade the educational gap between Latinos and other workers has narrowed or at least remained the same, depending on the national origin group under consideration, yet the earnings gap continues to widen.¹

By now it is clear that the patterns of growing disadvantage affecting Latinos, African Americans, and other ethnic and racial groups are not exceptional, but largely the product of profound transformations in the way the economy and labor markets are organized. Certainly the root causes of these transformations continue to be the subject of heated debate among social scientists. An important development regarding Latino research is that, as we near the end of the decade, emphasis has moved from language proficiency, educational attainment, and wage discrimination towards a more comprehensive examination of how labor markets operate and the interaction of group characteristics and discrimination in the work place (De Freitas, 1991; Meléndez, Rodriguez, and Figueroa, 1991; Knouse, Rosenfeld, and Culbertson, 1992). However, it is also important to acknowledge that immigration became the most important explanatory factor of rapid Latino population growth during the last decade and therefore constitutes an important factor to consider when understanding the Latino employment situation. Labor-market, work-place, and policy responses to the dramatic increase in immigration—the circumstances that define the employment experience of Latinos—have also changed dramatically.

For the purpose of our discussion, barriers to the advancement of Latinos are grouped under the headings of employment structures and work-place organizations. Employment structures refer to the labor-market context in which work organizations operate. For instance, worker hirings, prevailing wages, and general working conditions and benefits are in part determined by competition in labor markets and government regulations. The advancement of Latinos within organizations is affected by the structure of work or so-called "career ladders" or "internal labor markets;" stereotypes and how these interact with managerial styles; intergroup relations and group subordination; and, work-place culture. Advancement within organizations is also partially affected by education and credentials, which in part are regulated by external-to-the-firm

¹See Meléndez, 1991 and 1993 for a discussion of these arguments and a review of the literature.

organizations. It is important to consider that these "demand side" factors interact with workers characteristics in determining labor-market outcomes.

This study is based on a thorough review of the literature and the examination of existing sources of data. We have also used the Current Population Survey for several years to have the necessary data to assess structural change. We have organized the study into four parts: a socioeconomic profile of the Latino population in which the most relevant labor-market characteristics of this population are presented; an analysis of recent changes in employment structures and how these affect Latino workers; a discussion on how cultural symbols, stereotypes, work identities, and intergroup relations affect Latinos in work organizations; and, a final section on policy and research recommendations.

I. Socioeconomic Profile of Latinos

Latinos constitute one of the fastest growing groups among U.S. workers. In March of 1992, Latinos represented 7.9 percent of the labor force, a substantial 1.7 percentage points increase from the previous decade. Between 1982 and 1992, the Latino civilian labor force grew from 3.4 million workers to 9.9² million (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1993a, 1989).

Our objective in this section is to discuss some of the most important socioeconomic characteristics of the Latino population in relation to their labor-market situation. Previous research has established several important characteristics of this population to consider: Latinos differ from the rest of the U.S. population in important ways; Latinos fare worse than whites on most labor-market indicators and worse than African Americans on many of them; and, there are important national origin group differences among Latinos (Bean and Tienda, 1987; Meléndez, Rodriguez, and Figueroa, 1991).

The Latino experience in labor markets is particularly affected by the large proportion of foreign-born among the population. Estimates from the 1980 U.S. Census range from one-quarter of the Mexican population being foreign-born to more than three-quarters of the Central and South American population being foreign-born. In 1990, immigrants from Latin America and the Caribbean constituted more than two-thirds of all immigrants to the United States (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1992). Evidently, the immigrant experience represents a challenge to the successful incorporation of workers to a new labor market. Language proficiency and cultural differences may continue to be barriers for the employment and work-place advancement of Latinos.

Latinos are predominantly an urban population, concentrated in a few regions of the country. In part, the concentration of Latinos in a few cities and regions responds to migration networks, links to former Mexican territories in the Southwest or to the role that the East Coast cities like New York and Miami played in the political history of Puerto Ricans and Cubans. In 1990, four states (California, Texas, New York, and Florida) accounted for 71 percent of the Latino population in the country (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1992). Latinos are also significantly more concentrated in urban areas than the population at large. In 1992, 91 percent of Latinos lived in urban areas, compared to 70 percent of the white population.

The above stylized facts about the general characteristics of the Latino population suggest that their labor-market standing is influenced by economic trends affecting the demand for immigrant labor and other labor-market dynamics affecting a few states and cities where Latinos are concentrated. However, to understand the position of Latinos in labor markets fully it is necessary to look closely at a few key indicators: labor-force participation and unemployment rates, educational attainment, occupational distribution, and earnings.

²According to Cattan (1993), the reported figure based on the Current Population Survey is underestimating the Latino population in the labor force.

Labor-Force-Participation and Unemployment Rates

As indicated in table 1, the share of the civilian labor force held by Latino men, 8.8 percent, was higher than that held by Latino women, 6.9 percent. There are other significant gender differences regarding the labor-force standing of Latinos. Latino men have a 79.6 percent labor-force-participation rate, which is 4.4 percentage points higher than that of white men. In contrast, Latino women have a 52.2 labor-force-participation rate, which is 5.8 percentage points lower than that of white women. Notwithstanding these different patterns of labor-force participation, both Latino men and women have substantially higher unemployment rates when compared to their white counterparts.

Differences in labor-force participation by nativity are important as well. Mexican, Central and South American, and Other Latino men have labor-force-participation rates higher than white men, while Puerto Rican and Cuban origin men have lower participation rates. Latino women of all national origin groups have lower labor-force-participation rates than white women, though Central and South American and Other Latino women have similar rates. These differences in participation rates among different national origin groups are largely explained by the proportion of immigrants within each group. Recent immigrants tend to have higher participation rates than others and are more willing to work for lower wages, particularly when affected by high unemployment rates. All Latinos, no matter what their origin, both male and female, experience higher unemployment rates than white workers.

Educational Attainment

Education is the most often cited factor when researchers explain the labor-market disadvantage of Latinos. Although Latinos had significant educational gains in the 1980s, these gains were not sufficient to close the gap between themselves and whites. The median years of school completed, for example, increased for Latinos from 10.8 in 1980 to 12.0 in 1988, reducing the gap with respect to whites from 1.7 years to 0.7 years (Meléndez, Rodriguez, and Figueroa, 1991, p. 12). Most of these gains could be attributed to the higher educational attainment of younger cohorts despite the high dropout rate and other problems that affect Latino youth. In 1992, as presented in table 2, 47.4 percent of Latinos were under 25 years old, while 33.1 of whites were this young. The difference in the proportion of high school graduates between Latinos and whites is 32.3 points for the young adult cohort (25- to 34-year-olds) and 31.7 points for the 35-years-and-over cohort.

Table 1
Labor Force Status by Origin and Sex, March 1992

	Total	White*	Latino					Central & Other	
			Puerto		Cuban South Ameri				
			Total	Mexican	Rican	Cuban	South Ameri		
Male, 16 years and over (000)	91,237	70,892	7,499	4,698	740	420	1,099	541	
In civilian labor force (000)	68,209	53,325	5,971	3,783	520	303	946	419	
In civilian labor force (%)	74.8	75.2	79.6	80.5	70.3	72.2	86.0	77.4	
Unemployed (%)	8.8	7.5	12.2	12.4	14.1	9.1	12.5	10.4	
Female, 16 years and over (000)	99,783	76,908	7,607	4,530	845	454	1,160	617	
In civilian labor force (000)	57,244	44,626	3,969	2,336	378	235	663	358	
In civilian labor force (%)	57.4	58.0	52.2	51.6	44.7	51.7	57.1	57.9	
Unemployed (%)	6.5	5.4	9.8	10.5	9.8	9.9	8.3	7.6	

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. *The Hispanic Population in the United States: March 1992*. Washington, DC.

(*) Refers to non-Latino whites

Table 2
Population and Educational Attainment by Origin, March 1992

	Total	White*	Latino					
			Total	Mexican	Puerto	Cuban	Central &	Other
					Rican		South American	
Total population (000)	251,447	189,216	22,096	14,062	2,352	1,041	3,084	1,557
Total 25 years and over (000)	160,838	126,620	11,624	6,860	1,266	759	1,780	958
Completed high school (%)	79.5	83.4	52.6	45.2	60.5	62.0	61.7	70.9
Completed bachelor's degree or more (%)	21.4	23.2	9.3	6.1	8.4	18.4	16.0	14.2
Total 25 to 34 years (000)	42,496	31,285	4,249	2,692	428	157	724	249
Completed high school (%)	86.5	90.8	58.5	51.7	70.2	78.4	63.3	84.2
Completed bachelor's degree or more (%)	23.2	26.1	9.6	7.4	9.4	20.5	14.7	12.8
Total 35 years and over (000)	118,342	95,335	7,374	4,169	838	602	1,056	710
Completed high school (%)	76.9	80.9	49.2	40.9	55.6	57.8	60.6	66.2
Completed bachelor's degree or more (%)	20.7	22.2	9.1	5.2	7.9	17.8	16.9	14.7

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. *The Hispanic Population in the United States: March 1992*. Washington, DC

(*) Refers to non-Latino whites

Mexicans and Puerto Ricans are the most educationally disadvantaged among the Latino origin groups. Group differences are important to consider because of the distinct geographical concentration of these groups throughout the country and the implications of such educational differences for policy planning and program development. Among the 25-years-and-over population, Mexicans have the lowest proportion (45.2 percent) of high school graduates of all Latino groups and have a sizable gap of 38.2 points fewer high school graduates than whites. Puerto Rican (at 60.5 percent), Cubans (62.0 percent), and Central and South American (61.7 percent) have a deficit of about 20 percentage points below white high school graduates. However, when the bachelors degree completion is used as a yardstick of educational attainment, Puerto Ricans are as disadvantaged as Mexicans. Their attainment is about 15 to 17 percentage points lower than their whites counterpart. Cubans show the highest proportion (18.4 percent) of college completion, followed by Central and South Americans (16.0 percent) and Other Latinos (14.2 percent). These patterns of relative standing in educational attainment are similar for younger or older cohorts.

Language

Like education, a lack of English proficiency is a factor cited for labor-market disadvantage. However, how exactly language affects Latinos in the work place is unclear. Some research (Garcia, 1984) shows that among Mexican-American immigrants there does not appear to be any direct economic reward for speaking English; and for U.S.-born Chicanos, there is only a small economic advantage associated with being reared as an English monolingual. However, there does appear to be a clear disadvantage directly associated with being Spanish-dominant bilingual.

On the other hand, results from a study by Stolzenberg (1990) suggests that much of the occupational inequality between Latino and non-Latino white men is explained by differences in schooling and English-language fluency. In fact, he finds that if Latino men speak English at least "very well," and have completed at least 12 years of school, their occupational achievement is close to that of white non-Latino men with similar English fluency and schooling. Otherwise, the occupations of Latinos are inferior to those of white non-Latino men with similar linguistic and educational characteristics. Bean and Tienda (1987) also found that lower levels of English proficiency meant Latinos were less likely to be in the labor force than their counterparts whose English proficiency ranged from fair to very good. In particular, significant language effects emerged for Puerto Ricans and Other Latinos. They report that Puerto Ricans with poor or no proficiency in English were 10 percent less likely to be in the labor force in 1980 than proficient English speakers, while Puerto Ricans and Other Latinos men with fair English skills participated in the labor market at a rate of 4 percent below their national counterpart (p. 300).

According to the 1990 U.S. Census (Public Microdata Sample), approximately 78 percent of Latinos speak Spanish at home; and, 50.8 percent of Latinos specified that they do not speak English "very well" (U.Bureau of the Census, 1993b.)

Occupational Distribution

Educational attainment is closely related to the occupational achievement of Latinos. Table 3 shows the occupational distribution of Latinos and whites by sex. Latinos are extremely underrepresented in the high-earnings managerial and professional occupations and overrepresented in the low-earnings operators, fabricators, and laborers occupations. In 1992, only 11.4 percent of Latino men and 16.4 percent of Latino women worked as managers and professionals, while 28.6 percent and 29.7 percent of white men and women did, respectively. This sizable gap is reversed when operators, fabricators, and laborers occupations are considered: 27.5 percent and 14.6 percent of Latino men and women, respectively, worked in this category, while only 18.0 percent of white men and 6.5 percent of white women did. Similar patterns of underrepresentation by Latinos are observed for technical occupations, and overrepresentation is the pattern in the service occupations.

The differences in occupational distribution are as pronounced among the various Latino origin groups as they are with respect to whites. Considering the managerial and professional occupations, Cuban men (21.3 percent) have two times the shares that Mexicans (9.3 percent) and Puerto Ricans (13.6 percent) do, while Other Latinos (18.3 percent) have somewhat higher rates than Mexicans and Puerto Ricans but lower than Cubans. The relative standing among women is different. Cuban (26.6 percent), Other Latino (23.1 percent), and Puerto Rican (20.6 percent) women have higher proportions among managers and professionals than Mexicans (14.0 percent) or Central and South American (14.9 percent) women. Other important differences to consider are that Mexican and Central and South Americans are more concentrated in operators, fabricators, and laborers categories than men of other Latino origins, and Mexican and Central and South American women are similarly more concentrated in service occupations than women of other Latino origins.

The above discussion suggests that the educational and occupational standing of Latinos is substantially worse than that of whites. However, the above analysis also indicates that there are important gender and origin group differences that must be taken into account. For instance, Mexican and Puerto Rican seem to be the most underrepresented in occupations requiring higher educational credentials. However, Mexican and Puerto Rican men have similar representation as whites in the craft occupations in which skill requirements and earnings are higher than in many other occupations. Similarly, Latino women are equally represented as white women in the clerical occupations, which have constituted one of the growing occupational sectors for many years.

Latino Managers and Professionals

The advancement of Latino managers and professionals is an issue of contention among researchers, journalists, and policy makers. Spilerman (1988) asserts that the preference given to those candidates with educational backgrounds in mathematics, engineering, computer sciences, economics, and business for positions in management and for promotions within corporations

Table 3
Occupational Distribution by Origin and Sex, March 1992

	Total	White*	Latino						
			Total		Mexican	Puerto Rican	Central & South American		
			Puerto	Rican			Cuban	South American	Other
Employed males, 16 years and over (000)	62,191	49,348	5,240	3,314	447	276	828	375	
Managerial and professional specialty (%)	26.0	28.6	11.4	9.3	10.9	21.3	13.6	18.3	
Technical sales and adm. support (%)	21.0	21.9	16.3	14.0	23.1	25.1	16.7	20.2	
Service occupations (%)	10.8	9.0	17.7	16.6	22.4	12.4	22.2	15.5	
Farming, forestry, and fishing (%)	4.0	3.7	7.8	10.9	2.2	3.5	2.8	2.0	
Precision production, craft, and repair (%)	18.2	18.8	19.4	20.0	18.0	14.7	17.6	22.4	
Operators, fabricators, and laborers (%)	19.9	18.0	27.5	29.2	23.5	22.9	27.1	21.7	
Employed females, 16 years and over (000)	53,533	42,222	3,580	2,090	341	211	607	331	
Managerial and professional specialty (%)	27.5	29.7	16.4	14.0	20.6	26.6	14.9	23.1	
Technical sales, and adm. support (%)	44.5	45.6	39.6	39.3	47.9	48.5	30.4	44.6	
Service occupations (%)	17.5	15.4	24.9	24.6	17.7	13.1	35.5	21.5	
Farming, forestry, and fishing (%)	0.8	0.9	1.7	2.8	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.4	
Precision production, craft, and repair (%)	2.0	1.9	2.9	3.1	2.6	1.9	3.2	1.7	
Operators, fabricators, and laborers (%)	7.7	6.5	14.6	16.2	11.2	9.9	15.7	8.7	

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. *The Hispanic Population in the United States: March 1992*. Washington, DC

(*) Refers to non-Latino whites

serves as a barrier for Latino managerial advancement. A 1979 analysis of fields of occupational specialization by race indicates that Latinos graduated in larger numbers in the fields of education, social sciences, and the humanities (Spilerman, 1988).

Brischetto (1994) reports that the growth in Latino professionals, especially among Latina women and in those occupations traditionally overpopulated with males, suggests that more recently Latina women are entering the mid-level ranks with the appropriate educational background. According to this reasoning, the corporate rationale of "lack of available candidates" becomes harder to sustain given these new cadres of workers, and explanations for the low number of Latinos in the management ranks turn to organizational dynamics (delineated in the second part of this study under the section "Latinos in Work Organizations").

Within firms, the changes resulting from the need to lower production costs and gain a competitive edge through more complex technologies, global markets, and flexibility in managerial positions has resulted in an overall decrease of mid-level managerial positions. Specifically, innovations such as flatter organizational structures, employee empowerment, and self-managed teams are all targeted to reduce mid-level management positions. These are the positions that Latinos are just becoming eligible for as they were the last to benefit from Affirmative Action and Equal Employment Opportunity efforts.

The data from the 1980 and 1990 U.S. Census in table 4 shows the recent changes in Latino representation among managers and specialty professionals (MSP). The Latino share of the MSP category almost doubled during this period, from 667,000 to 1.3 million. This increase represents more than two times the percent increase for all MSPs. Despite these gains in absolute numbers, the proportion of the total Latino labor force in the MSP category remained at 13 percent or about half the proportion of the population as a whole. Thus, advances in absolute numbers did not translate into the relative advancement of Latinos in the MSP category.

A closer look at the occupational distribution of Latino men and women for 1980 and 1990 reveals that Latina women made more significant gains in relative MSP status than Latino men. During this period, Latina women increased their MSP share three and one-half percentage points to 15.7 percent in 1990. Latina women continued to have a larger share of MSP occupations than Latino men, and they widened their advantage from about two percentage points to more than four. However, the MSP share of Latina women was still about eleven

Table 4
Trends in Latino Managers and Specialty Professionals for 1980 and 1990

	1980	1990	% Change
Total Labor Force	97,639,355	123,473,450	26%
Latino Labor Force	5,456,857	10,021,723	84%
Latinos as a % of Total Labor Force	6%	8%	
Total Managers and Specialty Professionals	22,151,648	31,266,845	41%
As a % of Total Labor Force	23%	25%	
Latino Managers and Specialty Professionals	666,925	1,310,994	97%
As a % of Latino Labor Force	12.2%	13%	
Total Male Labor force	56,004,690	66,986,201	20%
Total Male Managers and Specialty Professionals	13,196,805	16,154,739	22%
As a % of Male Labor Force	24%	24%	
Total Female Labor Force	41,634,665	56,487,249	36%
Total Female Managers and Specialty Professionals	8,954,843	15,112,106	69%
As a % of Female Labor Force	22%	27%	
Latino Male Labor Force	3,288,208	5,888,180	79%
Latino Male Managers and Specialty Professionals	395,469	662,589	68%
As a % of Latino Male Labor Force	12%	11%	
Latina Female Labor Force	2,168,649	4,133,543	91%
Latina Female Managers and Specialty Professionals	271,456	648,405	139%
As a % of Latina Female Labor Force	13%	16%	

Source: 1980, 1990 Census of the Population

percentage points below the equivalent rate of the population as a whole. According to table 5, Latina women's most salient gains are reported in public administration and real estate management and among traditionally women-held professional occupations such as teachers, social workers, health professionals (includes RNs) writers, artists, and entertainers. Latina women also made modest inroads in non-traditional professions such as computer sciences, engineering, and law. Despite the gains in key MSP shares, there were declines in managers and administrators and post-secondary teachers that raise some concerns.

Latino men improved their MSP share very modestly—less than one percentage point—to 11 percent in 1990. This share for Latino men was about half the equivalent share of the general population. Latino men reported sizeable losses among managers, administrators, and engineers. They only reported significant advancement among teachers. Overall, during the 1980s Latinos made modest gains in non-traditional MSP occupations and have lost ground in relative terms.

We have estimated an index of occupational representation in order to assess the relative position of Latino men and women in MSP occupations. This index is defined as the percent share of Latinos in any given occupation over the percent share of Latinos in the labor force divided by the percent share of the total population in any given occupation. Thus, this index equals one when the proportion of Latinos in any given occupational category is similar to the proportion of the population as a whole. A value greater than one indicates overrepresentation, while less than one indicates underrepresentation. The index of occupational representation is a practical tool for translating the changes in occupational distribution in relation to the overall trends in the labor force. Relative gains or losses may have responded to general patterns for the labor force as a whole.

Table 6 depicts the results of the estimation of the index of occupational representation. Latino men suffered greater overall losses in key MSP occupations than Latina women, although they both lost ground relative to the general population. Latino men even lost ground in the only category—real estate managers—where they had parity in 1980. In 1990, Latino men and women had not achieved occupational representation parity in any of the largest MSP categories. Latino men lost significant relative shares in public administration (-0.23), real estate administration (-0.36), and health (-0.23). Among Latina women, the biggest losses are reported in self-employed managers and administrators (-0.16), personnel trainers (-0.21), physicians (-0.19) and social workers (-0.13). The lost ground in relative shares as reported here must be of general concern because there was no discernable patterns towards parity, not even in occupations that have traditionally had concentrations of Latinos.

Latinos still remain concentrated in specific fields in professional and managerial occupations. Traditionally, Latinos were concentrated in occupations related to the social sciences, education, and the humanities. This has not changed significantly over the past ten years. There are more women in managerial occupations and especially in those occupations traditionally held by men, but the percentage growth is largely due to the small base numbers. A large percentage of Latina women are found in nursing and elementary school teaching. Nevertheless, Latina women remain underrepresented in these traditionally women-held professions because of the trend of

Table 5
Occupational Distribution of Latinos for 1980 and 1990
As a Percentage of the Latino Labor Force

	1980	1990	% Change
Male			
Civilian Labor Force 16 years and over	3,288,208	5,888,180	79%
Managerial and Specialty Professionals as a % of Latino Labor Force	10.38%	11.07%	0.69%
Selected Managerial Occupations	6.00%	6.00%	0.00%
Legislators, Chief Executives and General Administrators,	0.04%	0.01%	-0.03%
Public Administration	0.20%	0.20%	0.00%
Managers, properties and Real Estate	0.21%	0.22%	0.01%
Managers and Administrators	3.11%	2.14%	-0.97%
Managers and Administrators, self-employed	0.48%	0.24%	-0.24%
Underwriters	0.01%	0.01%	0.00%
Management Analysts	0.05%	0.08%	0.03%
Personnel Training and Labor Relations Specialist	0.32%	0.23%	-0.09%
Specialty Professionals	4.38%	5.07%	0.69%
Engineers	1.40%	0.90%	-0.50%
Computer Sciences	0.17%	0.26%	0.09%
Natural Scientists	0.15%	0.14%	-0.01%
Physicians	0.06%	0.47%	0.41%
Health Related Professions (includes R.N.'s)	0.26%	0.25%	-0.01%
Post Secondary Teachers	0.28%	0.25%	-0.03%
Teachers, Except Post Secondary	0.10%	0.83%	0.74%
Counselors	0.12%	0.09%	-0.03%
Librarians and Archivists	0.05%	0.04%	-0.01%
Social Scientist	0.10%	0.11%	0.01%
Social Workers	0.54%	0.48%	-0.06%
Law	0.22%	0.22%	0.00%
Writers, Artists, and Entertainers	0.94%	1.03%	0.09%
Females			
Civilian Labor Force 16 years and over	2,168,649	4,133,543	91%
Managerial and Specialty Professionals as a % of Latino Labor Force	12.22%	15.70%	3.48%
Selected Managerial Occupations	4.88%	7.04%	2.16%
Legislators, Chief Executives and General Administrators,	0.01%	0.01%	0.00%
Public Administration	0.15%	0.25%	0.10%
Managers, properties and Real Estate	0.13%	0.25%	0.12%
Managers and Administrators	1.85%	1.70%	-0.15%
Managers and Administrators, self-employed	0.27%	0.09%	-0.18%
Underwriters	0.02%	0.05%	0.03%
Management Analysts	0.04%	0.07%	0.03%
Personnel Training and Labor Relations Specialist	0.45%	0.40%	-0.05%
Specialty Professionals	7.34%	8.66%	1.32%
Engineers	0.11%	0.19%	0.08%
Computer Sciences	0.10%	0.25%	0.15%
Natural Scientists	0.08%	0.10%	0.02%
Physicians	0.15%	0.19%	0.04%
Health Related Professions (includes R.N.'s)	1.48%	1.53%	0.05%
Post Secondary Teachers	0.32%	0.30%	-0.02%
Teachers, Except Post Secondary	3.32%	3.60%	0.28%
Counselors	0.19%	0.19%	0.00%
Librarians and Archivists	0.14%	0.12%	-0.02%
Social Scientist	0.11%	0.15%	0.04%
Social Workers	0.48%	0.81%	0.33%
Law	0.09%	0.16%	0.07%
Writers, Artists, and Entertainers	0.77%	1.07%	0.30%

Source: 1980, 1990 Census of the Population

Table 6
Occupational Representation of Latinos for 1980 and 1990

Male	1980.	1990	% Change
Selected Managerial Occupations			
Legislators, Chief Executives and General Administrators,			
Public Administration	0.66	0.43	-0.23
Managers, properties and Real Estate	1.04	0.68	-0.36
Managers and Adminstrators	0.52	0.43	-0.09
Managers and Adminstrators, self-employed	0.65	0.51	-0.14
Underwriters	0.44	0.30	-0.14
Management Analysts	0.35	0.28	-0.07
Personnel Training and Labor Relatins Specialist	0.81	0.70	-0.11
Engineers	0.40	0.58	0.18
Computer Sciences	0.38	0.50	0.12
Natural Scientists	0.35	0.50	0.15
Physicians	0.56	0.63	0.07
Health Related Professions (includes R.N.'s)	0.62	0.39	-0.23
Post Secondary Teachers	0.40	0.53	0.13
Teachers, Except Post Secondary	0.62	0.48	-0.14
Librarians and Archivists	0.65	0.51	-0.14
Social Scientist	0.44	0.38	-0.06
Social Workers	0.67	0.58	-0.09
Law	0.27	0.25	-0.02
Writers, Artists, and Entertainers	0.69	0.63	-0.06
Female			
Selected Managerial Occupations			
Legislators, Chief Executives and General Administrators,			
Public Administration	0.52	0.72	0.20
Managers, properties and Real Estate	0.70	0.73	0.03
Managers and Adminstrators	0.64	0.60	-0.04
Managers and Adminstrators, self-employed	0.75	0.59	-0.16
Underwriters	0.70	0.59	-0.11
Management Analysts	0.53	0.43	-0.10
Personnel Training and Labor Relatins Specialist	0.97	0.76	-0.21
Specialty Professionals			
Engineers	0.65	0.58	-0.07
Computer Sciences	0.48	0.50	0.02
Natural Scientists	0.59	0.50	-0.09
Physicians	0.82	0.63	-0.19
Health Related Professions (includes R.N.'s)	0.42	0.39	-0.03
Post Secondary Teachers	0.58	0.53	-0.05
Teachers, Except Post Secondary	0.53	0.60	0.07
Librarians and Archivists	0.37	0.39	0.02
Social Scientist	0.49	0.44	-0.05
Social Workers	0.92	0.79	-0.13
Lawyers and Judges	0.53	0.47	-0.06
Writers, Artists, and Entertainers	0.58	0.6	0.02

Source: 1980, 1990 Census of the Population

the all women being increasingly concentrated in these occupations.

As previously mentioned, the core of the problem remains that Latinos have a relatively small proportion of MSP occupations. One way to ascertain whether Spilerman's argument regarding the concentration of Latinos in education and social science degrees continues is to evaluate recent data on the degrees earned by major field of study. Table 7 details the degrees earned by Latinos in 1990-1991. Although Latinos continue to concentrate in education and social sciences, a shift in the pattern of fields of Latino specialization has occurred since 1979. As a percentage of all Latinos earning master's degrees, more Latinos are obtaining master's in business administration, almost 21 percent. This is much more than the 11 percent reported in 1979 (Spilerman, 1988). Latinos are also obtaining degrees in engineering. Despite this move towards Latinos in management, business administration, and engineering over the past ten years, it has not translated into an increase in representation among the managerial occupations.

Table 8 details the patterns of fields of specialization for degrees earned by the total population. Latino patterns are not different from the trend of the total population, indicating that there are other factors contributing to the lower number of Latinos in the MSP category. A major factor is the small number of Latinos actually completing higher degrees. The percentage of Latinos that go on to higher degrees is 9% of the total Latino population. Currently, the number of Latinos obtaining higher degrees in all fields is too low to make a significant change in the pattern of MSP.

Earnings

Earnings provide a good summary index of the relative labor-market standing of Latinos. Yearly earnings are the product of the length of time worked and the wage rate of workers. The wage rate, in turn, depends on the occupational position and education of workers. The previous analysis indicates that Latinos are disadvantaged on both accounts. Latino men have higher unemployment rates and lower occupational standing than white men. Latino women, in addition to those factors affecting men, have lower participation rates than white women. Thus, it is not surprising that in 1991 Latino men earned 59.8 cents for each dollar of the median earnings of white men, while Latino women earned 77.6 cents for each dollar of the median earnings of white women (see Table 9). The reader should also consider that white women earned almost \$11,000 less than white men during that year. For year-round, full-time workers, the earning gap is somewhat lower for men, but there is no difference for women. Latino men earned 63.7 cents for each dollar of white men's earnings, and Latino women earned 77.0 cents for each dollar of white women's earnings.

As important to consider as relative earnings, is the fact that, in 1991, only 61.8 percent of Latino men and 50.9 percent of Latino women were year-round, full-time workers. In comparison, the proportion of whites who were year-round, full-time workers was 67.9 percent for men and 52.1 percent for women. Seasonal, part-year, and part-time employment seems to be affecting the earnings of Latinos disproportionately when compared to white men.

Table 7
Degrees Earned by Latinos by Major Field of Study

1990 - 1991

	BA's	MA's	Ph.D.'s
Males			
Business Management	24%	29%	1%
Education	5%	20%	17%
Engineering	10%	11%	11%
Health Sciences	3%	3%	4%
Life Sciences	5%	1%	9%
Physical Sciences	2%	2%	14%
Public Affairs	1%	7%	1%
Social Sciences	15%	4%	9%
Psychology	4%	3%	11%
All Other Degrees	31%	20%	23%
	100%	100%	100%
Females			
Business Management	19%	14%	1%
Education	13%	43%	28%
Engineering	2%	2%	3%
Health Sciences	6%	7%	4%
Life Sciences	4%	1%	9%
Physical Sciences	1%	>1%	3%
Public Affairs	3%	10%	3%
Social Sciences	11%	3%	9%
Psychology	8%	5%	20%
All Other Degrees	33%	15%	20%
	100%	100%	100%

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics

Table 8
Total Degrees Earned by Major Field of Study
1990 - 1991

	BA's	MA's	Ph.D.'s
Males			
Business Management	27%	34%	4%
Education	5%	14%	12%
Engineering	11%	14%	20%
Health Sciences	2%	3%	3%
Life Sciences	4%	2%	11%
Physical Sciences	2%	3%	14%
Public Affairs	1%	4%	1%
Social Sciences	14%	5%	8%
Psychology	3%	2%	5%
All Other Degrees	31%	19%	22%
	100%	100%	100%
Females			
Business Management	20%	16%	2%
Education	15%	39%	27%
Engineering	2%	2%	3%
Health Sciences	8%	9%	6%
Life Sciences	3%	1%	11%
Physical Sciences	1%	1%	6%
Public Affairs	2%	7%	2%
Social Sciences	10%	3%	7%
Psychology	7%	4%	15%
All Other Degrees	32%	18%	21%
	100%	100%	100%

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics

Table 9
Earnings by Origin, March 1992

	Total	White*	Latino					Other
			Total		Mexican	Puerto Rican	Cuban	Central & South American
All workers								
Males with earnings (000)	72,040	56,675	6,072	3,860	530	303	951	428
Median earnings (\$)	21,856	24,252	14,503	12,959	18,256	17,638	14,868	20,456
% of whites earnings	90.1	100.0	59.8	53.4	75.3	72.7	61.3	84.3
Mean earnings (\$)	26,817	28,769	18,150	16,477	20,985	24,288	19,207	23,041
Females with earnings (000)	61,808	48,527	4,165	2,462	385	249	679	389
Median earnings (\$)	12,884	13,406	10,399	9,260	14,463	13,124	10,635	12,844
% of whites earnings	96.1	100.0	77.6	69.1	107.9	97.9	79.3	95.8
Mean earnings (\$)	15,945	16,304	12,822	11,638	15,903	16,550	12,506	15,427
Year-round, full-time workers								
Males with earnings (000)	47,888	38,472	3,751	2,285	356	200	626	285
Median earnings (\$)	29,418	31,046	19,769	18,186	22,749	22,231	19,631	24,812
% of whites earnings	94.8	100.0	63.7	58.6	73.3	71.6	63.2	79.9
Mean earnings (\$)	34,354	36,357	23,251	21,258	26,009	29,700	24,210	29,161
Females with earnings (000)	32,447	25,284	2,120	1,166	234	156	353	211
Median earnings (\$)	20,550	21,089	16,244	15,645	18,656	19,749	14,290	19,999
% of whites earnings	97.4	100.0	77.0	74.2	88.5	93.6	67.8	94.8
Mean earnings (\$)	22,947	23,565	18,515	17,645	21,010	21,675	17,155	20,494

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. The Hispanic Population in the United States: March 1992. Washington, DC

(*) Refers to non-Latino whites

Overall, the above socioeconomic profile suggests that Latinos are disproportionately represented among the working poor. Latinos are overrepresented in low-wage occupations, have high incidence of unemployment, have a low proportion of full-year, full-time work, and, as a consequence of their labor-market standing, have earnings that are close or below poverty level. In part, labor-market outcomes are explained by their lower educational attainment. But the persistent segmentation of Latinos on low-wage occupations, unusual rates of intermittent work, and high unemployment suggest that there are other factors at play. In the next sections, we will examine how the structure of labor markets and the organization of work places create barriers to the advancement of Latino workers.

II. Recent Changes in Employment Structures and Their Implications for Latino Workers

During the past 20 years, structural change has taken the form of a compositional shift in the distribution of employment (away from manufacturing and toward service provision) and a change in the employment practices of large, stable employers. These firms, which have been targeted for enforcement of equal employment opportunity (EEO) goals, have historically been considered the environments most favorable to the improvement of promotion and career development for women and minorities because of their size and because their structured employment systems can be monitored relatively easily. Ironically, as EEO enforcement efforts targeted these settings, internal labor markets and promotion ladders weakened, and hiring for middle- and high-level positions increasingly took place in the external market from the 1970s onward. These trends in employment practices thus limited the impact of policies geared to improving promotion patterns **within firms** (see Noyelle, 1987a).

From the late 1970s onward, large employers in manufacturing and services alike have faced heightened unpredictability and uncertainty in their product markets (Berger and Piore, 1980), their increased scope, and internationalization (Noyelle, 1987b; Christopherson, 1986). As a result, large U.S. firms that had developed employment patterns suited to holding a large and stable market share have seen their market position threatened.

These changed competitive conditions have added pressures on firms to: (a) cut labor costs (Appelbaum, 1987; Abraham, 1988; Osterman, 1988); (b) achieve greater flexibility in quantity and skill composition of their work force (Piore and Sabel, 1985; Abraham, 1988; Osterman, 1988); and (c) obtain greater predictability in work-force use (Carré, 1993.) Market pressures have compelled firms, and new technological opportunities have enabled them, to redesign their employment structures (their internal labor markets). In some cases, new technologies have enabled firms to rationalize work in order to cut labor costs, thus contributing to the erosion of internal labor markets and to greater use of contingent employment arrangements (Appelbaum, 1987).³ In addition, the diffusion of secondary and post-secondary education has allowed firms to recruit externally greater numbers of workers for positions that used to be filled by workers who had been trained in-house.

The consequences of these changes in employment practices have only begun to be documented and observed in a systematic fashion. Researchers point to a number of trends that have consequences for all workers, and particularly for worker groups with the greatest need for access to paths of career mobility. First, higher-level jobs are increasingly filled from the outside and growing numbers of entry-level jobs have become divorced from internal training and career ladders. Thus, concerns are raised about the chances for career mobility of new entrants to the

³New technologies have also been used in other ways; their potential for flexible use has put pressure on existing employment systems by requiring broader job definitions (Piore, 1986; Osterman, 1988).

labor force, or even of incumbents in entry-level positions, and about the benefits of pursuing a policy of pressure on large employers to make their internal promotion procedures as race- and gender-blind as possible. In other words, internal labor markets may be eroding, and this trend will have consequences for all workers, but it will be particularly harmful for minority workers, particularly women workers.

The erosion of internal labor markets results in both diminished opportunity through seniority and experience for minority incumbent workers and in reduced numbers of job opportunities for future cohorts. For Latino and other minority workers, strategies for career mobility may need to move away from gaining access to a "good" employer (and relying on internal mobility) and toward gaining access to higher levels of education and improving their chances for lateral mobility. In other words, prior strategies of gaining access to unionized jobs in blue-collar settings (or organizing existing nonunion jobs) and to white-collar jobs with possibilities for advancement—both of which present opportunities for earnings mobility for worker with a high school education or less—may no longer be viable.

Second, entry-level jobs, at the same time they are becoming increasingly divorced from training and promotion ladders, also run a greater risk of becoming "secondary-like" (meaning lower paid, limited training, tenuous employment arrangement) and maybe even externalized altogether from corporations through subcontracting of production and peripheral activities to outside firms. Evidence of this trend includes the growth of part-time and temporary employment in the total work force.

In consequence, Latino men and women may see their opportunities for advancement from entry- to middle-level positions and from middle- to high-level positions threatened because the aggregate number of job-promotion opportunities is shrinking, because the mechanisms for internal promotion have weakened, *and* because the policy enforcement of EEO standards may have weakened. Women and minorities may also be at greater risk of long-term unemployment if, upon losing a job following a corporate restructuring, they encounter difficulties of access to new occupations because such occupations have traditionally been dominated by nonminority males.

For the work force as a whole (nonminority and minority), we expect the impact of structural change to manifest itself in a number of ways, some of which are more immediately verifiable than others. For example, reduced opportunities for mobility will only result in shorter job tenure and limited earnings growth in the medium and longer terms. Other consequences of structural changes are reflected in shifts in industry and occupational composition of employment, with rapid decline in some manufacturing industries and with the rise of part-time and temporary work. Thus evidence of the impact of structural change on the work force may include: increased job loss and displacement, declining unionization, increased part-time employment, and reduced opportunities in some urban areas due to changes in the spatial organization of production.

In the remainder of this section, using the analytical arguments presented above, we address whether these trends affect outcomes for Latino workers in ways that are similar to (or different

from) those predicted for the work force as a whole. We present information on particular aspects of the labor market experiences of Latino workers. These include: job displacement, part-time and part-year work, the decline of unionization, the particular ways in which manufacturing restructuring impacts the employment of new immigrant cohorts, and the impact of restructuring on cities in which a large share of Latinos concentrate.

Shifts in Occupation and Industry Distributions

In addition to the changes inside firms, the overall distribution of economic activity across sectors in the U.S. economy has shifted away from manufacturing, particularly of durable goods, and mining and toward service-producing activities. As a result, some occupations and industries in which Latino workers concentrate have witnessed decline.

Table 10 provides the percent distribution of the Latino male and female work force across occupational categories. From 1984 to 1992, Latino men and women displayed more significant changes in their occupational distribution than their non-Latino, white counterparts.⁴

To make this point clearer, we compute a measure of occupation concentration of Latinos relative to that of the work force as a whole. This measure indicates the relative over(under)representation of any group in an occupation if it is greater (lower) than one.⁵ Table A.1 in the Appendix reports relative concentration ratios for all occupations for Latinos and whites for 1984, 1988, and 1992.

Latino men and women concentrate in blue-collar (farmer, laborer, and craft) and lower white-collar (services, clerical, and sales) occupations. They are relatively less concentrated than white workers in upper white-collar occupations (managerial, professional, and technical). The blue-collar occupations in which Latinos were concentrated in 1984 have declined throughout the 1980s. Nevertheless, Latino workers have remained relatively concentrated in these occupations despite their decline. Similarly, white males who are relatively overrepresented in craft occupations have maintained this concentration during the 1980s in spite of the aggregate decline of these occupations.

⁴ The following discussion draws on Gastón Institute staff computations from the 1984, 1988, and 1992 Current Population Survey computer tapes. Numbers refer to all those 16 years and older employed at the time of each survey.

⁵ For example, this measure is computed for managerial occupations by taking the share of total Latino employment that is in managerial occupations, and dividing it by the share of total population employment that is in managerial employment. If this ratio is equal to 1, then Latinos are considered to be neither over-, nor under-, represented in managerial employment. The difference between this relative concentration ratio and 1 indicates the percentage of over(under)representation of Latinos in an occupation.

Table 10
Occupational Distribution by Sex, Race, and Ethnicity

	Latino			White		
	1984	1988	1992	1984	1988	1992
Male						
Managerial	7.0	7.0	6.4	14.2	15.8	15.7
Professional	4.7	6.0	4.9	13.0	13.6	13.5
Technical	1.7	2.0	1.9	2.9	3.1	3.5
Sales	6.6	6.9	7.3	12.4	12.3	12.5
Clerical	6.4	5.9	6.5	5.4	4.9	5.6
Service	14.9	14.4	17.1	8.1	6.6	8.0
Crafts	21.0	21.0	19.9	20.5	21.0	19.5
Laborer	30.0	28.5	28.0	19.1	19.0	18.2
Farmer	7.6	8.2	7.9	4.4	3.7	3.5
Female						
Managerial	4.9	7.5	8.2	9.3	12.3	13.5
Professional	7.9	8.2	8.2	15.7	15.9	17.6
Technical	2.4	1.6	2.5	3.4	3.4	4.2
Sales	10.2	11.9	9.8	13.3	12.7	12.2
Clerical	27.6	26.9	26.5	29.7	30.6	29.1
Service	22.6	21.3	24.7	16.8	14.1	13.9
Crafts	3.1	3.6	3.1	2.2	2.3	2.0
Laborer	19.8	17.4	15.3	8.5	7.9	6.9
Farmer	1.4	1.5	1.8	1.1	0.8	0.7

Source: Calculations based on Current Population Survey computer tapes, 1984, 1988, 1992

How do we account for changes in relative concentration over the period 1984 to 1992? Table A.2 in the Appendix provides the change in relative occupational concentration from 1984 to 1992. Latino men show a 3-percentage-point loss in managerial occupations (minus 0.03), while white males display a 3-percentage-point increase. The decline in Latino male relative representation among managers has occurred in spite of educational gains made by this group during the 1980s (Meléndez, Rodriguez, and Figueroa, 1991) Latino men experienced some gain in technical occupations over the period, but they were starting from a very small base in 1984.

Latino men display a 5-percentage-point decline among laborers and women show an 11-point decline; these are occupations found in manufacturing and construction. Over the 1984 to 1992 period, Latino males and females show large increases in their relative occupational representation among farm laborers, an indication that their concentration in agriculture deepened even further during the 1980s relative to other groups. Finally, both male and female Latinos have increased their relative representation in services occupations. Thus, as Latino workers have experienced declines in laborers jobs, they have moved into services occupations and further concentrated in farming occupations. Both of these occupations have low earnings and entail few opportunities for wage progression over time.

The industrial distribution of Latino employment and its change over time are behind the changes in Latino occupational distributions discussed above. Table 11 shows the industrial distribution of Latino and white men and women for 1984, 1988, and 1992.

Table A.3 in the Appendix reports ratios of relative concentration of each group in industries. This measure of relative industry concentration is computed in a manner similar to that for occupations above. This measure indicates the relative over(under)representation of any group in an industry if it is greater (lower) than one.⁶ Latinos are largely overrepresented in agriculture. Latino males are significantly overrepresented in personal services, while Latino women are largely overrepresented in manufacturing and personal services. In contrast, white men and women are more evenly distributed across industries and their concentration does not change significantly over time.

⁶ For example, this measure is computed for manufacturing by taking the share of total Latino employment that is in manufacturing and dividing it by the share of total population employment that is in manufacturing employment. If this ratio is equal to 1, then Latinos are considered to be neither over-, nor under-, represented in manufacturing. The difference between this relative concentration ratio and 1, indicates the percentage of over(under)representation of Latinos in an industry.

Table 11
Industrial Distribution by Sex, Race, and Ethnicity

	Latino			White		
	1984	1988	1992	1984	1988	1992
Male						
Agriculture	6.8	7.1	7.1	4.3	3.7	3.5
Mining	1.0	0.9	0.8	1.4	1.2	1.1
Construction	10.7	11.0	10.0	10.3	11.0	10.3
Manufacturing	26.3	24.5	21.0	23.8	24.3	22.1
Transportation	8.2	7.3	7.9	9.1	9.4	9.4
Wholesale Trade	4.2	4.9	4.4	5.4	5.8	5.8
Retail Trade	16.9	15.4	19.4	14.5	12.8	13.3
F.I.R.E.	3.9	4.0	3.8	5.2	5.1	5.4
Bus. & Prof. Serv.	13.9	17.2	16.2	18.5	19.1	20.5
Personal Serv.	4.5	4.3	5.7	2.9	2.6	3.3
Public Adminis.	3.7	3.5	3.8	4.5	4.9	5.3
Female						
Agriculture	1.6	1.8	1.7	1.4	1.2	1.1
Mining	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.4	0.4	0.3
Construction	0.7	0.8	0.9	1.3	1.3	1.4
Manufacturing	23.2	19.6	17.4	14.2	13.9	12.4
Transportation	3.7	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.2	4.5
Wholesale Trade	2.3	2.2	2.7	2.8	2.7	3.0
Retail Trade	17.6	17.5	16.7	20.3	18.3	17.3
F.I.R.E.	7.9	9.1	7.9	8.7	10.5	9.0
Bus. & Prof. Serv.	28.9	29.2	33.7	36.4	37.1	40.9
Personal Serv.	9.8	11.2	11.5	6.6	5.8	5.7
Public Adminis.	4.2	4.4	3.5	3.9	4.5	4.3

Source: Institute staff computations based on the Current Population Survey
 Computer tapes, 1984, 1988, 1992

From 1984 to 1992, Latinos unlike whites, moved out of manufacturing and into services, wholesale and retail trade, and agriculture. This change in industry concentration is mirrored in the movement out of blue-collar occupations and into lower white-collar occupations discussed in the previous section. The evolution of Latino employment during the 1980s has thus been affected by the aggregate decline of manufacturing and growth of service activities in the economy as a whole (Bluestone and Harrison, 1982; Levy, 1991.) As table A.4 in the Appendix indicates, however, Latino employment was affected in a particular way. The Latino representations in manufacturing declined, while the white worker representations in manufacturing did not. Additionally, Latino concentration in agriculture increased over the period, while it decreased for whites. The increase of Latino workers employed in agriculture may be due to sustained Central American immigration.

Cross-industry/occupation matrices prepared as background for this report provide further indication that the personal services sector contributed to the increased concentration of Latino men in service occupations. The business and professional services sector contributed to the gains in occupational representation of Latino men in technical occupations and Latino women in managerial and service occupations.

The compositional change in industry and employment had an impact on Latino earnings during the 1980s. While Latinos and whites are paid differently within the same occupation, it is also true that Latinos in craft and laborer occupations have received higher wages than their counterparts in service occupations and, for females, in sales occupations. The same pattern holds true for Latinos in farming occupations. Latino worker total earnings have thus been adversely affected by the increased concentration in service and farm occupations.⁷ Table A.5 in the Appendix presents mean wage earnings by occupation.

Latino earnings relative to white earnings have also been adversely affected by the fact that Latinos have become increasingly concentrated in service occupations in which the Latino/white earnings ratio has actually worsened from 1983 to 1991 (table A.6 in the Appendix). This pattern of increasing relative concentration in occupations where Latino/white wage disparity has grown continues to drive the widening median earnings gap between Latinos and whites.

Displaced Workers

Latino workers have been particularly affected by the decline of manufacturing activities, not only because they have been employed in the sector in large numbers, but because manufacturing has held the potential to provide workers of limited education with access to pay-for-seniority and to union representation.

⁷ These computations are based on total earnings reported in the Current Population Survey for the year prior to the survey (1983, 1987, 1991). They do not control for hours worked, so that full-time and part-time earnings are included in calculations of means.

Thus, as manufacturing firms restructured their employment during the 1980s and implemented layoffs and other work-force reduction plans, Latino workers experienced job displacement relatively more frequently than non-Latino white workers. In the 1984 displaced worker survey (January CPS), Podgursky and Swaim (1986) noted that both black and Latino workers made up a larger portion of displacements than of employed nondisplaced workers. In this survey, displacements account for the number of workers who lost or left jobs due to plant or company closings or moves, slack work, or the abolishment of their position or shift during the period 1980-84.⁸ Latino workers accounted for 6 percent of displaced workers and 5.6 percent of the nondisplaced employed workers. Similarly, black workers accounted for 12.1 percent of the displaced and only 10.2 percent of the nondisplaced. The authors attributed this difference to the relative concentration of these two groups in blue-collar occupations, although in that period Latino blue-collar workers were not overrepresented among the displaced.

In a study of the 1992 displaced worker survey (reporting on displacements over the period 1987-91) (Gardner, 1993), Latino workers had the highest likelihood of displacement during this period of any racial/ethnic group; 11.8 percent lost their job during this recent period. This rate of displacement, computed for workers with at least three years of tenure prior to job loss, was the highest registered rate for this group since the first survey in 1984 (Gardner, 1993). Displacement rates for Latinos were 9.4 percent in 1984 and 8.7 percent in 1990 (1985-89 period). Displacement rates followed the same trend for male and female Latino workers, though they were higher for males than females. Displacement rates for Latino females went from 8.6 percent in 1984 to 11.2 percent in 1992; the rate for Latino males went from 9.7 percent in 1984 to 12.3 percent in 1992. In contrast, displacement rates for black workers (8.8 percent), though higher than rates for the 1990 survey (6.7 percent), were lower than displacement rates in the 1984 survey (10.5 percent). This was true for white workers as well; their displacement rate was 7.9 percent in 1992 and 8.3 percent in 1984.

In this January 1992 survey, not only were Latino workers more likely to be among the displaced, they were less likely than whites to be working at a new job (at time of the survey) if displaced (Gardner, 1993).

Thus, Latino workers appear to have suffered from the effects of structural changes in the economy to a greater degree than either black or white workers in the period 1987 to 1991. This may be due to the types of industries and occupations in which Latino workers concentrate. For example, during this recent period, displacement rates were highest in mining, construction, manufacturing, wholesale and retail trade (Gardner, 1993); Latino workers are represented in large numbers in some of these industries. The same author also notes that the rates of reemployment for workers in services declined from 80 percent in the 1990 survey to 66 percent in the 1992 survey; thus Latino workers employed in services (particularly in retail trade and personal services) run a greater risk of longer-term unemployment once they experience job loss.

⁸ The 1984 survey refers to the 1979 to 1983 period except for Latinos where the period starts in 1980 because 1979 data were not available for this group.

Decline of Manufacturing and Unionization

Latino standing with unions is important to assess because unions have traditionally offered opportunities for advancement within occupations where Latinos are concentrated. Arguments coming out of the literature on structural change in employment have pointed out that the decline of industries and occupations where unions are most likely to be present have had a deleterious effect on unionization rates. In turn, the decline in union coverage (union density) has contributed to the widening of the earnings distribution across occupations and groups (non-Latino whites versus other groups) and within occupations and groups. This widening earnings inequality has been pointed to as further evidence of structural change in the economy (Harrison and Bluestone, 1988). As discussed elsewhere in this report, Latino workers certainly have experienced declining incomes relative to whites and a growing intergroup income dispersion. What were the unionization trends regarding Latino workers?

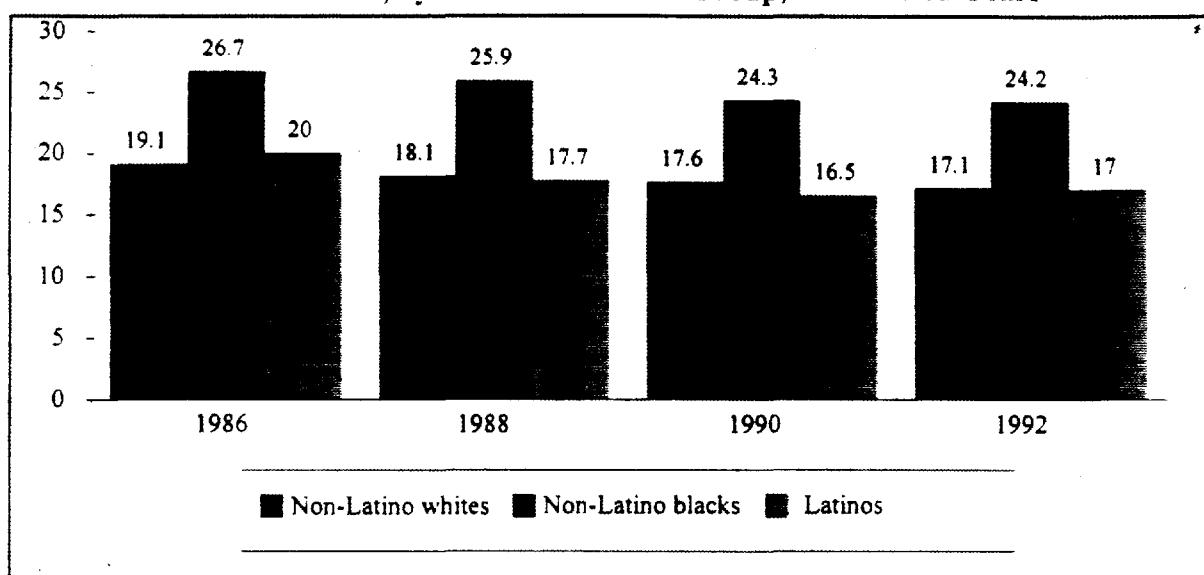
Graph 1 indicates that, at least from 1986 to 1992, union density among Latinos declined as it did for white and black workers (these racial categories include Latinos as well). Union coverage was higher for Latinos than for whites in 1986 (because of female rates of unionization) but declined and reached the same levels as that for whites in 1992. In fact, union coverage for Latino males is lower than that for white males, while female rates, in spite of decline, also remain higher than rates for white workers. Union coverage for Latino workers is lower than for black workers (of both genders) throughout the period. (More detailed information is provided in table A.7 in the Appendix.)

De Freitas (1992), reporting on 23- to 30-year-olds from the 1988 National Longitudinal Survey of Youths, notes that, once Latinos are taken out of the white and black racial groups, Latino coverage is greater among Latinos than among non-Latino whites: 20.5 percent versus 16.7 percent. This differential is not solely due to the fact that Latinos concentrate in industries and occupations with greater incidence of union coverage. Even in professional and blue-collar occupations, Latinos are more likely to have union coverage in their job than non-Latino white workers. This pattern holds within industry as well. Across national origin groups, Central and South American origin workers have the highest coverage rate (28.8 percent), Puerto Ricans and Cubans come next (25.2 percent and 24.4 percent respectively), followed by Mexicans (19.6 percent). Nevertheless, the author also notes that even though Latino unionization rates grew in the early 1980s, by the late 1980s the union coverage of Latinos shared the same downward trend as other groups due to the fact that union coverage failed to keep up with Latino employment growth.

Immigrant Labor in Manufacturing

The restructuring undertaken by manufacturing firms has had, and may continue to have, contradictory effects on Latino workers. In the past 20 years, manufacturing corporations have become more geographically mobile and less vertically integrated. In this process, they have been helped by technological modernization. The greater geographical mobility of production has meant decreased activities in old industrial centers and thus reduced employment

Graph 1
Percent of Employed Workers Whose Job Is Covered by a Union or Employee Association Contract, by Racial and Ethnic Group, for Selected Years



Source: U.S. Department of Labor. Current Population Survey as reported in Employment and Earnings: 1987, 1989, 1991, 1993. Washington, DC.

opportunities for Latinos in these areas, hence the significant incidence of displacement among Latino workers as discussed in the above section.

Vertical disintegration, the movement out of core producing firms of some of their activities (in particular those not directly related to production), and the outsourcing of these activities to smaller, "periphery" firms have had consequences as well. As others have noted, vertical disintegration and technological modernization may have reduced employment opportunities for immigrants, and thus Latino immigrants, in core firms and increased their use among periphery subcontracting firms and independent producers that supply large firms (Borges-Méndez, forthcoming). For example, immigrants find employment opportunities among electronic or garment subcontractors.

In some manufacturing work settings, technological modernization and the introduction of capital intensive technologies have spurred a redefinition of job tasks and responsibilities. This redefinition may have opened opportunities for immigrant Latinos to work in sectors and occupations from which they have found themselves excluded until now by limited access to formal education and apprenticeships.

Thus, the strategies of manufacturing firms to accommodate themselves to increased flux and uncertainty in their markets may result in the stagnation of immigrant workers in low-wage, dead-end occupations if they are used primarily to absorb the costs of economic uncertainty, or to facilitate a continued reliance on low-skill employment along with limited technological change in some activities, or to ease a process of work-place transition to more technologically intensive production processes (Borges-Méndez, forthcoming; McCormick, 1992.) Conversely, as Borges-Méndez argues, immigrant Latino workers may see their training and employment opportunities improve in the small- and mid-size firms that act as subcontractors to others and have chosen to upgrade their work-force skill level in order to better weather periods of economic volatility (Borges-Méndez, forthcoming).

Borges-Méndez finds that high-tech firms in the Lowell (Mass.) area employed Latino workers only marginally during the 1980s, a time period that witnessed the rapid influx of Latino immigrants in the area, because they streamlined their internal labor markets and progressively reduced their numbers of entry-level, low-skilled, and semi-skilled jobs. Through outsourcing, they shifted a number of low-skill jobs to subcontractors in their area or out of the geographic area altogether. The remaining entry-level jobs in which Latino workers can be found have been downgraded and seem disconnected from promotion opportunities.

In a contrasting pattern, Borges-Méndez found small- and medium-sized firms from Lowell and Holyoke (Mass.) that invest in the training of their production workers, many of whom are Latino. These firms are engaged in a process of technological innovation and introduction of new production processes. Training and the relaxation of occupational definitions have opened opportunities for upward mobility for Latino workers in these firms. These firms have relied upon collaboration with public-sector training programs for their recruitment of Latino workers. In these cases, then, training and greater opportunities for Latino work forces have been

instrumental to the firms' strategies to control costs and survive in a volatile market environment.

In a study of skill upgrading and the use of immigrant labor by metalworking supply firms in the Chicago area, McCormick (1992) also found that, in the late 1980s and early 1990s, these suppliers retained the lower-skilled and lower-cost work forces recruited during the 1970s and 1980s (many of whom were Mexican immigrants) and trained them to become semiskilled and quality-minded production workers. These firms did so in order to meet the competing goals of producing a wide range of product lines (and thus gain stability in their contracts), while at the same time remaining cost competitive.

Metalworking suppliers reached such strategies following a period of competitive cost cutting by large manufacturers (their clients) during the 1980s in which production shifted to smaller, nonunion, cheaper metalworking shops producing a specialized range of products. In this period, metalworking shops established ethnic hiring networks with bilingual supervisors, and thus came to rely upon recent, lower-cost immigrant workers. In this way, Puerto Rican workers (an older and more "expensive" immigrant cohort) declined in their share of industry employment as compared to newer Mexican immigrants who entered the metalworking industry at rapid rates (McCormick, 1992, p. 22).

Toward the late 1980s and early 1990s, however, large manufacturers shifted their contracting strategies yet again, with consequences for the small metalworking suppliers, the employers of immigrant labor. In the recent period, large manufacturers encourage small suppliers to develop broader product lines and multiple-process capacities. As a result, small metalworking firms are investing in new technologies and machinery and are reforming their management procedures and hierarchies. They are also investing in their lower-skill, often immigrant, work force and training them to "become semiskilled and quality-minded production workers" (McCormick, 1992, p. 24).

In these cases then, the restructuring of manufacturing operations have had mixed effects on Latino workers, sometimes displacing them altogether through employment reduction, other times creating some opportunity for access to a broader range of occupations and skills, and yet, other times, favoring more recent Latino immigrants to the detriment of older cohorts.

Thus, in manufacturing sectors in particular, economic restructuring may take one of two paths (see Appelbaum and Batt, 1993 for a review), each with different consequences for the work force. The first path is that of deindustrialization, competition based on cost cutting, and the pressure to outsource production to subcontractors competing on low wages. In this first case, the outcomes for Latino workers are likely to entail a downward pressure on wages and limited access to training and job change within the work place. The second path is that of modernization of production, combined with skill upgrading and broadening for the work force. In this second case, Latino workers are more likely to benefit from earnings improvement and access to skill training on the job. The recent social science literature has documented the consequences of firms taking the first approach to restructuring but has only begun to document instances of more productive approaches to restructuring.

Part-Time and Part-Year Employment

The growth of part-time and part-year employment in the work force as a whole has also been pointed out as evidence of decreased opportunities for full-time, year-round employment for the work force. We review here two types of evidence on the incidence of part-time employment among Latino workers. First, we review evidence on part-time employment defined by weekly hours, part-time being less than 35 weekly hours. Second, we present evidence on part-year employment, a particularly relevant measure for Latino workers who are employed in sectors where they may be seasonal employment only. We report these figures for male and female workers.

Incidence of Part-Time Employment

On average, in 1992, Latino workers were no more likely to work part-time weekly hours than the work force as a whole: 18.9 percent of Latinos did so, as compared to 19.4 percent of white and 17.9 percent of black workers. However, the nature of part-time schedules differs for Latino workers: 9.3 percent of them work part-time for economic reasons (short schedules, seasonality) as compared to 5.1 percent of white and 7.9 percent of black workers (table 12). Conversely, fewer Latinos work part-time for noneconomic reasons.⁹

The incidence of part-time employment varies across national origin groups as well (Graph 2). In 1992, Mexican Americans had the highest rate (19.8 percent) of part-time employment of any national origin group; Puerto Ricans have a 15.3 percent part-time rate and Cubans 15.0 percent. The higher rate of part-time employment for Mexican Americans is a result of their greater rate of part-time employment for economic reasons due to their concentration in agricultural seasonal labor.¹⁰ (For more detailed information, refer to table A.9 in the Appendix.)

Since 1983, the incidence of part-time employment has not changed significantly for Latinos. All groups experienced a slight decline during the late 1980s, but part-time rates increased again in the early 1990s.

⁹ Federal statistics draw a distinction between "economic" and "noneconomic" reasons for part-time. This is a somewhat crude distinction that characterizes short hours due to reduced production as "economic" but the lack of access to daycare, for example, as "noneconomic."

¹⁰ Refer to table A.10 in the Appendix for reference to the evolution of the total number of employed Latinos.

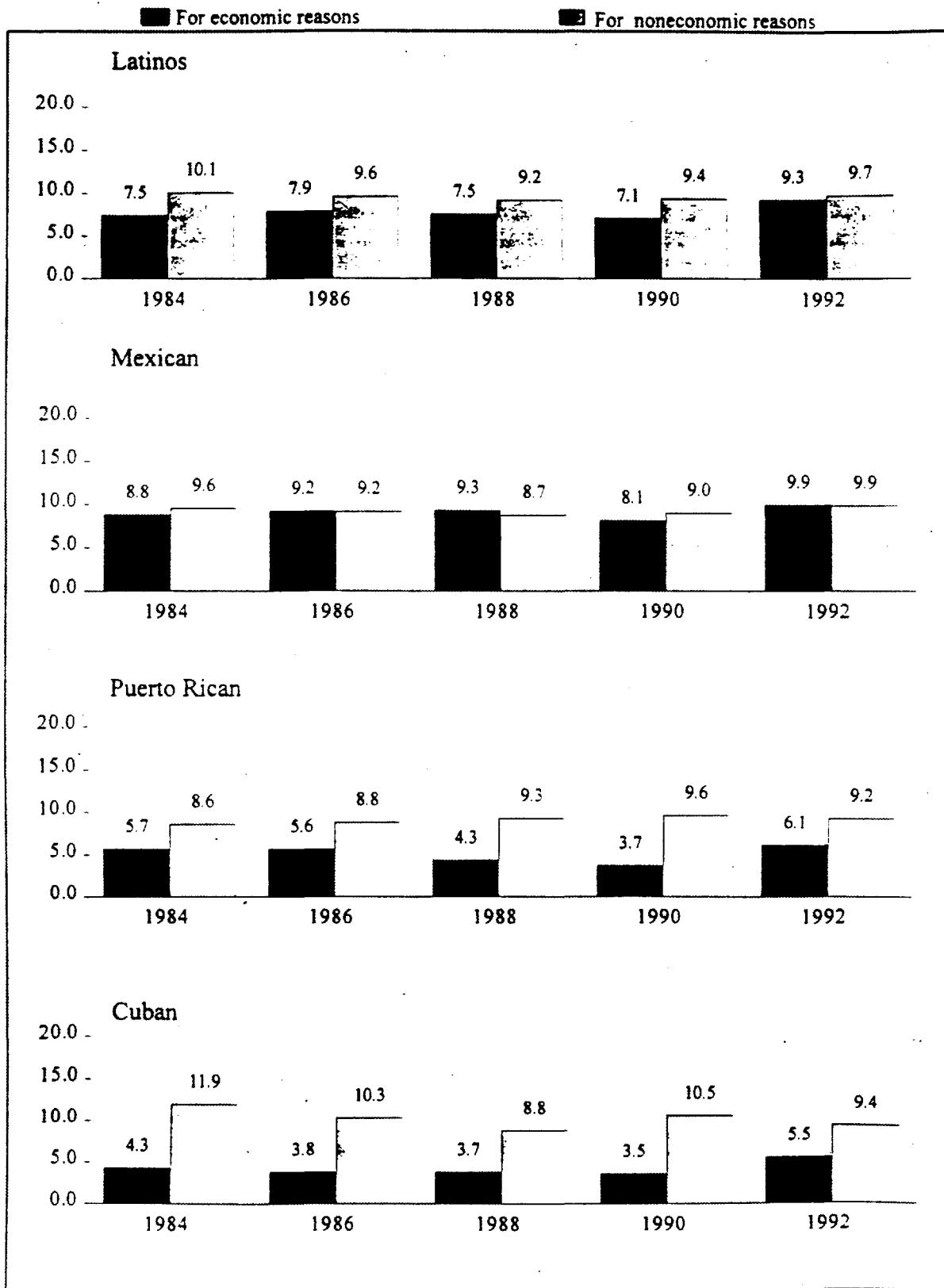
Table 12
Incidence of Part-Time Hours in the Employed Work Force, 1992

	Total	White*	Black*	Latinos
Total (all civilians) (000)	117,598	101,479	11,933	8,971
Full-time schedules (%)	80.8	80.6	82.2	81.1
Part-time schedules (%)	19.2	19.4	17.9	18.9
Part-time for economic reasons (%)	5.4	5.1	7.9	9.3
Part-time for non econ. reasons (%)	13.8	14.3	10.0	9.7

Source: U.S. Department of Labor. Current Population Survey as reported in Employment and Earnings: 1992. Washington, DC

(*) Includes Latinos

Graph 2
Incidence of Part-Time Employment among Latinos by Origin, 1984 to 1992



Source: U.S. Department of Labor. Current Population Survey as reported in Employment and Earnings: 1985 - 1993. Washington, DC.

Incidence of Part-Year Employment

Using the 1988 and 1992 March Current Population Surveys, we computed rates of part-time and full-time, **part-year employment** and part-time and full-time, **full-year employment** (1984 data are not reliable and are not reported here). They are reported below. (Full-year employment is measured as 50 weeks or more per year).

The reason for breaking down the Latino work force along these dimensions is that Latinos are on average more likely to work part-year than other groups because of the types of occupations and industries in which they work. Part-year employment can be a source of lower yearly earnings; its increase over time can also indicate reduced access to stable employment for a group.

We report the incidence of part-time and part-year work separately for male and female workers given the different employment patterns of each gender. Graph 3 provides aggregate numbers for 1988 and 1992, while tables A.10a and b in the Appendix provide statistics detailed by broad occupation groups and confirm differences in work hours across occupations.¹¹

Incidence of Full-Time, Full-Year Employment

In 1992, Latino male workers have lower rates of full-time and full-year employment than males from other groups. The incidence of full-time, year-round employment is seven points lower among Latino males than among white males; it is over one point lower than among black males. Latino female workers have lower incidence of full-time, year-round employment than female workers in other groups; it is almost six percentage points lower than for black female workers.

From 1988 to 1992, the incidence of full-time, year-round employment declined by one percentage point for Latino males and grew slightly for Latino females. In fact, across all groups (except for the "other" category), the incidence of full-time, year-round employment declined for males and grew for females.

Incidence of Full-Time, Part-Year Employment

As already discussed, Latino workers have higher rates of full-time, part-year employment than other groups; this is true for both genders. The relatively greater incidence of part-year employment in the total Latino work force is due to its relative concentration in farm, laborers, services, clerical, and craft occupations. Part-year employment is especially prevalent among farm workers, laborers, and craft workers of both genders (see table A.10 in the Appendix). In these occupations, Latino workers of both genders have the highest rates of part year employment. The incidence of full-time, part-year employment has not changed significantly from 1988 to 1992 across all groups.

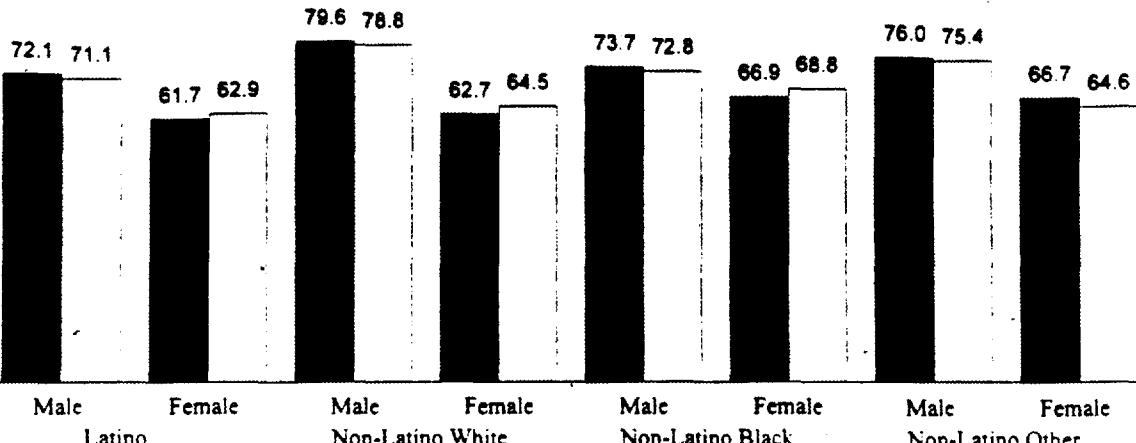
¹¹ Hours and weeks worked refer to the year prior to the survey year.

Graph 3
Percent of Employed Workers with Work Hours by Gender, 1988 and 1992

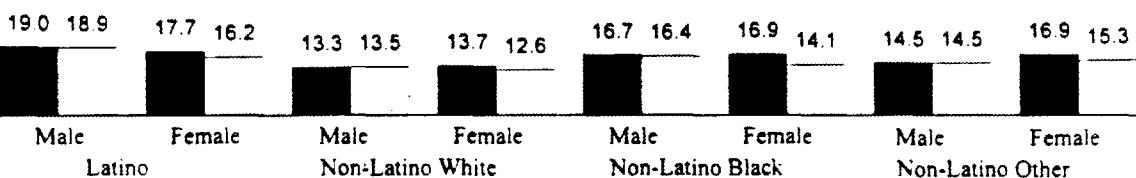
1988

1992

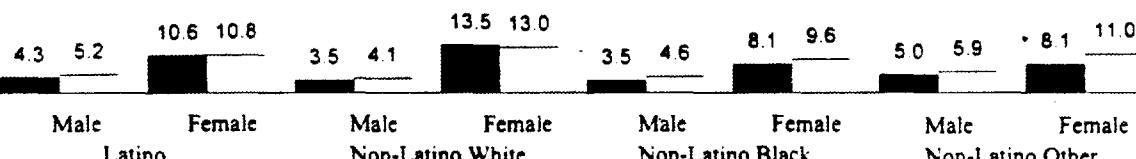
Full-Time and Full-Year Employment in %



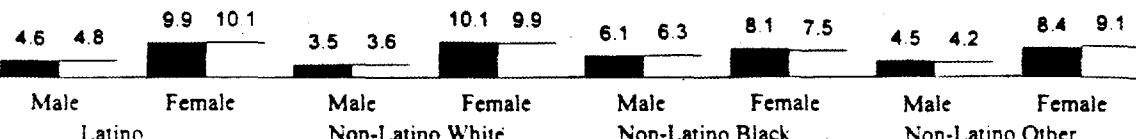
Full-Time and Part-Year Employment in %



Part-Time and Full-Year Employment in %



Part-Time and Part-Year Employment in %



Source: Institute staff computations base on the U.S. Current Population Survey: 1988, 1992. Washington, D.C.
(*) Data refers to year prior to the survey

Incidence of Part-Time, Full-Year Employment

Part-time employees can experience part-time employment throughout the year or be part-year only. As a rule, part-time schedules are more common among women than men. As noted in the previous section, the aggregate incidence of part-time employment is slightly lower among Latinos than among other groups but not noticeably so. Part-time, year-round employment is somewhat higher among male Latinos than among both white and black male workers. The incidence among Latino female workers is lower than among white females and higher than among black female workers.

From 1988 to 1992, the incidence of part-time, full-year employment grew in both genders and all groups except for white female workers (for whom employment in full-time, full-year schedules grew, while it declined in all other categories).

Incidence of Part-Time, Part-Year Employment

Part-year, part-year employment is the least stable form of employment. Its incidence is higher among Latino males than white males, but is lower than for black male workers. For female workers, part-time, part-year employment is higher among Latino workers than among white and black female workers. From 1988 to 1992, the incidence of part-time, part-year employment among male workers seems to have increased for all groups (except "other"), but only slightly. For female workers, however, there has been little change over the period.

In summary, Latino workers, both male and female, have lower rates of full-year and full-time employment than workers from other groups. This difference is due to the greater incidence of part-year employment among them, rather than to the greater prevalence of part-time. Over time, full-time and full-year employment declined for Latino male workers, while it increased for females, a pattern shared by all other racial/ethnic groups as well. This pattern reflects the changing nature of labor-market experience for males and females with males experiencing a relative decline in their labor-market participation, possibly due to reduced access to stable employment, while females experience a relative increase (starting, of course, from lower work-hours levels.) The time period 1988 to 1992 is probably too short to isolate the relative weights of part-time versus part-year growth in the overall decline of year-round and full-time employment for Latino and other workers.

Cities and Structural Change

Structural change in the U.S. economy has also had a differential impact on urban economies over the past several decades. Because a significant share of Latinos—Puerto Ricans in particular—lives in urban areas, their labor-market experiences have been significantly affected by structural change. Researchers have developed three alternative accounts for the effects of economic restructuring on urban Latinos (Meléndez, 1993.) First, structural change can result in a "skills mismatch" between the higher-skills requirements of new jobs and the lower skills of Latino workers. This increase in the skills requirement of jobs is often accompanied by the movement of jobs out of the central urban areas and toward suburbs. Second, Latinos could be disproportionately concentrated in the expanding low-wage, service-sector jobs (service expansion hypothesis). Third, declining manufacturing industries in urban areas could be relying to a growing degree on immigrant labor and small ethnic entrepreneurs to lower their costs, thus replacing prior immigrant cohorts (job queue hypothesis). Ortiz (1991) used 1970 and 1980 data to test these three hypotheses for New York City and Los Angeles and concluded that the skills mismatch hypothesis best accounted for decline of production jobs among Puerto Ricans (and blacks) in New York City and among less-educated, U.S.-born Mexicans in Los Angeles.

Other research has looked specifically at the impact of changes in the structure of job opportunities in urban areas for the labor-force participation of Latino women. For example, Santana Cooney (1978) notes that, from 1950 to 1970, female labor-force participation declined for Puerto Rican women, the only group of eight major racial/ethnic categories. The Puerto Rican female labor-force-participation rate declined by 10 percentage points, from 38.9 percent in 1950 to 29.8 percent in 1970. A closer look at the 1960¹²-1970 period, however, shows differing trends in Puerto Rican female labor-force participation across cities. Most notably, Puerto Rican female participation declined by 10 percentage points in 1970, while it grew by 6 points in Chicago. An analysis of the statistically relevant variables accounting for these differing trends attributes the dissimilarity to the more dramatic decline in New York of the demand for operatives in nondurable manufacturing, the more rapid increase in the percent of female-headed families, and a more marked shift in industry mix toward female, white-collar jobs requiring more education (Santana Cooney, 1978, p. 232). Thus two of the variables accounting for inter-city differences in labor-market participation are indicators of labor-market conditions, while the third (family type) is indirectly related to labor-market conditions in each city.

¹² The year for which statistics on Puerto Ricans are gathered for distinct urban areas.

Meléndez and Figueroa (1992) also document the differential effects of local labor-market conditions on the change in labor-force participation of Puerto Rican women in 50 standard metropolitan statistical areas with large numbers of Puerto Ricans from 1970 to 1980. They conclude that regional labor-market conditions (demand for female labor and industry mix) have a differential impact on white, black, and Puerto Rican women in these metropolitan areas. In particular, while women workers as a group are expected to experience growing employment along with the expansion of service-providing industries and of white-collar occupations, minority women may experience employment opportunities different from those of white women workers as a result of these trends. The authors suggest that long-term trends in black and Puerto Rican women labor-force participation may have been negatively affected by the concentration in low-wage service jobs and their limited avenues to move out of traditional female jobs (p. 88). Moreover, Puerto Rican and black female workers may have been adversely affected by the relocation of service back-offices from central city business districts to the suburbs, by higher educational requirements for service jobs in the cities, and by changes in the local demand for female labor due to office automation (p. 88).

Epstein, and Duncombe (1991) document the growth of minority women workers in New York City clerical employment from 1970 to 1980 concurrent with the growing representation of white women workers in professional employment (and their decreased representation in clerical positions). They note, however, that certain minority groups cluster in particular occupations and that women report "a sense of defeat with regard to promotion possibilities" (p. 190). From 1970 to 1980, the representation of Latino women grew most among computer operators, adjusters/investigators, and secretaries. It also grew faster among mail, message, and delivery workers than for other groups (p. 191). Among secretaries, the authors note that there is little likelihood that Latinos and other minorities are represented in the higher ranks of secretarial work such as among legal secretaries.

Epstein and Duncombe further note that clerical positions are filled increasingly with workers with postsecondary education. This increase may be due to the higher educational requirements of new technologies or simply to a rise in the demand for credentials. In lower-level clerical occupations, however, higher credentials in the incumbent work force may simply reflect greater employer choice due to higher unemployment. Whatever the case, increased credentials for the clerical work force of New York City, for example, are likely to "shut out" a significant share of the minority population from the labor market (p. 196). Additionally, as Noyelle (1987a) contends, the possibility of internal promotion, in the absence of education, in these occupations has been substantially reduced and thus they no longer constitute an avenue for career advancement for minority workers.

Rodriguez (1987) also argued that, following the move of manufacturing jobs to suburbs, New York City Puerto Ricans—both male and female—had limited access (and thus did not find substitute entry-level jobs) in private-sector services or in state and local government.

In summary, numerous predictions have been made about the potential impact of structural change in the economy on the Latino work force. At this point, the Latino work force is

primarily affected by the compositional shift of employment away from manufacturing, which has resulted in further concentration of Latinos in farming and service occupations, both of which entail low wages and few benefits. Additionally, Latino workers have been disproportionately affected by joblessness and displacement as a result of manufacturing decline. Concurrently, coverage by union contract has also declined for the Latino work force.

Research has also predicted that internal restructuring of job ladders within large employers will result in diminished opportunities for Latino workers. Thus, access to large employers no longer results in possibilities for internal promotion unless it is accompanied by increased levels of education for Latino workers. Initially, Latino workers in cities are likely to be adversely affected by the practices of large firms that entail the relocation of entry-level jobs to suburbs and "exurbs" and the rising level of skills requirements of those jobs remaining in central cities.

III. Latinos in Work Organizations

The bulk of the research on Latinos in work-place organizations has centered around a socioeconomic analysis of the labor force following the human-capital model. Though, as Bean and Tienda suggest, "the socioeconomic significance of labor-market standing cannot be understated [as] it determines both the relative economic well-being of the Latino national origin groups and their different class positions" (1987, p. 282), this approach has limited the scope of research on Latinos in the work place. The focus on labor-market analyses exclusively and the reliance on statistical inferences to assess discrimination leave an enormous gap in our understanding of the experience and situation of Latinos in the work place.

What has been missing is documentation and information about the micro-practices (Foucault, 1980) and the everyday institutional practices (Essed, 1991) that result in barriers to Latinos "well being," let alone mobility and advancement, in our places of work. In other words, what are missing is more data and analyses at the level of the firm (Kirschenman and Neckerman, 1991) or the practices within organizations.

Another important problem to consider is that the little research available on Latinos in organizations has highlighted the major shortcomings of using the term Latino as if it referred to a homogeneous group, as compared to treating it as an umbrella term that refers to a variety of groups, each facing particular situations in the labor market and in organizations. Thus, many of the studies that can be found relate to specific Latinos groups, mostly Mexican Americans. Research on Mexican Americans has followed the same general statistical labor-market approaches outlined above.

Using Puerto Ricans as an example, Borrero (1986) aptly summarizes the current state of research on Latinos in the work place: "The extent of employment discrimination toward Puerto Ricans in the private and public sectors remains a mystery. That it exists is a fact" (p. 218). Borrowing from Gray (1979), Borrero defines institutional discrimination as "barriers arising out of the policies or practices of organizations" that inhibit or prevent Puerto Ricans from economic mobility (p. 123). He considers as most important the following institutional barriers: the civil service system, seniority systems, unions, and discrimination (p. 146).

For the purpose of this study, we have identified four major categories to review and analyze as barriers to the advancement and the situation of Latinos in organizations. They are:

- 1. The structure of work.** Refers to data and analyses of the following practices: hiring and recruitment; advancement, mobility, and promotions; mentoring and on-the-job training; underrepresentation, tokenism, and decision making; salary and wage inequalities; job segregation and "tracking."
- 2. Symbols, images, and work identities.** Refers to data and analyses of the following issues: stereotypes, dominant managerial styles and images, and the impact of stereotypes in the structure of work.

3. Intergroup relations. Refers to studies on the impact of the culturally monolithic model and dominant/subordinate relations in work interactions including language, racial-ethnic harassment, and invisibility and tokenism.

4. Work-place culture. Refers to the ways in which the work place becomes inhospitable for Latinos. For example, family-unfriendly policies, unhealthy work environments, hierarchical structures and management-skilled trades divisions, and so on. Recent practices, like affirmative action, that have come to have contradictory effects in promoting the well-being and advancement of Latinos in the work place are also briefly reviewed under this rubric.

Structure of Work

In analyzing discrimination in the work place, a common problem has been that traditional economic theories view discrimination as an anomaly; discrimination as a practice contradicts premises of capitalist "free market" competition. Yet, for example, "neoclassical economists have grappled with the fact that human capital models never explain even half of the earnings gap between men and women" (England and McCreary, 1987, p. 311). With this in mind, in this report we emphasize "other" explanations offered to account for "discrimination" in the work place, focusing on the specific effects and dynamics that have been found most important to Latinos.

Structural explanations of discrimination in organizations shift attention from how the characteristics of individuals and ethnic-gender groups affect their job situations (e.g., pay) to a review of the characteristics of job slots that determine and influence the job situation (e.g., material and nonmonetary rewards) (England and McCreary, 1987, p. 307). In focusing on structural explanations of work, the following factors must be considered:

- Recruitment, hiring and placement practices that determine the entry and initial position in the job/organization;
- Job segregation, which determines access to particular types of jobs;
- Salary and wage differentials, related to job segregation, plus other discriminatory practices;
- Job training and mentoring opportunities that determine salary and wage differentials, opportunities for advancement;
- Ladders inherent to the job, the industry, and the particular firm that impact advancement, mobility, and promotions; and
- Nonmonetary rewards that are related to all of the above.

Recruitment and Hiring

Discriminatory practices in the recruitment and hiring of Latinos result in underrepresentation of Latinos in entry-level jobs and all throughout the hierarchy of the organizations. But, information on recruitment and hiring of Latinos is scarce and severely limited by the problem of "counting Latinos," which involves both inconsistencies in national, organizational, and self-identification of Latinos.

Because discrimination in hiring is particularly difficult to document, specific studies on discrimination against Latinos in hiring and recruitment are few. Nevertheless, Bendick, Jackson, Reinoso, and Hodges (1991) conducted a controlled study comparing treatment among Latino and Anglo job applicants and found that discrimination was particularly prevalent for males and for jobs located in the city that did not require a college degree and were not widely advertised (p. 469). Examples of specific employer behaviors that signaled discrimination were: not having telephone calls returned, not being asked about relevant experience for the job, being told that the job was no longer available, and not having the application moved another step in the process.

A variety of reasons can be identified that act as barriers to the recruitment and hiring of Latinos. For example, in a study of Latinos in the military, Rosenfeld and Culbertson review the following major barriers perceived in the recruitment of Latinos: "(a) lack of visibility in the Latino community, (b) lack of awareness of opportunities provided by the military, and (c) lack of understanding on how one qualifies for entrance into military services" (1992, p. 217). In a study of Latino representation in the federal government, Edwards, Thomas and Burch report that Latino managers identified having to complete the very detailed application form required for government employment as "a major obstacle to achieving employment parity for Hispanics" (1992, p. 242). Other organizational barriers identified in their study were:

The length of time it takes to get a job with the federal government, methods of advertising jobs, unreasonable job qualifications, bias among selecting officials, absence of support at higher echelons, lack of permission to recruit, and the Navy's insensitivity to Hispanic concerns (p. 242).

England and McCreary (1987) review the major theories of discrimination:

- **Taste discrimination:** the preference for not hiring members of a particular group,
- **Error discrimination:** when employers erroneously underestimate the potential productivity of members of a particular group, and
- **Statistical discrimination:** discrimination resulting from "real" group differences in productivity-link qualifications and information costs that prevent employers from measuring productivity directly (pp. 296-7).

It is obviously very difficult to differentiate between "error" and "statistical" discrimination, especially in the case of traditionally disadvantaged and stereotyped groups where perceived and "real" group differences are at best socially constructed and reinforced.

The last type of discrimination reviewed by England and McCreary refers to monopoly discrimination, where the discrimination is not the result of individual attitudes and behaviors, but of the collective behavior of members of a group, for example, the collusive behavior of men in the case of gender discrimination (1987, p. 297). This type of discrimination leads us to the next topic: job segmentation and segregation.

Job Segregation

Job segregation refers to the hiring and placement of particular groups of people confined to particular jobs. Data on Latinos are scant but analyses of the labor market provide evidence of job segregation. Micro-practices in specific firms need to be studied, but the informal experience of Latino professionals suggests that a type of "targeting" or "tracking" occurs where Latinos are considered appropriate candidates for certain types of jobs only, for example, staff jobs in human resource departments or faculty positions in ethnic studies or bilingual education programs (cf. Reyes and Halcon, 1988).

Advancement, Mobility, and Promotions

Mobility ladders within a firm explain a great deal about the persistence of segregation as employees move up job ladders.

Once segregation has occurred at jobs that are ports of entry to firms—whether from discrimination or socialization—the segregation will be perpetuated within a firm because both the training provided and the mobility opportunities depend more on the ladder to which one's entry job is attached than on the personal characteristics one brought to the work place. Thus, the existence of structured mobility ladders in internal labor-markets can carry much of the segregation found in entry-level jobs into the future without a need for further overt discrimination (England and McCreary, 1987, pp. 300-1).

No specific data was found as to how Latinos are affected by structural mobility ladders already embedded within industries, firms, and occupations. One can only predict that the same barriers that confine women and minority groups to dead-end jobs and occupations with limited opportunities for advancement are also applicable to Latinos. This seems to be an area where specific studies are urgently needed. Discussion in the previous section pointed out how the erosion of internal job ladders within firms is likely to affect promotion opportunities for Latinos and other minorities in the future.

Mentoring and On-the-Job Training

In the literature reviewed, the majority of entries on "training" referred to training prior to entry

into the work force and to the Job Training Partnership Act. Yet, the organizational literature on advancement and mobility stresses the role of on-the-job training within the firm as a major component of advancement and mobility in particular jobs and industries. Once again, the emphasis on "job training" studies that focus on training for dropouts, youth, and the educationally disadvantaged seems to reflect two biases previously identified: (1) the human capital bias about education as a solution to discriminatory practices in organizations, and (2) the "deficit model" perspective, which assumes that discrimination against Latinos is basically a problem of individual and group Latino characteristics, and specifically of their lack of educational qualifications for the jobs available.

These explanations, and the studies based on these assumptions, do not help us understand how on-the-job-training works, or does not work, toward Latinos advancement. In addition, studies based on human capital and deficit explanations obscure the ways in which training opportunities are already structured into the jobs and the specific impact of this practice on Latinos. For example, it has been found that men's greater increased status and earnings in relation to women is due in large measure to the fact that their jobs are attached to longer mobility ladders, where each job provides training for the next. In addition, there is often an implicit contract specifying wage increases over time, training, guaranteed upward and lateral mobility, and overall experience at a specific job or firm.

Mentoring, as a key practice that contributes to advancement and mobility within the firm, has been well studied in the case of women (Kram, 1986) and more recently for blacks (Thomas, 1990). These works describe in detail the importance of the informal process of mentoring and sponsoring in the advancement to professional and management ranks and highlight the special problems that women and blacks face.

Knouse (1992) investigates and summarizes a set of four unique problems faced by Latinos in the mentoring process: (1) the lack of availability of mentors, (2) issues of language and acculturation, (3) insensitivity to Latino culture and values, and (4) differences among Latinos and their different needs and styles regarding the mentoring process (p. 148). Studies on Latinos in college and universities also stress the importance of mentoring students, especially in completing graduate and advanced degrees. Though much information exists at this point on the importance and characteristics of mentoring as a practice that contributes to advancement and mobility, much more needs to be learned about the particular problems and specific solutions that make for good mentoring for Latinos in the work place.

Underrepresentation, Tokenism, and Decision Making

Underrepresentation of Latinos in the work place is taken as a barrier in itself because of the consequences of this underrepresentation in reinforcing a cycle of disadvantages for Latinos. This is particularly important when considering Latinos in high-level, decision-making positions where the opportunity to influence policies and to affect organizational practices is greatest.

In a review of Latinos in boards of public Fortune 500 industries and service corporations, the

Hispanic Association of Corporate Responsibility (HACR) found that "Hispanics hold 84 out of 11,587 director seats and 69 out of 12,894 executive positions, less than one percent in each case" (1993, Preamble). Not only are Latinos poorly represented in high-level, decision-making positions, but their representation is less significant in industries of greater national importance. Latinos have one to four percent representation in industries such as beverages, soaps and cosmetics, building materials and motor vehicles and part industries. However, Latinos have less than one half of a percent of the positions in transportation, life insurance, diversified financial, and utilities and no representation at all in industries such as aerospace, oil production and rubber and plastic.

Symbols, Images, and Work Identities

Stereotypes

Stereotypes are beliefs about general characteristics used to distinguish one group of people from another. In the work place, stereotypes about women, minorities, and majority members are important because they provide the basis for images and symbols that determine judgements about productivity, advancement potential, work ethic, and expectations about performance, managerial capability, "fit" within the organization, and a variety of other work-related practices. In stereotyping, behaviors are attributed to the "culture" and to innate characteristics of a particular group and its members, regardless of their veracity or universality. Stereotypes are doubly important because they not only determine our perceptions about members of other social groups, but they also influence perceptions about one's own group and one's self-concept.

Images and stereotypes of Latinos can be traced historically for each particular group (Moore and Pachon, 1985); but with the ascendancy of the term "Latino" as an umbrella term to refer to a variety of social and ethnic groups, a generalized stereotype of "Latino" might be evolving that may make it even more difficult to escape the negative impact of stereotypes in the work place. Traditionally, images of Latinos in the media include the hissing villain, the gigolo, the Mexican spitfire, the lazy, shiftless Latin (Aiex, 1986), or the drug dealer. On the other hand, studies of newspaper coverage reveal few references to Latinos, suggesting another type of problem—that of the invisibility of Latinos. The lack of information about the accomplishments of Latinos and the absence of realistic images about them as a people contributes to the development of myths and undifferentiated stereotypes (Reissman, 1991; de Varona, 1989).

Though inferences can be made about Latino stereotypes, given the existing media stereotypes, few data exist about specific stereotypes and images of Latinos in the work place. Two of the studies reviewed suggest that status and class might be as important as ethnicity in determining stereotypes about Latinos in organizations. Jones (1991) found that among college students, perceived differences in work ethic among whites and Latinos stemmed from inferences about their social status and job titles, that is, about their roles in the status hierarchy. She concludes that "occupational title appears to be a more central trait than ethnicity in determining American students' perceptions of people and...[explains] how stereotypes of Latinos and whites have acquired particular content" (p. 475). Her study suggests that access to status information might

help eliminate bias against Latinos.

In a study of the meaning of race for employers, Kirschenman and Neckerman (1991) found that employers relied heavily on the categories of race, class and space, not just ethnicity, to reach conclusions about the work ethic and job potential of Latinos, blacks, and whites.

Class was signaled to employers through speech, dress, education levels, skills levels, and place of residence. Although many respondents drew class distinctions among blacks, very few made these same distinctions among Hispanics or whites; in refining these categories, respondents referred to ethnicity and age rather than class (p. 215).

Taken together, these two studies point to the complexity and interactive nature of the process of stereotyping. We suggest that in the case of Latinos, who are both racially and ethnically diverse, the process of stereotyping has a self-referential nature that negatively impacts Latinos regardless of their social status, ethnicity, and/or race. Even though status information about Latinos may help diminish the impact of general stereotypes about Latinos, given that the prevailing stereotype about Latinos is that they are "poor, live in the urban-ghettos, and lack education and skills," the initial impression of all Latinos precludes getting additional or appropriate information about their status. In addition, considering that studies by Payne and Hoffman (1990) suggest that negative attitudes towards women managers exist before students enter the work force, we can predict that Latinos in the work place will be at a great disadvantage in terms of the negative stereotypes that accompany them even before they enter the work force.

Dominant Managerial Styles and Images

Gibb and Terry describe the organizational culture and the dominant white male style of modern organizations as "a set of norms and values they expect newcomers to adhere to prior to granting them full 'club' membership." They quote John Molloy's advice to aspiring minority managers in *Dress for Success*:

If you are black or Spanish in America, and if you are moving up the rungs of corporate success, you should adhere to the dress code of the corporation and of the country, even going somewhat overboard in the direction of being conservative (p. 4).

Even positive stereotypes about Latinos may have detrimental effects in Latinos advancement, especially in the professional and management ranks, when these stereotypes do not fit the dominant images of what a "good manager" or a "good worker" should be. Acker, for example, analyzes how masculinity in the work place is currently typified by "the image of the strong, technically competent, authoritative leader who is sexually potent and attractive, has a family, and has his emotions under control" (1990, p. 153). A certain kind of "hegemonic masculinity," formed around dominance over women and in opposition to other masculinities (black or Latino) is part of the culture of modern organizations. In contrast, stereotypes of Latinos as "family oriented," "religious," and "emotional" may very well act as deterrents to seeing Latinos as

potential good leaders and managers.

In all, negative stereotypes, the lack of positive images, models in the media and throughout society, and even positive characteristics attributed to Latinos that go against dominant organizational norms and "ways of doing business" may act as barriers to Latinos in the work place.

Stereotypes and the Structure of Work

The cycle of stereotyping and its impact in determining experiences and opportunities in the work place is best illustrated in the following statement by an employer in Chicago:

I think the stereotyping of if you live in a housing project or if you're black or if you're Hispanic or if you're, you know, you have big gaps in your work record, you put all those things together and you've got an undesirable animal. And many times that's probably, maybe, true. You may have a person who you're not going to get anywhere with. And you're going to spend a lot of money training these people and you're going to have a high turnover (Kirschenman and Neckerman, 1991, p. 228).

The literature points to how stereotyping can affect a variety of organizational variables from initial recruitment and hiring to expectations about Latinos productivity, their advancement potential, and their opportunities for on-the-job training. In all, stereotyping becomes a focal point in a discriminatory loop that affects Latinos from the initial contact with the organization to the end of their working lives.

Intergroup Relations

In a study of black and white managers, Alderfer, Alderfer, Tucker, and Tucker (1980) identified the importance of intergroup relations in organizations and how these relations are manifest in two different types of groups: (1) identity groups, referring to groups based on the social identity of its members, and (2) task groups, referring to groups based on the specific organizational tasks of its members. They found that organizational tasks related to managing were very much influenced by the perceptions of membership in the different social identity groups of the black and white members. As important as this work is in illuminating the dynamics of race relations in organizations, this study reflects a dominant bias in models of race that tends to define race in terms of black/white relations only. This bias ignores also ethnicity as an important category in determining social identity group membership. Cox (1991) points to this problem in organizational research and suggests researchers use the term "racioethnic" to refer to biologically and/or culturally distinct groups.

The work of Ramirez (1988) suggests that a culturally monolithic model has dominated the research on Latinos. In this approach, other social groups are compared to Anglos while Anglos are set as the norm. A dominant/subordinate relations is set between Anglos and any other group where intergroup relations are defined in terms of assimilation and acculturation to the dominant

Anglo culture. While Ramirez provides an example of how the culturally monolithic model contributes to Latino stereotypes, he also provides evidence to contradict the following dominant perceptions about Mexican American and Anglo values:

Mexican-American Values

Present oriented
Immediate gratification
*Passive
*Low level of aspiration
*Nongoal oriented
Nonsuccess oriented
*External locus of control

Anglo-American Values

Future oriented
Deferred gratification
Active
High level of aspiration
Goal oriented
Success oriented
Internal locus of control

Three consequences of the cultural-monolithic model negatively impact Latinos in organizations. First, Latinos are found lacking in important characteristics valued in the work place. In other words, the cultural-monolithic model leads to cultural-deficit explanations. For example, the values marked with an asterisk in the above comparison point to a lack of behavioral traits considered very important in determining managerial potential and appropriate "work ethic" in organizational members of any sociocultural group.

Second, dominant cultural values may be at odds with the character of Latino interpersonal relationships, forms of communication, sex role expectations, and other sociocultural styles of members of Latino groups (Nieves-Squires, 1991). In a study of Latino managers, Ferdman and Cortes (1992) found that the following were cultural themes that emerged for these managers in the work place: orientation to people, direct approach to conflict, and flexible attitude toward hierarchy. Nevertheless, the authors caution us against using these themes to make generalizations about Latino cultural traits in organizations:

[A]lthough it is possible through an inductive process to derive general themes that can shed light on characteristic or distinctive Hispanic approaches to work and can facilitate explication of behavior after the fact, it is a much different matter to use such characterizations to predict individual behavior in specific situations (pp. 265-6).

The negative impact of generalizations that are based on these type of "cultural analyses" is evident when we consider values that are less clearly claimed and held by and among the different Latino groups such as familism and machismo.

Third, the cultural-monolithic model and the emphasis on a model of intergroup relations based on the black/white experience in the United States pays little attention to the role and the impact that language and language discrimination have on the experience of Latinos in the work place, and, as we discuss below, these cultural biases against Latinos are particularly harmful to Latino women.

Work-Place "Culture": The Inhospitable Work Place

In all, the various elements identified above operate to create an inhospitable work place for Latinos. We can add to these another set of organizational practices that may impact Latinos more negatively than other groups because of their social situations and/or cultural background. Examples are family unfriendly policies, unhealthy environments, organizational hierarchies, and emotionally arid work places.

Though equal employment opportunity and affirmative action (AA) policies and programs should have benefited Latinos as well as other minority groups, it has been noted that AA programs have been most beneficial in advancing white women (Morrison and Von Glinow, 1990). In the federal and public service, it seems that blacks have been most benefited. On the other hand, affirmative action programs have created a climate of distrust in many organizations, whereby minority employees are accused by majority members of receiving unjustly favorable treatment, especially in promotions and other opportunities for advancement. The term "reverse discrimination" is symptomatic of situations in which policies and practices implemented to redress discriminatory treatment against minorities are perceived and labeled by whites as discriminating against them.

But, one of the major problems in addressing the situation of Latinos in organizations seems to be the overall emphasis on managerial and professional status among policy makers and the "diversity industry." As long as this managerial bias continues to dominate our discourse, suggesting that the only form of advancement in organizations is to attain a managerial position, many Latinos, the majority of whom are concentrated in the lower-paying jobs with few opportunities for promotion and little job security, will remain invisible and with little opportunity to progress within the kinds of jobs and the forms of work in which they really participate.

IV. Further Thoughts on the Specific Barriers Faced by Latino Women in the Work Place

Latino women face a particular set of issues in the work place. These additional barriers to their advancement largely result from the interplay of gender and ethnicity. Latino women are affected by family responsibilities, language, and the structure of work in ways that are distinct from other groups of women or Latino men. To facilitate the analysis, we have organized the discussion into three headings: the structure of work, family responsibilities, and language.

Structure of Work

Networking and recruiting is an important concern in understanding how or even if a worker advances in the work force. As discussed before, entry in the organization often determines the "career-track" of an individual. Entry is particularly important for Latino women. As Ragins and Sundstrom (1989) aptly point out, differences between genders may occur because women enter organizations through positions with lower ranks. Consequently, women have more catching up to do. Because powerful positions in organizations often tend to be dominated by men (primarily white men), it is possible that access to notices about openings of powerful positions may be more accessible to men. This particularly affects Latino women who are placed out of the "circle of contacts" both because of their gender and their race or ethnicity.

Furthermore, breaking into these circles of contact is not easy. Often jobs are not even posted and merely "word-of-mouth" or informal contacts are used to fill job positions. The use of informal social networks is a chief form through which employers with job vacancies are brought together with individual job seekers from outside the organization. Braddock and McPartland (1987) found that minority job applicants are tied to social networks made up of other minorities. Thus, they find that an important minority (and women) exclusionary barrier, which they call "social network segregation," operates at the job-candidate stage.

Organizations may unintentionally or intentionally preclude women from powerful positions through recruitment (Platke, Murphy-Berman, Derschield, Miller, Speth, and Tomas, 1987). Organizations may in fact actively recruit men over women or recruit women for positions with relatively little influence. And, if affirmative action goals are present, organizations may recruit female candidates for positions with rank but minimal actual power (Kanter, 1983).

Even if women are interviewed for prospective job opening, discrimination may occur in the selection process. A number of studies have shown that in comparison with men, female candidates that are equally qualified as their male counterpart are offered fewer jobs, receive lower salaries, and are viewed as less desirable for management positions (Ragins and Sundstrom, 1989, p. 58).

Thus, Latino women may be at a disadvantage in the work place because they have not obtained the sufficient or appropriate level of education and/or work experience to even apply for the job. Adding to this, employers are usually not disposed to spend much time or money in recruiting

for the low-skilled job occupations. Methods of recruiting may include unsolicited walk-in applications, informal referrals from current employees, and referrals from public employment agencies (Braddock and McPartland, 1987, p. 7). These networks may not be accessible to all Latino women. Those Latino women that are able to get their foot in the door may still experience obstacles to entry and advancement due to their gender and race or ethnicity.

Family

Although structural constraints may account for some of the barriers Latino women face in advancing in the work force, individual and cultural issues may also enter into the equation. Latino families have historically placed high value on family, kinship, and community responsibility (Marin, 1991). However, these values may not coincide with those of the work place, especially for individuals that have a "career-track job." Excessively long work days, short maternity or family leave, virtually no paternity leave, and a scarcity of affordable daycare make it difficult for all women and men with children to work. For Latinos in particular, who on average have larger families (including extended family), work-place demands may prove to be overwhelming.

Certainly family responsibilities have taken an important role for Latinos. Yet, most of the responsibility of the home and child raising falls on the women. Like women in general, Latino women often carry the burden not only of working full-time, but also of working in the household. As Arlie Hochschild so vividly writes in her book, *The Second Shift*, working women are taking on an "extra" shift at home, raising children or doing housework. Shelton (1992), in her study of paid labor and household responsibilities of women and men, found that for women time spent in one sphere means less time in another. However, if commitments to paid labor and household labor called for full-time participation in both, then that time came either at the expense of leisure or from their paid labor, and household labor went unmet.

These "double jobs" may, in fact, lead to lower wages and fewer advancements in women's careers. Women may be preoccupied, tired, or distracted because of their "second-shift" activities so that during their "first-shift" total concentration and actual commitment (staying late, taking work home, etc.) may not be possible. Consequently, job promotions may not come their way. Furthermore, companies may not be sympathetic when women have to stay at home or leave early due to a sick child or elder parent or take a maternity leave. Although, more men may be sharing in these responsibilities, women still perform the majority of these tasks.

For Latino women the task of both working in the paid labor force and the household may be increased because they may see their role as also keeping alive *la cultura*. Hochschild (1989) argues "traditional women may feel they need to carry on all of the domestic tradition. To them, the female role isn't simply a female role; it is part of a cultural tradition, like a rural or ethnic tradition" (pp. 247-8). In other words, Latino women may feel that it is their task to maintain ethnic culture by teaching their children Spanish songs, stories, or religious rituals that may be eroded by television and ignored by schools (Pesquera, 1986).

Latino women may also have more household work due to their higher rates of fertility. Mexican women, in particular, have markedly higher rates of fertility than other groups (Darabi and Ortiz, 1985). Cuban women's fertility behavior, however, falls substantially below that of non-Latino white women (Bean and Tienda, 1987, p. 399).

Language

For Latino women, the role of English may be more important in determining their labor-force participation than it is for men. Evidence of the role of language in affecting occupational outcomes for Latinos is ambiguous at best, particularly because it is difficult to disassociate the effects of English knowledge from those of education (Garcia, 1984; Stolzenberg, 1990). However, Bean and Tienda (1987) did find a negative effect of low levels of English proficiency on the labor-force participation of Puerto Rican men.

They also found that English appears to be more influential in determining whether Latino women enter the labor market than men. This is partly due to different occupational choices and partly because labor-force participation is "normatively optional for women." For example, in clerical and sales occupations where Latino women are disproportionately employed, English may prove to be more important because they may require more contact with the general public. For men, who may occupy many unskilled jobs such as laborer occupations, English proficiency may be less critical for job performance (p. 301).

V. Policy Recommendations

Many strategies have been suggested throughout the years to overcome discrimination against minorities and women in the work place. Some of them, like affirmative action, have been at the center of public policy debates for years. This is not the forum to address the different issues under contention. However, it is difficult to conceive that increasing discrimination against Latinos and other minorities is a transitory phenomenon requiring no special efforts to be overcome. The changing reality of labor markets and the lack of institutional responses in the work place makes the current situation for Latinos particularly challenging.

Previous studies have emphasized bilingual and English-language education as the most promising strategies to overcome Latino disadvantage in labor markets. The previously cited study by the National Commission for Employment Policy (1982), for example, recommended such programs because they concluded that language fluency was the primary impediment to Latino progress in the work place. Today, we believe the focus of attention by scholars and policy makers alike has shifted and should shift towards structural barriers in labor markets and the work place and away from cultural and linguistic characteristics. Language acquisition and bilingual education are important, but they are only part of the solution.

Our policy recommendations focus on strategies targeted to remedy the challenges posed by changing employment structures and work-place dynamics. In many ways Latinos confront an unprecedented situation in their employment outlook. Latinos are, for the most part, concentrated in low-wage occupations and industries and predominantly employed by smaller employers with a limited capacity to overcome competitive pressures in their product markets. These employers are also more likely to hire other immigrants, minorities, and women, which increases real or perceived job competition, thus increasing ethnic antagonism. Many employers lack the mechanisms to capitalize on the skills, experiences, and strengths that Latino workers bring to the work place.

There is no question that many of the existing labor-market policies and programs at the federal level are needed mechanisms to remedy the disadvantage of Latinos. Recommendations for policies that can alter the course of impact of structural change on Latino workers meet with recommendations that are suitable for the work force as a whole. In particular, affirmative action plans, minimum wages, the extension of social security coverage to all workers, parental leave, and the expected universal health insurance coverage make a tremendous difference in the economic well-being of low-wage workers. However, there are other programs that, given the socioeconomic profile and the employment situation of Latinos, may have a high impact on reducing some of the adverse effects of economic restructuring and work-place discrimination.

Changes in the Job Structure

Our recommendations directed to remedy the adverse impact of structural change on Latinos follow:

1. Latino workers will benefit from policies that provide incentives and an institutional context for firms to stay away from cost-cutting production strategies. Instead, firms should be encouraged to adopt innovative production organizations that require continuous skills enhancement for workers and broader task definitions. Latinos will benefit from this approach because the adoption of high-performance production strategies will result in on-the-job skills training and greater opportunities for earnings improvements. Young Latino workers will benefit particularly from continuous on-the-job skills enhancement because they have the lowest level of educational attainment of any worker group. They will thus benefit both from work-based adult education and from job-related skills training.
2. Latino workers are disproportionately represented among displaced workers and will benefit most from improvements to the training and job-placement services provided by state employment services and retraining programs. The limits of retraining and skills-upgrading programs for displaced workers have been discussed by others; existing research points to the limits of funding and mechanisms to assess the range and levels of worker skills, as well as the lack of identification of occupations with long-term potential. Displaced Latino workers will benefit from programs geared to facilitating their transition out of declining manufacturing industries. Such programs could entail basic skills training along with job-specific skills training.
3. Latino workers, because of their higher than average experience with part-year employment and because they tend to hold jobs that do not provide benefits (pension, health insurance), will gain from reforms to the system of benefit provision, be it the benefits provided as a matter of legal obligation or employer-provided, job-related benefits. Latino workers will gain from reforms that mandate employers to provide a minimum standard of benefits (and a higher minimum wage) and from policies that facilitate the portability of benefits across jobs and employers over the course of a worker's career. If key benefit provisions become societally-based and are no longer dependent upon the employment relationship, Latino workers in unstable employment will benefit most.
4. As with other workers, Latino workers will benefit from institutional reforms to the framework for union organization and collective bargaining. Latino workers concentrate in industries and occupations in which union organization has historically raised wages and improved working conditions and promotion opportunities for workers; thus they stand to benefit from improved access to coverage from a collective bargaining agreement. Other research not reviewed here indicates that unionization has been particularly effective in reducing the wage differential between black and white workers. In fact, black workers have higher unionization rates than white workers, meaning there are some indications that Latino workers will benefit—and their wage differentials with white workers will decrease—if there is greater ease of representation by a union organization and better enforcement of the right to organize and collectively bargain in good faith.
5. Unlike workers in other groups, Latino workers are highly concentrated in agriculture. Although the agricultural sector in general has declined, the rate of Latino relative concentration in this industry has increased. Thus, Latino workers will gain from reforms that mandate

employers to provide a minimum standard of benefits (pension, health insurance, and a higher minimum wage), as well as work safety and health provisions (minimal use of pesticides, provision of sanitary facilities and safety equipment).

Changes in Work Organizations

Barriers to the advancement of Latinos within work-place organizations require a different set of policies than those discussed above. We recommend the following:

1. Audits by the Justice Department should be used more vigorously to enforce equal opportunity laws and regulations. To date, affirmative action is the main public policy directed at employers' discrimination in hiring. Some of the problems with this policy are related to enforcement of regulations. However, job audits are becoming an effective tool to measure discrimination and to enforce equal employment opportunity laws.

In the audits, a pair of equally qualified individuals of different race or ethnicity apply to jobs listed in newspapers of general circulation. Through the evaluation of employers' responses to applicants, the auditor is able to directly assess the discriminatory practices of each specific employer. Recent audits have demonstrated the extent of employer discrimination against Latinos and the direct impact of the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) in increasing employers' discriminatory practices. Regular, random audits of employers and stiff penalties for repeated violations represents a deterrent to discrimination in hiring that will benefit Latino workers.

2. The effectiveness of audits will be greatly enhanced if employers are legally mandated to post all jobs at the local employment offices. Studies have shown that many entry-level positions are filled using other employers, recruiters, or incumbents workers. This method constitutes a discriminatory practice in its own right if a number of workers do not have significant social relations and are not connected to minorities and women. Research has shown that Latinos are not connected to mainstream job networks.

In the absence of a national employment system where job offers are posted for the benefit of all workers, there are a vast number of community and professional job clearing houses that connect qualified applicants to potential employers. We recommend that employers enter in formal agreements with existing networks of grassroots organizations. The Hispanic Association of Colleges and Universities, for instance, provides assistance for the recruitment of university faculty and staff. Many of these job clearing houses are connected to community-based organizations and community development organizations with strong linkages to schools and vocational training programs. Formal agreements could be encouraged by tying economic development grants from cities and states to successful recruitment of residents of targeted communities or ethnic group members (as certified by the clearing house).

3. Latinos will benefit from more work-place-specific strategies targeting their advancement within organizations. One example of a work-place-specific strategy is the

formation of Latino caucuses or networks within large corporations and professional associations. Like African Americans, Asians, and women, Latinos in large corporations can benefit enormously from "interest group" organizations. These groups promote work-place multiculturalism and benefit employers as well as workers by providing a support network for employees. On many occasions, they promote informal mentoring that helps younger workers advance within organizations. In many ways, these groups parallel the formal and informal web of relations developed by majority workers. Latino caucuses in the police and fire departments of large cities are a good example of the positive impact that these group may have in improving the advancement opportunities of Latinos within professional organizations. To date, very few Latinos in major corporations have developed collective strategies to deal with issues of professional advancement and promotion.

4. The management of cultural diversity in the work place constitute one of the greatest challenges of the next decade. Scholars and policy makers alike concur that the demographic and ethnic composition of the work force is changing very rapidly. By the year 2010, the U.S. Bureau of the Census predicts Latinos will constitute the largest minority group in the country. Latinos will benefit from the implementation of multicultural sensitivity training in the work place directed to all personnel, employees and supervisors, majority and minority workers, and men and women. Workshops on the history and traditions of other cultures promote managers' understanding of the diverse strengths that workers bring to the work place. People-oriented working groups, for instance, can bring an alternative outlook to task-oriented environments. Managers will come to appreciate the skills of the workers better and recognize the potential impact these workers have on peers and customers. By recognizing the strengths of different management styles, corporations will be able to promote role models and managers of diverse background and experiences. Bilingual/bicultural employees, for instance, should be rewarded more often for their role in the work place and their contributions in relations with customers. The appreciation of these strengths will make all workers more receptive to other cultures in the work place and, ultimately, create a more productive and loyal work force.

5. Latino women, as all minority women, face the dual challenge of work-place and family responsibilities. Undoubtedly, Latino women will benefit enormously from programs created to improve the status of women in the work place. Latino women have larger households with a greater number of children, large extended families, and often are responsible for caring for the elderly. Corporate- and publicly-funded daycare facilitates the incorporation of Latino women into the labor force; flexible work schedules (flexitime) may allow mothers with infants or school-aged children to work; and family-related and parental leaves may allow Latino women to respond to health and other family emergencies without having to leave a job permanently, thereby adversely affecting their career progress.

In sum, removing the barriers to the employment and work-place advancement of Latinos requires a multifaced strategy targeting labor-market and work-place dynamics. Like all other workers, Latinos will benefit from general policies targeting disadvantaged, low-wage workers. In many cases, Latinos could benefit disproportionately from such programs. Discrimination against Latinos in the work place has, as we have shown in this study, unique causes and,

therefore, requires specific solutions. We hope that the above discussion has contributed to our understanding of the causes of Latino disadvantage, the specific needs of this population, and the most effective strategies to respond to such needs. However, another important aspect of this study has been to identify areas where more research is needed to better our understanding of the problems or to enable the design of more adequate interventions. The next section discusses areas for future research.

VI. Future Research Directions

The existing literature and the practical experience of employees and consultants working on issues of social diversity in the work place all point to fruitful areas for future research on barriers and solutions to discrimination in employment structures and work-place organizations. In particular, existing knowledge confirms the positive impact of diversity enhancing strategies on the material reality (salaries, advancement) and psychological well-being (job stress and satisfaction) of minority men and women in organizations. A series of key areas of study for advancing our understanding of the situation of Latinos in the labor force generally, and in the work place specifically, are identified below. More needs to be done towards understanding the specific practices of labor-market and corporate institutions; few policy recommendations can be turned into concrete programs that change the situation of Latinos in a significant way.

Further Study of Structural Change

1. Further research is needed on the sources of the disproportionate representation of Latinos among displaced workers: Latinos workers had the highest displacement rates of any group during the period 1987 to 1991. The causes of this higher incidence of displacement remain to be determined. For example, the "displaced worker survey" (part of the January Current Population Survey) can be used to assess the relative weights of plant closing or moves, slack work, and the abolition of positions in the pattern of job displacement of Latinos. Additionally, patterns of job displacement for Latinos can also be related to the industry and occupations in which they lose their jobs.
2. Further research can identify the factors that contribute to the high incidence of part-year and part-time employment among Latino workers, particularly women workers, relative to other groups. In this report, we have discussed how the relative overrepresentation of Latino workers in agricultural activities, where seasonal work is more common, accounts for some of this pattern. However, Latino workers may also be working in manufacturing activities (such as food processing) where part-year employment is more widespread. Part-year employment may also be an aggregate reflection of a pattern of unstable employment with greater susceptibility to spells of unemployment. This latter distinction needs to be drawn with further research.
3. Along the same lines, further policy research is needed on the eligibility of Latino workers for employer-provided benefits such as pension, health insurance, or vacation time. If they are less likely to work full-year and full-time than other workers (even after controlling for gender), Latino workers are also less likely to be eligible for employer-based benefits. The full dimension of this problem remains to be fully ascertained. For instance, it remains to be seen whether Latino workers are deprived of access to some benefits such as pension because their employment experience is characterized by intermittence or because the firms for which they work do not provide benefits.
4. The case studies of the uses of immigrant workers in manufacturing in Chicago and Massachusetts have made clear that divergent employer practices coexist in the same region and

often times in similar industries. Thus, policies of training and skills upgrading of immigrant workers to contribute more extensively to a production process have been found to exist alongside more traditional practices of using immigrant workers as "marginal, low-wage" labor in a highly fragmented and deskilled work process. In both instances, however, recent immigrant cohorts may have benefitted from employment and, in some cases, training at the expense of earlier cohorts. So far, research has primarily documented the uses of immigrant Latino labor in processes of cost cutting through low wages. Further documentation is required of the organizational, product market, and policy conditions that make it possible for firms to proceed with the introduction of innovative work processes requiring an investment in skills training for immigrant Latino workers and resulting in higher earnings. In particular, documentation of the context of policy incentives and constraints and of the subsidies to workplace-based training will generate directions for exploring policy action that can foster skills upgrading and innovative work processes and thus result in improved outcomes for Latino workers.

5. Recent trends in research on minority employment difficulties have focused on mismatches between the skills level of growing jobs and that of minority workers ("skills mismatch") and on the fact that jobs are growing in the suburbs and "exurbs" of large urban centers and thus away from minority neighborhoods ("spatial mismatch"). Research will be needed to shed light on how the employment opportunities of Latino workers in urban centers have been adversely affected by more recent changes in the skills requirements of jobs and in their geographical distribution and to determine the relative effects of each of these "mismatches." For example, on-the-job-training programs will be most successful where Latino workers do not have sufficient skills for local jobs. Conversely, programs that aim to facilitate the access of Latino workers to information about jobs in the broader region in which their community is located should be most successful where "spatial mismatch" effects predominate.

Further Study of the Work Place

The following are broad guidelines for research priorities:

1. Research needs to focus on the empirical exploration and development of new models of race and ethnicity in organizations, especially those models that pay more attention to issues of language discrimination.
2. Greater attention must be paid to the production of qualitative and ethnographic accounts that include the perspective of the Latino workers and managers themselves.
3. Research can be expanded on the effects of targeted organizational practices such as affirmative action and work-place diversity. Furthermore, exploratory work should be done on alternative organizational forms such as work-place democracy, employee ownership, and self-managed teams that promise to reshape current social relations at the level of the organization.
4. Lessons relating to alternative practices that help Latinos perform and work better in organizations can be drawn from studies of successful Latino entrepreneurship and community-

based organizations (CBOs). Case studies of the Cuban experience with entrepreneurship or of Mexicans and Puerto Rican constructive involvement in CBOs are examples.

In addition to these broad guidelines, examples of more specific research questions to pursue are:

1. How does the focus on managerial advancement as the primary strategy for improvement and mobility in organizations limit the opportunities of Latino men and women in organizations and what other opportunities for "advancement" can be open?
2. How do the stereotypes held about the subgroups within these diverse minority groups impact the opportunities for effective performance, advancement, mobility, and satisfaction in the work place? What does an understanding that stereotypes are specific to national origin subgroups (for example, Mexican versus Puerto Rican) suggest about distinct strategies to deal with discrimination for members of different minority groups?
3. How does the fact that the experiences of women, minority men, and minority women in society and in organizations differ from that of white males impact their prospects for professional development and advancement?
4. How do pay and other job inequalities reproduce themselves in the structure of work? What alternative forms of work organization and rewards have been implemented to ameliorate race and gender inequalities in the work place? Do these currently affect Latinos and are they effective?
5. What are the relationships between various areas of work and life—organizational, societal, work role, individual—in which discrimination is manifest? What is the effect of these relationships on changing the status of Latinos in organizations, with particular attention to the effects of gender discrimination?
6. What practices and strategies have been most successful in relating and translating the agenda of work-force diversity to the organization's financial "bottom line?" How have concerns about implementing a diversity agenda been successfully related to goals of productivity, growth, and work-group performance enhancement?

Clearly, the kinds of barriers that Latinos face and how these barriers are experienced need to be further researched. Given their ever-increasing presence in the United States and their growing participation in the work force, a thorough understanding would enhance organizational effectiveness and social progress. Furthermore, it is not enough that just a "minority perspective" be used or that research particular to African Americans (or other minority groups) be mechanically extended to apply to Latinos. Because of the historical, cultural, and present-day situation of Latinos, their experience in the work force is unique. Not until the specifics of the barriers to advancement are well understood at all the various levels and for each subgroup can preventive or proactive measures be effectively taken and implemented.

Appendices

Table A.1
Occupational Representation by Sex, Race, and Ethnicity,*
1984 to 1992

	Latino			White		
	1984	1988	1992	1984	1988	1992
Male						
Managerial	0.53	0.49	0.50	1.08	1.10	1.11
Professional	0.39	0.48	0.37	1.08	1.09	1.09
Technical	0.61	0.67	0.88	1.04	1.03	1.03
Sales	0.58	0.62	0.67	1.09	1.11	1.11
Clerical	1.12	1.07	1.12	0.95	0.89	0.93
Service	1.57	1.71	1.72	0.85	0.79	0.80
Crafts	1.06	1.03	1.05	1.03	1.03	1.03
Laborer	1.44	1.36	1.39	0.92	0.90	0.90
Farm	1.65	2.10	1.79	0.96	0.95	0.92
Female						
Managerial	0.57	0.66	0.67	1.08	1.09	1.10
Professional	0.53	0.55	0.51	1.06	1.07	1.09
Technical	0.71	0.47	0.63	1.00	1.00	1.05
Sales	0.82	0.99	0.85	1.07	1.06	1.06
Clerical	0.95	0.91	0.92	1.02	1.03	1.01
Service	1.22	1.31	1.52	0.90	0.87	0.85
Crafts	1.35	1.50	1.48	0.96	0.96	0.95
Laborer	2.00	1.85	1.89	0.86	0.84	0.85
Farm	1.40	1.88	2.57	1.10	1.00	1.00

Source: Institute staff calculations based on Current Population Survey,
 1984,1988,1992

(*) Data refers to year prior to the survey

Table A.2
Change in Occupational Representation,* 1984 to 1992

	Latino	White
Male		
Managerial	-0.03	0.03
Professional	-0.02	0.01
Technical	0.27	-0.01
Sales	0.09	0.02
Clerical	0.00	-0.02
Service	0.15	-0.05
Craft	-0.01	0.00
Laborer	-0.05	-0.02
Farm	0.14	-0.04
Female		
Managerial	0.10	0.02
Professional	-0.02	0.03
Technical	-0.08	0.05
Sales	0.03	-0.01
Clerical	-0.03	-0.01
Service	0.30	-0.05
Craft	0.13	-0.01
Laborer	-0.11	-0.01
Farm	1.17	-0.10

Source: Institute staff computations based on
 the Current Population Survey computer tapes,
 1984, 1988, 1992

(*) Data refers to year prior to the survey

Table A.3
Industrial Representation by Sex, Race, and Ethnicity,* 1984 to 1992

	Latino			Black			White		
	1984	1988	1992	1984	1988	1992	1984	1988	1992
Male									
Agriculture	1.58	1.92	1.97	0.60	0.57	0.50	1.00	1.00	0.97
Mining	0.77	0.90	0.88	0.31	0.30	0.22	1.08	1.20	1.22
Construction	1.07	1.04	1.02	0.68	0.77	0.71	1.03	1.04	1.05
Manufacturing	1.10	1.01	0.95	1.02	0.98	1.07	0.99	1.00	1.00
Transportation	0.88	0.77	0.83	1.38	1.38	1.37	0.98	0.99	0.99
Wholesale Trade	0.81	0.89	0.80	0.77	0.69	0.67	1.04	1.05	1.05
Retail Trade	1.17	1.17	1.39	0.86	0.92	0.93	1.00	0.97	0.95
F.I.R.E.	0.78	0.80	0.73	0.70	0.84	0.92	1.04	1.02	1.04
Bus. & Prof. Serv.	0.75	0.89	0.79	1.15	1.09	1.08	0.99	0.99	1.00
Personal Serv.	1.41	1.43	1.50	1.72	1.50	1.37	0.91	0.87	0.87
Public Adminis.	0.80	0.70	0.73	1.35	1.40	1.12	0.98	0.98	1.02
Female									
Agriculture	1.23	1.64	1.60	0.31	0.27	0.10	1.08	1.09	1.10
Mining	0.25	0.33	1.00	0.75	0.33	0.50	1.00	1.33	1.50
Construction	0.58	0.67	0.69	0.17	0.25	0.38	1.08	1.08	1.08
Manufacturing	1.55	1.34	1.34	1.09	1.06	0.98	0.95	0.95	0.95
Transportation	0.88	0.89	0.87	1.33	1.56	1.30	0.95	0.93	0.98
Wholesale Trade	0.88	0.85	1.00	0.50	0.58	0.37	1.08	1.04	1.11
Retail Trade	0.91	1.00	0.99	0.66	0.66	0.76	1.05	1.05	1.03
F.I.R.E.	0.95	0.92	0.90	0.73	0.71	0.88	1.09	1.06	1.02
Bus. & Prof. Serv.	0.80	0.80	0.83	1.08	1.08	1.07	1.01	1.01	1.01
Personal Serv.	1.36	1.70	1.80	1.47	1.44	1.27	0.92	0.88	0.89
Public Adminis.	0.98	0.90	0.76	1.63	1.53	1.59	0.91	0.92	0.93

Source: Institute staff computations based on the Current Population Survey computer tapes, 1984, 1988, 1992

(*) Data refers to year prior to the survey

Table A.4
Change in Industrial Share,* 1984 to 1992

	<u>Latino</u>	<u>White</u>
Male		
Agriculture	0.39	-0.03
Mining	0.11	0.14
Construction	-0.05	0.02
Manufacturing	-0.15	0.01
Transportation	-0.05	0.01
Wholesale Trade	-0.01	0.01
Retail Trade	0.22	-0.05
F.I.R.E.	-0.05	0.00
Bus. & Prof. Serv.	0.04	0.01
Personal Serv.	0.09	-0.04
Public Adminis.	-0.07	0.04
Female		
Agriculture	0.37	0.02
Mining	0.75	0.50
Construction	0.11	0.00
Manufacturing	-0.21	0.00
Transportation	-0.01	0.03
Wholesale Trade	0.12	0.03
Retail Trade	0.08	-0.02
F.I.R.E.	-0.05	-0.07
Bus. & Prof. Serv.	0.03	0.00
Personal Serv.	0.44	-0.03
Public Adminis.	-0.22	0.02

Source: Institute staff computations based
on the Current Population Survey computer
tapes, 1984, 1988, 1992

(*) Data refers to year prior to the survey

Table A.5
Mean Wages and Salaries by Sex, Race, and Ethnicity,* 1984 to 1992 (in 1991 dollars)

	Latino			Black			White		
	1984	1988	1992	1984	1988	1992	1984	1988	1992
Male									
Managerial	\$27,211	\$32,042	\$29,362	\$31,615	\$32,692	\$33,570	\$37,329	\$40,524	\$41,038
Professional	31,510	35,949	31,992	26,354	33,962	29,977	33,713	37,530	37,476
Technical	26,525	25,083	26,898	26,680	25,148	25,555	31,022	33,934	30,683
Sales	18,489	21,237	20,150	15,317	23,903	19,592	24,439	29,120	27,995
Clerical	21,636	20,945	20,356	22,158	21,919	23,324	24,335	26,186	25,791
Service	12,829	14,170	15,154	13,244	14,760	15,365	14,157	18,446	18,331
Crafts	20,927	20,108	18,877	19,549	22,560	20,935	23,610	25,758	24,199
Laborer	17,193	17,987	16,408	16,842	18,775	18,737	19,796	22,293	21,020
Farmer	10,362	11,005	9,154	8,066	8,837	7,416	5,692	7,189	7,782
Female									
Managerial	\$21,077	\$22,800	\$23,003	21,142	25,139	27,038	\$21,142	\$24,527	\$25,612
Professional	19,285	26,180	25,132	21,590	24,504	27,397	19,872	23,714	25,131
Technical	18,340	20,712	19,952	26,680	19,776	22,022	18,266	20,728	21,322
Sales	8,494	10,425	10,724	8,791	11,047	12,941	9,606	13,565	13,499
Clerical	13,745	15,432	15,807	16,275	18,043	17,859	14,386	16,001	16,544
Service	7,000	8,179	7,879	8,439	9,526	10,272	6,842	8,363	8,658
Crafts	13,914	14,777	13,609	17,976	19,351	17,788	14,144	17,784	16,340
Laborer	10,273	10,342	10,377	12,808	14,250	13,821	11,987	13,378	13,372
Farmer	4,926	5,340	5,012	3,848	4,754	9,046	2,305	4,870	3,757

Source: Institute staff computations based on the Current Population Survey computer tapes, 1984, 1988, 1992

(*) Data refers to year prior to the survey

Table A.6
Latino/White Wage and Salary Ratios,*
1984, 1988, and 1992

	1984	1988	1992
Male			
Managerial	0.73	0.79	0.72
Professional	0.93	0.96	0.85
Technical	0.86	0.74	0.88
Sales	0.76	0.73	0.72
Clerical	0.89	0.80	0.79
Service	0.91	0.77	0.83
Craft	0.89	0.78	0.78
Laborer	0.87	0.81	0.78
Farmer	1.82	1.53	1.18
Female			
Managerial	1.00	0.93	0.90
Professional	0.97	1.10	1.00
Technical	1.00	1.00	0.94
Sales	0.88	0.77	0.79
Clerical	0.96	0.96	0.96
Service	1.02	0.98	0.91
Craft	0.98	0.83	0.83
Laborer	0.86	0.77	0.78
Farmer	2.14	1.10	1.33

Source: Institute staff computations based on the Current Population Survey computer tapes, 1984, 1988, 1992

(*) Data refers to year prior to the survey

Table A.7
Percent of Employed Workers Whose Job is Covered by a Union or Employee Association Contract, by Race and Ethnic Group, * 1986 to 1992

	Latino			Non-latino white			Non-Latino black		
	Total	male	female	Total	male	female	Total	male	female
1986	20.0	22.3	16.5	19.1	23.1	14.3	26.7	30.2	23.3
1987	19.0	21.7	15.0	18.4	22.3	13.8	25.5	28.7	22.5
1988	17.7	20.1	14.3	18.1	21.8	13.7	25.9	29.1	22.9
1989	16.8	18.5	14.5	17.7	21.2	13.7	25.4	28.0	22.9
1990	16.5	18.0	14.2	17.6	20.8	14.0	24.3	27.5	21.2
1991	17.7	18.6	16.2	17.4	20.6	13.8	24.4	27.7	21.2
1992	17.0	18.7	14.5	17.1	20.1	13.8	24.2	26.4	22.2

Source: U.S. Department of Labor. Current Population Survey as reported in Employment and Earnings, 1987 - 1993. Washington, DC.

(*) Starting in 1986, data on Latinos were revised to reflect new population estimates

Table A.8
Employed Latinos, 1983 to 1992
(in thousands)

	Total	Puerto		
		Mexican	Rican	Cuban
1983	5,303	3,242	512	461
1984	5,679	3,453	616	444
1985	6,888	4,117	743	527
1986	7,219	4,387	691	533
1987	7,790	4,690	744	518
1988	8,250	5,066	807	537
1989	8,573	5,247	803	531
1990	8,808	5,478	780	512
1991	8,799	5,363	822	499
1992	8,971	5,581	802	488

Source: U.S. Department of Labor. Current Population Survey as reported in Employment and Earnings, 1987 - 1993. Washington, DC.

Table A.9
Incidence of Part-Time Employment among Latinos by Origin, 1983 to 1992
(in percentage)

Incidence of Part-Time Employment among Latinos

	Puerto			
	Total	Mexican	Rican	Cuban
1983	18.7	19.7	14.8	16.9
1984	17.6	18.4	14.3	16.2
1985	16.7	17.5	14.4	13.5
1986	17.5	18.4	14.5	14.1
1987	17.0	18.2	13.6	13.9
1988	16.7	18.0	13.6	12.5
1989	16.2	17.3	12.3	12.4
1990	16.5	17.1	13.3	14.1
1991	17.8	18.6	15.0	15.4
1992	18.9	19.8	15.3	15.0

**Incidence of Part-Time Employment among
Latinos for Economic Reasons**

	Puerto			
	Total	Mexican	Rican	Cuban
1983	8.5	9.8	5.7	5.6
1984	7.5	8.8	5.7	4.3
1985	7.3	8.7	4.4	4.4
1986	7.9	9.2	5.6	3.8
1987	7.4	9.0	4.6	3.7
1988	7.5	9.3	4.3	3.7
1989	6.8	8.1	3.5	3.8
1990	7.1	8.1	3.7	3.5
1991	8.2	9.0	5.2	5.6
1992	9.3	9.9	6.1	5.5

**Incidence of Part-Time Employment among
Latinos for Noneconomic Reasons**

	Puerto			
	Total	Mexican	Rican	Cuban
1983	10.2	10.0	9.2	11.3
1984	10.1	9.6	8.6	11.9
1985	9.4	8.8	10.0	9.1
1986	9.6	9.2	8.8	10.3
1987	9.5	9.2	9.0	10.2
1988	9.2	8.7	9.3	8.8
1989	9.3	9.2	8.8	8.7
1990	9.4	9.0	9.6	10.5
1991	9.6	9.5	9.7	9.8
1992	9.7	9.9	9.2	9.4

Source: U.S. Department of Labor. Current Population Survey as reported in Employment and Earnings, 1984 - 1993. Washington, DC.

Table A.10 (a)
Incidence of Full-Time and Full-Year Employment, by Gender, Racial and Ethnic Group, 1988 and 1992,* (in percentage)

	Latino		White		Black		Other	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Managerial	83.0	81.8	89.4	80.3	84.9	82.9	86.0	78.7
Professional	77.6	65.4	82.3	63.4	83.9	76.8	80.1	64.4
Technical	79.6	76.5	83.3	74.0	79.8	77.2	80.5	76.5
Sales	77.5	50.2	83.1	56.1	75.0	48.8	77.6	55.5
Clerical	77.3	74.7	82.2	69.4	78.9	78.1	68.2	73.1
Services	71.6	47.7	68.9	45.8	61.5	57.6	61.4	44.2
Craft	72.9	72.7	76.0	70.2	75.1	71.9	77.9	76.3
Lab/Operations	66.9	62.4	70.4	60.9	72.4	64.1	72.6	63.3
Farmers	53.6	21.5	75.2	52.5	46.2	87.0	67.6	46.9
Total 1992	71.1	62.9	78.8	64.5	72.8	68.8	75.4	64.6
Total 1988	72.1	61.7	79.6	62.7	73.7	66.9	76.0	66.7

Incidence of Full-Time and Part-Year Employment, by Gender, Racial and Ethnic Group, 1988 and 1992,* (in percentage)

	Latino		White		Black		Other	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Managerial	12.8	11.3	6.7	9.3	9.9	12.7	9.6	11.5
Professional	11.9	18.8	11.0	15.8	9.1	14.5	8.3	15.6
Technical	9.2	10.0	10.6	8.8	18.1	10.5	16.2	14.0
Sales	10.4	12.7	9.6	10.0	15.2	16.7	17.4	10.5
Clerical	13.7	12.7	8.7	11.4	11.4	10.5	19.4	13.7
Services	13.8	13.9	12.4	14.2	19.6	13.1	18.2	21.0
Craft	21.3	19.5	18.6	12.3	16.9	21.5	16.8	13.3
Lab/Operations	23.3	26.5	21.2	20.1	17.9	24.9	16.3	21.1
Farmers	32.0	46.9	13.7	12.9	28.3	0.0	17.0	5.4
Total 1992	18.9	16.2	13.5	12.6	16.4	14.1	14.5	15.3
Total 1988	19.0	17.7	13.3	13.7	16.7	16.9	14.5	16.9

Source: Institute staff calculations based on Current Population Survey, 1988 - 1992

(*) Data refers to year prior to the survey

Table A.10 (b)
Incidence of Part-Time and Full-Year Employment, by Gender, Racial and Ethnic Group, 1988 and 1992,* (in percentage)

	Latino		White		Black		Other	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Managerial	2.4	4.4	2.9	6.5	1.3	3.4	2.9	4.7
Professional	5.4	10.1	3.7	10.5	1.8	4.5	7.8	11.2
Technical	3.1	10.4	3.4	11.4	0.8	5.2	3.3	5.9
Sales	8.3	18.0	3.9	20.2	5.9	18.7	3.2	18.5
Clerical	5.3	6.0	5.3	11.8	4.4	5.8	5.4	6.4
Services	7.9	20.2	10.0	21.3	10.2	17.8	10.4	20.3
Craft	2.4	4.6	2.3	10.1	2.1	2.1	1.4	4.3
Lab Operations	4.9	6.2	3.9	9.3	3.9	5.6	6.8	7.3
Farmers	6.9	1.9	6.9	21.4	5.4	13.0	15.3	41.7
Total 1992	5.2	10.8	4.1	13.0	4.6	9.6	5.9	11.0
Total 1988	4.3	10.6	3.5	13.5	3.5	8.1	5.0	8.1

Incidence of Part-Time and Part-Year Employment, by Gender, Racial and Ethnic Group, 1988 and 1992,* (in percentage)

	Latino		White		Black		Other	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Managerial	1.8	2.5	1.1	3.9	3.9	1.0	1.5	5.1
Professional	5.2	5.7	3.0	10.3	5.2	4.2	3.9	8.8
Technical	8.2	3.1	2.7	5.7	1.3	7.1	0.0	3.5
Sales	3.8	19.1	3.5	13.7	3.8	15.9	1.9	15.5
Clerical	3.6	6.5	3.8	7.4	5.3	5.6	7.0	6.7
Services	6.8	18.2	8.7	18.8	8.7	11.5	10.0	14.4
Craft	3.4	3.1	3.1	7.4	6.0	4.5	3.9	6.1
Lab/Operations	4.9	4.9	4.5	9.7	5.8	5.5	4.3	8.2
Farmers	7.6	29.7	4.1	13.2	20.0	0.0	0.0	6.0
Total 1992	4.8	10.1	3.6	9.9	6.3	7.5	4.2	9.1
Total 1988	4.6	9.9	3.5	10.1	6.1	8.1	4.5	8.4

Source: Institute staff calculations based on Current Population Survey, 1988 - 1992

(*) Data refers to year prior to the survey

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