

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 Negrón 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, Rodríguez, 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 Cattán (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, Rodríguez, 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					
			Total	Mexican	Puerto Rican	Cuban	Central & South Ameri	Other
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					Other
			Total	Mexican	Puerto Rican	Cuban	Central & 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

