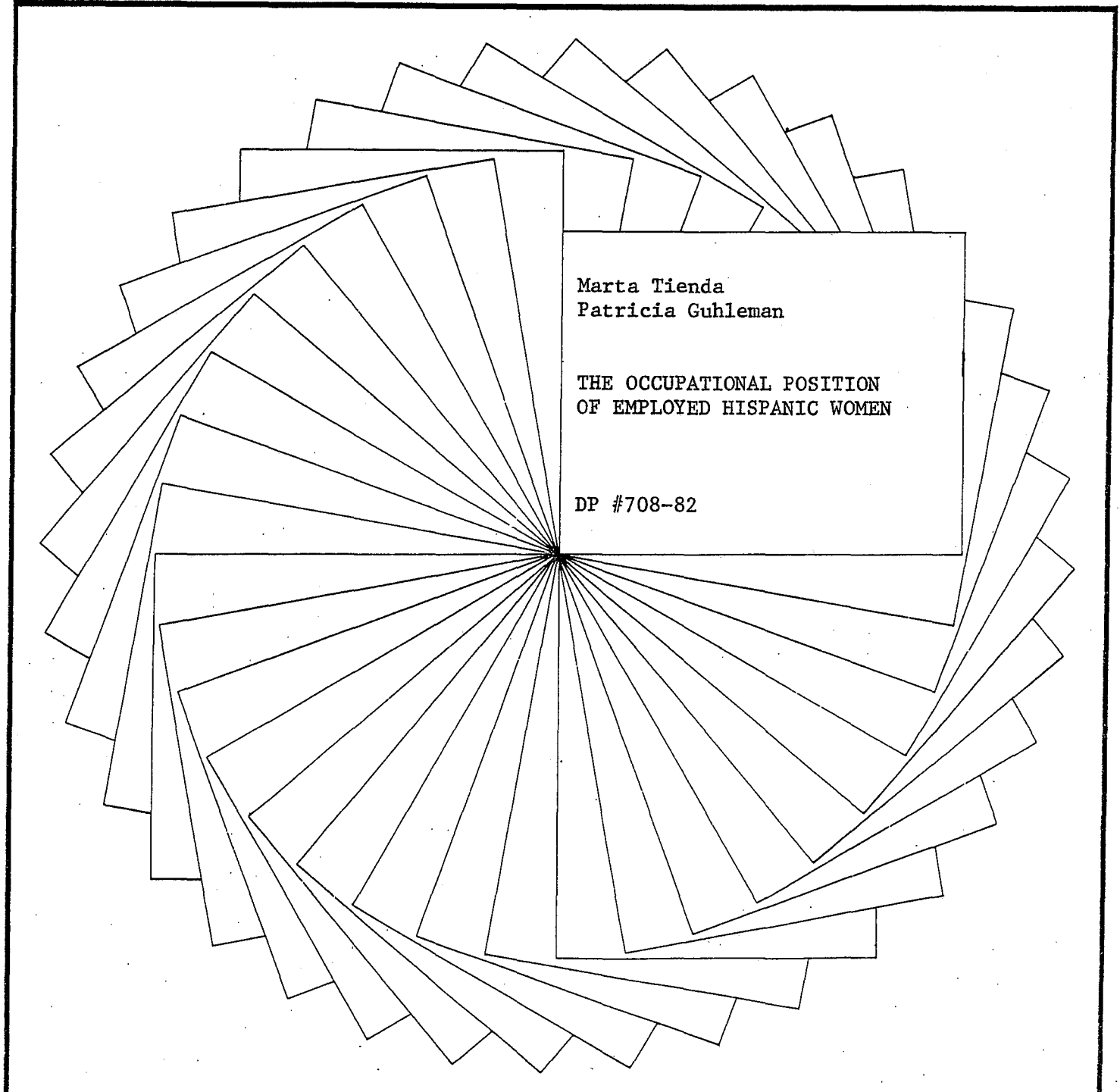# Institute for Research on Poverty

Discussion Papers

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THE OCCUPATIONAL POSITION
OF EMPLOYED HISPANIC WOMEN

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The Occupational Position of Employed Hispanic Women

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Abstract

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Systematic investigation of the labor market experiences of Hispanic origin women is a relatively new endeavor in the field of social stratification. This study contributes to the research on ethnic stratification by comparing the importance of achieved and ascribed characteristics as criteria for assigning occupational positions to women of Hispanic national origin in the United States. Analyses are based on the 1976 Survey of Income and Education. They are performed separately for women of Mexican, Puerto Rican, Central and South American, and other-Hispanic origins, and for non-Hispanic white women.

First, with probit analyses we examine labor market entry, as this conditions the probability that women will have an occupation. We subsequently assess the determinants of occupational status, using regression techniques and correcting for selection bias. Finally, we employ discriminant analyses in order to examine the allocation of female labor into occupations, emphasizing similarities and differences among nationalities, as well as between Hispanic and non-Hispanic white women.

Results indicate important differences in the occupational positions of Hispanic women according to national origin, and provide some support for the ascription explanation of stratification. Findings also point to the importance of differential access to resources among the Hispanic national origin groups and non-Hispanic whites as determinants of women's position in the occupational stratification system.

THE OCCUPATIONAL POSITION OF EMPLOYED HISPANIC WOMEN

Systematic investigation of the labor market experiences of Hispanic-origin women is a relatively new endeavor in the field of social stratification. The few available studies have identified important differences among women of Mexican, Puerto Rican, Central and South American, and "other Hispanic" (the residual classification) origin along several labor market dimensions, including participation rates (Newman, 1978; Cooney and Ortiz, 1981); returns from work (Reimers, 1982); extent of labor force involvement (Guhleman and Tienda, 1981); and employment adequacy (Cooney and Colon, 1979; Guhleman and Tienda, 1981). However, most existing studies are highly descriptive, or lack a coherent theoretical framework about the meaning of "Hispanicity" as a dimension of ethnic stratification. No researchers have undertaken multivariate analyses of the determinants of Hispanic women's occupational position, even though recent studies of sex stratification have considered the role of race (Treiman and Terrell, 1975, Beck, Horan, and Tolbert, 1978; U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1978).

Until recently women were routinely excluded from empirical analyses of socioeconomic achievement on the grounds that their labor market experiences were too complicated for straightforward application of existing research models. Beginning with the benchmark study of sex and the process of status attainment (Treiman and Terrell, 1975), the mid- to late 1970s witnessed publication of several studies focusing on the prestige or socioeconomic status of the jobs women occupy and the array of background, achievement, and life-cycle factors that influence women's initial occupational roles (Featherman and Hauser, 1976b; McClendon, 1976; Rosenfeld and Sorensen, 1979; Fligstein and Wolf, 1978; Wolf and

Fligstein, 1979; Sewell, Hauser, and Wolf, 1980). However, these studies offer little insight about how the process of stratification may differ among ethnically defined minority women, a serious omission because both ethnicity and sex are major axes of the stratification system (Sullivan, 1978; Hirschman, 1980; Tienda, 1982).

Patterns of occupational sex typing have led some labor market analysts to posit the existence of a distinct female labor market characterized by low-paying jobs, fluid entry and exit patterns, and limited prospects for upward mobility. Studies in this tradition (Oppenheimer, 1970; Stolzenberg, 1975; Brito and Jusenius, 1978; Seidman, 1978; Wolf and Rosenfeld, 1978; Beller, 1980; England, 1981, 1982) point to the pronounced concentration of women in a relatively small number of occupations. Although there is evidence of some decline in the extent of occupational segregation by sex, women continue to be highly concentrated in a few occupations. Current estimates are that 70% of all working women would need to change occupations for the occupational distributions of male and female workers to be similar (Williams, 1979). The study by Wolf and Rosenfeld (1978), which finds that women's upward mobility depends upon movement out of the female-dominated job sector, illustrates how studies about processes of status attainment can complement those focused on women's occupational allocation.

This study contributes to the research on women's stratification by examining ethnically defined differentiation among employed Hispanic women. We define occupational position both in terms of status scores and allocation into broad occupational strata. First, we examine the importance of the decision to work, as this conditions the probability that women will have an occupation. We subsequently assess the

determinants of occupational status among Hispanic-origin women,
correcting for selection bias and emphasizing similarities and differences
among nationalities, as well as between Hispanic and non-Hispanic white
women. Finally, we illustrate the uneven allocation of female labor
according to national origin, and assess the determinants of the
occupational configuration for Hispanic and non-Hispanic white women.

HISPANICITY AND SOCIOECONOMIC DIFFERENTIATION

Table 1 provides some information about the economic and demographic
characteristics of the female working-age population according to national
origin. Hispanic women, especially Mexicans and Puerto Ricans, tend to be
younger, on average, than non-Hispanic whites. These two groups also have
the lowest levels of educational attainment, around 9 years of graded
schooling, compared to approximately 11 years for Central and South
American and other Hispanic-origin women. Non-Hispanic whites complete
just over 12.3 years of school. Hispanic women are clearly disadvantaged
with respect to education, a critical resource for labor market success.

Hispanics also differ significantly with respect to their nativity.
Central and South Americans are largely an immigrant group: over 90% of
these adult women are foreign-born, compared to approximately one-fourth
of the Mexican and other-Hispanic women. Also, the proportion of recent
arrivals is greatest among Central and South Americans. In contrast, only
5% of the non-Hispanic white female population of labor force age is
foreign-born. Although nearly 80% of Puerto Rican women were born on the
island, they cannot be considered foreign-born in a strict sense;
nevertheless, birth on the island is analogous to being born abroad
because these women are likely to have been socialized in an Hispanic

Table 1

Selected Characteristics of Women Aged 18-64,
by National Origin: Means or Percentages

Selected Characteristics	Mexican	Puerto Rican	Central & South American[a]	Other Hispanic	Non-Hispanic White
Age					
18-24	27.2%	22.7%	22.7%	21.5%	20.7%
	(44.5)	(41.9)	(41.9)	(41.1)	(40.5)
25-34	32.2	34.7	26.5	23.8	24.3
	(46.7)	(47.6)	(44.1)	(42.6)	(42.9)
35-44	19.2	21.2	25.5	20.2	17.9
	(39.4)	(40.9)	(43.6)	(40.2)	(38.4)
45-54	13.9	13.9	17.1	21.0	19.6
	(34.6)	(34.6)	(37.7)	(40.7)	(39.7)
55-64	7.5	7.5	8.2	13.5	17.6
	(26.4)	(26.3)	(27.4)	(34.1)	(38.1)
Mean years of education	9.0	9.1	11.0	11.2	12.3
	(4.0)	(3.6)	(13.6)	(3.1)	(2.5)
Native-born	72.4%	17.7%	6.3%	72.9%	94.8%
	(44.7)	(38.2)	(24.2)	(44.4)	(22.3)
Years since migration					
1 or less	1.9	2.8	5.6	1.0	.2
	(13.7)	(16.4)	(23.0)	(9.8)	(4.9)
2-5	4.6	7.8	17.2	4.4	.4
	(20.9)	(26.8)	(37.8)	(20.5)	(6.4)
6-11	7.0	12.6	37.6	8.7	.8
	(25.5)	(33.2)	(48.4)	(28.2)	(8.7)
12 or more	14.1	59.1	33.3	13.0	4.8
	(34.8)	(49.2)	(47.1)	(33.6)	(19.2)
Mean English language proficiency score[b]	8.8	8.1	7.7	10.1	11.7
	(2.9)	(2.6)	(2.7)	(2.2)	(1.8)

(table continues)

Table 1, continued

Selected Characteristics	Mexican	Puerto Rican	Central & South American[a]	Other Hispanic	Non-Hispanic White
Mean number of children					
under 6 years	.6 (.8)	.5 (.8)	.4 (.7)	.3 (.6)	.3 (.6)
under 18 years	1.9 (1.8)	1.6 (1.6)	1.1 (1.2)	1.2 (1.4)	1.0 (1.3)
Female family head	12.9% (33.6)	28.7% (45.2)	10.7% (30.9)	13.6% (34.2)	7.5% (26.4)
Mean earnings from other family members	$7,590 ($7,290)	$5,490 ($7,800)	$8,650 ($9,130)	$9,580 ($10,080)	$12,000 ($11,090)
Disability	12.4% (32.9)	19.4% (39.6)	10.3% (30.4)	14.1% (34.8)	12.8% (33.4)
Mean area hourly wage rate	$4.78 (.73)	$5.59 (.37)	$5.31 (.56)	$5.01 (.65)	$5.14 (.62)
[N][c]	[2,432]	[554]	[584]	[892]	[20,147]

Note: Data base is 1976 Survey of Income and Education. Standard deviations are in parentheses.

[a]Includes Cuban-origin women.

[b]See Table 2 for definition.

[c]Weighting renders these data comparable to population statistics, but reported N's are unweighted.

environment, including having received their education in the Spanish language. As such, island birth may produce an effect similar to that predicted for foreign birth.

Indices of English proficiency correspond to the birthplace statistics. Central and South American women have the lowest level of English fluency, with an average score of 7.7 (see definitions in Table 2), while non-Hispanic whites are most proficient in English, averaging just under the maximum possible score of 12 points. The other Hispanic groups fall between these two extremes.

Fertility, an important determinant of female labor force participation, also differentiates Hispanic women. Mexican women have the highest fertility, as reflected by the statistics in Table 1. On average, Mexican and Puerto Rican women of labor force age have between .5 and .6 children under 6, and between 1.6 and 1.9 children under 18 years of age. The women of other-Hispanic and Central and South American origin tend to have fewer children at home, and non-Hispanic whites have the fewest children of all groups. Puerto Rican women are considerably more likely than any of the groups to be family heads, with a headship rate over double that of other Hispanics and nearly four times greater than non-Hispanic white women. A high incidence of female headship is frequently associated with high levels of poverty (Tienda and Angel, 1982). Not surprisingly, Puerto Rican women receive the lowest level of earnings from other family members.

These data corroborate the general contention that Hispanics are sufficiently differentiated to require separate analyses of the national-origin groups (Jaffe, Cullen, and Boswell, 1980; Tienda, 1981). What is less well articulated is how national origin should be used in

formulatng hypotheses about the ways ethnicity stratifies the Hispanic population. There is a dominant tendency in the literature on minority workers to test for the existence of discrimination using residual techniques (Tienda, 1981, Chap. 3; Reimers, 1982). Studies conducted within the human capital and status attainment traditions tend to attribute varied labor market outcomes to differences in individual human capital, or achieved characteristics. According to these theoretical perspectives the story is straightforward: Hispanic women with a lower stock of human capital will occupy lower positions in the occupational structure. National origin is relevant within this context to the extent that group differences in achieved characteristics will predict the average level of labor market returns. That is, a group with low average education levels, such as women of Puerto Rican or Mexican origin, are expected to have low earnings or low occupational status precisely because of the low level of human capital that most members take to their jobs.

The assimilation literature discusses length of residence in the United States as a form of accumulated human capital. That is, recently arrived immigrants are often disadvantaged compared with the native-born or long-term residents because they usually lack the knowledge and skills necessary to function efficiently in the U.S. labor market (Gordon, 1964; Chiswick, 1979; Borjas, 1981). Presumably, with the passing of time and greater opportunity to interact with members of the dominant majority, the initial handicaps associated with migration and residency in a new place should diminish, and immigrants eventually become indistinguishable from their native-born counterparts. This argument is supported by evidence that length of U.S. residence positively influences the labor market success of Hispanic immigrants (Chiswick, 1979; Borjas, 1981). However,

the persisting differences among national-origin groups indicate that other factors, including labor market discrimination and the mode of insertion into the U.S. labor market, explain why some groups are eventually successful in overcoming labor market disadvantages, whereas others are not (Portes, 1979; Wilson and Portes, 1980).

Several excellent critiques of the human capital and assimilation perspectives exist (see, for example, Treiman and Hartmann, 1981, pp. 18-19; Arce, 1981, pp. 178-82), which we do not recount here. For our purposes, two points need emphasis: first, these perspectives assume that no individual will be penalized because of his or her membership in a particular ethnic or nativity group; second, national origin is considered relevant for average labor market outcomes only in terms of the level of achieved characteristics. Analysis of discrimination using residual techniques circumvents or disguises the subtle market-related difficulties that minorities encounter in the market, such as employer discrimination and competition. For example, entry into the labor market may be just as crucial to economic well-being among Hispanic-origin women as actual wage-level differentials among the employed; analysis of entry requires a study of labor market barriers, but the assimilation and human capital perspectives are unable to address these issues.

An alternative interpretation of the disadvantaged labor market position of minorities is that inequalities result largely from their membership in a particular national-origin and nativity group. This view derives from the ethnic stratification perspective and differs somewhat from the human capital and assimilation approaches. Ethnic stratification refers to a "system of stratification wherein group membership (e.g., race, religion, or nationality) is utilized as a major criterion for

assigning positions with their attendant differential rewards" (Noel, 1968, p. 157). Within this framework, Boyd (1980) elaborated a rationale for why certain nativity-nationality groups should have greater or less advantages in the occupational structure, independent of their varying stocks of human capital. First, such advantages, should they emerge, could reflect the existence of employer discrimination favoring one group over another. Second, occupational positions may differ among groups because of varying preferences and opportunities to work, as partly reflected in differential labor force participation rates. Finally, the occupational allocation of labor by nationality may reflect historically institutionalized practices of recruiting workers for particular jobs on the basis of their ethnicity or nativity. Among Hispanics, this finds a positive expression in the tendency for Cubans to hire other Cubans (Wilson and Portes, 1980), and a negative one in the tendency for non-Hispanic whites in the Southwest to recruit foreign-born, Mexican-origin women for domestic service or for agricultural work. What is missing in this and many other studies conducted from an ethnic stratification perspective (see Hirschman, 1980, for an overview) is a clear sense of the extent to which various groups exercise differential control over societal resources which in turn facilitate the acquisition of human capital, and how this facet of inequality is produced, although socioeconomic outcomes reflect the result of the process. The obvious difficulty is that causes and consequences cannot be clearly separated.

Sullivan (1978) confronted this problem in a discussion of how labor market outcomes illustrate the economic dimensions of the ethnic stratification system, although she admits to the difficulty of neatly differentiating dimensions that tend to be mutually reinforcing. Minority

groups usually have less control over social and economic resources. This circumstance diminishes their life changes and opportunities to advance vis-à-vis more dominant groups. However, it is precisely because groups differ in their access to social resources, such as education and wealth, that they can be ranked, and predictions can be made about specific social outcomes, such as the chances of securing high status positions (Sullivan, 1978). Accordingly, in this study we question whether Mexican-origin women as a group do better in the U.S. occupational structure than do women of Central and South American or other-Hispanic origin. Patterned differences would indicate the need to ascertain how and why such differences originated.

For example, the data in Table 1 corroborate the findings of numerous studies showing that Puerto Rican women experience the most severe labor market disadvantages (Newman, 1978; Guhleman and Tienda, 1981; Tienda and Angel, 1982). Although Puerto Ricans are concentrated in areas with relatively high wage structures, particularly when compared to Mexican-origin women, apparently they are unable to use this opportunity to their advantage. Substantial barriers to the acquisition of social resources and at the point of labor market entry provide plausible explanations. The latter is consistent with the low labor force participation rates characteristic of Puerto Rican women.

In evaluating the significance of Hispanic national origin and nativity in stratifying employed females, the basic issue is whether ascriptive characteristics exert an influence on occupational position above and beyond that due to individual differences in achieved characteristics. This line of questioning suggests two separate but complementary hypotheses. One is that the lower occupational placement of

Hispanic-origin women reflects their lesser stock of human resources, most notably those that ensure labor market success, such as education. An alternative but related hypothesis is that Hispanic-origin women occupy a lower position in the status hierarchy because of their ethnicity and nativity. These two hypotheses are not rival explanations, but rather provide a frame of reference from which to interpret socioeconomic differentiation among the Hispanic-origin groups, as well as between Hispanic and non-Hispanic white women. For ease of exposition, the first will be called the achievement hypothesis and the latter the ascription hypothesis, to distinguish the sources of ethnic variation in labor market position.

To summarize, the existing literature on ethnic stratification provides some basis for expecting differences in the occupational position of Hispanic women according to national origin and nativity as well as to achieved characteristics. Our present task is to evaluate empirically the appropriateness of the ascription and achievement hypotheses in explaining the occupational position of Hispanic-origin women. Our data do not permit an evaluation of the differential control over resources exercised by the Hispanic-origin groups. However, previous research has indicated that Mexicans and Puerto Ricans are much more likely to be in poverty than non-Hispanic white or other Hispanic-origin groups (Tienda, 1980). Elsewhere, Arce (1981) and Bonilla and Campos (1981), respectively, discussed the limited access to economic, political, and cultural resources among Mexicans and Puerto Ricans. There is also evidence that Cubans who immigrated before 1970 may rank higher in the stratification system than other Hispanic-origin groups in terms of their ability to form and maintain a parallel economic and institutional structure (Sullivan,

1978; Wilson and Portes, 1980). If these differences result from uneven control over and access to social resources, we should discern patterned differences in women's occupational positions according to national origin.

DATA AND METHODS

We analyze the occupational position of Hispanic-origin women with data from the 1976 Survey of Income and Education (SIE), a large intercensal survey conducted by the U.S. Bureau of the Census and co-sponsored by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.[1] Our analyses are restricted to women aged 18-64 who reported an occupation in 1975, if women were enrolled in school in 1975; they were included only if employed more than 1,240 hours. This resulted in a total sample of 13,524, of which 11,341 were non-Hispanic white women, used as a comparison group.[2] Of the remaining observations, 1,208 were of Mexican origin, 198 of Puerto Rican origin, 332 of Central and South American origin, and 445 of other-Hispanic origin. These samples contain 36 to 56% of all women aged 18-64 in the SIE.

We base our analysis of occupational position on two operationalizations. One is a measure of social standing based on the socioeconomic content of occupations, and another uses broad occupational strata derived from a grouping of the detailed Census occupation codes (see Appendix Table A.2 for details). For the former measure, data on respondents' 1975 occupations were converted into socioeconomic status scores as revised by Stevens and Featherman (1979). Unlike Duncan's (1961) original socioeconomic index, that computed by Stevens and Featherman is based on the total labor force (men and women). This is

important because it addresses a critical issue in the study of female status attainment processses--namely, that the scores based on the male labor force inadequately represent women's location in the status hierarchy.

Socioeconomic status scores reflect the average education and earnings levels of incumbents in specified occupations. Thus, scores based only on the male labor force do not take into account differences in these characteristics between men and women with the same occupation. This difficulty is exacerbated with status scores that represent broad occupational groups because of the disproportionate concentration of women in two lower white collar occupations--clerical and retail sales (Powers and Holmberg, 1978; Wolf and Rosenfeld, 1978; Stevens and Featherman, 1979). Powers and Holmberg demonstrate that the status rankings of clerical workers (predominantly women) and crafts workers (predominantly men) are reversed when rankings are based on the total labor force. Failure to acknowledge differences in the underlying occupational distributions between men and women may lead to erroneous conclusions about how the process of stratification depends on sex. Stevens and Featherman (1979) have elaborated this point more eloquently and derived a revised set of socioeconomic status scores for the total labor force. These, denoted TSEI, serve as our measure of socioeconomic status.[3]

We hypothesize that women's occupational position depends on both individual and labor market characteristics. The extensive literature on socioeconomic attainment processes amply documents the value of education and age in providing access to social rewards in a meritocratic system. Education, in particular, represents control over or access to the social resources necessary for labor market success. In addition, we depict

occupational position as a function of nativity status, English language proficiency, and labor supply, represented by a dummy for part-time work. Table 2 provides a summary description of our variables.

Language potentially influences women's occupational placement because other studies show that proficiency in English determines the assignment of men to particular jobs (Garcia, 1979; Grenier, 1981; Tienda and Neidert, 1981a; Tienda, 1982) and culturally differentiates ethnic populations (Bowman, 1981). Chiswick (1979) claims that language is also a proxy for the transferability of labor market skills among the foreign-born. Our English proficiency measure is derived from two items with categorical response choices about speaking and comprehension. Each item consists of six categories, and the two were summed generating a proficiency measure with a potential range of 1 to 12, with the high score representing complete fluency. Finally, because important differentials in labor supply patterns exist among the Hispanic national-origin groups (Guhleman and Tienda, 1981), we include a measure of part-time work status.

Our functional specification also includes variables representing labor market characteristics to acknowledge that group differences in control over resources also depend on ecological arrangements over which individual workers exercise little control. Because Hispanics are highly concentrated in regions according to nationality, recognition of how labor market conditions might influence female employment outcomes is especially important. We use two indicators, described more fully below, of labor market characteristics: one is an index of labor market crowding, represented by the percentage Hispanic in a Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area or in the state nonmetropolitan area, and another is

Table 2

Definitions of Variables used in the Multivariate Analyses
(Value range in parentheses)

Variable	Definition
Age	A series of dummy variables for the age categories 18-24, 25-34, 35-44, and 45-54. The age category 55-64 is omitted. (0,1)
Education	Number of completed years of schooling. (0,18)
Native-born	If born in the U.S., or on the U.S. mainland for Puerto Ricans = 1. (0,1)
Years since migration	A series of dummy variables for the number of years since immigration to the U.S. or to the U.S. mainland for Puerto Ricans. The native-born constitute the omitted category.
1 or less	If immigrated to the U.S. since 1975 = 1 (0,1)
2-5	If immigrated to the U.S. 1971-1974 = 1 (0,1)
6-11	If immigrated to the U.S. 1965-1970 = 1 (0,1)
12 or more	If immigrated to the U.S. before 1965 = 1 (0,1)
English language proficiency	A measure of English language proficiency which combines information about understanding and speaking English. A low value indicates low proficiency, and a high value indicates high proficiency. (1,12)
Children under 6	The number of own children under 6 years old, related by blood, marriage, or adoption to the family head. (0,6)
Children under 18	The number of own, never-married children under 18 years old. (0,9)
Female family head	If study respondent is the household head and lives with other relatives = 1. (0,1)
Other family earnings	Total family wage and salary earnings minus those of the study respondent, in dollars. (0, 80,000)
Disability	If study respondent reported any of the following (= 1): a personal handicap; physical disability, any condition that limits the kind or amount of work, or specified other activities she can do; an illness or disability as the reason for not working in 1975. (0,1)

(table continues)

Table 2, continued

Variable	Definition
Area wage rate	The average wage rate in the SMSA, or state nonmetropolitan area, in dollars. (3.62, 7.39)
Part-time work	If the respondent in the 1975 occupation sample usually worked part, rather than full, time in 1975 = 1. (0, 1)
Percentage Hispanic	The percentage of the population which is Hispanic in SMSA or state nonmetropolitan area. (00, 65)
Periphery sector	If the industry where the respondent is employed is in the periphery sector, classified according to Beck, Horan, and Talbert (1978) = 1. The periphery sector includes industries organized around the principle of competitive capital, such as agriculture or selected nondurable manufacturing and service industries.
TSEI	The socioeconomic status score, as revised by Stevens and Featherman (1979), based on men and women according to 1970 occupational categories. (0, 100)
λ	The inverse of the Mill's ratio predicting membership in the 1975 occupational sample. Table 3 in this paper shows the variables entered into the probit analysis used to generate the value for each individual. Women are excluded from the occupation sample if they did not report an occupation in response to the question, "What was your longest job in 1975?" They were also excluded if they worked fewer than 1,240 hours in 1975 and (1) reported school as their major activity when not working or (2) were in school at the time of the survey. (.14, 2.20)

industry sector location, an index of market segmentation.

The influence of the crowding variable is potentially ambiguous. One possibility is that women residing in areas where Hispanics are concentrated will experience greater opportunities for securing higher status positions because niches in ethnic enclaves will favor them; thus a positive effect would emerge. Yet it is also plausible that a negative relationship between occupational status and Hispanic concentration would emerge if employers use ethnicity as a queuing device to fill the low status jobs in particular labor markets. This result would illustrate the merit of the ethnic stratification perspective of labor market outcomes by showing how ascribed characteristics operate to assign workers to occupational positions.

Another way we acknowledge the influence of structural determinants of individual and group positions in the occupational hierarchy is by using a control for labor market sector. This is pertinent because of the growing evidence that workers' insertion in the employment structure determines individual outcomes (Stolzenberg, 1975; Beck, Horan, and Tolbert, 1978; Hodson, 1978; Portes and Bach, 1980; Wilson and Portes, 1980; England, 1982). Segmented market analysts suggest that jobs with reward opportunities are concentrated in the oligopolistic, or core, industrial sector. There, firms tend to be large, unionized, and capital-intensive. In contrast, competitive industries located in the periphery sector operate on low profit margins, are sensitive to shifts in the wider market, and are labor-intensive. Low pay, few opportunities for advancement, low levels of job stability, and minimal returns to human capital characterize the inferior working conditions in the periphery. Accordingly, workers with the weakest labor market positions, namely

minorities and women, tend to be overrepresented in the periphery (Kemp and Beck, 1981). This situation reflects a structural constraint on the potential for socioeconomic inequality among workers with similar characteristics.[4] In keeping with the basic argument of the market segmentation perspective, we anticipate that women who enter the core labor market sector will have a higher occupational position than those who are employed in the periphery, and that this effect will differ according to nationality groups.

Because we observed occupations only for women who work and who meet the conditions imposed on the sample with respect to school enrollment, analyses based on the subset of women with occupations may be biased. This follows because the expected value of the observed occupation variable is not random, but rather is correlated with the errors of the determinants of occupation. One method to correct for selectivity bias, proposed by Heckman (1979), is to estimate a probit model predicting inclusion in the occupation sample, generating the inverse of Mill's ratio, and entering this ratio, denoted λ, in the occupation equations. Accordingly, we estimated reduced-form sample inclusion probits[5] as a function of women's human capital, family, and economic characteristics. "Other family earnings" represent an exogenous indicator of economic need, which conditions women's decisions to enter into the labor market, and the area wage rate captures the opportunity costs of nonparticipation by indexing potential wages for those who decide to enter the labor force. Table 3 reports these results.

Health and the presence of children are uniformly significant determinants of women being in the occupation sample for all groups. As expected, the presence of children decreases the likelihood that women

Table 3

Maximum Likelihood Probit Coefficients to Predict Inclusion in the 1975
Occupation Sample, by National Origin: Women Aged 18-64

Variable	Mexican	Puerto Rican	Central & South American[a]	Other Hispanic	Non-Hispanic White
Age					
18-24	.378**	.409	-.236	.199	.190**
	(.124)	(.308)	(.260)	(.169)	(.031)
25-34	.691**	.655*	.412	.698**	.606**
	(.124)	(.299)	(.256)	(.181)	(.033)
35-44	.768**	.397	.518*	.692**	.603**
	(.127)	(.296)	(.247)	(.174)	(.036)
45-54	.379**	.463	.739**	.555**	.431**
	(.124)	(.296)	(.261)	(.163)	(.031)
Education	.021*	.012	-.033	.090**	.053**
	(009)	(.022)	(.020)	(.018)	(.004)
Number of children					
under 6	-.216**	-.255**	-.197	-.312**	-.254
	(.039)	(.093)	(.106)	(.086)	(.019)
under 18	-.089**	-.174**	-.236**	-.091*	-.129**
	(.018)	(.047)	(.059)	(.036)	(.009)
Years since migration					
1 or less	-.498	-.373	-.980**	-1.201	-.226
	(.262)	(.422)	(.365)	(.681)	(.208)
2-5	-.118	.048	-.347	-.296	-.044
	(.164)	(.262)	(.283)	(.308)	(.144)
6-11	.106	-.083	-.253	.094	.209
	(.141)	(.240)	(.255)	(.273)	(.108)
12 or more	-.080	.183	.164	-.095	-.051
	(.091)	(.173)	(.248)	(.178)	(.050)
English language proficiency	.044**	.025	.063*	.015	.002
	(.016)	(.031)	(.029)	(.031)	(.005)
Disability	-.483**	-.690**	-1.094**	-.713**	-.602**
	(.084)	(.175)	(.214)	(.133)	(.028)

(table continues)

Table 3, continued

Variable	Mexican	Puerto Rican	Central & South American[a]	Other Hispanic	Non-Hispanic White
Female family head	−.010 (.086)	−.253 (.154)	.220 (.214)	.096 (.148)	.252** (.038)
Other family earnings	−.000** (.000)	.000 (.000)	−.000** (.000)	−.000** (.000)	−.000** (.000)
Area wage rate	−.008 (.041)	.060 (.132)	.006 (.106)	−.000 (.085)	.031 (.017)
Constant	−.667 (.229)	−1.063 (.835)	.479 (.699)	−1.142 (.478)	−.199 (.116)
[N]	[2,432]	[554]	[584]	[892]	[20,147]

Note: Data base is 1976 Survey of Income and Education. Standard errors are in parentheses.

[a]Includes Cuban-origin women.

*Statistically significant at the 5% level in a two-tailed test.

**Statistically significant at the 1% level in a two-tailed test.

will work, as does the presence of a limiting health condition. The
availability of alternative sources of earnings from other family members
lowers the probability that all women, except Puerto Ricans, will work and
thus be in our occupation sample, but the point estimates for this effect
are very small. Heading a family influences the probability of being in
the occupation sample only for non-Hispanic white women; and for them,
the effect is positive. The pattern of age effects is not uniform across
groups but, in general, participation levels tend to be highest during the
prime ages 25-44. Central and South American women continue to exhibit
high rates of labor force and sample participation beyond age 44. The
insignificance of the age coefficients for this group at earlier ages is
partly related to the age distribution of this population.

Surprisingly, education exerts only a modest influence on the
likelihood that women will be in the occupation sample, and the point
estimates are significant only for Mexican, other-Hispanic and non-
Hispanic white women. Recently arrived Mexican and Central and South
American immigrants are less likely than earlier immigrants to work and to
have an occupation in 1975, but no similar effect emerges for any of the
other ethnicities. For these same two Hispanic groups, the negative
effect of recent arrival is offset slightly by high proficiency in
English, suggesting that recently arrived Mexican and Central and South
American women will be more likely to enter the labor force (and to be in
our occupation sample) if they are fluent in English.

Besides providing a general indication of the determinants of labor
force participation among Hispanic women, the probit generates the inverse
of the Mill's ratio, the correction factor needed to adjust our analyses

of women's occupational position for sample selection bias. Accordingly, we include this correction term in our following analyses.

DETERMINANTS OF OCCUPATIONAL POSITION

Our theoretical discussion of the determinants of the occupational position of Hispanic women indicated that an individual's ascribed and achieved attributes and labor market characteristics are involved. First we evaluate women's socioeconomic status as a function of age, education, nativity, language ability, part-time employment status, the inverse of the Mill's ratio, and two labor market characteristics. Part-time employment status controls systematic differences in occupational status corresponding to the kinds of jobs available for part- versus full-time work.

The ascription hypothesis predicts that both nativity and national origin will contribute independently to the occupational placement of Hispanic-origin women. Our analysis is structured to compare occupational status among Hispanic-national origin groups and non-Hispanic whites. This decision was empirically substantiated through a prior analysis based on a pooled regression for the total sample. In the first step, we used the sociodemographic and labor market characteristics to predict occupational status, and subsequently introduced a series of dummy variables representing the Hispanic national-origin groups. These results confirmed that national origin does make a significant contribution to the explained variance in the occupational status of women, above and beyond that due to differences in levels of human capital among the groups. Thus, we conduct separate analyses for each national-origin group.

Nativity, the second characteristic hypothesized to support the ascription concept, is introduced as an additive term in our equations. Tests for interaction between nativity and the sociodemographic characteristics (not shown) representing different levels of social resources indicated that nativity does not condition the effects of individual and labor market characteristics on determining socioeconomic status, except among Puerto Ricans. In the interest of parsimony, we do not estimate separate models for native and foreign born Puerto Ricans, for whom the distinction is fuzzy, but assume that nativity effects are largely additive for all groups. Means and standard deviations of the variables used in the regression analysis are reported in Appendix Table A.1.

Status Attainment Process

The functional relationship among the achieved and ascribed characteristics of employed women outlined in Table 4 shows how the determinants of occupational status differ among women of Hispanic and non-Hispanic origin. As expected, education positively influences socioeconomic achievement for all groups, but the magnitude of the effect varies according to nationality. Nonminority women receive a status payoff of about 2.8 points on the socioeconomic index for each year of school completed, while Hispanic women receive somewhat lower payoffs for each year of graded schooling. Part-time employment lowers the status rewards of comparably educated nonminority women, although no such effect emerges for Hispanics. Among Hispanics, women of other-Hispanic origin receive the highest status returns to education, averaging 2.5 points for each year completed, while those of Central and South American origin receive the lowest returns, approximately 1.6 points per year of completed

Table 4

Regressions of Socioeconomic Status Scores on Individual and Labor Market Characteristics,
by National Origin: Women Aged 18-64 in the 1975 Occupation Sample

Variable	Mexican (1)	Mexican (2)	Puerto Rican (1)	Puerto Rican (2)	Central & South American[a] (1)	Central & South American[a] (2)	Other Hispanic (1)	Other Hispanic (2)	Non-Hispanic White (1)	Non-Hispanic White (2)
Age										
18 - 24	-5.930**	-5.834**	-1.017	-1.501	1.812	2.682	-9.379**	-8.939**	-5.814**	-5.811**
	(1.582)	(1.610)	(4.302)	(4.327)	(3.051)	(3.227)	(2.542)	(2.581)	(.665)	(.666)
25 - 34	-2.817	-2.648	1.843	1.168	-.087	-.041	-7.743**	-6.777*	-1.302	-1.285
	(1.551)	(1.637)	(4.098)	(4.150)	(2.795)	(2.797)	(2.446)	(2.635)	(.631)	(.654)
35 - 44	-2.188	-1.990	-3.269	-3.717	-1.241	-1.282	-7.256**	-6.149*	-.408	-.393
	(1.579)	(1.694)	(4.234)	(4.256)	(2.795)	(2.797)	(2.474)	(2.717)	(.669)	(.687)
45 - 54	-1.888	-1.764	-.494	-1.585	1.440	.855	-7.935**	-6.850*	-.473	-.458
	(1.657)	(1.701)	(4.274)	(4.404)	(2.830)	(2.917)	(2.468)	(2.702)	(.653)	(.672)
Education	1.753**	1.764**	1.833**	1.772**	1.597**	1.631**	2.340**	2.514**	2.842**	2.845**
	(.112)	(.117)	(.294)	(.300)	(.211)	(.215)	(.256)	(.311)	(.084)	(.089)
Native-born	-.937	-.931	2.684	2.766	2.609	2.502	.758	.912	-.711	-.710
	(.971)	(.971)	(2.286)	(2.287)	(2.599)	(2.604)	(2.298)	(2.303)	(.921)	(.922)
English language proficiency	-.310	-.293	.104	.031	.321	.221	.226	.232	-.179	-.179
	(.186)	(.194)	(.402)	(.408)	(.313)	(.335)	(.487)	(.487)	(.113)	(.113)
Part-time work	-.729	-.750	2.253	2.706	1.224	1.786	-.989	-1.261	-1.252**	-1.262**
	(.746)	(.749)	(2.167)	(2.211)	(2.045)	(2.155)	(1.460)	(1.486)	(.440)	(.452)
Percentage Hispanic	2.505	2.562	-21.608	-22.975	6.283	6.363	6.025	5.827	6.452*	6.459*
	(1.963)	(1.972)	(11.418)	(11.494)	(5.982)	(5.986)	(4.338)	(4.343)	(2.552)	(2.553)

(table continues)

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Variable	Mexican		Puerto Rican		Central & South American[a]		Other Hispanic		Non-Hispanic White	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
Periphery sector	-6.502** (.658)	-6.504** (.658)	-8.454** (1.616)	-8.252** (1.628)	-7.685** (1.390)	-7.624** (1.392)	-10.119** (1.351)	-10.218** (1.355)	-10.031** (.415)	-10.032** (.415)
λ	--[b]	.562 (1.734)	--[b]	-3.033 (2.957)	--[b]	-2.251 (2.712)	--[b]	3.117 (3.159)	--[b]	.087 (.894)
Constant	24.437	23.597	20.190	24.531	16.153	17.706	21.602	16.607	22.780	22.679
R^2	.321	.321	.394	.398	.354	.355	.352	.354	.186	.186
[N]	[1,208]	[1,208]	[198]	[198]	[332]	[332]	[445]	[445]	[11,341]	[11,341]

Note: Data base is 1976 Survey of Income and Education. Standard errors are in parentheses.

[a]Includes Cuban-origin women.

[b]Variable not entered in the equation.

*Statistically significant at the 5% level in a one-tailed test.

**Statistically significant at the 1% level in a one-tailed test.

schooling. Mexicans and Puerto Ricans receive similar status payoffs to education.

Thus, the lower aggregate status positions of Hispanic-origin women vis-à-vis non-Hispanic whites appear to be due not only to differences in prior achievements, but also to the differential evaluation of educational resources in the U.S. labor market. Being a member of an Hispanic ethnic group confers status disadvantages which are partly transmitted through the differential evaluation of graded schooling. Taking into account linguistic characteristics of the groups does not alter this result because proficiency in English does not affect the occupational status of Hispanic or non-Hispanic white women once differences in education are taken into account.

Nativity has no significant impact on the occupational achievement of Hispanic or non-Hispanic white women, but the ethnic composition of the labor market does. Presence of large proportions of Hispanics confers status advantages to non-Hispanic white women, while depressing the status rewards for Puerto Rican women. We hypothesized that the effect of this variable was potentially ambiguous, and this seems to be the case for the other Hispanic-origin groups, for whom the coefficients differ in sign from those of Puerto Ricans. However, because of their large standard errors, we cannot reject the hypothesis that these are different from zero. For Puerto Ricans, the effects are on the margin of statistical significance, while for non-Hispanic whites, a large and positive coefficient indicates that nonminority women benefit in status from the presence of a large minority workforce. This result is plausible if minority women are used disproportionately to fill slots in the lower echelons of the occupational hierarchy. In the absence of evidence about

significant gains to Hispanics, this finding reinforces the importance of ascription in determining the labor market outcomes of minority and nonminority women workers. Further study of the possibility of employer discrimination in high minority areas is definitely called for.

The coefficient for sectoral location illustrates the importance of a labor market characteristic that indicates mode of incorporation of ethnic workers into the U.S. labor market. Notice that for every group (nonminority women included), periphery sector employment renders a sizable socioeconomic status disadvantage to workers. The largest penalty accrues to non-Hispanic white and other-Hispanic women, but these women, particularly non-Hispanic whites, are less likely to hold periphery jobs. For both groups, periphery sector employment renders a 10 point decrease in the revised socioeconomic status index. For the remainder of the Hispanic nationalities, periphery sector employment provides a status cost of approximately 6.5 to 8.5 points on the occupational index. Puerto Ricans receive a slightly higher status penalty to periphery sector location; but they are also disproportionately located in the the core sector relative to women of Mexican and Central and South American origin (see Table A.1).

Overall, our results provide strong support for the achievement explanation of socioeconomic achievement, but there is also sufficient evidence that ascriptive characteristics shape the process of ethnic stratification. Nationality is clearly instrumental in determining the relative socioeconomic ranking of Hispanic-origin women, above and beyond the effects due to differences in education and other demographic characteristics. Evidence for the significance of ethnicity is also evident in the differential evaluation of schooling between Hispanic and

non-Hispanic white women, but there is no evidence that nativity directly determines occupational status once differences in socioeconomic characteristics that are systematically associated with birthplace are adjusted. Furthermore, our results support the notion that extra-individual characteristics, notably sectoral location but also ethnic composition of the labor market, influence the socioeconomic status of Hispanic-origin women. A remaining question for further research is to ascertain whether achieved and ascribed characteristics determine sectoral location in the first place. Preliminary evidence based on men suggests that this is the case (Tienda and Neidert, 1980; 1981b).

Occupational Allocation Process

Because socioeconomic status represents but one dimension of occupational position, our conclusions about the role of ethnicity in stratifying Hispanic-origin workers cannot be generalized to all aspects of social stratification. Recently there has been considerable debate as to whether prestige scores and socioeconomic status scores should be used to evaluate the occupational position of women. For the most part, this discussion focuses on analyses comparing men and women, but part of the debate has questioned the significance of the status index per se (Horan, 1978; Acker, 1980; Horan, Tolbert, and Beck, 1981).

Wolf and Fligstein (1979) challenged Treiman and Terrell's (1975) contention that there exists a single occupational status hierarchy that applies to both men and women. To support their argument, they illustrate that differences in authority in the workplace result from the exclusion of women from supervisory positions. Other labor market analysts (Wolf and Rosenfeld, 1978; Powers and Holmberg, 1978) called attention to the significance of persisting and marked occupational segregation by sex.

For example, Wolf and Rosenfeld (1978) question the meaning of analyses of sexual inequalities in status attainment which use status scores as the sole indicator of women's labor market positions. They base their argument on the differing possibilities for social mobility in the occupations dominated by women as compared to those which are dominated by men.

In response to these criticisms, we have recomputed our analyses of occupational position using a categorical measure of occupation. For this purpose, we collapsed the thirteen occupational categories shown in Appendix Table A.2 to form four major occupational strata. These strata, which represent the basic upper white collar, lower white collar, and blue collar groupings conventionally used in studies of occupational mobility (Featherman and Hauser, 1978; Snipp, 1981; Snipp and Tienda, 1982), reflect the distinction between nonmanual and manual workers. The two categories of blue collar workers are one which combines service and craft workers (due to the small proportion of women in the latter occupational category), and one which combines operatives, laborers, and farm workers. A separate category for farm workers is not justified because only one group, Mexicans, had a nontrivial share of workers assigned to this occupation in 1975. We assigned them to the lower blue collar stratum.

The allocation of Hispanic and non-Hispanic white female labor among these four occupational strata is presented in Table 5, along with the mean socioeconomic status scores corresponding to the aggregated occupational strata. These mean scores impart a sense of the status rankings of the four occupational strata, and serve as a link between the regression and discriminant analyses (to follow). As expected, the highest average status rankings correspond to the professional,

managerial, and nonretail sales category, while the lowest levels correspond to the operative and laborer category. This pattern also holds for comparisons <u>within</u> ethnic groups, with a minor deviation for non-Hispanic whites. However, owing to differences in the allocation of minority workers among these strata, the average status levels within strata differ among the groups. These differences are most pronounced in the operative and laborer category, where the average status threshold of minority women is on the order of 17 points on the revised socioeconomic index, whereas that of nonminority women is nearly twice as large, or 31 points. A similar pattern emerges in the second and third occupational strata (clerical and retail sales; services and crafts), where the average status level of non-Hispanic white women is about 7 to 10 points higher than the corresponding status level for minority women.

Our preliminary discussion of the differential control over social resources exercised by minority and nonminority women suggests that the latter would be more highly represented in the professional, managerial and nonretail sales category. Lacking access to the resources that confer high status positions, minority women should be more highly concentrated in the operative and laborer category. This pattern is clearly portrayed in Table 5. Whereas about one-fourth of all non-Hispanic white women hold professional, managerial, and sales positions, the proportion of Hispanic incumbents in similar occupations ranges from a high of 19% for those of other-Hispanic origin to less than 8% for Mexican-origin women. At the other extreme, only 12% of all non-Hispanic white women are in operative and laborer occupations, as compared to 45% among Puerto Ricans, and roughly one-third of Central and South Americans and Mexicans. Women of other-Hispanic origin are more like nonminority women in that less than

Table 5

Occupational Allocation of Women Aged 18-64 in the 1975 Occupation Sample, by National Origin: Percentage Distribution and Mean Socioeconomic Status Scores

Occupational Category	Mexican		Puerto Rican		Central & South American[a]		Other Hispanic		Non-Hispanic White	
	%	Mean	%	Mean	%	Mean	%	Mean	%	Mean
Professional, managerial and nonretail sales	7.6	59.2 (12.1)	10.5	58.4 (11.1)	11.5	57.4 (11.7)	18.7	60.1 (12.1)	25.9	59.9 (13.2)
Clerical and retail sales	31.3	27.8 (5.7)	28.6	28.1 (3.8)	32.4	28.4 (4.4)	44.4	30.3 (7.2)	44.0	37.6 (19.7)
Service and crafts	26.9	20.0 (4.9)	16.0	21.4 (6.2)	20.2	19.4 (5.3)	22.4	19.2 (4.1)	18.5	27.1 (17.8)
Operative and laborer[b]	34.1	17.1 (2.0)	44.9	17.2 (3.0)	35.8	16.7 (2.2)	14.4	16.8 (2.8)	11.6	31.4 (27.1)
Total	99.9		100.0		99.9		99.9		100.0	
[N]		[1,208]		[198]		[332]		[445]		[11,341]

Note: Data base is 1976 Survey of Income and Education. Standard errors are in parentheses.

[a]Includes Cuban-origin women.
[b]Includes farmers, farm supervisors, and farm laborers.

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15% held operative and laborer jobs in 1975. Differences among Hispanic
and non-Hispanic white women are less pronounced in the clerical and
service occupations.

To evaluate the process by which minority and nonminority workers are
allocated among the occupational strata and to compare the determinants of
occupational position and occupational status among the national origin
groups, we computed a discriminant analysis using the four occupational
strata as categorical dependent variables and the same set of independent
variables to predict the status dimension of occcupational position. As
before, the inverse of the Mill's ratio is included to correct for
selection bias. The maximum number of discriminant functions possible in
our analysis based on four occupational strata is three (4 minus 1).

The proportion of cases correctly classified ranges from 44 to 61%.
Eigen relative percentage values, which fall between 84 and 92, indicate
the overwhelming dominance of the first function in accounting for the
pattern of occupational allocation. These statistics show that the fit of
the first function is quite good. Even though the second and third
discriminant functions produce statistically significant canonical
correlations for all groups except Puerto Ricans, their ability to
discriminate among the occupational strata is trivial, as indicated by the
magnitude of the canonical correlations and the Eigen relative percentage
values. For this reason, we confine our discussion to the first
discriminant function.

Results reported in Table 6 include the standardized discriminant
coefficients for the first function and the statistics required for
evaluating the goodness-of-fit of the model. The canonical correlation
coefficients, which measure the overall association between the

Table 6

Discriminant Analyses (First Function) of Women's Allocation into Four
Occupational Strata, by National Origin: Women Aged 18-64
in the 1975 Occupation Sample

	Mexican	Puerto Rican	Central & South American[a]	Other Hispanic	Non-Hispanic White
Age					
18-24	-.20	-.04	.25	.01	-.19
25-34	-.10	.05	.05	.03	-.08
35-44	-.05	-.32	.17	-.04	-.07
45-54	-.06	.04	.06	-.14	-.03
Education	.85	.54	.54	.62	.90
Native-born	.06	.39	.10	.04	-.03
English language proficiency	.03	.32	.39	.28	.01
Part-time work	.09	.24	.15	-.06	-.03
Percentage Hispanic	.15	-.08	.08	.33	.07
Periphery sector	-.38	-.38	-.49	-.57	-.34
λ	.02	-.12	-.04	—[b]	-.00
Eigen value	.44	.92	.77	.65	.51
Eigen relative percentage	83.91	85.32	84.67	74.34	91.85
Canonical correlation	.55	.69	.66	.63	.58
Chi square	536.34	151.99	229.37	312.04	5193.7
$p \leqslant$	.001	.001	.001	.001	.001
Strata Centroids					
Professional, managerial, nonretail sales	1.29	1.52	1.28	1.06	1.11
Clerical and retail sales	.58	.92	.82	.42	-.06
Service and crafts	-.30	.13	-.60	-.86	-.72
Operative and laborer	-.72	-.95	-.90	-1.15	-.92
Percentage of cases correctly classified	44.37	61.11	52.11	56.63	49.85
[N]	[1,208]	[198]	[332]	[445]	[11,341]

Note: Data base is 1976 Survey of Income and Education.

[a]Includes Cuban-origin women.

[b]Model failed to converge with inclusion of λ. These estimates include λ.

discriminant function and the occupational strata, are fairly consistent

across groups, ranging between .6 and .7 for all groups. Group centroids

indicate that the first discriminant function best distinguishes

employment in the professional, managerial, and sales occupations from

employment in operative and laborer occupations. Workers in other

occupational strata are distinguishable from one another, but the contrast

with the high status category of professional, managerial, and wholesale

workers is not as sharply defined. Another clear message is that the

determinants of occupational position differ among the groups, even though

there are a great many similarities.

Overall, these results reaffirm those based on the regressions of

socioeconomic status scores. Education exerts the most dominant influence

on the occupational position of women of all national origins, including

non-Hispanic whites. Without exception, the largest standardized

discriminant coefficient corresponds to the schooling variable. This

finding corroborates the widely held premise of students of stratification

that the key dimension underlying occupations is socioeconomic

(Featherman, Jones, and Hauser, 1975). The fact that this result appears

for female workers as well as for men (Snipp, 1981) is significant in its

own right. Apparently women, like men, have better chances of entering

high-level occupations if they acquire sufficient schooling, but this

presupposes equal resources and opportunities for all groups to achieve

similar education levels. Clearly, this situation does not exist. Before

the occupational position of Hispanic women is improved, it is obvious

that measures must be taken to upgrade their educational attainment.

Because the discriminant coefficients have been normalized, strict

comparisons cannot be made among the national-origin groups; but the

values of the discriminant coefficients relative to the values of the respective group centroids indicate which factors play greater or lesser roles in allocating women workers among the four occupational strata. The fact that the highest group centroid values correspond to the professional, managerial, and sales category among all groups indicates that women with higher levels of education are more likely to be allocated to this occupational category. However, factors other than education exercise a significant influence on the occupational placement of women. Sectoral location emerges as the second most dominant determinant of occupational placement for all groups. This finding suggests that it is not only worker characteristics but also characteristics of jobs that determine the placement of women in the occupational hierarchy. To the extent that ethnicity interacts with market forces to draw female workers into some slots while excluding them from others, the possibility of securing high status positions may be diminished.

The magnitude and direction of the group centroids in comparison to values of the discriminant coefficients indicates that Hispanic workers excluded from the periphery sector are characteristically excluded from upper white collar jobs. This result is consistent with existing arguments and evidence about how forms of labor market insertion (Portes, 1979) determine subsequent labor market outcomes, whether these are gauged in terms of earnings (Beck, Horan, and Tolbert, 1978; Tienda and Neidert, 1980; Portes and Bach, 1980; Wilson and Portes, 1980), or occupational position (Stolzenberg, 1975; Wolf and Rosenfeld, 1978). Our analysis does not directly address the question concerning why workers are differentially allocated to core and periphery, but it does suggest that explanations of inequality which focus on individually achieved and

ascribed characteristics, to the neglect of market characteristics, must be qualified until further evidence is available. Presumably, educational differences among the groups play a part in the labor market insertion patterns, but there is more to the story, for this characteristic has been taken into account in our model. Moreover, differences in educational attainment among the groups partly reflect differential access to this important social resource.

Results of the discriminant analysis also provide some support for the ascription explanation of labor market location. Only for Puerto Ricans does nativity emerge as an important determinant of women's occupational position—the second largest discriminant coefficient corresponds to this variable. Perhaps there exists an association between the content and quality of schooling obtained by Puerto Rican women born on the mainland and on the island which continues to differentiate this group within the context of the U.S. labor market. English proficiency is the third most important determinant of occupational placement among Puerto Rican, Central and South American, and other-Hispanic women, reinforcing further the need for adequate linguistic skills for entry into high-level occupations.

Despite their consistency with the results of the regression analysis and their coherence with respect to the determinants of upper white collar occupational allocation, these findings leave open the question of what determines the allocation of Hispanic women into lower white collar and blue collar jobs. Given that the majority of Hispanic women do not hold upper white collar positions, this question is even more critical. Therefore, we recomputed the discriminant analysis, excluding the professional and managerial category. For this analysis, reported in

Table 7, two discriminant functions are possible, but only the first function is shown because of its dominance in terms of overall discriminating power (Eigen relative percentage values range from 97 for Puerto Ricans to 78 for other-Hispanic and non-Hispanic white women).

The discriminant coefficients reveal three general patterns of influence. As in the previous analysis, the group centroids distinguish between clerical or retail sales workers and the remaining two occupational strata, the clearest demarcation being with the lower status operative and laborer category. Notice that the magnitudes of the coefficients differ among the groups. For Mexican and non-Hispanic white women, education is the major discriminating factor, with periphery sector location being the second most important factor, as in the former analysis. By contrast, both education and language proficiency determine the allocation of Central and South American and other-Hispanic women to the clerical and retail versus other occupational slots, and the coefficient for periphery sector location is large and negative for both groups. In addition, a positive crowding effect appears for the other-Hispanic workers--the presence of large shares of Hispanic workers ensures that some women of other-Hispanic origin will find positions in the clerical and retail sales occupations. Yet a third pattern of occupational allocation emerges for Puerto Ricans for whom nativity, education, and language proficiency achieve somewhat uniform weights in differentiating clerical and retail workers from those in blue collar occupations.

Thus, while education is still an important factor in allocating women to lower white collar and blue collar jobs, it is not as dominant a factor as it appears to be for professional and managerial positions. The

Table 7

Discriminant Analyses (First Function) of Women's Allocation
into Three Occupational Strata by National Origin:
Women Aged 18-64 in the 1975 Occupation Sample

	Mexican	Puerto Rican	Central & South American[a]	Other Hispanic	Non-Hispanic White
Age					
18-24	-.05	.04	.35	.20	-.06
25-34	-.06	.00	.10	.19	-.09
35-44	-.03	-.32	.26	.03	-.05
45-54	-.04	.15	.09	-.02	.00
Education	.78	.45	.41	.45	.86
Native-born	.12	.45	.09	.09	.07
English language proficiency	.10	.38	.45	.41	.04
Part-time work	.13	.28	.19	-.09	.06
Percentage Hispanic	.18	.08	.05	.48	.19
Periphery sector	-.35	-.33	-.49	-.53	-.38
λ	.01	.04	-.02	-.03	-.02
Eigen value	.31	.72	.60	.51	.16
Eigen relative percentage	84.13	96.67	85.68	77.38	78.56
Canonical correlation	.48	.65	.61	.58	.37
Chi square	353.64	94.46	160.51	196.39	1596.1
$p \leqslant$	.001	.001	.001	.001	.001
Strata Centroids					
Clerical and retail sales	.72	1.13	.98	.67	.33
Service and crafts	-.17	.37	-.39	-.60	-.34
Operative and laborer	-.60	-.77	-.72	-1.00	-.64
Percentage of cases correctly classified	54.96	69.71	61.51	68.04	55.31
[N]	[1,099]	[175]	[291]	[363]	[8,507]

Note: Data base is 1976 Survey of Income and Education.

[a]Includes Cuban-origin women.

emergence of nativity for Puerto Ricans, and of language proficiency for Central and South Americans and other-Hispanic women, testifies to the importance of additional achieved characteristics which facilitate the incorporation of Hispanic women in the occupational structure. Language is obviously important for professional and managerial jobs, but women who have achieved levels of education sufficiently high to enter these occupations seldom have linguistic difficulties. This is not necessarily the case for incumbents of lower white collar jobs. Moreover, in ethnic enclaves, retail and clerical jobs may be accessible to individuals who have difficulty with the English language, but who may be quite fluent in Spanish.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The results based on the regression and discriminant analyses indicate important differences in occupational positions of Hispanic women according to national origin. Education emerges as the most salient determinant of occupational position for both the interval (SEI scores) and categorical (occupation groups) metrics, but in another analysis (Tienda and Guhleman, 1981) we showed that the relative importance of high school as compared to college training in the process of occupational placement depends upon national origin. It is therefore inappropriate to conclude that the meritocratic bases used to assign female workers their occupational roles are more important than the ascriptive bases of these assignments. Our observed outcomes are undoubtedly related to preexisting differences in group access to the social and economic resources that provide entry into the highest occupational positions. Failure to recognize this fact will lead to misguided conclusions about the nature

and extent of ethnic stratification among women and men alike, as well as the nature of changes required in public policy to bring about greater parity in labor market outcomes.

Our results provide some support for the ascription explanation of ethnic stratification. There is nothing inherently hierarchical about national origin or nativity to predict the location of specific groups in the occupational structure. Rather, groups are ranked socioeconomically in terms of their status achievements, which largely reflect their differential access to resources. To the extent that foreign-born women arrive with low levels of the resources necessary for obtaining high-level occupations in the U.S. labor market, birthplace should influence labor market outcomes, at least until the foreign-born acclimate their labor market skills to the U.S. occupational structure. Nativity does not significantly influence the socioeconomic status or occupational location of most Hispanic-origin women, once differences in educational and linguistic characteristics are accounted for, but there is weak evidence that nativity still matters for Puerto Rican women. The fact that native- and foreign-born women have differential access and control over social resources, including education and market skills, contributes to ethnic stratification, and we should not endeavor to explain it away or pretend that it is relatively unimportant. With appropriate policy interventions, foreign-born women can overcome their labor market handicaps more rapidly, especially if programs emphasizing the transferability of skills are given priority.

The question that needs to be addressed is why some groups continue to acquire low levels of resources, especially education. It is this line of questioning which lies at the core of the ethnic stratification

perspective, because differences in achieved characteristics are themselves determined by ascribed characteristics. Our analyses do suggest promising avenues for further investigation into the question of why some ethnic groups are more successful in gaining access to the resources that permit subsequent labor market success. One approach likely to render new insights is a study of the role and function of ethnic enclaves in shaping labor market outcomes. More generally, further analysis of the role of structural factors in stratifying ethnic workers of both sexes might further clarify which groups are able to experience mobility as a group, and why. Obviously, census data are not appropriate for empirically testing these ideas, so future researchers should be advised of the promise of utilizing methodologies that can blend individual and structural factors in a single analysis of group and individual outcomes. Such information may render new insights about why the socioeconomic differentiation among Hispanic-origin women takes the form it does, and how this might be changed in the future. In addition, future analysts should strive to determine to what extent employer discrimination contributes to the uneven labor market outcomes demonstrated herein. An ensuing step entails outlining policy measures to eliminate discriminatory practices, but this area of investigation is still in its infancy.

Appendix Table A.1

Selected Characteristics of Women Aged 18-64 in the 1975 Occupation Sample,
by National Origin: Percentages or Means

Variable	Mexican	Puerto Rican	Central & South American[a]	Other Hispanic	Non-Hispanic White
Age					
18-24	26.8%	24.8%	15.4%	19.6%	19.4%
	(44.3)	(43.3)	(36.1)	(39.7)	(39.6)
25-34	33.6	36.4	27.7	25.4	26.7
	(47.3)	(48.2)	(44.8)	(43.6)	(44.2)
35-44	21.8	19.2	27.4	23.6	18.7
	(41.3)	(39.5)	(44.7)	(42.5)	(39.0)
45-54	13.1	15.2	22.9	22.5	20.5
	(33.7)	(36.0)	(42.1)	(41.8)	(40.4)
55-64	4.7	4.6	6.6	9.0	14.7
	(21.2)	(20.9)	(24.9)	(28.6)	(35.4)
Age continuous	33.3	33.5	37.4	37.3	38.1
(years)	(11.1)	(10.9)	(11.0)	(12.3)	(13.1)
Education (years)	10.0	9.8	11.2	11.7	12.6
	(3.5)	(3.4)	(3.5)	(2.7)	(2.4)
Native-born	82.3%	21.2%	7.2%	86.1%	95.3%
	(38.2)	(41.0)	(25.9)	(34.7)	(21.3)
English language proficiency score	9.7	8.6	8.2	10.5	11.7
	(2.3)	(2.6)	(2.5)	(1.7)	(1.7)
Part-time work	22.3%	17.2%	11.1%	27.4%	26.7%
	(41.6)	(37.8)	(31.5)	(44.7)	(44.3)
Percentage Hispanic in area	18.6%	8.2%	12.8%	18.2%	5.1%
	(15.9)	(7.2)	(11.0)	(15.7)	(7.5)
Periphery sector	53.6%	45.0%	53.3%	44.5%	37.8%
	(49.9)	(49.9)	(50.0)	(49.8)	(48.5)
λ	.74	.91	.57	.70	.64
	(.23)	(.31)	(.32)	(.285)	(.250)
TS75	25.2	25.7	26.2	40.0	40.4
	(12.9)	(14.0)	(14.1)	(16.2)	(22.5)
[N]	[1,208]	[198]	[332]	[445]	[11,341]

Note: Data base is 1976 Survey of Income and Education. Standard deviations are in
parentheses.

[a]Includes Cuban-origin women.

Appendix Table A.2

Detailed Occupational Distribution of Women Aged 18-64 in the 1975
Occupation Sample, by National Origin (Percentages)

Occupational Group	Mexican	Puerto Rican	Central & South American[a]	Other Hispanic	Non-Hispanic White
Strata I					
Professional, technical, and kindred	5.1	6.6	8.9	13.9	18.7
Managers and administrators[b]	2.1	3.8	2.0	4.1	5.4
Nonretail sales workers	0.3	0.1	0.7	0.7	1.8
Strata II					
Self-employed managers and administrators	0.7	0.1	0.0	1.8	1.2
Retail sales workers	3.4	4.2	1.9	3.8	5.1
Clerical and kindred	27.3	24.3	30.5	38.8	37.7
Strata III					
Crafts and kindred	1.8	0.7	2.7	0.9	2.0
Service					
Private household	3.4	1.3	4.2	3.5	1.5
Other service	21.8	14.1	13.3	18.0	15.0
Strata IV					
Operative[c]	27.1	43.0	35.2	13.6	9.9
Nonfarm laborers	2.1	0.4	0.6	0.4	0.9
Farmers and farm managers	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2
Farm laborers and supervisors	4.8	1.4	0.0	0.4	0.6
Total percentages	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.0
[N][d]	[1,208]	[198]	[332]	[445]	[11,341]

Note: Data base is 1976 Survey of Income and Education.

[a]Includes Cuban-origin women.

[b]Excludes farm and self-employed workers.

[c]Includes transportation workers.

[d]Weighting renders these data comparable to population statistics.

Notes

1. For a description of this data set, see Tienda (1981, Chap. 1).

2. Because the SIE is exceptionally large, a 33% random sample of non-Hispanic white women was drawn for the empirical analyses, mainly for computational efficiency. Sampling weights are not used in the multivariate analyses because weighted samples generate incorrect tests of statistical significance, but descriptive statistics in Tables 1 and 5 and the Appendix tables are weighted.

3. Our decision not to use the Duncan index, which is based only on men's multivariate analyses, results from our appraisal that this metric artificially inflates the mean status levels of Hispanic and non-Hispanic white women. Such upward biases are especially serious when comparisons between men and women are desired, but less so for within-sex comparisons. This criticism does not mean that the male-based Duncan SEI scores are invalid. It simply means that our analysis shows, as have prior studies, that an occupational status index based on the total labor force is preferable for analyzing the occupational achievements of women (Powers and Holmberg, 1978; Stevens and Featherman, 1979).

4. While it is true that the dual sector conceptualization of labor market segmentation tends to blur the extent of within-sector heterogeneity (Hodson and Kaufman, 1981), our decision to consider this aspect of labor market structure in the analyses of occupational stratification reflects our conviction that structural constraints determine individual and group occupational positions, above and beyond the effects that may be attributed to characteristics defining group membership, such as national origin and nativity. Our empirical evidence corroborates this position.

5. The general concern of sample selection bias in this case is
whether women are in or out of the labor force. However, the status of
being in the labor force includes women who are unemployed and looking for
work, and thus may not have an occupation. The greater the discrepancy
between employment and labor force participation, the more different are
the probit estimates for sample selection bias estimated using the
criterion of "in sample" versus "in labor force" as the dependent
variable. We computed probits using both dependent variables and found
some, but not many, differences. Greatest differences appear for Puerto
Ricans, the group that experiences the highest rates of unemployment.
These results are available from the authors.

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