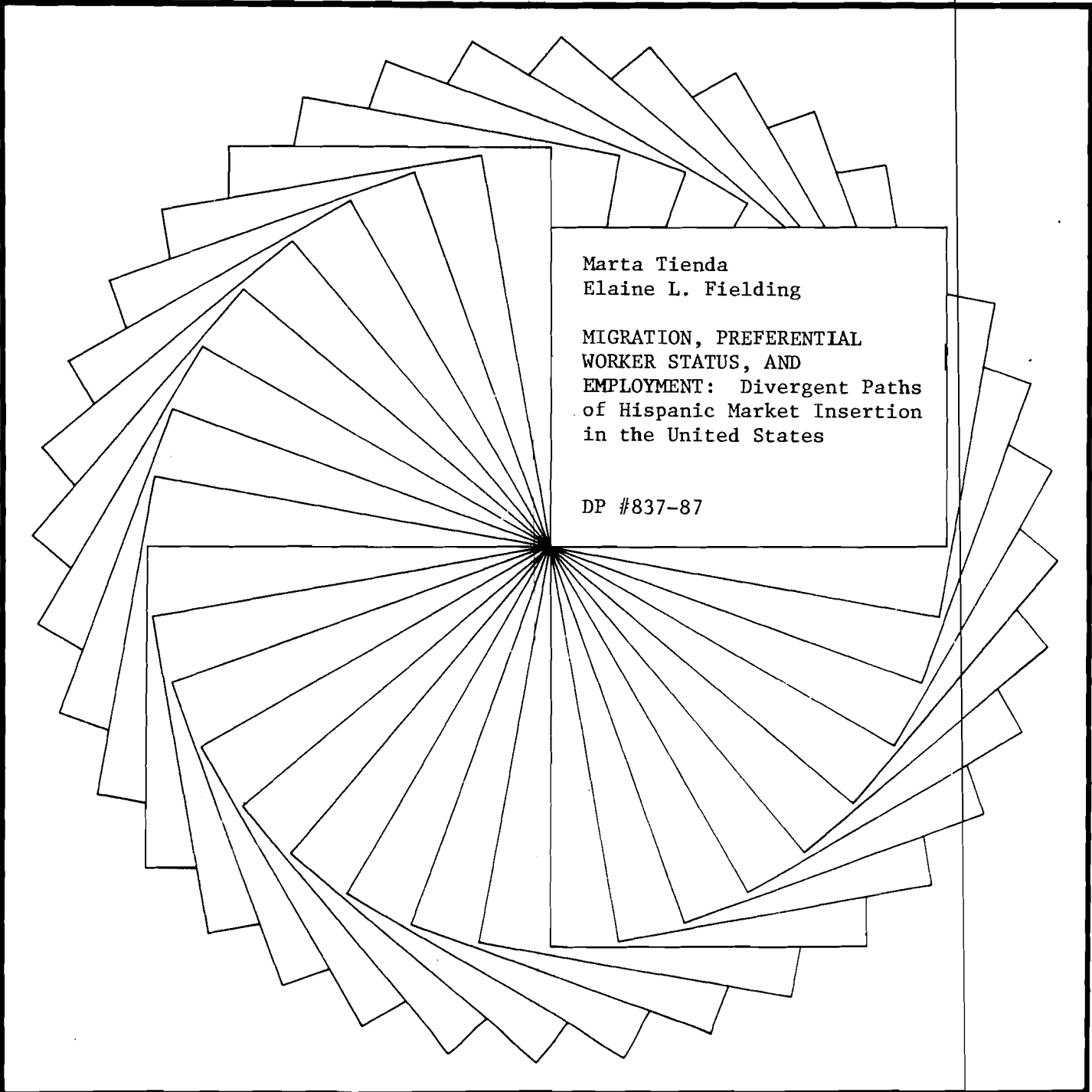# Institute for Research on Poverty

Discussion Papers

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MIGRATION, PREFERENTIAL
WORKER STATUS, AND
EMPLOYMENT: Divergent Paths
of Hispanic Market Insertion
in the United States

MIGRATION, PREFERENTIAL WORKER STATUS, AND EMPLOYMENT:
DIVERGENT PATHS OF HISPANIC MARKET INSERTION
IN THE UNITED STATES

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Abstract

This paper examines ways in which geographic mobility and the uneven job configuration of Hispanic workers determine the employment probabilities of men of Mexican, Puerto Rican, and Cuban origin. The effects of migration on labor force participation were found to be uniformly negative, regardless of whether persons participated in ethnically concentrated or dispersed flows. This suggests that the lower employment probabilities of migrants largely reflected the disruptive aspects of the process rather than the benefits or costs associated with changes in the ethnic density of markets. The differing employment effects of migration and of ethnic concentration in employment categories according to national origin illustrates the diverse paths of labor market insertion among Mexican, Puerto Rican, and Cuban men. Our results did not, however, support the hypothesis that the declining labor market position of Puerto Ricans derives from the fact that jobs are not reserved for them on the basis of their national origin.

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Simply stated, the problem is that the labor market status of Puerto

Ricans, as measured by participation rates, unemployment rates, and earnings,

has deteriorated since 1960, while Cubans and Mexicans have experienced modest

to substantial improvements in their economic position (Bean and Tienda, 1987:

Chapters 9 and 10; Tienda and Jensen, 1987). Although the literature

documenting changes in the socioeconomic status of Hispanics has burgeoned in

the past decade, few researchers have analyzed the role of internal geographic

mobility in stratifying the Spanish-origin population according to national

origin (see Tienda and Lii, 1987a, for a recent exception). Yet there exist

compelling theoretical and empirical reasons why changes in residential

location may have influenced the labor market standing of Hispanics.

From a microeconomic perspective, individual migration decisions represent

investment choices that permit movers to maximize their economic

well-being by securing better-paying jobs. Evidence that migrants earn more,

or are more likely to be employed than nonmigrants, is essential for

establishing whether geographic mobility promotes economic mobility. However,

failing to migrate does not neccessarily imply that those who do not move will

be less well off than migrants. Decisions about geographic location are made

in response to social and cultural factors, such as the desire to be near

friends and relatives who may provide various forms of noneconomic assistance (e.g., child care, employment information, and various in-kind goods and services). Such factors could explain why migration does not always improve economic status, and why nonmigrants may be acting rationally in deciding not to move (Tienda, 1980).

Second, recent empirical evidence suggests that the residential concentration patterns of minority workers affect their earnings, net of individual productivity characteristics (Tienda and Lii, 1987b). Thus it is conceivable that changes in the ethnic density of labor markets resulting from migration will also affect labor market outcomes.[1] In fact, our preliminary analyses concerning changes in the socioeconomic status and aggregate migration patterns of Hispanics show a complex relationship between geographic and economic mobility which involves not only the characteristics of movers, but also the residential concentration of the national-origin groups (Tienda and Lii, 1987a). Specifically, between 1960 and 1980, Cubans became more concentrated in the Southeast while Mexicans became only marginally less concentrated in the Southwest. Puerto Ricans, on the other hand, while remaining concentrated in the Northeast, became more dispersed within the region and also increased their presence outside of the Northeast. During this period, but especially after 1970, the economic status of Cubans and Puerto Ricans diverged, exposing the possibility that both the event of migration and its direction may have been partly responsible for these divergent labor market experiences among Hispanic-origin men.

This idea finds some support in recent work by Tienda and Lii (1987a) which documented systematic earnings differences associated with concentrated versus dispersed interstate migration flows according to Hispanic national

origin. For example, Puerto Rican workers who moved from low- to high-Hispanic-density states during the late 1970s incurred substantial income penalties, earning roughly 50 percent less than (statistically) equivalent nonmigrants. Their participation in dispersed migration flows (i.e., from high- to low-Hispanic-density states) neither enhanced nor diminished their earnings compared to nonmigrants. Mexican men who participated in concentrated migration flows incurred annual earnings losses averaging 11 percent--a penalty considerably less than that of similar Puerto Rican migrants. Finally, the earnings of Cuban-origin men were relatively impervious to geographic movement: Cubans registered neither gains nor losses from interstate migration.[2]

Although suggestive, for two reasons Tienda and Lii's results cannot be used to generalize about the role of migration in stratifying the Hispanic labor force by national origin. First, their use of states as ecological units to portray the different economic opportunities between origins and destinations ignores important intrastate variation in residential options. Because labor markets are measured too coarsely, Tienda and Lii's inferences about how migration stratifies Hispanic earnings by altering employment opportunities must be considered largely suggestive. Second, their analysis of earnings neglects an important and prior labor market outcome--employment and unemployment--which may help clarify some anomalous results involving the conditional association between migration status and incumbency in ethnic-typed jobs.[3] Hence, while their results provide clues about how geographic mobility stratifies the Puerto Rican work force, they do not explain the increasing levels of joblessness among this group, nor the high income penalties associated with both concentrated and dispersed migration flows. It

appears that the key to understanding the deteriorating economic position of
Puerto Ricans partly hinges on the role of national origin in matching
individuals to jobs (Sorensen and Kalleberg, 1981), primarily in securing a
job, and secondarily what kind of job.

Accordingly, this paper builds on a recent analysis of migration and
earnings among Hispanic-origin men to clarify how geographic mobility and the
ethnic labeling of jobs influence the employment probabilities of Mexican,
Puerto Rican and Cuban men. The specific questions it addresses are, Do the
employment/unemployment probabilities of Hispanic men depend on (1) whether
they move between or within high- or low-Hispanic-density labor markets? (2)
the ethnic labeling of jobs? (3) the conditional association between
dispersed, concentrated, or intradensity moves and the ethnic composition of
jobs? These questions are crucial for establishing direct links between the
declining labor market status of Puerto Ricans and their increasing geographic
dispersion, as well as for evaluating the employment consequences of
persisting labor market segmentation along ethnic lines.

Theoretical Considerations

Conceived as a social process, migration produces changes in the
composition of social aggregates and in the life chances of migrants
themselves. Whereas a microeconomic perspective emphasizes the net investment
properties of migration, a macro perspective focuses on how geographic
movement equilibrates spatial imbalances in the distribution of labor and
capital. Depending on their composition, volume, and direction, migrant
streams alter the social, demographic, and economic configuration of sending
and receiving communities. Migration could therefore serve to redefine the
boundaries for social interaction along ethnic lines. For example, migration

may promote ethnic solidarity in work and school domains by changing the
racial/ethnic density of places or institutional settings. However, this
outcome depends on the existence of ethnic niches in the labor market, the
extent of school and neighborhood segregation, and the existence of ethnic
power bases.

The relationship between migration type (e.g., whether concentrated,
dispersed, or intradensity; see precise definitions in the next section) and
labor market outcomes is complex; it depends on how ethnic traits circumscribe
choices, how they are evaluated in the marketplace, and how they are used to
organize the labor market. Furthermore, the significance of geographic
mobility for the labor market stratification of Hispanic workers also depends
on the employment opportunities afforded movers. These, in turn, partly
depend on whether residential mobility involves changes in ethnic density
(Tienda and Lii, 1987a). Dispersed moves could improve the employment and
earnings prospects of migrants if market factors (i.e., the demand for skills)
rather than ethnic ties (national origin; ethnic concentration) dominate
decisions to move and influence the choice of destination. If concentrated
migration flows involve trade-offs between economic and psychic rewards
(especially if these are motivated by social networks and the desire to reside
in close proximity to relatives and friends of like ethnicity), then less
satisfactory employment outcomes may result for migrants who participate in
concentrated streams.

Although the socioeconomic implications of ethnic density are interesting
in their own right (see Tienda and Lii, 1987b), our concern is with how
geographic mobility, which involves changes in the residential environment of
movers, influences the employment prospects of Hispanic men. Our distinction

between concentrated and dispersed flows recognizes that the social environments and opportunity structures provided by high- and low-Hispanic density differ (see Tienda and Lii, 1987b). Consequently, moves involving changes in the ethnic density of labor markets will reflect these advantages (disadvantages). Guided by recent work which documents distinct paths of labor market insertion for Mexicans and Cubans (Portes and Bach, 1985; Nelson and Tienda, 1985), we hypothesize that the growing disparities in the employment statuses of Mexicans, Puerto Ricans and Cubans partly derive from their differential participation in concentrated versus dispersed migration streams, and partly from their uneven placement in the employment structure. Our reasoning goes as follows. If national origin is used as a criterion to define and maintain job queues--as demonstrated by previous research--then the economic costs and benefits of migration will derive not only from opportunities to interact with members of like ethnicity, but also from the role of national origin in channeling Hispanic workers to particular types of jobs. The role of national origin (or other ascribed characteristics) in matching persons to jobs can be either advantageous or disadvantageous, depending on whether it reserves slots for workers who would otherwise be unemployed, and on how employers value ethnicity in labor market transactions.

For example, Portes and his associates (Wilson and Portes, 1980; Wilson and Martin, 1982; Portes and Bach, 1985) claim that the Cuban enclave in Miami shields Cuban workers from the competitive influences of the open market, both by preferentially hiring Cuban-origin workers and by assuring greater returns to human capital than would be available in the competitive labor market. Neither Mexicans nor Puerto Ricans have benefited from the protections afforded in an enclave economy, but their job configurations reveal a

preponderance in low-skill jobs (Tienda and Lii, 1987a: Figure 1; Bean and Tienda, 1987: Chapter 9).

Mexicans, for example, have been "preferred" workers in agricultural jobs at least since the mid-1800s (Tienda, 1983; Nelson and Tienda, 1985). While the incomes of agricultural workers are low by comparison to other low-skill jobs, when evaluated against the alternative of unemployment, agricultural work may be the lesser of two evils by at least ensuring some earnings.[4] Puerto Ricans, unlike Mexicans, have never been preferred laborers for specific jobs.[5] Unionization initially protected their presence in the textile and garment industry, but industrial restructuring in the Northeast, which has resulted in the elimination of many unskilled jobs, many of them union jobs, bodes ill for the employment prospects of Puerto Ricans.

Viewed in this way, the declining economic status of Puerto Ricans may have resulted not from a loss in earning power, but rather from the rapid decline in the type of jobs in which they were disproportionately concentrated. That Cuban men did not have a similar experience, despite their disproportionate concentration in the New York and New Jersey labor markets[6] (Tienda and Lii, 1987a), indicates either that the job configuration of Cuban men is sufficiently different from that of Puerto Ricans to render them relatively unharmed by the industrial restructuring of the Northeast, or that Cuban workers who were displaced by the restructuring processes were more successful in finding alternative employment. Also, the massive displacement of Mexican laborers from farm work during the 1960s and 1970s, when the industry became highly mechanized, did not result in unemployment and nonparticipation rates comparable to those of Puerto Ricans. Apparently, unskilled Mexican workers were more successful than Puerto Ricans in adjusting to shifts in the structure of employment.

To explain these contrasting employment histories we propose a two-pronged explanation. First, the differential success of Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans in responding to changes in job opportunities depends on their distinct migration patterns within the United States. Second, unlike Mexicans, and in a different manner from Cubans, Puerto Ricans never have been "preferred" workers, despite their unrestricted access to the U.S. mainland and the benefit of citizenship conferred by their Commonwealth status. Cubans and Mexicans, on the other hand, have been "preferred" workers in the sense that jobs have been reserved for them on the basis of their national origin. For Cubans, this means jobs in the enclave; for Mexicans, this means low-skill jobs in the urban secondary labor market of the Southwest and Midwest as well as in agriculture, although to a much less extent than in the past.

Building on Hecter's (1978) notion of a division of labor along cultural or ethnic lines, our conceptualization of "preferred" workers is defined as overrepresentation in jobs relative to non-Hispanic whites. Our concept of "preferred" workers does not refer to high-status, well-paying jobs in the primary labor market unless workers are assigned to them on the basis of their national origin or other ascriptive traits.

Our ideas about how migration, ethnic density, and preferred job categories influence employment outcomes lead to three testable hypotheses. The null hypothesis posits that neither the type of migration in which individuals participate nor the ethnic configuration of employment (denoted preferential job categories) will influence the employment prospects of Hispanic men. The alternative hypothesis is that both migration type and preferential worker status will influence the likelihood that Hispanic men will be in the labor force or unemployed. A third possibility is that the effects on employment of migration and preferential worker categories will

depend on their conditional association. Because of their diverse social and demographic histories, we expect these patterns of relationship to differ among men of Mexican, Puerto Rican, and Cuban origin. We formalize these hypotheses in the next section, following a discussion of the data sources.

Data and Methods

Our statistical analysis was conducted on the 5 percent sample of the Public Use Microdata Samples (PUMS) of the 1980 census. We limited our sample to men of Mexican, Puerto Rican, and Cuban origin aged 16-64 who had valid responses for the migration questions.[7] Additional sample restrictions ensured that our results were not contaminated by changes in status which are associated with migration probabilities. For this purpose we excluded individuals who met the following conditions: (1) never worked, or were out of the labor force continuously during the migration interval; (2) were enrolled in school or in the military either in 1975 or 1980; (3) resided outside of the United States in 1975.[8] Imposing all restrictions reduced the original samples of Mexicans and Cubans by approximately 30 percent and the Puerto Rican sample by 39 percent. Puerto Rican men were more highly represented among persons who never worked, who were out of the labor force for more than five years, and who were in the military, hence their higher rate of exclusion from the sample.

The stringency of our sample restrictions prompted additional analysis of the social and demographic characteristics of the excluded population. These diagnostics revealed that men who never worked, or who were in the military or college in 1980, tended to be younger and were more apt to be unmarried than the source population. Individuals who were not in the labor force in 1980 and who had last worked before 1975 were older, on average, than the source

sample. Also, with the exception of Cubans, recent immigrants (i.e., persons

who arrived after 1975) tended to be younger than the source population and

less often married. Therefore, the final sample contains relatively fewer men

under age 30 and fewer unmarried men than the reference population.

Variables

The theoretical issues raised in the preceding sections focus on the

additive and conditional relationships among three variables--migration type

(i.e., whether moves were in a concentrated or a dispersed direction);

preferential employment category (i.e., whether jobs were Hispanic-typed,

Anglo-typed, or not ethnically differentiated); and employment (whether

workers were in the labor force or unemployed in 1980).

Migrants are defined as persons who changed residence during the five

years prior to the census. Labor markets are the preferred units for

establishing associations between geographic and economic mobility; we

therefore chose Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (SMSAs) and

nonmetropolitan county groups (rather than states) to define migration status

(see the Appendix for delineation of county groups). Our distinction between

high- and low-Hispanic-density markets is derived from an analysis of both the

ethnic composition of labor markets and the distribution of Hispanics among

them. Procedures used to classify labor markets (N=414) into high- and

low-density areas are detailed in the Appendix. Briefly, a labor market area

was defined as high-Hispanic-density if each reference group (e.g., Puerto

Ricans, Mexicans, or Cubans) was overrepresented relative to its share of the

total population based on standardized scores. (See Appendix for details.)

The influence of migration in altering the social environments of migrants

derives from the direction of the flows. Ethnic residential dispersion

involves moves from high- to low-Hispanic-density areas; flows from low- to

high-Hispanic-density areas produce <u>concentration</u>; and flows within low- or high-Hispanic-density areas, termed <u>intradensity</u> moves, involve no changes in the ethnic composition of labor markets. Therefore, we classified individuals according to whether they migrated or not, and subsequently distinguished among those who participated in dispersed, concentrated, and intradensity moves.[9]
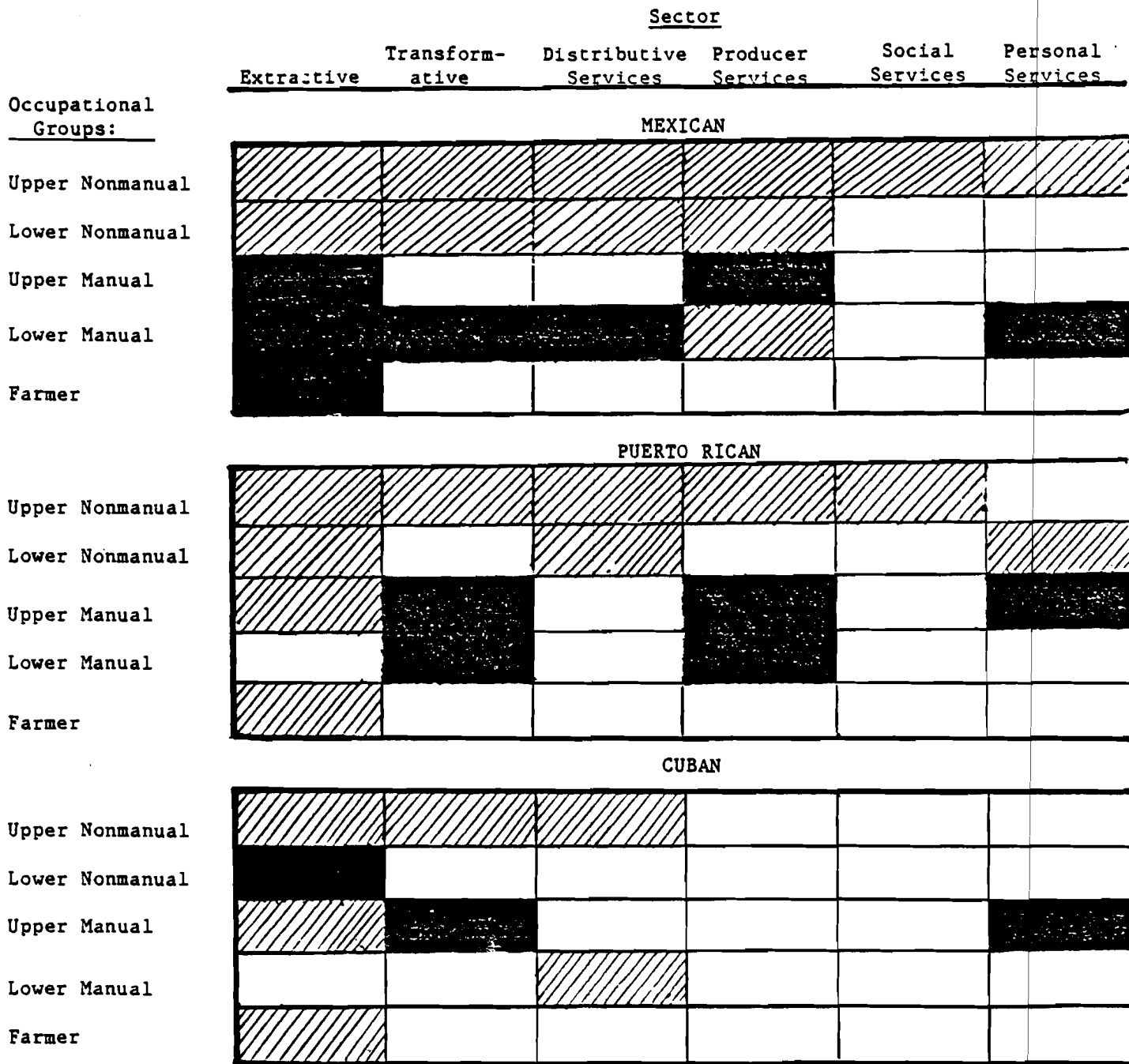
The measurement of workers' preferential status was more complicated than the coding of migration types. As the statistical procedures we used are detailed elsewhere (Tienda and Lii, 1987a), we only highlight the logic used in distinguishing among workers classified in <u>preferred</u> (i.e., Hispanic-typed), <u>nonpreferred</u> (i.e., Anglo-typed), and <u>nondifferentiated</u> (non-ethnic-typed) jobs.[10] We began with a 30-cell matrix representing a two-way classification of six industry sectors by five occupation groups, using 1970 census data.[11] Sector-by-occupation matrices were computed for each of the three Hispanic groups and non-Hispanic whites. Based on the results of a log-linear analysis, we classified job cells according to whether each Hispanic group was overrepresented (preferred), underrepresented (nonpreferred), or approximately equally represented (nondifferentiated) relative to non-Hispanic whites.[12] These results are summarized in Figure 1. The classification was made first by imposing arbitrary cut-points designating natural discontinuities in the data, and subsequently testing these divisions with an analysis of variance.

Modeling

Our conceptualization of paths of labor market insertion integrates two structural attributes of labor markets--the ethnic typing of jobs (preferential status) and the ethnic concentration of labor markets--and

FIGURE 1

Preferential Status and Hispanic Origin

Sector

	Extractive	Transform-ative	Distributive Services	Producer Services	Social Services	Personal Services

Occupational Groups:

MEXICAN

Upper Nonmanual

Lower Nonmanual

Upper Manual

Lower Manual

Farmer

PUERTO RICAN

Upper Nonmanual

Lower Nonmanual

Upper Manual

Lower Manual

Farmer

CUBAN

Upper Nonmanual

Lower Nonmanual

Upper Manual

Lower Manual

Farmer

: underrepresented relative to whites--nonpreferred. ($\leq$ -.04)

: overrepresented relative to whites--preferred. ($\geq$ +.04)

: equally represented relative to whites-- (-.03 to +.03)   nondifferentiated

assesses their influence on labor force participation and unemployment. Our

simple additive model (Model 1) is of the form:[13]

$$\Pr(\text{LF})_i = \alpha + \beta D_j + \delta_k P_k + Z_i + e_i, \qquad (1)$$

where D_j = density and $j = 1, 0$ for high- and
low-density destination labor market areas,
respectively;[14]

P_k = preferential job category and $k = 2, 1, 0$
for preferred (Hispanic-typed),
nonpreferred (Anglo-typed) and
nondifferential (nontyped) preference job
categories, respectively;

Z_i = a vector of controls described in Table 1;

LF_i = labor force status, 1 = in and 0 = out;

e_i = random disturbances.

In this additive model, a positive value of β would indicate that residence in

high-Hispanic-density labor markets increases the employment prospects of

Hispanic-origin men (possibly by activating ethnic ties and alliances in the

pursuit of economic opportunities). On the contrary, a negative value of β

would show that an oversupply of Hispanic men in a given labor market reduces

marginal probability of employment for a given individual. This outcome would

be especially likely if there exists a queue for hiring based on the ethnicity

of the workers, and if that queue is already saturated in a given labor market.

The effects of ethnictyping of jobs are informed by economic logic of

supply and demand, as well as insights from sociological theory about the

significance of race and ethnicity in demarcating boundaries for social

interaction. If workers destined for preferred (Hispanic-typed) job

categories are more likely to be in the labor force compared to workers

holding nondifferentiated job categories, then $\delta_2 > 0$. This result would

show the dominance of social (ethnicity) over economic (supply and demand)

forces in defining paths of market insertion for Hispanic men. However, if

workers destined for nonpreferred (Anglo-typed) job categories are more likely to be in the labor force than their (statistical) counterparts identified with nondifferentiated job categories, then $\delta_1 > 0$. These results would indicate market factors as more salient than ethnicity in defining paths of market insertion for Hispanic-origin men.

Because the segmentation of jobs along ethnic lines is possible only in places that have a critical mass of minority workers, the paths of labor market insertion of Hispanic men may differ in high- and low-Hispanic-density labor markets. Model 2 relaxes the assumption that preferential job category effects are uniform across high- and low-Hispanic-density labor markets:

$$Pr(LF)_i = \alpha + \beta D_j + \delta_k P_k + \delta_k (D_j P_k) + Z_i + e_i. \quad (2)$$

If δ_2 and $\delta_1 = 0$, then the employment probabilities associated with workers' incumbency in Hispanic-typed jobs do not vary according to the 1980 Hispanic labor market composition. Alternatively, if δ_1 and $\delta_2 > 0$, then workers destined both to Hispanic- and Anglo-typed job categories are more likely to find employment in high- relative to low-density labor markets compared to workers destined to ethnically nondifferentiated jobs, but the obverse would be true if δ_1 and $\delta_2 < 0$.

That migration redefines social environments and employment opportunities by altering the supply of Hispanic workers across labor markets suggests another way to formalize paths of market insertion by utilizing the notion of ethnic density. Our model specifies the employment consequences of density as a function of whether Hispanic working-age men participated in concentrated, dispersed, or intradensity flows, and the ethnic configuration of the employment structure. Model 3, which assumes that both geographic mobility and the job preference categories influence the labor force participation prospects of Hispanic origin men, takes the form:

$$\Pr(LF)_i = \alpha + \beta_1 M_1 + \delta_k P_k + Z_i + e_i, \quad (3)$$

where, M_1 = migration type, and $1 = 3, 2, 1$, and 0, representing whether individuals participated in dispersed, concentrated, or intradensity flows, or were nonmigrants.

This model constrains the Hispanic concentration effects to zero for nonmigrants and intradensity migrants, thereby emphasizing the importance of changes in ethnic density resulting from geographic mobility in determining employment probabilities subsequent to residential change. It also considers whether moves not involving changes in the Hispanic density of labor markets (intradensity moves) increase ($M_1 > 0$) or decrease ($M_1 < 0$) the likelihood of labor force participation relative to nonmigrants.

Our predictions about the influence of migration types on employment outcomes are informed by the logic of the density effects elaborated for Model 1. If the Hispanic density of labor markets influences the job prospects of Hispanic-origin men, then the effects of participation in concentrated or dispersed migration flows should be nonzero, or β_3 and β_2 = 0. Moreover, if intradensity moves represent investment decisions that respond to better employment prospects, then $\beta_1 > 0$.

To allow for the possibility that employment choices may be constrained by the ethnic composition of labor markets, independently of whether individuals move, Model 4 relaxes the assumption that the ethnic density of markets is irrelevant for both intradensity migrants and for nonmigrants:

$$\Pr(LF)_i = \alpha + \beta D_j + \beta'_1 M_1 + \delta_k P_k + Z_i + e_i. \quad (4)$$

Results for Model 4 will be informed by those from Models 1 and 2, except that β' refers only to intradensity movers and nonmigrants.[15] Accordingly, if $\beta' > 0$, then employment prospects of intradensity movers and nonmigrants are better in high-Hispanic-density labor markets than in low-Hispanic-density

Table 1

VARIABLES INCLUDED IN LOGISTIC REGRESSION

Variables	Operational Description
Independent	
Density	Categorical variable coded as dummies for two types of density:
High	If met criteria as a concentrated SMSA or nonmetro county group (see Appendix) for Mexican, Puerto Rican or Cuban
Low	Remaining SMSAs of nonmetro county groups
Migration Type	Categorical variable coded as dummies for three types of moves:
Concentrated	Moves from low- to high-Hispanic-density SMSAs or nonmetro county groups
Dispersed	Moves from high- to low-Hispanic-density SMSAs or nonmetro county groups
Intradensity	Moves within high- or low-Hispanic-density SMSAs or nonmetro county groups
Nonmigrants	No residence changes across SMSA boundaries
Preferential Status[a]	Categorical variable coded as dummies for two preferential statuses:
Preferred Workers	Denotes job cells in which Hispanic workers were overrepresented relative to non-Hispanic whites in 1970
Nonpreferred Workers	Denotes job cells in which Hispanic workers were underrepresented relative to non-Hispanic whites in 1970
Equally Preferred	Denotes job cells in which Hispanic workers were approximately equally represented relative to whites in 1970
Controls	
Education	Dummy variables for high school and college completion
Experience	Labor market experience proxy derived as (age - education - 6)
(Experience)^2	Square of experience
Married	Dummy variable coded 1 if respondent was married; else = 0
Work Disability	Dummy variable coded 1 if respondent had a work-limiting disability; else = 0
Nativity	Dummy variable coded 1 if respondent was foreign born; else = 0
English Ability	Dummy variable coded 1 if respondent reported good or excellent proficiency in English; else = 0
Region	Dummy variables designating four regions of residence: West, South, Northeast, and North Central
Area Unemployment Rate	Unemployment rate for SMSAs or nonmetro county groups
Area Wage Rate	Mean Wage Rate for SMSAs or nonmetro county groups
Dependent	
Labor Force Participation	Dummy variable coded 1 if in the labor force, 0 otherwise
Unemployment	Dummy variable coded 1 if unemployed, 0 otherwise

[a]These measures are calculated separately for each national origin group, although we use "Hispanic" as a generic for convenience.

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Table 2

DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS FOR DENSITY,
MIGRATION TYPE, AND PREFERENTIAL STATUS

	Mexican	Puerto Rican	Cuban
Origin Density (1975)			
Migrants			
High	80.6%	83.1%	85.4%
Low	19.4	16.9	14.6
Nonmigrants			
High	88.6	91.0	94.4
Low	11.4	9.0	5.6
Destination Density (1980)			
Migrants			
High	77.4	74.9	88.3
Low	22.6	25.1	11.7
Nonmigrants			
High	88.6	91.0	94.4
Low	11.4	9.0	5.6
Migration Type			
Dispersed	1.6	2.0	0.9
Concentrated	1.3	1.1	1.2
Intradensity	8.9	7.6	10.5
Nonmigrants	88.3	89.3	87.4
Preferential Status			
Preferred	35.8	46.6	27.1
Nonpreferred	16.5	17.1	17.3
Equally Preferred	47.7	36.3	55.6
(N)	(45,033)	(8,718)	(5,006)

Source: 1980 5% A-Sample PUMS.
Note: All tabulations exclude recent immigrants.

labor markets between 1975 and 1980. More interesting are the differences in the direction of flows for those who did move. Among migrants, intradensity flows were most prevalent, but the proportion of Cuban men participating in these streams exceeded the shares of Mexicans and Puerto Ricans by 1.5 and 3.0 percent, respectively.[17] The share of individuals participating in concentrated flows was virtually identical for all groups. Within the small range of differences, Cuban men were least likely (1 percent) and Puerto Rican men most likely (2 percent) to participate in dispersed flows, with Mexicans intermediate. Mexican and Puerto Rican migrants were, respectively, 3 and 8 percent less likely to reside in high-Hispanic-density labor market areas in 1980 as compared with 1975, while Cuban migrants became slightly more concentrated.

The last three rows of Table 2 reveals that the employment configuration of Cubans is most similar to that of non-Hispanic whites; over half (56 percent) of our sample reported present or past jobs[18] where they were proportionately represented ("equally preferred"). By contrast, just over one-third of Puerto Rican and slightly under half of Mexican origin men were similarly situated in the employment structure.

At the other extreme, nearly half of all Puerto Ricans reported present or past jobs where they were overrepresented relative to non-Hispanic whites. In comparison, notably lower shares of Mexican (36 percent), and Cuban (27 percent) men reported past or current jobs where they were disproportionately concentrated. The shares of each group reporting past or recent jobs in which they were underrepresented relative to non-Hispanic whites were roughly similar for all three groups, approximately 17 percent. Thus, the distinctive job configurations of Hispanics and non-Hispanic whites arise largely because

of the tendency for minority men, especially those with low stocks of human capital (Mexicans and Puerto Ricans) to concentrate in lower-level blue collar jobs (see Figure 1).

Auxiliary tabulations[19] revealed that the share of Mexican and Puerto Rican men assigned to Hispanic-typed (preferred) job categories did not differ between migrants and nonmigrants, while among Cuban men, migrants were three percentage points less likely than nonmigrants to hold Hispanic-typed jobs in 1980. In contrast, the share of Cuban men allocated to Anglo-typed jobs was virtually identical among migrants and nonmigrants. That the share of both Mexican and Puerto Rican migrants allocated to Anglo-typed jobs exceeded the share of nonmigrants so allocated suggests the possibility that geographic mobility may reduce the extent of ethnic segmentation of the employment structure. Whether migration actually facilitates this outcome, net of other investment characteristics correlated with migration propensities, is an empirical question requiring multivariate techniques.

Descriptive statistics reported in Table 3 further underscore the extent of sociodemographic differentiation according to national origin among adult Hispanic men. Given our sample restrictions, the high rates of labor force activity are expected, but the gross participation differential between Puerto Rican and Cuban men—over five percentage points—is noteworthy. Equally striking are the differential unemployment rates according to national origin. Puerto Rican men were twice as likely as Cuban men to be unemployed in 1980, and Mexican men were only slightly less likely to be unemployed than Puerto Rican men.

The disadvantaged labor market status of Mexican and Puerto Rican men reflects their low stocks of human capital. As of 1980, roughly two-thirds of

Table 3

MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF SELECTED VARIABLES
INCLUDED IN REGRESSION ANALYSIS
(Percentages; Standard Deviations in Parentheses)

	Mexican	Puerto Rican	Cuban
Labor Force Participation	91.1 (.28)	88.3 (.32)	93.6 (.24)
Unemployment[a]	8.3 (.28)	9.3 (.29)	4.5 (.21)
Education			
% finishing less than high school	63.1 (.48)	63.5 (.48)	45.2 (.50)
% finishing high school	33.8 (.47)	33.5 (.47)	40.5 (.49)
% finishing college	3.1 (.17)	3.0 (.17)	14.4 (.35)
Experience	19.0 (14.21)	19.5 (13.44)	24.6 (14.50)
Married	66.4 (.47)	60.9 (.49)	71.7 (.45)
Work Disability	6.0 (.24)	7.7 (.27)	4.6 (.21)
Nativity	32.6 (.47)	66.7 (.47)	90.0 (.30)
English Ability	80.9 (.39)	83.9 (.37)	68.2 (.47)
Area Unemployment Rate	6.2 (2.01)	6.7 (1.26)	5.6 (1.30)
Area Wage Rate	7.23 (.96)	7.86 (.72)	7.37 (.61)
(N)	(45,033)	(8,718)	(5,006)

Source: 1980 5% A-Sample PUMS
Note: Excludes recent immigrants.
[a]Number unemployed: 41,015 Mexicans, 7,694 Puerto Ricans, and 4,685 Cubans.

these men had not completed high school, compared to 45 percent of Cubans.
The younger age structure of the Mexican and Puerto Rican populations
translates into fewer years of postschool job experience, even though early
school departures give them some experience advantage relative to Cuban men.
Apparently this advantage is offset by the younger age structure of the
former. Also, high levels of joblessness among Puerto Rican men partly
reflect the higher incidence of work-limiting disability among them.

Puerto Rican men were least likely to be married in 1980, a characteristic
which corroborates the increasing prevalence of families headed by single
Puerto Rican women (Tienda and Jensen, 1987). By contrast, nearly
three-fourths of all Cuban men were married in 1980. Nativity and English
proficiency also differentiate our sample of Hispanic men. Cubans exhibited
the highest, and Mexicans the lowest, shares of immigrants. Although English
is considered a basic skill requirement for the U.S. labor market, reported
proficiency levels range from modest (Cubans) to moderate (Mexicans and Puerto
Ricans). Conceivably, the importance of English proficiency may be lower in
high-Hispanic-density areas, where ethnic concerns that cater to
Spanish-speaking people make limited English skills less important for
securing employment.

Finally, average differences in labor force participation and unemployment
among Hispanics reflect economic conditions in the labor markets where each
group resides. Cubans resided in areas where unemployment was less pervasive
in 1980, averaging 5.6 percent, compared to average rates of 6.2 and 6.7
percent, respectively, in markets where Mexicans and Puerto Ricans resided.
However, average area wage rates did not differ greatly according to national
origin. In fact, it was Puerto Ricans--the most economically disadvantaged of

the three Hispanic groups--who resided in labor markets offering the highest average wage rates in 1980.[20]

We turn to our multivariate analyses, which analyze in sequence, the probability of being in or out of the labor force and unemployed versus employed as a function of density, migration type, and preferential worker status. In the interest of parsimony, we do not dwell on the effects of the control variables.

Labor Force Participation

The transformed logit effects reported in Table 4 reinforce a picture of diversity in the determination of labor market outcomes according to national origin. Models 1 and 2 reveal quite distinctive paths of market insertion by national origin. The Hispanic density of labor markets did not significantly influence the labor force activity of Mexican-origin men, but the negative signs suggest marginally lower participation rates in high-density markets. For Puerto Ricans and Cubans, on the other hand, residence in high-density labor markets significantly increased their probability of labor force participation by approximately three percentage points.

According to the additive baseline model, Mexican incumbency in jobs[21] (where they were overrepresented relative to non-Hispanic whites) actually lowered their participation probabilities by two percentage points. This finding challenges our hypothesis that the ethnic labeling of jobs serves to "reserve" slots for Mexicans. However, as Model 2 shows, only in low-Hispanic-density labor markets are the participation rates of Mexicans destined for ethnic-typed jobs below those of workers destined for nondifferentiated jobs. In fact, Mexican workers residing in high-density labor markets who also were destined for "Mexican-typed" jobs participated in

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Table 4

GEOGRAPHIC MOBILITY AND PREFERENTIAL WORKER STATUS EFFECTS ON LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION

(Transformed Logit Coefficients)

	Mexican				Puerto Rican				Cuban			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Destination Density												
High	-.0007	-.0122		-.0020	.0275**	.0260		.0071	.0325**	.0270*		.0275**
Migration Type[a]												
Dispersed			-.0239	-.0258			-.2477**	-.2359**			-.1587**	-.0893*
Concentrated			-.1440**	-.1436*			-.0659	-.0677			-.0163	-.0200
Intradensity			-.0355**	-.0355*			-.1137**	-.1146**			-.0183	-.0176
Preferential Status[a]												
Preferred	-.0166**	-.0422**	-.0169**	-.0169*	.0121	.0087	.0130	.0130	.0030	.0099	.0023	.0030
Nonpreferred	.0091	.0137	.0084	.0085	-.0013	-.0009	.0006	.0004	.0075	-.0582	.0063	.0070
Interactions												
Density * Preferred		.0205				-.0041				-.0093		
Density * Nonpreferred		-.0054				-.0004				.0383*		
(N)		(11,160)				(8,718)				(5,006)		

Source: 1980 5% A-Sample PUMS.

**p≤.05

*p≤.10

aSee note, Table 1.

the labor force at a higher rate than their (statistical) counterparts destined for non-ethnic-typed jobs. Thus, once the conditional association of labor market density and preferential job category is modeled, our results lend support to the notion that the higher participation rates of Mexicans occur, in part, because "Mexican" jobs are reserved for them.

That no similar effects of preferential job categories were discerned for Puerto Ricans supports our argument from the opposite direction. We hypothesized that the deteriorating labor market position of this group partly reflects the fact that they never have been preferred workers. Not only are the additive effects of the preferential job categories insignificant in both Models 1 and 2, but the positive effect of labor market density also became statistically trivial once the conditional association between density and preferential category was introduced. Thus, neither residential concentration patterns nor the ethnic typing of jobs appear to explain the lower participation rates observed among Puerto Rican compared to Mexican and Cuban men.

The results for Cubans reveal yet a third pattern. Residence in high density labor markets increased their rates of labor force participation, although differentially, according to whether they were destined for preferred, nonpreferred, or nondifferentiated job categories. Highest participation rates correspond to Cuban men destined for Anglo-typed (nonpreferred) jobs in high-density labor markets (probably Miami or New York City). However, among Cubans residing in low-density labor markets, participation rates were not differentiated according to job preference categories. Rather, participation rates of low-density labor market residents averaged three percentage points higher than their (statistical) counterparts who resided in high-density areas. Thus, for Cubans, the economic advantages

of ethnic concentration depend on the ethnic typing of jobs (preference status), as is true for Mexicans, but the pattern of association for them is distinctly different from that of Mexicans.

Models 3 and 4 estimate the effects on labor force participation of migration type, first constraining the slopes of intradensity movers and nonmigrants to be uniform between high- and low-Hispanic-density markets (Model 3), then allowing for differentiated effects of high- and low-Hispanic-density for nonmovers and intradensity movers.[22] These results were generally consistent with those of the previous models, especially in supporting the claim of different paths of market insertion according to national origin. Yet some noteworthy exceptions emerged.

As before, only for Mexicans did significant job preference effects appear. These results indicate that men destined for ethnically preferred jobs were _less_ likely to be in the labor force in 1980, but this effect was weaker than in the previous models, and became marginally significant once differences in the ethnic composition of destination labor markets were taken into account. When evaluated with the results of Models 1 and 2, these findings weakly support our hypotheses about Mexicans being preferred workers for "Mexican jobs."

Mexican-origin men who participated in dispersed migration flows were as likely to be in the labor force as their nonmigrant counterparts (coefficient is not significant), but concentrated and intradensity movers were, respectively, 14 and 3 percent _less_ likely to be in the labor force compared to nonmovers. Although the statistical significance of these effects is attenuated once the destination labor market density is controlled for, the point estimates remain unchanged. Moreover, one of them—that associated with concentrated flows—is quite substantial, and warrants further attention.

Since the main effect of residence in a high-Hispanic-density market did not attain statistical significance, it appears that the adverse employment consequences of ethnic concentration may be temporary, at least to the extent that they are associated or transmitted through residential mobility. Such an interpretation is consistent with the notion that ethnic queues filter the process by which persons are matched to jobs.

In contrast to Mexicans, Puerto Ricans and Cubans who participated in dispersed migration flows incurred modest to substantial labor market penalties. Compared to their (statistically equivalent) nonmigrant counterparts, Puerto Rican movers who moved from high- to low-density labor markets were approximately 25 percent less likely to be in the labor force, whereas the penalty for intradensity migrants was approximately half as large, or 11 percent. Surprisingly, and in sharp contrast to Mexicans, Puerto Ricans were not penalized by concentrated flows; rather, Puerto Rican men who moved from low- to high-Hispanic-density labor markets were as likely to be in the labor force as equivalent nonmovers. The negative effects on Puerto Rican labor force participation of migration apparently do not depend on the ethnic division of labor. However, our hypothesis about the importance of ethnic types of jobs (preference status) in distinguishing the Puerto Rican experience from that of Mexicans and Cubans is weakened by the fact that none of the interaction terms between preferential jobs status and migration type attained statistical significance.

The determinants of labor force participation for Cuban men differ in important ways from those of Puerto Rican and Mexican men. The penalties associated with dispersed migration flows, while moderate to high (9 to 16 percent), are lower than those incurred by Puerto Rican migrants who participated in dispersed migration flows. And, in contrast both to Mexican

and Puerto Rican intradensity migrants, and to Mexican concentrated movers,
the labor force participation rates of Cuban men did not decline following
concentrated and intradensity moves. Moreover, residence in high-density
areas afforded Cuban men better labor force prospects, increasing
participation by an average of three percentage points. This effect--unique
to Cubans--points to the importance of the enclave economy in defining a
unique path of labor market insertion for this group (Portes and Bach, 1985).

Unemployment

Table 5 summarizes the influence on unemployment of labor market density,
migration type, and preferential job categories, net of the appropriate
controls. These results show considerably less diversity in the pattern of
effects among the national-origin groups compared to those that analyze labor
force participation. That labor market density effects were statistically
insignificant in all models largely results from the inclusion of a control
for area unemployment rate. This term (not shown) exerts a strong positive
influence on the likelihood that Hispanic men will be unemployed regardless of
their human capital, national origin, place of residence, or the kinds of jobs
they have. None of the effects of migrationtype attained statistical
significance, indicating that for all groups, migrants and nonmigrants were
about equally likely to be unemployed.

The unemployment rates of Hispanic men were differentiated only according
to preferential job categories. Specifically, Mexican-origin workers destined
for Anglo-typed jobs (unpreferred) were approximately 3 percent _less_ likely to
be unemployed compared to their (statistical) counterparts destined for jobs
where Mexicans are preferred or nondifferentiated relative to Hispanic
whites. Stated differently, workers destined for Mexican-typed or nonethnic

Table 5

GEOGRAPHIC MOBILITY AND PREFERENTIAL WORKER STATUS EFFECTS ON UNEMPLOYMENT
(Transferred Logit Coefficients)

	Mexican				Puerto Rican				Cuban			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Destination Density	-.0057	-.0134		-.0057	-.0032	-.0071		-.0027	-.0085	.0130		-.0070
Migration Type[a]												
Dispersed			.0064	.0018			.0065	.0044			.0175	.0100
Concentrated			.0220	.0226			-.0107	-.0103			-.0280	-.0278
Intradensity			.0038	-.0038			.0043	.0046			.0039	.0040
Preferential Status[a]												
Preferred	.0083	-.0144	.0083	-.0083	.0322**	.0344	.0323**	.0323**	.0034	.0493	.0036	.0034
Nonpreferred	-.0298**	-.0161	-.0301**	-.0299**	.0068	-.0269	.0069	.0069	-.0045	.0478	-.0045	-.0046
Interactions												
Density * Preferred		.0319				-.0019				-.0234		
Density * Nonpreferred		-.0191				.0510				-.0270		
(N)		(11,160)				(8,718)				(5,006)		

Source: 1980 5% A-Sample PUMS.
**$p \leq .05$
*$p \leq .10$
[a]See note, Table 1.

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jobs were equally likely to be unemployed. These effects are quite robust in that they persisted whether modeled in conjunction with migration types or labor market ethnic concentration.

Results for Puerto Ricans differed from those of Mexicans in one major respect: they were in the opposite direction. That is, Puerto Ricans destined for ethnic-typed jobs (preferred) were approximately 3 percent more likely to be unemployed in 1980 compared to equivalent men destined for jobs where ethnicity was not a marker. Yet Puerto Rican workers destined for Anglo-typed (unpreferred) or nonethnic jobs experienced about equal probabilities of unemployment. These findings support claims that the industrial restructuring of the New York labor market during the 1970s may have been particularly detrimental to Puerto Ricans, because they were disproportionately concentrated in unionized bluecollar jobs and competitive manufacturing industries that migrated offshore or to low-wage labor markets (see Sassen-Koob, 1984).

Cuban men illustrate yet a third pattern of the effects of preference status on unemployment probabilities. Their job configuration did not significantly influence 1980 unemployment probabilities. Although one might be tempted to infer that this reflects the influence of the ethnic enclave in shielding Cuban-origin workers from the competitive influences of the open market, the absence of a significant effect for labor market density in this model challenges such an interpretation, as does the absence of a significant effect for participation in concentrated migration streams. Because we have not distinguished the Miami enclave from other labor markets where Cubans are highly concentrated, our interpretation must remain tentative. Ascertaining whether Cuban migrants to Miami experienced lower unemployment probabilities

than migrants to other areas would provide crucial information in support of the protective functions of an enclave economy.

Discussion

On balance, our results provide some evidence about how and why the paths of labor market insertion differ among men of Mexican, Puerto Rican, and Cuban origin, but they do not generate strong and unequivocal support for our thesis that the disadvantaged labor market position of Puerto Ricans derives largely from their nonpreferential labor status in the United States. Our story about the determinants of Hispanic labor market insertion is far more complex.

First, when significant effects of migration on employment outcomes emerged, they were uniformly negative. This implies that the higher unemployment experiences and lower labor force activity rates of migrants may reflect the disruptive aspects of the migration process per se. And these effects, if they are associated with the process of movement per se, might disappear as migrants acquire experience and familiarity with their destination labor markets. From this vantage point, the lower labor force participation rates of Puerto Ricans may result in part from their higher rates of mobility. Yet their differential propensity to move is not sufficient to explain their large gaps in labor force participation and levels of unemployment as compared to Cubans or Mexicans.

That the effects of migration on unemployment were uniformly insignificant, irrespective of whether concentrated or dispersed migration flows were involved, calls into question the premises of microeconomic theory, which presume that decisions to move represent rational choices to improve economic well-being. Migration neither increases nor decreases the prospects of unemployment for Hispanic men. But whether ethnic alliances are involved

in explaining the prevalence of concentrated or dispersed flows, or in ameliorating the disruptive effects of residential mobility, is not clearly evident from our results. From our theoretical arguments, evidence for such claims would derive from the effects of the preferential job categories. Our results showed, in fact, that Puerto Ricans destined for jobs where they were disproportionately represented were more likely to be unemployed. From this shred of evidence we cannot conclude that Puerto Ricans are less "preferred" workers than Mexicans. An alternative explanation is that Puerto Ricans have been hit disproportionately hard by the industrial restructuring of the New York labor market, especially the loss of low-skill, bluecollar jobs.

That the preferential employment effects for Mexicans and Cubans did not totally support our working hypothesis about why the labor market status of Puerto Ricans has been declining invites further research to clarify and refine the concept of preferential status and to explain how the labor market niches we have denoted as preferential status categories constrain employment outcomes. The promise of our concept of preferential job status resides in the fact that, despite coarse measurement and conceptual imprecision, it did differentiate the employment experiences of Hispanic-origin men, perhaps even more fruitfully than either the migration typology or ethnic density of labor markets. However, we admit that we have a long road to travel before we can identify and decipher the ways in which migration, residential concentration patterns, and ethnic job configurations operate to stratify the Hispanic work force according to national origin. This research agenda includes undertaking studies of specific labor markets where Hispanics are concentrated as well as evaluating how these ideas pertain to other minority groups, namely blacks and Native Americans. Both are part of our future research activities.

Appendix

Analytical Procedures to Determine High-Density Labor Market Areas

To determine which labor market areas contain an above-average concentration of a particular racial or ethnic group, we examined two relevant variables, the racial/ethnic composition of each labor market area, and the distribution of each group across the 414 labor market areas. These labor market areas were derived from the census-defined county groups and consist of SMSAs or groups of nonmetropolitan counties within states.[1] Population counts from the 1980 1/100 PUMSA were used to calculate these variables for the following groups: blacks, American Indians, Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Cubans and Other Hispanics. The total population was divided in mutually exclusive categories as follows: anyone identifying her/himself as "American Indian" on the race question was considered American Indian; non-Indian Hispanics were identified on the "Spanish Origin" question which contained separate spaces for Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban and Other; and the remainder were placed into either the white, asian or black categories based on their answer to the race question.

A labor market area was defined as high density if the reference group was overrepresented in terms of both composition and distribution. Overrepresentation was determined by calculating a set of standardized scores for the two variables. For the compositional z-score, the group's percentage for the country as a whole (the weighted mean across areas, e.g. 11.58 percent for blacks) was used to represent the value expected if that group was evenly distributed across labor market areas relative to all other groups. The simple mean, which is the same for all groups (0.24 percent or 1/414), was used for the distributional z-score. A labor market area was classified as concentrated if both of these standardized scores were greater than zero. Therefore, a concentrated black labor market area would be one containing more blacks than the total U.S. average, and a higher than average share of blacks. If only one of these conditions were met, the labor market area was not classified as high-black-density.

The results of this analytical procedure are available from the authors. Blacks are the most dispersed group, with 73 concentrated labor market areas containing 75 percent of all blacks, and Cubans are the least dispersed, with 83 percent living in just 17 areas. The percentage of each group living in concentrated labor market areas is fairly similar, ranging from a low of 68 percent for American Indians (62 areas) to 85 percent for Mexicans (49 areas). There were 35 concentrated labor market areas with 82 percent of the Puerto Ricans, and 40 areas with 72 percent of the Other Hispanics.

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[1]Determining boundaries of labor markets was a complicated process. The basic unit is the SMSA, which we reconstructed from county group codes. Then, nonmetro areas within states were divided up into two or three areas. The result was 414 labor market areas: 310 SMSAs and 104 nonmetro areas. Individual area codes were determined not by the SMSA code, but by a combination of the state and county group codes. This caused problems when county groups spread across two or more SMSAs or when SMSAs crossed state boundaries. The decision rules we used to allocate county groups are available from the authors.

NOTES

1. The economic implications of the ethnic density of social areas have been delineated by Tienda and Lii (1987b), who provide a theoretical rationale for both positive and negative labor market outcomes.

2. However, Cuban men who were over- or underrepresented in specific jobs relative to non-Hispanic whites did enjoy earnings bonuses above and beyond those which could be attributed to human capital investments and labor market characteristics.

3. Specifically, they found that Puerto Ricans who held jobs where they were proportionately represented compared to non-Hispanic whites reaped large earnings bonuses from concentrated flows, while those holding jobs where they were over- or underrepresented incurred high penalties from participation in concentrated migration flows.

4. This idea has been misunderstood by previous readers, who assume we support the idea of maintaining inequality by confining Mexican or other ethnic workers to low-skill jobs. We do not. In the same way that the growth of female-typed jobs can facilitate increases in women's labor force participation, despite pervasive barriers to their access to entry-level male-typed jobs, our notion of "preferred job categories" conveys the idea that vacancy competition is not a totally random process but is systematically ordered by national origin.

5. A possible exception is the disproportionate representation of Puerto Rican women in the garment and textile industry.

6. Nearly one-forth of all Cuban men resided in the Northeast during the 1970s.

7. To save money, migration statuses were coded for roughly half of all persons aged 5 and over, but because the A file is based on a 5 percent sample, we did not encounter sample size restrictions with the minority populations.

8. Restrictions pertaining to work status ensure that all individuals in the sample had valid occupation and industry codes, which are needed to derive our preferential worker status categories. The restriction on U.S. residence in 1975 was necessary for computing the migration types, since the ethnic density of the origin countries of recent immigrants is uniformly high, but we felt it was not pertinent for the comparisons in our migration typology. Finally, men, in the military or college either in 1975 or in 1980 were excluded because these groups have higher migration propensities de facto, independent of the social and economic motivations underlying decisions.

9. Technically this typology portrays ethnic-density interactions between origin and destination in a mobility table, but is more parsimonious than the fully saturated model, which distinguishes intradensity moves within high- and low-Hispanic-density labor markets. Theoretical reasons guided our decision to collapse these flows, since neither involves a change in Hispanic density.

10. This terminology has resulted in some misunderstanding of our ideas because it has confused readers. In the present manuscript we decided to keep the original wording, for the sake of consistency, but will seek simpler language to portray our theoretical construct in revised paper. We invite suggestions from our readers.

11. Our analysis of preference status categories was based on 1970 rather than 1980 industry by occupational classifications so as to avoid a simultaneity bias of the kind discussed by Sandefur and Tuma (1986). Essentially, by determining our preference classification prior to the migration interval studied, we avoid distortions produced by including the effects of migration on the job configuration.

12. Although our results are substantively informative, we do not dwell on them here to avoid digressing from our methodological concerns.

13. Since the models used to predict unemployment probabilities are identical, we do not repeat them in this discussion. However, the expected effects of our key independent variables should be exactly the opposite of those produced for the labor force probability models.

14. For nonmigrants, the density of the destination labor market is equivalent to that of the origin labor market.

15. Recall that the dispersed and concentrated categories correspond to low- and high-Hispanic-density labor market destinations because they represent interactions of origins and destinations.

16. During the exploratory phase of the research, we estimated models which tested whether the employment prospects of Hispanic-origin men associated with spatial mobility depend on the preference status divisions. As none of these models produced significant effects and several failed to converge, we do not present these results or their underlying models.

17. For Cubans, intradensity flows involve moves from the Northeast (New York, New Jersey and Conneticut) to the Southeast (Florida). Although these flows have actually increased the geographic concentration of Cubans, the semi-bifurcated regional distribution of Cubans renders moves from the Northeast to the Southeast concentrated flows. This situation is likely to change during the 1990s if present trends continue (see Bean and Tienda, 1987: Chapter 5).

18. Although information on industry and occupation was unavailable for individuals who never worked, among those who ever worked, industry and occupation data was available for virtually all adults in our sample. Sample restrictions and the exclusion of all persons who had not worked prior to 1975--the start of the migration interval we analyzed--explain the virtual lack of missing job data for our respondents.

19. These tabulations are available from the authors upon request.

20.   This circumstance might deter Puerto Ricans from accepting low-paid menial jobs, a situation which may partly explain their low participation and high unemployment rates, but multivariate analyses distinct from those we have designed are required to answer this question more definitively.

21.   Ethnic-typing categories are specific to each national-origin group.

22.   We also estimated models including interactions between the preference status categories and the migration types, but do not report these because none of these effects were significant for any of the groups.

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