



New School University
July 22, 1999

Ms. Ruby Shamir
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
West Wing, 2nd Floor
Washington, D.C. 20502

Dear Ms. Shamir,

I wanted to thank you very much for sending me the information on the White House Convening on Hispanic Children and Youth.

As we discussed I am sending by US mail a number of materials. First is a memo outlining what I think are the main challenges and opportunities facing Hispanic Children and Youth. I am also enclosing: a) national level statistics on Latino Children and Youth from the U.S. Department of Education's Youth Indicators, b) New York City statistics on Children and Youth from the Current Population Survey (CPS), c) A report on the educational progress of Hispanic Students prepared by the U.S. Department of Education, and d) three of my articles the first discussing national trends in education, employment, and earnings among Latinos, a second on the role of family and school level characteristics on standardized test scores (using data from the national Longitudinal Survey of Youth, NLSY79), and a third article on the political economy of youth inequality.

I very much hope that you find these materials useful in your work and I look forward to meeting you.

Sincerely,

Dr. Hector R. Cordero-Guzman
E-mail: hcordero@newschool.edu

P.S. I ENJOYED OUR CONFERENCE CALL ON FRIDAY.
I WILL E-MAIL A REVISED VERSION OF ME
TEXT BY THIS WEDNESDAY.

Challenges and Opportunities Facing Latino Children and Youth in the United States

In 1990 there were 22.4 million Latinos in the United States or 9% of the population, and a total of 30.6 million (11.1% of the population) are expected by the year 2000 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1993:2). The official Hispanic population grew at a rate of 61% during the 1970s and 53% during the 1980s compared to 9% and 7% growth rates for the non-Hispanic population. If these trends continue Latinos will be 21.1% of the population by the year 2050. Hispanics are geographically concentrated, with 87% of the population living in just 10 states: California (34.4%), Texas (19.4%), New York (9.9%), Florida (7.0%), Illinois (4.0%), New Jersey (3.3%), Arizona (3.1%), New Mexico (2.6%), Colorado (1.9%), and Massachusetts (1.3%). The largest Latino groups in the continental United States are Mexican-Americans (13.496 million persons), Puerto Ricans (2.728 million), and Cubans (1.044 million). The total for Other Hispanics (5.086 million persons) includes individuals from various countries in Central America, South America, the Caribbean and Spain.

The Latino population is relatively young. In 1988 almost one out of every three Latinos in the country was under 15 years of age. The median age for Latinos of Puerto Rican origin in 1990 was 27.0 years of age whereas for Mexican-Americans it was 24.1 compared to 33.5 years for the rest of the population. The proportion of Puerto Ricans below 18 years of age was 36.7% while it was 37.4% among Mexican-Americans and 26.2% for the rest of the population (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1993b).

Latino children and youth are among the fastest growing segments of the United States population and by the year 2000 the number of Hispanics under 24 years of age is expected to be close to 15 million persons (or 15%) out of a total youth population of 98 million. Unfortunately, Latino youth are also among the most disadvantaged with close to 42% of children living below the poverty level (the comparable number for whites is 16.3% and for African-Americans it is 43.3%) and many more living near poverty.

The prevalence of high poverty rates in the Hispanic/Latino community presents many challenges to the development of Latino children and youth. But, amidst the challenges, there are also sources of support and opportunities that need to be recognized and built upon.

Some of the main challenges to the development of Latino children and youth include:

- **The Effects of Family Poverty**

The economic figures for 1991 show that median household income was \$16,169 for Puerto Ricans, \$22,439 for Mexican-Americans and \$29,943 for the rest of the population. Simply put, Puerto Rican households in 1991 averaged a little more than half the income of the total population while the level for Mexican-Americans is slightly higher but generated by larger households. High levels of family poverty mean that Latino children and youth do not have access to the necessary resources and programs that facilitate, support, and encourage their development.

- **Health Issues**

Latino children suffer disproportionately from infant death and low birth weight. The prevalence of asthma and other diseases is quite high as are teen pregnancy and mortality rates. Other health issues include lack of insurance among many families, lack of access to preventive clinics and programs, and higher rates of child abuse and neglect.

- **The Role of Immigration Status**

The immigration status of many Latinos means that the population is less informed, more vulnerable and susceptible to abuse, and that it has less access to programs that promote the development of children and youth.

- **The Impacts of Changes in Welfare Policy**

Changes in welfare policy have impacted many Latino families by reducing their access to social programs, reducing the level of support provided by these programs, increasing the needs for child care in the household, and forcing many to take workfare assignments and very low wage jobs where opportunities for mobility are very limited.

- **Community Level Factors and Processes**

Housing conditions and homelessness have a significant impact on Latino Children and youth. In many communities crime and gang related problems continue to be prevalent.

- **Funding for Programs and Activities**

Children in the Latino community need more access to opportunities for their social, cultural, educational, and personal development. The programs that currently exist are full to capacity and the needs in many communities for positive activities, resources to visit other places, and programs in which children and youth can be involved is very large.

- **Building Thriving Diverse Environments**

Children and youth have grown up with diversity. They understand diversity and know relatively well how to manage it. The challenge is for the adults in the community to understand, nourish, and support children and youth by encouraging the development of thriving diverse environments at home, in school, in the community, and in the metropolitan area.

In the midst of these serious challenges there are also many positive programs and hard working individuals that are a source of strength and support for the Latino community.

The main opportunities for the development of Latino children and youth include:

- **Talented Children**

It is important to move away from deficit models and to recognize the strength, creativity, resiliency, and talent of Latino Children and youth.

- **Strong and Loving Families and Communities**

Latino families and communities are also very strong and resilient. Successful efforts and programs begin by recognizing the talent of Latino children and the strength of the family and work on providing support, resources for development, and on removing obstacles and barriers to human development and social mobility

- **More Developed Professional Base**

In recent years the number of Latino professionals has increased appreciably. It is important to draw on those resources for the development of Latino Children and Youth.

- **Community Based Groups, Organizations and Service Providers**

The number of groups, organizations and service providers in the Latino community has also increased in recent years. There are many agencies with significant experience in the design, development and management of programs that provide much needed services to the community.

- **More Visibility at the National Level and Capacity to Build Leadership on Latino Child and Youth Development Issues**

Increases in the visibility of the Latino population and in the number of groups, organizations and service providers means that there is an opportunity to build leadership around these issues.

- **Positive Effects of a good economy**

Economic growth during the last few years has increased the number of opportunities for Latinos in the labor market. However, research shows that the Latino population is the first to feel economic downturns and is more vulnerable to the fluctuations of the economy. Continued economic growth and increasing opportunities in families, schools, and communities are essential to the development of Latino children and youth.

**Trends in Educational Attainment, Employment Status, and
Incomes among Latinos in the United States since the early 1980s:
Implications for Research, Workforce Development, and Training Programs**

by:

Héctor R. Cordero-Guzmán, Ph.D.

Robert J. Milano Graduate School of Management and Urban Policy

New School for Social Research

66 Fifth Avenue, 8th Floor

New York, NY 10011

Tel. 212-229-5434

Fax. 212-229-5404

e-mail: hcordero@newschool.edu

July 10, 1996

Revised: March 1998

This paper was prepared for the U.S. Department of Labor's Employment and Training Administration Roundtable Discussion on Opportunities for Hispanics in the New Workforce Development Systems, Washington, D.C. April 18-19, 1996. I would like to thank Catherina Villafuerte from the New School for Social Research for her assistance in collecting and analyzing the data discussed in this article. The opinions expressed are those of the author.

**Trends in Educational Attainment, Employment Status, and
Incomes among Latinos in the United States since the early 1980s:
Implications for Research, Workforce Development, and Training Programs**

by:

Héctor R. Cordero-Guzmán, Ph.D.
Robert J. Milano Graduate School of Management and Urban Policy
New School for Social Research
66 Fifth Avenue, 8th Floor
New York, NY 10011
Tel. 212-229-5434
Fax. 212-229-5404
e-mail: hcordero@newschool.edu

July 10, 1996
Revised: March 1998

This paper was prepared for the U.S. Department of Labor's Employment and Training Administration Roundtable Discussion on Opportunities for Hispanics in the New Workforce Development Systems, Washington, D.C. April 18-19, 1996. I would like to thank Catherina Villafuerte from the New School for Social Research for her assistance in collecting and analyzing the data discussed in this article. The opinions expressed are those of the author.

Dr. Cordero-Guzman
Abstract

ABSTRACT

In this paper, I examine the nature of recent trends in educational attainment, employment, and incomes among Latinos in the United States and explore the implications of these trends for social science research, workforce development, and the design, implementation, and evaluation of training programs. The data comes from four sources: a) the Current Population Reports Series P-20, the Hispanic Population of the United States for various years¹; b) U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, P23-183, Hispanic Americans Today (1993); c) U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, NCES 93-242, Youth Indicators 1993 (1993); and unpublished tables from the U.S. Department of Labor's National Longitudinal Survey of Youth (1979-1991).

¹ Series P-20 is based on the Current Population Survey (CPS) for the month of March of every year. The series for Hispanics began in 1973 and continues up to 1995.

Persons from disadvantaged environments are not very malleable after their late teens or perhaps their early 20s.

-James Heckman from The University of Chicago,
quoted in The Economist, April 6th 1996, page 21.

INTRODUCTION

In order to understand the nature, causes, and consequences of recent trends in education and employment among Latinos two broad changes have to be discussed. The first involves a significant transformation in the organization of the economy, in the structure of the labor market, and in the material conditions of workers particularly those with high school or less education. The second entails a shift in the debate over the role of various government policies and programs on the training, employment, and earnings of disadvantaged workers.

This paper will discuss some of the recent arguments over the role and efficiency of government training programs and will then analyze recent changes in the structure of the economy paying particular attention to the contemporary position of Hispanics (or Latinos) in the United States. In the first section of the paper, I review the recent debates over workforce development programs. This is followed by a brief discussion of changes in the structure of the economy and an analysis of their impact on Latino populations. The third section of the paper will present a detailed analysis of the socio-economic status of Latinos and will focus on recent trends in educational attainment, employment status, and family incomes. The paper will conclude with a brief discussion of the implications of recent trends in the socio-economic status of Latinos for social science research, workforce development and for the design, implementation, and evaluation of training programs.

RECENT DEBATES OVER WORKFORCE DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS

There are two main perspectives in the debate over the effectiveness of government workforce development and training programs. The first position is associated mainly with Jim Heckman from The University of Chicago and Finis Welch from Texas A&M and it holds that government training programs for disadvantaged and minority workers are inefficient and that expenditures in such programs cannot be justified. The second position is most closely associated with Labor Secretary Robert Reich and with David Card and Alan Krueger from Princeton University. This position argues that training programs are an important component of government labor policy and are needed to increase the skills, employability, and productivity of workers in an increasingly competitive global economy.

In its edition of April 6th, 1996, the prestigious journal, The Economist, proclaims in its leading article that: "In a growing body of research, economists have compared groups of unemployed people who enter government training schemes with similar groups who do not. In almost every case, these studies have found that the schemes have failed to improve either the earnings or the employment prospects of their clients." This article is based almost exclusively on a paper by Heckman, Roselius, and Smith entitled U.S. Education and Training Policy: A Re-evaluation of the Underlying Assumptions Behind the "New Consensus"² and contrast sharply

² Heckman, James J, Rebecca L. Roselius, and Jeffrey A. Smith. 1994. "U.S. Education and Training Policy: A Re-Evaluation of the Underlying Assumptions Behind the "New Consensus." Chapter 3 in Labor Markets, Employment Policy, and Job Creation, Edited by Lewis C. Solomon and Alec R. Levenson. Boulder: Westview Press.

with the material reported in What's Working (and what's not)³ prepared by Lawrence Katz from Harvard and Alan Krueger from Princeton during their tenure at the U.S. Department of Labor. Let me discuss briefly each of these perspectives.

The Neoclassical Position

The neoclassical position on government training programs is that they are unnecessary government intervention in the labor market. Workers, they argue, cannot and do not need to be "fixed". Rather, government should reduce or eliminate regulations affecting the labor market, increase corporate subsidies for employing low skilled workers, and reduce taxes. According to this perspective, workers should be paid what they are "worth" (their marginal products) to whoever wants to hire in the labor market. However, the government-set minimum wage is higher than the marginal product of some low skilled workers. This means that wages are not allowed to adjust downward below a certain point (the minima) which "artificially" increases the costs of labor to employers and thus reduces total employment.

Government training programs are considered inefficient, according to this perspective, because the costs of the programs are said to be higher than the benefits derived from them. It is argued that expenditures in government training programs cannot be justified because they: a) duplicate efforts that should take place in the private sector; b) often times result in job gains for

³ U.S. Department of Labor. 1995. What's Working (and what's not): A Summary of Research on the Economic Impacts of Employment and Training Programs. Office of the Chief Economist.

those that would have found employment without government intervention ("deadweight"); c) produce job gains to some at the expense of jobs for others who do not participate in the programs ("substitution effects"); d) do not produce expected increases in employment and wages; and e) are generally targeted towards those that have failed elsewhere in obtaining an education or employment. Rather than investing government funds on disadvantaged or low skilled workers, The Economist suggests that: "[...] anti-unemployment policy would fare better by concentrating on lowering the costs of employment. This can be done through subsidy, lower taxes, deregulation or some mixture of the three."⁴

The neo-Institutionalist Perspective

The neo-institutionalist perspective argues that workers can and should be "fixed" by government training programs and that this investment helps to stimulate further increases in the country's income. This position recognizes the broad nature of changes in the structure of the economy towards skilled labor and argues that unskilled persons are more likely to be unemployed than those with higher skills. This means, according to this perspective, that the solution to the unemployment problem is to increase the qualifications and the skills of unemployed job-seekers. In addition, an economy with higher levels of education generates higher incomes and higher levels of economic growth.

In the neo-institutionalist perspective, government training programs are seen as a way

⁴ The Economist, April 6th 1996, page 21.

for the state to compensate for shortcomings in private and corporate investments in education and training. Corporations do not invest in the general skills of their workers for fear of being raided by competitors. This market failure creates an opportunity for government to step in, fill the investment gap, and create a public good. An additional argument made by the neo-institutionalists, particularly Card and Krueger from Princeton, is that increases in the minimum wage do not generate large losses in employment. According to their perspective, the minimum wage has lost ground to inflation in recent years and needs to be increased to induce employers to invest in more education and training for their workers (who, after the increase in the minimum wage, would be more costly). Though increases in the minimum wage and other policies suggested by the neo-institutionalist are focused on labor demand this approach is still puts too much emphasis on "fixing the workers" and on reducing unemployment through policies that affect the supply of labor and not on policies that seek to change educational and labor market institutions.

The Structuralist Perspective

In recent years scholars working within the political economy perspective have argued that unemployment is the result of social-structural forces in the economy and in the labor market therefore unemployment can not be conceived, and treated, simply as an individual level phenomena. This perspective holds that it is not "workers" but, rather, the structure of the labor market and the economy that need to be fixed.

Structuralist arguments tend to focus on the role of social structures, groups of social actors and their interactions, and on the characteristics and functioning of educational and economic institutions--not just on "fixing the workers". In terms of government training programs scholars working from a structuralist perspective tend to ask critical questions about program design, goals, implementation, and outcome measurement. However, these questions do not come from skepticism about the potential positive impact of education and training programs on disadvantaged workers but rather they come from a recognition of the economic, political, and social embeddedness of these programs in larger power structures. Structuralists do not argue that government investments do not work and thus have to be abandoned. Rather they argue that some of the existing programs, and the general level of resources invested in them, are not sufficient to counteract the many structural obstacles in the family, the school, the community, and the labor market that confront poor and disadvantaged persons. Other criticisms that have been leveled at government programs from a structuralist perspective include: a) narrowly defined goals; b) low levels of funding and inadequate staff support; c) that the programs are often times imposed on communities and disadvantaged populations from above without paying adequate attention to local demands and resources; and d) that programs are evaluated in narrow ways that do not take into account the nature of complex changes in schools, neighborhoods and labor markets in working class, poor, and minority communities.

Each of the three main perspectives in the ongoing debates over the role and effectiveness of government training programs has to be evaluated on the basis of a broad analysis of the existing evidence about the programs themselves and on the basis of an analysis of the nature of

structural changes in the economy and the labor market. It is to a discussion of these changes to which I now turn.

THE STATE OF THE ECONOMY AND THE LABOR MARKET SINCE THE LATE 1970'S

This section discusses some of the main changes that have taken place in the structure of the economy and the labor market over the last 20 years. These changes include the evolution of manufacturing work and a shift to a service economy, broad experiences of economic restructuring particularly in the northeast and the Midwest, changes in white collar employment through downsizing and outsourcing, internationalization of the economy, increases in immigration to the largest urban centers, sharp increases in social and economic inequality, and persisting high levels of poverty among racial and ethnic minorities. These changes are broad based and have had a significant effect on the Latino population.

Increased Income Inequality at the National Level⁵- Income inequality has been increasing in the country as a whole. This means that those in the upper income groups have gained while those in the lower income groups have lost both in relative and absolute terms. In 1980, the top 1/4 (25%) of families in terms of income received 48.2% of the country's income while in 1992 their share increased to 51.3%. In contrast, the bottom 1/4 of families received

⁵ "Inequality: How the Gap Between Rich and Poor Hurts the Economy" *Business Week*, August 15, 1994.

7.6% of the nation's income in 1980 and their share declined to 6.5% by 1992⁶. Gaps in income are increasing. Family incomes increased by 15% for the wealthiest 1/4th and while they decreased by 6.8% for the poorest fourth families between 1980 and 1992.

A social structure that could have been described as a ladder with some opportunities has shrunk into a web of positions linked mostly through education and educational credentials and through various social mechanisms (discrimination, residential segregation, restrictive hiring, and the like) whose effect is to limit access to primary sector jobs. What is left for minorities and immigrants in many regions is a vast array of employment "opportunities" in the secondary, tertiary, informal, and illegal sectors of the economy. Of course these populations are connected to the mainstream economy through financial institutions, consumption patterns, shared services, sub-contracting, and labor market networks but they are systematically excluded from the best schools and the best jobs.

Children from families in different quadrants of the income distribution have significantly different educational outcomes. Close to 65% of children from the bottom 1/4 of the distribution finished high school while for children from families in the top 1/4th of the income distribution the high school graduation rate is almost 100 %. In terms of college graduation, 75% of those in the top 1/4th finish college but only 10% of those in the bottom 1/4th had a college degree.

Stagnation in Real Wages and Incomes⁷- Recent income figures indicate that median

⁶ see also Danziger in Confronting Poverty (1994).

⁷ "Recovery? Not In Your Paycheck." *New York Times*, January 6, 1995, Page E6 and "A Pay Raise's Impact." *New York Times*, January 12, 1995, page D1.

household income has been stagnant since 1975 varying between \$31,000 and \$34,000 during the 1980s. Incomes increased in the late 1980s but then decreased between 1989 to 1994 to around \$32,000 median household income per year⁸. Stagnant family incomes have broad social repercussions for the middle and lower classes. As these families lose ground the effects on young people are even more dramatic.

However, not only those at the bottom of the income distribution have suffered losses. Earners from the middle to lowest decile in the income distribution have also seen their incomes stagnate over the decade. If one looks at an index of wages from 1975 to 1994 and makes 1989 equal to a base of 100, the value of wages decreased from 104 in 1978 to 96 in 1981. It then moved up slowly to 102 in 1986 and then moved down to around 98 by 1990. It has stagnated at that level in the four years since. In addition, the value, in real terms, of the federal minimum wage decreased steadily from a high of \$6.36 in January of 1979 to a low of \$3.95 per hour in 1990. In 1994, the minimum wage stood at \$4.25 per hour. Stagnation in the value of the minimum wage has very likely contributed to the erosion of incomes for those at the lowest end of the wage distribution.

Inequality and income stagnation have both an individual and a social dimension and both are related not only to consumption at one point in time but also to the ability of broad segments of the population to invest in education and training and to the potential to develop human resources at the individual and family level. Even studies conducted comparing metropolitan areas indicate that in areas of high income inequality employment grows at a lower

⁸ "Sluggish Income Figures Show Gains for Some" *New York Times*, October 6, 1995.

rate that in areas where there is less inequality. The polarization of the income distribution has accentuated the boundaries between social classes and has been characterized by increasing barriers to entry into the upper classes. On the other hand, the working classes and other segments of the population increasingly experience unemployment, job insecurity, alienation, and marginalization from the economic structure.

Most economists agree by now that inequality has increased. This is a factual question and enough studies have been conducted at this point to convince the skeptics⁹. However, there is much less consensus about the causes of growing stratification and inequality and there is much dispute about the possible solutions (if any). Several explanations have been emphasized in various recent academic reviews prepared mostly by economists¹⁰. The more common arguments refer to: a) increasing role of skills and ethnic differences in skills; b) immigration and declining immigrant quality¹¹; c) decreasing returns to low skill and changes in the supply of

⁹ Weinberg, Daniel H. (1996) "A Brief Look at Postwar U.S. Income Inequality." U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports (p60-191).

¹⁰ Katz, Lawrence and Kevin Murphy (1992) "Changes in Relative Wages, 1963-1987: Supply and Demand Factors." Quarterly Journal of Economics 107(1): 35-78; Murphy and Welch (1992); Juhn, Murphy and Pierce (1992); Murphy, Kevin M. and Finis Welch. (1993a) "Inequality and Relative Wages." American Economic Review. 83(2):105?-1091; Levy, Frank and Richard J. Murnane (1992) "U.S. Earnings Levels and Earnings Inequality: A Review of Recent Trends and Proposed Explanations." Journal of Economic Literature 30:1333-1381; Bound and Freeman Bound, John and Richard B. Freeman. 1992. "What Went Wrong? The Erosion of Relative Earnings and Employment among Young Black Men in the 1980s," Quarterly Journal of Economics. 107(1):201-232.

¹¹ George Borjas (1991) Friends or Strangers.

labor among those with low skills¹²; d) effects of the welfare state¹³; e) international competition¹⁴; f) changes in the demand for labor¹⁵.

Most of these explanations focus on parts of the problem but lack a sociological and historical perspective. The role of various types of systemic and systematic structural characteristics of the social formation are ignored and thus the "explanations" that are provided are incomplete and need themselves to be inserted and understood in a broader framework.

Changing Labor Force Dynamics-The labor force dynamics of males and females have experienced dramatic changes during the last 20 years. The data for females indicates that over time more women are entering the labor force but there is a varying pattern by ethnicity. While women, in general, have gained entry into the better sectors of the economy access to the upper echelons is still restricted. Puerto Rican women, contrary to the norm, decreased their labor force participation between 1960 and 1980 and their employment rate remained relatively stable and low throughout the 1980s.

The general pattern of labor force participation among men over the last two decades suggests that fewer men are working full-time but those that work are doing so for longer hours

¹² Welch, Finis (1990) "The Employment of Black Men." Journal of Labor Economics. 8(1): S26-S74.

¹³ Charles Murray (1984) Losing Ground Basic Books; Lawrence Mead (1986) Beyond Entitlement. Free Press.

¹⁴ George Borjas, Richard B. Freeman and Lawrence Katz "On the Labor Market Effects of Immigration and Trade" in Borjas and Freeman (1992) Immigration and the Work Force. University of Chicago Press.

¹⁵ Acs, Gregory and Sheldon Danziger. 1994. "Educational Attainment, Industrial Structure and Male Earnings Through the 1980s." Journal of Human Resources 29: 617-648.

per week. The connection between people and work has been solidified for those in the upper echelons of the socio-economic structure while it has become more tenuous and unstable for those in the lower sectors of the class distribution. This tension can be seen in the increased tertiarization and informalization of the economy together with increased conflict over taxation and the role of local, state, and federal governments in the provision of public goods and services for the poor.

The figures¹⁶ indicate that in the decade between 1969 and 1979 around 77% of working age males worked steadily. In the decade that followed from 1979 to 1989 the number was reduced to 60% of males working steadily throughout the decade. The proportion of whites employed steadily was higher than the proportion of blacks with 55% of the later working steadily throughout the 1980s. The evidence also indicates that educational attainment is increasingly related to labor force participation. Among high school drop-outs, steady work decreased to around 50% in the 1980s while for college graduates the proportion working steadily over the decade increased slightly from 77% to 79%. Of those in the lowest fifth of the income distribution 55% worked steadily in the 1970s but only 35% did so in the 1980s while for individuals in the upper fifth steady work decreased slightly but was still high at around 95%.

Persisting Income Gaps by Gender and Race¹⁷ The gap in incomes between whites, African-Americans, and Hispanics is relatively large and persists at the national level. There have

¹⁶ "More Men in Prime of Life Spend Less Time Working" *New York Times*, January 1, 1995, Page A1.

¹⁷ "Income Gap Persists for Blacks and Whites" *New York Times*, February 23, 1995, Page A21.

been some relative gains, particularly for those with higher education and among women, but in most other categories African-American and Hispanic incomes have stopped converging with those of whites for some time. There are several explanations for this trend: a) increased and more sophisticated forms of discrimination; b) within group differences in aptitude and skill; c) the criminalization of sectors of the poor; d) limited access to various forms of capital and investments; e) segregation in housing and in the provision of other resources; and f) the effects of government policy.

While the debate lingers, the fact remains that in 1993, for example, the median income of Black males employed full time was \$23,020 while the income of whites was \$31,090 (or 74 cents to blacks for every dollar for whites). This gap has not changed since 1979. Among women, in 1979 the income of blacks was 92 cents to the dollar when compared to white women but by 1993 the gap had increased slightly to around 90 cents per dollar with annual incomes of \$19,820 for black women and \$22,020 for white women. A persisting income gap, particularly in the current context of high residential and other forms of segregation, means that African-American and Hispanic families, schools, and communities have less resources at their disposal to educate and invest in their children and to provide services for adults in the community.

The Deteriorating Status of Hispanic Workers¹⁸-Hispanic workers of Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, and Other Latino Origins have been particularly affected by economic trends at the regional, national and local level. The effect of economic changes is compounded by the fact

¹⁸ "Bias Hits Hispanic Workers: Large Labor Force in the U.S. is Losing Ground" *New York Times*, April 27, 1995, Page D1.

that the gap in elementary and high school education between Latinos and whites is quite large and that Latinos are increasingly being excluded from higher education.

In the late 1980s Hispanic unemployment was around 8% somewhere between the 4% rate for whites and the 12% rate for blacks. During the early 1990s, unemployment increased for all groups, but it increased even faster among Hispanics. As the economy recovered in the later parts of 1992, unemployment rates started to decrease for all groups, but they came down faster for blacks and whites than for Hispanics. Hispanic unemployment in 1995 was around 9.1%, close to the level for Blacks of 9.8% and double the White unemployment rate of 4.7%.

Hispanics have not only suffered setbacks in the labor market but some segments of the population are also falling increasingly behind in terms of educational attainment. If we look at the proportion of Hispanics in college we see an increase from around 5% in 1970 to 8% in 1980 but the figure remained at the level of 9% up to 1994. For Blacks, the proportion with a college degree increased from 4.5% in 1970 to 12.9% by 1994 while for non-Hispanics whites the proportion with a college degree increased from 11.6% in 1970 to 24% by 1994 for those 25 years or older¹⁹.

Hispanics are not going to college for three main reasons: a) migration and the selectivity

¹⁹ "Census Report Finds Hispanic Americans Lagging Further in College Degrees" *New York Times*, July 27, 1995; Bureau of the Census, Statistical Brief, "The Nation's Hispanic Population, 1994." SB/95-25 (September, 1995).

of migrants (labor migration)²⁰; b) issues of access and higher education policy²¹; and c) differences in-family, school and community level resources²². The value of a college education has increased over the last two decades and the fact that very few Latinos are going to college not only reflects present inequalities but also purports inequalities in the future.

Shrinking Opportunity Structures²³-Recent research has shown that there is an increasing "opportunity gap" between children from different socio-economic backgrounds. Fewer younger persons are earning middle class incomes by the time they are in their early thirties and the probability of achieving a middle class income is becoming increasingly tied to family of origin and to membership in racial or ethnic minority groups. Between 1977 and 1988, 65% of young white males achieved a middle class income by the time they were thirty. From 1989 to 1992 the proportion decreased to 47%. For young black males the figure was 29% from 1977 to 1988 and 18% between 1989 and 1992. For men with affluent parents (defined as households with income equal to four times the poverty line or more) the proportion that achieved middle class income was 74% between 1977 and 1988 and 56% between 1989 and

²⁰ George Borjas (1990), Friends or Strangers: The Impact of Immigrants on the U.S. Economy; Gregory DeFreitas (1991), Inequality at Work: Hispanics in the U.S. Labor Market.

²¹ See Camille Rodriguez and Ramon Bosque-Perez (1994) Puerto Ricans in Higher Education.

²² Hector R. Cordero-Guzman (1995), Educational Attainment, Labor Force Participation and the Wages of White, African-American, Mexican-American, Puerto Rican and Other Hispanic Young Males During the 1980s. Ph.D. Dissertation, The University of Chicago.

²³ "America's Opportunity Gap" *New York Times*, June 4, 1995; Bureau of the Census, Statistical Brief, "The Earnings Ladder: Who's at the Bottom? Who's at the Top?" SB94- 3RV (June, 1994).

1992. The figures for young men from poor households (defined as those with one and a half times the poverty line or less) indicate that 27% achieved middle class incomes by their thirties between 1977 and 1988 and 20% between 1989 and 1992. These figures indicate a strengthening of class barriers and an increasing effect of family background and race\ethnicity on socio-economic attainment.

THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS OF LATINOS

Latinos have been a principal actor in the changing U.S. economy and this population is particularly affected by both recent debates over government training programs and by changes in the economic and social structure. In this section, I will discuss some general statistics on Hispanic education, employment, and incomes but first I will present an analytical framework that tries to separate between the individual dimensions of education, employment, and earnings and their structural determinants.

Analytical Framework

In this section, I will discuss briefly the ways in which one can interpret and connect analytically and theoretically the various trends in education, labor force participation and income data in order to provide an overall picture of the various dimensions that constitute the socio-economic status of the population. Education, employment and wages are usually linked,

somewhat sequentially, to each other so that outcomes at one stage are said to affect outcomes in subsequent stages. However, trends in education, employment, and incomes are seldom linked analytically to each other through an analysis of the effects of changing social (particularly neighborhoods and schools), economic, political and fiscal structures.

There are four main approaches to social stratification and inequality that have tended to dominate the academic literature. While some of the arguments overlap the emphasis made by each school of thought are clearly different: a) *family background*-this type of explanation emphasizes the role of family background and family experiences on subsequent levels of educational attainment and employment status; b) *education based\human capital*-this approach puts emphasis on the role of ability on educational attainment and the subsequent role of education on employment outcomes; c) *role model based*-these explanations emphasize the importance of role models for motivation and the role of psycho-social factors on education and employment; d) *social\cultural capital*-these explanations focus on the modes of conduct and clusters of knowledge that an individual needs to have in order to achieve social mobility.

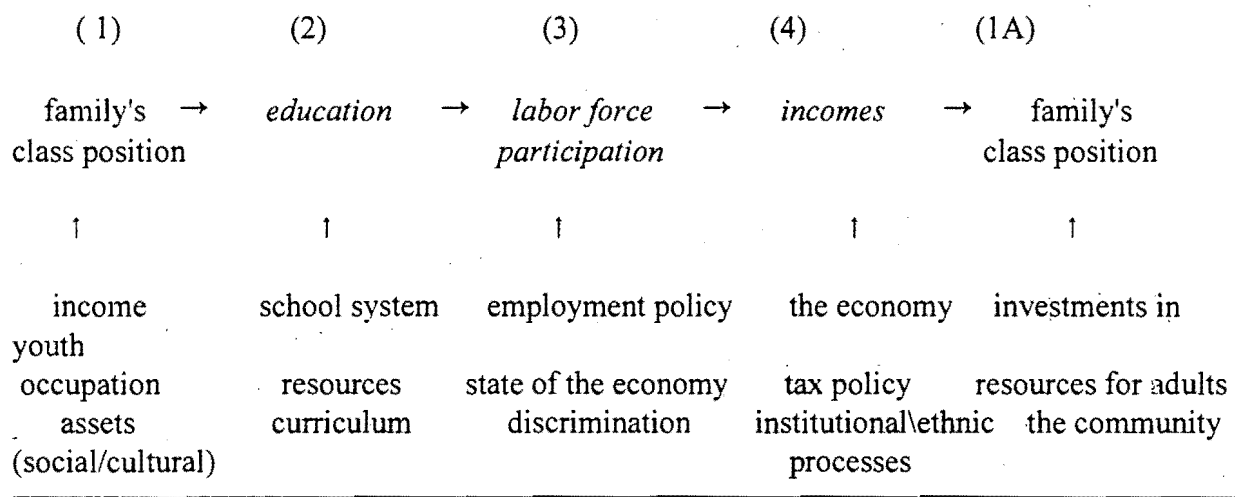
Individuals are said to have more or less social or cultural capital and capital is defined as those attributes that help a person achieve economic and social mobility.

While each of the approaches can generate useful insights what is missing from current explanations of educational and labor market disadvantage is a theorization of the various parts of the social structure and how they impact individual and group development both sequentially and cumulatively over the life course. Stratification needs to be studied in both structural and dynamic terms in order to answer broader questions about which factors are associated with

mobility and how individual, family, school, community, and labor market level processes accelerate or impede mobility both at the individual and group level.

Figure 1 presents an ideo-typical schema designed to describe three basic sets of connections or processes. The first involves the link between the various parts of the stratification process and the influence of events in one stage on subsequent stages in the person's life course. The second sets of relations described by the figure involves incorporating the effects of events, institutions, processes, and policies at the structural level on individual level outcomes at each stage of the life course and over the life course. The third way to view the figure emphasizes the development of the system of relations at the structural level and an analysis of the institutional linkages that exist between the various parts of the system.

Figure 1



The family's class composition (1) entails a given set of social and economic resources that impact levels of educational attainment (2). These are also affected by the differential role

and impact of schools, educational policy, educational resources and the type of teaching practices and curriculum. Educational attainment in turn impacts labor force participation (3) but this is also affected by employment policy, the state of the economy and by patterns of labor market discrimination. Labor force participation (including the person's occupation and industry of employment) in turn affects incomes and the family's subsequent class position. The perspective presented here recognizes the relationship that exists between education, employment and incomes but sees that relationship as both determined and mediated by the operation of factors at various levels of analysis from the individual, to the family, the school, the community, and the labor market to broad social, political, and ideological processes which have local manifestations.

The experience of Hispanics, in particular, reveals the connection that exist between structural level processes and socio-economic changes in the population at the individual and group level. The next section of the paper will discuss data on Hispanics in the U.S. with an eye towards interpreting the various trends as the result of complex processes and interactions taking place at various levels of analysis.

a) Population Trends--Figure 1 shows the total Latino population in the United States beginning in 1970 and projected up to the year 2050. The table includes both total population counts and projections and estimates of the proportion of the total U.S. population that was or is expected to be Latino. According to these numbers there were 24.1 million Latinos in the U.S. around 1992 and they constituted close to 9.5% of the U.S. population. This number is expected to increase to 21.1% of the population or 80.7 million persons by the year 2050. Figure 2

Presents the Hispanic population in 1990 by national origin. Figure 3 shows the proportion of the population that is Latino in the 10 states with the largest Latino populations. These numbers indicate that the Latino population has been growing rapidly in states that already have significant proportions of Latinos.

b) Education--Figure 4 presents data on the proportion of the Latino and non-Latino population with high school and college degrees. The data indicates that both the gap in high school (.64) and the gap in college (.42) are quite large. In fact, though the proportion of Hispanics graduating from high school and college has increased most of the gain, relative to the non-Latino population were made between 1970 and 1980. The gap in high school graduation was the same in 1980 as in 1992 (.62) while the gap in the proportion with a college degree declined between 1970 and 1980 but increased again from 1980 to 1992 so that in 1992 the gap was at the same level as it was in 1970 (.42). Figures 5 and 6 examine in more detail recent trends in high school and college graduation rates between Latinos of various sub-groups and non-Hispanic whites. The data confirms that the gap in high school graduation rates has remained relatively large and does not seem to be getting smaller while the gap in the proportion with a college degree is showing signs of an increase.

c) Labor Force Participation and Unemployment--Figures 7 and 8 present recent data on labor force participation rates for males and females and though there is some movement that corresponds with the business cycle, the data indicates that there are significant differences in labor force participation by Latino origin. In the case of males, several Latino groups have higher participation rates than whites but in the case of females most Latino groups have participation

rates below those of white women. Figure 9 presents a series of unemployment rates for Hispanics and non-Hispanics from 1982 to 1992. Hispanic unemployment rates are: a) significantly higher than those of non-Hispanics; b) increase faster during and after a recession; c) take longer to recuperate from a downturn in the economy. In 1992, for example, the Latino unemployment rate was 11.3% compared to 7.5% for non-Latinos. Figures 10 and 11 present unemployment rates in recent years for various Latino subgroups by gender. This data indicates that in terms of unemployment both Latino males and females have a higher incidence of unemployment than non-Latinos.

d) Occupations--Figures 12 and 13 compare the occupational distributions of Latino and non-Latino males and females in 1992 and 1994. The tables indicate that there is more dissimilarity in the occupational distribution of males than of females with Latino males heavily over-represented in the lower status occupations. Latino females, however, are overrepresented in both administrative (office) and operator (factory) work.

e) Incomes and Poverty--Figure 14 compares the poverty rate of Latinos with the poverty rate of non-Latinos. The gap in poverty rates has remained quite large (2.5 times higher for Latinos) over the last 15 years and does not seem to be showing signs of convergence. As is the case with unemployment Latino poverty increases faster than poverty for non-Latinos during recessions evidencing the low incomes and vulnerability to cyclical fluctuations of large segments of the Latino population. Table 15 presents median family income by race/ethnicity while figure 16 shows the data in graphic form. Figure 17 shows how the median income of families has remained stagnant over the last 15 years and, in fact, the gap between Latinos and

non-Latinos has increased slightly. From 1989 to 1991, for example, Latinos lost close to \$2,000 in income while non-Latinos lost close to \$1,600. This left Latino families with a median income of 23,895 in 1991 compared to 37,013 for non-Latinos or a difference of close to \$13,000 per year.

DISCUSSION

The data discussed in this article suggests that there are significant gaps between Latinos and non-Latinos in levels of educational attainment, in unemployment and labor force participation rates, in the occupational distribution, in poverty rates, and in family incomes. This gaps are the result of the complex interaction between individual, family, school, community, labor market and political processes. Latinos clearly need and can benefit from education and training programs that reduce the negative effects of structural forces on social outcomes. However, these programs will not work if they are predicated on the notion that educational, employment and income inequality among Latinos is simply the result of groups level differences in values, ability, and skills. Values, abilities, and skills are important but rather than being the starting points of policy they should be recognized as the result of social processes and of broad differences in resources. This recognition has important implications for social science research and for the design, implementation, and evaluation of workforce development and training programs.

Implications for Social Science Research

The next generation of studies on inequality need to examine comprehensively the role of individual, family, school, community, labor market, and institutional level factors on the education, employment, and earnings of Hispanics. Analysis with new sources of quantitative data should be carried out bearing in mind the need to contextualize and tie the analysis of the timing and sequencing of individual events and job trajectories to a detailed study changing social, economic, and political structures.

There is also a need for more research on the role of organizational level characteristics on the outcomes of participants in employment training programs. I am currently engaged in a research project with Dr. Bennet Harrison where we are exploring organizational networking and case management practices and how they relate to other organizational characteristics and to the outcomes of participants in employment training and workforce development programs. We are particularly interested in the relationship between *organizational structure* (e.g. the type and extent of networks to institutions like employers, government, and other community based organizations; characteristics of the internal organizational structure), *organizational practices* (e.g. pedagogical approach to employment training; objectives and content of the employment training programs; organizational history and culture), and *organizational resources* (e.g. characteristics of the clients/trainees; contact to employers; sources of funding; demographic characteristics of the organization [age, size, number and rank of employees, number of programs at the organization, etc.]) and how these impact the outcomes of participants in

employment training and workforce development programs.

Implications for Workforce Development

Social science research and workforce development programs need to incorporate the role of both differences in the past resources invested in the individual and differences in the structural level conditions under which individuals operate in order to account for and explain ethnic and social class differences educational attainment, labor force participation and wage growth. From a public policy perspective our approach suggests that attempts to conceive and implement effective public policy solutions to the condition of minority populations must be anchored in a detailed analysis of the individual, structural, and temporal dimensions of stratification. Public policies should not just eliminate present barriers but should also compensate for the cumulative effects of systematic past differences in social and family investments over the life course. Solutions that reduce the nature of the educational and labor market problems of minority populations simply to putative individual inadequacies, inefficiencies, and self-defeating attitudes are bound to fail because they ignore both the cumulative nature and the structural embeddedness of individual development.

Implications for Training Programs

Some of the critical questions and challenges that face community based employment training

programs include: a) Goal clarification: What are the programs supposed to do? What do they intend to achieve? b) the challenges of implementation and replication: Where are the programs located? Who runs them? What is the racial and ethnic composition of the clients and program staff? What is the content of the training and other aspects of the program? What is the nature of the relations amongst the various constituencies that participate in the program? What kinds of resources are available to achieve the goals of the program? c) Program evaluation challenges: How are "success" and "failure" defined and measured? Would the clients be worse off without the investment? What external forces are the programs designed and not designed to counteract? How is their impact measured? Are these programs not working because even those with more training do not get employment (more persons in the queue)? or because those who do not go to programs get jobs more often than those that go to programs (some kind of scarring effect)? or is it that both those that do and those that do not receive training end up unemployed (changes in labor force participation rates and patterns of exclusion from work)?

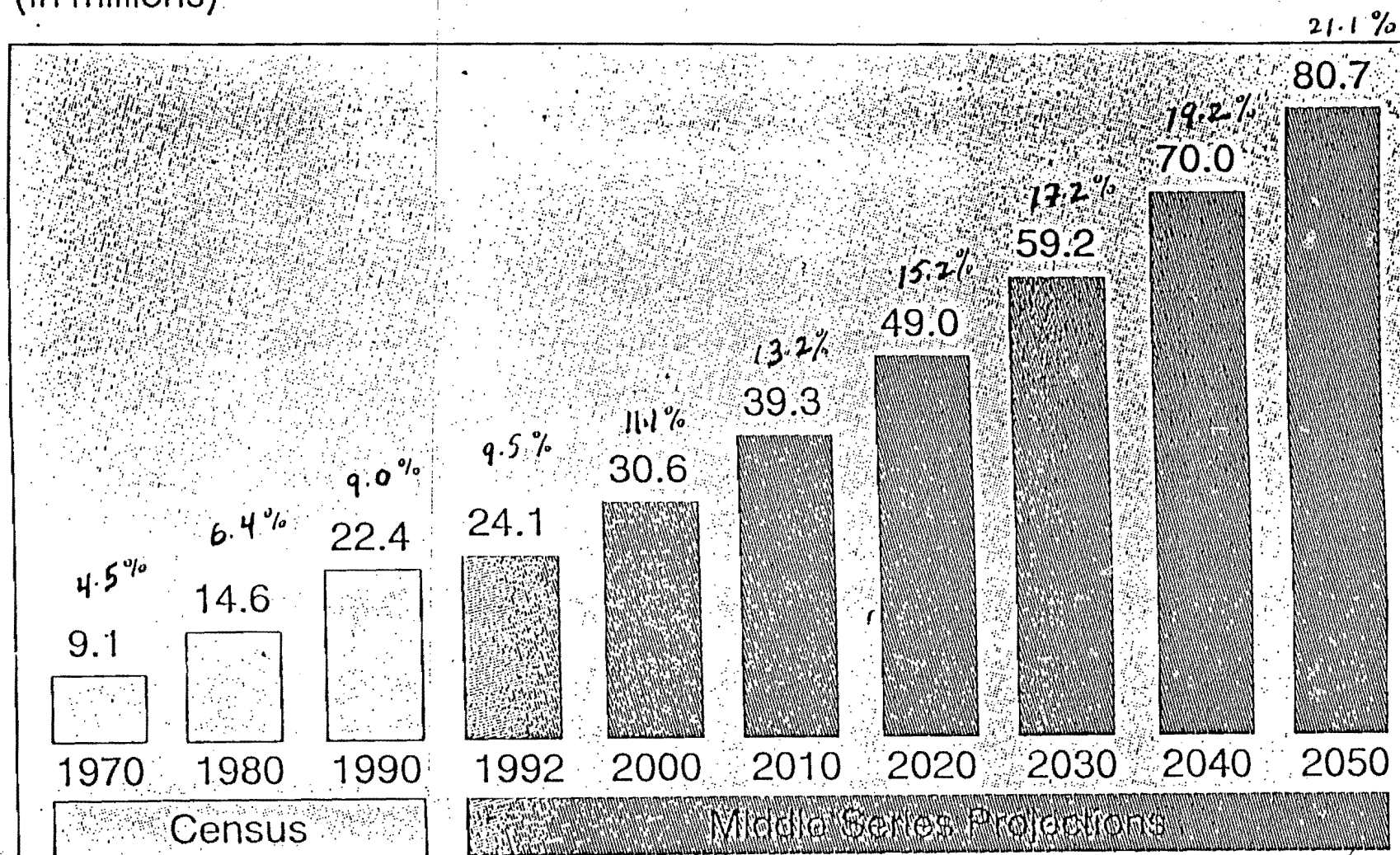
CONCLUDING COMMENTS

The experience of Latinos in the educational system and in the labor force highlights the need for research and practice to focus on social structures and on broad institutional changes in educational systems, employment systems, and in the labor market. Quick fixes and small remedial investments are not going to reduce current levels of inequality. The main obstacle to a broad based labor market policy seems to be that the economic debate is taking place between

those that believe that low skilled workers are currently overpaid and the solution to their predicament lies in an downward adjustment of the wage structure and those think that the solution to the employment problems of disadvantaged workers lies mostly in more worker education and training. Though more education and training are essential, the solution to the unemployment problem for disadvantaged workers seems to lie not so much in fixing the workers themselves but rather in fixing the uneven impacts of the changing socio-economic structure, in reducing the deteriorating effects of the class, gender, and ethnic group membership on individual attainment, and in eliminating the persistence of inequality in the distribution of social resources and investments. Only until broad social resources are mobilized to eliminate current disparities in the social and economic structure, particularly in disadvantaged communities, will we begin to see an improvement in the socio-economic indicators for racial and ethnic minorities and, perhaps, begin to experience noticeable reductions from the current levels of socio-economic stratification and inequality.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current
Population Reports, P-23-183, Hispanic
Americans Today.

Figure 1.
Hispanic Population Growth: 1970 to 2050
(In millions)

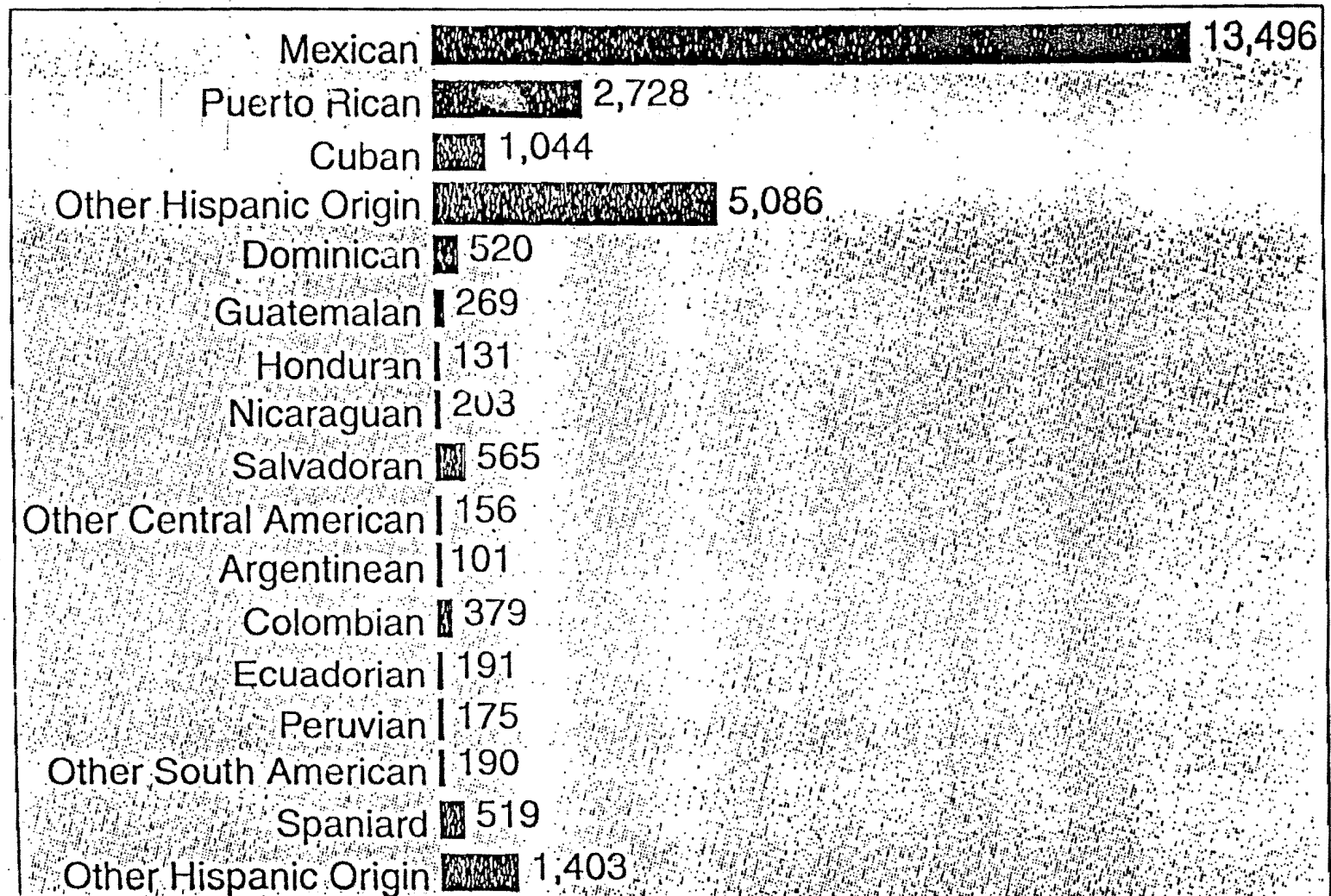


Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current
Population Reports, P23-183, Hispanic
Americans Today.

Figure 4.

Hispanic Population, by Type of Origin: 1990

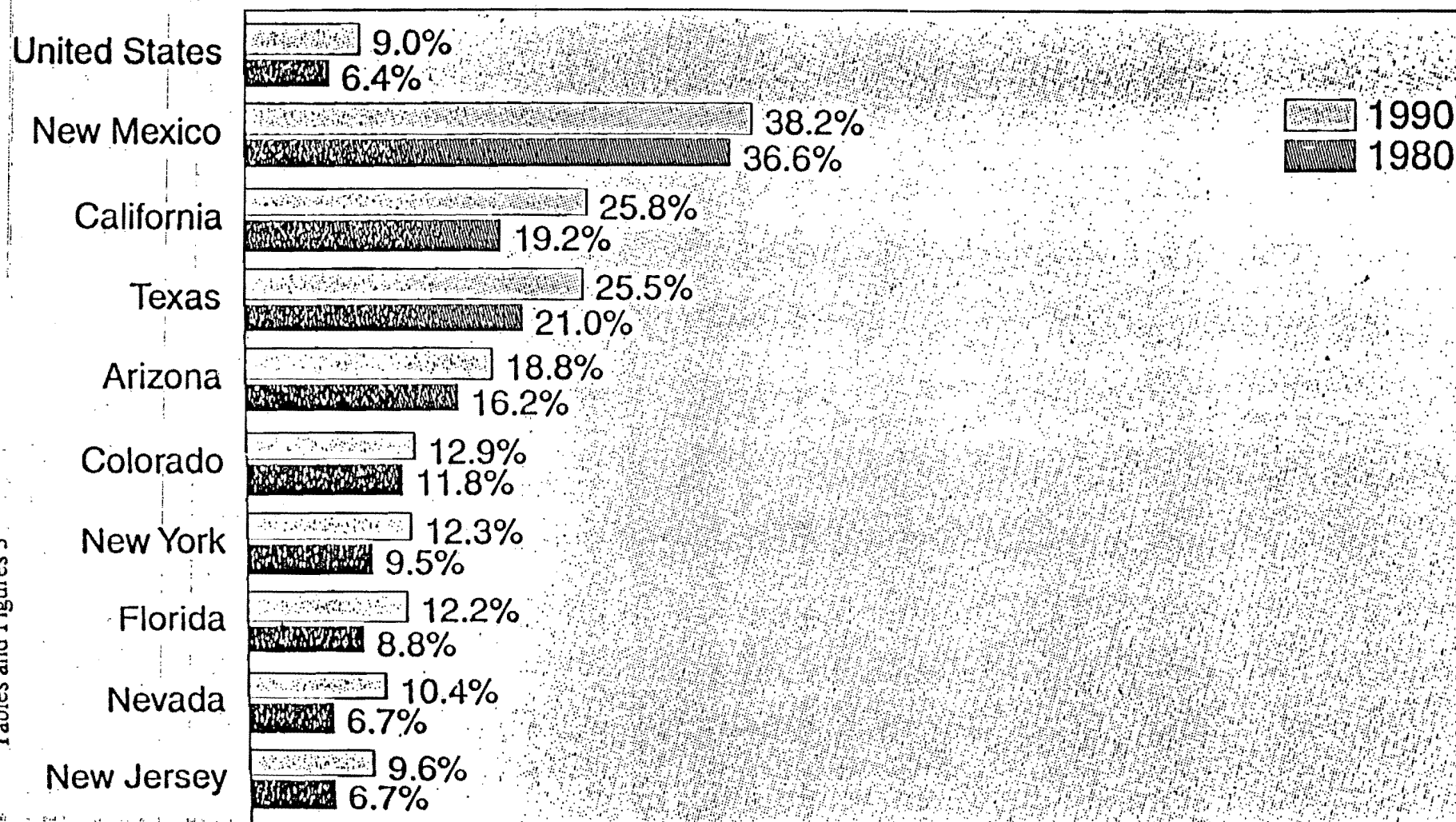
(In thousands)



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current
Population Reports, P23-183, Hispanic
Americans Today.

Figure 6a.

Percent Hispanic of Total Population for Selected States: 1980 and 1990



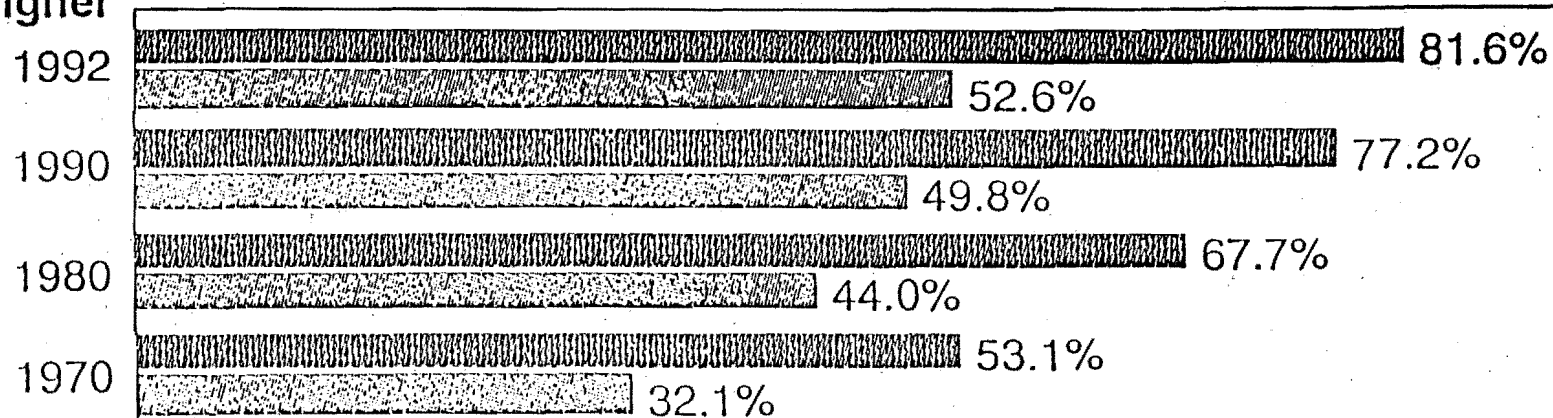
Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current
Population Reports, P23-183, Hispanic
Americans Today.

Figure 13.

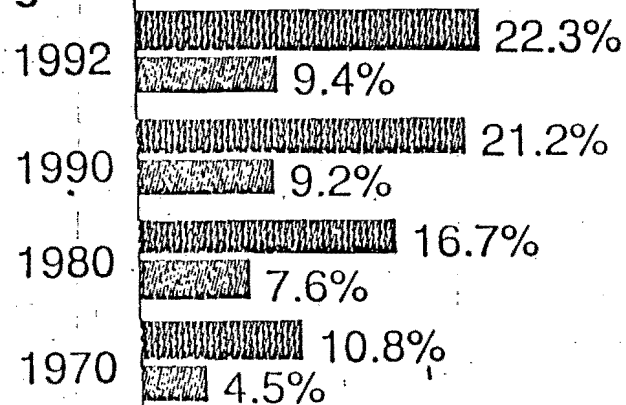
Educational Attainment: 1970 to 1992

(Persons 25 years and over)

High school graduate or higher

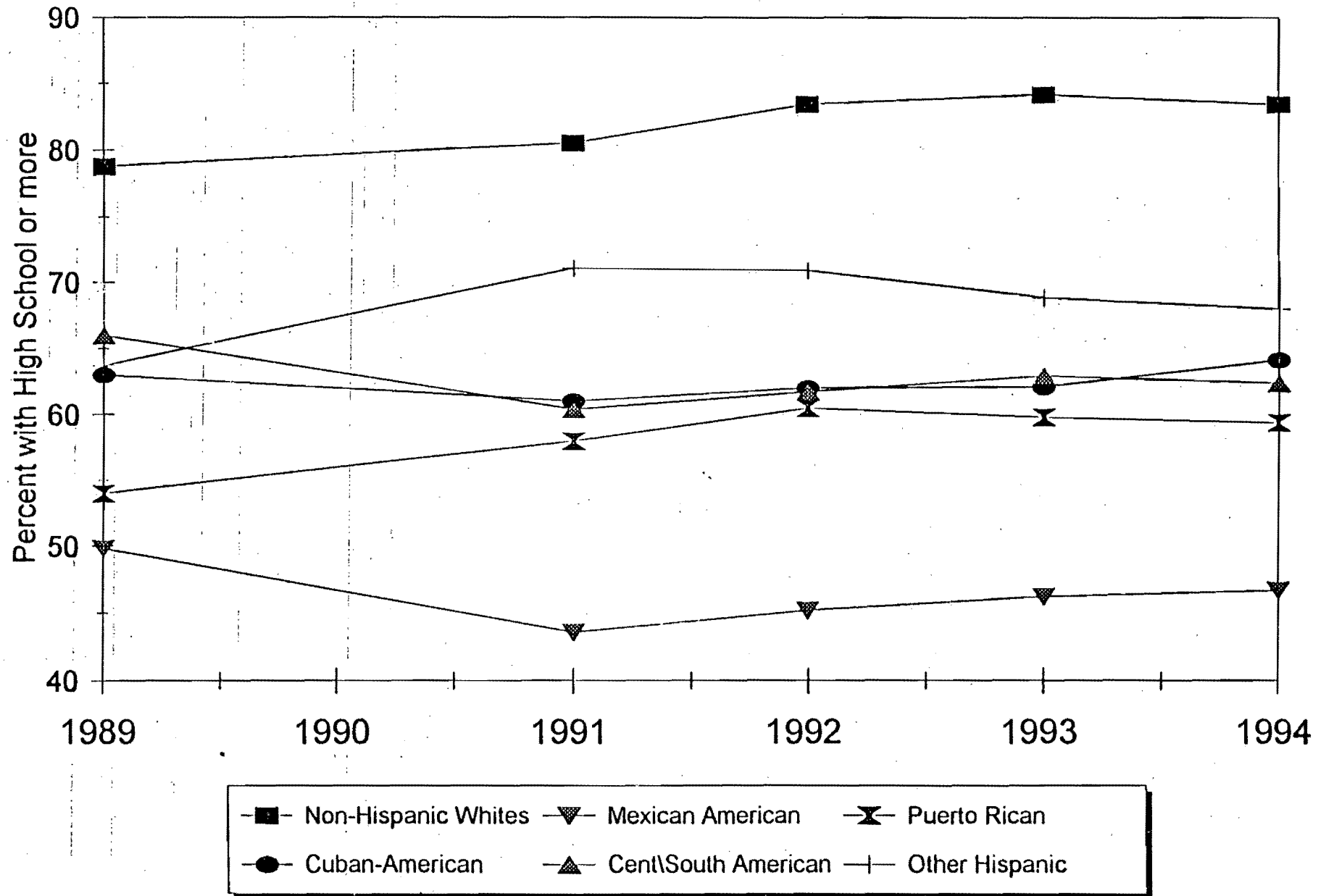


Bachelor's degree or higher

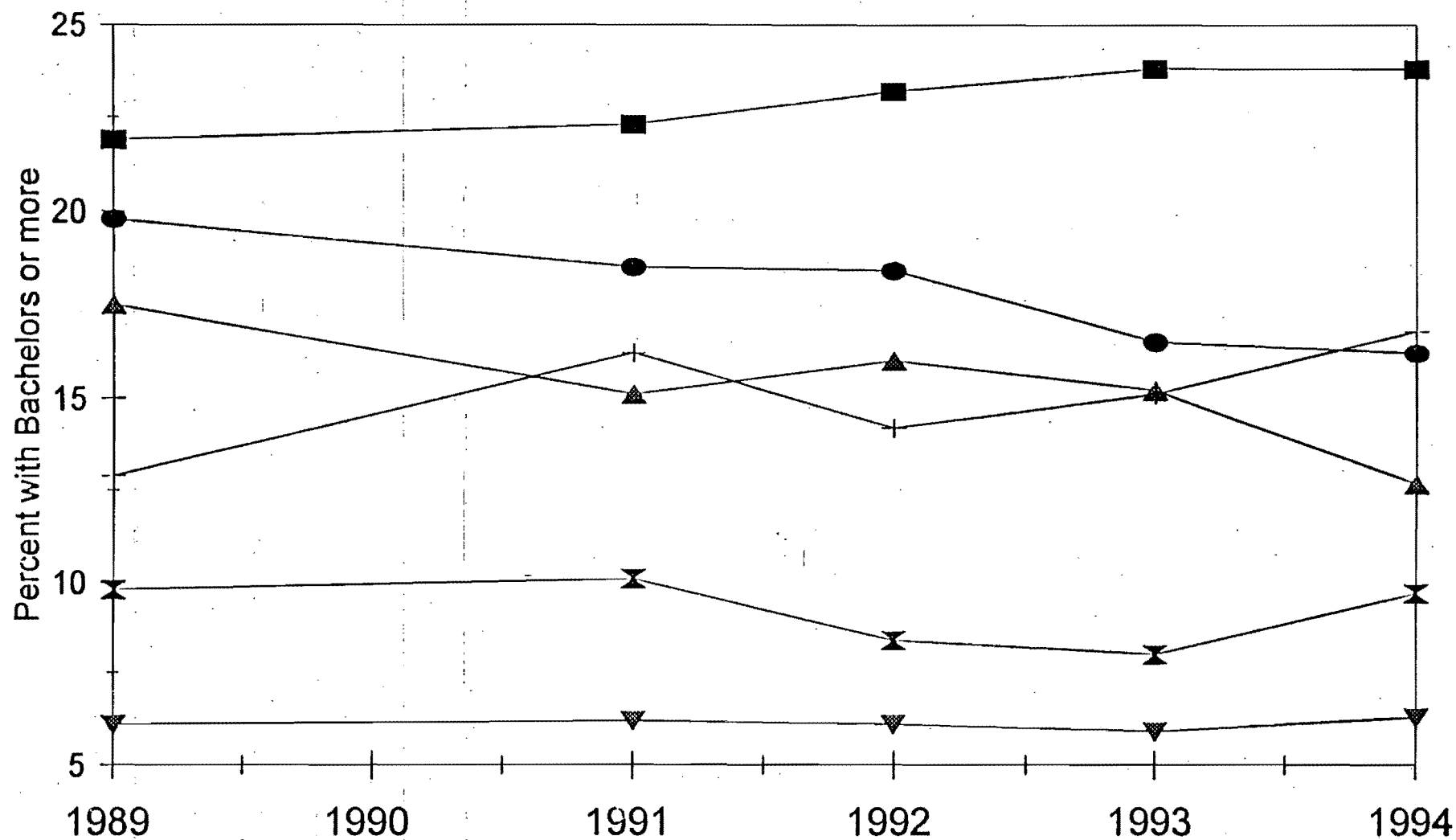


Hispanic
Non-Hispanic

Percent High School Graduate (CPS, March, Various Years)

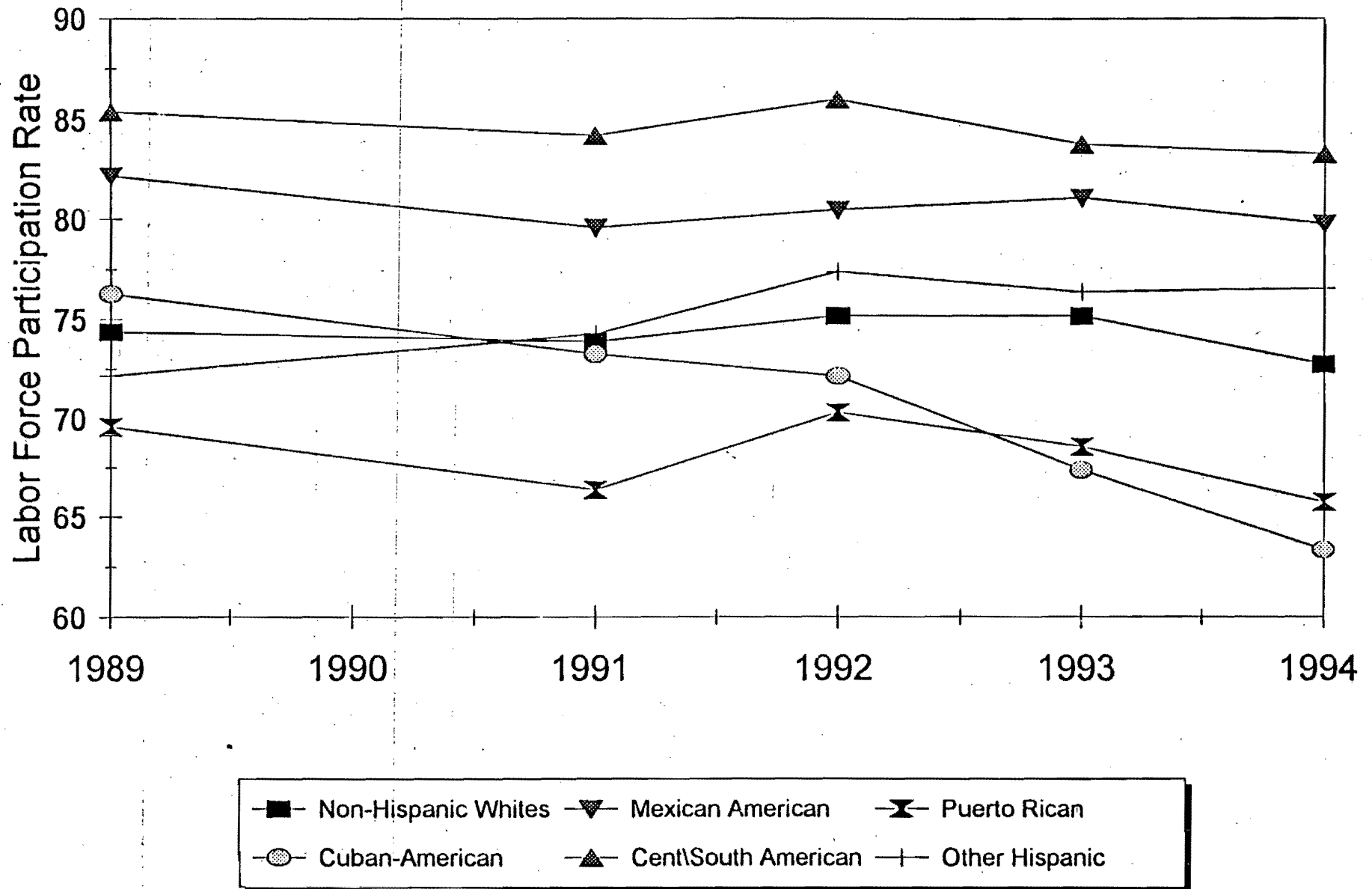


Percent College Graduate (CPS, March, Various Years)



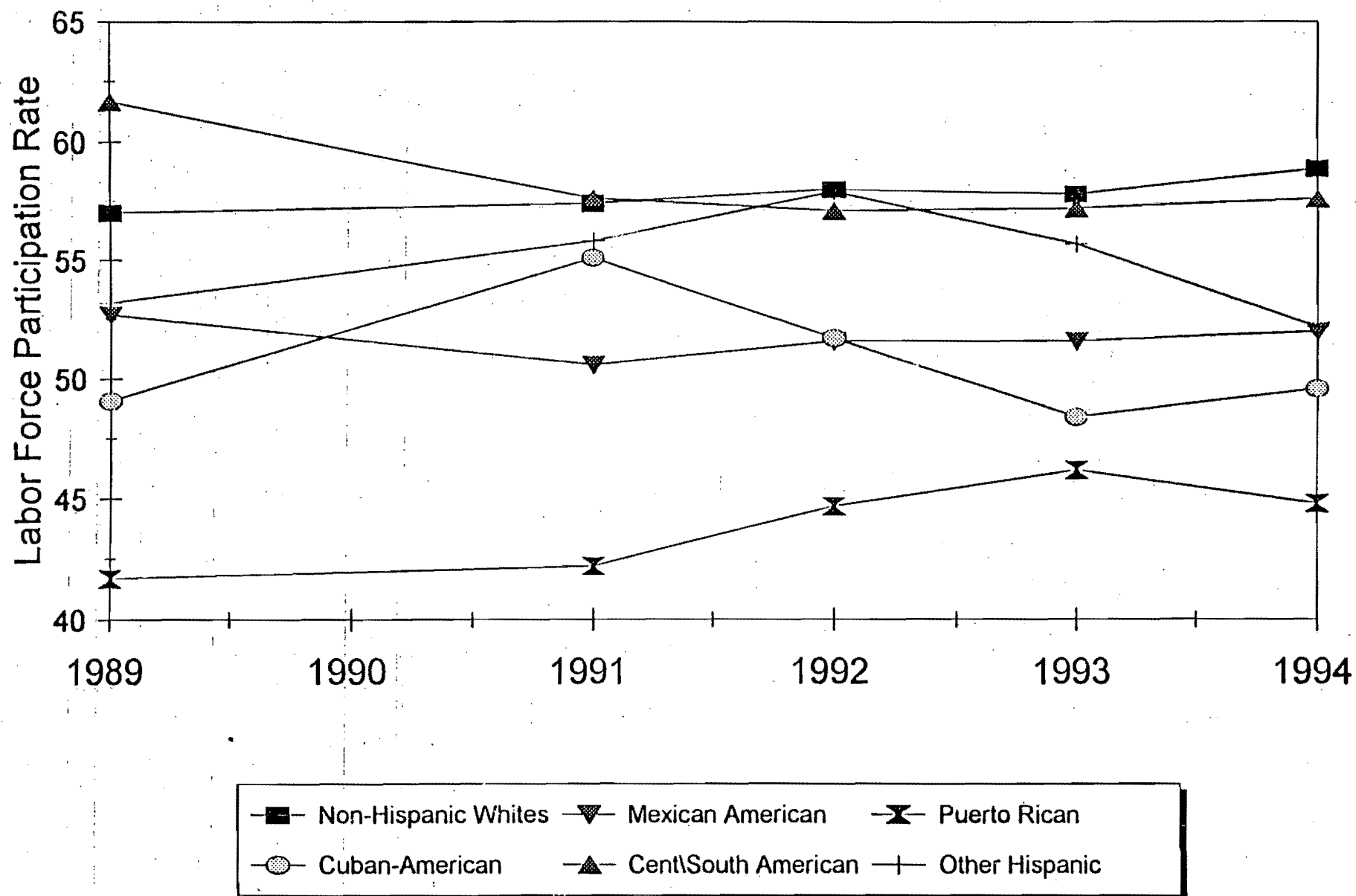
Labor Force Participation for Males

(CPS, March, Various Years)



Labor Force Participation for Females

(CPS, March, Various Years)



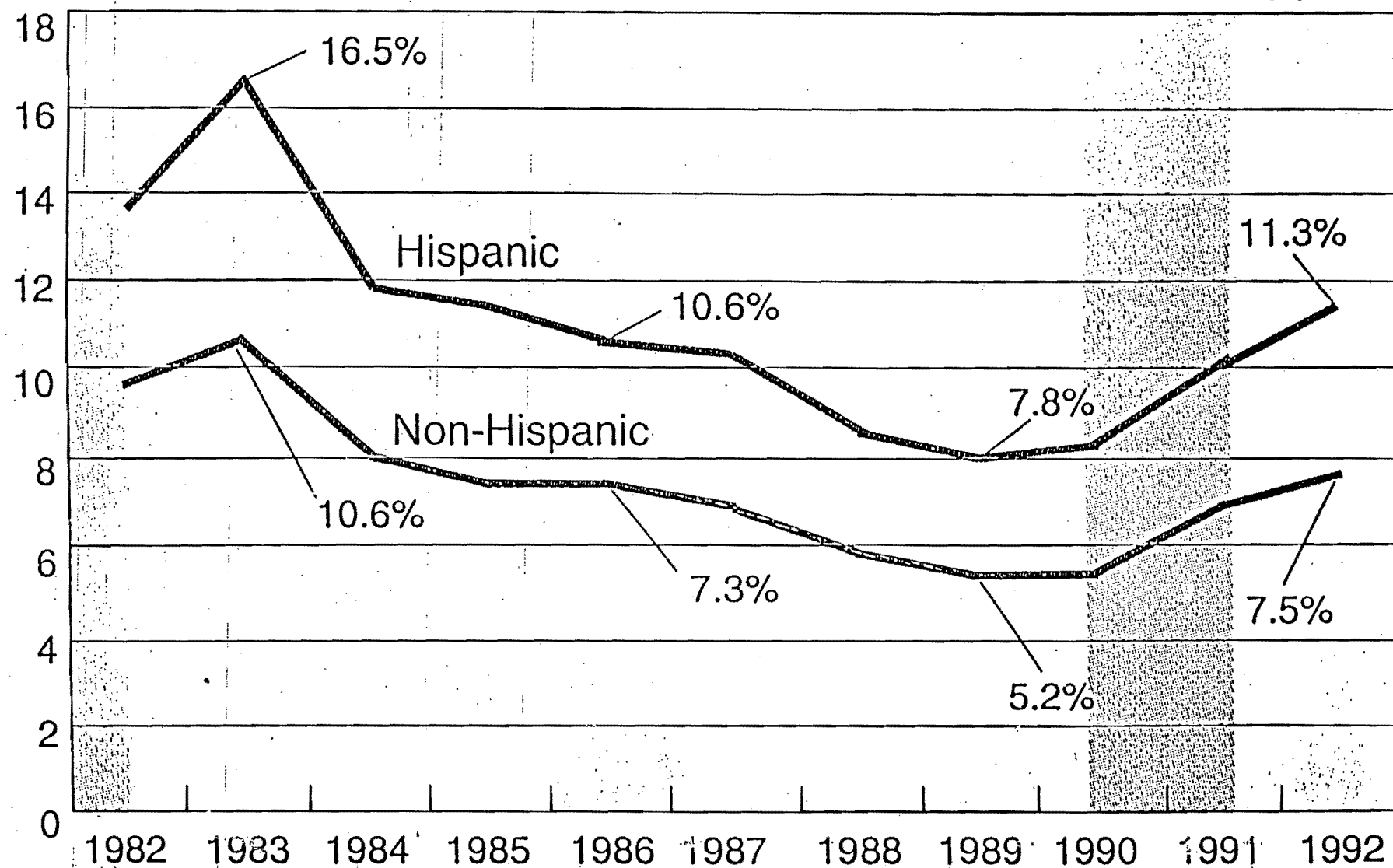
Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, P23-183, Hispanic Americans Today.

Figure 22.

Unemployment Rates: March 1982 to 1992

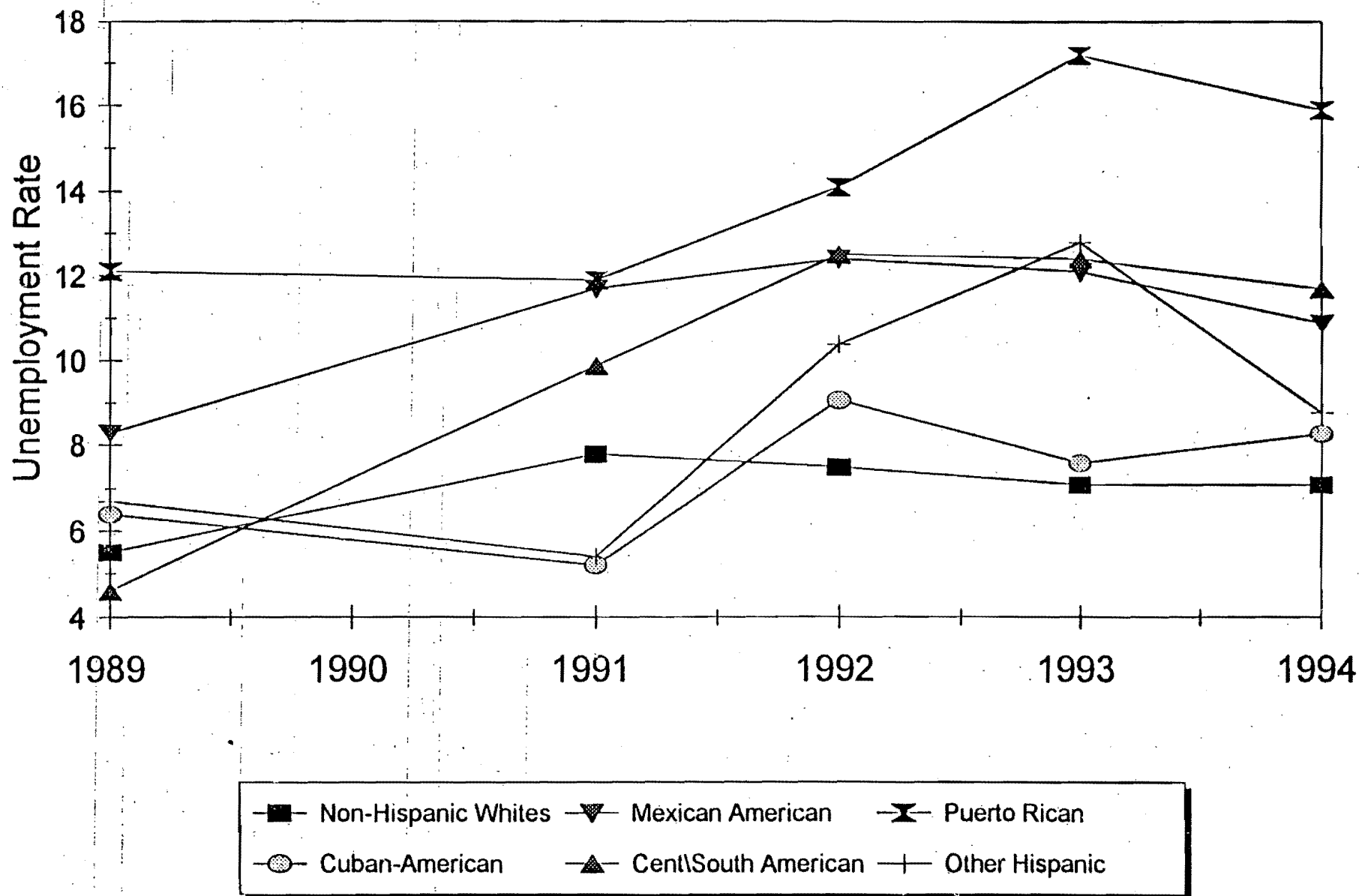
(Percent persons 16 years and over in civilian labor force)

Recessionary period

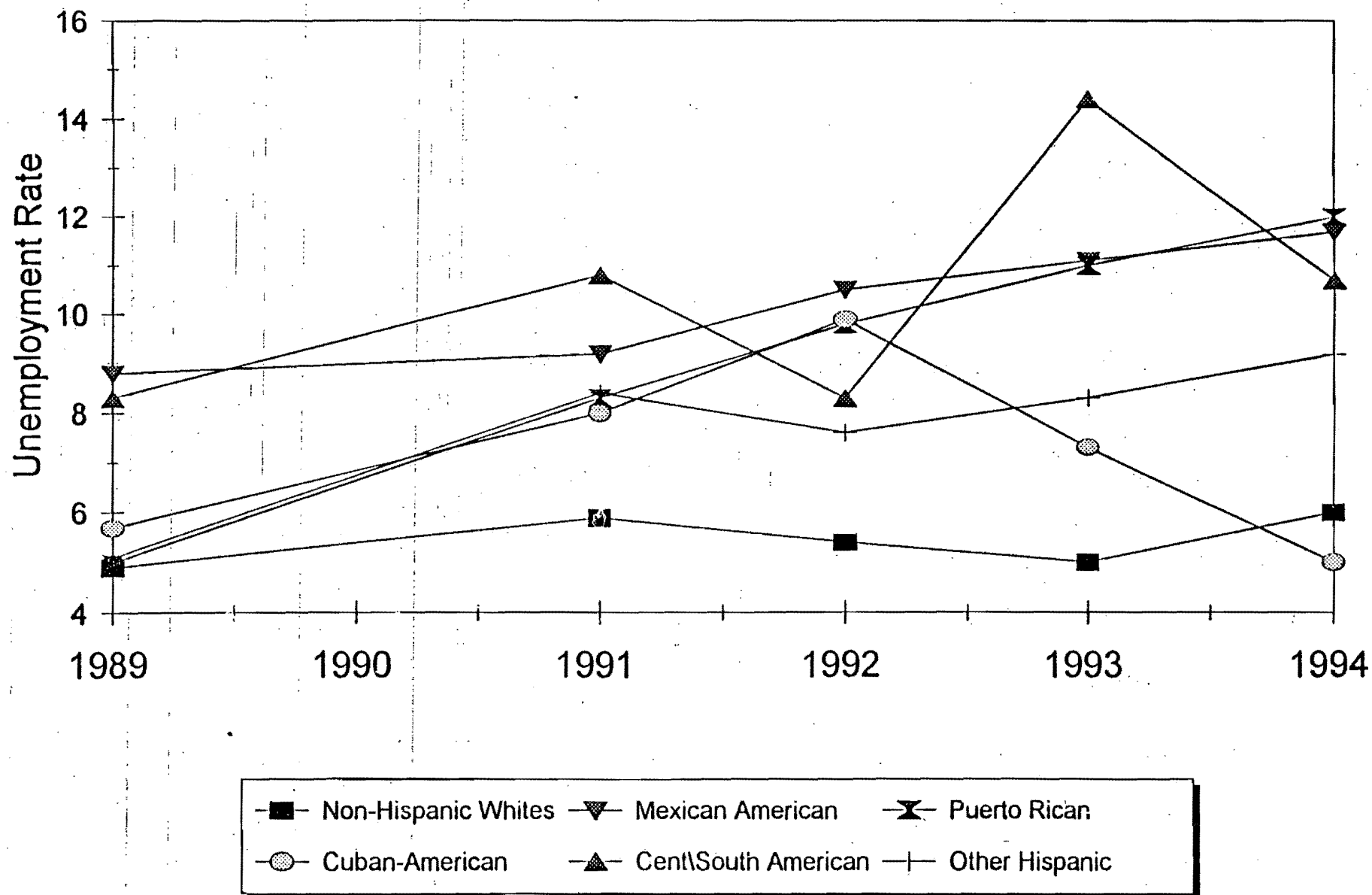


Unemployment Rate for Males

(CPS, March, Various Years)



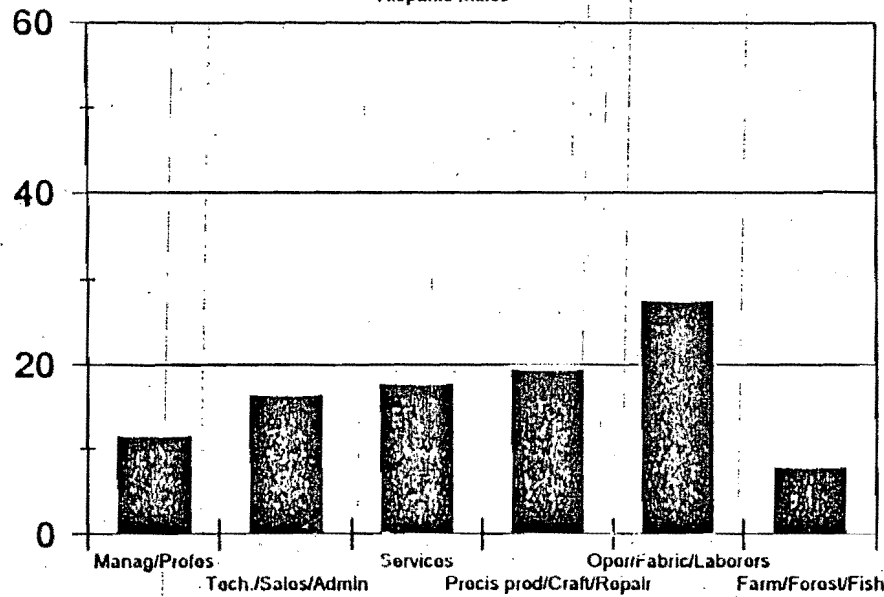
Unemployment Rate for Females (CPS, March, Various Years)



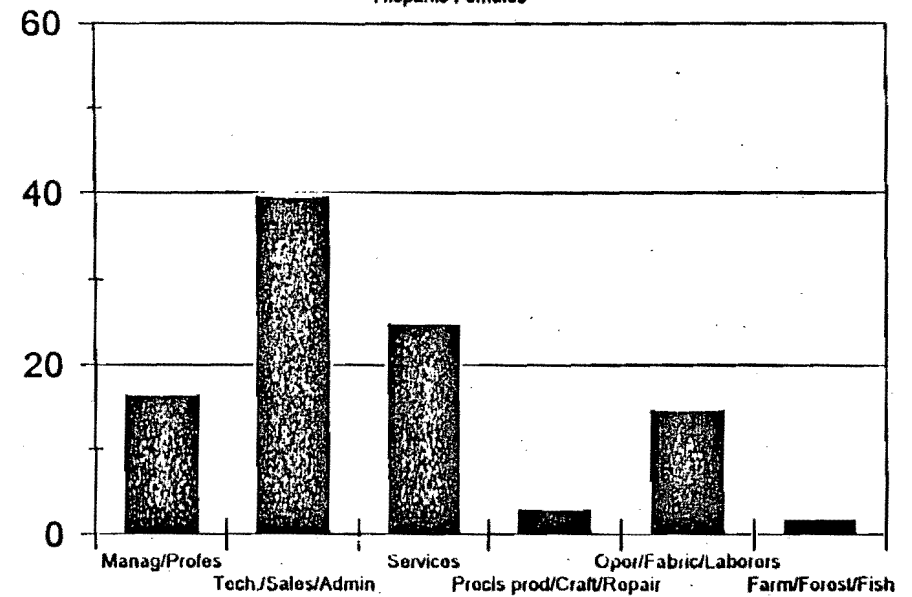
Occupational Distributions in 1992

(March CPS, Series P-20)

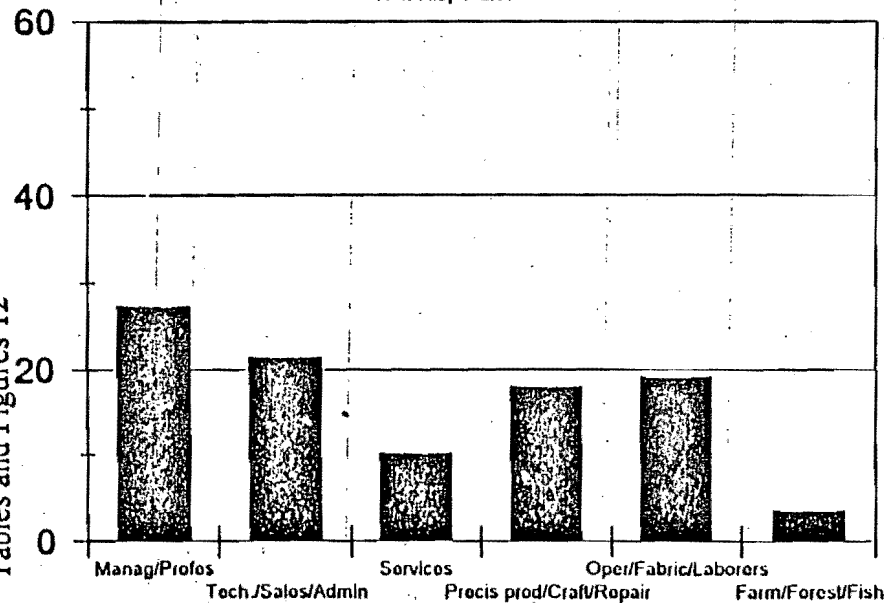
Hispanic Males



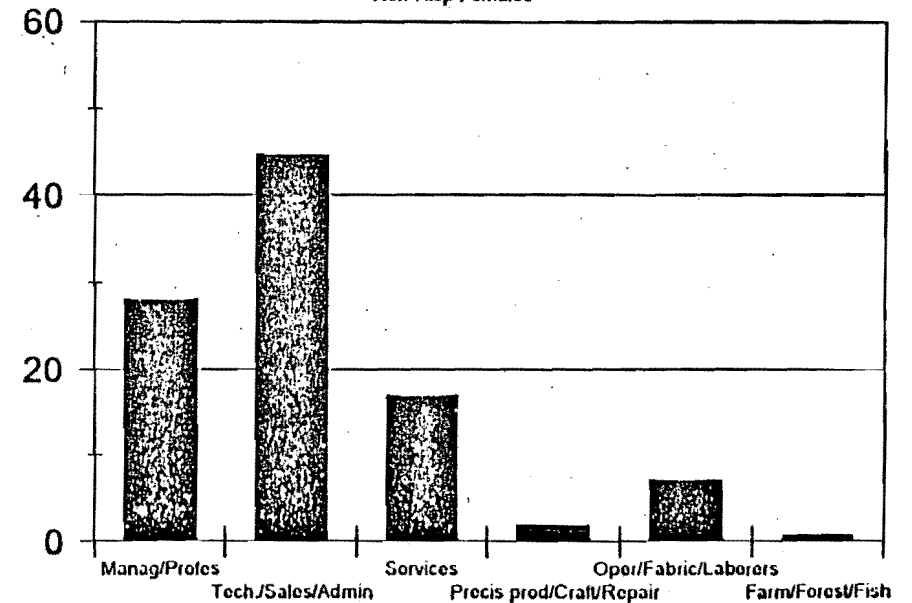
Hispanic Females



Non-Hisp Males



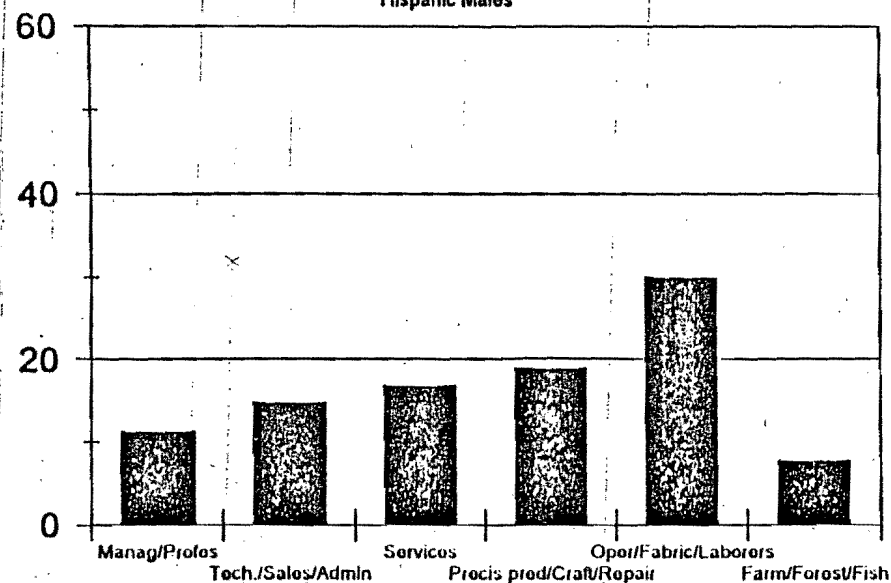
Non-Hisp Females



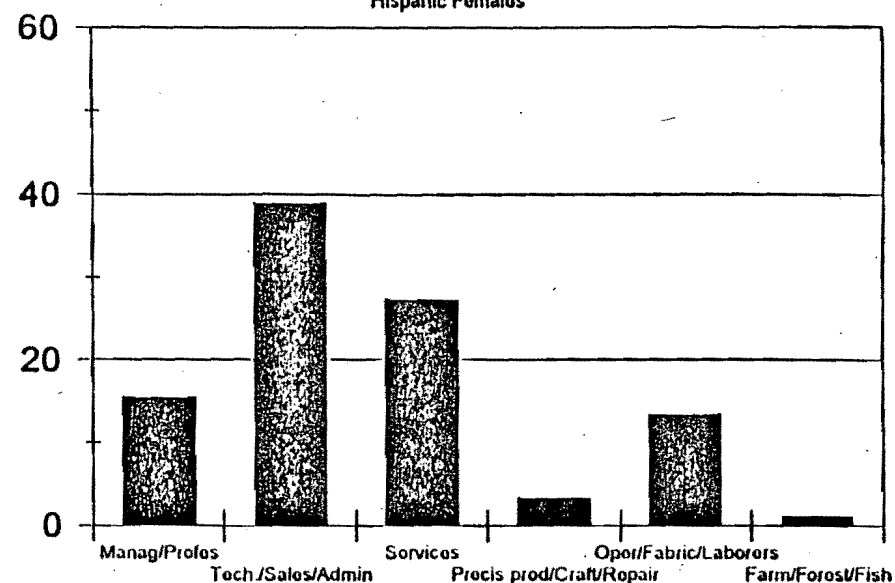
Occupational Distributions in 1994

(March CPS, Series P-20)

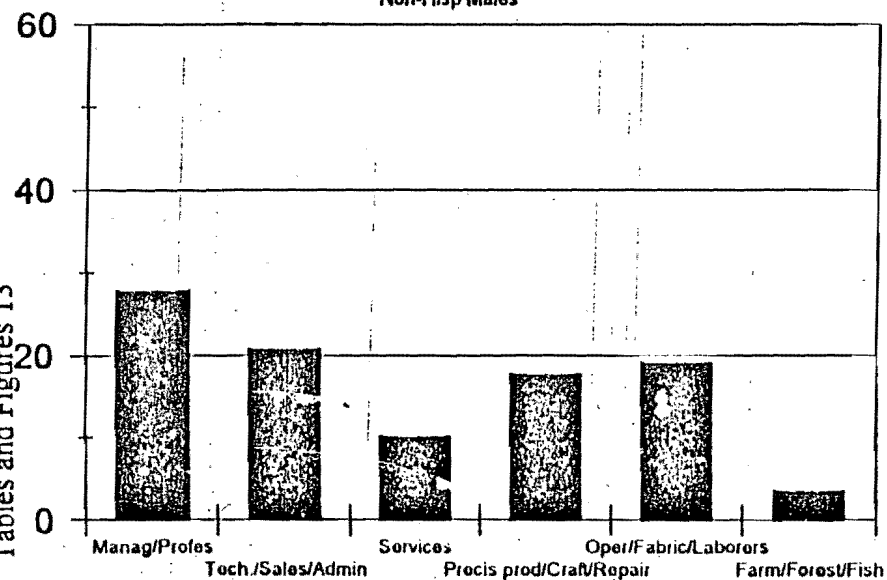
Hispanic Males



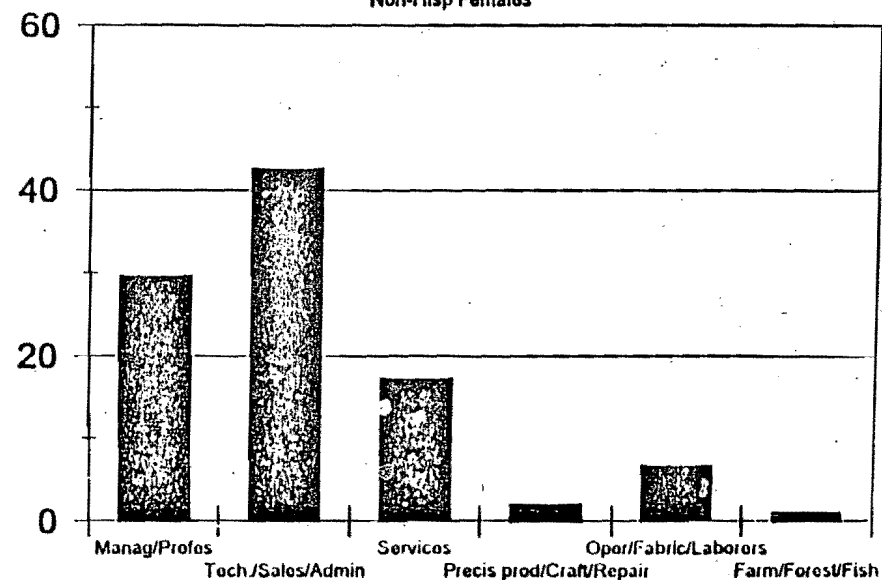
Hispanic Females



Non-Hisp Males



Non-Hisp Females

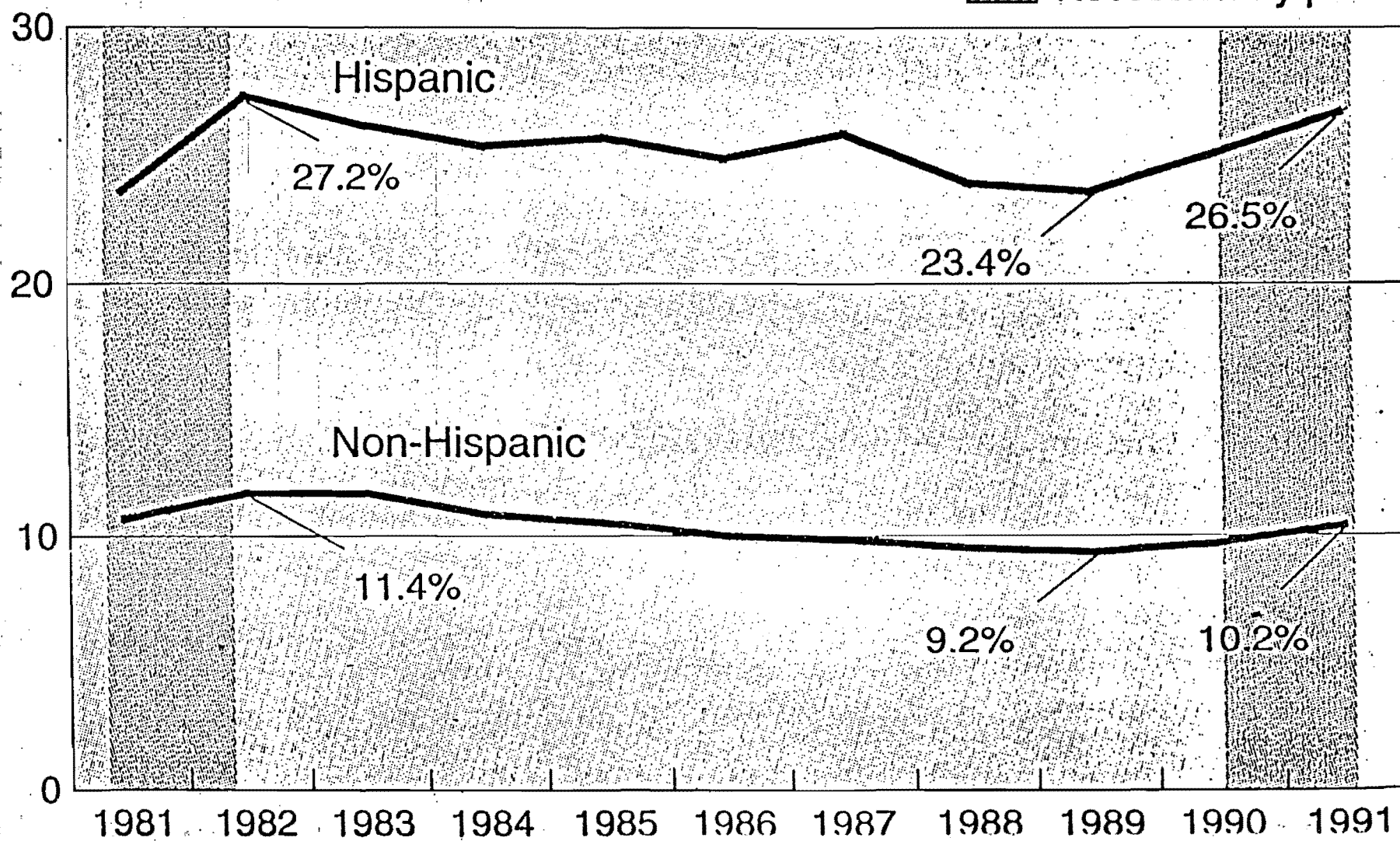


Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, P23-183, Hispanic Americans Today.

Figure 31.
**Families Below the Poverty Level:
1981 to 1991**

(Percent of families)

Recessionary period



Source: U.S. Department of Education, National
Center for Education Statistics, NCES 93-242,
— Youth Indicators 1993.

Indicator 14. Median Family Income

Median family income, by race/ethnicity of head of household: 1950 to 1991

Year	All families	White ¹	Black ¹	Hispanic ²
Current dollars				
1950	\$3,319	\$3,445	³ \$1,869	—
1955	4,418	4,613	³ 2,544	—
1960	5,620	5,835	³ 3,230	—
1965	6,957	7,251	³ 3,993	—
1970	9,867	10,236	6,279	—
1975	13,719	14,268	8,779	\$9,551
1980	21,023	21,904	12,674	14,716
1981	22,388	23,517	13,266	16,401
1982	23,433	24,603	13,598	16,227
1983	24,674	25,837	14,561	16,930
1984	26,433	27,686	15,431	18,832
1985	27,735	29,152	16,786	19,027
1986	29,458	30,809	17,604	19,995
1987	30,970	32,385	18,406	20,300
1988	32,191	33,915	19,329	21,769
1989	34,213	35,975	20,209	23,446
1990	35,353	36,915	21,423	23,431
1991	35,939	37,783	21,548	23,895
Constant 1991 dollars ⁴				
1950	18,757	19,469	³ 10,563	—
1955	22,453	23,444	³ 12,929	—
1960	25,860	26,849	³ 14,862	—
1965	30,081	31,352	³ 17,265	—
1970	34,636	35,932	22,041	—
1975	34,731	36,121	22,225	24,179
1980	34,749	36,205	20,949	24,324
1981	33,545	35,237	19,877	24,574
1982	33,073	34,725	19,192	22,903
1983	33,741	35,331	19,912	23,151
1984	34,650	36,293	20,228	24,686
1985	35,107	36,901	21,248	24,084
1986	36,607	38,286	21,877	24,848
1987	37,131	38,828	22,068	24,339
1988	37,062	39,047	22,254	25,063
1989	37,579	39,514	22,197	25,753
1990	36,841	38,468	22,325	24,417
1991	35,939	37,783	21,548	23,895

—Data not available.

¹ Includes Hispanics.

² Hispanics may be of any race.

³ Data include both blacks and other races. Figures are not precisely comparable to data for later years.

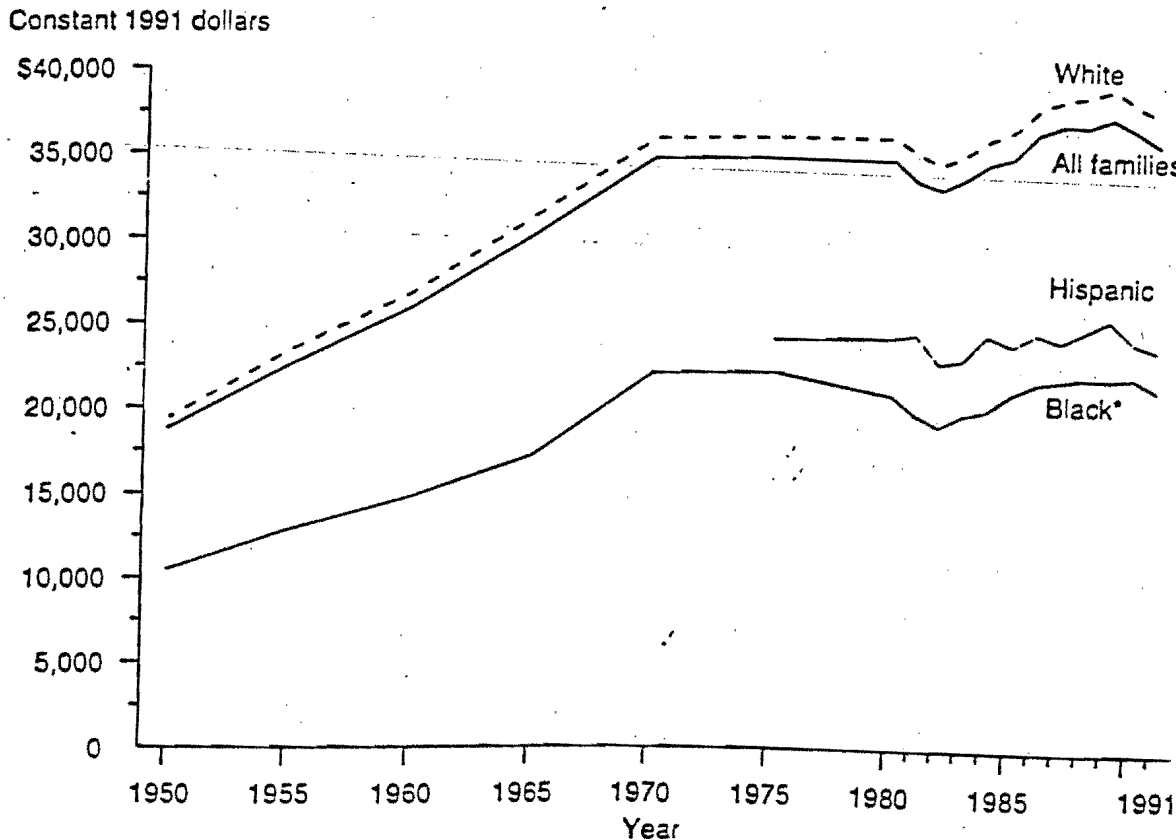
⁴ Figures adjusted by the Consumer Price Index.

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-60, *Money Income of Families and Persons in the United States*, nos. 105 and 157; *Money Income of Households, Families, and Persons in the United States*, nos. 162, 174, and 180; and *Money Income and Poverty Status in the United States*, nos. 166 and 168. U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Consumer Price Index.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National
Center for Education Statistics, NCES 93-242,
Youth Indicators 1993.

Indicator 14. Median Family Income

Median family income, by race/ethnicity: 1950 to 1991



*Data for years before 1967 include other races.

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-60, *Money Income of Families and Persons in the United States*, nos. 105 and 157; *Money Income of Households, Families, and Persons in the United States*, nos. 162, 174, and 180; and *Money Income and Poverty Status in the United States*, nos. 166 and 168. U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Consumer Price Index.

In contrast to the sizeable increase in median family income in the 1950s and 1960s, family income in the 1970s showed almost no gains. After posting modest increases during the mid-1980s, incomes for all families leveled off during the late 1980s and then declined between 1989 and 1991. However, income in black households was much less than in white households.

Figure 26.

Median Income of Families: 1981 to 1991

(In 1991 dollars)

Recessionary period

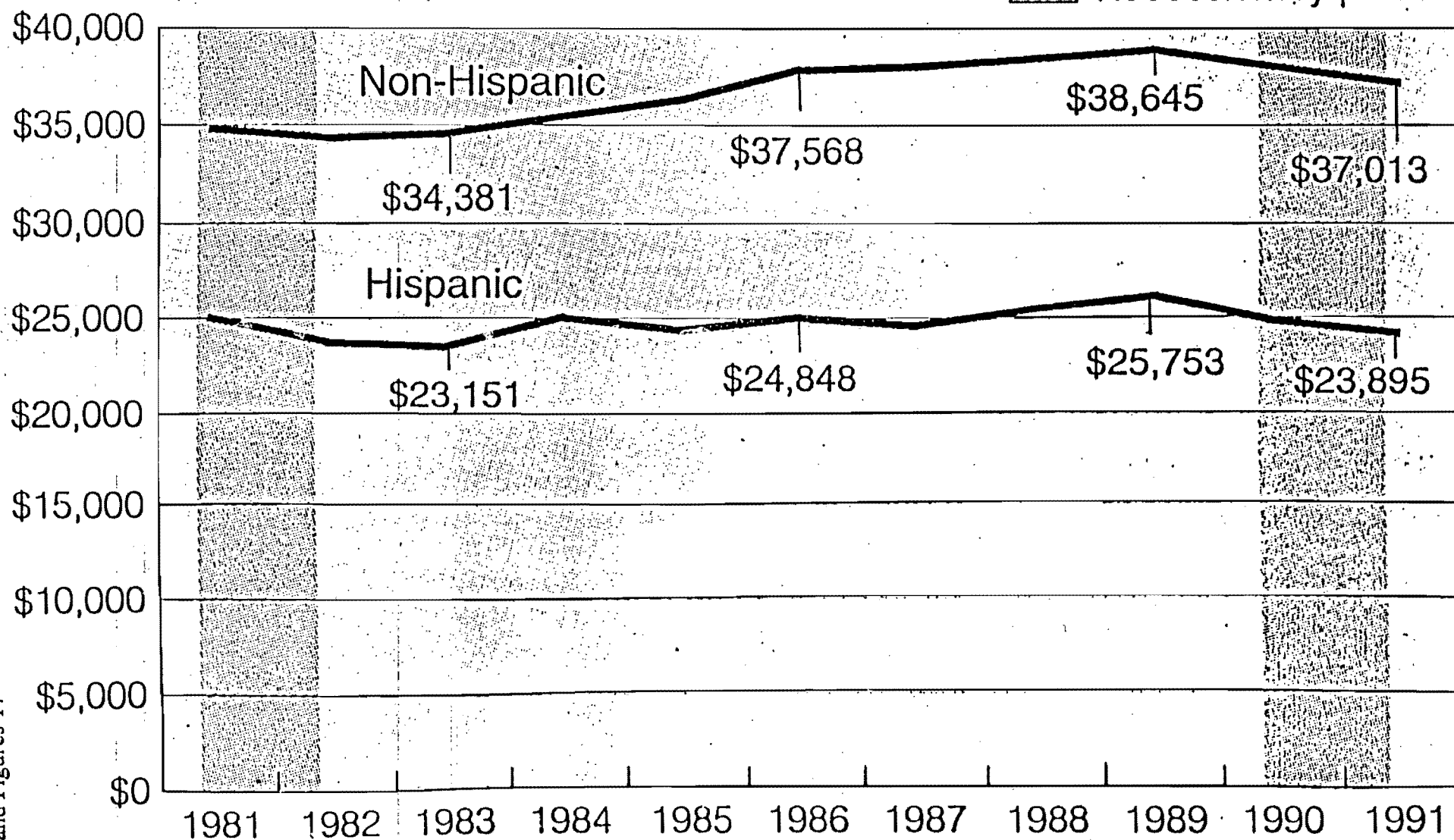
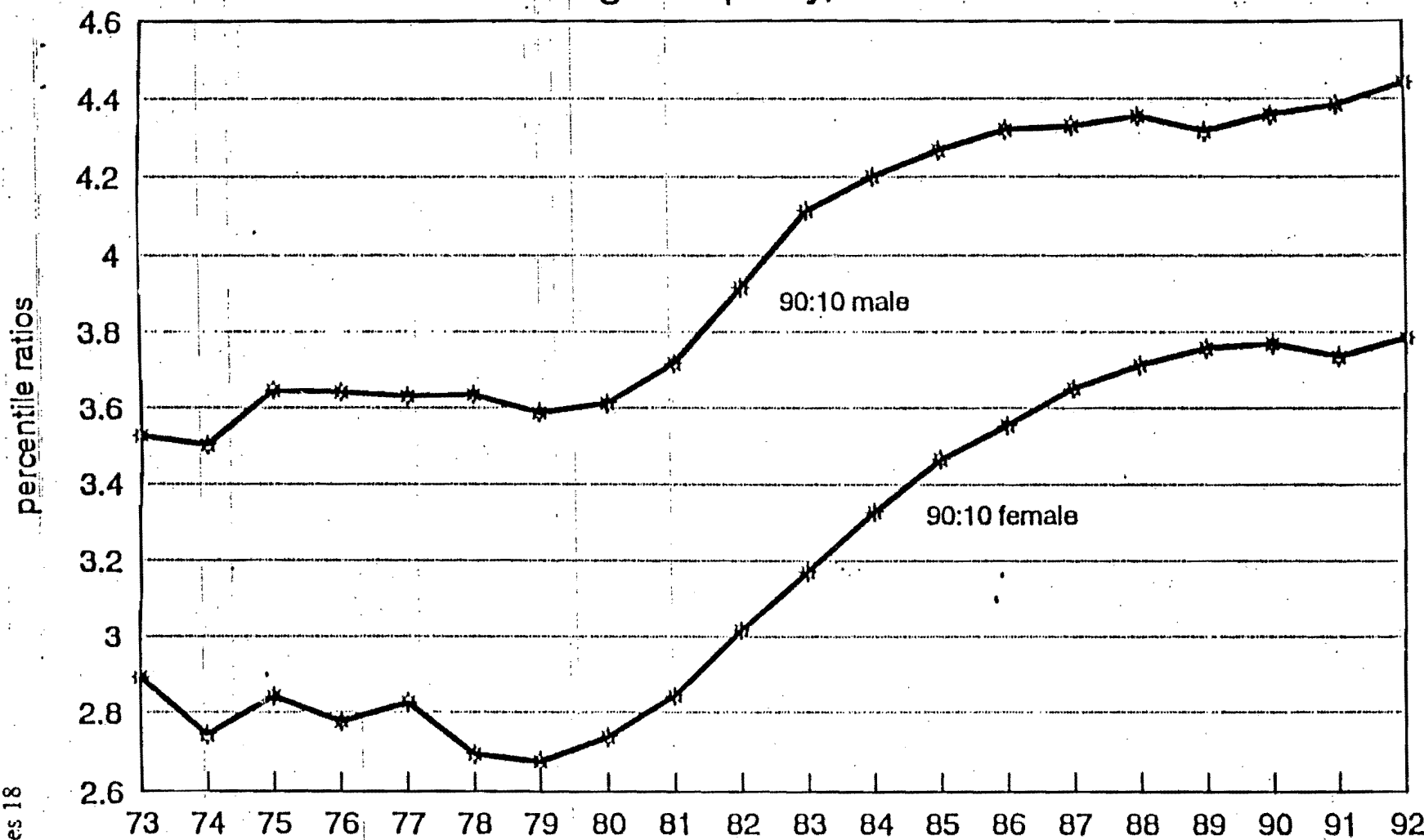


Figure 2
Wage Inequality, 1973-92



Source: Derived from Table A1, DiNardo, Fortin and Lemieux, "Labor Market Institutions and the Distribution of Wages, 1973-92," unpublished manuscript, December 31, 1993. Percentile ratios: 90:10 indicates the ratio of the wages of those in the 90th percentile (high earners) to those in the 10th (low earners).

SELECTED SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF LATINO POPULATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1989-1994
(DATA FROM THE CURRENT POPULATION SURVEYS [MARCH-CPS] SERIES P-20], VARIOUS YEARS)

	Non-Hispanic		Mexican-American		Puerto Rican		Cuban American		Central/South American		Other Hispanic		Total Hispanic	
YEAR	High School* Graduate	College* Graduate	High School* Graduate	College* Graduate	High School* Graduate	College* Graduate	High School* Graduate	College* Graduate	High School* Graduate	College* Graduate	High School* Graduate	College* Graduate	High School* Graduate	College* Graduate
1989	78.8	21.9	49.8	3.1	54.0	9.8	63.0	19.8	66.0	17.5	63.7	12.9	50.9	9.9
1991	80.5	22.3	43.6	6.2	58.0	10.1	61.0	18.5	60.4	15.1	71.1	16.2	51.3	9.7
1992	83.4	23.2	45.2	6.1	60.5	8.4	62.0	18.4	61.7	16.0	70.9	14.2	52.6	9.3
1993	84.1	23.8	46.2	5.9	59.8	8.0	62.1	16.5	62.9	15.2	68.9	15.1	53.1	9.0
1994	83.4	23.8	46.7	6.3	59.4	9.7	64.1	16.2	62.4	12.7	68.0	16.8		9.1

* age 25 and over

LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION AND UNEMPLOYMENT RATES*

MALES

	Labor Force Participation	Unemployment Rate	Labor Force Participation	Unemployment Rate	Labor Force Participation	Unemployment Rate	Labor Force Participation	Unemployment Rate	Labor Force Participation	Unemployment Rate	Labor Force Participation	Unemployment Rate	Labor Force Participation	Unemployment Rate
1989	74.4	5.5	82.2	3.3	69.6	12.1	76.3	6.4	85.4	4.6	72.2	6.7	80.1	7.8
1991	73.9	7.8	79.6	11.7	66.4	11.9	73.3	5.2	84.2	9.9	74.3	5.4	78.2	10.6
1992	75.2	7.5	80.5	12.4	70.3	14.1	72.2	9.1	86	12.5	77.4	10.4	79.6	12.2
1993	75.2	7.1	81.1	12.1	68.6	17.2	67.4	7.6	83.8	12.4	76.4	12.8	79.2	12.4
1994	72.8	7.1	79.8	10.9	65.8	15.9	63.4	8.3	83.3	11.7	76.6	8.8	77.6	

FEMALES

	Labor Force Participation	Unemployment Rate	Labor Force Participation	Unemployment Rate	Labor Force Participation	Unemployment Rate	Labor Force Participation	Unemployment Rate	Labor Force Participation	Unemployment Rate	Labor Force Participation	Unemployment Rate	Labor Force Participation	Unemployment Rate
1989	57.0	4.9	52.7	8.8	41.7	5.0	49.1	5.7	61.7	8.3	53.2	5.1	52.4	7.8
1991	57.4	5.9	50.6	9.2	42.2	8.3	55.1	8.0	57.6	10.8	55.8	8.4	51.4	9.2
1992	58.0	5.4	51.6	10.5	44.7	9.8	51.7	9.9	57.1	8.3	57.9	7.6	52.2	9.8
1993	57.8	5.0	51.6	11.1	46.2	11.0	48.4	7.3	57.2	14.4	55.7	8.3	51.9	11.1
1994	58.9	6	52	11.7	44.8	12	49.6	5	57.6	10.7	52.2	9.2	51.9	

* population over 16 years old

Dr. Cordero-Guzman
References 1

- Acs, Gregory and Sheldon Danziger. 1994.
"Educational Attainment, Industrial Structure and Male Earnings Through the 1980s." Journal of Human Resources 29:617-648.
- Alexander, Karl L., Doris R. Entwisle and Samuel D. Bedinger. 1994.
"When Expectations Work: Race and Socioeconomic Differences in School Performance." Social Psychology Quarterly 57(4):238-299.
- Bean, Frank D. and Marta Tienda. 1987.
The Hispanic Population of the United States. New York: Russell Sage.
- Becker, Gary S. 1971.
Human Capital: A Theoretical and Empirical Analysis with Special Reference to Education 2nd ed. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Bendick, Marc, Jr., Charles W. Jackson, and Victor Reinoso. 1994.
"Measuring Employment Discrimination Through Controlled Experiments." Review of Black Political Economy. (Summer).
- Bonilla, Frank and Ricardo Campos. 1981.
"A Wealth of Poor: Puerto Ricans and the New Economic Order" Daedalus. (spring).
- Bonilla, Frank and Ricardo Campos. 1986.
Industry and Idleness. New York: Center for Puerto Rican Studies.
- Bonilla, Frank and Rebecca Morales. 1993.
"National and Regional Policy Agendas in an Era of Ethnic Diversity and Growing Inequality." in Rebecca Morales and Frank Bonilla (eds.) Latinos in a Changing U.S. Economy. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Series on Race and Ethnic Relations.
- Borjas, George J. 1992.
"Ethnic Capital and Intergenerational Mobility." Quarterly Journal of Economics 107(1):123-150.
- Borjas, George J. 1993.
"The Intergenerational Mobility of Immigrants." Journal of Labor Economics 11(1): 113-135.

Dr. Cordero-Guzman
References 2

- Borjas, George J. and Marta Tienda (eds). 1985.
Hispanics in the U.S. Economy. Orlando, Florida: Academic Press.
- Bound, John and Richard B. Freeman. 1992.
"What Went Wrong? The Erosion of Relative Earnings and Employment among Young Black Men in the 1980s," Quarterly Journal of Economics, 107(1):201-232.
- Bound, John and Harry J. Holzer. 1991.
"Industrial Shifts, Skill Levels, and the Labor Market for White and Black Males."
NBER Working Paper no. 3715
- Cameron, Steven and James J. Heckman. 1993a.
"The Nonequivalence of High School Equivalents." Journal of Labor Economics 11(1): 1-47 (also NBER Working Paper no. 3804).
- Cameron, Steven and James J. Heckman. 1993b.
"Comment on Hauser." in Studies of Supply and Demand in Higher Education, edited by Charles Clotfelter and Michael Rothschild. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Card, David and Alan B. Krueger. 1993a.
"Trends in Relative Black-White Earnings Revisited." American Economic Review 83(2):85-91.
- Card, David and Alan B. Krueger. 1993b.
"School Quality and Black-White Relative Earnings: A Direct Assessment." Quarterly Journal of Economics 107(1):151-199.
- Carnoy, Martin, Hugh Daley and Raul Hinojosa-Ojeda. 1990.
Latinos on a Changing U.S. Economy: Comparative Perspectives on the U.S. Labor Market Since 1939. New York: Inter University Program for Latino Research.
- Carrasquillo, Angela L. 1991.
Hispanic Children and Youth in the United States. New York: Garland Publishing.
- Center for Human Resource Research (CHRR). 1992.
NLS Users' Guide, 1992. Columbus, Ohio: Center for Human Resource Research, Ohio State University.
- Center for Human Resource Research (CHRR). 1993.
NLS Handbook, 1993. Columbus, Ohio: Center for Human Resource Research, Ohio State University.

- Chavez, Linda. 1991.
Out of El Barrio: Towards a New Politics of Hispanic Assimilation. New York:
Basic Books.
- Coleman, James S. 1984.
"The Transition from School to Work." Research in Social Stratification and
Mobility. 3:27-59.
- Coleman, James S. 1988.
"Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital". American Journal of Sociology.
94:S95-s120.
- Coleman, James S. 1994.
"Social Capital, Human Capital and Investment in Youth." in A. Petersen and J.
Mortimer Youth Unemployment and Society. Cambridge: Cambridge University
Press.
- Cotton, Jeremiah. 1989.
"Opening the Gap: The Decline in Black Economic Indicators in the 1980s" Social
Science Quarterly. 40(4):803-819.
- Cross, Harry, et. al. 1990.
Employer Hiring Policies: Differential Treatment of Hispanic and Anglo Job
Seekers. Washington, D.C.: The Urban Institute.
- D'amico, Ronald. 1985.
"The Effects of Career Origins on Subsequent Socioeconomic Attainments." Work
and Occupations. 12 (3): 329-350.
- D'amico, Ronald, and Nan L. Maxwell. 1990.
"Employment During the School-To-Work Transition: An Explanation for
Subsequent Black-White Wage Differentials and Bifurcation of Black Income."
Paper Presented at the annual meeting of the Population Association of America,
May, 1-3, 1990.
- D'amico, Ronald, and Nan L. Maxwell. 1994.
"The Impact of Post-School Joblessness on Male Black-White Wage Differentials."
Industrial Relations 33(2):184-205.

- Danziger, Sheldon and Daniel H. Weinberg, eds. 1986.
Fighting Poverty: What Works and What Doesn't Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Danziger, Sheldon and Peter Gottschalk, eds. 1993.
Uneven Tides: Rising Inequality in America. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Datcher-Loury, Linda. 1986.
"Racial Differences in the Stability of High Earnings among Young Men." Journal of Labor Economics, 4 (3):301-316.
- DeFreitas, Gregory. 1991.
Inequality at Work: Hispanics in the U.S. Labor Force. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Dickens, William T. and Kevin Lang. 1985.
"A Test of Dual Labor Market Theory." American Economic Review 75:792-803.
- Duncan, Kevin C. 1994.
"Racial Disparity in Earnings and Earnings Growth: The Case of Young Men." Social Science Journal 31(3):237-250.
- Entwisle, Doris R. and Karl L. Alexander. 1992.
"Summer Setback: Race, Poverty, School Composition, and Math Achievement in the First Two Years of School." American Sociological Review 57:72-84.
- Farkas, George and Paula England, eds. 1988.
Industries, Firms, and Jobs: Sociological and Economic Approaches. New York: Plenum Press.
- Fernandez, Roberto. 1992.
"Structural Factors in Hispanic Youth Achievement" Unpublished Ms. Center for Urban Affairs and Policy Research, Northwestern University.
- Fix, Michael and Raymond J. Struyk .1993.
Clear and Convincing Evidence: Measurement of Discrimination in America. Washington, DC: The Urban Institute Press.
- Frantz, Roger S. 1982.
"Attitudes and Work Performance Among Young Men During the Transition from School to Work." American Economist 26(1): 43-50.

Freeman, Richard B. and Harry Holzer. 1986.

"The Black Youth Employment Crisis: Summary of Findings" in Freeman and Holzer (eds.), The Black Youth Employment Crisis. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Furnham, Adrian. 1994.

"The Psychosocial Consequences of Youth Unemployment." in A. Petersen and J. Mortimer (eds.) Youth Unemployment and Society. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Garner, Catherine L. and Stephen W. Raudenbush. 1991.

"Neighborhood Effects on Educational Attainment: A Multilevel Analysis." Sociology of Education 64: 251-262.

General Accounting Office (GAO). 1990.

Report to Congress: Immigration Reform, Employer Sanctions and the Question of Discrimination. Washington, D.C.: General Accounting Office.

Gill, Andrew M. 1989.

"The Role of Discrimination in Determining Occupational Structure." Industrial and Labor Relations Review 42 (4): 610-623.

Gill, Andrew M. 1994.

"Incorporating the Causes of Occupational Differences in Studies of Racial Wage Differentials." Journal of Human Resources 29(1):20-41.

Gonul, Fusun. 1993.

"New Evidence on Whether Unemployment and Out of the Labor Force are Distinct States." Journal of Human Resources 27(2): 328.

Gottschalk, Peter and Tim Maloney. 1985.

"Involuntary Terminations, Unemployment, and Job Matching: A Test of Job Search Theory." Journal of Labor Economics, 3 (2):109-123.

Granovetter, Mark. 1985.

"Economic Action and Social Structure: The Problem of Embeddedness" American Journal of Sociology 91:481-510.

Granovetter, Mark. 1988.

"The Sociological and Economic Approaches to Labor Market Analysis: A Structural View" in George Farkas and Paula England (eds.) Industries, Firms, and Jobs. New York: Plenum.

Granovetter, Mark and Richard Swedberg. 1992

"Introduction." in Mark Granovetter and Richard Swedberg (eds.) The Sociology of Economic Life. Boulder: Westview Press.

Greenberg, Ellen and Laurence Steinberg, 1986.

When Teenagers Work: The Psychological and Social Costs of Adolescence Employment. New York: Basic Books.

Grotenhuis, Te Hannie and Frans Meijers. 1994.

"Societal Consequences of Youth Unemployment." in A. Petersen and J. Mortimer (eds.) Youth Unemployment and Society. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Grusky, David B. and Thomas DiPrete. 1990.

"Recent Trends in the Process of Stratification." Demography 27(4):1990.

Gustman, Alan L. and Thomas L. Steinmeier. 1988.

"A Model for Analyzing Youth Labor Market Policies" Journal of Labor Economics. 6 (3) 376-396.

Hauser, Robert M. 1993.

"Trends in College Entry among Whites, Blacks, and Hispanics." Chapter 3 in Studies of Supply and Demand in Higher Education, edited by Charles Clotfelter and Michael Rothchild. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Harrison, Bennet and Barry Bluestone. 1988.

The Great U-Turn: Corporate Restructuring and the Polarizing of America New York: Basic Books.

Heckman, James J, Rebecca L. Roselius, and Jeffrey A. Smith. 1994.

"U.S. Education and Training Policy: A Re-Evaluation of the Underlying Assumptions Behind the 'New Consensus.'" Chapter 3 in Labor Markets, Employment Policy, and Job Creation, Edited by Lewis C. Solomon and Alec R. Levenson. Boulder: Westview Press.

Dr. Cordero-Guzman

References 7

Heinz, Walter A. 1994.

"Conclusion: Social Structure and Psychosocial Dimensions of Youth Unemployment." in A. Petersen and J. Mortimer (eds.) Youth Unemployment and Society. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Henkoff, Ronald. 1992.

"Where Will the Jobs Come From?" Fortune. October, 19:58-64.

Hernandez, Jose. 1983.

Puerto Rican Youth Employment. Maplewood, N.J.: Waterfront Press.

Herrnstein, Richard and Charles Murray. 1994.

The Bell Curve: Intelligence and Class Structure in American Life. New York: Free Press.

Hess, Laura, Anne C. Petersen and Jeylan T Mortimer. 1994.

"Youth, Unemployment, and Marginality: The Problem and the Solution." in A. Petersen and J. Mortimer Youth Unemployment and Society. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hinojosa-Ojeda, Raul, Martin Carnoy, and Hugh Daley. 1991.

"An Even Greater 'U-Turn': Latinos and the New Inequality." in Edwin Melendez, Clara Rodriguez, and Janis Barry Figueroa (eds.) Hispanics in the Labor Force: Issues and Policies. New York: Plenum Press.

Hirschman, Charles. 1988.

"Minorities in the Labor Market: Cyclical Patterns and Secular Trends in Joblessness." in Gary Sandefur and Marta Tienda (eds.) Divided Opportunities. New York: Plenum Press.

Hispanic Policy Development Project. 1989.

Closing the Gap for U.S. Hispanic Youth. Landham, MD: The Aspen Institute.

Hogan, D. P. and Nan Marie Astone. 1986.

"The Transition to Adulthood." Annual Review of Sociology. 12:1109-130.

Holsinger, D. B. and Roberto Fernandez. 1987.

"School to Work Transition Profiles" Sociology and Social Research. 71(3):211-20.

- Holzer, Harry J. 1986.
"Reservation Wages and Their Labor Market Effects for Black and White Male Youth." Journal of Human Resources 21 (2): 157-177.
- Holzer, Harry J. 1987a.
"Informal Job Search and Black Youth Employment." American Economic Review. 77 (3): 446-452.
- Holzer, Harry J. 1987b.
"Job Search by Employed and Unemployed Youth." Industrial and Labor Relations Review 40 (4): 601-611.
- Holzer, Harry J. 1988.
"Search Method Use by Unemployed Youth." Journal of Labor Economics. 6 (1): 1-20.
- Holzer, Harry J. 1990.
"Labor Force Participation and Employment Among Young Men: Trends, Causes, and Policy Implications." Research in Labor Economics. 11: 115-136.
- Hotz, V.J. and Maria Tienda. 1994.
"Education and Employment in a Diverse Society: Generating Inequality through the School-to-Work Transition." Paper presented at the conference on American Diversity: A Demographic Challenge for the Twenty-First Century. State University of New York at Albany.
- Hout, Mike, Clem Brooks, and Jeff Manza. 1993.
"The Persistence of Classes in Post-Industrial Societies." International Sociology 8(3):259-277.
- Hujer, Reinhardt and Hilmar Schneider. 1990.
"Unemployment Duration as a Function of Individual Characteristics and Economic Trends." in Karl Ulrich Mayer and Nancy Brandon Tuma (eds.) Event History Analysis in Life Course Research. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Jenks, Christopher and Susan E. Mayer. 1990.
"The Social Consequences of Growing Up in a Poor Neighborhood." in Inner City Poverty in the United States. Edited by L.E. Lynn Jr. and G.H. McGeary. Washington, DC: National Academy of Sciences.

- Johnson, James H and Melvin Oliver. 1992.
"Economic Restructuring and the Declining Economic Fortunes of Black Men."
Unpublished Ms., Center for the Study of Urban Poverty, University of California,
Los Angeles.
- Jones, F.L. and Jonathan Kelley. 1984.
"Decomposing Differences Between Groups: A Cautionary Note on Measuring
Discrimination." Sociological Methods and Research. 12 (3):323-343.
- Juhn, Chinhui, Kevin Murphy and Brooks Pierce. 1989.
"Accounting for the Slowdown in Black-White Wage Convergence." Unpublished
MS., Department of Economics, The University of Chicago.
- Juhn, Chinhui. 1992.
"Decline of Male Labor Market Participation: The Role of Declining Market
Opportunities." Quarterly Journal of Economics. 107(1):79-121.
- Kasarda, J. 1989.
"Urban Industrial Transition and the Underclass" . ANNALS 501:26-47.
- Katz, Lawrence and Kevin Murphy. 1992.
"Changes in Relative Wages, 1963-1987: Supply and Demand Factors." Quarterly
Journal of Economics 107(1): 35-78.
- Kirschenman, Joleen and Kathryn Neckerman. 1991.
"We'd Love to Hire Them, But...":The Meaning of race for Employers." in
Christopher Jenks and Paul Peterson (eds.) The Urban Underclass. Washington,
D.C.: The Brookings Institution.
- Kroch, Eugene A., and Kriss Sjoblom. 1994.
"Schooling as Human Capital or as Signal: Some Evidence," Journal of Human
Resources 29(1):158-180.
- Lang, Kevin and William T. Dickens. 1988.
"Neoclassical and Sociological Perspectives on Segmented Labor Markets." in
George Farkas and Paula England, eds. Industries, Firms, and Jobs: Sociological and
Economic Approaches. New York: Plenum Press.
- Levy, Frank and Richard J. Murnane. 1992.
"U.S. Earnings Levels and Earnings Inequality: A Review of Recent Trends and
Proposed Explanations." Journal of Economic Literature 30:1333-1381.

Lynch, Lisa M. 1989.

"The Youth Labor Market in the Eighties: Determinants of Re-Employment Probabilities for Young Men and Women." Review of Economics and Statistics, 71 (1): 37-45.

Manski, Charles F. 1993.

"Adolescent Econometricians: How Do Youth Infer the Returns to Schooling?" Chapter 2 in Studies of Supply and Demand in Higher Education, edited by Charles Clotfelter and Michael Rothschild. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Mare, Robert D., and Christopher Winship. 1984.

"The Paradox of Lessening Racial Inequality and Joblessness Among Black Youth: Enrollment, Enlistment, and Employment, 1964-1981." American Sociological Review, 49:39-55.

Mare, Robert D., Christopher Winship, and W. Kubitschek. 1984.

"The Transition from Youth to Adult: Understanding the Age Pattern of Employment." American Journal of Sociology, 90(2):326-350.

Mare, Robert D., and Christopher Winship. 1988.

"Ethnic and Racial Patterns of Educational Attainment and School Enrollment." in Gary Sandefur and Marta Tienda (eds.) Divided Opportunities. New York: Plenum Press.

Massey, Douglas S. 1992.

"Latinos, Poverty, and the Underclass: A New Agenda for Research." Unpublished Ms. Population Research Center, The University of Chicago.

Massey, Douglas S. 1981.

"Hispanic Residential Segregation: A Comparison of Mexicans, Cubans, and Puerto Ricans." Sociology and Social Research 65: 311-322.

Massey Douglas S. and Brooks Bitterman. 1985.

"Explaining the Paradox of Puerto Rican Segregation." Social Forces 64: 307-331.

Massey, Douglas S. and Nancy Denton. 1993.

American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

- Massey, Douglas S. and Mitchell L. Eggers. 1990.
"The Ecology of Inequality: Minorities and the Concentration of Poverty, 1970-1980." American Journal of Sociology, 95:1153-89.
- Mattson, Mark T. 1992.
Atlas of the 1990 Census. New York: Macmillan.
- Mayer, Karl Ulrich and Nancy Brandon Tuma (Eds.). 1990.
Event History Analysis in Life Course Research. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- McCrack, Elaine and Laura Leete. 1994.
"Black-White Wage Differences among Young Women." Industrial Relations 33(2):168-183.
- Melendez, Edwin. 1991.
"Labor Market Structures and Wage Differences in New York City: A Comparative Analysis of Hispanics and Non-Hispanic Whites and Blacks." in Edwin Melendez, Clara Rodriguez, and Janis Barry Figueroa (eds.) Hispanics in the Labor Force: Issues and Policies. New York: Plenum Press.
- Melendez, Edwin. 1992a. "Understanding Latino Poverty." Sage Race Relations Abstracts. (May).
- Melendez, Edwin. 1992b.
"The Effects of Local Labor Market Conditions on Labor Force Participation of Puerto Rican, White, and Black Women." Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Science 14(1): 76-90.
- Melendez, Edwin, Clara Rodriguez, and Janis Barry Figueroa (eds.). 1991.
Hispanics in the Labor Force: Issues and Policies. New York: Plenum Press.
- Meyer, Robert H. and David A. Wise. 1984.
"The Transition from School to Work: The Experiences of Blacks and Whites." Research in Labor Economics, 6:123-176.
- Michael, Robert T. and Nancy B. Tuma. 1984.
"Youth Employment: Does Life Begin at 16?" Journal of Labor Economics, 2 (4): 464-476.

Dr. Cordero-Guzman
References 12

Miranda, Leticia C. 1991.

Latino Child Poverty in the United States. Washington, D.C.: Childrens Defense Fund.

Modell, John. 1994.

"When May Social Capital Influence Children's School performance?" in A. Petersen and J. Mortimer (eds.) Youth Unemployment and Society. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Morales, Rebecca and Frank Bonilla (eds).1993.

Latinos in a Changing U.S. Economy. Newbury Park, Ca: Sage Series on Race and Ethnic Relations Vol. 7.

Morris, Martina, Annette D. Bernhardt, and Mark S. Handcock. 1994.

"Economic Inequality: New Methods for New Trends." American Sociological Review 59(2):205-219.

Mortimer, Jeyland T. 1994.

"Individual Differences as Precursors of Youth Unemployment." in A. Petersen and J. Mortimer (eds.) Youth Unemployment and Society. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Moss, Philip and Chris Tilly. 1991.

Why Black Men are Doing Worse in the Labor Market: A Review of Supply-Side and Demand Side Explanations. New York: Social Science Research Council.

Montgomery, Edward and David Stockton. 1994.

"Evidence on the Causes of the Rising Dispersion in Relative Wages." Industrial Relations 33(2):206-248.

Murnane, Richard J. and Frank Levy. 1993.

"Why Today's High-School-Educated Males Earn Less than Their Fathers Did: The Problem and an Assessment of Responses." Harvard Educational Review 63(1):1-19.

Murphy, Kevin M. and Robert H. Topel. 1987.

"The Evolution of Unemployment Rates in the United States: 1963-1985." NBER Working Paper no. 1209.

Dr. Cordero-Guzman
References 13

- Murphy, Kevin M. and Finis Welch. 1993a.
"Inequality and Relative Wages." American Economic Review, 83(2):105-109.
- Murphy, Kevin and Finis Welch. 1993b.
"Occupational Change and the Demand for Skill." American Economic Review, 83(2):122-126.
- Murphy, Kevin M. and Finis Welch. 1993c.
"The Structure of Wages." Quarterly Journal of Economics 107(1):285-326.
- Murray, Charles. 1984.
Losing Ground: American Social Policy, 1950-1980. New York: Basic Books.
- National Center for Education Statistics (NCES). 1993.
Youth Indicators: Trends in the Well-Being of American Youth, 1993. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education.
- Neumark, David B. 1988.
"Employers Discriminatory Behavior and the Estimation of Wage Discrimination." Journal of Human Resources, 23 (3): 279-295.
- O'Reilly, Brian. 1992.
"The Job Drought." Fortune (August, 24:62-74).
- Orfield, Gary. 1983.
Public School Desegregation in the United States. Washington, D.C.: Center for Political Studies.
- Ortiz, Vilma. 1991.
"Latinos and Industrial Change in New York and Los Angeles." in Edwin Melendez, Clara Rodriguez, and Janis Barry Figueroa (eds.) Hispanics in the Labor Force: Issues and Policies. New York: Plenum Press.
- Orum, L. 1986.
Making Education Work for Hispanic Americans: Some Promising Community-Based Practices. Washington, D.C. National Council of La Raza.
- Osterman, Paul. 1980.
Getting Started: The Youth Labor Market. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press.

Parcel, T. 1987.

"Theories of the Labor Market and the Employment of Youth." in A.C. Kerckhoff (ed.) Research in the Sociology of Education and Socialization Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.

Pencavel, John. 1986

"Labor Supply of Men: Survey" in O. Ashenfelter and R. Layard (eds) Handbook of Labor Economics (Vol. I) North-Holland: Elsevier Science Publishers.

Perez, Sonia. 1993.

Moving from the Margins: Puerto Rican Young Men and Family Poverty. Washington, D.C.: National Council of La Raza.

Perez, Sonia. 1994.

Speaking Out: Puerto Rican Young Men. Washington, D.C.: National Council of La Raza.

Petersen, Anne C. and Jeylan T. Mortimer (Eds.). 1994.

Youth Unemployment and Society. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Portes, Alejandro and Julia Sensenbrenner. 1993.

"Embeddedness and Immigration: Notes on the Social Determination of Economic Action." American Journal of Sociology 98(6): 1320-1350.

Reich Robert. 1990.

"Who is Us?" Harvard Business Review Jan-Feb:53-64.

Rexroat, Cynthia. 1994.

Declining Economic Status of Black Children: Examining the Change. Washington, DC: Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies Press.

Rindfuss, Ronald R. 1991.

"The Young Adult Years: Diversity, Structural Change, and Fertility." Demography 28(4):493-512.

Rivera-Batiz, Francisco L. 1991.

"The Effects of Literacy on the Earnings of Hispanics in the United States." in Edwin Melendez, Clara Rodriguez, and Janis Barry Figueroa (eds.) Hispanics in the Labor Force: Issues and Policies. New York: Plenum Press.

Rivera-Batiz, Francisco. 1992.

"Quantitative Literacy and the Likelihood of Employment Among Young Adults in the United States." Journal of Human Resources 27 (2): 312-328.

Rodriguez, Clara. 1979.

"Some Economic Factors Affecting Puerto Ricans in New York." in Labor Migration Under Capitalism: the Puerto Rican Experience. New York: Monthly Review Press.

Rodriguez, Clara. 1989.

Puerto Ricans: Born in the USA. Boston: Unwin Hyman.

Rodriguez, Clara and Edwin Melendez. 1992.

"Puerto Rican Poverty and Labor Markets: An Introduction." Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences. 14(1):52-75.

Rodriguez, Havidan. 1992.

"Household Composition, Employment Patterns, and Income Inequality: Puerto Ricans in New York and Other Areas of the United States Mainland." Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences. 14(1):52-75.

Rosenbaum, James E. et. al. 1990.

"Market and Network Theories of the Transition from High School to Work: Their Application to Industrialized Societies" Annual Review of Sociology. 16:263-299.

Rosenzweig, Mark R and Kenneth I. Wolpin. 1993.

"Intergenerational Support and the Life-Cycle Incomes of Young Men and Their Parents: Human Capital Investments, Coresidence, and Intergenerational Financial Transfers." Journal of Labor Economics 11(1): 84-112.

Rutter, Michael. 1994.

"Concept of Causation, Tests of Causal Mechanisms, and Implications for Intervention." in A. Petersen and J. Mortimer (eds.) Youth Unemployment and Society. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sandefur, Gary and Marta Tienda. 1988.

"Introduction: Social Policy and the Minority Experience." in Gary Sandefur and Marta Tienda (eds.) Divided Opportunities: Minorities, Poverty, and Social Policy. New York: Plenum Press.

Santos, Richard. 1985.

Hispanic Youth: Emerging Workers. New York: Praeger Publishing.

Sassen-Koob, Saskia. 1985.

- "The Changing Composition and Labor Market Location of Hispanic Migrants in New York City, 1969-1980." in Borjas and Tienda (eds.) Hispanics in the U.S. Economy. Orlando, Florida: Academic Press.

Sassen, Saskia. 1993.

"Urban Transformation and Employment." in Rebecca Morales and Frank Bonilla (eds.) Latinos in a Changing U.S. Economy. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Series on Race and Ethnic Relations.

Shore, Milton F. 1972.

"Youth and Jobs: Educational, Vocational, and Mental Health Aspects." Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 1(4):315-323.

Smith, James P. 1993.

"Affirmative Action and the Racial Wage Gap." American Economic Review 83(2):79-84.

Stolzenberg, Ross M. 1990.

"Ethnicity, Geography, and Occupational Achievement of Hispanic Men in the United States." American Sociological Review 55: 143-154.

Tienda, Marta. 1995. "Latinos and the American Pie: Can Latinos Achieve Economic Parity?" Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 17(4): 403-429.

Tienda, Marta and Leif Jensen. 1988.

"Poverty and Minorities: A Quarter-Century Profile of Color and Socioeconomic Disadvantage." in Gary Sandefur and Marta Tienda (eds.) Divided Opportunities: Minorities, Poverty, and Social Policy. New York: Plenum Press.

Tienda, Marta, Katharine Donato and Hector Cordero-Guzman. 1992.

"Schooling, Color, and the Labor Force Activity of Women" Social Forces, 71(2):365-395.

Topel, Robert H. 1993.

"What Have We Learned from Empirical Studies of Unemployment and Turnover?" American Economic Review, 83(2):110-115.

- Topel, Robert H., and Michael P. Ward. 1992.
"Job Mobility and the Careers of Young Men." Quarterly Journal of Economics
107(2):440-479.
- Torres, Andres and Clara E. Rodriguez. 1991.
"Latino Research and Policy: The Puerto Rican Case." Edwin Melendez, Clara
Rodriguez, and Janis Barry Figueroa (eds.) Hispanics in the Labor Force: Issues and
Policies. New York: Plenum Press.
- Torres, Andres and Frank Bonilla. 1993.
"Decline Within Decline: The New York Perspective." in Rebecca Morales and Frank
Bonilla (eds.) Latinos in a Changing U.S. Economy. Newbury Park, CA: Sage
Series on Race and Ethnic Relations.
- Torres, Andres. 1995.
Between Melting Pot and Mosaic: African-Americans and Puerto Ricans in the New
York Political Economy. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Torres, Rodolfo D., and Adela de la Torre. 1991.
"Latinos, Class, and the U.S. Political Economy: Income Inequality and Policy
Alternatives." in Edwin Melendez, Clara Rodriguez, and Janis Barry Figueroa (eds.)
Hispanics in the Labor Force: Issues and Policies. New York: Plenum Press.
- Turner, Margery Austin, Michael Fix, and Raymond J. Struyk. 1991.
Opportunities Denied, Opportunities Diminished: Discrimination in Hiring.
Washington, DC: Urban Institute Press.
- U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, P23-183. 1993a.
Hispanic Americans Today. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.
- U.S. Bureau of the Census. 1993b.
Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1993. Washington, DC: U.S. Government
Printing Office.
- U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, P20-475. 1994.
The Hispanic Population in the United States: March 1993. (by Patricia
Montgomery) Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.
- U.S. Department of Labor. 1995.
What's Working (and what's not): A Summary of Research on the Economic
Impacts of Employment and Training Programs. Office of the Chief Economist.