New England Journal of Public Policy

Volume 11
Issue 1 *Latinos in a Changing Society, Part I*

Article 4

3-21-1995

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Despite the immigrant character of Latino groups in the United States, little attention has been given to the role of social networks in the job-search process and in labor-market outcomes for Latinos. The literature on social networks describes their use as important in providing access to jobs but neutral as to affecting earnings or attainment of prestige. This study uses data from a 1988–1989 Boston survey to examine the effect of finding employment through social networks on the income attainment of white, black, and Latino workers. Job seekers in all groups rely on such networks, but Latinos exhibit the highest rate of usage, which ranges across all occupations and industry sectors. While it has no effect on the level of earnings for whites or blacks, Latinos' network usage is associated with a negative effect on earnings. Controlling for other factors results in the decline of this negative effect; although small, it remains significant and negative. Improved data sources are needed to clarify the effect of networks on the labor-market position of Latinos.

The literature on the labor-market performance of workers has largely focused on the effects of individual characteristics (human capital), structural effects (sector location), and contextual effects (area characteristics) on labor-market outcomes. Accordingly, the benefits workers derive from employment — that is, earnings and prestige — are viewed as a function of a combination of some of these factors. Ascribed characteristics like race, ethnic origin, and gender are seen as mediating factors in the process. Emphasis on behavior and characteristics within the labor market, however, ignores the fact that workers obtain entry to the labor market through a variety of mechanisms. Further, traditional approaches pay no attention to the possibility that matching workers to jobs is not a random process but one which can be influenced by several elements. It is important to consider matching in examining the labor-market performance of groups such as Latinos.

Their immigrant character, linguistic differences, and recency of arrival, for example, suggest that Latinos may diverge from other groups in the way they join the workforce and affect their labor-market outcomes. Understanding the entry process and its impact should contribute to a better explanation of the various labor-market results. I use a sample of Boston-area non-Hispanic whites, blacks, and Latinos to examine several questions related to the labor market.[1] Can we find differences in the job-search process

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and consequences among Latino workers in comparison with whites and blacks? In addition, if Latinos and other groups use different mechanisms to search for employment, do we find different outcomes? Moreover, once we eliminate the effects of factors considered relevant in determining labor-market outcomes, do we conclude that Latinos are penalized for relying on search mechanisms that other groups do not employ to the same extent?

Immigrants and Social Networks

The role of social networks has received increased attention within migration literature.[2] Social networks comprise a set of dynamic and variable social arrangements shaping migration and job search in diverse ways.[3] Portes and Bach described migration as "a process of network building."[4] Networks play a vital role in making resources available to the migrant. Housing, money, and information become part of the benefits derived from a social network. The overall cost of migration may decline because social networks act as a form of "social capital" that affords access to loans, housing, and employment.[5] In addition, the existence of social networks may make migration an option in a broader range of social situations. As its circuits age, migration as a social event becomes embedded in the cultural formation of a group's society because of the presence and accessibility of social networks. That is, migration offers another alternative in evaluating decisions about employment, residence, education, and so forth.

Social networks are critical in the settlement process of immigrants, providing not only information but also connection to employers and jobs. Immigrants in general tend to rely on networks to obtain jobs in urban settings. Research on undocumented Central American and Mexican immigrants in Texas and on Dominicans in New York City shows that new arrivals can locate jobs fairly quickly through their connection to existing networks.[6] Also, the literature on immigrant employment documents the advantages for employers of using networks in hiring.[7] Labor recruitment through networks provides a reliable labor supply whose ethnic ties serve as regulating mechanisms to discourage labor unrest and ensure compliance.[8]

Within the labor market, social networks provide tangible benefits to both immigrants and employers. The former gain through access to a job through a mechanism that allows them to bypass limitations in language and in what economists call "knowledge of the labor market." The latter gain through a less expensive recruitment method that serves as a screening process. Employers also profit through access to a labor force they can attract and release as necessary. Some have suggested that the growth in small-scale manufacturing outfits in cities like New York is partly due to the existence of a pliable labor force largely composed of immigrants. "Network recruitment in immigrant firms taps a flow of workers whose characteristics are known and whose behaviors are more predictable."[9] Through social networks, the process of recruiting a labor force transcends national borders and extends as far as the immigrants' areas of origin.[10]

The evidence that social networks expand the range of the social capital of immigrants is substantial. However, despite the relative disadvantaged position of Latino workers in the U.S. labor market, little has been written about the impact of social networks on the returns to human capital of Latinos. The discussion of social networks has focused largely on explaining the dynamics of migration or the economic organization of ethnic enclaves. Understanding how networks connect individuals to jobs, and vice versa, is

essential in explaining Latino labor-market behavior. Social networks, by providing access to jobs, have a positive function, but are there drawbacks to relying on them? For example, in Boston's high employment setting of the late 1980s, the main problem for Latinos was not the lack of jobs but the menial character of most of the jobs they held.[11] While their low level of education was a key factor, Latino workers were relatively isolated from mainstream social networks, with the result that disproportionate numbers of them labored in small, ethnically similar, low-wage establishments. Examining how social networks may play a role in determining labor-market outcomes — beyond that of access to jobs — is critical.

Data and Methods

The data for the analyses are from the "Boston Survey" conducted by The Boston Foundation Persistent Poverty Project between November 1988 and April 1989. Its sample is drawn from eighteen- to sixty-year-old Boston residents. Interviews were conducted by two different means: random dialed telephone contact and face-to-face meetings with a smaller subsample. The information gathered is extensive. The sampling scheme included soliciting data from the population above and below the poverty line within each racial/ethnic group (whites, blacks, and Latinos) so that appropriate contrasts could be made. For my analyses, I merged the samples for each group. It includes 644 whites, 356 blacks, and 351 Latinos. The Latino sample comprises 171 Puerto Ricans, 84 Central and South Americans, and 53 Dominicans. Owing to missing data, the sample size varies somewhat across analyses.

For some of the reasons discussed earlier, information on indicators about the process by which individuals find jobs are not routinely collected in most surveys. The "Boston Survey" is somewhat an exception. While it includes substantial information on work experience, sources of income, and characteristics of the workplace, there is limited information on the use of social networks in searching for jobs. My analyses focus on social network use in finding a current job and on some of the characteristics of that job. I determined, as an indicator of social network usage, whether a respondent obtained his or her last job through a contact with a friend, acquaintance, or relative. Accordingly, this analysis does not take into consideration the use of social networks in the job search in general, or even job-search strategies that failed. Finally, because earnings and usage of networks to obtain a job vary by full- or part-time status, I included only full-time workers (35 or more hours per week).

I first contrasted the use of social networks by racial/ethnic group to highlight major differences across whites, blacks, and Latinos, and among Latino groups. Second, I examined variations in the use of networks to find the current job by occupation and industry to highlight diversity in usage by sector of employment. Then, using regression analysis, I present a basic model of earnings attainment to examine the effects of networking on earnings before and after accounting for variations in human capital characteristics. The model includes controls for age, nativity, education, language ability, and sector of employment.

Analyses and Results

The literature on networks reviewed earlier suggests that Latinos, as an immigrant group, are more likely than whites or blacks to use social networks to obtain employment. The data in Table 1 support that line of argument. By a wide margin, Boston

Table 1

Source of Information for Current Job, Whites, Blacks, and Latinos

	Total			Males			Females		
	Whites	Blacks	Latinos	Whites	Blacks	Latinos	Whites	Blacks	Latinos
Newspaper	23.8%	19.4%	11.0%	22.4%	22.9%	12.2%	25.1%	17.7%	10.3%
Employment Office	2.6%	3.7%	4.0%	4.3%	8.0%	3.2%	1.2%	5.1%	4.6%
Job Training	0.8%	3.1%	2.6%	0.0%	0.0%	0.6%	1.5%	4.6%	4.1%
Walked In	10.7%	12.6%	9.7%	9.5%	13.6%	9.0%	11.8%	12.2%	10.3%
School Placement	7.5%	4.8%	4.6%	8.6%	6.8%	3.8%	6.5%	3.8%	5.1%
Private Agency	5.4%	6.7%	4.0%	4.6%	6.8%	2.6%	6.2%	6.8%	5.1%
Networks	*38.8%*	*44.9%*	*61.8%*	*40.8%*	*41.5%*	*67.3%*	*36.9%*	*46.4%*	*57.4%*
Other	10.3%	4.8%	2.3%	9.6%	7.6%	1.3%	10.9%	3.3%	3.1%
N	644	356	351	304	118	195	339	237	156

Source: The Boston Foundation Persistent Poverty Project, "Boston Survey," 1988–1989.

Note: Includes only workers employed thirty-five or more hours the prior week. Results are from a single equation, where dummy variables for Latino group and network use are entered first and variables are added sequentially.

Latinos who were employed full time when the survey was done were more likely to have used social networks to find their current job. About six of every ten Latinos contacted networks, whereas whites and blacks range from three to four of every ten. Compared with whites and blacks, Latinos were half as likely to consult newspaper ads, the other major source of seeking employment. When the sample is separated by sex, the results do not change markedly. Latino males and females are consistently more likely to rely on networks than their white and black counterparts. Latino males exhibit the highest rate of network use of all groups, surpassing even Latino females by ten percentage points. In general, Latinos show the highest rate of usage with blacks and then whites following. Differences in network use are much larger across racial/ethnic groups than across sex groups.

Table 2 presents the data, by sex, on sources of information for the major Latino group categories. Among both men and women, Dominicans are by far the largest users of social networks in finding a current job. Dominicans lead among men with 94.1 percent, followed by Central and South Americans with 72.1 percent and Puerto Ricans with 66.7 percent. Among women, Dominicans show 75 percent having used networks, followed by Puerto Ricans and Central and South Americans with 54.9 percent and 51.5 percent, respectively. Regardless of sex, all Latino groups show high proportions having taken advantage of networks, with men the highest users within each group. Among Puerto Ricans and Dominicans, a small proportion of those employed indicated having

Table 2

Source of Information for Current Job, Latinos by Group

	Males			Females		
	PR	DR	CSA	PR	DR	CSA
Newspaper	8.7%	5.9%	15.7%	5.9%	5.6%	27.3%
Employment Office	4.3%	0.0%	3.9%	6.9%	2.8%	0.0%
Job Training	1.4%	0.0%	0.0%	6.9%	0.0%	3.0%
Walked In	13.0%	0.0%	7.8%	12.7%	11.1%	3.0%
School Placement	2.9%	0.0%	5.9%	5.9%	2.8%	0.0%
Private Agency	0.0%	0.0%	3.9%	3.9%	2.8%	9.1%
Networks	*66.7%*	*94.1%*	*72.1%*	*54.9%*	*75.0%*	*51.5%*
Other	2.9%	0.0%	0.0%	2.9%	0.0%	6.1%
N	69	17	51	102	36	33

Source: The Boston Foundation Persistent Poverty Project, "Boston Survey," 1988–1989.

Note: PR = Puerto Rican; DR = Dominican; C/SA = Central and South American.

used newspapers as their source. On the other hand, Central and South Americans show high rates of newspaper usage in comparison with Dominicans and Puerto Ricans. The high use of both newspapers and networks among the Central and South Americans suggests that there may be substantial heterogeneity within this category.

Table 3

Network Use by Current Industry of Employment

	Whites	Blacks	Latinos
Extractive	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Construction	54.0%	58.3%	80.0%
Manufacturing	34.6%	34.4%	75.7%
Transportation	37.5%	52.0%	0.0%
Wholesale Trade	42.9%	25.0%	75.0%
Retail Trade	40.5%	42.4%	68.4%
F.I.R.E.	37.3%	22.5%	58.3%
Service Sector	38.4%	51.4%	59.5%

Source: The Boston Foundation Persistent Poverty Project, "Boston Survey," 1988–1989.

Note: F.I.R.E. = Finance Insurance Real Estate

Table 3 presents, by current industry, the percentages of whites, blacks, and Latinos who used networks. As in earlier results across industry sectors, Latinos were more likely than whites and blacks to avail themselves of networks. In some sectors — wholesale trade, manufacturing, and construction — close to 80 percent of Latinos indicated having

Table 4

Network Use by Current Occupation

	Whites	Blacks	Latinos
Professional	32.4%	40.7%	57.1%
Semi professional/technical	22.7%	22.2%	23.1%
Manager	39.1%	33.3%	58.8%
Clerical	33.6%	38.1%	50.8%
Sales	35.0%	0.0%	66.7%
Crafts	51.7%	55.0%	53.9%
Operatives	46.4%	43.6%	72.0%
Service	58.7%	59.2%	68.5%
Labor	53.3%	71.4%	100.0%

Source: The Boston Foundation Persistent Poverty Project, "Boston Survey," 1988–1989.

obtained their job through a network. In contrast, whites and blacks in those sectors seldom reached a 50 percent level. In general, the distinct pattern of Latinos' job entry suggests, not surprisingly, that most Latino workers were employed in the bottom jobs in those sectors or in different industries within the broad categories.

Table 4, which reports on network usage by occupation, shows an inverse association between occupation and the overall quality of the jobs in the category. Less prestigious jobs like labor, service, and operatives, in which Latinos concentrate, show high usage. The proportion that used networks declined rapidly in semiprofessional, technical, and professional jobs. For the latter category, credentials are an important screening device, which may have been reflected in the lower usage rates.

Overall, the data from the initial analysis suggest that network use is very high among Latinos in comparison with whites and blacks and that Latino men used networks at a higher rate than Latina women. There are marked differences across Latino groups. In addition, networking, which varies across industry and occupation sectors, is particularly high for the sectors in which Latinos concentrate.

In an earlier discussion, I suggested that overreliance on networks may be detrimental to Latinos in the labor market. The evidence so far suggests high rates of network use. The question to examine is, What is the impact of network use on the labor-market outcomes of Latinos? Are they penalized because they rely on networks? If so, the point could be made that networks may be partly responsible for the disadvantages Latinos face. The penalty for network use may be lower rewards associated with the job obtained (for example, in earnings or prestige) relative to potential rewards had the job been obtained through other sources.

There are various ways to examine this. One could determine whether the returns to human capital are different in jobs found through networks. Returns to investments in human capital (education, specialized training, work experience) could be compared for Latinos in network and nonnetwork jobs to discover whether they differ significantly, other things being equal. An alternative is to examine, first, whether network usage has a significant effect on job rewards and, second, whether the effect of network use becomes insignificant once other factors related to job rewards are accounted for. I applied the latter approach for this initial analysis of network usage among Boston

Table 5

Percentage of Network Use in Finding Current Job, by Selected Indicators

Variables		Whites	Blacks	Latinos
Overall		39.6%	45.4%	62.4%
Age	18–30	40.4%	44.8%	61.1%
	31–45	36.8%	44.4%	65.1%
	46–64	45.5%	50.0%	56.8%
Sex	Male	41.9%	43.8%	67.3%
	Female	37.5%	45.9%	57.4%
Nativity	U.S. born	37.9%	46.9%	62.5%
	Not U.S. born	50.0%	55.0%	62.3%
Education	College	36.1%	41.9%	44.7%
	High school	38.6%	39.9%	52.8%
	Less than high school	53.3	61.6%	75.7%
English fluency	Good	39.3%	42.6%	50.0%
	Fair	46.0%	55.6%	58.8%
	Poor	0.0%	0.0%	79.9%
N		608	346	313

Source: The Boston Foundation Persistent Poverty Project, "Boston Survey," 1988–1989.

Latinos. The literature on socioeconomic attainment suggests several factors associated with the process of earnings attainment. Typically, earnings are seen as a function of various human capital characteristics (education, age, experience, sex) and contextual effects such as the type of occupation and the sector of employment. For populations with large numbers of immigrants, nativity status and English-language fluency are also considered important determinants of labor-market outcomes. For the multivariate analysis, a basic model of earnings attainment is formulated where use of social networks to obtain a current job is entered as the initial independent variable. Once the gross effects of network usage are determined, other factors known to be related to earnings (noted above) are entered into the model to try to explain away the effects on earnings.

Table 5 reports on network usage for whites, blacks, and Latinos by some of the independent variables in the model. Besides the general trend of Latinos being more likely to use networks, there are other interesting relationships in these data. While there is no clear pattern by age category, at least for whites and Latinos, males seemed to be more likely to access networks. For Latinos, the difference in network use between males and females is ten percentage points. Education and English-speaking ability are both inversely correlated with network usage — the higher the level of education or English ability, the lower the use of a network. In general, the data are consistent with the notion that those with lower human-capital characteristics are more likely to have relied on a network to obtain a current job.

Table 6

Effects on Log Earnings of Social Network Use to Find Current Job, White, Black, and Latino Full-time Workers in Boston, 1988

	Network Use	Native Age Sex	Education	English Ability	Industry and SEI
White:					
Used network	-0.033	-0.047	-0.021	-0.020	0.021
Did not use network	—	—	—	—	—
Black:					
Used network	-0.122**	-0.124**	-0.093	-0.086	-0.029
Did not use network	—	—	—	—	—
Latino:					
Used network	-0.219****	-0.265****	-0.173***	-0.133**	-0.084*
Did not use network	—	—	—	—	—

Significant at: ****p <.001; ***p <.01; **p <.05; *p <.10.

Note: Includes only workers employed thirty-five or more hours the prior week. Results are from three separate equations, where network use is entered first and variables are added sequentially.

Table 6 presents regression coefficients for the network-use variable (coded 1 if used, 0 otherwise) obtained in three separate equations for whites, blacks, and Latinos. The first column shows the gross effects of network use, with additional variables in subsequent columns.[12] Because of the skewed distribution usually found in earnings variables, the logged form of earnings is the dependent variable.

When compared with groups that did not obtain jobs through a network, its use seemed to have a negative effect on earnings. Coefficients for network usage are consistently negative in all the equations. However, only for blacks and Latinos is network usage significantly associated with earnings — whites do not seem to suffer a penalty for networking. Controlling for nativity, age, and sex did not explain away the significant and negative effect of network use on earnings for either Latinos or blacks. Adding education to the model in the third column had some interesting effects. First, it made network use insignificant for blacks, which implies that their penalty for network use resulted from the higher probability that the undereducated among them who network receive lower earnings. Once education differences among blacks are accounted for, the effect of network use disappears.

Nonetheless, for Latinos, the effects of network usage remain negative and strongly significant, albeit reduced. As for blacks, some of the penalty for network usage can be accounted for by level of education. Controlling for differences in English-speaking ability further reduced the size of the network coefficient for Latinos but did not make it insignificant. Finally, controlling for industry location and prestige of the current job contributed to explaining away some network-use effects, but did not render them insignificant. In the full model, relative to Latinos who do not use networks, users experience a negative and somewhat significant effect on earnings.

Table 7

Effects on Log Earnings of Social Network Use to Find Current Job, Latino Groups in Boston, 1988

	Network Use	Native Age Sex	Education	English Ability	Industry and SEI
Network CSA	-0.073	-0.148*	-0.081	-0.020	-0.011
Network Dominican	-0.436****	-0.436****	-0.335****	-0.226**	-0.172*
Network Puerto Rican	-0.247****	-0.291****	-0.183**	-0.156 **	-0.126*
Latinos No Network Use	—	—	—	—	—

Significant at: **** p < .001, *** p < .01,** p < .05, * p < .10

Notes: Includes only workers employed 35 hours or more the prior week.

Results are from a single equation where dummy variables for Latino group and network use are entered first with additional variables added sequentially.

Table 7 presents a similar set of equations for the Latino groups. In this case, the results come from a single equation where dummy variables have been entered for using the network and belonging to a particular group. The reference group is Latinos who did not use a network to obtain a current job. Among Dominicans and Puerto Ricans, network usage is strongly and negatively associated with earnings. The effects are much larger for Dominicans than for Puerto Ricans. Despite high levels of networking, Central and South Americans did not seem to experience any negative effects. Controlling for nativity, age, and sex left the coefficients for Dominicans and Puerto Ricans more or less unchanged while showing a negative and significant effect among Central and South Americans. Adding education to the model produced some interesting changes. The effects of network use declined for all three groups, but the largest drop was for Puerto Ricans. Clearly, among them, low levels of education, not just network usage, represent a major factor in explaining lower earnings.

English-speaking ability seems to be a major factor in accounting for the negative effects of network usage among Dominicans. Controlling for English-speaking ability reduced the negative effects of use by about a third. For Puerto Ricans, the effects are not as marked. This may partially reflect the recency of the Dominican migration and the predominance of non-English speakers within the group. The effects of adding the industry and job location variables are important. A large part of the negative effect of networks among Dominicans and Puerto Ricans is due to their finding jobs that tend to offer low earnings. After controlling for all factors in this basic model, there remains a negative and significant effect of networks on earnings among both Dominicans and Puerto Ricans, with the size of the coefficient being larger among the former. While network usage is negatively associated with earnings, a substantial part of the effect is accounted for by human capital differences in the characteristics of those who use a network and those who do not. The remaining effect of network use, although small, is negative and significant.

The migration and settlement literature on Latinos tends to view social networks as serving a function within the process of migration decision making and eventual in-corporation into a new society. Social networks, however, are usually conceptualized as being functional to immigrants, facilitating the procedure by maximizing limited resources. In this sense, social networks become a form of usable social capital. Seldom have researchers focused on the potential negative effects of using social networks on the socioeconomic position of those who use them. The literature on non-Latino populations suggests that social networks do not have a significant impact on income. However, this issue has not been examined for Latino groups. My work is an attempt to examine the effects of network usage on the earnings of Latino workers in Boston.

There is substantial evidence that network usage is widespread among Latinos, for whom it is more common than for whites and blacks. Characteristics typically associated with immigrant groups, such as low levels of education and language skills, are positively correlated with using a network to obtain a current job. While I found a strong and negative effect of network use on earnings, a substantial part of the effect is accounted for by differences in human capital and sector location. Still, a small but significant negative effect of networking on earnings remained after accounting for all other variables. This finding is important and requires further exploration.

Clearly, the use of networks serves a vital function for workers in general; for Latinos in particular, it provides access to a job. In 1988–1989, when these data were collected, the Massachusetts economy was near full employment and, contrary to the situation in other areas of the country, Latinos enjoyed high rates of labor-force participation and little unemployment. This late 1980s period was also characterized by a rapid increase in poverty rates for Latinos.[13] Those who are most likely to use networks are generally the most disadvantaged in human capital and, accordingly, receive low earnings. The possibility of network usage resulting in an additional penalty to their situation, although small, is important. Furthermore, several aspects of network-located jobs, such as differences in fringe benefits, job security, and vertical ladders, have not been examined. That is, while networks may be successful in providing access to employment, do they have the ability to place workers in formal, stable jobs? This work needs to be extended to determine whether outcomes vary by factors such as the ethnicity and characteristics of the contact who facilitates a job.❧

Support for my research was provided by a grant from the Social Science Research Council under the "Puerto Rican Poverty: Causes and Consequences" Initiative.

Notes

1. I use the word "whites" to refer to non-Latino whites.

2. Roger Waldinger, "Immigration and Industrial Change in the New York City Apparel Industry," *Hispanics in the U.S. Economy*, edited by George Borjas and Marta Tienda (New York: Academic Press, 1985), 323–349; Douglas Massey, Rafael Alarcon, Jorge Durand, and Humbert Gonzalez, *Return to Atzlan: The Social Process of International Migration from Western Mexico* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987); Douglas T. Gurak and Fe Caces, "Migration Networks and the Shaping of Migration Systems," in *International Migration Systems: A Global Approach*, edited by Mary M. Kritz, Lin Lean Lim, and Hania Zlotnik (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 150–176; Sherri Grasmuck and Patricia Pessar, *Between Two Islands: Dominican International Migration* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991).

3. Gurak and Caces, "Migration Networks," 152.
4. Alejandro Portes and Robert L. Bach, "Latin Journey," in *Cuban and Mexican Immigrants in the United States* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985).
5. Grasmuck and Pessar, *Between Two Islands*.
6. Harley L. Browning and Nestor Rodriguez, "The Migration of Mexican Indocumentados as a Settlement Process: Implications for Work," in *Hispanics in the U.S. Economy*, 277–297, and Grasmuck and Pessar, *Between Two Islands*.
7. Waldinger, "Immigration and Industrial Change," 323–349; Nestor P. Rodriguez, "Undocumented Central Americans in Houston: Diverse Populations," *International Migration Review* 21, no. 1 (Spring 1987): 4–26; Grasmuck and Pessar, *Between Two Islands*; Thomas Bailey and Roger Waldinger, "Primary, Secondary, and Enclave Labor Markets: A Training Systems Approach," *American Sociological Review* 51, no. 4 (1991): 432–446.
8. Sherri Grasmuck, "Immigration, Ethnic Stratification, and Native Working Class Discipline: Comparisons of Documented and Undocumented Dominicans," *International Migration Review* 19, no. 3 (Fall 1984): 692–713; Portes and Bach, "Latin Journey."
9. Bailey and Waldinger, "Primary, Secondary, and Enclave Labor Markets."
10. Michael J. Piore, *Birds of Passage: Migrant Labor and Industrial Societies* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979).
11. Luis M. Falcón, "Economic Growth and Increased Inequality: Hispanics in the Boston Labor Market," in *Latino Poverty and Economic Development in Massachusetts*, edited by Edwin Meléndez and Miren Uriarte (Boston: University of Massachusetts, 1994), 78–103.
12. The variables included in the model are nativity, age, age squared, sex, education in years, dummy variables for fluency in English to no English, the Socioeconomic Index (SEI) for the current job, and dummy variables for employment in manufacturing, in service, and in retail.
13. Falcón, "Economic Growth and Increased Inequality," 78–103.