THE MULTIPLE LOGICS OF ECONOMIC INCORPORATION: SECOND GENERATION IMMIGRANTS IN THE METROPOLITAN NEW YORK LABOR MARKET

by

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Abstract

THE MULTIPLE LOGICS OF ECONOMIC INCORPORATION: SECOND GENERATION IMMIGRANTS IN THE METROPOLITAN NEW YORK LABOR MARKET

By

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Advisor: Prof. Philip Kasinitz

For the past several decades Metropolitan New York experienced major economic transformation while incorporating large numbers of immigrants. In order to better understand how labor market processes operate to incorporate a diverse urban labor force composed mainly of immigrants and minorities, this dissertation utilizes multiple data sources, adopts a wide theoretical scope and shifts the focus of analysis from assessing economic consequences to exploring how people experience and actively shape the labor market.

Using data from the "Second Generation in New York Project," which focuses on five second generation immigrant groups and three native groups of young New Yorkers, as well as the Current Population Survey, this dissertation explores several theoretical and empirical questions related to labor market segregation and immigrant incorporation. In general terms, this research is grappling with the question "Incorporation into what?"

as a way to converge the discussion about first and second generation immigrants and their native born counterparts with the labor market they are part of.

Based on several measures of labor market segregation and concentration, intergenerational and intergroup comparisons, and various methods of multivariate analyses, this study suggest that: (a) the local labor market is dominated by a large service sector and a racially and ethnically diverse labor force composed of many immigrants and their children; (b) race and ethnicity are central and enduring factors, shaping the fates of all participants in New York's economy, be they new immigrants or second generation, whites or others; (c) racial and ethnic concentrations at the industry and firm level represent a significant experience among the studied groups; and (d) factors at the individual, organizational, industry and sector levels need to be considered in order to better understand labor market processes. Most importantly, the dissertation puts forth the "logics of incorporation" typology, which suggests that: (a) there is no reason to assume that co-ethnic work environments can be derived from concentration measures obtained at the industry level; and (b) that "mainstream" and "ethnic" economies cannot easily be distinguished. These findings invite scholars to revisit and rethink several assumptions, concepts and measures that inform our understanding of labor market segregation and immigrants' economic incorporation.

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A.Z.Z

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Introduction

Both social science and everyday observation suggest that immigrants and their descendents are not randomly distributed across the labor market; rather they tend to congregate in particular industries and occupations and in the less favorable parts of the labor market. We tend to assume that since some immigrants are economically vulnerable – because they often don't know the language, don't have connections, and are not familiar with the local labor market – they are willing to make sacrifices in job quality, work conditions and pay. This, we believe, is the main mechanism that leads immigrants to be concentrated in the worst parts of the labor market. At the same time, it is clear that this observation is not true for all immigrant groups, as some are able to make a transition and find good jobs. Furthermore, if indeed it is only immigrants that concentrate in the labor market because of language and skill deficiencies, than we would expect non-immigrant groups to be dispersed according to meritocratic, rational, utilitarian processes. Yet we know that this is not the case. Previous research has clearly shown that it is not only immigrants that are vulnerable, or who find themselves in the worst parts of the labor market. There is enough evidence to show that women and minorities who do not have linguistic deficiencies are often concentrated in secondary labor markets and in the least favored jobs.

According to the assimilationist perspective, immigrants' ethnic and racial concentration in the labor market is a newcomers' phenomenon. Thus, as time from arrival elapses, and across generations the importance of ethnic and (perhaps) racial differences decreases, leading immigrants and their descendents to scatter and disperse across the labor market (Alba 1998; Farley and Alba 2002; Lieberson and Waters 1988;

Perlmann and Waldinger 1999). Conversely, some scholars have argued that race and ethnicity have long term effects on opportunities of immigrants and their offspring, stressing the enduring role of race and ethnicity in organizing economic life (Light and Gold 2000; Model 1993; Portes and Manning 1986; Waldinger 1996; Waldinger and Bozorgmehr 1996). According to this perspective, the various forms of ethnic and racial concentration are central characteristics of the labor markets in gateway cities such as Miami, Los Angeles and New York that are not likely to disappear over time. The centrality of race and ethnicity as organizing principles of labor market trajectories of immigrants and their children, the mechanisms that shape labor market concentration, and the effect of such concentrations on the economic mobility and social incorporation of immigrants and their children – whether permanent or temporary – are subjects of much debate in the immigration literature.

Interestingly, although there is a wealth of scholarship on immigrants' labor market incorporation as well as on gender and racial segregation and inequality in the labor market, the former line of research has rarely questioned the characteristics of the labor market into which immigrants are entering, while the latter does not separate immigrants' experience from the general labor force. In a way, although both bodies of literature study the labor market, few works have taken a closer look at the question "What is the labor market?" in order to understand what are the processes that create and recreate it.

In this dissertation I study children of immigrants – the second generation – and their paths and trajectories in the local labor market, in order to better understand the process of immigrants' economic incorporation as well as the labor market into which

they are incorporating. The theoretical framework that informs this research is based on the literature on immigrants in the labor market as well as on labor market segregation, and it integrates an institutional approach. The main question of concern is "What is this labor market into which immigrants and their children are incorporating?" This is a shift from the effort to talk about consequences (Are they assimilating? Is labor market concentration good or bad?) to an effort to talk about the labor market processes themselves as people experience and actively shape them.

In general terms, my dissertation research is grappling with a question that has been raised before – 'Incorporation into what?' as a way to converge the discussion about immigrants and the labor market of which they are a part. With the purpose of answering this question, I utilize data about immigrants, their children and their native counterparts in order to learn something about the labor market and about the incorporation process. I use existing theories of labor market segregation in order to better understand the incorporation process, and I apply the concepts and theories of immigrant economic incorporation in order to better understand the labor market. This journey will take me through many of the main debates and assumptions about labor market segregation, about immigrant incorporation and about the second generation.

The main argument developed throughout the dissertation is that the labor market is a social arena that consists of social structures, cognitive/cultural meaning systems and actors that together produce multiple logics of action that operate simultaneously and that are not necessarily consistent or unidirectional. This approach problematizes the dualistic approach that characterizes many of the theoretical formulations in the field as it questions the dichotomies between mainstream and ethnic economies, between

immigrants and non-immigrants, between first and second generation, between assimilation and non-assimilation and so on.

The debates around immigrant labor market incorporation produced a wealth of research on the immigrant generation. Nevertheless, although the second generation's trajectories into the labor market have been the subject of contradictory predictions, they have rarely been systematically addressed in the literature, mainly due to lack of appropriate data.[1] By utilizing data from the "Second Generation in Metropolitan New York" project (Kasinitz, Waters and John Mollenkopf 2002),[2] and the Census Bureau's Current Population Survey, [3] this study examines patterns of ethnic and racial concentration in the local labor market and the factors that influence and shape these patterns among five second generation immigrant groups and three native born groups of 18-32 year old New Yorkers. [4]

By using two different measures of ethnic and racial composition of the labor market (one that is based on ethnic representation in specific industries derived from CPS data and another that is based on ethnic homogeneity at the firm level derived from Second Generation data), and shifting the focus of analysis from assessing the economic

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[1] Due to lack of information on parental place of birth after the 1970 Census and the relative youth of the 'new second generation,' most studies of this group concentrate on educational outcomes and have been based on gross estimates extrapolated from the available data (for example Hirschman 1996; Jensen and Chitose 1996). Portes and Rumbaut's "Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study" (CILS) is an important project that collected data specifically on second generation immigrants. Yet, it also concentrates on educational experiences and outcomes since most of the CILS respondents are still too young to have significant labor market experiences (Portes and Rumbaut 2001).

[2]For background on this project, see Philip Kasinitz, Mary Waters and John Mollenkopf, "The Immigrant Second Generation in New York: A Demographic Overview," at www.urbanresearch.org. and Kasinitz, Waters and Mollenkopf, 2002.

[3] I use pooled data from the March Supplement of the 1998, 1999 and 2000 CPS in the New York CMSA.

[4]The data includes second generation Dominicans, South Americans, West Indians, Chinese and Russian Jews. Most of them are children of immigrants that were born in the U.S. ('second generation') and others were born abroad but came to the U.S. before the age of 12 (1.5 generation). For comparative purposes that data also includes Native Whites, African Americans and Puerto Ricans.

consequences of labor market concentrations to examining the social processes that produce such concentrations, I investigate three sets of research questions:

1. Using the CPS data, I examine the ethnic and racial composition of the various industries in the New York labor market, and the second generation's place in it, in order to answer the following questions: Are children of immigrants following their parents' footsteps in the labor market? Do they work in the same industries? Are they as concentrated?

2. Using the second generation data, I examine patterns of ethnic and racial composition in the work place to explore the following questions: Are second generation immigrants more likely to work in co-ethnic environments compared to the native born groups? Do patterns of co-ethnicity in the work place vary across the different groups and across industries? What factors shape and influence the likelihood of working with co-ethnics?

3. Using both measures, I examine the different logics of labor market incorporation to clarify the following questions: Do children of immigrants differ from their non-immigrant counterparts in patterns of labor market incorporation? What affects and shapes the different patterns?

In order to answer these research questions, the rest of this study is organized in the following way: Chapter one provides a literature review and theoretical framework. Chapter two outlines the methodology of the study by describing the data and the measures that are used. Chapter three describes the local labor market and compares patterns of ethnic concentration among children of immigrants, their parents and their native counterparts. Chapter four examines patterns of co-ethnic employment and the mechanisms that shape these patterns. Based on the two measures of ethnic concentration

and co-ethnic employment, I proceed to develop a typology of the different logics of labor market incorporation and discuss the ways in which these logics are distributed and shaped among the studied groups. In chapter five I discuss the results of my study and draw conclusions.

Chapter One:
From Labor Market Segregation to Ethnic Economies and Back

Although the United States is a land of immigrants, most of its history is characterized by a profound ambivalence about immigration. This is because some people fear that immigrants will become just like other Americans, while others fear that they will not. Since these sentiments inform the visions and realities of what the United States is becoming, immigrants' economic incorporation is the subject of much interest in popular as well as academic debates (Hirschman, Kasinitz and DeWind 1999). These debates revolve around important and interesting questions such as: How does immigration contribute to the nation's economic growth and prosperity? Do immigrants contribute to the financing of local and other governments or are they a burden on the native born taxpayer? How does immigration impact the internal migration patterns of native born groups and individuals? To what extent do immigrants compete with native born workers for jobs and thus dampen wage increases and raise unemployment rates? How are immigrants being incorporated into the labor market? And, finally, what is the social and economic trajectory of today's second generation? This study joins the discussion around the two last questions.

In order to understand how immigrants and their children are incorporating into the labor market, I will first turn to a general discussion of labor market processes; than I will discuss the literature on immigrant incorporation; lastly, I will review the literature that focuses on the second generation. It is interesting to note that although the scholarship on labor market segregation and inequality produced a wealth of research, it rarely distinguishes the experiences of immigrants from those of native groups. On the

other hand, despite the fact that the incorporation of immigrants into the labor market has been of central theoretical and empirical interest, and in many cases uses labor market segregation theories as its point of departure, it has not been studied as part of the more general interest in labor market processes but rather as part of the immigrants' incorporation process. This study, however, integrates insights from both fields, that of immigrant labor market incorporation (for a review of the literature see Light and Gold 2000) and that of labor market segregation and inequality (for review of the literature see Kaufman 2002; Reskin and Padavic 1999) in order to better understand the trajectories of second generation immigrants in the Metropolitan New York Labor Market. By integrating both bodies of research and incorporating insights from economic sociology, which places more emphasis on institutions and culture, this research aims to improve our understanding of both labor market segregation as well as the process of immigrants' labor market incorporation.

I. Labor Market Segregation and Inequality

The major systematic attempts to understand the processes by which groups and individuals are being differently distributed across the labor market in contemporary social research began in the 60's. The dominant perspectives on this issue were the "human capital" and the "status attainment" theories. These accounts focused on individuals and their personal characteristics as determining socioeconomic attainment and mobility. According to these approaches, the differences in labor market position, and therefore socioeconomic attainment, can be explained by differences in the

individual's investment in "human capital" (mainly skills and education). However, the models that placed individuals and their characteristics at the center of analysis couldn't explain the income gap that sometimes accrued between people with similar "human capital" and the ongoing labor market inequality between different gender and ethnic groups. During the past few decades, several varieties of "structural" approaches that criticize the "human capital" and "status attainment" paradigms have flourished within sociology, rethinking and re-evaluating seminal works, such as those written by Blau and Duncan (1967), Becker (1964) and Mincer (1974).

The "structural" accounts emphasize the important effect of industrial, economic, occupational and geographic sectors and their characteristics on labor market distribution as well as earnings inequality among groups and individuals. According to this perspective, the differential location of groups in relation to economic positions in the labor market (i.e., their chances of entering the better-rewarded parts of the economy) is a crucial factor that produces and maintains segregation and inequality. Furthermore, this line of argument claims that the labor market cannot be treated as monolithic and homogeneous. The returns on "human capital" as well as the treatment of different gender, ethnic and racial groups vary between the structural sectors. That is to say that social and institutional constrains on the entry of minority groups and women to specific economic positions operate independently of individual characteristics and affect the attainment and mobility process (Kalleberg and Berg 1987; Kalleberg and Sorensen 1979).

The dual labor market theory, developed by Piore in the early seventies, for example, suggests that the national economy is composed of a primary and secondary, or

core and peripheral sectors, which have different characteristics. The economic power and the stability of profit that the employers in the core of the economy have allows them to offer their employees better working conditions, employment stability, better promotion chances and higher pay and status. Conversely, the secondary sector is characterized by lower paying jobs, worse working conditions, limited opportunities and stability and lower status (Averitt 1968; Doeringer and Piore 1971).

A different approach suggests that the labor market is segmented along occupational lines. Different social power and mechanisms of socioeconomic returns characterize each occupational structure. The research accumulated so far suggests that there are three occupational characteristics that may affect income – these are occupational status, skills and the characteristics of the social organizations of the occupation in the labor market (Kalleberg and Sorensen 1979; Stolzenberg 1975). These approaches point to the exclusionary nature of segmentation, which causes different gender/racial/ethnic groups to have varying chances of entering into the different segments. Furthermore, the ability to move between the different sectors is impeded because each segment has its own institutional practices that are attached to specific social networks (Waldinger and Lichter, 2003).

The ecological perspective suggests that socioeconomic position and achievement are also determined by the local opportunity structure that different groups face (Lewin-Epstein 1986; Logan 1978; Parcel and Mueller 1983). Spatial segregation is therefore considered a central dimension of ethnic inequalities. The effect of segregation on ethnic inequality is twofold. First, residential segregation is typically coupled with differential social and economic resources. Subordinate ethnic populations are likely to reside in

places characterized by limited job opportunities associated with less rewarding occupations and industries. Part of the economic disadvantage of subordinate ethnic groups, therefore, is a result of their residential patterns and the limited opportunities they face. Second, in addition to the unequal distribution of opportunities, the social mechanisms governing socioeconomic attainment vary across places. Along these lines, Massey (1997) argues that racial segregation – and its characteristic institutional form, the ghetto – are the key structural factors responsible for the perpetuation of black poverty in the United States.

Although these theories stressed the important effect of structural characteristics of the labor market over and above personal attributes, they still focused on individual attainment and mobility outcomes. This critique led to the development of an alternative approach for analyzing segregation and inequality that focuses on macro-level process, such as global economic changes, and demographic trends of migration and immigration and their effect on individuals and groups in labor markets. Kasarda (1990), for example, argues that the global restructuring of the world economy and the chancing economy of world cities has powerful consequences on groups' positions in labor markets and on social mobility and inequality. He documents a dramatic shift in manufacturing jobs from the U.S. and Western Europe to the Third World, and as a result the disappearance of jobs requiring less than a high school diploma from many American and European cities. These cities, Kasarda (1990) argues, are becoming hubs in a network of governmental, industrial, commercial and cultural organizations. This transformation requires changes in the urban work force that are not met, according to Kasarda's argument. Proponents of

this "skills mismatch" theory suggest that such economic processes have considerable consequences on mobility opportunities, especially for minorities and subordinate groups.

Wilson (1996) draws heavily on Kasarda's analysis, arguing that economic restructuring is a key factor in understanding the new urban poverty, especially among African Americans, as it explains the escalating rates of joblessness and problems of social isolation in inner-city ghetto neighborhoods. Waldinger (1996) disagrees with the skills mismatch hypothesis mainly because it rests on a series of widely accepted "facts" that are not always accurate and thus cannot account for the immigration phenomenon. As for African Americans, Waldinger (1996) argues that the decline in manufacturing jobs should not have had such a disastrous effect on their economic opportunities, because they were always underrepresented in the factory sector. Furthermore, he points to the fact that at the same time African Americans were losing their jobs, many immigrants were able to find them.

For the past few decades, Waldinger (1996) explains, most big cities have undergone vast economic transformation of deindustrialization and thus gradual decline in the demand for labor-intensive industrial workers and a polarization between a demand for highly professional labor and for low-skilled service workers. At the same time the newcomers to urban centers are arriving in numbers that supersede those of the great migration of the turn of the century. This stream of people coming to big cities is composed mainly of nonwhites and immigrants. In order to answer the question of how do these polarized metropolitan labor markets operate to incorporate the growing urban labor force -- which is composed mainly of immigrants and minorities -- an explanation for how jobs are allocated among racial and ethnic groups that provides a single

consistent account for African Americans and immigrants, has to be found. Waldinger (1996) describes these new urban realities and the story of ethnics in American cities as a collective search for mobility within an ever-changing labor queue.

Waldinger's explanation rests on the queuing theory developed by Thurow (1968). This model assumes that in race-conscious societies, entire groups of people are ordered in terms of desirability for preferred jobs, while "human capital" serves as additional weight. At each level of relevant skills, employers seek to hire workers from the most desirable group (usually the core cultural group); if those are not available, employers will hire the next group down the queue. In the U.S. as in other countries, employers rank entire groups of people in light of their ethnic and racial characteristics, where members of the core cultural group stand at the top of the queue. The queues are not stable since they are embedded in the social structure and change over time. Queues change as economic growth pulls the groups at the top of the queue up the totem pole, pulling lower ranking groups up the pecking order. As groups move up, they vacate the bottom that can be filled by outsiders or newcomers – namely minorities and immigrants. The structure of the queue stays the same as long as the groups at the bottom are content with their jobs. As the economic orientation of the newcomers' changes, they start to compete for jobs with groups that rank higher in the queue. Thus, according to this approach, processes of race-sex stereotyping and queuing segregate workers as the ethnic division of labor shapes the fates of immigrant and minority groups in urban labor markets. (Model 1993; Reskin and Roos 1990; Waldinger 1996).

Waldinger (1996) argues that the ethnic queue model is better than the mismatch and polarizing hypotheses. It provides ways to identify the sources of opportunities and

links the process of serial migrant and labor movement to a cycle of complementary and competitive relations between 'old-timers' and 'newcomers,' thus placing the changing ethnic division of labor in historical context.

Although the various 'structural' and 'macro-level' theories move us beyond status attainment approaches, they have been criticized for concentrating on faceless, impersonal structures and processes that act upon and affect anonymous and static groups of people. Inadequately theorized, these structures and processes are taken for granted, abstract from any context, separate from the specific interests that formed them, and in most cases abscond from any conflict or politics. In light of the criticisms on both the 'atomistic' and the 'structural' schools, some new theoretical perspectives have been developed. These approaches break the 'individual-structure' dichotomy -- emphasizing the importance of meso-level factors. Baron and Bielby (1980), for example, argue that scholars of labor market segregation and inequality have to 'bring the firm back in,' because organizations link the micro and the macro dimensions, segregation and inequality. And indeed, since the mid 80's, several scholars developed theories that stress the importance of the organizational structure and processes in constraining or facilitating segregation. For example, competition (Kaufman 1986; Reskin 1993; Wallace and Change 1990) and formalization (Reskin and McBrier 2000; Tomaskovic-Devey and Skaggs 1999) are considered to decrease segregation, while other aspects of bureaucratization such as differentiation may create more opportunities for segregation.

Kanter's (1977) study is one of the earliest to analyze how organizational arrangements restrict women's access to authority and responsibility (Baron and Bielby 1985). Kanter doesn't see the source of inequality as imported form the outside society.

Rather it is the organizational structure that hinders women's equal access. She identified the four organizational factors that account for this process to be: the structure of power, the structure of opportunity, numbers and the homosocial reproduction of managers. Kanter argues that numbers make a difference to the evaluation of a worker, and since women are still underrepresented in prestigious and managerial jobs, it affects their opportunities for advancement. This is because the minority status puts a lot of pressure on the 'token' to represent the entire group well. Furthermore, Kanter argues that workers' networks can provide a source of power in organizations. However, the use of such peer and hierarchical networks is more limited for women, who are in powerless positions and thus have peers in powerless positions, and have supervisors/managers with low beliefs in their ability to manage. Third, she argues that people in jobs with limited opportunities tend to develop low aspirations and to be disengaged from the work. Opportunity (or the perception of it) shapes the behavior of people, whether they are men or women. Indeed she finds that more women than men (in the organization she studied) perceived their jobs as offering low opportunity. Lastly, she contends that since managers tend to hire people whom they perceive to be similar to them, and thus trustworthy, they are likely to hire men -- this is what she calls the homosocial reproduction of managers.

Tomaskovic-Devey (1993) argues that two processes -- social closure and status composition -- explain race and gender segregation and inequality in organizations. 'social closure' refers to a process by which superordinate groups preserve their advantage by tying access to jobs or other scarce goods to group characteristics, while 'status composition' refers to a process by which jobs take on a gendered or racial character that is independent of their incumbents and that influences how the jobs are

concretely organized – their level of complexity, autonomy and earnings. These two processes interact to produce gender and racial segregation and inequality in organizations. Social closure processes tend to sort women and minorities into low quality jobs. When a job becomes socially associated with women or a racial group, status composition processes may further disadvantage that job relative to other positions with similar skill requirements and power resources.

The statistical discrimination argument elaborates on queuing theory at the organizational level to say that employers use race and sex as proxies for productivity, and that they use them rather than personal qualifications as a basis for hiring decisions. The assumption is that employers, as rational actors, are aiming at maximum returns for their investment in workers, may it be in terms of wage or training. In order to make rational employment decisions, employers use their assumptions about the level of productivity of people of different genders or ethnic and racial backgrounds to make hiring and promotion decisions. Women, for example, are regarded to have less productivity -- not necessarily because they are not as able as men, but because they have other (home related) duties that might impede their productivity, increase turnover and elevate training costs. Hence, women are more likely to be hired for jobs that require less training and offer less stability and lower pay. This argument has been empirically supported by most of the research in the field. Recent elaborations have extended the statistical discrimination argument, asserting that ranking of job applicants also relies on the match between an applicant's race and/or sex and stereotypes of the job's race-sex appropriateness (Bielby and Baron 1985; Braddock and McPartland 1987; Moss and Tilly 1996; Reskin and Padavic 1999; Tomaskovic-Devey and Skaggs 1999).

Another central concept that has been widely used in the literature to analyze variations in access to economic opportunities, and thus to explain segregation and inequality, is that of social networks (Granovetter 1995; Lin 1999; Portes 1988; Powell and Smith-Doerr 1994). The main argument proposed by these explanations is that those who have more social capital – which, according to Coleman (1988), represents the resources for social attainment that individuals acquire through social networks of mutual acquaintances, obligation and information channeling -- are more likely to have better economic opportunities and labor market outcomes. Nevertheless, scholars have formulated different arguments regarding the relationship between characteristics of social networks and economic outcomes. Coleman (1988) emphasized the dense network as a source of social capital that can provide opportunities for economic mobility. Granovetter (1983) coined the term 'strength of weak ties' in order to describe the power of social ties outside the immediate close knit network of family and close friends, to provide information about employment opportunities. Burt (1992) contends that it is the relative absence of ties, what he calls 'structural holes,' that are the source of social capital that facilitates mobility.

Additional lines of inquiry regarding gender and racial segregation and inequality in organizations and labor markets adopt feminist, social constructivist and cultural approaches. These approaches posit that gender and racial identities are 'done' in our everyday life rather than given a-priori. These insights are used to understand how 'doing gender' affects inequality at work. Leidner (1991) studies the fast-food and insurance industries to argue that in spite of the fact that jobs in these industries were done and historically attributed to opposite genders, and in spite of the fact that most of the job is

strictly dictated by the employers, workers nevertheless 'do gender' in their jobs and interpret them as suited to their gender. She relates this to people's need to make sense of their work, to reconcile their jobs with their identity. Thus, when men are giving service-- the work is described in terms of being assertive and controlling the situation, while women's work is described as serving others' needs and being submissive. Acker (1990) develops the concept of 'gendered organizations' to argue that gender attitudes are not imported into the organization from the outside world, nor are they the enactment of gender roles. Gendered patterns, she posits, are embedded in the modern organizational structure. Hierarchy, for example, carries normative values by assuming congruence between responsibility, job complexity and hierarchical position. Thus, lower level positions – which are largely filled by women – are perceived to have lower levels of complexity and responsibility. Furthermore, skills that are valued in organizations are skills that are culturally attributed to men (calculative skills and assertiveness), while skills that are culturally attributed to women are those that are less valued. The same logic can be carried over to understand racial segregation and inequality.

The interest in labor market segregation and inequality produced a wealth of theoretical and empirical research (for review of the literature see Reskin and Padavic 1999). However, several recent studies highlight the fact that although many studies found positive correlations between segregation and wage inequality (Baunach 2002; England 1992; Huffman and Velasco 1997; Petersen and Morgan 1995; Tomaskovic-Devey 1993b; Tomaskovic-Devey, Kalleberg, and Marsden 1996; Wells 1999), our knowledge about the processes generating segregation and inequality is still limited, due to several reasons. Kaufman (2003) argues that while many studies describe levels or

trends of segregation and income inequality (England 1992; Huffman and Velasco 1997; Ried 1998; Tomaskovic-Devey 1993), only a few explain the uneven representation of race-sex groups across local labor markets. Furthermore, he contends that it is hard to generalize from the existing analysis because they rely on restricted samples or case studies, and/or use a limited set of explanatory factors. In the same vane, Cohen and Huffman (2003) argue that in order to better understand gender wage inequality, we need to account for the role of individual, job and local labor market factors, and the interaction between them. Furthermore, they contend that there is a need for more studies at the metropolitan labor market level, since segregation processes are embedded in local institutional, political and cultural contexts. Similarly, McCall (2001) argues: "research on racial inequality has become increasingly specialized, often focusing on a single explanation and subgroup of the population" (p.520). However, given the growing diversity in American society, there is a need for a broader comparative perspective for understanding the various causes of inequality among the different racial, ethnic and gender groups.

II. Immigrants' Labor Market Incorporation

Most of the research on immigrant labor market incorporation assumes that the various forms of ethnic concentration are a strategy that immigrants adopt in order to cope with lack of resources, with language and skill deficiency and with discrimination (Lieberson 1980; Model 1993,1997; Portes and Manning 1986; Waldinger 1996). Model (1993) argues that there are several forces responsible for the emergence of ethnic concentrations in the labor market. In some cases immigrant groups become associated

with particular occupations or industries because many of their members arrive with previous experiences in fields for which there is a demand in the host country. In other cases a group embarks upon a new economic activity because of a lack of more attractive options. And sometimes a niche develops because of changes in legislation and hiring policy, like the African American niche in public sector jobs. Once such an association between ethnicity and employment is initiated, different mechanisms operate to sustain it. The simplest sustaining mechanism is the emergence of a widespread belief that members of a particular group are well suited for their niche and poorly suited for alternatives. The other process sustaining ethnic concentrations is employers' preferences for new employees that are recommended by existing ones. Such network hiring entails low recruiting costs, faster training and better control of workers' performance (Kasinitz and Rosenberg 1996, Waldinger and Lichter 2003).

Many studies of immigrants' economic incorporation identify social networks as a key factor in the creation of economic opportunities. These studies consistently highlight the role of community and ethnic networks as a resource for start-up capital, information about business opportunities, access to markets, committed labor force, information about job openings and job training (Bailey and Waldinger 1991; Light 1994; Light and Bonacich 1988; Nee et al. 1994; Perez 1992; Portes 1987,1995; Portes and Stepick 1993; Stepick 1989; Waldinger 1996; Waters 1994; Zhou 1992). Waldinger (1996), for example, argues that since immigrants enter the economy through kin and friendship connections, social networks funnel the newcomers into specific places in the labor market. Eventually, this mechanism leads to the establishment of ethnic concentration or ethnic niches. These characteristics of the labor market create constant competition

between groups in the labor market and attempt to create protective economic shelters. The continuing flow of migration that provides a source of low-level labor, which is characteristic of many American cities, made ethnicity the central and enduring mechanism that sorts groups into distinct sets of jobs.

Portes and Manning (1996) argue that it is the size and characteristics of the immigrant group that will determine their mode of labor market incorporation. These include patterns of spatial concentration, original class composition and occupational status distribution, mobility opportunities, institutional diversification, participation in ethnic organizations, resilience of ethnic culture, knowledge of host country language, knowledge of local economic institutions, and the general reaction to and attitudes toward the host community. Depending on these characteristics, immigrants can incorporate in one of four possible modes: They can join the primary labor market; they can become a middleman minority; they can enter the low wage, secondary sectors of the labor market; or they can create or be part of a previously existing ethnic enclave economy.

Furthermore, Nee and Sanders (2001) focus on the immigrant family, arguing that "the mode of incorporation is largely a function of the social, financial and human-cultural capital of immigrant families and how these resources are used by individuals within and apart from the existing structure of ethnic networks and institutions" (p.388). Since immigrants arrive with varying amounts of different forms of capital, the particular mix of different capitals will significantly shape the immigrants' involvement with ethnic network and economic institutions. This will, consequently, affect the likelihood of the immigrants' mode of incorporation. Their formulation of the possible outcome is slightly different than the scheme used by Portes and Manning and includes entrepreneurship,

professionals-managers-technical jobs, public sector employment, and semi-or-low skilled factory work or low paid service jobs.

There are three different concepts in the literature that describe immigrants' ethnic concentration in the labor market. They are the ethnic niche, ethnic enclave and the ethnic economy. The ethnic niche is a concept that denotes ethnic concentration in the labor market that results in the overrepresentation of ethnic and racial minorities in particular occupations or industries. Lieberson (1980) notes that members of ethnic groups have often congregated in similar jobs through control of labor unions, information about openings or other privileged participation in labor recruitment. He calls these concentrations 'special niches.' Model (1993) and Waldinger (1996) use a slightly different term -- that of the ethnic niche -- to describe one of the major processes/mechanisms by which immigrants are incorporated into the labor market.[5] Groups, according to this argument, are funneled into special places in the Labor Market and than maintain those specializations over time, with varying rates of persistence. The creation of an immigrant niche, Waldinger (1996) argues, is a two-stage process. First comes a phase of specialization in which placements are affected by skill, linguistic factors or predispositions. After the initial placement, occupational closure quickly sets in, where networks of information and support are bounded by ethnic ties. When newcomers arrive, they settle down under the auspices of friends, kin and "friends of friends". When looking for work they are likely to find that personal contacts prove the most efficient way of getting a job, thus they pile up in those fields where the first settlers established an early beachhead. This also matches the preferences of employers who try to reproduce

[5] They define the ethnic niche as an industry where groups are represented at rates at least 1.5 times their size in the labor force (Waldinger 1996,p.95).

the characteristics of the workers they already have. Recruiting among relatives and friends is also an efficient and the cheapest way of finding help. Because of these processes, hiring opportunities can become over time detached from the open market, being rationed instead to insiders' referrals.

Once the niche is in place, its potential for persistence, expansion or extinction depends on its characteristics on one hand and on the structure of opportunities in the labor market on the other. If a niche is characterized by rewarding employment or mechanisms for expanding a group's economic base, it is likely to persist. Whatever the employment conditions are, maintaining the niche is almost costless, but moving beyond the niche imposes considerable costs. On the other hand, the match between the group and its niche sometimes changes. For instance, even if the immigrants themselves were willing to start at the bottom of the ladder, their children want a good deal more. Thus, members of the second generation may move on to different jobs. But even that change takes a collective form, according to Waldinger's argument (Waldinger 1996, p. 23). The continuing importance of ethnic networks shapes a group's employment distribution into the second and later generation's search for advancement. Starting from an immigrant niche, the second generation is already embedded in a cluster of interlocking organizations, networks and activities. The process of niche formation compensates outsiders for background deficit and discrimination they encounter. The networks that span ethnic communities constitute a source of "social capital", providing social structures that simplify the search for jobs, the acquisition of skills and other resources needed to move up the social ladder.

The niche formation is described in this account as an unintended result of people that are just partly aware. But once the niche is formed a different dynamic occurs. The more intense and frequent interactions between the members make them feel that they belong to a group, and so it helps them define who they are. As a result, they pay greater attention to the boundaries of the niche and the characteristics of those who may or may not cross the boundaries, sharpening the distinction between the insiders and the outsiders and making it difficult for outsiders to get in the door. These processes can sometimes cause ethnic conflict because of job competition. Therefore, there is more to job competition than the human or social capital of members of different groups -- it involves the groups' capacities to mobilize resources in the political realm and to change policies and recruitment practices, opening up previously closed ethnic niches or, in other cases, keeping them closed.

The ethnic enclave is a concept developed by Portes and his colleagues to describe a vibrant, spatially concentrated, ethnically owned business sector that has several distinct characteristics (Portes and Bach 1985; Portes and Manning 1986; Portes and Zhou 1992). First, ethnic enclaves rely on a sizeable ethnic entrepreneurial class. The presence of co-ethnic entrepreneurship in an ethnic community serves to shield the community from unemployment and social disorganization. Second, economic activities in the enclave are not exclusively commercial and include productive activities directed toward the general consumer market. Third, the clustering of ethnic businesses maintains a high level of diversity including economic activities that are in direct competition with businesses in the professional, service and production sectors in the general economy. Fourth, co-ethnicity epitomizes the relationships between owners and workers and to a

lesser degree those between patrons and clients. Fifth, the ethnic enclave is physically concentrated within an ethnically identifiable neighborhood. And lastly, ethnic enclaves are governed by bounded solidarity and enforceable trust. Furthermore, the relationships between co-ethnic owners and workers, as well as customers, generally transcend a contractual monetary bond and are based on a commonly accepted norm of reciprocity. These are mechanisms of support and control necessary for economic life in the community and for reinforcement of norms and values and sanctioning of socially disapproved behavior.

Portes contrasts the ethnic enclave with the primary (predominantly white) and the secondary (disproportionately non-white) sectors of the economy. Wilson and Portes (1980) argue that the ethnic enclave is an alternative for some immigrant minorities who cannot get jobs in the primary sector of the economy but want to avoid the "low prestige, low income, job dissatisfaction, and the absence of return to past human capital investments" (Wilson and Portes 1980, p.301) that characterize the secondary sector. The enclave economy, they argue, can provide economic returns to these groups that are compatible with the primary sector of the mainstream economy. Following their study of Cuban immigrants in Miami several other case studies were conducted. These case studies include the Chinese enclave in New York, San Francisco, Los Angeles; and the Korean enclaves in New York and Los Angeles (Model 1992; Sanders and Nee 1987; Zhou and Logan 1989). These successful enclaves are based on large and spatially concentrated communities and a visible small business component that are constantly replenished by new immigrants with no English skills.

Logan, Alba and McNulty (1994) argue that the ethnic enclave concept presumes "that minority entrepreneurs create job opportunities for fellow group members – jobs that may not require English language facility, in which workers are protected from discrimination based on their race/ethnicity, and in which it is possible to learn the skills and develop the networks that would facilitate an eventual move into self-employment" (p. 693). They contend however, that the literature is clearer about what outcomes are hypothesized for enclave participants than about the definition and operationalization of the enclave, and that indeed the boundary between enclave and non-enclave sectors in the metropolitan economy "remains ambiguous and under-specified conceptually" (Nee, Sanders and Sernau 1992, p.3).

The ethnic economy is a broad concept, which encompasses all economic activities in which ethnicity plays a role, and thus includes any immigrant or ethnic group's self-employed, employers and co-ethnic employees (Light and Gold 2000a). Light et. al. (1994) argue that co-ethnicity of employers and workers was sufficient in itself to define what Bonacich and Modell (1980) first called an ethnic economy -- "the ethnic economy was ethnic simply because owners and employees were co-ethnic" (Light et. al. 1994, p.694). Logan, Alba and McNulty (1994) define the ethnic economy as being bounded by race, ethnicity or national origin, thus it is every situation where "common ethnicity provides an economic advantage" (p.693). According to Light and Gold's (2000) new formulation, the ethnic economy has two central components. The ethnic-owned component refers to an ethnic group's maintenance of a controlling ownership stake as well as its co-ethnic labor force, including unpaid family labor. The other component is the ethnic-controlled component, whereby co-ethnic employment networks arise to

channel co-ethnics into non-co-ethnic firms in the private sector as well as in the public sector. The ethnic economy is a designation for every enterprise that is owned, supervised or staffed by a racial/ethnic minority group. Thus, it takes into consideration not simply job creation by ethnic entrepreneurs but also access to existing jobs in the general economy by an ethnic network's members. This formulation allows for two types of analyses. One is to account for variations in mobility outcomes among ethnic group members who create employment opportunities for themselves and their co-ethnic workers, and the other is to account for variations in the level of economic integration of group members who enter the general economy via co-ethnic employment networks. (For examples of empirical studies see: Gold and Light 2000b; Light and Rosenstein 1995; Light, Sabagh, Bozorgmehr, and Der-Martirosian 1994).

In light of these theoretical formulations, most studies of immigrants' concentrations in the labor market use one of two research strategies. Some analyze Census data to obtain quantitative measures of self-employment and ethnic overrepresentation as proxies for ethnic economies (for example Logan and Alba 1999; Logan, Alba and McNulty 1994; Light and Gold 2000b; Model 1997; Wilson 1999). Others conduct qualitative studies of specific groups, communities or work sites (for example Bailey and Waldinger 1991; Kwong 1997; Portes and Bach 1985; Portes and Manning 1986; Waldinger 1996; Waters 1999; Zhou 1992). Most of these studies are interested in assessing the effects of the different forms of concentration on economic achievement and mobility.

Portes and his colleagues studied the Cuban enclave in Miami to argue that the ethnic enclave is economically beneficial to the self-employed ethnics and rewards co-

ethnic employees in a manner analogous to the 'mainstream economy' (Portes and Bach 1980, 1985, Portes and Manning 1986). This is because horizontal and vertical linkages that translate into higher wages characterize enclave firms and because norms of reciprocity require enclave employers to reward co-ethnic workers with opportunities for advancement. Bailey and Waldinger (1991) argue that workers receive higher rewards in ethnic economy firms than in secondary sector firms because of training advantages. Illustrating with data from the garment industry, they assert that network hiring enhances skill since social ties reinforce interpersonal obligations that in turn improve the quality of training and thus the productivity of workers. In later work Waldinger (1996) argues that the ethnic niche may provide a protected environment in which ethnics of a specific group may have privileged access and an arena where they are treated more favorably than in jobs with lower ethnic density.

However, Sanders and Nee (1987) contend that the enclave-economy hypothesis formulated by Portes and colleagues contradicts the classical assimilation view that segregation retards the economic mobility of minorities. By analyzing earnings among Cuban and Chinese immigrants, they argue that while it is true that ethnic entrepreneurs benefit from the ethnic enclave, they also minimize workers' exposure to union organization, thus lowering rather than raising wages. Kwong (1997), who studied the ethnic enclave in New York's Chinatown, argues that the labor conditions in the enclave are very poor and would never be tolerated in the mainstream labor market. They often include not only low wages but also victimization of workers by organized crime and the use of smuggled debt peonage.

Min Zhou (1992), in her study of the Chinese enclave in New York's Chinatown, highlights the complexity of the ethnic economy by illustrating how informal reciprocity bonds function to promote survival of firms by providing a cheaper and more committed labor force and the interest of workers through more flexible work conditions. Immigrant Chinese women with little English and few job skills often find working in Chinatown a better option despite low wages because the enclave enables them to fulfill their multiple roles more effectively as wage earners, wives and mothers. In Chinatown, jobs are easier to find, working hours are more flexible, employers are more tolerant of children's presence, and private child-care within close walking distance from work is more accessible and affordable. She argues that although when seen from the outside labor practices in Chinatown seem exploitative, in reality many of these arrangements are entered for mutual benefit.

Logan, Alba and McNulty (1994) want to clarify and provide a working definition of the enclave. The three defining factors they suggest are co-ethnicity of owners and workers, spatial concentration and sectoral specialization. There is a fourth factor that is often mentioned in the literature, but on which there is very little data -- functional linkages among firms in the enclave is not part of the study. The four dimensions distinguish the enclave economy from the other modes of economic incorporation -- ethnic assimilation, ethnic neighborhoods, middlemen minorities and secondary labor market. Based on the three factors, Logan, Alba and McNulty (1994) identify the ethnic enclaves that different groups around the country form, and compare them with non-Hispanic native whites and African Americans' enclaves. Based on the 1980 Census data and the operational definitions, the authors find that there is a Cuban enclave in Miami,

Los Angeles and Jersey City, a Mexican enclave in Houston and Los Angeles, a Chinese enclave in New York, Los Angeles and San Francisco, a Korean enclave in Lost Angeles, and a Japanese enclave in Los Angeles, San Francisco, San Jose, Anaheim and Honolulu. Some of these have been previously identified in the literature while others are less well known and merit more attention. Most of the ethnic economies do not compare favorably with the economic position of non-Hispanic native whites that tend to own businesses or be employed in the primary professional and service sectors, while the other groups tend to work in secondary sectors. In other places like Philadelphia, Detroit, Washington, San Diego, San Antonio, Chicago, Newark and El Paso, they found ethnic economies -- that is overrepresentation of owners and employees of the same ethnicity in the same industry, but none of the other dimensions of enclaves. Moreover, Filipinos and Asian Indians formed niches in hospitals and health services, while other groups formed niches in eating and drinking places in several metropolitan areas. Still, for most of the groups in most metropolitan areas, the sectors of overrepresentation are few and mainly found in the less privileged parts of the economy. In general they find that minority business concentrations are found mainly in sectors characterized by low wage, low capitalization, low levels of unionization and a high proportion of female employees.

Logan, Alba and McNulty (1994) argue that comparison with native whites is not necessarily the best option and that the groups and their different concentrations should be compared to each other. Furthermore, they argue that despite the emphasis in some writing on the weakness of black enterprise in contrast to the entrepreneurial spirit of new immigrants, there may be more similarities between the experiences of African Americans and minority immigrant groups than the literature accounts for. Furthermore,

they contend that the most direct measure of the enclave concepts has to be based on the race/ethnicity or national origin of employers and employees, at the firm level. But since these data are rarely available, most recent research relies on census data that provides only indirect measures of co-ethnicity of workers and employees. They encourage researchers to collect firm level data before making any strong arguments about enclave economies.

Light and Gold (2000) in their extensive work on ethnic economies and review of the literature argue that in general ethnic economies benefit employers but reduce the economic welfare of employees. Ethnic economies pay lower wages than the general labor market, but they create jobs and thus 'put money in the hands of people who would otherwise have none' (p.77). Furthermore, they argue that the fact that ethnic economies persist over generations points to their positive effects.

The inconclusive nature of current research regarding the role of race and ethnicity in shaping the experiences of immigrants in the labor market is due to several reasons. First, although the qualitative case studies provide detailed descriptions of individuals' and groups' experiences, they do not always provide basis for generalization or comparison. The quantitative studies, however, provide a wealth of descriptive information about patterns and trends, but they are based on high levels of aggregation and abstraction and are detached from the actual experiences of individuals and groups in local labor markets. Second, many of the studies adopt a simplistic view of the labor market that does not account for the multiplicity and complexity of processes that produce segregation and inequality. A related problem is the tendency of many studies to focus on economic outcomes rather than on the social processes underlying them. Fourth,

although some scholars stress the importance of using firm level data, most of the quantitative research is based on measures of self-employment or ethnic overrepresentation in a particular industry or sector assuming that these represent co-ethnic work settings. Fifth, many studies are based on a logical but untested assumption that the existence and utilization of immigrant/ethnic social networks are the main explanatory mechanism for immigrant labor market concentrations. Moreover, the notion that immigrants and their children behave differently in the labor market compared to their native born counterparts is problematic and renders further scrutiny. Generally, the literature on immigrant labor market incorporation tends to adopt a dichotomous vision of labor markets, groups and outcomes, assuming a clear distinction between ethnic and non-ethnic economies, between immigrant and non-immigrant practices and between positive and negative consequences.

III. The Second Generation in the Labor Market

In the past decade, some scholars have raised concerns regarding the socioeconomic future of the second generation. They point out that many are racial minorities entering a predominantly white society; that some are concentrated in poor urban neighborhoods with troubled school systems; and that discriminatory attitudes and shifts in the structure of the economy may limit their opportunities for economic mobility (Gans 1992; Portes and Rumbaut 2001; Portes and Zhou 1992,1993; Waters 1999).

These arguments about the progress of contemporary immigrants and their children can draw on rather different interpretations of the past. When assimilation and upward mobility were thought to be the inevitable outcome for European immigrants and

their descendents, the model could be generalized to all other immigrant groups. But although contemporary accounts seem to suggest that the children of European immigrants at the turn of the century experienced substantial intergenerational socioeconomic mobility, and blurring of social distinctions and ethnic identifications, they also argue that the socioeconomic progress of immigrant communities has been neither immediate nor universal. As doubts arose about the assimilation model as an accurate account of the historical immigrant experience, the present and possible future scenarios were reinterpreted (Gans 1992; Glazer and Moynihan 1970). Furthermore, the facts that today's immigrants come from a different and more diverse background and that they face very different economic conditions leads immigration scholars to ask what lessons should and could be drawn from past immigration waves and the theories that explained them regarding the socioeconomic future of the post-1965 immigrants and their children.

Gans (1992), in his article 'Second generation decline: scenarios for the economic and ethnic futures of the post-1965 American Immigrants,' questions the 'straight line' assimilation and acculturation theory developed by Warner and Strole (1954), which assumes a nearly automatic immigrant success. He argues that these theories were first developed in connection with the European migration of the turn of the century, at a time when the American economy was based mainly on production of goods and constantly growing. The fact that today's economy is service based and does not require large amounts of physical labor, and the fact that most of the recent immigrants are not white, are reasons, Gans argues, to be skeptical about the myth of assured immigrant success and mobility.

While straight-line assimilation theory has a hold in some empirical studies, it has been under considerable attack for several reasons. It ignores the effect of economic conditions in shaping assimilation patterns of immigrants and their children. It does not account for the role of agency and choice, and thus overstresses the importance of social structures. And perhaps most importantly, it ignores the possibility of ethnic membership without ethnic behavior, identity or participation. Given these shortcomings of the straight-line assimilation theory and the fact that there is relatively little information about the new second generation, Gans (1992) constructs six 'scenarios' for the economic future of the second generation, three of which are optimistic and three pessimistic. These scenarios focus on the role of educational attainment, ethnic succession and niche persistence in shaping opportunities for economic mobility of the second generation.

Popular conceptions often assume that the children of European immigrants at the turn of the century used education to achieve economic mobility, ignoring the fact that this was in fact true for only a minority of the second generation, while for most education probably did not make a major difference until the third or forth generation (Greeley 1974; Steinberg 1989). It could be, though, that some children of post-1965 immigrants will use educational attainment as a way to achieve economic mobility, as is being said about today's second generation Asian-Americans – the 'model minority' that is striving to achieve the American dream through high educational attainment. In the longer run, education may become a central means of economic mobility as global corporations grow bigger and the division of labor more specialized. In this case, specialized education might become more important than family background and social capital for trans-generational economic mobility. The downside of this scenario is the

possibility that some of today's second generation will not be able to achieve high educational attainment and thus will not have many opportunities in the highly specialized part of the labor market.

Furthermore, during the earlier waves of immigration, it was common for the second generation to move into relatively secure, though low status, jobs that native whites have abandoned due to better opportunities. Most of these jobs, which were plentiful mainly in the manufacturing sector, started disappearing in the past few decades due to economic restructuring and technological advancement. According to the optimistic scenario, economic growth will provide better jobs for native groups to move to, thus creating vacancies for the second generation at the bottom of the labor queue. In this case, ethnic succession will be a means to mobility, although not in the same industries as those at the turn of the century. However, if the economy stalls, the second generation is likely to face difficulties in finding jobs that provide opportunities for economic mobility.

Another scenario that might advance the economic mobility of the second generation, according to Gans (1992), is if they stay and improve their parents' economic niches. Many children of European immigrants from the early 20th century took this route by staying in and taking over parental stores and businesses or entering the same occupations through the use of ethnic networks (for example police officers, firefighters). The question is whether these paths will provide opportunities for the second generation's economic mobility given the long working hours in private businesses and the decreased availability of jobs due to regulations on hiring practices. The pessimistic scenario suggests that if there is not enough economic growth, profits will drop, making small

businesses even less attractive for the second generation, while at the same time jobs will become scarcer, thus increasing competition and reducing niche proclivity. This is due to the fact that employers might prefer hiring new immigrants rather than the second generation in order to keep wages down. At the same time, even if those jobs are available to the second generation, they might not want to take the low paying, low status immigrant jobs that their parents had.

Gans (1992) argues that the major factor allowing for the upward mobility of the children of immigrants from previous waves is the constant growth of the economy and the abundance of relatively well paying blue-collar jobs. His projection is that the economy will no longer grow at the rate it did in the past, and that low-skill jobs will become scarcer. Thus, he is pessimistic with regard to the opportunities of today's second generation to get jobs that will lead to economic mobility and thinks that for these reasons they will experience 'second generation decline.'

The second generation decline that he predicts is most likely to be the fate of children of illegal and undocumented immigrants as well as of those from poor non-white immigrant families. The results of this process, Gans (1992) argues, are high rates of unemployment among the second generation, as well as crime, alcoholism, drug abuse and poverty. Thus, second generation decline is likely to produce convergence between the current American poor and some second generation poor as they join the 'undeserving members of the so-called underclass.'

Portes and Zhou (1993), in their article "The new second generation: segmented assimilation and its variants," argue that the prospects of adaptation for the children of the post-1965 immigrants cannot be conquered from their parents' experiences or from

the experiences of the children of immigrants from the turn of the century. The authors present the concept of segmented assimilation in order to describe the different possible paths of the new second generation into today's American society. The segmented assimilation model is based on a typology of modes of incorporation, which accounts for the differences in contexts of reception and for the vulnerability and the resources that shape the second generation's outcomes.

Portes and Zhou (1993) identify three possible paths: The 'old fashioned' acculturation and parallel integration into the white middle class and thus upward mobility; an opposite path of assimilation into the underclass and thus into permanent poverty; and a third option of rapid economic advancement with deliberate preservation of the immigrant community's lifestyle. The authors argue that there are several factors that will determine the likelihood of each of these possible outcomes for the different groups. The factors that this model outlines are individual and family variables and contextual variables that include political relations between sending and receiving countries and whether those will or will not produce prejudice against the immigrant group; the structure of the economy into which immigrants enter in terms of size; and the preexistence of coethnic networks. In addition to those factors, there are other features that are likely to shape the paths of the second generation: color (race), location (competition with or being identified with local native minorities), and access to mobility ladders (economic restructuring, availability of particular types of jobs, the hourglass economy). Thus, depending on the characteristics of the different determining factors, different second generation groups will experience different outcomes.

Since the second generation is still young, their levels of adaptation are measured by educational attainment, academic orientation, aspiration and performance as proxies for future labor market trajectories that will shape their socioeconomic adaptation to American Society. Most of the current research on the second generation seems to show that class, race/ethnicity, social capital, intergenerational relations, language skills and ethnic identity affect the process of educational attainment of the second generation. Zhou (1999) argues that, as the segmented assimilation model shows, "growing up American can be a matter of smooth acceptance or of traumatic confrontation" (p.86). Since immigrants are being incorporated into different segments of American society, becoming American may not always be an advantage. When immigrants and their children enter middle class communities it may be advantages for them to assimilate. But when they enter at the near the bottom of the ethnic hierarchy, assimilation might prove to be a disadvantage, in this case immigrants and their children will benefit from retaining their immigrant identity and creating a close knit community as a way for upward mobility.

Waldinger (1996) argues that the second generation is already embedded in communities and networks of organizations and activities that shape their aspirations and create the networks of information. This social organization serves as a mechanism for channeling people into the labor market, and as with their parents, once a favorable niche is established informal recruitment patterns can quickly funnel new hires. As a result, Waldinger (1996) reports, some groups are more concentrated in the third and forth generations than their ancestors were as immigrants, although in less stereotypically 'immigrant jobs.' This argument is based on the assumption that language deficiencies

are only one factor in the formation of ethnic concentrations whereas ethnic networks are of even greater importance, and thus that the incorporation of the second generation into the labor market takes on a collective form.

Waldinger and Perlmann (1999) disagree with the pessimistic view of the current literature on the second generation's prospects for mobility. They argue that unlike the previous wave of immigrants that were concentrated at the bottom of the occupational ladder, and contrary to some accounts, the post-1965 immigrants come from a more diverse economic background. According to the 1990 census, a fifth of all immigrants had a college degree (a rate that is similar to the native population), and many come from a middle class background. They argue that Mexican immigrants, who account for 22 percent of all immigrants nationwide, skew the statistics downwards. If they are excluded them from the analysis, Waldinger and Perlmann contend that the post-1965 immigrants, on average, begin their journey in the United States in a position that is not worse off than other non-immigrant Americans.

With regard to race, Waldinger and Perlmann (1999) argue that as the population becomes more diverse, racial classifications become more complex, and the black middle class continues to grow, the black/white division will change into a black/non-black boundary that renders Asians and some Hispanics more opportunities. Better yet is the possibility that racial boundaries will become more permeable, improving opportunities for all minority groups. Unfortunately, it is possible that the crucial boundary between blacks and all others will remain salient leading some children of immigrants to assimilate into the disadvantaged segments of American society and experience downward mobility. Nevertheless, it is to early to deem all non-white second generation

immigrant groups at risk of downward mobility, as they themselves will have a role in changing America's complex racial and ethnic order.

As for the debate about the effect of the 'new economy' – characterized by many good jobs at the top, many bad jobs at the bottom and little in between – Waldinger and Perlmann (1999) argue that the second generation is at the same position as their native born counterparts. Many of the new second generation have educational attainment that is comparable to that of middle class Americans, and with their high proportions of college attendance, most of them are likely be able to get the 'good jobs' even though some come from families with lower educational attainment. Those that do not excel educationally are likely to have trouble finding good jobs, but so will their native born counterparts with the same educational attainment. Waldinger and Perlmann (1999) conclude to say that since today's second generation (excluding Mexicans) is not much different than the general non-immigrant population – with evidence that most of it seems to be heading up the educational ladder – the pessimism in the literature seems to be too early.

Kasinitz, Mollenkopf and Waters (2002) find the assertions made by Gans (1992) as well as Portes and Zhou (1993) to be problematic as well. Both 'second generation decline' and 'segmented assimilation theory' contend that those members of the second generation who will assimilate into America's minority groups – that are characterized by an allegedly oppositional peer culture that rejects school and work success – will inevitably experience downward mobility. These perspectives view the acculturation of non-white children of immigrants as embracing the values of their minority peers rather than their immigrant parents or the white mainstream, and thus suffering negative consequences. Racial discrimination in the mainstream economy and disconnect from the

ethnic economy will limit their economic opportunities, fostering an oppositional identity that might cause rebellion and the questioning of the value of education. The downward mobility of these young adults is described to be the result of their adoption of American definitions of status and success and at the same time a reluctance to accept the low-paying jobs that their immigrant parents do.

This formulation, Kasinitz, Mollenkopf and Water (2002) argue, has several shortcomings: First, it has an unsophisticated model of intergroup contact, conflict and discrimination. The results of their study of several second generation immigrant groups and their native born counterparts in New York suggest that the segments assimilation model has a far too negative stereotype of native minorities. Second, it does not account for the ways in which institutions that promote minority advancement also facilitate the incorporation of the second generation. And finally, that the polyglots of young adults from various ethnic and racial backgrounds in gateway cities are creating a new vibrant youth culture that is neither 'immigrant' nor 'middle American.' They conclude that the existing theories of assimilation do not capture the complexity of the ways in which second generation immigrants and their native born counterparts are forging identities that differ from their immigrant parents and from mainstream white or minority Americans – as they are becoming 'New Yorkers.'

Although the second generation's trajectories into the labor market have been the subject of much debate, they have rarely been systematically addressed in the literature mainly because of lack of appropriate data. Due to the lack of information on parental place of birth after the 1970 Census and the relative youth of the 'new second generation,' most studies of this group concentrate on educational outcomes and have

been based on gross estimates extrapolated from the available data (for example Hirschman 1996; Jensen and Chitose 1996). Portes and Rumbaut's "Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study" (CILS) is an important project that collected data specifically on second generation immigrants. Yet, it also concentrates on educational experiences and outcomes since most of the CILS respondents are still too young to have significant labor market experiences (Portes and Rumbaut 2001).

This dissertation research advances the existing scholarship on the 'new second generation,' on labor market segregation and on immigrant economic incorporation by making an empirical and theoretical contribution. The data utilized in this research provide detailed information about labor market experiences of several second generation groups, their parents and their native counterparts in New York. These data are analyzed using a wide theoretical scope that integrates scholarship from the sociology of immigration, research on labor market segregation, literature on organizational inequality and insights from economic sociology and shifts the focus of analysis from assessing economic consequences to examining social processes that shape labor market incorporation of various immigrant and native groups. This research design provides the ability to overcome some theoretical and empirical shortcomings, test some assumptions, bridge different levels of analysis and compare different groups.

IV. Incorporation Into What? Understanding the Labor Market

Although, the three bodies of literature presented above have evolved into quite separate and distinct fields, they have several common points of departure. All three scholarships highlight, although in different ways, the importance of human capital,

structural characteristics and institutional processes in understanding labor market segregation and inequality. The most salient points of communality are: drawing on dual labor market theory to understand labor markets as composed of different sectors that have different characteristics; the queuing framework according to which ethnic and racial groups are ranked in the labor market based on their desirability by employers; and the assumption regarding the centrality of social networks as a primary mechanism that matches people to jobs. However, the different studies diverge quite significantly on the focus of the analysis and the populations they study, and thus on the conclusions they make. Labor market segregation literature is mostly interested in understanding the processes and dynamics that lead to racial and gender segregation and inequality, not distinguishing between immigrants and non-immigrants. Immigrant economic incorporation literature, however, focuses primarily on immigrants not making systematic comparisons with native populations. Both bodies of literature are mostly interested in the consequences of labor market segregation and concentration. Thus, I argue that it is beneficial to integrate them (draw on the strengths and amend some shortcomings) in order to get a better understanding of the characteristics of the labor market into which the children of immigrants are being incorporated, and how those characteristics are going to shape their trajectories and socioeconomic futures. In order to answer this broad question, the remainder of this research draws on the three rich scholarships in order to explore three main issues: the link between assimilation and mobility, the reasons for- and mechanisms of labor market segregation and concentration, and alternative ways to theorize and measure the role of race and ethnicity in shaping groups' and individuals' labor market trajectories.

Assimilation, Mobility and Inequality

It is interesting to note that while most studies of gender and racial inequality in the labor market find that segregation has negative consequences, studies of immigrant concentration highlight the potential benefits of ethnic enclaves, niches and economies. Furthermore, the different assimilation models make contradictory predictions regarding the second generation's labor market concentration patterns and their potential effect on mobility. If in fact ethnic and racial concentration in the labor market were only the result of skill and language deficiencies that characterize immigrants as argued by the straight-line assimilation perspective, then the second generation (as well as non-immigrant ethnic groups) would be scattered and dispersed across the labor market and experience economic mobility. The critique of this model, as articulated by the segmented assimilation perspective, contends that the role of race and ethnicity in determining labor market trajectories remains central for the second generation, leading them to potentially be more concentrated in the labor market and thus more likely to work in ethnically homogenous environments compared to their non-immigrant counterparts. However, these formulations suggest that the second generation's labor market segregation and concentration patterns can have different outcomes because they pose the questions of whether these are springboards or mobility traps, and – better yet – under what conditions does segregation facilitate mobility and when does it stall economic opportunities. In order to answer these questions, they argue, it is important to make intergenerational comparisons between immigrant parents and their children, as well as lateral group comparisons between second generation groups and their native counterparts, while at the

same time reassessing the relationship between labor market integration and economic opportunities.

This line of inquiry represents a break in the link between assimilation and upward mobility that characterized the traditional assimilation model. The main advantage of these critiques is the realization that race and ethnicity are major organizing principles of the labor markets into which immigrants and their children are incorporating and thus will have long term effect on their socioeconomic trajectories. On the other hand, these accounts seem to be over pessimistic (and maybe over judgmental) about the members of non-white (and non-Asian) second generation groups. Segmented assimilation theory, for example, contends that because many of today's immigrants and their children are not white, they are likely to assimilate into the non-white parts of American society, and thus to the less favorable segments of the labor market. For this reason, they argue, in some cases it might be better not to assimilate, but rather to remain close to the immigrant generation in order to achieve mobility. It is not that the consequences of assimilation have entirely reversed signs, but that the process has become segmented, depending on which sector of American society each particular immigrant group is assimilating into.

This view is somewhat too simplistic in its understanding of the labor market and portrays an ideologically loaded, negative stereotype of native minorities, rather than considering the complex mechanisms that account for their disadvantaged position in the labor market. This problem highlights the need for the immigration literature to develop a better account of the local labor markets into which immigrants and their children are incorporating instead of concentrating mainly on the assimilation process itself.

At the same time, although theories of labor market segregation offer more complex accounts of the dynamics that cause gender and racial segregation and inequality, most of the research concentrates on differences between blacks and whites, not on capturing the growing diversity of the labor force (McCall 2001). The few studies that do consider other racial groups (for example: Elliot 1999, 2001; McCall 2001) use wide racial categories, not accounting for the differences within the racial categories and between immigrants and natives. Chapter four of this dissertation further explores these issues by taking a closer look at the metropolitan New York labor market and the ways in which several immigrant groups and their children are being incorporated into it. Utilizing data from the 'Second Generation Project,' Current Population Survey, the 2000 Census, and secondary sources, I will first provide a historical overview and a general description of the local labor market's industrial structure and racial composition. Then, I will proceed to provide a systematic comparison of distribution and patterns of racial and ethnic representation across the various industries among second generation groups, their parents and their native born counterparts.

The Centrality of Social Networks

The widespread use of social contacts to find a job underlies the old cliché – 'it's not what you know but who you know that matters.' And in fact, social capital and social networks have become popular terms in academic and popular discourse in recent decades as key explanatory factors for many social phenomenon, as well as a magic cure for most social problems (Portes 1988). Despite the common wisdom behind the cliché and the theoretical appeal of the social networks perspective, the empirical evidence

regarding the relationship between social networks and labor market outcomes provided by numerous empirical studies is inconsistent. While several recent studies of firms' hiring processes found that applicants who were referred by current employees were more likely to receive job offers compared to other applicants (Fernandez, Castilla, and Moore 2000; Fernandez and Weinberg 1997; Petersen, Saporta, and Seidel 2000), other evidence based on surveys of workers suggest that there is little support to the assumption that using personal contacts to find work results in better labor market outcomes such as higher wages or higher occupational prestige (Bridges and Villemez 1986; Campbell and Rosenfeld 1985; Corcoran, Datcher, and Duncan 1980; De Graaf and Flap 1988; Elliot 1999; Lin 1999; Lin, Ensel, and Vaugh 1981; Marsden and Hurlbert 1988; Ornstein 1976; Volker and Flap 1999;).

Lin (1999) argues that it is not the use of contacts per se that matters, nor is it the strength of ties that makes the difference. There is some research evidence to show that there is no direct association between the strength of ties and labor market outcomes (Bridges and Willemez 1986; Marsden and Hurlbert 1988). Some studies found that strong ties tend to yield positive job attainment at high levels of the organizational hierarchy, while the weakest ties have no effect (Bian 1997, Bian and Ang 1997; Erickson 1995,1996; Lin et. al. 1981), suggesting that there might be a ceiling effect to the strength of ties. The strong ties, on the other hand, despite their restricted quality, may be useful in situations of institutional uncertainty or constraints (Bian 1997; Rus 1995; Sprengers et al 1988). Several studies adopt an alternative way to analyze the effect of networks by shifting the focus from strength to extensity of ties (e.g., Angelusz and Tardos 1991; Burt 1997; Lin and Dumin 1986). The results of these studies suggest that

having large networks with strong and weak ties provide better access and labor market opportunities. This assertion indicates that more research should be done to understand the differences between racial, ethnic and gender social groups in their access to social capital in order to enhance our understanding of social inequality and mobility.

In fact, Lin (1999) contends, social networks tend to be used by disadvantaged groups such as women and people with lower levels of education and less skill. It is the quality and quantity of the social resources that affect labor market outcomes. According to his review, there is consistent evidence to show that the quality/status of social contacts is positively correlated with labor market outcomes (Boxman, De Graaf and Flap 1991; Burt 1992; Campbell, Marsden and Hurlbert 1986; Flap and Boxman 2001; Green et. al. 1995; Lai, Lin and Leung 1998; Lin and Dumin 1986; Volker and Flap 1999). With regard to the relationship between the use of social networks and unemployment, Korpi (2001) finds that the number of social ties contacted about jobs has the same effect as the number of employers contacted directly on the length of the respondent's period of unemployment.

Although these findings raise several questions that have not been answered yet, many studies stress the importance of social networks as a resource that immigrants mobilize in order to access economic opportunities (for example: Bailey and Waldinger 1991; Foner 2000; Gilbertson 1995; Light and Bonacich 1988; Light and Gold 2000; Logan and Alba 1999; Model 1993; Portes 1988, 1998; Waldinger 1996; Waldinger and Lichter 2003; Zhou 1999). By the same token, the lack of strong social networks is presented as the reason for the disadvantaged situation of inner city African Americans. Another way to view this is to argue that the existing strong ties within disadvantages

communities fail to provide economic opportunities, leading them to high levels of unemployment and welfare dependency (Wilson 1987, 1966). Fernandez-Kelly (1995), for example, in her analysis of teen-age pregnancy in Baltimore's ghetto, notes that the social networks of inner city black families are dense but truncated. These networks, she argues, simultaneously cut off community members from information about the outside world and support alternative cultural styles that make access to mainstream employment more difficult.

These formulations are logically problematic – they can be interpreted as either saying that immigrants succeed because they have good networks and African Americans fail because they don't have such networks, or that immigrants' dense networks are good because they provide economic opportunities and minorities' dense networks are not good because they stall economic mobility. Both interpretations are tautological. Given the inconsistent findings in previous studies and the problematic nature of current formulations, in chapter five, I examine the role of social networks in shaping labor market trajectories of children of immigrants and their native born counterparts in the local labor market.

The Logics of Labor Market Incorporation

McCall (2001) argues that "research on racial inequality has become increasingly specialized, often focusing on a single explanation and subgroup of the population" (p.520). Based on previous explanations of racial inequality, McCall (2001) analyzes the effects of economic restructuring (which include deindustrialization, deunionization, the growth of high-skill service industries and flexible employment conditions), and

demographic composition (that account from immigration flows and black population concentrations), on wages of Latinos, Asians and Black men and women compared to whites. McCall's (2001) findings suggest that while industrial structure remains one of the most important factors in black/white inequality, demographic structure emerges as the most important source of inequality between Latino and Asian immigrants and natives, compared to Whites. These finds indicate that there are significant variations in the sources of inequality among the different racial groups that cannot be inferred from those of African Americans. McCall's (2001) study provides a more complete picture of racial diversity, but the explanation provided for the differential sources for inequality is still partial because it only accounts for macro processes at the labor market level.

Grodsky and Plager (2001), however, argue that in order to better understand income inequality we have to consider the effects of occupational prestige (the differences in returns that are associated with different occupations), occupational composition (the effect of the variances in the racial composition of occupations), occupational skills (the differences in the returns on human capital for whites and black in different occupations), and occupational sector (the differences between the private and public sectors). Since prior research has shown that there is a sizable premium attached to employment in prestigious occupations net of individual background characteristics (Duncan 1961; Featherman and Hauser 1978; Sewell and Houser 1975), and that occupational standing is positively associated with racial disparities (Telles 1994; Tienda and Lii 1987), it is reasonable to expect that higher occupational standing is positively associated with higher wages and bigger racial wage gap, putting blacks at high prestige occupations at a greater relative earning disadvantage compared to their

lower status peers. Furthermore, Tomaskovic-Devey (1993), stresses the importance of status composition, arguing that the typical race or gender of an occupation "becomes a fundamental aspect of the job, influencing the work done as well as the organizational evaluation of the worth of the work" (p.6). And indeed, several studies found that all else being equal, higher concentration of minority and female workers is positively associated with lower rewards (England et al. 1988; Tienda and Lii 1987). Thus, we can expect that high concentration of blacks and/or women would have a negative effect on average earnings while decreasing racial wage inequality in an occupation. With regard to skills, Grodsky and Plager (2001) argue that increasing occupational skill demands may increase the weight of individual competence over race, but they may also increase the likelihood of statistical discrimination. Finally, Grodsky and Plager (2001) recognize the difference between a public sector where bureaucratization is thought to shield against discrimination that characterizes the private sector (DiPrete and Soule 1986; Moulton 1990, but see Bridges and Nelson 1989). Some studies have found there is a disproportionate number of blacks and women in the public sector and that it is characterized by lower racial and gender wage gaps compared to the private sector (Ehrenberg and Schwarz 1986).

Analyzing the 1990 Census, Grodsky and Plager (2001) find that about one-half of the wage gap between black and white men is accounted for by variation in individual attributes. About 20 percent of the gap is due to composition effects, since blacks are concentrated in lower paying occupations, even when controlling for individual characteristics. Furthermore, they find that in the private sector racial disparities increase as one moves up the occupational earnings hierarchy, while in the public sector racial

inequality is associated with human capital and placement, and that unlike most studies which assume the race gap to be constant for all occupations, Grodsky and Plager's (2001) findings suggest a significant variation in racial wage gaps across occupations over and above other factors, in both sectors. The unexplained inequality Grodsky and Plager (2001) argue, might result from unmeasured factors like the segregated social networks and firm level processes. While Grodsky and Plager (2001) highlight the importance of understanding the effect of occupational level processes and dynamics on racial inequality, they only study black and white men, thus not accounting for any differences between various racial/ethnic groups and between men and women.

Cohen and Huffman (2003) argue that in order to better understand gender wage inequality, we need to account for the role of individual, job, and local labor market factors, and the interaction between them. Their findings suggest that average wages are lower in jobs with high female representation, even after controlling for individual and job level characteristics as well as for the variation across labor markets. Moreover, they find that women in female-dominated jobs pay two penalties: their average pay is lower than in comparable male-dominated jobs and they also earn less relative to men in the same jobs. However, at the labor market level, women benefit from gender integration – even women in completely segregated jobs gain from working in labor markets with less occupational gender segregation, after controlling for job level variables. Although Cohen and Huffman's (2003) findings account for processes at multiple levels, they only analyze women.

While these recent studies differ in their theoretical perspective and the groups they study, they all point to the centrality of racial and gender composition and

segregation (at the job, occupation or labor market level) in understanding labor market dynamics. They also point to the need for a broader comparative perspective for understanding the dynamics that account for the different levels of analysis and the diversity of the labor force. The fact that there are various levels of analysis and outcomes for different groups suggests that we need to develop a framework that accounts for the multiplicity of labor market logics.

In order to develop this framework, I turn to studies of immigrants in the labor market that present several typologies of 'modes of labor market incorporation.' These typologies account for the factors that shape the likelihood of various immigrant groups and individuals to incorporate into different parts of the labor market, and make assertions about the possible variations in economic outcomes. Portes and Manning (1986), for example, distinguish between incorporation into the primary sector, the secondary sector, middleman minority and the ethnic enclave. Nee and Sanders (2001), argue that immigrants can either join the professional-managerial-technical sector, the public sector, the semi- or low-skilled manufacturing or service sector or become entrepreneurs. Logan, Alba and McNulty (1994) describe ethnic assimilation, ethnic neighborhood, middleman minority, secondary sector and enclave employment as the possible modes of incorporation. Light and Gold (2000) provide a general distinction between incorporation into the mainstream versus the ethnic economy. Although, these distinctions are problematic because they are not necessarily mutually exclusive, thus making it hard in some cases to operationlize and analyze, they can be used as the basis for a typology that accounts for the multiplicity of labor market trajectories, not only among immigrants but for the entire labor force.

In order to advance our understanding of labor market concentration and segregation among children of immigrants and their native counterparts in the local labor market, I develop a typology of 'logics of labor market incorporation.' This model is based on the notion of 'modes of incorporation,' but it accounts for individual, organizational and structural factors, and adopts a neo-institutional approach. This typology is then used to theorize and analyze the role of race and ethnicity in shaping the trajectories of groups and individuals in the local labor market.

According to the neo-institutional perspective, institutional environments are "composed of regulative, normative and cultural-cognitive structures that operate to provide coherence, meaning and stability to a field" (Scott, Ruef, Mendel and Caronna 2000). Institutional environment have two main components: institutional logics or governance systems and institutional actors. Institutional logics are sets of "material practices and symbolic constructions that constitute the organizing principles and which are available to organizations and individuals to elaborate" (Friedland and Alford 1991, p. 248). These are the cognitive maps, the belief systems carried by participants in the field, to guide and give meaning to their activities. Institutional actors are a variety of individuals and organizations who function both as carriers and creators of institutional logics. This conceptual framework is helpful for my work since it realizes the complexity of the labor market as a social arena that has structural, institutional and cultural components. The typology of the multiple 'logics of labor market incorporation,' enables me to move from a dualistic, structurally oriented view of labor markets, groups and outcomes to a perspective that treats the labor market as a complex social arena, composed of a plurality of institutional logics that pertain to all groups in the labor force.

Based on this conceptual framework, in chapter four, I introduce an additional level of analysis by exploring patterns of ethnic and racial homogeneity at the organizational level, and develop the 'logics of labor market incorporation' typology in order to better understand the factors that shape the distribution of second generation and native groups in the local labor market.

Thus, in order to better understand the incorporation of children of immigrants into the Metropolitan New York labor market, this research utilizes multiple data sources; adopts a wide theoretical scope that integrates scholarship from the sociology of immigration, research on labor market segregation, literature on organizational inequality and insights from economic sociology; and shifts the focus of analysis from assessing economic consequences to examining social processes that shape labor market incorporation.

Chapter Two:
Data and Measures

I. Data Sources

a. Second Generation Survey

The Second Generation Project includes two types of data: a telephone survey and in-depth, loosely structured in-person interviews with a 10 percent sub-sample of telephone survey respondents. The survey data includes 3,424 interviews with men and women aged 18 to 32 who lived in New York City (except Staten Island) or the inner suburban areas of Nassau and Westchester Counties and Northeastern New Jersey. The respondents represent eight ethno-racial groups: those whose parents were born in China (including Taiwan and Hong Kong), the Dominican Republic, the Anglophone West Indies (including Guyana and Belize), the South American countries of Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru (designated CEP in the remainder of this paper), and Jewish immigrants from the former Soviet Union. For comparison purposes, the data also include respondents whose parents were native born whites, native born blacks and Puerto Ricans. The natives were all born in the U.S. as were their parents (though many Puerto Rican parents were born on the island). About two-thirds of our second generation respondents were born in the U.S., mostly in New York City, while one-third were born abroad but arrived in the U.S. by age 12 and lived here for at least ten years. The data include information about respondents' family background, the neighborhoods in which they lived, the schools they attended, the kinds of jobs they held,

their experiences with a wide range of official institutions and programs, the activities in which they participated, the languages they spoke and their attitudes about a wide range of issues. It is the first study based on a random sample of the adult children of immigrants who arrived in the United States after 1965, and thus provides the best picture yet available on the life situations of a representative cross section of the major racial and ethnic groups in Metropolitan New York (Kasinitz, Waters and Mollenkopf 2002).

b. Current Population Survey

The Current Population Survey (called CPS for the remainder of this paper) is a monthly survey of about 50,000 households conducted by the Bureau of the Census for the Bureau of Labor Statistics. It is the primary source of information on labor force characteristics of the U.S. population. The sample is scientifically selected to represent the civilian non-institutional population. Respondents are interviewed to obtain information about the employment status of each member of the household 15 years of age and older. Estimates obtained from the CPS include employment, unemployment, earnings, hours of work and other indicators. They are available by a variety of demographic characteristics including age, sex, race, marital status and educational attainment. They are also available by occupation, industry and class of worker. Since the Second Generation Project is geographically concentrated in the New York metropolitan area, I will use CPS data for New York

Consolidated Metropolitan Statistical Areas (NYCMSA) from the March Supplement in the years 1998, 1999 and 2000.

II. Variables and Measures –

a. Human Capital Characteristics

Following prior research on ethnic concentration and labor market segregation I include a measure of *educational attainment*. It is operationalized as a set of dummy variables based on self-reported highest educational level attained by the respondent. A central human capital characteristic that is widely discussed in the literature is that of language. But, since I am studying the second generation, I assume that language is not a relevant variable. Nevertheless, I do include a distinction between *foreign born* (1.5ers) and native born children (second generation) of immigrants, following the argument made in the literature that as time since immigration elapses, immigrant are more likely to behave more like natives. I also include dummy indicators for *gender* and *age* as control variables.

b. Social Networks–Job Matching

I use a distinction between formal and informal types of job matching to assess the importance of social networks in finding employment and their effect on the likelihood of working in co-ethnic settings. Information on type of job matching is derived from the following question: 'How did you first hear about this job?' If the respondent said she heard about the job from a

parent, sibling, spouse, other relative, friend, co-worker or previous employer, the answer was coded as an informal job match. If the respondent heard about the job from a school placement office, a teacher, a guidance counselor, other school official, newspaper or other ad, labor union, state employment agency, private employment agency, America Works, Human Resources (HRA), Internet and the like, the answer was coded as a formal job match.

c. Work place characteristics

I use two organizational variables that are suggested to affect race and gender composition, *size* and *sector*. Since most studies suggest that the effect of size is non-linear, I measure it as a set of dummy variables that includes small establishments of 50 or less workers, medium firms with 51 to 500 employees and large organizations with more than 501 workers. Since the *public sector* could be seen as a niche for minority workers (especially African American), I include a dummy variable for public sector employment. Additionally, following Waldinger (1996, p. 340),[6] I include a set of dummy variables of *industries*, using the 1980 census categories.

d. Ethnic Concentration/Overrepresentation

Because I wish to distinguish between ethnic concentration in an industry and a specific co-ethnic work environment, I include a variable that is based on a

[6] Waldinger (1996, p.340) argues that "industries best define the contours of a niche. Whereas an occupation involves a single set of jobs that may span many different and unrelated industries, an industry contains a multiplicity of related jobs arrayed in some hierarchical order, hence, the best way to think of an ethnic niche is in terms of an industrial concentration or specialization."

calculation of ethnic overrepresentation of the studied groups in the local labor market. Logan, Alba and McNulty (1994) use the **odds ratio** to measure overrepresentation because it has advantages over other measures; most importantly, it is not sensitive to the different group sizes. I construct a variable of ethnic overrepresentation that is based on data from the CPS. For purposes of analysis I construct a dummy variable that is coded 1 if the respondent is working in an industry where his ethnic group is overrepresented and zero otherwise.

e. Co-ethnic Work Environment

The measure for co-ethnic work environment is based on the question: 'What is the race or ethnicity of most of the employees doing the kind of work you do on your job?' If the respondent reports that most of her co-workers are of the same ethnic background, she is considered to be working in a co-ethnic environment.

Chapter Three:
The New York Labor Market and Its Immigrants

New York is the city of immigrants. In the past century, two large waves of immigration have changed and are continuing to change the city's demographic, economic, cultural and political landscape. As can be seen in Table 4.1, since the beginning of the 20th century, New York's immigrants account for a significant share of the city's population, as well as of the total immigration to the U.S. In the past 100 years, immigrants composed between 18 and 41 percent of the city's population, and between 10 to 18 percent of total immigration to the U.S. The numbers in Table 4.1 depict the early wave of immigration at the turn of the 20th century, the decrease in immigration in

Table 4.1: Foreign Born Population of New York City, 1900-2000

Year	% of Foreign Born in NYC	% of all US Foreign Born in NYC
2000	33.7	10.7*
1990	28.4	10.5
1980	23.6	11.9
1970	18.2	14.9
1960	20	16
1950	23.6	17.8
1940	28.7	18.3
1930	34	16.5
1920	36.1	14.5
1910	40.8	14.3
1900	37	12.2

* in 1998
Source: Foner 2000, and US Bureau of the Census 2000

the middle of the century that resulted from changes in the U.S. immigration policy, and the new, post-1965 immigration wave that is the result of the Hart-Celler Act.

A century ago, most of New York's new immigrants were Russian Jews and Italians. Today's new immigrants to New York City are a much more diverse group, coming from Europe, Asia, Latin America, Africa and the Caribbean. Unlike other major immigrant-receiving cities in the U.S., New York stands out for its immigrants' ethnic and racial diversity. Los Angeles and Miami, for example, which are also large immigrant hubs, do not compare to the diversity of New York's immigrants. Los Angeles is home to predominantly Mexican, El-Salvadoran and Guatemalan immigrants, while Miami's new immigrants are predominantly Cuban, Haitian and Nicaraguan (Foner 2000). Based on the 2000 census, Table 4.2 describes the origin of New York's immigrants. As we can see, Latin America is the largest source of immigrants and accounts for more than half of arrivals. It is followed by immigrants from Asia, which compose about a quarter of all immigrants, from Europe which is the origin of 20 percent of foreign born New Yorkers, from Africa, which accounts for 3 percent of arrivals, and finally from Oceania and Northern America, accounting for the remainder. According to the Immigration and Naturalization Service reports for fiscal year 2000, a total of 85,000 new immigrants settled in New York. The top ten countries sending immigrants to New York City were the Dominican Republic, China, Jamaica, Haiti, the Ukraine, Bangladesh, Ecuador, India and Russia (Kasinitz, Mollenkopf and Waters, 2002). All together, at the beginning of the millennium, the foreign born and their children make up about 60 percent of the city's population, while native born whites and their descendents account

for about 20 percent. Given the fact that most of the immigrants are not white, New York City is overwhelmingly a city of minorities and immigrants.

Table 4.2: New York's Immigrants by Origin, 2000

	Count	Percent
Natives	6,174,588	66.3%
Foreign born	3,139,647	33.7%
Europe	633,172	20.2%
Asia	738,476	23.5%
Africa	99,126	3.2%
Oceania	5,708	0.2%
Latin America	1,641,223	52.3%
Northern America	21,903	0.7%
Total Population	9,314,235	100%

Source: US 2000 census.

The immigrants arriving to New York City at the turn of the century joined a thriving factory town. But as immigrants continued to arrive, the city's reliance on industry and production was about to change. New York's economic transformation from production to services changed the structure of jobs in the city's labor market (Foner 2000, Waldinger 1996). Table 4.3 traces these trends from 1940 through 1990.

New York's economic activity shifted from goods to services earlier than the rest of the United States. During the 1950's, the proportion of New Yorkers working in manufacturing started decreasing compared to the nation as a whole, from 28 percent in 1950 to 12 percent in 1990. As the labor-intensive industries found themselves under severe wage pressures, factory jobs started to move out of the city. But unlike in other

deindustrializing cities across the U.S., two growth trends offset the loss of jobs in New York – the expansion of white-collar corporate activity and the growing numbers in public sector government jobs, which increased from 10 percent in 1940 to 19 percent in 1990. Although New York's economy boomed into the late 1960's, President Nixon's attempt to curb inflation in 1969 caused major job losses in the city. Thus, while most of the nation was able to pull out of the minor recession, jobs continued to seep out of New York City, leading to a period of economic decline during the 1970's.

Table 4.3: Distribution of Employed New Yorkers aged 25-64, by sector, 1940-1990

	1940	1950	1970	1980	1990
Manufacturing	23%	28%	21%	18%	12%
Trade	22%	23%	18%	16%	15%
FIRE	8%	7%	9%	11%	12%
Business Services	3%	3%	5%	6%	6%
Professional services	6%	6%	11%	15%	20%
Public Sector	12%	11%	17%	19%	19%
Other	26%	22%	15%	15%	16%

Source: Census of Population, 1940-1990 (Waldinger1996).

After almost a decade of recession, New York's economy started growing again, steadily creating new jobs, until the crash of the stock market in 1987. It is the shift to services and globalization that were the key factors in the creation of new jobs between 1977 and 1987. The increased need for information services worked to the advantage of New York, which was ideally positioned to benefit from the growing demand. Globalization yielded similar effects. The growth in international business has increased the dependence on service firms that were concentrated in New York and other large

urban areas. These changes in the economy led to remarkable local economic expansion and made New York, along with other cities like Tokyo and London, a 'global information hub.' During this 10 year period, the information industries added more than 200,000 jobs – about two thirds of all new jobs generated during this time. The strength of the information industries in turn spilled over to other fields, increasing educational requirements and wages in other parts of the labor market, an increase in construction and a booming of the retail sector. At the same time, manufacturing continued to lose it share in the city's economy, as production activities moved to other parts of the country and the world. In general, during this 50 year period, the proportion of manufacturing workers decreased by half, from 23 to 12 percent of the labor force, while the proportion of the professional industry grew more than threefold, from 6 to 20 percent. Also, the public sector grew from 12 percent in 1940 to 19 percent of the labor force in 1990.

By the dawn of the new millennium, New York has become one of the major global hubs of finance, business and communication, where the 'new economy' with its large business and service sectors overshadows 'older' economic activities such as agriculture, construction and manufacturing. The data presented in table 4.4 describes the distribution of workers across industries in the New York metropolitan area according to the 2000 census.

The data in table 4.4 suggest that the city's economy is characterized by a very large service sector, where almost one quarter of the labor force (and more than a third of female workers) are in health, education and social service industries, about 12 percent are in trade, 11 percent in FIRE and 12 percent in professional services. Altogether, the

Table 4.4: Industry of Employed civilian population 16 years and over by gender, in NYC PSMA, 2000

	All Workers		Male		Female	
Industry[7]	**Count**	**Percent**	**Count**	**Percent**	**Count**	**Percent**
Agriculture, forestry, fishing and hunting, and mining	3,373	0.1	2,307	0.1	1,066	0.1
Construction	176,857	4.5	160,630	7.9	16,227	0.9
Manufacturing	261,453	6.7	146,605	7.2	114,848	6.1
Trade	478,334	12.3	279,451	13.8	198,883	10.6
Transportation and warehousing, and utilities	237,236	6.1	185,144	9.1	52,092	2.8
Information	205,047	5.3	108,277	5.3	96,770	5.2
Finance, insurance, real estate, and rental and leasing	436,035	11.2	240,651	11.9	195,384	10.5
Professional, scientific, management, administrative, and waste management services	470,784	12.1	254,490	12.6	216,294	11.6
Educational, health, and social services	925,160	23.8	259,679	12.8	665,481	35.6
Arts, entertainment, recreation, accommodation, and food services	308,213	7.9	190,872	9.4	117,341	6.3
Other services (except public administration)	218,408	5.6	101,367	5	117,041	6.3
Public administration	173,719	4.5	96,659	4.8	77,060	4.1
Total	3,894,619	100	2,026,132	100	1,868,487	100

Source: US 2000 Census

[7] The U.S. Census Bureau changed the Industrial and Occupational classifications in the 2000 census of populations. These classifications do not match and cannot be easily translated back to the categories used in previous data sets. .

overwhelming majority of the Metropolitan New York labor force works in service related areas, while only 11 percent work in the more traditional construction and manufacturing industries.

New York of the 21st century is a global city, but it is also a town with strong ethnic flavors. If you walk into a corner grocery store, you are most likely to be welcomed by a Korean owner (or his Mexican employee). If you need your laundry cleaned, you will probably end up in a Chinese-owned business. If you find yourself as a patient in a New York city hospital, the nursing aide who takes your temperature and makes your bed is most likely West Indian. New York is home to Filipino and West Indian nurses, Chinese and Russian computer consultants and Indian doctors and engineers. And if you take a subway ride from Wall Street, the center of global capitalism, you might end up in one of city's ethnic neighborhoods or commercial strips. Chinatown and Little Italy are the hallmark of ethnic neighborhoods and subject of many books and articles, but there are many more. Brighton Beach is 'little Odessa,' Washington Heights is sometimes called 'Quisqueya Heights' (Quisqueya being the indigenous name of the Dominican Republic), Kings Highway is home to many Israeli residents and businesses, Flushing is referred to as 'overseas Seoul,' there is also 'Caribbean Brooklyn' and many more (Foner 2000).

Each of those neighborhoods has a distinct ethnic savor. For example, people whose parents were never fully accepted as Russians in the Former Soviet Union can become "real" Russians in Brooklyn's Brighton Beach – living within the boundaries of the Russian-speaking community, drinking tea out of glasses like their parents. A famous joke in the community evokes the joys of an insular life. One day, someone asks a

Russian immigrant who lives in Brighton Beach, 'Why don't you speak English?' 'I don't have to,' he says, 'because I never go to America.' The next day, he's sitting with a fellow immigrant on the Brighton Beach boardwalk when someone asks them a question in English. The two of them, understanding nothing, stare at him and shrug. The man storms off. So the immigrant says to his friend: 'You see, this guy knows English, but it does not help him one bit.'

Such a life is made possible by a vibrant Russian community with its own economic and political institutions. One can find "Russian-speaking" businesses to fill practically any need – insurance and travel agencies, day care, health or legal services and home care. Russian delis, with exotic foods, declare on their window signs, "We Speak English." Although most members of the community say they are happy to be in America and never intend to go back to the Soviet Union, they are often nostalgic about their old life, comparing the warmth of friendships in the old country to the U.S., 'where everything seems to be about money.' They read Russian books and newspapers like 'Vicherny New York' (Evening New York) or the established 'Novoya Ruskaya Slova' (New Russian Word), watch the Russian television channel (which broadcasts locally-produced Russian sitcoms, music videos and talk shows as well as programs from Russia) and consume the thriving local music industry. Every few months, a concert by one of the local stars, say Philip Kirkorov, or his older wife, Alla Pugachova, draws thousands of excited Russian speakers to a fancy concert hall in Atlantic City for a Russian-American MTV style music concert. And, of course, a birthday or anniversary is a good excuse to celebrate at ornately mirrored and chandeliered nightclubs, such as Odessa or Rasputin, or maybe International, where The Rose Sisters have been covering Russian

and American hits for a decade or more. These places offer not just plenty of food and free-flowing vodka, but Las Vegas style shows and house bands that serve up a mix of Russian, American and 'Ramerican' music (songs in Russian that are highly influenced by American culture and music) (Zeltzer-Zubida 2000).

Nevertheless, immigrant life is often unglamorous. Although some immigrants who come with prior education and experience are able to find good jobs, many others experience downward mobility: university professors driving cabs, famous pianists attending to the elderly and medical doctors cleaning houses. Immigrants who come with no prior education or experience, of course, find it even harder to get good jobs in New York. While there are several studies examining labor market experiences and concentration patterns of particular immigrant groups in New York's local labor market (see for example: Bailey and Waldinger 1991; Gilberston 1995; Waldinger 1996; Waters 1999; Zhou 1992; Zhou and Logan 1989), only a few systematically compare the different groups and labor market segments (for example: Alba and Logan 1999; Howell and Gester 2001; Model 1993).

Howell and Gester's (2001) study of the Metropolitan New York labor market suggests that, despite the strong economy and considerable employment growth during the past two decades, immigrants are becoming more concentrated in the bottom tiers of the labor market. More specifically, Howell and Gester (2001) argue the following: First, the employment distribution diverged over the studied period, where foreign born black and Hispanic workers, as well as native born black workers, held jobs that looked increasingly unlike those held by native born whites. Second, the job structure shifted away from the middle toward the top and bottom tier employment. Third, native born

white males, and both native born and foreign born white females, became much more concentrated in the top tiers, while foreign born black and Hispanic men and foreign born black women increased their concentration in the bottom tier. Foreign born black, Hispanic and Asian workers doubled their share of all bottom tier jobs, from less than 20 percent to almost 40 percent. And, finally, low skilled jobs, such as cooks, cashiers, waiters, health and home aids, taxi drivers, etc., are currently being filled by workers with much higher educational attainment than in the 1980's. Although these findings provide important information about immigrants in the New York metropolitan labor market, they are based on wide racial and pan-ethnic categories and broad labor market segments.

Logan and Alba (1999) use 1980 and 1990 census data to analyze labor market concentration patterns among African Americans, Puerto Ricans, Chinese and Koreans in New York's labor market.[8] Their findings suggest that while Koreans are highly overrepresented in self-employment, with an odds ratio of 3, African Americans and Puerto Ricans are underrepresented in this category, with an odds ratio below .5. On the other hand, the two native groups are overrepresented in public sector employment, while the immigrant groups are underrepresented. This finding leads the authors to argue that the groups represent two poles of economic incorporation. Koreans in this case represent the 'entrepreneurial' mode, African Americans and Puerto Ricans represent 'public sector dependence' mode and the Chinese fall in between. Furthermore, their findings indicate that in 1990 Chinese immigrants in New York's labor market were overrepresented as owners and workers in eating places, apparel manufacturing, food products, food stores, and personal services (in descending order of overrepresentation); Koreans are overrepresented in food stores (with an odds ratio of 21.85!), general merchandising,

personal services, retail stores, textile, eating places, hospitals, miscellaneous manufacturing, apparel manufacturing, wholesale and repair services (in descending order of overrepresentation). Additionally, they argue that in 1990, 41.4 percent of Chinese and 66 percent of Koreans worked in the ethnic economy, compared to 20 percent of African Americans and none of the Puerto Ricans, while 29.2 percent of African Americans and 23.3 percent of Puerto Ricans worked in the public sector, compared to 8.9 percent of Chinese and 3.4 percent of Koreans. With regard to economic outcomes, Logan and Alba (1999) argue that "the enclave strategy of economic incorporation has had variable payoffs" (p.190). Echoing some of Sanders and Nee's (1987) arguments, the current study shows that while Korean and Chinese owners in New York reap some positive outcomes from the enclave, their employees do not. At the same time, "in New York, the nongovernmental employment niche of blacks – where blacks are concentrated as workers for other groups – provides better hourly earnings than does work in the mainstream economy, an enclave sector or entrepreneurial niche" (Logan and Alba, 1999 p.191). Thus, these findings suggest that New York City's labor market is racially and ethnically fragmented and that various groups have different modes of incorporation. At the same time, the returns form the different modes are variable – reminding us to be cautious about making strong arguments regarding the consequences of segregation and concentration.

Following some of Logan and Alba's (1999) procedures and findings, the rest of this chapter continues to explore patterns of ethnic and racial concentration in the Metropolitan New York labor market. Nevertheless, the data utilized allows me to add more groups to the analysis and to include not only immigrants, but their children as well.

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[8] Their study also analyzes the Los Angeles labor market.

By using the data from the March Supplement of the 1998-2000 Current Population Survey for the New York metropolitan area, and the second generation in New York survey, I will address the following questions: What is the ethnic and racial composition of the various industries in the New York labor market? How are the different groups distributed across the various industries? How do the second generation groups compare to their parents and to their native born counterparts in their distribution and concentration patterns? These questions enable me to engage in a discussion about the ethnic division of labor in the New York labor market and about patterns of second generation assimilation and incorporation.

I. Ethnic and Racial Composition of the Metropolitan New York Labor Market

The Metropolitan New York labor market is a large and diverse one, spanning about 4 million people[9] and many ethnic and racial groups. Table 4.5 describes the distribution of groups that are the focus of the second generation study[10] in the local labor market, across 9 industrial categories, based on CPS data. As we can see, in the first row, about 7 percent of the labor force consists of immigrants from Central America

[9] The exact numbers are difficult to estimate exactly and they differ between the different databases. These differences can be the result of sampling error as well as slight differences in the population definitions. For this reason, the data presented below will include only percentages that describe trends rather than specific numbers.

[10] The groups were constructed to represent first and second generation immigrants that are comparable to the group definitions in the second generation data.

Table 4.5: Distribution of Groups Across Industries

	CEP	Dominican	Puerto Rican	West Indian	Native Black	Chinese	Russian Jew	Native White	Other[11]	All Groups
All Industries	6.8%	10.7%	7.4%	5.2%	9.1%	2%	3%	19.5%	36.3%	**100%**
Agri., Fish., For.and Mining	12%				16%			16%	56%	**100%**
Construction	17%	6.1%	6.1%	8.1%	4.9%		1.6%	17.8%	38.5%	**100%**
Manufacturing	13.3%	10.7%	4.1%	3.3%	3.5%	5%	2.4%	18%	39.8%	**100%**
Transp., Comm. and Pub. Utilities	6.2%	8.4%	4.5%	6.7%	9.6%	2.2%	2.6%	24.6%	35.2%	**100%**
Wholesale and Retail	9%	12.4%	5.7%	2.3%	5.2%	2.3%	2.1%	20.6%	40.3%	**100%**
FIRE	4.7%	4.7%	6.1%	5.3%	7%	2.5%	2.7%	32.5%	34.6%	**100%**
Busi., Repair and Per. Service	10.4%	6.4%	4.6%	6.5%	7.8%	2.2%	2.6%	19.7%	39.9%	**100%**
Professional Services	3.5%	6.8%	5.8%	7.8%	8.4%	1.5%	3.3%	29.1%	33.6%	**100%**
Public Administration	2.3%	2.9%	9.3%	3.5%	14%	2.3%	2.3%	31.4%	32%	**100%**

Source: US Current Population Survey 1998-2000 March Supplement

[11] This cell includes first and second generation immigrants from countries that were not part of the study, for example: Mexico, Cuba, Haiti, El Salvador, Guyana, India, Korea, India, Poland, Ireland and Italy.

and their children, 10 percent are of Dominican origin, 7.5 percent are Puerto Rican. Altogether about a quarter of the labor force is of Hispanic origin, excluding Mexican and other Latin countries that do not make up a large share of the Metropolitan New York labor force. There are about 5 percent West Indian first and second generation immigrants, and 10 percent African Americans, altogether about 15 percent American Blacks. Chinese immigrants and their descendents make up only 2 percent, and Russian Jews and their children account for 3 percent of the local labor force. About 20 percent of the labor force consists of Native Whites (this is a problematic category that I will not attribute too much meaning to), and the rest (roughly 36 percent) are from other groups that are not part of this study. Nevertheless, as we can see in the other cells in table 4.5, these ethnic and racial proportions are not represented across all industries. Immigrants from Columbia Ecuador and Peru and their children make up almost 7 percent of the labor force, but their share of workers in construction is almost three times as big (17 percent), and twice as big in manufacturing (13.3 percent). On the other hand, they account for only about 3 percent of workers in professional services, and 2 percent in public administration. Dominican immigrants and their children, who account for about a tenth of the labor force in New York, represent less than 5 percent of workers in the FIRE industry and less than 3 percent of public administration. At the same time, they account for 12 percent of all workers in sales. Puerto Ricans, native blacks and native whites account for larger proportions of workers in public administration (9.3 percent, 14 percent and 31.4 percent, respectively), than their share in the labor force.

Table 4.6 describes the distribution of industries for the entire labor force and for the specific groups in the New York labor market, according to the CPS. The first column,

Table 4.6: Distribution of Industries Across Groups

	All Groups	CEP	Dominican	Puerto Rican	West Indian	Native Black	Chinese	Russian Jew	Native White	Other
Agri., Fish., For.and Mining	0.5%	0.8%				1.2%			0.35	0.8%
Construction	5.2%	11.6%	4%	5.7%	7.5%	3.5%		3.2%	3.8%	5.4%
Manufacturing	9.7%	16.9%	13%	7.3%	5.7%	4.7%	21.9%	8.8%	7.2%	10.4%
Transp., Comm. and Pub. Utilities	8.8%	7.2%	9.3%	7.3%	10.6%	11.6%	8.6%	8.8%	8.9%	8.3%
WholesaleandRetail	19.8%	23.5%	31%	20.6%	8.3%	14.2%	21%	16%	16.7%	21.6%
FIRE	10.3%	6.4%	6.1%	11.5%	9.8%	9.9%	11.4%	10.4%	13.7%	9.6%
Busi., Repair and Per. Service	14.5%	19.9%	11.6%	12.2%	17.0%	15.7%	14.3%	14.4%	11.7%	15.7%
Professional Services	27.7%	12.7%	23.8%	29.4%	38.9%	32.3%	19%	35.2%	33%	25.15
Public Administration	3.6%	1.1%	1.3%	6.1%	2.3%	7%	3.8%	3.2%	4.7%	3.1%
Group Total	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**

Source: US Current Population Survey 1998-2000 March Supplement

which represents the entire labor force, echoes the data presented in table 4.4, suggesting that more than a quarter of the labor force works in the professional services industry, almost 20 percent in the sales industry, about 15 percent in business, repair and personal services. The manufacturing industry, along with transportation, communication and public utilities industry and FIRE are almost equal in size, each employing about 10 percent of the labor force. About 5 percent work in the construction industry and the rest of the labor force; almost 4 percent work in public administration. The various groups, however, are not always employed in the different industries in similar proportions. West Indian immigrants and their children, for example, are less likely to work in the wholesale and retail sector than the whole labor force, with only 8.3 percent of the group members working in this industry. At the same time, almost a third of first and second generation Dominicans are employed in the trade sector, which employs almost one fifth of all workers in the local labor market. There are also large differences in the proportions of groups working in the professional services industry, which accounts for more than a quarter of all workers: CEPs are half as likely to work in this industry with only 12.7 percent; similarly the Chinese, among whom only 19 percent work in professional services. Compare these to almost 40 percent of West Indians and 35 percent of Russian Jews. Lastly, we can see that public administration, which employs about 4 percent of all workers, is where 7 percent of native blacks work as well as 6 percent of Puerto Ricans. So it is true that African Americans are twice as likely to work in this sector of the labor market compared to all workers, but it only employs a small part of the group's workers.

Now, that we have a better grasp of the ethnic and racial landscape of the local labor market, we can explore the ways in which the studied second generation groups are distributed in it. Table 4.7 presents the group's distribution across the various industries according to the second generation data. Unlike the previous table which describes immigrants as well as their native born children and suggests that the groups are

Table 4.7: Distribution of Second Generation and Native Groups Across Industries

	CEP	Domini -can	Puerto Rican	West Indian	Native Black	Chinese	Russian Jew	Native White
Agri., Fish., For.and Mining	0	1		1				1
		0.3%		**0.3%**				**0.3%**
Construction	4	6	6	4	17	10	5	8
	1.3%	**2%**	**2%**	**1.4%**	**5.8%**	**2.4%**	**2.3%**	**2.6%**
Manufacturing	22	20	13	15	9	36	10	35
	7.4%	**6.5%**	**4.3%**	**5.2%**	**3.1%**	**8.5%**	**4.6%**	**11.3%**
Transp., Comm. And Pub. Utilities	29	26	22	29	28	26	7	29
	9.7%	**8.5%**	**7.3%**	**10.1%**	**9.6%**	**6.1%**	**3.2%**	**9.4%**
WholesaleandRetail	67	80	86	63	42	84	55	50
	22.5%	**26.1%**	**28.7%**	**22%**	**14.3%**	**19.8%**	**25.2%**	**16.1%**
FIRE	44	24	23	29	20	69	24	40
	14.8%	**7.8%**	**7.7%**	**10.1%**	**6.8%**	**16.2%**	**11%**	**12.9%**
Busi., Repair and Per. Service	51	45	51	33	60	77	46	50
	17.1%	**14.7%**	**17.%**	**11.5%**	**20.5%**	**18.1%**	**21.1%**	**16.1%**
Professional Services	68	92	84	93	90	110	68	79
	22.8%	**30%**	**28%**	**32.5%**	**30.7%**	**25.9%**	**31.2%**	**25.5%**
Public Administration	13	13	15	19	27	13	3	18
	4.4%	**4.2%**	**5%**	**6.6%**	**9.2%**	**3.1%**	**1.4%**	**5.8%**
Total	298	307	300	286	293	425	218	310
	100%	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**

Source: Second Generation Survey

relatively distinct in their patterns of distribution across industries, the data in Table 4.7 suggests that the distribution of second generation groups and their native born counterparts across industries is fairly similar. For most groups the wholesale and retail industry, along with personal and professional services, are the most prevalent.

These findings are not surprising given the age of the respondents (they are all 18-32 years old) and the nature of the New York City economy – this is where young New Yorkers work. Nevertheless, there are some interesting differences between the groups. For example, young African Americans are still more likely to work in public administration (9.2 percent) compared to other groups, and second generation Chinese are more likely than other groups to work in the FIRE industry (16.2 percent), followed by CEPs (14.8 percent). These might be the beginnings of new employment niches for these groups.

II. Intergeneration changes – segregation and dissimilarity

One way to analyze the differences between groups' positions in the labor market is to compare the differences between distributions. The magnitude of the differences between any two distributions (such as age, occupation, industry, residential area) may be summarized in single indices that are usually referred to as indices of segregation, dissimilarity or inequality. There are various indices used in the literature and an ongoing debate about the quality, purpose and interpretation of these indices.[12] The debates have

[12] For extensive discussion and debates about measures of segregation and dissimilarity see Lieberson (1981), James and Taeuber (1985), Massey and Danton (1988), Waslander and Thrupp (1995) and Watts (1998).

occurred in many fields including the analysis of residential patterns by ethnicity; gendered patterns of occupation; polarized income patterns in family economics and the social composition of schools in education (Taylor, Gorard and Fitz, 2000). The most commonly used is the Index of Dissimilarity (D), developed by Duncan and Duncan (1955). The index of dissimilarity is based on half of the sum of the absolute differences between the percents of the corresponding (and mutually exclusive) groups in each of the categories (e.g., the difference between the percent male in manufacturing and the percent female in manufacturing).

Table 4.8 describes the index of dissimilarity for the distribution across industries for each of the studied groups with the same sex parent. As we can see, in general, there is a significant intergenerational difference in the distribution across industries. Moreover, the index (which represents the difference between the distributions) is larger for most immigrant groups and their children (except West Indians), compared to the native born and their parents.

Table 4.8: Index of Dissimilarity

	CEP	Domi nican	Puerto Rican	West Indian	Native Black	Chinese	Russian Jew	Native White
Male Respondents w/ Male Parents	29.1	18.4	22.9	17.9	22.5	39.5	38.5	22.7
Female Respondents w/ Female Parents	46.3	41.3	26.7	20.6	20.5	50.3	27.1	19.5

Source: Second Generation Survey

Also, the table suggests that for five of the eight groups, the differences are larger among mothers and daughters compared to fathers and sons. Interestingly, this trend is reversed among Russian Jews, native whites and native blacks, for whom the intergenerational

differences are greater among males than among females. More specifically, we can see that the largest difference is between second generation Chinese females and their mothers, where half of the 'daughters' have to change their industry in order to be distributed like their 'mothers' (most of whom work in the garment industry). Chinese females are followed by CEP females, where 46.3 percent of the second generation females have to change industry in order to resemble their immigrant mothers' distribution across industries, followed by Dominican females who have a dissimilarity index of 41.3 percent. Among males, the groups with the largest dissimilarity index are Chinese and Russian Jews, where more than one third of sons have to change industries in order to resemble their fathers' distribution. The intergenerational differences in distribution across industries are clearly mediated by gender and vary by group.

The index of segregation[13] is useful for the purpose of comparing the distribution of a particular second generation group among the various industries (which was derived from our survey data) with that of the comparable age and gender group in the local labor market (which was derived from the CPS data for the same geographic area). The same index was utilized to compare the parents of our respondents with the comparable age and gender group in the CPS.[14]

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[13] Since the Second Generation data does not have information on all groups in the NY metro area labor market, we could not make use of the Index of Dissimilarity to compare between the distributions of groups in the various industries to that of the general labor force in the area. This is because for the calculation of Dissimilarity Index the groups have to be both mutually exclusive and exhaustive (Taylor, Gorard and Fitz 2000 p. 2). Thus, I use an alternative measure, the Segregation Index (S) proposed by Gorard (2000). The calculation of S is similar to that of the Hoover coefficient for income inequality (Kluge 1998), and compares the difference between the proportion of a particular group in a single sub-area and the proportion of all group members in the same sub-area. The key difference between the two indices is the base figure used to compare the distribution of any particular group. While D compares the proportion of two groups with each other by sub-area, S compares the proportion of one group with the total for that sub-area (Taylor, Gorard and Fitz 2000 p. 6).

[14] Since I use two similar but different indices, one has to be cautious when comparing the two. While the two indices have mostly similar properties, the actual figures they produce can be very different. What one

Table 4.9 is a summary table of the index of segregation that is based on multiple comparisons – between different racial and ethnic groups, between immigrants and non-immigrants, between two age groups, between the first and second generation and between males and females. In general, the data in the table suggest that the index of segregation is lower among second generation groups and the comparable age and gender group in the local labor market, compared to their immigrant parents. Furthermore, we can see that for most groups, the female respondents are more similar to the comparable age and gender group in the local labor market, compared to males. This trend does not carry over to the parents, for whom gender does not have a consistent effect on the size of the index of segregation. More specifically, we can see that about 7 to 10 percent of second generation CEP and Dominican, as well as Chinese and Russian Jewish females and native white females, have to change industries to be distributed like the entire labor force. The numbers are somewhat higher for second generation West Indian females and for native white males (11.8 percent and 13.5 percent, respectively).

Table 4.9: Index of Segregation

	CEP	Dominican	Puerto Rican	West Indian	Native Black	Chinese	Russian Jew	Native White
Male Respondents with CPS	8.6	8.4	15.9	17	17.5	17.6	17.5	13.5
Female Respondents with CPS	7.3	7.4	11.8	14.9	15.7	7.9	9.5	8.1
Male Parents with CPS	29.3	26.7	18.6	14.7	23.4	39.5	19.7	16.7
Female Parents with CPS	39.6	39.1	21.3	12.2	17.4	54	14.2	10.6

Source: Second Generation Survey and US Current Population Survey 1998-2000 March Supplement

has to look for are the patterns of increased or decreased segregation compared to the other groups rather than the absolute figures (Taylor, Gorard and Fitz 2000 p. 6).

Additionally, 15 percent or more of all second generation West Indians, African Americans, Puerto Ricans and second generation Chinese, as well as Russian Jewish males, have to change industries to be distributed like the labor force.

The comparison of the parents with the CPS data reaffirms the finding presented in table 4.8: there is a great difference between the first and the second generation in their distribution across industries, as can be seen by their tendency to get higher values on the index of segregation. It is the Chinese immigrant mothers that have the largest index of segregation, suggesting that more than half of them have to change the industry where they work in order to resemble the comparable age and gender group in the local labor market. Interestingly their 'daughters' have the lowest index with a value of 7.9 percent. Of all groups, the largest difference in the values of the index are between the Latino immigrant groups and their offspring, where 7-8 percent of the second generation have to change industries in order to resemble the comparable age group in the labor force, while 26-39.5 percent of their immigrant parents have to so do. The smallest differences in the values of the index are between West Indian immigrants and their children, which suggests, as we saw in the previous table, that they are not distributed very differently across the industries. Table 4.9 reinforces the fact that intergenerational differences in distribution across industries are affected by gender and race; it also illustrates the variation between groups in the patterns and direction of the differences in distribution.

What the previous tables make clear is that the labor market is not representative of its ethnic and racial as well as industrial distribution dimensions. The proportions of groups in the labor force are not always represented or sustained across the different

industries, and the distributions of groups across industries are not similar. These findings resonate with Waldinger's (1996) assertion that race and ethnicity are central and enduring factors that sort groups into distinct sets of jobs, and thus the ethnic division of labor shapes the fates of immigrant and minority groups in urban labor markets. Thus, he suggests that new immigrants and African-Americans shaped their own fates by creating distinct ethnic niches and playing distinct economic roles in the New York labor market, that are embedded in this market's history.

However, the data presented in this section also highlight the centrality of gender in shaping the paths and trajectories of groups and individuals and the variations between several ethnic and racial immigrant and native groups. Moreover, the information presented in this section corresponds with findings from previous studies, according to which some groups concentrate in particular jobs and industries and form ethnic niches and enclaves (Alba, Logan and McNulty, 1994).

III. Statistical Overrepresentation

Several studies of immigrant labor market concentration use an odds ratio in order to measure the level of representation of different groups in various industries with the purpose of identifying ethnic enclaves and niches (Alba, Logan and McNulty 1994, Model 1993, Waldinger 1996, Wilson 1999). When the odds ratio of a group's proportion in an industry is 50 percent larger that its share of the labor force, that is, when the odds ratio is larger than 1.5, that particular industry is considered an ethnic niche or enclave for the specific group. Based on this convention, I calculated the odds ratio of ethnic representation for the study groups in the CPS data. According to Table 4.10, which

describes the odds ratio, CEPs are overrepresented in construction, manufacturing and in the service industries; Dominicans are overrepresented in the sales industry; West Indians are overrepresented in the construction industry; native blacks and Puerto Ricans are overrepresented in public administration; Chinese are overrepresented in the manufacturing industry; and native whites are overrepresented in the FIRE and professional services industry.[15]

Table 4.10: Odds Ratio of Ethnic Representation

	CEP	Dominican	Puerto Rican	West Indian	Native Black	Chinese	Russian Jew	Native White
Agri., Fish., For.and Mining	**1.67**				**2.47**			0.59
Construction	**2.74**	0.75	1.13	**1.55**	0.65		0.60	0.68
Manufacturing	**2.09**	1.48	0.73	0.55	0.44	**2.74**	0.90	0.69
Transp., Comm. and Pub. Utilities	0.80	1.08	0.81	1.26	1.43	0.98	1.01	1.08
Wholesale And Retail	1.33	**2.06**	1.09	0.36	0.67	1.09	0.77	0.87
FIRE	0.58	0.55	1.16	0.96	0.97	1.14	1.02	**1.73**
Busi., Repair and Per. Service	**1.57**	0.78	0.82	1.25	1.14	0.99	1.00	0.79
Professional Services	0.37	0.85	1.15	1.83	1.36	0.62	1.47	**1.81**
Public Administration	0.28	0.34	**1.82**	0.61	**2.19**	1.06	0.88	1.49

Source: US Current Population Survey 1998-2000 March Supplement

[15] I do not refer to the Agriculture, Fishing, Forestry and Mining industry because the number of people in this cell is very small.

I use the same calculation to create a measure that describes overrepresentation as well as equal and under representation. Although the literature does not seem to indicate that ethnic underrepresentation is an important phenomenon, I think it is worthwhile to explore those patterns as well, to get a better understanding of the trajectories of immigrants and their children in the local labor market. According to the algebraic formula used to calculate the odds ratio, any ratio that is smaller than 1 is, theoretically, a situation of underrepresentation. Because of the characteristics of the function (which can have values between zero and infinity), the range of numbers depicting under representation is only zero to one, while the range of numbers depicting overrepresentation is between one and infinity. This asymmetry makes it hard to talk about underrepresentation in a way similar to overrepresentation. Thus, in order to create a function that is symmetric in describing the underrepresentation of groups in specific industries, I invert the odds ratio calculation for the cells that have an odds ratio smaller than one and give it a negative sign. This way, the positive and negative numbers describe the same proportions of over and under representation. The results of these calculations are presented in Table 4.11.

The results presented in table 4.11 suggest that groups are indeed underrepresented in the various industries. Using the convention in the literature, any cell that is larger than 1.5 indicates overrepresentation, and by the same token any cell that is smaller than −1.5 indicates underrepresentation. As can be seen, both CEPs and Dominicans are underrepresented in FIRE, professional services and in public administration. Both West Indians and African Americans are underrepresented in manufacturing and sales industries. African Americans are also underrepresented in

construction and West Indians in public administration. Lastly, Chinese immigrants and their children are underrepresented in the professional services industry.

These figures also illustrate that not only groups have different patterns of distribution, but also that some industries are more likely to have over and under representation than others. For example, according to table 4.11, the distribution of groups in the transportation, communication and public utilities industry, as well as business, repair and personal services industry, are fairly similar to those in the labor force. On the other hand, the distribution of groups in retail, professional services and public administration industries is different from that of the entire labor force.

Table 4.11: Over, Equal and Under Representation

	CEP	Dominican	Puerto Rican	West Indian	Native Black	Chinese	Russian Jew	Native White
Agri., Fish., For.and Mining	1.67				2.47			**-1.70**
Construction	2.74	-1.34	1.13	1.55	**-1.54**		**-1.67**	-1.47
Manufacturing	2.09	1.48	-1.37	**-1.82**	**-2.50**	2.74	-1.11	-1.45
Transp., Comm. and Pub. Utilities	-1.25	1.08	-1.23	1.26	1.43	-1.02	1.01	1.08
Wholesale And Retail	1.33	2.06	1.09	**-2.78**	**-1.50**	1.09	-1.30	-1.15
FIRE	**-1.72**	**-1.82**	1.16	-1.04	-1.03	1.14	1.02	1.73
Busi., Repair and Per. Service	1.57	-1.28	-1.22	1.25	1.14	-1.01	1.00	-1.27
Professional Services	**-2.70**	**-1.72**	1.15	1.83	1.36	**-1.61**	1.47	1.81
Public Administration	**-3.57**	**-2.94**	1.82	**-1.64**	2.19	1.06	-1.14	1.49

Source: US Current Population Survey 1998-2000 March Supplement

A simpler way to interpret these results is to create an index that consists of three categories that characterize ethnic representation of groups in industries. Following the literature, each group-industry cell was characterized as overrepresentation (if the index was larger than 1.5), equal representation (if the index was between 1.5 and –1.5) and underrepresentation (if the index was smaller than –1.5). These summary results are presented in table 4.12, which indicates the ethnic representation of each group industry cell.

Based on the index presented in table 4.12 and on the distribution of groups across industries, I calculate the proportion of each group's members that are either over, equally or under represented in the different industries. The results presented in table 4.13

Table 4.12: Patterns of Ethnic Representation of Group in Industry*

	CEP	Dominican	Puerto Rican	West Indian	Native Black	Chinese	Russian Jew	Native White
Agri., Fish., For.and Mining	O				O			U
Construction	O	R	R	O	U		U	R
Manufacturing	O	O	R	U	U	O	R	R
Transp., Comm. and Pub. Utilities	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
Wholesale And Retail	R	O	R	U	U	R	R	R
FIRE	U	U	R	R	R	R	R	O
Busi., Repair and Per. Service	O	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
Professional Services	U	U	R	O	R	U	R	O
Public Administration	U	U	O	U	O	R	R	R

Source: US Current Population Survey 1998-2000 March Supplement
*O – Overrepresented, R – Equally represented, U – Underrepresented

seem to suggest that the different groups vary in their distribution across the different representation possibilities. While almost half of the CEPs, Dominicans, West Indians and native whites work in industries where they are overrepresented, only about 20 percent of Chinese immigrants and their children – and less than 10 percent of Puerto Ricans and native blacks – do so. It can also be seen that while almost all Puerto Ricans and Russian Jews work in industries where they are equally represented, other groups are less likely to do so, with only 25 percent of Dominicans, 31 percent of CEPs, 37 percent of West Indians, 53 percent of native whites, 59 percent of Chinese and 70 percent of native blacks. And as to the possibility of underrepresentation, which has not been previously studied in the literature, the data in table 4.13 suggests that a significant proportion of the non-white immigrant groups, as well as more than 20 percent of native blacks, are working in industries where they are underrepresented.

Table 4.13: Ethnic Representation Across Groups in CPS

	CEP	Dominican	Puerto Rican	West Indian	Native Black	Chinese	Russian Jew	Native White
Over-represented	49%	44%	6%	46%	8%	22%		47%
Equally represented	31%	25%	94%	37%	70%	59%	97%	53%
Under-represented	20%	31%		16%	22%	19%	3%	
Total	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**

Source: US Current Population Survey 1998-2000 March Supplement

Using the index of ethnic representation created from the CPS data, table 4.14 describes the different groups' distributions across the different representation patterns in the second generation data. The data suggests that there is no consistent pattern of

distribution across the different representation possibilities between the groups. As was true for the CPS data (table 4.13), the vast majority of Puerto Ricans and children of Russian Jewish immigrants work in industries where their group is equally represented relative to their share of the labor force. The CEPs, Dominicans and West Indian second generation are distributed across the three categories in roughly equal proportions, with significant percents in each cell. Native black and second generation Chinese, however, are most likely to work in industries where their group is equally represented (about 65 percent), but also about a quarter of these groups work in industries where they are underrepresented. In general, it can be said that second generation minority immigrants are moving into industries where their group is underrepresented. This can point to an assimilationist trend where children of immigrants move away from their immigrant parents' industries and into new and better parts of the labor market. One way to take a close look at this trend is to compare the different groups in the second generation study with their parents.

Table 4.14: Ethnic Representation Across Groups

	CEP	Dominican	Puerto Rican	West Indian	Native Black	Chinese	Russian Jew	Native White
Over-represented	26%	33%	5%	34%	9%	9%		38%
Equally represented	32%	25%	95%	32%	68%	65%	98%	62%
Under-represented	42%	42%		34%	23%	26%	2%	
Total	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**

Source: Second Generation Survey

Table 4.15 compares the respondents from the different groups with the same sex parents,[16] in their likelihood of working in the different ethnic representation settings. The data in table 4.15 suggest that, while for some groups there are clear patterns of intergenerational change, it is not so for others. For example, it can be seen that male as well as female children of Dominican immigrants are moving out of their parents' industries. They are twice as likely to be working in industries where their group is underrepresented, and half as likely compared to their same gender parents to work in industries where they are overrepresented. This trend is also apparent among West Indians but not as strongly. Among second generation Chinese, however, this trend is much larger among female respondents and their mothers, compared to their male counterparts. It is interesting to note that there is little intergenerational change among the native minority groups – that is, Puerto Rican and native black respondents are similar to their parents in their likelihood to work in the different representation settings. As for the white groups, we can see that while male children of Russian Jewish immigrants are moving out of the industries where their fathers are underrepresented, and into industries where their group is equally represented there is almost no difference between mothers and their daughters. And lastly, among native whites we can see very little difference between the male respondents and their fathers and a move from industries where the group is overrepresented to where it is equally represented among female respondents

[16] Since previous research has shown that the labor market is highly gendered, it is more accurate to compare children with the same sex parent.

Table 4.15: Ethnic Representation Across Groups Comparing Respondents With Same Sex Parents

	CEP	Dominican	Puerto Rican	West Indian	Native Black	Chinese	Russian Jew	Native White
Female Respondents								
Overrepresented	32	68	11	72	21	18		90
	18.7%	**31.5%**	**5.2%**	**40.9%**	**9.3%**	**7.6%**		**42.9%**
Equally represented	49	39	199	43	162	137	133	120
	28.7%	**18.1%**	**94.8%**	**24.4%**	**72%**	**58.1%**	**97.1%**	**57.1%**
Underrepresented	90	109		61	42	81	4	
	52.6%	**50.5%**		**34.7%**	**18.7%**	**34.3%**	**2.9%**	
Total	171	216	210	176	225	236	137	210
	100%	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**
Female Parents								
Overrepresented	181	176	14	171	31	279		186
	62.2%	**57.9%**	**5.5%**	**53.6%**	**10.7%**	**56.7%**		**60.2%**
Equally represented	42	54	240	98	223	161	239	121
	14.4%	**17.8%**	**94.5%**	**30.7%**	**76.9%**	**32.7%**	**98.8%**	**39.2%**
Underrepresented	68	74		50	36	52	3	2
	23.4%	**24.3%**		**15.7%**	**12.4%**	**10.6%**	**1.2%**	**0.6%**
Total	291	304	254	319	290	492	242	309
	100%	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**

Table 4.15: continued

	CEP	Dominican	Puerto Rican	West Indian	Native Black	Chinese	Russian Jew	Native White
Male Respondents								
Overrepresented	59	49	9	41	11	24		51
	31.2%	**32%**	**6%**	**25.8%**	**8.1%**	**9.4%**		**29.5%**
Equally represented	74	57	142	62	78	182	131	121
	39.2%	**37.3%**	**94%**	**39%**	**57.4%**	**71.1%**	**98.5%**	**69.9%**
Underrepresented	56	47		56	47	50	2	1
	29.6%	**30.7%**		**35.2%**	**34.6%**	**19.5%**	**1.5%**	**0.6%**
Total	189	153	151	159	136	256	133	173
	100%	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**
Male Parents								
Overrepresented	171	143	19	84	35	82		126
	55.3%	**45.0%**	**6.7%**	**30.2%**	**13%**	**15.6%**		**35.7%**
Equally represented	86	120	265	125	152	401	240	222
	27.8%	**37.7%**	**93.3%**	**45.0%**	**56.5%**	**76.1%**	**89.6%**	**62.9%**
Underrepresented	52	55		69	82	44	28	5
	16.8%	**17.3%**		**24.8%**	**30.5%**	**8.3%**	**10.4%**	**1.4%**
Total	309	318	284	278	269	527	268	353
	100%	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**

Source: Second Generation Survey

and their mothers. In general, the data in the table seems to show that we cannot speak of an overarching intergenerational trend, but of several different patterns.

IV. Revisiting 'Assimilation'

In the last century, the New York metropolitan area incorporated large waves of immigrants that changed its demographic composition while undergoing major economic restructuring and growth. This chapter describes these trends, focusing on the resulting ethnic and racial landscape of the local labor market. More specifically, the analysis presented above explores the relative size as well as the ethnic and racial composition of the various industries in the local labor market, and the ways in which the various groups are distributed across the industries; it concentrates on the differences between the various ethnic/racial and gender groups, and on intergenerational changes. The analyses in this chapter are based on new data that were not previously available. This data enables me to use multiple methods of comparison in order to study and compare specific groups, based on national origin rather than wide racial categories. Using these data I compared between foreign born and native groups, between immigrants and their children, between the second generation and their native counterparts and between the different ethnic and racial gender groups.

The main findings can be summarized as follows: (a) Being a major global business center and an immigrant hub, New York's labor market is dominated by a large service sector, which employs the majority of the local labor force, which is composed mostly of immigrants and their children (45 and 12 percent respectively) and about 40

percent natives. And just like the city's population, the labor force is composed mainly of non-whites, with 15 percent blacks, 36 percent Hispanics and 8 percent Asians; (b) The local labor market is segregated along racial and gender lines as the various industries in the local labor market differ in their ethnic and racial composition, and the diverse ethnic/racial and gender groups are differentially distributed across the industries. These patterns are evident in the dissimilarity and segregation index and in the ethnic representation of groups in the different industries; (c) There are clear differences within and between immigrant as well as native groups in their distributions across industries and in their patterns of ethnic concentration. The differences between groups are mediated by gender, race and immigration status. In general, children of immigrants are more similar to each other and their native peers than to their immigrant parents in their distribution across industries and in their patterns of concentration.

So, does this mean that the second generation is assimilating? Well, that depends on how we define assimilation and the other factors that might account for the variation in patterns. According to the 'traditional model,' assimilation means that across time and generations, immigrants lose their ethnic distinction and become more similar to the dominant group (presumably, native whites) and disperse across the labor market. The findings presented in this chapter, however, suggest that, in fact, native whites are not dispersed across the labor market, rather just like other groups, they are not equally represented across industries, and a significant proportion of the group works in industries where they are overrepresented. If we consider the fact that children of immigrants are more similar to their native white peers than to their parents in their patterns of distribution across industries, than we might say that, in general, the second

generation is assimilating. Conversely, if we were to foreground the fact that some second generation groups are more likely than their native white peers to work in industries where they are underrepresented, and thus that they are more dispersed in the labor market, we might strangely say that they are not assimilating.

Current debates around assimilation suggest that since most of the post-1965 immigrants and their children are not white and are settling in cities where native whites are not necessarily the dominant group, we should account for the possibility that the second generation might be assimilating into other segments of society. In light of these debates, we might expect that Latino second generation groups will become similar to native Latinos (Puerto Ricans), that children of black immigrants will assimilate into the African American population and that descendents of European immigrants will be incorporated into the white segments of society. The findings presented in this chapter, although preliminary, provide only partial support for the above speculation. We cannot say that children of West Indian immigrants, for example, are more similar to their native black peers than to native whites, or that second generation Dominicans are more similar to their Puerto Rican peer than to any other group.

Does the finding that second generation groups are more likely than their parents – and sometimes more than their native born counterparts – to work in industries where their group is underrepresented mean that race and ethnicity are not as important in shaping labor market trajectories among the second generation? The findings in this chapter echo several studies of labor market segregation suggesting that race and ethnicity are central sorting mechanisms for native workers. Since immigrants and their children are being incorporated into a labor market that is characterized by an

ethnic/racial/gender division of labor and segregation, there is no reason to assume that it plays a different role in their trajectories compared to natives. If this is the case, can we really distinguish between ethnic and non- ethnic economies, or are all economies ethnic?

Chapter Four:
From Co-Ethnic Employment to Logics of Incorporation

The best way to understand the role of race and ethnicity in the labor market is at the firm level (Logan, Alba and McNulty 1994). Yet, since such data are not readily available, most studies of ethnic economies and immigrant labor market incorporation use levels of ethnic concentration and self-employment at the industry level, derived from Census data (for example; Model 1997; Logan and Alba 1999; Wilson 1999; and Light and Gold 2000). These data are based on high levels of aggregation and abstraction and are detached from the actual experiences of groups and individuals in local labor markets. Furthermore, the assumption that ethnic concentration is affected by the use of ethnic networks, which underlies many of the studies, has not been systematically tested. The second generation data, however, provide a measure of co-ethnic employment at the level of the firm, based on the racial and ethnic composition of the particular workplace,[17] and on-the-job finding method.

Based on this information, the current chapter explores patterns of co-ethnicity in the work place among the studied second generation and native groups. Furthermore, drawing on theories of labor market segregation and immigrant incorporation, it analyzes and compares the effects of individual and structural factors (namely gender, age, education, economic sector, company size, method of job matching and ethnic concentration) on the likelihood of working in a co-ethnic setting. This analysis will allow me to answer the following questions: Are second generation immigrants more

[17] This information is derived from the questions: 'What is the race or ethnicity of most of the employees doing the kind of work you do on your job?' and 'What is the race or ethnicity of your immediate supervisor?'

likely to work in co-ethnic environments compared to the native born groups? Do patterns of co-ethnicity in the work place vary across the different groups and across industries? What factors shape and influence the likelihood of working with co-ethnics, across the different groups? These questions are related to the debates regarding patterns of second generation assimilation as well as to broader issues of labor market segregation and incorporation.

I. Co-ethnic Employment

Table 5.1 presents four possible measures of co-ethnicity at the firm level, by group. These are based on broad ethno-racial categories as well as on a more specific nation of origin criteria of co-ethnicity, [18] and on homogeneity of co-workers as well as of co-workers and supervisors. As we can see in table 5.1, the respondents of the second generation survey tend to work with people of the same race, suggesting that the local labor market is highly segregated by race, at the firm level. The most segregated are the white groups, as more than 80 percent of native whites and children of Russian Jewish immigrants work predominantly with other whites. More than half of African American (60.5 percent) and second generation West Indian (56.8 percent) respondents reported working predominantly with other blacks. The native as well as second generation Latino groups are slightly less likely than black respondents to work mostly with other Latinos, as 43.1 percent of CEPs, 52.8 percent of Dominicans and 46.4 percent of Puerto Ricans do so. Finally, even though Chinese immigrants and their children account for 2 percent

of all workers in the local labor market (see table 4.5), 40 percent of the second generation Chinese respondents reported working predominantly with other Asians.

The next column in table 5.1 suggests that if we define co-ethnicity in the work place on the basis of the race of co-workers and supervisors, the percents of respondents from all groups who work in this situation drops compared to the previous definition. Nevertheless, the relative decline in the proportions is not similar for all groups. The smallest decrease is for whites (natives as well as children of Russian Jewish immigrants), among who more than 70 percent work with white co-workers and supervisors, about 10 percent less than before. There is a decline of about 50 percent in the proportion of Asian and Latino respondents once we add supervisors to the definition of co-ethnicity in the work place, with about a quarter of respondents from these groups working with supervisors and co-workers of the same race.

Table 5.1: Four measures of co-ethnicity in the work place

Group	Co-workers of Same Race as Respondent	Supervisor and Co-workers of Same Race as Respondent	Co-workers of Same Ethnicity as Respondent	Supervisor and Co-workers of Same Ethnicity as Respondent
CEP	43.1%	13.4%	10.1%	2.1%
Dominican	52.8%	19%	21.5%	6.4%
Puerto Rican	46.6%	15.9%	30%	13.8%
West Indians	56.8%	24.7%	23.8%	6.7%
Native Black	60.5%	27.6%	41%	23.9%
Chinese	40%	29.1%	31.3%	27.4%
Russian Jews	83.6%	72.2%	22.5%**	8.7%*
Native White	81.7%	74.4%	24.2%	14.3%

Source: Second Generation Survey
* additional 9.2% work with Jewish Supervisors and co-workers.
** additional 10.9% work with Jewish co-workers.

[18] Unlike in the Multi City Survey of Inequality, the race and ethnicity of co-workers can be coded to match respondents' nation of origin background, rather than just a broad ethno-racial code such as 'Asian,' 'Hispanic' or 'Black.' For example see Elliot 2001.

The steepest drop is among native and second generation Latinos, among who less than 20 percent work in environments where supervisors and co-workers are predominantly Latino.

Although these definitions of co-ethnicity in the work place offer important information, the wide racial grouping obscures possible differences within these categories. Moreover, the inclusion of co-ethnicity of supervisors in the definition is problematic since it excludes many cases from the analysis. Thus, for the rest of this research, I will define co-ethnicity in the work place as a situation where a person works in an environment where most co-workers are of the same national background. As we can see in the highlighted column in table 5.1, a significant proportion of respondents from all groups works mostly with co-ethnics ranging between 10 percent of CEPs and 40 percent of African Americans. These numbers suggest that co-ethnicity at the firm level is not an easily dismissed phenomenon, and should be further studied. It is worth noting that African Americans are more likely to work with co-ethnics than West Indians or any of the other immigrant or native groups, implying that co-ethnicity in the work place is more than just an immigrant phenomenon; it is an inherent feature of the labor market.

Distribution of co-ethnic employment across groups and industries

Table 5.2 provides information about patterns of co-ethnic employment across groups and industries. Some interesting patterns of co-ethnic employment can be seen for particular groups and in specific industries. Since some of the cells in the table are very small and thus might not be robust, I will only discuss the cells with more than 10 cases.

Table 5.2: Patterns of co-ethnic employment across groups and industries

	CEP	Dominican	Puerto Rican	West Indian	Native Black	Chinese	Russian Jew	Native White
All Industries	30	66	90	68	120	133	49	75
	10.1%	**21.5%**	**30%**	**23.8%**	**41%**	**31.3%**	**22.5%**	**24.2%**
Agri., Fish., For.and Mining		0		0				0
				0%				**0%**
Construction		3	2	2	5	6	1	3
	0%	**50%**	**33.3%**	**50%**	**29.4%**	**60%**	**20%**	**37.5%**
Manufacturing	5	5	5	4	2	11	1	10
	22.7%	**25%**	**38.5%**	**26.7%**	**22.2%**	**30.6%**	**10%**	**28.6%**
Transp., Comm. and Pub. Utilities	5	3	4	5	10	2	2	5
	17.2%	**11.5%**	**18.2%**	**17.2%**	**35.7%**	**7.7%**	**28.6%**	**17.2%**
WholesaleandRetail	6	30	28	13	19	35	14	8
	9%	**37.5%**	**32.6%**	**20.6%**	**45.2%**	**41.7%**	**25.5%**	**16%**
FIRE	5	3	4	6	7	11	5	14
	11.4%	**12.5%**	**17.4%**	**20.7%**	**35%**	**15.9%**	**20.8%**	**35%**
Busi., Repair and Per. Service	4	10	15	8	27	23	12	17
	7.8%	**22.2%**	**29.4%**	**24.2%**	**45%**	**29.9%**	**26.1%**	**34%**
Professional Services	5	12	29	25	37	44	14	16
	7.4%	**13%**	**34.5%**	**26.9%**	**41.1%**	**40%**	**20.6%**	**20.3%**
Public Administration	0	0	3	5	13	1	0	2
	0%	**0%**	**20%**	**26.3%**	**48.1%**	**7.7%**	**0%**	**11.1%**

Source: Second Generation Survey

For example, the data presented in table 5.2 suggests that CEPs are more likely to be working with co-ethnics in the wholesale and retail trade (where 37.5 percent of those who work in this industry do so with other CEPs) than in professional services (where only 13 percent of CEPs who work in this industry do so in co-ethnic settings). Also, we can see that although second generation Chinese are distributed almost equally in the retail, FIRE, or personal services industries, they are far more likely to work with co-ethnics in the retail sector (41.7 percent) than in the personal services (29.9 percent) or the FIRE industry (15.9 percent).

Table 5.3 reports the distribution of co-ethnic employment across groups, along with several key characteristics (gender, age, education, economic sector, company size, method of job matching and ethnic concentration). The main finding in table 5.3 is that there are differences in the percents of co-ethnic employment across groups along the various variables; however, these patterns are not always consistent for all groups, and sometimes they are even opposite in their direction. For example, among children of CEPs, Dominicans, Chinese and Russian Jewish immigrants, males are more likely to work in co-ethnic settings than females, while the opposite is true for Puerto Ricans and African Americans. With regard to age, we can see that while second generation CEPs, Dominicans and Chinese, as well as African Americans, are less likely to work with co-ethnics as they get older, the opposite is true for Russian Jews and native whites. This could be due to differences in educational attainment, which is most likely to increase across these age categories. When looking at education, we see a similar pattern of decrease in the likelihood of working in co-ethnic settings with the increase in levels of education, except for native whites, among whom higher education seems to increase

Table 5.3: Distribution of Co-Ethnic Employment along Key Variables, by group

		CEP		Dominican		Puerto Rican		West Indian		Native Black		Chinese		Russian-Jews		Native White	
Sex																	
	Male	20	12%	31	24%	23	18%	32	23%	43	36%	80	34%	27	25%	34	23%
	Female	10	7%	35	19%	67	38%	36	24%	83	43%	58	29%	23	20%	43	25%
Age																	
	18-22 years old	10	9%	33	23%	32	28%	24	20%	35	44%	83	39%	25	20%	11	17%
	23-27 years old	10	8%	22	22%	29	29%	28	30%	48	44%	41	26%	16	24%	30	25%
	28-32 years old	9	13%	12	16%	30	31%	16	21%	43	36%	15	22%	10	31%	35	27%
Education																	
	Less than High School	3	9%	17	37%	21	32%	7	27%	22	52%	10	53%	5	40%	2	13%
	High School/GED	9	20%	12	20%	24	30%	16	33%	34	41%	15	41%	12	38%	8	21%
	Some College/ Vocational	16	9%	33	22%	30	25%	38	24%	58	45%	81	40%	22	19%	12	15%
	BA Degree	2	4%	4	9%	15	39%	5	10%	10	24%	28	20%	7	15%	41	34%
	More than BA							3	25%	1	10%	4	11%	3	18%	15	22%
Economic Sector																	
	Private Sector	23	10%	40	21%	57	28%	32	17%	57	33%	82	27%	28	18%	54	27%
	Public Sector			7	9%	21	27%	17	23%	47	46%	24	30%	3	11%	11	15%
Company Size																	
	Small Company (>50)	22	11%	60	29%	71	36%	38	22%	92	48%	120	42%	49	28%	43	24%
	Medium Company (51 to 500)	7	11%	6	8%	11	15%	19	26%	24	29%	16	17%	1	3%	18	21%
	Large Company (<501)			1	2%	8	25%	10	24%	9	28%	2	4%	1	4%	16	30%
Job Matching																	
	Informal Job Match	14	8%	43	25%	56	35%	41	31%	64	41%	91	46%	25	25%	43	28%
	Formal Job Match	15	12%	22	15%	34	24%	28	18%	61	40%	48	20%	24	20%	34	22%
Ethnic Concentration																	
	Not CPS concentrated	21	9%	31	15%	87	30%	40	21%	97	41%	121	31%	34	23%	43	25%
	CPS concentrated	8	11%	35	35%	3	19%	27	28%	23	42%	11	30%	14	21%	32	23%

Source: Second Generation Survey

the probability of working with co-ethnics. There are some differences between groups with regard to economic sector as well. While African Americans and second generation West Indians are more likely to work with co-ethnics in the public sector, native whites, and children of Russian Jews and Dominican immigrants, are more likely to do so in the private sector. Moreover, it seems that, for most groups, working in small firms increases the probability of working with co-ethnics, with the notable exception of native whites. The use of social networks in job finding seems to have a similar pattern for almost all groups (with the exception of CEPs), where finding a job though an informal channel increases the chance of working with co-ethnics. Finally, working in an industry where your ethnic group is overrepresented does not seem to have a uniform effect of co-ethnic employment. While it increases the chances of working in a co-ethnic setting for Dominican and West Indian second generation immigrants, the opposite is true for Puerto Ricans, and it makes virtually no difference for the other groups.

Multivariate analysis

To test differences in co-ethnic employment more systematically, I fit a logistic regression model using the variables discussed earlier, as well as a set of dummy variables for the various groups. First, I analyze a baseline model of the main effects for all groups. Then I proceed to compare each of racial groups separately, and lastly I run each group in a separate model in order to see whether different mechanisms are at play for the various groups.

Table 5.4: Logistic Coefficients Predicting Employment in a Co-ethnic Work Environment (all groups)

		B	S.E.	Odds ratios
Age				
	18-22 yrs. Old	-0.247	0.134	0.78
	23-27 yrs. old (ref.)			
	28-32 yrs. Old	-0.014	0.141	0.99
Sex				
	Male	-0.203	0.111	0.82
	Female (ref.)			
Education				
	Less than HS	0.079	0.214	1.08
	HS grad./GED (ref.)			
	Some College	0.013	0.154	1.01
	BA degree	-0.344	0.192	0.71
	More than BA	-0.771**	0.290	0.46
Economic Sector				
	Private sector employer	-0.033	0.130	0.97
	Public sector employer (ref.)			
Company Size				
	50 or less employees	0.616***	0.137	1.85
	51-500 employees (ref.)			
	501 or more employees	-0.134	0.206	0.88
Job Matching				
	Informal job match	0.439***	0.111	1.55
	Formal job match (ref.)			
Ethnic Concentration				
	Ethnically concentrated industry	0.327*	0.135	1.39
	Not ethnically concentrated industry (ref.)			
Group				
	Chinese	0.248	0.202	1.28
	CEP	-1.341***	0.274	0.26
	Dominican	-0.647**	0.230	0.52
	Native Black	0.523*	0.212	1.69
	Puerto Rican	0.109	0.221	1.11
	Russian Jew	-0.613*	0.258	0.54
	West Indian	-0.382	0.229	0.68
	Native White (ref.)			
Model Summary				
	Constant	-1.436***	0.291	0.24
	N	2096		
	Chi-square	164.25 (19)***		
	Nagelkerke R square	0.114		

*p< .05, **p<.01, *** p<.001
Source: Second Generation Survey

The results presented in Table 5.4 suggest that people with a post-graduate degree are less likely to be working in a co-ethnic environment compared to high school graduates; that working in a small firm increases the likelihood of working with co-ethnics compared to a medium sized firm; that the odds of people finding their jobs through informal ties to work with co-ethnics are 1.55 larger than for those finding their jobs through formal channels; that working in an ethnically overrepresented industry increases the odds of working with co-ethnics. And lastly, that controlling for all other variables, children of CEP, Dominican and Russian Jewish immigrants are less likely to work with co-ethnics compared to native whites.

Since the results of this model suggest that even when controlling for all other variables there are group differences in the odds of co-ethnic employment among various groups compared to native whites, and also in line with the segmented assimilation argument according to which immigrant groups might not be all assimilating into mainstream White America, but rather become more like the native minority most similar to them, I fit the same regression model separately for each minority racial group.

Table 5.5: Logistic Coefficients Predicting Employment in a Co-ethnic Work Environment (Comparing West Indians with Native Blacks)

		B	S.E.	Odds ratios
Age				
	18-22 yrs. Old	-0.482	0.264	0.62
	23-27 yrs. old (ref.)			
	28-32 yrs. Old	-0.308	0.252	0.74
Sex				
	Male	-0.28	0.219	0.76
	Female (ref.)			
Education				
	Less than HS	-0.053	0.394	0.95
	HS grad./GED (ref.)			
	Some College	0.071	0.271	1.07
	BA degree	-1.033*	0.408	0.36
	More than BA	-0.431	0.643	0.65
Economic Sector				
	Private sector employer	-0.604*	0.234	0.55
	Public sector employer (ref.)			
Company Size				
	50 or less employees	0.182	0.244	1.2
	51-500 employees (ref.)			
	501 or more employees	-0.032	0.349	0.97
Job Matching				
	Informal job match	0.27	0.213	1.31
	Formal job match (ref.)			
Ethnic Concentration				
	Ethnically concentrated industry	0.041	0.251	1.04
	Not ethnically concentrated industry (ref.)			
Group				
	West Indian	-0.835***	0.227	0.43
	Native Black (ref.)			
Model Summary				
	Constant	0.098	0.392	1.1
	N	500		
	Chi-square	45.1 (13)		
	Nagelkerke R square	0.124		

*p< .05, **p<.01, *** p<.001
Source: Second Generation Survey

The results of the comparison between the black groups in Table 5.5 indicate that among both native African Americans and West Indians, having a college education reduces the likelihood of working in a co-ethnic environment (B=-1.033), while working in the public sector increases that likelihood (B=.604) as proposed by the literature.

Surprisingly, though, controlling for all other variables, the children of West Indian immigrants are still less likely to work with co-ethnics compared to the native African Americans with the same characteristics (B=-.835). [19]

Table 5.6: Logistic Coefficients Predicting Employment in a Co-ethnic Work Environment (Comparing CEPs and Dominicans with Puerto Ricans)

		B	S.E.	Odds ratios
Age				
	18-22 yrs. Old	-0.253	0.232	0.78
	23-27 yrs. old (ref.)			
	28-32 yrs. Old	0.065	0.256	1.07
Sex				
	Male	-0.38	0.203	0.68
	Female (ref.)			
Education				
	Less than HS	0.022	0.308	1.02
	HS grad./GED (ref.)			
	Some College	-0.122	0.253	0.89
	BA degree	-0.422	0.37	0.66
	More than BA	-6.51	11.193	0
Economic Sector				
	Private sector employer	0.319	0.261	1.38
	Public sector employer (ref.)			
Company Size				
	50 or less employees	0.827***	0.258	2.29
	51-500 employees (ref.)			
	501 or more employees	-0.241	0.45	0.79
Job Matching				
	Informal job match	0.195	0.2	1.22
	Formal job match (ref.)			
Ethnic Concentration				
	Ethnically concentrated industry	0.601*	0.256	1.82
	Not ethnically concentrated industry (ref.)			
Group				
	Dominican	-0.852***	0.249	0.43
	CEP	-1.506***	0.284	0.22
	Puerto Rican (ref.)			
Model Summary				
	Constant	-1.467***	0.441	0.23
	N	783		
	Chi-square	81.5 (14)		
	Nagelkerke R square	0.161		

*p< .05, **p<.01, ***p<.001

[19] For a detailed discussion about African Americans and Second Generation West Indians, see Waters 1999.

When comparing the Latino groups in table 5.6, we learn that different processes are at play. Unlike with the black groups, among the Latinos it is the small firm size (B= .827) and the ethnic overrepresentation in the industry that increases the likelihood of working in a co-ethnic environment (B=.601). However, when holding everything else constant, it is the children of immigrants that are less likely to be working with co-ethnics than are 'native' minorities, in this case Puerto Ricans.

Since it seems like there are different processes shaping the experiences of the different groups within the same racial category, I conduct a separate analysis for each of the groups in the study. The results of these analysis in Table 5.7[20] point to the existence of different sorting mechanisms for each group that have an impact on its members' likelihood to work in co-ethnic settings. Controlling for all other variables in the model, it is college education compared to high school graduation that decreases the chance of working with co-ethnics for second generation CEPs (B=-2.413). Children of Russian Jewish immigrants with post-graduate education have lower odds of working in a co-ethnic setting (B=-2.28). Not surprisingly, for native whites the opposite is true, having a college degree increases the odds of working in a predominantly white work environment (B=1.279). The other factors that affect the likelihood of co-ethnic employment among native whites are working in the private sector (B=1.033) and finding the job though informal contacts (B=.663). Contrary to that, African Americans are less likely to work with co-ethnics in the private sector compared to the public sector (B=-.771).

[20] For purposes of clarity I only present statistically significant variables in this table.

Table 5.7: Logistic Coefficients Predicting Employment in a Co-ethnic Work Environment (Separately for each group)

		CEP	Dominican	Puerto Rican	West Indian	Native Black	Chinese	Russian Jew	Native White
Age	18-22 yrs. Old								
	23-27 yrs. old (ref.)								
	28-32 yrs. Old								
Sex	Male			-1.045***					
	Female (ref.)								
Education	Less than HS								
	HS grad./GED (ref.)								
	Some College								
	BA degree	-2.413*							1.279*
	More than BA							-2.780*	
Economic Sector	Private sector employer					-.771**			1.033*
	Public sector employer (ref.)								
Company Size	*50 or less employees*		1.418*	.939**					
	51-500 employees (ref.)								
	501 or more employees						-1.653*		
Job Matching	Informal job match						.973***		.663*
	Formal job match (ref.)								
Ethnic Concentration	Ethnically concentrated industry		.828*						
	Not ethnically concentrated industry (ref.)								
Nativity	Foreign Born						.718**		
	Native Born (ref.)								
Model Summary	N	259	264	259	241	258	374	177	261
	Chi-square (df)	26.32 (13)*	42.49 (13)*	30.16 (12)*	21.29 (13)	21.19 (12)*	72.22 (13)*	23.81 (13)*	27.07 (12)*
	Nagelkerke R square	0.217	0.248	0.156	0.135	0.108	0.253	0.208	0.146

*p< .05, **p<.01, ***p<.001

For all other groups, having a college degree and working in the private sector has no significant effect on co-ethnic employment.

Holding all other variables constant, gender has a significant effect on the dependent variable only for Puerto Ricans (B=-1.045), whose odds of working in co-ethnic setting are larger in companies that 50 or less employees, compared to those that have 51 to 500 employees. Second generation Dominicans are also more likely to work with co-ethnics in small companies (B=1.418), as well as in industries where their ethnic group is overrepresented (B=.828). Second generation Chinese immigrants are less likely to work with co-ethnics in large companies compared to medium ones (B=-1.653), and, similar to native whites, using informal ties increases their odds of working in co-ethnic settings (B=.973). Lastly, it is only for the children of Chinese immigrants that being foreign born (1.5 generation) significantly increases the chances of working with co-ethnics, compared to being born in the U.S. (second generation).

Based on the findings presented above, it can be argued that co-ethnic employment is a significant part of the experiences of second generation immigrants as well as of their native born counterparts. Maybe most intriguing is the finding that, controlling for all other variables, Latino and white second generation immigrants (namely CEPs, Dominicans and Russian Jews) are less likely to work in ethnically homogenous settings compared to native whites with the same characteristic, and that it is African Americans who are most likely of all groups to work with co-ethnics. And, contrary to the predictions of the segmented assimilation theory, West Indians are not significantly different than native whites in their likelihood to work with co-ethnics, but are significantly less likely to do so compared to African Americans. Moreover, the

findings indicate that the factors shaping patterns of co-ethnic employment vary across groups and industries, pointing to the existence of multiple logics of labor market incorporation. For example, while both African Americans and West Indians are more likely to work with co-ethnics in the public sector, the Hispanic groups are more likely to do so in small firms. And while the former decrease their chances of working with co-ethnics if they have college education, the latter, surprisingly, do so by working in industries where their ethnic group is not overrepresented. Also, social networks that are widely discussed in the literature as shaping ethnic concentration seem to have a significant effect on being co-ethnically employed only among second generation Chinese and native whites.

On a more general level, the findings so far problematize the use of broad racial and pan-ethnic categories, since they highlight the differences between CEPs, Dominicans and Puerto Ricans as well as those between West Indians and African Americans. The findings also problematize the assumption that conclusions about co-ethnicity in the labor market can be drawn only on the basis of ethnic overrepresentation at the industry level. And, lastly, the results of the previous analyses question the assumption that there is a clear distinction between immigrant and non-immigrant incorporation patterns, and between 'ethnic' and 'mainstream' economies. Thus, in the next part of this chapter, I use both measures (ethnic concentration and co-ethnic employment) to develop a new typology of logics of incorporation.

II. Logics of Incorporation

Light and Gold (2000a) describe the 'ethnic economy' as a broad concept, which encompasses all economic activities in which ethnicity plays a role, and thus includes any immigrant or ethnic group's self-employed, employers and co-ethnic employees. According to their argument, the ethnic economy has two central components – ethnic entrepreneurs and ethnic networks. Anything that is not part of the 'ethnic economy' is thus described as 'mainstream' or 'general economy,' which, if we use the same logic, is the economic activities in which ethnicity does not play a role. The same reasoning can be applied to the other concepts used in the literature, such as ethnic niche and ethnic enclave, which are supposedly subsumed under the general concept of the 'ethnic economy.' In other words, it can be said that the literature assumes there are two logics of labor market activity – an ethnic logic and a mainstream logic. Subsequently, these are operationalized in a way that equates ethnic ownership and ethnic concentration with the utilization of ethnic networks and ethnic homogeneity in everyday work settings.

However, since the previous analysis suggests that ethnic overrepresentation does not necessarily imply co-ethnic employment, I proceed to construct a matrix that describes patterns of racial and ethnic heterogeneity, which incorporates industry and firm level indicators. If we put the two measures – that of statistical representation at the industry level, and co-ethnic employment at the firm level – on a grid, we get a three by two table with 6 possible options, which, I would argue, represent six different logics that problematize the ethnic/no-ethnic distinction. The six different logics are presented in figure 5.8.

Figure 5.8: Logics of Incorporation

		Group Representation in Industry		
		Overrepresented	**Equally represented**	**Underrepresented**
Work Setting Characteristics	**Heterogeneous**	Pretend Logic (4)	Mainstream Logic (1)	Strangers Logic (5)
	Co-ethnic	Enclave Logic (3)	Niche Logic (2)	Frontier Logic (6)

Describing the logics

Cell number 1 represents a situation where a person works in an industry where his ethnic/racial group is represented in similar proportions to its share in the labor force and in a work environment that is heterogeneous. This is consistent with the view of the 'mainstream economy,' which is supposedly race/ethnicity (and gender) blind. According to the neo-classical economic view, this logic represents the 'perfect market' where each industry and each worksite should represent the composition of the labor force. Thus, if the labor force is racially and ethnically diverse, so will be the industries and worksites in perfect representation. I call this the 'mainstream logic.' According to the literature, we would expect non-immigrant, non-minority group members to work in such situations.

The 'niche logic' (cell number 2) and the 'enclave logic' (cell number 3) represent situations that are described in the literature as being part of the 'ethnic economy.' I chose these names in order to be consistent with the terminology used in the literature, but also to problematize them. The cell I call 'niche logic' describes a situation where a person works in an industry where her ethnic/racial group is represented in similar proportions to its share in the labor force, but in a work place that consists mainly of members of her own ethnic/racial group. This resembles the description of an ethnic

niche, where ethnic network hiring would result in worksite level ethnic/racial homogeneity, but not at the industry level. This describes a situation where, at the work environment level, a person works in an ethnically/racially homogeneous setting, but this is not necessarily true for the other worksites in the same industry.

The other cell that represents a situation that can be seen as part of the 'ethnic economy' is the one I named 'enclave logic' (cell number 3). This logic represents a situation where a person works in an environment that consists predominantly of his co-ethnics and in an industry where his ethnic/racial group is statistically overrepresented. One example of this would be West Indian nurses who are likely to work with co-ethnics, in an industry where this situation is common in other worksites. We can also think of Chinese garment workers who are likely to work predominantly with co-ethnics in an industry where their co-ethnics are overrepresented.

According to the immigration literature, we would expect immigrants to be more likely to work in these situations than the non-immigrant labor force. But, if we used only the statistical overrepresentation indicator at the industry level, these two possibilities would not be identifiable because the 'niche logic' would be subsumed under the 'mainstream logic,' where it would look like ethnicity had no role in shaping labor market trajectories, and the 'enclave logic' would be obscured by the 'pretend logic' (cell number 4).

The 'pretend logic' signifies a situation where people work in industries where their group is overrepresented but in worksites that are not predominantly co-ethnic. This combination problematizes the assumption made in the literature that we can assume co-ethnicity on the basis of statistical overrepresentation at the industry level. The problem

here would be that if we only use the statistical representation at the industry level indicator, we would think that people who work in these situations are part of the 'ethnic economy,' which implies ethnic/racial homogeneity, where in their daily life they actually work in ethnically diverse settings, which is closer to the way people experience the labor market in the 'mainstream economy.'

'Strangers logic' (cell number 5) signifies a situation where people work in industries where their ethnic/racial group is underrepresented and in work environments that are ethnically/racially heterogeneous. This logic, theoretically, implies that race and ethnicity do not have a role in finding a job. It is, in a way, the ultimate atomistic/individualistic/cosmopolitan/entrepreneurial notion of the 'self-made' person who does not rely on structural/demographic probabilities, who is not affected by attitudes or stereotypes that result in discrimination or favoritism, who circumvents all social queues and disposes of ethnic/racial ties; or who, in contrast, is unknowingly the beneficiary of affirmative action or quota systems, the ultimate 'token other.'

And lastly, the 'frontier logic' (cell number 6) represents those situations where people work in industries where their group is underrepresented, but they do so together. It could be seen as a collective effort to expand and renegotiate opportunities, to 'break new ground,' to create new niches and enclaves; thus, the fundamental process of social change.

This grid of logics can serve as a heuristic, as an 'ideal type' and as a 'yard stick.' It enables us to re-think the conceptual dichotomies between immigrants and non-immigrants, between first and second generation, between mainstream and ethnic economies. Additionally, it facilitates an understanding of the labor market as a multi-

leveled, complex institutional setting that is helpful in order to revisit out assumptions, our conceptual devices and our theoretical formulations. It gives us a better answer to the question: What is the labor market into which immigrants and their children are incorporating?

Groups and Logics

Table 5.9 describes the ways in which the different groups are distributed across the various logics, suggesting that this typology is not just a hypothetical heuristic device, but that it actually captures something real about labor market characteristics. Furthermore, data in the table suggests that the modes that have been described and theorized in the literature (those are the mainstream and niche logics) capture just part of the experiences of groups and individuals in the labor market. In fact, less than half of second generation CEPs, Dominicans and West Indians work in situations that can be described as mainstream and niche logics, while the others find themselves in different logics. On the other hand, these two logics describe the vast majority of work situations for Puerto Ricans and children of Russian Jewish immigrants.

Another interesting finding arises when trying to compare children of immigrants with their native counterparts. The data in the table seem to suggest that we cannot easily distinguish the 'immigrant' from the 'native' logics. If we follow the argument that being in the mainstream economy is a sign of assimilation, then it would be children of Russian Jewish immigrants and Puerto Ricans that are most assimilated, followed by native whites, second generation Chinese, native blacks and second generations CEPs, West Indians and Dominicans.

Table 5.9: Distribution of Groups across Logics

	CEP	Dominican	Puerto Rican	West Indian	Native Black	Chinese	Russian Jew	Native White
Mainstream Logic	84	61	198	73	117	202	165	146
	28.5%	**20%**	**66.2%**	**25.7%**	**39.8%**	**47.6%**	**76.0%**	**47%**
Enclave Logic	8	35	3	27	13	11		30
	2.9%	**11.4%**	**0.9%**	**9.5%**	**4.5%**	**2.5%**		**9.7%**
Niche Logic	11	16	87	19	81	77	48	45
	3.7%	**5.2%**	**29.0%**	**6.5%**	**27.6%**	**18.3%**	**21.9%**	**14.4%**
Pretend Logic	68	65	12	70	14	25		89
	22.8%	**21.3%**	**3.9%**	**24.4%**	**4.8%**	**5.8%**		**28.6%**
Strangers Logic	115	114		75	43	66	4	1
	38.7%	**37.2%**		**26.3%**	**14.6%**	**15.5%**	**1.8%**	**0.3%**
Frontier Logic	10	15		21	25	44	1	
	3.4%	**4.9%**		**7.5%**	**8.7%**	**10.3%**	**0.4%**	
Total	296	305	300	285	293	425	217	311
	100%	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**

Source: Second Generation Survey

In other words, we do not see a clear pattern in which the native groups are more likely to be in the mainstream compared to the immigrant groups. However, each native group is more likely to be in the mainstream compared to the immigrant groups of the same race. Puerto Ricans are more likely than children of CEP and Dominican immigrants, and native blacks are more likely than second generation West Indians. If we look at the niche logic as a situation, which is assumed to characterize immigrants, it is Puerto Ricans and native blacks who are most likely to work in this situation followed by children of Russian Jewish and Chinese immigrants and by second generation West Indians, Dominicans and CEPs. This again problematizes the assumption regarding immigrant and non-immigrant labor market logics. Moreover, the data in table 5.9 seems to suggest that the new logics, which were neither described, measured nor theorized in the literature, are actually situations that characterize significant proportions of work situations for several groups. This is true for more than half of the second generation CEPs, Dominicans and West Indians, and for more than a quarter of children of Chinese immigrants and for native blacks.

Multivariate analysis

In order to better understand the factors that affect and shape the likelihood of being in the different logics, I use a multinomial regression model to analyze the second generation survey data. Simply put, multinomial regression is a set of comparisons of each of the different logics with a benchmark/comparison category – the mainstream logic.[21] The dependent variables were chosen to represent the factors that are mentioned in the immigration, labor market segregation and organizational literature to influence

labor market and workplace composition. They are – immigration status, race, gender, education, sector, firm size and use of social networks.

The results of this analysis presented in table 5.10 indicate that there are significant differences between the various logics and the mainstream one. As for 'frontier logic' – children of immigrants are more likely than natives; blacks are more likely than whites and Asians; those working in the public sector are more likely than workers in the private sector; and people working in small firms are more likely than those in large ones to be in 'frontier logic' compared to 'mainstream logic.' 'Stranger logic' is different than 'mainstream logic' since children of immigrants are more likely than natives; blacks and Latinos are more likely than whites and Asians; females are more likely than males; people with higher education are more likely than those with lower educational attainment; and public sector workers are more likely than private sector employees to be in 'stranger logic' compared to 'mainstream logic.' 'Pretend logic' is different from 'mainstream logic' because children of immigrants are more likely than natives; blacks and Latinos are more likely than whites and Asians; people with some college education are more likely than high school graduates; and people employed in the public sector are more likely than private sector employees to be in 'pretend logic' compared to 'mainstream logic.'

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[21] For more details on multinomial regression, see Menard, S. 2001. "Applied Logistic Regression," chapter 5. Sage Publications.

Table 5.10: Multinomial Logistic Regression Coefficients

		Frontier logic		Strangers logic		Pretend logic		Niche logic		Enclave logic	
		B	**Exp(B)**	**B**	**Exp(B)**	**B**	**Exp(B)**	**B**	**Exp(B)**	**B**	**Exp(B)**
Intercept		-2.405*** (0.688)		-0.381 (0.358)		-1.056** (0.362)		1.928*** (0.395)		-1.508** (0.538)	
Nativity	Native Stock	-1.370*** (0.277)	0.254	2.491*** (0.202)	0.083	0.684*** (0.153)	0.505	0.697*** (0.155)	2.008	-0.563* (0.231)	0.569
	Immigrant Stock (ref.)										
Racial Group	Hispanic	-0.152 (0.302)	0.859	2.014*** (0.182)	7.496	0.954*** (0.172)	2.595	-0.135 (0.175)	0.874	0.454 (0.276)	1.575
	Black	1.244*** (0.274)	3.470	1.998*** (0.208)	7.371	1.073*** (0.196)	2.925	0.112 (0.195)	1.118	0.950*** (0.291)	2.587
	Other (ref.)										
Age	18-22	0.110 (0.322)	1.117	0.061 (0.194)	1.063	-0.122 (0.194)	0.885	-0.258 (0.193)	0.772	-0.548 (0.301)	0.578
	23-27	0.248 (0.315)	1.281	0.128 (0.184)	1.137	0.059 (0.174)	1.061	0.039 (0.182)	1.040	-0.031 (0.257)	0.969
	28-32 (ref.)										
Gender	Male	-0.220 (0.223)	0.802	0.544*** (0.140)	0.580	-0.108 (0.138)	0.898	-0.283* (0.143)	0.754	-0.565** (0.220)	0.568
	Female (ref.)										

*p< .05, **p<.01, ***p<.001

Table 5.10: Continued

		Frontier logic		Strangers logic		Pretend logic		Niche logic		Enclave logic	
		B	**Exp(B)**	**B**	**Exp(B)**	**B**	**Exp(B)**	**B**	**Exp(B)**	**B**	**Exp(B)**
Education	Less Than HS	-0.794 (0.500)	0.452	-0.676* (0.315)	0.508	-0.246 (0.309)	0.782	-0.030 (0.272)	0.971	0.400 (0.383)	1.492
	More Than BA	-0.194 (0.573)	0.823	0.800* (0.350)	2.225	1.444*** (0.309)	4.236	-1.899** (0.627)	0.150	0.857 (0.451)	2.355
	Some College	-0.300 (0.287)	0.741	-0.126 (0.201)	0.882	0.050 (0.212)	1.051	0.165 (0.197)	1.180	-0.213 (0.315)	0.808
	BA	-0.732 (0.410)	0.481	0.193 (0.248)	1.213	0.517* (0.247)	1.677	0.006 (0.243)	1.006	-0.178 (0.385)	0.837
	HS Grad (ref.)										
Sector	Private	-1.103*** (0.250)	0.332	-1.290*** (0.161)	0.275	-0.772*** (0.161)	0.462	-0.310 (0.180)	0.733	-0.683** (0.246)	0.505
	Public (ref.)										
Company Size	Small (lt 50)	1.489*** (0.524)	4.433	-0.094 (0.199)	0.910	0.048 (0.196)	1.049	0.892*** (0.247)	2.441	0.052 (0.298)	1.053
	Medium (51 to 500)	1.031 (0.551)	2.804	-0.296 (0.219)	0.744	-0.316 (0.218)	0.729	-0.042 (0.282)	0.959	-0.468 (0.346)	0.626
	Large (ref.) (mt 501)										
Job Match	Informal	0.385 (0.223)	1.469	0.030 (0.141)	1.031	0.169 (0.140)	1.184	0.500*** (0.144)	1.648	0.436* (0.216)	1.547
	Formal (ref.)										
Model Summary	Chi-square	742.832***									
	Pseudo R-Square	Cox and Snell	0.298								
		Nagelkerke	0.313								

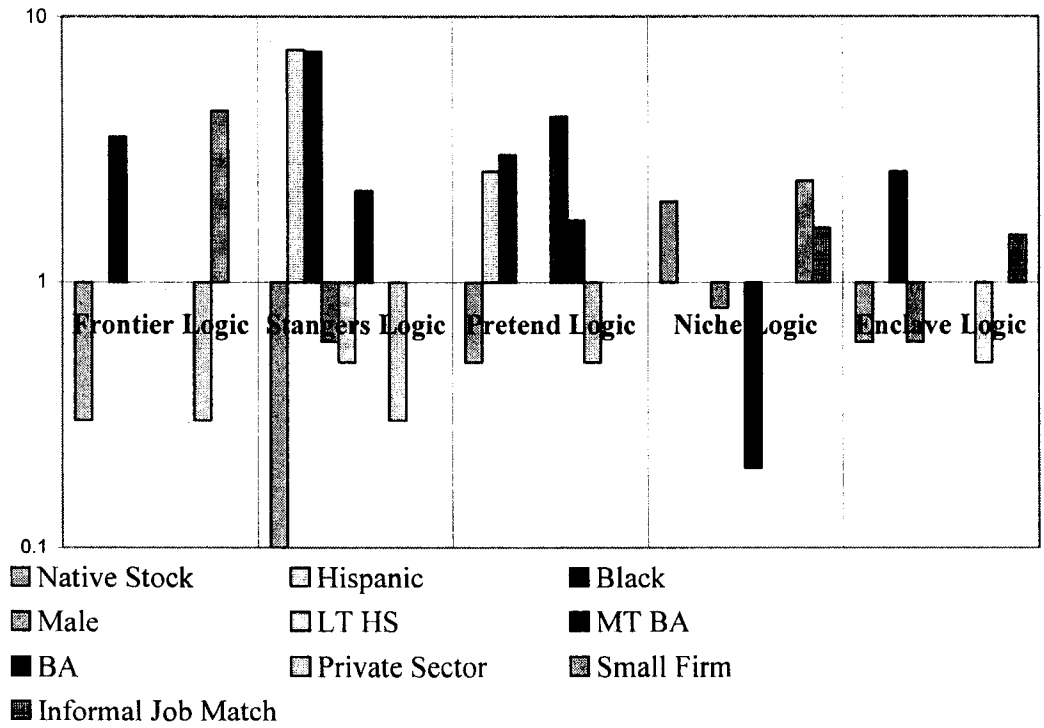
*p< .05, **p<.01, *** p< .001

However, natives are more likely than children of immigrants; females are more likely than males; high school graduates are more likely than people with some college education; employees of small firms are more likely than those working in large organizations; and those using informal job match methods are more likely than people using formal job match methods to be in 'niche logic' compared to 'mainstream logic.' Finally, children of immigrants are more likely than natives; blacks are more likely than whites and Asians; females are more likely than males; public sector employees are more likely than private sector workers; and those using informal job match strategies are more likely than those using formal job match channels to be in 'enclave logic' compared to 'mainstream logic.'

Another way to interpret the results of the multinomial regression analysis is presented in graph 5.11, which summarizes the odds ratios in a visual manner.[22] Although odds ratios do not provide a straightforward interpretation of the effect of each variable on the probability of being in the different logics, graph 5.11 suggests that indeed the various factors that shape the likelihood of being in the different logics compared to the 'mainstream logic' vary in their direction and size. Furthermore, we can see that different factors are at play across the different logics. For example, natives are less likely to be in the 'frontier,' 'strangers,' 'pretend' and 'enclave' logics, but more likely to be the 'niche logic' than in the 'mainstream logic,' compared to children of immigrants. Blacks are more likely to be in all but 'niche logic' than in the 'mainstream logic,' compared to whites and Asians. Hispanics, however, are more likely to be in 'strangers' and 'pretend logics' than in the 'mainstream logic,' compared to whites and Asians. With regard to

gender, we can see that males are less likely than females to be in the 'strangers,' 'niche' and 'enclave' logics than in the 'mainstream logic,' but that gender has no effect on the likelihood of being in the 'frontier' and 'pretend' logics. Working in the private sector reduces the likelihood of being in all but 'niche logic' compared to the 'mainstream logic,' while working in a small firm increases the likelihood of being in 'frontier' and 'niche' logic, but has no effect on the other logics, compared to the 'mainstream logic.'

Graph 5.11: Odds Ratios of Multinomial Logistic Regression



[22] The graph presents only variables that were statistically significant in the multinomial regression analysis.

Furthermore, we can see that finding work through informal channels (social networks), increases the likelihood of being in the 'niche' and 'enclave' logics, compared to the 'mainstream logic,' but has no effect in the other logics. And finally, with regard to education, the graph suggests that people who are high school dropouts are less likely to be in 'strangers logic' than in the 'mainstream logic,' compared to high school graduates; that people with a bachelors degree or higher are more likely to be in 'pretend logic' than in the 'mainstream logic,' compared to high school graduates; and that those who have graduate education are less likely than those with high school education to be in the 'niche logics,' compared to the 'mainstream logic.'

The new typology I develop and present is only a preliminary exploration. Nevertheless, it offers several insights about labor market dynamics and the incorporation process of children of immigrants and their native counterparts. First, the results of the analysis indicate that we cannot assume that ethnic representation in an industry represents co-ethnic work environments. Second, we can see that there is no clear distinction between second generation and native logics. Third, we can see that social networks play a role in some labor market logics, but not in others, indicating that more theoretical and empirical research is needed. Fourth, the results imply that we have to consider factors at the individual, organizational, industry and sector level in order to better understand ethnic and racial labor market composition.

Chapter Five:
The Multiple Logics of Labor Market Incorporation

"What is barely hinted in other cities is condensed and enlarged in New York."

Saul Bellow

New York is the quintessential global gateway city, playing a central role in the national and global economic and cultural evolution. It is a metaphor as well as the epitome of postindustrial transformation and global trends of technological advancement, emergence of new divisions of labor, growing power of finance over production, and migration from less affluent countries to the core cities of the global economy. Over the last few decades, New York has been the center of these processes, redefining international trade, financial markets, information technologies, marketing and media, and serving as a primary destination of immigrants to the United States. This dissertation research explores the ways in which several racially and ethnically diverse groups of young New Yorkers from immigrant and native backgrounds forge their future as they incorporate into, experience and actively shape one of the largest and most diverse cities and local labor markets in the United States, and in the world.

Researchers have noted that immigrants to the United States are highly concentrated in a few metropolitan areas. According to the 2000 census, 77 percent of the nation's 31.1 million foreign born residents still lived in six states – California, New York, Texas, Florida, New Jersey and Illinois, with New York and Los Angeles accounting for 33 percent of all immigrants. As immigrants and their children are

incorporating into American gateway cities such as New York, they are faced with a postindustrial, hourglass economy, with a complex matrix of racial and ethnic inequality, with segregation and discrimination, declining wages, growing poverty and increasing income inequality, thus making downward mobility a viable prospect for those who lack the appropriate resources. At the same time, most immigrants and their children flourish in New York as they redefine themselves and the meaning of being Americans and New Yorkers, forming vibrant communities and enclaves that add zest and flavor to the cultural richness of the city. As one of the respondents says:

> *"I would definitely identify myself as an American New Yorker. So within that, it's like being able to eat in every restaurant, every kind of food that is available to you and communicates so much about culture. I think that speaks for itself volumes. I can have incredible Ethiopian food for lunch and then have a wonderful Korean dinner. And that's what being an American is. With all the liberties to express how you feel about that, as you wish...All discarded into a disposable plastic bag."* (a 21 year old, Second Generation Russian Jewish woman)

The children of post-1965 immigrants who have been referred to as the 'new second generation,' and their native born counterparts, who are now coming of age, clearly constitute the future of New York and other gateway cities. Their transition to adulthood offers us a pivotal moment at which we can observe their trajectories as they negotiate social structures and institutions, create and recreate meaning systems, and interact with social actors, thus constructing and reconstructing one of the central institutions of modern society – the labor market. This dissertation research takes advantage of the diversity and size of the labor market in a global metropolis and an immigrant gateway and uses data on a diverse group of children of immigrants, their native born counterparts of the same age cohort, and their parents to explore several

theoretical and empirical questions related to labor market segregation and the immigrant incorporation process. In so doing, it draws on and hopes to contribute to a few bodies of sociological scholarship and is informed by several debates.

The sociological and economic scholarship offers several major explanations of race and sex segregation in the labor market (for review of the literature see Reskin and Padavic 1999; Kaufman 2002). According to the human capital/skills deficit approach, labor market segmentation is the result of differences between race-sex groups in average levels of worker level characteristics such as education, experience and skills. The worker preference approach claims that social and cultural differences between race-sex groups lead to different types of labor market position preferences, and thus to segregation by choice. Other approaches stress the importance of economic and organizational structures in constraining or facilitating segregation. The dual labor market theory, for example, views the labor market as composed of a primary and a secondary sector. The sectors differ in their economic power, stability of profit and employment, working conditions and wages. Others argue that the labor market is segmented along occupational lines. These approaches highlight the exclusionary nature of segmentation that causes different groups to have varying chances of entering the different segments and to move between them. Furthermore, scholars have argued that organizational characteristics such as formalization, bureaucratization, and hiring practices affect race and gender segregation.

An additional approach argues that processes of race-sex stereotyping and queuing segregate workers. Within this approach we find the statistical discrimination argument according to which employers use race and sex as proxies for productivity, and use them rather than personal qualifications as basis for hiring decisions. Recent

elaborations have extended the statistical discrimination argument, asserting that ranking of job applicants also relies on the match between an applicant's race and/or sex and stereotypes of the job's race-sex appropriateness. Another central argument within this approach is the labor queues argument, according to which the ranking of applicants reflects not only an applicant's training and productivity, but also distinctive patterns of race-sex ordering. Queuing reserves the best jobs for the most favored groups and relegates other groups to the less desirable jobs or to unemployment. Another central concept that has been used to explain labor market segregation is that of social networks. The main argument proposed by these explanations is that the structure, composition and utilization of social networks have an effect on economic and labor market outcomes.

The interest in labor market segregation and inequality produced a wealth of theoretical and empirical research. However, our understanding of the processes generating segregation and inequality is still limited, due to several reasons. First, although many studies point to the centrality of racial, ethnic and gender composition at the sector, industry and organization level, and describe the effect of composition on income;, there are only a few attempts to explain the uneven representation of race-sex groups across local labor markets. Second, since many of the existing analyses rely on restricted samples or case studies, and concentrate mainly of the differences between blacks and whites, they do not account for the racial and ethnic diversity of the labor force, and are not easily generalizable. The few studies that do consider other racial groups tend to use wide racial categories, not accounting for the differences within racial groups and between immigrants and natives. And finally, most studies tend to use a limited set of explanatory factors, usually at the industry, occupation or individual level,

not accounting for the multiplicity and complexity of labor market processes for the centrality of organizational level dynamics. Thus, in order to better understand labor market segregation and inequality, we need to shift the focus of analysis from assessing the economic outcomes of segregation to understanding the social processes causing it, to develop an account that uses a variety of explanatory mechanisms at different levels of analysis, and that accounts for the growing diversity in American society and labor force. Furthermore, since race and gender segregation processes are embedded in local institutional, political and cultural contexts, we need to conduct studies at the metropolitan labor market level. But if we want to understand the metropolitan New York's economy and labor market, we have to account for the role of immigrants and their children.

Few topics have received more attention in the immigration scholarship than the process of economic incorporation and mobility. Proponents of the traditional 'assimilationalist perspective' contend that as time from immigration elapses and across generations, race and ethnicity become less important factors in determining life chances and economic outcomes for immigrants and their children, leading them to assimilate into the 'mainstream economy' and experience economic mobility. Recently, however, scholars have argued that race and ethnicity have long-term effects on opportunities for immigrants and their offspring, stressing the importance and centrality of ethnic economies, ethnic enclaves and ethnic niches in the process of economic incorporation and mobility. These various forms of concentration and segregation are believed to be a strategy that immigrants adopt to cope with restricted resources, language and skill deficiency, and discrimination. In some cases immigrant groups become associated with

particular occupations or industries because they arrive with previous experience in that field. In other cases group members engage with new economic activities due to lack of better options.

Most scholars of immigration identify social networks as a key factor and a major resource in the creation and sustenance of immigrant concentrations in the labor market. Other factors that affect immigrants' mode of incorporation are the size and characteristics of the immigrant group, their patterns of spatial concentration, original class composition and occupational status distribution, mobility opportunities, institutional diversification, participation in ethnic organizations, resilience of ethnic culture, knowledge of host country language, knowledge of local economic institutions, the general reaction to and attitudes toward the host community, and the financial, social, and human-cultural capital of immigrant families and how these resources are used by individuals within and apart from the existing structure of ethnic networks and institutions.

Depending on these characteristics, scholars have argued, immigrants incorporate in one of several possible modes: They can join the primary labor market, they can become a middleman minority, they can enter the low wage, secondary sectors of the labor market, or they can create or be part of a previously existing ethnic enclave. Another slightly different formulation of the possible incorporation options suggests that immigrants can become entrepreneurs, get professional-managerial-technical jobs, join the public sector, or get semi- or low-skilled factory work or low-paid service jobs. More generally, these schemas distinguish between ethnic (enclaves, niches and economies) and other (non-ethnic) parts of the labor market into which immigrants incorporate. The

concept of ethnic economy was first used in the early 1980s to describe situations of co-ethnicity of employers and workers. During the 1990s, scholars defined the ethnic economy as a situation where common ethnicity provides an economic advantage. According to recent formations, the ethnic economy is a broad concept, which encompasses all economic activities in which ethnicity plays a role, and thus includes any immigrant or ethnic group's self-employed, employers and co-ethnic employees (Light and Gold 2000). The ethnic economy is thus a designation for every enterprise that is owned, supervised or staffed by a racial/ethnic minority group, and has two central components: The ethnic-owned component refers to an ethnic group's maintenance of a controlling ownership stake as well as its co-ethnic labor force. The other component is the ethnic-controlled component, whereby co-ethnic employment networks arise to channel co-ethnics into non-co-ethnic firms in the private and public sectors. Thus, it takes into consideration not simply job creation by ethnic entrepreneurs but also access to existing jobs in the general economy by an ethnic network's members.

In light of these theoretical formulations, most studies of immigrants' economic incorporation are interested in assessing the size of ethnic economies, and the effects of the different forms of ethnic concentration on economic achievement and mobility. Some scholars analyze census data to obtain quantitative measures of self-employment and ethnic overrepresentation as proxies for ethnic economies. They do this in order to account for variations in levels of economic integration and in mobility outcomes among ethnic group members who create employment opportunities for themselves and their co-ethnic workers. Others conduct qualitative studies of specific groups, communities or work sites to get a better understanding of the costs and benefits of participation in the

ethnic economy. The interest in the consequences of the various forms of immigrant labor market concentration generated a lively debate and produced contradictory results. Light and Gold (2000), in their extensive work on ethnic economies, argue that, in general, ethnic economies benefit employers but reduce the economic welfare of employees. While ethnic economies pay lower wages than the general labor market, they create jobs and thus provide income to individuals that might otherwise not have any. Furthermore, they argue that the fact that ethnic economies persist over generations points to their positive effects.

The inconclusive nature of current research regarding the role of race and ethnicity in shaping the experiences and outcomes of immigrants in the labor market is the result of several reasons. First, the data that is currently used to explore immigrant labor market concentration is limited. The qualitative case studies provide detailed descriptions of individuals' and groups' experiences, but do not always provide basis for generalization or comparison. The quantitative studies provide a wealth of descriptive information about patterns and trends, but are based on high levels of aggregation and abstraction and are detached from the actual experiences of individuals and groups in local labor markets. Furthermore, although the best measure of co-ethnicity has to be based on the race/ethnicity or national origin of employers and employees, such data are rarely available at the firm level. This limitation causes researchers to use proxies and indirect measures of co-ethnicity of workers and employees that are derived from levels of self-employment or ethnic overrepresentation in a particular industry or sector, assuming that these represent co-ethnic work settings.

Second, many studies tend to focus on economic outcomes of immigrant concentration and to provide explanations that are based on the characteristics of groups and individuals, thus adopting a simplistic view of the labor market that does not account for the multiplicity and complexity of processes that produce segregation and inequality. For example, the literature is clearer about what outcomes are hypothesized for participants in the ethnic economy than about its definition and operationalization. The boundary between ethnic and non-ethnic sectors in the metropolitan economy remains ambiguous and not theorized. The risk with the broad and vaguely specified definition of the ethnic economy is that it weakens its explanatory power because substantive internal differences are so large. Such a broad concept may be useful when examining individual outcomes, such as earnings outcomes or employment opportunities of the disadvantaged, but it is not of much use when examining the social processes underlying it. It is the variations in social embeddedness of ethnic economic activities, rather than the ethnic economy per se, that should be studied.

Moreover, many studies are based on the logical but untested assumption that the existence and utilization of immigrant/ethnic social networks are the main explanatory mechanism for immigrant labor market concentrations. These formulations are problematic since they are based on tautological reasoning. They can be interpreted as either arguing that immigrants succeed because they have good networks and African Americans fail because they don't have such networks, or that immigrants' dense networks are good because they provide economic opportunities and minorities' dense networks are not good because they stall economic mobility. This view is somewhat simplistic in its understanding of the labor market and portrays an ideologically loaded,

negative stereotype of native minorities, rather than considering the complex mechanisms that account for their disadvantaged position in the labor market. Although the role of social networks renders further theoretical and empirical scrutiny, there is some evidence showing that despite the emphasis in some writing on the weakness of black enterprise in contrast to the entrepreneurial spirit of new immigrants, there may be more similarities between the experiences of African Americans and minority immigrant groups than the literature accounts for. These concerns are all related to the central issue underlying many of the debates in the immigration scholarship – that of assimilation. Whether defined as the loss or decline of racial and ethnic distinctions, as a growing similarity to the non-immigrant population, or as the move up the socioeconomic ladder – the concept of assimilation often raises more questions than it solves and, thus, should be revisited and reassessed.

Generally, the literature on immigrant labor market incorporation tends to adopt a dichotomous vision of labor markets, groups and outcomes, assuming a clear distinction between ethnic and non-ethnic economies, between immigrant and non-immigrant practices and between positive and negative consequences. In order to better understand the role of race and ethnicity in the processes of immigrants' economic incorporation, we need to develop a theoretical framework that provides a better account of the dynamics of the labor markets into which immigrants are incorporating, based on a broad comparative perspective and on adequate data. Moreover, if we want to understand the long-term processes of immigration, we need to study the second generation.

Recent studies of immigration raise concerns regarding the socioeconomic future of the 'new second generation,' the children of immigrants to the United States. While

some scholars argue that due to the fact that many of today's second generation are racial minorities entering a predominantly white society, and since some are concentrated in poor urban neighborhoods with troubled school systems, and because they are facing discriminatory attitudes and shifts in the structure of the economy, they might have limited opportunities for economic mobility and thus will experience a decline in economic outcomes relative to their parents. Proponents of the 'segmented assimilation' theory, however, argue that there are several possible paths of assimilation that might produce different economic outcomes for today's second generation. Some may assimilate into the white middle class and experience upward mobility, some might incorporate into the non-white segments of society, and experience limited mobility, while others will forestall assimilation in order to achieve mobility. This line of inquiry represents a break in the link between assimilation and upward mobility that characterized the traditional assimilation model. The main advantage of these formulations is the realization that race and ethnicity are major organizing principles of the labor markets into which immigrants and their children are incorporating, and thus will have long-term effects on their socioeconomic trajectories. On the other hand, these accounts seem to be overly pessimistic (and maybe overly judgmental) regarding the socioeconomic future of members of non-white (and non-Asian) second generation groups.

It is interesting to note that while most studies of gender and racial inequality in the labor market find that segregation has negative consequences, studies of immigrant concentration highlight the potential benefits of ethnic enclaves, niches and economies. Furthermore, the different assimilation models make contradictory predictions regarding

the second generation's labor market concentration patterns and their potential effect on socioeconomic mobility. If, in fact, ethnic and racial concentration in the labor market were only the result of skill and language deficiencies that characterize immigrants, as argued by the straight line assimilation perspective, then the second generation (as well as non-immigrant ethnic groups) would be scattered and dispersed across the labor market and experience economic mobility. However, if the second generation is already embedded in ethnic communities and networks of organizations and activities that shape the groups' employment distribution, they will also affect the second generation's aspirations and paths into the labor market. According to this perspective, even if members of the second generation move to different or better jobs compared to their immigrant parents, their incorporation into the labor market takes on a collective form, where social organization serves as a mechanism for channeling people into the labor market. Just like with their parents, once a favorable niche is established, informal recruitment patterns can quickly funnel new hires. Under these conditions, the second generation might be as concentrated as their parents in the labor market.

Moreover, the segmented assimilation perspective contends that the role of race and ethnicity in determining labor market trajectories remains central for the second generation, leading at least some of them to potentially be more concentrated in the labor market compared to their parents. However, these formulations suggest that the second generation's labor market segregation and concentration patterns can have different outcomes. They pose the question whether these are springboards or mobility traps, or better yet, under what conditions does segregation facilitate mobility and when does it stall economic opportunities. In order to answer these questions it is important to have a

better account of the labor market and to make intergenerational comparisons between immigrant parents and their children, as well as lateral group comparisons between second generation groups and their native counterparts, while at the same time reassessing the relationship between labor market integration and economic opportunities. But due to lack of appropriate data and the relatively young age of the second generation, the empirical evidence regarding their labor market experiences is relatively scarce and inconclusive, and thus the accounts regarding their labor market trajectories have remained mostly speculative.

The research presented in this dissertation advances the existing scholarship on the 'new second generation,' on immigrants' economic incorporation and on labor market segregation by making an empirical and a theoretical contribution. It is grappling with a question that has been raised before – "Incorporation into what?" as a way to converge the discussion about native as well as immigrant, their children and the labor market they are part of. This question shifts the focus of analysis from assessment of economic outcomes to the necessary exploration of the processes and dynamics that shape patterns of segregation.

Using data from the second generation in New York project and the Current Population Survey (CPS) offers many advantages that allowed me to address several issues and questioned raised in the various literatures. First, the second generation in New York study is the first in the United States to provide survey data on labor market experiences of five second generation and three native born groups of 18-32 year old New Yorkers. Since the sampling frame was designed to include large enough representative samples of the groups, the data allows for a comparison between the

various second generation and native groups. Moreover, the use of CPS data allowed for multiple intergenerational and lateral comparisons between several ethnic and racial immigrant and native groups in one local labor market. These comparisons facilitate the discussion of the role of race and ethnicity in shaping labor market composition and the trajectories of a diverse labor force. The comparisons also contribute to further discussion about patterns of assimilation and incorporation among first and second generation immigrant groups. In addition, these data allow me to move from the wide racial categories that are most often used in the segregation literature to a discussion of origin based specific categories. This allows for a more in-depth discussion about pan-ethnicity, for systematic comparisons within and between racial groups, and thus for a more detailed understanding of the complexities and dynamics and consequences of racial differences in American society.

Second, while industry level ethnic representation measures can be obtained from census-like data, the second generation data provide the opportunity to measure racial and ethnic composition at the firm level. The firm level co-ethnic employment measure contributes to the understanding of labor market segregation by 'bringing the firm back in,' while at the same time testing the assumption made in the immigration scholarship that ethnic overrepresentation at the firm level means that people work with co-ethnics. By combining the two measures and constructing a typology of 'logics of labor market incorporation,' this dissertation provides an alternative way to explore ethnic and racial composition, concentration and segregation. This schema enables me to move from a dualistic, structurally oriented view of labor markets, groups and outcomes to a perspective that treats the labor market as a complex social arena composed of a plurality

of institutional logics that pertain to all groups in the labor force, while realizing the complexity of the labor market as a social arena that has structural, institutional and cultural components. Third, the models that are used to explain the likelihood of co-ethnic employment and the variation in logics of incorporation are based on an understanding of the multiplicity of factors (at the individual, firm, industry and sector levels) that shape labor market trajectories, thus accounting for the role of labor market mechanisms in the process of intergenerational immigrant incorporation. At the same time, the comparative framework that included children of immigrants as well as native New Yorkers from various ethnic and racial backgrounds, adds to our understanding of the complexity of mechanisms that produce segregation in metropolitan labor markets.

The findings presented in the previous chapters suggest that New York's labor market is dominated by a large service sector, which employs the majority of the local racially diverse, mostly non-white labor force that is composed mainly of immigrants and their children. These findings are consistent with the characterization of New York as a global gateway city, as suggested by many scholars. One of the major characteristics of New York's labor market is its segmentation along ethnic and racial lines. This is suggested by the findings that the various industries in the local labor market differ in their ethnic and racial composition and there are clear differences between groups in their distributions across industries. These patterns are as true for the general labor force as they are for the various second generation and native groups that are part of this study.

One way to describe these trends of ethnic and racial segmentation across groups and industries in the local labor market is by calculating an odds ratio that accounts for the relative size of the groups and industries. The odds ratio of ethnic

representation is used in the immigration literature to identify ethnic niches and enclaves. I used this conventional calculation to develop an ethnic representation index, which describes over, under or equal representation in each group-industry cell. The results of this analysis suggest that although groups have different patterns of representation across industries, as some are more likely than others to work in industries where they are under- or over- represented, a significant part of most groups are not working in industries where their group is equally represented. These analyses also suggest that some industries are more likely to have over- and under- representation than others. For example, the distribution of groups in the transportation, communications and public utilities industry, as well as business, repair and personal services industry, are fairly similar to those in the labor force. On the other hand, the distribution of groups in retail, professional services and public administration industries is different from that of the entire labor force, where groups are more likely to be over- or under- represented. In general, the indices of ethnic representation suggest that the ethnic and racial composition of various industries in the New York labor market are not representative of the ethnic and racial make up of the labor force.

When we turn to look specifically at young New Yorkers from immigrant and native backgrounds, we can see that they too are ethnically and racially segregated at the industry level; a significant percent of most groups work in industries where their group is either over- or under- represented. Nevertheless, the patterns of distribution across the different industries and ethnic representation possibilities vary across groups. For example, while almost all Puerto Ricans work in industries where their group is equally represented, Dominicans and CEPs are distributed roughly equally across the

representation possibilities. Also, we can see that second generation West Indians are more likely to work in industries where their group is overrepresented, compared to native blacks.

When we turn to look at work site ethnic and racial composition as an additional way to understand labor market segregation, we can see that the respondents of the second generation survey tend to work with people of the same race, suggesting that the local labor market is segregated by race at both the firm and industry levels. The white respondents are most likely of all racial groups to work with co-ethnics, although the majority of black respondents also work in co-ethnic settings. The native as well as second generation Latino groups are slightly less likely than black respondents to work mostly with other Latinos. And finally, even though Chinese immigrants and their children account for a very small part of all workers in the local labor market, more than a third of the second generation Chinese respondents reported working predominantly with other Asians. As we move from wide racial categories to national origin as the base of co-ethnicity, the numbers slightly drop. Still, a significant proportion of respondents from all groups work mostly with people from the same national origin. These findings suggest that co-ethnicity at the firm level is not an easily dismissed phenomenon and should be further studied. Furthermore, it is worth noting that African Americans are more likely to work with co-ethnics than West Indians or any of the other immigrant or native groups, implying that co-ethnicity in the work place is more than just an immigrant phenomenon; it is an inherent feature of the labor market.

In order to test the assumptions that industry level overrepresentation implies a co-ethnic work environment, and that a distinction exists between 'mainstream' and

'ethnic' modes, and to suggest an additional way to explore patterns of ethnic and racial composition in the labor market, I combined the ethnic representation index and the co-ethnic employment measures to construct a typology of "logics of labor market incorporation." This typology represents six possible combinations of ethnic composition at the industry and firm level, which I call logics. As it turns out, this schema is helpful as a hypothetical heuristic, as well as a description that captures the role of race and ethnicity in work situations of the survey respondents. Based on the finding that the various second generation and native groups are differentially distributed across the various logics, I argue that: First, we cannot assume congruence between ethnic overrepresentation and co-ethnicity at the work place. Second, the implicit distinction between ethnic and mainstream (or non-ethnic) modes that have been described and theorized in the literature do not capture the full complexity of the experiences of groups and individuals in the labor market. In fact, less than half of second generation CEPs, Dominicans and West Indians work in situations that can be clearly distinguished as mainstream or ethnic logics, while the others find themselves in different situations that do not correspond to this duality. And lastly, that we cannot easily distinguish between second generation and native logics of incorporation. Based on these findings I argue that we should be cautious when making these assumptions about immigrants as well.

Generally, it seems that the patterns of distribution of groups across the various logics suggest that race and ethnicity are central and enduring factors that sort groups and individuals to distinct labor market positions, thus shaping the fates of all participants in New York's economy, be they new immigrants or second generation, whites or others.

In order to get a better understanding of the factors that shape ethnic and racial labor market segregation, I conducted several multivariate analyses. The independent variables were chosen to represent the factors that are mentioned in the immigration, labor market segregation and organizational literature to affect labor market and workplace composition. They are – immigration status, race, gender, education, economic sector, firm size and use of social networks.

The analysis of the differences in the percents of co-ethnic employment across groups along the various factors suggests that the effects are not always consistent for all groups, and sometimes they are even opposite in their direction. For example, among children of CEPs, Dominicans, Chinese and Russian Jewish immigrants, males are more likely to work in co-ethnic settings than females, while the opposite is true for Puerto Ricans and African Americans. With regard to age, it seems that while second generation CEPs, Dominicans and Chinese as well as African Americans are less likely to work with co-ethnics, as they get older, the opposite is true for Russian Jews and native whites. This could be true due to differences in educational attainment, which is most likely to increase across these age categories. When looking at education, we see a similar pattern of decrease in the likelihood of working in co-ethnic settings with the increase in levels of education. Native white are the exception, with higher education seeming to increase the probability of working with co-ethnics. The use of social networks in job finding seem to have a similar pattern for almost all groups (with the exception of CEPs), where finding a job through an informal channel increases the chance of working with co-ethnics. Finally, working in an industry where your ethnic group is overrepresented does not seem to have a uniform effect on co-ethnic employment. In order to get a better

understanding of the net effect of the various factors, I used logistic and multinomial regression models.

With regard to co-ethnic employment, the analysis suggests the following: That people with a post-graduate degree are less likely to work in a co-ethnic environment compared to high school graduates; that working in a small firm increases the likelihood of working with co-ethnics compared to a medium sized firm; that the odds of people who found their jobs through informal ties to work with co-ethnics are larger than for those who found their jobs through formal channels; that working in an ethnically overrepresented industry increases the odds of working with co-ethnics; and, lastly, that controlling for all other variables, children of CEP, Dominican and Russian Jewish immigrants are less likely to work with co-ethnics compared to native whites.

When looking at the effect of the various factors on the likelihood of being in the different logics compared to the mainstream logic, we find that (a) there are significant differences between the various logics and the mainstream one; (b) that there are different factors at play across the different logics; and (c) that the effects vary in their size and direction. For example, natives are less likely to be in the 'frontier,' 'strangers,' 'pretend' and 'enclave' logics but more likely to be the 'niche logic' than in the 'mainstream logic,' compared to children of immigrants. Blacks are more likely to be in all but 'niche logic,' than in the 'mainstream logic' compared to whites and Asians. Hispanics, however, are more likely to be in 'strangers' and 'pretend' logics than in the 'mainstream logic,' compared to whites and Asians. With regard to gender we can see that males are less likely than females to be in the 'strangers,' 'niche' and 'enclave' logics than in the 'mainstream logic,' but that gender has no effect on the likelihood of being in the

'frontier' and 'pretend' logics. Working the private sector reduces the likelihood of being in all but 'niche logic' compared to the 'mainstream logic,' while working in a small firm increases the likelihood of being in 'frontier' and 'niche' logic, but has no effect on the other logics, compared to the 'mainstream logic.' Furthermore, we can see that finding work through informal channels (social networks) increases the likelihood of being in the 'niche' and 'enclave' logics compared to the 'mainstream logic,' but has no effect in the other logics. And finally, with regard to education, the graph suggests that high school dropouts are less likely to be in 'strangers logic' than in the 'mainstream logic,' compared to high school graduates; that people with a bachelors degree or higher are more likely to be in 'pretend logic' than in the 'mainstream logic,' compared to high school graduates; and that those who have graduate education are less likely than those with high school education to be in the 'niche logics,' compared to the 'mainstream logic.'

The new typology I developed and presented in this dissertation is only a preliminary exploration. Nevertheless, it offers several insights about labor market dynamics and the incorporation process of children of immigrants and their native counterparts. Most importantly, the results imply that we have to consider factors at the individual, organizational, industry and sector level in order to better understand ethnic and racial labor market composition and its effect on the labor market incorporation process. In light of these new ways to theorize and operationalize labor market segregation and concentration, we can revisit the assimilation question, which is so central to the immigration scholarship.

The immigrant parents of the survey respondents were highly concentrated in the labor market. For example, almost one half of the Chinese fathers worked in restaurants, more than a third of West Indian mothers were nurses or nurses aides, and many of the Dominican, CEP and Chinese mothers worked in manufacturing. Their second generation children have generally fled these areas, and as the in-depth interviews suggest, they dislike their parents' occupations. For example, when asked what job he would never take, one second generation Chinese respondent said "delivering Chinese food." Another second generation Chinese respondent, who is the daughter of a Chinatown jewelry shop owner, was asked if her father wanted her to take over the business. She humorously responded: "No, he doesn't hate me that much!" And as a second generation Colombian respondent said when asked about the possibility of his taking his father's job: "Hey, I don't do that factory thing" (Kasinitz, Mollenkopf and Waters 2002).

In order to analyze generational differences more systematically, I used the index of dissimilarity to compare the distribution across industries for each of the studied groups with the same sex parent. The analysis suggests that there is a significant difference between children and their parents in their distribution across industries among most of the studied groups. However, the differences are larger among most immigrant groups and their children, compared to the native born and their parents. Furthermore, among five of the eight groups, the differences are larger for mothers and daughters compared to fathers and sons.

In order to find out how each group of parents and children in the survey compares to the age and gender equivalent group in the metropolitan labor force, I used the index of segregation. The size of the index for the different groups suggests that, in

general, the children are more similar to their comparable age and gender group in the labor force than their parents. It is the Chinese immigrant mothers that have the largest index of segregation, suggesting that more than half of them have to change the industry where they work in order to resemble the comparable age and gender group in the local labor market. Interestingly, their daughters, the female second generation Chinese respondents, have the lowest value. Furthermore, we can see that for most of the groups the female respondents are more similar to the comparable age and gender group in the local labor market compared to males, but that this trend does not carry over to the parents, for whom gender does not have a consistent effect on the size of the index of segregation. Of all groups in the survey, the largest differences in the values between parents and children are among Latino immigrant groups. The smallest differences are between West Indian immigrants and their children.

Another way to analyze generational differences among the respondents and their parents is to use the index of ethnic representation. By comparing the respondents from the different groups with the same sex parents regarding their likelihood of working in the different ethnic representation settings, I find that while for some groups there are clear patterns of intergenerational change, it is not so for others. For Example, it can be seen that male and female children of Dominican immigrants are moving out of their parents' industries. They are twice as likely to be working in industries where their group is underrepresented, and half as likely compared to their same gender parents to work in industries where they are overrepresented. This trend is also apparent among West Indians, but not as strongly. Among second generation Chinese, however, this trend is much larger among female respondents and their mothers compared to their male

counterparts. It is interesting to note that there is little intergenerational change among the native minority groups – that is Puerto Ricans and native black respondents are similar to their parents in their likelihood to work in the different representation settings. As for the white groups, we can see that while male children of Russian Jewish immigrants are moving out of the industries where their fathers are underrepresented, and into industries where their group is equally represented, there is almost no different between mothers and their daughters. And lastly, among native whites we can see very little difference between the male respondents and their fathers, and a move from industries where the group is overrepresented to where it is equally represented among female respondents and their mothers.

The intergenerational comparisons suggest that, for the most part, second generation and native groups of young New Yorkers who were part of the study resemble each other and other workers of their age and gender in their distribution across industries in the local labor market, rather than their parents. Furthermore, they are not as concentrated as their parents are, and they are more likely to work in industries where their group is underrepresented. As one would expect of this age group, they mostly work in sales or administrative jobs. There seems to be a concentration of second generation Chinese and Latino groups in the finance industry, of second generation Russian-Jews in the computer business, of second generation West Indian women in the health care industry and of native whites in the media and entertainment business. But these trends are minor in the face of a great similarity among groups and a marked dissimilarity from their parents.

These findings might point to a trend where children of immigrants move away from their immigrant parents' industries and into new and better parts of the labor market. Yet, should this be interpreted as assimilation? Does the finding that second generation groups are more likely than their parents and sometimes more than their native born counterparts to work in industries where their group is underrepresented mean that race and ethnicity are not as important in shaping labor market trajectories among the second generation? The answers to these questions depend on how one defines and operationalizes assimilation, and what other factors might account for the variation in patterns.

According to the 'traditional model,' assimilation means that across time and generations immigrants lose their ethnic distinction, become more similar to the dominant group (presumably native whites), disperse across the labor market and experience socioeconomic mobility. More recent formulations, however, challenge these assertions, arguing that race and ethnicity have a long lasting effect on immigrant and subsequent generations, that the similarity of descendants of non-white immigrant groups may be with the native minority groups rather than with the dominant racial group, and that there is no necessary linear causality between assimilation and upward mobility. This dissertation research deals directly with the first two assertions and provides leads on the third one.

Thus far, the analysis suggest that, in fact, native whites (who are sometimes considered the dominant group) are not dispersed across the labor market, rather just like other groups, they are not equally represented across industries. Also, a significant proportion of the group works in industries where they are overrepresented. If we

consider the fact that children of immigrants are more similar to their native white peers than to their parents in their patterns of distribution across industries, then we might say that, in general, the second generation is assimilating. Conversely, if we were to foreground the fact that some second generation groups are more likely than their native white peers to work in industries where they are underrepresented, and thus that they are more dispersed in the labor market, we might strangely say that they are not assimilating.

The findings presented so far echo several studies of labor market segregation suggesting that race and ethnicity are central sorting mechanisms for native workers. Since immigrants and their children are being incorporated into a labor market that is characterized by an ethnic/racial/gender division of labor and segregation, there is no reason to assume that it plays a different role in the trajectories of immigrants and their children compared to natives. If this is the case, can we really distinguish between ethnic and non-ethnic economies, or are all economies ethnic?

If all economies are ethnic, then race and ethnicity shape labor market composition at the industry and firm level, and affect all immigrant as well as native groups. But, if there is segmented assimilation, then some immigrant minority groups may not assimilate into mainstream white America, but rather become more like the native minority most similar to them in their likelihood of working with co-ethnics and in the factors and shape co-ethic employment patterns. In light of these assertions, we might expect that Latino second generation groups will become similar to native Latinos (Puerto Ricans), that children of black immigrants will assimilate into the African American population and that descendents of European immigrants will be incorporated into the white segments of society. The findings in this dissertation provide only partial

support for the above speculation. We cannot say that children of West Indian immigrants, for example, are more similar to their native black peers than to native whites, or that second generation Dominicans are more similar to their Puerto Rican peers than to any other group. The results of the base line model for co-ethnic employment suggest that, even when controlling for all other variables, there are group differences in the odds of co-ethnic employment among various groups compared to native whites. However, in order to further explore similarities and differences within racial categories in their likelihood of working with co-ethnics, I fit the same regression model separately for each minority racial group.

The results of the comparison of the factors that shape the likelihood of working with co-ethnics among native blacks and second generation West Indians indicate that having a college education reduces the likelihood of working in a co-ethnic environment, while working in the public sector increases that likelihood. Interestingly, controlling for all other variables, the children of West Indian immigrants are less likely to work with co-ethnics compared to the native African Americans with the same characteristics. When comparing the Latino groups, we learned that different processes are at play. It is the small firm size, and the ethnic overrepresentation at the industry level, that increase the likelihood of working in a co-ethnic environment. However, when holding everything else constant, it is the children of immigrants who are less likely to be working with co-ethnics than are 'native' minorities, in this case Puerto Ricans. Since it seems like there are different processes shaping the experiences of the different groups within the same racial category, I conducted a separate analysis for each of the groups in the study. The

results of these analyses point to the existence of different sorting mechanism for each group that affect its members' likelihood to work in co-ethnic settings.

It is college education compared to high school graduation that decreases the chance of working with co-ethnics for second generation CEPs, while children of Russian Jewish immigrants with post-graduate education have lower odds of working in a co-ethnic setting, compared to those with a high school diploma. Not surprisingly, the opposite is true for native whites, for whom having a college degree increases the odds of working in a predominantly white work environment. Other factors that affect the likelihood of co-ethnic employment among native whites are: working in the private sector and finding the job though informal contacts. Contrary to that, African Americans are less likely to work with co-ethnics in the private sector compared to the public sector. For all other groups, having a college degree and working in the private sector has no significant effect on co-ethnic employment.

Based on these findings, it can be argued that co-ethnic employment is a significant part of the experiences for second generation immigrants as well as for their native born counterparts, and thus that race and ethnicity affect the labor market experiences of all members of the local labor force at the firm as well as at the industry level. Maybe most intriguing are the findings that, after controlling for all other variables, Latino and white second generation immigrants (namely CEPs, Dominicans and Russian Jews) are less likely to work in ethnically homogenous settings compared to native whites with the same characteristics, and that it is African Americans who are the most likely of all groups to work with co-ethnics. And, contrary to the predictions of the segmented assimilation theory, West Indians are not significantly different than native

whites in their likelihood to work with co-ethnics, but are significantly less likely to do so compared to African Americans.

Moreover, the findings indicate that the factors shaping patterns of co-ethnic employment vary across groups and industries. For example, while both African Americans and West Indians are more likely to work with co-ethnics in the public sector, the Hispanic groups are more likely to do so in small firms. And while the former decrease their chances of working with co-ethnics if they have college education, the latter, surprisingly, do so by working in industries where their ethnic group is not overrepresented. Also, social networks that are widely discussed in the literature as shaping ethnic concentration seem to have a significant effect on being co-ethnically employed only among second generation Chinese and native whites. These finding support the argument that race and ethnicity are central for all groups in the labor force and that ethnic and racial composition at the firm level are determined by individual level characteristics as well as organizational, industry and sector level mechanisms. Furthermore, the dynamics are not the same for all groups, thus pointing to the existence of multiple labor market logics.

If we follow the literature to argue that being in the mainstream logic is a sign of assimilation, then it would be children of Russian Jewish immigrants and Puerto Ricans who are most 'assimilated,' followed by native whites, second generation Chinese, native blacks and second generations CEPs, West Indians and Dominicans. If we look at the niche logic as a situation, which is assumed to characterize immigrants, it is Puerto Ricans and native blacks who are most likely to work in this situation, followed by children of Russian Jewish and Chinese immigrants and by second generation West

Indians, Dominicans and CEPs. The findings of this research, however, suggest that we do not see a clear pattern in which the native groups are more likely to be in the mainstream logic compared to the children of immigrants, thus problematizing the distinction between 'ethnic' and 'non ethnic' economies, and between 'immigrant' and the 'native' logics. Moreover, I argue that the new logics that were neither described, measured nor theorized by the literature are actually situations that characterize significant proportions of work situations for several groups, and thus need to be further studied.

This study opens at least as many questions as it suggests answers to. In particular two issues merit further attention, but are beyond the scope of this dissertation research. One is the role of gender in shaping labor market trajectories and outcomes. Although abundant evidence suggests that women tend to concentrate in particular industries and occupations and in the least rewarding parts of the labor market, this research did not fully explore the way gender, and especially as it intersects with immigration, race and ethnicity, may affect logics of incorporation presented in this study. This is an especially intriguing and important research question, given the wide variety of gender experiences within a diverse urban labor force. The analysis in this dissertation does show the significance of gender in shaping patterns of co-ethnic employment among several groups and in explaining generational difference between the respondents of the second generation study and their same-sex parent in their distribution across industries and ethnic representation possibilities. However, the wider theoretical implications of these findings will be further developed in future research.

Another issue that merits additional attention is how the logics of incorporation might shape economic outcomes and mobility opportunities, as reflected mainly in income inequality. Most of the literature concentrates on the economic consequences of labor market segregation and concentration. While research on labor market segregation points to its negative effect on women's and minorities' income, immigration scholars argue that ethnic concentration offers opportunities for economic mobility, highlighting the potential economic benefits of segregation. This dissertation however, proposed a shift in the focus of analysis towards the processes that shape labor market segregation and concentration. These analyses result in the logics of incorporation typology as an alternative way to conceptualize and theorize labor market segregation and concentration; using this typology in future research can contribute to our understating of the relationship between labor market segregation, immigrant concentration and income inequality.

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For the past few decades, the New York metropolitan area (and most other American gateway cities) incorporated large waves of immigrants that changed its demographic composition while undergoing major economic restructuring and growth. In order to understand how this economically polarized metropolitan labor market operates to incorporate the diverse urban labor force that is composed mainly of immigrants and minorities, this dissertation research utilized multiple data sources; adopts a wide theoretical scope that integrates scholarship from the sociology of immigration, research on labor market segregation, literature on organizational inequality and insights from economic sociology; and shifts the focus of analysis from assessing economic

consequences to examining social processes that shape labor market incorporation. Focusing on five second generation immigrant groups and three native groups of young New Yorkers, I explored the reasons for and mechanisms of labor market segregation and concentration, and alternative ways to theorize and measure the role of race and ethnicity in shaping groups' and individuals' labor market trajectories.

Most importantly, on the basis of this research, I argue that different groups vary in the way they are being incorporated into the local labor market and the factors that shape their trajectories. As second generation groups seem to be moving away from parental concentrations and jobs, and to resemble each other and their native counterparts, there is little evidence to support the pessimistic predictions of 'second generation decline' or 'segmented assimilation.' These finding resonate with Waldinger and Perlmann's (1999) assertion that the second generation is in the same position as their native counterparts in facing the 'new economy,' which is characterized by many good jobs at the top, many bad jobs at the bottom and little in between. As many of the new second generation have educational attainment that is comparable to that of middle class Americans, and with their high proportions of college attendance, most of them are likely be able to get the 'good jobs' even though some come from families with lower educational attainment. Those who do not excel educationally are likely to have trouble finding good jobs, but so will their native born counterparts with the same educational attainment.

Unfortunately, however, there is ample indication to argue that the role of race and ethnicity continue to be central sorting mechanisms into a segregated and fragmented labor market. This appears to be part and parcel of a more general societal context

characterized by complex and ever-changing racial hierarchies and cultural battles over identity politics. As the population becomes more diverse, it is possible that the black/white division will change into a black/non-black boundary rendering Asians and some Hispanics more opportunities, but causing blacks to remain disadvantaged; or that racial boundaries will become more permeable, improving opportunities for all minority groups. These possibilities echo Kasinitz, Mollenkopf and Waters' (2002) statement that the polyglots of young adults from various ethnic and racial backgrounds in gateway cities are creating a new vibrant youth culture that is neither 'immigrant' nor 'middle American.' They point out that the existing theories of assimilation do not capture the complexity of the ways in which second generation immigrants and their native born counterparts are forging identities that differ from their immigrant parents and from mainstream white or minority Americans – they are becoming 'New Yorkers.' Thus, it is still too early to deem all non-white second generation as well as native groups at risk of social disadvantage or downward mobility, because they will have a role in shaping the complex racial and ethnic order in the ways they interact with each other in lecture halls, neighborhoods and workplaces.

The finding presented here invite scholars and students of immigration, labor market segregation, and social inequality to revisit and rethink several assumptions and concepts that inform our current understanding of assimilation and labor market incorporation. For example, the findings presented in this dissertation problematize the notion that conclusions about co-ethnicity in the labor market can be drawn only on the basis of ethnic overrepresentation at the industry level, highlighting the importance of using information about ethnic and racial composition at the firm level. Also, it is evident

that the assumptions regarding the centrality of ethnic networks in shaping labor market composition need further scrutiny. On a more general level, the findings problematize the use of broad racial and pan-ethnic categories, since they highlight the differences between CEPs, Dominicans and Puerto Ricans as well as between West Indians and African Americans. Finally, the results of the analyses question the assumption that there is a clear distinction between immigrant and non-immigrant incorporation patterns, and between 'ethnic' and 'mainstream' economies, pointing to the existence of multiple logics of labor market incorporation.

This conceptual framework is helpful for the study of labor markets since it recognizes that their complexity has structural, institutional, and cultural components, which people actively shape and experience. The typology of the multiple 'logics of labor market incorporation' enable us to move from a dualistic, structurally oriented view of labor markets, groups and outcomes to a perspective that treats the labor market as complex social arena, that consists of a plurality of organizing principles and belief systems which give meaning to social actors' experiences and actions. These actions produce and reproduce social structures, cognitive/cultural meaning systems that account for the multiple logics of action that operate simultaneously and that are not necessarily consistent or unidirectional.

I believe that this framework moves us closer to integrating feminist, social constructivist and cultural approaches in the study of racial segregation and inequality in organizations and labor markets. These approaches posit that social identities (such as gender and race) are 'done' in everyday life and embedded in the social structure – as individuals make sense of and give meaning to their work and merge their job with their

identities – rather than given a-priori. Rooted in the work of feminist scholars studying women of color, intersectional perspectives theorize race and gender as fluid, historical and situationally contingent social constructions that provide the principles of organization and produce and maintain social hierarchies (Collins 1999, Glenn 1999). Thus, they argue that interlocking systems of race, class and gender constitute the matrix of domination in society (Collins 1999).

If logics of action (and incorporation) and matrices of domination are produced and maintained through the interactions of groups and individuals in all social settings, including those involving economic activities, then labor (as well as all other) markets are primarily definitional processes, regardless of the products or services they provide.[23] The definitional process occurring in labor (and all other) markets generates collective narratives and criteria for inclusion and exclusion that reflect, transform and modify the beliefs and attitudes of the participants – those who are attempting to create a meaningful account of the situation and their action. Thus, "real markets are inherently definitional processes in which such things as preferences, supply and demand, social context, and governing rules are constantly being socially reconstructed, usually within a broader narrative account" (Smith 2000). This view of all meaning as socially rooted allows for the possibility that there will be multiple accounts and world views that can be attributed to what seems to be the same phenomenon. This plurality leads in turn to different patterns of behavior or to the production of different "realities" as they are perceived and experienced by different actors, who differ in their position vis-à-vis the social structure.

These approaches suggest that we need to construct new theories that address the complex processes through which social categories and economic fortunes are

experienced and shaped – theories that negate the tension between structure and agency and between micro and macro – and that account for the centrality of power and domination. Such theories will enable us to better understand the experiences of groups and individuals – especially those deemed 'non-white' by traditional North American racial definitions – as they are forging their futures in American cities and labor markets. It is important to further study the ethnically and racially diverse groups of children of immigrants and their native counterparts as they enter the labor force, since their aspirations, achievements and disappointments will shape the future of social, political and cultural institutions and identities in New York and other 'global gateway cities.' Finally, in a world that is dominated by global economic activities and engaged in heated debates around immigration, segregation, integration and social inequality; it is very important to keep thinking and re-thinking the ways is which we define and understand the economic sphere, and to keep exploring how and why class, race, ethnicity and gender continue to determine the axis of domination in our social, political and economic lives.

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[23] For a discussion of markets as definitional processes, see Smith, C. 2000.

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