

THE LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION
OF NONWHITE AND PUERTO RICAN
WOMEN IN NEW YORK: A COMPARISON

By

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1

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In recent years several studies have appeared by economists on labor force participation. (1) (2) The general question to which these studies address themselves to is: what are the determinants of labor force participation for various population groups? This is not to say that the authors are not interested in more specific questions of both a substantive and applied nature, but this appears to be the intellectual question motivating the empirical studies, and toward which the more specific hypothesis testing is directed at answering. (3)

Several of these studies have shown that economic variables such as income, the demand conditions in the labor market, and the level of unemployment are important determinants of the level of labor force participation for various population groups. But as one economist has said:

Economic analysis can provide insights into only some of the factors influencing labor force participation.... Since non-economic considerations bulk large in labor force behavior, as in other spheres of human behavior, only a partial understanding can be achieved by this [economic] analysis. (4)

Since labor force participation is influenced by more than economic variables, this may well be an area of research which the sociologists may find of intellectual interest, and to which he may make some important contributions.

One problem to which sociologists may contribute some understanding is that of differentials in labor force participation between various groups. For example, it has been shown that Negro married women have higher participation rates than white married women, even after controlling for such important variables as education, husband's income and family child status.⁽⁵⁾ Since there are obvious sociological differences between Negroes and Whites, it may be possible for sociologists to offer at least a partial explanation for the differential in work activity between these two groups.

In this report we will study a differential in the gross labor force participation rates that exists between Negro and Puerto Rican women in the New York Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area.⁽⁶⁾ Both Negroes and Puerto Ricans are minority groups; and as groups are economically and socially worse off than the white population.⁽⁷⁾ However, in terms of their socio-economic characteristics and experience with American society, there are important differences between them.⁽⁸⁾ We hope to show how these differences contribute at least in part to the differential in female work activity between them. Further, by studying Negroes and Puerto Ricans within the framework of labor force participation,

we may also bring out characteristics that they possess which would not be clear in another type of research framework. However, this would be a beneficial side product of the study rather than its main purpose.

Problems in Method and Data

The type of analysis we can perform depends on the data that is available. Almost all our data will come from the 1960 U.S. Census of Population. At present there are two principle sources of information from this census: the traditional census volumes, and more recently, the one in a thousand and one in ten thousand sample magnetic tapes. One advantage of the tapes is that they would permit us to perform a multiple regression over the relevant sample. The regression analysis would show the influence of a particular independent variable on the labor force participation rate of a group, while at the same time controlling the other independent variables we may be interested in. We did not use the tapes because of the cost in time, money and effort involved in their use relative to the limited nature of this study.

There is a further problem in the use of sample tapes in connection with the variable of labor market demand. The data on these tapes can be selected on a regional basis, but not for any single standard Metropolitan Statistical Area; the latter can be the natural unit for

defining a labor market. Thus, any sample from the tape is a sample from different labor markets with different demands for female labor. In studying the influence of other variables on labor force participation the demand conditions in the market should be controlled. This would be particularly important in our study because Negroes and Puerto Ricans have different population distributions over urban centers in the United States.

In deciding to rely only on the published census volumes, we have selected the New York Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA) because it contains over two-thirds of all Puerto Ricans in the United States.⁽⁹⁾ An advantage of selecting a single urban center is that both groups are faced with the same labor market. A possible disadvantage is that it may limit the generalizations we can make for both groups in terms of the entire United States.

As anyone who uses census volumes quickly learns, they never contain all the cross tabulations you want. This has limited the types of data we can manipulate, as well as the analytical manipulations that we can perform. These limitations will become evident as we go along.

Selected Population Characteristics

For fuller descriptions of Negroes and Puerto Ricans in New York we have already referred to other works.⁽¹⁰⁾ However, it will be worthwhile to state some characteristics of both populations as revealed in the Census data and to compare these characteristics with those of the total population. For the New York SMSA we have Census data for the total, nonwhite and Puerto Rican populations (see Sources of Tables). The New York SMSA contains over 10 million people. Of these, 12 percent are classified as nonwhite and 5.9 percent as being of Puerto Rican birth or parentage. Our interest is in comparing Negroes and Puerto Ricans while we only have data for nonwhites, this will not greatly effect our conclusions: over 95 percent of all nonwhites in the New York SMSA are Negro. Further, while some Puerto Ricans consider themselves to be nonwhite, 96 percent classify themselves as white (see Table 2).⁽¹¹⁾

Tables 1 and 3 reveal that as groups nonwhites and Puerto Ricans are economically worse off than the rest of the population, and that Puerto Ricans are worse off than nonwhites. The total population has a median family income of \$6,548, over \$2,000 higher than the \$4,484 median family income of nonwhites. Puerto Ricans only have a median family income of \$3,839. For both sexes, the unemployment rate follows the same pattern: the

lowest rates are for the total population (and thus for the non-Puerto Rican white population) and the highest rates are for Puerto Ricans (see Table 3). One should also notice the positive relationship between median school years completed and economic performance. While the total population 25 years old and over has 10.7 median school years completed, Puerto Ricans in this age group have only 7.7 median school years completed. That is, over half the Puerto Rican population 25 years old or over have completed less than an eighth grade education. The 9.5 median school years completed by nonwhites is much higher than this.

Our interest is in labor force participation. From Table 3 we see that there is very little difference in the labor force participation rates for males among ethnic groups. But for females the high participation rates for nonwhites stands out above all others. For both the total female population 14 and over and the Puerto Rican one we have labor force participation rates of 37.9 percent.⁽¹²⁾ (For non-Puerto Rican white females the rate can be shown to be 36.0 percent). However, for nonwhite females the rate is 50.8 percent. There has already been some work on the white-nonwhite differential in female labor force participation - which also holds for the United States.⁽¹³⁾ Using less adequate data and cruder techniques we will now explore the Puerto Rican-nonwhite differential.

Table 1

SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS, TOTAL NONWHITE AND
PUERTO RICAN POPULATIONS, NEW YORK SMSA

	Total Pop.	Nonwhites	Puerto Ricans
Population	10,694,633	1,287,878	629,430
Percent of Total	100.0	12.0	5.9
Median Family Income	\$6,548	\$4,484	\$3,839
Median Educ. Completed 25 Years Old and Over	10.7 yrs.	9.5 yrs.	7.7 yrs.

Table 2

RACIAL CHARACTERISTICS, NONWHITE AND PUERTO
RICAN POPULATION, NEW YORK SMSA

Nonwhite Population	1,287,878
Percent Negro	95.3
Puerto Rican Population	629,430
Percent White	96.0
Percent Born in Puerto Rico	69.8
Puerto Rican Males 14 & Over	192,046
Born in Puerto Rico	91.6
Puerto Rican Females 14 & Over	213,197
Born in Puerto Rico	91.8

Table 3

SELECTED LABOR FORCE CHARACTERISTICS, NEW YORK SMSA

	Total	Nonwhites	Puerto Ricans
Males 14 and Over	3,785,073	405,866	192,046
Percent Labor Force	79.1	78.3	78.8
Percent of Civilian L.F. Unemployed	5.0	6.8	9.7
Females 14 and Over	4,262,202	504,168	213,197
Percent in Labor Force	37.9	50.8	37.9
Percent of Civilian L.F. Unemployed	5.1	6.5	10.6

Labor Force Participation and Age

In the next few sections we will see how the nonwhite-Puerto Rican differential in female work activity holds up after we have controlled for some of the factors which may influence labor force participation. In this section we will control for age. Table 4 reveals that the age distribution of Puerto Rican and nonwhite females are markedly different. Puerto Ricans are much younger than nonwhites: 61.3 percent of all Puerto Rican females 14 and over are less than 35, compared to only 44.6 percent for nonwhites. It is theoretically possible that the differential in labor force activity that we have observed could be accounted for by differences in age composition.

However, this possibility does not hold, for as Table 5 reveals, the age specific participation rate of nonwhite exceeds that of Puerto Ricans for all our age groupings. The differences in participation rates ranges from 0.6 percentage points for the 14-19 year group to 14.1 points for the 65 and over group.

By standardizing the Puerto Rican rates in Table 5 on the nonwhite age distribution in Table 4 we obtain a standardized Puerto Rican rate of 37.2

percent, slightly lower than their female crude rate of 37.9 percent. Thus the younger age composition of Puerto Ricans has a slightly positive influence on their gross rate relative to that of nonwhites rather than a negative one (see Table 5).

In reading Table 5 a certain caution in interpretation should be taken. Each age group represents a different set of skills and labor market experience at a particular point in time. We cannot tell what the participation rate of a younger age group will be in several years by looking at the participation rate of a relevant older group.

It should also be realized that the very small difference in work activity for the 14-19 year group does not necessarily mean that the gap in labor force participation between nonwhite and Puerto Rican women will be closing in subsequent years for this cohort. One reason the difference in work activity is so small for this age group is that a greater percentage of nonwhite than Puerto Rican females in this age group not in the labor force are enrolled in school. For nonwhite females 14-19, 85.7 percent of those not in the labor force are enrolled in school, compared to only 62.3 percent of similar Puerto Ricans. Differentials in school enrollment hold for subsequent age groups as well

(see Table 7). School enrollment is also the reason why the participation rates for the 14-19 age group is so low.

However, we should also point out that for this age group the total population of females has a participation rate of 27.6 percent, slightly higher than the nonwhite rate. This is the only age group for which the total population of females has a higher rate than the nonwhite one. Since white females have a higher school enrollment rate than nonwhites, the poor competitive positions of nonwhite and Puerto Rican females in the 14-19 age group in the labor market may depress their rates relative to that of white females. That is, discriminatory barriers and relatively poorer labor market skills may also depress the participation rates of teenage Puerto Rican and nonwhite females. But this is only a conjecture in need of further research.

Table 4

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION, FEMALES 14 AND
OVER, NEW YORK SMSA

	<u>Nonwhite</u>		<u>Puerto Rican</u>		<u>Difference</u>
	Number	%	Number	%	
14-19	51,077	10.1	35,320	16.6	-6.5
20-24	54,424	10.8	32,829	15.4	-4.6
25-34	119,493	23.7	62,524	29.3	-5.6
35-44	113,309	22.5	38,512	18.1	4.4
45-64	131,611	26.1	35,586	16.7	9.4
65 & Over					
	34,254	6.8	8,426	4.0	2.8
Total	504,168	100.0 ^(a)	213,197	100.0 ^(a)	

(a) Totals may differ from 100 because of rounding

Table 5

AGE SPECIFIC LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES, FEMALES
14 AND OVER, NEW YORK SMSA

	<u>Nonwhite</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>	<u>Difference</u>
14-19 ^(a)	25.7	25.1	0.6
20-24	56.5	48.2	8.3
25-34	53.2	41.1	12.1
35-44	59.8	46.1	13.7
45-64	56.6	34.5	12.1
65 & Over	19.1	5.0	14.1

(a) For this age group the participation rate for the total female population is 27.6 percent. For all other age groups the total female rate is less than the nonwhite female rate. See text for a possible interpretation.

Table 6

AGE STANDARDIZED RATES (On Nonwhite Composition)

FOR FEMALES, NEW YORK SMSA

	<u>Nonwhite</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>	<u>Difference</u>
Crude Rate	50.8	37.9	12.9
Age Stan- dardized Rate	50.8	37.2	13.6

Table 7

PERCENT NOT IN LABOR FORCE ENROLLED IN SCHOOL

FEMALES, NEW YORK SMSA

	<u>Nonwhites</u>			<u>Puerto Ricans</u>		
Age	14-19	20-24	25-34	14-19	20-24	25-34
Not in Labor Force	32,645	23,682	55,967	26,465	17,003	36,846
Enrolled in School (%)	85.7	7.2	3.4	62.3	3.4	2.2

Labor Force Participation Under Marital
and Child Status

A good deal of the recent research on labor force participation has concerned the married woman.⁽¹⁴⁾ Perhaps this should not be too suprising. It is far more interesting to ask why a married woman - at least one with her husband present - would work, than why her husband would work. Time series data reveals that except for the school age population and the very old, males have always participated in the labor market at rates above 85 percent.⁽¹⁵⁾ This is because in our society the male has usually been socially obligated to provide for his family and to make his own way in the world.

On the other hand the social role of the married woman is conceived of as different from that of her husband; she is not under the same obligations as he is to participate in the labor market - though under certain circumstances she may find it necessary and desirable to do so. She may engage in housework, raising a family, or voluntary work outside the home, in addition to labor market activity. However, with the more varied alternatives before her, time series data reveal that the labor force participation of married women since 1890 has increased, though to nowhere near the levels of the married male.⁽¹⁶⁾ This

fact gives an added interest to the study of the work activity of married men.

If the data had permitted it, we might have concentrated our comparative study on married women. In later sections we will discuss factors which may encourage or mitigate labor force participation of women in general, and some factors which are peculiar only to married women. In this section we will see how the labor force activity of nonwhite and Puerto Rican women compare under marital and child status.

We have calculated participation rates for several marital statuses. For each one, nonwhite women have a higher participation rate than Puerto Rican women (see Table 8). The highest difference is for the category "females without spouse present." Here nonwhite females have a participation rate of 56.7 percent, 15 percentage points higher than the 41.7 percent rate for Puerto Ricans. This category is an artificial one which we had to construct because of the paucity of data for Puerto Ricans. It consists of single, divorced and widowed women, as well as those married without spouse present. We can calculate participation rates for each of these statuses for nonwhites, but not for Puerto Ricans.⁽¹⁷⁾

The smallest difference between both groups, and at the same time the lowest levels of participation

for both nonwhites and Puerto Rican females occurs for the category, "married, husband present, at least one child under six." Here 26.8 percent of all nonwhites are labor market participants compared to 23.2 percent for Puerto Ricans. The low participation rates in this category are not suprising. The presence of a pre-school child in the family puts obligations on the mother in terms of time and moral commitment which prevent the choosing of work over staying at home.

Still nearly a fourth of both Puerto Ricans and nonwhites in this category do work. How they differ from the mothers that do not work in terms of education, husband's income, ability to arrange child care, past work experience or age of youngest child, we cannot tell from the census volumes. No doubt the mothers with husband present and a child under six who participate differ from those that do not by some combination of these factors. But just what this combination is, and whether it differs between Puerto Rican and nonwhite working mothers is open to conjecture.

By our calculation the category with the second smallest difference occurs for "married husband present, no children under six." Here the difference is 5.1 percentage points. This category is slightly

artificial too. It consists of families with no children, as well as those with children six and over.

In Table 8 we had to estimate some data for Puerto Ricans for our calculations of participation rates. For commentary on this, as well as other aspects of the data in Table 8 see the Appendix.

Table 8

WORK FORCE PARTICIPATION BY MARITAL AND CHILD
STATUS, NONWHITE AND PUERTO RICAN FEMALES, NEW YORK SMSA

	<u>Nonwhite</u>	<u>Puerto Ricans</u>	<u>Difference</u>
1. Females 14 and Over	504,168	213,197	
Percent in Labor Force	50.8	37.9	12.9
2a. Married, Husband Present	211,972	117,161	
Percent in Labor Force	42.7	34.8	7.9
2b. Married, Husband Present, No Children Under Six	136,007	58,580*	
Percent in Labor Force	51.5	46.4	5.1
2c. Married, Husband Present, At Least One Child Under Six	75,965	58,581*	
Percent in Labor Force	26.8	23.2	3.6
3. Females Without Spouse Present**	291,196	96,036	
Percent in Labor Force	56.7	41.7	15.0

* Estimated see Appendix A for description of estimation procedures and their rationale.

**Comprises single, divorced and widowed females as well as those married without husband present.

Labor Force Participation When Controlling
For Education

Studies have shown that education has a positive influence on labor force participation for married women as well as other groups - when controlling for other relevant variables.⁽¹⁸⁾ These controls are important because the variable of education is correlated with other variables so that in an analysis without controls, any conclusions about the exact relationship between education and labor force participation for a group may be confounded.⁽¹⁹⁾ For our study the data does not permit us to control for other relevant variables. Nevertheless it will still be worthwhile to see whether nonwhite and Puerto Rican women differ in work activity when controlling for differences in the educational composition of the two groups.

For this control we must rely on an indirect standardization, since we do not have labor force participation rates for either nonwhites or Puerto Ricans in the New York SMSA by educational attainment.⁽²⁰⁾ To apply the technique of indirect standardization we must select a "standard population" for which we do have labor force participation rates by educational attainment. We have selected the nonwhite female population in central cities of

urbanized areas in the United States.

For this population we have calculated participation rates according to educational attainment for two age groups: 14 to 24, and 25 and over, as well as for the entire population (see Table 9). In examining both the total and 25 and over groups we see the positive relationship between education attainment and labor force participation. For the 14 to 24 year group the relationship between education and work activity is difficult to interpret because many in this age group are still in school. However, for this group we notice important changes in participation after eight years of elementary school, four years of high school and four or more years of college.

We now apply these participation rates to the educational distribution of the nonwhite and Puerto Rican female population (Tables 10 and 11). For each age category this gives us the expected number of participants in the labor force. Comparing the expected with the observed number of participants, we adjust the appropriate general rate in the standard population to give us the standardized participation rate for each age category within each ethnic group.

Comparing these standardized rates, we see that for the total population the nonwhite rate is significantly higher than the Puerto Ricans are: 49.9 percent to the latter's 41.7. For the 25 and over group the differential in favor of nonwhites holds up, too. For nonwhites we have a standardized participation rate of 52.6 percent compared to 43.2 percent for Puerto Ricans.

For the 14-24 year group we have a different order in the rates. Puerto Rican females have a higher standardized participation rate: 43.1 percent to the nonwhite rate of 39.8 percent. As a possible explanation of the reversal in the order of rates, we may again mention school enrollment. A greater percentage of nonwhite females than Puerto Rican females in the 14-24 year age category not in the labor force are enrolled in school (see Table 7). While this may not be the entire answer to the greater standardized Puerto Rican rate for the 14 to 24 age group (a reversal of the order of rates for the older age group) it is the only one we can discover through the Census Volume. Factors such as discriminatory barriers may influence the labor market behavior of young nonwhite females more than it does Puerto Rican females at young ages, and so lower the standardized rates of nonwhite females

14 to 24 relative to the standardized rate of Puerto Rican females in this age group. But we cannot tell this from census data alone. One problem we face in explaining differences in the labor market behavior of both groups is that as minority groups both may face discrimination. (We have already seen that for the 14-19 year group, the total population of females has a higher crude participation rate than either nonwhite or Puerto Rican females in this age group.

With indirect standardization we have in a rough manner controlled for the differences in the educational distribution of the two populations and these differences are significant. For example, over 60 percent of all nonwhite females 14 and over completed at least one year of high school, whereas only about 32 percent of all such Puerto Rican females have. Assuming that our indirect standardization has been successful in controlling for these differences in education, we may conclude that for each of several levels of educational attainment the total nonwhite female population has higher levels of labor force participation than the total Puerto Rican general population.⁽²¹⁾ One possible reason for this is that many Puerto Ricans are under a language handicap so that at particular levels of educational

attainment they are in a poorer competitive position in the labor market than nonwhites, and this may to some extent discourage their labor force participation. (Nearly 92 percent of all Puerto Rican females 14 and over were born in Puerto Rico. See Table 2).

Table 9

LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES, NONWHITE FEMALES,
CENTRAL CITIES OF URBANIZED AREAS, BY EDUCATIONAL
ATTAINMENT AND AGE

Years of School Completed:

	<u>Ages 14-24</u>	<u>Ages 25 & Over</u>	<u>Total</u>
No School Completed	19.9	25.4	25.1
Elementary			
1-4 years	29.7	36.4	36.1
5-7 years	17.7	45.3	41.8
8 years	17.4	47.5	41.2
High School			
1-3 years	26.0	51.1	42.4
4 years	52.8	56.4	55.4
College			
1-3 years	51.1	60.6	58.1
4 or more years	79.6	74.9	75.4
TOTAL	32.9	49.6	45.8

Table 10

YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED, NONWHITE FEMALES,
NEW YORK SMSA

	<u>Ages 14-24</u>	<u>Ages 25 & Over</u>	<u>Total</u>
Years of School Completed - Total	105,501	398,667	504,168
No School Completed	659	10,465	11,124
Elementary School			
1-4 years	1,758	29,556	31,314
5-7 years	7,622	71,999	79,621
8 years	12,742	64,609	77,351
High School			
1-3 years	44,512	93,263	137,775
4 years	31,220	93,067	124,287
College			
1-3 years	5,653	21,171	26,824
4 or more years	1,335	14,537	15,872
1. General Rate (Stand. Pop.)	32.9	49.6	45.8
2. Expected in Labor Force	36,248	200,581	234,031
3. Observed in Labor Force	43,867	212,201	256,068
4. (3) ÷ (2)	1.21	1.06	1.09
5. Standardized Rate (1) X (4)	39.8	52.6	49.9

Table 11

YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED, PUERTO RICAN FEMALES,
NEW YORK SMSA

	<u>Ages 14-24</u>	<u>Ages 25 & Over</u>	<u>Total</u>
Years of School Completed.- Total	68,149	145,048	213,197
No School Completed	1,428	14,501	15,929
Elementary School			
1-4 years	5,126	31,883	37,009
5-7 years	13,469	33,565	47,034
8 years	10,845	23,382	34,227
High School			
1-3 years	25,825	22,990	48,815
4 years	9,958	14,608	24,566
College			
1-3 years	1,281	2,897	4,178
4 or more years	217	1,222	1,439
1. General Rate (Stand. Pop.)	32.9	49.6	45.8
2. Expected in Labor Force	18,888	64,245	88,914
3. Observed in Labor Force	24,681	56,129	80,810
4. (3) ÷ (2)	1.31	0.87	0.91
5. Standardized Rate (1) X (4)	43.1	43.2	41.7

The Work Activity of Married Women and Husband's Income

For married women we would expect that an important factor influencing the decision to enter the labor market is the economic pressure within the family.⁽²²⁾ A crude measure of this would be husband's income (or family income less wife's).⁽²³⁾ Studies have shown that controlling for other factors, wife's labor force participation is negatively related to husband's income.⁽²⁴⁾ Controlling for other relevant variables, we would like to know whether there is a difference in labor force participation between nonwhite and Puerto Rican married women at a given level of husband's income. This would indicate whether there is a difference in response in terms of wife's labor force participation to the economic pressures within the family as crudely measured by husband's income. More generally, we would learn how husband's income influences work activity of the wife within each ethnic group.

Our first problem is that we cannot control for other relevant variables. Without these controls the effect of husband's income on wife's participation within each of the two groups would be obscured. An example of relevant variables are wife's education or earning power (they are highly correlated with each other). It has been shown that given husband's income wife's labor force participation is positively

related to her earnings in the market.⁽²⁵⁾ At the same time we would expect a high positive correlation between husband's income and wife's earning power.⁽²⁶⁾ Thus a tabular relationship between wife's participation and husband's income may tell us very little about the effect of husband's income on the wife's work activity.

A second problem is that we have no data on wife's work activity as it relates to husband's income or any suitable substitute for the latter. All we have is a relationship between levels of family income and percent of families in which wife is an earner. This relationship, however, is difficult to interpret. As part of family income we have wife's earnings. How do we interpret family income, which includes wife's earnings as an independent variable influencing wife's labor force participation? Comparables between both ethnic groups would also be difficult. It may be that in one ethnic group the wife on the average makes a greater contribution to the families income than in the other, and this fact would account for some differences in participation at a given level of family income.

Another problem of interpretation arises because part of any relationship between levels of family income and percent of families with wife earning income will be spurious. If the wife works there automatically will be an increase in family income. These problems practically vitiate the usefulness of relating family income to percent of families with wife as earner. (27)

Factors Influencing Labor Force Participation

In the above sections we have investigated the nonwhite-Puerto Rican differential in female labor force participation while controlling, as best we could, such important variables as age, marital status, etc. In the next several sections we will study characteristics of the nonwhite and Puerto Rican populations in terms of factors which may influence female work activity and see how both ethnic groups differ according to these factors. In comparing Puerto Ricans and nonwhites according to some variable what we are implicitly doing is setting up a 2 X 2 ecological correlation between the gross labor force participation rates and some group measures of the variable. As in any ecological correlation a measure of the variable is associated with the entire group, and not necessarily with any subgroup such as those that participate or those that do not. We will,

however, compare both ethnic groups according to factors which other studies have shown to be influential in determining the level of labor force participation for females.⁽²⁸⁾ Unfortunately, we cannot introduce control variables as these studies have.

Education and Participation

In studying the factors influencing labor force participation we may take a cue from the economists by first considering the alternative uses a woman may make of her time, and then see how a factor influences her choice among these alternatives.⁽²⁹⁾ The alternatives before her are fairly obvious. In addition to labor market participation, she may engage in leisure activities, non-remunerative voluntary work, raising a family and homemaking.

Empirical studies have shown that educational attainment has a positive influence on labor market participation.⁽³⁰⁾ As Bowen and Finegan point out:

... education increases a person's expected market earnings and thus increases the differential return between market and non-market activity; that is, the opportunity of staying out of the labor market is greater for a person with considerable education than for a person with relatively little education.⁽³¹⁾

But pecuniary factors are not the only influence of educational attainment on labor market participation. As they also point out, improved education also increases access to cleaner, more pleasant and

interesting work, and more desirable social contacts, which may be particularly important to women.⁽³²⁾

In terms of social processes we may also add that a high level of educational attainment may provide job opportunities for the upward social mobility of the family. However, we do not know how important such strivings are in motivating women, particularly minority group members to enter the labor force.

We have already mentioned that nonwhite females have a higher educational attainment than Puerto Rican females. For nonwhite females (14 and over) 60.4 percent completed at least one year of high school compared to only 37.1 percent for Puerto Ricans. (See Table 12). In terms of completing high school only 11.5 percent of Puerto Rican females have done so, less than half of the 24.7 percent of all nonwhite females doing so. Further, 3.1 percent of all nonwhite females completed four or more years of college to only 0.7 percent for Puerto Rican females. For the younger age groups Table 12 reveals that the gap has lessened somewhat, but in terms of the indications we have used the differential is still great and in favor of nonwhite females.

Certainly then, we have some evidence that the differential in gross participation rates that we have

observed for nonwhite and Puerto Rican females is partly contributed to by differences in their educational attainment.

Table 12

YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED, FEMALES NEW YORK SMSA

	Nonwhites			Puerto Ricans		
	14-24	25 & Over	Total	14-24	25 & Over	Total
Number	105,501	398,667	504,168	68,149	145,048	213,197
No School Completed	0.6	2.6	2.2	2.1	10.0	7.5
Elementary School						
1-4 years	1.7	7.4	6.2	7.5	22.0	17.4
5-7 years	7.2	18.1	15.8	19.8	23.1	22.1
8 years	12.1	16.2	15.3	15.9	16.1	16.1
High School						
1-3 years	42.2	23.4	27.3	37.9	15.8	22.9
4 years	29.6	23.3	24.7	14.6	10.1	11.5
College						
1-3 years	5.4	5.3	5.3	1.9	2.0	2.0
4 or more years	1.3	3.6	3.1	0.3	0.8	0.7
Percent Completing at Least One Year of High School	78.5	55.6	60.4	54.7	28.7	37.1

Job Opportunities and Labor Force Participation

While job opportunities are highly dependent on educational attainment, for Puerto Ricans, their opportunities may be further limited by language difficulties.⁽³³⁾ It may be instructive to compare Puerto Ricans and nonwhite females in terms of the occupations that they actually are employed in. Certain occupational characteristics may encourage or discourage female labor market participation. Some of these characteristics have already been mentioned in connection with educational attainment and participation.

(1) The job's income. The greater the salary a job offers, the greater the attractiveness of participation.

(2) The nature of the job. The more social prestige attached to the job, and the more pleasant the surroundings and social contacts the job offers, the more attractive participation. For example, we would expect white collar occupations to be more attractive than blue collar ones.

(3) The stability of the job. Some occupations have high turnover or layoff rates, particularly in blue collar fields. This instability results in a good deal of time spent in the unremunerative activity

of searching for work. This takes time away from other activities and so makes participation unattractive.

In Table 13 we present the occupational distribution of employed nonwhite and Puerto Rican females.⁽³⁴⁾ In Table 14 we have the same type of distribution but for various age groupings. We will now compare these occupational distributions according to the three characteristics mentioned above. To do this we will present Table 15, which gives for nonwhite females the median earnings for each occupation and percent of all those in the occupational classification who worked 50-52 weeks. The latter can serve as a crude measure of job stability. We do not have similar figures for Puerto Ricans. But an examination of the same relationships for the total population reveals no difference in the ordering of the data. We may thus assume that any statement we make about an occupation for nonwhite females in the experienced labor force also holds for Puerto Ricans. It should be realized that the data in Tables 13-14 are for the employed, whereas that in Table 15 is for the experienced labor force.⁽³⁵⁾

Table 15 reveals that professional and technical occupations are the highest paying, and that in general white collar occupations pay better than blue

collar ones. The best paying blue collar occupation is that of craftsmen and foreman; many here even earn more than some in white collar jobs. But since less than 2 percent of those in both ethnic groups are employed in this field, and since it may be less attractive than white collar jobs in terms of non pecuniary factors, we will not consider it any further.

In examining the occupations in terms of percent in each working 50-52 weeks, we notice that only 59.0 percent of those in professional and technical jobs worked 50-52 weeks. In general it appears that a smaller percentage of female professional and technical workers work a full year than male ones.⁽³⁶⁾ However, except for service workers (and craftsmen) a greater percentage of people in a white collar occupation worked a full year than those in a blue collar one.

Looking at Table 13 we see that the modal occupations for Puerto Rican females are those of operative and kindred types: 65-2 percent of all employed Puerto Rican females are in this type of work. For all Puerto Rican age groups this is the modal occupation, accounting for the employment of nearly half to sometimes over two-thirds of the employed over all age groups (see Table 14). In terms

of earnings and job stability these occupations are among the most undesirable.⁽³⁷⁾ For the younger Puerto Rican age groups, as well as the total population, clerical and kindred occupations are second in importance in terms of employment.

For the nonwhite total population no occupation stands out in importance in terms of employment as operatives does for Puerto Ricans. For the 65 and over age group of nonwhites private household work accounts for nearly 50 percent of employment, but for succeeding younger age groups this type of employment becomes of less importance. For the total nonwhite population the leading occupational groups in terms of employment are: private household (23.3%); operatives and kindred (21.1%); service workers (15.9%); and clerical and kindred occupations (15.3%). Of these only private household work is more undesirable in terms of earnings and job stability than operative work.

We felt that white collar work would in general be more attractive in encouraging female labor force participation than blue collar work. For the total populations 26.2 percent of all employed nonwhite females are in white collar occupations to only 18.8 percent for all Puerto Rican females. The differential in favor of nonwhites holds for all age groups except

the 65 and over. But we can ignore this group because only 372 Puerto Ricans are employed here compared to 6,229 nonwhites. Professional jobs are perhaps the most attractive of all the white collar ones. For the total population 7.4 percent of all employed nonwhite females have professional, technical and kindred occupations, to only 2.7 percent for Puerto Rican females. The differential in favor of nonwhites holds for all age groups. (38)

For both ethnic groups the majority of employed females are in blue collar occupations. As an overall indicator of job desirability for all occupations in terms of earnings and stability we have taken the following approach. In Table 15 we have the following data for nonwhite female earners in the experienced labor force: their median earnings (\$2,344) and percent of all earners who worked 50-52 weeks (52.1%). We notice that for any occupational classification in which the median earnings falls below the median earnings of all earners, the percentage working a full year falls below the percentage working a full year for all earners, and vice versa.

Given the (\$2,344) median earnings of all nonwhite female earners and the (52.1) percentage working a full year for these earners, we may classify the

occupations in Table 15 according to those that fall above and below these figures. By making this classification according to one variable, we also make it according to the other. Thus operatives, private household workers, laborers and those not reporting an occupation are occupations with median earnings less than \$2,344, and in each of these occupations the percent working a full year is less than 52.1 percent. We may consider these occupations as the least desirable in terms of earnings and job stability than the others.

Applying this classification onto Tables 13 and 14 we get the percentage of those employed in these least desirable occupations. For the total populations 57.3 percent of all nonwhite females are employed in such occupations, less than the 73.1 percent for Puerto Ricans. This differential holds for all age groups, except the 65 and over, which we said we can ignore because of the small number of employed Puerto Rican females in this age category.

Better job opportunities are highly correlated with educational attainment. By studying the job opportunities achieved by both groups we see in a new light some of the possible reasons why nonwhite females participate in the labor market more than Puerto Rican ones.

Table 13

OCCUPATION OF EMPLOYED, NONWHITES AND
PUERTO RICAN FEMALES - TOTAL, NEW YORK SMSA

	<u>Nonwhite</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>
Employed	239,270	72,194
Professional, Tech, etc.	7.4	2.7
Farmers and Farm Managers	-	-
Managers and Proprietors	1.1	1.1
Clerical and Kindred	15.3	12.6
Sales Workers	2.4	2.4
Craftsmen, Foremen	1.0	1.8
Operatives and Kindred	21.1	65.2
Private Household	23.3	0.7
Service Workers	15.9	6.4
Farm Laborer	-	-
Laborers Except Farmers	0.6	0.7
Occupation Not Reported	11.9	6.5
<u>Percent White Collar</u>	<u>26.2</u>	<u>18.8</u>

Table 14

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYED
FEMALES BY AGE, NEW YORK SMSA

	14-19		20-24		25-34	
	Nonwhite	Puerto Rican	Nonwhite	Puerto Rican	Nonwhite	Puerto Rican
Employed	11,180	7,525	27,900	13,856	59,233	23,225
Professional, Technical, etc.	3.9	2.0	7.1	2.4	10.4	3.3
Farmers and Farm Mgrs.	0.1	-	-	-	-	-
Managers and Proprietors	0.2	0.3	0.4	0.5	1.0	1.0
Clerical and Kindred	27.2	24.3	26.1	20.7	20.4	11.8
Sales Workers	4.7	4.4	2.9	1.9	2.5	2.2
Craftsmen, Foremen	0.6	1.4	0.9	1.7	1.1	1.9
Operatives and Kindred	20.3	50.8	21.5	60.4	21.9	66.7
Private House- hold	14.5	0.5	15.6	0.3	15.2	0.4
Service	12.5	5.6	12.3	4.9	15.1	6.1
Workers	0.1	0.1	-	-	-	-
Farm Laborers	0.7	1.1	0.8	0.6	0.5	0.5
Except Farmers	15.4	9.5	12.5	6.5	12.0	6.0
Occupation not Reported						
Percent White	36.0	31.0	36.5	25.5	34.3	18.3
Collar						

Table 14 (Cont)

	35-44		45-64		65 & Over	
	Nonwhite	Puerto Rican	Nonwhite	Puerto Rican	Nonwhite	Puerto Rican
Employed Professional, Technical, etc.	63,774	16,111	70,954	11,105	6,229	372
Farmers and Farm Mgrs.	7.6	2.6	5.5	2.3	4.2	2.7
Managers and Proprietors	-	-	-	-	-	-
Clerical and Kindred	1.2	1.2	1.5	2.2	1.3	3.2
Sales Workers	13.9	6.7	7.2	4.8	3.9	7.3
Craftsmen, Foremen	2.3	2.2	1.9	2.3	1.5	-
Operatives and Kindred	1.2	1.7	1.0	2.0	0.4	1.1
Private Household Service	23.2	72.8	19.2	66.9	12.1	49.7
Workers	22.2	0.8	33.3	1.8	49.5	9.7
Farm Laborers	17.2	5.9	17.6	9.9	14.6	14.3
Except Farmers	-	-	-	-	0.6	-
Occupation not Reported	0.5	0.9	0.7	0.8	0.7	2.4
Percent White	10.7	5.3	12.3	6.9	11.7	9.7
Collar	25.0	12.7	16.1	11.6	10.9	13.2

Table 15

MEDIAN EARNINGS AND PERCENT OF FULL YEAR WORKED
IN 1959 FOR NONWHITE FEMALES IN THE EXPERIENCED
CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE, BY OCCUPATION, NEW YORK SMSA

	Median Earnings	Percent Worked 50-52 Weeks
ALL Persons with Earnings	\$2,344	52.1%
Professional and Technical	3,803	59.0
Farmers and Farm Mgrs. (a)	-	-
Managers and Proprietors	3,031	74.1
Clerical & Kindred	3,136	64.7
Sales Workers	2,504	57.9
Craftsmen, Foremen	2,792	58.7
Operatives *	2,336	43.8
Private Household *	1,499	42.3
Service Workers	2,436	61.7
Farm Laborers (a)	-	-
Laborers except Farm *	2,324	43.9
Occupation Not Reported *	2,276	50.2

(a) There were an insufficient number in these occupations for the Census to calculate.

* Occupations with median earnings less than \$2,344 and with percent of earners working a full year less than 52.1 percent.

Table 16

PERCENT OF THOSE EMPLOYED IN LEAST DESIRABLE
OCCUPATIONS * FEMALES, NEW YORK SMSA

<u>14 - 19</u>		<u>20 - 24</u>	
<u>Nonwhite</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>	<u>Nonwhite</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>
50.9	61.7	50.4	67.8
<u>25 - 34</u>		<u>35 - 44</u>	
<u>Nonwhite</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>	<u>Nonwhite</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>
49.6	73.6	56.6	79.8
<u>45 - 64</u>		<u>65 and Over</u>	
<u>Nonwhite</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>	<u>Nonwhite</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>
67.5	76.4	74.0	70.5
<u>TOTAL</u>			
<u>Nonwhites</u>		<u>Puerto Ricans</u>	
57.3		73.1	

* See text for explanation of least desirable occupations.

The Economic Performance of the Husband and Wife

In our society the husband is normally the principal economic supporter of the family. However, if he fails in this role either because of inadequate ability to compete in the market, or because of adverse economic conditions there, then the wife may enter the market to supplement in part or whole the earnings of the husband. It has been suggested that a contribution to the white-nonwhite differential in female labor force participation has come from some "substitution" in labor market work between the Negro wife and husband because of the greater discrimination faced by the husband. (39)

Some evidence does exist that the competitive position of the Negro female in the labor market vis-a-vis the white female is **better** than that of the Negro male vis-a-vis the white male. Glazer reports that in New York City there are better opportunities for Negro women below the college level than for Negro men. (40) As Table 17 shows, nonwhite women in the New York SMSA have made more inroads into professional and kindred occupations than nonwhite males. Although, when controlling for education, Negro men generally have higher income than Negro women, and Negroes in general have lower incomes than whites, at increasing levels of education the income gap

between Negro men and women narrows; and while that between Negro and white women also narrows, the income gap between Negro and white men widens.⁽⁴¹⁾

We have no data to judge whether there is a differential in discrimination towards Puerto Ricans according to sex as there is toward Negroes, but in terms of ability to compete in the market, we believe there is less of a tendency for "substitution" to occur in the Puerto Rican family than in the Negro one.⁽⁴²⁾ Our main indicators for this are measures of median school years completed, and the unemployment rates (see Table 17). The competitive position of the nonwhite woman in the family **arises** not only from discriminatory factors, but also because for a long time she has had a higher level of educational attainment than the nonwhite male.⁽⁴³⁾ This is reflected in the higher median school years completed for nonwhite females (10.2 years) over that of nonwhite males (9.8 years). While in general Puerto Ricans have poorer educational attainment than nonwhites, Puerto Rican males have a higher level of median school years completed (8.4) than Puerto Rican females (8.2). The inability to compete in the labor market is partially reflected in unemployment rates.⁽⁴⁴⁾ For nonwhites, males have a higher unemployment rate (6.8%) than females (6.5%); whereas

for Puerto Ricans, males have a lower unemployment rate (9.7%) than females (10.6%),

Some data in Table 17 may give misleading indications of the competitive position of Puerto Rican females in the labor market. We notice that for both nonwhites and Puerto Ricans a greater percentage of employed females have white collar jobs than employed males. This differential between males and females arises from the nature of the New York job market. For the total employed population in the New York SMSA employed females have a greater percentage of white collar jobs than employed males.⁽⁴⁵⁾ Many of the white collar jobs held by Puerto Rican females may be the lowest type of clerical jobs.⁽⁴⁶⁾ To know whether the differential in white collar employment among Puerto Ricans says something about ability to compete in the labor market, we would need more detailed information on occupational distribution, which we do not have for Puerto Ricans.

From Table 17, we also see that there is a differential in employment in professional and kindred occupations in favor of Puerto Rican females, but the differential is not as great as that for nonwhites (2.7% versus 2.0% for Puerto Rican males). How significant this is is hard to say because the differential is so small. The remarks we made about

the white collar differential applies here as well. (47)

It can be shown that for the employed of Puerto Rican parentage, the differential in employment in professional and kindred occupations is in favor of males. (48)

The median income data in Table 17 shows that there is less of a gap in median income between nonwhite and Puerto Rican females than between nonwhite and Puerto Rican males. But we have already seen that nonwhite females have far better job opportunities than Puerto Rican ones. This may mean that median income measurements may not be a good indicator of the income opportunities of the two groups. We do not have income distribution for Puerto Rican females. While they have very close median incomes, we would expect that a greater percentage of nonwhite females earn over \$4,000 say, than Puerto Rican ones.

The evidence we have presented is indirect and very flimsy. Nevertheless, we must conclude that because of the poor competitive position of the Puerto Rican female in the labor market there is probably less tendency for substitutive processes to occur within the Puerto Rican family than in the nonwhite one. Below we will also comment on the cultural patterns within the nonwhite and Puerto Rican families which will also support this claim.

Table 17

SELECTED LABOR FORCE AND POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS,
MALES AND FEMALES, NEW YORK SMSA

	Nonwhites		Puerto Ricans	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
Median Education 14 and Over	9.8 yrs.	10.2 yrs.	8.4 yrs.	8.2 yrs.
Median Income	\$3,385	\$2,035	\$2,907	\$1,982
Percent Employed (a) White Collar Work	23.0	26.2	17.0	18.8
Percent Employed in (b) Professional & Kindred	4.6	7.4	2.0	2.7
Unemployment Rate, Civilian Labor Force	6.8	6.5	9.7	10.6
Standardized (c) Labor Force Participation Rate	77.7	50.8	77.8	37.2

(a) For the total N.Y. SMSA population, 58.0 percent of all employed women are in white collar occupations to only 44.9 percent for men.

(b) For the total N.Y. SMSA population, 12.1 percent of all employed women are in professional and kindred occupations, slightly less than the 12.5 percent for employed men.

(c) Standardized on nonwhite age composition.

Female Participation and Household Characteristics

Pre-school children and to some extent older ones are a hindrance to a mother's labor market participation. In a study of non-participation in the labor force, the Department of Labor said that over 40 percent of all women who do not participate and want to, do not because of inability to arrange for child care (11.9%) or the related reason of family responsibilities (29.6%).⁽⁴⁹⁾ However, the hindrance of child care can be mitigated by the presence of related individuals in the household who can care for the children and thus permit the mother to seek work.⁽⁵⁰⁾

From Table 18 we see that the Puerto Rican family is more likely to contain a pre-school child than the nonwhite one: 50.0 percent of all Puerto Rican husband-wife families have at least one child under six compared to only 32.3 percent of nonwhite husband-wife families. We also have data on children ever born for women ever married 15 and over. For Puerto Ricans there are 2,664 children ever born per 1,000 women ever married, more than the 2,020 children ever born per 1,000 ever married nonwhite women.

However, if the presence of adult relatives in

the household can facilitate child care, then this is a more important factor among Puerto Rican families than among nonwhite ones. For Puerto Ricans there are 2.09 relatives for every household head to only 0.54 for nonwhites. However, there may be a different meaning to the presence of a related individual in a household for each ethnic group. For a nonwhite the individual may be a permanent member of the household (e.g., the mother of one of the spouses). But because of Puerto Rican migration patterns, many of the related individuals in Puerto Rican households may be transients looking for jobs or about to set up their own household, and so less effective in facilitating child care. Of those five years old and over, 51 percent of nonwhites were in the same house in 1960 as in 1955, compared to only 31.8 percent for Puerto Ricans. A real question is: how effective are transients in facilitating child care: This we cannot answer.

Essentially we cannot come to any concrete conclusion about the effect of pre-school children on the nonwhite-Puerto Rican labor force participation differential. Pre-school children appear to be more prevalent among Puerto Rican families but so is the presence of related individuals in the household, who may or may not be able to facilitate the caring of children.

By way of completing this section we also bring in data on sub-families.⁽⁵¹⁾ For nonwhites there are approximately 60 sub-families for every 1,000 families, much more than the 38 per 1,000 for Puerto Ricans. It has been suggested that the doubling up of families may influence female participation over housework.⁽⁵²⁾ There may be more facilities for child care and housework, and also the over crowded conditions may discourage staying at home. However, one should notice that there is an average of 3.88 people in a Puerto Rican household, to only 3.22 for a nonwhite one.

Table 18

SELECTED HOUSEHOLD CHARACTERISTICS, NEW YORK SMSA

	<u>Nonwhites</u>	<u>Puerto Ricans</u>
Husband-Wife Families	291,262	111,203
Percent, at least one child under six	32.3	50.0
Women Ever Married		
15 and Over	380,914	164,522
Children Ever Born	769,577	438,262
Per 1,000 Women Ever Married	2,020	2,664
Population in Households	1,236,917	620,083
Head of Household	383,871	159,756
Relative to Head	205,545	333,230
Ratio-Relative-Head	0.54	2.09
Population Per House- hold	3.22	3.88
Percent living in same (a) Household in 1960 as in 1955	51.3 ^(b)	31.8
Total Families	291,262	148,978
Total Sub-Families	17,420	5,713
Ratio Sub-Families/ Families(c)	60/1000	38/1000

(a) Measured on basis of population five and over.

(b) Data for New York City only.

(c) It would have been more appropriate to take the ratio of sub-families to primary families. Unfortunately we do not have a breakdown of nonwhite families into primary and secondary for the New York SMSA.

Marital Status and Stability

In a previous section we were interested in marital status as a control variable in comparing the labor force participation of nonwhite and Puerto Rican women. In this section we will be interested in marital status as a factor influencing participation.

All other things being equal the absence of a spouse or male household head increases the economic necessity of labor market participation for a woman. To some extent this is reflected in the data in Table 19. Married women with husband present have a lower participation rate than those in marital statuses without a spouse in the household. This is true for nonwhites as well as the total population. However, the rates for married women, with husband present is confounded by the presence of children. The rate for married women, husband present, without children is probably higher than that for widows who, however, are in general older than those in other marital categories.

We do not have detailed participation data for Puerto Rican females as we do for other groups. However, the rates we have for "married women husband present," and those in this category with at least one child under six show that participation for

married Puerto Rican women with husband present is higher than for the rest of the white population. For Puerto Rican women with husband present, the participation rate is 34.8 percent, and for those with at least one child under six, 23.2 percent. On the other hand, the corresponding rates for females in the total population are 29.7 percent and 13.4 percent, respectively. These data may indicate that there are economic pressures within the Puerto Rican family which may have a positive effect on the participation of Puerto Rican married women. If Puerto Rican women had better job opportunities these economic family pressures might be reflected in higher Puerto Rican participation rates than are actually manifested. However, all this is in the area of conjecture. Without controlling for the "income adequacy" of the family and other relevant variables, we do not know for sure if a true differential exists in participation rates for "married women with husband present" between Puerto Ricans and other whites, and between Puerto Ricans and nonwhites.

The distribution of marital statuses within an ethnic group is greatly influenced by the pattern of marital stability that has existed within the group over a long period of time (as well as remarriage rates and the marital pattern according to age).

A pattern of high instability in a group will produce a greater percentage of women who are divorced or living apart from their husband than in one in which marriages are more stable. Before looking at the distribution of marital statuses within each ethnic group we will examine them for marital stability as revealed in the 1960 Census Volumes.

Among Puerto Rican females 14 and over, 77.2 have been married at least once, slightly higher than the 75.6 percent for nonwhite females. Of all ever married Puerto Rican females, 5.1 percent are divorced, 9.1 percent are separated, and 5.0 percent are living apart from their husbands for other reasons. In total 19.2 percent are either divorced or living apart from their husbands (see Table 20). For nonwhite ever married females, 27.9 percent are either divorced or living apart from their husbands. Of the nonwhite ever married, 3.8 percent are divorced, 17.1 percent are separated from their husbands, and another 7.0 percent are living apart from their husbands for other reasons. In 1960, for all ever married white females in urban areas of the United States only 7.9 percent were divorced or living apart from their husband. (53)

We have also age standardized the Puerto Rican distribution of marital statuses on the age distribution of nonwhite ever married females. This procedure, which controls for the age composition of ever marrieds, raises slightly the percentage of Puerto Rican ever married divorced or living apart from their husbands. For this standardized distribution we now have 20.1 percent of all Puerto Rican ever married females divorced or living apart from their husband, slightly higher than the crude rate of 19.2 percent (see Table 22).

As another indicator of marital stability within both ethnic groups, we may take the percentage of ever married females who were married more than once. For Puerto Rican female ever marrieds, 18.1 percent are in this category, much higher than the 10.8 percent for nonwhite female ever marrieds. (If we age standardize the category, "ever married more than once" on the age distribution of nonwhites for the ever married, we will find that the standardized rate for Puerto Ricans is now 20.1 percent). For the total female population in the New York SMSA only 8.1 percent of all ever married females were married more than once.

The percentage of nonwhite ever married women who were married more than once would perhaps be higher except for the fact that many nonwhite ever marrieds whose marriage has been broken are still legally married to their husband, but they cannot afford the legal costs of a divorce. We have seen that 24.1 percent of all nonwhite ever married females are living apart from their husband, compared to only 14.1 percent for Puerto Rican female ever marrieds.

Thus, both nonwhites and Puerto Ricans have levels of marital instability well above the average. It should also be realized that levels of marital instability, particularly among Puerto Ricans, may be underestimated in the Census data. Among Puerto Ricans, consensual arrangements appear to be quite popular. It has been estimated that in Puerto Rico in 1950 one-fourth of all married Puerto Rican couples were living without legal bonds.⁽⁵⁴⁾ Glazer observes that the popularity of consensual arrangements is itself an indicator of the instability of married life among Puerto Ricans.⁽⁵⁵⁾ However, when a consensual arrangement dissolves, its dissolution may not be reported on a Census questionnaire. Persons classified as divorced in the Census, are those who had been legally divorced and not remarried at the time of enumeration. For the dissolution of legal marriages too, Puerto Ricans, many of whom are Catholic, may

seek an annulment instead of a divorce, thus putting them out of the ever-married category.

The different (statistical) levels of marital instability in both ethnic groups is one of the factors contributing to their different distributions of marital statuses, as reflected in Table 23. How important the compositional differences in marital status between both groups is in contributing to their gross differential in participation rates, is impossible to say exactly without more detailed knowledge of Puerto Rican participation rates. If, however, we apply the nonwhite participation rates in Table 19 to the Puerto Rican distribution in Table 23 we get an overall participation rate of 49.2, 1.6 percentage points less than the 50.8 rate for all nonwhite females. This indicates that if nonwhite females had the same marital status composition as Puerto Ricans, the difference in overall participation rates between the two groups would be 1.6 percentage points less.

For our purposes the most important effect of the high levels of marital instability is in the creation of families headed by females. Unless alimony or state support payments are adequate the female family head must assume some kind of economic responsibility which encourages labor force participation. For nonwhite families 25.4 percent are headed by females; of these 56.7 percent are headed by females who are divorced or

living apart from their husbands (see Table 24). For Puerto Rican families, 18.0 percent are headed by females; and of these 66.3 percent are headed by females who are divorced or living apart from their husband. (56) (For all white families in the U.S. only nine percent are headed by females, as reported in 1960 Census data).

Certainly one contribution to the nonwhite-Puerto Rican differential in female participation comes from the greater percentage of nonwhite families headed by females. Unfortunately, we cannot tell how important this contribution is without greater knowledge of the participation rates for female family heads for both groups, which we do not have.

Table 19

LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION BY MARITAL STATUS, FEMALES
NEW YORK SMSA

	<u>Total Population</u>	<u>Nonwhite</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>
Total in Population 14 and Over	4,262,202	504,168	213,197
Percent in Labor Force			
Total	37.9	50.8	37.9
Single	55.2	56.4	I.N.A. (a)
Married, Husband Present	29.7	42.7	34.8
At Least One Child Under Six	13.4	26.8	23.2 (b)
Married, Husband Absent	53.9	61.9	I.N.A.
Widowed	31.7	45.0	I.N.A.
Divorced	72.2	75.9	I.N.A.

(a) I.N.A. = Information Not Available.

(b) Estimated. See Appendix A.

Table 20

EVER MARRIED FEMALES, NEW YORK SMSA

	<u>Nonwhites</u>	<u>Puerto Ricans</u>
Total	504,168	213,197
Single	123,090	48,504
Ever Married	381,078	164,693
Percent	75.6	77.2
Ever Married	381,078	164,693
Married	79.7	85.2
Spouse Present	55.6	71.1
Separated	17.1	9.1
Absent, Other Reasons	7.0	5.0
Widowed	16.5	9.7
Divorced	3.8	5.1
Ever Married more than once (a)	10.8	18.1

(a) The rate for the total population of ever married females in New York is 8.1 percent.

Table 21

AGE, DISTRIBUTION OF EVER MARRIEDS, FEMALES,
NEW YORK SMSA

	<u>Nonwhites</u>	<u>Puerto Ricans</u>
Total Ever Marrieds		
14 and Over	381,078	164,693
14-19	1.8 %	4.0%
20-24	8.3	14.4
25-34	25.3	34.2
35-44	26.0	22.0
45-64	30.6	20.4
65 and Over	8.1	4.9

Table 22

65
SELECTED MARITAL STATUSES BY AGE, FEMALES, NEW YORK SMSA

		Nonwhites						
		<u>14-19</u>	<u>20-24</u>	<u>25-34</u>	<u>35-44</u>	<u>45-65</u>	<u>65 & Over</u>	<u>14 & Over</u>
Ever								
Married	6,792	31,619	96,224	94,059	116,539	30,845	381,078	
Married, Spouse Absent	29.2	25.5	26.2	27.0	22.6	10.8	24.1	
Separated	9.6	13.8	19.2	20.6	16.5	6.8	17.1	
Other	19.6	11.7	7.0	6.4	6.1	4.0	7.0	
Divorced	0.9	1.7	3.5	4.9	4.5	2.0	3.8	
Married More Than Once	1.8	1.8	5.7	11.6	15.4	17.7	10.8	
Percent Ever								
Married	13.3	58.1	80.5	87.4	88.5	90.0	75.6	
Puerto Ricans								
		<u>14-19</u>	<u>20-24</u>	<u>25-34</u>	<u>35-44</u>	<u>45-64</u>	<u>65 & Over</u>	<u>14 & Over</u>
Ever								
Married	6,614	23,798	56,383	36,286	33,607	8,005	164,693	
Married Spouse Absent	16.8	13.2	13.1	14.9	15.9	10.3	14.1	

Table 22 (Cont)

	<u>14-19</u>	<u>20-24</u>	<u>25-34</u>	<u>35-44</u>	<u>45-64</u>	<u>65 & Over</u>	<u>14 & Over</u>
Separated	5.8	7.5	8.8	10.8	10.5	5.9	9.1
Other	11.0	5.7	4.3	4.1	5.4	4.4	5.0
Divorced	1.4	2.5	4.4	6.6	7.8	3.9	5.1
Married More Than Once	3.8	6.3	16.0	26.8	24.4	13.0	18.1
Percent Ever Married	18.7	72.5	90.2	94.2	94.4	95.0	77.2
Puerto Ricans (Standardized on Nonwhite Age Composition of Ever Marrieds)							
Ever Married			90.2				
Married Spouse Absent			14.3				
Separated			9.5				
Other			4.8				
Divorced			5.8				
Married More Than Once			20.1				

Table 24

MARITAL STATUS, FEMALES, NEW YORK SMSA

	Nonwhites	Puerto Ricans
Total 14 and Over	504,168	213,197
Single	24.4	22.4
Married, Husband Present	42.0	54.9
Married, Husband Absent	18.2	10.9
Widowed	12.5	7.5
Divorced	2.9	3.9

Table 24

FAMILIES HEADED BY FEMALES, NEW YORK SMSA

	Nonwhites	Puerto Ricans
All Families	291,262	143,265
Female Head	73,883	25,735
Percent	25.4	18.0
Female Family Heads	73,883	25,735
Single	15.5	11.8
Separated	41.6	37.5
Others, Husband Absent	8.1	11.2
Widowed	27.9	22.0
Divorced	7.0	17.6

Marital Instability and Family Economic Organization

It has often been suggested that an important contribution to the high level of non-white female participation comes from the instability of the Negro family.⁽⁵⁷⁾ While Puerto Ricans may have a lower level of marital instability than Negroes, their level nevertheless, is well above average. A natural question to ask is: why isn't the level of Puerto Rican female labor force participation higher than it is? We have already discussed the poor job opportunities of Puerto Rican women, which may discourage labor market participation for them.

Differences in the economic organization of the Negro and Puerto Rican families may also explain why for women, Puerto Rican participation is so low relative to that of nonwhites, even though they also have a high level of marital instability.

In such studies as The Negro Family, important emphasis is placed on the economic role of the woman in keeping the family together.⁽⁵⁸⁾ In the urbanized areas of the North and South, into which the emancipated Negro began to move, the Negro male had a very poor competitive position in the labor market because of discriminatory barriers. The poor economic performance of the Negro male increased the economic importance of the woman in keeping the family together (because she faced less discrimination) and also increased family disorganization,

which further increased the economic importance of the woman.⁽⁵⁹⁾ Over several decades of Negro poverty and unemployment a cultural pattern has developed in which the Negro female assumes a principal economic role within the family. Pettigrew has commented that Negro girls model themselves on their mothers, and assume masculine as well as feminine obligations.⁽⁶⁰⁾

Economic factors may also be important in causing family instability among Puerto Ricans; but some authors have emphasized tensions arising out of role and sexual conflict.⁽⁶¹⁾ Whether these conflicts arise more in lower class Puerto Rican families than in Negro ones is something we cannot verify. In terms of the Puerto Rican family's economic organization, the female may not play as important an economic role as in the Negro family for the following reasons:

(1) Within Puerto Rican society lower class women may always have played a passive economic role. In an urban household sample in Puerto Rico, Hatt found that the vast majority of both males and females were against full-time work for the woman outside the home.⁽⁶²⁾ About half of the males and about one-third of the females were against any kind of work for the woman other than household duties.⁽⁶³⁾

Even today, the Puerto Rican economy is relatively underdeveloped, so that the Puerto Ricans who migrated to the United States did not bring with them the skills which would allow them to successfully compete in the labor market of a developed economy. Although in 1950 the female labor force participation rate in Puerto Rico was 32.3 percent, employed females were concentrated in home needlework and domestic service.⁽⁶⁵⁾ As these occupations declined in importance as a source of employment in the 1950-1960 decade, so did the female participation rate. In 1960 only 22.4 percent of all females 14 and over in Puerto Rico were labor market participants.⁽⁶⁶⁾

(2) We have said that the popularity of consensual arrangements among Puerto Ricans was both a symptom and a cause of their high marital instability. However, while they are easy to dissolve, they are also easy to form. Consensual arrangements may have the latent function of providing a bulwark against economic insecurity for the Puerto Rican woman. We have already seen that the age standardized percentage of Puerto Rican female ever marrieds who were married more than once is 20.1 percent, as compared to 10.8 percent for nonwhite ever married women (see Table 22).

(3) One cause of the nonwhite female's entry into the labor force has been family desertion. However, for

Puerto Ricans, Glazer comments: "Men have children with a number of women, but they take responsibility for all of them." (67) However, we have no evidence for this.

(4) The Negro family has developed a unique type of economic organization because of their unique experience in this society. Puerto Ricans have come to this country in large numbers only since the end of World War II, a time of decreasing discrimination against minority groups, and improved child and welfare support - particularly in New York. The time element and casual factors which created the cultural pattern of women assuming an important economic role within the Negro family have not come into play for the Puerto Rican family.

Conclusions

In the New York SMSA both Puerto Ricans and nonwhites are economically and socially worse off than the rest of the population. Economic pressures exist in both the Puerto Rican and nonwhite families; however we noticed a wide differential in the gross participation rates for females in both ethnic groups in favor of nonwhites. The principal factors we could find in contributing to this differential are the following: (a) nonwhite females have superior educational attainment over Puerto Ricans. This opens up better job opportunities which encourage participation, (b) in general Puerto Rican females have a relatively poorer competitive position in the labor

market so that the family's economic burden must be assumed by the Puerto Rican male. This is less so in the nonwhite family, (c) among both nonwhite and Puerto Rican families there are high levels of marital instability. However, we have seen that a greater percentage of nonwhite families are headed by females than Puerto Rican ones. This may contribute to some of the overall differential in female labor force participation between nonwhites and Puerto Ricans, (d) the differences in female labor force participation between both ethnic groups is an indication of differences in the economic organization of their respective families. We attributed these differences to: (1) factors arising out of the different experiences of Negroes and Puerto Ricans within American society; (2) the more passive economic role of women within Puerto Rican society, and the lack of labor market skills acquired there; (3) the latent economic function of consensual arrangements, which are popular among Puerto Ricans.

These conclusions are not necessarily independent of each other and they certainly must be tested by further research.

Appendix

For Puerto Ricans we were able to obtain data for the number of married women, with husband present and at least one child under six who were in the labor force, but not those who were not in the labor force. This makes it impossible to calculate the labor force participation rate for this category directly from the Census Volumes. However, we do know the number of married Puerto Rican women with husband present (line 2a Table 8). What we need is an estimate of the proportion of these women with at least one child under six.

We have such an estimate for husband-wife families of the 117,161 married Puerto Rican women with husband present, 111,203 or 95.6 percent are part of husband-wife families. Exactly 50.0 percent of all husband-wife families have at least one child under six. (see Table A-1) Since husband-wife families constitutes such a vast proportion of the category, "married, husband present," we can safely use .500 as the proportion of such women having at least one child under six. Thus:

$$117,161 \times .500 = 58,581$$

is our estimate of the number of women married with husband present and at least one child under six. Line (26) in Table 8 is obtained by subtraction(117,161-58,581

= 58,580).

Aside from husband-wife families the other major component of the category "married, husband present" are sub-families with both spouses living together.⁽⁶⁸⁾ This type of family apparently has a greater chance of having a school child than other families. For example of all families in New York 52.7 percent had at least one child under 18; however, for sub-families 61.9 percent had at least one child under 18 (see Table A-2). Thus we may have slightly underestimated the number of married Puerto Rican women with husband present and with at least one child under six, and overestimated slightly the percent of such women (23.2) in the labor force.

Another datum in Table 8 that we should comment on is the following: For nonwhites the highest participation rate for all our categories is 56.7 percent for "females without spouse present." But for Puerto Ricans the participation rate of 41.7 percent for this category is not the highest, though we would expect it to be so. However, we should remember that this category is an artificial one, made up of several component marital statuses. We could conjecture that the participation rates for Puerto Ricans for each of these components is lower than the corresponding nonwhite rate. But it is only a conjecture. However, for the "single" component of this category we do have evidence that the Puerto

Rican participation rate is lower than the nonwhite one, but because of demographic reasons. From Table 5 we saw that the age group 14-19 has a low participation rate, about 25 percent for both ethnic groups. However, a greater percentage of Puerto Rican single women 14 and over are between 14-19 than nonwhite women; 47.5 percent versus 27.9 percent for nonwhites (see Table A-3). Further 79.5 percent of all Puerto Rican females 14-19 are single. Because the 14-19 year age group, with its low participation rate is such an important part (numerically) of the Puerto Rican single category, this is indirect evidence that the participation rate for single Puerto Rican women is unusually low and is a major factor in the low participation rate of 41.7 percent for our category, "females without spouse present". It should also be added that "single" constitutes 50.5 percent of this category for Puerto Ricans and only 42.1 percent for nonwhites. (69).

Table A-1

FERTILITY AND EMPLOYMENT, PUERTO RICAN
HUSBAND-WIFE FAMILIES, NEW YORK SMSA

	Number	Percent
Husband-Wife Families	111,203	
With Own Children Under Six	55,602	50.0
With Wife Employed	11,650	21.0

Table A-2

PERCENT OF FAMILIES HAVING AT LEAST
ONE CHILD NEW YORK SMSA

All Families	2,807,603
Percent with at Least One Child	52.7
Sub Families	83,459
Percent With at Least One Child	61.9

Table A-3
SINGLE FEMALES, NEW YORK SMSA

	Nonwhites	Puerto Ricans
Single	123,090	48,504
Percent 14-19	27.9	47.5
Total 14-19	51,077	29,006
Percent Single	82.7	79.5

Table A-4

COMPOSITION OF CATEGORY: "FEMALES WITHOUT SPOUSE PRESENT," NONWHITES AND PUERTO RICANS NEW YORK SMSA

	Nonwhites		Puerto Ricans	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	292,196	100.0	96,036	100.0
Single	123,090	42.1	48,504	50.5
Married, Husband Absent	91,686	31.4	23,221	24.2
Divorced	14,651	5.0	8,414	8.8
Widowed	62,769	21.5	15,897	16.6

Sources of Tables

Most of the data in our Tables came from three Census Volumes.

[1]. U.S. Bureau of the Census. U.S. Census of Population: 1960. Vol. I, Characteristics of the Population. Part 34, New York.

[2]. U.S. Bureau of the Census. U.S. Census of Population: 1960. Subject Reports. Puerto Ricans in the United States. Final Report PC(2)-1D.

[3]. U.S. Bureau of the Census. U.S. Census of Population and Housing: 1960. Census Tracts. Final Report PHC (1) - 104 Part 1.

Table 1: [3], Table P-1, Table P-4, Table P-5.

Table 2: [3], Table P-1, Table P-5; [2], Table 9.

Table 3: [1], Table 115; [2], Table 11; [3] Table P-3.

Table 4: [1], Table 115; [2], Table 12.

Table 5: [1], Table 115; [2], Table 13.

Table 6: Based on Tables 5 and 6.

Table 7: [1], Table 117; [2], Table 13.

Table 8: [1], Table 116; [2], Table 4, [3], Table P-5.

Table 9: U.S. Bureau of the Census. U.S. Census of Population: 1960: Subject Reports. Educational Attainment. Final Report PC (2)-5B, Table 5.

Table 10: [1], Table 103.

Table 11: [2], Table 12.

Table 12: [1], Table 103; [2], Table 12.

Table 13: [1], Table 123; [2], Table 11.

Table 14: [1], Table 123; [2], Table 13.

Table 15: [1]; Table 124.

Table 16: Based on Tables 13, 14 and 15.

Table 17: [1], Table 134, Table 103, Table 123; [2], Table 7, also, see references in Tables 3,4,5 and 13.

Table 18: [1], Table 113, Table 100, Table 108, Table 110; [2], Table 9, Table 4; [3], Table P-4. Also: U.S. Bureau of the Census. U.S. Census of Population: 1960 - Subject Reports. Women by Number of Children Ever Born. Final Report PC (2)-3A, Table 10.

Table 19: [1], Table 116; [3], Table P-5. Also, see Table 8.

Table 20: [1], Table 105; [23], Table 4.

Table 21: [1], Table 105; [2], Table 12.

Table 22: See Table 20.

Table 23: [1], Table 105; [2], Table 9.

Table 24: [1], Table 108; [2], Table 4.

Table A-1: [2], Table 4.

Table A-2: [1], Table 108.

Table A-3: [1], Table 105; [2], Table 12. Also, see Table 4.

Table A-4: See Table 20.

Notes

1. We may loosely define a labor force participant as one who is employed or if unemployed, one who is actively seeking work. That is, a labor force participant is holding a job or actively looking for one.
2. Of the important works by economists we may mention: Jacob Mincer, "Labor Force Participation of Married Women," in Aspects of Labor Economics, A Conference of the Universities, National Bureau of Economic Research (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1962) pp.63-105; James N. Morgan, et. al., Income and Welfare in the United States (New York: McGraw Hill, 1962) Ch. 9; William G. Bowen and T. A. Finegan, "Labor Force Participation and Unemployment" in Employment Policy and the Labor Market, ed. by Arthur M. Ross (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1965) pp. 115-161; Glen Cain, Married Woman in the Labor Force: An Economic Analysis (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966). For a study of labor force participation over time see Clarence D. Long, The Labor Force Under Changing Income and Employment, National Bureau of Economic Research (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958). A recent nontechnical summary of research findings is, Jacob Mincer, "Labor Force: Participation," International Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, VIII, 474-481.
3. As examples of some of the specific questions the economists are interested we may mention the following: Mincer (1962) was interested in resolving a seeming paradox between the cross sectional and time series labor force participation data for married women. Bowen and Finigan (1965) were interested in the sensitivity of labor force participation to changes in the level of unemployment. Cain (1966) was interested in accounting for the white-nonwhite differential in labor force participation for married women. Naturally, many authors address themselves to more than one question.
4. Jacob Mincer, "Labor Force: Participation:", p. 474.
5. For studies of this problem see particularly Cain, Married Woman in the Labor Force, and James A. Sweet, "White-Nonwhite Differentials in the Labor Force Activity of Married Women in the United States" (paper presented to the 1968 meeting of the Population Association of America, Boston, Mass., April 1968).

6. The New York Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area consists of New York City and the following counties: Nassau, Suffolk, Rockland and Westchester, all in New York State.

7. For the New York area at least, this will become self-evident as we go along in the text.

8. For studies of Negroes and Puerto Ricans in New York City see: Oscar Handlin, The New Comers (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959); and Nathan Glazer, and Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Beyond the Melting Pot (Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 1963).

9. According to the 1960 U.S. Census, of the 892,513 Puerto Ricans of Puerto Rican birth or parentage in the U.S., 629,430 or 70.5 percent reside in the New York SMSA.

10. See 8. above.

11. Race classification by Puerto Ricans on the Census questionnaire is probably very subjective. Puerto Ricans with very dark pigmentation may well classify themselves as white.

12. The Bureau of the Census collects labor force participation data for the population 14 years old and over. The participation rates are derived from questions on economic activity for the week previous to the one in which the responder filled out the Bureau's Household Questionnaire. Unless otherwise stated, the populations we will be dealing with are 14 years old and over.

13. See Cain, Married Woman in the Labor Force; and Sweet, "White-Nonwhite Differentials..." and the references therein.

14. See Cain (1966) and Morgan, Income and Welfare.

15. For this time series see Mincer, Labor Force: Participation, P. 474.

16. Ibid. P. 479.

17. We calculated the rates for this category by a process of elimination. We have labor force data for the total female population and for married women with husband present. The difference between the two are "females without spouse present."

18. See for example Bowen and Finegan, "Labor Force

Participation and Unemployment."

19. See our discussion of Labor Force Participation and Income, below.

20. For a discussion of standardization techniques see: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Handbook of Statistical Methods for Demographers (preliminary edition-third printing, 1960) by A. J. Jaffe, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C. 1951, Chapter 3.

21. We cannot tell if the differential in participation also persists through the college level. The relationship between work activity and college education is particularly important not only because it offers new job opportunities for women, but it also influences their reference orientation as well. Thus, there may be a relationship between labor force participation and reference group processes. See Herbert H. Hyman, "The Value Systems of Different Classes: A Social Psychological Contribution to the Analysis of Stratification" in Class, Status and Power, ed. by R. Bendix and S. M. Lipset (New York: The Free Press, 1953) pp. 426-442, Comments on the relationship between education and mobility. If we had more appropriate data the relationship between social mobility and female labor force participation could be discussed.

22. For research relating these variables see Morgan, Income and Welfare, Ch. 9 and Sweet, "White Nonwhite Differentials..." p. 11ff.

23. For a more adequate definition see Sweet (1968) p. 4.

24. Bowen and Finegan, "Labor Force Participation and Unemployment," pp. 134-138.

25. Ibid.

26. This would certainly follow from the high positive correlation between husband's education and wife's education, and the high positive correlation between education and income.

27. Some of the problems of using family income data were crystallized after a discussion with Professor Glen Cain, whom I wish to thank.

28. For these studies see bibliographical references above and below.

29. As an example of the economist's way of thinking about labor force participation see Mincer, "Labor Force: Participation:", p. 475.

30. In addition to the studies mentioned above see the study, William G. Bowen and T. Aldrich Finegan, "Educational Attainment and Labor Force Participation," American Economic Review, May 1966, pp. 567-582.

31. Ibid. p. 568.

32. Ibid. P. 568.

33. 91.8 percent of all Puerto Rican females 14 and over were born in Puerto Rico.

34. These are essentially occupational classifications, within which are specific occupations. It may well be that nonwhite and Puerto Rican females have a different occupational distribution for a particular classification. We do not know the distribution difference because of the paucity of data for Puerto Ricans.

35. The experienced labor force also includes the unemployed with experience in the labor force.

36. This statement holds for the specific occupations within each classification as well. No single occupation alone can account for the low percentage of female professionals who work a full year.

37. A possible reason why such a large percentage of Puerto Rican females are employed as operatives is that here language difficulty may not be a barrier to employment. If the foreman can speak Spanish there is no problem in giving instructions. In other types of employment there may have to be more contact with people who may not be able to speak Spanish.

38. To explain the smaller differential for the 14-19 year group we may again mention the greater school enrollment of nonwhite females not in the labor force.

39. Cain, Married Woman in the Labor Force, p. 119.

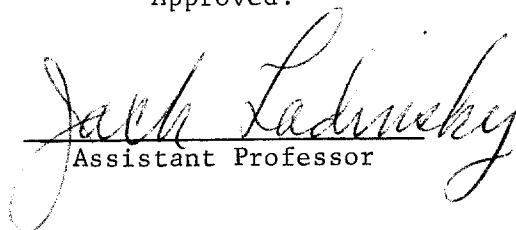
40. Glazer, Beyond the Melting Pot, p. 38.

41. Tobia Bressler and Nampeo McKenny, "Negro Woman in the United States," paper presented to the annual meeting, Population Association of America (1968) pp. 27-28.
42. Glazer says that there are few complaints of discrimination filed by Puerto Ricans. Glazer (1963), p. 115. But this could be because of a lack of knowledge on where to file complaints than because of little discrimination against Puerto Ricans.
43. In recent years the gap has been closing. See Bressler (1968) Table 12.
44. It is also reflected in lack of participation.
45. See notes to Table 17.
46. We already have seen that clerical jobs are second in importance in terms of the employment of Puerto Rican females. See Table 13.
47. In terms of the total population there is very little difference in employment in professional and kindred occupations between the sexes. See notes, Table 17.
48. See U.S. Bureau of the Census. U.S. Census of Population: 1960. Subject Reports, Puerto Ricans in the United States. Final Report PC (2)-1D. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. 1963, Table 11. We have not made any separate study of the Puerto Ricans of Puerto Rican parentage because they constitute such a small percentage of the 14 and over population.
49. Robert L. Stein, "Reasons for Nonparticipation in the Labor Force," Monthly Labor Review, July 1967, pp. 22-28. See Table 1.
50. In his study of the white-nonwhite differential in the labor force participation of married women, Sweet has shown that the Negro family is more likely to contain extra adult relatives than the non Negro family. (See Sweet, "White-Nonwhite Differentials..." p. 14.).
51. For definitions of Census family classifications see Paul C. Glick, American Families (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1957) Appendix A.

52. Implicitly, if not explicitly by Cain, Married Woman in the Labor Force, p. 119.
53. The Negro Family: The Case for National Action, U.S. Department of Labor (1965) p. 6.
54. J. Mayane Stycos, Family and Fertility in Puerto Rico (New York: Columbia University Press, 1955) p 107-108.
55. Glazer, Beyond the Melting Pot, p. 89.
56. The different contributions that divorced and females living apart from their husband makes to female headed families in both groups arise in part from demographic reasons. The nonwhite population is older and so has a greater percentage of widows, which makes a greater contribution to female headed families.
57. For example Cain, Married Woman in the Labor Force p. 119.
58. This work is better known as the "Moynihan Report." See particularly Ch. 3. Our discussion of the Negro family is based on this work.
59. Glazer attributes the lower discrimination against Negro women to the fact that she already is in a low status because she is a woman. See Glazer, Beyond the Melting Pot, p. 38.
60. Thomas F. Pettigrew, A Profile of the Negro American, (Princeton: D. Von Nostrand Company, 1964) p. 18.
61. See Oscar Lewis, La Vida (New York, Random House, 1966) particularly pp XXIV-XXXII. and Stycos, Family and Fertility, p. 118.
62. Paul K. Hatt, Backgrounds of Human Fertility in Puerto Rico. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952) Table 52.
63. Ibid.
64. I wish to thank Professor James Sweet for this idea.
65. Leroy O. Stone, "The Recent Decline of the Female Labor Force Participation Rate in Puerto Rico," (unpublished paper, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Canada). See pp. 2ff, and Table 2.

66. Ibid, Table 2.
67. Glazer, Beyond the Melting Pot, p. 90.
68. See Glick, American Families, Appendix A.
69. The nonwhite participation rates calculated on the Puerto Rican composition for the category increases the participation rate from 56.7 to 57.9 percent. The low Puerto Rican rate relative to nonwhites for the category "females without spouse present," must be due to lower participation rates for Puerto Ricans for some of the components.

Approved:


Assistant Professor

Date: September 4, 1968