

Generating Labor Market Inequality: Employment Opportunities and the Accumulation of Disadvantage*

MARTA TIENDA, *University of Chicago*

HAYA STIER, *Tel Aviv University*

We analyze the Urban Poverty and Family Life Survey of Chicago to illustrate race and ethnic differentials in the accumulation of labor market experience over the life course of inner city men and women. We find that relative to parents nationally, inner city mothers and fathers experience greater employment instability and accumulate large work experience deficits through their adult life course. Multivariate analyses based on complete labor force histories reveal that cumulative work experience and education significantly influences labor market success based on the odds of being in the labor force in any given year and the duration of job spells. Despite higher employment returns to work experience among minority compared to non-minority men, the poor average labor market standing of inner city minority parents partly reflects the experience deficits accumulated over their life course, particularly for Black and Puerto Rican men, and Hispanic women.

Introduction

Academic and policy discourse about concentrated urban poverty identified marginality from the workforce as a feature that distinguishes the inner city poor from the poor in general (McLanahan and Garfinkel 1989; Wilson 1987). Impoverished neighborhoods sustain irregular work behavior because there are fewer role models and social networks establishing connections with the world of work (Wilson 1987); because skilled and semi-skilled jobs have diminished as a share of total employment in old industrial centers (Kasarda 1985, 1995; Holzer 1991); and because illicit income opportunities coupled with work disincentives induced by income transfers undermine the value of conventional employment (Murray 1984). Furthermore, recent studies have shown that the U.S. labor force is characterized by a high degree of dynamism, that levels of employment instability may be considerably higher than indicated by estimates based on cross-sectional data, and that minority workers experience more instability than non-minority workers (Clark and Summers 1979; Akerlof and Main 1981; Clogg, Eliason, and Wahl 1990; Hsueh and Tienda 1994; Wilson and Wu 1993).

The significance of employment instability for understanding high rates of inner city joblessness stems from a simple empirical insight, namely that prior employment experience strongly influences future labor market outcomes (see Clogg, Eliason, and Wahl 1990, for an eloquent statement of this relationship). Frequent transitions to joblessness, which are more common among less educated and less experienced workers (Hsueh and Tienda 1994, 1995, 1996), not only increase the likelihood of permanent labor force withdrawal (Tienda et al.

* This research was supported by grants from the Rockefeller Foundation and from ASPE of the Department of Health and Human Services to the Institute for Research on Poverty of the University of Wisconsin. Our work was also supported by a Fellowship at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, and we appreciate the generous support of the John D. and Catharine T. MacArthur Foundation for this opportunity. We gratefully acknowledge comments from Ronald Mincy and Christopher Tilly on the earlier work. Address all correspondence to Marta Tienda, Department of Sociology, University of Chicago, 1126 E. 59th Street, Chicago, IL 60637.

1992b), but also reduce the accumulation of valuable work experience over the life course. Employment experience is particularly important for individuals who lack formal education because it represents human capital that makes workers valuable to employers, and because it signals commitment to the workforce (Becker 1993; Devine and Keifer 1993). Surprisingly, discussions of inner city poverty have largely ignored the role of unstable employment in producing profiles of chronic joblessness and economic disadvantage.

Accordingly, in this paper we examine work histories of men and women residing in Chicago's inner city 1) to document race, ethnic, and gender differences in the accumulation of labor market experience; 2) to assess the influence of ethnicity, race, and human capital on labor force activity; and 3) to evaluate the employment returns to prior experience. Our subtitle, "the accumulation of disadvantage," refers to the experience gap accrued over the adult life cycle. Our descriptive analyses show how employment instability reproduces and accentuates labor market inequities via differentials in accumulated work experience. We demonstrate that workers with large work experience deficits are at much greater risk of future labor force departures, which in turn, are associated with higher poverty risks in adult life.

Our substantive interest in the accumulation of labor market experience builds on insights from human capital theory that distinguish between general and specific training (Becker 1993:33-51). General training is usually equated with formal and vocational schooling and involves the acquisition of skills that are useful in many firms. Individual workers usually bear the costs of acquiring general training, although there are exceptions (e.g., the military and/or special employer-subsidized educational programs). Narrowly defined, specific training refers to skills whose productivity benefits are exclusive to firms that provide the training. In practice, much training acquired in the workplace is neither completely specific nor completely general (Becker 1993). Therefore, years of work experience serves as a rough proxy for market-specific training that is neither specific to a single firm or employer, but that enhances workers' attractiveness to employers beyond the appeal of their general skills (education).

Although experience is widely recognized as a valuable form of human capital, empirical analyses of labor market outcomes have been weakened by their reliance on crude proxy measures. Census-type data, which are most frequently used in labor market studies, are particularly ill-suited to assess how race and ethnic differences in work experience influence subsequent labor force outcomes (e.g., Thomas, Herring, and Horton 1994). This follows because work experience can only be approximated as a function of age (e.g., by subtracting years of completed schooling from current age minus 6). Experience proxies derived from age and schooling are reasonable for workers with relatively stable employment histories, such as white men in their prime working ages, but are highly inaccurate for workers with intermittent work histories, such as women in reproductive ages, students, and residents of inner city neighborhoods (see Hsueh and Tienda 1995; Clogg, Eliason, and Wahl 1990; Akerlof and Main 1981; Clark and Summers 1979; Tienda and Stier 1991). Our empirical analyses use a more precise measure of labor market experience derived from complete work histories. Furthermore, we consider whether a given amount of experience is acquired over single or multiple work episodes as a way of gauging the effects of instability on subsequent labor force outcomes.

Women and minority workers are particularly susceptible to unstable employment, which results in the accumulation of experience deficits (Wilson 1987; Clogg, Eliason, and Wahl 1990; Wilson and Wu 1993; Hsueh and Tienda 1994; Hsueh and Tienda 1996). As such, we expect that race and ethnic differences in labor force activity at a given point in time (or at given ages) partly reflect group differences in the accumulation of general (education) and specific (employment experience) training, but they may also result from race and ethnic differences in returns to prior experience. The testable implication of the former logic is that

race and ethnic differences in labor force activity should be trivial after modeling experience effects on participation and labor force departures. The latter alternative suggests that the influence of experience on the odds of subsequent employment will differ according to group membership.

Our focus on inner city workers also is substantively important because of allegations that inner city residents do not want to work; that they face more limited opportunities than urban residents generally; or some combination of both. We show that the disadvantaged labor market position of inner city workers is due in large measure to a growing experience gap over the life cycle. This is not to deny the importance of labor market discrimination in hiring and firing practices, which render differential access to jobs along race, ethnic, and gender lines. In fact, Thomas and his associates showed in a recent paper that race differences in earnings also result from accumulated disadvantage stemming from discrimination (Thomas, Herring, and Horton 1994). However we maintain that employment instability also is an important mechanism producing labor market inequality because workers who experience frequent episodes of joblessness accumulate substantial experience deficits throughout their adult lives. To the extent that minority workers are subject to greater levels of employment instability (Clogg, Eliason, and Wahl 1990; Hsueh and Tienda 1996; Wilson and Wu 1993), observed race and ethnic differences in labor force activity (i.e., participation rates and labor force departures) capture group differences in accumulated experience. A general implication is that race and ethnic effects on labor force activity may be overstated in reduced form specifications that rely on age-based proxy measures to represent actual work experience.

Following a brief description of the survey data used for the empirical analysis, we summarize employment histories by deriving cumulative measures of actual labor force experience. First we compare our Chicago inner city sample of parents with a nationally representative sample of parents to provide a benchmark for assessing discrepancies in work effort among Black, white, Mexican, and Puerto Rican men and women. Subsequently we document race and ethnic differences in work experiences within Chicago to illustrate the emergence of experience gaps along gender and color lines. Finally, we use event history techniques to assess how work experience influences the likelihood of a job separation. The analyses of labor force departures also consider how job characteristics, such as firm size and union membership, affect the odds of a job separation.

Sample Characteristics

Our analyses are based on the Urban Poverty and Family Life Survey of Chicago (UPFLS), which was conducted by National Opinion Research Center (NORC) during 1986 and 1987. The final sample of 2,490 includes 1,186 Blacks, 368 whites, 484 Mexicans, and 453 Puerto Ricans. The overall response rate of 79 percent ranged from 75 percent to 83 percent for the ethnic groups. Although the original survey was conceived as a study of parents, a few Blacks who were not parents were also interviewed and these are included in the sample counts. In the interest of enhancing comparability across ethnic groups, we restricted the empirical analyses to parents, or approximately 811 men and 1,523 women. The multi-stage and stratified character of the sample requires use of weights to represent the population universe. We report unweighted *N*s in all tables, but weight all tabular results. Weighting alters the sample sizes only slightly, from 811 to 838 for men and from 1,523 to 1,496 for women.

We also use the National Survey of Families and Households (NSFH) to compare the employment experiences of the inner city sample with the U.S. population. The NSFH contains sufficient race and ethnic variation for tabular analyses of Mexican, Black and white populations, but the sample of Puerto Ricans is far too small for reliable analyses. To increase

comparability between the national and Chicago samples, we restricted the national sample to parents who resided in large metropolitan areas and who also met the age criteria used for the UPFLS.

Table 1 summarizes characteristics of the UPFLS sample by ethnicity and sex. Blacks are considerably more likely than whites, Mexicans, or Puerto Ricans to reside in extremely poor neighborhoods (i.e., poverty rates of 40 percent or more). On the other hand, whites are more likely than minority populations to reside in neighborhoods with poverty rates below 20 percent. More than half of the Black sample resided in neighborhoods with poverty rates in excess of 29 percent compared to 20 percent in white, 25 percent in Mexican, and 33 percent in Puerto Rican. An important difference between the two surveys is the significantly higher representation of immigrants in Chicago's Mexican sample—nearly 80 percent compared to 30 percent nationally. This is substantively significant because Mexican immigrants have appreciably lower educational levels than their native-born counterparts, and because labor force experience appears to have been under-reported in the UPFLS.¹

Table 1 • Sample Characteristics by Ethnicity and Sex: Parents Ages 18-44 in Chicago's Inner City, 1987 (Means or Percents)

	Blacks		Whites		Mexicans		Puerto Ricans	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
<u>Area Poverty Rate</u>								
< 20%	8.1	4.5	42.2	29.8	18.3	13.5	8.5	8.4
20-29%	42.8	40.6	37.5	50.1	57.3	65.6	58.6	54.6
30-39%	30.0	26.6	15.8	16.3	19.1	18.0	20.8	28.5
40%	19.1	28.3	4.6	3.8	5.2	2.9	12.0	8.5
<u>Age</u>								
\bar{x}	31.8	31.4	35.5	33.7	33.5	31.4	33.2	31.7
(s.d.)	(7.3)	(7.1)	(6.1)	(6.9)	(5.9)	(6.8)	(6.7)	(6.9)
<u>Education</u>								
< H.S.	41.9	39.7	28.7	35.8	84.9	81.8	74.1	67.5
H.S.	26.2	31.1	20.8	38.1	9.3	13.5	13.6	17.1
> H.S.	31.9	29.2	50.6	26.1	5.8	4.7	12.3	15.4
\bar{x}	12.1	11.9	13.1	12.1	7.0	7.2	9.7	9.9
(s.d.)	(2.1)	(1.9)	(2.9)	(2.6)	(3.6)	(3.8)	(3.0)	(2.8)
<u>Marital Status</u>								
% Currently Married	41.5	23.2	74.7	53.8	88.3	68.7	66.6	36.3
% Ever Married	57.9	53.5	95.2	80.4	92.9	84.9	75.9	67.7
% Never Married	42.1	46.5	4.8	19.6	7.1	15.1	24.1	32.3
<u>Current Employment Status</u>								
% Employed	69.7	44.1	87.0	52.6	93.1	50.9	76.8	34.1
% Unemployed	12.9	6.4	4.3	3.3	1.7	1.9	7.6	1.3
% Out of Labor Force	17.4	49.5	8.7	44.1	5.2	47.2	15.6	64.6
% Never Worked	9.8	20.7	0.0	8.6	0.9	17.0	5.6	28.6
[N]	[308]	[719]	[127]	[237]	[228]	[261]	[148]	[306]

Source: UPFLS 1987.

The marital status distribution shows pronounced sex, race, and ethnic differences. Mexicans and whites are more likely to be currently married than either Black and Puerto

1. Our diagnostic analyses revealed that a subset of respondents with longer tenure in the United States did not consider its labor force experience in Mexico. This bias implies that our estimated effects of experience on labor force outcomes are conservative.

Rican parents, and Black parents are least likely ever to be married. More than 75 percent of white and Mexican men were married at the time of the survey, compared to only 41 percent of Black men. Among women, 66 percent of Mexican, 50 percent of white, and 33 percent of Puerto Ricans were currently married, compared to less than 25 percent of Black mothers. The vast majority of Mexican and white parents were ever married, compared to just more than 50 percent of Black parents.

Mexicans and Puerto Ricans are the most educationally disadvantaged groups, as evident by the low average years of schooling completed (7 and 10 years, respectively) and the high proportions who did not complete high school (70 to 80 percent). Despite their high residential concentration in poverty neighborhoods, nearly one-third of Blacks reported some post-secondary schooling, which includes participation in vocational programs as well as junior colleges and universities. Black men averaged 12 years of school, which is approximately one year below the average for white men. However, among women, there were no racial differences in mean years of school completed. By this indicator of human capital, inner city Blacks should exhibit more successful labor market outcomes. This is not the case.

At the time of the survey, almost 95 percent of Mexican fathers were in the labor force (either at work or looking for a job) compared to 91 percent of white and 83 percent of Black fathers. Consistent with national trends, Puerto Ricans exhibit the lowest participation rates for both sexes (Tienda 1989; Bean and Tienda 1987). Virtually all Mexican and white men reported having ever worked, but nearly 10 percent of Black men and more than 5 percent of Puerto Rican men indicated they had never worked by the time of the survey. Among women, 9 percent of white mothers reported no prior work experience compared to 17 percent of Mexican, 20 percent of Black, and 29 percent of Puerto Rican mothers. The high share of Puerto Rican mothers without any work experience is consistent with many studies about the growing detachment of Puerto Rican women from the world of work (Tienda et al. 1992a). However, Chicago's inner city Black mothers differ from Black women in general, who historically have had relatively high rates of labor force participation (Bianchi and Spain 1986; Smith and Tienda 1987; Tienda et al. 1992a). This suggests that inferences about the employment experiences of Chicago's inner city parents may not be generalized to the national population. Snapshots of current labor force status and prior experiences raise questions about how race, Hispanic origin, and sex differences in labor force position arise. Accordingly, we turn to life span comparisons of employment histories to illustrate the emergence of gaps in the acquisition of work experience.

Gender, Race, and Ethnic Differentials in Labor Force Experience

Table 2 provides summary measures of work histories to illustrate how shortfalls in labor market experience accumulate over the life course of inner city parents. Three summary measures are provided: 1) the total number of years worked by specific ages, which is a more accurate measure of employment experience than available in census-type surveys; 2) the share of time spent at work after age 18; and 3) the total number of jobs held, including the current job.² The tabular results are estimates based on age cohorts that lend themselves to synthetic life cycle interpretations. Results based on these measures are compared with the national sample of urban parents to appreciate the uniqueness of the Chicago sample.

2. The total number of jobs refers to the entire work history and thus includes jobs held before age 18. However, the share of time at work measures must be based on a fixed age referent. We use age 18, the minimum age for eligibility in the survey, to minimize potentially confounding effects of race and ethnic differences in the timing of first labor market entry.

Table 2 • Work Histories of Parents Ages 18-44 in Chicago's Inner City and U.S. Cities, 1987, by Sex and Age

	Chicago					U.S. Cities (Core)				
	18-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	18-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44
Men [N] ^a	[84]	[171]	[194]	[188]	[174]	[70]	[161]	[272]	[253]	[191]
Yrs. Worked	1.8	5.8	9.0	12.5	17.1	4.9	8.6	11.7	16.0	21.3
% Time Worked Since 18	38.1	55.5	60.7	63.7	67.4	79.9	81.7	78.4	80.8	86.0
# Jobs Held ^b	1.4	2.2	2.9	3.1	3.2	1.2	1.4	1.5	1.6	1.4
Women [N] ^a	[259]	[343]	[355]	[292]	[274]	[259]	[379]	[493]	[440]	[316]
Yrs. Worked	1.4	2.9	5.6	8.8	9.8	2.1	5.2	8.0	11.1	13.8
% Time Worked Since 18	26.1	28.2	38.6	44.9	39.2	42.0	51.2	55.0	57.1	56.5
# Jobs Held ^b	1.0	1.4	2.1	2.5	2.5	1.1	1.5	1.7	1.9	2.1

Source: UPFLS 1987 and NSFH 1987.

^a Unweighted N; means and percents are weighted^b Includes job currently held

Three generalizations are warranted from the summary measures of work histories. First, relative to parents nationally, Chicago's inner city parents acquire less labor force experience throughout their life course, although the magnitude of the experience gap differs by sex. Between the ages of 18 and 24, Chicago's parents worked an average of one and a half (mothers) to two (fathers) years. By comparison, urban fathers nationally averaged five years of work experience, and mothers slightly more than two years by age 24. Urban fathers had accumulated approximately 16 years of market experience between their 18th and 40th birthdays, but Chicago's inner city fathers averaged only 12 to 13 years of employment experience during these ages. Inner city mothers acquired approximately nine years of market experience between ages 18 and 40, compared to more than 11 years for urban mothers nationally. Thus, relative to urban parents nationally, Chicago's inner city mothers and fathers accumulated a large work experience deficit over their adult life course.

Second, inner city parents experience greater employment instability than parents nationally. Although Chicago's fathers aged 40 or more worked an average of two out of every three years, urban fathers nationally worked approximately seven out of every eight years. Furthermore, the national urban sample accumulated more work experience over fewer jobs than their inner city counterparts: 1.4 vs. 3.2 jobs, respectively. A similar pattern obtains for women, but owing to the higher incidence of voluntary intermittency among mothers, the cumulative experience differentials between the Chicago and national urban samples are smaller. That is, mothers from Chicago's inner city averaged 2.5 jobs between ages 18 and 45, but urban mothers nationally held an average of two jobs over the same life cycle period. The higher levels of employment instability among inner city parents partly reflects differences in the average race and ethnic composition of Chicago relative to all U.S. cities because minorities experience more frequent employment transitions than whites (Wilson and Wu 1993; Hsueh and Tienda 1994, 1996).³ However, there is no basis for concluding that labor demand in Chicago was lower than in other large cities that witnessed industrial restructuring and major job losses during the 1980s and 1990s (Kasarda 1995). Even though the actual mix of job losses differed across cities, declines were largely confined to low-skill jobs.

Third, the gender gap in the acquisition of labor market experience begins early and grows throughout the life course. At the national level, women aged 18 to 24 average 2.8

3. In 1990, more than three-fifths of Chicago's population was minority — approximately 40 percent Black and 20 percent Hispanic (Tienda and Stier 1995). Furthermore, the Asian population, while still less than 5 percent of the total, has been growing steadily.

fewer years of work experience than comparably aged men. Women's employment experience deficit peaks at 7.5 years among those aged 40 and over. The gender gap in labor market experience is generally similar between Chicago and all urban mothers with two noteworthy differences. One is that the average years worked by age quinquennia is significantly lower in the inner city, particularly for men. Another is that the experience gap between men and women is smaller, particularly at lower ages, among Chicago residents compared to urban dwellers nationally. This results primarily because of the low activity rates of young inner city men rather than the high rates of labor force participation of mothers (Smith and Tienda 1987; Tienda and Stier 1991).

There are several reasons for the different age-experience profiles of Chicago and urban parents nationally, including 1) unequal opportunities to work; 2) differential responsiveness to employment opportunities; and 3) race and ethnic differences in normative expectations about market roles of men and women. Although a thorough examination of these reasons is beyond our scope, Table 3, which disaggregates by ethnicity the age-experience profiles of Chicago's parents, sheds some light on these questions. Unfortunately, the sample size limitations of the national urban sample preclude parallel race and ethnic disaggregation because the Puerto Rican samples and the Mexican samples of young men and women are unreliably small. However, we have produced comparable tabulations for the national urban sample, and our discussion references results based on reliable cell sizes.⁴

Table 3 • Work Histories of Parents Ages 25-44 in Chicago's Inner City by Ethnicity, Sex, and Age

	Men				Women			
	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44
Blacks [N] ^a	[65]	[66]	[60]	[66]	[162]	[161]	[136]	[125]
Yrs. Worked	4.7	8.0	11.8	17.8	2.7	5.5	9.2	10.8
% Time at Work Since 18	45.7	54.4	60.5	70.4	26.6	38.1	47.3	43.3
# Jobs Held ^b	2.1	2.8	2.8	3.1	1.3	2.1	2.6	2.6
Whites [N] ^a	[18]	[34]	[37]	[31]	[41]	[60]	[52]	[57]
Yrs. Worked	7.9	10.4	14.1	18.0	3.3	7.2	12.0	9.3
% Time at Work Since 18	73.0	67.2	70.9	69.2	29.3	49.2	60.3	36.8
# Jobs Held ^b	3.1	3.2	3.8	4.7	2.0	2.9	3.0	2.9
Mexicans	[49]	[69]	[49]	[47]	[59]	[63]	[51]	[38]
Yrs. Worked	8.4	10.6	13.9	14.2	3.7	6.0	7.3	6.5
% Time at Work Since 18	76.7	71.7	68.8	57.1	35.6	40.3	34.8	25.7
# Jobs Held ^b	2.3	2.9	3.5	3.0	1.6	1.7	2.1	1.5
Puerto Ricans	[39]	[25]	[42]	[30]	[81]	[71]	[53]	[54]
Yrs. Worked	5.5	9.2	12.3	19.5	3.0	4.7	4.8	6.7
% Time at Work Since 18	58.5	62.0	63.2	76.2	27.7	29.8	24.9	27.0
# Jobs Held ^b	2.5	3.1	3.0	3.4	1.4	1.7	1.8	1.9

Source: UPFLS 1987 and NSFH 1987.

^a Unweighted N; means and percents are weighted

^b Includes job currently held

Ethnic differentials in labor force experiences of Chicago's parents reveal considerable complexity by cohort and sex. Job opportunities confronted by younger and older cohorts changed dramatically (Kasarda 1985, 1995; Wilson 1987), but apparently labor market hardships associated with industrial restructuring were not evenly distributed among demographic groups, even within a single labor market. Various studies documented that inner city Blacks and Puerto Ricans have lost ground in the U.S. labor market (Wilson 1987;

4. These results are available upon request.

Kasarda 1985, 1995; Holzer 1991; Tienda 1989; Tienda et al. 1992a). These results also show that Black fathers consistently exhibit the lowest experience levels up to age 39. Among mothers under the age of 29, the lowest experience levels correspond to Black women. However, among mothers over the age of 35, Black and white women acquired the most labor force experience, while Mexican and Puerto Rican women accumulated the least work experience. This suggests period effects on employment experiences in addition to race and ethnic effects.

Normative expectations about gender roles may be invoked to explain the diverse employment experiences of minority and white women. For example, Mexican origin women traditionally have had low rates of labor force participation, partly owing to attitudes and preferences about their family roles, and partly to their relatively low skill levels (Vega 1990; Smith and Tienda 1987; Tienda et al. 1992a). However, many studies have demonstrated that attitudes and norms give way to economic imperatives that propel women into the workforce, assuming job opportunities are available (Stier 1991; Stier and Tienda 1992). The declining economic position of Puerto Ricans continues to perplex labor market analysts, but discrimination and the work disincentive effects of the welfare system along with contraction of industries dominated by Puerto Rican women are viable hypotheses (Tienda et al. 1992a).

Comparisons between the national urban sample and the Chicago inner city sample suggest unique influences of race and place in structuring labor market experiences because inner city Blacks acquire less employment experience over their life course than all urban Blacks. Among white and Mexican fathers, the cumulative work experience measures also indicate greater instability among inner city residents compared to urban parents nationally, particularly among whites.⁵ White inner city fathers aged 35 and over worked approximately 70 percent of the time after age 18. That this employment experience was accumulated over 4 to 4.5 jobs implies less job-specific experience. At the national level, urban white fathers acquired more labor market experience by working 83 to 86 percent of the time after age 18, and they distributed this work experience over fewer jobs, 1.3 to 1.5, on average.⁶

Racial and ethnic disparities in accumulated employment experience reflect not only differential responsiveness to market opportunities, but also unequal barriers to jobs through employer discrimination or difficulties with transportation. Respondent characteristics reported in Table 1 reveal that between 1 and 10 percent of men, and between 9 and 20 percent of women *never* held a job. That women are more likely than men to have zero labor market experience is not surprising. Previous studies also anticipate the relative high proportions of Puerto Rican men and women with no labor force experience (Tienda et al. 1992a; Tienda 1989; Bean and Tienda 1987). However, in light of the historically high rates of labor force participation among Black women (Smith and Tienda 1987; Bianchi and Spain 1986), it is somewhat surprising that nearly one in five of the inner city mothers had never worked outside the home. Our finding that 10 percent of Black inner city fathers ages 18 to 45 have no labor market experience is equally striking. These differentials in market inactivity by race and ethnicity suggest that minority group status effects on labor market outcomes are mediated by the amount of experience accumulated throughout the life cycle. Our multivariate results demonstrate that experience deficits resulting from unstable employment experiences accumulate over the life cycle to inhibit the odds of stable participation in later years.

5. The convergence in experience profiles of Mexican and white men must be interpreted with caution because we discovered a systematic reporting bias among Mexican men, many of whom excluded their employment history in Mexico. Because the Mexican sample is disproportionately foreign born, the extent of under reporting is potentially quite serious. Therefore, our estimates of Mexican men's cumulative work experience is extremely conservative, but particularly among older ages.

6. Although the NSFH obtained employment histories, these are not comparable to the histories available in the UPFLS. In particular, NSFH work histories lack information about job characteristics that we argue and demonstrate influence job departures. Therefore, we restrict our multivariate analyses to the Chicago survey.

Labor Force Experiences

In this section we evaluate the relative importance of two forms of human capital—work experience and schooling—on subsequent labor market outcomes. We also consider whether race and Hispanic origin influence employment and labor force departures once relevant family background and the human capital attributes of theoretical interest have been taken into account. Tabular results reported in Table 3 reveal large race and ethnic differences in accumulated experience, but it is unclear whether minority group status effects on subsequent labor market outcomes operate directly, or whether their influence depends on prior work experience. Therefore, we examine the possibility that employment returns to experience differ along race and ethnic lines. Furthermore, and because much of the recent literature on inner city joblessness has emphasized the importance of structural factors in generating labor market inequality, we consider how job characteristics influence the odds of a job separation for those who are successful entering the workforce.

Labor Force Participation

To evaluate the employment returns to experience, we constructed a person-year file denoting whether respondents were in or out of the labor force at each age after 18. Retrospective information that includes dates for all work episodes permits the construction of the multiple-observation data. Each person contributes person-year observations to the data from age 18 until the age at interview. The main advantage of a person-year approach is that we are able to consider the full work history of respondents rather than an outcome at an arbitrary point in time (i.e., the time of the survey). An additional advantage is that we can use covariates whose values change over time as predictors of labor force activity. We use logistic regression to analyze the correlates of labor force activity in any given year.

Independent variables predicting labor market outcomes include respondent's race or Hispanic origin and several measures of family background, including: mother's education; whether respondents' parents were ever on welfare before respondents reached their 14th birthday; if respondents were raised in a two-parent family; and whether respondents' father was unemployed most of the time (until respondents were 14 years old). Several time-varying covariates that influence labor market outcomes also are modeled on a person-year basis. These include high school graduation and marital status in each year; welfare participation status in the year before the index year; and the presence of children under age 6 in any given year. Of key substantive interest is our measure of prior labor force experience, which is measured as *cumulative* years spent at work before the index year. Model 1 includes experience as an additive term. To ascertain whether experience effects on labor force participation differ among race and ethnic groups, we include interaction terms between the race and ethnic dummies and labor force experience (Model 2). Results are reported separately for men and women in Table 4.

As expected, for both men and women, attainment of a high school degree and accumulation of labor force experience are strong determinants of future labor force activity. These results reinforce the importance of both forms of human capital as prerequisites for subsequent labor market success. The additive specification implies that fathers with high school degrees were 1.56 times (exp .448) as likely to participate in the labor force as their peers with less education. Among women, the employment returns to schooling were greater still: Those holding high school diplomas were 1.9 times (exp .644) as likely to work outside the home as mothers who withdrew from school before graduation. Employment returns to work experience were even more impressive, as each year in the workforce increased the odds of labor force participation in a given year by 54 percent for men (exp .433) and 64 percent (exp .497) for women. However, Model 2 reveals that these averages conceal uneven returns to experience along race and ethnic lines.

Table 4 • Determinants of Labor Force Participation Among Parents, Ages 18-44 in Chicago's Inner City by Sex (Asymptotic Standard Errors)

	Men		Women	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
<u>Ethnicity</u>				
Black	-.033 (.071)	-.233* (.097)	.164* (.054)	-.122 (.074)
Mexican	-.053 (.102)	-.257 (.143)	.027 (.088)	-.387* (.122)
Puerto Rican	.039 (.093)	.077 (.122)	-.048 (.070)	-.302* (.092)
Age	-.159* (.008)	-.158* (.008)	-.154* (.006)	-.134* (.005)
<u>Background Characteristics</u>				
If Mother H.S. Graduate	-.233* (.065)	-.232* (.066)	.017 (.048)	.018 (.047)
If Family on Welfare	-.135 (.078)	-.132 (.078)	-.006 (.051)	.028 (.051)
If Both Parents Present	.130* (.063)	.130* (.063)	.138* (.047)	.143* (.047)
If Father Unemployed	-.059 (.078)	-.066 (.079)	.085 (.059)	.084 (.059)
<u>Human Capital</u>				
If H.S. Graduate	.448* (.059)	.442* (.059)	.644* (.043)	.618* (.043)
Prior LF Experience	.433* (.012)	.403* (.018)	.497* (.009)	.414* (.014)
If on Welfare	-2.029* (.198)	-2.030* (.199)	-1.614* (.083)	-1.109* (.064)
<u>Current Family Status</u>				
If Married	.687* (.066)	.703* (.066)	-.084 (.046)	-.074 (.046)
If child < 6	.046 (.069)	.050 (.069)	-.186* (.048)	-.186* (.048)
<u>Interactions</u>				
Black * LFEXP	— ^a	.056* (.019)	—	.094* (.015)
Mexican * LFEXP	—	.056* (.029)	—	.130* (.029)
Puerto Rican * LFEXP	—	-.014 (.023)	—	.070* (.020)
Constant	2.257* (.207)	2.344* (.209)	.918* (.135)	1.175* (.141)
-2 * Log Likelihood	8,249.8	8,233.3	15,133.4	15,190.8
[N]	[8,627]	[8,627]	[17,528]	[17,528]

Source: UPFLS 1987.

^a not in model* $p \leq .05$

For men, minority group status has *no* direct influence on the probability of labor force participation. But the model that includes statistical interactions between race/ethnicity and experience reveals that inner city Black men with zero work experience are only .79 times ($\exp -.233$) as likely as men with zero years of experience to be in the labor force in a given year. There are no differences in the odds of participation between inexperienced Hispanic and white men. The positive interaction terms for Black and Mexican men indicate higher employment returns to experience for them relative to white men. Specifically, each year of experience raised the odds of labor force participation to 1.64 for Black and Mexican men [$\exp (.442 + .056)$] compared to 1.56 for white men.

Results for women show a large race effect in the additive specification, which implies that Black mothers are 18 percent more likely than white women to participate in the labor force ($\exp .164 = 1.178$). This result, which has been obtained in numerous cross-sectional studies of labor force activity (Bianchi and Spain 1986; Smith and Tienda 1987), is the first corroborating evidence based on the employment experiences of inner city mothers. The odds that Puerto Rican and Mexican women participate in the labor force are identical to those of white mothers with similar background and human capital characteristics. These results imply that the observed differences in labor force activity rates (e.g., Table 1) reflect systematic group differences in characteristics that influence labor force participation.

However, race and ethnic effects are altered by the interactive specification, which reveals that inexperienced Hispanic women are significantly *less* likely to participate in the labor force as inexperienced Black and white women (odds ratios = .68 and .74 for Mexican and Puerto Rican women, respectively). As observed for men, each year of labor force experience raises the odds of future labor force participation more for minority than non-minority women. Specifically, each year of experience raised the odds of participation in any given subsequent year by 51 percent for white women ($\exp .414$); by 66 percent for Black women [$\exp (.414 + .094)$]; by 72 percent for Mexican women [$\exp (.414 + .130)$]; and by 62 percent for Puerto Rican women [$\exp (.414 + .070)$].

Family background effects on labor force activity are generally weak. Welfare and unemployment experiences of respondents' parents did not produce lasting effects on adult labor force activity. For women, having been reared in a two-parent family raised the odds of labor force activity relative to rearing in a mother-only family by 15 percent ($\exp .138$), but comparable effects did not emerge for men. Surprisingly, men whose mothers graduated from high school were .79 times as likely to be in the labor force in a given year as fathers reared by high school dropouts. Although this result is counter-intuitive, it most likely reflects unmeasured family background characteristics that depress men's employment differently from that of women.

Other variables behave as expected. Receipt of welfare income in the year before the index year depressed labor force activity for both men and women. Specifically, fathers who received public assistance in the previous year were only .131 times ($\exp -2.029$) as likely to work in a given year as men who did not receive public assistance; for mothers, the comparable odds ratio is .119 ($\exp -1.614$). Marriage increased the odds that fathers were in the labor force, but for women, marital status did not influence labor force activity. Rather, the presence of a child under age 6 lowered mothers' propensity to work outside the home. The point estimate implies that mothers with pre-school age children at home were .834 times as likely to work in a given year as mothers with older children. These results are entirely consistent with findings based on national populations showing that married men work at higher rates than single men, and that the presence of young children deters women's labor force activity (Smith and Tienda 1987; Lehrer and Nerlove 1986; Bianchi and Spain 1986).

In sum, our analyses of labor force activity reveal that inner city parents are quite similar to national populations with respect to their employment behavior. Human capital, but especially prior work experience, is the major determinant of future success in the labor market.

However, returns to experience depend on race and ethnic group membership. Rather than being a deviant population with respect to labor force activity, inner city parents are *behaviorally* quite similar to urban parents nationally. Their lower rates of labor force activity appear to be due to lower levels of education and especially work experience.

A less sanguine interpretation of these results would emphasize that work experience, as a lagged version of the dependent variable, captures minority workers' legacy of unequal treatment in the labor market (Thomas, Herring, and Horton 1994). To the extent that minority workers acquire less experience because of difficulties locating jobs and receiving job offers, the experience variable represents the accumulated disadvantages associated with race and ethnic group membership. This explanation focuses not on the marginal returns to labor market experience, but rather on the lower average stocks of work experiences that minority workers bring to the market in any given year. We discuss this point further in our concluding section, which also ponders the earnings implications of these results.

Job Departures

Experiences with poverty depend not only on the likelihood of securing work, but also on the duration of employment. That is, high turnover rates not only produce unreliable income flows, but also interrupt the accumulation of work experience and lower the acquisition of valuable job-specific tenure. Both individual and structural factors are responsible for high turnover rates in the inner city, but their relative importance has not been established. That is, some analysts focus on the inherently unstable character of marginal jobs to which inner city residents have access and their higher vulnerability to plant closings (Wilson 1987; Kasarda 1985, 1995). Others emphasize the skill deficits, race discrimination, and weak labor market attachment of inner city workers as the causes of unstable work experiences (see Van Haitsma 1989).

To consider whether minority parents who entered the workforce were at equal or greater risk of leaving their jobs as non-minority parents, we estimated cox regression models predicting job exits separately for men and women. In this analysis the dependent variable is job duration, with time measured in century months. The empirical model estimates the effects of individual characteristics known to influence labor supply, including education, prior labor force experience, marital status, and minority group membership. The higher rates of joblessness and employment instability among Black and Puerto Rican inner city parents reported in Tables 2 and 3 imply higher odds of a job separation relative to white parents, unless the observed differences result from compositional variation that is systematically related to labor force behavior.

Other things equal, high school graduates generally are less vulnerable to layoffs and other forms of job separations than workers with fewer years of schooling. As in the analysis of labor force activity, education is operationalized as a binary variable indicating whether respondents were high school graduates at the beginning of a job spell. Our theoretical discussion of work experience implies that workers who have accumulated greater amounts of employment experience will be less likely to exit their current job. We examine this hypothesis by including a cumulative measure of time spent employed before the beginning of a specific spell in the regression. This indicator is measured in century months, therefore annual effects are obtained by dividing coefficients by 12.

We proxy the vulnerability of workers to plant shutdowns with three job characteristics that were measured uniquely for each job episode.⁷ First, we introduce a measure of establishment size to reflect the greater failure risks of small firms. Additional covariates characterizing job episodes include a dichotomous variable for union membership, and another

7. We can not use the subjective measure of perceived risk of job loss due to plant shutdowns because this measure applies only to current jobs.

Table 5 • Determinants of Job Exits Among Employed Parents Ages 18-44 in Chicago's Inner City by Sex, 1987 (Asymptotic Standard Errors)

	Men	Women
Background Characteristics		
<u>Age at Spell Beginning</u>		
18-24	.171 (.188)	.459* (.143)
25-34	-.007 (.174)	.208 (.141)
<u>Ethnicity</u>		
Black	-.054 (.071)	-.077 (.057)
Mexican	-.326* (.079)	-.403* (.079)
Puerto Rican	-.034 (.080)	-.088 (.073)
H.S. Graduate at Job entry	.116 (.060)	-.192* (.047)
Prior Labor Force Experience	-.002* (.001)	-.004* (.001)
If Married at Job Entry	-.206* (.062)	-.169* (.052)
Job Characteristics^a		
<u>Firm Size</u>		
Size < 10	.323* (.091)	.229* (.076)
Size 10 to 100	.377* (.072)	.245* (.061)
Size 100 to 500	.293* (.077)	.234* (.061)
If Union Member	-.378* (.058)	-.369* (.055)
If Part-time Job	-.031 (.109)	-.014 (.070)
<u>Spell Number</u>		
Job 1	.138 (.157)	.105 (.155)
Job 2	.266 (.143)	.183 (.143)
Job 3	.245 (.138)	.112 (.141)
Job 4	.227 (.148)	.439* (.150)
<u>Time-Varying Covariate</u>		
If Birth During Interval	.004 (.071)	.531* (.060)
-2 * Log Likelihood	21,912	29,511*
% Censored	27.4	22.5
[N]	[2,212]	[2,727]

Source: UPFLS 1987; * $p \leq .05$.^a Respondents with missing values of job characteristics were not deleted from the file. A deeming variable indicating missing values was created and included in the model as a control variable.

binary variable indicating whether a given job was full or part time. The latter control is important because incumbents of part-time jobs experience greater turnover relative to incumbents of full-time jobs (Devine and Keifer 1993).⁸

For women, a vast empirical literature has established that births increase the odds of a job separation (Lehrer and Nerlove 1986). Therefore, we introduce a time-varying covariate to index the occurrence of a birth in each year. Finally, the empirical model includes controls for age and marital status at the beginning of a job spell, and the job spell number. If prior employment instability is associated with future departures, we should observe higher exit rates for higher order job spells.

Results reported in Table 5 imply that Mexican origin fathers and mothers were approximately 1.42 times as likely as whites to remain employed conditional on having obtained a job in the first place.⁹ However, there were no differences in job departure rates of Black, Puerto Rican and white parents with similar characteristics. This means that Mexican origin parents — both men and women — have job spells of longer duration than statistically similar whites. These effects persist even in the absence of covariates for human capital and family characteristics. Furthermore, we detected no statistical interaction between experience and minority group status on the odds of a job separation.

Results reported in Table 5 underscore that prior labor market experiences influence future employment prospects because more experienced workers have longer job spells (Clogg, Eliason, and Wahl 1990; Tienda et al. 1992a; Wilson and Wu 1993). Specifically, each year of employment experience before a given spell reduced the annual odds of a job separation by 2 percent for men and 4 percent for women. Substantively, this implies that 10 years of employment experience lowers the odds of a job separation by 40 percent for women and 20 percent for men. These effects are impressive by any standard, but they acquire greater importance in light of the accumulated experience deficits of inner city residents, and especially Blacks and Puerto Ricans. Among women, a high school degree lowered the probability of a job separation such that high school dropouts were 20 percent more likely to exit the labor force than graduates. For inner city men, all human capital effects on job duration operate through actual work experience rather than formal schooling.

As expected, we find that prior employment instability increases the odds of a future job separation, but the coefficients for fathers did not reach conventional levels of statistical significance. For mothers, the odds of a job exit are similar among first, second, and third jobs; however, women in their fourth or higher job spell are 1.6 times as likely as those in lower order spells to exit the labor force. These results support the argument that inner city parents' labor market disadvantages arise partly through unstable work histories that eventuate in large experience deficits.

Age did not influence the length of inner city fathers' job spells, but young mothers were 1.6 times as likely to exit employment as those aged 35 and over. Partly the age effect for women reflects the life cycle effects of child rearing, which extend well beyond the event of a birth. For both mothers and fathers, marriage lowered the odds of leaving employment, but the reasons probably differ by sex. That is, for men, the support responsibilities associated with marriage usually stabilize labor market behavior, but married women who enter the labor force often are propelled to do so by economic need (Stier and Tienda 1992).¹⁰ The occurrence of a birth during a job spell significantly raised the odds of exiting a job for mothers, but not fathers. This squares with a vast literature that has documented an inverse

8. We can not include time-varying demand factors in the statistical model because the survey lacks migration histories that are essential to append year-specific indicators of labor market conditions on to individual records.

9. These interpretations are based on odds ratios derived from the coefficients: $\{\text{exp}\} - .326 = .721$; $\{\text{exp}\} - .403 = .668$, which indicate the odds of a job exit. The odds of remaining employed are derived as $1/.7$, or 1.42 .

10. Unfortunately we are unable to include measures of income shortfalls because the survey lacks an income history, which is necessary to evaluate changes in work behavior with changes in economic need.

association between fertility and women's employment (see review by Lehrer and Nerlove 1986).

The empirical results lend qualified support for the tenet that establishment size is inversely related to the likelihood of a job separation. Employment in very small establishments, i.e., those with fewer than 10 employees, was associated with faster exit rates relative to employment in large establishments, i.e., those with more than 500 employees. Furthermore, parents employed in small to moderate sized establishments were approximately 1.3 times as likely as parents from very large enterprises (> 500 employees) to experience a job separation. Union membership lengthened job spells by about proportionate amounts (circa 46 percent) for mothers and fathers. Part-time employment did not influence odds of a job separation once other job and individual attributes were taken into account.

Table 6 provides additional evidence about the relative importance of structural and individual factors in determining the duration of joblessness among inner city parents. Using life table techniques, we estimated the proportions out of work at various durations according to individual and structural reasons for job departures. "Structural" reasons include establishment shutdowns and elimination of jobs, while "individual reasons" include quits, terminations, promotions, and other reasons.¹¹ Results show that displacement resulting from economic dislocation was associated with longer spells of joblessness for men. More concretely, two years following a job departure, 30 percent of fathers whose job exits resulted because of establishment closings were without work compared to 22 percent of fathers whose exits resulted because of quits, terminations, and promotions. After five years, 14 percent of fathers displaced when their jobs disappeared remained out of work compared to 10 percent of fathers who left their jobs due to individual reasons.

Table 6 • Proposition Still Out at Work at the End of Designated Years: Parents Ages 18-44 in Chicago's Inner City, by Sex and Reason for Job Exit

Year	Men		Women	
	Structural Reasons	Individual Reasons	Structural Reasons	Individual Reasons
1	43.2	36.2	62.9	58.9
2	30.3	22.5	48.2	47.3
3	21.0	15.8	38.6	40.5
4	17.3	12.3	34.0	34.5
5	14.0	9.6	31.7	31.2
10	5.8	3.6	22.3	20.1
% Censored	12.8	5.5	30.5	23.6
[N]	[353]	[1,252]	[413]	[1,704]

Source: UPFLS 1987.

For women the length of jobless spells was less sensitive to reasons for exiting. For example, after two years, approximately half of all mothers who left their job remained out of the labor force and approximately one-third did not re-enter the labor force five years after exiting, irrespective of the circumstances precipitating their job departure. Roughly one in five inner city mothers who ever worked was out of the labor force 10 years following a job departure, with little difference between those exiting for individual or structural reasons.

11. Unfortunately, sample sizes preclude separate analyses by Hispanic origin. Our results are similar whether promotions are excluded or included among individual factors. This is because of 5,100 person-years analyzed only 45 (< .01 percent) involved promotions.

Thus, for men, these results support the structuralist position that emphasizes how economic dislocation contributes to chronic inner city joblessness (Wilson 1987; Kasarda 1995). However, they can not address *why* the toll of industrial restructuring appears to be higher for Blacks than for other minority groups.

Conclusions

To recapitulate, we set out to document race and ethnic disparities in the accumulation of labor force experience over the life course and to assess whether employment returns to experience were uniform among white, Black and Hispanic inner city parents. We considered several aspects of employment in characterizing the work histories of inner city parents, including actual (rather than approximate) time spent in the labor force and the number of jobs held. As expected, we found evidence of greater employment instability among inner city parents compared to urban parents nationally, and substantial experience gaps at specific ages. Race and ethnic differentials in experience were quite pronounced among men, with Blacks and Puerto Ricans generating the greatest experience deficits at all ages. Among women, race and ethnic differences in average experience stocks were less salient, but there were large sex differences in time spent working by specific ages.

Our multivariate analyses revealed differential returns to experience along race and ethnic lines, with the surprising result that the employment returns to work experience were marginally higher for minority compared to nonminority parents. However, this finding must be tempered against the descriptive evidence showing large experience deficits for minority parents. That is, even though lower average stocks of experience (intercept differences) partly account for the steeper experience slopes for minorities, it is clear that workers with greater stocks of experience face better future labor market prospects than less experienced workers. Among inexperienced workers, race (for men) and ethnic (for women) employment penalties are especially severe.

Analyses of employment separations revealed modest ethnic effects in that only Mexican origin influenced the likelihood of a job exit. Specifically, Mexican origin parents averaged longer employment episodes, that is, lower odds of job separations conditional on securing work. These results suggest that, except for Mexicans, the sharp differences in current employment status illustrated in Table 1 operate largely through human capital, and especially the accumulation of labor market experience. Of course, acquisition of experience presumes that a job is secured in the first place, which for Blacks and Puerto Ricans is increasingly less certain (Tienda 1989; Tienda et al. 1992a).

In light of these findings, an "obvious" explanation for the disadvantaged labor market standing of inner city minority workers is that they lack adequate skills to compete for the available jobs. A cursory examination of the educational tabulations reported in Table 1 qualify this interpretation. Blacks and whites are most similar to each other with respect to their educational attainment, while Puerto Ricans and Mexicans are the most educationally disadvantaged. If education has uniform exchange value among all groups, then we would expect the highest participation rates and strongest commitment to normative labor force activity among Blacks and whites. Yet, the labor force status distributions reported in Table 1 reveal that Mexican parents, who are clearly the most educationally disadvantaged group among inner city parents, have the highest rate of labor force participation. Industrial restructuring away from unskilled jobs may partly explain the lower employability of Black men and Hispanic women, but neither a human capital nor a structuralist explanation of employment suffices to account for the large and persisting race and ethnic differentials in labor force experiences or employment instability. Another ingredient, namely, employer discrimination, most likely exacerbates the disparities in employment along color lines

(Tienda and Stier 1995) That is, the difficulties minority workers experience in locating jobs early in their life course accumulate to profiles of disadvantage through experience deficits.

We believe that discrimination against Black and Puerto Rican men and Hispanic women, but in favor of Mexicans, is a major force contributing to the observed differences in the accumulation of valuable labor market experience. Minority parents experience more frequent episodes of joblessness (Table 3), which further restricts their accrual of valuable experience when they are successful locating employment. A history of instability and repeated joblessness may provide a negative signal to prospective employers desiring a stable workforce. Against the backdrop of declining job opportunities for unskilled and semi-skilled workers, experience deficits of minority relative to non-minority parents should be more consequential currently than in the past. Our argument that the accumulation of labor market experience is an important aspect of economic disadvantages among minority populations resonates with that made by Thomas and his associates (Thomas, Herring, and Horton 1994). These authors examine earning gaps as a legacy of past discrimination, human capital, and accumulated disadvantages that operate through discrimination. Their results are not consistent with the accumulated disadvantage argument, which appears to be most pronounced during the first decade of labor market activity. Although these authors do not consider women nor do they use a refined indicator of experience, their emphases on the compound of disadvantages — whether through discrimination or other mechanisms that restrict labor market opportunities — is highly consistent with our results.

Finally, our results also bear a general lesson for users of census-type data, namely that the standard practice of approximating work experience as a direct function of age minus years of school completed after age 6 is less reliable for minority than non-minority men. Although labor market analysts have acknowledged the crudeness of this approximation of labor market experience for women whose intermittent work patterns render the proxy highly questionable, we show that race and ethnic group membership also are correlated with the accumulation of labor market experience among prime-age men. After demonstrating the dimensions of the experience gap over the early to mid-life course, we illustrate the consequences of inadequate experience in terms of the likelihood of participating in the labor force and remaining employed, conditional on securing a job. Minority men accumulate greater experience deficits between ages 18 to 45 than their white counterparts, thereby accentuating disparities in labor market outcomes among adults.

References

- Akerlof, George A., and Brian G. M. Main
 1981 "Unemployment spells and unemployment experience." *American Economic Review* 70:885-893.
- Bean, Frank D., and Marta Tienda
 1987 *The Hispanic Population of the United States*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Becker, Gary S.
 1993 *Human Capital*, Third Edition. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Bianchi, Suzanne M., and Daphne Spain
 1986 *American Women in Transition*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Clark, Kim B., and Lawrence H. Summers
 1979 "Labor market dynamics and unemployment: A reconsideration." *Brookings Papers on Economic Activity* 1:13-72.
- Clogg, Clifford C., Scott R. Eliason, and Robert Wahl
 1990 "Labor market experiences and labor force outcomes." *American Journal of Sociology* 95:1536-1576.

- Devine, Theresa J., and Nicholas M. Keifer
 1993 "The empirical status of job search theory." *Labour Economics* 1:3-24.
- Holzer, Harry J.
 1991 "The spatial mismatch hypothesis: What has the evidence shown?" *Urban Studies* 28:105-122.
- Hsueh, Sheri, and Marta Tienda
 1994 "Race and labor force instability." In *Proceedings of the 1993 Annual Meetings of the American Statistical Association, Social Statistics Section*, 95-100. Washington, D.C.: American Statistical Association.
 1995 "Earnings consequences of employment instability among minority men." *Research in Social Stratification and Mobility* 4:39-70.
 1996 "Gender, ethnicity and labor force instability." *Social Science Research* 25:73-94.
- Kasarda, John P.
 1985 "Urban change and minority opportunities." In *The New Urban Reality*, ed. Paul E. Peterson, 33-67. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution.
 1995 "Industrial restructuring and the changing location of jobs." In *States of the Union, Volume I*, ed. Reynolds Farley, Chapter 5. New York: Russell Sage.
- Lehrer, Evelyn, and Marc Nerlove
 1986 "Female labor force behavior and fertility in the United States." *Annual Review of Sociology* 12:181-204.
- McLanahan, Sara, and Irwin Garfinkel
 1989 "Single mothers, the underclass and social policy." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 501: 92-104.
- Murray, Charles A.
 1984 *Losing Ground: American Social Policy, 1950-80*. New York: Basic Books.
- Smith, Shelley A., and Marta Tienda
 1987 "The doubly disadvantaged: Women of color in the U.S. labor force." In *Working Women, Second Edition*, eds. Ann Stromberg and Shirley Harkess, 61-80. Palo Alto: Mayfield Publishing Company.
- Stier, Haya
 1991 "Immigrant women go to work: Labor supply of immigrant wives for six Asian groups." *Social Science Quarterly* 72:67-82.
- Stier, Haya, and Marta Tienda
 1992 "Family, work and women: The labor supply of Hispanic immigrant wives." *International Migration Review* 26:1291-1313.
- Thomas, Melvin E., Cedric Herring, and Hayward Derrick Horton
 1994 "Discrimination over the life course: A synthetic cohort analysis of earnings differences between black and white males, 1940-1990." *Social Problems* 41:608-628.
- Tienda, Marta
 1989 "Puerto Ricans and the underclass debate." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 501:105-119.
- Tienda, Marta, and Haya Stier
 1991 "Joblessness or shiftlessness: Labor force activity in Chicago's inner city." In *The Urban Underclass*, eds. Christopher Jencks and Paul Peterson, 135-154. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution.
 1995 "The wages of race: Color and employment opportunity in Chicago's inner city." In *Origins and Destinies: Immigration, Race and Ethnicity in America*, eds. Sylvia Pedraza and Ruben G. Rumbaut, 417-431. Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth Press.
- Tienda, Marta, Katharine Donato, and Hector Cordero-Guzman
 1992a "Schooling, color and labor force activity of women." *Social Forces* 71:365-395.
- Tienda, Marta, Lawrence L. Wu, Sheri Hsueh, and Franklin D. Wilson
 1992b "Incidence and dynamics of labor market discouragement: Insights from SIPP." Paper presented at the annual meetings of the American Sociological Association, Pittsburgh, PA.
- Van Haitsma, Martha
 1989 "A contextual definition of the underclass." *Focus* 12: 27-31.

Vega, William A.

- 1990 "Hispanic families in the 1980s: A decade of research." *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 52:1015-1024.

Wilson, Franklin D., and Lawrence L. Wu

- 1993 "A comparative analysis of the labor force activities of ethnic populations." *Proceedings of the 1993 Annual Research Conference, U.S. Bureau of the Census. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.*

Wilson, William J.

- 1987 *The Truly Disadvantaged*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- 1991 "Studying inner-city social dislocations: The challenge of public agenda research." *American Sociological Review* 56:1-14.