

GEOGRAPHICAL AND OCCUPATIONAL CONCENTRATION OF
PUERTO RICAN MIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES, 1982-1986

by

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Submitted to the Department of Urban Studies and Planning
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Para mis padres
Graciela y Abel

Por el apoyo y amor
que me han dado toda
la vida.

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ABSTRACT

I will look at recent (1982-1986) Puerto Rican migratory flows and the migrants geographical concentration and occupational characteristics. The central questions of this study can be formulated as: 1) What geographic areas and occupations are Puerto Rican migrants going to? 2) How are the migrants' geographical and occupational concentration related to the regional and occupational concentration of minorities and women? My analysis will show what regions (by state) and occupations have the highest concentrations of Puerto Rican migrants, what racial and gender characteristics embody these same regions and occupations, and lastly, what differences occur between men and women Puerto Rican migrants.

My research revealed:

-The highest proportion (55%) of Puerto Ricans are migrating to those states and occupations in which Black and Hispanics are over-represented, and to a lesser extent where an over-representation of Women workers in those same states and occupations exist.

-The highest proportion of Puerto Rican men are migrating to two occupational categories; operatives/crafts and non-farm labor, and farm work and farm administration, of which only operatives/crafts and non-farm labor show an over-representation of other Hispanic and Black laborers.

-Puerto Rican women migrants experience similar, if not more extreme, migratory flows to occupations and states in the U.S. mainland in which Hispanics, Blacks, and women are over-represented. One half of all Puerto Rican women migrants are

going to occupations that show Hispanic, Black and Women over-representation (operatives/crafts, non-farm labor, and services). The other half is going to occupations that show U.S. women over-represented (sales, clerical + support, and professional/technical and related) and Hispanic and Black under-representation.

-overwhelmingly (83% for all, 80.8% for P.R. women) Puerto Rican migrants and women Puerto Rican migrants are going to low-paying occupations.

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I INTRODUCTION

In the past 20 to 30 years, migration from less-developed or Third World countries to the United States has increased dramatically. Prior to 1950, migration was primarily from European countries. Most immigration to the U.S. was voluntary and in response to economic forces. Research overwhelmingly shows that immigrants migrated in search of economic prosperity and opportunity.

Recent research on immigration to the U.S. focuses on three major areas: first, the labor market consequences of immigrant employment; second, the economic determinants or causes of immigration; and last, migrants' labor market characteristics, and occupational concentrations.

I will look at recent (1982-1986) Puerto Rican migratory flows and the migrants geographical concentration and occupational characteristics. The central question of this study can be formulated as: 1) What geographic areas and occupations are Puerto Rican migrants going to? 2) How are the migrants' geographical and occupational concentration related to the regional and occupational concentration of minorities and women? The thesis will show the Puerto Rican migrants regional and occupational concentration, the racial and gender concentration in these same regions and occupations, and lastly, differences in

regional and occupational concentration between Puerto Rican men and women migrants.

Puerto Rican migrants, by virtue of their U.S. citizenship, have open access to and from the U.S. mainland. Most of the Puerto Rican migration since 1950 has fluctuated based on economic and employment conditions both in Puerto Rico and the United States. Puerto Rican migration to the U.S. has increased during times of low unemployment and fallen in times of high unemployment.¹

This thesis explains, one of the many complex aspects of the Puerto Rican migration experience. Their migratory flows by geographical and occupational concentration. The migration experience of Puerto Ricans, largely dominated by U.S. economic conditions, was initially encouraged as a means of solving overpopulation, insufficient employment opportunities, and dire poverty in Puerto Rico. Puerto Rican migrants in the United States have not fared well since they are usually relegated to low levels of the socioeconomic ladder (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1976). Yet, in large numbers, Puerto Ricans continue to migrate to the U.S. mainland.

¹ A Columbia University study in 1948 computed the coefficient of correlation between the business cycle on the mainland and the ebb and flow of the migration stream from Puerto Rico at 0.73.

C. Wright Mills, Clarence Senior, and R.K. Goldsen, "The Puerto Rican Journey: New York's Newest Migrants." New York: Harpers, 1950.

Segmented labor markets, effects of industrial restructuring, and a continued demand for low-paying and low-skilled jobs are some of the major issues in immigration research. As a result of these economic factors, Puerto Rican migrants are responding in increasing amounts of numbers. Through this thesis I will shed light on one particular aspect of the varied and complex Puerto Rican migration experience.

Through my research I will address the question of regional and geographical concentration through a combination of data sets, tables, and past research on this topic, and theoretical perspectives. I will use previous research on segmented labor market, immigrants and minorities competition in labor markets, and industrial restructuring all within the context of recent Puerto Rican migration.

I have found that Puerto Rican migrants are going to those regions and occupations with high concentrations of other U.S. Hispanics, Blacks, and women. My research also shows that migrants have similar occupational concentrations as other U.S. Hispanics, Blacks, and women laborers. Women Puerto Rican migrants experience similar, if not worse, occupational concentrations as do their male counterparts. And lastly, this migratory flow is concentrated within those occupations most likely to have low-wage and low-skill characteristics.

II OVERVIEW PUERTO RICAN MIGRANTS

U.S. Immigration patterns of the past 15 years are significantly different from those prior to 1968 in primarily two ways: (1) there has been a pronounced increase in size (absolute numbers), and (2) the ethnic composition of immigrants has shifted from predominantly European countries of origin to Asian and Latin American - Caribbean countries of origin. Recent immigrants are concentrated in a few major urban centers and states. The large influx of immigrants from Third World countries over the last fifteen years cannot be understood separately from the globalization of the economy and industrial restructuring. The use of migrant labor, and the fact that migrants continue to come to the U.S. is directly linked to this new economic order as a result of globalization and industrial restructuring. The increases in immigration, coupled with decreases in the number of U.S manufacturing jobs, those jobs filled by immigrants in the past, seem to indicate a shifting migrant concentration from manufacturing to other occupations and industries.

Net migration from Puerto Rico to the U.S. mainland totaled 700,000 persons between 1947 and 1973.² Between 1973 and 1980,

² Rita M. Maldonado "Why Puerto Ricans Migrated to the U.S. in 1947-73" in Monthly Labor Review., Sept. 1976, pg. 7.

net migration declined and actually showed a negative net migration rate for this period. Since 1980 migration from Puerto Rico has shown a marked revival. It is estimated that between July 1980 and July 1986 a net migration balance of 218,000 persons left Puerto Rico, with approximately 95% of this group choosing the U.S. as their destination.³ Table A on page 27, provides an historical chart of net migration from Puerto Rico to the United States.

The recent upsurge in Puerto Rican migrants will be analyzed by looking at the internationalization of the economy and U.S. industrial restructuring.

Industrial Restructuring and Puerto Rican Migrants

The internationalization of the economy has led to a decline in jobs in previous centers of production and increases in the export of advanced services abroad. A Rapidly growing high-income stratum of professional, technical and managerial occupations along with a general shift to a service economy has occurred. This phenomenon is a factor in the changing international division of labor. As a result, industrial restructuring is leading to a decrease in manufacturing job, as industries move and locate outside the United States. Centers of

³ Francisco L. River-Batiz "The Characteristics of Recent Puerto Rican Migrants, Some Further Evidence." Department of Economics, Rutgers University, July 1987.

control and coordination, where manufacturing industries once existed, are resulting in the proliferation of two types of service jobs. The first can be described as high-wage technical and computer type jobs, the second as low-wage, low-skill personal service type jobs.

According to Sassen-Koob (1984), these economic trends operate to the disadvantage of: (a) urban areas whose economic well-being is linked with the old manufacturing complex, once the main growth and export sector in the economy; and (b) a large stratum of middle-income white and blue-collar workers who have been eliminated from the work process due to the decline of manufacturing industries and the technological transformation of the work process. This economic restructuring carries significant implications to the composition of the labor force, the labor process and in particular to the incorporation of the migrant laborer.

As a result of industrial restructuring, the occupational structure is becoming polarized, including an expansion in the supply of low-wage jobs and a shrinking in the supply of middle-income jobs. Recent immigration (1980-86), by virtue of its sheer numbers, is directed mostly to a few major urban centers, associated with the decline in manufacturing industries and expansion of service sector jobs. The manufacturing occupations are one of the few major industrial categories most employed by

past immigrants and laborers, in particular Puerto Rican migrants.

Between 1960 and 1980, New York City not only received a large pool of Hispanic immigrants, but also lost a significant number of jobs. In a study by Sassen-Koob (1985) using U.S. census figures, New York City Hispanic population increased by 10% from 1970 to 1980. Civilian employment in New York City, on the other hand, declined from 3.7 million in 1970 to under 3.3 million.

Sassen-Koob (1985) presents evidence of job absorption of immigrants in the New York City and Los Angeles economy. The immigrant population of these two cities represents an important supply of low-wage workers. Both cities have the largest Hispanic populations and together with San Francisco, have the largest concentrations of Asians. The composition of the two Hispanic populations in New York City and Los Angeles is very different, yet they both rank poorly on various economic and social characteristics such as median income, percent below poverty line, educational levels attained, and so forth. Sassen-Koob's research shows that new migrants are employed in the new service and personal service occupations. She posits that:

The new immigration is primarily associated with a process of socioeconomic recomposition in major urban centers that is characterized by two major growth sectors: producer services and downgraded

manufacturing. Although very different, both generate a large array of low-skilled, low-wage jobs, with few if any requirements for language proficiency and few advancement opportunities, and thus generate conditions conducive to the absorption of a large influx of immigrants.⁴

Sassen-Koob (1984) also examines the impact on the job supply resulting from industrial shifts and new centers of production. She uses data on the distribution of occupations and the earnings in particular industries in conjunction with the locational patterns of such industries. The author presents evidence that major growth industries are characterized by a much higher incidence of jobs at the high- and low- paying ends than was the case in what were once the major growth industries, notably manufacturing. She showed that the locational patterns of major growth industries tend toward a concentration of the most dynamic ones, notably the producer services, in a few very large cities.⁵

The evidence of decreasing manufacturing jobs, increasing service and personal jobs with a polarization of high and low wage occupations results in a new U.S. economic order affecting the labor process, the labor structure, and in particular the use of immigrant labor.

According to Sassen-Koob (1985), as a result of this new

⁴ Saskia Sassen-Koob (1985) pg. 301.

⁵ Saskia, Sassen-Koob (1984)

economic order, a new demand for labor is occurring in the services and personal services industries. As immigrants continue to come to the U.S. they are absorbed in this new economy.⁶ The research in this thesis points to geographic and occupational concentrations of recent (1982-1986) Puerto Rican migrants. This study does not point to increased Puerto Rican concentrations in the services occupations, but rather to continued in-flows and concentrations of Puerto Rican migrants in the production, operatives/crafts, and non-farm labor occupations.

USES OF MIGRANT LABOR: DIFFERING PERSPECTIVES

Puerto Ricans, by virtue of their colonial relationship with the United States are U.S. Citizens since 1917, a decision that was imposed by Congress despite local political opposition. This unique occurrence distinguishes Puerto Rican migrants from other Third World immigrants. Yet, Puerto Ricans share characteristics, both culturally and economically of less developed countries.

As a racial minority in the United States, their socioeconomic status is similar to African Americans and Chicanos. As an ethnic group with distinct cultural and language norms and a U.S. dependent economy in Puerto Rico, their

⁶ Saskia Sassen-Koob (1985) pg. 303.

immigrant status can also be compared to immigrant groups from Mexico, Central America, and Asia.

This "duality," provides for a unique migrant incorporation and labor process experience distinct from both U.S. minorities and Third World immigrants. An awareness of this duality aspect must be taken into account when exploring and understanding the different theoretical perspectives of immigrant labor usage.

Contemporary theories and empirical research on immigration focus on the uses of migration for the receiving country and the adaptation of these new immigrants. The theoretical perspectives and research on the uses of migrant labor are complex and controversial. These different theories will help explain migratory in-flows and occupational concentrations. The section will also serve as a point of departure in particularly explaining the demand for Puerto Rican migrants. The following section will discuss and outline the three major perspectives on the uses of migrant labor.

Orthodox Theory

The orthodox economic perspective views immigrant labor as a supplement to a scarce domestic labor force. Immigrants are recruited to fill jobs in an expanding economy that has run out of laborers in its own population. This theory gains its credibility in the U.S. through maintaining an "open" economic

structure with abundant opportunities for advancement. With the advent of an industrial economy in the past and a movement to a service economy in the present, this theory seems plausible. As native workers are promoted to higher paid jobs, new immigrants are recruited to fill the lower paying sector jobs. The new service economy has an abundance of low-paying jobs, and can easily absorb continuous inflows of migrants. Labor scarcity usually starts at the bottom, lower stratum of jobs. Wages for unskilled and semiskilled workers tend to rise as a result of employer competition. Since wages rise as a result of scarce labor, employers will constantly seek new sources of cheap labor as a means of controlling or reducing wages.

This theory, in part, explains the gravitation of immigrants toward the worst job as a natural consequence of an expanding economy. In this view, native workers move upward toward better paid, more prestigious or more autonomous positions. Furthermore, this theory, according to Portes and Bach (1985) view immigrant workers as not qualitatively different from native ones except that they are newer entrants in the labor force and have less experience and perhaps less education. With time, as was the case with other immigrant groups, they too will acquire the experience and qualifications to move upward as well, leaving the bottom of the occupational structure to other new immigrant

labor flows.⁷

The implications of this theory in particular, to Puerto Rican migrants, proposes that as an integral part of any immigration process, Puerto Ricans will eventually "filter-out" of their low-status and low-paying jobs and eventually move into higher-status and higher-paying jobs. This "filtering-out" process occurs over-time, and thus should be of no real concern. Large concentrations of Puerto Ricans in low-paying occupations will eventually become incorporated into the higher-paying, more prestigious occupations. This theory also implies that Puerto Ricans can be compared to other past immigrant groups, and ignores their unique, colonial, and double citizenship of both an affluent America and a poverty stricken barrio in Spanish Harlem or San Juan.

REPLACEMENT THEORY

The "replacement theory," asserts that immigrants take jobs that would otherwise be held by domestic laborers, through immigrants' acceptance of low-paying jobs. Recent immigrants, coupled with other large migrant population enclaves results in the lowering of wages. As the supply of labor continues to multiply, a reserve pool of labor becomes easily available, employers are able to cut wages and pick those migrants most

⁷ Alejandro Portes and Robert Bach, Latin Journey, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985) pg. 11.

willing to work.

A report from the United States Department of Labor (1978) claims that as the numbers of illegal and unskilled immigrants have risen, it is likely that immigrants are increasingly substituting for resident workers. The report claims that the burden falls on "already disadvantaged workers - Blacks, Hispanics, women, teenagers, the handicapped, and low-skilled legal immigrants - who compete with undocumented aliens in specific job categories."⁸

Vernon M. Briggs (1974) asserts that illegal or un-skilled workers depress local wages and take jobs that would otherwise be held by domestic workers.⁹

The replacement theory makes the assumption that there is a fixed number of jobs in a given industry and that as in-flows of migrants increase, wages decrease. If concentrations of Puerto Ricans, other Hispanics, Blacks, and women are found in unskilled, low-paying occupations, coupled with continued immigration to these centers, the probability of some type of labor

⁸ U.S. Department of Labor; Employment and Training Report of the President Transmitted to the U.S. Congress 1978., "Immigration and the Labor Force."

⁹ Vernon M. Briggs Jr. "Illegal Aliens: The Need for a More Restrictive Border Policy," Social Science Quarterly., Dec. 1975a, 56 (3), Pg. 477-84.

market effect is likely. If competition between natives and immigrants were to occur, given high concentrations of minorities in low-paying occupations, it would logically follow that this competition be inter-minority, and to a lesser extent with Whites.

A study by Borjas and Tienda (1987) found very little competition between immigrants and native workers. They concluded that what little competition does exist, is only between recent immigrants and past immigrants, other minorities and women. Much of the argument stems from overzealous INS reports, xenophobic members of Congress, and past and present White House Administrations. These "studies" conclude or rather blame increasing unemployment and falling wages on an influx of legal and illegal migrants.

Segmentation - Dual Economy Theory

The last perspective on immigrant labor is based on an analysis of the increasing segmentation of social relationships of production under advanced capitalism. The core of this dual labor market economy theory is the observation that advanced economies have generated an oligopolistic segment in which market control is far more extensive than among typical earlier capitalist firms. These firms can be described and divided by two categories, the primary sector and the secondary sector.

The firms in the primary sector are significantly reliant on capital intensive technology to enhance productivity and are able to pass on part or all of the increases in the wage bill to consumers through their control of markets.¹⁰

These firms' prime goal is stability in labor relations. Hiring is generally at the bottom of the occupational ladder. And access to higher positions is usually through internal promotion rather than external recruitment. Wages in this sector of the economy are higher and fringe benefits and work conditions are more desirable.

The secondary or peripheral sector of the economy is formed by those smaller competitive enterprises that more faithfully reflects the structural conditions under early industrial capitalism. These firms operate under great economic risks. Their markets are usually local, they do not generate their own technology, and they often rely on labor intensive production. These conditions lead to lower wages. Workers are subordinated to the bosses, firing is a permanent threat and a common practice, and an existing labor reserve pool exists, thereby

¹⁰ Alejandro Portes, et.al (1985) Pg. 14.

providing for a steady stream of exploitable labor.¹¹

By analyzing geographical and occupational concentrations of Puerto Rican migrants, a differentiation between low and high - paying categories of Puerto Rican migrants can be made as well as differences between Puerto Rican migrants and U.S. mainland Puerto Ricans in their labor market incorporation. Implications can be assessed on the similarities shared by Puerto Rican migrants and U.S. mainland Puerto Ricans as they enter the labor market. In fact, as will be shown later, Puerto Rican migrants and U.S. Puerto Ricans have similar labor market concentrations implying an incorporation experience analogous to each other. Furthermore, implications on migrant competition, labor market processes and labor market incorporation can be made. An analysis of this kind requires a thorough understanding of the respective characteristics and peculiarities of each sector (primary and secondary) and how each sector relates, incorporates, influences, controls, and exploits the migrant worker.

In this theoretical perspective, immigrants are used to undercut domestic workers who are themselves weak and frequently unorganized. Oligopolistic labor, most of it White, is largely invulnerable to the competition of new immigrant workers and may

¹¹ Alejandro Portes, et.al (1985) Pg. 15.

actually profit from their existence. Competitive labor, segmented by racial minorities and women, is pitted against the new workers.

A different segmentation hypothesis takes the position that jobs filled by immigrants are not at the expense of domestic workers. According to this group of segmentation theorists the U.S. domestic labor market is segmented by race, class, and gender, to the point where domestic laborers are "protected" from the direct effects of immigrants. One can surmise that a separate labor market exists; one in which domestic or "native" labor belongs and the other in which immigrants comprise.

Michael J. Piore in his epic Birds of Passage: Migrant labor and industrial societies (1979), supports the "segmentation hypothesis" by arguing that immigrant labor is relegated to those jobs that are unwanted or undesirable to the domestic labor market. Due to the domestic labor market failure to respond to these types of jobs, a market for immigrant workers "develops and thrives."¹² Further, Piore is unwilling to accept unequivocally the position that unskilled domestic worker's employment opportunities and wages are affected by unskilled immigrants. If migrants do compete with native laborers, he argues, it is only within the unskilled secondary labor market and only with youth

¹² Michael J. Greenwood and John M. McDowell, "The Factor Market Consequences of U.S. Immigration," Journal of Economic Literature, vol. XXIV (Dec. 1986), Pg. 1738-1772.

and housewives, and not with the skilled, male labor force.

Thomas R. Bailey (1987) further extends Piore's hypothesis by analyzing the impact of both legal and illegal immigrants on the labor market experiences of vulnerable native groups, such as women, youth, and Black men, who look for jobs in the restaurant industry. He concludes that women and to a much lesser extent youth are the groups most vulnerable to any type of labor market competition as a result of increased immigrant participation. His conclusion is based on the similar characteristics shared by women, teenagers, and immigrants in relation to low skill levels and a temporary or ambivalent commitment to low-quality employment. All three groups supply dependable labor for low-skilled jobs with restricted opportunities for economic mobility.¹³

All three theories, while distinct, focus on one commonality, the natural occurrence, necessity, and prediction of occupational concentrations of immigrants in low-paying and low-status jobs. The three theoretical perspectives are different in several ways. Orthodox theory proposes that through a competitive labor market, immigrant workers relegated to the worst jobs will eventually move upward. Those occupations that

¹³ Bailey, Thomas R., Immigrant and Native Workers: Contrasts and Competition. Westview Pres, Boulder, 1987.

are not experiencing declining or loss of jobs will be more suitable to immigrants in their quest for economic opportunity. The replacement theory proposes a low-wage labor market filled with both native and immigrant workers each competing with each other, thereby lowering their wages and causing displacement. In this category, Puerto Rican migrants are similar to U.S. minorities whereby their concentration in a particular industry or occupation implies similar incorporation processes with the minority laborer. Lastly, the segmentation theory proposes secondary labor markets where natives and immigrants compete in low-pay occupations, and occupations that are largely filled by either immigrants or domestic labors where competition is limited to their respective groups.

An understanding of the theories on the uses of migrant labor, provides a background and format from which to explain particular migrants' labor market incorporation experiences. These theories also provide a framework from which to make implications on the effects of immigrants on the domestic U.S. worker.

Characteristics of Puerto Rican Migrants

The following section will analyze some general characteristics of Puerto Rican migrants over the time span 1960, 1970, and 1980. The analysis will make some comparisons between

Island Puerto Rican residents and mainland U.S. Puerto Rican residents. Specifically, I will look at general demographic characteristics and their migratory flow destinations between 1960-1980. Looking at these variables will yield information helpful for analyzing geographic destination and demographic change over time. I will use published data and tables of the 1960, 1970, and 1980 censuses. I will also use the Puerto Rican migration survey used for the main analysis of this thesis.

The published census data (1960, 1970, 1980) is used to analyze the civilian population 16 and over who were born in Puerto Rico. At each census date, those living in Puerto Rico are designated as "non-migrants," those living in the U.S. (mainland) are designated "recent migrants" only if their residence five years prior to the census date was in Puerto Rico, those labeled "prior migrants" are Puerto Ricans who answered the census with a residence in the U.S. (mainland) of more than five years. Data presented for Puerto Rican non-migrants and for the general population in the Northeast are from published census tables.

The census data and the migration survey analysis will concentrate on examining the civilian, non-institutionalized population. For this section the migration survey analysis will only look at emigrants; those leaving the island for reasons other than vacation, family, or health - related.

Emigration from Puerto Rico to the U.S. mainland has been occurring since the 1920s, large scale migration from Puerto Rico began in the late 40s, and currently Puerto Rico is experiencing a large exodus of its population. During the 1950s and 1960s, migration from Puerto Rico was largely a result of employment conditions in the U.S. mainland relative to the island (Maldonado, 1976).¹⁴ During the early 1970s return migration to Puerto Rico was greater than migration to the U.S. due to the 1973 - 1975 economic recession experienced in the states (Ortiz, 1986).¹⁵ The current increases in emigration from Puerto Rico to the U.S. is due to the slower recovery from the 1980-1982 recession.¹⁶ The following table presents a historical net emigration account of Puerto Rican migrants.

¹⁴ Maldonado R. "Why Puerto Ricans Migrated to the U.S. in 1947 - 1973" in Monthly Labor Review, 99 (9): 7-18, 1976.

¹⁵ Ortiz V. "Changes in the Characteristics of Puerto Rican Migrants from 1955 to 1980," in International Migration Review, 20, 612-628, 1986.

¹⁶ National Puerto Rican Coalition, "Puerto Ricans in the mid 1980s: An American Challenge." Alexandria, VA: NPRC, 1985.

Table A
NET EMIGRATION FROM PUERTO RICO*
(Persons 16 years of age and older)

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>EMIGRATION</u>
1945-49	135,000
1950-54	237,000
1955-59	193,000
1960-64	58,000
1965-69	87,000
1970-74	85,000
1975-79	<40,000>
1980-84	142,000
1985	28,609
1986	46,619

* Estimates are based on the number of air passenger arrivals and departures from the island during the given periods or fiscal years.

Source: Planning Board of Puerto Rico
Bureau of Statistics, January 1987.

Looking at past migrants and their U.S. destinations will provide an analysis of change over time. Table B shows the distribution by states and regions of "recent" and "prior" migrants through time; 1960, 1970, 1980, and 1982-1986. The biggest change is the decline in settlements of Puerto Ricans in New York between 1960 and 1980 and then the recent reversal of this trend. The majority of migrants in 1960 and 1970 chose New York as their destination. By 1980 other Northeastern cities, including Chicago and other states began showing strong concentrations of Puerto Ricans and other Hispanic and migrant groups. The percentage in the Southeast, (mainly Florida), also increased from 5.2% in 1960 to 15.1% in 1980, but leveled off

between 1982-1986.

TABLE B
GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION BY REGENCY OF MIGRATION
 (Persons 16 years of age and older)
 (As a percent of total)

	1960	1970	1980	1982-1986
RECENT MIGRANTS				
New York	64.6	49.5	30.2	40.0
Other Northeast	17.1	27.6	35.2	35.0
Southeast (Florida)	5.2	4.7	15.1	12.0
Other	12.8	18.2	19.6	12.5
PRIOR MIGRANTS				
New York	81.2	70.5	56.0	
Other Northeast	7.5	15.3	24.0	
Southeast (Florida)	2.0	2.6	5.0	
Other	9.2	11.6	15.1	

SOURCES: 1960 PUS 1% Sample, 1970 PUS 1% Sample (15% Survey), and 1980 PUMS 5% A Sample.

*Figures for 1982-1986 are from the Puerto Rican Planning Board Study, (1986).

Based on Table C an estimated 88,000 Puerto Ricans migrated to the U.S. between 1955 and 1960; 96,000 between 1965 and 1970; and 100,000 between 1975 and 1980. This increased change over time also shows an increase in the Puerto Rican born population in the U.S. of 19% in 1960; 15% in 1970; and 12% in 1980. The nonmigrant population of Puerto Rico has steadily increased as

well, over time from 1,290,794 in 1960 to 2,115,076 in 1980, to 3,286,000 in 1986.

Approximately half of each cohort of recent and prior migrants were female, this coincides with the approximate 52% female/male distribution of the population (age 16 or older) on the Island of Puerto Rico. This suggests that, contrary to immigration from Mexico and other Latin American countries, females are migrating in numbers equal or more than their male counterparts since the late 1950s to present. However, the percentage of females in the migrant group (that listed an occupation) for the 1986 migration survey is 37.1% a marked difference from the 55.8% female migration contingent of 1975-80. It should also be noted that during the 1982-1986 migration period, the Puerto Rican female migration percentage of 37.1 is sharply different to the female population (nonmigrant) of 52.8%; by contrast, the proportion of females (nonmigrant) in the 1975-80 group was 52.4% with a 55.8% emigrant outflow of women for the same period. This suggests that a significant change in the sex composition of emigrants in the 1980s, of less female emigrants or that Puerto Rican women migrants are still migrating at (+ -) 50% but are not entering the labor force.

TABLE C
POPULATION BY MIGRATION STATUS
DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PUERTO RICAN BORN
(Persons 16 years of age or older)
(figures are percent of total)

	1960	1970	1980	1986*
PERCENT FEMALE				
Recent migrant	49.4	53.7	55.8	37.1
Prior migrants	52.8	54.8	55.3	---
Non migrants	51.3	52.0	52.4	52.8
MEDIAN AGE				
Recent migrants	25.6	25.9	28.3	28.6
Prior migrants	33.0	34.6	37.8	---
Non migrants	35.2	35.4	35.8	36.2
ESTIMATED POPULATION SIZE				
Recent migrants	88,300	96,100	100,360	126310
Prior migrants	383,800	532,100	732,560	---
Non migrants	1,290,794	1,657,044	2,115,076	3,286,000

Sources: 1960 PUS 1% Sample, 1970 PUS 1% Sample (15% Survey), and 1980 PUMS 5% A Sample: Published tables: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Characteristics of the Population, Puerto Rico (Volume 1, Part 53) for 1960, 1970, and 1980 census.

*The 1986 figures are derived from the Puerto Rico Planning Board Survey.

III METHODOLOGY AND DATA

Approaching the central question of this thesis, will be through the use of descriptive data analysis and a theoretical analysis. I will compare three distinct data sets; a Migration Survey from the Puerto Rican Planning Board that yields information on the migrants destination and occupation, data from the Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS) that provide corresponding information on those states and occupations where Puerto Rican migrants are going to, and lastly, data from the Puerto Rican Department of Labor (PRDL) on the employment participation rates of Puerto Ricans in Puerto Rico. I will compare the migration survey data with the BLS data through the construction of matrixes, and conclude on the percentage concentrations of all the cohorts that will be observed. Implications will be drawn on the data results, migratory flows, and occupational concentrations.

The following section will more thoroughly describe the data used for this thesis, and conclude with some general descriptive characteristics of the recent (1982-1986) Puerto Rican migrant.

DATA

I used three different sets of data in my research. The first is a Migration Survey compiled by the Puerto Rican Planning

Board. The second is United States Bureau of Labor Statistics published and unpublished yearly data on occupations by race, gender, and states. The third data set is from the Puerto Rican Department of Labor. The data constitutes employment figures for the Puerto Rican Island population.

The Puerto Rican migration survey provides the most accurate information on migrants and emigrants. Further, many social and economic characteristics of the migrants are included in the survey allowing for comparisons with earlier Puerto Rican migrants and current residents on the Island and the U.S. mainland.

The use of Bureau of Labor Statistics data also provides the most accurate and reliable data source for U.S. residents employed and unemployed. Data compiled in the yearly Geographic Profile of Labor and Unemployment, provides similar occupational matches with the Puerto Rican migration survey. This data is also dis-aggregated by state, race and gender providing for a comparison between Puerto Rican men and women migrants with other Hispanic, Black, White, and women U.S. mainland residents.

Data describing Puerto Rican Island population, by the Puerto Rican Department of Labor, will serve to display from which occupational concentrations are Puerto Ricans leaving from. It also constitutes the most accurate and reliable data source

for Puerto Rican Island residents. The following is a closer description of the three data sources used for this research.

Puerto Rican Migration Survey

Quantifying migration flows and occupational distribution is problematic due to the scarcity of reliable data. However, The migration survey constitutes a unique set of data from which to draw an analysis. This particular survey was and continues to be implemented for purposes of scholarship, public policy, planning, and general information.

The survey, over time, has been modified to include new variables, formats, changes, and in some cases deletions of variables. It is possible to make comparisons between certain Puerto Rican conditions based on the survey, and U.S. mainland conditions based on labor and census data.

The Puerto Rican Planning Board conducts a survey of passengers in San Juan International Airport, the only airport serving the Puerto Rico and the United States mainland route. Arriving and departing passengers are asked about the purpose of their trip, employment status, occupation, state or place of residence, age, sex, place of birth, level of education completed, and destination. (see appendix for copy of migration survey). Emigrants and immigrants are differentiated from vacationers by length of stay and purpose of stay. Trips of

three months or longer, for non-family or vacation purposes are classified as either emigrant or migrant.

I use four different survey sets corresponding to fiscal years; 1982-1983, 1983-1984, 1984-1985, 1985-1986. Of the 38 different variables in the survey five are utilized for this analysis: 1) emigrant status, 2) purpose of trip, 3) area of residence in the U.S., 4) occupation of migrant, and 5) sex of migrant.

The four different yearly survey data are aggregated to make a large enough sample to discuss the occupational distribution by states. The sample has 126,310 weighted cases of migrants leaving Puerto Rico to stay in the United States between 1982-1986.

My analysis is limited to migrants destined for eight states: New York, New Jersey, Florida, Connecticut, Illinois, Pennsylvania, and California. These eight states combined account for over 82% of all Puerto Rican migration to the United States mainland during 1982-1986. The remaining 18% either went to other U.S. states, Latin American countries, or other caribbean islands.

The nine occupations observed are; professional, technical and related, managerial/ office and administration, clerical and

support, sales, operatives and crafts, non-farm laborers, services, and farm-workers and farm administrators. Of the total number of migrants 233,646, over 54% listed one of the above nine occupations and eight states. The other 46% listed either not-in-the labor force, students, or household.

Tables showing the total percent of Puerto Rican migrants in the above categories have been constructed. Tables 1 through 3 show average percent of all, men, and women Puerto Rican migrants, by occupation, state, and sex during 1982-1986. The tables were constructed with the following variables:

Table no. 1

$$\% \text{ P.R. mig.} = \frac{\text{no. of P.R. migrants stating occup(a), and state(a)}}{\text{total number of Puerto Rican migrants}}$$

Table no. 2

$$\% \text{ P.R. wmn mig.} = \frac{\text{no. of P.R. wmn mig. stating occup(a), St.(a)}}{\text{total number of Puerto Rican women migrants}}$$

Table no. 3

$$\% \text{ P.R. men mig.} = \frac{\text{no. of P.R. men mig., stating occup(a), St. (a)}}{\text{total number of Puerto Rican men migrants}}$$

Published and Unpublished BLS Data

For my second data set, published and unpublished data derived by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics will be used. The majority of data comes from The Geographic Profile of Labor

and Employment, published on a yearly basis. I used variables and data corresponding to the same years of the migration survey (1982-1986). This data is aggregated and are computed for the same eight states and the same nine occupations listed in the Puerto Rican migration survey. The published data is used to extract data from several variables. The variables are the proportion of Hispanics, Blacks, and women that are employed by occupations and states which Puerto Rican migrants are entering. Four tables are constructed:

Table no. 4

% Hispanic = $\frac{\text{no. of Hispanics employed in occupation(a), St (a)}}{\text{total number of employed Hispanics.}}$

Table no. 5

% Black = $\frac{\text{no. of Blacks employed in occupation(a), and state(a)}}{\text{total number of employed Blacks.}}$

Table no. 6

% women = $\frac{\text{no. of all women employed in occupation(a), and stat(a)}}{\text{total number of all employed women.}}$

Table no. 7

% all = $\frac{\text{no. of all employed in occupation(a), and state(a)}}{\text{total employed.}}$

Tables 1 through 3 arrange the data to define where Puerto Rican migrants are going to by occupations, and states in the U.S. mainland. Tables 4 through 7 arrange the data to compare, U.S. mainland participation rates of Hispanics, Blacks, and women by states and occupations.

Puerto Rican Department of Labor

Statistical data showing Puerto Rican Island employment and unemployment participation rates by occupation were collected for the corresponding years (1982-1986). The data was used to construct Table D, which shows Puerto Rican Island occupational concentration compared to Puerto Rican migrant occupational concentration. The data is important in quantifying the percentages of Island occupations losing Puerto Rican laborers.

Critical to my analysis is the question of U.S. occupational over-representation and under-representation by race and gender. Occupational over and under - representation will enable me to asses the question of occupational segmentation by race and gender.

Those labor markets or occupations showing large concentrations of Hispanics, Blacks, and women employment participation, relative to the "All" population, constitute an over-representation. Likewise those labor markets or occupations showing small concentrations of Hispanics, Blacks, and women employment participation, relative to the "All" population constitutes an under-representation. By showing particular racial and gender concentrations in particular occupations, those markets and occupations can be differentiated between Hispanic,

Black, or women occupations, as well as between high or low - paying occupations.¹⁷

Table 8 and 9, display the occupations and states being observed, and the several immigrants (Puerto Rican all migrants, Puerto Rican men migrants, and Puerto Rican women migrants), as well as U.S. all, Hispanic, Black, and women as a percent of the labor force. Table 8, presents the data for those higher-paying occupations and Table 9 presents the data for those lower-paying occupations.

U.S. "All" by occupation is used as the comparison group to determine over and under - representation. A 2% difference in the six other cohorts by occupation and state reflects over-representation (+) or under-representation (-).

Occupations in the higher-paying sectors are aggregated to include a larger sample size and to make them comparable to both the migration survey data and the BLS data. The occupation of professional is added to technical and related. Managerial, office and administrative remains the same.

Occupations in the lower-paying sector are also aggregated for sample size and compatibility considerations. Sales is added

¹⁷ The "conclusion" chapter will provide an analysis of a segmented labor market based on the findings of this research.

to clerical and Support. Operatives/crafts are also aggregated with non-farm labor to produce a "production" labor category. Services and farmwork remain the same. In all, six total occupational categories are analyzed representing the nine original occupational categories. The three Puerto Rican migrant groups (All, men, and women), can be compared to occupational over and under - representation.

Limitations of the Methodology and Data

As with all social science data and methodological approaches, several limitations and constraints are encountered. The following is a short discussion of some of my data and methodology "short-comings."

The data extracted from both the Puerto Rican migration survey and the BLS while highly compatible, suffered from some minor occupational differences. Those occupations within the operatives/crafts and non-farm labor categories proved to be the most difficult to match, consequently their aggregation provided for the best and most accurate form of comparison with other occupational categories. The limitation of this and the other aggregations are the limited amount of occupational comparisons that can be made. Occupations within each of the six categories analyzed, total in the 100s, making distinctions between high and

low paying as well as over and under - representation more difficult to quantify in relation to Puerto Rican migrants and the other cohorts observed.

The BLS data provided information on the U.S. Hispanic population as if they were one small and homogenous group. Understandably, due to small sample sizes, data was unavailable for Hispanic subgroups (Puerto Rican, Mexican-American, and Cuban) as well as for gender characteristics. This gender distribution was also unavailable for the Black population. This data would have provided a better interpretation of the relative differences between Puerto Rican men and women migrants as they enter U.S. occupations segmented by gender.

Lastly, by aggregating the Puerto Rican Migration Survey over the 1982-1986 period (for sample size considerations) several problems arise over U.S. and Puerto Rico changing labor market conditions. By not accounting for unemployment changes, wage differentials, and other economic factors, migratory flows to U.S. regional and occupational concentrations are not measured accurately.

SOME SELECTED DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

Puerto Rican Migrants (1982-1986)

The following section will describe some general demographic

characteristics of the recent (1982-1986) Puerto Rican migrant. This will provide an "overview" of the destinations and concentrations of the 1982-1986 Puerto Rican migrant.

States

In total 126,310 Puerto Ricans who listed one of nine occupations and one of eight states migrated to the U.S. mainland over the time span of 1982-1986. New York and New Jersey continue to be the states with the highest concentrations of Puerto Rican migratory flows, and also continue to have the largest concentrations of Puerto Ricans in the U.S. Between 1982 and 1986, 62% of all Puerto Rican migrants went to New York and New Jersey, New York receiving three fourths of all migrants who went to these two states. Other states receiving sizable numbers include Florida, which received 12% and, the Southwest region (California and Texas) which received 9%. Graph 1 (appendix) displays Puerto Rican migratory flows between 1982-1986.

Recent (1982-1986) Puerto Rican women and men migrants also show the same pattern of migration to New York, New Jersey and other Northeastern states. In total, 29,808 Puerto Rican women in the labor force migrated to the selected states in the U.S. mainland and, 96,502 Puerto Rican men.

Occupations:

Graph 2 and Table 1 (appendix) illustrates the occupational distribution of Puerto Rican migrants. Of those migrants listing destination states and occupations in their survey, 41% were in operatives and crafts, and non-farm laborer. Farm work and farm administrators received 15%, and the service occupations along with sales clerical and support work received 14% and 12.7% respectively. Of the higher-paying sector occupations professional, technical, related, and managerial/administrative, the percent of Puerto Rican migrants was 10%, 4.7%, and 2% respectively totaling 18%.

Most Puerto Rican women migrants, were working in operative/crafts, sales, clerical, support, and service occupations, 26.4%, 30.4%, and 23.5% respectively. Farmwork, non-farmwork labor, and managerial occupations had a relatively small proportion.

For Puerto Rican men migrants, operatives/crafts and non-farm labor had the highest percentage with 40.6%. Farmwork, professional and technical/related, and services followed with 15.3%, 14.6% and 14.5% respectively. The majority of Puerto Rican men migrants are going to low-paying occupations.

U.S. Labor Markets

States:

The states of California and Texas had the largest

concentration of employed Hispanics, 1,950,000 and 1,350,000. Of this figure, 47.2% of the total Puerto Rican California population of 93,038, was employed.¹⁸ New York employed close to 600,000 Hispanics while Florida and Illinois had 550,000 and 500,000 respectively. Sizable figures can also be found in the states of New Jersey, 250,000 and Pennsylvania with 100,000.

The Black population showed higher concentrations of employment in New York, New Jersey, Florida, Pennsylvania, and Illinois than did Hispanics.

Occupations

For the nine occupations observed, non-farm labor, operatives/crafts, services, and clerical held the highest concentration of Hispanics employed. For the high-paying sector occupations; professional, technical, and managerial, Hispanics constituted 14% of all Hispanics employed. Low-paying occupations clerical, sales, operatives/crafts, non-farm labor, services and farm-work employed 86% of all Hispanics. By far, the largest occupational concentration of Hispanics is the low-paying sector, in particular the production occupations, clerical, and service. Table 4 and graph 4 (appendix) provide a pictorial and summary of these findings.

¹⁸ Frank Bonilla, "Ethnic Orbits: The circulation of Capitals and Peoples," Contemporary Marxism, no. 10, pg. 159-162, 1985.

For Blacks, similar concentrations were also found in low-paying occupations. Within the service and clerical occupations, Blacks were employed in higher percentages than Hispanics. The higher-paying sector occupations showed Blacks having slightly higher percentages in professional, technical, and managerial occupations. It is clear that Blacks and Hispanics are under-represented in higher paying occupations. In all, Blacks in the low-paying sector occupations constituted 79.8% of all Blacks employed, with the remaining 20.2% found in the professional type occupations. Table 5 and graph 4 (appendix) displays these findings.

U.S. women, are concentrated in the clerical, service, sales, and professional occupations. Clerical, service, and sale occupations constitute 66% of all employed women, while professional, technical, and managerial occupations constitute 29% of all employed women. The remaining 5% employed women are found in non-farm labor, operatives/crafts, and farmwork occupations. Table 6 (appendix) provides a summary of these results.

U.S. men, in the eight selected states constituted, 30% in the professional, technical, and managerial occupations. Operatives/crafts, non-farm labor, sales, and service occupations received 60% of all men employed, and 10% of employed men are in

farmwork, and clerical occupations.

This section provided a broad overview of the recent (1982-1986) Puerto Rican migrant, their occupational and geographic concentrations were presented. The following chapter will measure more directly the data findings in relation to over and under - representation.

IV FINDINGS GEOGRAPHICAL AND OCCUPATIONAL CONCENTRATIONS

The following section will present the findings that resulted from my analysis. The four are:

-The highest proportion of Puerto Ricans are migrating to those states and occupations in which Black and Hispanics are over-represented, and to a lesser extent where an over-representation of Women workers in those same states and occupations exist.

-The highest proportion of Puerto Rican men are migrating to two occupational categories; operatives/crafts and non-farm labor, and farm work and farm administration, of which only operatives/crafts and non-farm labor show an over-representation of other Hispanic and Black laborers.

-Puerto Rican women migrants experience similar, if not more extreme, concentrations of migratory flows to occupations and states in the U.S. mainland in which Hispanics, Blacks, and women are over-represented. One half of all Puerto Rican women migrants are going to occupations that show Hispanic, Black and Women over-representation (operatives/crafts, non-farm labor, and services). The other half is going to occupations that show U.S. women over-represented (sales, clerical + support, and professional/technical and related) and Hispanic and Black under-representation.

-overwhelmingly (83% for all, 80.8% for P.R. women) Puerto Rican migrants and women Puerto Rican migrants are going to low-paying occupations.

Puerto Rican Migrants

According to Bureau of Labor Statistics data and the operational definition of over-representation used for this analysis, U.S. Hispanics, during the 1982-1983 time period observed are over-represented in the operatives/crafts, non-farm labor, and service occupations. During the time period observed, the total percent of Puerto Rican migration for these occupations totaled 55%. In only one state, Pennsylvania, Hispanics were not over-represented in the operatives/crafts and non-farm labor occupations. For the states of New Jersey and Florida, Hispanics were also not over-represented in services occupations. Of the occupations showing Hispanic over-representation, operatives/crafts and non-farm labor represented the highest percentage of Puerto Rican migrants. (Table 8 and 9, in appendix)

For U.S. Blacks, over-representation is also evident in the operatives/crafts and non-farm labor, and service occupations. the operatives/crafts and non-farm labor occupations show no over-representation in several states, New York, California, and

Pennsylvania. None the less, high concentrations of Blacks were employed (approx 25%) in these low-paying occupations relative to "All." Blacks were consistently over-represented in the service occupations and those occupations were Hispanics and Blacks are over-represented.

U.S. women showed an over-representation in the services occupations. This was the only occupation in which the three groups (Hispanic, Black, and women) shared respective over-representation. Women in the operatives/crafts and non-farm labor showed an under-representation.

Based on this analysis, I conclude that the majority of the Puerto Rican migration flow during 1982-1986 is going to the operatives/crafts and non-farm labor occupations, as well as the service occupations. Both categories show an over-representation of Black and Hispanic workers and to a lesser extent an over-representation of women.

Surprisingly, the occupation with the second highest percentage of Puerto Rican migrants is farm-work and farm administrators. Of all Puerto Rican migrants, 15.3% are farm-workers or farm administrators. The states of Pennsylvania and New Jersey received the highest percentage of Puerto Rican migrants in this occupation. Only one state showed an over-representation of Hispanics in the farming and farm

administration occupation, the state of California.

Only 16.6% of all Puerto Rican migrants listed managerial/administration, professional and technical occupations. Clearly, other Hispanics and Blacks are under-represented in these occupational categories. U.S. women also show an under-representation in these occupations except for the professional and technical/related occupations. In the professional and technical/related occupations, women were actually over-represented in six of the eight states observed. Women, while under-represented in managerial, and office/administration, none the less had significant concentrations employed in this sector.

Puerto Rican Men Migrants

Puerto Rican men migrants are overwhelmingly going to those occupations that show an over-representation of other Hispanics and Blacks. 45% of all Puerto Rican men migrants listed operatives/crafts and non-farm labor. Farmwork and farm administration, along with the services occupations followed with 20%, and 11.7% respectively. Interestingly, farmwork and farm administration shows no over-representation of other Hispanics or Blacks, except for the state of California which receives one of the lowest migration rates for Puerto Rican men. See Table 10 and 11 in the appendix.

Eighty four percent of all Puerto Rican men migrants are concentrated in the low-paying sales, clerical, support, operatives/crafts and non-farm labor, services and farm work and farm administration. Of these occupations, services, operatives/crafts and non-farm labor are over-represented with other Hispanics and Blacks. The occupations of sales, clerical, support show an over-representation of U.S. women.

Of all Puerto Rican men migrants during 1982-1986, 16% went to higher-paying occupations, but, 13.6% went to occupations in the professional/technical and related fields. The remaining 2.4% went to managerial occupations. Both of these occupational categories show an under-representation of other Hispanic and Black laborers, and over-representation of women in the professional/technical and related occupations.

Puerto Rican Women Migrants

One half of all Puerto Rican women migrants went to the operatives/crafts, non-farm labor, and services occupations. These same occupations showed an over-representation of other Hispanics and Blacks.

Eighty percent of all Puerto Rican women migrants indicated sales, clerical, support, along with operatives/crafts, non-farm

labor, and services as their occupation. These occupational categories can also be classified as low-paying. A concentration (30.4%) of Puerto Rican women migrants is clearly evident in the sales, clerical and support occupations. U.S. women are over-represented in the sales, clerical, and support occupations, while other Hispanics and to a lesser extent Blacks are under-represented.

A concentration (17.8%), of Puerto Rican women is evident in the professional, technical, related, and managerial occupations. U.S. women are over-represented in this occupation, while other Hispanics and Blacks are clearly under-represented.

One half of all Puerto Rican women migrants are going to some occupations (operatives/crafts, non-farm labor, and services) that show Hispanic, Black and women over-representation. While the other one half is going to occupations (sales, clerical + support, and professional/technical and related) that show U.S. women to be over-represented and other Hispanic and Black under-represented.

This analysis shows that Puerto Rican Women migrant flows are going to occupations that are over-represented by other Hispanics, Blacks and U.S. women. For Puerto Rican women migrants, race/ethnicity and gender are clearly an influential factor in their occupational concentrations.

Low-paying Sector Occupations

The highest percentage of Puerto Rican migrants are going to low-paying occupations usually associated with secondary, low-wage labor markets. These jobs are usually in unstable industries and provide less job security, higher turnover rates, and job restrictions. Many of these jobs can be found in industries such as agriculture, non-durable manufacturing, retail trade, and sub-professional services.

Of all Puerto Rican migrants, 83% are going to occupations in the low-wage occupations. Eighty percent of all Puerto Rican women migrants are also going to occupations that are classified as low-paying occupations.

A slightly higher percentage of women Puerto Rican migrants are entering the high-paying occupations. Many jobs in these occupations are in the cores' industrial sector where workers have better working conditions, high benefits, and employment stability. Of all Puerto Rican women migrants, 19% listed managerial, office/administration and professional and technical/related occupations, compared to 16% of male Puerto Rican migrants.

Occupational Distribution and Out-migration of Puerto Rico

Table D, looks at the percent distribution of Puerto Rican men and women residents of the island and the migrant's percent occupational concentration. The Table shows what percent of all employed men and women Puerto Rican residents have in each occupation. The graph also shows the percentage of Puerto Rican men and women migrants, for 1982-1986, by occupations.

TABLE D
PERCENT EMPLOYED BY OCCUPATION
PUERTO RICAN RESIDENTS AND MIGRANTS
(YEARS 1982-1986)

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>MEN</u>			<u>WOMEN</u>		
	<u>P.R.</u>	<u>MIGRANT</u>	<u>SELC.</u>	<u>P.R.</u>	<u>MIGRANT</u>	<u>SELC.</u>
MGR OFFICE/ ADMIN.	14.4%	2.3%	(-)	6.7%	1%	(-)
PROF. TECH/ AND RELATED	12.2%	13.6%	(no)	22%	17.8%	(-)
SALES, CLERC, + SUPPORT	14.3%	7.3%	(-)	31.9%	30.4%	(no)
OPER/CRAFTS N.F. LABOR	40.1%	45%	(+)	21.2%	26.4%	(+)
SERVICES	11.1%	11.7%	(no)	18%	23.5%	(+)

Source: Puerto Rican Planning Board
Puerto Rican Migration Survey

Table D shows that those occupations having the largest percentage of Puerto Rican men and women migrants (operatives/crafts and non-farm labor) and (sales, clerical +

support, and operatives/crafts and non-farm labor, and services) respectively, showed a slightly larger percentage of migrants leaving the island relative to the percentage distribution of Puerto Rican residents. The percent differential, both for men and women, is never larger than 5%. Meaning that not one occupation is disproportionately losing its workers.

Those occupations in the higher-paying sector show no major migratory flows. For Puerto Rican men migrants 15.9% of their total departure is in this sector, and 18.8% for Puerto Rican women migrants. These same occupations consist of 26.6% and 28.7%, respectively of all Puerto Rican men and women residents employed in these occupations. Only Puerto Rican men in the professional/technical and related occupations are leaving at a percentage rate (13.6% compared to 12.2%) higher than their employed percentage. This would seem to indicate that a large exodus of Puerto Rican professionals are not leaving the Island at disproportional levels.

For women, the occupation that experienced the largest exodus of its workers is sales, clerical, and support, but the percentage (30.4%) is lower than the percentage (32%) shown for Puerto Rican women residents in that occupation.

For men, the occupation that experienced the largest exodus of its workers is operatives/crafts and non-farm labor (45%),

five percentage points higher than the percentage (40.1) of Puerto Rican men in that occupation.

Summary of Findings

My analysis revealed Puerto Rican migratory flows that have occupational concentrations closely similar to U.S. Hispanic, Black, and women concentrations in the occupations and states observed.

Puerto Rican women migrants were found to be more influenced by the over-representation of race and gender than were Puerto Rican men migrants. All Puerto Rican migrants were influenced to a large degree by concentrations of other Hispanic, and Black over-representation in those occupations and states observed.

The concentration of other Hispanic, Black, and women native workers, coupled with increased Puerto Rican migratory flows with similar occupational concentrations indicate a pull factor for migrants. Portes and Bach (1985) posit that ethnic enclaves both in a local community and the workplace are clear factors in inducing future migrants to those locations. The concentrations of past migrants and ethnic communities in major urban centers is a likely factor in increased immigration, in particular, Puerto Rican migration to the Northeast.

An overwhelming majority of Puerto Rican men, women and all migrants are concentrated in the low-paying occupations. Puerto Rican men migrants show a slightly higher percentage in low-paying occupations than do Puerto Rican women migrants.

Puerto Rican women are migrating to higher-paying occupations at a slightly higher rate (larger percent) than Puerto Rican men migrants. The percentage of migrants leaving the high-paying occupations does not indicate a large exodus of migrants from professional "type" occupations, proportional to the occupational distribution in Puerto Rico.

Finally, Puerto Ricans migrants are not leaving the Island occupations at rates disproportional to their occupational distribution in Puerto Rico. Puerto Rican migrants are leaving the low-paying occupations of the Island at rates below Island residents percent distribution.

The above analysis reveals that Puerto Rican migratory flows are related to the concentration of other Hispanic, Black, and to a lesser extent women laborers in U.S. regions and occupations, this is particularly true for the low-paid occupations. Women Puerto Rican migrants share, if not worse, migratory flows to low-wage occupations with concentrations of other women, Hispanic, and Black laborers.

These findings imply that Puerto Rican migrants are segmented between high and low - paying occupations and go to areas and occupations in which a concentration of other Hispanic, Black, and women laborers are concentrated. The demand for these type of occupations, given high concentrations of minorities and women, clearly favors people of color and women, making the Puerto Rican migrant more than adequately suited.

Given the already high concentrations of other Hispanics, Blacks, and women, coupled with continued increases of Puerto Rican and other Latino migrants, the likelihood that whatever type of economic consequences occur as a result of this migrations will affect a good portion of U.S. "native" people of color and women workers.

The migratory flow, currently being experienced by 1982-1986, Puerto Rican migrants is not significantly different than prior migration (1960, 1970, and 1980) flows from Puerto Rico. It differs slightly in geographic locations, where fewer Puerto Rican migrants are settling in New York, although most are still concentrated in the Northeastern states.

V CONCLUSION

My analysis shows the concentration of states and occupations by Puerto Rican migrants and the relationship of these migratory flows to the racial and gender make-up of the selected eight states and nine occupations.

IMPLICATIONS

The implications of the findings can be summarized in two broad categories. 1) Migrants are overwhelmingly entering those occupations within the lower-paying jobs that are concentrated with and are likely to be, segmented by race and gender. These migrants are entering a distinct labor market composed mostly of other migrants. Indicating a distinct incorporation and labor process for the Puerto Rican migrant when compared to other Americans. 2) The consequences, both economic and social, of entering a low-paying, or separate "immigrant labor market" on the supply of future immigrants and present Hispanic, Black, and women native laborers.

SEGMENTED LABOR MARKETS

Jobs most likely to be segmented consists of those found in smaller competitive enterprises. These firms operate under great economic risks. Their markets are usually local, and often rely on labor intensive production. Wages are usually low, high

turnover rates abound, and an excess supply of readily available workers exist. This excess supply of labor is exemplified by the disproportionately high unemployment rate by Hispanics and Blacks relative to "All" laborers in the United States. It is widely known that ethnic and Third World migration is adequately suitable to the above characteristics of a segmented workplace. As discussed earlier, Puerto Rican migrants are granted a unique duality of sorts, that enables them to share characteristics of Third World migrants, and likewise with U.S. minorities.

Segmented labor markets were begun to explore new mechanisms for more effective and reliable labor control. According to Gordon, Edwards, and Reich (1982), segmentation contained two important dimensions. 1) The growing divergence between primary and secondary jobs, or higher or lower - paying jobs. And 2) a method for "generating and deploying general skills among workers." These two elements were necessary to replace the craft method that earlier corporations had relied on and to gain greater control over the parts of the labor process that skilled workers had formerly dominated. To further exert this control, segmentation reverted to channeling the effects of past and present race and sex discrimination.

By directing certain occupations, tasks, and skills to a particular group, that groups status quo can be maintained or further improved. In the case of Black, Hispanic and other

ethnic groups the former was the case. Hispanic and Black laborers, through this process of control are further exploited. Racial divisions in the workplace further adds to the segmentation of the workplace with the polarization between high and low - paying jobs becoming more and more apparent.

The probability that 1982-1986 Puerto Rican migrants are entering the low-paying occupations segmented by race and gender is high, given past history and current findings. Puerto Rican migration into occupations segmented by race and gender only adds to an already exasperated problem.

As occupations become more and more polarized, labor processes between entering migrants and native workers change. Will the growing services and personal sector be able to support continued in-streams of Puerto Rican and other migrants? Does this continued stream of migrant labor add to an existing labor reserve pool further contributing to a an already identifiable and ready to exploit group of workers, thereby producing an over supply of labor and a lowering of wages?

Future Research on competition between migrants and native workers, is a phenomenon that is difficult to quantify. Attempts by Borgas and Tienda (1987), and others point to very little competition. They posit that if any competition does exist, it is between other migrants and women. Likewise, Piore (1979)

asserts that migrant competition only exists in the low-paying and low-skilled sectors and only between youth and women.

My results indicate that Puerto Rican migrants are going to those low-pay, low-skilled occupations, and that their high concentration percent in those occupations is clearly related to the occupational concentrations of other U.S. Hispanic, Black, and women laborers. It logically follows that if any competition does exist it will affect one way or another other Hispanic, Black and women laborers. This would also be more prevalent if migrants are entering occupations that are segmented by immigrants and domestic laborers.

As labor markets continue to become even more segmented, as the full effects of industrial restructuring become known, and as the labor demand for low-paying and low-skilled jobs continue to influence Puerto Rican migration movements, the prospects for indiscriminate labor market incorporation and increased concentrations in the professional, higher-skilled and higher-wage occupations diminish. The necessity of Puerto Rican migrants to move into skilled, higher-paying jobs depends on such economic and social factors as lower U.S. Puerto Rican unemployment rates, better U.S. employment opportunities, increased vocational training and ESL programs, plus a host of other economic and social investments. The study of migratory flows and occupational concentrations shed new light on a

relatively consistent pattern that has been occurring since 1950. Labor market concentration and incorporation for recent Puerto Rican migrants should not reflect the similar abysmal concentrations and characteristics of the past.

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SALIDAS

Cols.	Sa- li- das	Fecha						Línea Aérea		Destino del Vuelo (Próxima Parada)	
		Mes	Día	Año	15	16	17	18			
									9	10	11
2											

19

1. ¿Por cuánto tiempo ha permanecido en Puerto Rico?
(How long have you been in Puerto Rico?)

1. Menos de 3 meses
(Termine la entrevista) 4. 1 año ó más
2. En tránsito (Termine la entrevista)
entrevista) 0. No informa (Termine la entrevista)
3. 3 meses a menos de 1 año

20

2. ¿Cuánto tiempo piensa permanecer en el exterior?
(How long are you planning to stay abroad?)

1. Menos de 3 meses
(Termine la entrevista) 3. 1 año ó más
2. 3 meses a menos de 1 año 0. No informa (Termine la entrevista)

21

3. ¿Con qué propósito va al exterior?
(What is the purpose of your trip?)

1. A trabajar 6. Ama de casa
2. A estudiar 7. Visitar familiares y otros
(Termine la entrevista)
3. Al serv. militar 8. Otros (esp.) _____
4. A buscar trabajo 0. No informa
5. A retirarse

22

4. ¿A qué se dedicó en P.R. en el último mes?
(What have you done in P.R. for the last month?)

1. Trabajar 5. Retirado
2. Estudiar 6. Ama de casa
3. Serv. militar 7. Otros (esp.) _____
4. Desempleado 0. No informa

23 24

5. ¿Cuál es su ocupación? (Especifique)
(What is your occupation?)

01. Profesionales 10. Costureras y trab. en
servicio doméstico
02. Técnicos y rel.
03. Gerencia, ofic., 11. Administradores agrícolas
excepto fincas
04. Clericales 12. Obreros agrícolas
05. Vendedores 13. Ama de casa
06. Artesanos y capataces 14. Estudiante
07. Operarios y rel. 15. Pensionado y/o retirado
08. Trab. en servicios 16. Otro (especifique) _____
excepto doméstico
09. Obrero no agrícolas 00. No informa

Cols.

6. ¿Dónde piensa residir? (Where are you planning to live?)

01. New York 06. Texas 10. Venezuela
02. N. Jersey 07. Penn. 11. Rep. Dominicana
03. Florida 08. Calif 12. Otro país (especi-
fique) _____
04. Connecticut 09. Otro estado 00. No informa
E.U.
05. Illinois

27

7. ¿Viaja usted solo o con su familia?
(Are you traveling alone or with your family?)

1. Solo 3. Otro acompañante
2. Con familia 0. No informa

8. Edad (Age)

a. Acompañantes menores de 16 años (Anote núm. de perso-
nas)

1. 0 - 4

2. 5 - 9

3. 10 - 13

4. 14 - 15

Informa 0. No 1. Sí

Total acompañantes _____

b. Entrevistado (Anote la clave)

1. Menor de 16 3. 25 - 34 6. 55 - 64

(Termine la entrevista) 4. 35 - 44 7. 65 y más

2. 16 - 24 5. 45 - 54 0. No informa

28

29

30

31

32

33

9. ¿Dónde nació usted? (Where were you born?)

1. P.R. 3. Cuba 5. Otro (esp.) _____

2. E. U. 4. Rep. Dom. 0. No informa

34

10. ¿Es alguno de sus padres puertorriqueño? (Is any of your
parents Puerto Rican?)

1. Sí

2. No

0. No informa

35

11. ¿Cuál es su último año de escuela completado? (Anote la
clave)
(What is your last year of school completed?)

1. 0

4. 7 - 9

7. 13 - 15

2. 1 - 3

5. 10 - 11

8. 16 y más

3. 4 - 6

6. 12

0. No informa

36

12. ¿Cuál es su grado universitario más alto?
(What is your highest college degree?)

1. Doctorado

3. Bachillerato

5. Ninguno

2. Maestría

4. Grado Asociado

0. No informa

37

13. Sexo del entrevistado (Sex)

1. Varón

2. Hembra

38

LLEGADAS

Cols.	Lle- ga- das	Fecha						Línea Aérea	Origen del Vuelo (Parada anterior)		
		Mes	Día	Año							
		9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
1											

Cols.

25

6. ¿Viaja usted solo o con su familia?
(Are you traveling alone or with your family?)

- 1. Solo
- 2. Con familia
- 3. Otro acompañante
- 0. No informa

7. Edad (Age)

a. Acompañantes menores 16 años (Anote núm. de personas)

- 1. 0 - 4
- 2. 5 - 9
- 3. 10 - 13
- 4. 14 - 15
- Informa
- 0. No
- 1. Sí

Total
Acompañantes

b. Entrevistado (Anote la clave)

- 1. Menor de 16 (Termine la entrevista)
- 2. 16 - 24
- 3. 25 - 34
- 4. 35 - 44
- 5. 45 - 54
- 6. 55 - 64
- 7. 65 y más
- 0. No informa

19

1. ¿Por cuánto tiempo piensa permanecer en Puerto Rico?
(How long are you planning to stay in Puerto Rico?)

- 1. Menos de 3 meses (Termine la entrevista)
- 2. En tránsito (Termine la entrevista)
- 3. 3 meses a menos de 1 año
- 4. 1 año ó más
- 0. No informa (Termine la entrevista)

26

27

28

29

30

20

2. ¿Con qué propósito viene a Puerto Rico?
(What is the purpose of your visit?)

- 1. Vivo en P.R., regreso de viaje (Termine la entrevista)
- 2. A trabajar
- 3. A estudiar
- 4. Serv. militar
- 5. A buscar trabajo
- 6. A retirarse
- 7. Ama de casa
- 8. Visitar familiares y otros (Termine la entrevista)
- 9. Otro (Especifique)
- 0. No informa

31

21

3. ¿Cuánto tiempo vivió fuera de P.R.? (Refiérase a su última estadía fuera) (How long you lived abroad?) (Please, refer to your last stay abroad)

- 1. Menos de 3 meses
- 2. 3 meses a menos de 1 año
- 3. 1 - 5 años
- 4. 6 - 10 años
- 5. 11 años o más
- 0. No informa

33

22

4. ¿A qué se dedicó fuera de P.R. en el último mes?
(What have you done abroad for the last month?)

- 1. Trabajar
- 2. Estudiar
- 3. Desempleado
- 4. Ama de casa
- 5. Retirado
- 6. En servicio militar
- 7. Otro (esp.)
- 0. No informa

35

5. ¿Cuál es su ocupación? (Especifique)
(What is your occupation?)

- 01. Profesionales
- 02. Técnicos y rel.
- 03. Gerencia, ofic., excepto tinas
- 04. Clericales
- 05. Vendedores
- 06. Artesanos y capataces
- 07. Operarios y rel.
- 08. Trab. en servicios excepto doméstico
- 09. Obreros no agrícolas
- 10. Costureras y trab. en serv. doméstico
- 11. Administradores agrícolas
- 12. Obreros agrícolas
- 13. Ama de casa
- 14. Estudiante
- 15. Pensionado y/o retirado
- 16. Otro (esp.)
- 00. No informa

36

12. Sexo del entrevistado (Sex)

- 1. Varón
- 2. Hembra

TABLE 1
 AVG. PERCENT OF ALL PUERTO RICAN MIGRANTS, BY OCCUPATION, BY STATE
 (YRS 1982-1986)

	NY	CA	NJ	CN	IL	TX	PA	FL
MANAGERIAL OFFICE/ADMIN.	2%	2%	2%	0%	0%	5%	1%	4%
PROFESSIONAL TECH./RELATED.	12%	33%	10%	16%	12%	40%	10%	23%
SALES/CLERICAL +SUPPORT	15%	21%	9%	6%	15%	18%	7%	14%
OP/CRAFTS N.F. LABOR	44%	26%	40%	45%	44%	22%	36%	40%
SERVICES	17%	11%	11%	16%	18%	13%	14%	12%
FARMWORKERS	9%	7%	29%	17%	11%	2%	33%	6%
TOTAL N =	50210	4148	29307	5294	7310	4269	11554	15218

126310

SOURCE: PUERTO RICAN PLANNING BOARD
 MIGRATION SURVEY RESULTS, 1982-1986.

TABLE 2
 AVG. PERCENT OF PUERTO RICAN MEN MIGRANTS, BY OCCUPATION, BY STATE
 (YRS 1982-1986)

	NY	CA	NJ	ON	IL	TX	PA	FL	
MANAGERIAL, OFFICE/ADMIN.	3%	3%	2%	0%	0%	8%	0%	5%	
PROFESSIONAL TECH./RELATED.	12%	34%	10%	16%	10%	40%	7%	22%	
SALES/CLERICAL +SUPPORT.	8%	15%	4%	5%	11%	15%	4%	8%	
OP/CRAFTS N.F. LABOR.	49%	30%	43%	47%	49%	27%	37%	48%	
SERVICES.	16%	9%	6%	10%	16%	5%	11%	8%	
FARMWORK.	12%	9%	35%	22%	14%	3%	41%	8%	
TOTAL N =	37577	3201	22988	4183	5429	2804	9212	11108	96502

SOURCE: PUERTO RICAN PLANNING BOARD
 MIGRATION SURVEY RESULTS, 1982-1986.

TABLE 3
 AVG. PERCENT OF PUERTO RICAN WOMEN MIGRANTS, BY OCCUPATION, BY STATE
 (YRS 1982-1986)

	NY	CA	NJ	CN	IL	TX	PA	FL	
MANAGERAL, OFFICE/ADMIN.	1%	0%	2%	0%	0%	0%	2%	1%	
PROFESSIONAL TECH./RELATED.	15%	31%	9%	14%	19%	38%	22%	27%	
SALES/CLERICAL +SUPPORT.	34%	40%	31%	11%	28%	23%	19%	31%	
OP/CRAFTS N.F. LABOR.	30%	10%	25%	37%	28%	13%	34%	17%	
SERVICES.	19%	19%	31%	40%	25%	26%	24%	23%	
FARMWORK.	1%	0%	1%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	
TOTAL N =	12633	947	5319	1111	1881	1465	2342	4110	29808

SOURCE: PUERTO RICAN PLANNING BOARD
 MIGRATION SURVEY RESULTS, 1982-1986.

TABLE 4
 AVG. PERCENT OF U.S. HISPANICS EMPLOYED, BY OCCUPATION, BY STATE
 (AGGREGATED BY YRS 1982-1986)

	NY	CA	NJ	CN	IL	TX	PA	FL
MANAGERIAL OFFICE/ADMIN.	7%	5%	6%	4%	5%	6%	6%	9%
PROFESSIONAL TECH./RELATED.	8%	7%	8%	15%	6%	8%	17%	9%
SALES/CLERICAL +SUPPORT	26%	21%	22%	14%	21%	23%	20%	30%
OP/CRAFTS N.F. LABOR	35%	44%	51%	46%	49%	39%	34%	33%
SERVICES	23%	17%	12%	20%	17%	17%	21%	15%
FARMWORKERS	1%	8%	1%	1%	1%	5%	1%	3%
TOTAL N =	100%	102%	100%	100%	99%	98%	99%	99%

SOURCE: BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS
 GEOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF EMPLOYMENT
 AND UNEMPLOYMENT, YEARS 1982-1986.

TABLE 5
 AVG. PERCENT OF U.S. BLACKS EMPLOYED, BY OCCUPATION, BY STATE
 (AGGREGATED YRS 1982-1986)

	NY	CA	NJ	OH	IL	TX	PA	FL
MANAGERIAL OFFICE/ADMIN.	7%	10%	6%	7%	7%	6%	6%	5%
PROFESSIONAL TECH./RELATED.	13%	13%	12%	11%	14%	11%	14%	10%
SALES/CLERICAL +SUPPORT	31%	33%	24%	26%	29%	28%	26%	20%
OP/CRAFTS N.F. LABOR	24%	24%	35%	37%	32%	40%	31%	33%
SERVICES	26%	19%	21%	21%	19%	30%	23%	27%
FARMWORKERS	0%	1%	0%	0%	0%	2%	0%	8%
TOTAL	101%	100%	98%	99%	101%	102%	100%	103%

SOURCE: BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS
 GEOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF EMPLOYMENT
 AND UNEMPLOYMENT, YEARS 1982-1986.

TABLE 6
 AVG PERCENT OF U.S. ALL WOMEN EMPLOYED, BY OCCUPATION, BY STATE
 (AGGREGATED YRS 1982-1986)

	NY	CA	NJ	ON	IL	TX	PA	FL
MANAGERIAL OFFICE/ADMIN.	9%	11%	9%	9%	8%	9%	7%	9%
PROFESSIONAL TECH./RELATED.	19%	17%	19%	21%	18%	16%	19%	16%
SALES/CLERICAL +SUPPORT	44%	45%	45%	43%	45%	46%	43%	45%
OP/CRAFTS N.F. LABOR	10%	10%	11%	12%	11%	10%	14%	9%
SERVICES	17%	16%	15%	14%	18%	19%	18%	20%
FARMWORKERS	1%	1%	0%	0%	1%	1%	1%	1%
TOTAL	100%	100%	99%	99%	101%	101%	102%	100%

SOURCE: BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS
 GEOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF EMPLOYMENT
 AND UNEMPLOYMENT, YEARS 1982-1986.

TABLE 7
 AVG. PERCENT OF U.S. ALL EMPLOYED, BY OCCUPATION, BY STATE
 (AGGREGATED BY YRS 1982-1986)

	NY	CA	NJ	OH	IL	TX	PA	FL
MANAGERIAL OFFICE/ADMIN.	12%	13%	13%	13%	11%	13%	11%	12%
PROFESSIONAL TECH./RELATED.	18%	17%	16%	19%	16%	14%	16%	14%
SALES/CLERICAL +SUPPORT	29%	29%	30%	29%	29%	29%	27%	29%
OP/CRAFTS N.F. LABOR	25%	25%	26%	26%	28%	29%	33%	26%
SERVICES	15%	12%	12%	11%	13%	12%	13%	15%
FARMWORKERS	2%	3%	1%	1%	2%	4%	2%	4%
TOTAL	101%	99%	98%	99%	99%	101%	102%	100%

SOURCE: BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS
 GEOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF EMPLOYMENT
 AND UNEMPLOYMENT, YEARS 1982-1986.

TABLE 8
OVER AND UNDER REPRESENTATION
OF PUERTO RICAN MIGRANTS
(1982-1986)

HIGH-PAYING SECTOR

MANAGERIAL, OFFICE/ADMIN.	NY	CA	NJ	CN	IL	TX	PA	FL
ALL	12	13	13	13	11	13	11	12
HISPANIC	7*	5*	6*	4*	5*	6*	6*	9*
BLACK	7*	10*	6*	7*	7*	6*	6*	5*
WOMEN	9*	11*	9*	9*	8*	9*	7*	9*
P. R. MIG	2	3	2	0	0	8	2	4
P. R. WMIG	1	0	2	0	0	0	2	1
P. R. MMIG	3	3	2	0	0	8	0	5
PROFESSIONAL TECH/RELATED								
ALL	18	17	16	19	16	14	16	14
HISPANIC	8*	7*	8*	15*	6*	8*	17	9*
BLACK	13*	13*	12*	11*	14*	11*	14*	10*
WOMEN	19	17	(19)	(21)	(18)	(16)	(19)	(16)
P. R. MIG	12	33	10	16	12	40	10	23
P. R. WMIG	15	31	9	14	19	30	22	27
P. R. MMIG	12	34	10	16	10	40	7	22

SOURCE: BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS
PUERTO RICAN PLANNING BOARD

* DENOTES UNDER-REPRESENTATION
() DENOTES OVER-REPRESENTATION

TABLE 9
 OVER AND UNDER REPRESENTATION
 OF PUERTO RICAN MIGRANTS
 (1982-1986)

LOW-PAYING SECTOR

SALES, CLERICAL, + SUPPORT	NY	CA	NJ	ON	IL	TX	PA	FL
ALL	29	29	30	29	29	29	27	29
HISPANIC	26*	21*	22*	14*	21*	23*	20*	30
BLACK	31	33	24*	26*	29	28	26	20*
WOMEN	(44)	(45)	(45)	(43)	(45)	(46)	(43)	(45)
P.R. MIG	15	21	9	6	15	18	7	14
P.R. MMIG	34	40	31	11	28	23	19	31
P.R. MMIG	8	15	4	5	11	15	4	8
OPER/CRFTS N.F. LABOR								
ALL	25	25	26	26	28	29	33	26
HISPANIC	(35)	(44)	(51)	(46)	(49)	(39)	34	(33)
BLACK	24	24	(35)	(37)	(32)	(40)	31	(33)
WOMEN	10*	10*	11*	12*	11*	10*	14*	3*
P.R. MIG	44	26	40	45	44	22	36	40
P.R. MMIG	30	10	25	37	28	13	34	17
P.R. MMIG	49	30	43	47	49	27	37	48
SERVICES								
ALL	15	12	12	11	13	12	13	15
HISPANIC	(23)	(17)	12	(20)	(17)	(17)	(21)	15
BLACK	(26)	(19)	(21)	(21)	(19)	(30)	(23)	(27)
WOMEN	(17)	(16)	(15)	(14)	(18)	(19)	(18)	(20)
P.R. MIG	17	11	11	16	18	13	14	12
P.R. MMIG	19	19	31	40	25	26	24	23
P.R. MMIG	16	9	6	10	16	5	11	8
FARM WORK, FARM ADMIN.								
ALL	2	3	1	1	2	4	2	4
HISPANIC	8*	(8)	1	1	1	5	1	3
BLACK	0*	1*	0	0	0	2*	0	(8)
WOMEN	1*	1*	0	0	1	1*	1	1*
P.R. MIG	9	7	29	17	11	2	33	6
P.R. MMIG	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
P.R. MMIG	12	9	35	22	14	3	41	8

SOURCE: BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS
 PUERTO RICAN PLANNING BOARD

* DEMOTES UNDER-REPRESENTATION
 () DEMOTES OVER-REPRESENTATION

TABLE 10
 PUERTO RICAN MIGRATION and
 U.S. ALL, HISPANIC, BLACK, and WOMEN
 PERCENT DISTRIBUTION

	P.R. RES.	P.R. MIG	P.R. RETURN* MIGRATION	P.R. NET-* MIGRATION	SELECTED ALL US	HISPANIC	BLACK	WOMEN
MANAGERIAL OFFICE/ADMIN	11.7%	2.3%	3.7%	9.0%	12.2%	6.1%	9.0%	8.9%
PROFESSIONAL TECH/RELATED	15.8%	14.6%	23.9%	1.7%	16.2%	7.7%	11.2%	18.1%
SALES, CLERICAL + SUPPORT	20.7%	12.7%	13.5%	10.7%	28.8%	23.0%	26.0%	44.5%
OPER/CRAFTS N.F. LABOR	33.4%	40.6%	33.2%	47.0%	27.6%	40.0%	28.5%	10.9%
SERVICES	13.7%	14.5%	13.0%	14.4%	12.8%	17.5%	22.0%	17.1%
FARM	4.6%	15.3%	12.8%	16.6%	2.4%	5.0%	3.3%	0.1%
TOTAL % TOTAL	100.0% 738000	100.0% 126310	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	RESPECTIVE POPULATION				463788000	4941641	4531978	19562367

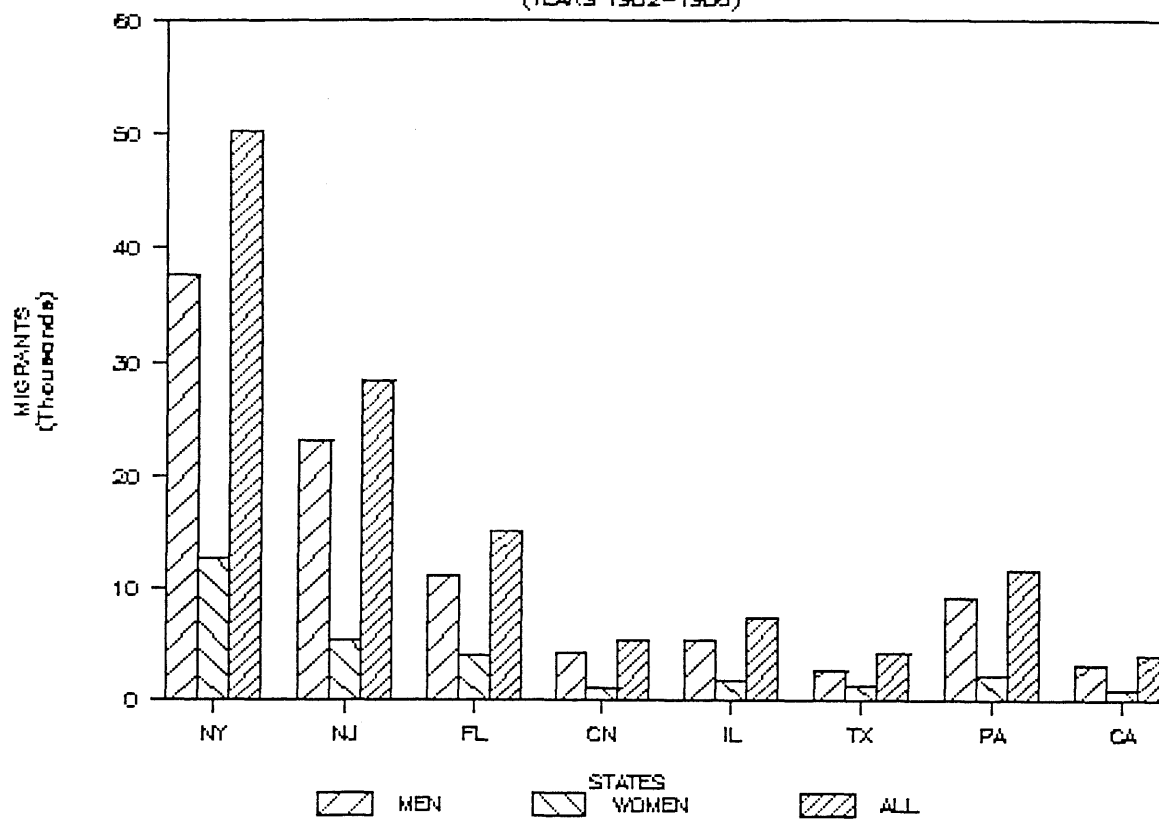
(Percent figures are from the eight states and nine occupations observed)

* Column represents figures corresponding to years 1982, 1983, 1984. These are used as a proxy for the purpose of showing percentage representation.

GRAPH 1

PUERTO RICAN MIGRANTS BY STATE

(YEARS 1982-1986)

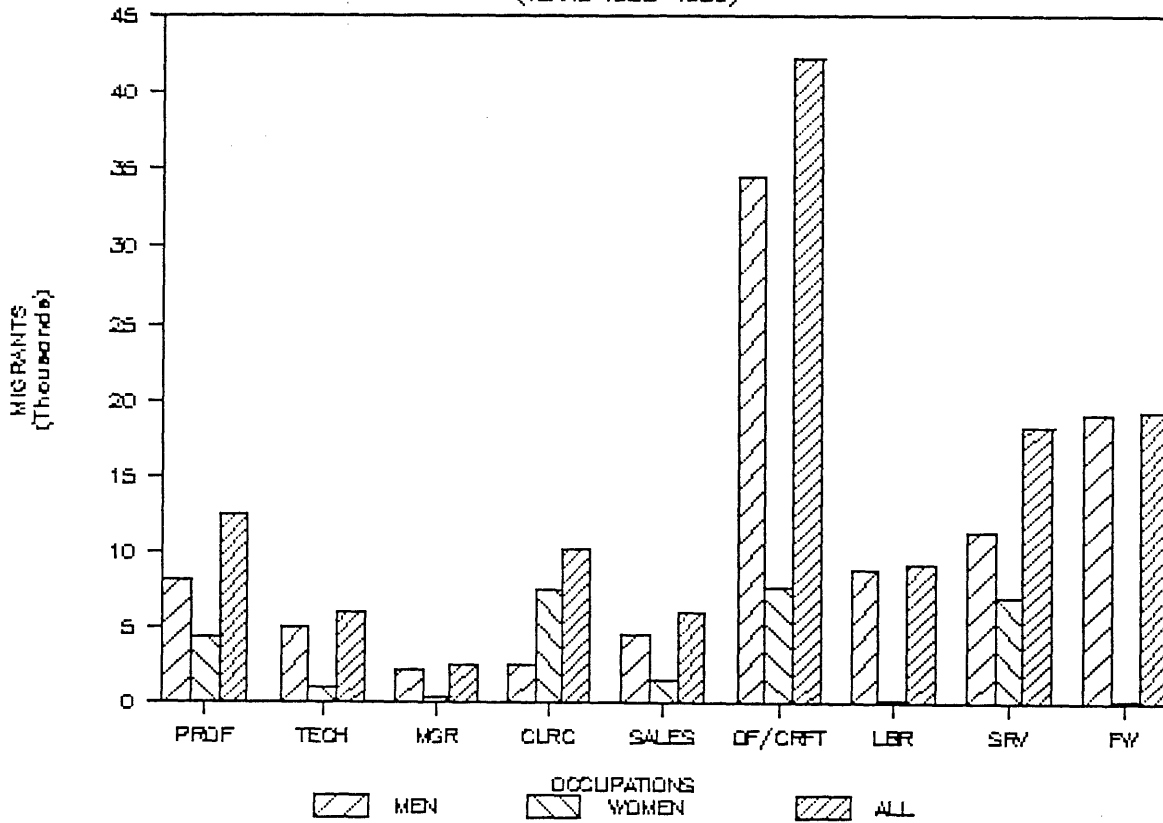


source: Puerto Rico Planning Board
Migration Survey Results, 1982-1986

GRAPH 2

PUERTO RICAN MIGRANTS BY OCCUPATION

(YEARS 1982-1986)

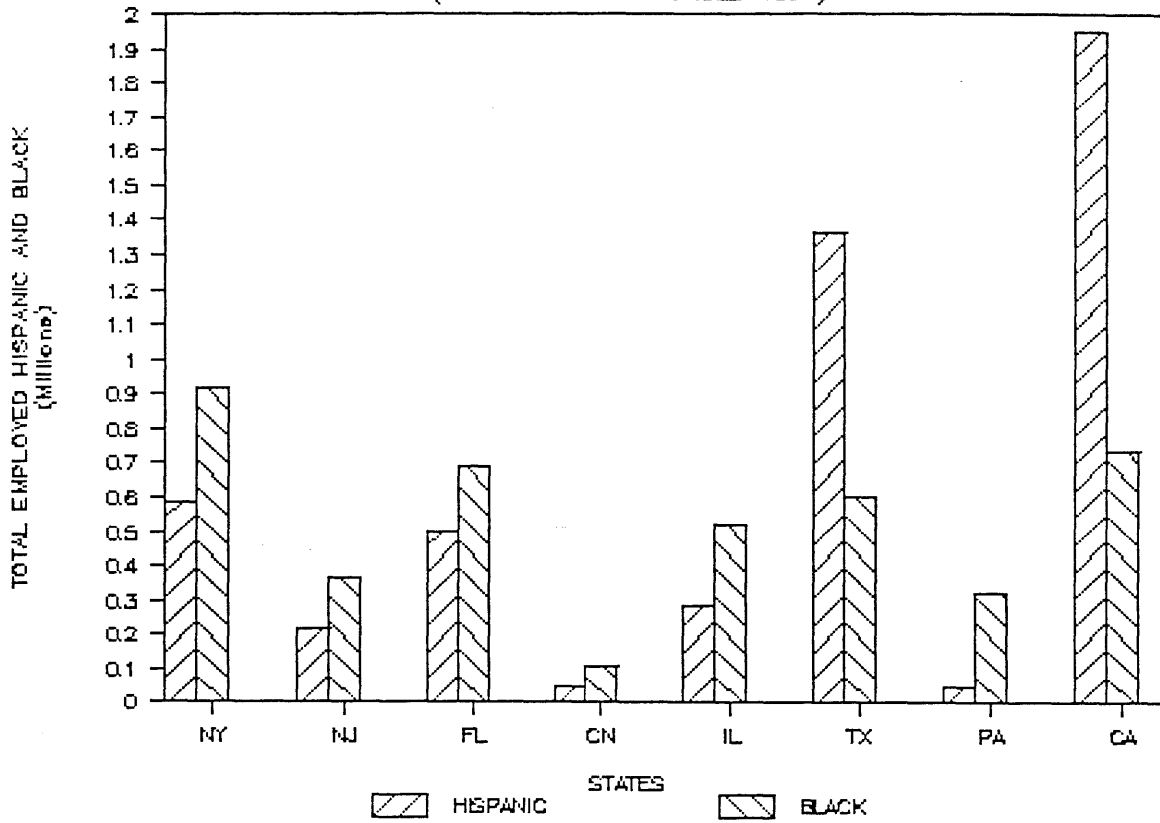


SOURCE: PUERTO RICO PLANNING BOARD
MIGRATION SURVEY RESULTS, 1982-1986

GRAPH 3

TOT EMPLOYED HISPANIC AND BLK BY STATE

(AVG FIGURES FOR YRS 1982-1986)

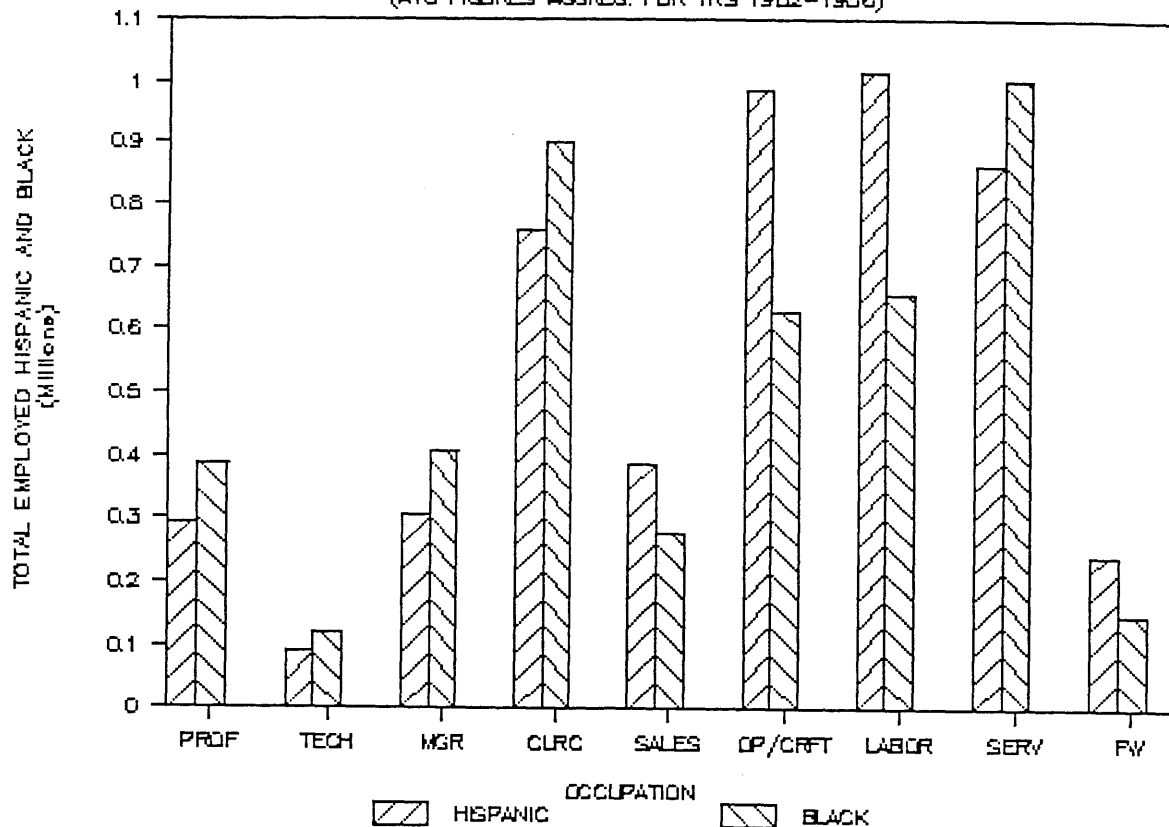


SOURCE: PUERTO RICO PLANNING BOARD
MIGRATION SURVEY RESULTS, 1982-1986

GRAPH 4

TOT EMPL HISPANIC AND BLK BY OCCUP.

(AVG FIGURES AGGREG. FOR YRS 1982-1986)



SOURCE: PUERTO RICO PLANNING BOARD
MIGRATION SURVEY RESULTS, 1982-1986