

2012

Does Race and National Origin Influence the Hourly Wages That Latino Males Receive?

Clara E. Rodriguez

Fordham University, crodriguez@fordham.edu

Grigoris Argeros

Fordham University

Michael Hajime Miyawaki

Fordham University

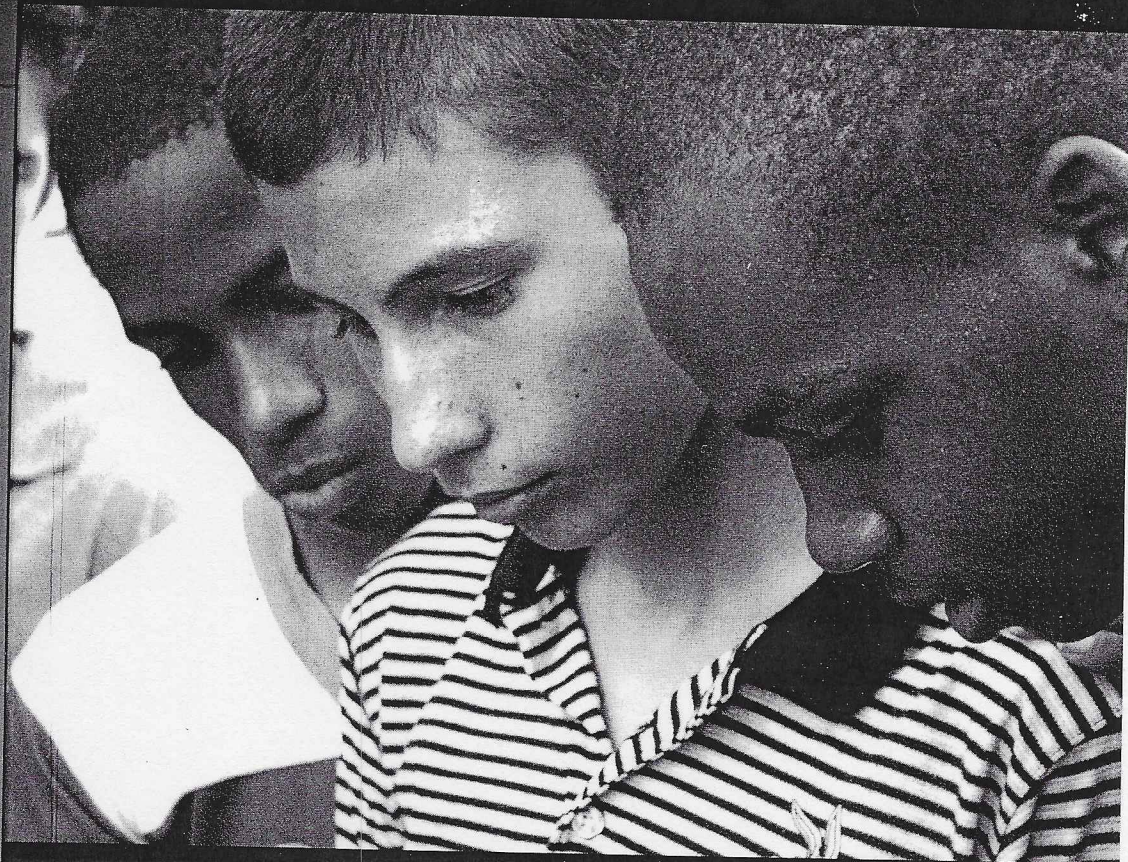
Follow this and additional works at: https://fordham.bepress.com/soc_facultypubs

Part of the [Demography, Population, and Ecology Commons](#), [Inequality and Stratification Commons](#), [Politics and Social Change Commons](#), [Race and Ethnicity Commons](#), and the [Work, Economy and Organizations Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Rodriguez, Clara E.; Argeros, Grigoris; and Miyawaki, Michael Hajime, "Does Race and National Origin Influence the Hourly Wages That Latino Males Receive?" (2012). *Sociology Faculty Publications*. 16.
https://fordham.bepress.com/soc_facultypubs/16

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by the Sociology at DigitalResearch@Fordham. It has been accepted for inclusion in Sociology Faculty Publications by an authorized administrator of DigitalResearch@Fordham. For more information, please contact considine@fordham.edu.



Invisible No More

Understanding the Disenfranchisement
of Latino Men and Boys

Edited by Pedro Noguera,
Aída Hurtado, and Edward Fergus

ROUTLEDGE 

CONTENTS

First published 2012
 by Routledge
 711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017
 Simultaneously published in the UK
 by Routledge
 2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN
Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

© 2012 Taylor & Francis
 The right of the editors to be identified as the author of the editorial material, and of the authors for their individual chapters, has been asserted in accordance with sections 77 and 78 of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilized in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

Trademark notice: Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data
 Understanding the disenfranchisement of Latino men and boys:
 invisible no more / edited by Pedro Noguera, Aída Hurtado,
 Edward Fergus.

P. cm.
 I. Hispanic American men—Social conditions. 2. Hispanic American men—Economic conditions. 3. Hispanic American men—Psychology. 4. Hispanic American boys—Social conditions. 5. Hispanic American boys—Economic conditions. 6. Hispanic American boys—Psychology. 7. Alienation (Social psychology)—United States. I. Noguera, Pedro. II. Hurtado, Aída. III. Fergus, Edward, 1974—
 E184.S75U44 2011
 305.38'868073--dc22
 2011015112

ISBN: 978-0-415-87778-7 (hbk)
 ISBN: 978-0-415-87779-4 (pbk)
 ISBN: 978-0-203-81349-2 (ebk)

Typeset in Bembo
 by Florence Production Ltd, Stoodleigh, Devon
 Printed and bound in the United States of America on acid-free paper
 by Edwards Brothers, Inc.

List of illustrations ix

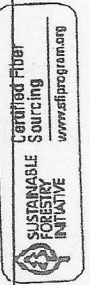
1 Invisible No More: The Status and Experience of Latino Males from Multidisciplinary Perspectives
Pedro A. Noguera and Aída Hurtado 1

PART 1
The State of Latino Males 17

2 Social Mobility and the Complex Status of Latino Males: Education, Employment, and Incarceration Patterns from 2000–2009
Mellie Torres and Edward Fergus 19

3 Adolescent Mexican American Males: No Increased Risk of Mental Health Problems
Robert E. Roberts and Catherine Ramsay Roberts 41

4 Reducing Sexual and Reproductive Health Disparities Among Latino Men: Exploring Solutions in the Boundaries of Masculinity
Miguel Muñoz-Laboy and Ashley Perry 57



5	Searching for Ideal Masculinity: Negotiating Day Labor Work and Life at the Margins <i>Abel Valenzuela, Jr. and María C. Olivares Pasillas</i>	79	13	The Relevance of Skin Color in the Construction of an Ethnic Identification Among Mexican and Puerto Rican Boys <i>Edward Fergus</i>	219
PART 2			PART 4		
The Construction of Masculinity			Environmental Factors and Violence		277
6	"Where the Boys Are": Macro and Micro Considerations for the Study of Young Latino Men's Educational Achievement <i>Aída Hurtado, Craig W. Haney, and José G. Hurtado</i>	101	16	Street Socialization and the Psychosocial Moratorium <i>James Diego Vigil</i>	279
7	Taking Count of Gender and Legal Status Within Latino Media Policy <i>Dolores Inés Casillas</i>	122	17	Latino Male Violence in the United States <i>Ramiro Martínez, Jr. and Jacob I. Stowell</i>	289
8	Anchoring the Measurement of Machismo and Latino Male Identity in Contemporary Definition and Theory <i>María Félix-Ortiz, Ian Ankeney, Megan Brodie, and Harold Rodinsky</i>	136	18	What We Have Learned: The Role of Public Policy in Promoting Macro- and Micro-levels of Intervention in Response to the Challenges Confronting Latino Men <i>Pedro A. Noguera, Aída Hurtado, and Edward Fergus</i>	302
9	Transforming Boys, Transforming Masculinity, Transforming Culture: Masculinity Anew in Latino and Latina Children's Literature <i>Phillip Serrato</i>	153	<i>List of contributors</i>		313
10	Undocumented Latino Youth: Strategies for Accessing Higher Education <i>Daysi Diaz-Strong, Christina Gómez, María E. Luna-Duarte, and Erica R. Meiners</i>	166	<i>Index</i>		317
11	Claiming Queer Cultural Citizenship: Gay Latino (Immigrant) Acts in San Francisco <i>Horacio N. Roque Ramírez</i>	180			
PART 3					
Race, Gender, and Skin Color in Constructing Identification		205			
12	Does Race and National Origin Influence the Hourly Wages That Latino Males Receive? <i>Clara E. Rodríguez, Grigoris Argeros, and Michael H. Miryauwki</i>	207			
14	Racially Stigmatized Masculinities and Empowerment: Conceptualizing and Nurturing Latino Males' Schooling in the United States <i>Nancy López</i>	235			
15	"Sometimes You Need to Spill Your Heart Out to Somebody": Close Friendships Among Latino Adolescent Boys <i>Niobe Way, Carlos Santos, and Alexandra Cordero</i>	255			

INVISIBLE NO MORE

Latino men and boys in the United States are confronted with a wide variety of hardships that are not easily explained or understood. They are populating prisons, dropping out of high school, and over-represented in the service industry at alarming degrees. Young Latino men, especially, have among the lowest wages earned in the country, a rapidly growing rate of HIV/AIDS, and one of the highest mortality rates due to homicide. Although there has been growing interest in the status of men in American society, there is a glaring lack of research and scholarly work available on Latino men and boys.

This groundbreaking interdisciplinary volume, edited by renowned scholars Pedro Noguera, Aída Hurtado and Edward Fergus, addresses the dearth of scholarship and information about Latino men and boys to further our understanding of the unique challenges and obstacles that they confront during this historical moment. The contributors represent a cross section of disciplines from health, criminal justice, education, literature, psychology, economics, labor, sociology and more. By drawing attention to the sweeping issues facing this segment of the population, this volume offers research and policy a set of principles and overarching guidelines for decreasing the invisibility and thus the disenfranchisement of Latino men and boys.

Pedro Noguera is Peter L. Agnew Professor of Education in the Steinhardt School of Culture, Education, and Human Development at New York University.

Aída Hurtado is Professor and Luis Leal Endowed Chair in the Chicana and Chicano Studies Department at the University of California, Santa Barbara.


Edward Fergus is Deputy Director of the Metropolitan Center for Urban Education at New York University.

ca

INVISIBLE NO MORE

Understanding the
Disenfranchisement of
Latino Men and Boys

Edited by
Pedro Noguera
Aída Hurtado
Edward Fergus

 **Routledge**
Taylor & Francis Group
NEW YORK AND LONDON

DOES RACE AND NATIONAL ORIGIN INFLUENCE THE HOURLY WAGES THAT LATINO MALES RECEIVE?

Clara E. Rodríguez
Grigoris Argeros
Michael H. Miyawaki

In the process of writing this chapter, law SB 1070 was passed by the state of Arizona, which requires that police determine the immigrant status of people they stop and suspect are in the country illegally. Some referred to this as sanctioning racial profiling. The passage of this law raised the importance of “race” and brought new attention to the way individuals are identified by others, in particular by people in positions of political or hiring authority. How people are identified by others can substantially impact what happens to them in everyday life and in the labor market. In the case of Latinos, there is extensive literature on the impact of race, skin color, and phenotype on their life chances and socioeconomic outcomes (see, for example, Arce et al., 1987; Cotton, 1993; Darity et al., 2002; Espino & Franz, 2002; Frank et al., 2010; Gomez, 2000; Logan, 2004; Murguia & Telles, 1996; Rodríguez, 1990, 1991; Tafoya, 2004; Telles & Murguia, 1990). It is, however, only recently that this issue has moved to a more public and political arena, where it has been tied to the contested issue of undocumented immigration. Indeed, replicating the results of earlier studies on all Latinos, Frank and colleagues’ (2010) study of immigrants who were granted legal permanent residency in 2003 found that darker-skinned Latinos earned less than their lighter-skinned counterparts.

The research undertaken in this chapter seeks to examine whether the self-reported race of Latino males is related to the hourly wages they receive. Additionally, this study investigates the influence of national origin on the hourly wages of Latino males. We examine these questions within the context of the intersectionality of race, national origins, and other variables (i.e., educational attainment, English language proficiency, occupation, nativity status, length of

time in the United States, region of employment, and employment status). We also proceed from the perspective that race is a social construction and that it exists as a part of other interlocking systems of oppression. We recognize that these systems affect individuals differently depending on where they stand at the intersections of race, class, gender, ethnicity, sexuality, and, we might add, color. Their location or positioning at these intersections influences not just the way in which they come to view themselves and to perform their roles, but also how they are viewed and regarded by others (Collins, 2004).

We seek to determine whether (holding constant variables known to affect labor market outcomes) race and national origin exercise independent effects on hourly wages. By examining the hourly wages of Latino men within the context of the intersection of race, national origin, and other variables, we look to address the following questions: What is the effect of race and national origin on the hourly wages of Latino males? Do White Latino males have higher hourly wages than Black Latino males? Is being of Mexican origin a positive or a negative when it comes to hourly wages? Finally, do Latina females differ from Latino males with regards to these questions? To answer the questions, we turn to data gathered from the 2000 U.S. Census.

Race, National Origin, and Socioeconomic Outcomes of Latinos

It is perhaps laboring the point to say that race has been and continues to be strongly associated with advantages and disadvantages in the United States. The literature on this subject is extensive, and more recent studies continue to find disparities based on race. Over the years, studies have documented the impact of race on the life chances and socioeconomic outcomes of Latinos. Researchers have found significant racial differences within the Latino community in terms of education, employment, occupation, earnings, household income, and poverty (Cotton, 1993; Darity et al., 2002; Logan, 2004; Rodríguez, 1990, 1991; Tafoya, 2004). In brief, findings from these studies indicate that White Latinos are often associated with a higher socioeconomic standing, whereas Black Latinos and Latinos who report "[some] other race" are associated with lower socioeconomic positions.

With respect to earnings and hourly wages, research demonstrates that race does affect how much Latinos make in the labor market. For example, using data from the 1980 U.S. Census, Rodríguez (1991) examined the hourly wages of Puerto Ricans living in New York City. Findings revealed that even after controlling for variables known to influence earnings, Puerto Rican males who reported that they were White had higher hourly wages than those who reported that they were "[some] other race." There were no statistically significant differences between the hourly wages of Puerto Rican males who reported being White and those who reported being Black. Furthermore, race was not a significant

predictor of hourly wages for Puerto Rican females, thereby suggesting that women faced different labor market dynamics than men at the time. Research by Cotton (1993), using data from the Current Population Surveys (CPS) from 1976 to 1984, noted that White Latino males with less than average schooling and work experience earned higher wages than Black Latinos. In a different study using the 1980 and 1990 Censuses, Darity et al. (2002) found that Black Latino males, regardless of their national origin, had lower earnings than their non-Black Latino counterparts. Findings for Latina females were less consistent across national origins. However, Borrell and Rodríguez (2010), using income and education data from the 2000 to 2003 National Health Interview Surveys (NHIS), found that Black Latinos (both men and women) were more educated and had higher incomes than White Latinos and "some other race" Latinos. These discrepant findings could be a reflection of sampling selection, and it is also possible that the sample used by NHIS is not representative of the income distribution for the Latino population in the United States.

Research also indicates that there are national origin differences among Latinos with regards to socioeconomic outcomes including hourly wages (Melendez et al., 1991; Saenz, 2004). As such, national origin may also matter in the life chances of Latino males. Moreover, due to the increasing numbers of Dominicans and Salvadorans in the United States, this study was expanded beyond an analysis of Mexican, Puerto Rican, and Cuban males to include Dominican and Salvadoran males. In doing so, we assess how race, national origin, and other elements known to affect labor market outcomes influence the hourly wages of Latino males. Throughout our analysis, relevant comparisons to Latinas are made.

Data and Method

Data for this study comes from the 5 percent public use microdata sample of the 2000 Census, extracted from the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS) (Ruggles et al., 2010). The IPUMS, housed at the University of Minnesota's Population Center, provides researchers with a rich, detailed set of individual-level data on the sociodemographic, economic, and housing characteristics of various racial and ethnic groups, unlike the aggregate-level data from the decennial censuses. There are approximately 5,663,214 household records in the 5 percent IPUMS sample of the 2000 Census. For the purpose of this study, the sample is restricted to the 18- to 65-year-old Latino population who reported positive income and selected "White," "Black," or "some other race" on the race question. This results in an unweighted sample of 541,240.

The present analysis predicts racial and national origin differences of Latino male earnings from their individual-level characteristics using ordinary least squares (OLS) regression. The dependent variable, hourly wages, is computed using the total wage/salary earnings in 1999, divided by the product of total weeks worked and usual hours worked in 1999. Furthermore, due to the non-linear

distribution of income, the dependent variable is transformed to its natural logarithm. The independent variables in this study are race and national origin. Race is categorized into outcomes of White (reference), Black, and "some other race." National origin is constructed into categories of Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Dominican, Salvadoran, and other (reference).

In addition to race and national origin as independent variables predicting hourly wages of Latino men, we introduce several control variables known to affect labor market outcomes for Latinos. These include age, nativity, years in the United States, English language proficiency, education, employment status, occupation, and region of employment. In this analysis, age is treated as a continuous variable. Nativity is introduced as a dummy variable (1 = Native-born, 0 = Foreign-born). As for years in the country, the variable is constructed as continuous. English language proficiency is categorized as: Does not speak English, Speaks English not well, Speaks English well, Speaks English very well, and Speaks only English (reference). Educational attainment is divided into categories of less than high school (reference), high school, some college, and college or more. Dummy variables for employment status (1 = Employed, 0 = Unemployed) and occupation (1 = Managerial and professional, 0 = Non-managerial and professional) are created. Finally, region is divided into Northeast (reference), Midwest, South, and West.

Results

Table 12.1 presents results for the OLS regression predicting the hourly wages of Latino males. As expected, Latino males who were native-born had higher hourly wages than those who were foreign-born. Among the foreign-born, the number of years in the United States was positively and significantly correlated with higher hourly wage rates. Findings on English language proficiency indicate that those who were more proficient in English received higher hourly wages. For example, those who did not speak English experienced a 22 percent decrease in hourly wages compared to less than 2 percent for those who spoke English well. As for education, the higher the educational attainment of Latino males, the higher their hourly wage rates. It is worth mentioning that those with a college degree or more experience a 46 percent increase compared to just 11 percent for those with a high school diploma. Latino males who were gainfully employed had higher hourly wages than those who were unemployed. Moreover, Latino males with managerial and professional occupations also received higher hourly wages than those who had non-managerial and non-professional positions. Lastly, relative to those in the Northeast, Latino males from the Midwest had higher hourly wage rates, while Latino males from the South and West had lower hourly wage rates. These findings were consistent with the results for Latinas, with the exception of Latinas from the Midwest, who had lower hourly wages than those from the Northeast.

TABLE 12.1 Hourly Wage Equation, Latino Males and Females

	MALE		FEMALE	
	White, Black, SOR sample	White, Black, SOR sample	White, Black, SOR sample	White, Black, SOR sample
	coef	std error	coef	std error
Age squared	.155	.001	.111	.002
Education (ref=Less than High School)				
High School	.112	.003	.121	.004
Some College	.227	.003	.254	.004
College or more	.450	.005	.531	.005
Race (ref=White)				
Black	-.033	.009	.018	.010
SOR	-.015	.002	-.018	.003
English language proficiency (ref=Speaks only English)				
Does not speak English	-.222	.005	-.188	.007
Speaks English very well	-.018	.003	-.018	.004
Speaks English well	-.049	.004	-.086	.005
Speaks English not well	-.145	.005	-.149	.006
Employment Status (ref=Unemployed)				
Employed	.096	.005	.081	.005
Occupation (ref=Non-managerial & Professional)				
Managerial & Professional	.235	.004	.206	.004
Nativity Status (ref=Foreign-Born)				
Native-Born	.088	.004	.080	.005
Years in United States	.004	.000	.004	.000
Region (ref=Northeast)				
Midwest	.026	.005	-.058	.006
West	-.024	.004	-.053	.005
South	-.103	.004	-.162	.005
Latino Ethnic Group (ref=other)				
Mexican	-.014	.003	-.003	.003
PR	.017	.005	.057	.005
Cuban	.050	.006	.097	.007
Dominican	-.024	.009	-.004	.009
Salvadoran	.021	.007	.029	.009
Constant	1.289		1.382	
N	317195		224045	
Adjusted r-square	0.195235		0.188219	
Standard Error	0.62		0.62	

a) The dependent variable, the natural log of hourly wages, is computed by dividing the total wage/salary earnings in 1999 by the product of total weeks worked and usual hours worked in 1999

b) Figures in bold are not significant

Source: Data for this study comes from the 5% public use microdata sample (PUMS) of the 2000 Census, extracted from the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS)

In terms of the effect of race on the hourly wages of Latino males, results reveal that both Black Latinos and those who reported "some other race" had lower hourly wages than White Latinos. Compared to White Latino males, Black Latino males and "some other race" Latino males incurred a 3.3 percent penalty and a 1.5 percent penalty, respectively, in their hourly wage rate. Interestingly, in the case of Latina females, only "some other race" Latinas had a lower hourly wage (1.8 percent penalty) than White Latinas. Though moderately significant, findings indicate that Black Latinas, on the other hand, had a higher hourly wage rate (1.8 percent premium) than White Latinas. The difference in the influence of race on the hourly wages of Latino males and Latina females suggests that race may operate differently for Latinos and Latinas in the labor market. It may also be that Black Latinas are relatively better off but that they also engender greater health costs.

With regards to national origin, Mexican and Dominican males had *lower* hourly wages, while Puerto Rican, Cuban, and Salvadoran males had *higher* hourly wages when compared to all other Latino national origin groups. Whereas Mexican males incurred a 1.4 percent and Dominican males a 2.4 percent disadvantage with regard to hourly wages, Cuban, Puerto Rican, and Salvadoran males received hourly wage advantages of 5.0 percent, 1.7 percent, and 2.1 percent, respectively. Results for the hourly wages of Latinas differed somewhat. Although the directionality of the coefficients was consistent with those of Latino males, only the hourly wage rates of Puerto Rican and Salvadoran females were significant and positive. These results are curious. Although previous research has shown that Cubans generally earn higher hourly wages, Puerto Ricans, for example, have higher poverty rates than Mexicans (Saenz, 2004, p. 22). In addition, our descriptive data analysis also shows that Salvadoran males and females have higher mean personal and salary incomes. Further research is needed to ascertain, for example, whether Puerto Rican citizenship influences hourly wages so that Latino males who are citizens may be able to command higher wages, or whether Salvadorans have more skewed income distributions and/or are more concentrated in higher wage labor markets.

Summary

The purpose of this investigation was to examine the effect of race and national origin on the hourly wages of Latino males. Using data from the 2000 Census, we uncovered that both race and national origin are related to how much Latino males make in the labor market. Even after controlling for variables known to affect earnings, Latino males who reported being Black or "some other race" were associated with lower hourly wages relative to those who reported being White. Consistent with much of the literature on the role of race on the socioeconomic outcomes of Latinos, we might conclude that White Latino males are advantaged relative to non-White Latinos in the labor market. Whether this

is because they are generally perceived by others to be "White" requires further research, however. Research has shown that the way in which Latinos classify themselves does not always correspond with how they are classified by others (Izgioglu et al., 2005; Rodríguez & Cordero-Guzman, 1992; Roth, 2010). In addition, given that many Latinos self-report "some other race" in the race question, it is difficult to ascertain how they might be racially classified by others, including their employers. What we can conclude from this analysis is that racial self-classification did make a difference in the hourly wages of Latino males.

In addition to the influence of race, national origin yielded some significant differences in the hourly wage rates of Latino males. While Mexican and Dominican males received lower hourly wages, Puerto Rican, Cuban, and Salvadoran males enjoyed wage premiums relative to all other Latino national origin groups. Although these findings point to the significance of national origin in the hourly wages and perhaps life chances of Latino males, we conclude that more research is needed to better understand the complexities of the Latino male population in terms of national origin.

Implications

Race and National Origin

What are the broader implications of this work for future research? Given these results, we need to investigate to what extent race is a structural factor affecting the economic, health, and criminal justice experience of Latino men. Race is clearly embedded in the historical-political structures of the United States and we have observed that historically it has had economic, political, and social consequences for both men and women. It has played an essential role in determining who is included and who is excluded from participation in all realms of the society. It has also been a factor determining the boundaries, both physical and social-cultural, of distinct communities; and clearly, it has been at the base of community and familial networks for the greater part of the country's existence. We need to further investigate the nexus between Latino males' race, socioeconomic status (SES), and health outcomes. This will help us develop programmatic and community interventions, as well as a more targeted policy for Latino males.

We also need to better understand the complexities of the Latino male population in terms of national origin. Currently, much of the research on wage earnings analyzes the generic group of Hispanics/Latinos, focuses on Mexicans, or excludes Latinos altogether. Although Mexicans are the largest Latino group in the nation, they do not predominate in all areas of the country. For example, in New York City, the largest Latino groups are Puerto Ricans and Dominicans. The "Hispanic paradox" of low SES scores but good health may be a quite

differently when we examine disaggregated data, for most studies have focused mainly on the Mexican American population (Borrell & Rodríguez, 2010). We need to examine both race and national origin to see how these variables impact the health outcomes of Latino men.

Racial segregation has been proposed as a fundamental cause of educational, health, and other SES disparities for African-American men and women (Williams & Collins, 2001). The research on Hispanic residential segregation has found that Hispanics are often in buffer positions between Black and White neighborhoods; but some research has also found that Puerto Ricans are highly segregated from non-Hispanic Whites as a result of their African ancestry (Massey, 1979, 2001; Massey & Bitterman, 1985) and that there is little evidence to suggest that the segregation of Puerto Ricans from Whites declined with increasing socioeconomic status (Massey, 1979). Other scholars have found that Black Hispanics are more segregated than White Hispanics (Iceland & Nelson, 2008; Rosenbaum, 1996). It would be useful to examine the extent to which such segregation continues in those suburban areas that border large cities and whether increasing immigration influences housing patterns (Acosta-Belén & Santiago, 2006; Frey, 2010; Singer et al., 2008).

In addition, we need to address the question of whether Latinos' race plays a role in the criminal justice system. For example, do darker or more stereotypical-looking male Latinos have a higher probability of being arrested, arraigned, and sent to prison? Does the health experience of institutionalized Latino males vary by race? It is important to separate out Latinos by national origin and race and to make researchers aware of how not doing so may influence results and policy. This is particularly important in some institutionalized populations, where the proportion of Latino males is increasing. For example, in the criminal justice system, racial designations are generally determined by others and the question of whether an inmate is classified as "White," "Black," or "Hispanic" may vary from institution to institution. It may also differ from how the inmates classify themselves.

Media and Public Perception

We need to also consider how Latinos are perceived by others and how the media may contribute to the public perception of Latinos and Latino males in particular. There is still a relative absence of Latino male actors and characters both on television and in film (Hoffman & Noriega, 2004; Rodríguez, 2004). There are also few Latinos represented on network news coverage (Montalvo & Torres, 2006). Their invisibility, for example, on Sunday morning news programs, which influence decision makers, is particularly glaring. However, stereotypical depictions of Latino males on both the small and large screens are commonplace. Research shows that Latino male characters have tended to be more associated

with violence and crime (Lichter & Amundson, 1994; Navarrete & Kamasaki, 1994; Ramirez-Berg, 1997; Rodríguez, 1997). Some authors argue that these persistent and stereotypical images could result in "a belief in the authenticity of these characterizations" and that they may "serve as indicators of norms of treatment in real-world intergroup contexts" (Mastro and Behm-Morawitz, 2005, p. 126; see also ChildrenNow, 1998, 2004; Cortés, 2000).

How does the general public view Latino males? Entman (2006) examined the 2000 National Opinion Research Center (NORC) General Social Survey and found that respondents observed a racial/ethnic hierarchy with regard to whether members of particular groups tended to be violence-prone, hardworking, or intelligent. At the bottom of the hierarchy were Blacks, followed by Latinos, and at the top, Asians equaled or surpassed Whites. The figures are striking—37.4 percent of those sampled said that Latinos were violence-prone, 23.9 percent said they were unintelligent, and 21.9 percent said they were lazy. Entman (2006) added that, given the tendency of people to hide their racial/ethnic biases, "the prevalence of negative stereotyping is almost certainly greater than suggested" (p. 7).

In essence, research has indicated that we have continuing under-representation and misrepresentation of Latinos on both the entertainment side and the news side, and substantial proportions of the general public that admit that they see Latinos as violence-prone (37.4 percent), unintelligent (23.9 percent), and lazy (21.9 percent) (Entman, 2006). Given the stereotypical depictions of Latino males in the media and the negative perceptions of Latinos by the general public, how are Latinos affected by such images and expectations? In other words, what is the influence of the media and public perception on the life chances (and consequently, hourly wages) of Latinos? With the recent passage of law SB 1070 in Arizona and the increased media attention on the currently contested issue of undocumented immigration, stereotypical depictions of Latino males could very well impact their economic, health, and social outcomes.

In conclusion, Roberto Lovato (2007) recently pointed to the limited options that many Latino males face—the military, law enforcement, or jail. We need to investigate why these options are so narrow. Why do so many Latinos choose, or end up in, these situations? How do the media limit the consideration of other options? What role do media portrayals play in channeling Latino males in these directions? How do the stereotyping, brief appearance, and/or constant marginalization of characters (in plots or in character development) influence Latino males? How does the association of Latino characters with crime influence growing children? An offshoot of "Dora, the Explorer" was a similar animated program featuring her cousin, Diego. What has been the impact of this show on growing Latino boys? All of these areas are worthy of further research, but we see few calls to study them or their effects.

References

- Acosta-Belén, E., and Santiago, C. E. (2006). *Puerto Ricans in the United States: A content-porray portrait*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.
- Arce, C. H., Murguía, E., and Parker Frisbie, W. (1987). Phenotype and life chances among Chicanos. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, 9(1), 19–32.
- Borrell, L., and Rodríguez, C. E. (2010). *The implications and impact of race on the health of Hispanics or Latinos*. In M. Aguirre-Molina, L.N. Borrell, and W. Vega (Eds.), *Health Issues in Latino Males: A Social and Structural Approach* (32–52). New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- ChildrenNow. (1998). *A different world: Children's perceptions of race and class in the media*. Oakland, CA: Children Now.
- ChildrenNow. (2004). Fall colors: 2003–04. Prime time diversity report. Oakland, CA: Children Now, 1–12.
- Collins, P. H. (2004). *Black Sexual Politics: African Americans, Gender, and the New Racism*. New York: Routledge.
- Cortes, C. E. (2000). *The children are watching: How the media teach about diversity*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Cotton, J. (1993). Color or culture? Wage differences among non-Hispanic Black males, Hispanic Black males and Hispanic White males. *Review of Black Political Economy*, 21(4), 53–67.
- Darity, W., Jr., Hamilton, D., and Dietrich, J. (2002). Passing on Blackness: Latinos, race, and earnings in the USA. *Applied Economics Letters*, 9, 847–853.
- Ehman, R. M. (2006). Young men of Color in the media: Images and impacts. Better health through stronger communities: Public policy reform to expand life paths of young men of Color (4–40). T. D. Commission. Washington, DC: Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies Health Policy Institute.
- Espino, R., and Franz, M. M. (2002). Latino phenotypic discrimination revisited: The impact of skin color on occupational status. *Social Science Quarterly*, 83, 612–623.
- Frank, R., Akresh, I. R., and Lu, B. (2010). Latino immigrants and the U.S. racial order: How and where do they fit in? *American Sociological Review*, 75(3), 378–401.
- Frey, W. H. (2010). Race and ethnicity. In *The state of metropolitan America*. Brookings Institute. Retrieved from www.brookings.edu/metro/MetroAmericaChapters.aspx
- Gomez, C. (2000). The continual significance of skin color: An exploratory study of Latinos in the Northeast. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, 22(1), 94–103.
- Hoffman, A. R., and Noriega, C. A. (2004). Looking for Latino regulars on prime-time television: the fall 2004 season (1–25). Los Angeles: University of California, Chicano Studies Research Center.
- Iceland, J., and Nelson, K. A. (2008). Hispanic segregation in metropolitan America: Exploring the multiple forms of spatial assimilation. *American Sociological Review*, 73, 741–765.
- Izquierdo, J., Giorguli, S., and Vazquez, O. (2005). Immigrant incorporation and racial identity: Racial self-identification among Dominican immigrants. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 28(1), 50–78.
- Lichter, R., and Amundson, D. R. (1994). *Distorted reality: Hispanic characters in TV entertainment*. Washington DC, Center for Media and Public Affairs.
- Logan, J. (2004). How race counts for Hispanic Americans. *SAGE Race Relations Abstracts*, 29(1), 19.
- Lovato, R. (2007). *Becoming American: The ascent of the new Latino right*. *The Public Eye Magazine*. Retrieved from web article. www.publiceye.org/magazine/v21n2/american.html
- Massey, D. S. (1979). Effects of socioeconomic-factors on the residential segregation of Blacks and Spanish-Americans in United-States urbanized areas. *American Sociological Review*, 44(6), 1015–1022.
- Massey, D. S. (2001). Residential segregation and neighborhood conditions in US metropolitan areas. In N. Smelser, W. J. Wilson, and F. Mitchell (Eds.), *American becoming: Racial trends and their consequences* (391–434). Washington, DC: National Academy of Sciences Press.
- Massey, D. S., and Ditterman, B. (1985). Explaining the paradox of Puerto-Rican segregation. *Social Forces*, 64(2), 306–331.
- Mastro, D. E., and Behm-Morawitz, E. (2005). Latino representation on primetime television. *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly*, 82(1), 110–31.
- Melendez, E., Rodríguez, C., and Figueroa, J. B. (Eds.). (1991). *Hispanics in the labor force: Issues and politics*. New York: Plenum Press.
- Montalvo, D. A., and Torres, J. (2006). *Network Bowdown Report*. National Association of Hispanic Journalists, 5–23.
- Murguía, E., and Telles, E. E. (1996). Phenotype and schooling among Mexican Americans. *Sociology of Education*, 69, 276–289.
- Navarrete, L., and Kamasaki, C. (1994). *Out of the picture, Hispanics in the media*. Washington, DC: Policy Analysis Center, Office of Research Advocacy and Legislation, National Council of La Raza.
- Ramirez-Berg, C. (1997). Stereotyping in films in general and of the Hispanic in particular. In C. E. Rodríguez (Ed.), *Latin looks: Images of Latinos and Latinos in the U.S. media* (288). Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Rodríguez, C. E. (1990). Racial classification among Puerto Rican men and women in New York City. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, 12(4), 366–379.
- Rodríguez, C. E. (1991). The effects of race on Puerto Rican wages. In E. Melendez, C. E. Rodríguez, and J. B. Figueroa (Eds.), *Hispanics in the labor force: Issues and politics* (77–98). New York: Plenum Press.
- Rodríguez, C. E. (1997). Keeping it real? Films of the 1980s and 1990s. In C. E. Rodríguez (Ed.), *Latin looks: images of Latinos and Latinos in the U.S. media*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Rodríguez, C. E. (2004). Diversifying Hollywood: Hispanic representation in the media. Congressional testimony. U.S. House of Representatives forum report. 23–27, 49.
- Rodríguez, C. E., and Cordero-Guzman, H. (1992). Place race in context. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 15(4), 523–542.
- Rosenbaum, E. (1996). The influence of race on Hispanic housing choices. New York City, 1978–1987. *Urban Affairs Review*, 32, 217–243.
- Roth, W. D. (2010). Racial mismatch: The divergence between form and function in data for monitoring racial discrimination of Hispanics. *Social Science Quarterly*, 91(5), 1288–1311.
- Rugles, S., Trent Alexander, J., Genadek, K., Goeken, R., Schroeder, M. B., and Sobek, M. (2010). *Integrated Public Use Microdata Series: Version 5.0* [Machine-readable database]. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota.
- Saenz, R. (2004). *Latinos and the changing face of America*. New York/Washington, DC: Russell Sage Foundation/Population Reference Bureau.

- Singer, A., Hardwick, S. W., and Bretzell, C. B. (Eds.). (2008). *Twenty-first-century gateways: immigrant incorporation in suburban America*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.
- Tafuya, S. (2004). *Shades of belonging*. Washington, DC: Pew Hispanic Center.
- Telles, E. E., and Murguía, E. (1990). Phenotypic discrimination and income differences among Mexican Americans. *Social Science Quarterly*, 71, 682–693.
- Williams, D. R., and Collins, C. (2001). Racial residential segregation: A fundamental cause of racial disparities in health. *Public Health Report*, 116(5), 404–416.

13

THE RELEVANCE OF SKIN COLOR IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF AN ETHNIC IDENTIFICATION AMONG MEXICAN AND PUERTO RICAN BOYS

Edward Fergus

As much as Latino groups are an ever-present component of the educational discourse on academic variability, there is a predominant situating of the Latino population as a monolithic group. Yet recent data have documented the vast diversity within this population. According to Census 2000, over 35 million Latinos were living in the United States at that time. By mid-decade, this number rose to 42 million. The rapid and dramatic growth of the Latino population represented 51 percent of the change in racial/ethnic groups between 2000 and 2005 (Pew Hispanic Center, 2006). Given our shared border, the majority of the 42 million were Mexican (64 percent), followed by Puerto Ricans (9.1 percent), Cubans (3.5 percent), Salvadorans (3.0 percent), and Dominicans (1.7 percent). In Census 2000, over 900,000 Latinos (2.7 percent) self-identified as Black Hispanic and 17.6 million (47.9 percent) as White Hispanic; another 15 million (42.2 percent) identified as “some other race” (Logan, 2003). The descriptor of Black Hispanic as an identification marker was most prominent among Dominicans (12.7 percent), followed by Puerto Ricans (8.2 percent), Cubans (4.7 percent), and finally Central Americans (4.1 percent) (Logan, 2003). On the other hand, identification as White Hispanic was most prevalent among Cubans (85.4 percent), followed by South Americans (61.1 percent), Mexicans (49.3 percent), and Puerto Ricans (49 percent).

In 2007, these identification patterns changed: the American Community Survey estimated 677,000 (1.5 percent) self-identifying as Black Hispanic and 24 million (54.3 percent) as White Hispanic, with another 18 million (40 percent) self-identifying as “other race.” These differences in race and ethnic identification between 2000 and 2007 could be signaling a migration pattern among Latino groups entering the United States or a shift in the identification

EDUCATION

"This urgent book, masterfully compiled by Noguera, Hurtado and Fergus, paints a nuanced portrait of the lives of the men and boys of America's fastest growing ethnicity in their full and rich complexity: their struggles and travails, hopes and dreams. This is an indispensable book, required reading for anyone concerned with the country our children will inherit."

Marcelo Suárez-Orozco is the Ross University Professor at New York University and co-author of *Latinos: Remaking America*

"Essential reading for anyone seeking to pierce the veil that distorts and obscures the realities of Latino men and boys. Impressive in scope, ranging from education opportunities, to homophobia, to the loneliness that attends boys' passage into manhood. Excellent and bracing and important."

Junot Díaz is the author of *Drown* and *The Brief Wondrous Life of Oscar Wao*

Latino men and boys in the United States are confronted with a wide variety of hardships that are not easily explained or understood. They are populating prisons, dropping out of high school, are becoming overrepresented in the service industry at alarming degrees. Young Latino men, especially, have among the lowest wages earned in the country, a rapidly growing rate of HIV/AIDS, and one of the highest mortality rates due to homicide. Although there has been growing interest in the status of men in American society, there is a glaring lack of research and scholarly work available on Latino men and boys.

This groundbreaking interdisciplinary volume, edited by renowned scholars Pedro Noguera, Aída Hurtado and Edward A. Fergus, addresses the dearth of scholarship and information about Latino men and boys to further our understanding of the unique challenges and obstacles that they confront during this historical moment. The contributors represent a cross section of disciplines from health, criminal justice, education, literature, psychology, economics, labor, sociology and more. By drawing attention to the sweeping issues facing this segment of the population, this volume offers research and policy a set of principles and overarching guidelines for decreasing the invisibility and thus the disenfranchisement of Latino men and boys.

Pedro Noguera is Peter L. Agnew Professor of Education in the Steinhardt School of Culture, Education, and Human Development at New York University.

Aída Hurtado is Professor and Luis Leal Endowed Chair in the Chicana and Chicano Studies Department at University of California, Santa Barbara.

Edward Fergus is Deputy Director of the Metropolitan Center for Urban Education at New York University.

 **Routledge**
Taylor & Francis Group
www.routledge.com

ISBN 978-0-415-87779-4



9 780415 877794

an informa business

Cover image details to go here