The School to Work Transition of Second Generation Immigrants
in Metropolitan New York: Some Preliminary Findings
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We have only begun to understand the experiences of the 15 million immigrants who settled in the U.S. after 1965. While many studies have examined specific immigrant groups or considered the policy implications of the new immigration, fewer have analyzed how the new immigrants are helping to reweave the economic, social, and political fabric of American cities. In particular, research is only now beginning to focus on the crucial second generation coming of age. Yet their experience determine how the new groups, especially those deemed "non-white" by traditional North American racial definitions, will be incorporated into U.S. society, how that incorporation compares to earlier immigrants, whether the children of relatively successful immigrants will remain in ethnic niches or will branch out, and how the new immigration will affect our social, political, and cultural institutions and identities.

Initial reflections on their fate give cause for concern. Gans (1992) speculates that second generation immigrants who are restricted to poor inner city schools, bad jobs, and shrinking economic niches will experience downward mobility. Portes and Zhou (1993) postulate a "segmented assimilation" in which some second generation youth hold on to an immigrant identity in order to avoid being classified with American blacks or Puerto Ricans, while others face racial discrimination and develop an "adversarial stance" toward the dominant society. Rumbaut (1997b) tells us that as second generation immigrants become more American, they watch more television and do less homework, eat more junk food and become less fit, resent "old country" parental strictness and become entangled in the dangers of the streets. We do not know the longer term meaning of these trends or whether they truly describe the trajectory of the new immigrant second generation.

We therefore believe the time has come to undertake a detailed study of the school experience, labor market outcomes, and social incorporation of the leading edge of the second generation as it enters adulthood. Specifically, we are now in the early stages of study which will include a) a large scale telephone survey, b) in-depth, open-ended, in-person follow-up interviews with a subsample of survey respondents, and c) strategically positioned ethnographies. We have

selected for study young adults aged 18-32 born to post-1965 immigrant parents in the United States or who were born abroad but arrived in the U.S. by age 12 and mainly grew up here (what Rumbaut has termed the "1.5 generation"). We focus on the largest groups from the three major streams of immigration: Anglophone West Indians, Dominicans, and Chinese and contrast them with native born young adult whites, blacks, and mainland born Puerto Ricans with native born parents. We seek also to contrast these groups with second generation young adults whose parents are non-mainland Chinese and Colombian, Ecuadoran, or Peruvians.

The data we present today comes from a small pilot study that we conducted to test alternative sampling strategies and assess a variety of instruments that we will use in the full survey. This pilot study has taught us a number of methodological and substantive lessons. Given the small numbers in each of groups, all of these "findings" should be read with extreme caution. At this stage they should be regarded less as "evidence" than as well informed hunches. Still, the combination of two-hour, closed-ended, in-person surveys and transcripts from open-ended follow-up interviews leaves us confident that we know these respondents well. We suspect that issues which arose clearly in these interviews will be among the central themes in our larger study. In this paper, we examine a central theme, the transition from school to work.

The context for this study is metropolitan New York. In 1990, the New York metropolitan area accounted for just under 20 percent of all immigrant arrivals in recent decades. New York's immigrant population is also the nation's most diverse. In the 1990 Census, more than 800 thousand of the 4.55 million young people aged 1-17 in the 27 county New York metropolitan region were born in the U.S. but had at least one foreign-born parent. Of the 400 thousand foreign born young people, 152 thousand had arrived before the age of 12. Thus more than one of every five of the region's young people belonged to the second or "1.5" generation. In the region's urban centers, of course, the proportion was much higher.

I. New Theories of Immigrant Adaptation

The children of today's immigrants are "becoming American" under conditions that fundamentally differ from those faced by their predecessors earlier in the century. Understanding their experience will therefore require new theories, models, and data. In 1992, Gans outlines several scenarios about how, in contrast to the inter-generational progress of the European immigrants, the children of the new immigrants could do worse than their parents or society as a whole. Gans outlines several possible outcomes. Children who refuse to accept the low level, poorly paid jobs that their parents hold face a difficult bind:

> In adulthood, some members of the second generation, especially those whose parents did
> not themselves escape poverty, will end up in persistent poverty, because they will be
> reluctant to work at immigrant wages and hours like their parents, but lack the job
> opportunities and skills and connections to do better (Gans 1992).

They may have the same reaction towards these low level jobs as poor young whites, blacks and Hispanics, and thus risk sliding into persistent poverty. They may "become American" by adopting negative attitudes towards school, opportunity, hard work, and the "American dream" prevalent among poor American minority youth.

Another possibility is that they will maintain ties to their parents' ethnic community and values and end up doing better:

> The people who have secured an economically viable ethnic niche acculturating
> less than did the European 2nd and 3rd generation and those without such a niche
> escaping condemnation to dead end immigrant and other jobs mainly by becoming
> very poor and persistently jobless Americans.

Using ethnographic case studies and a survey of second generation school children in Miami and San Diego, Portes and Zhou (1993) make a similar argument. They use the concept of "segmented assimilation" to describe the various outcomes of different groups of second

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generation youth. They argue that the mode of incorporation of the first generation endows the

second generation with differing amounts of cultural and social capital in the form of ethnic jobs,

networks and values and exposes it to differing opportunities. This in turn exerts differential pulls

on the allegiances of the second generation. Those who face discrimination and are close to

American minorities, adopt a "reactive" ethnicity. Those groups who come with strong ethnic

networks, access to capital, and fewer ties to U.S. minorities, on the other hand, experience

"linear" ethnicity. Networks of social ties, from church and voluntary organizations, provide

access to job opportunities and reinforce parental authority and values. These groups resist

acculturation and end up providing better opportunities for their second generation.

Second generation youth with strong ties to American minorities, whose parents lack the

ability to provide jobs for and protect them, tend to develop an "adversarial stance" towards the

dominant white society similar to that of American minorities. Portes and Zhou (1993) contrast

the linear ethnicity of Chinese and Koreans immigrants who assimilate into existing ethnic

communities with Haitians pressured by black American peers to adopt black culture in school.

Portes and Zhou argue that this peer culture takes an adversarial view of upward mobility, school

success, and the like. Like Gans, they conclude that members of the second generation who cast

their lot with America's minority groups are likely to experience downward social mobility:

> Children of nonwhite immigrants may not even have the opportunity of gaining
>
> access to the white mainstream, no matter how acculturated they become.
>
> Joining those native circles to which they do have access may prove a ticket to
>
> permanent subordination and disadvantage (Portes and Zhou 1993).

While Gans stresses that economic change has reduced the supply of relatively high paid,

low skill jobs that eased generational mobility a century ago, Portes and Zhou stress the links

between economic opportunity and cultural organization. Gans believes that the second

generation must attain a level of skills in one generation that many European immigrants took

several generations to attain in order to succeed in a segmented labor market. Portes and Zhou focus instead on how cultural traits like strong kinship ties among the Chinese, or the religious affiliations of the Koreans, constitute "social capital" that links the first generation to job opportunities and increases their ability to instill loyalty and obedience in their children (see also Kim 1981, Min 1996, Sung 1987). Other observers are less sanguine about the benefits of ethnic enclaves for the second generation. They argue that the rewards of the ethnic economy are often skewed, with many immigrants working at very low wage jobs with minimal opportunities for advancement. Kwong (1990) further argues that the enclave structure of New York's Chinatown has retarded unionization efforts and promoted a toleration for exploitative working conditions and organized crime. Others point to the heavy psychological toll that unrealistic parental mobility expectations takes on second generation youth (Bacon 1996, Lee 1994).

Recently, some have criticized the "second generation decline" hypothesis for concluding prematurely that today's second generation will not follow a pattern similar to earlier immigrants. Perlman and Waldinger (1996) point out that earlier immigrants did not have an effortless rise and that experience of some second generation groups might just as well lead analysts to an optimistic assumption about their future prospects. They note that earlier waves of European second generation exhibited "oppositional" frames towards school achievement, yet this did not prevent them from doing well in the labor market.

Gans, Portes, and Zhou all posit that adopting an "American" minority attitude towards school and work opportunities (which Portes and Zhou term the "adversarial" outlook) has negative consequences. John Ogbu ties this "minority" outlook to an oppositional frame of reference with historical roots in an involuntary incorporation into the society. Ogbu has examined why groups who entered a society as involuntary migrants in countries around the world do not perform well academically, especially when compared to voluntary immigrants. He argues that this persistent differential cannot be explained completely by "conflicts in cognitive,

communication, social interaction, teaching and learning styles" (Ogbu 1990:144). Instead, we must take into account how the dominant group treats the minority group, how they respond to that treatment, and how this interaction gives rise to different cultures and identities. Drawing on ethnographic studies of inner city schools, Fordham and Ogbu (1986) and Fordham (1988; 1996) argue that black youth adopt an oppositional culture to deal with the larger society's negative images of black culture and perceived imposition of a ceiling on their job opportunities. Clearly, if assimilating into such a culture is a strong possibility for the children of black immigrants, it will not be conducive to upward mobility!

II. Researching the Second Generations

Methodological Lessons

Beginning in July 1996, the project team undertook a pilot study in order to: 1) develop and refine survey instruments for screening eligible households, obtaining life histories in two hour long in-person interviews, and obtaining much of the same information in a shortened telephone format; 2) develop and refine an interview schedule for in-depth follow-up interviews, 3) test the validity of our sampling approach and explore alternatives to it, 4) get experience with the difficulty and cost of securing completed interviews with the target and comparison populations, and 5) uncover other problems likely to arise when the full study was implemented, such as recruiting and training suitable interviewers, problems of working in certain neighborhood, etc.

Interviewers completed 99 questionnaires with the six initially selected immigrant groups (20 Chinese, 21 West Indians, 2 Koreans, 11 South Americans, 28 Dominicans, and 17 Haitians) and 74 with the three native born comparison groups (25 white, 25 black, and 24 Puerto Rican), for a total of 173. In addition project team members conducted in depth, open-ended interviews with 54 of the immigrant second generation and 53 of the native comparison group respondents, for a total of 107.

Our initial efforts to identify and complete interviews with eligible respondents in phase one of

the survey encountered a series of interrelated problems. First, some groups proved harder to locate and interview than others. Our original efforts to interview Koreans floundered. First generation Korean immigrants are a small, relatively recently-arrived group, with a commensurably small second generation. Korean families have high rates of employment, with many family members at work, as well as high rates of schooling among the second generation. While this makes them a theoretically interesting group, it also makes them difficult to interview. When we found Korean households, often no one was at home. When we reached them, most would not take the time to speak to us. In the few cases where someone did agree to be screened and we identified an eligible person, they were unwilling to take the time to be interviewed, even for a $25 incentive. As a result, we concluded that we could not proceed with Koreans as a study group.

A related difficulty was that Census tracts with high concentrations of a given first generation group did not generate the desired parental referrals and "crossover cases." At the tract level, the 1990 Census sometimes proved to be a poor guide to the actual residents in 1997. For example, though the 1990 Census indicates East Harlem to be highly Puerto Rican, we encountered mainly recent Mexican and Central American immigrants in the target Census tracts. In addition, though immigrant tracts are often highly heterogeneous, they did not produce the expected number of crossover cases from the desired groups. Even where the population was as expected, our sampling method was prone to bias because we were screening only in high incidence Census tracts. As a result, we did not discover many low incidence cases of the target second generation groups, and when we did, such as encountering a young white Lubavitcher who lived in a West Indian neighborhood, they were of questionable value. Going door to door appears to have skewed the sample towards the younger end (i.e. 18-23 year olds) of the target age group.

Compounding matters, the direct approach to individuals' households was inefficient. Table 1

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shows the results of three different ways of approaching households: in person within high concentration tracts, by telephone in high concentration tracts, and by random digit dialing (RDD) based on the telephone numbers of households where interviews were completed. Not surprisingly in New York City, many people are reluctant to open their doors to strangers, although this problem seems to be worse in middle class neighborhoods than poorer ones. Surprisingly, it turned out to be relatively easy to complete interviews in the poorer native black and Haitian tracts.[1] Worse, it was often difficult even to gain admission to a point from which a doorbell could be rung. Some interviewers were frustrated by their inability to screen households, discover eligible cases, and complete the interviews upon which their compensation depended. The few interviewers who were talented at this sort of work clearly produced higher quality completed cases than was true of other areas. Table 1 shows that the ability to contact households by phone was ten percentage points higher than in person. (Many more approaches could also be made in a given span of time.) More households also refused to be screened in person, though screened households were more likely to be qualified and to give an interview.

These difficulties caused the project team to shift from an on-foot approach to screening in favor of telephone screening. As Table 1 indicates, we had already screened as many of the Census tract households as possible by telephone where we could learn their numbers from the reverse telephone directory. We extended this telephone screening by making random digit dialing calls based on the telephone numbers for households with whom we had successfully screened for eligible respondents. Although the ratio of eligible cases identified to households contacted by RDD (14 percent) was half that for households contacted in person in the tracts (28 percent), we could attempt many more screens by telephone than door-to-door in a given amount of time. In

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1. We will probably have to drop Haitians from the final study due to relatively small numbers. We did, however, get good data on Haitians in the pilot phase due to a high response rate among the group.

the final analysis, 76 completed interviews came from in person approaches in the sample tracts,

23 from telephone screening in the sample tracts, and 74 from random digit dialing based on the

telephone numbers of previous completes.

Table 1
Respondent Yield by Method of Approach
Second Generation Pilot Survey

	Tract - In Person		Tract - By Phone		Random Digit Dialing	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Households attempted	2,260		1,426		4085	
Households contacted^	837	37	665	47	1890	46
Refused screening +	410	49	237	36	739	39
Total not qualified +	309	37	354	53	881	47
Not target group +	41	5	72	11	187	10
No 18-30 +	200	24	205	31	440	23
Qualified +	118	28	74	17	270	14
Refused interview *	20	17	25	34	66	24
Interview completed *	76	64	23	31	74	27

^Percent of attempted + Percent of contacted   *Percent of qualified Note: Among the tract households, 1,589 were attempted in person alone, 823 were attempted by phone alone, and 637 were attempted by both means and are counted in both columns.

A breakdown of screening success and completion rates by group and method of approach is

given in Table 2. In general, the groups where households were least likely to contain an eligible

person were the Koreans, South Americans, and Chinese, while those most likely (i.e. the lowest

percentages in the column % not qualified) were Haitians, West Indians, Puerto Ricans, and

blacks. This stands to reason, as the former groups are more recent arrivals. These patterns

generally held across all three methods of approach, but in most instances, RDD was actually the

most likely way to find an eligible household. The primary reason why households were not

eligible is because they did not contain an 18-30 year old person (column % no 18-30). In the

Table 2
Completion Yield of Screen Households by Group and Method of Approach
Second Generation Pilot Survey

Group	Appr	Screen	Not Qual	%	No 18-30	%	Refuse	% of Qual	Completed	% of Screen
White	TIP	58	43	74%	24	56%	3	5%	18	31%
	TPh	132	111	84%	88	67%	4	3%	9	43%
	RDD	401	309	77%	193	48%	14	15%	8	2%
Black	TIP	72	40	56%	36	50%	8	25%	18	25%
	TPh	43	32	76%	32	76%	6	55%	2	18%
	RDD	66	48	73%	37	56%	8	44%	5	8%
Puerto Rican	TIP	50	33	66%	29	58%	7	41%	9	27%
	TPh	41	29	71%	25	61%	2	17%	1	2%
	RDD	103	57	55%	44	43%	9	20%	14	14%
Chinese	TIP	86	71	83%	40	47%	6	55%	9	60%
	TPh	59	47	80%	27	46%	6	50%	0	0%
	RDD	62	43	69%	30	48%	7	37%	11	18%
West Indian	TIP	78	55	71%	47	60%	1	3%	18	23%
	TPh	15	9	67%	5	33%	1	17%	1	17%
	RDD	31	20	65%	9	29%	4	36%	2	18%
Dominican	TIP	34	25	74%	18	53%	0	0%	5	15%
	TPh	21	17	81%	10	48%	0	0%	1	25%
	RDD	149	96	64%	62	35%	14	26%	22	15%
CEP	TIP	15	12	80%	6	40%	0	0%	1	33%
	TPh	23	20	87%	7	30%	1	33%	2	67%
	RDD	112	91	81%	48	43%	8	38%	8	7%
Haitian	TIP	37	21	57%	14	38%	1	6%	15	41%
	TPh	6	4	67%	4	67%	2	100%	0	)%
	RDD	16	10	63%	6	38%	0	0%	2	13%
Korean	TIP	15	15	100%	13	87%	0	0%	0	0%
	TPh	16	13	81%	7	44%	3	100%	0	0%
	RDD	24	20	83%	11	46%	2	50%	2	8%

Note: As with the previous table, some households in each group were contacted both in person and by phone within a given tract, thus were counted in both rows. RDD households were only contacted by phone.

case of the Chinese, South Americans, and Koreans, it was clear that even where 18-30 year olds were present, they were least likely to be second or 1.5 generation. Refusal rates were highest for Koreans, Chinese, Blacks, and Puerto Ricans, with in-person approaches generally being the least likely to produce a refusal. Overall, RDD approaches produced the lowest yield of completes (in the 2 to 18 percent range) and the in-person approaches the most (11 to 41 percent range), but we could make many more RDD approaches in the time and with effort that it took to make one in-person approach, making the former method clearly superior.

As a result, we decided to undertake all of the screening in the full version of the survey by telephone. Besides greater feasibility and economy, telephone screening across a wide sampling unit also promised to yield a far more representative sample than sampling from Census tracts where the first generation is concentrated. Sample quality would also be enhanced by the close supervision afforded by a central phone bank and the ability to hand off potentially eligible households to the appropriate language speaker where necessary.

From there, it was a short step to conclude as well that we should conduct the entire interview by telephone. A number of factors prompted this decision. First, it was obviously administratively efficient to complete a survey whenever screening identified an eligible person. The telephone interviews conducted in the pilot survey worked well for the bulk of the behavioral or experiential data at the core of the survey. Our open-ended follow-up interviews proved to be better than the closed-ended instrument at uncovering attitudes and revealing certain patterns (such as extensive involvement in drug dealing by native male respondents). As a result, we concluded that we should collect quantitative data on background factors and educational, economic, and attitudinal outcomes in a thirty minute telephone interview and collect qualitative data through in-person, open-ended interviews with a relatively large subsample of the telephone survey respondents. We also decided that we could compensate for non-telephone households by asking each screened household whether other households with eligible people used their telephone on a regular basis

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and arranging to complete an interview with this other household.

Preliminary Substantive Findings

While the number of respondents to the main survey collected during the pilot phase of the project do not justify statistical analysis, the 54 in-depth interviews with the children of immigrants (along with 53 with the native comparison groups) have given us some early indications of the themes emerging for the second generation. While it is probably premature to call these themes "findings," they highlight issues that will be central to the final analysis. In the rest of this paper we will explore one of these central themes, the factors shaping the school to work transition.

The Importance of Schooling:

All groups express a strong belief that education, not job experience or "connections," is the key to success in today's economy. Virtually everyone reports that their parents stressed the importance of education. Upon closer examination, however, the meaning of educational "success" varies greatly across the groups. For some, doing well was simply a matter of graduating from high school; for others, it meant getting consistently good grades and going to college. For native whites and blacks, private and parochial schools often made a key difference in their educational outcomes.

Asian respondents made the best use of the resources of the New York City public schools compared to other groups, including native whites. <u>None</u> of the Chinese respondents attended private or parochial schools, but half had attended an elite magnet high school (Stuyvesant, Bronx Science and Brooklyn Tech) and the rest attended the better New York City public high schools (i.e.. Cardozo, LaGuardia, Midwood). Chinese parents seem to have better access to information regarding high schools, which is partially transmitted through ethnic networks. This is striking given the fact that some of these parents are low wage workers with little English and limited formal education themselves. Chinese respondents clearly benefitted from being less residentially

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segregated than other groups, and thus having easier access to "better" schools. In sharp

contrast to other immigrant groups and to many natives, many Asian respondents remembered

their high school years fondly and noted that their friends were more racially and ethnically diverse

in high school than in college or since.

Virtually all of the Chinese respondents are attending or have attended college; about half were

at CUNY campuses (largely Queens, Hunter and Baruch) and half at private universities, mostly in

the New York metropolitan area. As a group, the Chinese strongly believed in the necessity of

education.

Chinese Man: Education does pay along the way. But not a high school diploma. Now

everybody expects you to get a college degree in order to advance a little bit higher. And even

a college degree won't get you a lot higher than what you expect it would. They got to get

another degree to get higher and higher. It does pay.

In many cases, however, family ties and familial obligations shaped the choice of college, even

among upper middle class respondents. One young woman reported that her family was shocked

when an older sister returned from Cornell and "had changed too much." She was not allowed to

go to Cornell, and instead attended Columbia. Another respondent had desperately wanted to go

away to school in Boston, but her family insisted that she stay in New York City. After much

arguing, they did permit her to live in a dormitory at New York University, only a few blocks from

the restaurant they own. Similar stories, emphasizing the tension between parental pressure to do

well in school and parental insistence that college students live at home (thus limiting their

educational choices) came up repeatedly with Chinese respondents who had attended Columbia,

St. John's, the Fashion Institute of Technology, Hunter College and Baruch. While this reflects a

continuing need for students to work part time in family businesses, it also reflects a deep

ambivalence towards acculturation and the individualism that is seen as accompanying it. We

suspect that this attitude may differ with the sex of respondent, although we do not yet have

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enough Asian interviews to say this with any certainty. In a few cases, parental pressure led to considerable resentment:

Chinese Man: My parents say business...(so) then I say, business yeah, yeah, yeah... Now I'm thinking, no business! It's boring! They just wanted us (his siblings and he) to get an office job, and they say "go to business". That was it....They just expected us to get a good job and that's it.

For the Haitian, West Indian and Dominican respondents the educational outcomes seem far more problematic. With very few exceptions the West Indian, Haitian and Dominican respondents had attended segregated schools dominated by co-ethnics or by native blacks and Puerto Ricans. Most felt that the education they had received there was inferior and left them ill equipped to take advantage of further educational opportunities. Even those respondents who had been enrolled in "honors" classes in high school reported that when they entered college (mostly CUNY schools) they were completely unprepared for college level work. Many respondents had been involved in high school vocational programs, such as secretarial studies and nursing and several had participated in cooperative work training programs in which they had attended school for two days out of the week and work in nursing homes for three days. These programs, and the City's large "Summer Youth" employment programs had given many of the respondents in these groups their first work experiences. This stands in contrast to both the Chinese and the South American respondents, in which family and ethnic connections were more important in obtaining early work experience.

Although some Dominican, West Indian and Haitian respondents had applied to specialized and "magnet" high schools, none of those we interviewed had been admitted. A typical pattern was that a good student in elementary school or junior high became a mediocre student in high school.

Dominican man: I first wanted to go to Bronx Science because I was doing well in junior high...That's the problem, I was doing really good out of the regular people, you know, so they

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never put me in a special program you know, so that's how come I never ... they didn't help me enough so that I could have passed the exam to go the Bronx High School of Science..then they said my second choice was a local high school.

Interviewer: In high school you received mostly C's and B's, why do you think that you received those grades?

DM: Because, at time, I started our real good but then I didn't end up (good) at the end of my Kennedy (High School) years, I ended up mediocre because, I was thinking that I couldn't really do it, like I was average.

Many "1.5" generation students reported having been placed in the wrong grade when they arrived.

Dominican woman: Well when I was over there I was in the fifth grade but when I arrived here, they put me in the fourth grade.

West Indian man: I came in 1990. It was cool right. When I came up here I left Grenada when I was in the fifth grade but they left me back for some strange reason, they said I stopped in the fourth grade so that cost me a year. I should be a senior now, but I am a junior... When I first came up here, I had the Caribbean-style math. In the fourth grade kids used to take all day doing math and in two minutes I'm done. The teacher asked me how I learned this technique. I told her in the Caribbean and then I went to high school, they hit me with the sequential math and I just got stumped...

These groups had a complicated attitude towards education. On the one hand, almost all of them stressed the positive value of education, which they reflexively affirmed as the surest route towards upward mobility. Indeed, if we had only conducted the closed-ended survey, we would have concluded that all respondents believed strongly in education, with little variation across groups. Yet, when probed, West Indian, Haitian, and Dominican respondents revealed considerable skepticism about the true value of educational credentials in the face of a racially

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divided job market.

West Indian Man: You can go to school for years to get your Ph.D. and after you graduate you'll come out with a regular job, probably in a supermarket or something.

Interviewer: You've seen that?

West Indian Man: Yeah.

I: With who?

WIM: There are a lot of people I know that work around the supermarket around my way and a lot of people I've heard of, they went to school and got their Masters, their Ph.D., whatever and they are still working regular jobs just to survive.

I: That's scary. What does that make you think?

WIM: That scares me! I don't want to come out working a regular job. I want - when I go to school for that long and I pay all that money - I want to come out with something I know I am going to be satisfied with and that I will be earning some money, earning a living. It is scary to think that when you come out that you could possibly be working a regular job like anybody else. That is scary.

I: So, do you think education matters?

WIM: It matters but I think sometimes it is the connections. Who you know. And I think sometimes that gets you go where you want to be. You see white people, they get hooked up like that because of their parents, who they know and how much money they have.

Whether or not this man's perceptions of the job market are accurate, his discounting of education's ability to improve his life chances (even while repeating cliches about education's value) may reflect an all too common disinvestment in education (see Steele 1992). In effect he is saying that, since education may be of little utility for him, he should not invest too much effort in the process, thus protecting his ego against the impact of educational failure.

Shaping Educational Trajectories: Role of Gender and Family.

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Except for the Chinese, educational attainment varied markedly by gender among all groups. Women consistently attain higher levels. All the women respondents had graduated high school and most had attended college. By contrast, several eighteen and nineteen-year-old men were still enrolled in high school and many were over-age for their grade when they graduated or left school.

There are several possible explanations for this difference. It may be that in many immigrant communities (as in working class native white communities, see Sullivan, 1989) education is considered to be more important for women, or that educational success is seen as "feminine." Overcrowded inner city public and parochial schools may also reward traditionally "feminine" traits such as cooperativeness, compliance and passivity (Fine 1991). Young minority women may face less overt discrimination than young men and may cope with discrimination and ethnic conflict in less self-destructive ways (Murguia and Telles 1996; Lorde 1996; Waters, 1996).

Many respondents offered the paradoxical explanation that young women are more closely tied to the home. Family arrangements where a single mother (the most common family form among the Caribbean groups) is working six or seven days a week reinforces the gendered division of labor in domestic chores among siblings. A young woman growing up in this environment may have to assume adult responsibilities for younger siblings at an early age. While such arrangements undoubtedly take time away from studies, respondents felt that they also helped their school work by forcing maturity on young women and keeping them away from the temptations of the "street." Boys were generally exempt from such responsibilities and were often encouraged to be more independent, but that independence was often counter-productive for school work.

Many immigrant families feel a strong need to "protect" girls, particularly from early sexual activity and pregnancy, but also from violence. While boys are, in fact, more likely to be the victims of violence, they are generally felt not to need such protection:

Haitian woman: The guys could get away with.. they didn't want to do their homework, they

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didn't want to do the dishes, they would get away with it. But let me and my sisters decide one day that we didn't want to do it, she would talk to us all night long. "You'll never get married and no man is going to want you". I remember one time my sister didn't do the dishes. It was 2:00 in the morning. My mother went and woke her up. She said "Get up and go do the dishes."...For me to go out my mother be like asking questions "Where you going to go? When you going to come back?" But for my brothers, it be "Ma, we're going out and we need some money." And she say "Where you going to go?" "Don't worry Ma, we'll be back." And they just leave. For us it is just questions and the third degree, all that.

Haitian man: You know we have a little sister here, that's the only sister that we have by my mother's side and you know we stay strict there's not no father figure, but me and my brother and my mother are the father figure for her. We keep her in line, in check. She knows that at a certain age we don't want no guys calling here, until she gets to a certain age. Because you know when they start calling that's when you hear they go out, they sneak out of school, they go do this and next thing you know they come home with a big belly right in front of you.

West Indian man: (I'm proud of...) my mom because she does what she has to make sure her family have food on the table and clothes on their backs and a place to sleep. She makes them work right. My sister, she had a 93 something average so right now she can get into any college she wants... When she was in junior high school she didn't make the honor roll, she had an 85 or something. But when she want to high school she brought it up. My Mom tries to keep her safe. Told her she shouldn't talk to boys. My Mom makes sure that if a boy calls and my sister stays on the phone too long my Mom tells her "get off my phone and do your work because I don't want you talking to boys who can screw up your life." So my sister is protected from the boys element and I am kind of proud of that..

Interestingly, men who did finish school and attend college described themselves as loners. A West Indian man said that he did not really have friends until college. His parents forbade him

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from crossing the street and playing with the boys and he described how he grew up surrounded by girls. While the literature has increasingly emphasized the role of social capital and connections in inner city neighborhoods, these young men perceive the road to success lies in avoiding the "negative social capital" of the streets and cutting themselves off from connections that might lead to violence and crime.

Dominican man: I'd say I did it because of my mother because if it hadn't been for her, I don't think that I would have been in that position to graduate. Because of that and because I always kept going, I was like a mama's boy, I was always was doing what she wanted me to do...I would stay at home because I don't want to go outside.

Slightly over half of the Haitian, West Indian and Dominican respondents went on to college and almost all attended CUNY schools. Many (including some who had taken "honors" classes in high school) found themselves woefully under-prepared. Indeed, given recent criticism of CUNY's allegedly low standards, it is striking how many found themselves struggling in CUNY classes or switching from four year to two year colleges. (Graduation standards remain considerably higher than admission standards at CUNY, which may partly explain the University's low graduation rates despite the expenditure of considerable resources on remediation).

Haitian woman: I never knew college was going to be so hard. It is not the material itself. Yeah, breaking down the material. You got to read from different - you got four books and out of the four books you got to get that information that you need and put it into one essay and then you got to revise that essay over and over again.

I: In the high school I went to I was never asked to write a research paper.

HW: Exactly. Sometimes I used to copy off somebody else's homework. When I was in college the professors look at each paper and they grade each paper, for accuracy, how you write, the spelling, the grammar. It is tough.

Interviewer: You...attended City College and then BMCC (Borough of Manhattan Community College) in 1985. How did you decide to go there?

Dominican Man: City college, I don't remember how I decided. They told me that I had to choose in a list of schools and I guess that was the one because that school had computer science, and I wanted to major in computer science. But I found it so difficult that I dropped, not that I dropped out but they encumbered me, that's how you say it, and you know and I had to work. After a couple of years later I went back, but this time to BMCC.

The most academically successful Dominican, West Indian and Haitian students resembled Asian students. Like Asians, they sought out the best public or parochial schools. Yet residential segregation made this more difficult, as the "zoned" schools where these respondents lived were almost always inferior. Catholic schools were often the best option for the academically oriented, even among non-Catholics (also seen among native blacks).

Like the Asians, many successful Caribbean students felt conflicting parental pressures. Young women in particular felt, and resented, pressure to do well:

Haitian woman: *My mother has it in her head that all of us, right now we should all be in college studying nonstop so we can be big doctors and big accountants with their own firms and married with all these children and have a big house. Everybody should have a big house and she always compares us with other people. "Oh my God, look at this at that. Look what she did." I hate that. That's her, that's not us.*

Interviewer: What kind of advice did your family or parents give you about how to make it and become successful in this country?

West Indian woman: Study, study, study.

I: And do you agree with them?

WIW: Yes...but they want you to make it your life, study, study, study. I mean, I respect that,

that you are supposed to study in order to get anywhere. I do that. But there is a time where you have to have fun also.

I: What will you tell your future children?

WIW: Study, study, study.

When it came time to pick a college, respondents felt the pressure of family obligations as limiting their educational options.

Dominican Woman: I had been offered a four-year, full scholarship to Marywood and (initially) I turned it down so that I could be closer to my family...I had been offered a minority scholarship because that is in Scranton, Pennsylvania, and there weren't many Hispanics there. It was one of those things I almost kind of regretted and then I took it as a second opportunity. And I did go.

Interviewer: When you got there?

DRW: I really liked it there. I really did enjoy it there. I liked the academic environment...

I: And finally you decided to finish (your degree) at St. John's. How did you make that decision?

DRW: My father became ill while I was in school in Scranton so I came back.

In many cases, respondents were also unimpressed with the typical American college experience and with their fellow students:

Dominican Woman: I went to Manhattanville because it was close to home. Manhattanville is in Purchase, upper Westchester. And it was easy for my father to come and see my basketball games there. Just easy for me to come home, too. I wanted to get away but I wasn't so sure I wanted to break away from the nest.

Interviewer: You didn't want to live on campus?

DRW: No, I did live on campus...(but) I wanted to come home on the weekend.

Interviewer: And then you decided that you were not happy there?

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DRW: First of all, my parents were paying a lot of money, it was an expensive school and I wasn't happy with the type of education I was getting there... basically it was like a baby-sitting school for the wealthy, like sons and daughters of people in big corporations. Wednesday night, the party started and I don't even think there were classes that much on Fridays and if there were, they were after 12:00. Every week we had to deal with people pulling fire alarms, bomb scares. It wasn't an academic environment. And when I went to school - when I do something I'm doing it because I want to do it. And I was there to learn, not to stand in my pajamas at 3:00 in the morning cause somebody pulled the fire alarm. I know what it is like to drink - I didn't need to. Americans go to college so they can party cause they get away from their family. Well, you're Hispanic and you had you first beer at 12, you're like "Hello, what is the big deal?"

The Caribbean groups differed, however, when it came to gender roles. West Indian and Haitian respondents combine highly traditional notions about male and female roles within the home (i.e. what is "man's" versus "woman's" work) with a strong assumption that women should be able to fend for themselves economically. Many women expressed a desire to avoid premature child rearing, although this may reflect the ideal more than the practice. For Dominican second and 1.5 generation respondents, in contrast, desires to avoid premature child bearing often come into conflict with having children as a crucial rite of passage into adulthood. While the traditional household of a working father and a child-rearing mother is clearly the ideal among this group, most doubt that they will obtain this for themselves. A number of the Dominican respondents had had children outside of marriage.

Unlike other immigrants, or for that matter, the native comparison groups, Asian and South American immigrants were most often raised in two parent families. Many of these respondents had fairly traditional ideas about marriage, particularly concerning child care. Traditional familial roles seem to be breaking down, however, particularly for the Asian respondents. Few Asian

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respondents were married and most reported being in no hurry to do so. Most Asian women had established independent careers. South American respondents were the most likely to be married. Yet here, too, women wanted to be more independent than their mothers had been (although this seems more an ideal than a fact.)

As in other areas, South American respondents appear somewhere between the Caribbean groups and the Asians in terms of educational success. Several report sporadic educational careers, and few went directly to four year colleges after high school. Yet most had some college experience and many used the CUNY system. In this case, family structure seems to have been important. The fact that the vast majority of Columbian-Peruvian-Ecuadorean respondents grew up in two parent families, (not the case among the native groups or the Caribbean immigrants) and the fact that their families tended to assume that young women, and sometimes young men, would live at home after high school meant that young people were under little pressure to assume "adult" roles until they were married. Respondents did not feel pressured to get jobs while still in high school and were permitted considerable "drift" in and out of education and the labor force well into their early 20's.

Labor Market Outcomes:

Some aspects of the labor market experiences of the various first generation immigrant groups seem to continue into the second generation, in the sense that in groups where the first generation brings social and human capital into the market place, the second generation has more favorable opportunities for employment. In other ways, however, the various second generation groups seem more like each other, and like native working class New Yorkers, than like their immigrant parents. Only for the Chinese does a distinct ethnic economy clearly play a significant role, but there is evidence that the second generation will avoid the lower rungs of the "ethnic enclave" if at all possible.

The second and "1.5" generation Chinese respondents showed the widest variety of labor

market outcomes, ranging from professionals (including an architect, accountants, engineers, and financial managers) to service workers and manual laborers, as well as several full time college students. Nearly half reported that at least one parent was self-employed and many had their first work experience in a family-owned business, usually within the "ethnic economy" (i.e. garment factories, restaurants, import-export firms). Where the respondent's parents did not own businesses, they mostly worked in the ethnic economy (commonly restaurant or garment workers). Most second generation respondents, however, disdained such jobs. Indeed, the Chinese "reservation wage" seems to have more to do with avoiding ethnic stereotypes than low wages per se. When asked if there was any job he "would never take," one man answered without hesitation: "delivering Chinese food!" Several children of garment and restaurant workers specifically noted that they would "never" take their parent's job. Several women also reported prostitution as the one job they would never take. While most Chinese respondents had held a variety of part time jobs by their early twenties, they reported less overall job experience than members of other groups. The part time job experience they did report having had while in high school and college was largely in the ethnic economy. Yet only a few respondents reported having worked "off the books" (i.e. for cash and not paying taxes) and none reported involvement in criminal activities.

The second and 1.5 generation West Indian respondents typically report many spells of short term employment. Most report having held a wide variety of part time jobs, often two or more at a time, but few report middle class career trajectories (the most "professional" career to appear in our small pilot sample was a computer systems analyst with a major corporation). The most common work experiences are in the service sector: cashiers, secretaries, clerical workers, stock and sales personnel, waitresses, etc. Male and female labor force participation is about equal in this group. None of the parents of West Indian respondents were self-employed in the U.S. although several had been prior to immigration. The "ethnic economy" plays little role in this

group, with the exception that a number of women are employed in health care, increasingly a West Indian "ethnic niche." Among the parents of the respondents, the most common jobs were home attendants and nurse's aides, nurses and hospital administrators, social worker, teachers, babysitters, transportation workers, auto mechanics, bookkeepers, and skilled laborers. No respondents reported having worked in manufacturing, nor had many of their parents. Most respondents worked part time during high school. Several had dropped out of high school but had most of these had obtained a GED (General Equivalency Degree). Many had worked "off the books" and one reported a period of criminal activity, in this case drug dealing. Many reported that their was "no" job they would not take provided it paid minimum wage; others reported that they would "never" work in fast food, a job the group generally considered to be of very low status.

The parents of the Colombian, Ecuadoran and Peruvian respondents were divided between factory work, skilled blue collar laborers and white collar service sector workers. The second generation respondents, by contrast, worked largely in the service sector (i.e. cashier, sales, receptionist, bank teller). No respondent in this group worked in manufacturing, although many of their parents did. Several mentioned factory work as a job they would not take, noting the long hours, low pay, and "having to follow orders." Others mentioned fast-food restaurants, "go go" dancing and prostitution as the jobs they would "never take." There was no self-employment among the parents of respondents. Few of the respondents work in "ethnic" businesses, although many of their parents do. The South American respondents were the most likely group to have grown up in two parent families, to be married, and to have children themselves.

Dominican respondents have generally had extremely problematic job histories. A significant portion of this group had dropped out of high school, although many went on to receive GED degrees, a pattern more common among Dominicans than in any other group. We were surprised by the large number of Dominican (and Haitian) respondents (all of whom were eighteen or older)

still in high school. A quarter of the Dominican respondents had children and a third were either

married or living with a partner (usually the latter). They worked at part-time, service sector jobs,

including fast food and retailing. Most of their parents worked in blue collar jobs: women as

seamstresses, men as factory workers, auto mechanic, and maintenance men. However few

respondents have experience in these areas. Several fathers of the respondents were self-

employed (bodega owners, taxi cab driver, an electrician), but this seems to have had little effect

on the respondents' career trajectories. In contrast to the Chinese, few report working for

relatives. Social networks were important in finding work. Family connections to potential

employers helped; women spoke about having been helped by teachers and men tended to get

jobs through friends. When asked whether they could see themselves doing the type of work

their parents do, all said they could, but only if no other work was available.

Haitians reported the lowest household income of any group. They were also most likely to use

post-high school vocational training (i.e. medical technician training programs, nursing assistant

programs, business institutes and paralegal training courses). Vocational education was

particularly common among female respondents. A number were still in high school, while others

had obtained GEDs after dropping out. As with West Indians and Dominicans, service sector

employment predominates, with many working in fast food, retailing, security, and sales. Others

seem to be repeating their parents' pattern in the health care industry. The fathers of the Haitian

respondents worked as janitors, maintenance men, security guards and mechanics, whereas the

mothers labored as nurses aides, home attendants and receptionists. Only one respondent had a

self-employed parent (a father who is a barber). Once again, the "ethnic economy" seems to have

little importance for the second generation.

A Note on "Oppositional Culture".

As noted above, much of the literature on the second generation is concerned with whether or

not the new immigrants, particularly those of color, will adopt the "oppositional" or "adversarial"

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culture of poor native African Americans and Puerto Ricans. While the pilot interviews lend some support to this notion, our interviews with the native white comparison group are also instructive. Many working class whites display attitudes and behaviors that are often associated with a "self-destructive" "oppositional" culture. Drug use and drug dealing, the devaluing formal education, the use of violence, strong peer group orientation, and disrespect for formal authority were common among the native whites we interviewed. Until recently, however, working class whites had access to decent jobs despite these attributes. This fact might lead us to question the causal role of "adversarial" culture per se. How young people's attitudes affect their access to the labor market is very much dependent on contexts--both the larger context of the overall economy and the specific context of the ethnic and neighborhood networks into which they are embedded. Thus the question is not just which groups engage in youthful deviance or have disrupted educational careers, but what long term impacts these attitudes and behaviors may have.

For example, in the service sector cultural conformity to middle class norms in interpersonal relations is far more important than in traditional blue collar work. Given the overall shift from manufacturing to services in metropolitan New York, this fact has an impact on all young people entering the labor force. Yet it seems likely that "adversarial culture" may be more problematic for non-enclave embedded immigrants and native blacks and Latinos. By contrast the networks of native whites may be able to grant access to traditional blue collar niches, where cultural style is less of an issue (of course, with these niches in decline, access may be becoming difficult for native whites as well). For the more heavily economically concentrated groups the ethnic enclave may also provide some insulation from the larger culture (as Zhou, 1997, notes), although given the apparent high rates of movement out of the enclave by our second generation Chinese respondents, it will be interesting to see how much this continues over time.

School, Work and Social Incorporation: trajectories, contexts and social embeddedness.

Parental experiences, the social and cultural resources of the groups, and the structural context

of reception all clearly shape the ways that the various second generation groups are coming to fit into the economic, political and cultural life of New York. High rates of parental self-employment and co-ethnic employment seem to have had positive effects for the second generation Chinese, but more as a step into the mainstream economy than sustained, multi-generational participation in an "ethnic enclave." Few second generation Chinese want to enter "Chinese" industries, although we suspect that the enclave serve as a safety net for the less successful members of the second generation.

Moderate rates of self-employment and high participation in the ethnic economy had little effect on the often downwardly mobile Dominicans. Here the parental niches are tied to declining sectors of the economy (i.e. manufacturing) and in any event the second generation seems to have little interest in following in their parents foot steps, even if they could. Indeed, young people in all groups, including the native groups, have seen their life chances profoundly shaped by the changes in the urban economy. Service sector employment predominates, even among groups whose parents were concentrated in blue collar industries. This has increased the importance of educational credentials and perhaps cultural capital.

Paradoxically, high degrees of economic concentration seem quite compatible with moderate degrees of residential concentration and civic participation. Enclaves, it should be remembered, are not ghettos. Far from being structurally segmented from the mainstream economy and polity, Chinese respondents made the best use of public facilities of any group. Chinese young adults also reported a high degree of interaction with other groups, particularly in high school. This was partially due to the heavy Chinese representation at the competitive magnet schools, but also due to the low level of residential segregation among second generation Chinese. The Chinese seem to benefit both from high degrees of economic concentration among their parents and lower degrees of residential segregation than the other groups. To oversimplify, enclaves are good for the second generation, ghettos are not!

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Unambiguously "black" groups, Haitians, West Indians, and many Dominicans, are in the reverse position. These groups have less access either to jobs or educational opportunities. This is due, at least in part, to the racially segregated housing market, although as the extent of racial segregation is so much higher for blacks than for other groups it is difficult to separate the effect of residential concentration from the multitude of other effects that come with being seen as "black" in the U.S. (Indeed, black immigrants are probably far more aware of the constructed and imposed nature of racial categories than are black natives. Further, as Massey and Denton (1993) and others have shown, ghettoization is more than just a consequence of residential concentration of black people or even poor black people. It is accompanied by institutional disinvestment and changing attitudes on the part of a host of actors, from school teachers, to the police to local merchants. In light of the recent police brutality scandal in Brooklyn's 70th police precinct and the attitudes towards the largely Haitian neighborhood that it reveals, we scarcely need note that these processes affect black immigrants and their children, as well as black natives.

Second generation black immigrants are often keenly aware of racial discrimination, although modes of coping with discrimination vary markedly by gender. Gender also has a large impact on educational outcomes, and possibly on ethnic identity. Racial discrimination seems to also affect the school to work transition of Dominicans, whose relationship with New York's large Puerto Rican community in some ways parallels that of black immigrants and black natives. However, the racial ambiguity of Dominicans further complicates their situation. Perhaps to differentiate themselves from Puerto Ricans, our Dominican respondents report a strong sense of identity as (and having experienced discrimination as) Dominicans. This contrasts with the largely pan-ethnic self-definitions among the Colombian-Ecuadoran-Peruvian group.

The impact of schooling on later life also turns our attention to the role of ethnic networks in the larger economy. Schooling means different things depending on how the group is situated. How important "dropping out" turns out to be depends in large part on what one is "dropping in"

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to! For working class whites and the South American group, our preliminary findings seem to support Mercer Sullivan's (1989) observations that strong connections to blue collar employment make leaving education for work less of a fatal long term strategy, although even these groups make extensive use of GED programs and community colleges. For the Chinese, we suspect that the ethnic economy may even provide a safety net for the less educationally successful members of the second generation (although our small pilot sample revealed so few who were not educationally successful that we cannot say this with any certainty).

Ironically the groups that get the least out of the public school system--the Haitians, West Indians and Dominicans--are also the ones most in need of educational credentials. Most Haitian and Dominican parents have few resources to pass on in terms of either capital or connections. English-speaking West Indian parents are somewhat better off. Our respondents reflect what we already know from the census: West Indians have higher household incomes than the other Caribbean groups. Yet the success of West Indians in inserting themselves in the mainstream service sector has put them in positions where the use of ethnic connections and networks is highly contingent on educational credentials. Knowing many nurses, physical therapists, or mid-level white collar financial service sector workers will be of little use to second generation youth if they do not have the college degrees which such positions require. And if racial segregation keeps these young people living in dangerous neighborhoods and attending inferior schools, few such college degrees will be forthcoming. Thus the high degree of early job experience among West Indian youth may not prove beneficial in the long run. Indeed, if early labor force participation undermines educational performance, it may be detrimental for this group.

It is also probable that second generation West Indian youth will be reluctant to take the jobs that their less well off parents hold: homes attendants, domestic workers, or drivers and security guards. All these jobs typically require a great deal of face to face contact, sometimes quite intimate, with white employers. (Ironically it is the major West Indian "advantage"-- English

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fluency-- that opened these jobs to the immigrants in the first place). As they come to culturally resemble African American youth, whites may become reluctant to employ second generation West Indian youth in such jobs. (As Gans has recently reminded us, assimilation, as opposed to acculturation, depends in large part on the attitudes of the group one is or is not assimilating into! See Gans, 1997). Therefore, without an "ethnic enclave" to fall back on, we hypothesize that West Indians are the most likely to experience the "second generation decline" scenario.

III. By Way of Conclusion

It should be clear that our pilot data has only allowed us to scratch the surface of the various factors shaping the school to work transition of the second generation. So far, our work serves primarily to identify the relevant variables that the larger study will examine in greater detail. In that study we will focus on how a range of crucial factors, including identity formation, the content and form of social networks, and social class background, affect the trajectories and destinations of the second generation as compared to native born groups.

Even at this preliminary stage, however, certain tentative conclusions seem to emerge. Most fundamentally, the study of the second generation must be a study of distinctive groups, not a study of how various individual and familial factors operate more or less commonly across all immigrant groups. The way early or late contact with the labor market, specific kinds of school experiences, and even parental socioeconomic status play out in the second generation depends greatly on the group context, particularly the terms of incorporation for the first generation. Dropping out of school is less harmful to a second generation person when they can enter an employment niche where educational credentials are not decisive for advancement, as is often the case for our South American and native white respondents. But it can be fatal if the second generation person leaves school and attempts to enter a parental niche where educational credentials are pivotal, as is the case for our West Indian respondents who seek employment in the hospitals or other public or nonprofit social service organizations.

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Second, the view that second generation decline will be a common pattern, especially for groups developing an "oppositional" stance towards the dominant (white) culture, needs to be qualified in several respects. We found that native born whites can also adopt such a stance, particularly among males, but that this does not always bar them from upward mobility, as it may do for those classified as "non-white." Moreover, across the immigrant second generation, assimilation into American culture seems widespread and "segmented assimilation" or close identification with the culture of the sending society, perhaps less salient than might be expected. Certainly, we see little evidence of "transnationalism" among the second generation, nor any great desire to enter "dead end" jobs in the ethnic enclave. And even for upwardly mobile second generation individuals, we see a certain chafing against parental restraints associated with the "home country" way of raising children.

Third, it appears that school, not work, is the key to the future. Respondents had plenty of contact with the labor market relatively early on, but did not view it as particularly rewarding or a route to upward mobility. To the contrary, their aspirations were closely linked to schooling. The way the sorting mechanisms of educational system, both in terms of public vs. private schooling and tracking within the public school system, send different groups towards different outcomes, and way that groups have a differential ability to maneuver within and take advantage of the public schools, have an enormous impact on second generation outcomes. These systemic and collective features may be more important than individual orientations.

This suggests, finally, that ethnic concentration and dispersion work different ways in different domains. Concentration in the labor market, in the form of ethnic niches, may constitute a group resource, at least for the first generation. But residential concentration, in the form of exposure to poor schools, poor treatment in schools, and less public resources, can have strong adverse consequences. Care must therefore be taken in distinguishing the various dimensions along which "ethnic niches" or "ethnic concentrations" develop and analyzing how they interact.

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