

**THE HISTORICAL PATTERNS OF OCCUPATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF RACIAL
MINORITIES IN MASSACHUSETTS: AN ANALYSIS OF THE
1974-2002 CURRENT POPULATION SURVEY DATA
DRAFT**

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This is a draft. We apologize if you may find any errors.

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Abstract

In the past 30 years Massachusetts' economy and labor market have undergone significant changes. The demand for white-collar jobs has increased substantially over the years and in turn well-paid white-collar jobs have significantly improved economic status of white-collar job holders. It is important to examine who benefits from this shift in occupational structure and who falls behind. Theoretically in the land of "equal opportunity," achieved characteristics such as education, job experiences and skills should be the most important factor in determining the labor market outcome while ascribed characteristics such as race and gender should have a diminishing influence on one's life chances. The focus of this study is to examine whether any significant variations exist in occupational attainment among different racial groups over the past 30 years in Massachusetts. Using data collected from Current Population Surveys across four decades, our analyses show that before 1980s racial disparity in occupational attainment was not significant although some differences did exist. However, since 1980s racial disparity has become increasingly significant especially after 2000. The study explores the important factors that have contributed to the increasing racial disparity in occupational attainment and discusses policy implications of the findings.

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STUDY BACKGROUND

1. Demographic Transition

Minority status has undergone significant changes in America and in the state of Massachusetts during the past three decades. The Civil Rights Movement in the 1960s and the passage of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 have created a social and legal climate for racial-ethnic minorities to pursue and gain equality in employment. Tidal waves of immigration since the 1970s have led to a more diverse population in the United States and Massachusetts, which has changed from a prominently white society that is rooted in Western culture to a global society composed of diverse racial and ethnic minorities. In 1950 98% of Massachusetts state population was White, while minorities only accounted for about 2% of the total state population. In 1980 Whites accounted for 93% and in 2000 only 84.5% were White while the remaining 15.5% were minorities (U.S. Census figures for Massachusetts in 1950-2000). Among others, the Asian population increased 386% which is faster than the national average 48% from 1990-2000 and Hispanics increased about 200% during the time period of 1980-2000.

The rapid increase in the minority population to a large extent is due to the infusion of international immigrants whose mother tongues are not English. The size of the foreign-born population in Massachusetts is 14.8% of the total state population while the national average is 12.4% (March 2000 Current Population Survey). The infusion of new immigrants accounted for 107% of the net change in the state's population from 1990 to 2000. In other words, the state population growth would have been negative without counting immigrants (Sum et al., 2004).

These demographic trends certainly have significant implications for the economy as well as its labor force. More than ever before, minority workers, including immigrants now constitute a substantial percentage of the labor force.

2. Changing Economy

Massachusetts' economy has also experienced drastic changes, transforming from a heavily manufacturing economy into a knowledge-based economy. The type of economy may be characterized as production and services dependent on knowledge-intensive activities that accelerate the pace of technological and scientific advances, while at the same time rendering knowledge quickly out of date (Gibbons et al., 1994; Gordon, 2000). Such a knowledge-based economy has accelerated the growth of job skill requirements for its labor force. While a knowledge-based economy and rapidly growing occupation skills require intensive human capital investment, they tend to produce many high paying jobs that can reduce racial and ethnic income disparity. Some minority groups like Asians and Cubans try to invest more in human capital and seize the opportunity. Other minority groups tend to fall behind in occupational attainment.

At the national level, many studies have been conducted to document these changes in labor market segmentation (Bradbury, 2000; Darity et al., 2000; Nee et al., 1994). However, it is not clear whether the patterns of racial-ethnic occupational attainment at the national level are similar to those at the state level. Few systematic studies using random samples have been conducted to assess the racial distribution in various segments of labor market over the period of time during which fundamental changes have occurred in Massachusetts. As we study the future of work in Massachusetts, it is critical to examine the trends and patterns of occupational attainment among racial-ethnic minorities over the past 30 years. The current study will use

Massachusetts data from the Current Population Surveys of 1974 to 2002 to assess labor market segmentation in different racial groups and how the composition of segments has changed over time.

CURRENT STUDY

The current study has two major purposes. First, it assesses how racial minorities performed in occupational attainment in the past three decades and whether there are any patterns of segmentation for certain racial groups. The assessment was conducted by comparing trends in occupational statuses among minorities to those among Whites. It also compared the trends of occupational statuses between different minority groups (i.e., Blacks, Hispanics, and other racial groups since Asians were not included until 1995 in CPS). These comparisons allow us to examine occupational mobility patterns of racial-ethnic minorities in segments of the labor market during a time period of major social, legal, and demographic shifts.

Second, guided by the human capital theory (Becker, 1964; Mincer, 1962), the current study identified individual-level factors such as educational attainment and veteran status that might have confounding effects on minority occupational attainment when assessing the effect of race. This assessment was performed by comparing racial status with the trends in occupational statuses among minorities over the past 30 years. The assessment was also conducted by comparing the effects of the selected individual factors on occupational attainment over time.

The traditional human capital theory assumes that people who are willing to invest more in their human capital (e.g., education, job training, and health care) are more productive, and thus have more potential to increase future monetary income (Herring 1995). The theory concentrates on the human capital that individuals have achieved (e.g., education) and largely underestimates the human capital that is ascribed (e.g., race and gender). Such an

underestimate is likely to lead to an inaccurate assessment of socio-economic inequality. The present study uses available CPS data to identify both achieved and ascribed human capital in assessing racial occupational attainment.

DATA AND METHODS

The data used in the present study come from the March Current Population Survey (CPS), which is a continuous monthly national sample survey conducted by the U.S. Census Bureau and is the major source of official aggregate labor market statistics. The survey uses a multi-stage cluster sampling design that covers the 50 states and the District of Columbia. Approximately 50,000 households were eligible for interview in each survey. Respondents who were 16 years old or older in each household were interviewed. Although the CPS started in 1940, it has had few changes in its basic concepts used to measure the employment situation, and is a remarkably comparable set of historical data available for public use. Due to some major changes in CPS definitions of occupation (before 1974 and in 2003), we chose to use CPS 1974, 1984, 1994, and 2002 surveys to conduct our analysis of racial occupational attainment that is more consistent over time.¹

The focus of our analysis is the state level information in Massachusetts. Although there are some limitations in using CPS to estimate the state level information, CPS employment estimates for Massachusetts, along with 11 other large states, are considered sufficiently reliable and are used directly by federal government agencies on monthly basis (see CPS Design and Methodology Technical Paper, #63). The CPS sample sizes of respondents who were 16 years old and over in Massachusetts are 2,492 in 1974, 2,840 in 1984, 4,416 in 1994, and 2,971 in 2002.

The dependent variable for the present study is occupation. The 1974 CPS had 13 occupational categories ranging from 1 = professional, technical, and kindred workers to 13 = never worked. We recorded these occupational categories into 4 groups for analytical purpose. They are: 1 = white-collar workers, 2 = blue-collar workers, 3 = service workers, and 4 = never worked. CPS began using a new occupational classification system in 1980. The system had 15 occupational categories ranging from 1 = executive, administrative, and managerial workers to 15 = never worked. To facilitate analysis and compare over time, we compared the 15 occupational categories in 1984, 1994, and 2002 with the 13 categories in 1974 and recorded them into the same 4 groups of occupational categories, that is, 1 = white-collar workers, 2 = blue-collar workers, 3 = service workers, and 4 = never worked. As a result, the 1974, 1984, 1994, and 2002 CPS occupational data were organized into 4 comparable categories for analysis (see Appendix 1 for the variable coding). In multivariate analysis, 3 dummy variables of occupation were created with the category of “never worked” as a reference.

The primary independent variable is race, which can be viewed as an ascribed human capital. CPS had only 3 racial categories (i.e., White only, Black only, and other) before 1995 and 5 (i.e., White only, Black only, American Indian only, Hawaiian only, Asian, and other) in the 1996-2002 surveys. To be comparable for analysis over time, we used CPS supplementary measures of Hispanic origins and recoded the racial categories to create a racial variable that has 4 categories 1 = White, 2 = Black, 3 = Hispanic, and 4 = other in 1974, 1984, 1994, and 2002 data. Three dummy variables of race were created with the category of White as a reference in multivariate analysis.

Given the availability of CPS data, the study also identified several other variables of ascribed (i.e., gender and age) and achieved (i.e., educational attainment, veteran status, and

marital status) human capital. Gender is a dummy variable coded in the direction of male. Age is measured in years. Educational attainment is also measured in years. Veteran status is another dummy variable (1 = veteran; 2 = non-veteran). The variable of marital status has 3 categories 1 = never married; 2 = married, and 3 = other. In multivariate analysis, we created 2 dummy variables of marital status with “3 = other” as a reference (see Table 1 for descriptive statistics of the variables).

Table 1 about here

We first conducted bivariate analyses (cross-tabulations) to have a direct assessment of racial occupational attainment over the 30 years. We also performed multivariate analyses (logistic regressions) using the 3 dummy variables of occupation as the dependent variables, the 3 dummy variables of race as independent variables, and gender, age, educational attainment, marital status, and veteran status as control variables. These multivariate analyses allow us to assess the net effect of race on occupational attainment when the effects of other types of human capital are held constant.

RESULTS

Table 1 shows the univariate analysis of the selected variables. Table 2 reports the results of cross-tabulation analyses of race and occupation. As the results show, the racial-ethnic groups were not significantly different in the four occupational categories (i.e., white-collar, blue-collar, service, and never worked) in 1974. However, since 1984 the groups began to show significant differences. The general trend is that more and more Whites had white collar occupations (42.4% in 1984, 47.9% in 1994, and 51.5% in 2002) compared to their percentage in the same

occupational category in 1974 (34.5%). In contrast, although the data show that the percentage of Blacks in white-collar occupations also increased in 1984 (38.2%) and 1994 (42.2%) compared to their percent in 1974 (23.3%), the percentage significantly declined in 2002 (27.7%). Hispanics had a much lower level of percentage in white-collar occupations (25.5% in 1974, 17.9% in 1984, 25.7% in 1994, and 21.9% in 2002) than Whites over the past 30 years. Other racial categories (largely Asians) do not seem differ too much from Whites in terms of white-collar occupations over the past 30 years.

Also, the data indicate that Hispanics were more likely to be in blue-collar jobs (23% in 1974, 34.6% in 1984, 18.6% in 1994, and 23.2% in 2002) over the 30 years than Whites (19.6% in 1974, 19.0% in 1984, 14.4% in 1994, and 13.4% in 2002). Finally, a consistent pattern is that both Blacks and Hispanics were more likely to have higher percentages in service-related jobs than Whites over the 30 years.

Table 2 about here

Table 3 presents the results of logistic regressions. The results in Table 3 indicate the similar patterns as those indicated in Table 2. Blacks did not significantly differ from Whites in white-collar occupations in 1974, 1984, and 1994 when the effects of other types of human capital (i.e., sex, age, educational attainment, veteran status, and marital status) were held constant. However, in 2002 the difference became significant. Blacks were significantly less likely to have white-collar occupations than Whites ($b = -.64$). The data also show that Hispanics were less likely to have white-collar occupations than Whites since 1984 ($b = -1.09$ in 1984, $-.89$ in 1994, and $-.85$ in 2002). Other racial-ethnic groups (largely Asians) were not

significantly different from Whites in white-collar occupations except in 1994. Our analysis of the 1994 data show that other racial-ethnic groups were less likely to have white-collar jobs than Whites ($b = -.76$). The results also indicate that Blacks and Hispanics were likely to be moving toward service-related jobs as they seem to experience increasing barriers to enter white-collar occupations over time. The 2002 data show that both Blacks and Hispanics were more likely to be in service-related jobs than Whites ($b = .86$ for Blacks and $.44$ for Hispanics) while the 1974 and 1984 data do not show such differences.

In addition, the data in 1974, 1984, 1994, and 2002 all show the significant and consistent effects of age and educational attainment on occupational attainment. People who were younger were more likely to engage in white-collar, blue-collar, and service jobs than older ones. As individual's education years increased, his/her chances for white-collar jobs increased and they were less likely to have blue-collar or service related jobs. Also in 1974 and 1984 one's veteran status was likely to have significant impact on his/her attainment in white-collar or blue-collar occupations. The impact seems to fade in later years.

Table 3 about here

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Using the data collected from the 1974, 1984, 1994, and 2002 Current Population Surveys the present study assesses the historical patterns of racial occupational attainment over the past 30 years. The data reveal interesting findings. Before 1980s, racial disparity seems not significant in occupational attainment although some differences existed among various racial groups. However, since 1980s the racial disparity became increasingly significant and the level

of significance seems to have increased after 2000. These findings indicate a historical trend that racial disparity, especially between Whites and Blacks/Hispanics, in occupational attainment is growing. Whites are more and more likely to have white-collar jobs that tend to offer higher rewards and upward mobility than Blacks and Hispanics. This trend seems to be parallel with the findings that show the rising inequality in both income and wealth in the United States over the past 25 years has reversed the steady progress toward greater equality (Heckman et al., 2004). The trend is at odds with the American enduring effort to reduce or eliminate racial inequality. Several factors may contribute to the observed differences.

First, federal regulations (e.g., the Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and 1965) have terminated racially discriminatory laws and broken down informally enforced codes and private practices. These regulations have removed repressive restrictions on employment opportunities for racial minorities to succeed in a more equitable social environment. These civil rights regulations and policies might have helped minorities improve their social and economic status, and allowed them to have higher paying jobs in the labor market. Heckman's (1997) study indicates that measurable discrimination reduced substantially from 1965 to 1975. Gottschalk (1997) used earnings from 1965 -1995 in CPS and created a racial discrimination coefficient that measures racial bias in workers' earnings. His empirical study documented clearly that the racial discrimination coefficient declined substantially from 1964 to 1985. Our findings from the 1974 and 1984 CPS data are consistent with these studies, that is, excluding Hispanics who faced substantial obstacles to enter white collar occupations, minorities faced no significant barriers to enter different types of occupations when the level of education and other relevant variables were controlled constant during the same time period.

Second, one of the important features of the post-industrial society is its rapid shifts in economic structure that increase division of labor and create new industries and occupations while traditional industries and occupations are in decline. This can be clearly seen in declining blue-collar jobs and the rapid growth of white-collar and service jobs. Our analysis shows that in 1974 34% of the jobs were white-collar, 19.8% blue-collar, 7.7% service while in 2002 47% were white-collar, 14% blue-collar, and 12% service. This shift is more pronounced in the Boston metropolitan area which is the economic epic-center of Massachusetts. The area makes up 62.5% (4 millions) of the state population and creates about 68% (2.8 millions) of all jobs in the state (U.S. Census, 2000). In the city of Boston, in 1960 44% of all jobs were white-collar and 46% were blue-collar; in 1970, 55% white-collar and 45% blue-collar; in 1990 67% white-collar and 33% blue-collar and in 2000 the patterns were basically the same as in 1990 (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census for 1960, 1970, 1980, 1990 and 2000 Census). The structural shift and corresponding occupational changes demanded labor force to adjust quickly.

Dramatic decline in blue-collar jobs has important implications for racial minorities. Typical white-collar jobs (such as financial services, insurance, and health care) usually require college education or beyond and offer attractive economic rewards and opportunities for career advancement. On the other hand, blue-collar jobs (e.g., manufacturing, construction, transportation, and communication equipment services) do not require formal education beyond high school but provide good benefits and decent pay, which is essential to maintain stable families in urban areas. As Wilson (1996) pointed out, the declining proportion of blue-collar jobs has disproportionately hurt racial minorities who usually have lower human capital to adjust. The disappearing of low skill manufacturing jobs tends to marginalize racial minorities

economically and weaken their attachment to labor force, which may eventually perpetuate the already large racial gap in occupational attainment (Wilson, 1996). Growing racial disparity in white-collar occupations since 1995, as our analysis indicates, may reflect this shift.

Third, our analysis found that an increase in concentration of racial minorities in service related jobs. Tilly and Tilly (1998) argued that two important trends in developed economies have significant implications for social stratification in the labor market: a) there is a trend toward an increase in jobs within service sector and a decrease of jobs within the industrial sector; b) these jobs tend to have high turnover rate, a short or non-existent promotion ladder, minimal benefits, and insecurity of tenure. Esping-Anderson (1993) observed that disadvantaged groups such as minorities and women tend to hold these types of jobs and the theoretical implication is the enhancement of exploitation of one group over another group. In our analysis there was a significant increase in service related occupations (7.7% in 1974 and 12 % in 2002) and minority groups are more likely to have these jobs: Hispanics in 2002 and African Americans in 1994 and 2002 were significantly more likely to hold jobs in services.

Fourth, although education is critically important, the right skills may be equally important. Our analysis shows that education is one of the most consistent predictors of white-collar jobs, and with more education one is significantly less likely to work in blue collar or service related occupations. However, our logistic regression indicates that racial barriers in occupational attainment may still exist even when controlling the effect of education. One possible explanation is that education itself may not be an accurate measure of specific skills that meet labor market demands. An individual may have a higher level of education but if he/she does not have the right skills, he/she may still find it difficult to find the right jobs. Also as technology has developed at such a fast pace, the job market demands newer skill sets. Autor

(Autor et al. 2003) argued that the development of technology, especially computerization, significantly shaped the job market, which increasingly demands technical sophistication. In their view (Autor et al., 2003), technological advances replaced many routine manual labor jobs through automation. The advent of computerization also significantly reduced routine information processing jobs that typically required calculation, record keeping, or repetitive customer service.

However, computers can not easily replace those jobs that require non-routine analytic and interactive skills (such as testing a theory, developing a new marketing strategy, management, legal work). They found that over the years the demands for non-routine analytic jobs increased from 50% to 58.7% from 1960 to 1998, non-routine interactive jobs (such as management, legal work, marketing, medical care) increased from 50% to 62%, while routine cognitive jobs decreased from 50% to 44% in the same time period. Autor and his colleagues (2003) clearly demonstrated that demands for computer related skills significantly increased from 1960-1998. Similarly in Massachusetts, the demand for IT related skills is also very high. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics (Bureau of Labor Statistics, Office of Employment Projections 2004), among the top 10 fastest growing occupations in the state, the top seven occupations are all in the information or computer related fields while the other three occupations are in health care and life science related fields. Thus, it is possible that minorities may not have the resources that Whites do to catch up with the rapid occupational change and related market demands and compete in the changing job market.

Lastly, the combined effects of geographic locations and low job skills may further impede racial minorities from obtaining meaningful jobs. Since 1960s, many companies have fled to suburban areas due to the high cost of land and doing business in central cities. “These

companies which once hired blue-collar workers with low and moderate skills, have been replaced by high technology and information-processing firms that require a more educated, white-collar work force” (Herring 1995, 55). Kain (1968) argued that constraints on black residential mobility made it difficult for blacks, who were concentrated in central-city neighborhoods, to move to predominantly white suburban neighborhoods. These residential constraints, coupled with the increasing suburbanization of jobs, left black residents of inner-city neighborhoods with a spatial disadvantage vis-à-vis suburban whites in the labor market.

Kain (1968) suggested that this disadvantage adversely affected employment and labor force participation in two ways. First, increased distances to employment opportunities increased the costs associated with transportation and, therefore, reduced real wages. This disadvantage is compounded when we consider that limited access to vehicles effectively increases these spatial disparities. In addition, unreliable or non-existent public transportation from central-city neighborhoods to suburban job locations (Wilson 1996) makes commuting times substantially longer for inner-city residents. Second, this hypothesized spatial mismatch is believed to affect levels of joblessness through direct and indirect access to job opportunities. Directly, the costs (both material and opportunity) of job searches may be substantially higher for physically isolated job seekers who rely on public transportation. Indirectly, spatially isolated neighborhoods are cut off from informal job networks, such as “word-of-mouth” employment announcements. Consequently, this spatial mismatch may also hinder Blacks and Hispanics to compete white-collar jobs. As Herring (1995, 57) pointed out, “central cities have become the places of employment for skilled, highly paid workers, but at the same time, the communities surrounding these new companies are filled with unskilled workers whose labor power is now superfluous.”

POLICY IMPLICATIONS

The findings and theoretical explanations may carry several policy implications as follows.

1. Education & Training

- Develop more skill enhancement training programs targeted specifically at disadvantaged minorities.
- Encourage community colleges to form partnerships with local business and develop more fast track certificate programs to meet labor market demands and increase recruitment efforts to attract more minority students
- Develop youth training programs that focus on appropriate work ethics and realistic expectations on current job markets, and help install a strong sense of responsibility.
- Strengthen ESL training and funding for immigrants

2. Involvement of Labor Union

- Stronger efforts through labor organizations to persuade business and political leaders to protect against job losses, especially important manufacturing jobs.
- Work closely with employers to develop appropriate training programs that help disadvantaged minorities.
- Work closely with management to develop programs or strategies that cultivate employees' responsibility and loyalty, while installing career development tracks to allow employees to see their future within the company.
- Work closely with the legislature to develop legislation that could strengthen anti-discrimination laws. The existing laws rely on discriminatory intent which is very

difficult to prove when employers and employees or job applicants have differential access to job hiring or promotion process.

3. Political Leaders

- Develop more aggressive tax incentives to encourage business to maintain jobs locally.
- Develop legislation that enforces anti-discriminatory laws more aggressively.
- Increase funding for skill training
- Make schools and educators more accountable for students' performance.

Footnotes

1. The purpose of our study is to examine racial occupational attainment for the past thirty years. We decided to use 1974, 1984, 1994, and 2002 because CPS is known for its consistent definitions of variables over a long period of time. However, a recent change in occupation classification led us to select 2002 as a year of analysis. In 2003 CPS expanded its occupation code from 15 categories to 24 categories. This significant change has rendered historical comparison difficult. Thus, we decided to select 2002 CPS March file to keep occupation comparison compatible over time.

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Appendix 1: Occupation Variable Coding

1974 Data:

1. White-collar:

- Professional, technical, and kindred workers
- Managers and administrators, except farm
- Sales workers
- Clerical and kindred workers

2. Blue-collar:

- Craftsmen and kindred workers
- Operatives, except transport
- Transport equipment operatives
- Non-farm laborers

3. Service:

- Private household workers
- All other service workers

4. Never worked

1984, 1994, and 2002 Data:

1. White-collar:

- Executive, administrative, and managerial
- Professional specialty
- Technicians and related support
- Sales
- Administrative support including clerical

2. Blue-collar:

- Precision production, craft, and repair
- Machine operators, assemblers, inspectors
- Transportation and material moving equipment
- Handlers, equipment cleaners, helpers, and laborers

3. Service:

- Private household service
- Protective service
- Service, except protective and household

4. Never worked

Notes: Occupational categories of farming and armed forces were deleted due to a very few of cases.

Table 1. Descriptive statistics of variables

| Variable | <u>1974</u> | | <u>1984</u> | | <u>1994</u> | | <u>2002</u> | |
|-----------------------|-------------|------|-------------|------|-------------|------|-------------|------|
| | # | % | # | % | # | % | # | % |
| Sex | | | | | | | | |
| Male | 1125 | 45.1 | 1479 | 52.1 | 2336 | 52.9 | 1421 | 47.8 |
| Female | 1367 | 54.9 | 1361 | 47.9 | 2080 | 47.1 | 1550 | 52.2 |
| Age | | | | | | | | |
| 16-24 | 520 | 20.9 | 567 | 20.0 | 619 | 14.0 | 468 | 15.8 |
| 25-34 | 488 | 19.6 | 608 | 21.4 | 971 | 22.0 | 532 | 17.9 |
| 35-44 | 370 | 14.8 | 487 | 17.1 | 892 | 20.2 | 727 | 24.5 |
| 45-64 | 716 | 28.7 | 732 | 25.8 | 1141 | 25.8 | 868 | 29.2 |
| 65 & over | 398 | 16.0 | 446 | 15.7 | 793 | 18.0 | 376 | 12.7 |
| Race | | | | | | | | |
| White | 2266 | 90.9 | 2662 | 93.7 | 3853 | 87.3 | 2350 | 79.1 |
| Black | 43 | 1.7 | 81 | 2.9 | 157 | 3.6 | 251 | 8.4 |
| Hispanic | 169 | 6.8 | 86 | 3.0 | 194 | 4.4 | 242 | 8.1 |
| Other | 14 | 0.6 | 11 | 0.4 | 212 | 4.8 | 128 | 4.3 |
| Education | | | | | | | | |
| Elementary | 117 | 4.7 | 81 | 2.9 | 95 | 2.2 | 71 | 2.4 |
| Junior | | | | | | | | |
| /senior high | 1682 | 67.5 | 1659 | 58.4 | 664 | 15.0 | 1579 | 53.1 |
| College & above | 662 | 26.6 | 1080 | 38.0 | 3657 | 82.8 | 529 | 17.8 |
| Marital status | | | | | | | | |
| Never married | 596 | 23.9 | 817 | 28.8 | 1256 | 28.4 | 863 | 29.0 |
| Married | 1531 | 61.4 | 1659 | 58.4 | 2358 | 53.4 | 1579 | 53.1 |
| Other | 365 | 14.6 | 481 | 16.9 | 802 | 18.2 | 529 | 17.8 |
| Veteran status | | | | | | | | |
| Yes | 463 | 18.6 | 448 | 15.8 | 521 | 11.8 | 290 | 9.8 |
| No | 2029 | 81.4 | 2392 | 84.2 | 3895 | 88.2 | 2681 | 90.2 |
| Occupation | | | | | | | | |
| White-collar | 808 | 32.4 | 1140 | 40.1 | 1977 | 44.8 | 1381 | 47.1 |
| Blue-collar | 492 | 19.7 | 543 | 19.1 | 638 | 14.4 | 420 | 14.1 |
| Service | 213 | 8.5 | 297 | 10.5 | 425 | 9.6 | 374 | 12.6 |
| No job | 2483 | 38.9 | 830 | 29.2 | 1330 | 30.1 | 759 | 25.9 |

Table 2. Race and occupation

| Variable | <u>1974</u> | | | | <u>1984</u> | | | | <u>1994</u> | | | | <u>2002</u> | | | |
|-------------------|---------------|--------------|-----------------|--------------|----------------|--------------|-----------------|--------------|----------------|--------------|-----------------|--------------|----------------|--------------|-----------------|--------------|
| | Race | | | | Race | | | | Race | | | | Race | | | |
| | <u>White</u> | <u>Black</u> | <u>Hispanic</u> | <u>Other</u> | <u>White</u> | <u>Black</u> | <u>Hispanic</u> | <u>Other</u> | <u>White</u> | <u>Black</u> | <u>Hispanic</u> | <u>Other</u> | <u>White</u> | <u>Black</u> | <u>Hispanic</u> | <u>Other</u> |
| Occupation | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| White-collar | 34.5 (734) | 23.3 (10) | 25.5 (41) | 64.3 (9) | 42.4 (1071) | 38.2 (29) | 17.9 (14) | 45.5 (5) | 47.9 (1777) | 42.2 (62) | 25.7 (47) | 33.5 (69) | 51.5 (1194) | 27.7 (69) | 21.9 (52) | 51.6 (66) |
| Blue-collar | 19.6 (418) | 20.9 (9) | 23.0 (37) | 7.1 (1) | 19.0 (480) | 18.4 (14) | 34.6 (27) | 9.0 (1) | 14.4 (534) | 12.2 (18) | 18.6 (34) | 19.9 (41) | 13.4 (312) | 12.0 (30) | 23.2 (55) | 18.0 (23) |
| Service | 7.6 (161) | 14.0 (6) | 9.9 (16) | 0.0 (0) | 9.5 (240) | 17.0 (13) | 12.8 (10) | 27.3 (3) | 8.4 (310) | 19.7 (29) | 16.9 (31) | 12.6 (26) | 10.6 (245) | 24.9 (62) | 24.5 (58) | 7.0 (9) |
| No job | 38.3 (816) | 41.9 (18) | 41.6 (67) | 28.6 (4) | 29.0 (734) | 26.3 (20) | 34.6 (27) | 18.2 (2) | 29.4 (1089) | 25.9 (38) | 38.8 (71) | 34.0 (70) | 24.9 (569) | 35.3 (88) | 30.4 (72) | 23.4 (30) |
| Chi-square | 16.05 | | | | 31.18* | | | | 74.98* | | | | 156.89* | | | |
| df. | 9 | | | | 9 | | | | 9 | | | | 9 | | | |
| N | 2,347 | | | | 2,690 | | | | 4,246 | | | | 2,934 | | | |

Notes: Column percentages are presented. Case numbers are reported in parentheses. *p < .01

Table 3. Logistic regressions of occupations on race with other control variables

| Variable | <u>1974</u> | | | <u>1984</u> | | | <u>1994</u> | | | <u>2002</u> | | |
|----------------|---------------------|--------------------|----------------|---------------------|--------------------|----------------|---------------------|--------------------|----------------|---------------------|--------------------|----------------|
| | <u>White-collar</u> | <u>Blue-collar</u> | <u>Service</u> | <u>White-collar</u> | <u>Blue-collar</u> | <u>Service</u> | <u>White-collar</u> | <u>Blue-collar</u> | <u>Service</u> | <u>White-collar</u> | <u>Blue-collar</u> | <u>Service</u> |
| Black | -.41 | .21 | .63 | .03 | -.31 | .40 | -.06 | -.56* | .70** | -.64** | -.25 | .86** |
| Hispanic | -.25 | .01 | -.18 | -1.09** | .23 | -.16 | -.89** | -.45* | .26 | -.85** | .12 | .44* |
| Other | .90 | -1.56 | -3.76 | -.61 | -1.09 | 1.14 | -.76** | -.23 | .12 | -.33 | .44 | -.52 |
| Gender | -.06 | 1.76** | -.23* | -.56** | 1.68** | -.20 | -.32** | 2.02** | -.41** | -.19* | -1.94** | -.37** |
| Age | -.01* | -.05** | -.02** | -.03** | -.05** | -.03** | -.03** | -.05** | -.04** | -.03** | -.02** | -.03** |
| Education | .39** | -.26** | -.08** | .44** | -.24** | -.11** | .43** | -.30** | -.13** | .41** | -.20** | -.14*** |
| Veteran status | .68** | .29* | .31 | .59** | .43** | .12 | -.14 | .18 | .38 | -.32* | .13 | .35 |
| Never married | .08 | -.19 | .22 | -.09 | -.81** | .33 | -.28* | -.45* | -.28 | -.24 | -.48* | -.29 |
| Married | .13 | .48* | -.13 | .24 | -.05 | -.01 | -.43** | .25 | -.35* | -.28* | .24 | -.16 |
| N | 2,356 | | | 2,716 | | | 4,290 | | | 2,971 | | |

*p < .05

**p < .01