



Center for Latin American, Caribbean & Latino Studies

Where Do Latinos Work? Occupational Structure and Mobility within New York City's Latino Population 1990–2006

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Latino Data Project - Report 23 - December 2008

The Center for Latin American, Caribbean and Latino Studies is a research institute that works for the advancement of the study of Latin America, the Caribbean, and Latinos in the United States in the doctoral programs at the CUNY Graduate Center. One of its major priorities is to provide funding and research opportunities to Latino students at the Ph.D. level.

The Center established and helps administer an interdisciplinary specialization in Latin American, Caribbean and Latino Studies in the Masters of Arts in Liberal Studies program.

The Latino Data Project was developed with the goal of making information available on the dynamically growing Latino population of the United States and especially New York City through the analysis of extant data available from a variety of sources such as the U.S. Census Bureau, the National Institute for Health, the Bureau of Labor Statistics, and state and local-level data sources.

All Latino Data Project reports are available at <http://web.gc.cuny.edu/lastudies/>

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It is expected that the labor market will correct for inefficiencies in the long run, which would thereby eliminate racial and ethnic discrimination (Burtless 1990). However, in practice the labor market is neither race nor color-blind; in fact, income and occupation inequalities persist across racial and ethnic lines for persons with similar education, skills and experience (Conley 1999, Licher and Oliver 2000, Waldinger and Licher 2003). For example, Latinos and African Americans are less likely than whites, Asians and others to be in managerial and professional positions (U.S. Census 2000) and more likely to work in lower-paying service jobs.

New York City's status as a gateway city for immigrants remains strong, and vibrant Latino communities with large numbers of foreign-born residents abound as a result. While the city has added a number of jobs in the financial and managerial sectors, have Latinos been afforded equal access to them? Or, are the employment gains for Latinos found in lower-paying industries where less education and skills are needed? This report examines the difference in occupational changes across racial and ethnic groups in New York City as well as across Latino origin groups. The study uses data from Public Use Microdata Samples (PUMS) from 1990 and 2000 US Census and the American Community Survey of 2006. The data found in this report are for adults ages sixteen and above.

New York City experienced a period of economic expansion beginning in the 1990s. Some sectors such as management, professional and service sectors experienced growth during this period, yet other sectors such as production and office and administration have lost jobs. While there has been an overall increase in employment gains in the management sector, which includes business and finance, non-Hispanic whites experienced the most significant gains. In 1990, 38.4% of non-Hispanic whites held jobs in management and professional specialty occupations, increasing to 43.7% in 2000 and 47.4% in 2006. Latinos were employed at much lower rates in this sector, though gains were also made: in 1990 13.8% of Latinos were employed in management and professional positions; in 2000 the percentage of Latinos employed in this sector rose to 15.5% and in 2006 to 16.4%. Within the management and professional sector, all groups were more likely to be employed in positions of management over other occupations, however, non-Hispanic whites were much more likely to occupy these positions than blacks, Latinos or Asians. Moreover while whites made slight gains in management positions (11.3% in 1990, 11.5% in 2000 and 12.8% in 2006) relatively fewer Latinos held management positions (4.7% in 1990, 4.3% in 2000 and 4.2% in 2006). Similar patterns are found in the business and finance sector, in which whites and Asians were more likely to be employed than Latinos or blacks. (see tables 1, 2 and 3).

In 1990 all groups had a relatively high proportion of jobs within the technical, sales and office sector, however the percentage of people employed in this sector fell from 1990 to 2006; in 1990, 35.5% of the total employed population worked in this sector, while in 2006 only 29.3% of those employed held sales and office jobs.

Latinos were more likely than any other group to be employed in the service sector, while relatively fewer numbers of whites held service-sector jobs. In 1990, 22.6% of working Latinos were employed within the service sector and this increased to 32.6% in 2006. While all groups experienced relative growth service-sector jobs, in 2006 blacks and Latinos were more likely than other groups to hold jobs in the service sector. Within services they were more likely to work within food preparation and serving, building and grounds maintenance, and personal care and service. The percentage of Latinos in food preparation and serving as well as personal care and service grew relative to other categories within the service sector. In 1990, 5.7% of Latinos held jobs in food preparation and serving and 5% worked in personal care and service. By 2006 this percentage had risen to 7.2% in food preparation and serving and 7.4% in personal care and service.

Table 1
Occupational Categories by Race/Ethnicity, 1990
(in percentages of total)

Occupation	Non-Hispanic Whites	Non-Hispanic Blacks	Latinos	Asians	Total
Management, Professional, and Related	38.4	19.4	13.8	26.3	27.7
Management	11.3	5.1	4.7	7.3	8.1
Business and Financial Operations	5.7	3.1	2.3	4.6	4.3
Computer and Mathematical Science	0.8	0.4	0.3	0.9	0.6
Architecture and Engineering	1.2	0.3	0.4	1.5	0.8
Life, Physical and Social Science	1.0	0.3	0.2	0.6	0.6
Community and Social Service	1.2	2.1	1.0	0.6	1.4
Legal	2.2	0.3	0.2	0.4	1.2
Education, Training and Library	5.8	3.6	2.3	2.6	4.3
Art, Design, Entertainment, Sports and Media	6.0	1.2	1.3	2.4	3.6
Healthcare	3.1	3.0	1.2	5.4	2.8
Technical, Sales and Office	36.2	37.5	31.7	34.1	35.5
Healthcare Technician	0.7	1.6	0.9	1.3	1.0
Science Technician	0.6	0.4	0.4	0.9	0.6
Other Technician	1.7	1.0	0.8	2.3	1.4
Sales	12.5	7.6	10.0	14.1	10.9
Office and Administrative	20.7	27.0	19.5	15.5	21.6
Services	10.0	23.6	22.6	16.2	16.5
Healthcare Support	1.1	8.4	3.6	1.7	3.5
Protective Services	2.3	4.3	2.7	0.6	2.8
Food Preparation and Serving	3.0	2.9	5.7	10.1	4.1
Building and Grounds Cleaning	1.5	3.4	5.6	1.1	2.8
Personal Care and Service	2.1	4.6	5.0	2.8	3.4
Construction, Extraction and Maintenance	5.5	5.0	6.1	3.1	5.3
Construction and Extraction	3.2	2.5	3.1	1.4	2.9
Installation, Maintenance and Repair	2.3	2.5	3.0	1.7	2.4
Production, Transportation and Material Moving	9.9	14.5	25.8	20.3	15.1
Production	4.8	5.7	15.1	14.3	7.9
Transportation and Material Moving	5.0	8.9	10.7	6.0	7.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Figure 1
Occupational Categories by Race/Ethnicity, 1990
(in percentages of total)

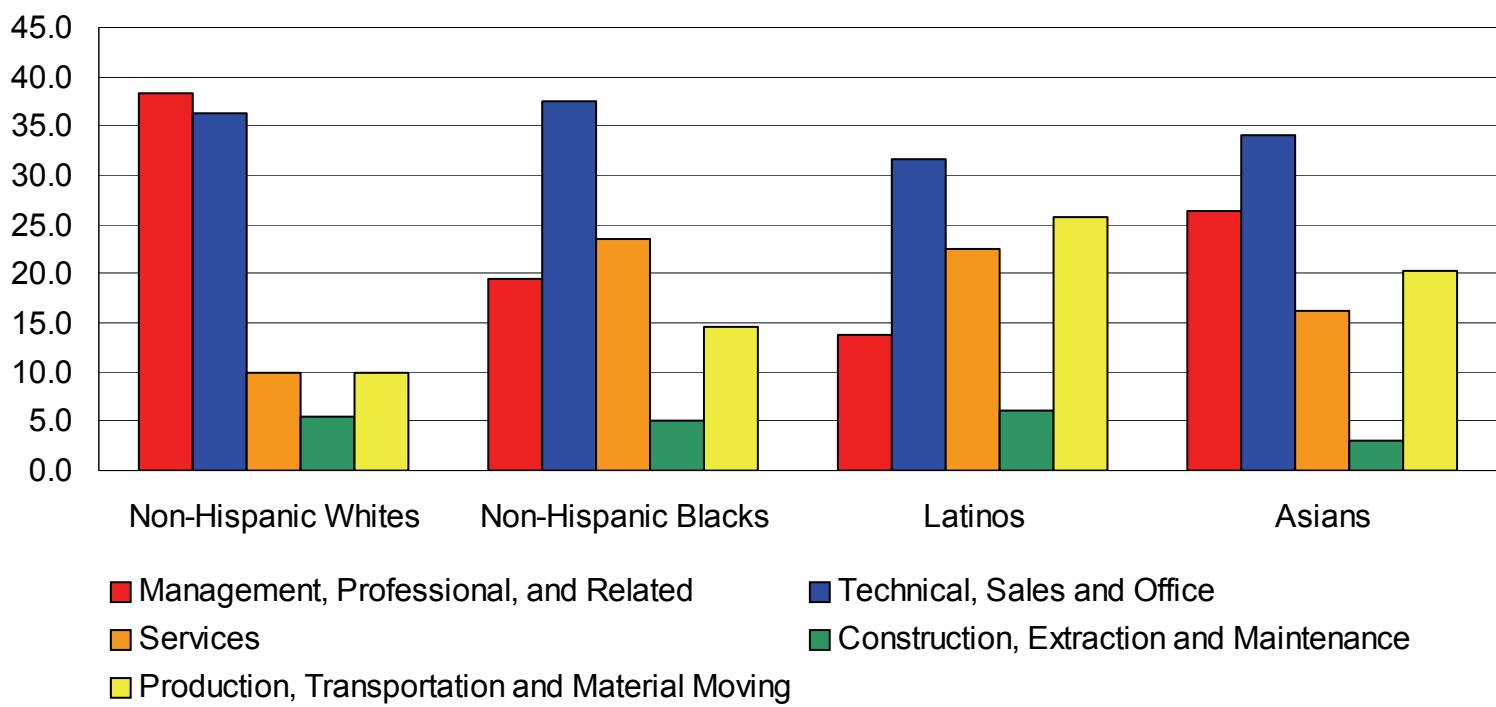


Table 2
Occupational Categories by Race/Ethnicity, 2000
(in percentages of total)

Occupation	Non-Hispanic Whites	Non-Hispanic Blacks	Latinos	Asians	Total
Management, Professional, and Related	43.7	22.1	15.5	28.7	29.7
Management	11.5	4.8	4.3	6.4	7.5
Business and Financial Operations	5.9	3.4	2.2	4.9	4.3
Computer and Mathematical Science	1.8	0.9	0.6	2.2	1.3
Architecture and Engineering	1.0	0.4	0.3	1.1	0.7
Life, Physical and Social Science	1.1	0.3	0.2	1.0	0.7
Community and Social Service	1.4	2.0	1.0	0.7	1.4
Legal	2.5	0.4	0.3	0.7	1.2
Education, Training and Library	8.1	5.3	4.0	3.3	5.9
Art, Design, Entertainment, Sports and Media	7.1	1.3	1.5	2.9	3.8
Healthcare	3.3	3.3	1.1	5.5	3.0
Technical, Sales and Office	32.0	34.0	29.6	31.7	31.9
Healthcare Technician	0.7	1.6	0.7	1.0	1.0
Science Technician	0.5	0.3	0.3	0.5	0.4
Other Technician	2.4	0.9	0.8	2.3	1.6
Sales	11.6	9.0	11.1	13.5	11.1
Office and Administrative	16.8	22.1	16.9	14.3	17.9
Services	11.6	27.0	27.2	17.0	19.8
Healthcare Support	1.7	9.8	4.8	2.2	4.5
Protective Services	2.2	4.9	2.7	1.0	2.9
Food Preparation and Serving	3.2	3.3	7.2	8.6	4.8
Building and Grounds Cleaning	1.4	2.9	5.3	0.9	2.7
Personal Care and Service	3.1	6.1	7.4	4.3	5.0
Construction, Extraction and Maintenance	5.3	5.4	6.5	3.7	5.5
Construction and Extraction	2.9	2.5	3.0	1.6	2.7
Installation, Maintenance and Repair	2.4	2.9	3.5	2.1	2.8
Production, Transportation and Material Moving	7.3	11.5	21.2	19.0	13.1
Production	3.2	3.7	10.6	12.0	6.1
Transportation and Material Moving	4.1	7.9	10.6	7.0	7.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Figure 2
Occupational Categories by Race/Ethnicity, 2000
(in percentages of total)

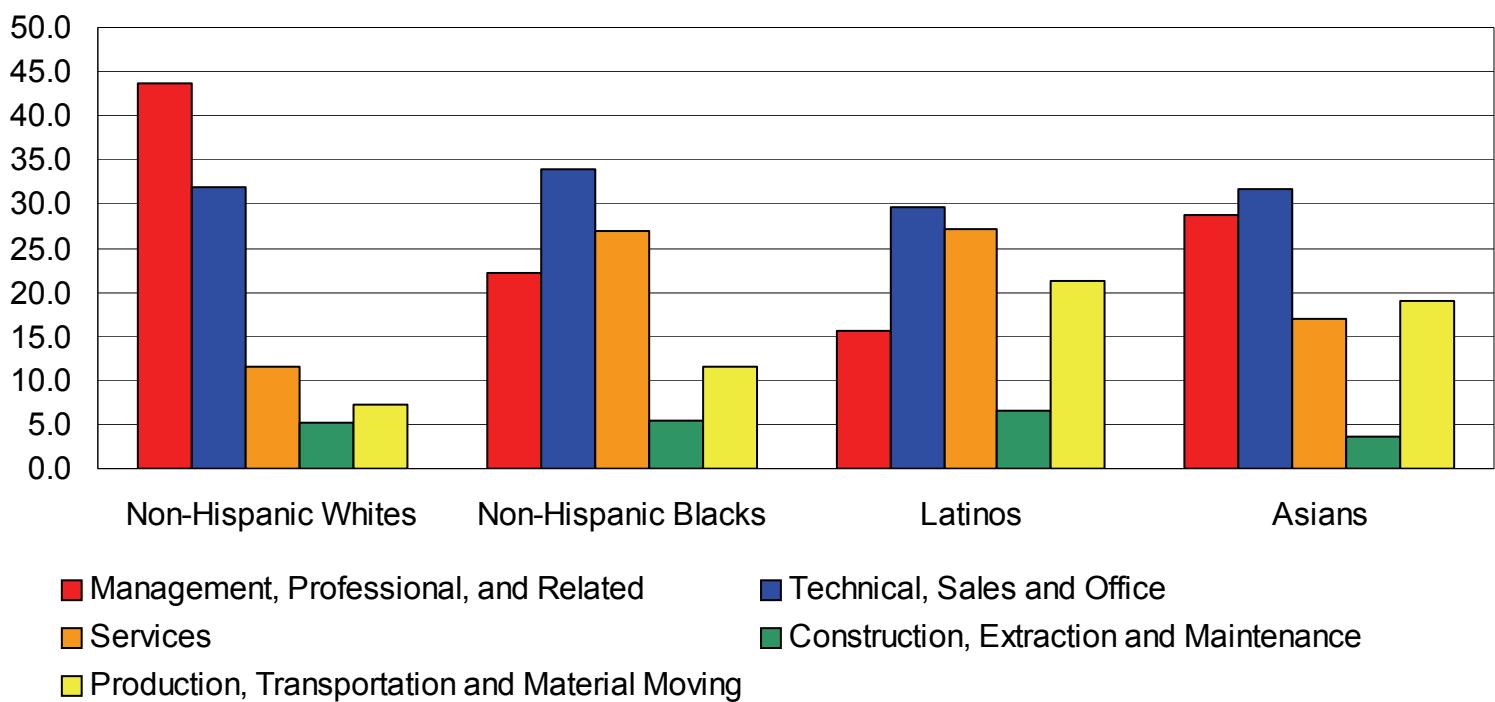
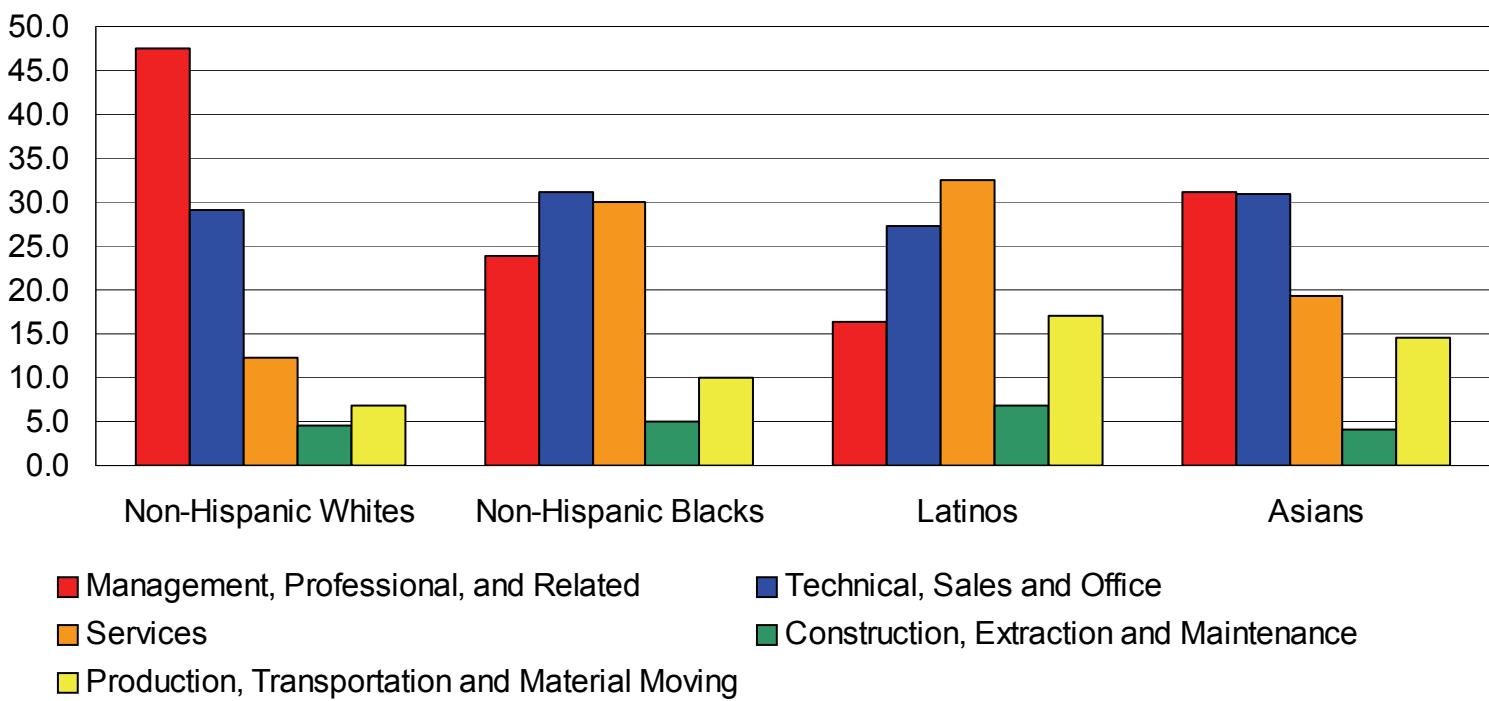


Table 3
Occupational Categories by Race/Ethnicity, 2006
(in percentages of total)

Occupation	Non-Hispanic Whites	Non-Hispanic Blacks	Latinos	Asians	Total
Management, Professional, and Related	47.4	23.9	16.4	31.1	31.6
Management	12.8	5.5	4.2	8.1	8.2
Business and Financial Operations	5.9	3.3	1.9	6.4	4.3
Computer and Mathematical Science	1.6	0.8	0.9	2.5	1.3
Architecture and Engineering	1.0	0.3	0.3	1.0	0.7
Life, Physical and Social Science	1.2	0.2	0.2	0.8	0.7
Community and Social Service	1.6	2.6	1.3	0.8	1.7
Legal	3.1	0.3	0.3	0.7	1.4
Education, Training and Library	8.7	6.2	4.4	3.2	6.3
Art, Design, Entertainment, Sports and Media	7.9	1.6	1.8	2.9	4.2
Healthcare	3.7	3.1	1.1	4.9	3.0
Technical, Sales and Office	29.1	31.1	27.2	30.9	29.3
Healthcare Technician	0.9	1.9	0.6	0.8	1.0
Science Technician	0.3	0.2	0.1	0.4	0.3
Other Technician	2.1	0.9	0.6	1.6	1.4
Sales	11.8	9.1	10.4	14.2	11.1
Office and Administrative	14.0	18.9	15.5	13.9	15.5
Services	12.3	29.9	32.6	19.4	22.6
Healthcare Support	1.9	10.7	5.5	3.0	5.1
Protective Services	2.3	5.7	2.8	0.9	3.0
Food Preparation and Serving	3.4	3.5	9.0	8.5	5.5
Building and Grounds Cleaning	1.3	3.3	6.0	1.5	3.1
Personal Care and Service	3.3	6.8	9.3	5.5	6.0
Construction, Extraction and Maintenance	4.5	5.1	6.8	4.2	5.2
Construction and Extraction	2.8	2.7	4.2	2.2	3.1
Installation, Maintenance and Repair	1.7	2.4	2.6	2.0	2.1
Production, Transportation and Material Moving	6.8	10.1	17.1	14.5	11.3
Production	2.3	2.2	6.3	7.1	3.9
Transportation and Material Moving	4.4	7.9	10.8	7.4	7.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Figure 3
Occupational Categories by Race/Ethnicity, 2006
(in percentages of total)



Jobs in the service sector tend to be associated with lower scores on the Duncan socio-economic indicators (SEI), which is a composite of occupational prestige, income and education; employment within this sector is less stable and is more likely to pay less than employment within sectors with higher SEI scores such as office, administrative and technical jobs. Additionally jobs within the service sector and in particular food preparation and serving and personal service do not require a high level of English language skills. The data analyzed in this report shows a statistically significant correlation between English language skills and occupation. As expected, those with fewer English skills tend to hold jobs in lower-paying sectors.

Latinos were also more likely than any other group to be employed within the production, transportation and material moving sector. The relative number of people employed in this sector fell for all groups, including Latinos and this may be due in part to the loss of manufacturing and related jobs within New York City in the last 20 years. In 1990, 20.3% of Latinos were employed in the production, transportation or material moving sector, while in 2006 only 17.1% of Latinos held jobs within this sector.

Occupational Categories among Latino National Groups in New York City

The six largest Latino groups in New York City have a diverse occupational distribution. Puerto Ricans were most likely to be employed within the technical, sales and administration sector as well as the service sector. Puerto Ricans experienced a significant change in occupational distribution between 1990 and 2006; in 1990, 21.8% of Puerto Ricans were employed in the production, transportation and material moving sector while in 2006 this number fell to 11.3%. This is consistent with the overall drop in manufacturing in New York City during this time period. There was a gain for Puerto Ricans in the management and professional sector (14.5% in 1990 to 20.8% in 2006) and in the service sector (20.7% in 1990 to 27.7% in 2006). Within the management and professional sector Puerto Ricans were employed in relatively higher numbers in management positions as well as in education and training. Employment in education and training grew at a higher rate, in 1990, 2.9% of Puerto Ricans were employed in this area, while in 2006, 6.7% of employed Puerto Ricans were working in this sector.

In 1990, Dominicans were more likely to hold jobs in the production, transportation and material moving sector than any other sector (35.1%). However in 2000, only 24.5% of Dominicans were employed in this sector. The rate of employment in the production, transportation and material moving sector fell even more to 19.1% in 2006. There were, however, gains in the service sector; by 2006, 37.2% of Dominicans were employed within this sector, up from 22.2% in 1990. The growth in this sector was concentrated in healthcare support and personal care and services; in 1990, 4.7% of Dominicans held healthcare support jobs and 5% held jobs in the personal care and service sector while in 2006, 10.2% of working Dominicans held jobs in healthcare support and 11.8% were employed in personal care and service. (see Tables 4, 5 and 6).

Mexicans experienced relative job loss in all sectors except the service industry. Mexicans were more likely to work in the service sector than any other. In 1990, 32.3% of Mexicans were employed in service sector jobs, while in 2000, 35.3% held jobs in this sector and 43.2% in 2006. Within the service sector, Mexicans were overwhelmingly employed in food preparation and serving. This may be due to the newer immigrant status of Mexicans as well as education and language skills, all of which are statistically correlated with occupation. Mexicans were likely to hold only a high school diploma or less, only 17.6% of Mexicans had any education beyond high school. Additionally, 20.1% of Mexicans reported not speaking English and 33.6% said they spoke English but not well.

In 1990, Ecuadorians were more likely to be employed in the production, transportation and material moving over any other sector (35%). However, similar to overall trends, jobs in this sector were lost and by 2006 only 27% of Ecuadorians held jobs in this sector. Relative job growth occurred in the service sector as well as the construction, extraction and maintenance sector. In 1990, 22.7% of Ecuadorians were employed in the service sector, while in 2006, 31% of Ecuadorians held service sector jobs. In 2006, 16% of Ecuadorians held jobs in the constructions, extraction and maintenance sector, up from 7% in 1990. Within the service industry, the trend is similar to that of Mexicans, whereby much of the growth occurred within the food preparation and serving sectors as well as the personal care and service jobs.

Similar to Puerto Ricans, Dominicans and Cubans, Colombians experienced relative growth in the management and professional sector (12.5% in 1990, 17.8% in 2000, and 18.2% in 2006). Colombians also progressively held more service sector jobs. In 1990, 26.3% of Colombians were employed in the service sector, while in 2006, 34.3% held service-sector jobs. Unlike Mexicans and Ecuadorians, much of the growth within this sector was not attributed to food preparation and serving, but to building and grounds cleaning as well as personal care and service. In 1990, 8.2% of Colombians were employed in building and grounds maintenance jobs, while 11.9% held jobs in this sector in

2006. The percentage of Colombians employed in food preparation and serving declined within the period 1990 to 2006, from 7% to 4.5%.

Cubans were more likely than other groups to be employed within the management and professional sectors. Cubans also experienced relative gains within this sector and in 2000 and 2006, Cubans were more likely to hold management or professional jobs than any other. Within the sector, Cubans were concentrated in management and business and finance niches, with high growth occurring in business and finance. In 1990, 3.3% of Cubans held jobs in this area, in 2000 this percentage rose to 4.6 and grew to 8.1% in 2006. Cubans were the only group to experience relative job loss in the service sector. In 1990, 20.1% of Cubans were employed in this sector, while in 2006 only 19.1% of Cubans held service sector jobs. Within this sector, Cubans were more likely to work in jobs in building and grounds cleaning. The success of Cubans in occupational distribution relative to other Latino groups can be attributed in part to the high education and English language skills of Cubans. Cubans were more likely than any other Latino group to have both college degrees and/or higher and proficient English skills.

Table 4
Occupational Categories by Latino Nationality, 1990
(in percentages of total)

Occupation	Puerto Rican	Dominican	Mexican	Ecuadorian	Colombian	Cuban
Management, Professional, and Related	14.5	9.4	11.6	8.5	12.5	23.7
Management	4.7	3.9	3.5	3.0	4.6	8.1
Business and Financial Operations	2.7	1.5	1.6	1.5	2.5	3.3
Computer and Mathematical Science	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.5	0.3	0.4
Architecture and Engineering	0.3	0.2	0.1	0.3	0.7	0.9
Life, Physical and Social Science	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.1
Community and Social Service	1.4	0.5	0.4	0.2	0.6	1.7
Legal	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.1	1.1
Education, Training and Library	2.9	1.4	2.3	1.3	1.7	2.8
Art, Design, Entertainment, Sports and Media	1.0	1.0	2.0	1.0	1.1	2.6
Healthcare	1.1	0.6	1.4	0.6	0.9	2.8
Technical, Sales and Office	37.3	27.8	20.1	26.8	25.9	32.0
Healthcare Technician	1.2	0.6	0.3	0.6	0.7	0.9
Science Technician	0.5	0.5	0.1	0.3	0.6	0.3
Other Technician	0.9	0.6	0.4	0.6	0.7	1.4
Sales	10.3	12.2	6.4	9.8	9.4	9.9
Office and Administrative	24.4	13.9	12.9	15.5	14.6	19.5
Services	20.7	22.2	32.3	22.7	26.3	20.1
Healthcare Support	3.7	4.7	0.9	2.0	2.3	2.9
Protective Services	4.1	1.5	1.1	0.9	1.2	2.4
Food Preparation and Serving	3.8	5.3	22.1	8.8	7.0	4.5
Building and Grounds Cleaning	5.1	5.8	4.3	6.7	8.2	6.0
Personal Care and Service	4.0	5.0	3.8	4.3	7.7	4.4
Construction, Extraction and Maintenance	5.7	5.6	6.1	7.0	7.2	5.6
Construction and Extraction	3.0	2.4	3.2	3.2	3.9	2.8
Installation, Maintenance and Repair	2.7	3.3	2.9	3.8	3.3	2.8
Production, Transportation and Material Moving	21.8	35.1	29.9	35.0	28.0	18.7
Production	11.5	22.0	19.2	23.4	17.2	11.6
Transportation and Material Moving	10.4	13.1	10.7	11.6	10.9	7.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Figure 4
Occupational Categories by Latino Nationality, 1990
(in percentages of total)

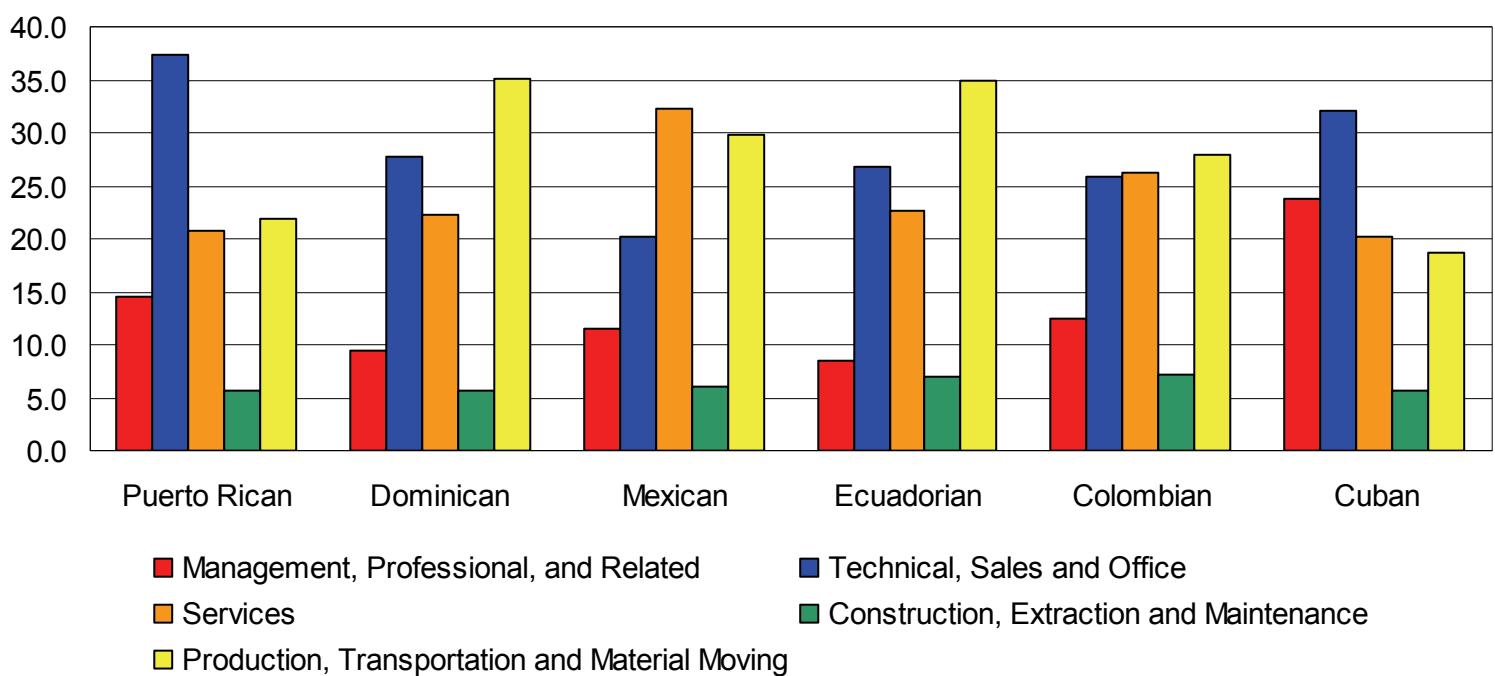


Table 5
Occupational Categories by Latino Nationality, 2000
(in percentages of total)

Occupation	Puerto Rican	Dominican	Mexican	Ecuadorian	Colombian	Cuban
Management, Professional, and Related	18.7	11.9	9.4	10.4	17.8	31.2
Management	4.9	3.4	3.0	3.7	4.1	8.8
Business and Financial Operations	2.6	1.8	1.5	1.7	2.8	4.5
Computer and Mathematical Science	0.7	0.4	0.3	0.4	0.8	0.4
Architecture and Engineering	0.3	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.7	0.7
Life, Physical and Social Science	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.3	0.2
Community and Social Service	1.5	0.8	0.3	0.3	1.2	1.4
Legal	0.3	0.0	0.1	0.3	1.0	1.7
Education, Training and Library	5.7	3.3	1.6	2.0	2.9	6.0
Art, Design, Entertainment, Sports and Media	1.3	1.0	1.8	1.1	2.0	4.6
Healthcare	1.2	0.9	0.4	0.6	2.1	3.0
Technical, Sales and Office	35.8	28.9	19.5	22.8	25.3	28.1
Healthcare Technician	1.0	0.5	0.3	0.4	0.6	1.1
Science Technician	0.3	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.5	0.5
Other Technician	1.0	0.6	0.6	0.3	0.9	1.9
Sales	10.9	13.7	8.9	8.2	9.9	7.9
Office and Administrative	22.7	14.0	9.7	13.6	13.4	16.8
Services	24.6	28.9	35.3	23.6	30.9	21.6
Healthcare Support	4.8	6.6	1.4	2.7	4.2	2.3
Protective Services	4.3	1.9	1.1	1.0	1.4	3.1
Food Preparation and Serving	4.3	6.8	20.4	9.0	5.0	4.8
Building and Grounds Cleaning	5.0	5.7	5.0	5.2	8.5	4.2
Personal Care and Service	6.2	8.0	7.4	5.8	11.8	7.3
Construction, Extraction and Maintenance	5.6	5.8	6.3	10.6	6.5	5.4
Construction and Extraction	2.3	2.3	3.7	5.5	3.2	2.7
Installation, Maintenance and Repair	3.3	3.6	2.6	5.2	3.3	2.7
Production, Transportation and Material Moving	15.3	24.5	29.5	32.6	19.6	13.7
Production	6.6	12.6	15.4	19.7	9.9	6.5
Transportation and Material Moving	8.6	11.9	14.2	12.8	9.6	7.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Figure 5
Occupational Categories by Latino Nationality, 2000
(in percentages of total)

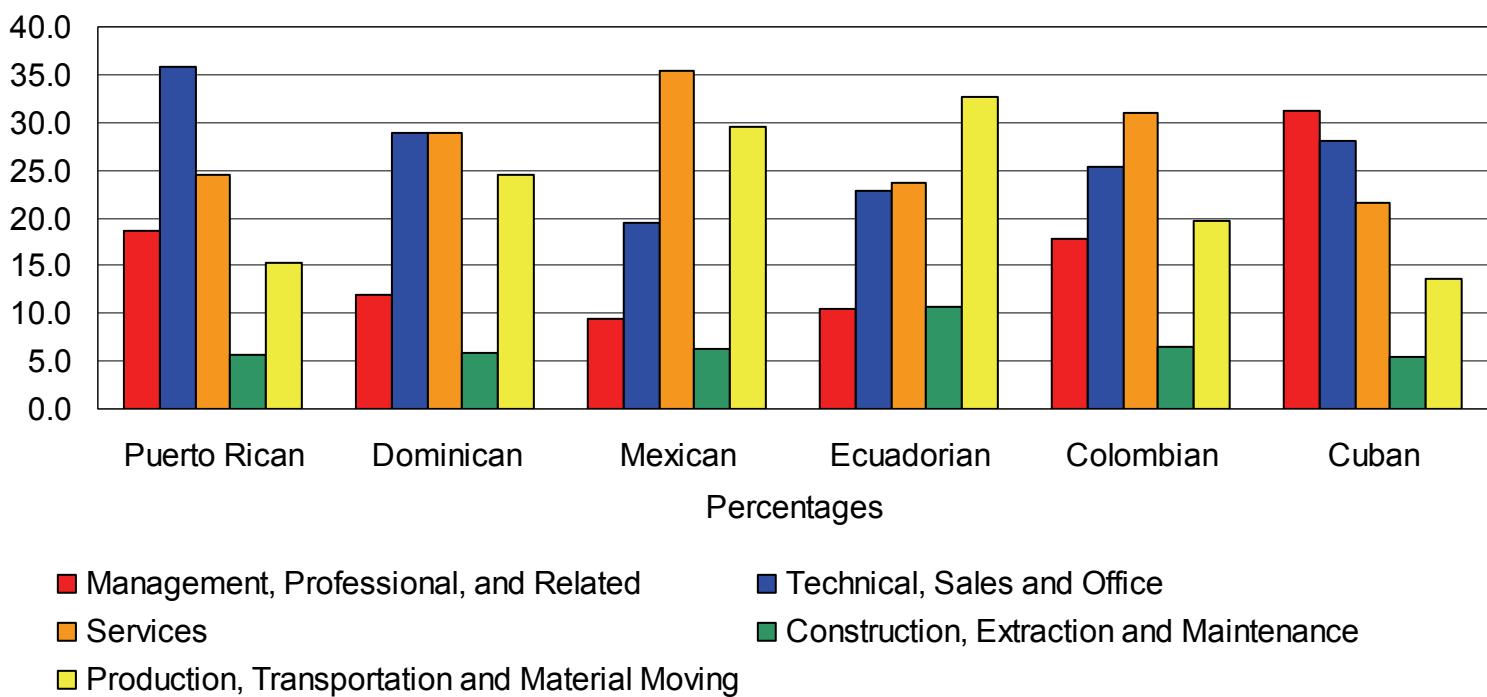
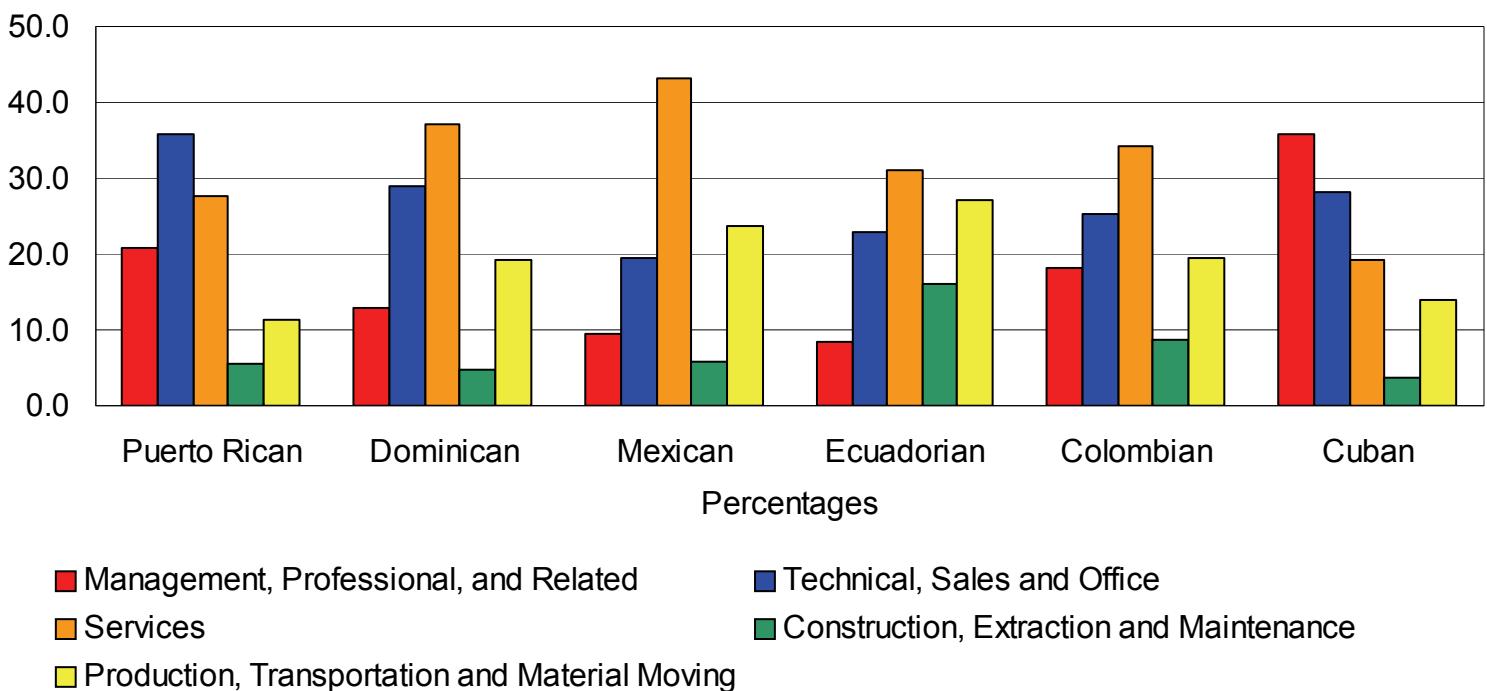


Table 6
Occupational Categories by Latino Nationality, 2006
(in percentages of total)

Occupation	Puerto Rican	Dominican	Mexican	Ecuadorian	Colombian	Cuban
Management, Professional, and Related	20.8	12.9	9.5	8.3	18.2	35.8
Management	5.0	2.7	3.7	3.2	4.1	7.2
Business and Financial Operations	2.5	1.3	0.5	1.3	2.3	8.1
Computer and Mathematical Science	1.2	0.5	0.5	0.8	0.5	1.5
Architecture and Engineering	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.0	0.0
Life, Physical and Social Science	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.0
Community and Social Service	1.8	1.4	0.5	0.2	1.0	3.6
Legal	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.2	3.9
Education, Training and Library	7.0	4.0	1.6	1.2	4.9	7.3
Art, Design, Entertainment, Sports and Media	1.3	1.1	2.0	0.5	3.4	4.2
Healthcare	1.5	0.7	0.4	0.5	2.0	0.0
Technical, Sales and Office	35.8	28.9	19.5	22.8	25.3	28.1
Healthcare Technician	1.2	0.3	0.2	0.1	1.5	1.6
Science Technician	0.2	0.0	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.0
Other Technician	1.0	0.3	0.2	0.8	1.1	0.0
Sales	9.7	13.0	8.0	6.4	8.5	16.9
Office and Administrative	22.8	13.1	9.2	10.4	13.7	12.4
Services	27.7	37.2	43.2	31.0	34.2	19.1
Healthcare Support	5.0	10.2	0.7	3.3	4.2	2.7
Protective Services	5.3	2.2	0.5	1.7	2.2	2.5
Food Preparation and Serving	4.6	6.2	29.8	11.8	4.5	5.0
Building and Grounds Cleaning	5.3	6.8	4.2	5.6	11.9	6.7
Personal Care and Service	7.6	11.8	8.1	8.6	11.5	2.2
Construction, Extraction and Maintenance	5.4	4.8	5.9	16.1	8.6	3.7
Construction and Extraction	3.0	2.0	4.9	11.3	5.9	0.7
Installation, Maintenance and Repair	2.4	2.8	1.0	4.7	2.7	3.0
Production, Transportation and Material Moving	11.3	19.1	23.7	27.0	19.6	13.9
Production	3.2	7.1	8.0	12.0	6.8	2.6
Transportation and Material Moving	8.1	12.0	15.7	15.0	7.1	8.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Figure 6
Occupational Categories by Latino Nationality, 2006
(in percentages of total)



Conclusion

These data show that not all groups benefited equally from the economic expansion that occurred in New York City after 1990. Across the major racial and ethnic groups, whites were more likely to be employed within sectors that are associated with higher socio-economic indicators such as the management and professional sector. The loss of jobs in the manufacturing sector and the gain in the service sector affected black and Latinos more than other groups. The rise of service sector jobs can prove to be problematic; many service industry jobs such as food preparation and serving offer low wages, poor working conditions and little job security.

Within the Latino group, the different origin groups also experienced job growth and losses in varying sectors. Puerto Ricans, Dominicans, Colombians and Cubans all experienced growth in the management and professional sector, while Ecuadorians and Mexicans had relative losses in this area. This is due in part to education and English language skills, but may also be attributed to the influx of newer immigrants. Immigrant groups have a tendency to move out of lower paying jobs as their tenure in the United States lengthens and newer immigrants are often employed in low paying sectors such as service and production (Toussain-Comeau, Smith, and Comeau Jr. 2005). Dominicans, Mexicans and Ecuadorians had high rates of foreign-born population growth from 2000 to 2006 (Bergad 2007) as well as high rates of employment within these aforementioned sectors.

As the economic structure has changed, so have the opportunities for occupational achievement and mobility available to immigrants and minorities. Immigrants and minorities are faced with a loss of manufacturing and rise in service sector jobs. In the past immigrants and minorities were employed more heavily in a strong manufacturing and production sector which offered wages and benefits set by unions. The service sector is less likely to be unionized or regulated and does not offer the same opportunities for economic mobility.

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