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# In Search of Economic Parity: The Mexican Labor Force in Chicago



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**The Metropolitan Chicago Initiative (MCI) conducts applied research and policy analysis and promotes community capacity-building in the metropolitan Chicago area. Community projects focus on Berwyn-Cicero, where the MCI profiles the status of Latino families and neighborhoods and identifies ways to improve their health, education, and well-being. Regional projects focus on measuring the minority education achievement gap, monitoring education public policy developments, and conducting analysis of 2000 Census data for Chicago-area neighborhoods and municipalities. Current projects are funded by the MacNeal Health Foundation, the Joyce Foundation, and the Chicago Community Trust.**

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The three wavy lines shown here are a symbol from ancient times representing the human intellect in action. From *The Book of Signs*, collected, drawn, and explained by Rudolf Koch (London: The First Edition Club, 1930, page 8).

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## About the Researcher

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**John Koval** is associate professor of sociology at DePaul University with interests in work, immigration, inequality, and globalization. He is presently editing and writing several chapters for “The New Chicago,” a book manuscript dealing with urban change and globalization in Chicago within the past quarter century. He received his PhD from the University of Oregon and worked on poverty and delinquency programs in Oregon before joining the sociology faculty at Notre Dame and, later, chairing the Department of Sociology at DePaul. His present research focuses on immigrants in the labor force and issues of economic inequality.

## Introduction

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Economic parity is, perhaps, the best single indicator of full and equitable participation of a minority or immigrant group in a society. Occupational mobility is the single clearest path for attaining that goal. Yet, in regard to Mexicans in the United States two facts stand out. First, whether native born or foreign born, Mexicans collectively are at or near the bottom of the wage hierarchy. Second, Mexicans have the lowest intergenerational mobility of any minority or immigrant group in the country. Prevailing knowledge suggests then that, on the national scene, economic parity for Mexicans any time soon is more a hope than a reality.

This paper will focus on Mexicans and the Mexican labor force in Chicago. Its intent is fundamentally exploratory. Its specific goal is to lay a foundation and to identify some parameters for gauging the relative economic well-being of Mexicans in the Chicago metropolitan area and to identify areas of strengths and weaknesses on the path to economic parity—given a restructuring and evolving labor force and economy. In this sense it is a working paper in anticipation of a larger work on the Mexican labor force in the Chicago metropolitan area. The present analysis has several purposes:

1. to provide an overview of the Mexican labor force in Chicago, native born and foreign born;
2. to locate the Mexican labor force in the context of an increasingly minority and immigrant ethnic labor force;
3. to look into the present and short-term future and situate, horizontally and vertically, the Mexican labor force in Chicago's older industrial economy and its newer high-technology, information, and service economy—each of which has different prospects and criteria for upward mobility;
4. to determine the extent of income growth—one measure of economic parity—in Chicago's Mexican labor force from 1980 to 2000;
5. to use one industry, the food industry, as a case study of a Mexican industrial niche that includes a complex of occupations and evidence of occupational mobility;
6. to take a look at the structure of Chicago's changing economy, reorder some of its components, and speculate on the effects of the evolving present on the Mexican labor force.

## The Mexican Labor Force in Chicago: An Overview

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In the short span of 20 years the Mexican labor force in the nine-county Chicago metropolitan area has more than tripled. While some of that growth is the result of large numbers of second- and third-generation Mexican Americans entering the labor force, the largest growth is attributable to the continued flow of immigrants from Mexico over that time period, which has resulted in a near quadrupling of their numbers in the labor force. Presently, Mexican immigrants constitute 71 percent of Chicago’s Mexican labor force—up from 61 percent in 1980. If we disaggregate the data by sex we find that immigrant men constitute 77 percent of the male Mexican labor force in the metro area. As a result, much of the analysis that follows is tilted in the direction of Mexican immigrants. When ‘Mexican labor force’ is used it refers to all workers of Mexican origin, whether foreign born or native born; otherwise ‘immigrant Mexican labor force’ will be specified.

As impressive as the above facts are, they are embedded in a context of equally impressive demographic changes. The labor force of the other major immigrant groups to Chicago has either more than doubled, as in the case of Filipinos and Koreans, or more than tripled, as have Chinese and Asian Indians.

**Table 1**  
**Chicago Metropolitan Area**  
**Growth of Ethnic Labor Force: 1980–2000**

Ethnicity	1980			2000		
	NB*	FB*	Total	NB*	FB*	Total
Mexican	67,840	105,250	173,090	166,151	407,904	574,055
Polish	347,004	44,987	391,991	301,269	100,812	402,081
Indian	940	19,266	20,206	6,536	58,442	64,978
Filipino	1,240	24,282	25,522	8,011	52,295	60,306
Chinese	2,681	11,726	14,407	6,409	38,458	44,867
Korean	160	10,402	10,562	4,305	23,518	27,823

Source: US Census Bureau, 2000 Census, 1% Public Use Micro-Sample (PUMS).

\* Native born, foreign born

This simply underscores that the last two decades have been a time of immense immigration to this country from around the world and in particular to Chicago, one of this country’s five immigrant capitals. In the Mexican case, however, when it comes to social and economic impact, the sheer magnitude of growth far overshadows that of any other immigrant group. For example, given the doubling and trebling of other immigrant groups over the past 20 years, it is all the more impressive that *the immigrant Mexican labor force in the Chicago metro area is larger than the combined total of the next ten largest immigrant groups.*

Chicago is home to immigrants from over 200 countries and places. Such numbers do not provide grist for exhaustive analysis, or anything like it, however. First, that is not the intent of this paper and, second, many of the ethnic immigrants groups are too small to permit detailed investigation. We choose, instead, to place Mexicans within a context of the five other largest immigrant groups in Chicago whose numbers are large enough to permit a reliable and detailed occupational analysis. They are, in order of descending size: Poles, Indians, Filipinos, Chinese, and Koreans.

## **The Mexican Labor Force in Context**

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### **Immigrant Occupational Density**

The US Census Bureau identified approximately 481 jobs in its detailed listing of occupations in Chicago’s 2000 metropolitan area labor force. Yet Table 2 shows that 75 percent of all Polish and Filipino immigrant workers can be found in only 45 jobs—less than 10 percent of all possible jobs. And these two are the most occupationally diverse of all immigrant groups. Mexican immigrants are clustered—some say crammed—into a smaller number still. In their case 75 percent of the males and females are found in only 35 and 28 occupations respectively. The figures are remarkably consistent for all six of Chicago’s largest immigrant groups. That is:

1. Between 10 and 15 occupations encompass 50 percent of all immigrant males and females in Chicago’s immigrant labor force.
2. Between 20 and 29 occupations encompass 65 percent of all immigrant males and females in Chicago’s labor force.
3. Between 30 and 45 occupations encompass 75 percent of all immigrant males and females in Chicago’s labor force.

**Table 2**  
**Ethnic Immigrant Occupational Concentrations:**  
**Number of Occupations Required to Encompass 50–65–75% of Ethnic Labor Force**

Ethnicity	Males			Females		
	50%	65%	75%	50%	65%	75%
Mexican	13	23	35	11	19	28
Polish	17	29	45	15	26	37
Indian	15	27	40	15	25	35
Filipino	22	35	46	10	20	29
Chinese	13	22	30	16	26	35
Korean	15	22	29	14	23	30

*Source: US Census Bureau, 2000 Census, 1% PUMS.*

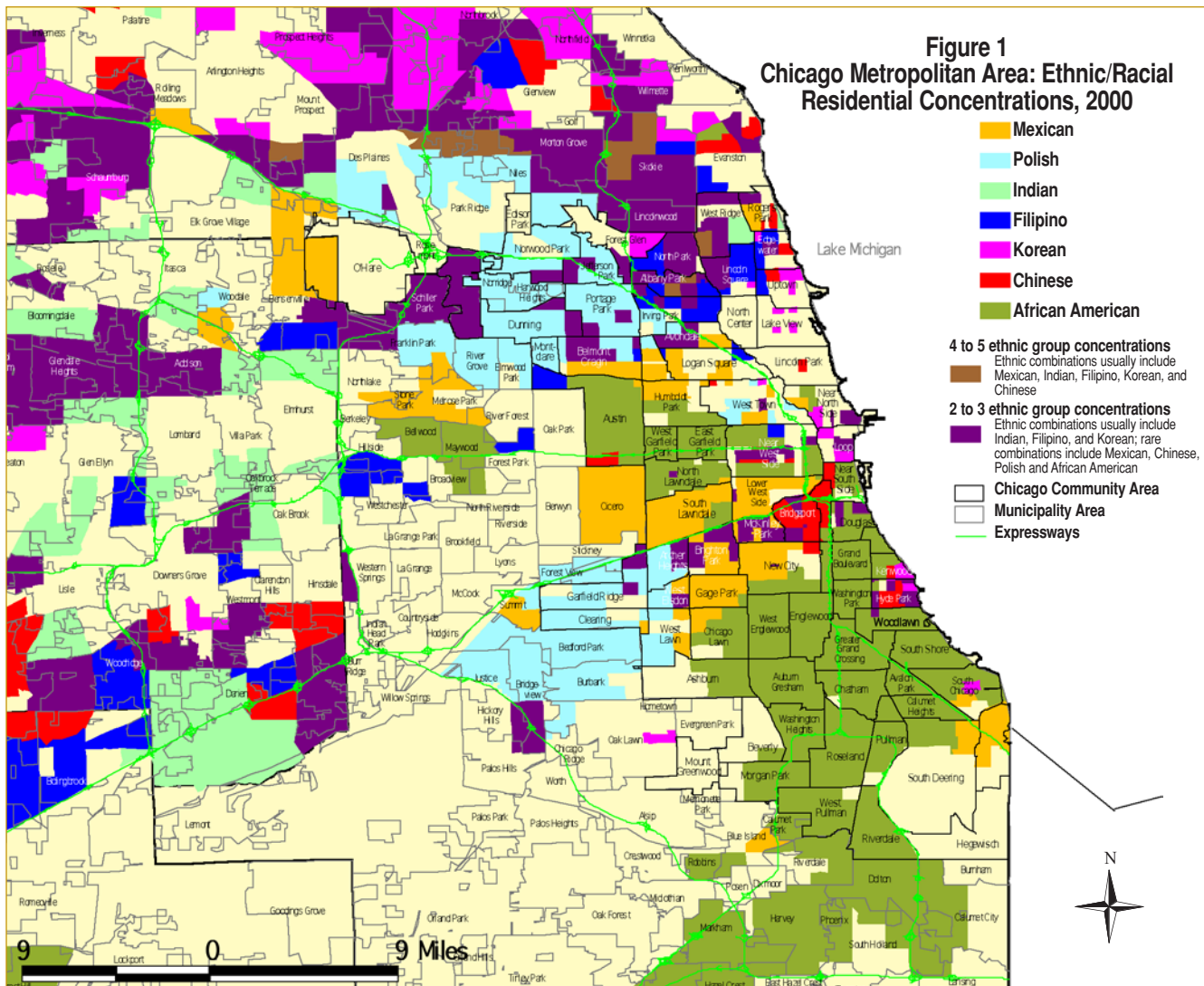
That so many are concentrated into so few occupations is part of the immigrant story. The text of that story varies depending on the immigrant group in question, since these concentrations are typically the result of several factors and combinations of factors affected by the group’s background and its social capital—factors like opportunity, network re-enforcement, selective immigration, and selective occupational recruitment of immigrants. In addition, there are marked differences among the occupations and industries populated by different immigrant groups. Still, while the processes may vary, the net result of these occupational concentrations is a decidedly disproportionate representation in certain occupations in the labor force.

### **Mexican Residential Dispersion**

As the map below shows, Mexicans—while typically concentrated in ethnic enclaves—are the most residentially dispersed ethnic community in the metro area. The likelihood is that the Mexican sense of the job market leads them to live near their work. Since over the years most manufacturing jobs have moved to the suburbs, so too have Mexicans; in turn, since most service jobs can be found in the city, Mexicans living in the city and near-suburbs tend to work in service jobs.

### **Mexican Occupational Niches**

The Mexican labor force in Metropolitan Chicago is huge, nearly 600,000, and it is spread throughout the nine-country region. Yet, due to a particular kind of sociocultural ‘badness of fit’, the Mexican labor force in general and the immigrant portion of that labor force in particular do not have a lot of options or elbow room in terms of expanding their occupational



Caution should be exercised in reading and interpreting the ethnic/racial density map. A community or census tract identified with an ethnic color does not mean the majority of residents in that area are of that ethnicity. It means that the ethnic group is three or more times over-represented with respect to its proportional representation in the Chicago area. If the ethnic group constitutes 5% of the Chicago area population, for example, an area whose color corresponds with that assigned to the ethnic group has 15% or more of its residents of that ethnicity. If, however, its Chicago area proportion were 25%, then an area so colored would mean 75% or more residents were of that ethnicity.

choices. Mexicans are enormously under-represented in the Education, Health, and Social Service sector, as they are in Public Administration, Transportation and Public Utilities, and Information and Communications—the high-tech world—with 1 percent or fewer foreign-born in those fields and less than 10 percent native-born. There has been only small incremental change in this condition over the past 20 years, native-born Mexican women being the important exception. Simply put, there are few brown faces in Chicago’s professional, technical, administrative, government, and white-collar world. This brings us full circle and back to the disproportionate loading of Mexicans in blue-collar and service occupations.

One way to get a statistical handle on occupational concentration is through the Index of Representation (RI). The statistic is configured to give an index of 1.0 if a group's proportional representation in an occupation is the same as its proportion in the labor force. A number higher than 1.0 indicates over-representation and a lower number, under-representation. An RI of 1.50 or greater, 50 percent over-representation or more, is becoming the conventional criterion for labeling this loading an 'occupational niche' (Rosenfeld and Tienda 1999; Waldinger and Bozomehr 1996).

The RI not only brings some precision to the concept of occupational concentration but also begins to lay out the pieces of an ethnically based occupational mosaic: that is, workers in any given ethnic group are neither randomly distributed among occupations in the labor force nor among the various industries within the economy. They concentrate both in occupations and industries. As these pieces are laid out and arranged, the social and ethnic mosaic of the labor force begins to take form.

Table 3 provides some insight into the intersection and relationship between occupations and industrial areas that were extracted from the 1 percent PUMS data in the 2000 census. The table lists, in descending order, the 25 occupations with the largest numbers of foreign-born Mexican males. It should be noted that all but six occupations have RIs of 1.50 (occupational niches) or higher—in the majority of cases the occupation has two to five times more workers than their expected proportional representation—statistical evidence of the many crammed into the few.

Quite literally, it is necessary to think outside the box—or table in this case—to fully grasp the information provided in Table 3. A conceptual eye is also helpful. For what is not there is just as important as what is: that is, no professional, technical, or white-collar jobs are found in the 25 largest Mexican immigrant male occupations. Also absent are government, transportation, and administrative jobs. In anticipation of locating these occupations within specific industries, we see that the manufacturing, food service, and construction industries permeate the Mexican occupational landscape.

**Table 3**  
**Chicago Metropolitan Area**  
**Twenty-Five Largest Occupations for Foreign-Born Mexican Men**

<b>Occupation</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>RI</b>
Cooks	18,352	7.03	3.83
Construction laborers	12,881	4.93	3.19
Grounds maintenance workers	12,365	4.74	5.03
Metal & plastic workers, all other	12,051	4.62	4.18
Production workers, all other	12,018	4.60	3.44
Janitors & building cleaners	11,170	4.28	1.91
Laborers, freight, stock, mat. movers	10,864	4.16	1.62
Driver/sales workers & truck drivers	8,619	3.30	0.89
First-line sprvisrs/mgrs of prod & op.	7,447	2.85	1.89
Misc. assemblers & fabricators	7,385	2.83	3.37
Shipping, receiving, & traffic clerks	5,610	2.15	2.41
Carpenters	5,546	2.12	1.19
Packers & packagers, hand	5,361	2.05	3.88
Dining room & caf attdnts & bar help	5,143	1.97	4.58
Industrial truck and tractor operators	4,877	1.87	2.73
Welding, soldering, & brazing workers	4,741	1.82	3.66
Automotive service techs & mechanics	4,221	1.62	1.44
Cleaners of vehicles & equip	3,832	1.47	3.10
Waiters & waitresses	3,676	1.41	2.21
Pckging & filling mchine operators & tndrs	3,646	1.40	5.48
Stock clerks & order fillers	3,477	1.33	0.93
Retail salespersons	2,763	1.06	0.47
Dishwashers	2,721	1.04	4.84
Firstline suprs/mgrs of retail sales wrks	2,502	0.96	0.57
Roofers	2,472	0.95	3.15

*Source: US Census Bureau, 2000 Census, 1% PUMS.*

## **Ethnic Occupational and Industrial Niches: Horizontal and Vertical Dimensions**

The magnitude, diversity, and global scope of immigration to this country in the past quarter century, coupled with the diversity of immigrant skills and occupational backgrounds, has resulted in an ethnic division of labor the likes of which hasn't been seen since the great migrations of the late 19th and early 20th century. This is not entirely a simple historic coincidence. Curiously enough, we opened our immigrant doors the widest they have been since the beginning of the 20th century at a time that almost perfectly matched the rise of our postindustrial era. For more than a decade approximately one million immigrants a year have

entered the United States. The ongoing economic restructuring resulting from post-industrialization has required, among other things, a new or revamped labor force to fuel economic growth in some sectors and fill in the blank spots in others. (The H1-B visa program, for example, is an instance of the country opening its doors to a select few—those with educational and skill backgrounds deemed important for the health and growth of the economy.) It is no coincidence that immigrant occupational groups fulfill many of these needs, as will soon become evident. This time around, however, Chicago’s racial, ethnic, and cultural immigrant mix faces a new and, in many ways, an even more daunting challenge than in the past.

One of the more thorough analyses of native-born and immigrant Mexicans in this country was conducted by Roger Waldinger and his colleagues in *Ethnic Los Angeles*. There Waldinger conceptualized “a plural city, in which the myriad new ethnic groups have created a segmented system, where each group largely lives and works in its own distinctive social world.” The existence of an ethnic division of labor is part of the cutting edge of this system. In Waldinger’s analysis, that division of labor has horizontal and vertical dimensions: that is, immigrant workers are not only spread horizontally across a range of industries but also work in occupations at different prestige and income levels within any given industry—the vertical dimension. Specifically, “...the demographic transformations of the past twenty years have created a new ethnic division of labor in which *ethnicity intersects with class* (my emphasis; Waldinger and Bozomehr 1996, 454–55). That is, not only do immigrant workers come to this country with different skills, which find them loading and overloading in certain occupations and industries, but those different skill and educational levels result in different economic and status payoffs. It is then a short step to propose that “The ethnic ordering of L.A.’s economy can be characterized along the horizontal and vertical dimensions of specialization and rank.”

## The Horizontal Dimension

In refining this perspective Waldinger makes the case that:

On the horizontal dimension, Mexican immigrants and Korean immigrants and African Americans define three basic modal types, with Mexicans ensconced in manufacturing, Koreans in self-employment and African Americans in the public sector, and few points of niche intersection among them (Waldinger and Bozomehr 1996, 449).

Metropolitan Chicago and Los Angeles have a good deal in common when it comes to immigration and, therefore, present an excellent opportunity for comparative analysis of their immigrant communities. Both cities are members of the county's Immigrant Capital Club; Mexicans dominate the immigrant populations of both cities; and, with the exception of Poles, the top five or six immigrant groups in each city are quite similar. We don't have to go very far, for example, to check how well Waldinger's three modal types fit Chicago. In Chicago one-third of all immigrant Mexican men have manufacturing occupations as do over two-fifths of immigrant Mexican women. Both instances' RIs, 1.74 for men and 3.71 for women, make them statistically eligible to be defined as industrial niches. A fit. The data are also strong for Koreans in retail trade—one major area of Waldinger's more general 'self-employment'. Koreans, for example, own slightly over 2,000 of the roughly 3,000 dry-cleaning establishments in the city of Chicago (Holli and Jones 1995). Another fit. Finally, as will be seen later, African Americans in Chicago, as in Los Angeles, load very high in public sector occupations. A third fit. So, with some comparative context in place, let's return to the case of the Mexican labor force.

While occupational and industrial concentrations are characteristic of immigrant groups, concentrations in more than one industry can and do exist for most all large immigrant groups. The table that follows, disaggregated by nativity and sex, demonstrates this reality for the immigrant Mexican labor force. The IR in the table has the same interpretation for industries as it does for occupations: An index of 1.0 indicates representation in an industry proportional to that group's proportion in the labor force in Chicago. An index higher than 1.0 is a measure of a group's over-representation in an industry. (Similar data are available in Appendix Tables 4–21 for each of the other major immigrant groups reported here.)

**Table 4**  
**Industrial Concentrations of Metropolitan Chicago Native-Born and Foreign-Born Mexican Men and Women**

Foreign-Born Male	%	RI	Native-Born Male	%	RI
Manufacturing	33.1	1.74	Manufacturing	18.5	0.97
Food service	17.2	2.14	Retail trade	14.4	1.45
Construction	13.4	1.38	Food service	10.9	1.35
Management*	09.9	0.81	Construction	09.3	0.96
		(72.6)			(53.2)
Foreign-Born Female			Native-Born Female		
Manufacturing	41.9	3.71	Educ/Hlth/SocServ	23.1	0.83
Food service	11.0	1.36	Retail trade	15.6	1.26
Retail trade	09.9	0.80	FIRE**	11.9	1.22
Management*	08.1	0.71	Manufacturing	11.5	1.02
		(70.9)			(62.1)

Source: US Census Bureau, 2000 census, 1% PUMS.

\*‘Management’ as designated by the Bureau of Labor Statistics and the Census Bureau, is a very broad category, ranging from Fortune 500 CEOs to managers of one or two employees in an effectively blue-collar environment. In the case of Mexican immigrants as managers we are talking about small business owners in the main, many of whom are providing a service to coethnics in the Mexican community.

\*\*Finance, insurance, real estate

Each segment of the above table lists the four industries with the highest proportion of Mexican workers for that segment. While there are some differences among the four subgroups, the most striking fact is that the vast majority of Mexican workers are found in three industries: manufacturing, food service, and construction. Two-thirds to three-quarters of all Mexican immigrants—depending on the way some occupations are classified—are found in these three industries. Another occupational area, nursery and grounds maintenance, also merits special attention since it is so large and so heavily dominated by Mexicans. Slightly more than 5 percent of all immigrant Mexican males are grounds maintenance workers—12,365—the third largest occupational group for immigrant males.

What these data don’t alert us to is the large, polyglot, and growing number of Mexicans, especially immigrants, who fill the day-labor hiring halls and street corners of Pilsen, Little Village, and Albany Park at 5:00 a.m. While waiting for possible work they share among themselves the urban equivalent of the California agricultural workers’ joke: Question “What’s worse than being exploited in Chicago (Modesto)?” Answer “Not being exploited in Chicago (Modesto).”

A closer look at Table 4 helps refine the findings a bit more. First, native-born Mexicans, especially men, are spread through a wider range of industries than are foreign-born Mexicans; and native-born Mexican women work in industries least like the three other groups with respect to industrial concentration; for them white-collar industries and occupations are most salient with manufacturing occupations a low fourth place (11 percent). This is especially striking when compared to foreign-born Mexican women's massive overrepresentation in manufacturing, with an IR of 3.71 and 42 percent. With this lone exception, it is reasonably accurate to say that *most Mexicans live in and work in a service and blue-collar occupational world.*

### The Vertical Dimension

The case has already been made that the demographic transformations in the labor force resulting from immigration of the past 20+ years has resulted in an ethnic division of labor in which ethnicity intersects with social class (Waldinger and Bozomehr 1996, 454–55). Waldinger found strong evidence of this outcome in Los Angeles and, referring to a vertical dimension of occupational niches, he concluded:

Chinese and Japanese Americans have moved into advantageous specializations, where they find ample opportunity to work in high-paying white-collar jobs and do better than in industries of lower ethnic density. Other groups—African Americans and Mexican Americans, as well as Korean, Filipino, and Vietnamese immigrants, for example—occupy the middle ranges of the continuum... Mexican, Salvadoran, and Guatemalan immigrants—the most concentrated of all—do the very worst, crowding into menial employment where the wage ceiling is extremely low (450–51).

The interplay of history and contemporary change has had its impact on Chicago's distinctive immigrant mix. On the one hand Chicago's historical ties to Eastern Europe have resulted in the city's attracting more Poles, Russian Jews, Serbs, and other Eastern Europeans than most other regions. Because of its still large industrial base and a rapidly expanding service sector, it is also attracting large numbers of unskilled and semi-skilled Mexicans in its manufacturing and service economies. In addition, as Chicago continues to move into its own somewhat distinctive IT and high-tech consulting phase, it both recruits and attracts large numbers of Indian and Chinese computer and information technology specialists. Chicago's traditional role as a major regional medical center, enhanced by growth in medical research, has seen it reach out and recruit as well as attract large numbers of Indian and Filipino doctors, nurses, and medical technology specialists.

When we parallel Waldinger’s approach to summarizing Los Angeles’ ethnic occupational hierarchy we see that Metropolitan Chicago is a near mirror image.

### Los Angeles

The region’s **Chinese** and **Japanese** Americans make up a professional middle class integrated into the region’s core industries in manufacturing and professional services.

**Korean, Iranian,** and **Chinese** immigrants make up a diversified business grouping with **Koreans** struggling as an embattled *petit bourgeoisie* and **Iranians** and **Chinese** on the road to high-tech, high-skill entrepreneurship.

**African Americans** divide into two groupings, an emergent middle-class component linked to government and other large employers and an impoverished lower-skilled segment increasingly excluded from the employment system itself.

**Mexicans** are likewise divided into a native-born working/lower-middle class of skilled laborers and lower-level bureaucrats that overlaps little with foreign-born ranks and an isolated immigrant proletariat confined to the bottom tiers of the region, where they are joined by **Central Americans**, the latest additions to the region’s low-wage labor pool.

### Chicago

The metro area’s **Indians** and **Filipinos** make up a professional and middle class integrated into the area’s core industries in information technology and professional (medical) services.

**Korean** and **Indian** immigrants are the pre-eminent *petit bourgeoisie* of the immigrant community. **Koreans** stake out privately-owned small business; **Indians** purchase franchises from Dunkin’ Donuts, Convenience Mart, and the like.

Chicago’s growing **African American** middle class is anchored in the local, state, and federal public sector—especially as mid-level administrators in the government sector—as postal and public transportation workers. They also have a strong presence in public and private health care.

**Native-born Mexican** women work in mid- and lower-level business and retail trade occupations. Their male counterparts work in manufacturing and mid-level positions in retail trade. **Immigrant Mexican** women mainly work in lower-level manufacturing jobs as assemblers, packagers, and general production. Males work as construction laborers, grounds maintenance workers, and in a range of jobs in the food service industry, a significant sector of occupational mobility.

## The Ethnic Occupational Mosaic

Mexican immigrants share one trait with most other minority and immigrant workers—they are not randomly spread throughout the labor force. As noted earlier, they cluster in a remarkably small number of occupations and industries. And the occupational composition

of those clusters varies from one ethnic group to another—so much so as to constitute a veritable ethnic division of labor by occupation and industry.

Industries consist of large, complex, and multilayered networks of occupations. What follows is not meant to be exhaustive but, rather, intended to identify some of the larger pieces of the Chicago-area mosaic of immigrant labor and, in particular, to identify the place of the Mexican labor force in that mosaic. (Data bearing on these summaries can be found in Appendix Tables 1–21.)

### **Mexican Immigrants**

Nearly 75 percent of male and female Mexican immigrants in the labor force are found in four industries and over half in but two. Men are especially over-represented in manufacturing (RI of 1.74) and even more so in food service (RI of 2.41) which, for them, constitute industrial niches. Construction, with an RI of 1.38, could well be considered a third niche and if ‘Grounds Maintenance’ were defined as an industry, it would constitute a fourth Mexican industrial niche—since grounds maintenance workers have an RI of 5.03 and managers of landscaping and lawn service workers have an RI of 2.54.

This conclusion is reinforced when the ‘Top 25 Occupations’ table for immigrant Mexican men is examined. Each of the first four occupations on the list is from one of the four niche industries and each is three to five times over-represented in that occupation. In addition, the majority of occupations listed in the table can be slotted into one of the four industries and, in most all cases, each of those occupations is two to five times over-represented.

More than four out of ten Mexican women in the labor force are found in some type of manufacturing and their over-representation is sizeable (RI=3.71). All but six of the women’s top 25 occupations have RIs of 1.50 or higher—and, in the majority of cases, these occupations have two to five times more workers than their expected proportional representation—statistical evidence of many crammed into few occupations.

### **Polish Immigrants**

Poles, like Mexicans, have their heaviest concentration of workers, male and female alike, in manufacturing. But it would be a mistake to assume that contemporary Polish immigrants mirror those in Thomas and Znaniecki’s classic *Polish Peasant in America*. Male Polish industrial workers occupy skilled and technical occupational niches, while some of their

female counterparts work side-by-side with Mexican women in assembly plants and other forms of light industry.

While both Poles and Mexicans load high in construction, Polish males occupy a rather distinctive niche within a niche. In construction, they typically team together under an ‘independent contractor’ and specialize in nonunion home construction, rehabs, and other small construction jobs in the city and suburbs. Like Mexicans, they too fuel the construction and blue-collar day-labor workers pool—although from sites adjacent to the Polish communities on the near north side and southwest side of the city.

Polish women have a bifurcated occupational profile. A significant portion of well-educated immigrant Polish women work as RNs, LPNs, and health care aides in the medical field and as managers and other mid-level occupations in a variety of businesses. A larger proportion of less-well educated immigrant Polish women work in light manufacturing and, especially, as maids and cleaning service personnel for businesses, office complexes, and private homes. Many are the office buildings in Chicago that provide their staff with Polish language signs that read “Prosze nie wyrzucac” (“Do not throw away”), in order to avoid disasters that could result from English-only signage.

### **Indian Immigrants**

Industrial concentrations are a good starting point for delving into the situation of Indian workers, who are multiple players in multiple industries—at very different levels. At the upper occupational level Indians have had two different major occupational bubbles over the past twenty years, ‘professional, management, and administration’, and ‘education, health, and social service’. Forget the ‘ands’ in each of these two clusters; instead read ‘professional computer and information technology specialists’—massively recruited in the 1990s—in the former and ‘medical doctor’—massively recruited in the 1980s—in the latter. In both instances these are industrial niches for both Indian men and women as are several occupations within each industry. The full range of occupations in each industrial niche can be examined in Appendix Tables 8 and 9. Two, however, are especially illustrative.

In medicine male Indian doctors are over-represented by a factor of five (RI=5.15) and females by a factor of nearly seventeen (16.82). In the field of information technology male software engineers are found twelve times more frequently than their proportion in the labor force (R=12.33) and females are nearly sixteen times over-represented (RI=15.62). The

manufacturing industrial niche for Indian women is almost solely accounted for by occupations in the electronic and chemical fields.

The industrial niche of retail trade for Indian men and women is tightly banded into two sectors of franchises in ‘the food chain’—Dunkin’ Donut franchises (more than eight of ten franchises in the metropolitan area) and franchise convenience marts (90 percent+ for the region)—some attached, some not to gasoline stations. A final area of heavy occupational concentration for Indian men is cab driving, a port-of-entry occupation for many immigrants but especially for Indians (RI= 6.74) and Pakistanis.

### **Filipino Immigrants**

The Filipino female labor force stands out among all immigrant groups because of the extraordinarily high proportion of women employed in a single industry—health care—primarily as a result of intensive recruitment by Chicago’s health care industry over the past twenty to twenty-five years. Since the census data cluster education, health, and social service into one industrial category, the RI of 1.95, while high, is a very conservative figure: Filipino female occupations are not equally spread among all three occupational classes in the industry but only one—health care. An examination of Appendix Table 12 make this abundantly clear. There we see that six of the ten largest occupations for Filipino women are in health care, and all six reflect significant over-representation: registered nurses (7.71), physicians (7.18), home care aides (6.37), medical technicians (5.61), LPNs (4.12), medical assistants (3.24), and nursing and psychiatric aides (2.56). Their secondary industry FIRE (Finance, Insurance, and Real Estate) consists almost exclusively of finance and insurance occupations such as accountants, bookkeepers, tellers, and clerks.

Filipino men in health care have also been heavily recruited over the years, although their numbers and proportional share of the male Filipino labor force is markedly smaller than for Filipino women. Still, nearly one in four Filipino males is in a health care occupation and they are nearly three times over-represented in the field. As with Filipino females this is a conservative number. At the specific occupation level men’s RIs literally soar: whether as physicians (6.77), RNs (20.67), psychiatric nurses (12.79), diagnostic technicians (25.39), or laboratory technicians (12.41). Clearly they too are firmly ensconced in health care as an industrial niche.

Filipino males also have a range of occupational niches in computer technology—as software engineers (1.47), computer programmers (1.59), and computer support specialists (6.85). A few business and industrial occupational niches are the exception to the general pattern of professional and technical specialty niches and those primarily in health care and information technology.

### **Chinese Immigrants**

Chinese—both males and females—have their occupational feet in contrasting occupational worlds that reflect groups coming to this country with very different human capital, at different time periods, from different regions. Food service, with a set of attendant occupational niches (cooks, chefs, waiters, and waitresses), is an industrial niche for both sexes, as is manufacturing for women (2.04) and nearly so for men (1.21) coming from Taiwan prior to 1990. More recent Chinese immigrants from the mainland—male and female, many with H1-B visas—have niches in health care and information technology occupations. High RIs and large numbers are especially characteristic of Chinese men and women in computer programming and software engineering and high RIs but smaller numbers are found in health care occupations.

### **Korean Immigrants**

At first glance the significant over-representation of immigrant Korean male and female in ‘other services’ tells us little except that Koreans have an industrial niche in an ambiguous residual industrial category. In fact, approximately two-thirds of Chicago’s some 3,000 dry cleaning establishments are owned and/or operated by Koreans—the vague ‘other services’ industrial category now puts on a very specific occupational face and their major industrial/occupational niche becomes fleshed out. And, with an RI of 31.76 for ‘laundry and dry cleaning’, what a niche it is!

The picture of Korean immigrants as petite bourgeoisie has come to be as much an ethnic stereotype as has ‘math and computer whiz’ for Chinese. In reality more recent Korean immigrants also occupy a range of scientific, professional, and technical niches—software engineers (RI of 4.22), electrical engineers (RI of 5.76), civil engineers (RI of 7.73), physicians (RI of 3.04), biological scientists (RI of 33.90), and pharmacists (RI of 26.25) among others.

## African Americans

Obviously, African Americans are not recent immigrants. They have been included in this analysis since, as the country's most long-standing minority group, their work lives and economic prospects are often measured against those of immigrants. Unlike immigrants, however, African Americans have a major industrial niche in public administration where both males and females typically occupy middle- and lower-level city, county, and federal jobs—such as female postal clerks (RI of 4.07) and male bus drivers (RI of 3.84). Large numbers of women are also found in primary and secondary education and health care, while African American males have niches and large numbers as laborers (RI of 2.39) and security guards (RI of 3.02).

So what does all this mean for Chicago and what is the immigrant contribution to Chicago's economy? One way to put it is that without its present immigrant labor force Chicago's health care system would probably collapse; manufacturing would grind to a halt; hotels, restaurants, and fast food services couldn't operate; dual working households would be under the extreme stress of full-time work while, at the same time, managing household maintenance. Elder care would be in chaos—as would some forms of child care. And, of no little consequence, Chicago would be less rich culturally and, at the local level, less capable of adapting to a global economy and a global culture.

For immigrants themselves, the social, cultural, and human capital of each group plays an important part in determining their placement in the economy. High proportions of Indians and Filipinos have the human capital of education, professional training, and technical expertise. The cultural capital of English language facility for both is a further asset as is a reasonably strong coethnic social network for Indians and, to a lesser extent, for Filipinos. Not only are they rich in capital but that capital is the right stuff that the evolving economy is looking for and rewarding.

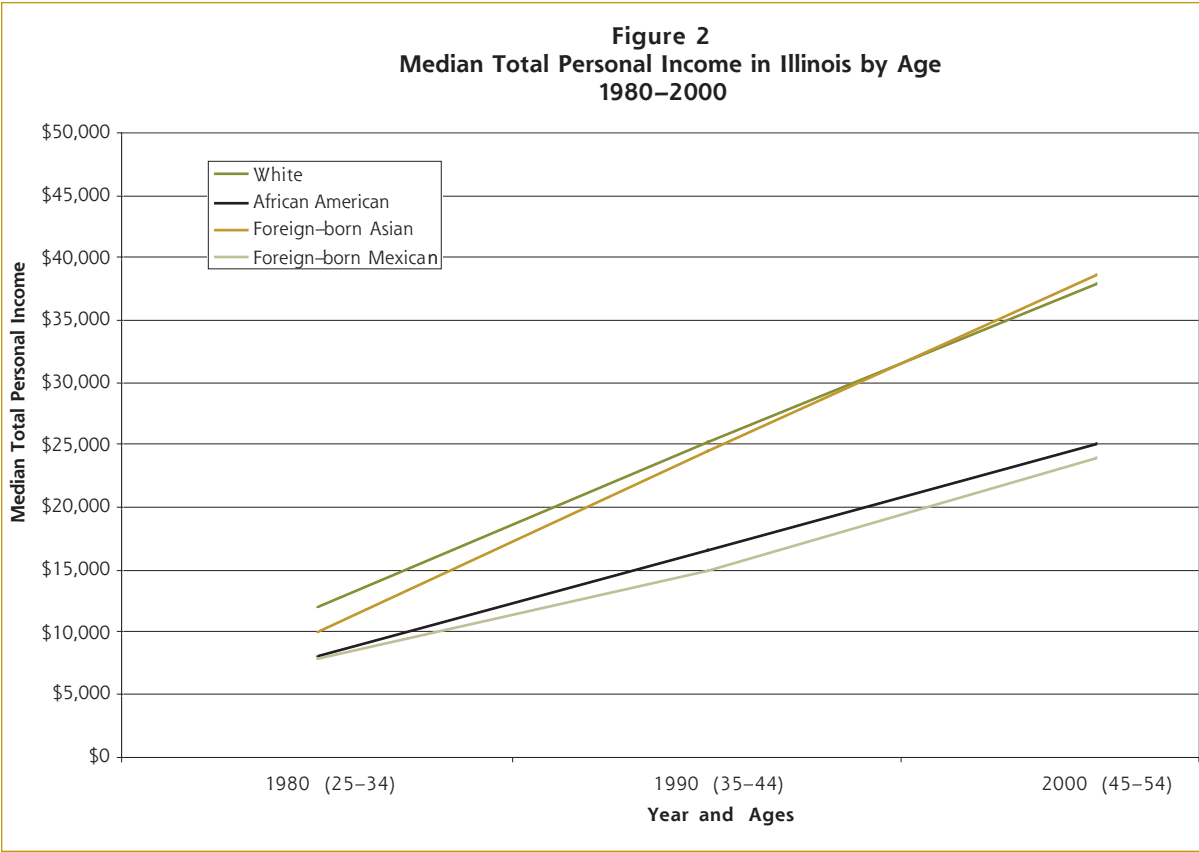
On the other hand, the skill mismatch hypothesis is most serious for Mexican immigrants—but also significant for segments of other immigrant communities; not in the sense that jobs are not available to them but, rather, that the available jobs tend to be low paying and dead-end. And, as is addressed below, the ethnic and racial occupational stratification taking shape bodes ill for the entire society, not simply for a few groups within it.

## Mexican Occupational Mobility: A Cohort Analysis

In the best of all possible research worlds a longitudinal study tracking a matched group of immigrants and native-born whites over time would tell us the extent to which income parity is reached by Mexican immigrants. The data for such an analysis are not available in Chicago, however. Data from the last three censuses are available and will be used here to approximate cohort analysis. Immigrants between the ages of 25 and 34 who came to Chicago between 1970 and 1979 constituted the 1980 cohort; immigrants who were aged 35–44, minus any immigrants who came to the United States in the past 10 years, constituted the 1990 cohort; and immigrants aged 45–54, minus any immigrants who had come to the United States in the past 20 years, made up the 2000 cohort. For comparative purposes similarly constructed cohorts of white, African American, and Asian immigrants were also included in the analysis.

Mexican immigrants in 1980, while very close to African Americans, had the lowest median income of the four groups considered. White Americans had the highest median income, followed closely by Asian immigrants. The graph also shows that the median income of whites and Asians are quite similar for all three time frames as are those of African-Americans and Mexicans, although the median incomes for both groups differ initially and those differences increased over time. The two pairs remained wedded over the next 20 years, with Asian immigrants surpassing whites between 1990 and 2000 to attain the highest median income of all four groups by the year 2000. The income differential between the Mexican /African American pair and the white/Asian pair increased over each decade; and by 2000 the absolute dollar difference nearly doubled between the two sets, with African Americans distancing themselves a bit from immigrant Mexicans.

So, over a 20-year span the cohort of Mexican immigrants not only did not reach or approximate income parity with the white American majority but, comparatively, they lost a significant amount of income ground. The Chicago Mexican story, then, is no different from the Los Angeles Mexican story. Collectively, their relative economic status has not improved over time; rather, it has gotten worse.



## Food Service and Occupational Mobility: A Brief Case Study

No single industry in the Chicago metropolitan areas has experienced as strong a Mexican presence as food service. And here, over the same 20 year period as above, an immigrant economic success story has actually evolved. Not only has the industry come to be a Mexican occupational niche, but the majority of jobs within the industry are Mexican occupational niches as well. It is, perhaps, the best available example of a growth industry with few or no formal requirements for hiring and with individual merit the primary criterion for upward mobility. Here, it appears, is a real sociocultural occupational goodness of fit.

There is a kind of ‘piling on’ effect in the table below: That is, as presented, there is an unknown but most likely cumulative effect from one census to another as more immigrants enter the labor force each decade and get added to the totals in this table. It probably has a conservatizing effect on the data, however, since recent immigrants are more likely be less skilled and need more time to achieve mobility. If, for example, median income data were available for successive cohorts, the evidence for upward mobility would probably be even stronger.

**Table 5**  
**Immigrant Mexican Occupations in Food Service Industry**

Occupation	1980		1990		2000	
	%	RI	%	RI	%	RI
Chefs and head cooks*					26.8	2.43
Cooks	8.5	1.82	18.2	3.79	36.8	3.78
1 <sup>st</sup> -line supervisors /managers	2.7	3.83	09.9	2.71	24.3	3.01
Waiters and waitresses	3.8	0.55	05.9	1.91	14.5	2.14
Food preparations workers	9.7	1.29	18.5	2.25	28.6	2.81
Dining room and cafeteria attendants*					39.4	4.71
Dishwashers *					58.6	4.68

*Source: US Census Bureau, 2000 Census, 1% PUMS.*

*\*These food service occupations were not classified in the 1980 and 1990 censuses.*

Since chefs, head cooks, and dining room attendants (bus boys) were newly identified on the 2000 census, only four food service occupations are available for change-over-time analysis. Still, they tell a short but important story. First, there has been a near geometric growth in all four occupational sectors over the 20-year period, a doubling in proportion from 1980 to 1990 and—with the exception of food preparation workers—doubling again from 1990 to 2000. While ownership, managerial, and first-line service personnel (waiters, waitresses, and bartenders) may be other than Mexican, Mexicans have come to constitute the major ethnic group in the Chicago metro area restaurant scene. This was the result of a 20-year process, however.

In 1980, the end of the decade of the 1970s, neither food service jobs nor the food service industry was a Mexican niche. At that time Mexicans constituted 12 percent of the food service labor force and less than 10 percent of the four food service occupations for which data are available.

The decade of the 1980s saw significant growth for Mexicans in all the food service occupations and, while a claim of dominance would be a stretch, the industry and most occupations within it became a Mexican niche.

The decade of the 1990s saw a veritable explosion of Mexican occupational growth in the food industry. At its end Mexicans were greatly over-represented in a host of food-related occupations, and the industry stood out among all other industries as having the greatest over-representation of Mexicans.

The number of Mexican chefs and cooks in the Chicago metro area grew by 584 percent between 1980 and 2000; the number of Mexican waiters and waitresses grew by 360 percent over that same time period.

It may not be surprising that Mexican dishwashers are nearly five times over-represented in the industry; that should be balanced with the fact that Mexican immigrants are three times over-represented in managerial positions—and their proportional representation exploded from 1980 to 2000. The same can be said of cooks who are nearly four times over-represented as well as for chefs and head cooks—again, over-represented by an index measure of 2.42.

**Table 6**  
**Median Hourly Wages: Food Preparation and Service Occupations**

Food Preparation and Service Occupation	Median Hourly Wage
Chefs and head cooks	\$15.09
1 <sup>st</sup> -line supervisors/managers	12.01
Cooks*	9.14
Dishwashers	6.92
Food preparation workers	6.60
Waiters and waitresses**	6.47

*Source: 2001 Bureau of Labor Statistics data occupations in the Chicago Metro Area.*  
*\*The median of fast food, institution, restaurant, and short order cooks.*  
*\*\*Not a reliable figure, since undeclared tips, a major part of total income, are not included in this computation.*

If we rank occupations in terms of their median hourly wage, the income hierarchy above emerges. Now we see that, aside from the reality that food service is an industrial and occupational niche, occupational and economic mobility is in clear evidence. The doubling in the number of cooks and first-line supervisors from 1990 to 2000 reflects a doubling of two of the three highest paid occupations in this occupational set, not counting the 25 percent of all chefs and head cooks—the highest paid occupations—who are Mexican immigrants.

Why the food industry? It is one thing to report the facts and document the change in labor force participation and wage rates; it is another thing to explain it. After all, while the Mexican community is large, they are still a minority in terms of political and economic power. Why such an evolved over-riding presence and, perhaps, dominance in the food industry? Probably the convergence of a number of favorable factors are at play here.

- No credentials are required for hiring and informal on-the-job training has a long-standing tradition in the industry—if you are prepared to work hard and put in long hours.
- Lack of English-language fluency is not a major barrier for many jobs in the industry.
- Occupational mobility is based more on merit and less on credentials.
- Growth in the food service component of an expanding service economy is an arena for employment opportunity.
- Entrepreneurship, through the start-up of a small food business, often by a husband and wife, can be relatively inexpensive and, if successful, can lead to growth and expansion; this, in turn, typically leads to more jobs and the hiring of relatives and coethnics.
- The numerical growth of the Mexican community in Chicago, with a cultural tradition of eating out—whether at street stands, three-to-five-table family-run walk-ins, or small restaurants—produces a built-in and growing customer base.
- The continuing change in the culture and eating habits of Chicagoans has, for many, resulted in ‘eating Mexican’ becoming one of the favorite less-expensive dining options.
- The restaurant and food industry has a notoriously high job turn-over rate and is fraught with ‘personalities’. Mexicans have gained a reputation in the industry as hard working, reliable, willing to take orders—and they come with fewer job preconceptions. Adaptability has come to be synonymous with their ethnic identity.
- One feature of Mexican networking works exceptionally well in the food industry. Since turnover rates are high, recruitment of new employees is usually high on management’s ‘to do’ list. Not only do Mexican workers offer to recruit relatives or friends for new jobs but they typically offer to train the worker and be responsible for his/her work habits and job performance. What manager wouldn’t support that form of networking? Duplicated several times over, there is quickly an over-representation of Mexicans in your restaurant work force.

Recently a Japanese-speaking Italian Chicago restaurateur was entertaining a group of ‘first time to America’ Japanese businessmen and took them to a local sushi restaurant. The businessmen were completely astonished when they observed that all but one of the sushi chefs were Mexican. Their befuddlement turned to amazement when they heard the lone Japanese chef conversing with his fellow chefs in Spanish. The businessmen left the restaurant shaking their heads in disbelief at the rather strange cultural experience that they had just encountered—one of many examples that lead to the conclusion that Mexicans and the American food industry are meant for each other.

This short case study is not intended to be an examination of a unique phenomenon. Rather its purpose is to point to an arena of clear economic success for Mexicans in the labor force and, by examining the structure, dynamics, tradition, and culture of that industry, to attempt to identify generalizable and transferable components of economic success to other sectors. A more extensive and detailed examination of Chicago's economy and industries should yield more sectors of existing or possible mobility. At present so many analysts are caught up with detailing the rise, structure, and credential requirements of a postindustrial economy that they ignore the many occupational arenas that have not and, perhaps, cannot fall under the spell of the new cultural myth: "it's a high-tech, postindustrial world."

## Chicago's Changing Economy: Evidence and Speculation

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Reader Beware! What follows is a combination of factual, interpretative, and speculative analysis about the changing structure of the economy and the occupations encompassed within it. It stems from a dissatisfaction with the seemingly unquestioned assumption that, since we now live in a global postindustrial society, all things depend on and flow from that system, coupled with a rather pervasive ignoring of the manufacturing sector of our economy. It also stems from two curious and incompatible images of the present and immediate future structure of the labor force—a growing hourglass economic structure in the immediate future in the shadow of an existing pyramidal economic structure in the present.

For Chicago economic restructuring has meant an adaptive and, in some cases, reactive process in which the city with ever narrower shoulders restructures its manufacturing sector in the face of globalization while, at the same time, moving into a postindustrial phase and developing its high technology service capabilities. Yet, the passage from an industrial to a postindustrial economy consists in the decline, but not the elimination, of the economic power of the former and the rise, but not the absolute dominance, in the economic power of the latter. The last portion of this paper is predicated, then, on the assumption that economic restructuring is, in reality, a Janus-faced phenomenon. The one face is industrial, still vibrant but changing, characterized less by large Fordist corporations geared to mass production and more by smaller, scattered, often nonunion plants geared to just-in-time production. The second face is high technology, a service-consulting face with an employment base clustered in Chicago's central business district which fuels a broadening service sector. Each of these two

economies is a different occupational world. The first reflects much of the structure and dynamics of the once-dominant industrial society; the second, the emerging postindustrial society with skill requirements, rules, dynamics, and cultures that are different. Now let's look at some of the data that gave rise to the above speculation.

## Two Data-based Illustrations

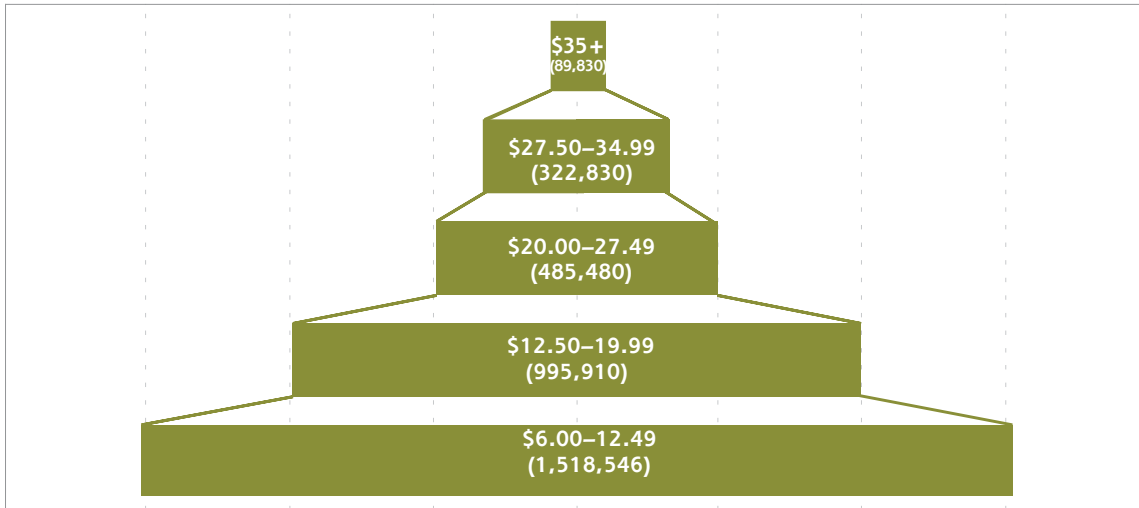
Recently the Bureau of Labor Statistics released two separate pieces of data that, when reconfigured, describe two very different economic structures; so different as to suggest two economies and two labor forces living under the same cultural roof. One bears on the present and lists all nongovernment occupations in Chicago's 2001 labor force, their absolute numbers, and their median income; the other bears on the immediate future and lists the 30 largest growth occupations, nationally, for this decade—2000 to 2010—and also identifies the occupations, their numbers, and their projected median income. Figure 3 illustrates the economic structure of Chicago's labor force when nearly 500 occupations are clustered into incomes that are rank-ordered hierarchically. Figure 4 does the same for the nation's 30 largest growth occupations.

In an ideal economic world we might like to see a diamond-shaped economy, where a few at the top make a lot, a few at the bottom make a little, and the large middle majority earns enough to maintain a middle-class lifestyle. This is not the case. Instead, what we see in the first case (Figure 3) is what some refer to as the 80–20 economy: a steep triangular economic structure in which 80 percent of the labor force does poorly or moderately well economically and 20 percent of the labor force does well to very well. This is the result of a multiplicity of factors in action. Two are relevant here: sizeable growth in an economically unbalanced service sector coupled with the continuing decline in a once expansive and well-paid manufacturing sector.

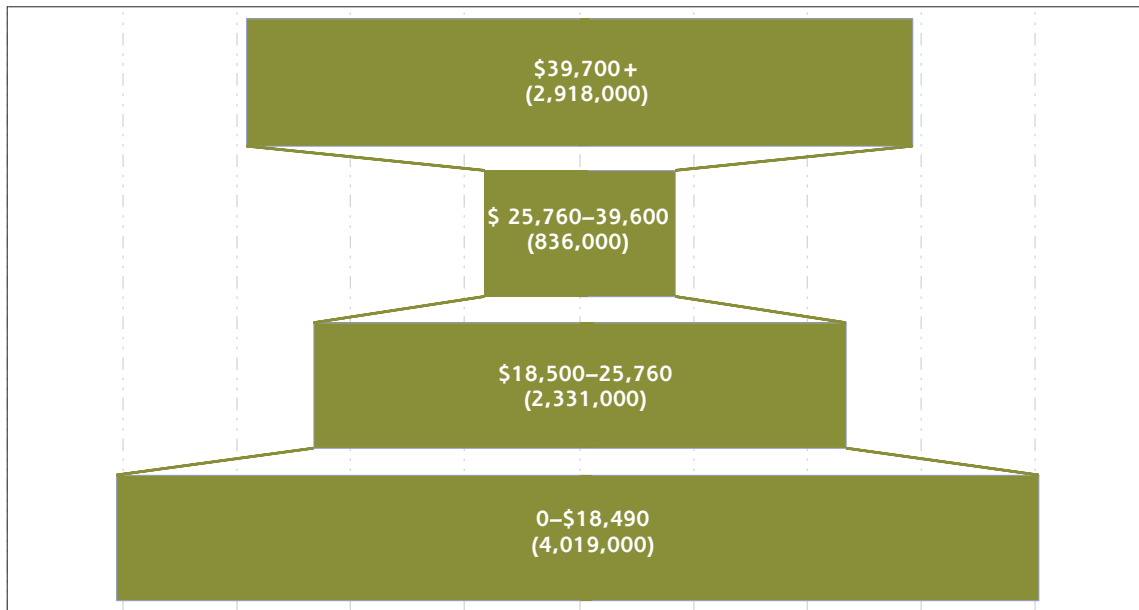
In the second instance (Figure 4), 'the future-present', we see a bottom-heavy hourglass economy. Here, as the literature on the hourglass economy emphasizes, economic inequality is at an extreme. One occupational group, the well-educated and highly skilled, reap great economic rewards. The other occupational group, those with low education and few skills, do very poorly economically. Now we are referring to, and graphically seeing, the widely heralded 'shrinking middle' of the American workforce (Hecker 2001).

This 'two-economy' interpretation can be furthered by exploring the occupational and economic characteristics of two modal-type immigrant groups, Mexicans and Asian Indians.

**Figure 3**  
**Chicago Metropolitan Area**  
**Employment and Median Wage Estimates**  
**2001**



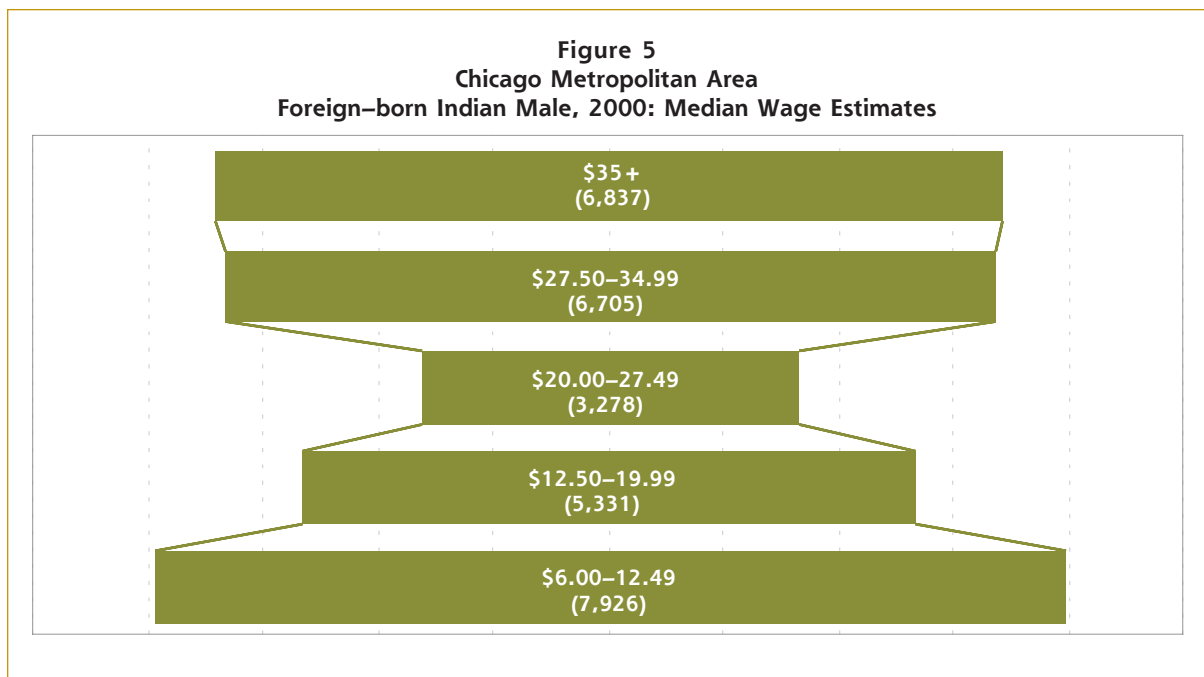
**Figure 4**  
**Occupations with Largest Job Growth, 2000–2010:**  
**National Median Wage Estimates**



Source: Hecker (2001)

Earlier, for other purposes, Mexicans were identified as a modal occupational type working in manufacturing in Los Angeles. If we hold that that conception for Chicago’s immigrant Mexican work force and add immigrant Asian Indians as modal information/high technology types, a simple comparative analysis can be laid out. Mexican immigrants are rich in the social capital of family and friendship networks but poor in the human capital of education and technical training. In the memorable phrase coined by Douglas Massey and his collaborators, Mexican campesinos “may be poor in financial resources, but they are wealthy in social capital, which they can convert into jobs and earnings in the United States” (Waldinger and Bozomehr 1996, 82). This is not new news but, as has been pointed out, results in heavy concentrations in the manufacturing/industrial sector of the economy. A significant portion of Indian immigrants are especially wealthy in the human capital so richly rewarded in a postindustrial society, and they stand out because of their high educational levels and occupational concentrations in information technology, computer programming, and other high-tech occupations characteristic of the evolving postindustrial economy. Each, it could be claimed, represents a modal type for the two economies proposed here.

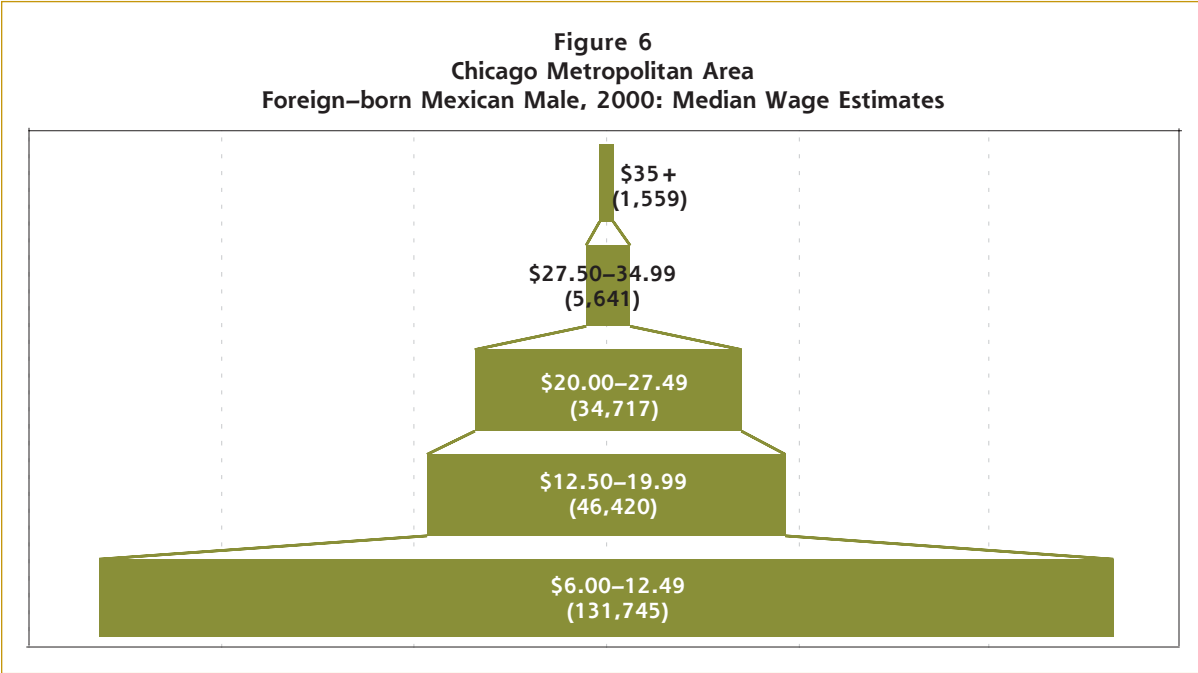
If there is merit to the two-economy interpretation, it is reasonable to predict very different occupational and economic structures for each of these two modal types. The Mexican occupational/economic structure should reflect the existing, but evolving, economic structure



displayed in Figure 3. The Indian labor force should more closely reflect the evolving postindustrial hourglass economy as displayed in Figure 4. Using the 1 percent PUMS, all occupations of Mexican immigrants were listed and counted. Each of those occupations was then referenced in the estimated mean occupational income for the Chicago Metro area prepared by the Bureau of Labor Statistics. The same procedure was implemented for Indian immigrants. The results are seen below in Figures 5 and 6.

What we see is unambiguous. The economic structure of the Mexican male labor force is clearly pyramid shaped; the Asian Indian male labor force is just as clearly hourglass shaped. This is a far cry from definitive ‘proof’ of two economies, but minimally it is strong evidence that the Mexican and Indian labor forces are very differently engaged in the economy—resulting in two very different economic reward structures.

A slightly different interpretation can be given to the above: That is, the present pyramid-like structure of Chicago’s economy is the statistical result of a combination of two different economic worlds, the ‘old’ industrial world and the ‘new’ service/IT world. The Mexican labor force is primarily anchored in the ‘old’; the Indian labor force is primarily anchored in the ‘new’. As economic restructuring continues, however, and the ‘old’ economy continues to shrink—as all analysts predict—the dominant shape and structure of the labor force will become that of an hourglass, with its attendant ‘structural inequality’.



## Service Occupations in a Changing Economy

Information technology specialists, computer programmers, and system designers are clearly new service occupations and as essential to a high-technology, information society as are tool and die makers to an industrial economy. Other service occupations, requiring little education, providing low pay, and constituting the majority of new jobs in the economy, are more ambiguous and, in a sense, are neutral with respect to placement in an industrial or postindustrial society, let alone being essential to the operation of one or another. A bus boy is a bus boy, for example, and it matters little to him/her if the dishes being bussed are on the table of an industrial or postindustrial worker. Yet, inherent in a postindustrial society is a set of cultural values—consumerism values—that have produced an explosion of ‘old’ and ‘new’ service jobs. From 1980 to 2000, for example, Chicago’s labor force grew by 19.5 percent. In comparison, lawn care jobs grew by 142 percent, chef and cook jobs by 48 percent, animal caretakers by 89 percent, and recreation and fitness workers by 460 percent—all tips of a much larger service occupation growth iceberg. Here too, an ethnic division of labor is in place. To give a few illustrations:

- Grounds maintenance work (Table 3), for example, is a *Mexican niche* and one of the two to three occupations in which Mexicans are most heavily over-represented (an RI of 5.0).
- Home health aides, especially for the elderly, are a *niche for immigrant Polish women* (an RI of 1.6).
- Lodging managers in the hotel/motel business are an especially strong niche for *immigrant Indian women* (an RI of 37.7).
- *Immigrant Korean women* have double niches: dressmakers and sewers (an RI of 19.3) and workers in laundry and dry cleaning establishments (an RI of 13.3).

As stated at the outset, the reasons for the origins and growth of ethnic niches vary. It begs the question, however, to relegate explanations to ‘chance’ or to network theory—‘one got a job, got his friend a job, they got their friends a job...’ It is more likely a case of distinctive needs in the economy becoming matched with the distinctive skills, backgrounds, and human capital of immigrants, with networking kicking in as the social dynamic that fills the niche.

There is nothing high-technology about dog-walking, exercise clubs, or lawn maintenance services, but these occupations are spin-offs of a culture where more and more people are defining their quality of life to include using and being catered to by a host of service

occupations. In that sense these occupations are elements of and, perhaps, core to a postindustrial society. After all, a consumer society makes ‘things’ to provide workers with the income to support a consumer lifestyle and, of course, to consume those self-same ‘things’. But a consumer society consumes services as well as things. The old McDonald’s jingle “You deserve a break today” was pitched to harried housewives, but many more variations on that theme were pitched to and taken to heart by anyone and everyone with consumer potential. In a society in which personal gratification has become an art form, don’t we all deserve a break today to exercise at the health club, get a pedicure, visit a tattoo parlor and...change our wants into needs? Advertising is not entirely to blame. No one invented a jingle or mounted an advertising campaign to coax us into having housecleaning services or lawn maintenance. The values that drive these forms of consumerism are now part of the cultural air that we breathe and an essential component of the lifestyle of a large segment of the country’s not-so-rich and -famous. Some take the position that consuming has become our primary job and we work only in order to support our consumer habit. All of this is not intended to trivialize consumerism. It would be a mistake to view consumerism as a luxury. The stark truth is that it has become an essential engine of our economy and, presently, the consumer index is monitored just as closely as productivity to gauge the country’s economic health and well-being.

## **Structural Factors**

Our culture places great stress on the acquisition of human capital to ensure economic success, well-being, and mobility. The unspoken assumption is that the economy is an even playing field and that human capital—equally available to all who seek it and are willing to make the effort—provides the individual with the resources to negotiate that playing field. To put it more simply, this thinking is part of the American mythology of individualism, which asserts that the individual is master of his/her destiny. Whatever outcome is in question, our culture’s ever so ready response is ‘it all depends on the individual’; economic success too ‘all depends on the individual’. Deindustrializing and corporate downsizing have tempered that thinking to some degree, and ‘structural unemployment’ has become a staple in our economic vocabulary. Industrial workers, white-collar workers, administrators, and executives have lost their jobs through no personal fault, even when they had sterling human capital. One structure, the structure of the economy, had changed, and domino-like consequences for real people followed—structural unemployment. In a by-gone national election campaign it was popular to use the expression ‘It’s the economy, stupid!’ as a way of cutting to the chase on the

campaign issues. ‘It’s the structure of the economy, stupid!’ is the parallel response to the ‘it all depends on the individual’ interpretation—especially in these times.

Where a worker is located in the structure of the economy can be just as important as the amount of human capital acquired, so much so that it has become customary for the Bureau of Labor Statistics to include a ‘hi-lo range’ dollar figure when it reports the median income of select occupations—because, in many instances, the ‘within occupation’ variability is so great. Part of the reason for that variability is whether a given occupation is in a core or periphery industry. Two secretaries with the same human capital will have very different incomes if one works for the manager of General Iron Company in the scrap metal industry and the other works for a manager in the headquarters of BP Petroleum. The two workers aren’t different from one another; the difference is in the industries they work for. So, for analytic purposes we can use the metaphor of a three-legged stool to describe Chicago’s economy: (1) one leg consists of core and periphery industrial jobs; (2) there is a second leg of core and periphery information and technology jobs; and (3) a third leg is a ubiquitous and wide-ranging service sector administering to both.

Even though the past two decades have seen a significant reduction of immigrant Mexicans working in manufacturing—the present 33.1 percent for men is markedly down from the 57.4 percent in 1980 as is the current 41.9 percent rate for women when compared to 55.9 percent in 1980—the bulk of the Mexican labor force is still found in the devolving industrial economy. Mexicans’ gradual disengagement with manufacturing parallels the decline of Chicago’s manufacturing jobs—seemingly at no serious economic cost at the collective level, since the job loss has been supplemented by job gain, and advancement, in food service. In the main, however, the service economy is a mobility and economic trap for Mexicans. Low pay and dead-end jobs are all that await the unskilled and semi-skilled. When it comes to the professional, administrative, and technical occupational components of a postindustrial world, there is nothing in the past or present to suggest significant or even evolving engagement in that new economy.

## Some Final Comments

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The strategy of the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s and 1970s was criticized by some for placing too little emphasis on job discrimination and the resultant economic inequality. This critique is not without merit. In spite of the gains made in civil rights since then, nationally and locally African Americans lag significantly behind white and Asian Americans in terms of median income and all the opportunities that greater economic resources could provide. Indeed, as the age cohort analysis performed earlier in this paper demonstrated, African Americans and Mexican immigrants share an increasing income gap between themselves and whites and Asians over the last 20 years. The continued decline of the manufacturing sector coupled with a burgeoning high-tech sector, from which neither group is adequately qualified to profit, only bodes a widening of the economic chasm in the future.

An increasingly large body of data identifies the attainment of a college or postsecondary degree as *the* single most important factor in becoming successful in a high-tech, information, and service society. Now individual merit *must* be accompanied by a higher educational credential to enter management or technical and professional fields—to gain entry to the top half of the hourglass. A Bureau of Labor Statistics report unambiguously makes the point:

The hourglass economy will continue to be fed and shaped: the fastest and largest occupational growth is predicted to occur among professional and related occupations, and...occupations requiring a postsecondary vocational award or an academic degree, which account for 29 percent of all jobs in 2000, will account for 42 percent of total job growth from 2000 to 2010 (Hecker 2001, 57).

While increasingly large numbers of poor and working-class children are going to college, the proportions are small and usually result from programs or people ‘reaching down,’ ‘pulling up,’ and placing bright, young minority, poor or working class kids onto the path to college—not, normally, children being ‘pushed up’ by family, friends, or community, as in the middle class and above.

So from this perspective, the economic fates of first- and second-generation Mexicans are intimately related. Currently, research and policy issues are focused on the second generation, but it is difficult to see how second-generation mobility can be attained without first-generation mobility preceding it. Middle-class income of parents is still the major launching platform for higher educational attainment.

The intent of this paper has been to make a strong case that the future social, political, and familial well-being of the Mexican community is intimately linked to Mexicans' economic well-being and their progress toward economic parity. And time is an enemy. If the evolving hourglass economy with its two-tiered reward structure comes to dominance, it brings an economic crisis for the less well educated and an economic disaster for Mexican Americans. The structure of a postindustrial economy is not as mobility fluid as that of yesterday's industrial economy. For those who say extreme economic inequality is the inevitable result of our new economy—and many take this position—the response needs to be that the inevitable is defined as inevitable only because we chose to do nothing about it.

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## Appendices

**Appendix Table 1**  
**Chicago Metropolitan Area: 2000**  
**Industrial Concentrations of Foreign-Born Mexican Men and Women**

Men	%	RI	Women	%	RI
Manufacturing	33.1	1.74	Manufacturing	41.9	3.71
Food service	17.2	2.41	Food service	11.0	1.36
Construction	13.4	1.38	Educ, Hlth, Soc Serv	10.7	0.38
Prof, Mgmt, Adm	09.9	0.81	Retail trade	09.9	0.80

**Appendix Table 2**  
**Foreign-Born Mexican Men:**  
**Twenty-Five Largest Occupations: 2000**

Occupation	Frequency	RI
Cooks	18,352	3.83
Const. laborers	12,881	3.19
Grounds maint wrkrs	12,365	5.03
Metal/plas wrkr	12,051	4.18
Prod wrkr	12,018	3.44
Janitors	11,170	1.91
Laborers, hand	10,864	1.62
Truck drivers	8,619	0.89
Sprvrs of prod/op	7,447	1.89
Assemb. & fabr	7,385	3.37
Ship, rec, traf clerks	5,610	2.41
Carpenters	5,546	1.19
Packagers, hand	5,361	3.88
Caf. attn/bar help	5,143	4.58
Truck/trac op	4,877	2.73
Weld, sold, braz wrkr	4,741	3.66
Auto tech &mech	4,221	1.44
Clean of veh & equip	3,832	3.10
Waiters	3,676	2.21
Mach. op & tend	3,646	5.48
Stock clerks	3,477	0.93
Retail	2,763	0.47
Dishwashers	2,721	4.84
Sprvrs of retail	2,502	0.57
Roofers	2,474	3.15

**Appendix Table 3**  
**Foreign-Born Mexican Women:**  
**Twenty-Five Largest Occupations: 2000**

Occupations	Frequency	RI
Prod workers	12,112	7.37
Assem & fabric	9,115	6.71
Packagers, hand	8,590	8.87
Mchne opr./tndrs	7,862	8.65
Maids	7,464	3.59
Cashiers	6,613	1.22
Metal/plastic wrkrs	6,536	7.04
Laborers	5,405	4.33
Inspec, sort, samp	4,604	4.12
Janitors	3,986	3.10
Sprvrs/managers, etc.	3,395	4.83
Child care workers	3,014	1.03
Secr/admin.assts.	2,734	0.31
Cooks	2,670	2.45
Waitresses	2,659	1.02
Teacher assistants	2,535	1.39
Electro assemblers	2,439	5.41
Retail salespersons	2,180	0.45
Cust serv reps	1,927	0.48
Food prep worker	1,842	3.36
Lndry/dry clean	1,809	6.72
Office clerks	1,791	0.57
Nrsng, psych, etc.	1,687	0.64
Sew mchne op	1,638	4.92
Bookkeeping, etc.	1,393	0.45

**Appendix Table 4**  
**Chicago Metropolitan Area: 2000**  
**Industrial Concentrations of Foreign-Born Polish Men and Women**

Men	%	RI	Women	%	RI
Manufacturing	32.7	1.71	Educ, Hlth, Soc Serv	19.5	0.70
Construction	22.5	2.32	Manufacturing	19.4	1.72
Trans & utilities	9.7	1.15	Prof, Mgmt, Adm	18.7	1.66
Prof, Mgmt, Adm	8.6	0.70	Retail trade	11.1	0.89

**Appendix Table 5**  
**Foreign-Born Polish Men**  
**Twenty-Five Largest Occupations: 2000**

Occupation	Frequency	RI
Carpenters	3,292	3.44
Truck driver/sales	3,264	1.64
Janitor	2,577	2.15
Machinists	2,070	6.78
Construction	1,924	2.32
Mtl & pls. wrkrs	1,561	2.64
Prod wrkrs	1,529	2.13
Pntrs, constr, & main	1,346	3.83
1st-ln sprvrs prod&op	1,329	1.64
Const. mgrs	1,281	3.87
Lbrs, & mat. mvrs	1,051	0.76
Weld, sold, & braz	1,050	3.95
Auto tech and mech	1,036	1.72
Comp. prog & op	1,035	34.42
Sprvr/mgr of rtl	944	1.05
Mach. mech.	882	2.67
Stock & order fillrs	831	1.09
Masons	819	6.88
Bus & trk mech	774	4.05
Butcher	742	4.59
General repair	740	2.77
Rtl salesprsn	696	0.58
Electrician	634	1.17
Truck and trac op	586	1.60
Mech engners	569	2.54

**Appendix Table 6**  
**Foreign-Born Polish Women**  
**Twenty-Five Largest Occupations: 2000**

Occupation	Frequency	RI
Janitors	4,108	9.93
Maids	3,662	5.48
Cashiers	1,665	0.96
Office clerks	1,593	1.57
Prod workers	1,512	2.86
Scrtrs & adm. asst.	1,390	0.50
Nrsng, psych. & hlth	1,376	1.62
Elem. & mid schl tchr	1,282	0.77
Sprvrs/mgrs janit	1,222	15.09
Retail salespersons	1,128	0.72
Sprvs/mgrs off & adm	1,019	1.10
Child care	990	1.06
Bkkpng & audit clrk	942	0.95
Dental assistants	835	6.08
Pkngng & filng mchn ops	742	2.54
Electromech assmblr	711	4.91
Assmblrs & fabricators	694	1.59
Lic prac. & voc. nrs	680	3.49
Registered nurses	678	0.47
Waitress	662	0.79
Real estate	649	0.50
Cust srvice reps	648	0.50
Recept & info. clrks	634	0.66
Sales reps.	633	1.70
Data entry keyers	555	1.18

**Appendix Table 7**  
**Chicago Metropolitan Area: 2000**  
**Industrial Concentrations of Foreign-Born Indian Men and Women**

Men	%	RI	Women	%	RI
Prof, Mgmt, Adm	24.0	1.96	Educ, Hlth, Soc Serv	38.7	1.39
Manufacturing	21.4	1.12	Manufacturing	17.3	1.53
Retail trade	15.8	1.59	Retail trade	10.8	0.87
Educ, Hlth, Soc Serv	12.3	1.45	Prof, Mgmt, Adm	09.9	0.88

**Appendix Table 8**  
**Foreign-Born Indian Men**  
**Twenty-Five Largest Occupations: 2000**

Occupation	Frequency	RI
Comp soft eniners	3,860	12.33
Com. scntst, anlysts	2,348	6.44
Physicians/surgeons	1,204	5.15
Txi drvrs, chffrs	1,204	6.74
Mgrs, all others	1,173	1.68
Sprvors of rtl sls	1,173	1.98
Cashiers	972	2.57
Compr progms	958	3.29
Retail salespersons	883	1.11
Acntnts & auditors	774	1.60
Mnagment analysts	726	2.57
Metal & pls wrkrs	666	1.71
Civil engineers	619	6.33
Janitors	571	0.72
Elctrcl engners	557	3.24
Sprvsrs of prod	556	1.04
Comp hard engners	555	14.28
Pharmacists	541	10.23
Engineering tech	540	3.92
Mech engineers	432	2.92
Sales reps.	418	0.67
Pstscndry tchrs	402	1.46
Data entry keyers	402	4.28
Cooks	396	0.61
Financial mgrs	387	1.39

**Appendix Table 9**  
**Foreign-Born Indian Women**  
**Twenty-Five Largest Occupations: 2000**

Occupation	Frequency	RI
Physician/surgeon	1,758	16.82
Registered nurses	1,435	2.04
Comp soft engners	1,082	15.62
Cashiers	928	1.09
Clinical lab, tech	792	9.66
Scrtrs, adm assts	680	0.49
Pstscndry tchrs	649	3.37
Data entry keyers	572	2.49
Prod wrkrs	572	2.21
Preschlkgarten tchrs	555	3.74
Nrsng & hme hlth	527	1.27
Pkng, flng mchne op	494	3.44
Inspec, test, sort etc	480	2.72
Comp. prgmmrs	479	5.63
Office clerks	478	0.96
Acntnts, auditors	464	1.26
Retail sales	447	0.58
Metal & plstc wrkrs	433	2.96
Bkpng, acct clrks	401	0.82
Off adm. supp wrkr	355	2.39
Recept, info. clrk	339	0.72
Cust srvce reps	338	0.54
Ldngng mgrs	294	37.71
Home care aides	293	3.44
Physical scientists	278	9.97

**Appendix Table 10**  
**Chicago Metropolitan Area: 2000**  
**Industrial Concentrations of Foreign-Born Filipino Men and Women**

Men	%	RI	Women	%	RI
Educ, Hlth, Soc Serv	22.5	2.66	Educ, Hlth, Soc Serv	54.4	1.95
Manufacturing	20.3	1.07	FIRE	11.0	1.12
Prof, Mgmt, Adm	12.4	1.01	Prof, Mgmt, Adm	8.2	0.73
Transp & utilites	9.3	1.11	Retail trade	6.8	0.55

**Appendix Table 11**  
**Foreign-Born Filipino Men**  
**Twenty-Five Largest Occupations: 2000**

Occupation	Frequency	RI
Phys & srgns	956	6.77
Registered nurses	756	20.67
Nrsng, psych.& hlth	712	12.79
Lbrs, freightmovers	618	1.13
Cooks	572	1.46
Electricians	557	2.59
Acctnts & adtrs	509	1.74
Comp spprt splcsts	495	6.85
Machinists	493	4.06
Janitors	479	1.00
Prkng lot atndnts	479	14.57
Metal & plas. wrkr	463	1.97
Engnerng techs	448	5.38
Cashiers	433	1.89
Dign technol & techni	431	25.39
Sprvrs/mgrs of prod	401	1.25
Mech engineers	371	4.16
Postal service	293	12.38
Comp programmers	279	1.59
Lab technol & technic	279	12.41
Sec grds & surv off	279	1.30
Comr soft engnrs	278	1.47
Retail salespersons	278	0.58
Travel agents	278	26.07
Data entry keyers	278	4.89

**Appendix Table 12**  
**Foreign-Born Filipino Women**  
**Twenty-Five Largest Occupations: 2000**

Occupation	Frequency	RI
Registered nurses	7,292	7.74
Nursing & hlth aides	1,422	2.56
Accountants	1,348	2.73
Bookkeeping	1,006	1.55
Physicians & surgeons	1,004	7.18
Retail salespersons	879	0.85
Home care aides	726	6.37
Lab technol & technic.	615	5.61
Med. assts	588	3.24
Scrtries & adm. assts	585	0.32
Cashiers	557	0.49
Lic. prac. & voc. Nurses	526	4.12
Financial managers	525	1.62
Office & admin. sppt	478	2.40
Sprvrs/mgrs off & adm	463	0.76
Maids and housekeeping	448	1.02
Tellers	448	2.86
Data entry keyers	417	1.36
Cust serv reps	402	0.48
Office clerks, general	402	0.60
Food servers, non-rest.	401	6.57
Health technol. & technic.	387	10.00
Sprvrs/mgrs of retail	387	0.78
Recept and info. Clerks	386	0.61
Social workers	340	1.28

**Appendix Table 13**  
**Chicago Metropolitan Area: 2000**  
**Industrial Concentrations of Foreign-Born Chinese Men and Women**

Men	%	RI	Women	%	RI
Manufacturing	23.0	1.21	Manufacturing	23.1	2.04
Food services	18.8	2.34	Prof, Mgmt, Adm	17.3	1.54
Educ, Hlth, Soc Serv	14.1	1.67	Food service	14.8	1.84
Prof, Mgmt, Adm	09.1	0.74	Educ, Hlth, Soc Serv	10.0	0.36

**Appendix Table 14**  
**Foreign-Born Chinese Men**  
**Twenty-Five Largest Occupations: 2000**

Occupation	Frequency	RI
Cooks	2,101	6.05
Comp prog	1,281	8.21
Comp soft eng	1,143	6.81
Super of ret wrkrs	680	2.14
Pstscndry teach	649	4.41
Chefs, head cooks	633	9.67
Compr scientists	557	2.85
Prod wrkrs	557	2.20
Super. non-rtl wrkrs	510	2.36
Nrsing & hme hlth	386	7.81
Elctrcl engineers	371	4.02
Laborers	371	0.76
Office clerks	355	3.37
Main rpair wrkrs	340	3.60
Registered nurses	309	9.52
Medical scientists	308	25.19
Engineers, all other	294	4.23
Metal/plstc wrkrs	279	1.33
Police	278	2.12
Equipment repair	278	20.29
Waiters	263	2.18
Janitors	263	0.62
Designers	248	2.93
Retail	248	0.58
Mgmt. analysts	247	1.63

**Appendix Table 15**  
**Foreign-Born Chinese Women**  
**Twenty-Five Largest Occupations: 2000**

Occupation	Frequency	RI
Accountants	1,498	4.82
Comp prgrmmr	881	12.29
Cashiers	880	1.22
Sew mchne op	803	18.11
Office clerks	650	1.55
Waitresses	603	1.75
Gen op mgrs	539	8.11
Comp soft eng	494	8.46
Chem, mat sci	479	28.46
Paraleg, leg ast	474	6.83
Comp supp spec	448	7.64
Recept, info clerk	433	1.09
Cooks	432	2.98
Phys, surg	401	4.55
Pstscndry teach	371	2.28
Food serv mgrs	370	4.20
Med sci	356	23.27
Ed admin	325	2.44
Bookkeeping	324	0.79
Super. of off/adm	318	0.83
Managers, all other	310	1.25
Cutting workers	309	46.30
Claims adjusters	278	4.54
Lawyers	278	3.11
Real estate	278	1.97

**Appendix Table 16**  
**Chicago Metropolitan Area: 2000**  
**Industrial Concentrations of Foreign-Born Korean Men and Women**

Men	%	RI	Women	%	RI
Retail trade	16.2	1.64	Educ, Hlth, Soc Serv	20.6	.74
Manufacturing	14.1	.74	Retail trade	18.3	1.48
Other services	13.4	3.00	Other services	15.2	3.10
Prof, Mgmt, Adm	13.4	1.09	Entert, food services	12.4	1.53

**Appendix Table 17**  
**Foreign-Born Korean Men**  
**Twenty-Five Largest Occupations: 2000**

Occupation	Frequency	RI
Sprvrs of retail	1,266	6.54
Sprvrs of prod & op	680	3.90
Comp soft eng	432	4.22
Accountants	371	2.35
Electrical engineers	324	5.76
Retail	311	1.20
Txi drvrs & chauff	309	5.30
Chief executives	293	1.59
Engineering techn	279	6.19
Entert attendants	278	16.47
Postal service	278	7.67
Med lab tech	278	0.21
Mgment analysts	247	2.67
Civil engineers	247	7.73
Designers	247	4.79
Phys & surgeons	232	3.04
Lndry & dry-clean	232	31.76
Sales & trck drvrs	232	0.54
Sprvrs, prot srvice	231	26.33
Clergy	216	5.42
Agricultural wrkr	216	11.02
Managers, all other	202	0.89
Carpenters	201	0.98
Assem & fabricators	186	1.92
Lawyers	185	1.33

**Appendix Table 18**  
**Foreign-Born Korean Women**  
**Twenty-Five Largest Occupations:2000**

Occupation	Frequency	RI
Retail	711	1.79
Sprvrs of prod/op.	696	12.14
Sprvrs of retail	619	3.23
Ele.& mid.schl teach	494	1.17
Pharmacists	464	26.25
Post serv clerks	464	19.83
Registered nurses	448	1.23
Cashiers	398	0.90
Chief executives	294	7.18
Tailors	294	19.34
Lndry & dry-clean	293	13.33
Lawyers	292	5.33
Office clerks	263	1.02
Cntr & rent clerks	262	13.10
Food service mgrs	247	4.57
Sprvrs/mgrs of food	232	4.09
Biological scientists	231	33.90
Sprvrs of off/admin	216	0.92
Stock & ordr fillers	201	2.45
Adver sales agents	186	6.29
Recept & info clerk	186	0.76
Dispatchers	186	9.05
Medical scientists	185	19.70
Designers	170	1.77
Media & comm. wrkr	170	34.80

**Appendix Table 19**  
**Chicago Metropolitan Area: 2000**  
**Industrial Concentrations of African Americans**

Men	%	RI	Women	%	RI
Transportation	16.2	1.93	Educ, Hlth, Soc Serv	33.1	1.19
Manufacturing	14.3	0.75	Retail trade	10.1	0.81
Educ, Hlth, Soc Serv	11.6	1.37	Prof, Mgmt, Adm	9.8	0.87
Prof, Mgmt, Adm	10.5	0.86	FIRE	9.2	0.94
Public adm*	5.4	1.48	Public adm*	5.1	1.83

\* Added because of industrial niche measure.

**Appendix Table 20**  
**African American/Black Men**  
**Twenty-Five Largest Occupations: 2000**

Occupation	Frequency	RI
Laborers	22,181	2.39
Truck drvrs	19,946	1.50
Janitors	14,246	1.77
Security grds	10,968	3.02
Cooks	10,356	1.57
Stock clerks	8,129	1.58
Retail salespersons	7,745	0.96
Cashiers	5,921	1.54
Sprvrs of off. & adm	5,718	1.69
Production workers	4,897	1.02
Bus drivers	4,834	3.84
Truck and trac opps.	4,427	1.80
Sprvrs of prod. & op	4,159	0.77
Ship, rec, & traf clrk	4,040	1.26
Const laborers	3,868	0.69
Assem & fabr	3,817	1.26
Clean vehi & equip	3,740	2.20
Sprvrs of non-ret sls	3,621	0.88
Mgrs, all other	3,424	0.48
Cust. serv rep	3,417	1.04
Police & sheriff	3,354	1.35
Office clerks	3,244	1.62
Social wrkrs	3,045	3.12
Auto tech & mech	3,030	0.75
Sprvrs of non-ret. sls	2,908	0.48

**Appendix Table 21**  
**African American/Black Women**  
**Twenty-Five Largest Occupations: 2000**

Occupation	Frequency	RI
Cashiers	25,116	1.50
Nurs & hme hlt	20,881	2.57
Sec. & admin asst	15,295	0.75
Cust serv rep	14,883	1.24
Ele & mid sch teac	13,646	0.93
Child care wrkr	11,606	1.52
Retail salesworker	10,212	0.77
Reg. nurses	9,537	0.74
Recept & info clerk	9,500	1.04
Maids & houskpp	9,345	1.48
Office clerks	9,315	0.96
Sprvrs office/admin	7,872	1.05
Social workers	6,615	2.03
Accountants	6,401	0.92
Bookkeeping	6,310	0.67
Laborers, handlers	6,149	1.64
Data entry keyers	6,103	1.37
Cooks	5,753	1.81
Teachers asst	5,161	1.03
Educ admin.	5,139	1.67
Security grds	4,866	3.20
Home care aides	4,740	2.92
Licensed prac. nurse	4,727	2.54
Prod. wrkr	4,463	0.93
Postal wrkr	4,373	4.07

