

# **Latinos in Indiana: On the Throes of Growth**

by

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- *Provision of technical expertise and support to Latino communities in an effort to develop policy responses to local problems.*
- *Development of Hispanic human capital, including education, leadership development, and empowerment.*

### **About the Author: Robert Aponte**

Robert Aponte received his Ph.D. in sociology at the University of Chicago and has taught at Indiana University and at Michigan State University. He earlier directed a major research project on poverty and employment among the urban disadvantaged at the University of Chicago. Aponte's research interests include poverty, immigration, race and ethnicity, Latinos in the United States, and Contemporary Cuba. Among his recent works are "Informal Work in the U.S." (1997), "Towards the 21st Century: Latinos in the U.S. at Century's End and Beyond" (1999), and "Ethnic Variation in the Family" (1999). He also co-authored "Latinos in the Heartland: The Browning of the Midwest" (1994), a widely publicized JSRI Research Report on the Midwestern Hispanics.

# **Latinos in Indiana: On the Throes of Growth**

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# Latinos in Indiana: On the Throes of Growth

## Introduction

Like most states in the nation's heartland, Indiana has hosted relatively few residents of Hispanic or Latino origin in the last few decades (Aponte and Siles, 1994). However, there are indications that this situation is changing rapidly, as we relate below. Nevertheless, the number of Latino residents in the state fell just short of 100,000 persons at the time of the last census. Thus, only three states (Illinois, Michigan, and Ohio) of the 12 in the Midwest region held more Latinos in 1990. This report provides a preliminary assessment of the group in Indiana, particularly as they compare with other groups in the state and with other Latinos in the region and nation. It is based primarily on census publications, but includes findings from other recent work along with information gleaned from numerous interviews and observations currently underway for these purposes.

Among the key findings are several very interesting items. First, Latinos in Indiana are clearly living under better economic conditions, on average, than Latinos elsewhere. This is evident from comparisons on numerous indicators of well being, such as poverty rates or median family income. Ironically, this stands in sharp contrast to the relative positioning of the state's Whites. Here, Whites appear to live poorly compared to other states. Alternatively, Blacks in Indiana live as poorly as in other parts of the country. This is likely to stem from patterns of migration — upwardly mobile and educated Whites probably leave the state in greater numbers than they arrive, while the relatively slow immigration of Latinos has been selective of the slightly better off. Blacks, on the other hand, probably do not move in or out in a systematic way to raise or lower their indicators. Still, as is true almost everywhere else in the nation, Whites in Indiana are the most economically stable group in the state, Blacks fare the worst, and Latinos fare in between the two.

While Latino population growth in Indiana has been sluggish, at least up to the present decade, the state's overall growth has been slower still. Indeed, Hispanics added more people to the state's population over the 1980-1990 period than did Whites, despite the fact that the latter group began the decade well over 50 times larger than the former. However, Indiana remains a predominately White state by a substantial margin, with nearly nine out of ten residents identified by the census in 1990 as non-Hispanic White. In this regard, Indiana is "Whiter" than the Midwest as a whole (86%), while the region is "Whiter" than the nation as a whole (76%). Thus, while the "Browning of America" phenomenon identified in the early 1990's has been slow to reach the Midwest, it has been slower still to reach Indiana, although indications are it is coming here, too.

Latino settlement patterns in Indiana, like elsewhere, tend toward concentrations in specific areas which do not always correspond to patterns among the population at large. Thus, while Lake County holds the largest number of Latinos in the state by far, that county is only the second largest in overall population. Marion County, which includes the city of Indianapolis, is the most populous in the state and hosts some 68% more people than does Lake County. By contrast, Lake hosts over five times as many Latinos as does Marion. Indeed, the top 10 counties in Latino population in Indiana account for nearly three-quarters of the group, but less than half of the state's total population.

Further reflecting Latino patterns elsewhere, Latinos in Indiana are predominately Mexican in origin, with Puerto Ricans constituting a distant second place among the remaining nationality groups. Cubans are the third most numerous such group, but their numbers actually declined over the 1980's. Their decline in numbers is very likely to stem, in part, from the significant attraction South Florida (especially Miami) poses to Cubans throughout the nation. Many, if not most, Cuban immigrants initially settled in areas designated by government relief agencies, rather than of their own choosing, and many have come to exercise their preference for settlement in or near the great Cuban enclave in Miami, widely known as "Little Havana."

The major Hispanic origin groups in Indiana, as well as the state's Latinos as a whole, are a relatively youthful group. Both Blacks and Whites show higher median ages than Hispanics in the state, as is the case at the national level. No one factor explains this, but migration patterns are almost certainly one important reason for it. Migration tends to be selective of young adults and families, and Latinos in the U.S. are disproportionately immigrants, while those in Indiana are disproportionately immigrants from outside the state, some even from abroad. However, the proportion of the state's Latinos that are foreign born is significantly smaller than that for the nation at large. Another factor that contributes to the group's relative youthfulness is their higher than average fertility, as subsequently shown.

An additional item of great significance concerns intermarriage. Research cited here (Gannon et al., 1996) indicates that the state's Latinos intermarry with non-Latinos at a remarkably high rate, especially outside of the Gary (Lake County) area. However, the suggested scenario is actually consistent with research efforts on Hispanic intermarriage elsewhere: it is more likely to occur among higher status Latinos and Latinos outside of major Latino concentrations (Aponte, 1999b). Not only are Indiana Latinos generally better off than those elsewhere but, outside of the Gary area, Latino concentrations are modest and the general pattern of settlement is a diffuse one.

The final substantive topic of note concerns current trends in Latino growth in the state. Unfortunately, there is little hard information on this issue. Yet, there are clear indications that growth has accelerated as a result of immigration. Two poles of recent growth are Indianapolis and the nearby town of Frankfort. In the latter case, there is a meatpacking plant which appears to be drawing large numbers of Latino workers, as has occurred in numerous similar rural towns throughout other midwestern states in the very recent past, especially Iowa, Minnesota, Nebraska, and Kansas (Aponte and Siles, 1997; Gouveia and Stull, 1997). Frankfort, which held few Latinos when the 1990 census was taken, is now reputed to be 20-40% Hispanic.

In the case of Indianapolis, recent Latino growth is less clearly the result of a particular industry or other specific source of attraction. Yet, anecdotal information and even the most casual observations make clear the obvious substantial growth. Caseloads for ESL staff (English as a Second Language), for example, have mushroomed just in the last few years. Further, at least one recently launched storefront clinic in the inner city, to the organizers' steep surprise, now serves a clientele that is perhaps half Hispanic! The subsequent version of this report will hopefully shed more light on these developments as ongoing efforts uncover them.

In closing this section, a number of acknowledgments are in order. First, the reader is alerted to some of the very worthy work on Latinos in Indiana that preceded and facilitated the present work. These include the excellent edited collection in Lane and Escobar (1987), in which several articles give an in-depth history of Indiana Latinos in the northwest (Gary) area. Also, a recent brief, but excellent, work on the history of Latinos in the Indianapolis area has been produced by Guthrie and his colleagues (1995). Finally, and most recently, the likewise excellent and important report by Gannon et al. (1996), upon which we draw here, is acknowledged. The latter provides an additional portrait of the state's Latinos, much like that attempted here, though far more extensive. However, the dearth of information on the group is so extensive that the two reports provide useful and important information with only minimal overlap between them. Finally, we note that time constraints precluded any descriptive analyses of the labor force and occupational status of the state's Hispanics. These will be reported on in subsequent work on this topic by the author.

## Major Demographic Trends

The first item to be noted in any demographic review of Indiana is the fact that the state's population has barely grown at all in recent decades. What's more, the modest increase of the last intercensal interim represents a significant reduction in growth from that of the most immediately previous interim. Table 1 provides an overview of the changes in population, by race and Hispanic origin, from 1970 to 1990. While the 1970's witnessed an increase in the state's population of some 300,000 persons, the increase over the 1980's just barely exceeded 50,000 odd persons. Although no figures are present for Hispanics as a whole for 1970, it is clear that their major constituent groups increased in size by only modest proportions over the 20-year period, along with sharing in a reduced rate of growth over the second half of the period.

**Table 1. Indiana Population  
by Race and Hispanic Origin: 1970-1990**

	1970	1980	1990
<b>Total</b>	5,193,665	5,490,224	5,544,159
<b>White*</b>	na**	4,953,603	4,965,242
<b>Black*</b>	na**	411,828	428,612
<b>Hispanic</b>	na**	87,047	98,788
<i>Mexican</i>	30,034	57,625	66,736
<i>Puerto Rican</i>	9,269	12,683	14,021
<i>Cuban</i>	1,158	1,916	1,853
<i>Other Hispanic</i>	na**	14,823	16,178
<b>Other*</b>	na**	37,746	51,517

*Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census (hereafter, USBC) 1972, 1973, 1982, 1992a*  
 \*Non-Hispanic                      \*\*Not Available

For example, while the Mexican origin population increased by over 25,000 people during the 1970's (57,625-30,034), the corresponding growth over the 1980's amounted to less than 10,000 (66,736-57,625). A similar pattern obtained for Puerto Ricans, while Cubans actually declined in population size. Despite the similar patterning, it is unlikely that the source of the slowdown is shared. Whites are almost certainly losing people to migration, along with Cubans, while the other groups likely to have merely been experiencing reductions in inbound migrants.

**FIGURE 1A. RELATIVE PORTIONS OF INDIANA POPULATION  
BY RACE AND HISPANIC ORIGIN, 1990**

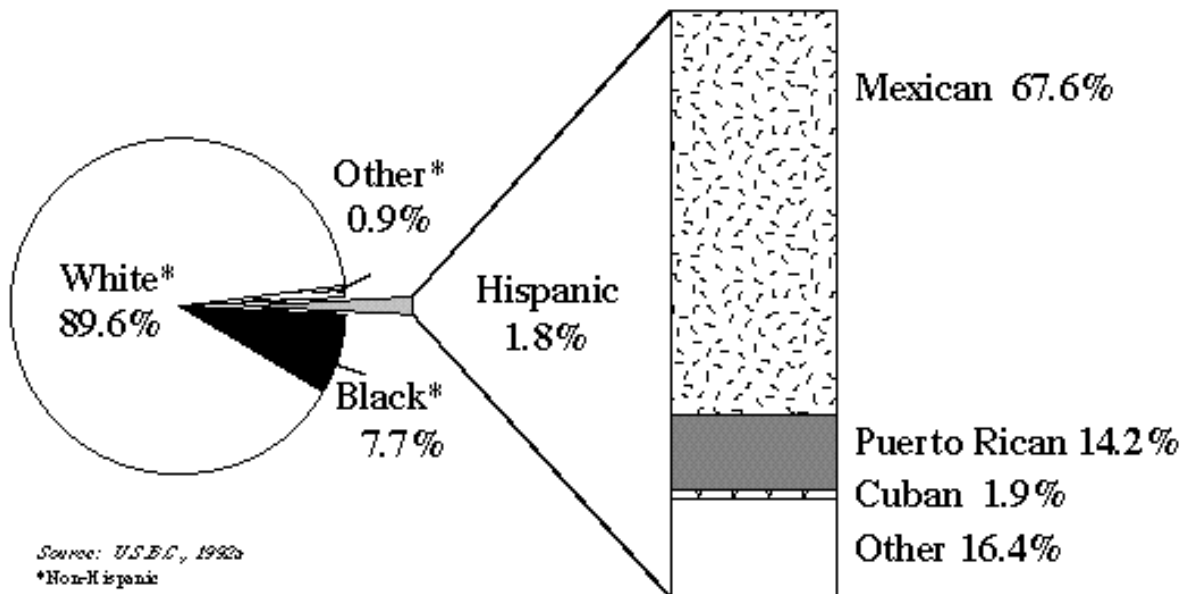
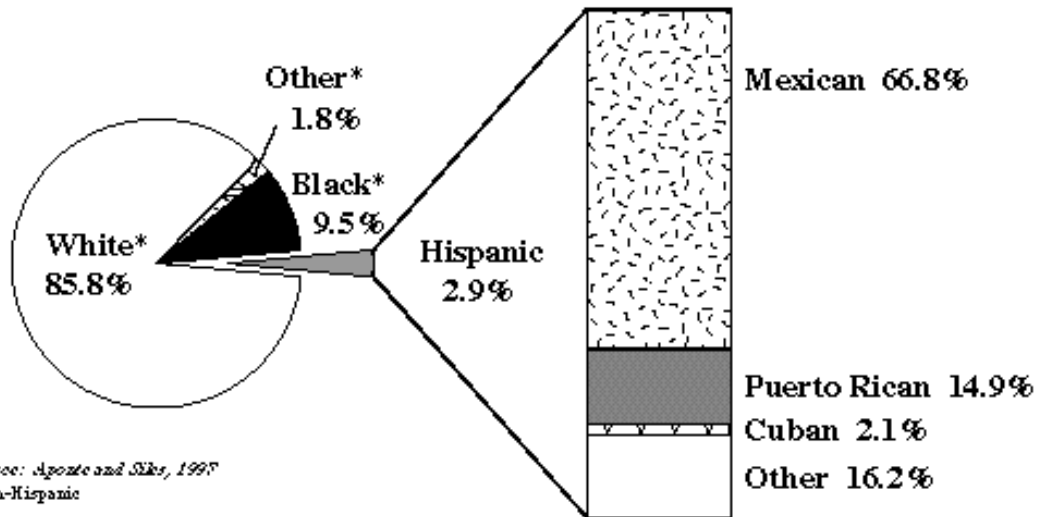
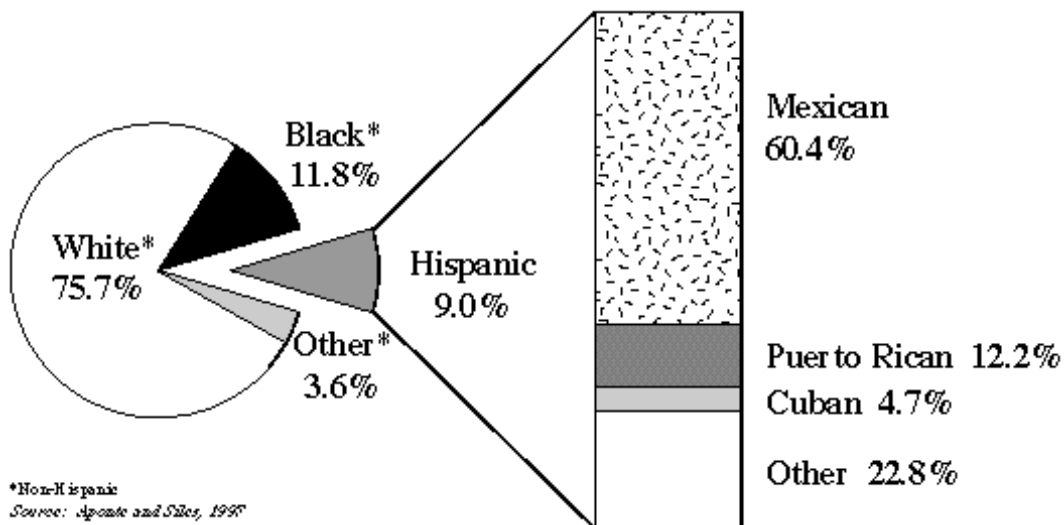


Figure 1A shows the relative portioning of the Indiana population by race and Hispanic origin at the time of the 1990 census. Nine out of 10 residents are non-Hispanic White, 7.7% are non-Hispanic Black (African American), and 1.8% are of Hispanic origin. The remaining category (Asians and others) accounts for less than 1% of the population. Within the Hispanic grouping, however, Mexicans claim the lion's share of the population, about two-thirds of it, with Puerto Ricans and Cubans next in line. Other Latinos, a group too heterogenous to categorize, comprise a larger share than either Cubans or Puerto Ricans.

**FIGURE 1B. RELATIVE PORTIONS OF THE MIDWEST POPULATION BY RACE AND HISPANIC ORIGIN, 1990**



**FIGURE 1C. PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION OF THE U.S. POPULATION BY RACE AND HISPANIC ORIGIN, 1990**



As figures 1B and 1C show, the corresponding breakdowns for the Midwest and the U.S., respectively, show higher proportions of Blacks, Hispanics, and “Others,” and correspondingly lower proportions of Whites, but the relative rankings among the minority groups stay roughly the same. The sharpest change in ordering as the focus is shifted to the national level concerns “other” Hispanics. At the national level they comprise some 22% of all Latinos. The likeliest explanation for that patterning is that at the national level, there have been major waves of Latinos entering from Latin America that are settling in very specific places outside the Midwest, while those in the Midwest represent longer term U.S. residents not embedded in major migration streams (see Aponte, 1999a).

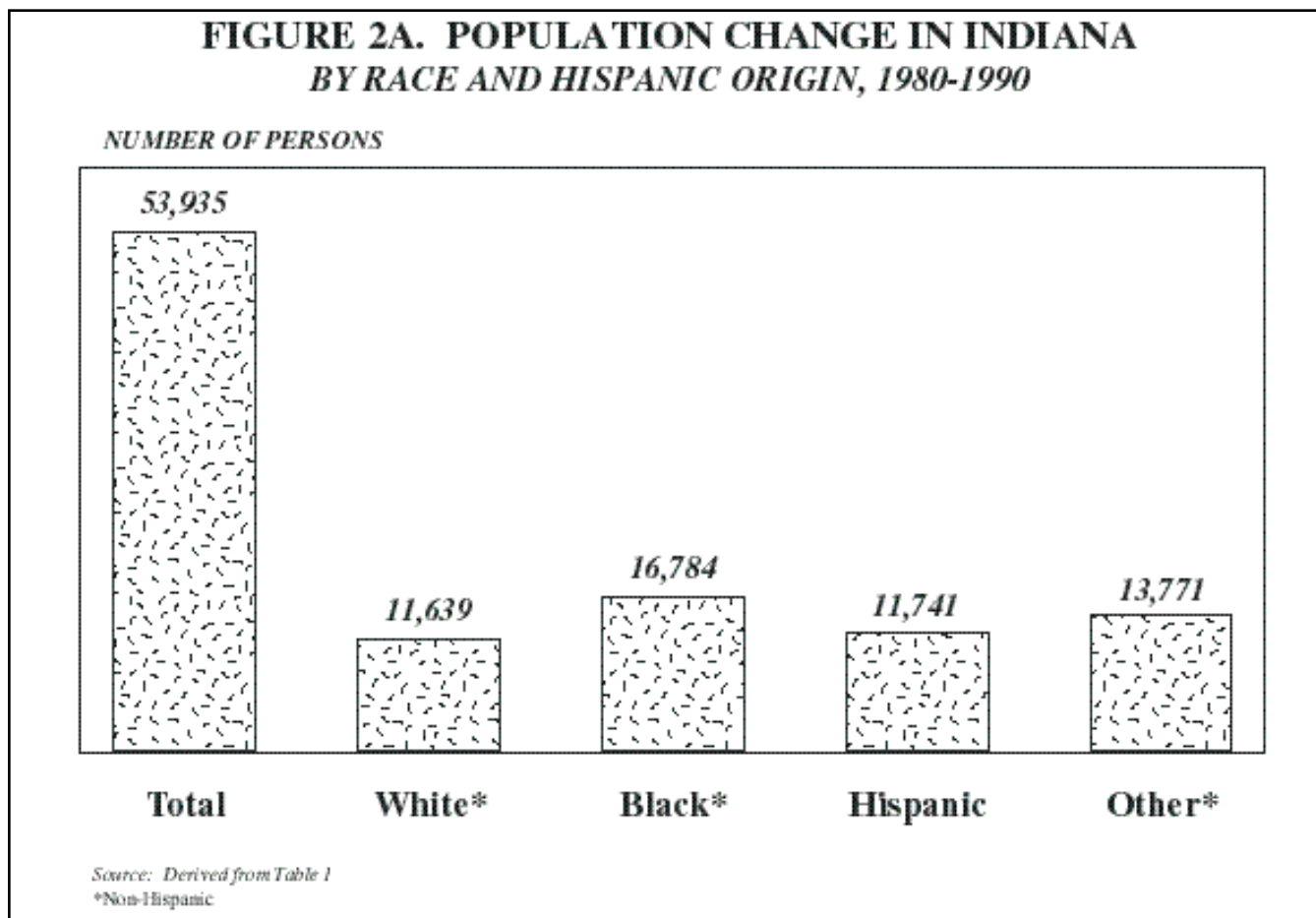
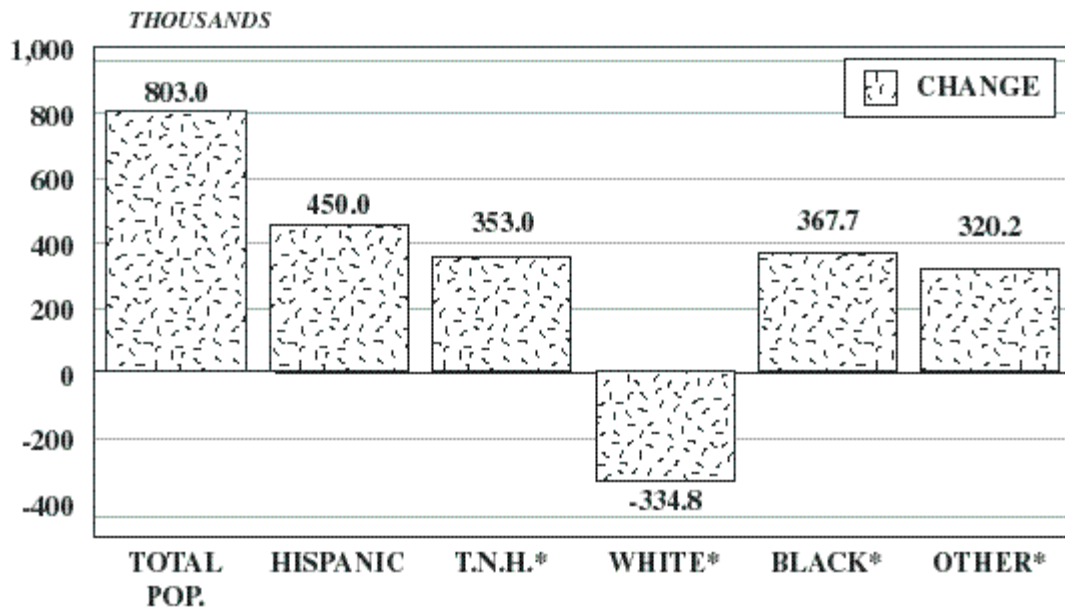


Figure 2A shows the growth of the Indiana population between 1980 and 1990. As earlier noted, the total growth amounted to a mere 54,000 persons. Moreover, all three categories of minorities outgrew Whites, despite the latter’s vast numeric advantage. For example, in 1980, Whites were virtually 57 times as numerous as Latinos. Thus, if neither group experienced any migration and both exhibited roughly the same rates of fertility and mortality, then Whites should have added over 50 times as many people to their ranks as did Hispanics. Instead, Latinos gained some 11,700 people, while Whites only added some 11,600. While fertility and mortality differences may account for some of the discrepancy, it is almost certainly due more to differential migration, as suggested above, than anything else.

Figure 2B provides figures on population growth for the whole Midwest that correspond to those shown in Figure 1. The most striking difference between the two figures is that for the region as a whole, the White population is actually in decline, rather than just growing sluggishly. They ended the decade with one-third of a million fewer people than they began with, while Latinos and the others all experienced similar sized increases. Even more significantly, at the regional level, the Hispanic population grew even more than Blacks’ did. Here again, we can be sure, the major ingredient underlying the changes is migration.



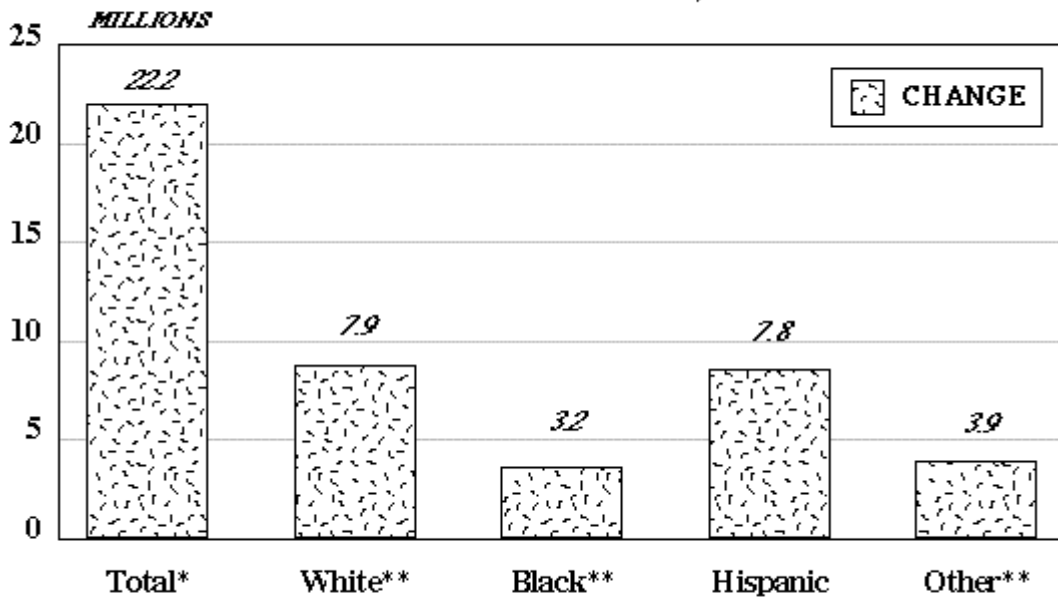
**FIGURE 2B. POPULATION CHANGE IN THE MIDWEST  
BY RACE AND HISPANIC ORIGIN, 1980-1990**



Source: Aponte and Siles, 1994  
\*Non-Hispanic

Figure 2C provides the corresponding growth figures for the nation. Here Whites are shown to experience the most growth, with Latinos in second place, but only by a hair (7.9 to 7.8 million). Indeed, Whites began the decade some 12 times the size of the Latino group, but ended it only eight times as large. The significance of migration to the Latino growth cannot be over-emphasized (Aponte and Siles, 1997; Aponte, 1998). Latinos not only outgrew Blacks, but they added twice as many people as did the African Americans.

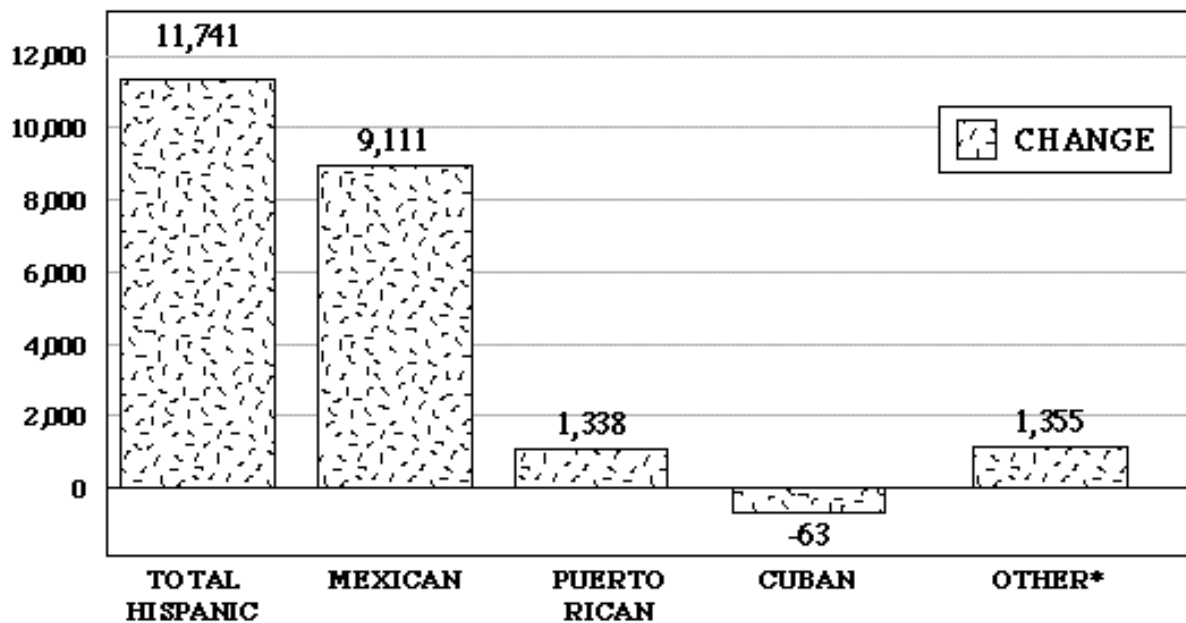
**FIGURE 2C. POPULATION GROWTH IN THE U.S.  
BY RACE AND HISPANIC ORIGIN, 1980-1990**



Source: Aponte and Siles, 1997  
\* Total Population \*\* Non-Hispanic

### FIGURE 3A. POPULATION CHANGE IN INDIANA

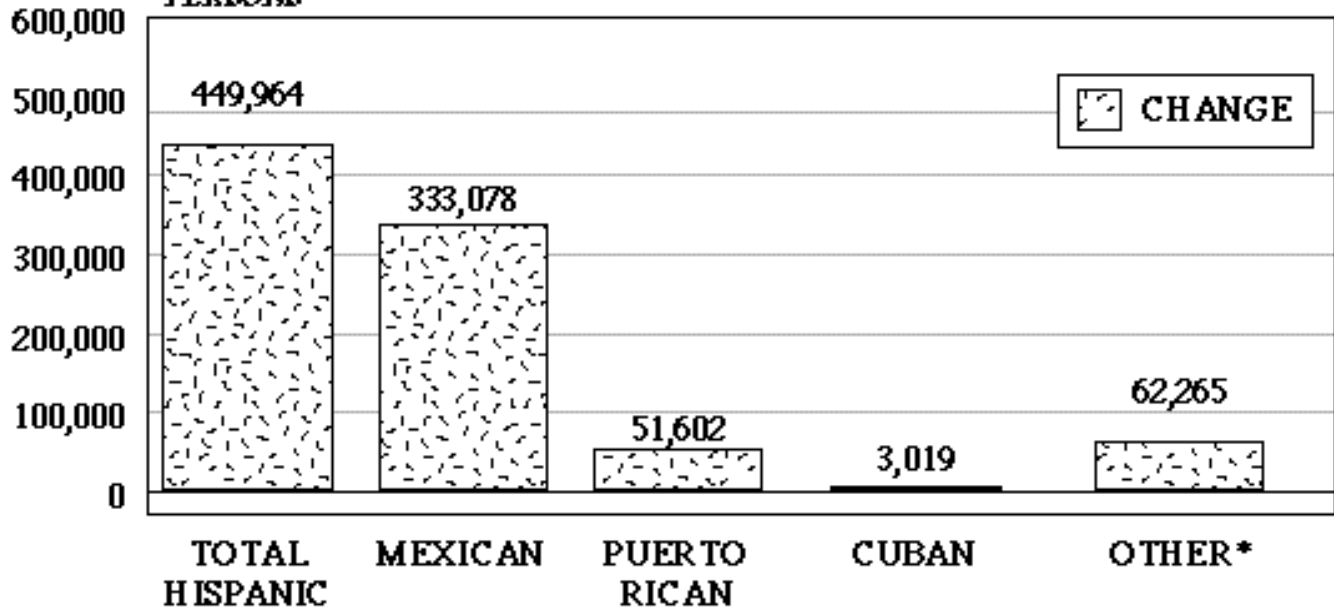
*PERSONS BY TYPE OF HISPANIC ORIGIN: 1980-1990*



*Source: Derived from Table 1*

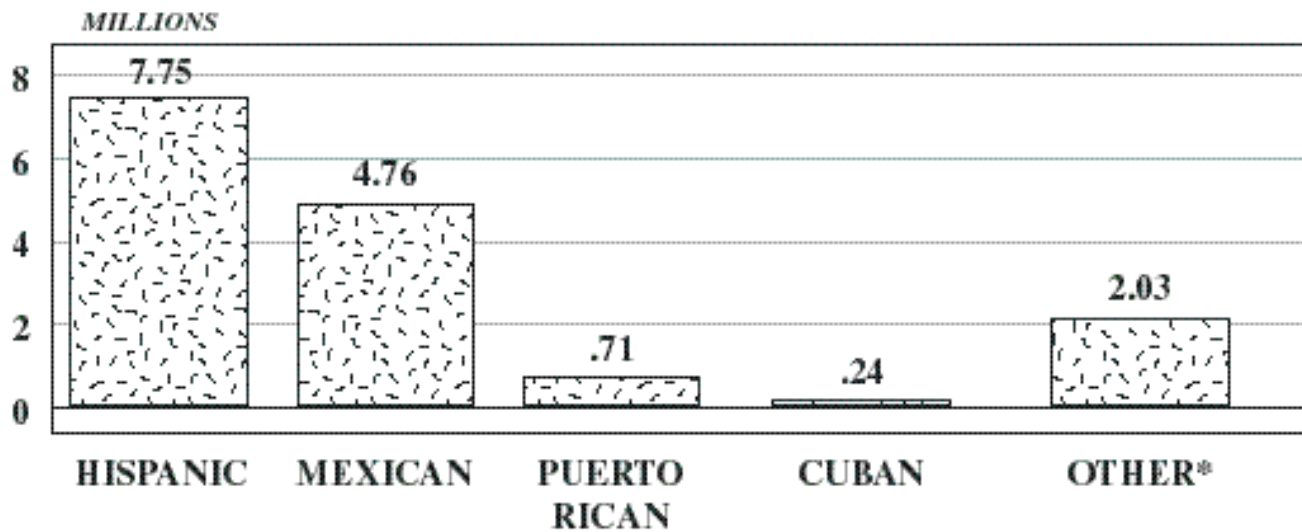
### FIGURE 3B. POPULATION CHANGE IN THE MIDWEST

*PERSONS BY TYPE OF HISPANIC ORIGIN: 1980-1990*



*Source: Aponte and Siles, 1994*

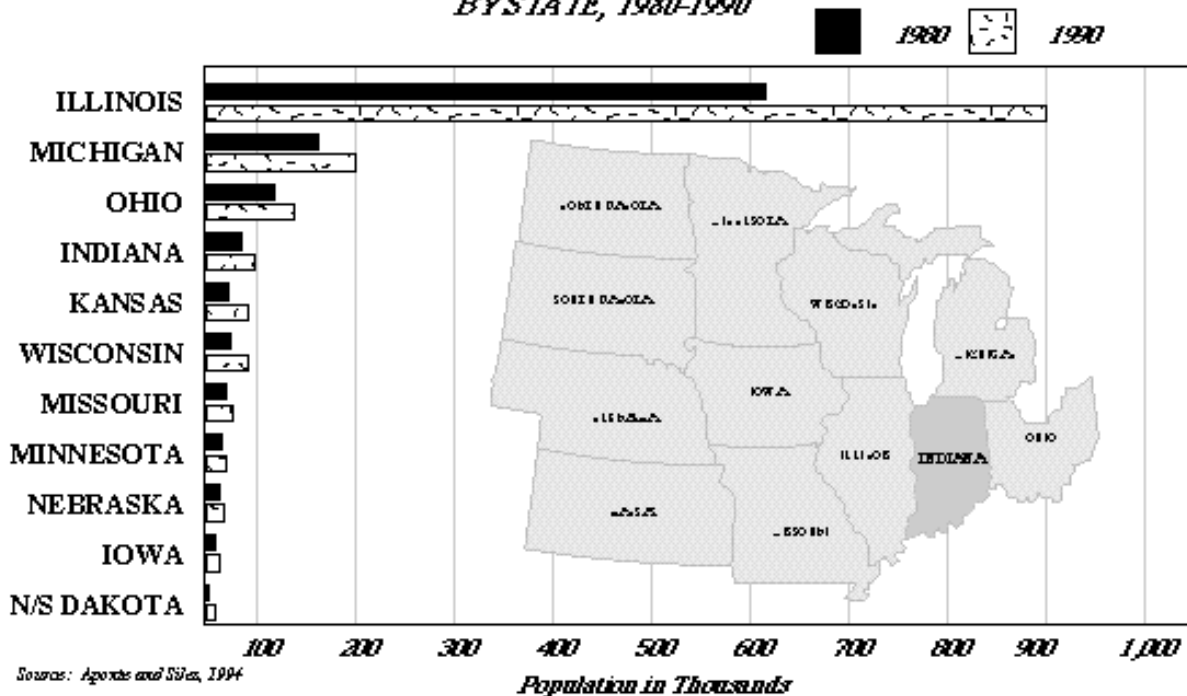
**FIGURE 3C. POPULATION GROWTH IN THE U.S.  
BY TYPE OF HISPANIC ORIGIN: 1980-1990**



Source: Aponte and Siles, 1997

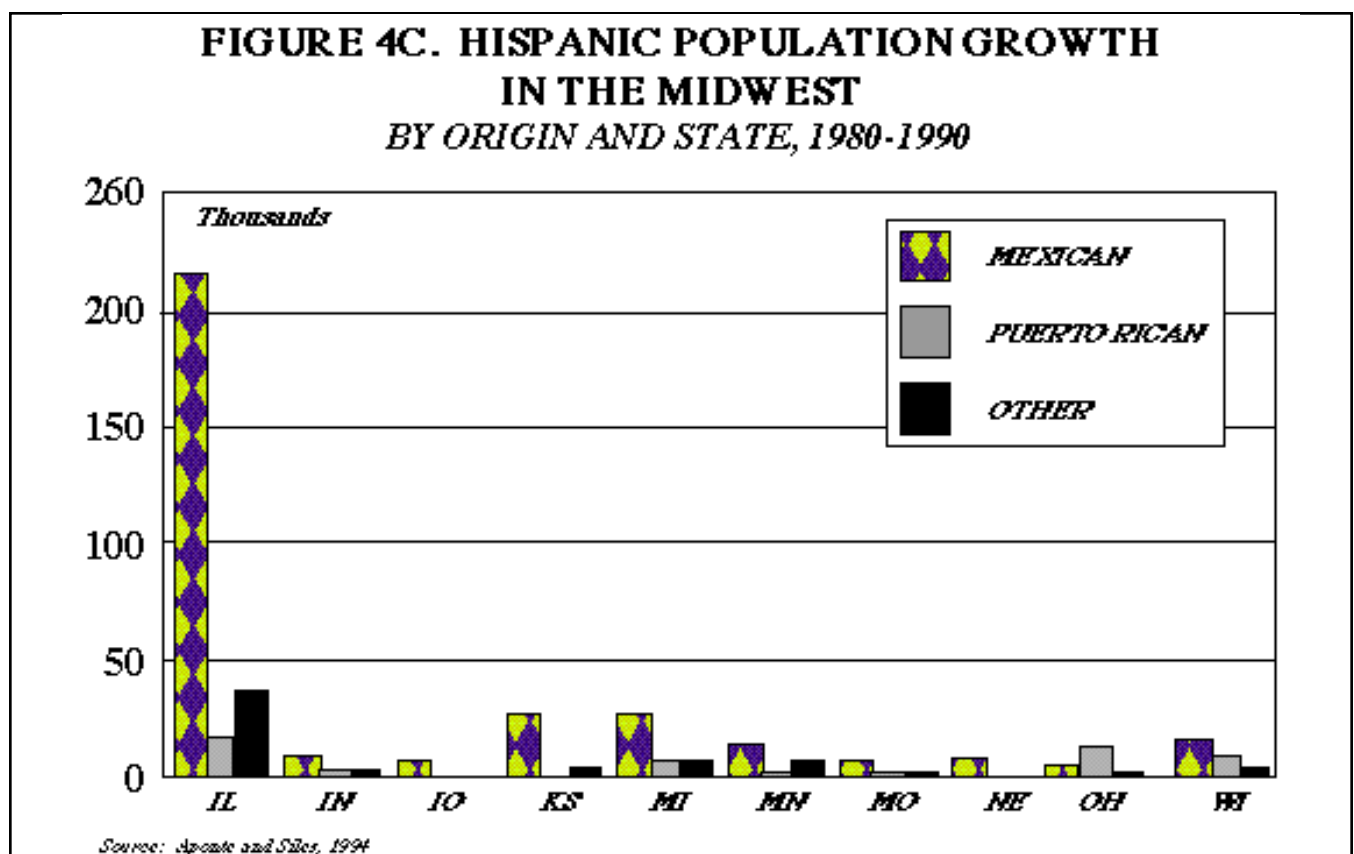
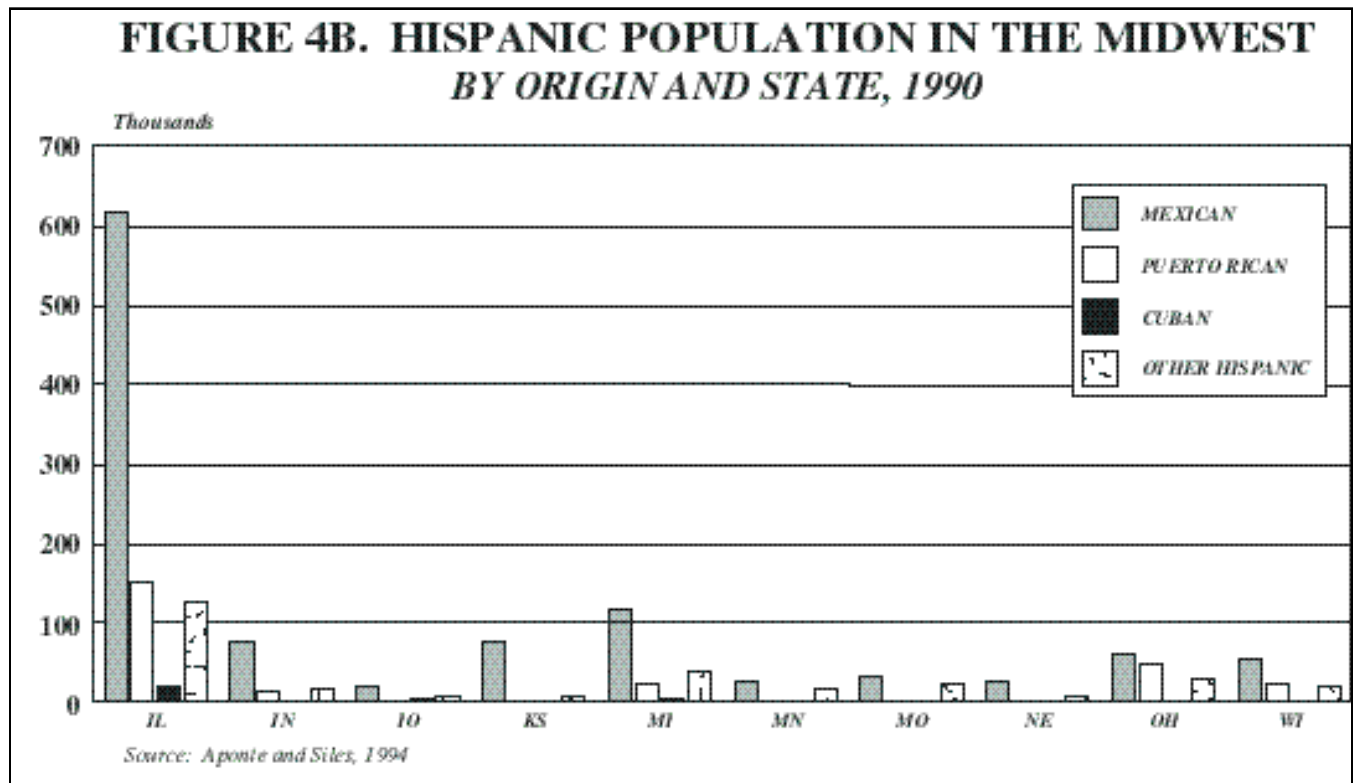
Figure 3A provides the breakdown on Hispanic growth in Indiana. As earlier noted (see Table 1), the largest addition accrued to Mexicans, with Puerto Ricans and “other” Hispanics growing modestly and Cubans taking a small loss. Figure 3B shows the corresponding changes at the regional level, and the pattern is very similar, except that Cubans show modest growth rather than modest decline. Figure 3C shows the national figures. Here a few items stand out. First, Mexicans show tremendous growth, adding nearly 5 million to their numbers over the decade! In addition, “Other Hispanics” are revealed to have increased their numbers significantly. Indeed, they grew over twice as much as did Puerto Ricans and Cubans combined (just over 2 million vs. just under 1 million).

**FIGURE 4A. HISPANIC POPULATION IN THE MIDWEST  
BY STATE, 1980-1990**

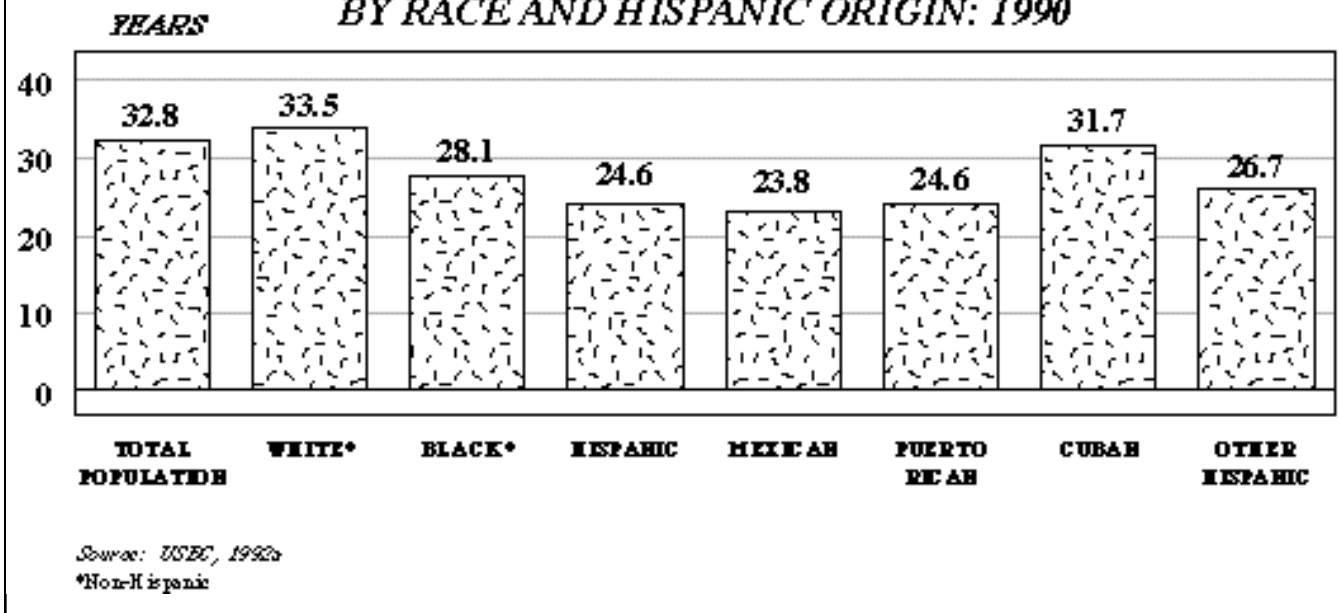


Sources: Aponte and Siles, 1994

Figure 4A shows the growth of the Hispanic population in the Midwest between 1980 and 1990 by individual states. Without a doubt, the key growth state is Illinois, and within Illinois, Chicago (cf Aponte and Siles, 1994). Whereas the Illinois Latino population increased by nearly 300,000 over the period, no other state in the region even held that many Latinos. It is clear that immigration is the key to this showing.



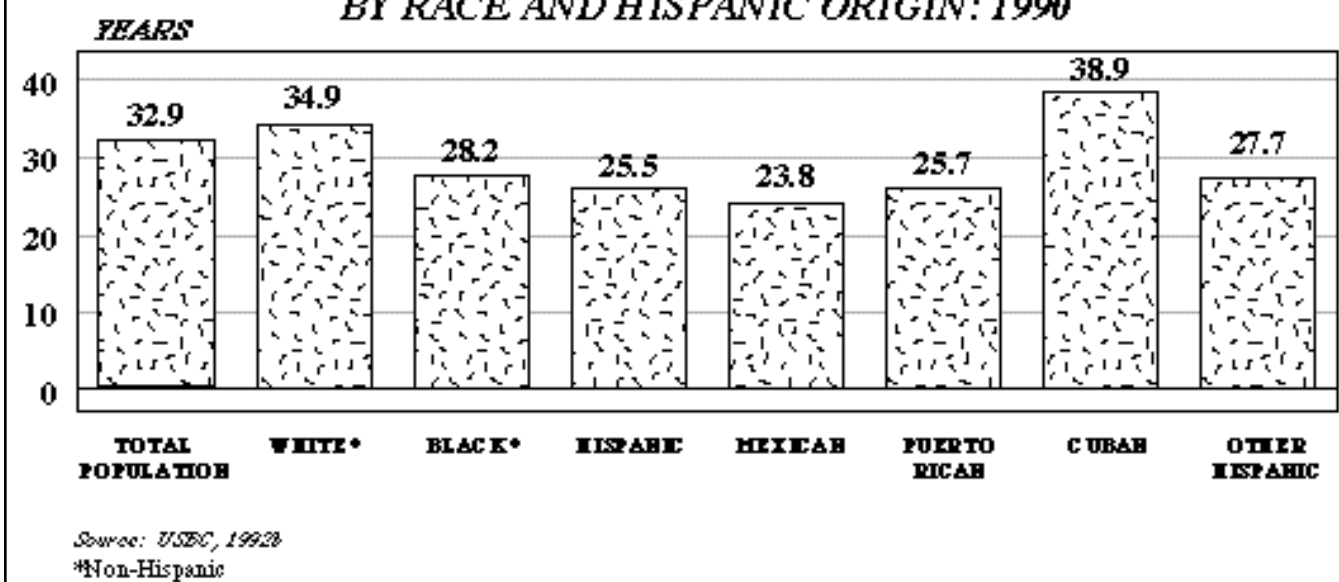
**FIGURE 5A. MEDIAN AGE IN INDIANA  
BY RACE AND HISPANIC ORIGIN: 1990**



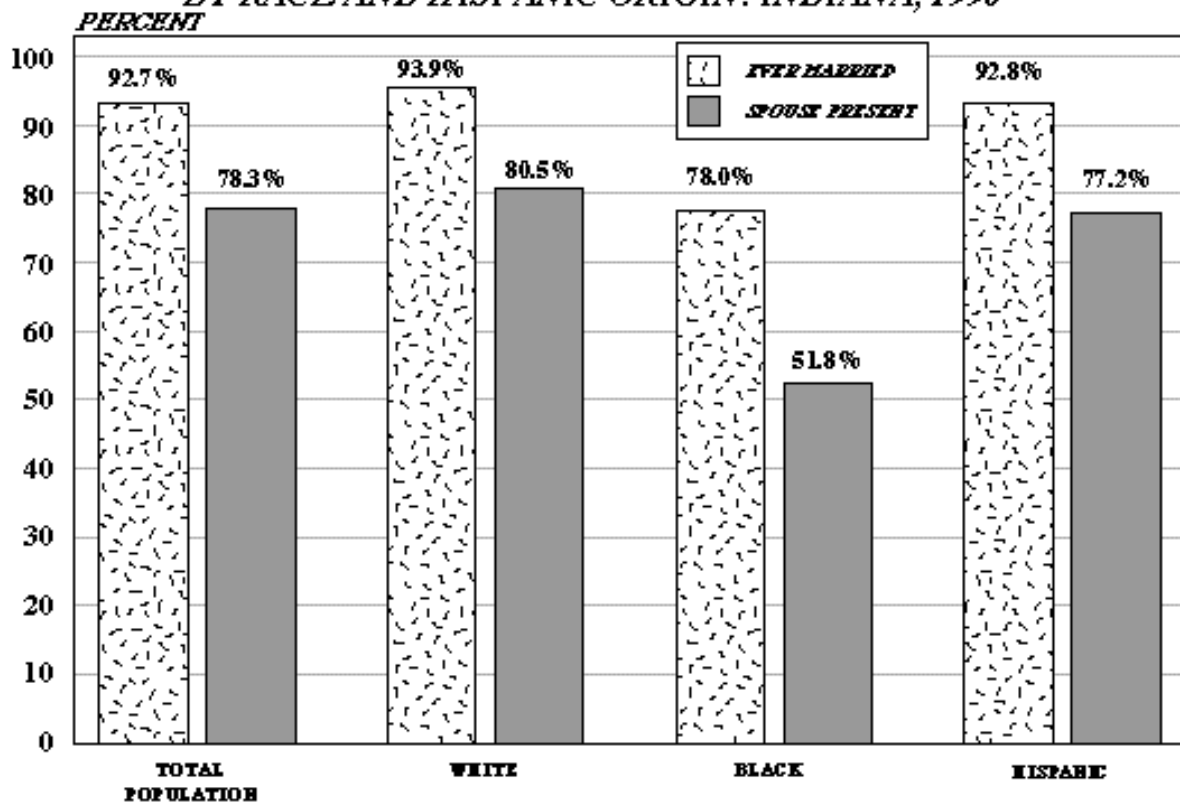
Moreover, as Figure 4B shows, the state's Hispanics are dominated by those of Mexican extraction, while Figure 4C shows further that the spectacular Latino growth in that state is likewise of Mexican-origin, a fact also supporting the immigration thesis. Shortly, still more evidence for this will be presented.

Figures 5A and 5B show median age by race and Hispanic origin for Indiana and the U.S., respectively. In Indiana, all the minority groups are shown to be younger than Whites, who are slightly older than the state's average. Blacks are shown to be older than most Latinos, as well, except for Cubans. However, at the national level (Figure 5B), while there is little change in the numbers or the relative rankings, Cubans are the oldest (38.9 years), with Whites (34.9) and African Americans (28.2) following. Importantly, the Mexican origin group is the youngest (23.8) by a significant amount, trailing Puerto Ricans (25.7) in age by nearly two years. As earlier suggested, immigrant groups tend to be younger than the host populations with whom they come to reside.

**FIGURE 5B. MEDIAN AGE IN THE U.S.  
BY RACE AND HISPANIC ORIGIN: 1990**

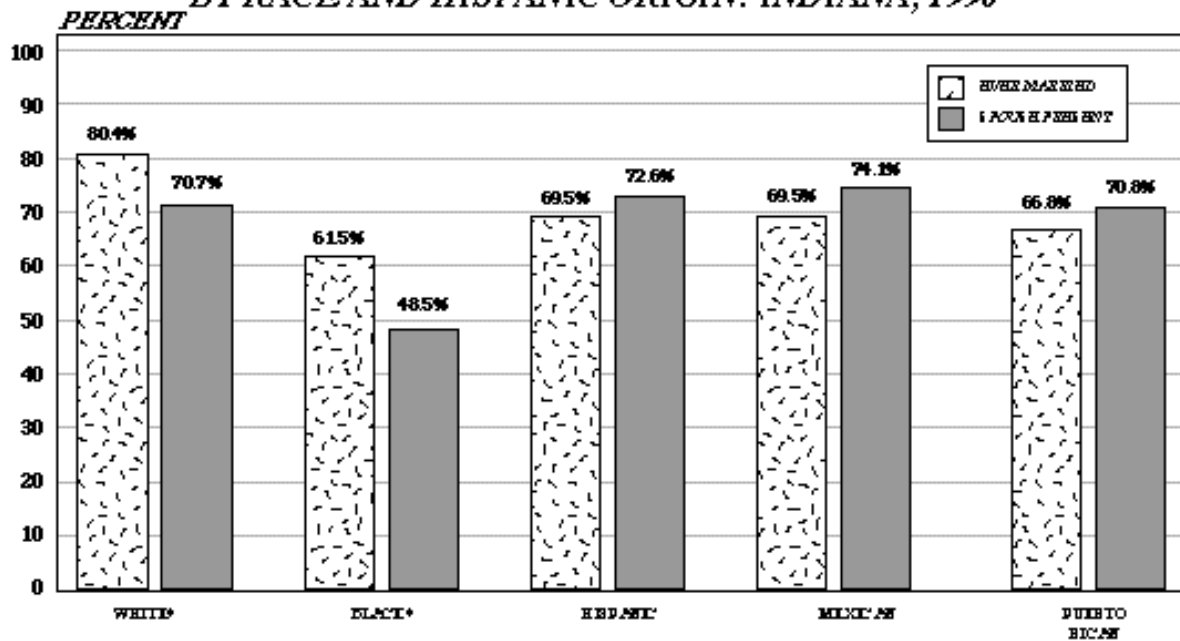


**FIGURE 6A. MARITAL STATUS OF WOMEN AGE 35-44**  
*BY RACE AND HISPANIC ORIGIN: INDIANA, 1990*



Source: USEC, 1992a  
 \*Non-Hispanic

**FIGURE 6B. MARITAL STATUS OF WOMEN AGE 15+ YEARS**  
*BY RACE AND HISPANIC ORIGIN: INDIANA, 1990*

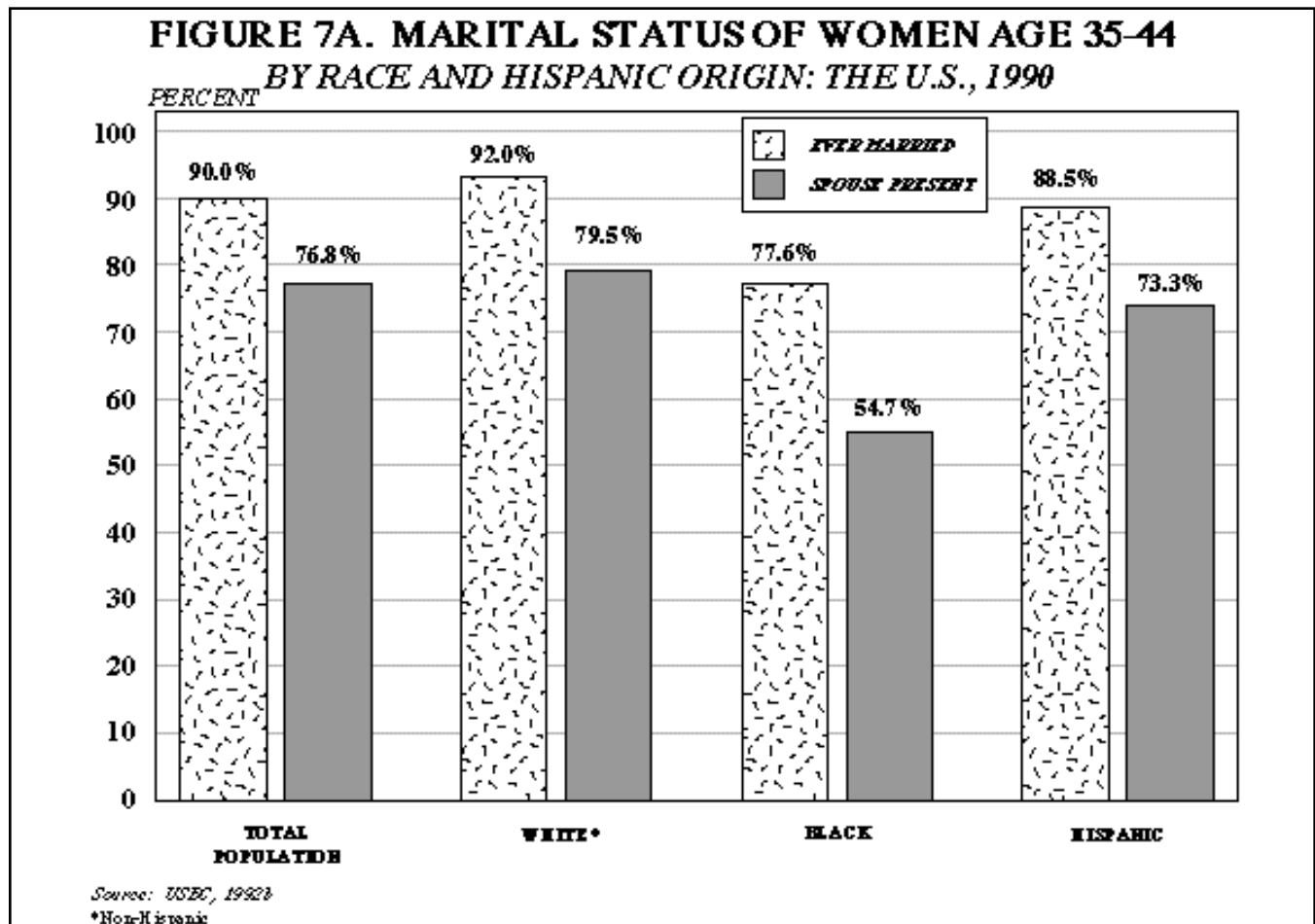


Source: USEC, 1992a  
 \*Non-Hispanic

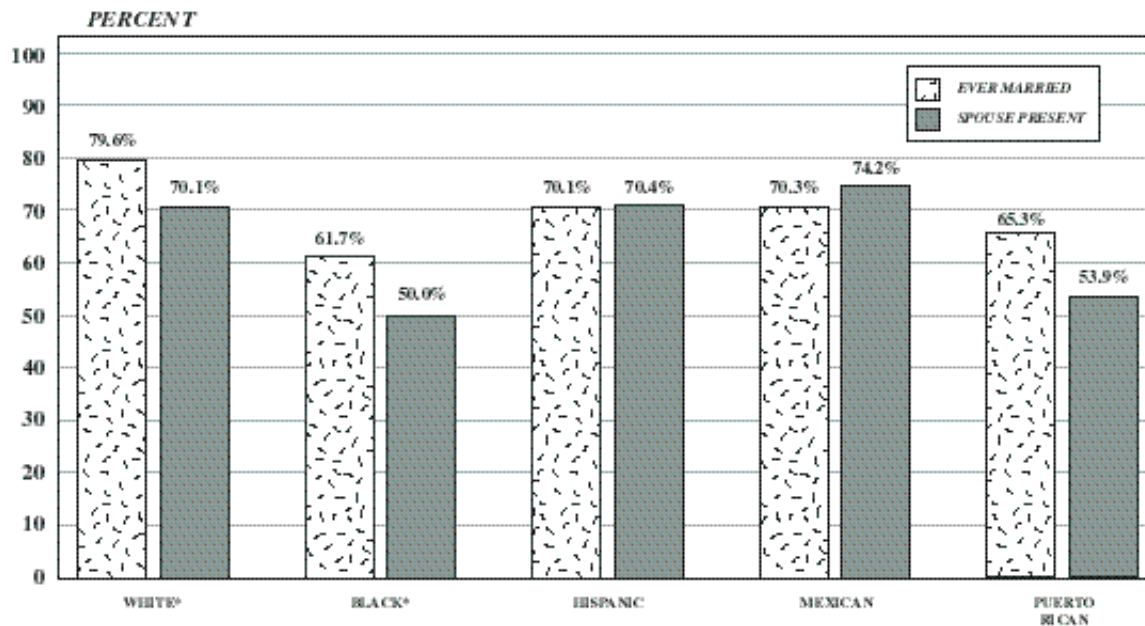
An interesting question here is why Cubans are so much younger in Indiana than they are in the nation at large. The likeliest answer is that the Cuban migration to Miami from other parts of the U.S. is selective of older Cubans, just as Florida and Arizona are selective of the homegrown elderly, albeit for different reasons. Cubans at older ages, but not necessarily the retirement years, may be more able to afford the move. They may also feel a greater need to be close to an enclave than younger adult Cubans. We can only speculate about this.

Figure 6A provides figures on female marital status for Indiana by race and Hispanic origin. The figures for Whites, Hispanics, and the total population are very similar. Just over nine out of 10 women aged 35-44 have been married at some time, and from 77% to 80% of those are still with a spouse present. Only Blacks stand out from the others in this regard. Less than eight out of 10 of African American women have ever married at that age, and of those that have, only about half are still with a spouse present. The reasons for the racial discrepancy have been the subject of much controversy. An important hypothesis about this is that the employment difficulties experienced by Black men undermine their marriageability (Aponte, 1999b).

As always, the figures for Latinos as a whole may mask some variation among the constituent groups taken individually. Unfortunately, figures on marital status by age for the individual groups are not available for Indiana. However, the somewhat less meaningful figures on the marital status of all women aged 15 and older, by individual groups, are available. Figure 6b provides such figures and the pattern hardly changes. A larger proportion of White females have ever married than that of any of the Latino groups, and a lower proportion remain "spouse present," but this is likely due to the age gap separating Whites from Hispanics. Since White women are older, on average, they have had a greater opportunity to get married; but, they have also had more time to grow weary of the bad marriages among them. There is little variation between Mexicans and Puerto Ricans, however, while African Americans continue to show significantly lower figures than the others. Age differences cannot account for this since Blacks are older than Latinos.



**FIGURE 7B. MARITAL STATUS OF WOMEN AGE 15+ YEARS  
BY RACE AND HISPANIC ORIGIN: IN THE U.S., 1990**



Source: USBC, 1992b  
\*Non-Hispanic

Figure 7A shows marital status for women aged 35-44 for the nation by race and Hispanic origin. There appears little difference between the pattern there and that shown earlier for Indiana alone. However, things change when the focus is shifted to Figure 7B, where the marital statuses of women aged 15 and older are depicted for the nation. While Blacks are still shown to exhibit the lowest proportions ever married (or with spouse present), and Whites still show the highest rate of marriage, Puerto Ricans are now shown to experience a pattern closer to that of African Americans than to that of Mexicans. In particular, Puerto Rican women in the “ever married” category are over 20 percentage points less likely (74.2%-53.9%) to still be with a spouse than their Mexican counterparts, but only about four percentage points (53.9%-50.0%) more likely to be so than are African Americans. While a definitive explanation for the apparent marital instability of the Puerto Ricans is not available, the reasons are likely to be similar to those underlying Blacks’ even higher marital disruption rates (Aponte, 1999b). This item constitutes only the first of many indications that Indiana’s Latinos are better off, on average, than those elsewhere.

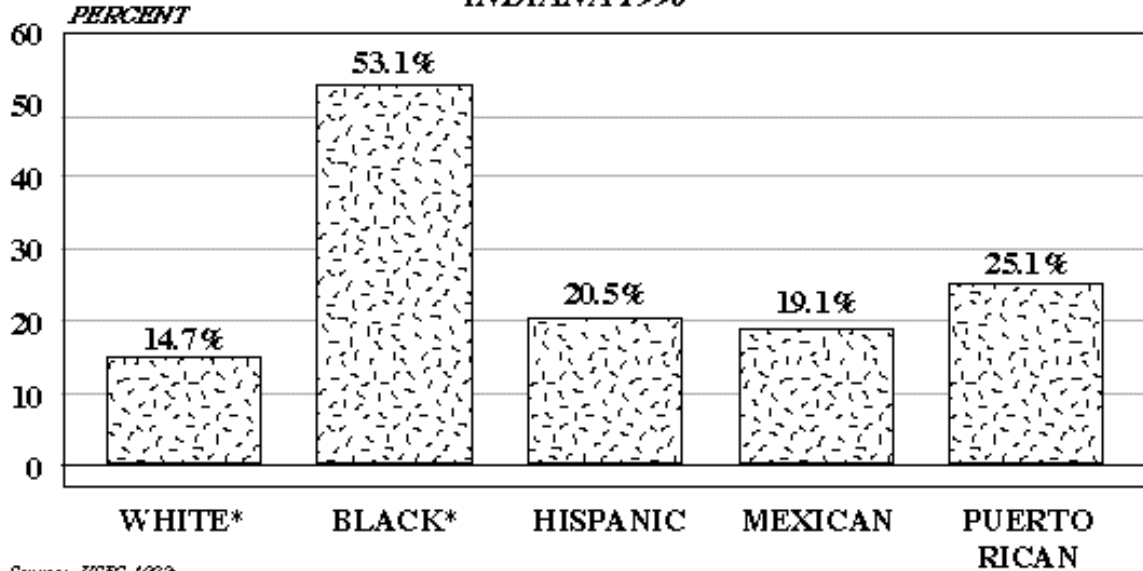
An important dimension of Hispanic marriage concerns intermarriage outside of the ethnic group. Data on that issue are not published, yet we report here on figures provided by Gannon et al. (1996), which tell an interesting tale. First off, Latinos in Indiana experience remarkable rates of intermarriage with non-Hispanics. Gannon et al. calculate that over half (58.7%) of Latino married couples include a non-Latino partner (they are classified as Latino married couples if either one or both are Latino). However, in the Gary area, the figure falls to 42.7%, and it is higher among Mexicans, generally, than among Puerto Ricans, although imbalances in Mexican sex-ratios (not present among Puerto Ricans) may account for some of the discrepancy.

It is worth noting that this pattern is consistent with findings elsewhere (see Aponte, 1999b). Literature reviewed in Aponte (1999b) notes that both Mexicans and Puerto Ricans are more likely to marry outside their group if they are higher status (particularly in terms of education) and if they reside away from enclaves of fellow ethnics. As noted above (and subsequently reinforced), Indiana’s Latinos are higher status than those elsewhere, on average, while outside of the Gary area, Latinos are either diffusely settled or settled in modest clusters.



**FIGURE 8A. PERCENT OF FAMILIES WITH OWN CHILDREN HEADED BY WOMEN WITH NO SPOUSE PRESENT**

*INDIANA 1990*

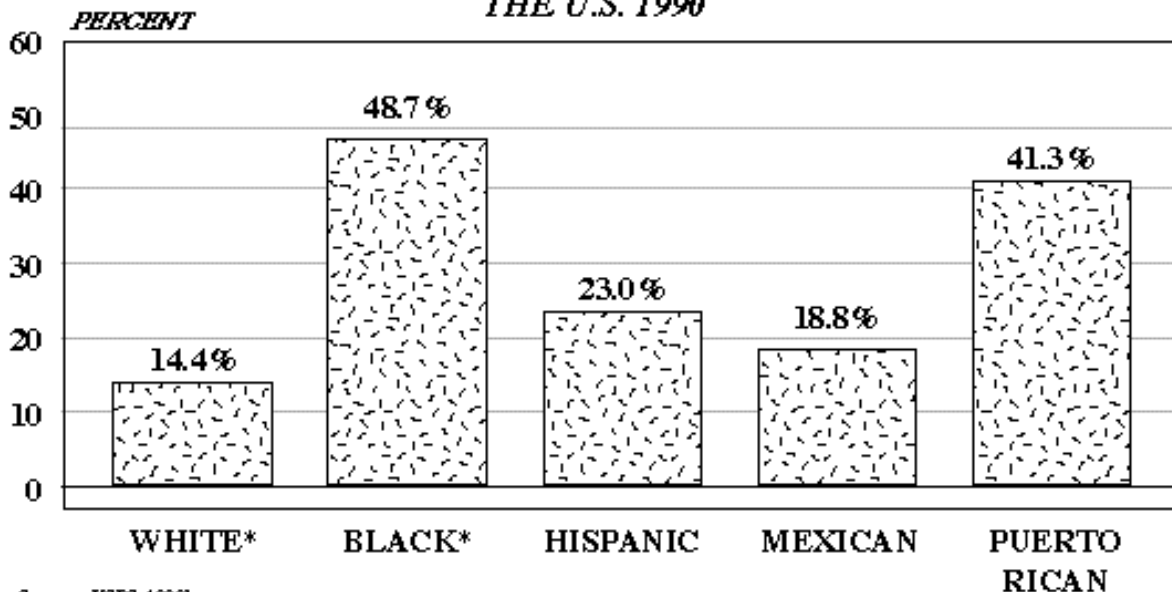


Source: USBC 1992a  
\* Non-Hispanic

Figure 8A shows the proportion of families consisting of women with children, but no spouse present, for Indiana. Here again, African Americans stand out as the group with the percentage of single mothers (53.1%). For Whites, the proportion is under 15% while, for Mexicans, it is under 20%. However, for Puerto Ricans, it is slightly more than 25%, significantly higher than the figure for Mexicans or Whites, but still less than half the figure for Blacks (53.1%). However, as before, the figures change markedly for Puerto Ricans, though only slightly for the others, when the focus is shifted to the nation. As Figure 8B shows the proportion of such families for Puerto Ricans (41.3%) rivals that of African Americans (48.7%) at the national level, while the figures for the other Hispanics rise only slightly and those for Whites go essentially unchanged.

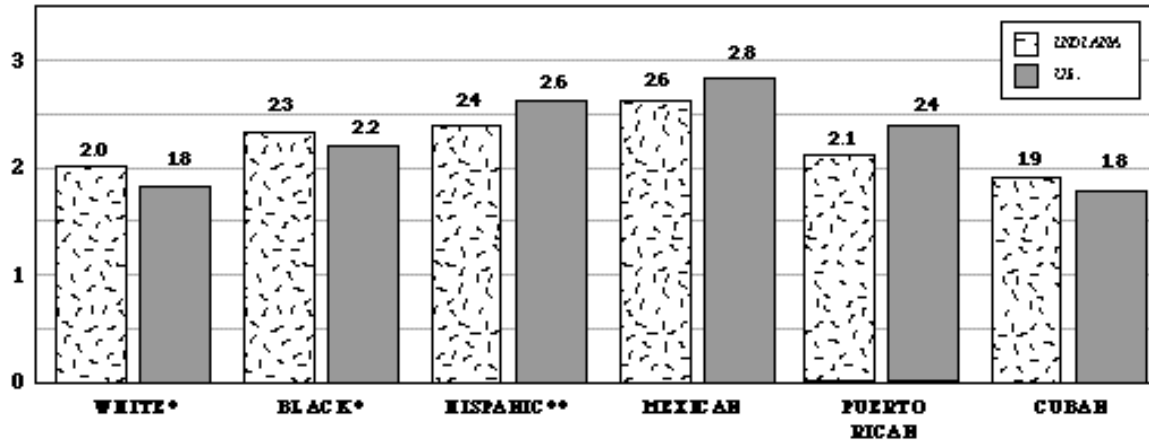
**FIGURE 8B. PERCENT OF FAMILIES WITH OWN CHILDREN HEADED BY WOMEN WITH NO SPOUSE PRESENT**

*THE U.S. 1990*



Source: USBC 1992b  
\* = Non-Hispanic

**FIGURE 9A. CHILDREN EVER BORN TO WOMEN AGE 35-44  
BY RACE AND HISPANIC ORIGIN: INDIANA AND THE U.S., 1990**  
*BIRTHS PER WOMAN*



Source: USBC, 1993a, 1993b

\*Non-Hispanic

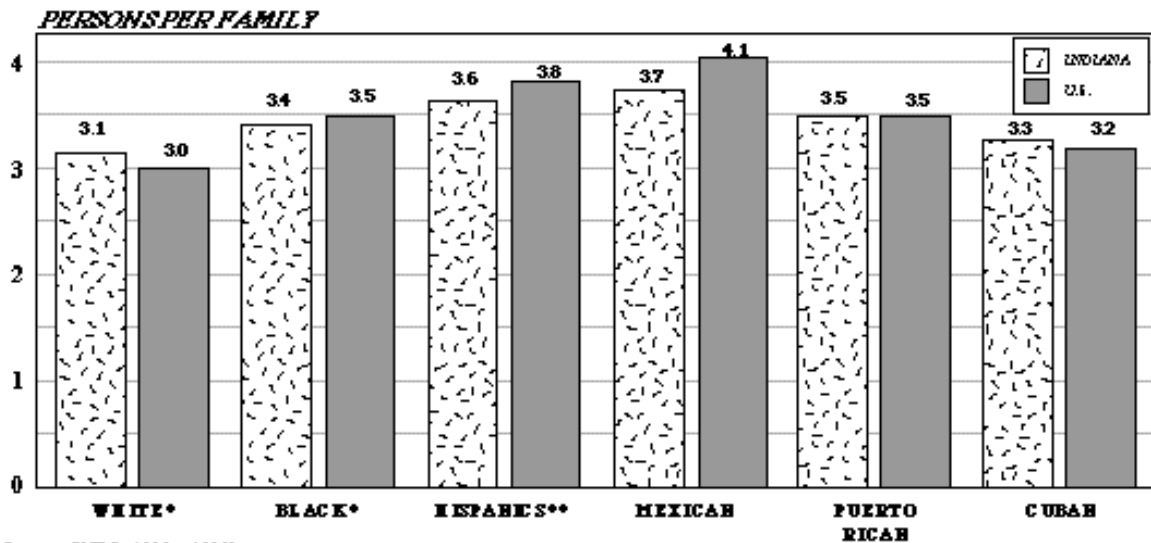
\*\* Percentages for "Other" Hispanics are 2.0 for Indiana and 2.2 for the U.S.

Figure 9A provides fertility data for women aged 35-44 for Indiana and the nation, by race and Hispanic origin. The figures denote children ever born to the women at an age when most will have reached, or nearly reached, the end of childbearing. The Whites and Cubans show the lowest fertility at both the state and national levels; this is consistent with their older median ages. It also suggests that at least some of the slower (or negative) population growth among these two groups stems from lower fertility. Blacks and Puerto Ricans show middle range fertility at similar rates, though with an interesting twist noted below. Mexicans, on the other hand, show the highest fertility rate at both the state and national levels. Thus, as suggested earlier, the Mexican advantage in population growth is at least partly attributable to higher than average fertility.

What is more interesting here is the patterning of the contrasts between the groups' fertility at the state versus the national levels. Whites, Blacks, and Cubans, for example, show higher fertility at state level than they do at the national level, although not by much. Only Whites show a gap of at least two-tenths (of a birth). Both Mexicans and Puerto Ricans show the opposite relationship — their fertility at the national level exceeds their state level childbearing by at least two-tenths (of a birth). Since higher status (and upwardly mobile) people tend to experience lower fertility, the patterns shown here are consistent with the general idea advanced previously, that the state's Latinos are generally a better off group than their counterparts elsewhere in the U.S., while Whites show the opposite relationship.

Figure 9B shows median family size for both Indiana and the U.S. by the same categories as in Figure 9A. The pattern matches the previous one almost flawlessly: generally speaking, the high fertility groups show the largest family size and vice versa. However, most groups show very little difference between their average family size in the state and that for the nation; the figures are too close to call. Mexicans stand out in this regard: their national median is a full four-tenths of a person larger than their state median (4.1 vs. 3.7). This is consistent with their having a large proportion of immigrants outside the state. Further, as shown in the footnotes to Figure 9B, the same thing is true for "other" Hispanics, that is, they also show a four-tenths of a person spread between their national (3.6) and state (3.2) medians. As earlier noted, they are also experiencing rapid immigration in places outside of Indiana. We should also note that not all of the increase in family size is likely to stem from higher fertility. Rather, minorities and, especially, immigrants are also likelier than others to experience family "extension," that is, families doubling up temporarily or co-residing with one of more persons from their extended kin group (Aponte, 1999b).

**FIGURE 9B. MEDIAN FAMILY SIZE**  
**BY RACE AND HISPANIC ORIGIN: INDIANA AND THE U.S., 1990**



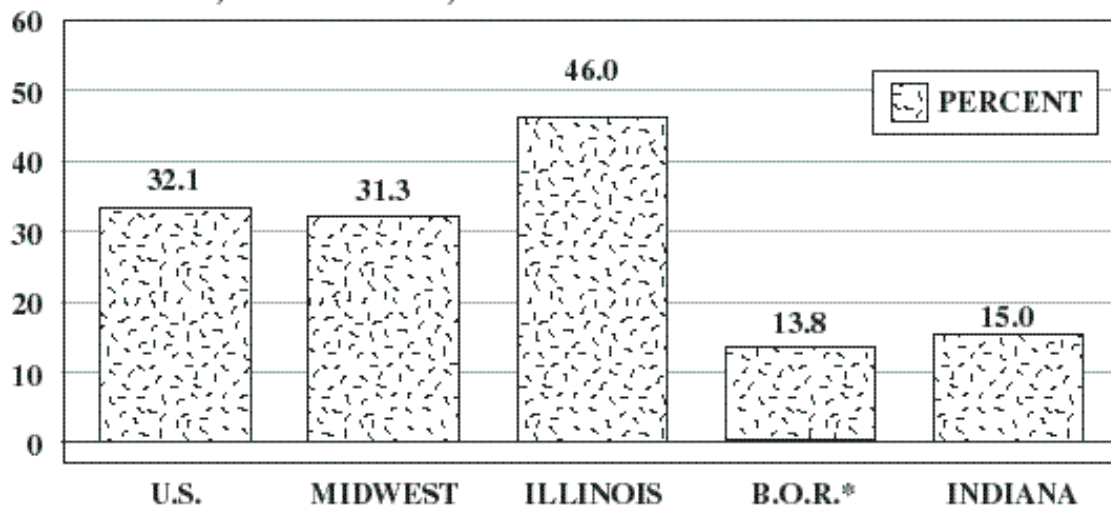
Source: USBC, 1993a, 1993b

\*Non-Hispanic

\*\* "Other" Hispanics percentages are 3.2 for Indiana and 3.6 for the U.S.

Figure 10 provides the data on immigration which support the numerous suggestions made earlier regarding the significance of immigration to many of our findings, particularly the phenomenal growth of the Latinos in Illinois. There, figures on immigrants are presented for Latinos of Mexican origin, the group showing the most growth. The figures conveyed begin with a comparison of the respective immigrant proportions of the Mexican origin populations for the Midwest and for the nation. Interestingly, the proportions are practically identical, registering at just under one-third each. However, when the proportions are disaggregated by Illinois and the balance of the region, it becomes obvious that most of the region's Mexican immigrants are Illinois residents and, thus, immigration necessarily accounts for the skewing of the region's Latino population — and its growth — to Illinois.

**FIGURE 10. ESTIMATED IMMIGRANT PORTION**  
**OF MEXICAN-ORIGIN POPULATION, 1990:**  
**U.S., THE MIDWEST, AND SELECTED MIDWESTERN AREAS**

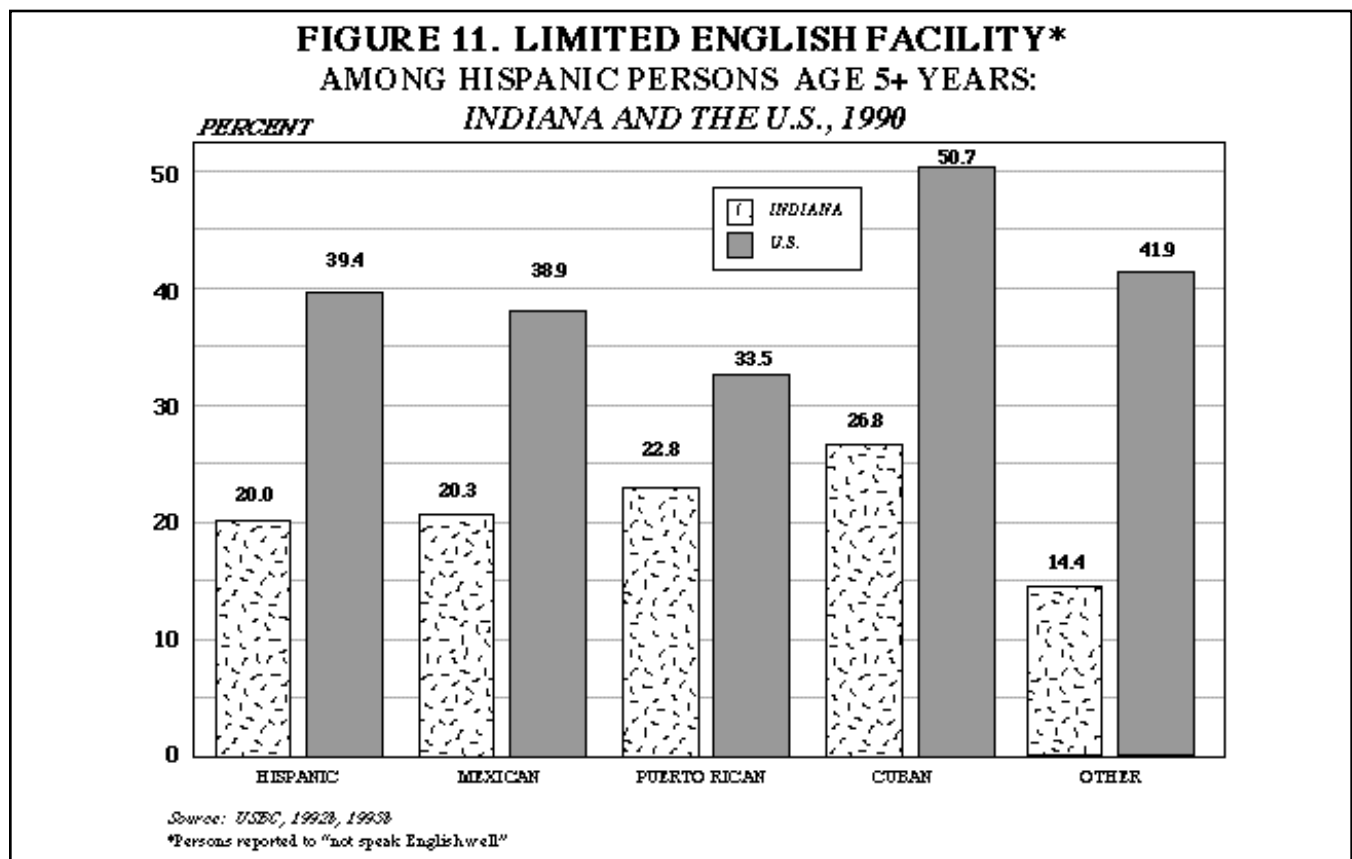


\* Balance of Region (Midwest minus Illinois), [accounts for 45.7% of Mexicans in Midwest]

Source: Aponte and Siles 1997, USBC 1993a

As shown in Figure 10, immigrants account for almost half of all Illinois' Mexican origin Latinos, in contrast to the rest of the region where the immigrant contribution is under 14%. However, Indiana's Mexican origin population is slightly higher than the average among the remaining midwestern states, registering at 15% of the group. Even Michigan, which holds the second largest component of Mexicans, holds a Mexican origin population that is only 10% immigrant (Aponte and Siles, 1997).

Perhaps the most prevalent and immediate difficulties confronting immigrants is the language barrier. Figure 11 provides information on English facility among Hispanic persons, by type of Hispanic origin, for both Indiana and the nation. Here, without a doubt, at least one advantage enjoyed by Latinos in Indiana stands out in sharp tones. For Mexicans, Cubans, and "other" Hispanics, the proportions experiencing difficulty speaking English practically doubles outside Indiana, relative to inside the state. Even for Puerto Ricans, the proportion increases by fully 50%.



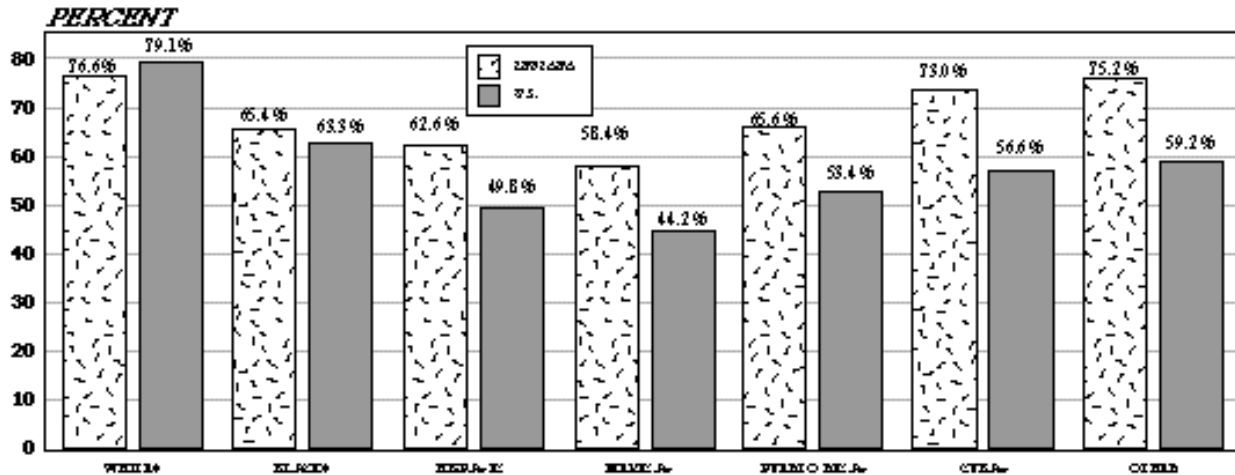
The only possible anomaly here concerns the Cubans. While we did not examine the data on immigrant status for them, we believe that they have not received as huge a proportion of newcomers in recent years as have some of the other Latino groups, yet they show the largest proportion who have difficulty with English. If our assumption is right, the explanation for this lies in the enclave community. The Cuban enclave is so developed and self-contained (like the major "Chinatowns" of New York and San Francisco), that it is perhaps possible for many adults to live there and "get by" without learning much English. It is an interesting hypothesis worth exploring.

### Social and Economic Indicators<sup>1</sup>

Figure 12A shows the proportion of the adult population (25 years+) with at least 12 years of schooling (high school completion), for Indiana and the U.S., by race and Hispanic origin and by type of Hispanic origin. Every single category of Latino origin (total, Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, and "other" [Hispanic]) shows higher com-

## FIGURE 12A. PERCENT WITH HIGH SCHOOL COMPLETION, PERSONS 25+ YEARS

*BY RACE AND HISPANIC ORIGIN: INDIANA AND THE U.S., 1990*



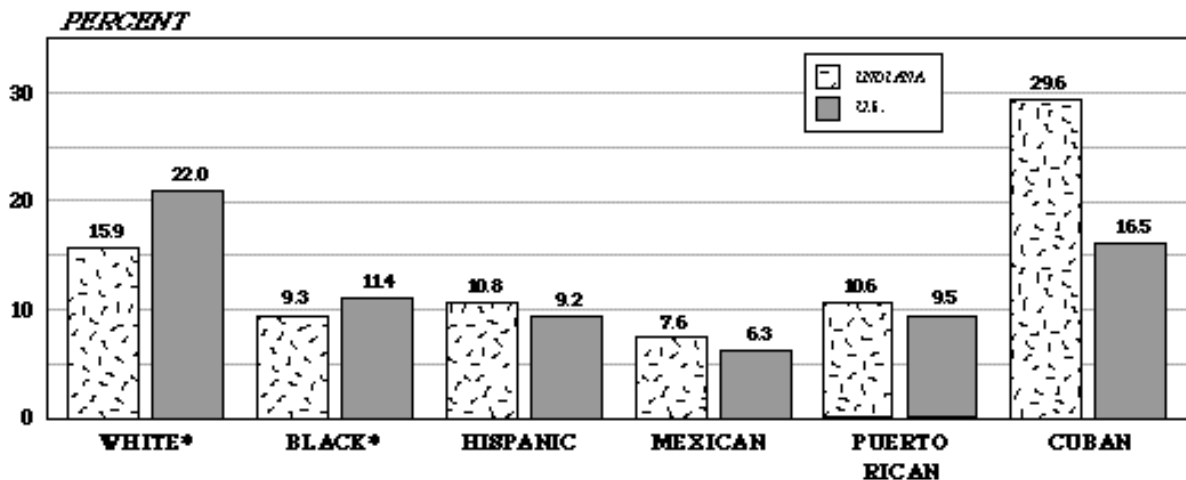
Source: USBC, 1992b, 1993b

\*Non-Hispanic

pletion rates among their Indiana residents than among those residing throughout the whole nation, and the gaps are quite sizable (from 12 to 16 percentage points). Even Blacks show a higher proportion with at least a high school education in Indiana than outside it, but the difference is miniscule. Whites, however, show the opposite relationship, and while the difference among Whites is not that great (2.5 percentage points), it is noteworthy and, given their overwhelming numeric dominance in the state, it is clear that the relationship is significant (not random sampling variation). This is consistent with earlier noted indications.

## FIGURE 12B. PERCENT OF ADULTS AGED 25+ WITH 4 OR MORE YEARS OF COLLEGE

*BY RACE AND HISPANIC ORIGIN: INDIANA AND THE U.S., 1990*



Source: USBC, 1993a, 1993b

\*Non-Hispanic

\*\*"Other" Hispanics' percentages were 21.9 for Indiana and 13.7 for the U.S.

Figure 12B shows the proportion of adults with four or more years of college by group. It is completely consistent with Figure 12A with the exception of those for Blacks. In this instance, African Americans show a lower proportion in Indiana than outside it. Cubans show the most pronounced difference, with nearly three out of 10

showing college attainment in Indiana, but only 16.5% doing so at the national level. Mexicans and Puerto Ricans show much lower proportions with college attainment, generally lower than (or at) 10%, but still with more attainment in the state than outside it. Whites, on the other hand, show substantially higher rates of college completion outside Indiana than inside it, with a spread of over six percentage points (22.0 vs. 15.9) between their state and national level figures. However, it should be emphasized, they still are the most educated of all groups, since the figures for the nation are the overriding ones. In this regard, we note again, their situation is likely to reflect more outmigration than immigration by the upwardly mobile and more educated adults.

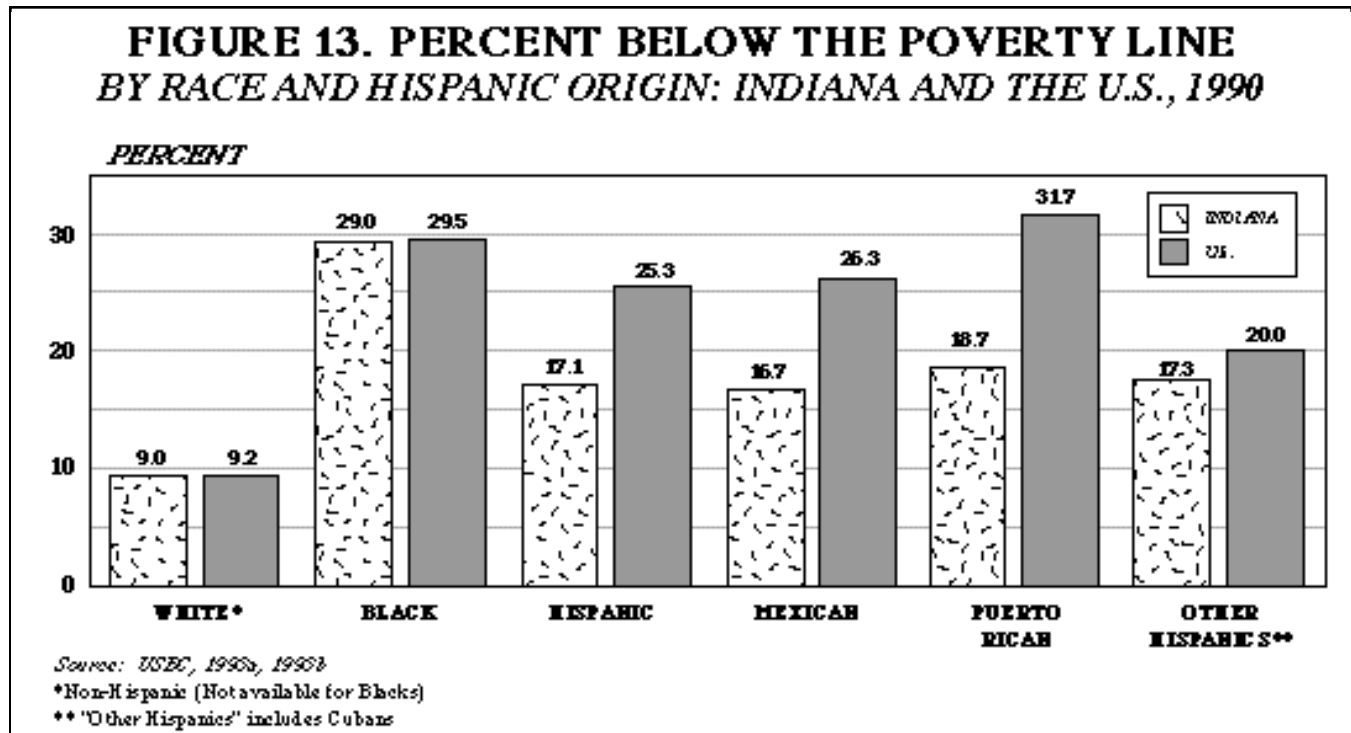
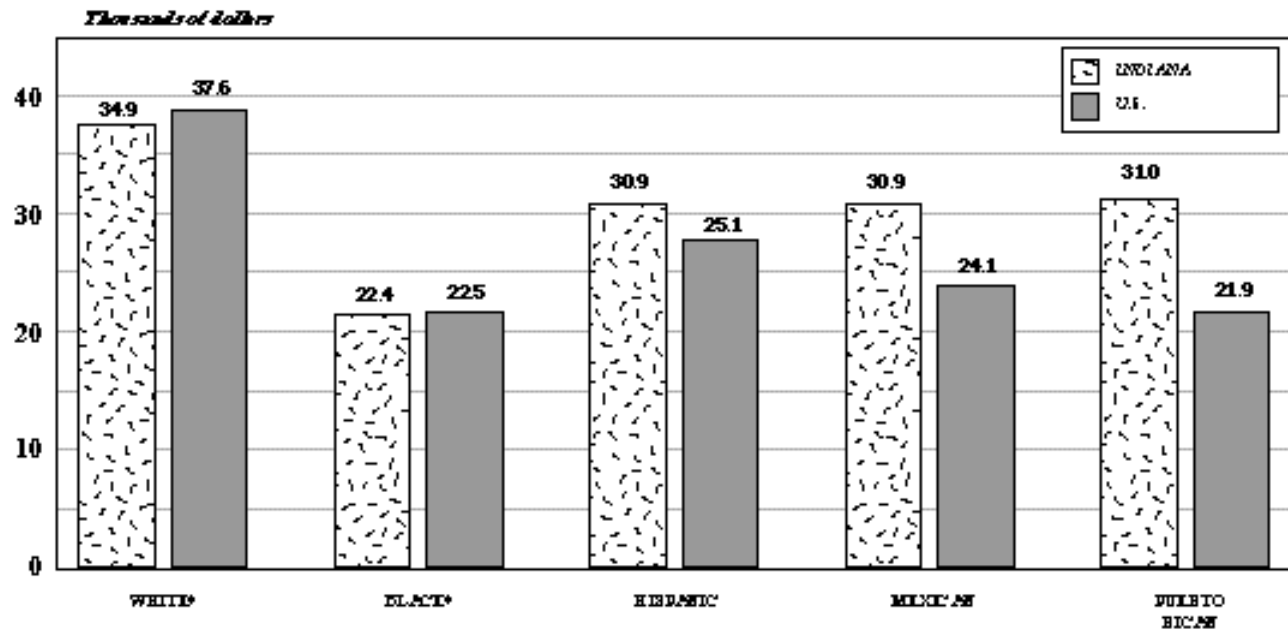


Figure 13 provides data on poverty by all major groupings with one proviso — Cubans have been combined with “other” Hispanics in this one instance because of sample size problems. Whites and Blacks show poverty rates that are about the same across the two categories of residence shown, but Blacks show nearly 30% rates at both junctures, Whites show under 10% in each case. The data on Latinos is unambiguous, those residing in Indiana fare better than those elsewhere among all groups noted. The most striking case concerns Puerto Ricans. In Indiana, their rate of poverty, at just under 19%, is very close to those of the other Hispanic groups, and within 10 percentage points of the low rate among Whites. However, at the national level, Puerto Ricans show the highest poverty rate of all! Indeed, their poverty rate (31.7%) exceeds that of African Americans (29.5%) by some 2.2 percentage points, while their Indiana rate trails that for Blacks by over 10 percentage points.

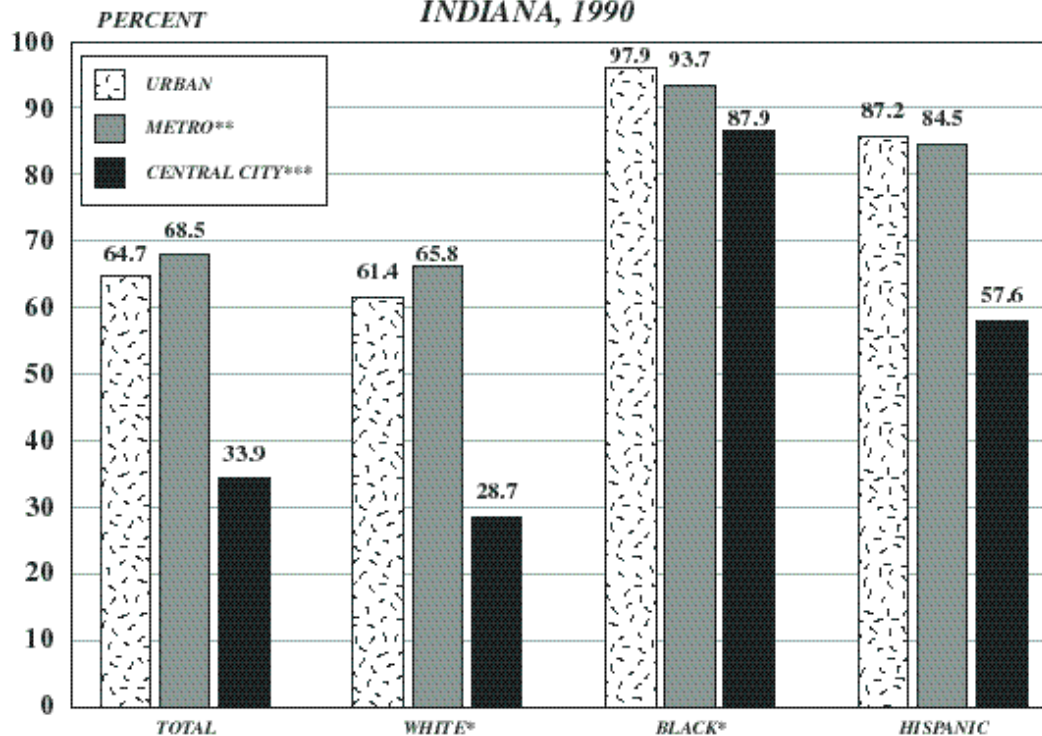
The final chart in this section, Figure 14, shows median family income for all the groups save Cubans and others (see note 1). The figure shows that Whites enjoy more income outside Indiana than inside it. Their national level median income, at \$37,600 per year, is the highest of all shown, and exceeds their corresponding state figure (\$34,900) by nearly \$3,000. It should be emphasized, however, that their state level income still exceeds all of the others’ incomes, irrespective of level of residence (whether state or national). Blacks show nearly identical median family incomes at both locales (about \$22,500), while Mexicans and Puerto Ricans (along with Hispanics as a whole) show substantially more income in Indiana than outside it. Inside the state, these groups show nearly identical median incomes (\$31,000), while at the national level, the income figure for Mexicans drops by nearly \$7,000 and the drop for Puerto Ricans exceeds \$9,000.

**FIGURE 14. MEDIAN FAMILY INCOME  
BY RACE AND HISPANIC ORIGIN  
INDIANA AND THE U.S., 1990**



Source: USBC, 1993a, 1993b  
\*Non-Hispanic

**FIGURE 15A. TYPE OF RESIDENCE BY  
RACE AND HISPANIC ORIGIN  
INDIANA, 1990**

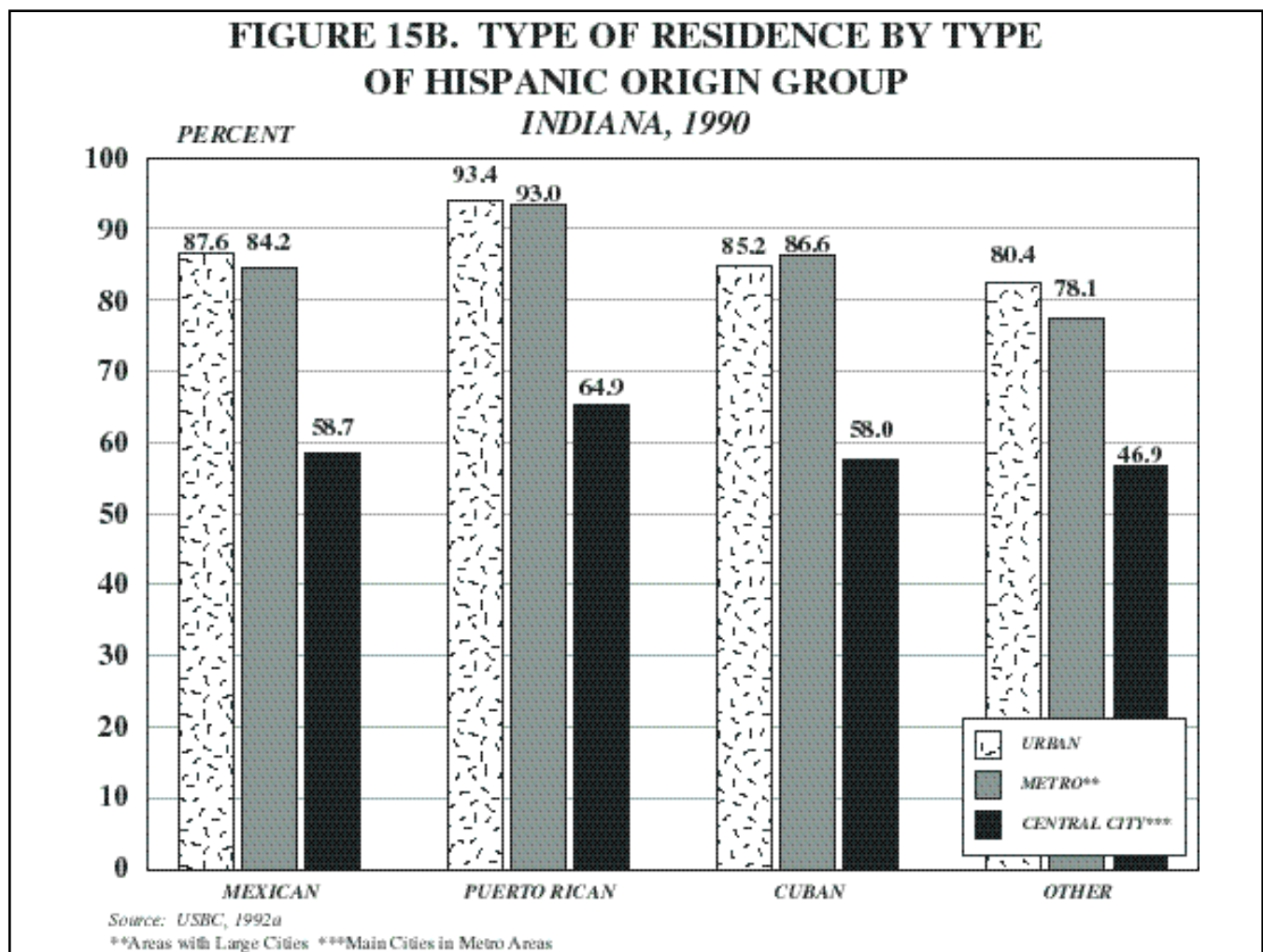


Source: USBC, 1992a  
\*Non-Hispanic \*\*Areas with Large Cities \*\*\*Main Cities in Metro Areas

In closing this section, we re-emphasize that while it is certainly true that Indiana Hispanics are better off than their counterparts elsewhere, they are far from the point of attaining parity with Whites. Moreover, keep in mind the fact that their relative success is in a sense a statistical artifact, insofar as it results from migration patterns that “stack the deck” in their favor! Finally, we must not overlook the fact that the state’s Blacks are in such abysmal shape, even when compared with Latinos, despite longer residence and comparable levels of educational attainment (see Figures 12A and 12B), to say nothing of the state’s Latino farmworkers. Indeed, just before this essay was submitted for publication, the *Indianapolis Star* (Associated Press, 1998b) reported that a lawsuit had been filed on behalf of migrant families (almost certainly all Hispanic) who allegedly were cheated by their employers in a downstate county. These facts, along with the historical repression of Latinos in the state (see collection in Lane and Escobar, 1987) should serve as a chilling reminder that the struggle for justice and equality is far from over in Indiana, as is true throughout the nation at large.

## Types and Places of Residence

Figure 15A provides a breakdown of the residential patterns of the state’s population by race and Hispanic origin with respect to various categories of density and incorporation. The categories are urban residence, metropolitan area residence, and central city residence. Metropolitan areas are areas that meet certain criteria specified by the census bureau which amount to large cities and their suburbs (for a technical definition, see USBC, 1992a appendices), and central city residence refers to living within the large cities of the metropolitan areas. Not surprisingly, Blacks and Hispanics are more likely to be urban or metropolitan/central city area residents than Whites or the total population, the latter being mainly a reflection of the White group. Just under two-thirds of Whites are urban or metropolitan area residents, while less than 30% reside in central cities. Blacks are overwhelmingly in





cities, with over nine out of 10 being both urban and metropolitan area dwellers, and nearly as many living in central cities. Clearly, this later figure reflects the deep seated patterns of exclusion and discrimination visited upon them in suburbs and less urbanized areas. Finally, among Hispanics, nearly nine out of 10 are urban dwellers or metro area residents, but only about half or slightly more live in the central cities.

Figure 15B shows the residential patterning by urban/metro/central city areas for Latinos by type of origin. The variation shown amounts to little and is not easily interpreted. Puerto Ricans are the most “urbanized,” with over 90% in urban or metropolitan areas and nearly two-thirds in central cities. However, the other groups’ figures trail the Puerto Ricans’ by relatively few percentage points except for “other” Hispanics, who show the lowest rate of central city residence. However, it is difficult to generalize about them because they are so heterogeneous in national background and are unlikely to have entered the state in similar trajectories.

Figure 16 shows the top 10 counties in Latino population in the state, while Table 2 provides the explanatory information for the figure. We note first that fully five of these counties are at the upper northwest corner of the state, running east from Lake County along the state’s northern perimeter, from metropolitan Gary to the South Bend area (Lake, Porter, La Porte, St. Joseph, Elkhart). A sixth one, also northern but not northernmost (Allen), holds Ft. Wayne, the state’s second most populous city. The remaining four counties include two with major universities (Tippecanoe/Purdue and Monroe/Indiana Universities), one (Marion) with the state’s capital and largest city (Indianapolis), and a final one (Grant) with only an obscure town (Marion City) as a distinguishing feature and which ranks ninth (holding only about 1,500 Latinos).

By far, the most populous of these counties with regard to Hispanics is Lake County. Not only does this area hold Gary and a few other small cities, but it is in the shadow of the great Midwestern metropolis, Chicago, earlier noted to be the major Latino immigrant receiving city in the region. In addition, the area has a legacy of heavy Latino labor recruitment, first for the railroads, but mostly for the steel mills during the World War I era (see collection in Lane and Escobar, 1987). Marion County, which is the most populous in the state overall (out numbering Lake by about 300,000), is only second in the number of Hispanic residents, and a distant second at that! A short history of Latinos there is found in Guthrie et al., (1995). Allen and St. Joseph counties, are next in Latino numeric strength. These hold the cities of Ft. Wayne and South Bend, respectively. Each of these has had an active (and activist) Hispanic community since at least the 1970’s, if not sooner (see HASS Task Force, 1979; MHRC, 1976).

The remaining counties are either adjacent to one of the above or hold a major university with one exception — Grant County. In the former case, “other” Hispanics are likely to predominate, perhaps as university affiliates (see Gannon et al., 1996). The latter county holds the city of Marion, a town not famed for population size or any other obvious factor that might account for its Hispanic population. Subsequent work should be directed at examining the source of that area’s status in this regard.

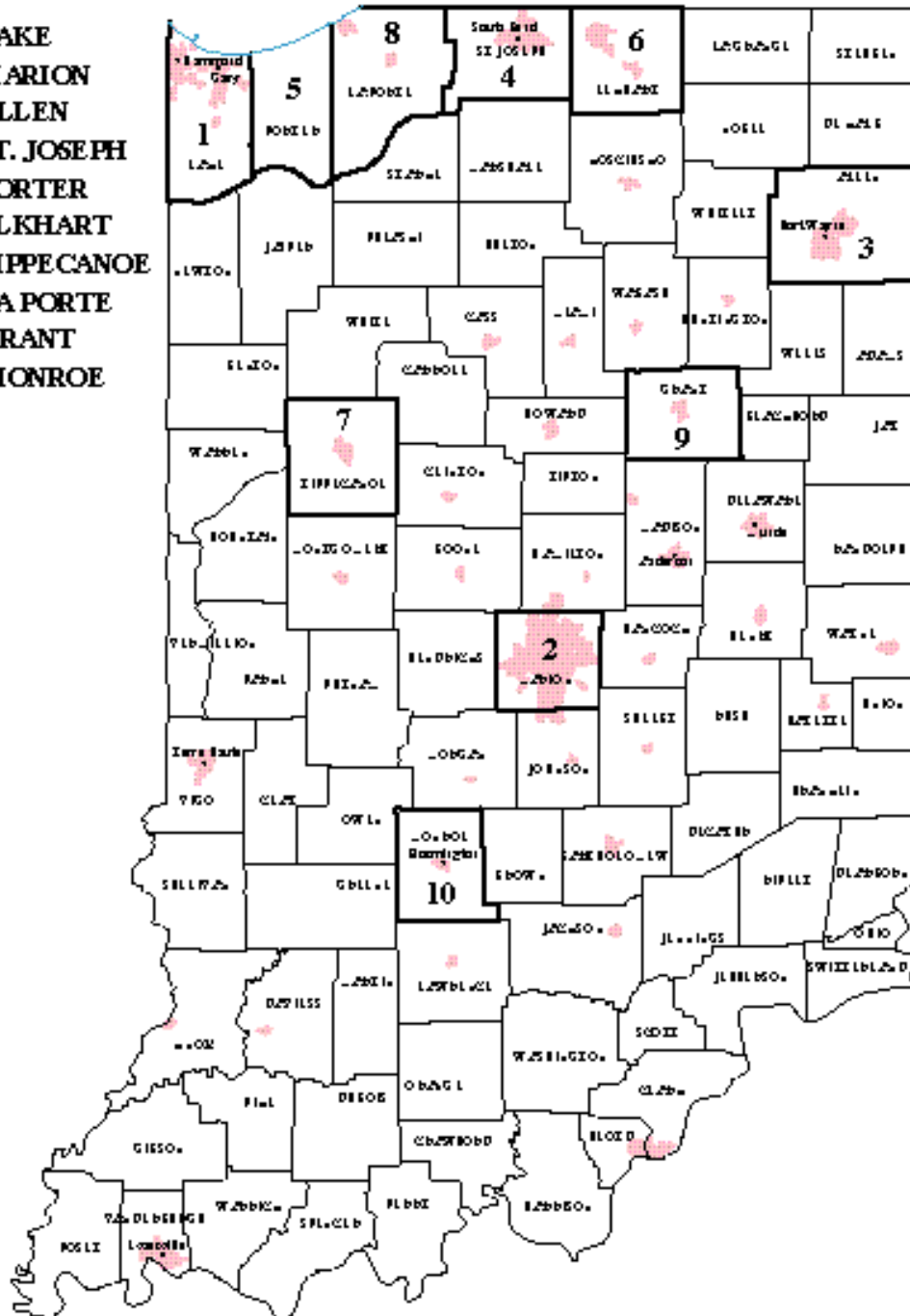
We note, finally, that taken together, these counties account for nearly three-quarters of the state’s Latinos (73.0%), but less than half (45.6%) of the state’s total population. Nevertheless, fully seven of these top 10 counties in Latino population are among the top 10 counties in overall population in the state and the top four in each case are the very same ones.

### **Postscript: On the Throes of Growth?**

We end on a note sounded earlier and reflected in our title — the throes of growth. While much of what we believe is somewhat speculative, it is worth airing. Specifically, there are indications that the Latino population in Indiana is poised for moderately rapid growth. We find two independent poles of potential growth. First, as noted earlier, there is a meatpacking plant in Frankfort, a town near Indianapolis, which has clearly drawn large numbers of Latinos in recent years. The town is reputed to be from 20-40% Hispanic, a status of very recent vintage.

**FIGURE 16. TOP TEN COUNTIES IN SIZE OF  
HISPANIC POPULATION**  
*Indiana, 1990*

- 1) LAKE
- 2) MARION
- 3) ALLEN
- 4) ST. JOSEPH
- 5) PORTER
- 6) ELKHART
- 7) TIPPECANOE
- 8) LA PORTE
- 9) GRANT
- 10) MONROE



Source: Adapted from USBC 1992:5  
Legend: See Table 2

**Table 2. Top 10 Counties in Indiana  
by Hispanic Population: 1990**

COUNTY	CITIES/FEATURES	HISPANICS IN COUNTY	HISPANIC POP. RANK	TOTAL POP. RANK	% OF STATE HISPANIC POP.	% OF TOTAL COUNTY POP.
Lake	Gary, Hammond, E. Chicago	44,526	1	2	45.1	9.4
Marion	Indianapolis	8,450	2	1	8.6	1.1
Allen	Ft. Wayne	5,821	3	3	5.9	1.9
St. Joseph	South Bend	5,201	4	4	5.3	2.1
Porter	Adjacent to Lake County	3,858	5	9	3.9	3.0
Elkhart	Elkhart, Adjacent to St. Joseph	2,922	6	6	3.0	1.9
Tippecanoe	Lafayette, W. Lafayette, Purdue Univ.	2,078	7	8	2.1	1.6
LaPorte	Next to Porter & St. Joseph Counties	1,546	8	13	1.6	1.5
Grant	Marion (city)	1,514	9	19	1.5	2.0
Monroe	Bloomington, Indiana University	1,367	10	11	1.4	1.3
<b>Totals</b>		<b>72,112</b>	—	—	<b>73.0*</b>	—

*Source: USBC 1992a*  
 These 10 counties that account for 73.0% of the state's Latinos only account for 45.6% of the state's total population.

Recently, a Latino man allegedly stabbed a White man in a bar fight there, according to press releases. In the immediate aftermath, a number of forms of racist intimidation directed at Latinos occurred and the town was in an uproar. Much revolved around Whites' anxiety over the influx of Hispanics. More recently, however, the town's authorities and the area's Hispanic leadership have united to smooth relations (Associated Press, 1998a). The incident underscores the point that the influx must have been formidable. We note, in this regard, that meatpacking plants in other midwestern towns have taken to "importing" large numbers of Latino workers in the very recent past and their areas have been markedly transformed practically overnight (Aponte and Siles 1997, Gouveia and Stull 1997). Whether the numbers are as formidable as the press releases suggest, and whether the influx will continue, remains to be seen.

A second pole of growth is Indianapolis itself. Anecdotal evidence and cursory observations suggest the capital city is attracting unprecedented numbers of Latinos, including even undocumented workers. About two years ago, the Immigration and Naturalization Service actually conducted a number of raids to "round up" undocumented workers, although that situation seems to have died down. However, schools are suddenly besieged with demands for bilingual staffers, hospital wards find themselves in need of translators, and neighborhoods are changing from both White and Black to Hispanic in very noticeable ways. While the numbers are not yet available and the observations may well be biased, traveling through the city gives one the unmistakable impression that change is in the air. Only time and Census 2000 will tell for sure.

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## **Endnotes**

- 1** Data in this section as well as those in the immigration status and language use charts (Figures 10 and 11) derive from a census sample, rather than the full census. Hence, small groups may be combined with other groupings to increase sample strength or they may be altogether omitted from particular tabulations.