

LIFE IN THE INDUSTRIAL HEARTLAND: A
PROFILE OF LATINOS IN THE MIDWEST

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HIGHLIGHTS

Demographic Context

- o In 1988, the Latino population in the Midwest totaled slightly less than 1.2 million persons, or approximately three percent of the region's total population.
- o Eighty-two percent of all Latinos residing in the Midwest live in 19 metropolitan areas. Approximately one-half live in the Chicago SMSA.
- o In the period from 1970 to 1988, the Latino population in the Midwest increased by 40 percent. The greatest gain occurred in Illinois (107 percent).
- o While most Latino communities in the Midwest grew in the 1980's, the Latino population declined in Cleveland, Detroit, Ft. Wayne, and Toledo.
- o The Latino population in the region is very heterogeneous. Approximately 63 percent are Mexican, 19 percent are Puerto Rican, 3 percent are Cuban and the remaining 15 percent are from Central or South America.
- o Approximately one-half of all Latinos residing in the region were born in their state of residence. One sixth were foreign born.
- o Nearly one-half of all Latinos in the Midwest were under 20 years of age in 1980. Three percent were elderly. The median age was 21.9 years.

Family and Household Characteristics

- o Among Latino adults who were ever married, 75 percent were still married, 20 percent were divorced, and three percent were widowed.
- o The typical Latino household has 4.0 persons.
- o The number of Latino households headed by females rose sharply during the 1970's. By 1980, one out of six Latino households were headed by women. Among Latinos, Puerto Ricans have the highest proportion of female headed households.
- o Fertility rates for Latina women are higher than those for Anglo and Black women between the ages of 25 to 44.

Economic Context

- o The region lost 828,000 or 16.4 percent of all jobs in the manufacturing sector in the period between 1970 and 1988.
- o Despite the economic instability of the 1970's, Latinos increased their participation in the labor force. Approximately 68 percent of all Latinos were in the labor force in 1987.

- o Latino male labor force participation declined in Illinois, Michigan, and Ohio. Nonetheless, more than 80 percent of Latino males were in the labor force.
- o Latinas had substantially lower labor force participation - approximately one-half of all Latinas over the age of 16 were in the workforce in 1980. Although substantially lower than Latino male labor force participation, the participation of Latinas in the labor force rose sharply during the 1970's.
- o Among Spanish heritage groups, Cuban males and females had the highest labor force participation. Puerto Rican females had the lowest levels of participation in the labor force.
- o Despite continued high levels of labor force attachment, unemployment rates for all groups increased between 1970 and 1987. Latino unemployment rates average 11.6 percent, nearly double the Anglo unemployment rate. The highest rate of Latino unemployment occurred in Michigan where almost one out of every five Latino workers were unemployed.
- o Cubans experienced the lowest levels of unemployment. Mexican and Puerto Ricans experienced double-digit unemployment rates just slightly lower than those experienced by Blacks.
- o Latino workers continued to be disproportionately concentrated in blue-collar employment. Approximately one-half of all Latino workers were employed as craftsmen, operatives, transportation workers or laborers.
- o During the 1970's, the income gap between Latino and Anglo families widened. Latino median family income at the end of the decade was \$17,639 or 82 percent of Anglo median family income.
- o Cubans had the highest median family income (\$25,430) - even higher than that for Anglos. Puerto Ricans had the lowest median family income (\$15,878).
- o Female headed families in the region had incomes less than one-half of Anglo median family income. Among families headed by females, Latinas had the lowest median income (\$7,115). The median income for families headed by Latinas was 61 percent of the median income for families headed by Anglo females.
- o In 1980, nearly one quarter of all Latino families had incomes below \$10,000. Almost two quarters had incomes between \$10,000 and \$25,000.
- o Cuban households were the most affluent - 50 percent had incomes above \$25,000. Puerto Rican households were the most economically disadvantaged - one-third had incomes below \$10,000.

- o Latino families generally experienced the sharpest increase in the proportion of families receiving public assistance. However, Black families continue to have the highest percentage of families with public assistance incomes (24 percent) followed by Latinos (13 percent).
- o Nearly 20 percent of all Latinos were impoverished in 1980. Puerto Ricans had the highest poverty rates (27 percent). Cubans had the lowest (10 percent).
- o Households headed by Latinas had the highest incidence of poverty. Nearly one-half of all households headed by Latinas were poor.
- o Puerto Rican households headed by women were the most impoverished of all racial or ethnic groups (> 60 percent). Roughly 45 percent of Mexican households headed by females were poor.

Educational Status

- o Despite gains made during the 1970's, the median level of schooling for Latino adults in 1980 was 11.6 years. The average level of education was lowest among Mexicans and Puerto Ricans (10 years).
- o Less than one-half of all Latino adults have completed high school. Mexicans and Puerto Ricans experienced the highest level of high school attrition (61 percent).
- o Approximately 40 percent of Latinos between the ages of 18 and 24 did not complete high school - twice the dropout rate for Anglos.
- o Less than 10 percent of Latino adults had attended college, compared to 15 percent for Anglos and 8 percent for Blacks.
- o Nearly 817,000 persons or two percent of the region's population over age 5 speaks Spanish in the home.

Residential Status

- o Latinos had the lowest rate of home ownership in the region.
- o Latinos pay proportionately more of their incomes on rent than do Anglos. Median contract rent was \$227 in 1980.
- o The incidence of Latino overcrowding on the average is three times higher than that experienced by Anglos. Latino overcrowding is most severe in Chicago where nearly one-third of all Latinos live in crowded housing conditions.
- Latinos experience moderate to high levels of residential segregation from both Anglos and Blacks. The highest levels of Latino-Anglo segregation occurred in Chicago and Lorain. The highest level of Latino-Black segregation occurred in Chicago and Cleveland.

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this document is to provide a portrait of the changing profile of the Latino population in the Midwest to interested persons and policy makers. In light of the mission of the Julian Samora Research Institute to generate and transmit research findings to academicians, service providers and public officials, this report provides detailed information about a population which heretofore has been generally ignored. Although we have entered into the last decade of the century, there have been no previous reports issued specifically focusing on Latinos in the Midwest which utilize available Bureau of Labor statistics or Census data. This document provides a historical context upon which we can continue to build our knowledge base regarding the socioeconomic conditions of Latinos in the region.

This document is intended to serve as a reference resource as well as to provide a mechanism for the exchange of information and the development of public policy. In addition, this report can be adopted for use in classroom discussions of regional social issues and their varying impacts upon Latinos as well as Anglos and Blacks. The data contained herein provides a comprehensive picture of the Latino experience in a comparative perspective.

The profile is comprised of over 60 figures which are accompanied by a brief descriptive text. These figures are organized into five sections and within each section, the data which have been selected for inclusion in the document reflect current themes in the policy arena. In addition, they represent information which is vital to the understanding of the Latino experience in the Midwest. The extent to which these data are available in this document for various geographical units (i.e. region, state, SMSA) and subpopulations is a function of their availability as well as their importance to the profile. While we do not pretend to provide an exhaustive portrait of the characteristics of Latinos in the region, we have compiled a detailed composite from which we can drive tentative policy goals.

Major Themes in the Profile

The major policy issues addressed in this document include: 1) the changing demographic structure and growth of the Latino population; 2) the changing nature of Latino families; 3) the impact of economic restructuring on Latino participation in the labor force and growing economic inequality; 4) the educational status of Latinos in light of post-industrial economic development; and 5) the relationship between residential status and Latino socioeconomic well-being. By focusing on Latinos in the Midwest, we trace the shifting fate of a population who moved into the region primarily for economic reasons and until 1970 was relatively affluent when compared to Latino populations in other regions of the country. Moreover, the heterogeneity of the Latino population in the region enables us to examine more closely the varying impact of these changes on specific Latino subgroups. It is only after we examine these nuances more carefully and within a particular regional context that policies may be developed which foster Latino social and economic well-being.

Data Sources

The primary sources of data for this report were from the Bureau of the Census and the Bureau of Labor Statistics. Regional statistics were derived primarily from the Detailed Population Characteristics and Detailed Housing Characteristics, United States Summary for 1970 and 1980. State-level statistics were obtained from the published General Social and Economic Characteristics for 1970 and 1980 for each state in the region. In addition, the Public Use Microdata Sample A tape files were utilized to derive both state level and metropolitan area indicators for 1980. Additional published Census sources include Census tracts for Metropolitan areas, Population Estimates by Race and Hispanic Origin for States, Metropolitan Areas, and Selected Counties: 1980 to 1985 and The Hispanic Population in the United States: March 1988. Economic indicators were also obtained from the Bureau of Labor Statistics publication, Employment and Earnings for various years. Segregation scores were calculated based on tract level data from the Census Summary Tape Files 1A. Unless otherwise noted on the figures, data were compiled by the author directly from the Public Use Microdata files.

Although data on Latinos are more extensive now than in the past, several caveats in their use must be recognized. First, the Census has inconsistently defined and collected information on Latinos. The 1980 Census represents the first time where a single definition of Latino was used nationwide for the entire population. In 1980, Spanish heritage was determined based on respondent self-identification to the question "Is this person of Spanish/Hispanic origin or descent?" In previous Censuses, the definition varied regionally. For example, in 1970 Latinos in the Southwest were asked if they were persons of Spanish language or Spanish surname while persons in New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania were asked if they were of Puerto Rican birth of parentage. In the Midwest, Latinos were identified on the basis of Spanish language. This inconsistency in definition makes comparisons problematic. Nevertheless, for the Midwest, the 1970 definition of Latino covers the majority of the population and closely approximates the larger population identified with the 1980 Spanish Origin indicator. While discrepancies may occur as a result of these inconsistencies we felt that it was important to include some comparative information from 1970 in order to crudely measure the changing trends and patterns.

Second, it is still somewhat problematic to examine differences for Latino subgroups. Most published reports have only sketchy information about Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Cubans and other Latino subpopulations. Moreover, the sample size for a particular subgroup may be so small as to render any statistics to be extremely unreliable or totally worthless. In addition, published information for Anglos and Blacks are often confounded by the inclusion of Latinos in either of the racial categories. As much as possible, the data presented in the profile reflect mutually exclusive subpopulations.

A third problem reflects one of geographical level of analysis. Generally available local area data are less detailed than those existing at the state level. Often times regional statistics are difficult to generate as well. As a result, we are not always able to provide detailed information about a particular characteristic for the various geographical areas under study.

Finally, we are still limited in the range of information available on Latinos. We have extremely limited information on issues such as health status and other concerns for the region. Part of this simply reflects the fact that information on Latinos is not even collected. Therefore, our picture of this population is incomplete.

Section I

The Demographic Context of Latino Migration and Settlement in the Midwest

Latinos have migrated to and settled in the Midwest since the early 1900's. However, it has only been in the postwar period that the massive influx of Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and other groups from Central and South America has resulted in a growing Latino presence in the region. Over the course of the century, Latinos were actively recruited from the Southwest, Mexico and Puerto Rico to provide both agricultural and industrial labor. The present geographic location of the population in part reflects these activities.

By 1988, approximately 1.2 million Latinos resided in the states of Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Ohio and Wisconsin, representing nearly three percent of the total population. Moreover, this population continues to grow at a time when the Anglo and Black population in the Midwest is decreasing. In this section, the characteristics of the Latino population are examined more fully.

Location of Latino Communities in the Midwest

For the purpose of this analysis, the Midwest region includes the five Great Lakes states. Within their boundaries, there are 19 metropolitan areas with Latino populations exceeding 5,000 as of 1980 (Map 1). Approximately eight out of every ten Latinos in the region reside in these metropolitan areas. One-half of all Latinos in the region live in the Chicago SMSA. The largest Latino communities outside of Chicago are Detroit, Gary, Milwaukee, and Cleveland.

Distribution of Latinos in the Midwest

As we can see from Map 2, the Latino population in the region is highly clustered, especially in Illinois, Indiana, and Wisconsin. The highest proportions of Latinos are found in the counties which comprise Chicago, Gary, Racine, Milwaukee, Toledo, Lorain, Saginaw, and Muskegon. However, in none of the counties did Latinos constitute more than 10 percent of the total population in 1980.

Latinos residing in Michigan and Ohio were more dispersed. Migrants in these states participated in both agricultural and industrial recruitment activities to a greater extent than in the rest of the region where industrial recruitment activities predominated. As a result, a number of communities have developed away from the large metropolitan areas in these states.

Growth of the Latino Population in the Midwest 1970-1988

As shown in Figure 1, the Latino population increased from 850,000 to nearly 1.2 million -approximately 40 percent in the period from 1970 to 1988. While growth occurred in all five states, the greatest gain was reported for Illinois. The Latino population in Illinois grew by 107 percent between 1970 and 1985. The slowest growth occurred in Ohio (13 percent). The Latino populations in Indiana, Michigan, and Wisconsin grew by 24, 28, and 61 percent, respectively (see Figure 2).

Growth of the Latino Metropolitan Population 1970-85

Growth of Latino communities within the Midwest varied considerably (see Figure 3). Indeed, there is some evidence that suggests that several Latino communities have probably lost population since 1980 (i.e. Cleveland, Detroit, Ft. Wayne, and Toledo). Again, the fastest growing metropolitan areas in the region were Milwaukee and Chicago where the Latino population increased by 105 and 94 percent, respectively, between 1970 and 1985.

Proportion of Latinos in Total Population

Between 1970 and 1985, the proportion of Latinos in the total population of the Midwest grew from 1.7 to 2.8 percent. (Figure 4) Illinois has the highest proportion: approximately seven percent of the states' population was Latino, nearly double the proportion from 1970. Ohio had the lowest proportion of Latino residents: only one percent of the states' population. Although the proportion of Latino residents grew in all five states, growth was slow in every state but Illinois.

Spanish Heritage

As shown in Figure 5, most Latinos residing in the Midwest are of Mexican descent (62.5 percent). Approximately 19 percent were Puerto Rican. Three percent of Latinos in the region were of Cuban origin. The remaining 16 percent of the Latino population came from Central or South America. This population was comprised primarily of individuals from Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, El Salvador and Peru. The Latino population in Ohio was the most heterogeneous with fewer Mexicans (43 percent), more Puerto Ricans (28 percent), and more persons from Central and South America (26 percent).

Birthplace

Approximately one-half of all Latinos in the region were born in the state of residence in 1980 as compared to approximately three-quarters of all Anglos. Moreover, while less than one out of twenty Anglos were foreign born, one out of six Latinos were of foreign birth or parentage. However, in Illinois (see Figure 6a) nearly four out of every ten Latinos were foreign born. Eight percent of Latinos were born abroad, reflecting persons born in Puerto Rico. However this varied from 3.4 percent in Michigan to 13.2 percent in Ohio (Figures 6b to 6e).

Age Distribution

When compared to the Anglo population in the region, the Latino population has a greater proportion of young people. Massive migration and higher fertility rates within the Latino population have produced this youthful population. Almost 50 percent of Latinos in the region are under 20 years of age compared to 32 percent of Anglos. In contrast, the proportion of elderly Latinos is quite small (approximately three percent). The elderly Anglo population exceeds 10 percent in all states - approximately three times higher than the proportion of older Latinos (Figures 7a to 7e).

Median Age

The median age for Latinos is much lower (22 years) than that of the Anglos population (30 years) and Black population (25 years). Among Spanish heritage groups, Mexicans and Puerto Ricans are the youngest groups while Cubans are older. The median age of Cubans is approximately 27 years - the second highest after Anglos (Figures 8 and 9).

Section II

FAMILY AND HOUSEHOLD CHARACTERISTICS

The relative youthfulness of the Latino population in the Midwest is reflected in the characteristics of the Latino family. In general, Latino families are younger and larger than Anglo or Black families. Also, there are some notable variations in the configuration of these households in terms of adult headship, with more Latino families headed by females than occurs in Anglo families. Moreover, Latina fertility rates are quite high throughout the childbearing years indicating continued high levels of population growth. In this section, the characteristics of Latino families are more fully explored.

Marital Status

Among persons who have been married, there were generally similar proportions of both Latinos and non-Latinos who were married, widowed or divorced. With the exception of Illinois where a substantially higher proportion of Latinos were married as compared to their non-Latino counterparts, we find that approximately three quarters of person between the ages of 15 and 54 were still married. Approximately one out of every five Latinos and non-Latinos were divorced. Less than three percent had been widowed (see Figure 10).

There were some notable gender differences in marital status (see Figure 11). Latino males had the lowest proportions of individuals who were widowed or divorced (7 percent). Anglo males had the highest percentage of married individuals (64 percent). Black males had the highest proportion of singles (41 percent). On the other hand, Latinas had the lowest proportion of separated, widowed or divorced individuals (18 percent). Approximately 58 percent of Anglo and Latina women were married - 16 points higher than for Blacks. Black families had the highest proportion of single individuals (35 percent).

Household Size

A household is defined as all people who reside in the same housing unit. Households are generally comprised of different types of families but also may reflect people who live alone or with another non-relative. When compared to Anglos, the typical Latino household is larger (4.0 to 3.0 persons respectively). Latino households were largest in Illinois with an average 5.0 persons. Of interest, median Latino and Black household size was the same for all parts of the Midwest except Illinois (see Figure 12).

There are some interesting variations in household size among the Spanish heritage groups (Figure 13). With the exception of Mexican households in Illinois, median household size for all of the groups was 4.0 or less. Cuban households in Indiana, Michigan, and Wisconsin were even smaller (3.0).

Female Headship

_____ During the 1970's, the number of households headed by females rose sharply. The rate of female headship is considerably higher

among minority populations. Across the region, Anglo households had the lowest rates of female headship (slightly less than 10 percent). In contrast, approximately one out of six Latino households were headed by a woman in 1980 (Figure 14a). One out of three Black households were female headed.

As shown in Figure 14b, the Puerto Rican subpopulations generally have the highest proportion of female headed households (19 percent), while Cubans had the lowest (11 percent). Moreover, the proportion of female headed households is above 15 percent for all Spanish heritage groups in Wisconsin.

Changes in Female Headship by SMSA's, 1970-1980

Figure 15 presents information about the changes in Latino female headship occurring within metropolitan areas during the 1970's. For all SMSA's, the proportion of female headed households increased. The highest proportions of female headed households were in the metropolitan areas of Cleveland, Lansing, Racine, and Saginaw. In these areas, approximately one out of every four Latino households were headed by women in 1980.

Fertility Patterns

Fertility rates of Latina women were higher than those experienced by Anglo women during all of the childbearing years (15-44). Moreover, except during the ages of 15 to 24, Latina women have higher levels of fertility than Black women. The slightly lower levels of Latina fertility among women between the ages of 15 to 24 probably reflects fewer pregnancies among younger Latina teenagers (Figures 16a to 16e).

Section III

The Impact of Economic Restructuring in the Midwest

Once referred to as the Industrial Heartland, the Midwest has experienced a dramatic shift in the nature of the regional economy. The decline in manufacturing, which at one time provided a source of relatively high wages, has left an indelible imprint on the regional economy and its workforce. During the 1970's and 1980's, economic stagnation produced a "Rust Belt" - with the rusting smokestacks of empty factories serving as a glaring reminder of the changes occurring within the region.

Changes taking place within regional and local economies have been linked to increased unemployment, labor force retrenchment, and increased poverty. In this section, the effect of economic restructuring on the Latino population in the Midwest will be examined.

Changes in Nonagricultural Employment 1970-1988

Estimates from the Bureau of Labor Statistics indicate that during the period between 1970 and 1988, the Midwest gained approximately four million jobs, an increase of 24.2 percent. Nevertheless, the region experienced a significant shift from a manufacturing base to non-manufacturing occupations. Plant closings and relocations to other regions have resulted in an absolute loss of 828,000 or 16.4 percent of all manufacturing jobs since 1970. At the same time, service sector jobs have risen sharply. Since 1970, the number of service jobs has grown from 2.1 million to 4.1 million, nearly twice as many as from the beginning of the period. Indeed, by 1988 the number of service jobs almost equaled the number of manufacturing jobs (Figure 17). Growth in total employment, manufacturing, and service employment was the highest in Wisconsin. Overall growth in jobs was lowest in Illinois.

Changes in Manufacturing Employment 1970-1988

As shown in Figure 18, the manufacturing sector was highly unstable throughout the region. Wisconsin was the only state to report absolute gains in the number of manufacturing jobs between 1970 and 1988 (+9.9 percent). The greatest losses in manufacturing employment occurred in Illinois (-27.6 percent) and Ohio (-21.6 percent). Manufacturing declined sharply between 1970 and 1975 and again between 1980 and 1985 in both states. Declines in manufacturing also occurred in Indiana and Michigan (approximately -11.0 percent in both states), but the decrease was not as sharp.

Labor Force Participation

What impact did these shifts in the nature of the regional economy have on the workforce? As shown in Figure 19, while labor force participation among Blacks decreased slightly between 1970 and 1987 (from 62 to 61 percent), Anglos and Latinos increased their participation in the workforce. Moreover, Latinos had the highest labor force participation rates throughout the period. By 1987, slightly less than 70 percent of all Latinos over the age of 16 were in the workforce, as compared to 61 percent for Blacks and 66 percent for Anglos.

Among Latinos, labor force participation in 1980 was highest in Illinois (68.9 %) and lowest in Ohio (61.5%). In all states, Latinos were more likely to be in the workforce than both Anglos and Blacks (Figures 20a and 20b). Moreover, Latino participation in the labor force actually increased between 1970 and 1980 in all states in the region. Anglo labor force participation also increased during this period. However, with the exception of Indiana, Black participation in the labor force actually declined in the remainder of the region. The sharpest declines occurred in Michigan (from 59 to 57 percent).

When examining gender differences in labor force participation, several patterns are discernable. Between 1970 and 1980, Anglos males increased their participation in the workforce. Black male labor force participation was generally 10 points lower than for Anglos in 1980. Latino males started the decade with the highest labor force participation rates. By 1980, Latino males still had high rates of participation but declines were noted in Illinois, Michigan, and Ohio. In addition, by 1980 Anglos male labor force participation rates surpassed that of Latino males in all the states except Wisconsin. (Figures 21a and 21b). Nevertheless, 83 percent of all Latino males were in the labor force in 1980 as compared to 84 percent of Anglo males and 73 percent of Black males.

The situation for females is somewhat different (see Figures 22a and 22b). One of the most striking difference is the substantially lower rates of female participation in the workforce. For all groups, approximately one-half of the women were in the labor force in 1980. Black women had the highest labor force participation rates in all of the midwestern states in 1970. By 1980, however, this was true only for the states of Ohio and Wisconsin. This change was due to the sharp increases in labor force participation rates among Latina and Anglo women. Latina labor force participation rose from 42 to 51 percent during the 1970's. The participation of Anglo women in the workforce increased from 41 to 50 percent during the decade. Of interest, proportionately more Black and Latina women were in the workforce than Anglo women in 1980.

Participation in the labor force varied considerably by Spanish heritage group (Figures 23a and 23b). Throughout the region, Cubans had the highest participation rates for both males and females (83 and 60 percent, respectively). With the exception of Illinois, the other Latino males had the lowest level of labor force participation (74 percent). Among women, Puerto Rican females had the lowest labor force participation rates in the region (46 percent) in 1980. For Mexicans, approximately 80 percent of males and 51 percent of females over 16 were in the workforce.

If we examine labor force participation at the metropolitan level, we find that 60 percent or more of all Latinos were in the local labor force in 1980 (Figure 24). The proportion of Latinos in the workforce increased in all 19 metropolitan areas during the 1970's. The greatest gains occurred in Grand Rapids, Ft. Wayne, and Rockford. The smallest gains occurred in Cincinnati.

Unemployment

Despite continued high levels of labor force attachment, unemployment rates for all groups were higher in 1987 than in 1970

(Figure 25). However, Anglo and Latino rates had actually declined between 1980 and 1987, and were much lower than Black rates, which actually increased during this same period. Latino unemployment was nearly twice as high as that for Anglos, while that of Blacks was three times higher than for Anglos. Black unemployment, also, was twice as high as that for Latinos in 1987.

When examining variations in unemployment by state we find that Latino unemployment rates were higher than Anglo rates in every state but lower than Black rates (Figures 26a and 26b). By 1980, Latinos and Blacks experienced double digit unemployment with the highest rates occurring in Michigan. Approximately one out of every five Latino and Black workers in Michigan were out of a job in 1980. The lowest unemployment rates for all three groups were in Wisconsin: 6.2 percent of Anglos, 13.9 percent of Blacks and 10.9 percent of Latinos were unemployed in Wisconsin in 1980.

Especially hard hit by unemployment were Latino and Black males (Figures 27a and 27b). Approximately 12 percent of Latino males were unemployed in 1980 as compared to 16 percent of Black males and 7 percent of Anglo males. In 1980, Male unemployment for both Latinos and Blacks was highest in Michigan (17 and 23 percent, respectively).

Latinas generally experienced similar levels of unemployment rates as Latino males (12 percent) throughout the region in 1980. As was the case for Black males, Black females had the highest rates of unemployment (14 percent). When compared to Anglos, Latina and Black female unemployment rates were approximately double the Anglo rate (Figures 28a and 28b).

For the Midwest in general, Cuban males and females had the lowest levels of unemployment among the Spanish heritage groups (5.4 and 7.2 percent, respectively), in 1980. Moreover, Cuban unemployment rates were similar to those for Anglos in all states except Michigan. Mexicans and Puerto Ricans had unemployment rates generally slightly lower than Black rates. Approximately 14 percent of all Mexicans and Puerto Ricans in the labor force were out of work in 1980 (Figures 29a and 29b).

As shown in Figure 30, in the decade of the seventies, Latino unemployment increased in all metropolitan areas except Grand Rapids. Especially hard hit were Flint, Saginaw, and Toledo -communities heavily reliant on the auto industry and devastated by declining economies.

Occupational Status

Has the shift in economic activities affected the occupational status of Latinos? In a series of Figures (31 to 35) we present the change in the occupational distribution of Latinos in the work force between 1970 and 1980 for each state. For all states, then, the proportion of Latino workers in skilled and semi-skilled blue collar jobs declined in the 1970's. This decline was especially noticeable in Michigan, while only a slight decline was noted in Wisconsin. Most of the decline, however, seems to have been absorbed by the service occupations which increased their proportion by around 4% in all states, except Wisconsin.

Latino workers continued to be disproportionately concentrated in

blue collar employment. With the exception of Michigan and Ohio, more than half of all Latino workers were still employed as craftsmen, operatives, transportation workers, or laborers in 1980. Slight gains in professional sector employment were noted in Illinois and Michigan but only about 15 percent of all Latinos were in these occupations. Approximately five percent of Latino workers were employed in sales occupations with only slight gains noted in this sector during the 1970's. Approximately 15 percent of all Latino workers were in clerical jobs and another 15 percent were in service occupations.

Family Income

According to data presented in Figures 36, the median family income of Latinos in the Midwest, in 1969, was \$9,331 or 85 percent of Anglo median family income. By 1979, their median family income was \$17,639 - approximately 82 percent of Anglo median family income. In short, through the decade of the 70's the income gap between Latino and Anglo families widened. Furthermore, while the Latino median family income, in each of the five states, grew throughout this period, the size or rate of this growth was uneven across the region. Thus, while in 1969 the Latino median family in Michigan exceeded that of the other states, by 1979 Michigan ranked second in Latino median family income to that of Indiana. The change in the occupational distribution of Latinos in Michigan's work force, noted above, is no doubt part of the reason for Michigan's decline in ranking by 1979, as well as an indication of the impact on Latino income caused by the lost jobs in the state's metal bending industries.

Latino median family income varies considerably by metropolitan area (Figure 37). In 1969, Latino family incomes in Cincinnati, Columbus, Dayton, and Indianapolis were similar to Anglo family incomes (102, 96, 94, and 93 percent, respectively). By 1979, Latino income generally declined relative to Anglos in all but four metropolitan areas (Flint, Ft. Wayne, Gary, and Rockford). The highest Latino median family income in 1979 was reported in Gary (\$22,796); the lowest in Cincinnati (\$15,344).

Large differences in median family income existed among Spanish heritage groups in 1979 (Figure 38). Cuban median family income was considerably higher than that for all other Latino groups in general, i.e. \$25,432. In contrast, Puerto Rican median family income was generally lower and similar to Black income (\$15,878). Mexicans had the next lowest median family income (\$18,081).

Household Income

The median household income for Latinos was \$16,215 in 1979 - approximately 89 percent of Anglo median household income. In Indiana, Latino median income exceeds the median income for Anglo household by \$814. For all other states, Latino income is lower than that for Anglos but substantially higher than that for Blacks (Figure 39).

When examining the data for specific Spanish heritage groups found in Figure 40, we generally find Puerto Ricans to have the lowest median household income in all five states (\$14,753). Cuban median household income is \$22,600 - higher than that for Anglo households. Both Mexicans and Other Latinos have slightly higher incomes than Puerto Ricans (\$16,864 and \$16,373, respectively).

What happens to incomes when women are the head of the household? In general, families headed by females have incomes less than half of the typical Anglo family (Figure 41a and 41b). Moreover, among female headed households, Latina women have the lowest incomes compared to both Anglo and Black women in 1979. The typical Latina household had an income of \$7,115 - roughly 60 percent of Anglo female headed household income (\$11,597) and approximately \$400 less than for Black female headed households. It is also interesting to note that while in 1969 Latina headed families had median incomes that exceeded that of Black women, in three of the five states, by 1979 this was no longer true.

As shown in Figure 42, Anglo median household income in 1979 was substantially higher than that for Latinos and Blacks in every metropolitan area (\$22,373). As was true for the states, the inequity between Latinos and Anglo median household income in the SMSAs also grew during the 1970's. In 1969, Latino households had a median household income of \$9,730 or 85 percent of Anglo median household income. However, by 1979 Latinos in these metropolitan areas earned approximately 76 percent of Anglo median household income (\$18,057). In contrast, Latinos had median household incomes which were higher than Blacks in every metropolitan area except Indianapolis, Lansing, Lorain, and Saginaw.

When examining the distribution of household incomes by ethnic background for each state, we see that Anglos are disproportionately concentrated in the higher income groups (\$25,000 or more). Blacks had extremely low levels of income (less than \$15,000). Latino incomes were concentrated in the \$10,000 to \$25,000 range. Income distributions for Anglos, Blacks, and Latinos are presented in Figures 43a through 43e.

Among Latino households, approximately one out of every four had incomes below \$10,000; slightly less than one half had incomes between \$10,000 and \$25,000; and three out of every ten had incomes above \$25,000. Latinos in Ohio had the highest concentrations of household with incomes below \$10,000 (28 percent) and Indiana had the highest proportion of Latinos with incomes above \$25,000 (36 percent).

With the exception of Wisconsin, approximately one third of all Black households had incomes below \$10,000 in 1980. Wisconsin had the lowest concentration of poor black households (28 percent) while Ohio had the highest (37.6 percent). One quarter of Black households had incomes in excess of \$25,000. More Blacks in Michigan had incomes greater than \$25,000 (30 percent) than in any other state.

In contrast, less than two out of every ten Anglo households had incomes below \$10,000. The lowest concentration of poor Anglo households occurred in Illinois (17 percent); the highest in Indiana (20 percent). Moreover, nearly five out of every ten Anglos households had incomes above \$25,000. Illinois had the highest percentage of Anglo household with incomes exceeding \$25,000 (46 percent) while Indiana had the lowest (36 percent).

The distribution of household income is distinctive for each Spanish heritage group. Figures 44a through 44e provide this information for Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Cubans, and Other Latinos. Among Spanish heritage groups, the distribution of income for Cubans

most resembles that of Anglos while the income distribution for Puerto Ricans is comparable to that for Blacks. Except for Indiana, fewer Cubans than Anglos had incomes below \$10,000 and approximately one-half of all Cuban households had incomes above \$25,000. Ironically the highest concentrations of both extremes of income among Cubans occurred in Indiana.

Puerto Ricans are the most economically disadvantaged. With the exception of Indiana where Puerto Rican incomes are higher, approximately one third of all Puerto Ricans had incomes below \$10,000. Nearly 40 percent of Puerto Ricans in Illinois and Wisconsin had incomes less than \$10,000. In addition, fewer Puerto Rican households had incomes above \$25,000 - less than 20 percent in Illinois, Ohio, and Wisconsin, 20 percent in Michigan, and 32 percent in Indiana.

Mexicans and Other Latinos generally had one quarter of all households with incomes below \$10,000 and more than 30 percent above \$25,000. Mexicans in Michigan and other Latinos in Indiana were the least affluent. Mexicans in Indiana and other Latinos in Illinois had higher incomes.

Public Assistance Income

As shown in Figure 45, the proportion of Latino families with public assistance income rose during the 1970's, as was the case for Anglo and Black families. On the average, Latino families on public assistance rose by approximately 7.9% across the five states, as compared to an average increase of 2.9% for Anglo families and 12.3% for Black families. By 1980, slightly less than one out of every six Latino families were receiving public assistance income - a twofold increase over the course of the decade. Moreover, the number of Latinos receiving public assistance is two to three times higher than among Anglos. However, Black families in every state had the highest proportion receiving public assistance benefits (24 percent). For Blacks, the ratio is generally four to five times higher than for Anglo families.

Poverty Status

The number of Latino families in poverty rose sharply during the 1970's throughout the region (Figure 46a). This was especially true in Ohio and Michigan. In 1969, for the region as a whole, 6.3 percent of Anglos, 20.7 percent of Blacks and 11.7 percent of Latinos were poor. By 1979, Latino poverty rates hovered slightly below 20 percent. Figure 46b compares the percentage increase of families in poverty by racial group for each of the five states. Even though Blacks had the highest percentage of families living in poverty in the Midwest in 1979, i.e. 25%, during the decade of the 70s the percentage of Latino families living in poverty rose faster than was the case for Anglos or Blacks. In 1979, approximately 10% of Anglo families were living in poverty with little variation exhibited between the states in the region.

Among Spanish heritage groups, Puerto Ricans were the most impoverished (27 percent). In Illinois and Ohio, Puerto Rican poverty rates exceeded Black poverty rates and were only slightly lower in the rest of the region. Cubans had the lowest poverty rates among Latinos (10 percent). Indeed, Cuban poverty rates were lower than Anglo rates in Ohio and Wisconsin. Mexicans and Other Latinos had poverty rates

which fell between the two extremes (Figure 47).

In 1979, Anglo, Black and Latino female headed households were the most impoverished throughout the region. Interestingly, in each of the five states, a higher percentage of Latino households headed by women were in poverty than was the case for Black female headed households (Figure 48). Approximately one-half of all Latino households headed by women were poor. The highest rate of poverty occurred in Illinois (50 percent), the lowest in Michigan (47 percent). Poverty rates among Latina women were double the rate for Latino families in general. Moreover, they were double the rate for Anglo females. For Black households headed by females, poverty rates were highest in Illinois (49 percent) and lowest in Indiana (43 percent). Among Anglo households headed by women, poverty rates were highest in Michigan (29 percent) and lowest in Illinois (18 percent). The level of poverty among Black and Anglo female headed households was nearly double the rate for Black and Anglo households in general.

Again, wide disparities were noted among the Spanish heritage population (Figure 49). Puerto Rican households headed by women were the most impoverished of all racial or ethnic groups. Nearly two-thirds of Puerto Rican households headed by women were poor. The highest poverty rate for Puerto Rican female headed households occurred in Indiana (69 percent), the lowest in Wisconsin (59 percent). Approximately 46 percent of Mexican households headed by females were impoverished. In contrast, 23 percent of Cuban female headed households were poor.

Cuban households headed by women had the lowest poverty rates except in Indiana. While poverty rates for Cuban households headed by a female were lower than Anglo rates in Michigan and Wisconsin, they were higher in the remaining states.

Mexican households headed by women had poverty rates comparable to those experienced by Black women. The poverty rates for Mexican female headed households were slightly lower than Black rates in Illinois and Wisconsin, but higher in Indiana, Michigan, and Ohio. Approximately 45 percent of all households headed by Mexican women were poor.

As shown in Figure 50, poverty among Latino families also rose sharply during the 1970's in all metropolitan areas. The highest poverty rates occurred in Cleveland, Saginaw, Toledo, and Youngstown - communities hard hit by the declining manufacturing sector.

Section IV

Educational Status of Latinos in the Midwest

During the past several decades, policy makers have targeted educational achievement as one of the most critical elements for improving the life chances of Latinos. With the emergence of federally-funded compensatory education programs in the 1960's, there were great expectations for rapid gains in educational attainment among Latinos and other disadvantaged populations. Although Latinos did show slight gains in educational attainment, they continued to lag behind Anglos. In this section, the implications of this issue are discussed in further detail.

Years of Schooling Completed

While Anglo, Black and Latino adults in the Midwest experienced gains in median years of schooling completed in the period between 1970 and 1980, it was evident that Latinos lagged behind Anglos and Blacks in the region (see Figures 51a-51b). The median educational attainment of Latino adults was 11.6 years but Latinos lagged six to thirteen months behind Anglos in every Midwestern state except Illinois. In Illinois, median educational attainment for adult Latinos was three years lower than that for Anglos. The greatest gains in educational attainment occurred among Black adults with an increase of 1.6 years. For Latinos in the region, the median years of schooling rose from 10.5 in 1970 to 11.6 in 1980. Among the five states, it should be noted, the greatest increase in median years of schooling for Latinos occurred in Michigan.

However, the Latino average masks wide disparities among the Spanish heritage groups. Throughout the region, Cubans and the Other Latino population had levels of educational attainment comparable to Anglos and higher than Blacks (12.9 and 12.5 years, respectively). In part this reflects their higher status prior to immigration to the United States. On the other hand, Mexicans and Puerto Ricans lagged behind Anglos and Blacks throughout the region (10.5 years). Both Mexicans and Puerto Ricans were between one and three years behind Anglos in educational attainment (see Figure 52). Again, the differences were most notable in Illinois which experienced massive growth through in-migration of these populations during the 1970's.

Percentage of High School Graduates

In light of the changing educational requirements for employment in the post-industrial economy, completion of high school becomes an important measure of the potential for incorporation into and mobility within the labor market. As shown in Figures 53a and 53b, approximately two-thirds of Anglo adults, one-half of Black adults, and fewer than one-half of Latino adults graduated from high school. During the period between 1970 and 1980, the greatest gains in high school completion rates were experienced by Blacks (an increase of 20 points). Once again, it should be noted that sharpest increase in percentage of Latinos graduated from high school occurred in Michigan. Although Latinos experienced gains (an average of 6.4 points), these improvements were overshadowed by increases experienced by Anglos and Blacks.

When examining high school completion rates for specific Spanish heritage groups, several patterns are discernable. For all groups except Cubans, high school completion rates are lower than those experienced by Anglos. Indeed, for Mexicans and Puerto Ricans, high school graduation rates averaged 39 percent - much lower than both Anglo and Black completion rates. For Cubans, high school completion rates exceed Anglo rates for all states except Illinois (see Figure 54). Approximately three out of every four Cuban adults had completed high school in 1980.

Within Latino communities in the Midwest, high school graduation rates varied considerably. In 1980, only seven metropolitan areas (Cincinnati, Columbus, Dayton, Detroit, Ft. Wayne, Indianapolis and Lansing) had 50 percent or more of their adult Latino populations who were high school graduates (see Figure 55). While most communities saw gains in the percentage of Latino adults with high school diplomas, three Ohio communities actually experienced a decline in this population: Cincinnati, Columbus and Dayton. This probably reflects a loss of highly skilled and educated Latino workers from these communities as manufacturing opportunities diminished during the 1970's.

Despite the gains in educational attainment, Latinos in the Midwest (particularly Mexicans and Puerto Ricans) continued to experience high levels of high school attrition. With more than one-half of all Latino adults without a high school diploma, the chances for economic mobility are limited. The effects are reflected in high levels of unemployment and low earnings.

Graduation Rates Among 18-24 Year Olds

An important indicator of future educational attainment and economic opportunities is the extent of high school graduation among young Latinos aged 18-24. As shown in Figures 56a and 56b, between 1970 and 1980, Anglos, Blacks and Latinos all experienced gains in high school completion among the young adult population, especially in Michigan. However, Latino youth lagged behind both Anglos and Blacks. In 1980, nearly 80 percent of young Anglos and 65 percent of young Blacks were high school graduates. Only 60 percent of young Latinos graduated from high school. The lowest levels of Latino high school completion occurred in Illinois and Wisconsin - states with the highest Anglo high school completion rates.

Completion of College

Another indicator of opportunities for Latinos is the presence of highly educated adults who are better able to compete in the post-industrial labor market. An examination of the data in Figures 57a and 57b reveals that while Anglo and Black adults experienced sizable gains in the number of college graduates between 1970 and 1980, the picture for Latinos was quite mixed. For the region as a whole, the number of Latino college graduates rose from 8.5 to 8.8 percent during the 1970's. In Indiana, Ohio and Wisconsin, the percentage of Latino adults who were college graduates actually declined during the decade. A slight increase occurred in Illinois, most likely reflecting an influx of better educated immigrants. However, a sharp increase of Latino college graduates was noted in Michigan where the percentage of Latino graduation rose from 5.2 to 9.7 percent. Of interest was the overall higher percentage of Latino college graduates relative to

Blacks, as well as the comparable level of college completion between Anglos and Latinos in 1970. By 1980, however, the Latino superiority to Blacks (in the percentage of college graduates) had all but vanished. In 1980, also, Latinos were now lagging far behind Anglos in this category.

Spanish Language Use

In the 1980 Census, respondents were asked to identify whether or not a language other than English was spoken at home. As we can see from Figure 58, approximately two percent of the population in the Midwest spoke Spanish. In the home, Spanish language use varied from less than one percent in Ohio to 4.4 percent in Illinois. While this represents a small fraction of the regions population, the Spanish language subpopulation exceeds 817,000. The implications of a sizable linguistic minority for state and local service deliver systems are monumental, especially in Illinois. Of particular interest is the need for bilingual education services.

Section V

Residential Characteristics

Postwar housing policies were intended to expand opportunities for home ownership. Civil rights legislation of the 1960's focused on addressing the inequities of housing accessibility resulting from institutionalized discriminatory practices in the housing market. In this section, the housing conditions of Latinos in the Midwest are examined.

Changes in Latino Owner Occupancy

During the 1970's, opportunities for home ownership for Latinos declined throughout the region. As shown in Figure 59, declines in Latino owner-occupied housing units were especially sharp in Michigan and Illinois. In the region, approximately 37 percent of all Latino households lived in owner-occupied units. Less than one-third of Latino household in Wisconsin, and one-fifth of these households in Illinois, were owner-occupied. While the dramatic rise in renter occupied units may partially reflect the sharp increase of the Latino population in these areas, the loss of high paying manufacturing employment may also account for part of this loss.

Housing Tenure

Latinos and Blacks were more likely to be renters than Anglos. While more than one-half of all Anglos in the Midwest were homeowners in 1980, 35 percent of Blacks and 37 percent of Latinos owned their own home. Except for the case of Illinois, Latinos are more likely than Blacks to be homeowners. For all three groups, the highest level of home ownership occurs in Michigan; the lowest occurs in Illinois (Figure 60).

Among Spanish heritage groups, the highest levels of home ownership across ethnic groups occur in Indiana and Michigan (Figure 61). The highest percentage of renters is found in Illinois where more than 75 percent of Latinos lived in renter-occupied housing units. In every state, except Ohio, the Puerto Rican population had the highest proportion of renters (71 percent).

The low level of Latino home ownership reflects the lower level of earnings and the higher proportion of urban dwellers among Latinos than among Anglos in the region.

Median Contract Rent

Despite the lower levels of earnings among Latinos and Blacks, median contract rents paid by minorities were only slightly lower than for Anglos in 1980. Median rent was highest for Anglos in all states (\$235), except Wisconsin where median rent was highest for Blacks (\$256). Latinos paid more for rent than Blacks in Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, and Ohio (regional median \$227). For both minority groups, whose earnings are substantially below those of Anglos, these data imply that Latinos and Blacks paid proportionally more of their incomes on housing (Figure 62).

When examining the variations in median rent by Spanish heritage (Figure 63), Cubans paid higher rents than Anglos in all states except

Illinois (\$224). Mexicans and Puerto Ricans generally paid lower rents than Anglos, \$224 and \$227, respectively. Other Latinos generally fell in between the two extremes (\$238).

Crowding

High rents, low earnings, and tight housing markets can produce overcrowding in housing units. Examining the data in Figure 64, we find that Latinos experienced the highest level of crowding in the region: 11 percent of Latino households were overcrowded. Latino overcrowding was five times higher than the average rate for Anglos in the region (2.2). Overcrowding was particularly acute in Chicago where approximately one-third of all Latino households were overcrowded. Given the high rents in the area, doubling up in housing may have been the only way to survive. The lowest level of overcrowding occurred in Dayton: only four percent of Latino households were crowded.

Residential Segregation

The Index of Dissimilarity is a measure which enables us to identify the percentage of persons (of either group) who would have to move in order to achieve residential integration. As we can see from Figure 65, Latinos in the Midwest experienced moderate to high levels of segregation from Anglos and Blacks. Approximately 45 percent of Latinos in the region would have to move in order to achieve integration with Anglos. Latino segregation from Anglos was highest in Chicago and Lorain (64 and 62 percent, respectively) and lowest in Columbus (28). On the other hand, Latino segregation from Blacks was higher: 62 percent of Latinos would have to change their residence in order to integrate with Blacks. Latino segregation from Blacks was highest in Chicago (84) and lowest in Racine (28). Despite legislation aimed at reducing segregated housing, it is apparent that this phenomena had not diminished substantially by 1980.