Lower Wages and Continued Occupational and Industrial Segmentation of Latinos in the Chicago Economy

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACS	American Community Survey
WWI	World War I
WWII	World War II
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement

SUMMARY

In 1993, John Betancur, Teresa Córdova, and Maria de los Angeles Torres published "Economic Restructuring and the Process of Incorporation of Latinos into the Chicago Economy," in *Latinos in the Changing U.S. Econom,y* edited by Rebecca Morales and Frank Bonilla. They concluded, "The history of the incorporation of Latino workers into the economy best explained the Latino experience in the Chicago area and provides a backdrop for understanding the impact of restructuring (110)." The authors argue that "the condition of ascriptive low-wage labor" restricted the mobility options for the Latino work force in the region. Examining PUM census data for the Chicago metro area from 1950 – 1980 on labor force participation, the study demonstrated that Latino labor, composed primarily of Mexicans and Puerto Ricans, facilitated the growth of the service sector in the Chicago economy while continuing to further entrench the segmentation of Latino labor in low-wage service sector employment.

The Latino population in the city has grown significantly since the Betancur et al. study (Cervantes, 1996; Suro, 2002; Paral et. al., 2004; Acosta-Córdova, 2017). However, no recent study has examined the industrial and occupational mobility of Latinos to the same extent as Betancur, et. al. Given the demographic growth of Latinos in Chicago and the continued changes in the Chicago economy, this study provides an update of the Betancur et. al. study to examine the changes taking place between 1980 and 2016 and to determine the extent of economic mobility for Latinos in Chicago. Using updated PUM census data, this thesis seeks to determine whether, since 1980, we continue to see what they described as the "continuation of occupational and industrial segmentation and lower wages" among Latinos in Chicago and how their labor force status affects policies and perspectives towards Latinos in the Chicago area.

This thesis finds that despite progress for Latinos in several industries and occupations, they continue to be segmented into jobs and industries with the lowest-wages. While African-Americans and Latinos both displayed similar conditions in most of the categories, Latinos had lower wages in more industries and occupations than any other group in Chicago. Even when accounting for a college degree, Latinos and African-Americans still earned far less than

Non-Latino Whites and Asians, with Latinos earning lower wages than all other groups. This is crucial to understanding the reality of the economic conditions of Latino households throughout the region. On an individual basis, Latinos earn the lowest wages within the Chicago economy.

Regardless of any economic progress for Latinos since 1980, the amount of the labor force concentrated in low-wage industries and occupations shows that there is still ample room for growth. Latinos did not progress to the same extent as other racial/ethnic groups. Since 1980, the Latino population has exploded in the region, and if it were not for this influx, both the city and the metropolitan area would have lost a significant amount of total population during this period. What is crucial to understand about the restructuring of the Chicago economy, were it not for the influx of Latino immigrants, many industries that have grown or remained in the area since would not have found the labor to do it. It is because of the large source of low-wage labor that these industries have prospered. Latino labor has helped transform Chicago from an industrial metropolis into a modern-day, service-based metropolis. One could argue, Latinos saved Chicago's economy.

I. Introduction

The dynamics of global economic restructuring have been underway since the mid 1970s, leading to both economic "growth" and increased inequality (Castells 1989; Morales and Bonilla 1993). The parallel industrial and occupational restructuring has had widespread impacts affecting whether and where people work and the amount of pay they receive, with the migration of labor as a key element in the functioning of the globalized economy (Sassen 1988).

Morales and Bonilla (1993), leading a team of researchers, examined these trends of economic restructuring at both the national level and in five major U.S. cities to determine how they were impacting *Latinos in a Changing U.S. Economy.* One of those cities was Chicago. Betancur, Córdova and Torres (1993) provided an analysis of "Economic Restructuring and the Process of Incorporation of Latinos into the Chicago Economy." In their chapter, the authors demonstrate that "the history of the incorporation of Latino workers into the economy best explains the Latino experience in the Chicago area and provides a backdrop for understanding the impact of restructuring (110)." The authors argue that "the condition of ascriptive low-wage labor" restricted the options for Latinos for labor force mobility. In the 1993 study, Betancur et. al..examined PUMS census data on labor force participation for the seven county Chicago area from 1950 – 1980 and concluded that Latino labor, primarily that of Mexicans and Puerto Ricans, facilitated the growth of the service sector in the Chicago economy while continuing to further entrench the segmentation of Latinos labor in low-wage service sector employment.

Chicago presents an interesting area for examining this process of economic restructuring due to its history of manufacturing and industrial development; its historical role as a hub of migration including early ethnic-European, African-American, Latin American (both from within and outside the U.S.) and Asians. It, in fact, allows for the examination of the ways in which economic restructuring shaped the current socio-economic conditions of the communities deindustrialization left behind. Manufacturing played a major role in the growth and development of Chicago, as well as the many neighborhoods where workers resided (Año-Nuevo Kerr, 1976). In 1960, at the height of Chicago's manufacturing sector employment, 56% of the Latino labor force was employed in manufacturing, compared to 37% of non-Hispanic Whites and 33% of the African-American labor force (Acosta-Córdova, 2017).

The deindustrialization of the Chicago economy accelerated in the 1970's and 1980's and coincided with the growth in the region of the service economy (Ranney, 2002). The total Latino population exploded during this time period, going from 250,000 in 1970, to 600,000 in 1990 (Acosta-Córdova, 2017). The continued influx of Latinos into Chicago set the stage for Latinos to play a key role in the Chicago area economy and for employers to benefit from a large source of cheap labor (Betancur et. al., 1993).

Since the study of Betancur et Al, the Latino population in the city, as well as in the larger metropolitan area, has continued to grow at high rates with some studies and reports noting population growth that accelerated in the 1980's. During the 1990's, the total number of Latinos in the metropolitan area increased by 570,000 people, while between 2000 and 2010, the Latino population grew by 30% while the metropolitan region's overall population grew by only 4% (Acosta-Córdova, 2017).

While the demographic growth has been documented and analyzed, no other recent study has examined in detail the industrial and occupational mobility of Latinos. Given the demographic growth of Latinos in Chicago and the continued changes in the Chicago economy, the purpose of this study is to examine the changes from 1980 to 2016 and interpret the extent of economic mobility for Latinos in Chicago. Similar to Betancur et.Al., this study, utilizes primarily PUMS census data and seeks to determine whether, since 1980, we continue to see what they described as the "continuation of occupational and industrial segmentation and lower wages" among Latinos in Chicago.

Three significant factors have fundamentally changed the economic positioning of Latinos in the U.S. generally and Chicago since the publication of that study, specifically: (1) Further economic restructuring of the Chicago and U.S. economies and continued deindustrialization along with a significant growth of the service sector, which was highlighted in the study by Betancur, et. Al., but has further developed in the past 25 years. (2) Global trade liberalization and the North American Free-Trade Agreement (NAFTA), which liberalized trade between Canada, Mexico, and the U.S, and led to a significant rural to urban migration of Mexicans not only to Mexican cities but also to US cities such as Chicago; and (3) The continued growth and dispersion of the Latino population in the Chicago area.

II. Methodology

1980 Decennial Census public use data and 2012-2016 American Community Survey 5-year estimates public use data for Industry, occupation, average income by industry and occupation, and average income by educational attainment data were web downloaded from IPUMS USA at IPUMS.org. This data was tabulated using SPSS statistical software version 22. IPUMS provides standardized industry and occupation classifications to allow for consistent comparability over-time. For the 1980 and 2012-2016 data, industry and occupation classifications were standardized to be consistent with 1990 Decennial Census industry and occupation classifications. Because the 1980 Decennial Census and 2012-2016 American Community Survey were based off a sample of the total U.S. population, this analysis used replicate frequency person weights provided in the data to be representative of the total population. 1980 average income dollar amounts were inflation adjusted to 2016 dollars using a consumer price index value of 2.91 as determined by the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

This thesis uses the same 6-County region that the 1993 study by Betancur et. al. used, which are Cook, DuPage, Will, Lake, Kane, and Kendall.

III. Historical Context of Latin America and Latino Incorporation into Chicago Economy

The migration of Latinos into the Chicago area began in 1916, with the first recruitment of Mexican workers by railroad companies (Año-Nuevo Kerr, 1976). World War I created an economic boom in the United States, particularly in Northern U.S. industrial cities such as Chicago, among many others (Betancur et. al). This combined with a significant reduction in the influx of immigrants from Europe, leading to a labor shortage in several low-wage industries and occupations (ibid). African-Americans migrating from the Southern U.S. partially filled this void. Mexican workers were recruited to work agricultural fields throughout the Southwestern U.S. prior to WWI and were satisfactory to their employers due to their willingness to work for low-wages, in harsh conditions, and without much resistance over these wages and conditions (ibid). Therefore, Mexican workers were recruited to the Midwest in order to fulfill the labor shortages in the lowest-paying industries and occupations, thus establishing initial patterns of migration, as well as patterns of segmentation (ibid).

Initially, Mexican workers were recruited to work the railroads and agricultural fields of the Chicago metropolitan area, throughout the state of Illinois, as well as most other Midwestern states (Año-Nuevo Kerr, 1976; Mize & Swords, 2010). By 1928 in Chicago, Mexicans accounted for 43% of track and maintenance workers on 16 major railroads in the Chicago-Gary region (Betancur et. al.). The success of recruiting railroad workers led to recruitment by the Steel (1919) and Meatpacking (1921) industries, primarily from the Southwest, and from towns on both sides of the border (ibid). The Steel industry in particular, recruited Mexican labor as strike-breakers during a strike by Ethnic-European and African-American workers, leading to severe resentment towards Mexican workers (Innis-Jimenez, 2013). Recruitment continued, however, and by 1926 Mexicans accounted for 14% of the total Steel work force in Chicago (Betancur et. al.). Recruitment also continued by beef and hog producers, and by 1928 Mexican workers made up 11% of the labor force in 15 meat-packing industries (ibid). As a result of this recruitment, and the initial patterns of migration, the total Mexican population increased from 1,224 in 1920, to 19,362 in 1930 (ibid). This time period created the conditions for steady immigration to the area, for occupational segmentation, and for the reproduction of the same conditions for future immigrants.

Betancur et. al..identified three major characteristics of the initial process of Mexican incorporation into the Chicago economy, 1) The process was closely conditioned and shaped by relations between US and Mexico, 2) the extremely vulnerable immigrant status of Mexican workers, and 3) their status as low-wage, disposable labor with minimal mobility and job tenure and extremely limited rights. The complicated relationship between the U.S. and Mexico began before the U.S.-Mexico War of 1846-1848 as many Anglos from the east began settling illegally in the area now known as Texas (Martinez, 1996). U.S. dominance of Mexico expanded following their victory in the war (ibid). Mexico became one the largest recipients of U.S. foreign investment under the model of dependent development, especially after the dictatorship of Porfirio Diaz (Betancur et. al). By 1900, U.S. investors played a crucial role in railroad construction, oil extraction, mining, and agricultural exploitation (ibid). According to Betancur et. al., "Extensive programs of land expropriation and agricultural capitalization since the turn of the century, financed by foreign capital, produced massive displacement of Mexican peasants in search of jobs. Further displaced by the chaos of the revolution of 1910 and the ensuing counterrevolutions, many of them joined the stream of workers willing to work in the U.S. Southwest." Mexican immigration into the U.S. was met with disdain by restrictionists seeking to limit the influx of non-European immigrants into the country, as well as by organized labor who viewed Mexicans as a threat (ibid). Following the Restrictionist debates of the 1920's, and the Great Depression of 1929, Mexican workers were vilified and blamed for the economic downturn of the country (Betancur et. al.; Año-Nuevo Kerr, 1976). This led to Mexican Repatriation, a period between 1929-1936 during which an estimated 400,000 – 2 million people were deported to Mexico from throughout the U.S., with approximately 60% of them being birthright citizens who were legally permitted to be in the country (Balderrama & Rodriguez, 2006). This led to a major decrease in immigration throughout the country and decreased the overall population of Mexicans in Chicago from just under 20,000 to about 14,000 by the end of the 1930's (Año-Nuevo Kerr, 1976).

This all changed drastically, following the official entrance of U.S. into World War II after the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, on December 7th, 1941. Similar to WWI, WWII played a crucial role in attracting Mexican labor to the U.S. as a whole, as well as into the Chicago region. This role was in the form of the Bracero program, which was an agreement between the U.S. and Mexico negotiated between 1941-1942, that provided the U.S. with contracted labor primarily for agricultural employment, and later extended into manufacturing employment (Mize & Swords, 2010). In Chicago alone, 15,000 railroad workers, or 11% of total railroad imports in US, were recruited between 1943-1945 (Betancur et. al). The program was only supposed to be temporary, however, Mexican low-wage labor became crucial to several industries, who lobbied to extend the program, especially during times of war (Betancur et. al.; Mize & Swords, 2010). The program ultimately lasted until 1964. The Mexican population increased from 14,000 in 1940, to 35,000 in 1950 (Betancur et. al). Operation Wetback in 1954, which was a U.S. government policy that deported millions of Mexican immigrants across the country, including several thousand from Chicago, temporarily slowed down migration into the area (Año-Nuevo Kerr, 1976; Mize & Swords, 2010). However, due to the direct railroad connection between Chicago and the Mexican border, as well as the availability of employment, Mexican migration expanded during the 1950's and 1960's. This coincided with a major influx of African-Americans from the South, the migration of other Latino groups such as Puerto Ricans and Cubans, the growth of the suburbs, and the phenomenon known as "White-flight," during which ethnic Whites were abandoning cities across the country and moving into suburban areas (Betancur et. al). This led to the creation of African-American and Latino enclaves in Chicago, and it countless cities across the country. By 1970, the Latino population in the Chicago area increased to 250,000, an increase of more than 200,000 people in a 20-year period (ibid).

Puerto Ricans and Cubans began migrating into Chicago during the 1940's but did not accelerate until the 1950's (ibid). Puerto Ricans were initially recruited to the Midwest to work the agricultural fields of the region (ibid). Similar to Mexican workers before them, Puerto Ricans migrated into urban areas in search of employment in manufacturing. Migration out of the island of Puerto Rico accelerated due to social unrest and unemployment, which led to a significant influx of Puerto Ricans into New York City, New York, and Chicago, among other cities (ibid). The Puerto Rican population in Chicago increased from 240 in 1940, to 32,371 in 1960, 78,963 in 1970, 109,736 in 1980, and 119,866 in 1990 (ibid). Puerto Rican migrants shared similar socio-economic conditions as Mexicans, and often occupied similar low-wage industries and occupations (ibid). They also faced discrimination like Mexicans did, however, due to their citizenship status were never targeted for deportation (ibid). The Puerto Rican population did not expand to nearly the same extent as the Mexican population did, and in fact decreased to 113,055 in 2000, 102,703 in 2010, before increasing to 103,560 in 2012-2016 (U.S. Census Data; American Community Survey 2012-2016 5-Year estimates). The total Puerto Rican population in the 6-County region of Northeastern Illinois was 181,905 in 2012-2016, with more than 200,000 when including the additional counties in Wisconsin and Indiana that makeup the rest of the greater Chicago metropolitan area, which is the 5th highest population for metropolitan areas in the U.S. (ACS 2012-2016. Puerto Ricans continue to be a significant population in the city, culturally, politically,)and economically.

Cubans on the other hand, experienced a sharp contrast in comparison with Mexicans and Puerto Ricans, both in terms of the immigration process, as well as the socio-economic status of the immigrants themselves (Betancur et. al). Due to the Cuban Revolution in 1959, and the role of the U.S., as well as the close relationship of U.S. and Cuban leadership prior to the revolution, Cubans received “Special Immigrant Status,” (ibid). Therefore, the incorporation of Cubans was drastically different from Mexicans and Puerto Ricans. Most Cuban immigrants were upper and middle class, with many being professionals or merchants (ibid). Although there was a small population in the Chicago area prior to the 1960’s, there was never a significant influx. By 1970, there were 15,000 in the city, however the population decreased to 11,400 in 1980, and 10,000 in 1990 (ibid). Since the 1993 study, the Cuban population has further declined to 8,084 in 2000, then increased to 8,331 in 2010, and to 9,561 in 2012-2016 (U.S. Census Data; ACS 2012-2016). The population in the metropolitan area, however, has increased from 16,624 in 1990, to 16,554 in 2000, to 19,474 in 2010, to 22,087 in 2012-2016 (ibid). There are more Cubans in the suburbs than in the city, and they never established an enclave in the city.

The northern migration of Mexicans, people from the Caribbean, Central and South Americans was ultimately a result of U.S. hegemony in the region (Betancur et. al). U.S. dominance in Latin America, which began with the Monroe Doctrine of 1823, expanded following the Spanish-American War of 1898, which lasted less than a year, and resulted in Spain relinquishing the remainder of its empire, which were the islands of Cuba, Puerto Rico, Philippines, Guam, as well as several other islands (Rockoff, 2012). By this time, most countries in the region fought for, and successfully gained independence from their European colonizers (Galeano, 1971). The U.S. saw an opportunity to dominate the region, with President Theodore Roosevelt declaring the right to institute "international police power," over Latin America in 1904 (ibid). Thus, the political, social, and economic relationship between the U.S. and Latin America was established and solidified. Several industries were interested in benefitting from the countless crops that the lands of Latin America produced, and that people in Europe and the U.S. were accustomed to consuming (ibid). This was of course, due to 400 years of colonization, genocide, slavery, and the raping and pillaging of the lands themselves (ibid). The sugar industry for example, had major interest in protecting their investments in Cuba, while the U.S. was interested in expanding its own empire 50 years after the theft of more than half of Mexico's territory during the U.S.-Mexico War (ibid). Following the defeat of the Spanish, U.S. business interests set their sights on the fruitful lands of Latin America. Political leaders from most countries in Central and South America were themselves descendants of Europeans, with many welcoming U.S. foreign investment (ibid). Thus, the dependent development relationship between the U.S. and Latin America became embedded in the economies of nearly every country in the region.

WWII had a profound impact on economies throughout the world, and nobody capitalized more than the United States (Rockoff, 2012). Many of the world's largest economies were devastated due to the war, especially in Europe (ibid). The war never made it to U.S. soil, therefore there was not devastation compared to what countries in Europe and Asia experienced.

The Marshall Plan of 1948, which was a U.S. plan to redevelop Western Europe, resulted in the transferring of roughly $13 billion dollars to these countries between 1948 and 1951 (De Long, Eichengreen, 1991). The plan, which has been referred to as "the most successful structural adjustment program in history," not only successfully redeveloped the economies of Europe, it established the U.S. as a world economic powerhouse at a time when all other world powers were recuperating economically (ibid). For the U.S. to maintain this world dominance, they needed to have a source of high-value agricultural crops, and of cheap labor, Latin America provided both. The U.S. therefore, needed to protect its empire by any means necessary, including through military warfare, as well as economic warfare (Lehoucq, Pérez-Liñán, 2014). This has been proven, as the U.S. has intervened many times in countries that were fighting for economic independence, or where there was social and political conflict (ibid). In fact, between 1846 and 1996, the U.S. intervened 95 times in the political and economic affairs of nearly every country in Latin America (ibid). This continues until present day, the U.S. has proven they will not allow for the economic independence of Latin America, these countries are too important economically for the U.S. empire.

U.S. Intervention in Central America has led to more civil unrest, as well as more displacement of impoverished people than in any other region (Lehoucq, Pérez-Liñán, 2014). The countries of Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras and Nicaragua continue to suffer from the impacts of U.S. interventions in the form of civil war, and economic distress (ibid). This led to mass migration north, first into Mexico, and then into the United States. The metropolitan area of Los Angeles, California, experienced the most significant influx of Central Americans during the 1980's, as too did many other metropolises where Latinos already lived in large numbers, including Chicago. Although smaller numbers of Central Americans were already in the Chicago area, migration increased during the 1980's, and by 1990 there were more than 29,000 total, including nearly 16,000 Guatemalans, more than 6,000 Salvadorans, more than 3,000 Hondurans, and nearly 1,500 Panamanians, and more than 1,200 Nicaraguans (U.S. Census). The total population in the metropolitan area increased to 37,211 in 2000, 63,590 in 2010, and 72,557 in 2012-2016

(U.S. Census, ACS 2012-2016). Out of these 72,557, more than 36,000 were Guatemalans, nearly 15,000 were Hondurans, nearly 13,500 were Salvadorans, with roughly 2,000 each of Nicaraguans, Panamanians, and Costa Ricans (ibid). The total Central American population in the city of Chicago also increased, from 23,339 in 2000, to 31,263 in 2010, and to 33,869 in 2012-2016, out of which more than 18,500 were Guatemalans, more than 6,000 were Hondurans, and nearly 6,000 were Salvadorans (ibid). Like Cubans, there are more Central Americans in the suburbs than in the city. While most Central Americans have migrated from impoverished areas, the social unrest and violence also led to the exodus of many upper and middle class people, creating what Betancur et. al..referred to as a "bipolar occupational structure," with many educated and upper or middle class workers on one end of the spectrum, while the majority were low-wage workers (Betancur et. al.)

South American migration into the U.S. also increased after the 1980's, which was also tied to social unrest, civil war, and economic instability (Lehoucq, Pérez-Liñán, 2014). Economics especially played a crucial role, as several countries experienced the impacts of global economic restructuring. The first Neoliberal economic experiment was in Chile in 1973, during which the U.S. first supported a military coup of the democratically-elected Socialist and Marxist President Salvador Allende (Taylor, 2003, 2006; Winn, 2004). Following the successful coup, the U.S. placed the military dictator Augusto Pinochet into the presidency, and subsequently implemented the first form of one of the most socially detrimental economic policies the world has ever known (ibid). The rest of Latin America, except for Cuba, would become a testing grounds for economic policies that have impacted the vast majority of the world's economy, therefore the people of Latin America have suffered more from economic restructuring than in any other continent (ibid). South American migration to the U.S. therefore, is intrinsically tied to the failures of economic restructuring and its impacts to the socio-economic stability of these countries (ibid).

Ecuador, for example, experienced an economic crisis following the restructuring of its economy in the 1990's, leading to a mass exodus of Ecuadorians, most of which migrated to New York City, however many of which migrated to Chicago (Jokisch, Pribilsky, 2002). Although Ecuadorians migrated to Chicago in numbers in the 1960's, many of which were upper and middle class, there was not a significant influx until the 1990's. The migration of Colombians was like that of Central Americans, in that it was tied to U.S. political and economic intervention, the violence from civil wars, and the socio-economic unrest that accompanied these civil wars (Lehoucq, Pérez-Liñán, 2014). Colombian migration also expanded during the 1960's, and further increased during the 1980's (ibid). Most migrants headed for South Florida, or New York City, with a smaller number migrating to Chicago. The South American population in the Chicago metropolitan area increased from 28,598 in 1990, to 36,080 in 2000, to 62,205 in 2010, and to 74,161 in 2012-2016, slightly more than Central Americans (U.S. Census; ACS 2012-2016). The total South American population in the city of Chicago increased from 20,828 in 2000, to 32,129 in 2010, to 38,284 in 2012-2016, also more than Central Americans (ibid). There are more South Americans in the city than in the suburbs. The Ecuadorian and Colombian populations have also expanded during this time. Ecuadorians in the metropolitan area increased from 8,472 in 1990, to 11,811 in 2000, to 22,037 in 2010, and to 26,567 in 2012-2016 (ibid). Within the city of Chicago, the population increased from 8,941 in 2000, to 15,466 in 2010, to 19,057 in 2012-2016 (ibid). The Colombian population in the metropolitan area increased from 9,514 in 1990, to 10,941 in 2000, to 17,384 in 2010, and 20,891 in 2012-2016 (ibid). Within city limits, the population increased from 5,625 in 2000, to 7,547 in 2010, to 8,342 in 2012-2016 (ibid). There are more Ecuadorians in the city than in the suburbs, but more Colombians in the suburbs than in the city. Like Central Americans, South Americans also had a bipolar occupational structure, with many educated upper and middle class residents, and a larger percentage of low-wage workers (Betancur et. al.).

The Mexican population, which was already the largest group in 1990, has also expanded the most since. This was primarily due to the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in 1994, which was a trade agreement between the U.S., Canada, and Mexico (Mize & Swords, 2010). Proponents of the trade deal claimed it would be good for the economies of all three countries, and that people would benefit on all sides of the border (ibid). NAFTA had mixed results for the U.S. and Canada, particularly on the workers who became unemployed as industries moved south into Mexico to exploit cheap labor, thereby increasing their overall profits (ibid). In terms of Gross Domestic Product (GDP), NAFTA can be viewed as a trade deal that had positive outcomes for the economies of all three counties. In fact, Mexico's GDP has increased nearly every year since 1994, and has grown by nearly $800 billion since (World Bank Data, 2016). However, for the people of Mexico it had a devastating impact. Until this point, Mexico's rural population was self-sustaining, and primarily survived off agricultural production. This changed drastically with the implementation of NAFTA, which flooded the Mexican market with cheap U.S. corn, and devastated the corn economy of Mexico (Mize & Swords, 2010). This led to mass land displacement as people were no longer able to sustain themselves, and thus migrated into urban areas both in Mexico and in the United States. In addition to the impacts from NAFTA, drug cartel violence has also contributed significantly to the migration of Mexicans (García, González, 2009). Cartels fighting for access to the billion-dollar U.S. consumer market have done so ruthlessly, leaving many people to flee to the U.S. in search of safety (ibid). Cartel violence escalated significantly during the 1990's and 2000's, with NAFTA playing a role in the transportation of drugs as many semi-trucks carrying goods could cross the border with minimal risk (ibid). The Mexican population in the U.S. grew by more than 7 million people from 1990 to 2000, by more than 11 million people from 2000 to 2010, and by nearly another 4 million people from 2010 to 2012-2016 (U.S. Census; ACS 2012-2016). The Chicago metropolitan area was one of the key destinations Mexicans, and grew from 565,737 in 1990, to 1,052,878 in 2000, to 1,428,114 in 2010, and to 1,500,270 in 2012-2016 (ibid). The Mexican population in the city grew from 530,462 in 2000, to 578,100 in 2010, and to 591,897 in 2012-2016 (ibid). There are more Mexicans in the suburbs, nearly l million, than in the city.

IV. Global Economic Restructuring and the Chicago Economy

Scholars have described aspects of the process of global economic restructuring in many ways: e.g. deindustrialization, reindustrialization, post Fordism, internationalization, global city formation, urban entrepreneurialism, informalization, gentrification, and sociospatial polarization (Brenner and Theodore, 2005). The term neoliberalism has been conceptually used by many authors to describe economic restructuring, especially as it relates to the adoption and implementation of free-market and deregulation policies by governments and institutions (Brenner and Theodore, 2005; Córdova, 2014).

While the term neoliberal and the aspects of neoliberalization continue to be debated by scholars globally, its impacts have been detrimental to many countries and local governments who believed that deregulating markets, cutting social spending, and cutting taxes on the wealthy would ultimately benefit the overall economy. Neoliberal economics have spread globally; however, no other region has been as impacted as Latin America, where the first neoliberal experiment occurred in Chile in 1973 paving the way for the rise of a military dictatorship (Taylor, 2003, 2006; Winn, 2004).

The concepts of neoliberalism were developed based on the successes and failures of Latin American experiments that would not only become the basis for economic policies in the U.S. and beyond but would also have an impact on migration patterns from Latin American countries to the U.S. Aside from its impacts on local economies, neoliberalism has also changed the nature of employment (Betancur et. al). The underlying industrial and occupational restructuring has widespread impacts affecting whether and where people work, and the amount of pay they receive (ibid). Morales and Bonilla and their team of researchers understood early on that global economic restructuring that accelerated in the mid-1970s was having – and would continue to have – an impact on Latinos in cities across the U.S. particularly visible in the industries and occupations where Latinos worked and the amount of pay that they received.

In Chicago, the continued loss of manufacturing jobs was matched with an increase in service economy jobs, particularly in the 1970s and 1980s (ibid). Betancur et. al..(1993) demonstrate that it was the continued influx of Latinos into Chicago that employers could tap on as a source of cheap labor enabling economic restructuring to be successful in Chicago (ibid). This paper examines industrial and occupational characteristics of Chicago's economy since that time especially as they apply to Latinos in that economy. In 1980, comparing Whites and Non-Hispanic Blacks, Latinos were segmented in low paying industries and/or occupations (e.g. operatives) and had the lowest average wages – e.g. even in manufacturing, where they had the highest rates of employment controlling for education, confirming their role as low wage labor. How does this compare to today?

This thesis updates the data presented by Betancur et. al..to examine Latino participation in the Chicago labor force by gender by industry and occupation; their level of wages; and their educational attainment and to determine whether or not there has been progress in these areas over time. In doing so, the data on the conditions of the Latino labor force in Chicago reflects the impacts of globalization and the restructuring economy, on the limited occupational mobility of labor force participation of Latinos on the Chicago area.

V. General Population Statistics

This thesis uses the Six-County region within Illinois boundaries that is the majority of the Chicago metropolitan area. These include, Cook, DuPage, Lake, Will, Kane, and McHenry. Kendall and Kankakee counties in Illinois, Lake County in Indiana, and Kenosha County in Wisconsin, are also considered part of the Chicago metropolitan area, however the original study by Betancur et. at. was limited to the initial six counties, therefore all other counties were not included in this study.

Within the six-counties, there were 1,893,436 total Latinos in 2012-2016, which accounts for 22.6% of the total 8,380,055 people (ACS 2012-2016). Cook County had the highest total Latino population at 1,300,843 (24.9% of pop.), followed by Kane County at 165,111 (31.4% of pop.), Lake County at 146,608 (20.9% of pop.), DuPage County at 129,964 (14.0% of pop.), Will County at 113,180 (16.5% of pop.), and McHenry County at 37,727 (12.3% of pop.) (ibid).

The city of Chicago is by far the largest city in the region with 2,714,017 people, followed by Aurora with 200,907, Joliet with 147,515, Naperville with 145,789, Elgin with 111,919, Waukegan with 88,159, and Cicero with 83,972 (ibid). Except for Naperville, these are the largest Latino settlements in the metropolitan area. Chicago had a total Latino population of 790,548 (% of pop.), followed by Aurora which had a total of 85,817 (42.7% of pop.), Cicero which had a total of 74,555 (88.8% of pop.), Elgin which had 50,457 (45.1% of pop.), Waukegan which had 48,966 (55.5% of pop.), Joliet which had 41,883 (28.4% of pop.), and Naperville had only 8,750 (6% of pop.) (ibid).

Latinos outnumber Latinas in all the aforementioned cities. In Chicago, there were 402,654 Latinos compared to 387,894 Latinas (ibid). In Aurora, there were 43,843 Latinos compared to 41,974 Latinas (ibid). In Cicero, there were 38,278 Latinos and 36,277 Latinas (ibid). In Elgin, there were 26,719 Latinos and 23,738 Latinas (ibid). In Waukegan, there were 25,145 Latinos, and 23,821 Latinas (ibid). In Joliet, there were 21,404 Latinos and 20,479 Latinas (ibid). In Naperville, there were 4,435 Latinos, and 4,315 Latinas (ibid). Latinos also outnumber Latinas when breaking down the Sex by Occupation for the Civilian Employed Population 16 Years and

Over. In Chicago, there were 349,618 total Latinos in this category, with 204,406 Latinos, and 145,212 Latinas (ibid). In Aurora, there were 38,122 total, with 22,567 Latinos, and 15,555 Latinas (ibid). In Cicero, there were 31,920 total, with 19,101 Latinos, and 12,819 Latinas (ibid). In Elgin, there were 22,632 total, with 13,860 Latinos, and 8,772 Latinas (ibid). In Waukegan, there were 23,354 total, with 13,566 Latinos, and 9,788 Latinas (ibid). In Joliet, there were 18,481 total, with 10,751 Latinos and 7,730 Latinas. In Naperville, there were 3,970 total, with 2,459 Latinos and 1,511 Latinas (ibid).

Educational attainment by sex, however, details how Latinas have larger numbers of people with a college degree. The census category, Sex by Educational Attainment for the Population 25 Years and Over, also shows that Latinos have larger number of people without a high school diploma. In Chicago, there were 457,701 total Latinos in this category, with 234,065 Latinos, and 223,636 Latinas (ibid). Out of the 234,065 Latinos, 87,601 had less than a high school diploma, 72,202 had only a high school diploma, 44,276 had some college or an Associate's degree, and 29,986 had a Bachelor's degree or higher (ibid). Out of the 223,636 Latinas, 78,932 had less than a high school diploma, 61,030 had only a high school diploma, 47,779 had some college or an Associate's degree, and 35,895 had a Bachelor's degree or higher (ibid).

VI. The Impact of Economic Restructuring on Latinos in Chicago as Reflected in Census Figures and other Evidence

In the 1993 study, Betancur et. al.. examined PUMS census data on labor force participation for the Chicago area from 1950 to 1980 and concluded that Latino labor, composed primarily of Mexicans and Puerto Ricans, facilitated the growth of the service sector in the Chicago economy while continuing to entrench further the segmentation of Latino labor in low-wage service sector employment. Betancur et. al.. described Latinos not only as being the least prepared for the impacts of restructuring, but also as the group who had suffered the most economically as a result of that restructuring. This details the reasoning for this:

> Tied to unskilled or low-skilled occupations, particularly in the traditional manufacturing sector, deprived of the stability and wages needed to invest in education, lacking the resources to carry them through difficult times, and having no or weak political or institutional ties and jobs, Latino workers were the least prepared for economic structuring, and indeed, have the suffered the most from it (Betancur et al., 124).

According to the study by Betancur et. al., In 1980, Latinos were concentrated in the industries with the lowest wages and received lower wages in every industrial category with the exception of FIRE (ahead of African-Americans), services (slightly ahead of African-Americans), public utilities (tied for last with Asians), transportation (tied with Asians and African-Americans, way behind Non-Latino Whites), and retail (tied for lowest with African-Americans). Latinos also had the lowest wages in several occupational categories, including operative, service (tied with Asians), craft, officials and managers (tied with African-Americans), and sales. Latinos also had the second lowest wages in clerical work (after Asians). Latinos had the lowest wages in both manufacturing (industry) and operatives (occupation), both of which accounted for the largest percentages of Latino workers, and thus solidifying their position as low-wage workers. How have these changed since 1980? This excerpt from Betancur et. al.. best describes how Latinos have fared as a result of restructuring:

> The high-value manufacturing decline and restructuring had a devastating impact on Lati-

> no workers. While other groups increased their proportions in high-paying industries and occupations, Latino earners stagnated in low-paying occupations and industries. Latinos often followed manufacturing jobs to the suburbs. They remained in manufacturing at higher rates than other groups, despite long and expensive commuting (124).

This brings up the question, how have these aspects changed since 1980? Have there been significant increases in wages for Latino workers? How have Latinos compared to other groups with respect to increases in wages? The core of this thesis compares findings from Betancur et. al. (1980) to 2012-2016 data. The data presented in this section is divided into three parts: 1) *Data Summary*, 2) *Detailed Findings*, and 3) *Data Highlights.*

Data Summary

Industrial Distribution:

In 1980, the largest concentration of employed Latino workers was in manufacturing at 47%, a 15% decrease from a peak of 62% in 1970. By 2012-2016, the total concentration further decreased to 18.2% (See Table 5.1).

The largest increase for Latinos was in Retail Trade, going from 10.4% in 1970, to 14.1% in 1980, and 23% in 2012-2016, making it the largest current total industry of employment for Latinos.

There has also been an increase for all groups in the Finance, Insurance, and Real Estate Industries (FIRE), which is generally the highest paying sector. For Latinos, however, the increase has been smaller than for the other groups,

Occupational Distribution:

Similar to 1980, the largest share of the Latino labor force was occupied as Operators, Fabricators, and Laborers at 24.4%. As Table 5.1, shows, corresponding with a decrease in the manufacturing industry from 1980 to 2012-2016, the largest occupational decrease was in the category Operators, Fabricators, and Laborers (See Table 5.2).

For Latinos, the most significant increase was in Service Occupations, going from 14.7%

in 1980 to 23.5% in 2012-2016, a shift that made this the second largest occupation for Latinos in the metropolitan area. This increase of nearly 9% is significant for many reasons, most notably the fact that it has nearly become the largest occupation for Latinos, and also because it has the second-lowest wages of all the categories.

The category Executive, Administrative, and Managerial Occupations, with the highest compensation, also increased its share of Latinos going from 2.7% in 1980 to 4.7% in 2012-2016. However, this share is still lower than for all other groups.

Average Wages for Male and Female Earners by Industry and Racial and Latino Groups in Metro Area

Similar to 1980, Latinos and African-Americans are overrepresented in the lowest paying sectors and while they increased their presence in some of the higher paying sectors, they did so at lower rates—and often in the lowest rungs (See Table 5.3).

The industry with the largest percentage of Latino workers, Retail Trade, also has the second-lowest wages for male workers, and the lowest-wages for female workers.

Manufacturing is the next largest industry for Latino employment, and additionally has the sixth-lowest wages for male workers, and fifth-lowest wages for female workers.

While Latinos have higher shares of their labor force in Manufacturing, wages are vastly lower compared to their non-Latino White and Asian counterparts in this same industry. Latinos as a whole earn lower wages than other groups as a whole.

The industries with the highest wages, Finance, Insurance, and Real Estate (FIRE), are coincidentally industries with underrepresentation of Latino and African-American workers. Ironically, these are also among the highest paying industries for both groups.

In one of the fastest growing industries for Latino workers, Business and Repair Services, Latinos receive lower wages in comparison with other groups (p. 28). Furthermore, wages have decreased for Latinos from 1980 to 2012-2016, dropping from $33,302 to $30,957, although they have slightly increased for Latinas by $3,268, which is concerning considering that this industry has grown by roughly 6% during this time-period (See Table 5.3a).

The occupation with the largest percentage of Latino workers, Operators, Fabricators, and Laborers, is also one of the lowest-paying occupations.

The occupational category with the highest overall wages for all groups is Executive, Administrative, and Managerial. In this category, Latinos and Latinas had the highest wages while increasing the share of Latino employment by 2% since 1980—although accounting for just under 5% of the total Latino labor force. Once again, Latinos as a whole earned lower average wages than all other groups.

Table 5.3b shows how Latinos are disproportionately concentrated in low-wage occupations and lack representation in high-wage occupations. Only 7% of the Latino labor force were in the two highest paying occupational categories, compared to 19.4% of the non-Latino White labor force, 17.2% of the Asian labor force, and 10.5% of the African-American labor force. The next highest paying category had an additional 8.1% of the Latino labor force, compared to 29.65% of the Asian, 22.8% of the non-Latino White, and 14.6% of the African-American labor forces. The five largest occupational categories for Latinos, which amounts to 80% of the labor force, have average annual wages below $40,000. This clearly indicates that the vast majority of the Latino labor force was not in a high-wage occupation.

<u>Occupational Distribution by Latino Subgroup</u>

The occupational category with the largest total percentages, Operators, Fabricators, and Laborers also have one of the lowest wages for its workers. Mexican workers had the highest overall percentage at 26.8%, followed by Other Latino workers at 17.2%, Puerto Rican workers at 14.9%, Cuban workers at 12.1%, and non-Latino workers at 9%. While still a significant portion, this category has experienced the largest decrease in the total percentage of the workforce since 1980. The total percentage of the Mexican workforce decreased from 47.9% in 1980, to 26.8% in 2012-2016; for Puerto Ricans the percentage decreased from 43.5% in 1980 to 14.9% in 2012-2016.

The occupational category with the next largest percentages of Latino workers, also experienced the largest increase in the percentage of the total Latino workforce between 1980 and

2012-2016 and, additionally, is one of the lowest-paying occupational categories for Latinos.

While the highest wages for Latinos are in Executive, Administrative and Managerial occupations, they continue to earn wages below those of other groups. Additionally, Latinos and African-Americans as a whole continue to earn substantially less than their non-Latino White and Asian counterparts (See Table 5.3b). Furthermore, both Latinos and African-Americans have much lower rates of participation in these occupations, meaning fewer people are earning high wages in comparison to non-Latino Whites and Asians. Still, wages have increased significantly for Latinos and females from 1980 to 2012-2016.

Table 5.3b displays how Latinos are disproportionately concentrated in low-wage occupations and lack representation in high-wage occupations. Only 7% of the Latino labor force was in the two highest paying occupational categories, compared to 19.4% of the non-Latino White labor force, 17.2% of the Asian labor force, and 10.5% of the African-American labor force. The next highest paying category had an additional 8.1% of the Latino labor force, compared to 29.65% of the Asian, 22.8% of the non-Latino White, and 14.6% of the African-American labor forces. The five largest occupational categories for Latinos amounting to 80% of the labor force have average annual wages below $40,000. This clearly indicates that the vast majority of the Latino labor force was not in a high-wage occupation.

Mean Income Compared to Level of Education for All Wage Earners, 1980 to 2012-2016

Table 5.4 displays average income by race/ethnicity when accounting for educational attainment, comparing the years of 1980 and 2012-2016. There are clear discrepancies not only between the racial/ethnic groups, but also within these groups. It is evident that on average, access to higher education leads to higher-paying employment opportunities. This is the case for every group in 2012-2016, with average incomes much higher for those with 4 or more years of college, and lower incomes for those who have not completed a college degree.

However, while each racial/ethnic group average higher incomes based on educational attainment, non-Latino Whites and Asians continue to average higher incomes than African-Americans and Latinos overall. For Non-Latino Whites in particular, average incomes are higher than for every other racial/ethnic group, regardless of educational level. Asians on the other hand, on the average have similar incomes to those of Latinos and African-Americans in every educational category, with the exception of the "4 or more years" category, where incomes for Asians are much higher.

Incomes for Latinos and African-Americans continue to be the lowest overall. Incomes are similar in all five educational categories, with Latinos averaging lower incomes in both the 1-3 Years of College and 4 or More Years of College, and African-Americans averaging lower incomes in all three other categories.

In the 1-3 Years of College category, Latinos were the only racial/ethnic group that did not experience an increase in average incomes between 1980 and 2012-2016.

According to Table 5.4, the 4 or More Years of College category showed the most significant increases for all four racial/ethnic groups; however, these increases have varied not only in total amount, but also in the average incomes of each group. This is significant, for it is an indication that a college degree does not equate to equal pay for each racial/ethnic group. Non-Latino Whites experienced the most significant increases, with average incomes increasing by $27,651 in total, going from $59,997 in 1980, to $87,648 in 2012-2016.

According to Table 5.6a, the occupational category with the largest percentages in total, Operators, Fabricators, and Laborers, also has one of the lowest wages for the workers within it. Mexican workers had the highest overall percentage, at 26.8%, followed by Other Latino workers at 17.2%, Puerto Rican workers at 14.9%, Cuban workers at 12.1%, and non-Latino workers at 9%. While still a significant portion, this category has experienced the largest decrease in the total percentage of the workforce since 1980. The total percentage of the Mexican workforce decreased from 47.9% in 1980, to 26.8% in 2012-2016; for Puerto Ricans the percentage decreased from 43.5% in 1980 to 14.9% in 2012-2016. The percentage for Other Latinos decreased from 33.5% in 1980, to 17.2% in 2012-2016; Cubans decreased from 27.4% in 1980, to 12.1% in 2012-2016; and non-Latinos decreased from 17.7% in 1980, to 9% in 2012-2016.

The highest-paying occupational category, Executive, Administrative, and Managerial Occupations, also had Cubans with the highest percentage of total workers amongst Latino groups; however, Puerto Rican workers experienced the most significant growth rate between 1980 and 2012-2016. Mexican workers on the other hand, continued to experience low growth rates during this same time period, and once again had the lowest percentage of the Latino groups.

According to Table 5.6a, most Latino groups are concentrated in low-paying occupations; however, Cuban and Other Latino labor forces occupied higher percentages in higher-paying occupations than the Mexican and Puerto Rican labor forces occupied. The Mexican workforce in particular, had the highest percentages in the lowest-paying occupations.

Table 5.6b displays the concentration of Mexicans, and Puerto Ricans in occupational categories with the lowest-paying wages. However, Ecuadorians, Guatemalans, and Other Central Americans are in the same position. The vast majority of these groups labor forces are in low-wage occupations; however higher percentages of Cubans, Colombians, Dominicans, and Other Central Americans are in higher-paying occupations than the rest of the groups.

Similarly, Table 5.6a, 5.6b shows that Latinos overall were more concentrated in low-wage occupations in 2012-2016. However, percentages vary significantly for each group. Once again, Mexicans had the highest percentage of its labor force in low-wage occupations at 86.4% followed by Guatemalans at 80.1%, Ecuadorians at 77.9%, Other Central Americans at 77.6%, Puerto Ricans at 75.7%, Dominicans at 61.5%, Cubans at 59.8%, Colombians at 58.9%, and Other South Americans at 56.2%.

Industry of Latinos by National Group – 1980 to 2012-2016

Table 5.7a displays the Industry of Latinos by National Group, detailing the increases and decreases in employment of Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Cubans, and Other Latinos compared to Non-Latinos from 1980 to 2012-2016. As mentioned in Table 5.3a, Latinos were concentrated in low-wage industries. However, the industries of Latino concentration changed drastically during this period, with decreases in several industries and increases in several others. The most notable decrease for Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Other Latinos, and Non-Latinos was in Manufacturing, with the percentage of Mexican labor going from 49.3% in 1980 to 19.6% in 2012-2016, Puerto Rican labor decreasing from 47.5% in 1980 to 8.4% in 2012-2016, Other Latino labor decreasing from 37.8% in 1980 to 14.6% in 2012-2016, and Non-Latino labor decreasing from 24.5% in 1980 to 9.7% in 2012-2016. For Cubans, however, the largest decrease was from 36.4% in 1980 to 3.2% in 2012-2016. The most notable increases vary depending on the group. For Mexican workers, the most significant increase was in Retail Trade, going from 14% in 1980, to 23.9% in 2012-2016. For Puerto Rican workers, it was in Entertainment and Recreational Services, increasing from .6% in 1980 to 28.6% in 2012-2016. For Cubans, Other Latinos, and Non-Latinos, it was in Professional and Related Services, with Cubans increasing from 1.7% in 1980 to 31.4% in 2012-2016, Other Latinos increasing from 19.3% in 1980 to 26% in 2012-2016, and non-Latinos increasing from 20.2% in 1980 to 33.7% in 2012-206.

Retail Trade is one of the industrial categories with the most significant increases for several groups. Cuban workers in particular, increased significantly from 7.1% in 1980 to 20.6% in 2012-2016. Mexican labor increased from 14% in 1980 to 23.9% in 2012-2016, and Other Latinos increased from 14% in 1980 to 18.6% in 2012-2016. Puerto Ricans and Non-Latinos percentages decreased in this industry, however, with Puerto Ricans decreasing from 14.1% in 1980 to 6.7% in 2012-2016, and Non-Latinos decreasing from 17.4% in 1980 to 15.6% in 2012-2016. The largest percentage of the Mexican labor force is in this industry, and the second-largest percentages of the Cuban, Other Latino, and Non-Latino labor forces. The Retail Trade industry is crucial to Latinos in the region; however, it has the second-lowest wages for Latinos on average.

The industry with the highest wages on average, Finance, Insurance, and Real Estate, experienced increases for every group. The most significant increase was for Cuban workers that went from 2.3% in 1980 to 7.5% in 2012-2016.

The thirteen industries are split into the six-lowest, and six-highest paying industries, with the Mining industry right in the middle. Table 5.7a displays how Latinos are concentrated in the bottom six, with Mexicans, Other Latinos and Puerto Ricans having the highest percentages in these industries.

Similar to previous tables, in comparison with other groups, Mexicans have the highest labor force concentrations in the lowest-paying industries. Inversely, Non-Latinos had the highest percentage in the six-highest paying industries at 61.3%, followed by Cubans at 56.4%, Other Latinos at 49.1%, Puerto Ricans at 47% (Mining – 3.1%), and Mexicans at 38.4%. These figures have increased for every group with the exception of Cuban workers.

Detailed Findings

The following tables provide an update of the 1980 data and compare 1980 with 2012-2016 data, thereby examining the changes to the industrial and occupational conditions for Latino workers since the publication of Betancur et. Al's report (The Tables are labeled to be consistent with the table labels in Betancur et. al.). Tables 5.1 - 5.7b examine changes to the total percentage of the industrial and occupational share of Latino workers compared to other racial/ethnic groups, changes in wages compared to other groups, industrial and occupational breakdown by sex, educational attainment, and breakdown by Latino subgroup. Tables 5.6b and 5.7b were not a part of the original study due to a lack of available data. In 5.6a and 5.7a, the Latino subgroups are broken into the same categories of Non-Latino, Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban and Other; however, 5.6b and 5.7b were both created to examine the industrial and occupational positioning of other Latino groups that were not part of the original study, including Ecuadorians, Guatemalans, Colombians, Dominicans, Other Central Americans, and Other South Americans.

<u>Industrial Distribution of All Earners in the Chicago Metropolitan Area by Race and Latino Group, 1980 and 2012-2016 (in percent)</u>

In 1980, the largest concentration of employed Latino workers was in manufacturing at 47%, a 15% decrease from a peak of 62% in 1970. By the 2012-2016 period, the total concentration decreased further to 18.2%. Whereas in 1980 manufacturing accounted for the highest total portion of employed Latino workers, in 2012-2015 it dropped to third behind Retail Trade (23%),

Table 5.1 Industrial Distribution of All Earners in the Chicago Metropolitan Area by Race and Latino Group, 1980 and 2012-2016 (in percent)

	White (non-Hispanic or Latino)		Black (non-Hispanic or Latino)		Asian (non-Hispanic or Latino)		Hispanic or Latino	
	1980	2012-2016	1980	2012-2016	1980	2012-2016	1980	2012-2016
AGRICULTURE, FORESTRY, AND FISHERIES	0.6%	0.9%	0.2%	0.4%	0.2%	0.3%	1.0%	2.8%
MINING	0.1%	0.0%	0.1%	0.0%	0.1%	0.0%	0.1%	0.0%
CONSTRUCTION	5.1%	5.6%	2.6%	2.1%	1.2%	1.2%	3.5%	6.7%
MANUFACTURING	24.6%	10.1%	24.0%	7.2%	25.8%	11.4%	47.0%	18.2%
TRANSPORTATION, COMMUNICATIONS, AND OTHER PUBLIC UTILITIES	7.6%	7.1%	11.3%	12.1%	3.8%	6.5%	5.8%	6.6%
WHOLESALE TRADE	5.5%	3.3%	2.8%	1.9%	4.5%	3.1%	4.3%	3.4%
RETAIL TRADE	18.2%	15.2%	14.4%	16.3%	15.2%	16.4%	14.1%	23.0%
FINANCE, INSURANCE, AND REAL ESTATE	8.0%	9.1%	5.9%	6.5%	5.9%	8.3%	3.8%	4.3%
BUSINESS AND REPAIR SERVICES	4.2%	7.2%	4.0%	7.6%	2.9%	8.5%	3.2%	9.1%
PERSONAL SERVICES	2.2%	3.2%	4.3%	3.4%	2.4%	4.7%	3.3%	4.3%
ENTERTAINMENT AND RECREATION SERVICES	1.2%	2.0%	0.6%	1.1%	0.6%	0.8%	0.7%	1.3%
PROFESSIONAL AND RELATED SERVICES	19.1%	32.9%	22.8%	35.2%	35.9%	37.2%	11.0%	18.3%
PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION	3.6%	3.2%	7.0%	6.1%	1.5%	1.6%	2.2%	2.1%

Source: PUMS 1980, 2012-2016

and Professional and Related Services (18.3%).

Latinos were not the only group that experienced a major decrease in manufacturing since 1970 and 1980; in fact, the manufacturing industry's portion of the labor force also decreased for non-Latino Whites, African-Americans, and Asians. For all four groups, the highest total decrease was in the manufacturing industry. Latinos had the highest total decrease, going from 62% in 1970 to 47% in 1980, to 18.2% in 2012-2016. African-Americans had the next highest total decrease, dropping from 31.3% in 1970 to 24% in 1980, to 7.2% in 2012-2016. Non-Latino Whites followed suit, decreasing from 31.1% in 1970 to 24.6% in 1980, to 10.1% in 2012-2016. Asians, however, were the only population that experienced an increase before a decrease, going from 22.3% in 1970, to 25.4% in 1980, to 11.4% in 2012-2016. The one constant from 1970 is that Latinos still have the highest total share of their labor force in manufacturing. African-Americans, on the contrary, went from having the second-highest concentration in 1970, to having the lowest in 2012-2016.

The largest increase for Latinos was in Retail Trade, going from 10.4% in 1970 to 14.1% in 1980, to 23% in 2012-2016, and becoming the largest current total industry for Latinos. Other groups did not experience the same level of growth; however retail trade also accounted for a significant portion of each group's labor force. For Asians (16.4%), African-Americans (16.3%) and non-Latino Whites (15.2%) it was the second largest industry.

The second largest increase for Latinos has been in Professional and Related Services, going from 11% in 1980 to 18.3% in 2012-2016. However, all three other groups have a higher percentage of their labor force in this industry. The overall increase for Asians was not as substantial as for the other groups, going from 35.9% in 1980 to 37.2% to 2012-2016. For non-Latino Whites and African-Americans, however, the increase was substantial, going from 19.1% in 1980 to 32.9% in 2012-2016, and from 22.8% in 1980 to 35.2% in 2012-2016 respectively. Professional and Related Services is the largest industry for non-Latino Whites, African-Americans, and Asians.

There has also been an increase for all groups in the Finance, Insurance, and Real Estate

Industries (FIRE), which is generally the highest paying industrial sector. For Latinos, however, the increase has been smaller than for the other groups, increasing from 3.8% in 1980 to 4.3% in 2012-2016. In comparison, non-Latino Whites increased from 8.0% in 1980 to 9.1% in 2012-2016; Asians increased the most from 5.9% in 1980 to 8.3% in 2012-2016; and African-Americans increased slightly more than Latinos going from 5.9% in 1980 to 6.5% in 2012-2016.

The next largest increase for Latinos was in the Business and Repair Services industry, going from 3.2% in 1980 to 9.1% in 2012-2016, the largest increase among all of the groups. There was also a significant increase for Asians, going from 2.9% in 1980 to 8.5% in 2012-2016. African-Americans also increased from 4.0% in 1980 to 7.6% in 2012-2016. Non-Latino Whites increased from 4.2% in 1980 to 7.2%.

The Construction industry's share of Latino labor also increased from 3.5% in 1980, to 6.7% in 2012-2016, also the largest among all groups. Non-Latino Whites were the only other group that increased, going from 5.1% in 1980 to 5.6% in 2012-2016. African-American's share in the industry decreased from 2.6% in 1980 to 2.1% in 2012-2016. Asian's remained the same at 1.2% in both instances.

The industrial share of Transportation, Communication, and Other Public Utilities also increased for Latinos, Asians, and African-Americans, but decreased for non-Latino Whites. For Latinos, the increase was from 5.8% in 1980 to 6.6% in 2012-2016. Asians had the highest increase going from 3.8% in 1980 to 6.5% in 2012-2016. African-Americans increased from 11.3% in 1980 to 12.1% in 2012-2016, and had the highest total share of the labor force in this industry. Non-Latino Whites were the only group that decreased, going from 7.6% in 1980 to 7.1% in 2012-2016, but remained higher overall than Latinos and Asians.

The Agriculture, Forestry, and Fishing industries, which is the lowest paying industry, also increased for Latinos, going from 1.0% in 1980 to 2.8% in 2012-2016. In comparison, non-Latino Whites increased from 0.6% in 1980 to 0.9% in 2012-2016, African-Americans increased from 0.2% in 1980 to 0.4% in 2012-2016, and Asians increased from 0.2% in 1980 to 0.3% in 2012-2016. It is important to note that Latinos are the only group with more than 1% if

Table 5.2 Occupational Distribution for All Earners in the Chicago Metropolitan Area by Racial or Latino Group. 1980 and 2012-2016 (in percent)

	White (non-Hispanic or Latino)		Black (non-Hispanic or Latino)		Asian (non-Hispanic or Latino)		Hispanic or Latino	
Occupation	1980	2012-2016	1980	2012-2016	1980	2012-2016	1980	2012-2016
Executive, Administrative, and Managerial Occupations:	9.2%	13.1%	3.4%	6.6%	5.8%	10.2%	2.7%	4.7%
Management Related Occupations:	3.2%	6.3%	1.7%	3.9%	4.0%	7.0%	1.0%	2.3%
Professional Specialty Occupations	12.4%	22.8%	8.2%	14.6%	26.0%	29.6%	4.4%	8.1%
Technicians and Related Support Occupations	2.8%	3.4%	2.6%	2.8%	7.2%	8.3%	1.3%	1.7%
Sales Occupations:	12.1%	12.4%	6.7%	10.3%	6.5%	9.6%	5.5%	9.2%
Administrative Support Occupations, Including Clerical	21.3%	14.3%	22.6%	17.7%	16.7%	10.3%	14.6%	13.0%
Service Occupations	11.2%	12.2%	20.2%	24.5%	11.6%	13.5%	14.7%	23.5%
Farming, Forestry and Fishing Occupations	0.6%	0.9%	0.4%	0.6%	0.3%	0.2%	1.0%	3.0%
Precision Production, Craft, and Repair Occupations	11.5%	6.9%	7.2%	4.2%	5.9%	3.6%	10.6%	10.1%
Operators, Fabricators, and Laborers	15.7%	7.6%	27.0%	14.5%	16.1%	7.7%	44.4%	24.4%

Source: PUMS 1980, 2012-2016

its labor force in this industry.

Occupational Distribution for All Earners in the Chicago Metropolitan Area by Racial or Latino Group. 1980 and 2012-2016 (in percent)

Similar to 1980, the largest share of the Latino labor force worked as Operators, Fabricators, and Laborers at 24.4%. The largest occupational decrease (Table 5.2) in the manufacturing industry from 1980 to 2012-2016 was in the category Operators, Fabricators, and Laborers. In 1980, 44.4% of the Latino labor force was in these occupations, in comparison to 27% of African-Americans, 16.1% of Asians, and 15.7% of non-Latino Whites. In 2012-2016, these percentages decreased to 24.4%, 14.5%, 7.7% and 7.6% respectively.

For Latinos, the most significant increase was in Service Occupations, going from 14.7% in 1980, to 23.5% in 2012-2016, making it the second largest occupation for Latinos in the metropolitan area. This increase of nearly 9% is significant for many reasons, most notably the fact that it has nearly become the largest occupation for Latinos and also because it has the second-lowest wages of all the categories. In comparison, African-Americans increased from 20.2% in 1980 to 24.5% in 2012-2016; Asians increased from 13.5% in 1980 to 14.7% in 2012-2016; and non-Latino Whites increased from 11.2% in 1980, to 12.2% in 2012-2016.

The next largest occupation for Latinos was Administrative Support Occupations, which also includes Clerical employment. However, there was a decrease from 14.6% in 1980 to 13.0% in 2012-2016. In comparison, non-Latino Whites decreased from 21.3% in 1980 to 14.3% in 2012-2016; African-Americans decreased from 22.6% in 1980 to 17.7% in 2012-2016; and Asians decreased from 16.7% in 1980 to 10.3% in 2012-2016.

Precision Production, Craft, and Repair are the next largest occupations for Latinos. There was also a decrease, however, going from 10.6% in 1980 to 10.1% in 2012-2016. All three other groups also decreased, with non-Latino Whites going from 11.5% in 1980 to 6.9% in 2012-2016; African-Americans going from 7.2% in 1980 to 4.2% in 2012-2016; and Asians going from 5.9% in 1980 to 3.6% in 2012-2016.

Latinos experienced increases in several other occupations including Sales, Professional

Specialty, and Executive, Administrative, and Managerial Occupations. Sales occupations account for the highest percentage with 9.2% in 2012-2016, an increase from 5.5% in 1980. All other groups increased as well, with non-Latino Whites going from 12.1% in 1980 to 12.4% in 2012-2016, African-Americans going from 6.7% in 1980 to 10.3% in 2012-2016, and Asians going from 6.5% in 1980 to 9.6& in 2012-2016. Latinos occupied in Professional Specialty increased from 4.4% in 1980 to 8.1% in 2012-2016. All other groups also increased, with non-Latino Whites going from 12.4% in 1980 to 22.8% in 2012-2016, African-Americans increasing from 8.2% in 1980 to 14.6% in 2012-2016, and Asians going from 26% in 1980 to 29.6% in 2012-2016.

The share of Latinos in Executive, Administrative, and Managerial Occupations, which are the highest paying, also increased its share of Latinos going from 2.7% in 1980 to 4.7% in 2012-2016. However, this is still lower than for all other groups. Non-Latinos Whites increased from 9.2% in 1980 to 13.1% in 2012-2016; Asians increased from 5.8% in 1980 to 10.2% in 2012-2016; and African-Americans increased from 3.4% in 1980 to 6.6% in 2012-2016.

The second highest paying occupation category, Management Related Occupations, also increased its share of Latinos slightly going from 1% in 1980 to 2.3% in 2012-2016. Non-Latino Whites increased from 3.2% in 1980 to 6.3% in 2012-2016; Asians increased from 4% in 1980 to 7% in 2012-2016; and African-Americans increased from 1.7% in 1980 to 3.9% in 2012-2016.

Latinos also increased in the lowest-paying occupational category of Farming, Forestry and Fishing, going from 1% in 1980 to 3% in 2012-2016. Similar to Table 5.1, no other group has more than 1 percent of its labor force in this category. Non-Latino Whites are close to 1 percent, going from 0.6% in 1980 to 0.9% in 2012-2016. African-Americans increased from 0.4% in 1980 to 0.6% in 2012-2016. Asians were the only group to decrease, going from 0.3% in 1980, to 0.2% in 2012-2016.

Similar to 1980, Latinos and African-Americans are overrepresented in the lowest paying sectors and, although increasing their presence in some of the higher paying sectors, they received lower rates also in these sectors.

Table 5.3a - Average Wages for Male and Female Earners by Industry and Racial or Latino Group in the Chicago Metropolitan Area, 1980 to 2012-2016

	White (non-Hispanic or Latino)				Black (non-Hispanic or Latino)				Asian (non-Hispanic or Latino)				Hispanic or Latino			
	1980		2012-2016		1980		2012-2016		1980		2012-2016		1980		2012-2016	
Industry	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
AGRICULTURE, FORESTRY, AND FISHERIES	$33,667	$14,843	$41,099	$32,062	$25,249	$38,700	$15,647	$23,559	$10,563	$40,367	$29,582	$69,744	$25,761	$13,906	$23,397	$27,352
MINING	$73,454	$38,280	$97,794	$70,259	$37,308	$30,951	$37,083	$38,787	$89,352	$23,295	$70,885	$47,961	$58,719	$16,660	$37,597	$50,432
CONSTRUCTION	$55,493	$27,353	$62,503	$46,430	$38,817	$27,072	$44,574	$43,404	$52,167	$17,205	$52,555	$60,075	$34,701	$21,379	$37,707	$31,508
MANUFACTURING	$59,501	$29,048	$89,402	$65,887	$39,995	$27,093	$45,091	$37,885	$47,250	$26,189	$73,846	$56,600	$36,743	$22,836	$37,512	$27,114
TRANSPORTATION, COMMUNICATIONS, AND OTHER PUBLIC UTILITIES	$61,504	$35,954	$68,048	$54,252	$47,171	$38,428	$44,899	$37,660	$45,853	$34,507	$57,459	$56,591	$45,422	$34,446	$42,483	$36,913
WHOLESALE TRADE	$62,267	$27,981	$93,231	$62,564	$39,608	$27,759	$43,492	$19,718	$53,231	$29,119	$78,105	$28,206	$36,117	$20,233	$40,635	$32,980
RETAIL TRADE	$37,817	$16,062	$44,615	$27,487	$26,045	$18,246	$26,112	$47,017	$29,170	$17,064	$37,899	$67,475	$25,923	$14,588	$24,203	$16,848
FINANCE, INSURANCE, AND REAL ESTATE	$66,810	$27,717	$132,764	$71,135	$35,075	$24,985	$66,889	$25,798	$51,566	$27,229	$99,263	$57,350	$35,779	$20,143	$63,011	$39,289
BUSINESS AND REPAIR SERVICES	$49,953	$24,555	$79,879	$56,669	$27,882	$22,753	$32,869	$25,933	$42,667	$25,726	$80,223	$32,317	$33,302	$18,357	$30,957	$21,625
PERSONAL SERVICES	$37,006	$15,730	$58,440	$30,571	$23,404	$16,576	$33,809	$23,820	$33,733	$18,797	$36,727	$19,167	$25,777	$15,624	$30,226	$21,361
ENTERTAINMENT AND RECREATION SERVICES	$32,602	$15,215	$30,982	$23,034	$21,717	$13,452	$27,058	$37,386	$28,199	$17,711	$35,521	$55,551	$21,554	$16,684	$24,345	$22,467
PROFESSIONAL AND RELATED SERVICES	$57,410	$27,438	$90,774	$49,603	$33,004	$27,876	$49,562	$52,478	$63,647	$40,408	$80,402	$55,139	$41,404	$23,703	$49,904	$34,297
PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION	$57,676	$29,760	$78,898	$59,866	$39,160	$28,911	$64,712	$24,549	$49,707	$34,328	$73,687	$25,775	$37,720	$22,130	$65,395	$48,255

Source: PUMS 1980, 2012-2016

Figure 1 – Average Wages for Latino Earners by Industry, 2012-2016

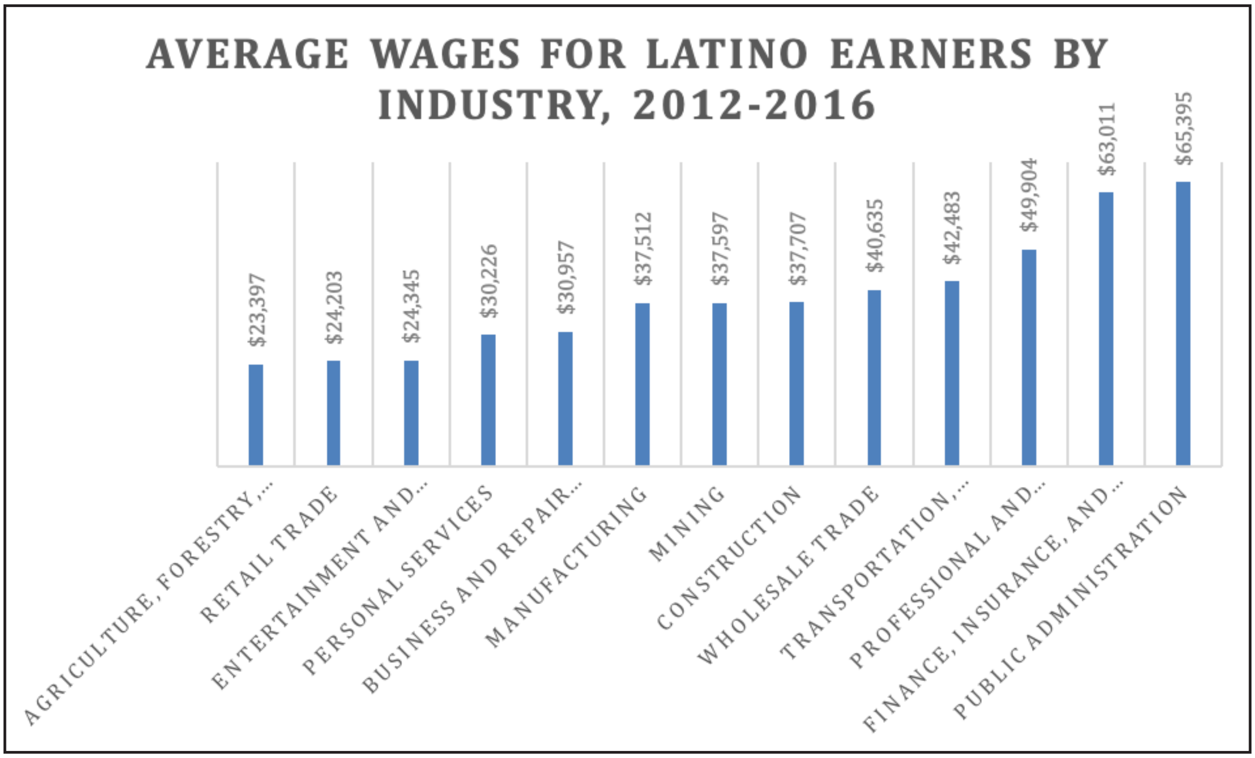
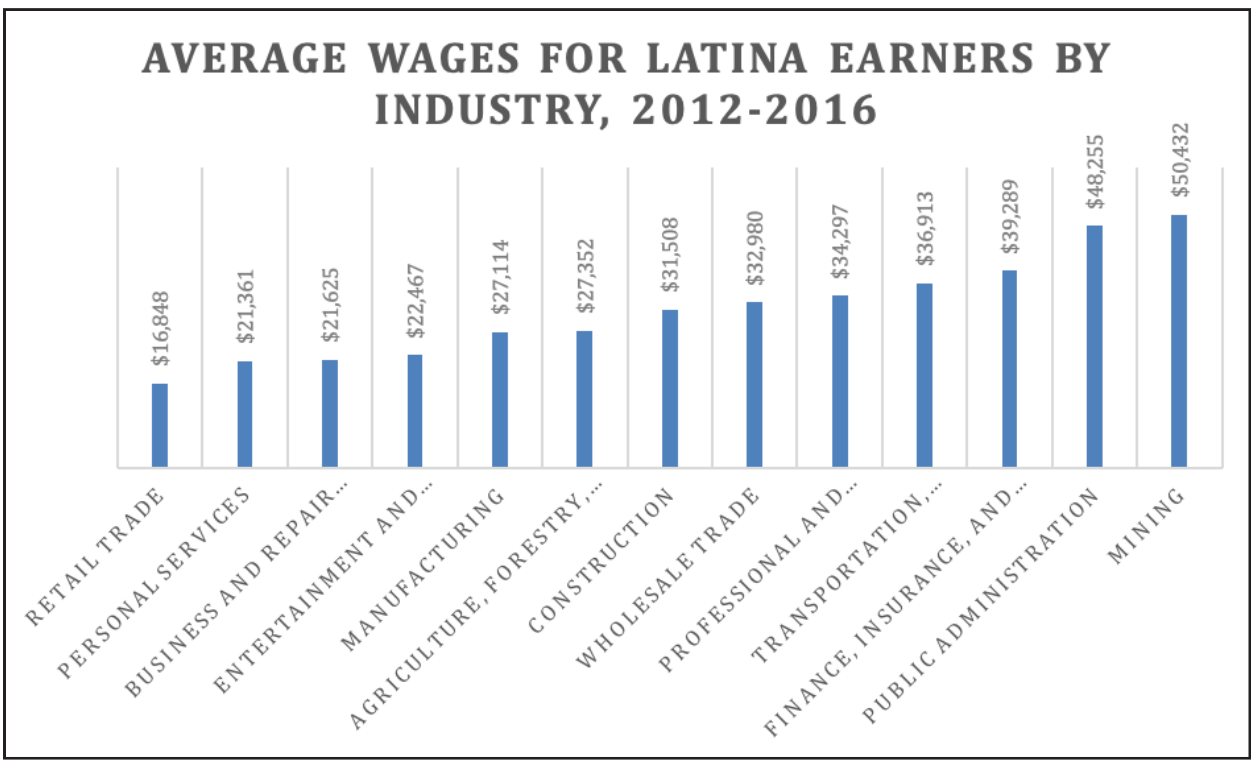


Figure 2 – Average Wages for Latina Earners by Industry, 2012-2016



<u>Average Wages for Male and Female Earners by Industry and Racial or Latino Group in the Chicago Metropolitan Area, 1980 to 2012-2016</u>

The industry with the largest percentage of Latino workers, Retail Trade, also has the second-lowest wages for male workers, and the lowest-wages for female workers. In 2012-2016, Latinos earned $24,203 and Latinas $16,848, compared to $44,615 for non-Latino White males and $27,487 for non-Latino White females, $26,112 for African-American males, $47,017 for African-American females, $37,899 for Asian males, and $67,475 for Asian females. While Latinos have a larger share of their labor force in the Retail Trade industry, their wages are lower for both men and women in comparison to other racial/ethnic groups. Additionally, while there has been substantial growth for Latinos in this industry, wages have decreased from $25,923 in 1980, to $24,203 in 2012-2016 for Latinos while increasing slightly from $14,588 in 1980 to $16,848 in 2012-2016 for Latinas. It is important to note that the cost of living has increased during this time making these figures much more alarming.

Professional and Related Services is the second largest industry of employment for Latinos and has the third-highest wages on average for male workers and the fifth-highest for female workers. In 2012-2016, Latinos earned $49,904 and Latinas $34,297, compared to $90,774 for non-Latino White males, $49,603 for non-Latina White females, $49,562 for African-American males, $52,478 for African-American females, $80,402 for Asian males, and $55,139 for Asian females. While the second largest industry for Latinos (18.3%), Asian (37.2%), African-American (35.2%) and non-Latino Whites (32.9%) have nearly double the percentage of their labor force in this industry. Additionally, wages for Latinos and African-American males are roughly the same, but well below their non-Latino White and Asian male counterparts. Similarly, Latinas earn far lower wages than their non-Latina White, Asian, and African-American female counterparts. However, there has been an increase in the wages of Latinos as a whole, with males going from $41,404 in 1980 to $49,904 in 2012-2016 and females from $23,703 in 1980 to $34,297 in 2012-2016—although these increases are lower than those of other racial/ethnic groups during the same period.

Manufacturing is the next largest industry of Latino employment and has the sixth-lowest wages for male workers and the fifth lowest for female workers. In 2012-2016, Latinos earned $37,512 and Latinas $27,114, compared to $89,402 for non-Latino White males, $65,887 for non-Latina White females, $45,091 for African-American males, $37,885 for African-American females, $73,846 for Asian males, and $56,600 for Asian females. While Latinos have higher shares of their labor force in Manufacturing, wages are vastly inferior to their non-Latino White and Asian counterparts. Latinos as a whole earn lower wages than every other group. Latinos earn $51,890 less than non-Latino White males and $36,334 lower than Asian males, and Latinas earn $38,773 less than non-Latina White females and $29,486 less than Asian females. These figures are roughly two times higher for Non-Latino Whites and Asians. Additionally, wages have only increased slightly for both Latinos and females since 1980, going from $36,743 in 1980 to $37,512 in 2012-2016 for males, and from $22,836 in 1980 to $27,114 in 2012-2016 for females. In comparison, wages went from $59,901 in 1980 to $89,402 in 2012-2016 for non-Latino White males, from $29,048 in 1980 to $65,887 in 2012-2016 for non-Latina White females, from $47,250 in 1980 to $73,846 for Asian males, from $26,189 in 1980 to $56,600 for Asian females, from $39,995 in 1980 to $45,091 in 2012-2016 for African-American males, and from $27,093 in 1980 to $37,885 in 2012-2016 for African-American females. Wages have generally increased by roughly $30,000 for non-Latino Whites and Asians since 1980. While the average wages of African-Americans had a slightly higher increase than those of Latinos, they compare negatively to the increases of the other groups.

In the industries with the highest wages, Finance, Insurance, and Real Estate (FIRE) Latino and African American workers are underrepresented. Ironically, these are also among the highest paying industries for both groups. For Latino male workers it is the second-highest paying industry and the third highest for Latina female workers. In 2012-2016, Latinos earned $63,011 and Latinas $39,289, compared to $132,764 for non-Latino White males, $71,135 for non-Latina White females, $66,889 for African-American males, $25,798 for African-American females, $99,263 for Asian males, and $57,350 for Asian females. Wages for Latino And

African-American male and female workers are vastly inferior to the wages of their non-Latino White and Asian counterparts. Latinos earned $69,753 less than non-Latino White males, and $36,252 less than Asian males, while Latinas earned $31,846 less than non-Latina Whites and $18,061 less than Asian females. Wages have increased significantly for Latinos as a group, however, with wages for Latinos going from $35,779 in 1980 to $63,011 in 2012-2016 and for females from $20,143 in 1980 to $39,289 in 2012-2016. Still, their wages are far lower than those of non-Latino Whites and Asians.

One of the fastest growing industries for Latino workers, Business and Repair Services, also show differences vis-à-vis other groups. For Latino male workers it is the fifth-lowest paying industry, and for Latina female workers the third lowest. In 2012-2016, Latinos earned $30,957 and Latinas $21,625, compared to $79,879 for non-Latino White males, $56,669 for non-Latina White females, $80,223 for Asian males, $32,317 for Asian females, $32,869 for African-American males, and $25,933 for African-American females. As in other industries, there are major discrepancies between the wages of non-Latino Whites and Asians and the wages of African-Americans and Latinos. Latinos earned $48,922 less than non-Latino White males, and $49,266 less than Asian men, while Latinas earned $35,044 less than non-Latina White females and $10,692 less than Asian females. Furthermore, wages in t his industry have decreased for Latinos from $33,302 in 1980 to $30,957 in 2012-2016—although slightly increasing for Latinas by $3,268, which is concerning considering that this industry grew by roughly 6% during this same period.

In the construction industry, Latinos also have a larger share of their labor force compared to other groups. For Latino male workers this it is the sixth-highest paying industry and for Latina female workers the seventh-highest. In 2012-2016, Latinos earned $37,707 and Latinas earned $31,508, compared to $62,503 for non-Latino White males, $46,430 for non-Latina White females, $44,574 for African-American males, $43,404 for African-American females, $52,555 for Asian males, and $60,075 for Asian females. As in other industries, non-Latino White males and females have and continue earning significantly more than Latinos and females. Despite being the majority in this industry, Latinos earn $24,796 less than non-Latino White males, $14,848 less than Asian men and $6,867 less than African-American men, while Latinas earn $14,922 less than non-Latina White females, $28,567 less than Asian females and $11,896 less than African-American females. Additionally, Latino male wages have only increased by $3,006 from 1980 to 2012-2016, while Latina female wages have increased by $10,129 during this same period. Although wages did not increase significantly for any male group, however, they increased substantially for female workers. Asian female wages increased by $42,970, non-Latina White female wages by $19,077 and African-American female wages by $16,332.

The industries of Transportation, Communication, and Other Public Utilities also account for a fair share of Latino employment while representing the fourth-highest wages for Latino male workers and the fourth highest for Latina female workers. In 2012-2016, Latino male wages were at $42,483 and Latinas at $36,913, compared to $68,048 for non-Latino White males, $54,252 for non-Latina White females, $44,899 for African-American males, $37,660 for African-American females, $57,459 for Asian males, and $56,591 for Asian females. Although Latinos do not have the largest share of their labor force in this industry, as a group they continue to earn lower wages than other groups but principally than non-Latino Whites and Asians. Latinos earn $25,565 less than non-Latino White males and $14,976 less than Asian men, while Latinas earn $20,038 less than Asian females and $17,339 less than non-Latina White females.

Agriculture, Forestry, and Fisheries are other industries in which Latinos have a larger share of labor force participation. Yet, compared to other groups, Latinos received the lowest wages and Latinas the sixth lowest. Along with mining, in this industry Latina female workers earn more than Latino male workers do. In 2012-2016, Latinos earned $23,397 and Latinas $27,352, compared to $41,099 for non-Latino White males, $32,062 for non-Latina White females, $15,647 for African-American males, $23,559 for African-American females, $29,582 for Asian males, and $69,744 for Asian females. While wages are not high for any group, Latinos and females continue to earn less than non-Latino White and Asian males and females. Latinos earn $17,702 less than non-Latino White males and $6,185 less than Asian males, while Latinas earn $42,392 less than Asian females and $4,710 less than non-Latina White females.

The other industry that has experienced an increase in wages for Latino male and Latina female workers is Public Administration with the highest-paying wages for Latino male workers and the second-highest paying wages for Latina workers. In 2012-2016, Latinos earned $65,395 and Latinas $48,255, compared to $78,898 for non-Latino White males, $59,866 for non-Latina White females, $64,712 for African-American males, $24,549 for African-American females, $73,687 for Asian females, and $25,775 for Asian females. Again, similar to other industries, wages for Latino and African-American males were lower than for non-Latino White and Asian males. In three industries, the wages of African-American females are higher than the wages of non-Latina White females and one industry in which they are higher than Asian females.

Latinas have higher wages than Asian females in four industries; however, no single industry has higher wages for Latinas than for non-Latina White females. Additionally, Public Administration is one of only three industries that pay higher wages to Latino male workers than to non-Latina White female workers and one of four that pays higher wages to Latino male workers than to Asian female workers. In this industry, Latinos earn $13,503 less than non-Latino White males and $8,292 less than Asian males, while Latinas earn $11,611 less than non-Latina White females, but earn more than Asian females. Still, as the highest paying industry for Latinos, the fact that only 2.1% of the total labor force is participating in this industry means that very few people are actually earning such wages.

Taking into consideration that Latino participation in the other highest pay industry, FIRE, is 4.3%, only 6.4% of Latinos are averaging annual wages over $60,000. In three additional industries accounting for 28.3% of Latino participation, Latinos earn more than $40,000 annually. Then, 38% of Latinos in the workforce make between $30,000 and $40,000 annually. The remaining 27.1 percent are concentrated in three industries where they earn under $25,000 annually. Average annual wages for Latinas, are lower overall and in none of the industries did they make more than $60,000. Only in one industry in which 0.1% of them work, did they make more than $50,000. A second industry with 2.1% of employed Latinas averaged over $40,000. In five industries employing 39.3% of them, Latinas earn an average annual wage between $30,000 and $40,000. Twenty-one percent of them made average wages between $25,000 and $30,000 in two industries. Three industries employing 14.7% of Latinas, paid them averages wages between $20,000 and $25,000, and one industry employing 23% of all working Latinas, paid them and average below $20,000. Despite the terrible condition of Latino male workers, the compensation of Latinas is an even worse concern.

Average Wages for Male and Female Earners by Occupation and Racial or Latino Group in the Chicago Metropolitan Area, 1980 to 2012-2016

The occupation with the largest percentage of Latino workers, Operators, Fabricators, and Laborers, is also one of the lowest-paying occupations overall. It had the fourth-lowest wages for Latino male workers and the third lowest for Latina female workers. In 2012-2016, Latinos earned $31,086 and Latinas earned $19,849, compared to $40,161 for non-Latino White males, $27,002 for non-Latina White females, $34,561 for African-American males, $25,466 for African-American females, $32,042 for Asian males, and $24,415 for Asian females. As was the case of Table 5.3a, Table 5.3b shows that Latinos as a group earned lower wages than the other groups. This is extremely concerning considering Latinos have a higher share of their labor force participation in this occupation. Additionally, during the same period in which the total percentage of Latinos in the occupation decreased, wages also decreased going from $34,020 in 1980 to $31,086 in 2012-2016 for Latinos, and from $21,432 in 1980 to $19,849 in 2012-2016 for Latinas. Again, the cost of living and inflation increased significantly during this same time period, making the fact that nearly a quarter of the total Latino labor force is decreasing its earnings all the more concerning.

The occupation with the next highest percentage of the Latino labor force, Services, has lower wages than Operators, Fabricators, and Laborers. It had the second-lowest wages for Latino male workers and the lowest-paying wages for Latina female workers. In 2012-2016, Latinos earned $25,979 and Latinas earned $18,386, compared to $38,175 for non-Latino White males, $20,719 for non-Latina White females, $30,892 for African-American males, $22,151 for Afri-

Table 5.3b - Average Wages for Male and Female Earners by Occupation and Racial or Latino Group in the Chicago Metropolitan Area, 1980 to 2012-2016

	White (non-Hispanic or Latino)				Black (non-Hispanic or Latino)				Asian (non-Hispanic or Latino)				Hispanic or Latino			
	1980		2012-2016		1980		2012-2016		1980		2012-2016		1980		2012-2016	
Occupation	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Executive, Administrative, and Managerial Occupations:	$87,823	$41,719	$130,351	$87,100	$56,318	$40,013	$77,601	$64,126	$71,470	$32,832	$107,055	$72,873	$55,616	$32,431	$73,608	$57,262
Management Related Occupations:	$68,684	$36,600	$114,607	$72,574	$45,675	$35,448	$69,856	$58,434	$50,884	$34,099	$95,660	$64,593	$54,477	$31,583	$64,616	$50,716
Professional Specialty Occupations	$67,117	$33,708	$96,084	$55,649	$45,870	$37,472	$66,351	$51,963	$73,037	$50,090	$90,370	$69,111	$57,739	$31,308	$64,561	$45,734
Technicians and Related Support Occupations	$51,243	$30,094	$80,672	$49,676	$40,907	$29,924	$53,701	$45,189	$45,724	$34,767	$79,035	$63,498	$46,338	$30,900	$56,460	$41,870
Sales Occupations:	$60,212	$17,628	$88,745	$44,145	$34,101	$17,404	$36,105	$23,102	$39,111	$18,147	$56,729	$35,318	$30,805	$12,637	$35,291	$19,487
Administrative Support Occupations, Including Clerical	$43,279	$24,886	$48,186	$35,975	$35,322	$26,856	$32,915	$32,400	$31,902	$25,288	$34,505	$32,361	$31,782	$22,343	$30,527	$28,910
Service Occupations	$31,936	$14,589	$38,175	$20,719	$26,388	$18,951	$30,892	$22,151	$23,074	$20,434	$25,218	$26,035	$25,162	$16,991	$25,979	$18,386
Farming, Forestry and Fishing Occupations	$26,328	$13,023	$28,519	$18,844	$22,508	$31,023	$21,208	$12,148	$24,677	$48,830	$28,026	$16,018	$22,580	$15,237	$22,370	$21,148
Precision Production, Craft, and Repair Occupations	$55,672	$30,686	$56,359	$33,231	$44,734	$29,256	$48,096	$35,595	$47,135	$25,837	$49,462	$29,858	$42,662	$25,329	$39,284	$26,134
Operators, Fabricators, and Laborers	$42,059	$23,129	$40,161	$27,002	$36,953	$24,854	$34,561	$25,466	$33,555	$21,629	$32,042	$24,415	$34,020	$21,432	$31,086	$19,849

Source: PUMS 1980, 2012-2016

Figure 3 – Average Wages for Latino Earners by Occupation, 2012-2016

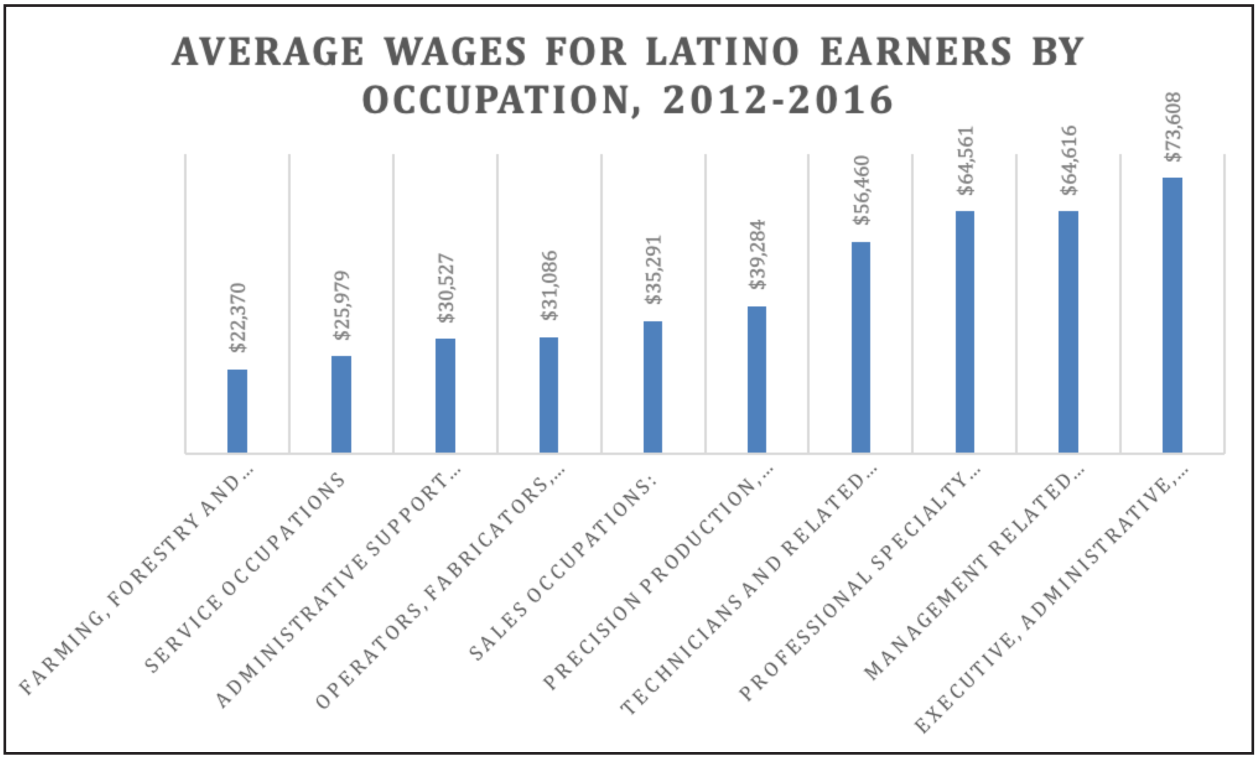
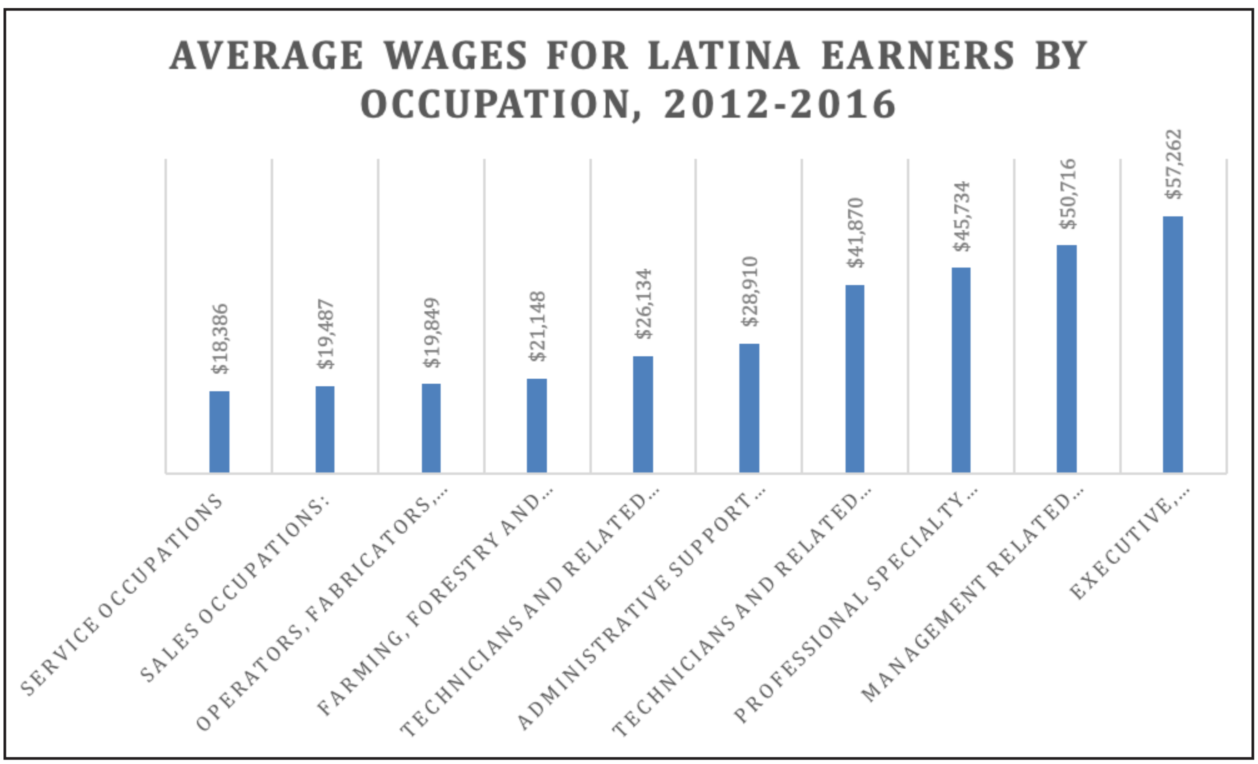


Figure 4 – Average Wages for Latina Earners by Occupation, 2012-2016



can-American females, $25, 218 for Asian males, and $26,035 for Asian females. While wages are low for all four groups, they are slightly lower overall for Latinos and African-Americans, both with much larger shares of their labor forces in this category. Additionally, while participation rates for Latinos have increased substantially since 1980, wages have only increased slightly during this same period. Wages increased from $25,162 in 1980 to $25,979 in 2012-2016 for Latinos, and from $16,991 in 1980 to $18,386 in 2012-2016 for Latinas. This will continue to be an issue if the growth of the service sector continues growing as it has in recent decades.

The next largest occupation for Latinos, Administrative Support Occupations, Including Clerical, also displays low wages for both males and females. It was the third-lowest paying occupation for Latino male workers and, although average wages were under $30,000, it was the fifth-highest paying occupation for Latina workers. In 2012-2016, Latinos earned $30,527 and Latinas $28,910, compared to $48,186 for non-Latino White males, $35,975 for non-Latina White females, $32,915 for African-American males, $32,400 for African-American females, $34,505 for Asian males, and $32,361 for Asian females. While wages are not high for any group, non-Latino Whites as a group make more than all three other groups. Wages, however, have decreased for Latinos from $31,782 in 1980 to $30,527 in 2012-2016. They have increased for Latinas during the same time period, going from $22,343 in 1980 to $28,910 in 2012-2016. While not a significant increase, there has been progress for Latinas. For Latinos, however, a decrease in wages has coincided with an overall decrease in the rates of Latino participation in this industry.

Precision Production, Craft, and Repair Occupations also constitute a large share of the Latino labor force: this was the fifth-highest paying occupation for Latino male workers but the fifth-lowest for Latina female workers. In 2012-2016, Latino male average wages were $39,284, and Latina female $26,134, compared to $56,359 for non-Latino White males, $33,231 for non-Latina White females, $48,096 for African-American males, $35,595 for African-American females, $49,462 for Asian males, and $29,858 for Asian females. Similar to other occupations, Latinos as a group earn lower wages and Latinas are the lowest of all the groups. Also similar to Administrative Support occupations and to Operators, Fabricators, and Laborers, participation rates as a whole have decreased in correlation with a decrease in wages for Latinos and an increase in wages for Latinas between 1980 and 2012-2016. Wages decreased from $42,662 in 1980 to $39,284 for Latinos, and increased from $25,329 in 1980 to $26,134 in 2012-2015 for Latinas.

Sales Occupations also account for a large portion of the Latino labor force, which has increased its share by roughly 4% since 1980. However, wages were low for both male and female Latino workers. This was the fifth-lowest paying sector for Latino male workers and the second lowest for Latina female workers. In 2012-2016, Latinos averaged $35,291 in wages and Latinas averaged $19,487, compared to $88,745 for non-Latino White males, $44,145 for non-Latina White females, $36,105 for African-American males, $23,102 for African-American females, $56,729 for Asian males, and $35,318 for Asian females. As in other occupations, average wages for Latinos as a group are below the wages of their counterparts. Wages have increased, however, for Latinos as a group from 1980 to 2012-2016. Latinos went from $30,805 in 1980 to $35,291 in 2012-2016, and Latinas from $12,637 in 1980 to $19,487 in 2012-2016.

Professional Specialty was the next largest occupational category of Latino employment increasingly roughly by 4% since 1980. This is among the highest paying occupations, however, averaging the third-highest wages for both Latinos and Latinas. In 2012-2016, Latinos averaged $64,561 and Latinas averaged $45,734, compared to $96,084 for non-Latino White males, $55,649 for non-Latina White females, $66,351 for African-American males, $51,963 for African-American females, $90,370 for Asian males, and $69,111 for Asian females. While Latinos as a whole have wages below everyone else and Latinas occupy the lowest position, both Latinos and African-Americans as a whole average wages well below those of their non-Latino White and Asian counterparts. Wages have increased, however, for Latinos and Latinas between 1980 and 2012-2016—Latinos wages increased from $57,739 in 1980 to $64,561 in 2012-2016 and Latinas wages increased from $31,308 in 1980 to $45,734 in 2012-2016.

The occupational category with the highest overall wages for all groups is Executive, Administrative, and Managerial. This category had the highest wages for Latinos and Latinas and an increase of 2% in the share of Latino employment since 1980 accounting for just under 5% of the total Latino labor force. In 2012-2016, Latinos averaged $73,608 annual wages and Latinas $57,262, compared to $130,351 for non-Latino White males, $87,100 for non-Latina White females, $77,601 for African-American males, $64,126 for African-American females, $107,055 for Asian males, and $72,873 for Asian females.

While the highest wages for Latinos are in Executive, Administrative and Managerial occupations, they continue to earn wages below those of other groups. Additionally, Latino and African-Americans as a whole continue to earn substantially less than their non-Latino White and Asian counterparts. Furthermore, both Latinos and African-Americans have much lower rates of participation in these occupations; this implies that fewer people in these two groups are earning high wages in comparison to non-Latino Whites and Asians. Still, wages have increased for Latinos and females from 1980 to 2012-2016: Latinos wages went from $55,616 in 1980 to $73,608 and Latina female wages from $32,431 in 1980 to $57,262 in 2012-2016. While progress has been made, both Latinos and African-Americans need to increase their shares in employment in these occupations. Additionally, wages need to be increased to be on par with non-Latino Whites and Asians.

Management Related is the occupational category with the second-highest wages for all groups. This category had the second-highest wages for Latinos and Latinas, whose shares increased its share by roughly 1.2% since 1980. In 2012-2016, Latino male workers averaged wages of $64,616 and Latina female workers averaged $50,716, compared to $114,607 for non-Latino White males, $72,574 for non-Latina White females, $69,856 for African-American males, $58,434 for African-American females, $95,660 for Asian males, and $64,593 for Asian females. Once again, Latinos as a whole earned lower average wages than all other groups. Latinos and African-Americans continue to average lower overall wages than their non-Latino White and Asian counterparts also in this category. This is the same case in every occupational category. Latinas also continue to average lower wages than every other group. Wages have increased for

Latinos since 1980, going from $54,477 in 1980 to $64,616 in 2012-2016 for Latinos, and from $32,431 in 1980 to $50,716 in 2012-2016 for Latinas. While these increases are positive, it is important to note that only 2.3% of the total Latino labor force works in this category. Therefore, the amount of people earning high wages in this occupational category is minimal and disproportionate when compared to other groups.

The occupations that are among the lowest paying are Farming, Forestry, and Fishing. Latinos had the lowest wages of any category and Latinas the fourth lowest. The share of Latinos in this category grew by 2% as a share of the Latino labor force becoming 3% of the total. In 2012-2016, Latinos averaged wages of $22,370 and Latinas averaged $21,148, compared to $28,519 for non-Latino White males, $18,844 for non-Latina White females, $21,208 for African-American males, $12,148 for African-American females, $28,026 for Asian males, and $16,018 for Asian females. Although wages are low for all groups, this is the only category in which non-Latina White and Asian females earn lower average wages than Latinas. Regardless of this, wages are still low for Latinos as a whole while decreasing slightly for Latinos and increasing but Latinas. In 1980, Latinos averaged $22,580 in wages and in 2012-2016 $22,370. For Latinas, wages increased from $15,237 in 1980 to $21,148 in 2012-2016.

Table 5.3b shows Latinos' disproportionate concentration in low-wage occupations and their lack representation in high-wage occupations. Only 7% of the Latino labor force worked in the two highest paying occupational categories, compared to 19.4% of the non-Latino White labor force, 17.2% of the Asian labor force, and 10.5% of the African-American labor force. The next highest paying category had an 8.1% share of the Latino labor force, compared to 29.65% of the Asian, 22.8% of the non-Latino White, and 14.6% of the African-American labor forces. The five largest occupational categories for Latinos with 80% of their labor force have average annual wages below $40,000 testifying to the bottom position of Latino workers in the employment scale.

Out of 10 occupational categories, three categories had average wages over $60,000 for Latinos compared to zero categories for Latinas. One category had wages between $50,000 and

$60,000 for Latinos compared to two categories for Latinas. Latinos did not have any occupations with averages wages between $40,000 and $50,000 but Latinas had two. Four categories had wages between $30,000 and $40,000 for Latinos and none for Latinas. Two categories had averages between $20,000 and $30,000 for Latinos and three for Latinas. Three categories had averages wages below $20,000 for Latinas but none for Latinos.

Educational Levels and Income of Employed Latinos and Latinas Compared to Other Racial/Ethnic Groups

Table 5.4 displays average income by race/ethnicity by educational attainment for 1980 and 2012-2016. The table shows clear discrepancies not only between the racial/ethnic groups, but also within these groups. It is evident that on average, access to higher education leads to higher-paying employment opportunities. This is the case for every group in 2012-2016 with average incomes much higher for those with 4 or more years of college and lower incomes for those that had not completed a college degree.

Although each racial/ethnic group averages higher or lower incomes according to educational attainment, overall, non-Latino Whites and Asians continue to average higher incomes than African-Americans and Latinos. Non-Latino Whites in particular, average incomes higher than every other racial/ethnic group, regardless of educational level. Asians, though, average incomes similar to those of Latinos and African-Americans in every educational category but the "4 or more years," category, in which the where incomes of Asians are much higher.

Incomes for Latinos and African-Americans continue to be the lowest. Incomes are similar in all five educational categories, with Latinos averaging lower incomes in both the 1-3 Years of College and 4 or More Years of College, and African-Americans averaging lower incomes in all three other categories.

When comparing the changes in income between 1980 and 2012-2016, increases and decreases vary for all four racial/ethnic groups. In the N/A or No Schooling category, non-Latino Whites experienced the most significant increases going from $27,042 in 1980 to $42,759 in 2012-2016. Asians also increased from $28,660 in 1980 to $33,904 in 2012-2016. Latinos de-

Table 5.4 Mean Income Compared to Level of Education for All Wage Earners, 1980 to 2012-2016

	White (non-Hispanic or Latino)		Black (non-Hispanic or Latino)		Asian (non-Hispanic or Latino)		Hispanic or Latino	
Education	1980	2012-2016	1980	2012-2016	1980	2012-2016	1980	2012-2016
N/A or No Schooling	$27,042	$42,759	$29,365	$23,534	$28,660	$33,904	$27,547	$27,413
Less than 9th Grade	$35,434	$28,868	$30,735	$24,016	$22,211	$22,893	$28,504	$25,627
9th Grade to 12th Grade	$34,607	$36,654	$28,693	$26,231	$26,582	$25,544	$28,310	$26,779
1-3 Years of College	$42,354	$45,099	$32,868	$34,094	$30,643	$35,712	$33,066	$31,076
4 or More Years of College	$59,997	$87,648	$46,611	$62,609	$53,128	$76,503	$49,583	$59,988

Source: PUMS 1980, 2012-2016

creased slightly going from $27,547 in 1980 to $27,413 in 2012-2016. African-Americans experienced the most significant decreases, dropping from $29,365 in 1980 to $23,534 in 2012-2016.

In the Less than 9th Grade category, every racial/ethnic group saw decreases with the exception of Asians. Non-Latino Whites and African-Americans experienced the most significant decreases from 1980 to 2012-2016, with average incomes decreasing by $6,719 for African-Americans and by $6,566 for non-Latino Whites. Latinos decreased by $2,877, going from $28,504 in 1980 to $25,627 in 2012-2016. Asians were the only group that experienced an increase, going from $22,211 in 1980, to $22,893 in 2012-2016.

The 9th to 12th Grade category displays minor changes for all four racial/ethnic groups; however, these changes were only positive for non-Latino Whites. All three other groups experienced decreases from 1980 to 2012-2016. For non-Latino Whites, average incomes increased from $34,607 in 1980 to $36,654 in 2012-2016. Average incomes for African-Americans decreased from $28,693 in 1980 to $26,231 in 2012-2016. For Asians, incomes decreased from $26,582 in 1980, to $25,544 in 2012-2016. Average incomes decreased for Latinos as well, going from $28,310 in 1980 to $26,779 in 2012-2016.

In the 1-3 Years of College category, Latinos were the only racial/ethnic group that did not experience an increase in average incomes between 1980 and 2012-2016. Non-Latino Whites, with the highest overall incomes in both datasets, increased from $42,354 in 1980 to $45,099 in 2012-2016. Asians increased from $30,643 in 1980 to $35,712 in 2012-2016, the highest among all groups. African-Americans increased from $32,868 in 1980 to $34,094 in 2012-2016. For Latinos, incomes decreased from $33,066 in 1980 to $31,076 in 2012-2016.

According to Table 5.4, the 4 or More Years of College category showed the most significant increases for all four racial/ethnic groups; however, these increases have varied not only in total amount, but also in the average incomes of each group. This is very significant because it shows that a college degree does not translate into equal pay for each racial/ethnic group. Non-Latino Whites experienced the most significant increases, with average incomes growing by $27,651, going from $59,997 in 1980 to $87,648 in 2012-2016. Asians experienced the next highest increases of $23,375, going from $53,128 in 1980 to $76,503 in 2012-2016. The increase for African-Americans was also significant at $15,998, going from $46,611 in 1980 to $62,609 in 2012-2016. Latinos experienced the lowest gains at $10,405, going from $49,583 in 1980 to $59,988 in 2012-2016, an increase that pales in comparison to non-Latino Whites and Asians.

How does the relationship income-educational attainment breaks by Latino subgroup?

Occupational Distribution by Latino Subgroup – 1980 to 2012-2016

Table 5.6a displays the differences between Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans, comparing them to each other, as well as to Other Latino groups and Non-Latinos overall (non-Latino Whites, non-Latino African-American, and Asian). It also displays the changes between 1980 and 2012-2016. Similar to 1980, in 2012-2015 there were clear differences in occupational distribution between Mexicans and Puerto Ricans in comparison with Cubans. Mexican and Puerto Rican workers are concentrated in the lowest-paying occupations and have low percentages of workers in the highest-paying occupations. Cubans on the other hand, have a larger concentration in the highest-paying occupations and lower percentages of workers in the lowest-paying occupations. The Other Latinos category also displays higher concentrations in low-paying occupations, but had a good representation in the highest-paying occupations.

Reflecting prior analyses, the occupational category with the largest share of Latinos, Operators, Fabricators, and Laborers, also has the lowest wages. Mexican workers had the highest overall percentage at 26.8%, followed by Other Latino workers at 17.2%, Puerto Rican workers at 14.9%, Cuban workers at 12.1%, and non-Latino workers at 9%. While still a significant portion, this category has experienced the largest decrease in the total percentage of the workforce since 1980. The percentage of the Mexican workforce decreased from 47.9% in 1980, to 26.8% in 2012-2016; for Puerto Ricans the percentage went from 43.5% in 1980 to 14.9% in 2012-2016; the share for Other Latinos decreased from 33.5% in 1980 to 17.2% in 2012-2016 and Cubans went from 27.4% in 1980, to 12.1% in 2012-2016. The corresponding figures for non-Latinos were 17.7% in 1980 and to 9% in 2012-2016.

The occupational category with the next largest percent of Latino workers, also ex-

Table 5.6a - Occupational Distribution by Latino Subgroup – 1980 to 2012-2016

	Non-Hispanic or Latino		Mexican		Puerto Rican		Cuban		Other	
Occupation	1980	2012-2016	1980	2012-2016	1980	2012-2016	1980	2012-2016	1980	2012-2016
Executive, Administrative, and Managerial Occupations:	8.1%	11.5%	2.2%	3.9%	2.4%	7.3%	6.6%	9.7%	4.4%	7.7%
Management Related Occupations:	3.0%	5.9%	0.8%	1.9%	0.8%	2.9%	0.9%	4.6%	1.9%	4.0%
Professional Specialty Occupations	12.0%	21.9%	2.9%	6.3%	4.1%	11.9%	11.1%	22.2%	9.9%	15.9%
Technicians and Related Support Occupations	2.9%	3.8%	1.0%	1.4%	1.3%	2.2%	2.8%	3.8%	2.2%	2.7%
Sales Occupations:	11.0%	11.8%	4.6%	8.9%	6.6%	11.6%	7.0%	12.1%	7.5%	9.2%
Administrative Support Occupations, Including Clerical	21.4%	14.6%	13.3%	12.4%	16.7%	19.7%	19.7%	12.6%	15.9%	11.7%
Service Occupations	12.8%	14.7%	15.1%	23.9%	13.6%	21.3%	14.1%	16.5%	14.5%	23.1%
Farming, Forestry and Fishing Occupations	0.6%	0.8%	1.4%	3.4%	0.4%	1.1%	0.0%	1.1%	0.5%	1.4%
Precision Production, Craft, and Repair Occupations	10.6%	6.1%	10.8%	11.0%	10.5%	7.1%	10.5%	5.4%	9.8%	7.2%
Operators, Fabricators, and Laborers	17.7%	9.0%	47.9%	26.8%	43.5%	14.9%	27.4%	12.1%	33.5%	17.2%

Source: PUMS 1980, 2012-2016

perienced the largest increase in the percent of the total Latino workforce between 1980 and 2012-2016; additionally, it is one of the lowest-paying occupational categories for Latinos. The percent of the workforce in Service Occupations increased for every group; however, the largest increases were for Mexican, Puerto Rican, and Other Latino workers. Mexican workers had the highest percentage at 23.9%, followed by Other Latinos at 23.1%, Puerto Ricans at 21.3%, Cubans at 16.5%, and non-Latinos at 14.7%. As previously mentioned, this category experienced the most significant increases for Latino workers. The percentage of Mexican workers increased from 15.1% in 1980 to 23.9% in 2012-2016; for Other Latino workers it increased from 14.5% in 1980 to 23.1% in 2012-2016, and for Puerto Rican workers it increased from 13.6% in 1980 to 21.3% in 2012-2016. For Mexicans and Other Latinos, this was the largest percentage increase; for Puerto Ricans it was the 2nd largest. However, percentages did not increase as substantially for Cuban and Non-Latino workers. Cubans increased from 14.1% in 1980 to 16.5% in 2012-2016, and Non-Latinos increased from 12.8% in 1980 to 14.7% in 2012-2016.

The next largest occupational category for Latino workers was Administrative Support, Including Clerical. This category also displayed low-paying wages for Latinos, and decreased for every group with the exception of Puerto Rican workers between 1980 and 2012-2016. Puerto Ricans had the highest total percentage at 19.7%, followed by Non-Latinos at 14.6%, Cuban workers at 12.6%, Mexican workers at 12.4%, and Other Latino workers at 11.7%. The largest decrease in percentage was for Cuban workers, going from 19.7% in 1980 to 12.6% in 2012-2016. The next highest was for Non-Latino workers, decreasing from 21.4% in 1980 to 14.6% in 2012-2016. Other Latinos decreased from 15.9% in 1980 to 11.7% in 2012-2016, and Mexican workers from 13.3% in 1980 to 12.4% in 2012-2016. The percentage of Puerto Rican workers increased from 16.7% in 1980 to 19.7% in 2012-2016.

Precision Production, Craft, and Repair Occupations is the category with the next highest percentages for Latino groups. With the exception of Mexican workers, every other group decreased in percentage from 1980 to 2012-2016. The Mexican workforce had the highest percentage at 11%, followed by Other Latinos at 7.2%, Puerto Ricans at 7.1%, Non-Latinos at 6.1%, and

Cubans at 5.4%. The percentage increased for Mexican workers from 10.8% in 1980 to 11% in 2012-2016. For Other Latino workers, it decreased from 9.8% in 1980 to 7.2% in 2012-2016, for Puerto Rican workers it decreased from 10.5% in 1980 to 7.1% in 2012-2016, Non-Latino workers decreased from 10.6% in 1980 to 6.1% in 2012-2016, and Cuban workers decreased from 10.5% in 1980 to 5.4% in 2012-2016.

Sales Occupations increased for every group between 1980 and 2012-2016. However, Latinos employed in this category received very low wages. The Latino group with the largest percentage in this category was Cuban workers at 12.1%, followed by 11.6% of Puerto Rican workers at 9.2% of Other Latino workers, and 8.9% of Mexican workers. The percentage of Non-Latino workers was the 2nd highest overall at 11.8%. The percentage increased for Cuban workers from 7% in 1980 to 12.1% in 2012-2016; for Non-Latinos it went from 11% in 1980 to 11.8% in 2012-2016; for Puerto Rican workers from 6.6% in 1980 to 11.6% in 2012-2016; for Other Latino workers from 7.5% in 1980 to 9.2% in 2012-2016; and for Mexican workers from 4.6% in 1980 to 8.9% in 2012-2016. The Cuban workforce experienced the largest overall increase in this category.

The occupational category with the lowest-paying wages on average, Farming, Forestry and Fishing Occupations, had among the lowest percentages for all groups. Yet, the Mexican share grew by 2% between 1980 and 2012-2016 to a total of 3.4% in 2012-2016, compared to Other Latinos at 1.4%, Puerto Ricans at 1.1%, Cubans at 1.1%, and Non-Latinos at 0.8%. The percentage of Mexican workers increased from 1.4% in 1980 to 3.4%; Other Latinos grew from 0.5 in 1980 to 1.4% in 2012-2016; Puerto Ricans from 0.4% in 1980 to 1.1% in 2012-2016; Cubans from 0% in 1980 to 1.1% in 2012-2016; and Non-Latinos from 0.6% in 1980 to 0.8% in 2012-2016.

The four highest-paying occupational categories displayed significant differences among Latino groups. The fourth-highest, Technicians and Related Support Occupations, displayed minor differences, with Cubans having the largest percentage and the highest growth between 1980 and 2012-2016; in contrast, Mexicans had the lowest percentage and the least amount of growth.

The total percentage for Cubans was 3.8%, for Other Latinos 2.7%, for Puerto Ricans 2.2%, for Mexicans 1.4%, and for Non-Latinos 3.8%. For Cuban workers, the percentage increased from 2.8% in 1980 to 3.8% in 2012-2016; for Other Latino workers it grew from 2.2% in 1980 to 2.7% in 2012-2016; for Puerto Ricans from 1.3% in 1980 to 2.2% in 2012-2016; for Mexicans from 1% in 1980 to 1.4% in 2012-2016: and Non-Latinos from 2.9% in 1980 to 3.8% in 2012-2016.

The third highest-paying occupational category, Professional Specialty Occupations, also had the most significant growth for Latino groups. Cuban workers again displayed both higher percentages and higher growth rates between 1980 and 2012-2016 than the other Latino groups, While Mexican workers continued to have the lowest percentage as well as the lowest growth rates of the groups. The percentage for Cuban workers was 22.2%, compared to 15.9% of Other Latino workers, 11.9% of Puerto Rican workers, 6.3% of Mexican workers, and 21.9% of Non-Latino workers. The percentage of Cuban workers increased from 11.1% in 1980 to 22.2% in 2012-2016. For Other Latinos it went from 9.9% in 1980 to 15.9% in 2012-2016; for Puerto Ricans from 4.1% in 1980 to 11.9% in 2012-2016; for Mexicans from 2.9% in 1980 to 6.3% in 2012-2016; and for Non-Latinos from 12% in 1980 to 21.9% in 2012-2016.

The occupational category with the second highest-paying wages, Management Related Occupations, once again had Cuban workers with the highest overall percentage and the highest growth rate between 1980 and 2012-2016 and Mexican workers with the lowest percentage and the lowest growth rate during this period. The percentage of the Cuban workforce was 4.6%, compared to 4% of the Other Latino workforce, 2.9% of the Puerto Rican workforce, 1.9% of the Mexican workforce, and 5.9% of the Non-Latino workforce. The percentage of the Cuban workforce increased from 0.9% in 1980, to 4.6% in 2012-2016; for the Other Latino workforce it increased from 1.9% in 1980 to 4% in 2012-2016; for the Puerto Rican workforce it grew from 0.8% in 1980 to 2.9% in 2012-2016; for the Mexican workforce from 0.8% in 1980 to 1.9% in 2012-2016; and for Non-Latino workforce from 3.0% in 1980, to 5.9% in 2012-2016.

The highest-paying occupational category, Executive, Administrative, and Managerial

Occupations, also displayed placed Cubans first with the highest percentage amongst Latino groups. However, Puerto Rican workers experienced the most significant growth rate between 1980 and 2012-2016. Mexican workers, meanwhile, continued to experience low growth rates during this same period, and once again had the lowest percentage among all Latino groups. The percentage of Cuban workers in 2012-2016 was 9.7%, of Other Latino workers it was 7.7%, of Puerto Rican workers 7.3%, of Mexican workers 3.9%, and of Non-Latinos 11.5%. For Cubans, the total workforce percentage increased from 6.6% in 1980 to 9.9% in 2012-2016; for Other Latinos the corresponding increase went from 4.4% in 1980 to 7.7% in 2012-2016; Puerto Ricans increased from 2.4% in 1980 to 7.3% in 2012-2016, Mexicans from 2.2% in 1980 to 3.9% in 2012-2016, and Non-Latinos from 8.1% in 1980, to 11.5% in 2012-2016.

These percentages indicate that most Latino groups are concentrated in low-paying occupations; however, Cuban and Other Latinos had higher percentages in higher-paying occupations than Mexicans and Puerto Ricans. The Mexican workforce in particular, had the highest percentages in the lowest-paying occupations. In fact, 86.4% of the Mexican workforce was concentrated in low-wage occupational categories, compared to 75.7% of the Puerto Rican workforce, 69.8% of the Other Latino workforce, 59.8% of the Cuban workforce, and 57% of the Non-Latino workforce. However, since 1980 the total percentages decreased from 93.1% of the Mexican workforce, 91.3% of the Puerto Rican workforce, 81.7% of the Other Latino workforce, 78.7% of the Cuban workforce, and 74% of the Non-Latino workforce. The decrease for the Mexican workforce, however, was much lower than for the other Latino groups.

Inversely, the shares of the Latino workforce increased in the four highest-paying occupational categories. Cubans had the highest percentage of all Latino groups at 40.3%, followed by the Other Latinos at 30.3%, by Puerto Ricans at 24.3%, and by Mexicans at 13.4%. Meanwhile, 43.1% of the Non-Latino workforce worked in this category. Since 1980, percentages increased for every group—from 21,4% for Cuban workers, 18,4% for Other Latino workers, 8.6% for Puerto Rican workers, 6.9% for Mexican workers and 26% for Non-Latinos. Once again, Mexican workers experienced the lowest growth rates.

Table 5.6b - Occupational Distribution by Latino Subgroup – 2012-2016

	2012-2016								
Occupation	**Mexican**	**Puerto Rican**	**Ecuadorian**	**Guatema-lan**	**Cuban**	**Colombian**	**Dominican**	**Other Central American**	**Other South American**
Executive, Administrative, and Managerial Occupations:	3.9%	7.3%	6.1%	5.8%	9.7%	12.9%	5.6%	8.2%	8.0%
Management Related Occupations:	1.9%	2.9%	3.1%	1.7%	4.6%	5.5%	4.7%	2.9%	6.6%
Professional Specialty Occupations	6.3%	11.9%	11.1%	10.0%	22.2%	19.4%	27.8%	9.4%	24.8%
Technicians and Related Support Occupations	1.4%	2.2%	1.9%	2.4%	3.8%	3.2%	0.4%	1.9%	4.5%
Sales Occupations:	8.9%	11.6%	9.1%	7.5%	12.1%	11.9%	7.9%	6.9%	11.7%
Administrative Support Occupations, Including Clerical	12.4%	19.7%	8.6%	12.9%	12.6%	13.4%	10.5%	11.7%	11.7%
Service Occupations	23.9%	21.3%	35.6%	27.9%	16.5%	16.0%	11.5%	27.0%	15.7%
Farming, Forestry and Fishing Occupations	3.4%	1.1%	0.5%	1.8%	1.1%	0.9%	1.8%	1.9%	1.3%
Precision Production, Craft, and Repair Occupations	11.0%	7.1%	9.4%	9.7%	5.4%	3.8%	5.5%	9.5%	5.0%
Operators, Fabricators, and Laborers	26.8%	14.9%	14.7%	20.3%	12.1%	12.9%	24.3%	20.6%	10.8%

Source: PUMS 2012-2016

Table 5.6b, the Occupational Distribution by Latino Subgroup, shows the differences between Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Ecuadorians, Guatemalans, Cubans, Colombians, Dominicans, Other Central Americans, and Other South Americans in 2012-2016. Aside from Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans, this level of detail was not available for all other Latino groups in 1980 and, therefore, does not allow for analysis of changes over time. Still, it provides a baseline for understanding the differences in occupational structure based on countries of origin. Similar to Table 5.6a, Table 5.6b displays the concentration of Mexicans, and Puerto Ricans in occupational categories with the lowest-paying wages joined by Ecuadorians, Guatemalans, and Other Central Americans. The vast majority of these groups' labor forces are in low-wage occupations; however the percentage shares of Cubans, Colombians, Dominicans, and Other Central Americans in higher-paying occupations are higher.

In the Operators, Fabricators, and Laborers category, the largest for Latinos as a whole (table 5.2), Mexicans had the highest share at 26.8%, followed by Dominicans at 24.3%, Other Central Americans at 20.6%, Guatemalans at 20.3%, Puerto Ricans at 14.9%, Ecuadorians at 14.7%, Colombians at 12.9%, Cubans at 12.1%, and Other South Americans at 10.8%. While we know that percentages have decreased from 1980 to 2012-2016 for Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans, growth over time for the other groups cannot be determined. However, considering the decrease for Latinos as a whole, it is likely that percentages for the other groups also decreased during this time. Mexicans are the only group in which this category has the highest percentage, while for Ecuadorians, Guatemalans, Dominicans, and Other Central Americans this was the second highest percentage, and for Puerto Ricans it was the third highest.

The category with the largest increase for Latinos, Service Occupations, was the largest occupational category for Puerto Ricans, Ecuadorians, Guatemalans, and Other Central Americans. Ecuadorians had the highest percentage of their labor force in this category at 35.6%, followed by Guatemalans at 27.9%, Other Central Americans at 27%, Mexicans at 23.9%, Puerto Ricans at 21.3%, Cubans at 16.5%, Colombians at 16%, Other South Americans at 15.7%, and Dominicans at 11.5%. Because this category had the highest growth for all Latino workers between 1980 and 2012-2016, these percentages have likely have increased for most groups since during this time. For Mexicans, Cubans, Colombians, and Other South Americans it was the second largest occupational category, and for Dominicans it was third largest.

Administrative Support Occupations, Including Clerical, is one of the categories that varied in growth for Latino groups between 1980 and 2012-2016—although declining for Latinos as a whole. Puerto Ricans have the highest percentage of their labor force in this category at 19.7%, followed by Colombians at 13.4%, by Guatemalans at 12.9%, Cubans at 12.6%, Mexicans at 12.4%, Other South Americans at 11.7%, Other Central Americans at 11.7%, Dominicans at 10.5%, and Ecuadorians at 8.6%. For Puerto Ricans, this is the second largest occupational category, and for Mexicans, Guatemalans, Cubans, Colombians, Other Central Americans, and Other South Americans the third largest.

The Precision Production, Craft, and Repair Occupations category showed an increase of Mexican workers but a decline for other Latino workers between 1980 and 2012-2016. The same as Table 5.6a, Table 5.6b show that Mexicans have the largest percentage of their labor force in this category at 11%, followed by Guatemalans at 9.7%, Other Central Americans at 9.5%, Ecuadorians at 9.4%, Puerto Ricans at 7.1%, Dominicans at 5.5%, Cubans at 5.4%, Other South Americans at 5%, and Colombians at 3.8%. This is not among the top three largest categories for any of the groups; for Mexicans, Guatemalans, Other Central Americans, and Ecuadorians it was the fourth largest.

While showing growth across the board between 1980 and 2012-2016 (table 5.6a), the Sales Occupations category had consistent proportions among Latino sub groups (see Table 5.6b). Cubans had the highest percentage in this category at 12.1%, followed by Colombians at 11.9%, by Other South Americans at 11.7%, Puerto Ricans at 11.6%, Ecuadorians at 9.1%, Mexicans at 8.9%, Dominicans at 7.9%, Guatemalans at 7.5%, and Other Central Americans at 6.9%. This category was third -highest for the Other South Americans in the labor force, and fourth-highest for Cubans.

The occupational category with the lowest overall wages, Farming, Forestry and Fishing

Occupations, had some of the lowest percentages for every group. However, as in Table 5.6a, Table 5.6b shows that Mexicans had the largest percentage shares in the category at 3.4%, followed by Other Central Americans at 1.9%, Guatemalans at 1.8%, Dominicans at 1.8%, Other South Americans at 1.3%, Puerto Ricans at 1.1%, Cubans at 1.1%, Colombians at .9%, and Ecuadorians at .5%. This category experienced minimal growth for every subgroup between 1980 and 2012-2016 (see Table 5.6a).

The four-highest paying categories displayed significant differences among Latino subgroups (see Table 5.6b). The fourth highest paying category, Technicians and Related Support Occupations, had also among the lowest percentages for each group—although there was an increase for Latinos as a whole between 1980 and 2012-2016 (see Table 5.6a). In 2012-2016, Other South Americans had the highest percentage in this category at 4.5%, followed by Cubans at 3.8%, Colombians at 3.2%, Guatemalans at 2.4%, Puerto Ricans at 2.2%, Ecuadorians at 1.9%, Other Central Americans at 1.9%, Mexicans at 1.4%, and Dominicans at 0.4%.

The third highest-paying category, Professional Specialty Occupations, had among the highest percentage shares for several groups. The group with the largest percentage of its labor force in this category was Dominicans at 27.8%, followed by Other South Americans at 24.8%, Cubans at 22.2%, Colombians at 19.4%, Puerto Ricans at 11.9%, Ecuadorians at 11.1%, Guatemalans at 10%, Other Central Americans at 9.4%, and Mexicans at 6.3%. For Dominicans, Other South Americans, Cubans, and Colombians, it was the category with the largest share. For Ecuadorians it was third largest, and for Puerto Ricans and Guatemalans the fourth largest.

The second highest-paying occupational category, Management Related Occupations, had low percentages for every group—despite there was an overall increase for Latinos between 1980 and 2012-2016 (see Table 5.6a). The group with the largest percentage, Other South Americans had a share of 6.6%, followed by Colombians at 5.5%, Dominicans at 4.7%, Cubans at 4.6%, Ecuadorians at 3.1%, Puerto Ricans at 2.9%, Other Central Americans at 2.9%, Mexicans at 1.9%, and Guatemalans at 1.7%.

Executive, Administrative, and Managerial Occupations, the highest-paying category, saw an increase in the percentage share of Latinos between 1980 and 2012-2016 (see Table 5.6a). However, the share differed among Latino subgroups. Colombians had the highest percentage at 12.9%, followed by Cubans at 9.7%, Other Central Americans at 8.2%, Other South Americans at 8%, Puerto Ricans at 7.3%, Ecuadorians at 6.1%, Guatemalans at 5.8%, Dominicans at 5.6%, and Mexicans at 3.9%. Although this was the third-largest occupation for Colombians, it was not among the top 4 for any other subgroup.

As was the case for Table 5.6a, Table 5.6b shows that Latinos as a whole were more concentrated in low-wage occupations in 2012-2016. However, percentages vary significantly by subgroup. Once again, Mexicans had the highest percentage of its labor force in low-wage occupations at 86.4% followed by Guatemalans at 80.1%, Ecuadorians at 77.9%, Other Central Americans at 77.6%, Puerto Ricans at 75.7%, Dominicans at 61.5%, Cubans at 59.8%, Colombians at 58.9%, and Other South Americans at 56.2%.

While the percentage of the labor force in the four highest-paying occupations increased for Latinos as a whole, Table 5.6b shows that Mexican labor is less prevalent in these occupations. Other South Americans had the highest percentage in the top four at 43.9%, followed by Colombians at 41%, Cubans at 40.3%, Dominicans at 38.5%, Puerto Ricans at 24.3%, Other Central Americans at 22.4%, Ecuadorians at 22.2%, Guatemalans at 19.9, and Mexicans at 13.5%.

Industry of Occupation of Latinos by National Group – 1980 to 2012-2016

Table 5.7a shows the Industry of occupation of Latinos by National Group and increases and decreases in employment of Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Cubans, and Other Latinos compared to Non-Latinos from 1980 to 2012-2016. As mentioned in Table 5.3a, Latinos were concentrated in low-wage industries. However, their distribution changed drastically during this period, with decreases in several industries and increases in several others. The most notable decrease for Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Other Latinos, and Non-Latinos was in Manufacturing, with the percentage of Mexican labor decreasing from 49.3% in 1980 to 19.6% in 2012-2016, Puerto

Table 5.7a – Industry of Latinos by National Group – 1980 to 2012-2016

Industry	Non-Hispanic or Latino		Mexican		Puerto Rican		Cuban		Other	
	1980	2012-2016	1980	2012-2016	1980	2012-2016	1980	2012-2016	1980	2012-2016
AGRICULTURE, FORESTRY, AND FISHERIES	0.6%	0.8%	1.4%	3.2%	0.4%	1.0%	0.0%	0.7%	0.5%	1.3%
MINING	0.1%	0.0%	0.1%	0.0%	-	3.1%	2.4%	-	0.1%	0.0%
CONSTRUCTION	4.6%	4.5%	3.9%	7.4%	2.4%	11.5%	36.4%	3.2%	3.5%	4.9%
MANUFACTURING	24.5%	9.7%	49.3%	19.6%	47.5%	8.4%	5.7%	12.9%	37.8%	14.6%
TRANSPORTATION, COMMUNICATIONS, AND OTHER PUBLIC UTILITIES	8.1%	8.0%	5.7%	6.3%	6.6%	3.2%	3.5%	7.1%	4.9%	6.9%
WHOLESALE TRADE	5.0%	3.0%	4.5%	3.5%	3.5%	20.8%	17.2%	2.9%	4.4%	3.0%
RETAIL TRADE	17.4%	15.6%	14.0%	23.9%	14.1%	6.7%	7.1%	20.6%	14.0%	18.6%
FINANCE, INSURANCE, AND REAL ESTATE	7.6%	8.5%	3.6%	3.7%	3.5%	6.9%	2.3%	7.5%	4.4%	5.8%
BUSINESS AND REPAIR SERVICES	4.2%	7.4%	3.3%	9.4%	2.8%	3.9%	3.0%	5.6%	3.9%	8.8%
PERSONAL SERVICES	2.6%	3.4%	3.4%	4.2%	2.5%	1.6%	0.7%	2.5%	4.3%	5.9%
ENTERTAINMENT AND RECREATION SERVICES	1.1%	1.7%	0.8%	1.2%	0.6%	28.6%	19.9%	1.5%	0.6%	1.6%
PROFESSIONAL AND RELATED SERVICES	20.2%	33.7%	8.4%	15.8%	12.4%	4.3%	1.7%	31.4%	19.3%	26.0%
PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION	4.2%	3.6%	1.8%	1.7%	3.5%	0.3%	0.0%	4.3%	2.5%	2.5%

Source: PUMS 1980, 2012-2016

Rican labor going from 47.5% in 1980 to 8.4% in 2012-2016, Other Latino labor from 37.8% in 1980 to 14.6% in 2012-2016, and Non-Latino labor decreasing from 24.5% in 1980 to 9.7% in 2012-2016. Cubans, meanwhile, had the largest decrease going from 36.4% in 1980 to 3.2% in 2012-2016. Increases vary depending on the group. For Mexican workers, the most significant increase was in Retail Trade, going from 14% in 1980 to 23.9% in 2012-2016. For Puerto Rican workers, it took place in Entertainment and Recreational Services, from .6% in 1980 to 28.6% in 2012-2016. For Cubans, Other Latinos, and Non-Latinos, the main increase was in Professional and Related Services, with the first subgroup going from 1.7% in 1980 to 31.4% in 2012-2016, Other Latinos from 19.3% in 1980 to 26% in 2012-2016, and non-Latinos from 20.2% in 1980 to 33.7% in 2012-206.

Decreases in manufacturing coincide with economic restructuring and the associated deindustrialization of the Chicago economy. With the exception of Cuban workers, all other groups decreased in this industry. However, manufacturing remains a major employer of Latino labor in the region. For Mexican workers, it is the second largest industry of employment, for Puerto Ricans the fourth, for Cubans the third, for Other Latinos the third, and for Non-Latinos also the third.

Retail Trade is one of the industrial categories with the most significant increases for various groups. Cuban workers in particular increased from 7.1% in 1980 to 20.6% in 2012-2016. Mexican labor increased from 14% in 1980 to 23.9% in 2012-2016 and Other Latinos increased from 14% in 1980 to 18.6% in 2012-2016. The presence of Puerto Ricans and Non-Latinos decreased in this industry, with the former going from 14.1% in 1980 to 6.7% in 2012-2016 and the latter from 17.4% in 1980, to 15.6% in 2012-2016. The largest percentage of the Mexican labor force is in this industry, as is the second-largest percentages of Cubans, Other Latinos, and Non-Latinos. Although the Retail Trade industry is a major employer of Latinos in the region, it has the second-lowest wages on average for them.

The Professional and Related Services category was also one of the industries with a significant growth for most subgroups. As previously mentioned, the most significant increase in percentage was for Cuban workers, from 1.7% in 1980 to 31.4% in 2012-2016. Other significant increases include Non-Latinos that went from 20.2% in 1980 to 33.7% in 2012-2016, for Mexican workers going from 8.4% in 1980 to 15.8% in 2012-2016, and for Other Latinos increasing from 19.3% in 1980 to 26% in 2012-2016. Puerto Ricans meanwhile decreased from 12.4% in 1980 to 4.3% in 2012-2016. This was the largest industry for Non-Latinos, Cubans, and Other Latinos. For Mexican workers it was the third-largest. The fact that the percentage of Puerto Rican labor decreased is concerning given that this is the industry with the second-highest average wages.

The industry with the highest wages on average, Finance, Insurance, and Real Estate, experienced increases for all Latino subgroups. The most significant increase was for Cuban workers, from 2.3% in 1980 to 7.5% in 2012-2016. Other significant increases included Puerto Rican workers, going from 3.5% in 1980 to 6.9% in 2012-2016, Other Latinos from 4.4% in 1980 to 5.8% in 2012-2016, and Non-Latinos from 7.6% in 1980 to 8.5% in 2012-2016. For Mexican workers, the increase was minimal going 3.6% in 1980 to 3.7% in 2012-2016. For the Non-Latino and Cuban labor forces it was the fourth-largest industry, and for the Puerto Rican labor force it was the fifth-largest industry. For the Mexican labor force, minimal growth in the industry with the highest wages correlates with high concentrations of workers in low-wage industrial employment.

The Business and Repair Services industry is also one of the categories with growth for every group. The most significant increases affected Mexican and Other Latino labor forces, with the percentage of the former increasing from 3.3% in 1980 to 9.4% in 2012-2016, and that of the latter increasing from 3.9% in 1980 to 8.8% in 2012-2016. The percentage of Non-Latino workers increased from 4.2% in 1980 to 7.4% in 2012-2016; Cuban workers increased from 3% in 1980 to 5.6% in 2012-2016 and Puerto Rican workers from 2.8% in 1980 to 3.9% in 2012-2016. For the Mexican, Other Latino, and Cuban labor forces it was the fourth-largest industry. Notice that this industry had the fifth-lowest wages for Latinos as a whole.

The Construction industry experienced growth for most groups, with the only exceptions being the Cuban and Non-Latino labor forces. The most significant increase was for Puerto Rican workers whose total percentage increased from 2.4% in 1980 to 11.5% in 2012-2016, followed by Mexican workers whose total increased from 3.9% in 1980 to 7.4% in 2012-2016, and Other Latinos whose total increased from 3.5% in 1980 to 4.9% in 2012-2016. Cuban workers had the most significant decrease in total percentage, dropping from 36.4% in 1980 to 3.2% in 2012-2016, while Non-Latinos decreased slightly from 4.6% in 1980 to 4.5% in 2012-2016. For Puerto Ricans, this was the third-largest industry and for the Mexicans the fifth largest. The Construction industry had the sixth-highest wages for Latinos overall.

The industrial category of Transportation, Communications, and Other Public Utilities also experienced growth for most subgroups. The Cuban labor force experienced the most significant growth, going from 3.5% in 1980 to 7.1% in 2012-2016, followed by Other Latinos, which increased from 4.9% in 1980 to 6.9% in 2012-2016, and the Mexican labor force, which increased from 5.7% in 1980 to 6.3% in 2012-2016. The percentages of the Puerto Rican and Non-Latino labor forces decreased, however, with Puerto Ricans decreasing the most from 6.6% in 1980 to 3.2% in 2012-2016, and Non-Latinos decreasing from 8.1% in 1980 to 8% in 2012-2016. For the Non-Latino, Cuban, and Other Latino labor forces, this was the fifth-largest industry. This industry had the fourth-highest wages on average for Latinos as a whole.

One of the industries that experienced growth for nearly every group with the exception of Cuban workers was the category with the most significant growth for the Puerto Rican labor force. The percentage of Puerto Ricans increased from 0.6% in 1980 to 28.6% in 2012-2016, while Other Latinos increased from .6% in 1980 to 1.6% in 2012-2016, Non-Latinos from 1.1% in 1980 to 1.7% in 2012-2016, and Mexicans from .8% in 1980 to 1.2% in 2012-2016. The percentage of Cuban workers decreased from 19.9% in 1980, to 1.5% in 2012-2016. Although this was the largest industry for the Puerto Rican labor force, it was not in the top five largest industries for any other group. Additionally, it had the third-lowest wages for Latinos.

The Wholesale Trade industry also experienced significant growth in the total percentage of the Puerto Rican labor force, increasing from 3.5% in 1980 to 20.8% in 2012-2016, which was the second-largest increase for Puerto Rican workers. The percentages for every other group decreased, however, with the Cuban labor force going from 17.2% in 1980 to 2.9% in 2012-2016, the Non-Latino labor force from 5% in 1980 to 3% in 2012-2016, the Mexican labor force from 4.5% in 1980 to 3.5% in 2012-2016, and the Other Latino labor force from 4.4% in 1980 to 3% in 2012-2016. The Wholesale Industry was the second-largest industry for Puerto Rican workers but was not in the top-five largest for any other subgroup. However, it averaged the fifth-highest wages for Latinos overall.

The industry with the lowest overall wages for Latinos, Agriculture, Forestry, and Fisheries, also experienced percentage growth for every group. The largest increase was for Mexicans (from 1.4% in 1980 to 3.2% in 2012-2016), followed by the Other Latinos (from .5% in 1980 to 1.3% in 2012-2016), by Puerto Ricans (from .4% in 1980 to 1% in 2012-2016), Cubans (from 0% in 1980 to .7% in 2012-2016), and Non-Latinos (from .6% in 1980 to .8% in 2012-2016). This was not in the top-five largest industries for any of the groups.

The percentage of the labor force in Public Administration increased for Cubans, remained the same for Other Latinos, but decreased for every other subgroup. The percentage of Cuban workers increased from 0% in 1980 to 4.3% in 2012-2016, and the percentage of Other Latinos remained constant at 2.5% in 1980 and 2012-2016. The most significant decrease was for Puerto Rican workers dropping from 3.5% in 1980 to .3% in 2012-2016, followed by Non-Latinos decreasing from 4.3% in 1980 to 3.6% in 2012-2016, and by Mexican workers, from 1.8% in 1980, to 1.7% in 2012-2016. While this was not one of the largest industries for any of the groups, it averaged the third-highest wages for Latino workers.

The Personal Services industry also varied in growth amongst the groups, with the only decreases occurring in the Puerto Rican subgroup. The percentage of Other Latino workers increased from 4.3% in 1980 to 5.9% in 2012-2016, followed by Non-Latinos that increased from 2.6% in 1980 to 3.4% in 2012-2016, by Mexican workers that increased from 3.4% in 1980 to 4.2% in 2012-2016, and Cuban workers going from 0.7% in 1980, to 2.5% in 2012-2016. The percentage of Puerto Rican workers decreased from 2.5% in 1980 to 1.6% in 2012-2016. This industry was also not in the top-five largest positions for any of the groups while averaging the fourth-lowest wages for Latinos as a whole.

The thirteen industries split into the six-lowest and six-highest paying industries, with the Mining industry right in the middle. Table 5.7a shows how Latinos are concentrated in the bottom six, with Mexicans, Other Latinos and Puerto Ricans having the highest percentages in these industries. The Mexican labor force had the highest total percentage at 61.5%, followed by the Other Latino labor force at 50.8%, the Puerto Rican labor force at 50.2%, the Cuban labor force at 43.8%, and Non-Latinos at 38.6%. There were significant decreases since 1980, however, with the percentage of Mexicans decreasing from 72.2% and Puerto Ricans decreasing from 67.9%, Other Latinos decreased from 61.1% and Non-Latinos from 50.4%. The Cuban labor force was the only group that increased during this period, from 36.4%.

As other Tables showed, when compared to other groups, Mexicans have the highest concentrations in the lowest-paying industries. Inversely, Non-Latinos had the highest percentage of their labor force in the six-highest paying industries at 61.3%, followed by Cubans at 56.4%, Other Latinos at 49.1%, Puerto Ricans at 47% (Mining – 3.1%), and Mexicans at 38.4%. The shares have increased for every group with the exception of Cubans, with Non-Latino labor increasing from 49.7%, the Other Latino labor category from 39%, the Puerto Rican labor force from 31.9%, and the Mexican labor force from 27.9%. Cubans were the only group to decrease—from 61.1%.

Data Highlights

While overall there has been economic progress for Latinos as a whole, Latino workers continue to be segmented in the lowest-paying industries and occupations**.** Additionally, Latinos have not progressed to the same extent as other racial/ethnic groups, most notably Non-Latino Whites and Asians, have. Both Latino men and women earned the lowest wages in Construction; Manufacturing; Transportation, Communications and Public Utilities; Retail Trade; Business and Repair Services; and Entertainment and Recreational Services. African-American men and women both earned the lowest wages in Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries; Mining; and Public

Administration. In Wholesale Trade and FIRE, Latino men and African-American women had the lowest wages. In Personal Services, Latino men and Asian women had the lowest wages. In Professional and Related Services, African-American men and Latina women had the lowest wages.

Wages by occupation show a similar picture for Latino workers. Both Latino men and women had the lowest wages in the occupations of Executive, Administrative, and Managerial; Management Related; Professional Specialty; Sales; Administrative Support Occupations, Including Clerical; Precision Production, Craft, and Repair Occupations; and Operators, Fabricators, and Laborers. In Technicians and Related Support, African-American men and Latina women had the lowest wages. In Service occupations, Asian men had slightly lower wages than Latino and African-American, while Latina women had the lowest wages. In Farming, Forestry and Fishing, African-American men and Asian women had the lowest wages.

There were also several industries where wages have decreased for Latinos between 1980 and 2012-2016. For Latino men, Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries decreased from an average compensation of $25,761 in 1980 to $23,397 in 2012-2016. Mining went from $58,719 in 1980 to $37,597 in 2012-2016. Transportation, Communications and Public Utilities decreased from $45,422 in 1980 to $42,483 in 2012-2016. Retail Trade decreased from $25,923 in 1980 to $24,203 in 2012-2016, and Business and Repair Services decreased from $33,303 in 1980 to $30,957 in 2012-2016. For Latina women, however, there were increases in every industrial category.

Decreases were not as significant by occupation for Latino men. In Administrative Support Occupations, Including Clerical, average wages decreased from $31,782 in 1980 to $30,527 in 2012-2016. In Farming, Forestry and Fishing Occupations, wages decreased from $22,580 in 1980 to $22,370 in 2012-2016. In Precision Production, Craft, and Repair Occupations, wages decreased from $42,662 in 1980 to $39,284 in 2012-2016. In Operators, Fabricators, and Laborers, the largest occupational category for Latinos, wages decreased from $34,020 in 1980 to $31,086 in 2012-2016. For Latina women, only one category experienced a decrease in wages, Operators, Fabricators, and Laborers, which went from $21,432 in 1980 to $19,849 in 2012-2016.

The data also shows that there has been more significant economic growth for other Latino groups except for Mexicans and Puerto Ricans. While Puerto Rican migration since 1980 has not continued to the same extent that it did during the 1993 Betancur et. al..study, Mexican migration has increased significantly since 1980. The total Mexican population within the city limits was 255,802 in 1980, 352,560 in 1990, 530,462 in 2000, 578,100 in 2010, and 591,897 in 2012-2016. Growth, however, has not occurred for Puerto Ricans during the same time period. The total Puerto Rican population in the city was 112,074 in 1980, 119,866 in 1990, and 113,055 in 2000, 102,703 in 2010, increasing slightly to 103,560 in 2012-2016. No other Latino subgroup currently has more than 20,000 total persons within the city. The next two largest, Ecuadorians and Guatemalans, have 19,057 and 18,574 respectively. Therefore, both the Mexican and Puerto Rican labor forces have been dominant within Latino labor. Furthermore, the growth of the Mexican population combined with its consistent replenishment via Mexican immigrants in search of employment have supplied several industries with the low-wage labor that they need to function.

The economic progress for the Mexican population since 1980 has not happened to the same extent that it has happened for other Latino subgroups, especially Cubans and Other Latinos (see Table 5.7a). As was previously mentioned, in 2012-2016, 61.5% of the Mexican labor force worked in the lowest paying industries, compared to 50.8% of the Other Latino groups in the labor force, 50.2% of the Puerto Rican labor force, 43.8% of the Cuban labor force, and 38.6% of the Non-Latino labor force. These numbers have decreased since 1980, going from 72.2% for Mexicans, 67.9% for Puerto Ricans, 61.1% for Other Latinos, and 50.4% for Non-Latinos. Cubans, however, increased the share of their labor force in the lowest-paying industries from 36.4%. Between 1980 and 2012-2016, there was only a 10.7% decrease for Mexicans, 17.7% for Puerto Ricans, 10.3% decrease for Other Latinos, and 11.8% for Non-Latinos, while Cubans increased by 7.4%. Although the percentage of Cubans increased and Other Latinos had a slightly lower decrease, the fact that the Mexican labor force is so much larger than the other groups also explains the larger presence of Mexican workers in the lowest-paying industries.

Occupational breakdown shows an even higher concentration of Mexican workers in the lowest-paying occupations. In 1980, 93.1% of the Mexican labor force were in the lowest-paying occupations, followed by 91.3% of the Puerto Rican labor force, 81.7% of the Other Latino labor force, 78.7% of the Cuban labor force, and 74% of the Non-Latino labor force. In 2012-2016, 86.4% of the Mexican labor force was in the lowest-paying occupations, compared to 75.7% of the Puerto Rican labor force, 69.8% of the Other Latino labor force, 59.8% of the Cuban labor force, and 57% of the Non-Latino labor force. There was only a decrease of 6.7% for the Mexican labor force, compared to 15.6% for Puerto Ricans, 11.9% for Other Latinos, 18.9% for Cubans, and 17% for Non-Latinos. Once again, the Mexican labor force had the highest percentages of workers in the lowest paying occupations and also had the slowest occupational mobility growth compared to other groups.

Educational attainment by race/ethnicity also shows that Latinos and African-Americans have average lower wages compared to other groups, even when accounting for a college degree. The Asian population, however, displayed similar wages as Latinos and African-Americans in the categories of No Schooling, Less than 9th Grade, 9th Grade to 12th Grade, and 1-3 Years of College. In the 4 or More Years of College category, however, Asians had significantly higher wages than both Latinos and African-Americans. It is important to note the differences in educational attainment by racial/ethnic group. Fifty-nine percent of Non-Latino White adults aged 25 or over had a college degree, compared to 58% of Asians, 19% of African-Americans, and 14% of Latinos. Inversely, 38% of Latino adults over the age of 25 had less than a high school degree, compared to 17% of African-Americans, 13% of Asians, and 6% of Non-Latino Whites. Therefore, there are far fewer Latinos and African-Americans earning the wages that a college degree provides; still, both groups are paid far less than Non-Latino Whites and Asians in these categories. The fact that nearly 38% of Latino adults did not have a high school diploma explains the largest percent of this group earning the lowest wages compared to other groups. Yet, again, there appears to be a racial effect across the board as Whites consistently make higher wages that all other subgroups in all occupational and industrial categories.

VII. Latino Settlements in Chicago area – Continued Growth and Disbursement

Latino settlement in Chicago was initially shaped by the geography of industry, and the neighborhoods of the Near West Side, South Chicago, and Back of the Yards all received a large influx of Mexican laborers beginning in 1916 due to their proximity to industrial employment (Año Nuevo Kerr, 1976; Betancur et. al., 1993; Fernandez, 2012; Innis-Jiménez, 2013; Acosta-Córdova, 2017). With the exception of the Near West Side, both neighborhoods continue to be large Mexican settlements. Urban Renewal, the construction of the Dan Ryan, Kennedy, and Eisenhower expressways, and the construction of the University of Illinois at Chicago Circle Campus (later UIC) all combined to destroy any remnants of the Mexican (Harrison and Halsted) and Puerto Rican (La Madison) settlements in the Near West Side (Fernandez, 2012). The Mexican population primarily migrated south into Pilsen and Little Village, while the Puerto Rican population moved north to Lincoln Park only to be uprooted and displaced by Urban Renewal once again, and then forced westward into West Town and Humboldt Park (ibid). These areas, along with Back of the Yards and South Chicago would serve as the primary points of entry for new arrivals as the city's Latino population rapidly expanded (Acosta-Córdova, 2017).

In addition to cultural similarities, all of these neighborhoods shared the common trait of being located adjacent to one of Chicago's 26 officially designated industrial corridors (see Maps 1-5). Pilsen and Little Village are both located just north of the Chicago Sanitary and Ship Canal, which is a man-made waterway built for the purposes of moving ships and cargo between the St. Lawrence River in Canada and the Mississippi River, thus providing a route from the Atlantic Ocean, on the eastern coast of the country, to the Gulf of Mexico on the southern coast. Due to this history, both banks of the canal are used for industrial purposes, all of them within industrial corridors. The Little Village industrial corridor is 1,252.2 acres, and the Pilsen industrial corridor is 1,070.1 acres, the 3rd and 5th largest in the city respectively (City of Chicago, 2019). Back of the Yards is located directly south of the Stockyards industrial corridor that, at 1,497.8 acres, is the 2nd largest in the city (ibid.). South Chicago is located directly north of the Calumet Industrial Corridor, which is the largest in the city at 4,197 acres (ibid.). West Town and Humboldt Park are also both in close to proximity to three industrial corridors, Kinzie (854.4 acres), Northwest (799.5 acres), and the North Branch (760 acres) (ibid.). While all of these neighborhoods are in fact located near industrial areas, this does not necessarily mean that local community members were necessarily employed in these areas. Yet, no other racial or ethnic group lives closer to industry overall than Latinos do (see Maps 1-5).

As Latinos continued to migrate exponentially into the city of Chicago between the 1980's and the 2000's, given the limited housing supply in the traditional Latino enclaves, new arrivals had to seek housing in other neighborhoods, as well as in several suburban communities (See Maps 6-10). Traditional ethnic-European enclaves throughout the Southwest and Northwest parts of the city, started emptying out with white flight began seeing an influx of new Latino arrivals during the 1980's (Betancur et. al.; Acosta-Córdova, 2017). The Southwest side of the city experienced some of the most significant and rapid processes of ethnic succession during this time period with the neighborhoods of Brighton Park, Gage Park, West Elsdon, and West Lawn all going from over 90% non-Latino White, to more than 80% and 90% Latino between 1980 and 2017, while Archer Heights (76.9%) and McKinley Park (62.8%) also increased their Latino populations very significantly (Acosta-Córdova, 2017).

Other Southwest side neighborhoods where Latinos are the largest racial/ethnic group in 2012-2016 include Clearing (49.7%), Garfield Ridge (48.6%), and Latinos are the second largest group in Ashburn (37.8%) (ACS-2012-2016). In addition to these areas, Back of the Yards also transitioned from a majority Ethnic-European to a Latino enclave during this time. Located within the community area of New City, which also includes Canaryville, the total population between the two neighborhoods went from 99.6% White (Latinos included) in 1960, to 41.8% African-American, 39.3% Latino, and 31.8% Non-Latino White in 1990; 50.2% Latino, 35.7% African-American, and 34.6% Non-Latino White in 2000; 57.7% Latino, 29.4% African-American, and 10.4% Non-Latino White in 2010; and 61.5% Latino, 23.1% African-American, and 12.1% Non-Latino White in 2012-2016 (U.S. Census Bureau; ACS 2012-2016)

Little Village (84%) and Pilsen (77.9%) both continue to be primarily Mexican enclaves. Pilsen has experienced gentrification and displacement since 2000, however, large-scale development and mass displacement has not yet occurred to the same extent as West Town, Logan Square, and Humboldt Park (Betancur, 2005 & 2011; Anderson, Sternberg, 2013). There are many reasons for this, including community activism and resistance, the 2008 housing crisis which stalled new development, as well as the geography of the aforementioned neighborhoods, which are located to the directly west of the wealthy, predominantly non-Latino White neighborhoods of the Near North Side, Lincoln Park, and Lakeview (ibid). The demand for real estate in West Town, Logan Square, and Humboldt Park was significant, therefore these neighborhoods have redeveloped and gentrified much quicker than Pilsen. Nevertheless, gentrification in Pilsen has noticeably increased since 2010 as evidenced by increased housing costs, land values, and a slight increase in the percentage of non-Latino White from 12.4% to 15% in 2012-2016 (Betancur, 2011; ACS 2012-2016).

Little Village has not experienced a significant influx of development or of non-Latino Whites, and continues to be the second largest Latino neighborhood in the city by total population, and has the largest concentration of Mexicans not only in the city, but in the entire Midwest (Acosta-Córdova, 2017). It is important to note that within the boundaries of Little Village is Cook County Jail, the largest single site jail in the country (ibid). The population within the jail are also included in the total population, which increases the percentage of African-Americans in the area due to historical systemic racism, and nationwide mass incarceration (ibid). When the census tract that contains the jail is removed from the total population, the percentage of Latinos increases from 84% to 92.1%, and the percentage of African-Americans decreases from 11.9% to 4.5% (ACS 2012-2016). Although real estate investment in the neighborhood has not yet accelerated, many community activists are anticipating an increase in the near future due to the proximity of Pilsen, and the City of Chicago's Department of Planning and Development initiative to repurpose a 4-mile stretch of an abandoned railway into a multi-purpose walking and biking trail. Known as "El Paseo," the trail would connect Pilsen and Little Village, and will have a major impact on the adjacent land and home values (City of Chicago Department of Planning and Development, 2019). A similar trail was constructed along the border of West Town, Logan Square, and Humboldt Park, the “606” Bloomingdale Trail, and it has exacerbated the process of displacement due to increases in land values and housing costs upon the announcement of the project (DePaul Institute of Housing Studies). Due to the experience along the 606, community activists have been fighting to ensure that considerations for long term displacement happen before the project is completed. The future of Pilsen and Little Village is uncertain, and real estate developers are eager to move in before the project breaks ground.

The Northwest side of the city also experienced significant demographic shifts during this same time period; however, the ethnic succession was not as significant in terms of the ethnic-white flight that has occurred on the Southwest side (Acosta-Córdova, 2017). The Northwest side neighborhoods of Logan Square (1960-70’s reaching a peak of 65% in 2000 and declining to 46% in 2012-2016), Humboldt Park (54.8%), Hermosa (87%), Belmont Cragin (80.6%--largest total Latino population in the city), Avondale (61.2%), Montclare (58.3%), Albany Park (48.3%), and Irving Park (44.6%), all became large Latino enclaves during this time period (ibid). Other areas such as Portage Park (42.7%), Dunning (29%) and Jefferson Park (22.9%) have also experienced recent demographic shifts, and may become majority Latino in the near future (Acosta-Córdova, 2017; ACS 2012-2016). In addition to these areas, the area known as West Town transitioned from an ethnic-European enclave, to a majority Latino enclave, but became majority white again with gentrification since 1990 (Fernandez, 2012; Acosta-Córdova, 2017). The percentage of Latinos in West Town has decreased from 62% in 1990, to 46.9% in 2000, to 23.7% in 2010, to 26.4% in 2012-2016 (U.S. Census; ACS 2012-2016).

The Northwest side neighborhood with the most significant ethnic succession from 1980 to 2012-2016 is Belmont Cragin, which recently surpassed Little Village as the neighborhood with the largest total Latino population in the city (Acosta-Córdova, 2017). It differs, however, in terms of diversity of Latinos, whereas Little Village is 86% Mexican, Belmont Cragin is a mix of Mexican (54.9%), Puerto Rican (15.8%), Guatemalan (2.7%), Ecuadorian (2.1%), as well as smaller populations of many other Latino groups (ACS 2012-2016). In 1980, Latinos represented only 6% of the total population in the area (U.S. Census 1980). This increased to 30% in 1990, 65% in 2000, 77% in 2010, and 80.6% in 2012-2016 (U.S. Census; ACS 2012-2016). This influx of Latinos also significantly increased the total population in the neighborhood, going from 53,371 in 1980, to 78,155 in 2012-2016 (ibid). This is also a major difference between Little Village and Belmont Cragin, Little Village has lost nearly 20,000 residents since 2000, decreasing from 91,071 to 73,983 in 2012-2016 (ibid). Based on current trends of population loss in Little Village, and growth in Belmont Cragin, the neighborhood will likely continue as the largest current Latino settlement in the city.

On the Southeast side of the city, South Chicago (21%) and South Deering (28.3%) continue to be smaller Latino enclaves as African-Americans became the majority in both neighborhoods (ACS 2012-2016). The Latino settlements in South Chicago and South Deering are among the oldest in city, with the first groups arriving after World War when they were recruited as strikebreakers to work in the nearby steel factories (Innis-Jiménez, 2013). Latinos remained in the area, even as most of the Ethnic-European groups abandoned the neighborhood following the collapse of the steel industry. South Chicago went from being 94.8% White (Latinos included), and 4.9% African-American in 1960, to 61.5% African-American, 33.6% Latino, and 16.8% Non-Latino White in 1990 (U.S. Census). The Latino population decreased, however, to 27.4% in 2000, 18.1% in 2010, and 21% in 2012-2016 (U.S. Census; ACS 2012-2016). The demographic shifts were similar in South Deering, with the population going from 99.2% White (Latinos included) and 0.7% African-American in 1960, to 59% African-American, 28.4% Latino, and 23.3% Non-Latino White in 1990 (U.S. Census). The Latino population then increased to 30.5% in 2000, 45.3% in 2010, but has decreased to 28.3% according to 2012-2016 estimates (U.S. Census; ACS 2012-2016). Latinos have migrated also in the south into the Eastside and Hegewisch to become the largest group in both neighborhoods. The total percentage of Latinos in Eastside increased from 13% in 1980, to 40% in 1990, to 68.1% in 2000, 78.7% in 2010, and 80% in 2012-2016 (ibid). In Hegewisch, the changes were not as significant, going from 12.7%

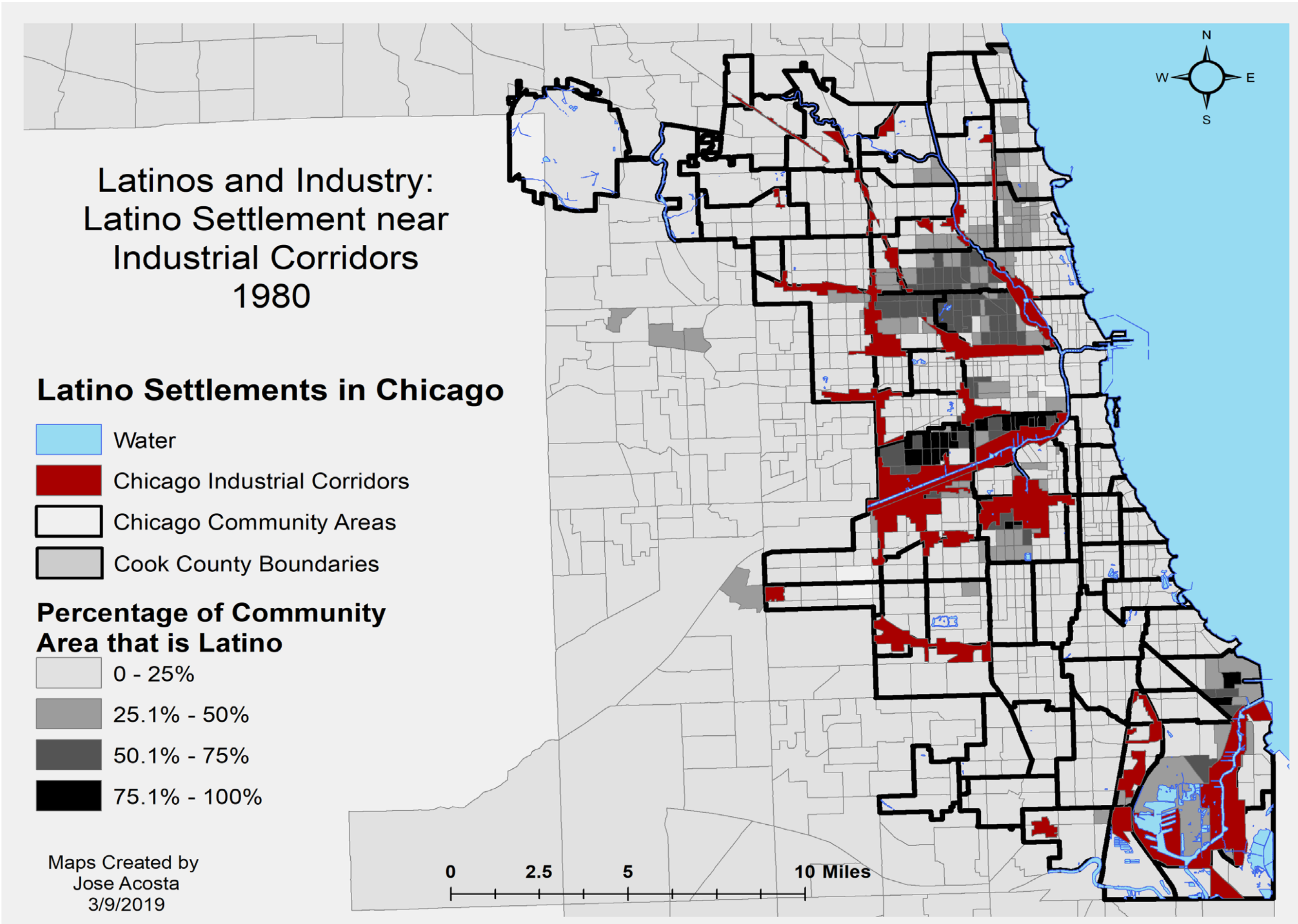
in 1990 to 28.8% in 2000, to 30.4% in 2010, to 50% in 2012-2016 (ibid).

As was the case for the original enclaves, the vast majority of these neighborhoods are in close proximity to industrial corridors, especially the Southwest and Southeast neighborhoods. In addition to the Little Village, Pilsen, Stockyards, and Calumet Industrial Corridors, are the Stevenson (1,245.3 acres, 4th largest overall), Greater Southwest (1,022.9 acres, 6th largest), and the Brighton Park (400 acres) Industrial Corridors (City of Chicago, 2019). The boundaries of every majority Latino neighborhood in the Southwest and Southeast sides of the city intersect with an industrial corridor (see Maps 1-5). Within the city limits of Chicago, there is an inescapable spatial relationship between Latinos and industry. This relationship is not as pronounced in the northwest neighborhoods as it is further south, mainly due to the fact that the 6 largest industrial corridors are all located south of Madison Ave., as are the majority of historically industrial land uses in the city.

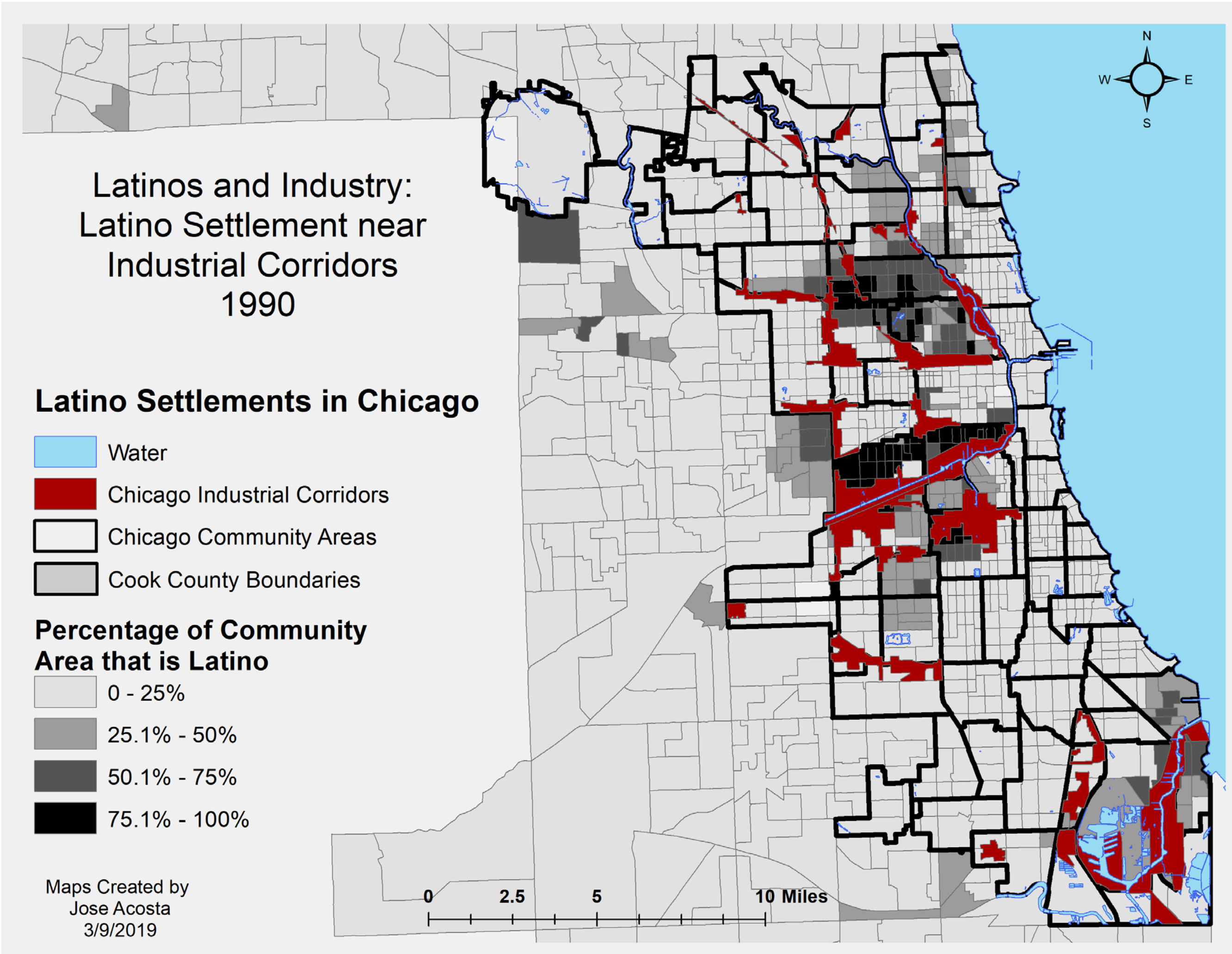
In addition to Latino settlement within the city limits, suburban communities have seen a significant influx of Latinos since 1980 (See Maps 6-10). This is especially true for the largest suburban municipalities of Chicago. Latinos are a significant population in 5 out of the top 6 largest suburban communities within the state boundaries, and are in fact the largest racial/ethnic group in Cicero (6th largest, 74,555 Latinos, 88.8% of pop.), Waukegan (5th largest, 48,966 Latinos, 55.5% of pop.), Elgin (4th largest, 50,457 Latinos, 45.1% of pop.), and Aurora (largest, 85,817 Latinos, 42.7% of pop.) (ACS 2012-2016). Latinos are the second largest group in Joliet (2nd largest, 41,883 Latinos, 28.4% of pop.), but have not migrated into the wealthy suburb of Naperville (3rd largest, 8,750 Latinos, 6% of total pop.) to the same extent (ibid). Within the six-county region, there are 1,893,436 Latinos in total, which increases to more than 2 million when including the populations of Lake County, Indiana, and Kenosha County, Wisconsin, both of which are part of greater Chicagoland (ACS 2012-2016). This means that more Latinos live in suburban communities than in the city, which has a population of 790,548 (ibid). All of this growth has occurred since 1980 (see maps 6-10), however Mexican workers migrated to Aurora and Elgin as early as the 1920's due to the availability of employment in manufacturing

(Chicago Encyclopedia). Growth to the rest of the suburban area, however, drastically increased during the 1990's and 2000's (Paral, Ready, Chun, Sun, 2004). While migration to the suburbs for non-Latino Whites was traditionally viewed as upward economic mobility, Latino settlement in the suburbs has been significantly different. Although Latino households in the suburbs earn roughly $11,000 more in annual household income, they also work an average of 8 more hours per week than Latinos in Chicago (Koval, 2011). Additionally, suburban Latino households earn roughly $4,000 more than suburban African-Americans, but $23,000 less than suburban non-Latino Whites, $38,000 less than suburban Chinese and Indians, $36,000 less than Filipinos, and $20,000 less than Koreans and Polish (Ibid). Therefore, while suburban Latino and African-American households earn more than their urban counterparts, both groups earn significantly less income than all other major populations in the region.

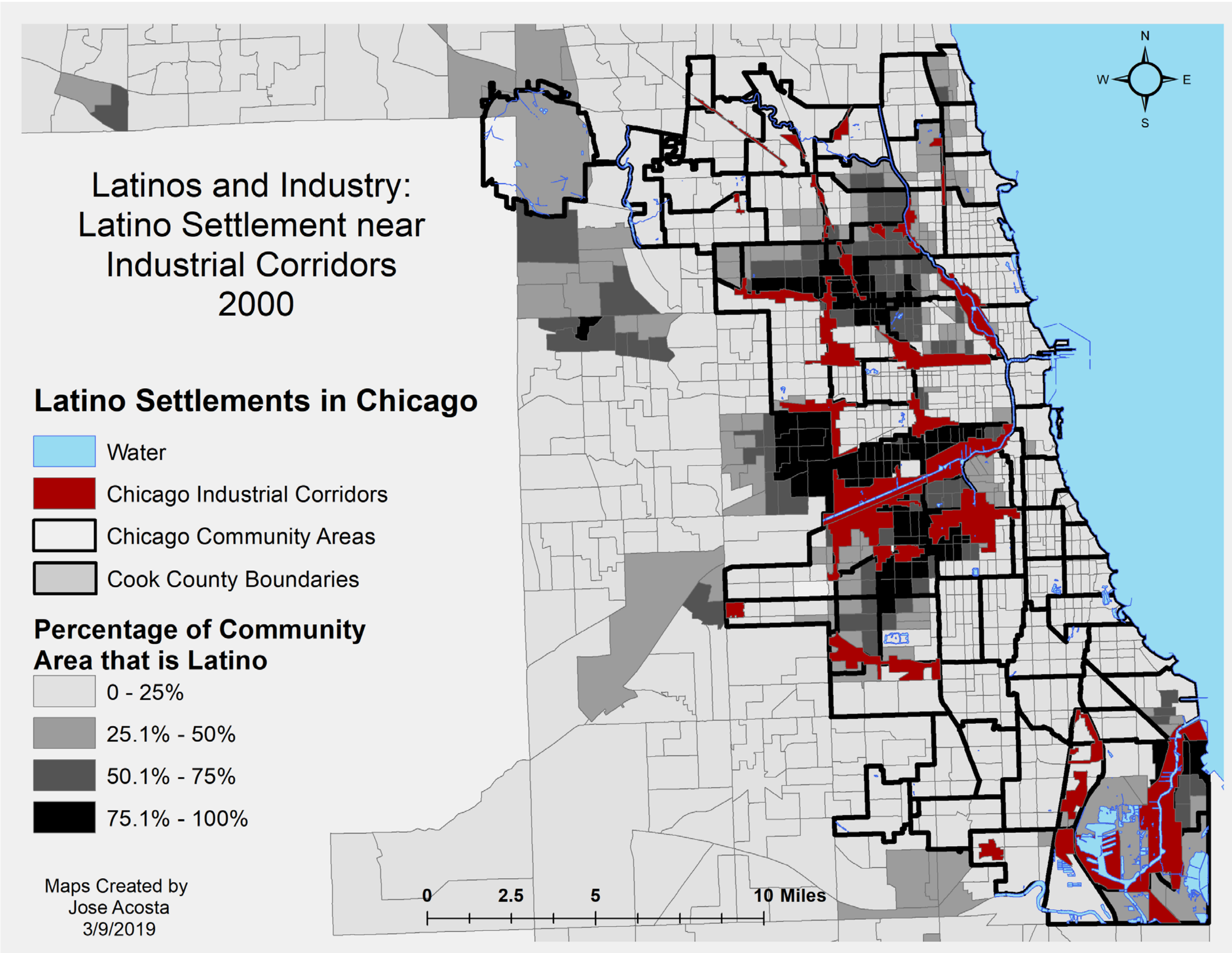
Map 1 – Latinos and Industry: Latino Settlement near Industrial Corridors, 1980



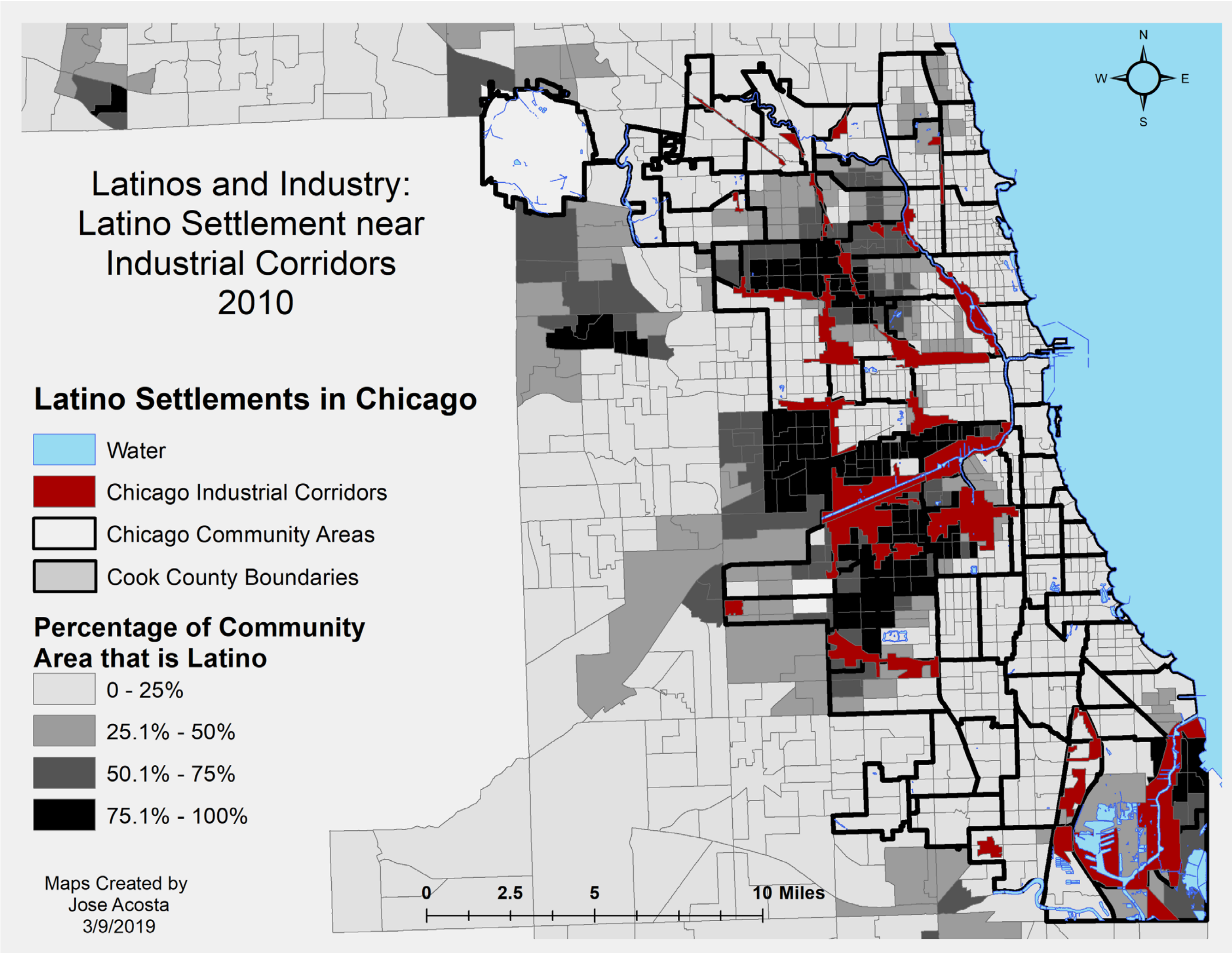
Map 2 – Latinos and Industry, Latino Settlement near Industrial Corridors, 1990



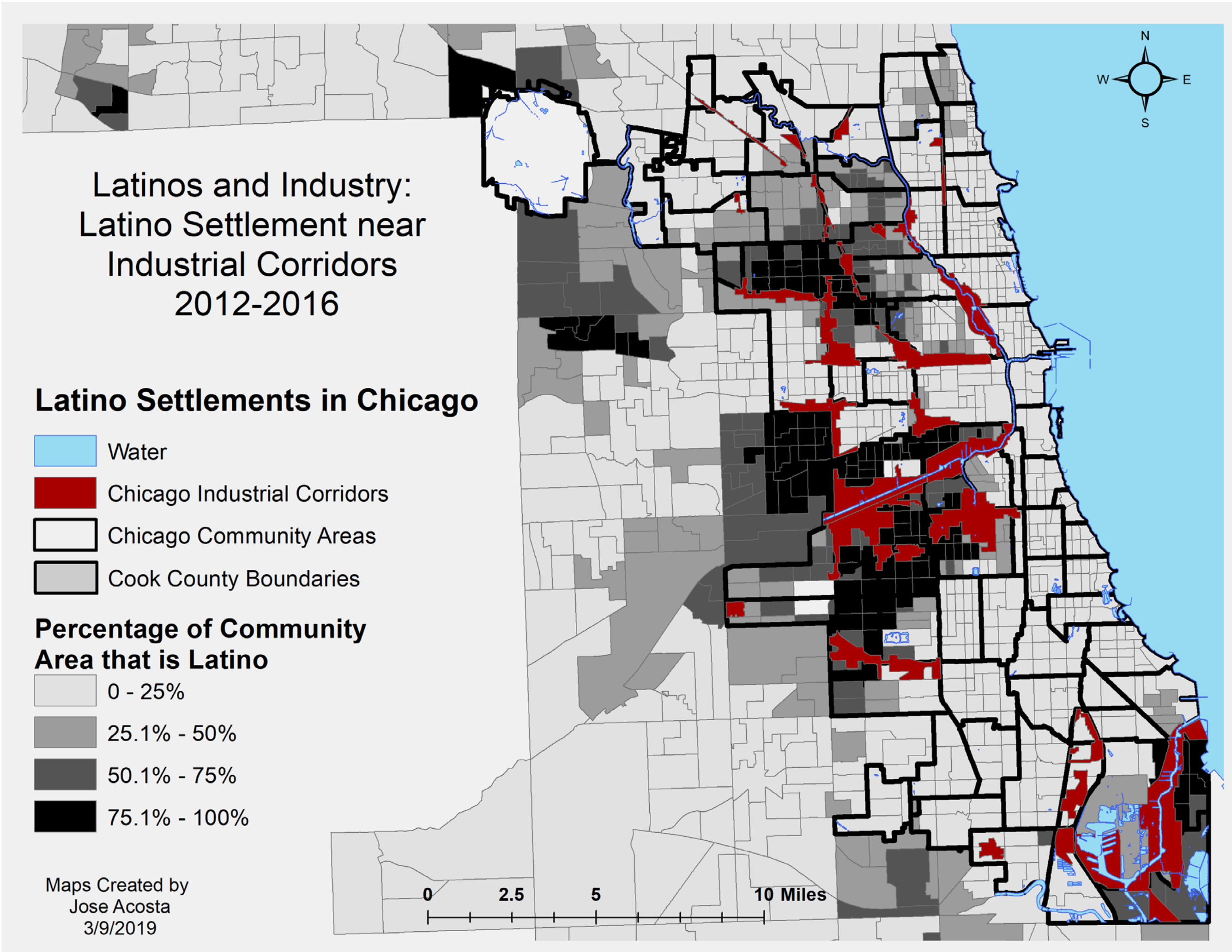
Map 3 – Latinos and Industry: Latino Settlement near Industrial Corridors, 2000



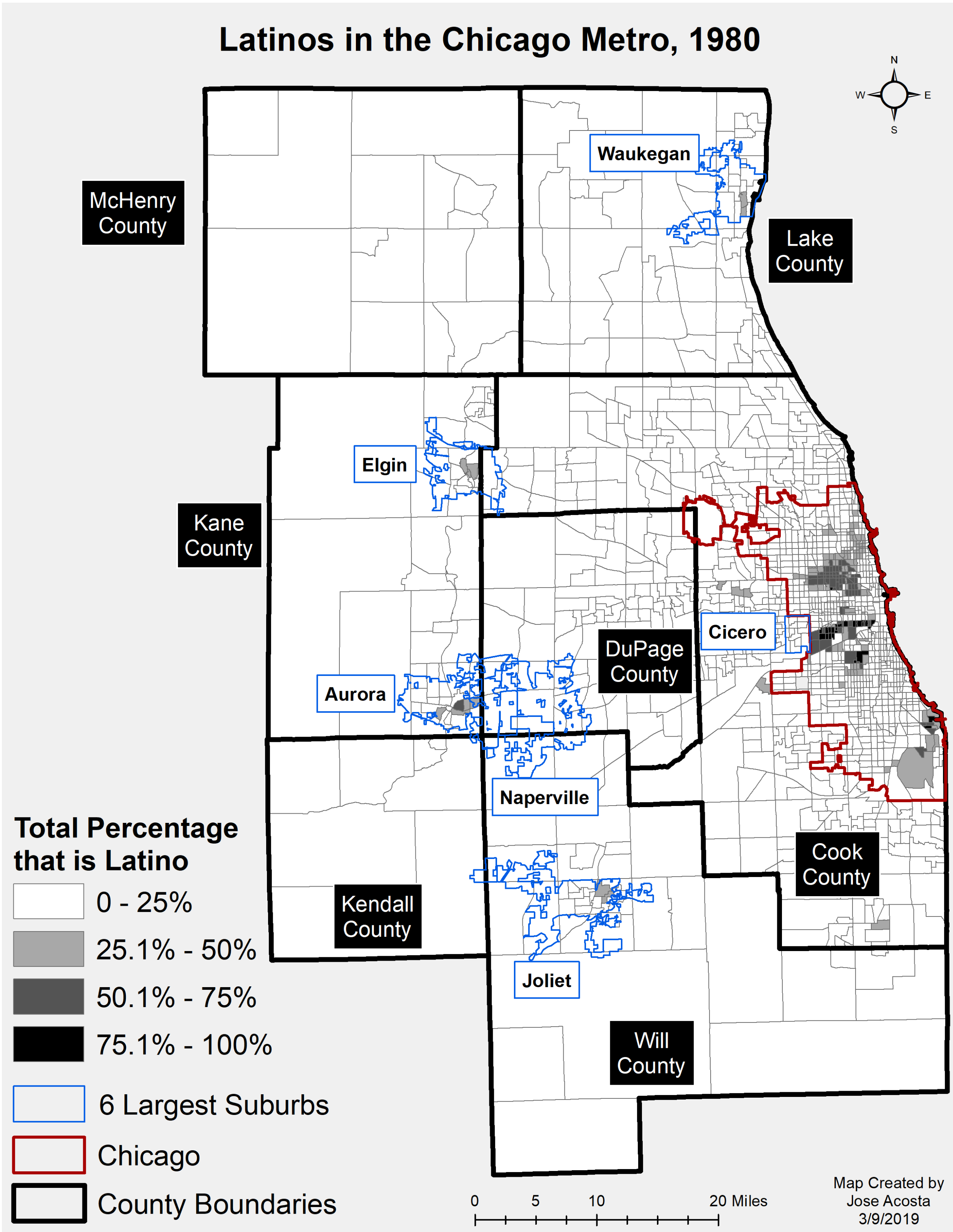
Map 4 – Latinos and Industry: Latino Settlement near Industrial Corridors, 2010



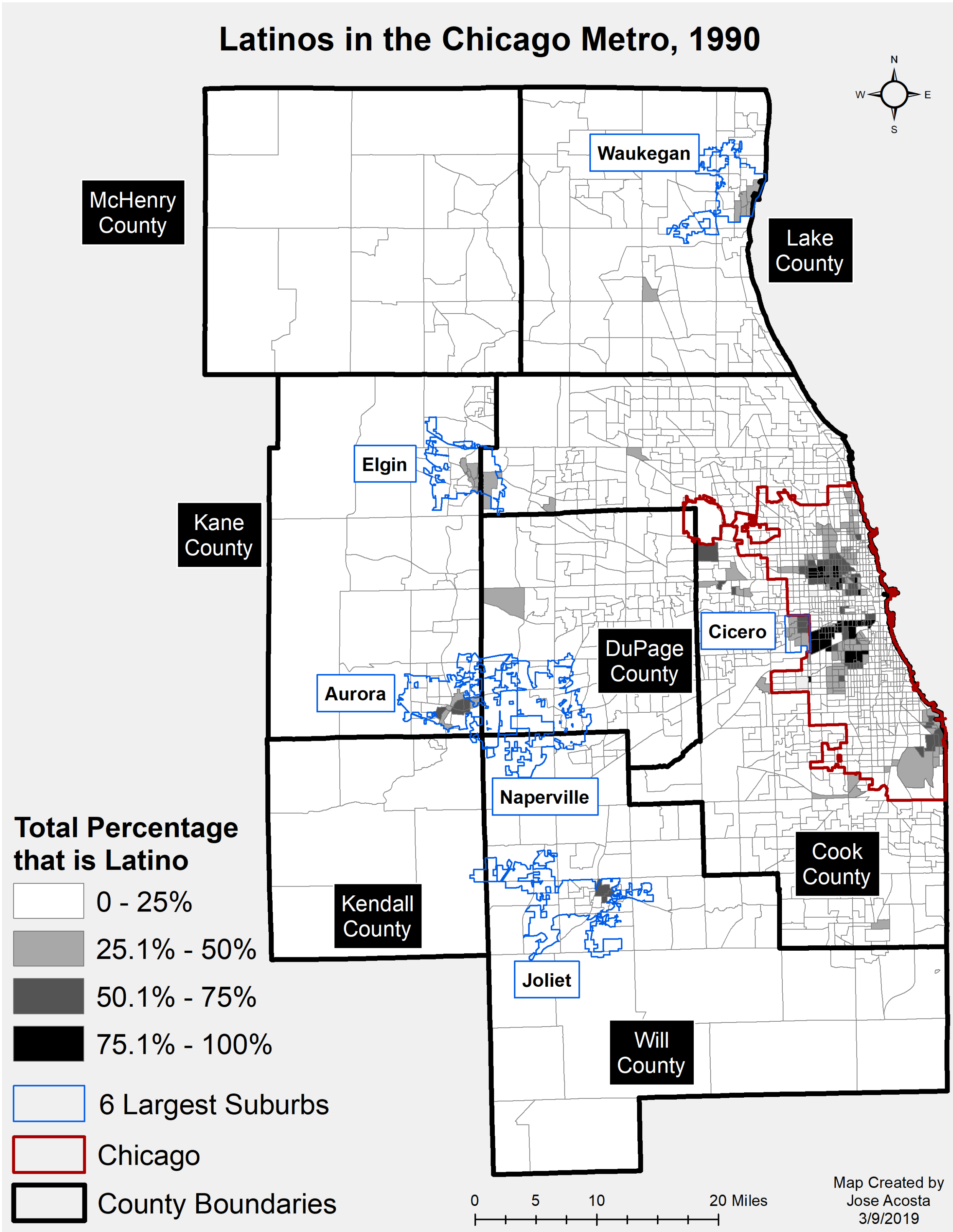
Map 5 – Latinos and Industry: Latino Settlement near Industrial Corridors, 2012-2016



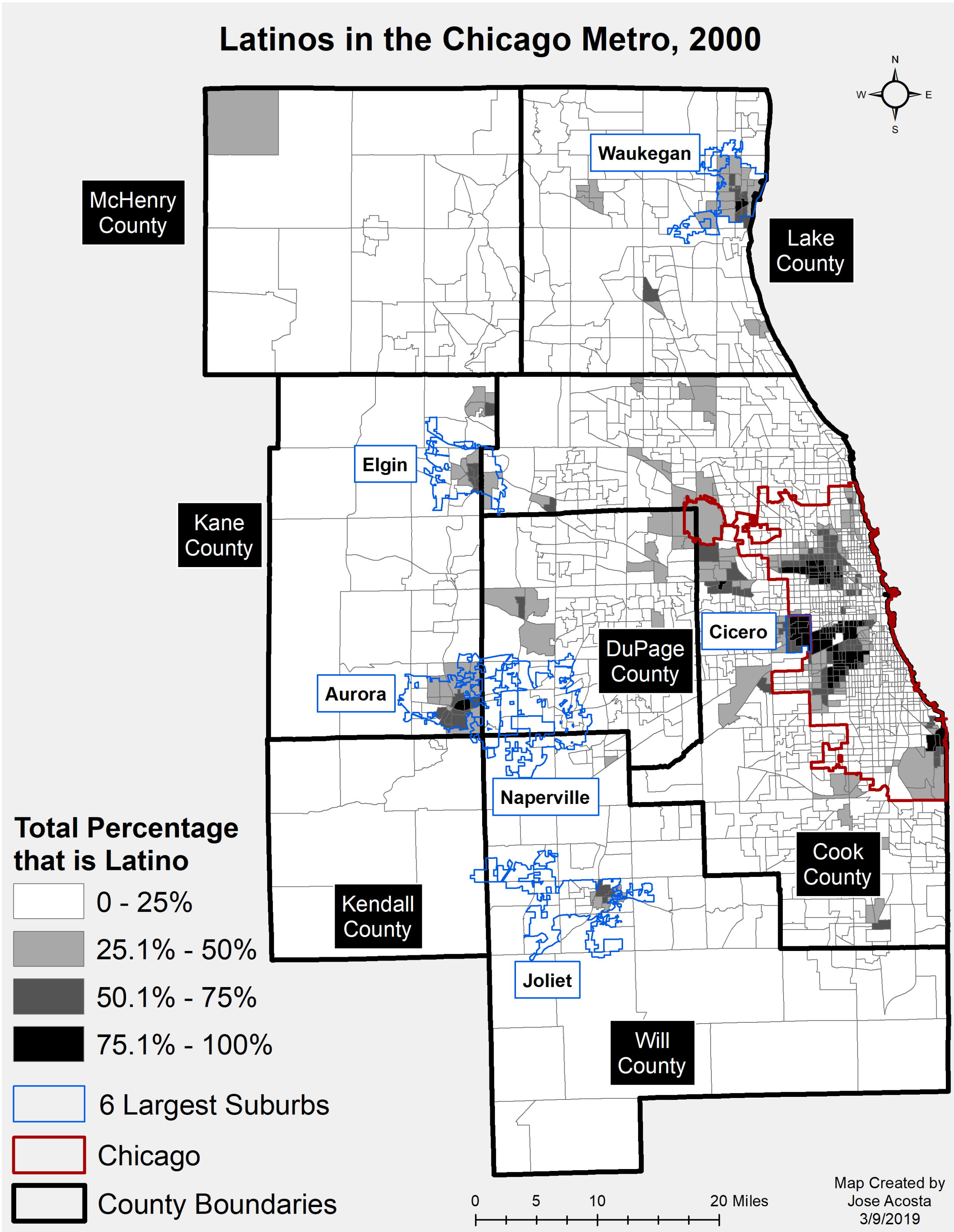
Map 6 – Latinos in the Chicago Metro, 1980



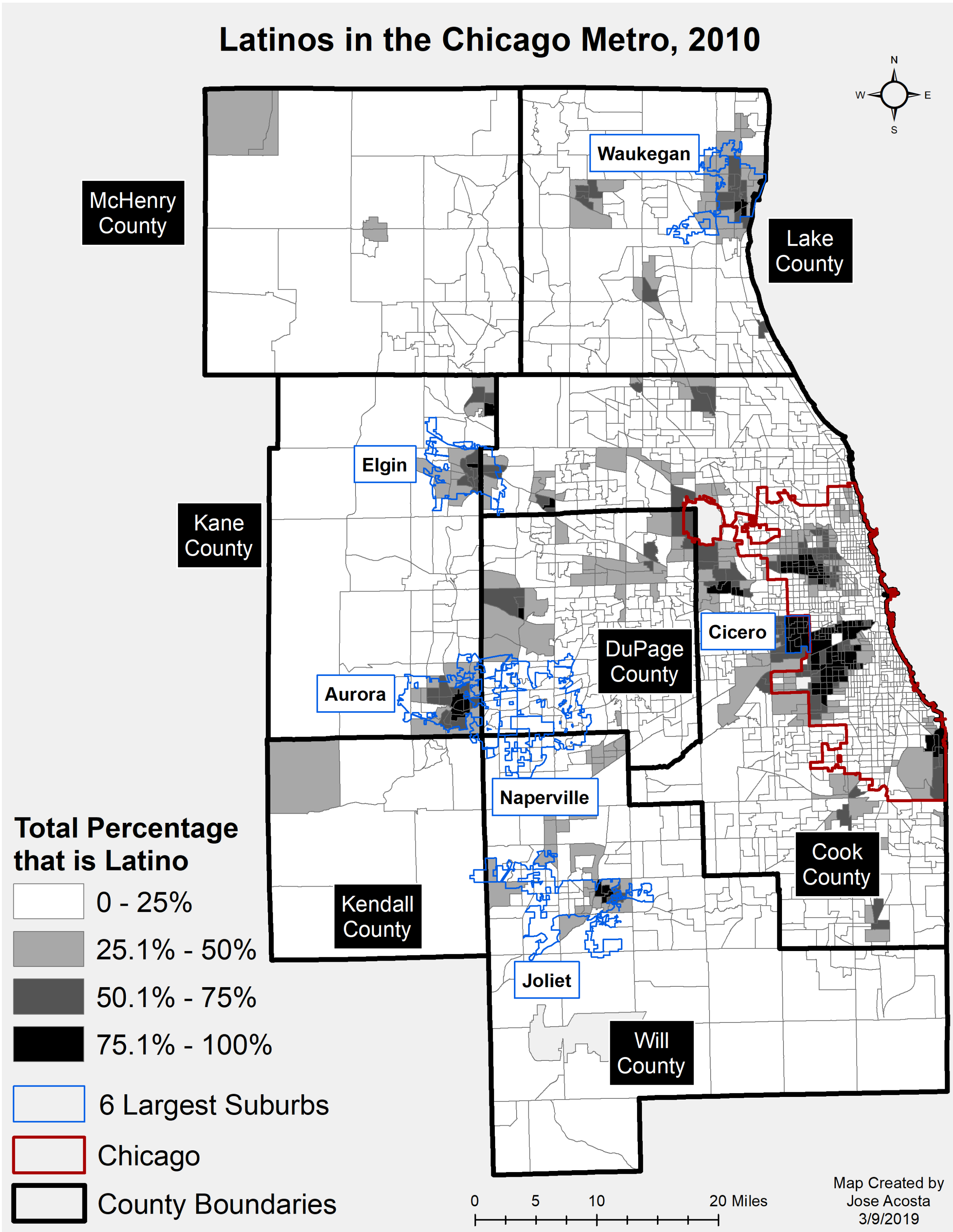
Map 7 – Latinos in the Chicago Metro, 1990



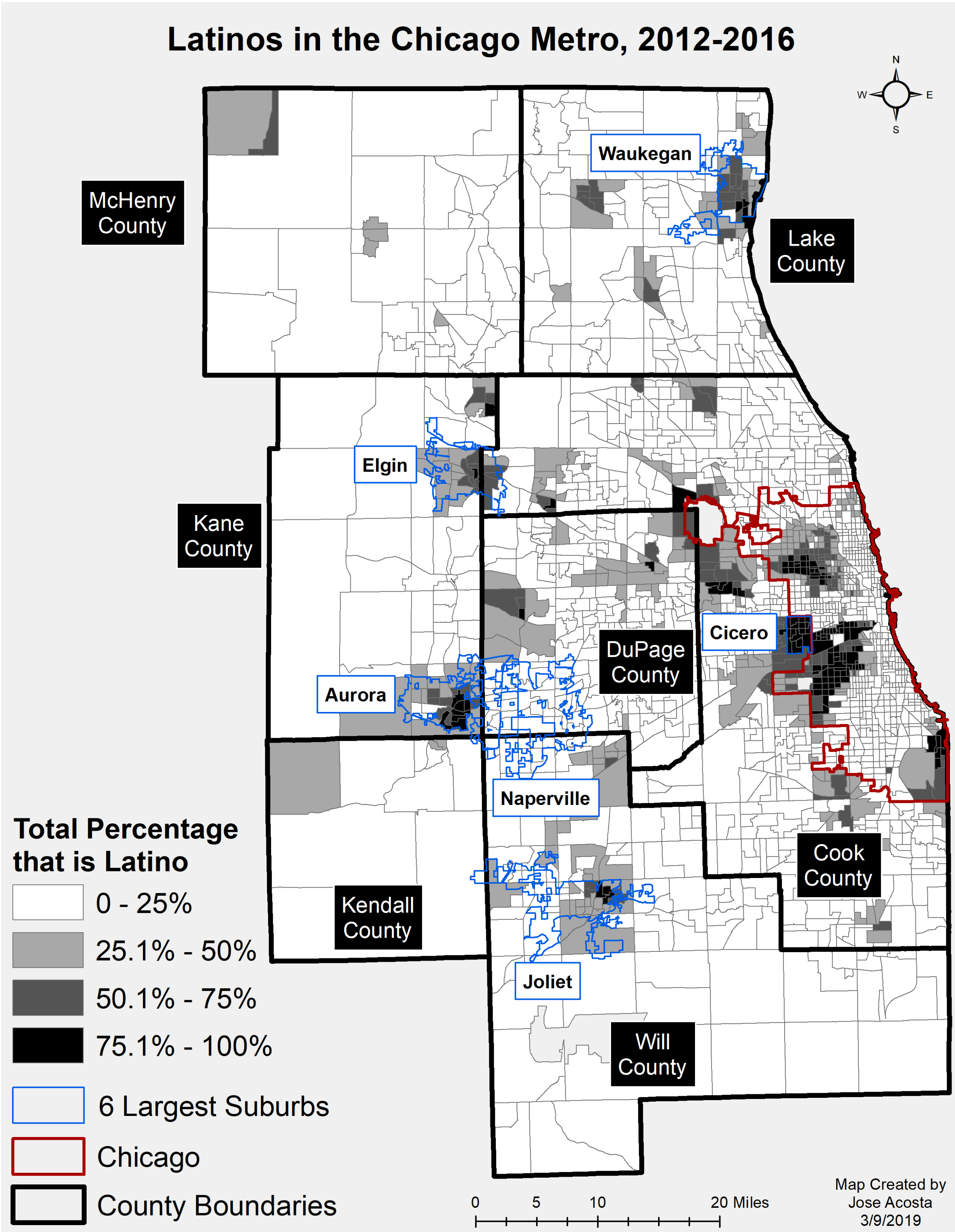
Map 8 – Latinos in the Chicago Metro, 2000



Map 9 – Latinos in the Chicago Metro, 2010



Map 10 – Latinos in the Chicago Metro, 2012-2016



VIII. Conclusions, Recommendations and Questions for Further Research

The 1993 study by Betancur et. al. concluded that Latino labor, primarily that of Mexicans and Puerto Ricans, facilitated the growth of the service sector in the Chicago economy while continuing to further entrench the segmentation of Latinos labor in low-wage service sector employment. They also described the conditions of "ascriptive low-wage labor," which restricted the options for labor force mobility for this group. Again, despite progress for Latinos in several industries and occupations, overall they tend to be segmented into jobs and industries with the lowest-wages. While African-Americans and Latinos both displayed similar conditions in most of the categories, Latinos had lower wages in more industries and occupations than any other group. This is crucial to understanding the reality of the economic conditions of Latino households throughout the region. On an individual basis, Latinos earn the lowest wages within the Chicago economy.

This also has several implications for policy makers. The educational attainment of Latinos is a major concern, especially considering there was such a high percentage of adult Latinos without a high school degree. However, even when accounting for a college degree, Latinos and African-Americans still earned far less than Non-Latino Whites and Asians. While a college degree alone won't solve the wage differences, increasing the college completion rates of Latinos and African-Americans may help increase the percentage of each group earning higher wages, while decreasing the percentage of Latinos without a high school diploma may help decrease the amount of Latinos earning the lowest wages.

Chicago's economy has changed drastically since 1980. However, manufacturing remains a key industry for Latino workers at 18.2% of the labor force, the third highest employer in 2012-2016. Retail Trade and Professional and Related Services are the two largest industries of employment for Latinos overall. Occupationally, Operators, Fabricators, and Laborers continues to be the largest category for Latinos; however, the most significant increase has taken place in Service occupations, which is now the second largest category for Latinos. Each of these occupational categories accounts for roughly a quarter of the labor force and, together, for almost half.

The growth of Latinos correlates with the overall growth of Service occupations, and no other racial/ethnic group experienced a larger increase in percentage of their labor force within this category than Latinos did.

The differences between Latinos in the city and Latinos in the suburbs need to be explored further. Out of the more than 2 million Latinos in the Chicago metropolitan area, roughly 1.2 million currently reside in Suburban communities. This growth has primarily been a result of the movement of manufacturing jobs to the suburbs. Suburban communities such as Aurora, Elgin, Waukegan, Joliet and Cicero have all attracted significant Latino populations due to the availability of employment in manufacturing related industries. Breaking down the details of employment in these communities was beyond the scope of this thesis. However, understanding any differences in economics between Latinos in the city and Latinos in the suburbs is crucial for policy makers across the region.

Regardless of any economic progress by Latinos since 1980, the amount of the labor force concentrated in low-wage industries and occupations shows that there is still ample room for growth. The fact that Latinos did not progress to the same extent as other racial/ethnic groups is also a major concern going forward. Since 1980, the Latino population has exploded in the region, and if it were not for this influx, both the city and the metropolitan area would have lost a significant amount of total population during this period. What is crucial to understand about the restructuring of the Chicago economy, were it not for the influx of Latino immigrants, many industries that have grown or remained in the area since would not have found the labor to do it. It is because of the large source of low-wage labor that these industries have prospered. Latino labor has helped transform Chicago from an industrial metropolis into a modern-day, service-based metropolis. One could argue, Latinos saved Chicago's economy.

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