Latino Immigrant Employment Trajectories During and After the Great Recession in the United States and Spain

Maria Aysa-Lastra
Department of Sociology and Anthropology
College of Arts and Sciences
Winthrop University
Objective and Road Map

› To describe changes in employment trends for non-immigrants and Latino immigrants in the United States and Spain during boom, bust and recovery periods.

› Road Map
  – Immigration trends
  – Great Recession: boom, bust & recovery
  – Bourdieu’s concepts of *field* & *habitus*
  – Data and Methods: groups and comparisons
  – Employment, unemployment and job quality
  – Conclusions
Immigration trends: US and Spain

Immigration trends in the US and Spain, 1995-2015

- Spain Non-citizens (in thousands)
- United States Non-citizens (in thousands)
- Spain % of Population
- United States % of Population
Boom, Bust and Recovery

Pierre Bourdieu: *field*

› STRUCTURE

- Competitive **social space** where agents exchange various kinds of capital.
- The field is **socially structured** by class, age, sex, gender, race, immigrant condition, etc.
- Opportunities in the social field are then **unequal** and create a spectrum of vulnerability (secure vs. susceptible)
Pierre Bourdieu: *habitus*

- **AGENCY**
  - *habitus*:
    - “internalized, ‘embodied’ social structures”.
    - They reflect objective divisions in the class structure, such as age groups, genders, and social classes, immigrant condition.
    - Those who occupy the same position within the social world tend to have similar *habitus*
Pierre Bourdieu: *habitus*

- **AGENCY**
  - *habitus*:
    - The existence of a multitude of habitus means that the social world and its structures do not impose themselves uniformly on all actors.
    - It does not negate the possibility of strategic calculation on the part of agents.
    - Resilience: expectations for action within a collectivity that affect the economic goals and goal-seeking behavior of its members.
Methods

› Compare the experiences of three groups of individuals
  – Citizens at birth
  – Naturalized citizens
  – Immigrants

› Emphasis on Latinos

› Two countries:
  – Main destinations for Latin American immigrants.
  – Largest adjustments on employment during GR

› Three periods: boom, bust and recovery
# Comparing Latinos in US and Spain

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SPAIN</th>
<th>UNITED STATES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>› Cultural proximity</td>
<td>› Geographical proximity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>› Regulated labor market</td>
<td>› Unregulated labor market</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>› Recent experience as an immigrant country</td>
<td>› Established immigrant flows</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>› Multicultural policies to integrate immigrants</td>
<td>› Absence of immigration reform</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>› Extraordinary and permanent regularization processes</td>
<td>› Racialization of Latino immigrants</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Data

› Spain
  – Economically Active Population Survey
    › Second quarter
  – Boom: 2002-2008 (6 years)
  – Bust: 2008-2014 (6 years)

› United States
  – Current Population Survey
    › March
  – Boom: 2002-2008 (6 years)
  – Bust: 2008-2011 (3 years)
  – Recovery: 2011-2013 (2 years)
## Employment: Jobs in the economy

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>United States</th>
<th></th>
<th>Spain</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Non-Hispanic</td>
<td>Naturalized</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>White US</td>
<td>Citizens</td>
<td>Citizens</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Citizens at</td>
<td>born in</td>
<td>born in</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>birth</td>
<td>Latin</td>
<td>Latin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>American</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Immigrants</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>at birth</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>born in</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Latin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>American</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jobs (in millions)</td>
<td>91.97</td>
<td>3.07</td>
<td>15.65</td>
<td>0.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>95.90</td>
<td>3.88</td>
<td>17.58</td>
<td>0.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>91.58</td>
<td>4.16</td>
<td>15.16</td>
<td>0.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>90.54</td>
<td>4.72</td>
<td>15.55</td>
<td>0.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average Annual Growth Rate</td>
<td>0.71</td>
<td>4.41</td>
<td>28.61</td>
<td>2.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-1.50</td>
<td>2.33</td>
<td>-2.06</td>
<td>-2.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-0.57</td>
<td>6.75</td>
<td>0.21</td>
<td>2.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>Spain</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boom</td>
<td>4.41</td>
<td>28.61</td>
<td>2.06</td>
<td>40.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bust</td>
<td>-2.06</td>
<td>-2.30</td>
<td>11.46</td>
<td>-8.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recovery</td>
<td>0.21</td>
<td>2.61</td>
<td>24.64</td>
<td>-12.87</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# Labor force participation rates

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>United States</th>
<th>Spain</th>
<th>Non-Hispanic White US Citizens at birth</th>
<th>Naturalized Citizens born in Latin America</th>
<th>Spanish Citizens at birth</th>
<th>Naturalized Citizens born in Latin America</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>67.11</td>
<td></td>
<td>69.36</td>
<td>71.14</td>
<td>53.47</td>
<td>69.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>65.89</td>
<td></td>
<td>68.72</td>
<td>71.79</td>
<td>57.68</td>
<td>79.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US 2011/ Spain 2014</td>
<td>64.52</td>
<td></td>
<td>67.32</td>
<td>70.29</td>
<td>57.70</td>
<td>79.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US 2013/ Spain 2015</td>
<td>63.08</td>
<td></td>
<td>67.25</td>
<td>69.04</td>
<td>57.83</td>
<td>79.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>By Characteristics (during recovery period, US=2013, Spain=2015)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>57.77</td>
<td></td>
<td>57.96</td>
<td>50.90</td>
<td>51.94</td>
<td>76.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>68.71</td>
<td></td>
<td>77.84</td>
<td>84.96</td>
<td>63.99</td>
<td>82.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age group</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16-25</td>
<td>55.99</td>
<td></td>
<td>50.08</td>
<td>58.30</td>
<td>36.86</td>
<td>47.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26-44</td>
<td>83.86</td>
<td></td>
<td>82.11</td>
<td>75.16</td>
<td>90.09</td>
<td>92.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-64</td>
<td>75.66</td>
<td></td>
<td>78.56</td>
<td>71.79</td>
<td>71.88</td>
<td>87.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65+</td>
<td>19.28</td>
<td></td>
<td>19.86</td>
<td>20.31</td>
<td>1.62</td>
<td>11.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level of Education</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elementary or less</td>
<td>16.47</td>
<td></td>
<td>46.53</td>
<td>65.26</td>
<td>16.98</td>
<td>70.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle school</td>
<td>23.51</td>
<td></td>
<td>58.07</td>
<td>66.85</td>
<td>62.89</td>
<td>69.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High school</td>
<td>52.50</td>
<td></td>
<td>64.78</td>
<td>68.26</td>
<td>66.25</td>
<td>84.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than high school</td>
<td>70.88</td>
<td></td>
<td>76.01</td>
<td>76.39</td>
<td>81.84</td>
<td>85.09</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Distribution of the Labor force

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>United States</th>
<th></th>
<th>Spain</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Non-Hispanic</td>
<td>Naturalized Citizens born in Latin America</td>
<td>Latin American Immigrants born in Latin America</td>
<td>Spanish Citizens at birth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>White US</td>
<td>at birth</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Citizens at</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>birth</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>66.84</td>
<td>2.22</td>
<td>5.30</td>
<td>93.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>65.27</td>
<td>2.68</td>
<td>5.98</td>
<td>84.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US 2011/ Spain 2014</td>
<td>64.53</td>
<td>3.01</td>
<td>5.74</td>
<td>85.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US 2013/ Spain 2015</td>
<td>62.50</td>
<td>3.27</td>
<td>5.64</td>
<td>85.42</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Composition of Labor force by group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>United States</th>
<th></th>
<th>Spain</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Non-Hispanic</td>
<td>Naturalized Citizens born in Latin America</td>
<td>Latin American Immigrants born in Latin America</td>
<td>Spanish Citizens at birth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>White US</td>
<td>at birth</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Citizens at</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>birth</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>66.84</td>
<td>2.22</td>
<td>5.30</td>
<td>93.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>65.27</td>
<td>2.68</td>
<td>5.98</td>
<td>84.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US 2011/ Spain 2014</td>
<td>64.53</td>
<td>3.01</td>
<td>5.74</td>
<td>85.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US 2013/ Spain 2015</td>
<td>62.50</td>
<td>3.27</td>
<td>5.64</td>
<td>85.42</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Distribution by characteristic during recovery period

#### Sex

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>United States</th>
<th></th>
<th>Spain</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Non-Hispanic</td>
<td>Naturalized Citizens born in Latin America</td>
<td>Latin American Immigrants born in Latin America</td>
<td>Spanish Citizens at birth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>White US</td>
<td>at birth</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Citizens at</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>birth</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>47.11</td>
<td>45.90</td>
<td>34.47</td>
<td>45.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>52.89</td>
<td>54.10</td>
<td>65.53</td>
<td>54.12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Age group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>United States</th>
<th></th>
<th>Spain</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Non-Hispanic</td>
<td>Naturalized Citizens born in Latin America</td>
<td>Latin American Immigrants born in Latin America</td>
<td>Spanish Citizens at birth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>White US</td>
<td>at birth</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Citizens at</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>birth</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16-25</td>
<td>12.25</td>
<td>4.18</td>
<td>12.03</td>
<td>6.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26-44</td>
<td>39.72</td>
<td>41.57</td>
<td>59.42</td>
<td>51.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-64</td>
<td>41.55</td>
<td>48.94</td>
<td>27.14</td>
<td>41.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65+</td>
<td>6.48</td>
<td>5.31</td>
<td>1.41</td>
<td>0.66</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Level of Education

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>United States</th>
<th></th>
<th>Spain</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Non-Hispanic</td>
<td>Naturalized Citizens born in Latin America</td>
<td>Latin American Immigrants born in Latin America</td>
<td>Spanish Citizens at birth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>White US</td>
<td>at birth</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Citizens at</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>birth</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elementary or less</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>7.68</td>
<td>21.85</td>
<td>7.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle school</td>
<td>0.52</td>
<td>4.22</td>
<td>7.35</td>
<td>31.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High school</td>
<td>31.33</td>
<td>39.53</td>
<td>49.37</td>
<td>21.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than high school</td>
<td>68.04</td>
<td>48.57</td>
<td>21.43</td>
<td>39.54</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Construction workers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>United States</th>
<th>Spain</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Non-Hispanic White US Citizens</td>
<td>Naturalized Latin American Citizens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>at birth</td>
<td>born in Latin America</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>67.05</td>
<td>2.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>62.77</td>
<td>3.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US 2011/ Spain 2014</td>
<td>64.81</td>
<td>3.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US 2013/ Spain 2015</td>
<td>63.17</td>
<td>4.33</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Participation in construction employment by group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>United States</th>
<th>Spain</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Non-Hispanic White US Citizens</td>
<td>Naturalized Latin American Citizens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>at birth</td>
<td>born in Latin America</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>67.05</td>
<td>2.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>62.77</td>
<td>3.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US 2011/ Spain 2014</td>
<td>64.81</td>
<td>3.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US 2013/ Spain 2015</td>
<td>63.17</td>
<td>4.33</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Weight of Construction employment on total employment by group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>United States</th>
<th>Spain</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Non-Hispanic White US Citizens</td>
<td>Naturalized Latin American Citizens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>at birth</td>
<td>born in Latin America</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>6.69</td>
<td>7.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>7.02</td>
<td>8.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US 2011/ Spain 2014</td>
<td>6.16</td>
<td>7.75</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Relative change in construction related employment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>United States</th>
<th>Spain</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Non-Hispanic White US Citizens</td>
<td>Naturalized Latin American Citizens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>at birth</td>
<td>born in Latin America</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boom</td>
<td>1.58</td>
<td>6.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bust</td>
<td>-5.39</td>
<td>-1.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recovery</td>
<td>-0.99</td>
<td>8.90</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Trends in Employment

› Immigrants have higher participation rates

› Declining weight of citizens at birth in the labor force
  – Demographic forces
  – Latino immigration during the economic boom

› Differential age and educational composition of the labor force in both countries

› Large impact of the decline in construction for Latino immigrants
Unemployment trends
## Unemployment Rates

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Non-Hispanic White US Citizens at birth</th>
<th>Naturalized Citizens born in Latin America</th>
<th>Latin American Immigrants</th>
<th>Spanish Citizens at birth</th>
<th>Naturalized Citizens born in Latin America</th>
<th>Latin American Immigrants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Males</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>5.51</td>
<td>3.92</td>
<td>7.89</td>
<td>7.63</td>
<td>5.26</td>
<td>9.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>4.67</td>
<td>6.15</td>
<td>8.94</td>
<td>7.88</td>
<td>11.91</td>
<td>13.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US 2013/ Spain 2015</td>
<td>6.95</td>
<td>7.30</td>
<td>8.37</td>
<td>19.38</td>
<td>30.87</td>
<td>34.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Annual Average Change</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boom</td>
<td>-0.14</td>
<td>0.37</td>
<td>0.18</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>1.11</td>
<td>0.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bust</td>
<td>1.28</td>
<td>1.35</td>
<td>0.51</td>
<td>2.34</td>
<td>3.34</td>
<td>3.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recovery</td>
<td>-0.78</td>
<td>-1.45</td>
<td>-1.04</td>
<td>-2.56</td>
<td>-1.10</td>
<td>0.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Females</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>4.31</td>
<td>5.05</td>
<td>9.81</td>
<td>15.99</td>
<td>12.82</td>
<td>15.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US 2011/ Spain 2014</td>
<td>6.40</td>
<td>9.76</td>
<td>12.60</td>
<td>23.96</td>
<td>32.06</td>
<td>29.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US 2013/ Spain 2015</td>
<td>5.71</td>
<td>6.40</td>
<td>12.87</td>
<td>22.68</td>
<td>30.94</td>
<td>27.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Annual Average Change</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boom</td>
<td>-0.10</td>
<td>-0.07</td>
<td>-0.07</td>
<td>-0.81</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>-0.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bust</td>
<td>0.89</td>
<td>1.72</td>
<td>1.07</td>
<td>2.13</td>
<td>3.19</td>
<td>2.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recovery</td>
<td>-0.34</td>
<td>-1.68</td>
<td>0.13</td>
<td>-1.28</td>
<td>-1.12</td>
<td>-1.68</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Adjusted probabilities of unemployment for birthright citizens

![Graph showing adjusted probabilities of unemployment for birthright citizens in the United States and Spain, for males and females, across years 2002, 2008, 2011, and 2013.]
Adjusted Probabilities of Unemployment: United States
Adjusted Probabilities of Unemployment: Spain
## Long term unemployment rates

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>United States</th>
<th>Spain</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Non-Hispanic White US Citizens at birth</td>
<td>Naturalized Citizens born in Latin America</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>3.85</td>
<td>10.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>5.76</td>
<td>3.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US 2011/ Spain 2014</td>
<td>23.83</td>
<td>34.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US 2013/ Spain 2015</td>
<td>19.57</td>
<td>24.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average Annual Change</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boom</td>
<td>0.32</td>
<td>-1.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bust</td>
<td>6.02</td>
<td>10.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recovery</td>
<td>-2.13</td>
<td>-4.72</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Trends in Unemployment

› High unemployment among Latinos for all periods
› Largest growth of unemployment among Latinos
› Slow recovery for Latinos
› Higher participation of Latino women in the labor market
› Decrease gender gap in unemployment in Spain
› Large impact on long term unemployment
## Job quality: Part time jobs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>United States</th>
<th>Spain</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Non-Hispanic White US Citizens at birth</td>
<td>Naturalized Citizens born in Latin America</td>
<td>Latin American Immigrants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>35.32</td>
<td>17.02</td>
<td>18.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>33.48</td>
<td>27.52</td>
<td>18.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US 2011/ Spain 2014</td>
<td><strong>38.46</strong></td>
<td><strong>26.75</strong></td>
<td><strong>31.08</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Reasons for holding a part-time job

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>United States</th>
<th>Spain</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Non-Hispanic White US Citizens at birth</td>
<td>Naturalized Citizens born in Latin America</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No full time jobs available</td>
<td>10.51</td>
<td>30.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>8.48</td>
<td>27.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>22.54</td>
<td>48.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US 2011/ Spain 2014</td>
<td>21.31</td>
<td>32.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US 2013/ Spain 2015</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

› Growth of unwanted part time jobs during the bust and recovery periods
Conclusions

› Different social positions in the field (labor market) determine possibilities and generate vulnerabilities
  - Latinos consistently have higher unemployment rates and faced the highest growth in unemployment during the GR.

› The internalized positions of the members of these groups (habitus) allow them to employ strategies (resilience) to keep or improve their positions.
  - Bad jobs, return, higher participation rates.
Conclusions

› Policies contribute to frame the fields,

› This is why in the United States immigrants remain in the economy, while in Spain have returned to their countries of origin and might engage in traditional circulatory migration patterns.