



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

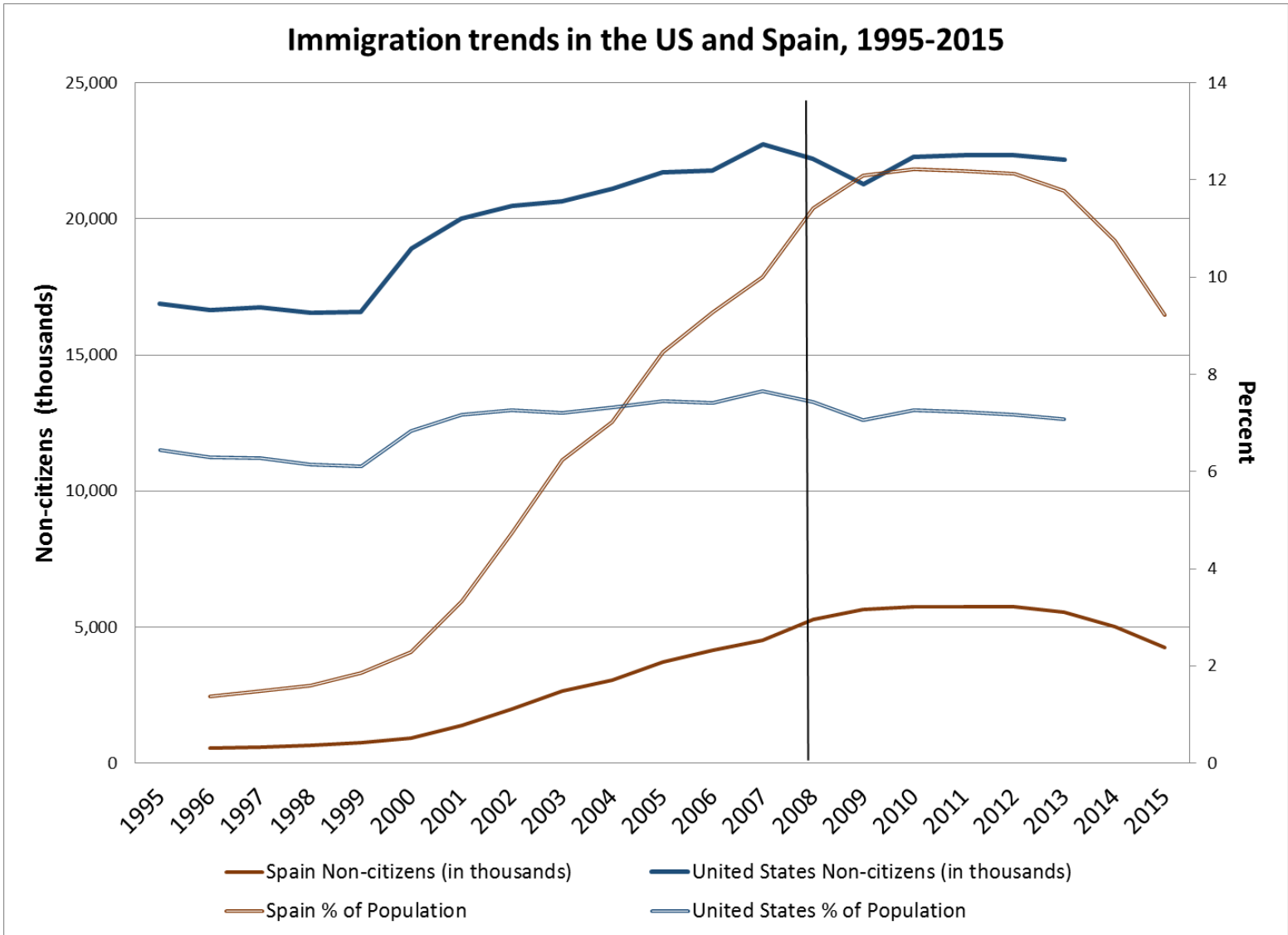


Objective and Road Map

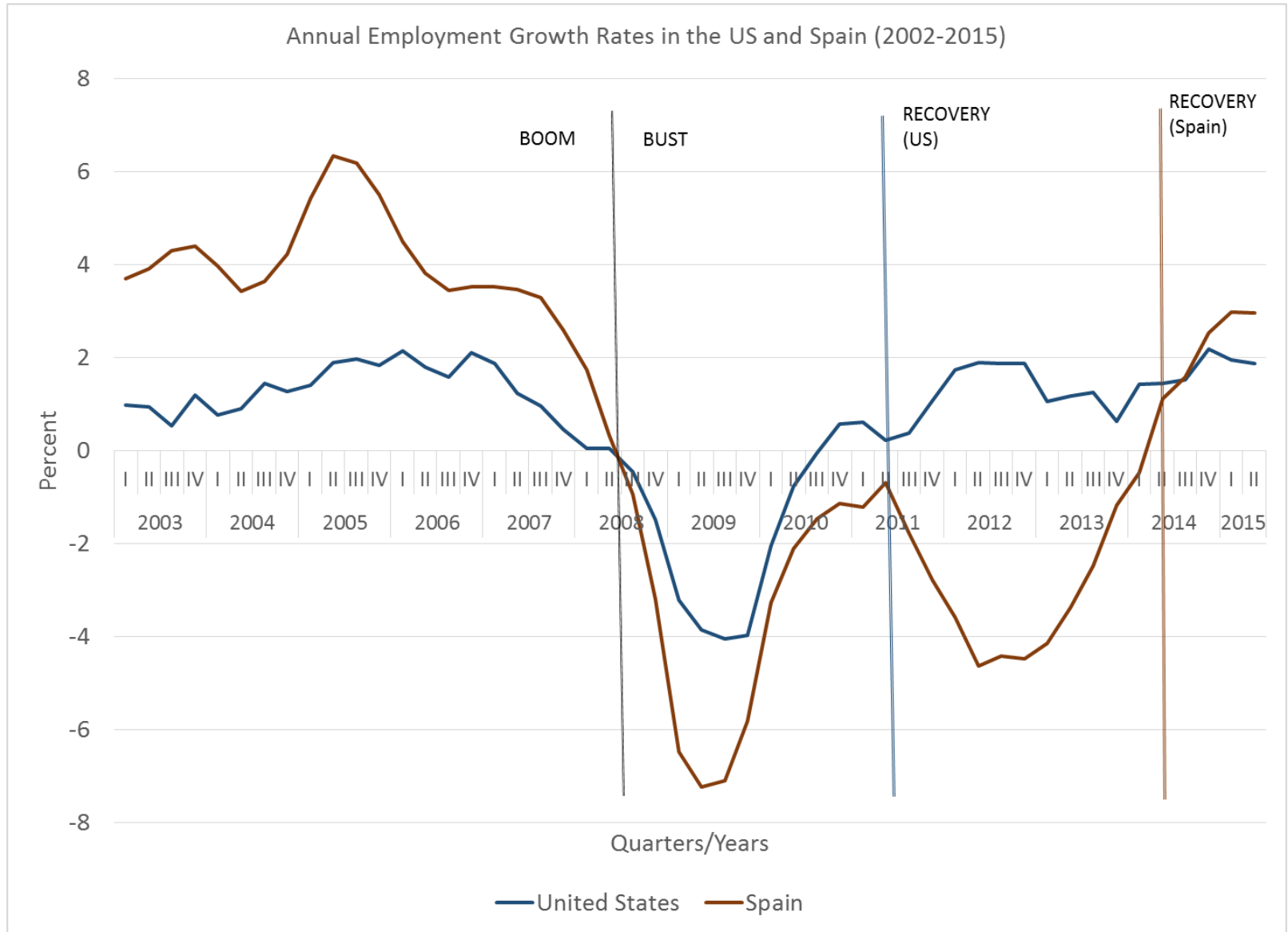
- › To describe changes in employment trends for non-immigrants and Latino immigrants in the United States and Spain during boom, bust and recovery periods.

- › 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



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

SPAIN

- › Cultural proximity
- › Regulated labor market
- › Recent experience as an immigrant country
- › Multicultural policies to integrate immigrants
- › Extraordinary and permanent regularization processes

UNITED STATES

- › Geographical proximity
- › Unregulated labor market
- › Established immigrant flows
- › Absence of immigration reform
- › Racialization of Latino immigrants



Data

› Spain

- Economically Active Population Survey
 - › Second quarter
- Boom: 2002-2008 (6 years)
- Bust: 2008-2014 (6 years)
- Recovery: 2014-2015 (1 year)

› 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



| Period | United States | | | Spain | | |
|-----------------------------------|---|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| | Non-Hispanic White US Citizens at birth | Naturalized Citizens born in Latin | Latin American Immigrants at birth | Spanish Citizens at birth | Naturalized Citizens born in Latin | Latin American Immigrants |
| Jobs (in millions) | | | | | | |
| 2002 | 91.97 | 3.07 | 3.07 | 15.65 | 0.05 | 0.49 |
| 2008 | 95.90 | 3.88 | 8.35 | 17.58 | 0.16 | 1.38 |
| US 2011/ Spain 2014 | 91.58 | 4.16 | 7.83 | 15.16 | 0.28 | 0.65 |
| US 2013/ Spain 2015 | 90.54 | 4.72 | 7.86 | 15.55 | 0.34 | 0.57 |
| Average Annual Growth Rate | | | | | | |
| Boom | 0.71 | 4.41 | 28.61 | 2.06 | 40.00 | 30.59 |
| Bust | -1.50 | 2.33 | -2.06 | -2.30 | 11.46 | -8.78 |
| Recovery | -0.57 | 6.75 | 0.21 | 2.61 | 24.64 | -12.87 |

Labor force participation rates



| Period | United States | | | Spain | | |
|---|---|--|---------------------------|---------------------------|--|---------------------------|
| | Non-Hispanic White US Citizens at birth | Naturalized Citizens born in Latin America | Latin American Immigrants | Spanish Citizens at birth | Naturalized Citizens born in Latin America | Latin American Immigrants |
| Total | | | | | | |
| 2002 | 67.11 | 69.36 | 71.14 | 53.47 | 69.19 | 80.44 |
| 2008 | 65.89 | 68.72 | 71.79 | 57.68 | 79.60 | 84.80 |
| US 2011/ Spain 2014 | 64.52 | 67.32 | 70.29 | 57.70 | 79.23 | 81.05 |
| US 2013/ Spain 2015 | 63.08 | 67.25 | 69.04 | 57.83 | 79.33 | 81.75 |
| By Characteristics (during recovery period, US=2013, Spain=2015) | | | | | | |
| Sex | | | | | | |
| Females | 57.77 | 57.96 | 50.90 | 51.94 | 76.62 | 79.52 |
| Males | 68.71 | 77.84 | 84.96 | 63.99 | 82.84 | 84.90 |
| Age group | | | | | | |
| 16-25 | 55.99 | 50.08 | 58.30 | 36.86 | 47.27 | 50.21 |
| 26-44 | 83.86 | 82.11 | 75.16 | 90.09 | 92.74 | 91.39 |
| 45-64 | 75.66 | 78.56 | 71.79 | 71.88 | 87.86 | 89.72 |
| 65+ | 19.28 | 19.86 | 20.31 | 1.62 | 11.11 | 14.60 |
| Level of Education | | | | | | |
| Elementary or less | 16.47 | 46.53 | 65.26 | 16.98 | 70.25 | 73.52 |
| Middle school | 23.51 | 58.07 | 66.85 | 62.89 | 69.83 | 78.39 |
| High school | 52.50 | 64.78 | 68.26 | 66.25 | 84.48 | 85.93 |
| More than high school | 70.88 | 76.01 | 76.39 | 81.84 | 85.09 | 85.93 |

Distribution of the Labor force



| Period | United States | | | Spain | | |
|--|---|--------------------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|--|---------------------------|
| | Non-Hispanic White US Citizens at birth | Naturalized Citizens born in America | Latin American Immigrants | Spanish Citizens at birth | Naturalized Citizens born in Latin America | Latin American Immigrants |
| Composition of Labor force by group | | | | | | |
| 2002 | 66.84 | 2.22 | 5.30 | 93.13 | 0.28 | 2.97 |
| 2008 | 65.27 | 2.68 | 5.98 | 84.13 | 0.81 | 6.98 |
| US 2011/ Spain 2014 | 64.53 | 3.01 | 5.74 | 85.52 | 1.77 | 4.15 |
| US 2013/ Spain 2015 | 62.50 | 3.27 | 5.64 | 85.42 | 2.17 | 3.56 |
| Distribution by characteristic during recovery period | | | | | | |
| Sex | | | | | | |
| Females | 47.11 | 45.90 | 34.47 | 45.88 | 54.53 | 56.91 |
| Males | 52.89 | 54.10 | 65.53 | 54.12 | 45.47 | 43.09 |
| Age group | | | | | | |
| 16-25 | 12.25 | 4.18 | 12.03 | 6.41 | 10.10 | 9.23 |
| 26-44 | 39.72 | 41.57 | 59.42 | 51.16 | 53.43 | 66.36 |
| 45-64 | 41.55 | 48.94 | 27.14 | 41.77 | 35.77 | 23.69 |
| 65+ | 6.48 | 5.31 | 1.41 | 0.66 | 0.71 | 0.72 |
| Level of Education | | | | | | |
| Elementary or less | 0.10 | 7.68 | 21.85 | 7.03 | 8.71 | 13.85 |
| Middle school | 0.52 | 4.22 | 7.35 | 31.48 | 23.51 | 28.85 |
| High school | 31.33 | 39.53 | 49.37 | 21.95 | 39.48 | 36.59 |
| More than high school | 68.04 | 48.57 | 21.43 | 39.54 | 28.30 | 20.71 |



Construction workers

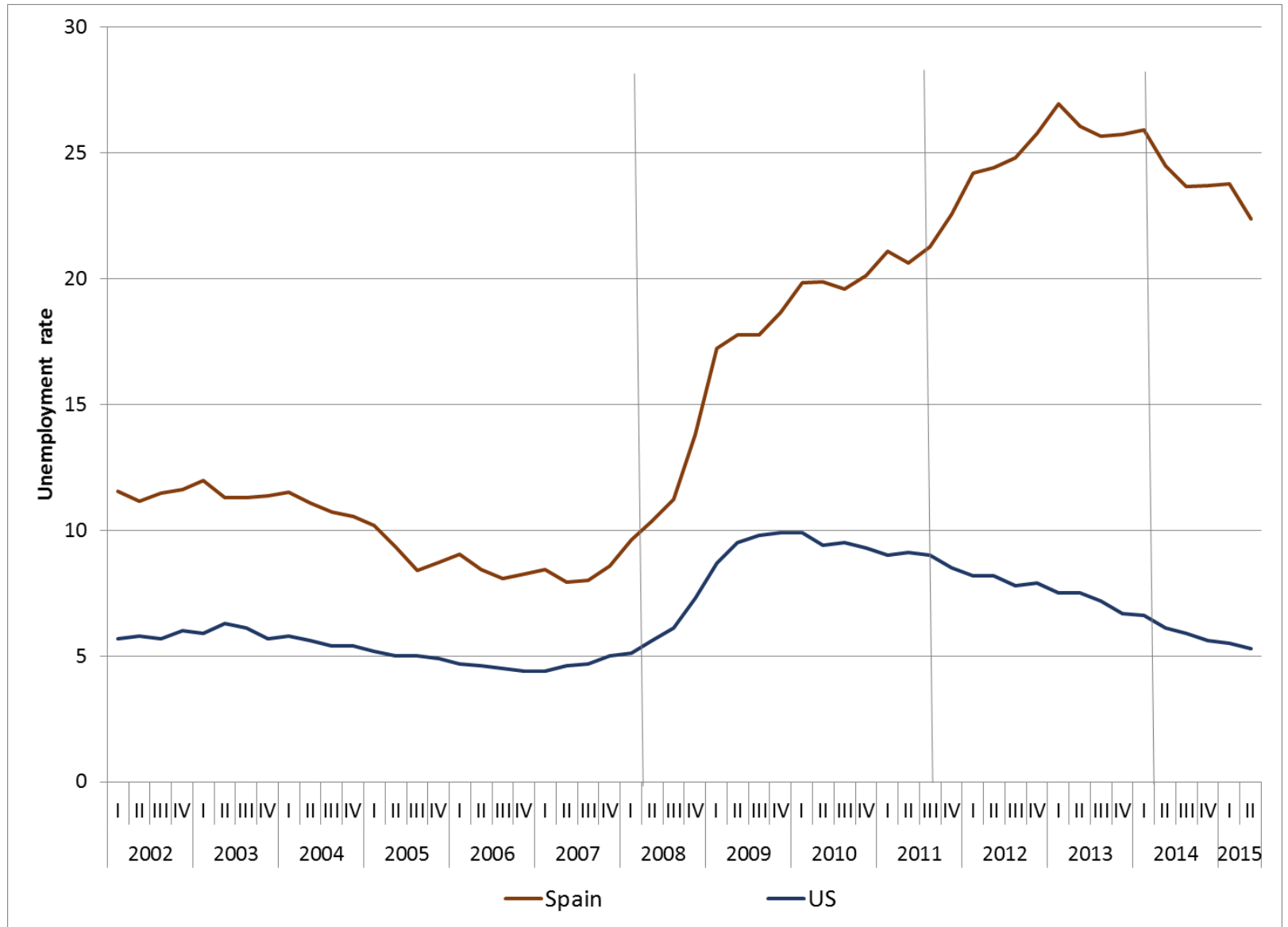
| Period | United States | | | Spain | | |
|---|---|--|------------------------------------|---------------------------|--|---------------------------|
| | Non-Hispanic White US Citizens at birth | Naturalized Citizens born in Latin America | Latin American Immigrants at birth | Spanish Citizens at birth | Naturalized Citizens born in Latin America | Latin American Immigrants |
| Participation in construction employment by group | | | | | | |
| 2002 | 67.05 | 2.63 | 11.44 | 91.22 | 0.22 | 3.17 |
| 2008 | 62.77 | 3.12 | 16.85 | 74.70 | 0.57 | 11.14 |
| US 2011/ Spain 2014 | 64.81 | 3.70 | 15.76 | 85.92 | 1.13 | 3.05 |
| US 2013/ Spain 2015 | 63.17 | 4.33 | 14.96 | 84.43 | 1.40 | 3.31 |
| Weight of Construction employment on total employment by group | | | | | | |
| 2002 | 6.69 | 7.86 | 34.15 | 11.63 | 9.07 | 12.95 |
| 2008 | 7.02 | 8.63 | 21.67 | 10.88 | 8.97 | 20.58 |
| US 2011/ Spain 2014 | 6.16 | 7.75 | 17.53 | 5.55 | 4.00 | 4.56 |
| US 2013/ Spain 2015 | 6.11 | 8.04 | 16.66 | 5.93 | 4.43 | 6.34 |
| Relative change in construction related employment | | | | | | |
| Boom | 1.58 | 6.47 | 12.06 | 0.85 | 39.42 | 58.43 |
| Bust | -5.39 | -1.32 | -8.03 | -9.33 | -4.12 | -14.92 |
| Recovery | -0.99 | 8.90 | -2.28 | 9.69 | 37.98 | 20.95 |



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



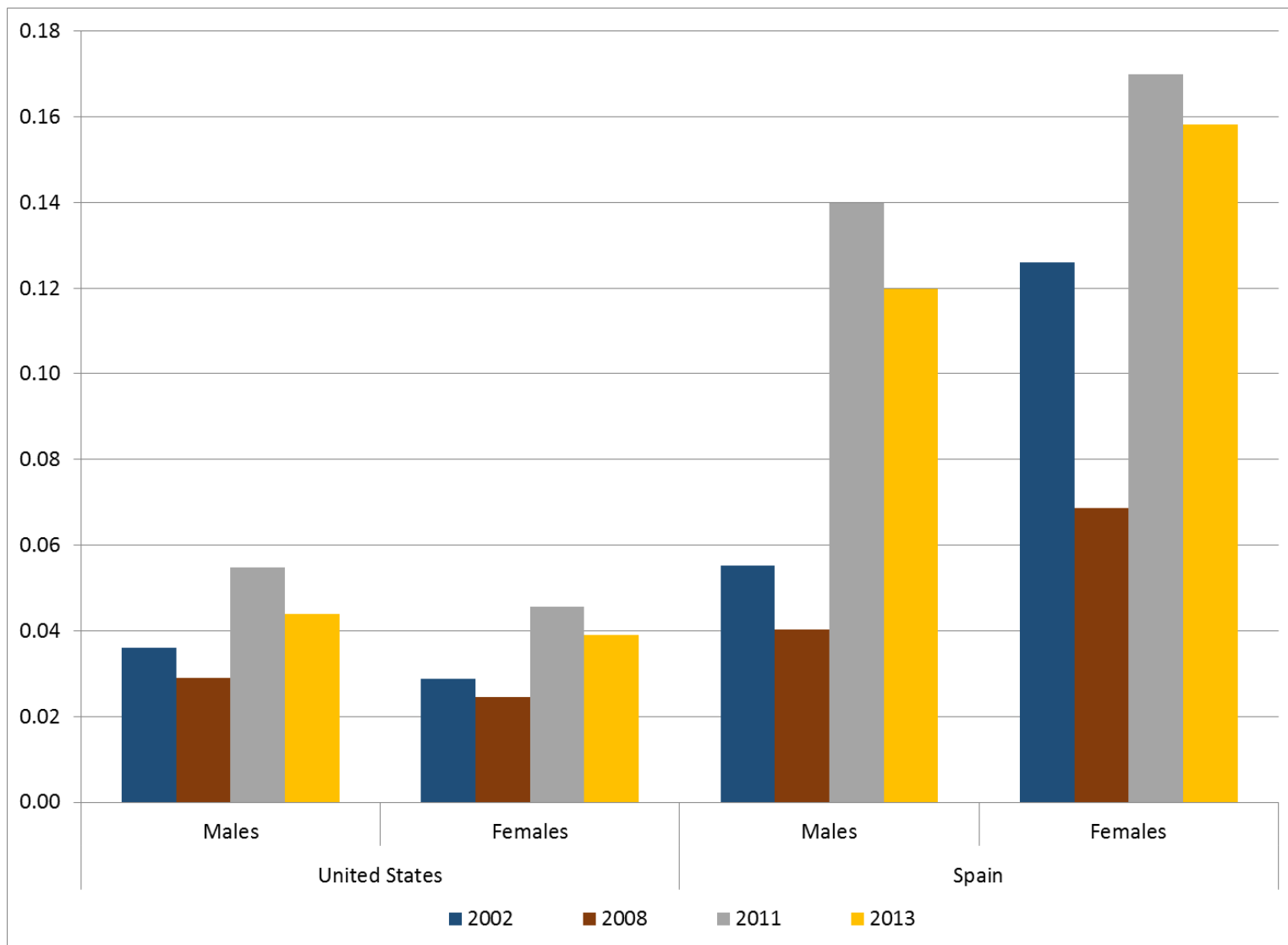
Unemployment Rates



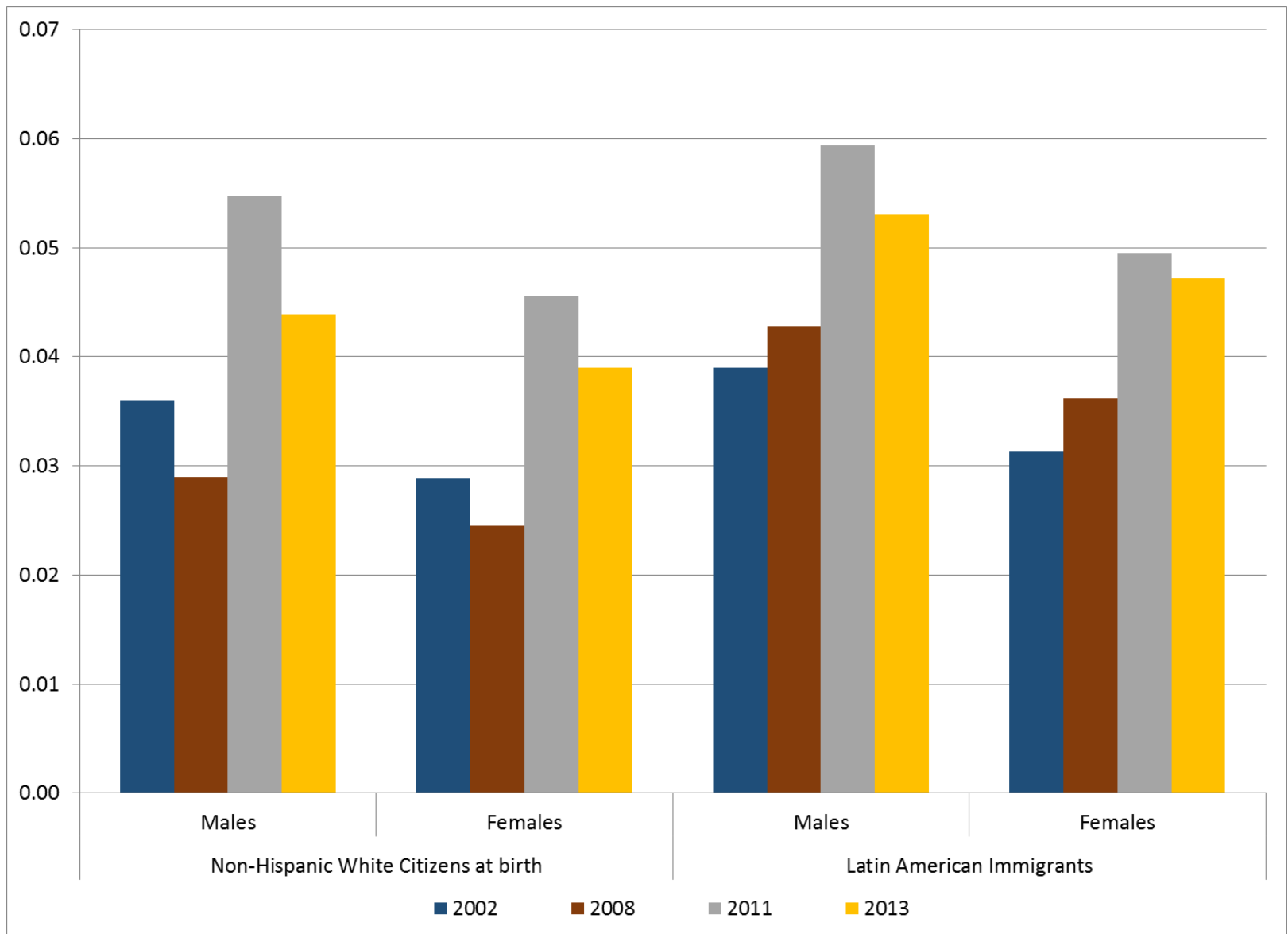
| Period | United States | | | Spain | | |
|------------------------------|---|--|---------------------------|---------------------------|--|---------------------------|
| | Non-Hispanic White US Citizens at birth | Naturalized Citizens born in Latin America | Latin American Immigrants | Spanish Citizens at birth | Naturalized Citizens born in Latin America | Latin American Immigrants |
| Males | | | | | | |
| 2002 | 5.51 | 3.92 | 7.89 | 7.63 | 5.26 | 9.52 |
| 2008 | 4.67 | 6.15 | 8.94 | 7.88 | 11.91 | 13.65 |
| US 2011/ Spain 2014 | 8.50 | 10.19 | 10.46 | 21.94 | 31.97 | 33.81 |
| US 2013/ Spain 2015 | 6.95 | 7.30 | 8.37 | 19.38 | 30.87 | 34.18 |
| <u>Annual Average Change</u> | | | | | | |
| Boom | -0.14 | 0.37 | 0.18 | 0.04 | 1.11 | 0.69 |
| Bust | 1.28 | 1.35 | 0.51 | 2.34 | 3.34 | 3.36 |
| Recovery | -0.78 | -1.45 | -1.04 | -2.56 | -1.10 | 0.37 |
| Females | | | | | | |
| 2002 | 4.31 | 5.05 | 9.81 | 15.99 | 12.82 | 15.36 |
| 2008 | 3.73 | 4.62 | 9.38 | 11.16 | 12.92 | 13.97 |
| US 2011/ Spain 2014 | 6.40 | 9.76 | 12.60 | 23.96 | 32.06 | 29.25 |
| US 2013/ Spain 2015 | 5.71 | 6.40 | 12.87 | 22.68 | 30.94 | 27.57 |
| <u>Annual Average Change</u> | | | | | | |
| Boom | -0.10 | -0.07 | -0.07 | -0.81 | 0.02 | -0.23 |
| Bust | 0.89 | 1.72 | 1.07 | 2.13 | 3.19 | 2.55 |
| Recovery | -0.34 | -1.68 | 0.13 | -1.28 | -1.12 | -1.68 |



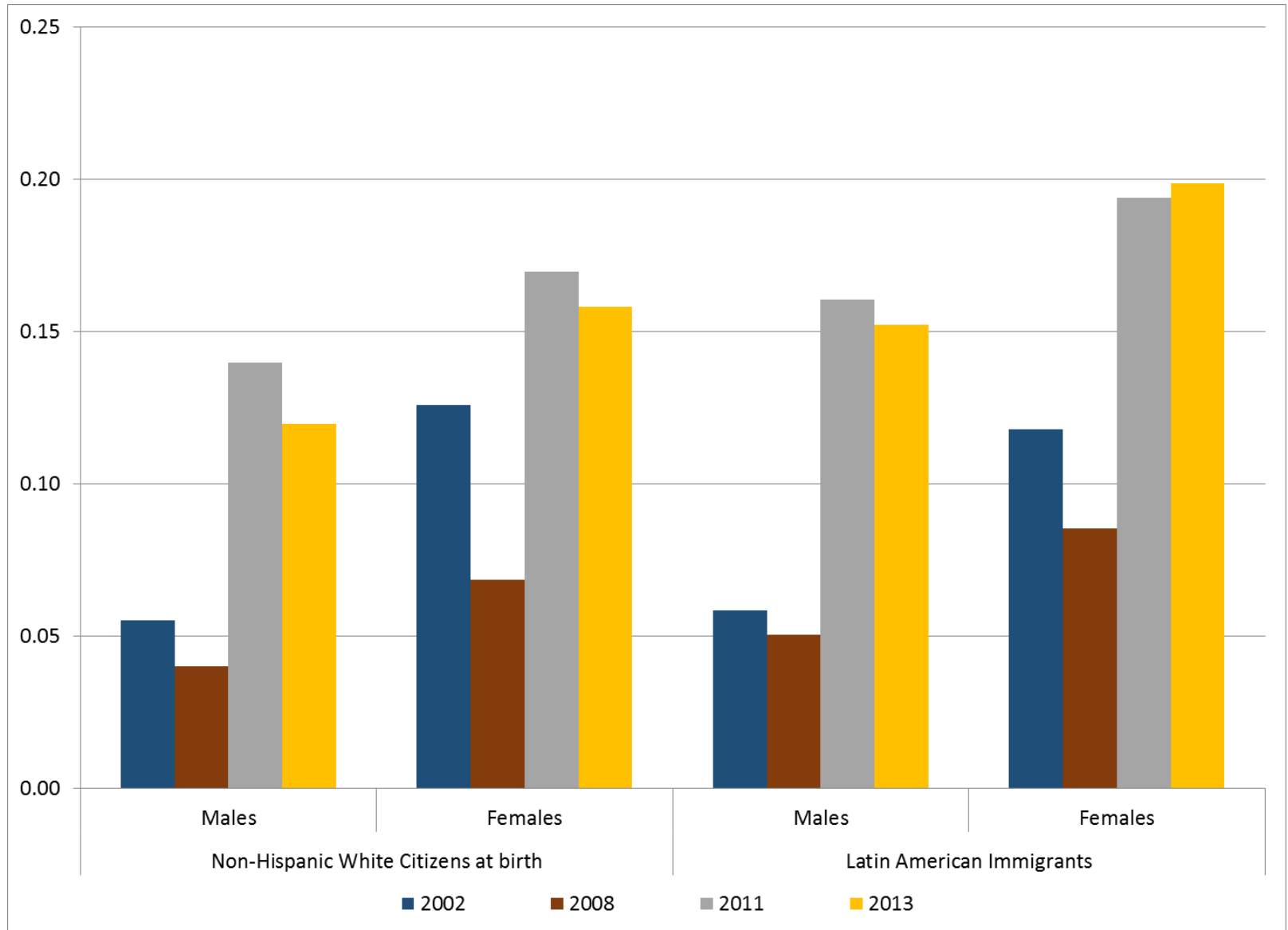
Adjusted probabilities of unemployment for birthright citizens



Adjusted Probabilities of Unemployment: United States



Adjusted Probabilities of Unemployment: Spain





Long term unemployment rates

| Period | United States | | | Spain | | |
|-----------------------|---|--|---------------------------|---------------------------|--|---------------------------|
| | Non-Hispanic White US Citizens at birth | Naturalized Citizens born in Latin America | Latin American Immigrants | Spanish Citizens at birth | Naturalized Citizens born in Latin America | Latin American Immigrants |
| 2002 | 3.85 | 10.00 | 4.07 | 38.65 | 39.02 | 23.62 |
| 2008 | 5.76 | 3.55 | 2.48 | 25.59 | 13.29 | 14.07 |
| US 2011/ Spain 2014 | 23.83 | 34.20 | 22.60 | 64.66 | 58.18 | 56.92 |
| US 2013/ Spain 2015 | 19.57 | 24.76 | 18.61 | 64.41 | 61.09 | 54.61 |
| Average Annual Change | | | | | | |
| Boom | 0.32 | -1.08 | -0.27 | -2.18 | -4.29 | -1.59 |
| Bust | 6.02 | 10.21 | 6.71 | 6.51 | 7.48 | 7.14 |
| Recovery | -2.13 | -4.72 | -1.99 | -0.25 | 2.91 | -2.30 |



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

| Period | United States | | | Spain | | |
|---|---|--|---------------------------|---------------------------|--|---------------------------|
| | Non-Hispanic White US Citizens at birth | Naturalized Citizens born in Latin America | Latin American Immigrants | Spanish Citizens at birth | Naturalized Citizens born in Latin America | Latin American Immigrants |
| Proportion of part time employment | | | | | | |
| 2002 | 35.32 | 17.02 | 18.79 | 7.81 | 8.66 | 12.58 |
| 2008 | 33.48 | 27.52 | 18.34 | 11.31 | 15.39 | 15.61 |
| US 2011/ Spain 2014 | 38.46 | 26.75 | 31.08 | 15.15 | 26.11 | 27.68 |
| US 2013/ Spain 2015 | 36.67 | 24.07 | 25.94 | 14.85 | 25.30 | 24.63 |



Reasons for holding a part-time job

| Period | United States | | | Spain | | |
|------------------------------------|---|--|---------------------------|---------------------------|--|---------------------------|
| | Non-Hispanic White US Citizens at birth | Naturalized Citizens born in Latin America | Latin American Immigrants | Spanish Citizens at birth | Naturalized Citizens born in Latin America | Latin American Immigrants |
| No full time jobs available | | | | | | |
| 2002 | 10.51 | 23.35 | 30.92 | 18.71 | 14.47 | 49.60 |
| 2008 | 8.48 | 12.88 | 27.05 | 29.75 | 41.82 | 51.64 |
| US 2011/ Spain 2014 | 22.54 | 34.70 | 48.19 | 60.48 | 79.60 | 77.88 |
| US 2013/ Spain 2015 | 21.31 | 17.72 | 32.53 | 60.01 | 78.44 | 85.17 |

- › 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.