The Hispanic Population and its Impact on the US population 1850 to 2007 FOUR.doc

Hispanics, Immigrants, and the Growth of the US Population: 1850-2007

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ABSTRACT

The United States is a country of immigrants. In recent years, the largest immigrant population residing in the US has its origins in a Latin American country. As a result of several historical events beginning in the middle of the 20th Century the growth of the Hispanic and Hispanic immigrant population has been dramatic, and raises an important question, "What has been the impact of the Hispanic population growth on the growth of the US population?"

Using data from the 1850 to 2000 Decennial Census and the 2007 American Community Survey, I attempt to answer such a question. Three main findings are generated from my study. First, the Hispanic population has had a significant effect on the growth of the US population from about the middle of the 20th Century to 2007. Second, Hispanic immigrants have also had a major role in the growth of the US population, particularly Mexican immigrants. Finally, Mexicans, whether immigrants or native-born, have had the largest impact on US population growth. While these are my main findings and conclusions, there is one last conclusion: additional research is needed, particularly research that focuses on the "new settlement" patterns of the Hispanic population.

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I. Introduction

The United States is a country of immigrants. Immigrants have made important contributions to US culture, politics, and many other aspects of American life. Immigrants also have contributed to the growth of the US population during the 19th and 20th centuries. Since mid-20th century one group that has contributed to US population growth has been Hispanics. In fact, by the end of the 20th century, Hispanics had overtaken the Black population as the nation's largest ethnic-racial minority group. The growth of the Hispanic population also has affected group relations, politics, and various social institutions, especially in many of America's cities and smaller geographic localities. Included in this laundry list of entities that are being impacted by the Hispanic population are several important social institutions. For example, educational systems with large numbers Hispanic students or educational systems that have experienced dramatic increases in their Hispanic student populations face cultural, economic, and language challenges that affect the teaching and learning environment (Verdugo 2006). Hispanics have moved into these areas because they met a need for low-skilled, low-wage labor (Verdugo 2006).

Though the growth of the Hispanic population in the US has been a major policy concern, one important question that seems to have been neglected is, "How has the growth of the Hispanic population affected the growth of the US population?" The purpose of my paper is to begin the process of framing an answer to this question. By this I mean I provide a general descriptive analysis of US population growth, Hispanic population growth, and the contribution of the latter to the former. Data for my analyses are from the 1850 to the 2000 US decennial census, and from the 2007 American Community Survey. In describing the impact Hispanics have had on US population growth, I address three broad topics:

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- 1. Population change in the US: My analysis focuses on Hispanic and non-Hispanic population growth in order to ascertain how much growth has occurred among both groups. In this section I examine the total growth of the US population from 1850 to 2007 as well as the growth of the Hispanic and non-Hispanic populations. My aim is to ascertain the impact each group has had on the total growth of the US population, especially the impact of the Hispanic population.
- 2. <u>Growth of the Hispanic population</u>: In my second analysis section, I look at the growth rates of two Hispanic groups: Hispanic immigrants and Hispanic ethnic groups. The aim is to evaluate the growth of these two sub-populations because they will be important in my final analysis on how much of an impact Hispanics, and these subgroups, have had on US population growth from 1850 to 2007.
- 3. The impact of Hispanics on US population growth: In this final section, I examine the impact Hispanics (immigrants, non-immigrants, and Hispanic ethnic groups) and non-Hispanics (immigrants, and non-immigrants) have had on US population growth.

II. Background

Before examining and discussing Hispanic population growth and its impact on the growth of the US population, I review what is currently known about the three main factors of population growth--fertility, immigration, and mortality-- as they apply to the Hispanic population.

A. Fertility among the Hispanic Population

Fertility research among the Hispanic population has produced at least two important findings. ² First, scholars have been interested in the role fertility plays in the growth of the Hispanic population. Prior to the 1960s, immigration appeared to have been the main driving force behind this growth. In the following decade immigration and fertility equally shared in the growth

The Hispanic Population and its Impact on the US population 1850 to 2007 FOUR.doc of the Hispanic population, and from about 1980 to the present, immigration once again took the dominant role. Recently, some scholars have concluded that in the future fertility will drive Hispanic population growth because a large second generation cohort of Hispanics will reach childbearing age (see Tienda and Mitchell 2006; Suro and Passel 2003; Passel 2004; Passel and Cohn 2005).

Secondly, research points out that fertility within the Hispanic community is a complex combination of ethnicity, social class background, and legal status (Durand, Telles, and Flashman 2006; Tienda and Mitchell 2006). For instance, Durand, Telles, and Flashman (2006, p. 78), among others, found that total fertility (TFR) varies by Hispanic ethnicity. Mexicans have the highest TFR (3.3), and they are followed by Puerto Ricans (2.6), Central/South Americans (2.1), and Cubans (1.9). Trend data are from Child Trends (see the Child Trends website:

http://www.childtrendsdatabank.org/indicators/79BirthRates.cfm) tend to confirm these results.

B. Immigration Research³

1. Push-Pull Factors Contributing to Hispanic Immigration

Researchers have long suggested that *push* and *pull* factors account for Hispanic immigration. Pull factors are those forces associated with the US that attract immigrants. Pull factors are such things as the availability of jobs, housing, and a political climate within the US that ensures opportunities for immigrant economic success and an improved quality of life. Scholars have been able to identify at least two periods in US history that have provided such opportunities for Hispanic immigrants. The first period occurred during WWII when a significant number of working age men were off at war and labor was needed in the agricultural fields of California and in the industrial plants of the Midwest (Barrera 1979; Cardoso 1980; Garcia 1981;Mc Williams 1948; Valdes 1982, 1991, 2000; Vargas 1993). For example, Valdes (1982) and Vargas (1993) both

The Hispanic Population and its Impact on the US population 1850 to 2007 FOUR.doc describe the role Hispanics (mainly Mexicans) took in the auto industry in Detroit and in other industries of the Midwest during the early and middle decades of the 20th Century.

A second important historical period occurred during the 1980s when the US was undergoing significant economic restructuring (Durand, Telles, and Flashman 2006; Harrison and Bluestone 1990; Rumbaut 2006; Huber and Solt 2004; Walton 2004). During the economic downturn and industrial restructuring, the US had a need for cheap, unskilled labor, and for labor that delivered special services to skilled workers (Verdugo 2006). Griffith (1995) discusses such "pull" factors as work in the poultry industry in Southern rural areas, and vegetable production in South Florida (Griffith 2000; also see Barrera 1979; Garcia 1981; Calavita 1992).

Push factors also have led to the increase of Hispanics immigrants in the US. By this I mean factors in the sending country that "pushed" many of its citizens to leave. This body of research suggests two broad push factors: economic depressions and political instability. Thus, harsh economic times or economies in which workers, skilled and unskilled, are unable to earn a decent living for them and their families have pushed Hispanic immigrants to the US. An example of political instability was the Cuban Revolution that sent many Cubans packing to the US (see Portes and Stepick 1993). ^{4, 5} In the 1970s and 1980s, violent and turbulent political climates in Central America were events that pushed significant numbers of its population to the US as well as to other places in the world (Hamilton and Stoltz-Chinchilla 2001; Menjivar 2000; Sullivan and Pedraza-Bailey 1979).

2. Settlement Patterns among Hispanic Immigrants

Two issues have dominated recent discussions about the settlement patterns of the Hispanic population: discussions about traditional "ports of entry," and the "new settlement patterns."

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Traditionally, Hispanics have settled in areas that were ports of entry into the US. For the most part, these areas were located in the Southwest where significant numbers of Mexicans and South/Central Americans reside (Cardoso 1980; Bean et al 1987; Grebler et al 1970; Gutierrez 1995; Moore and Pachon 1985). The Northeast, particularly New York and its neighboring states, are places with sizeable Puerto Rican populations. And finally in the Southeast, primarily Florida and the Miami area are home to a large, and politically powerful Cuban population (see Verdugo, 2006; Sullivan and Predraza-Bailey 1979; Portes and Stepick 1993). This body of research is important because it highlights not only the geographic diversity of the Hispanic population, but also the economic, political, and cultural impact Hispanics are having in a state or local community.

A second strand of research has discovered "new ports of entry" and new settlement patterns among Hispanics, both immigrants and non-immigrants (Frey 1994, 2002, 2003; Frey and Liaw 1998). This body of research has discovered that Hispanics are moving into areas that either lack or have limited histories with Hispanics. In many cases the presence of Hispanics in these new areas has led to race relations problems as well as to important challenges for local and state government agencies. For example, Hispanics have been moving to many non-traditional areas in the South, such as North Carolina, Georgia, and Arkansas, as well as to Northeastern states such as Maine (Durand and Massey 2003; Economic Research Service 2005; Hernandez-Leo and Zuniga 2000; Stull et al 1995; Griffith 1995; Kandel and Cromartie 2004; Effland and Kassel 1996). The two driving forces behind these new settlement patterns have been jobs and affordable housing. In Georgia, a revitalized carpet industry has attracted a large number of Hispanics, especially to Dalton (Hernandez-Leon and Zuniga 2000). The agricultural industry in Florida continues to draw Hispanic workers (Griffith 2000). In other parts of the South, the work-related attraction has been the poultry industry (Kandel and Parrado 2003). By contrast, further up the East Coast, the attraction has been the fish canning industry (Smith-Nonini 2000). In the Midwestern part of the US, meat and poultry packing have drawn Hispanics (Stull et al 1995; Durand and Arias 2000;

The Hispanic Population and its Impact on the US population 1850 to 2007 FOUR.doc Valdes 1982, 1991, 2000). Jobs and housing have been the main reasons Hispanic have been moving into new areas of the US, and as they move into these new areas, cultural contact has created many social challenges.

C. Mortality Research: The Hispanic Paradox and the Salmon Bias

From a purely demographic standpoint, the most important research topics on Hispanic mortality have been the "Hispanic Paradox" and its counter-argument, the "Salmon Bias." The Paradox is based on the persistent finding that persons of lower economic status more than higher SES persons, tend to have higher mortality rates and are in poorer health. Hispanics, however, are the exception, and thus the "Paradox." As the originators of the concept say,

"...increasingly controversial issue in the field of Hispanic health, the suggestion of an existence of a 'Hispanic paradox' based on evidence that Hispanics have favorable health and mortality profiles relative to the non-Hispanic White population. That is the paradox because most Hispanics in the United States are socioeconomically disadvantaged vis-à-vis non-Hispanic Whites, and the literature from the United States and elsewhere has shown a consistent association between low socioeconomic status and poor health outcomes" (Markides and Eschbach 2005, p 68).

Compared to non-Hispanic Whites, Hispanics have attained fewer years of education, earn less income, and work in less prestigious jobs. Yet, the paradox is that Hispanics have lower all-cause mortality rates than non-Hispanic Whites (see Markides and Coreil 1986; Sorlie, Backlund, Johnson, and Rogot 1993; Liao et al. 1998). There have been at least two explanations for this inconsistency. The first explanation argues that immigrants, as a group, are healthier than non-immigrants and non-Hispanic Whites (Markides and Coreil 1986; Scribner 1996; Sorlie, Backlund, Johnson, and Rogot 1933; Marmot, Adelstein, and Buklusu 1984). For example, research has shown that immigrants have lower mortality rates than the populations in their own countries (Marmot,

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Adelstein, and Buklusu 1984), and that the foreign-born have better reported health than US-born respondents, and that Latino immigrants are healthier than Latinos residing in the US for long periods of time (see Stephen, Foote, Hendershot, and Schoenborn 1994). Healthier immigrant profiles thus account for the Paradox, at least this is what some have argued.

A second explanation is referred to as the "Salmon Bias" explanation. It argues that immigrants who are dying or are in poor health move back to their country of origin. Hence, their mortality is not counted in US statistics and available data are thus biased (Shai and Rosenwaike 1987; Pablo-Mendez 1994).

Since the Hispanic Paradox (HP) and the Salmon Bias (SB) hypotheses are so important in this particular area of demographic study, researchers have pursued various ways in examining which argument has the greater explanatory power. Abraido-Lanza et al (1999) found that the SB explanation did not apply to Cubans and Puerto Ricans, and also had marginally mixed results in explaining mortality results for the remaining Hispanic groups in their study. In 2001, Franzini, Ribble, and Keddie conducted a comprehensive review of the research that spanned 20+ years and concluded that the HP was real and that there were no known hard, defensible explanations. More recently still, Markides and Eschbach (2005) reviewed the extant research and drew the following conclusions:

- The Hispanic mortality advantage is persistent
- Though Hispanics have a mortality advantage, this does not translate into better health in old age
- There are mortality differences within Hispanic ethnic groups, and the Salmon Bias may be working in the older Mexican immigrant population
- Some of the Hispanic mortality advantage may be due to poor data

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The research on the demography of the Hispanic population can be summarized in two statements—(1) the Hispanic population is growing at a dramatic rate, and (2) while immigration has driven this growth in the past, it will be fertility that will determine the growth of this population in the future, while the influence of mortality appears to be minimal.

What seems to be missing from this body of research on the demography of the Hispanic population is an examination of the impact it has on the growth of the US population. Such an analysis should be tempered by two important issues—immigrant status and Hispanic ethnic groups. There are two reasons for my making such a statement. First, immigrant flows are notoriously volatile, they ebb and flow with the push and pull factors. For Hispanics, as we will see shortly, this has also been the case; in some years Hispanic immigration has been dramatic, and less so in other years. Second, Hispanic immigration to the US has varied by Hispanic ethnicity. While Mexicans continue to be the largest group, Other Hispanics are now the second largest Hispanic subgroup and they represent different Hispanic countries and cultures. Both factors, then, are important to consider when studying population change in the US that is affected by Hispanics.

III. Methods

A. Data⁶

1. Decennial Census: 1850 - 2000

The 1850^7 to the 2000 decennial census are the primary data bases used in my study. Table 1 displays the sampling from each census, as well as the total Hispanic and non-Hispanic populations.

I should also point out that the 1850 and 1860 Census databases exclude data for the slave population in the US. Thus in 1850, the total population minus the slave population is 19,990.000. If I include the slave population, the total would be 23,054,000. In 1860, the numbers were

The Hispanic Population and its Impact on the US population 1850 to 2007 FOUR.doc 27,352,587 and 30,129,543. From 1870 forward, my estimates are well within reported estimates

of the US population.

Table 1 about here

2. American Community Survey

The 2007 American Community Survey (ACS) is the second data base used in my study. The ACS is a 1-in-10 national random sample of the US population. The data are weighted and the smallest identifiable geographic unit is the PUMA, containing at least 100,000 persons. The total sample size of the 2007 ACS is 301.6 million, and there are 45.4 million persons of Hispanic origin in the sample: 27.4 million non-immigrant Hispanics, and 18.0 million Hispanic immigrants.

B. Variables

1. Hispanic

Hispanic identity prior to the 1980 Census was estimated from a constructed variable. The actual algorithm used in identifying Hispanics is presented in Appendix A. The algorithm is referred to as the "Hispanicrule."

In this paper, Hispanics are persons who were identified as Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban and those belonging to some Other Hispanic group.

2. Immigrants

Immigrant status is a second variable used in my analyses. The actual operationalization of immigrant status varies by Census year in terms of the variables used to identity such status. Four variables were used: years in the US, citizenship status, birth place, and nativity. I also benchmarked my estimates with other published data, such as data from the Virginia Library Geostat Center: www.fisher.lib.virginia.edu/collections/stats/histcensus/index.html. A complete

The Hispanic Population and its Impact on the US population 1850 to 2007 FOUR.doc description of how immigrants are identified in my sudy, both Hispanic and non-Hispanic, may be found in Table 2. It should be pointed out that my immigrant data are estimates.

Table 2 about here

IV. Findings

A. Hispanics and Population Change in the United States: 1850 - 2007

In 1850, the census reported a total population of nearly 20 million persons living within the geographic boundaries of the United States. A majority of the population at that time was non-Hispanic, and the resident Hispanic population in the US was less than one percent of the total, estimated to be 0.55 percent. Indeed, in 1850, there were an estimated 19, 990,000 persons living in the US. Of this figure 19,880,000 were non-Hispanic, and approximately 110,000 were Hispanic. But things began to change, first slowly and then dramatically.

By 2007, the total US population had grown to 301,600,000, the non-Hispanic population was tabulated at 256,200,000, and the Hispanic population was 45,400,000. The share of the total US population that was Hispanic grew from 0.52 percent in 1850 to 15.1 percent in 2007. Chart 1 exhibits the growth curves (1850 = 100) of the Hispanic, non-Hispanic, and total populations from 1850 to 2007, respectively.

Chart 1 about here

The growth of the Hispanic population has been greater than either the non-Hispanic or Total US populations. Of particular significance has been the rise of the Hispanic population since about 1950. At that point in history, the US was completing its involvement in WWII, and during the War employers had repeatedly turned to Mexican labor to fill severe labor shortages. Mexican

The Hispanic Population and its Impact on the US population 1850 to 2007 FOUR.doc immigrants had moved into such places as Michigan, Chicago, and, of course, California to work in a variety of industries (see Mc Wiliams 1990[1948]). Moreover, it was during this period in US history that Puerto Ricans began taking advantage of lower airfares and began shuttling between the "Island" and the US mainland, especially to the Northeastern sections of the US. These important historical events can be seen in the growth of the Hispanic population at certain points between 1850 and 2007.

The Hispanic population continued to grow through the 1960s and 1980s as the US economy started to "de-industrialize." Hispanic population growth was spurred, in large measure, by Hispanic immigrants. Well-paying manufacturing jobs began to disappear and the loss of these jobs in the North created serious economic problems (Harrison and Blueston 1990; Wilson 1996). Moreover, technological and global competition increased the need for lowering production costs and labor became a prime target. Cheap labor, whether involving moving plant operations or outsourcing to a Third World country, or hiring immigrant labor became a major strategy for many US employers. In the US, a large proportion of the Hispanic population (especially immigrants) filled these roles. Not only were immigrants a source of cheap labor, they also provided special services to skilled labor and their families, such as gardening, housecleaning, and child-care (Verdugo 2006). It was during this period in US history that large numbers of Hispanic immigrants began arriving from other Latin American countries, these specific sending countries faced harsh "pushl" factors, e.g., hard economic times and/or significant political unrest.

Between 1850 and 2007, the total US population grew from 19,990,000 to 301,600,000. So the net growth over this time period was 281,610,000. Of this net growth, Hispanics accounted for 45,290,000 or 16.1 % of the net growth in the US population between 1850 and 2007. The remaining growth (83.9%) was due to non-Hispanics.

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B. Growth of the Hispanic Population: Immigrant Status, Hispanic Ethnic Groups, and Natural Increase

1. Growth of Hispanic Ethnic Groups: 1850 to 2007

In 1850, of the roughly 110,000 Hispanics residing in the US, about 79,773 were of Mexican origin, 2,143 of Cuban origin, and the remaining 28,084 were of some other Hispanic origin. By 2007 the distribution had changed: 29.2 million Mexicans, 1.6 million Cubans, 4.1 million Puerto Ricans, and 10.4 million Other Hispanics. Several important points in US history precipitated the increase in the number of each Hispanic ethnic group. Some of these historical events are unique to a specific Hispanic group, while others may apply to at least two Hispanic groups.

Immigrants from Mexico have been the driving force behind the growth in the Mexican population. Two world wars, a fundamental change in US industrial structure, a tanking US economy, as well political turmoil in sending countries were all forces driving Mexican immigration to the US (see Mc Williams 1990[1948]; Barrera 1979; Calavita 1992; Cardoso 1980; Garcia 1981; Grebler et al 1970).

The Cuban Revolution uprooted its middle and upper classes to the US, as Fidel Castro and Che took control of Cuban society and radically changed is class structure (see Portes and Stepick 1993; Sullivan and Pedraza-Bailey 1979). And throughout the 1980 and 1990s, Cuban refugees kept leaving the island, whether on their own or being pushed out by Cuban authorities. We can see the increase in the Cuban population residing in the US during this time by noting the rise in the Cuban (immigrant) population during the 1960s and into the 1990s. 11

Puerto Ricans have a different story. After the Spanish-American War of 1898, Spain turned over Puerto Rico to the US as a territory under the Treaty of Paris on December 19, 1898.¹² With the signing of that Treaty, the foundation was set for Puerto Ricans to immigrate to the US.¹³ It wasn't until the 1950s, however, with the advent of cheap airfares that movement to and from Puerto Rico truly became significant. This movement began during the late 1940s and has

The Hispanic Population and its Impact on the US population 1850 to 2007 FOUR.doc continued to the present (see Fitzpatrick 1987 for an overview; also refer to Bonilla 1981; Georges 1990; Rivera-Batiz and Santiago 1998; Rodriguez 1991; Sanchez Korrol 1983, 1984). Again, the data bear this out as the Puerto Rican population jumped from about 77,000 in 1940 to roughly 356.9 thousand in 1950, and to about 1 million by 1960. By 2007, the Puerto Rican population on the US mainland had quadrupled to 4.1 million.

The pattern for Other Hispanics has been one of constant and then dramatic growth during the latter part of the 20th century (see Grasmuck and Pessar 1991; Hamilton and Stotlz 2001; Rumbaut 1992). For example, between 1970 and 1980, the Other Hispanic population grew to over 3 million, and by 2007 there were nearly 10.5 million Other Hispanics in the US. Other Hispanics are currently the second largest Hispanic ethnic group in the US.¹⁴

Chart 2 displays the growth curves of each Hispanic ethnic group from 1850 to 2007 (1850 = 100). I smoothed the curves by the log function (base 10). These results indicate that Other Hispanics have been the fastest growing Hispanic ethnic group and that the growth curves of the remaining Hispanic ethnic groups have not only been steady but appear to have similar slopes.

Chart 2 about here

2. The Growth of the US Hispanic Immigrant Population

In this section I examine the growth of the Hispanic immigrant population. Table 3 presents data for this section. In conducting my analysis, I will look at immigrants within each of the Hispanic ethnic groups.

Chart 3 exhibits the growth of the Hispanic immigrant population from 1850 to 2007. In 1850 there were an estimated 21,017 Hispanic immigrants in the US, by 2007 this figure jumped to about 18 million. In 1850, Hispanic immigrants accounted for about 19.1 percent of the total

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Hispanic population in the US, and by 2007 Hispanic immigrants accounted for nearly 40 percent (39.8%) of the total Hispanic population residing in the US.

Table 2 and Chart 3 about here

So, what has been the impact of Hispanic immigrants on the growth of the total Hispanic population? While the total Hispanic population grew by 45.3 million between 1850 and 2007, the Hispanic immigrant population grew by 18.0 million. Thus, about 39.8 percent of the total Hispanic population increase between 1850 and 2007 was due to Hispanic immigrants. The remainder (60.2%) was due to increases in the Hispanic non-immigrant population. (Note that these figures are similar to those reported in the paragraph above. The reason for the close similarity is due to the exceedingly small numbers in 1850.)

Are there differences in the impact immigrants from different Hispanic ethnic groups have had on the growth of the Hispanic population? There are, indeed. While the total Hispanic population grew by 45.3 million between 1850 and 2007, the growth in the immigrant populations among the four Hispanic ethnic groups were: Mexican (11.6 million), Cuban (975 thousand), Puerto Rican (47.6 thousand), and Other Hispanics (5.4 million). The equation below displays the impact of Hispanic immigrants and Hispanic non-immigrants on the growth of the total Hispanic population from 1850 to 2007:

Where MI = Mexican immigrants, CI = Cuban immigrants, PRI = Puerto Rican immigrants, OI = Other Hispanic immigrants, MNI = Mexican non-immigrants, CNI = Cuban non-immigrants, PRNI = Puerto

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Rican non-immigrants, ONI = Other non-immigrants. Note that an important number of Puerto

Rican respondents considered themselves immigrants; I did not recode these data.

Thus, Mexican non-immigrants have contributed the most to the growth of the total Hispanic population among non-immigrant Hispanic ethnic groups. Other non-immigrant Hispanics are next at approximately 11.2 percent.

A different perspective can be garnered by looking at the percent each Hispanic ethnic immigrant ethnic group has of the total Hispanic population from 1850 to 2007. Chart 4 displays these data. Mexican immigrants have the greater share of the total Hispanic population among the subgroups in all years, except in 1960 when it, essentially, shares the lead with Puerto Rican immigrants. The next largest share of the total is held by Other Hispanics. Generally, Mexican and Other Hispanic immigrants have accounted for the greatest impact on the growth of the total Hispanic population from 1850 to 2007.

Chart 4 about here

C. The Impact of the Hispanic Population on Demographic Change in the United States

1. The impact of Hispanics on US Population Growth: 1850 to 2007

Chart 5 displays the annual percent of the total US population comprised of all Hispanics and selected Hispanic ethnic groups for the years 1850 to 2007. The impact of the Hispanic population has been particularly significant in the latter half of the 20th century. From 1850 to about 1910, the Hispanic population comprised less than one percent of the total US population. The situation began to change between 1910 and 1920, though as the percentage of the US population being Hispanic grew to over one percentage point and remained there for the next two decades. In 1950, Hispanics inched up to about two percent of the total US population, over three percent in 1960, nearly four percent in 1970 (3.84 percent), about 6.5 percent in 1980, nearly nine

The Hispanic Population and its Impact on the US population 1850 to 2007 FOUR.doc percent in 1990, and then to over 12.5 percent in 2000. By 2007, the Hispanic population comprised slightly over 15 percent of the total US population.¹⁵

Chart 5 about here

Which Hispanic ethnic groups have contributed most to the growth of the US population? From previous sections I would hypothesize that it would be Mexicans. Data displayed in Chart 5 confirm my hypothesis. For the entire period represented in Chart 5, Mexicans have held a larger share of the total US population than the other Hispanic subgroups. (In fact, the share of the US population held by Mexicans is greater than the combined shares of the remaining three Hispanic ethnic groups.) For example, in 1850 Mexicans made up about 0.4 percent of the US population; Cubans 0.01 percent; and Other Hispanics 0.1 percent. (Though data for Puerto Ricans were not available until 1860. the reported numbers are much too small for any meaningful discussion.) By 2007, Mexicans held 9.7 percent of the total US population. The shares held by the remaining Hispanic ethnic groups were Cubans, 0.5 percent; Puerto Ricans climbed to 1.4 percent; and Other Hispanics held about 3.5 percent of the total US population.

2. Non-Hispanic and Hispanic Immigrants and the Growth of the US Population: 1850 to 2007
Between 1850 and 2007, immigrants played a significant part in the growth of the US population, especially in the early part of the 19th and 20th centuries.

Of the nearly 281.6 million person increase in the US population from 1850 to 2007, 35.8 million was due to immigrants. In other words, immigrants accounted for 12.7 percent of the gain in the US population between 1850 and 2007. The contribution of immigrants to population change in the US was particularly important during the latter part of the 19th and 20th centuries, and in more recent decades. Chart 6 displays three curves: the proportion of the total US population

The Hispanic Population and its Impact on the US population 1850 to 2007 FOUR.doc composed of all immigrants, of Hispanic immigrants, and non-Hispanic immigrants. In 1850 immigrants accounted for about 11.6 percent of the total US population; and slightly over 15 percent in 1860. From 1860 to 1970 there were declines in the share of the US population held by immigrants. In 1970, the percent reached its all-time low of about 5 percent, and then it began to climb again, and by 2007 immigrants accounted for approximately 12.6 percent of the US population. There are important reasons for these ebbs and flows of immigration to the US. As I have discussed in earlier sections, such explanations are based on "push" and "pull" factors reflecting the economic, political circumstances, and foreign policy (see footnote 4), in sending countries, the networks in the US formed by immigrants in the sending country, and the availability of jobs in the US in specific industries. All these factors have contributed to the volatile nature of immigration to the US.

Chart 6 about here

What has been the contribution of non-Hispanic immigrants to the growth of the US population? Of the total US population growth between 1850 and 2007, non-Hispanic immigrants accounted for about 9.7 percent of that growth, and their impact has varied by decade.

In 1850, non-Hispanic immigrants comprised slightly over 11 percent of the US population. Their share of the US population increased over the next decade to about 15 percent and then it steadily declined until about 1910 when it picked up again to about 14.40 percent. Since 1910, though, there has been a steady decline in the share of the US population held by non-Hispanic immigrants. In 1970 the percent reached an all-time low of about 4 percent, and then began to increase again until 2007 when it climbed to 6.6 percent.

The impact of the Hispanic immigrant population on US population growth, in contrast, has been the direct opposite. Of the total US population change between 1850 and 2007, the Hispanic

The Hispanic Population and its Impact on the US population 1850 to 2007 FOUR.doc immigrant population accounted for about 6.4 percent of that change. In 1850, Hispanic immigrants accounted for only one-tenth of one percent of the total US population, and their share of the US population remained below one percent until 1960. Between 1960 and 1970, the share of the US population held by Hispanic immigrants climbed to about 1 percent, 0.98 percent. From about 1970, there has been a steady, upward increase in the share of the US population held by Hispanic immigrants. In 2007, the share of the US population held by Hispanic immigrants was nearly 6 percent (5.98 percent).

So which group has had the greater impact on the growth of the US population from 1850 to 2007? If our gaze is on the overall change, we would conclude that non-Hispanic immigrants have had the greater impact. However, by stepping back and looking at change since the middle of the 20th Century we see that non-Hispanic immigrants had the greater impact in earlier decades, and Hispanic immigrants took the lead in later decades, especially after 1970. In any event, the equation below displays the contribution the ten groups of interest have had to total US population growth (USPG) from 1850 to 2007.

Where NHNI = non-Hispanic non-immigrants, NHI = non-Hispanic immigrants, MI = Mexican immigrants, CI = Cuban immigrants, PRI = Puerto Rican immigrants, OHI = Other Hispanic immigrants, MNI = Mexican non-immigrants, CNI = Cuban non-immigrants, PRNI = Puerto Rican non-immigrants, OHNI = Other Hispanic non-immigrants.

The equation shows that non-Hispanic non-immigrants (NHNI) have contributed the greatest to the growth of the US population from 1850 to 2007. Indeed, NHNI have accounted for nearly 80 percent of the growth of the US population over that time period, 77.61 percent. But,

The Hispanic Population and its Impact on the US population 1850 to 2007 FOUR.doc note that non-Hispanic immigrants (NHI) and Mexican non-immigrants each (MNI) account equally for the growth of the US population from 1850 to 2007: 6.31 and 6.21 percent, each. Moreover, by totaling percentages we can get a sense of how much Hispanics (both immigrants and non-immigrants) have contributed to US population growth from 1850 to 2007. The equation below displays the contribution of the total non-Hispanic population (NH), the Hispanic non-immigrant population, and the Hispanic immigrant population to the growth of the US population from 1850 to 2007.

USPG
$$_{1850-2007}$$
 = NH (83.92) + HNI (9.68) + HI (6.40)

While the non-Hispanic population has contributed an overwhelming percentage to the total US population growth from 1850 to 2007 (83.92%), the contribution of Hispanics, both immigrants and non-immigrants, has been substantial. Indeed, Hispanic non-immigrants have contributed nearly 10 percent to the total growth of the US population since 1850 (9.68), and the immigrant Hispanic population another 6.40 percent.

As can be seen from chart 6 and the simple calculations I have just presented, both total immigrant and non-Hispanic immigrant shares of the US population declined significantly between about 1910 and 1970. After 1970, both rates began to increase. Of the two curves, the total immigrant growth increased even more.

By looking at the Hispanic immigrant share of the total US population an entirely different picture emerges. First, while the share of the US population held by Hispanic immigrants was miniscule during the middle part of the 19th century and into the middle part of the 20th century, it started to pick up from about 1970 and has been increasing since. In fact, a comparison of their curve with those of NH and HNI suggests that since 1970 the increase in the total share of the US

The Hispanic Population and its Impact on the US population 1850 to 2007 FOUR.doc population due to immigrants has been driven by Hispanic immigrants. Hispanic immigrants have had, since the latter part of the 20th Century, a significant impact on US population growth.

IV. Conclusion

The United States is a country of immigrants. Immigrants have been and continue to be an important component of population growth in the US. Yet, while immigrants are still an important part of the US population, their presence in the US has also become a point of contention and controversy.

In the early part of the 19th Century in the US, immigrants from Western and Eastern Europe made significant contributions to the growth of the US population (not to mention their being an important cog in the rapid industrialization of the US economy), but in the years preceding and following the Second World War immigrants from Mexico, Central and South America began and have and continue to make their presence felt in the US. What, exactly, have been the contributions Hispanics and Hispanic immigrants have made to the growth of the US population? In this paper I have attempted to frame an answer to such a question by examining historical trends and patterns among immigrants and Hispanics, both native-born and immigrants, and Hispanic ethnic groups, from 1850 to 2007.

In conducting my analyses, I estimated the number of all immigrants, non-Hispanic immigrants, Hispanic immigrants, and native-born Hispanics from the decennial census (1850 to 2000), and from the 2007 American Community Survey.

There are three important findings from my study. First, the impact Hispanic immigrants have had on the growth of the US population was minimal from 1850 to about the middle of the 20th century. Of the roughly 110,000 thousand Hispanics residing in the US in 1850, about 72 percent were Mexican. A major reason for the larger number of Mexicans, of course, was that the Western region of the US was part of Mexico until 1848 when the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was signed

The Hispanic Population and its Impact on the US population 1850 to 2007 FOUR.doc and ended the Mexican-American War. With the signing of that treaty, the US annexed most of the lands west of the Mississippi. From 1850 to 2007, the Hispanic immigrant population grew by about 18 million persons, and comprised slightly less than 40 percent of the total immigrant population growth over that time. Moreover, Hispanic immigrants accounted for 6.4 percent of the growth of the US population from 1850 to 2007, and they have had a significant impact on the growth of the US population from middle of the 20st century to the present.

From the middle of the 20th Century to its conclusion were decades of substantial Hispanic immigration in which they contributed significantly to US and Hispanic population growth. For example, the Hispanic population started to increase dramatically about 1920, when it reached a figure of slightly over 1.3 million; and by 1960 the total Hispanic population in the US climbed to 5.8 million. Scholars are in agreement about the "push" and "pull" factors that accounted for this rapid increase in the size of the Hispanic population. Thus, the Second World War created severe labor shortages in many manufacturing and agricultural industries, and Mexican labor filled much of those needs. The Cuban Revolution sent many middle-class and upper-class Cubans to the US, who had greatly benefited under the Batista regime, but were not likely to do so under the Castro regime. Inexpensive airfares from Puerto Rico to the US, made it easy for Puerto Ricans to move between the "Island" and the US, particularly along the US Eastern Seaboard. Economic and political instability in other parts of South and Latin America were causes for immigration from countries such as Chile, El Salvador, Columbia, Peru, Argentina, Guatemala, and Bolivia. Between 1950 to 2007, 17.4 million Hispanic immigrants came to the US compared to about 24.7 million non-Hispanic immigrants over that same time span.

Second, of the four immigrant Hispanic ethnic groups identified in my data sets, Mexican immigrants have had the most impact on US population growth. Between 1950 and 2007, the years of greatest increase for the Hispanic immigrant population, the Mexican immigrant population grew by 11.2 million; the Cuban immigrant population by 947,000; the Puerto Rican immigrant

The Hispanic Population and its Impact on the US population 1850 to 2007 FOUR.doc population by 43,000; and the Other Hispanic immigrant population by 5.3 million. Mexican immigrants have and continue to have an important effect on Hispanic population growth as well an impact on US population growth.

Finally, after having parsed the contributions to US population growth among eight groups, and thus controlling for Hispanic ethnicity and immigrant status, I find that Mexicans have contributed the most to US population growth from 1850 to 2007. However, it should also be pointed out that immigrants, especially Mexican immigrants, have had a significant impact on US population growth.

What conclusions can we draw from this study? The clearest conclusion is that Hispanic immigrants have had a significant impact on the growth of the US population. This impact was especially significant from about the middle of the 20th century to the present. Secondly, given what we know about "push" and "pull" factors, the patterns among Hispanic immigrant numbers agree with both these concepts: push factors include both economic and political instability that have pushed Hispanic immigrants to the US, while pull factors have included the need for unskilled to semi skilled labor in the US. The trends in Hispanic labor confirm such a viewpoint. Thirdly, we know that new Hispanic immigration is not following previous settlement trends. While settlement patterns are not presented here, we do know that Hispanic immigrants are settling in areas without histories of Hispanics and that their increasing numbers are challenging those localities. So, a third conclusion is that the increase in the Hispanic immigrant population and its impact on US population and society needs more research. The dramatic growth in the Hispanic immigrant population, especially since the mid 20th century, needs research in the ever changing contexts under which the Hispanic population grows, changes, and moves.

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Tables & Charts

Table 1. Data bases used in this study						
Data Base and Year	Description					
Population in 1,000s						
1850, 1% sample	1-in-100 national random sample of the free population. African					
T = 19,990	American slaves are not included. Individual data on the 1850 slave					
H = 110	population can be found on the IPUMS slave PUMS website.					
1860, 1% sample	1-in-100 national random sample of the free population. African					
T = 27,350	American slaves are not included. Individual data on the 1860 slave					
H = 160	population can be found on the IPUMS slave PUMS website. The					
	sample is weighted.					
1870, 1% sample	1-in-100 national random sample of the population.					
T = 38,410						
H = 170						
1880, 1% sample	1-in-100 national random sample of the population.					
T = 50,150						
H = 350						
1900, 1% sample with	1-in-100 national random sample of the population, with 1-in-5					
oversamples	oversamples of Alaskans, Hawaiians, and persons enumerated on the					
T = 76,230	American Indian Schedules. The 1900-1920 samples include data					
H = 510	from Alaska and Hawaii, even though were not states until 1959. This					
	is a weighted sample.					
1910, 1.4% sample with	1-in-70 national random sample of the population, with large					
oversamples	oversamples of Hispanics, Blacks, Alaskans, Hawaiians, and persons					
T = 92,590	enumerated on the American Indian Schedules. The 1900-1920					
H = 820	samples include data from Alaska and Hawaii, even though were not					
	states until 1959. This is a weighted sample.					
1920, 1% sample	1-in-100 national random sample. The 1900-1920 samples include					
T = 106,000	data from Alaska and Hawaii, even though were not states until 1959.					
H = 1,300						
1930, 1% sample	1-in-100 national random sample of the population. The 1930 sample					
T = 122,900	does not include data from Alaska and Hawaii.					
H = 2,300						
1940, 1% sample	1-in-100 national random sample of the population. Weighted sample.					
T = 130,300	The 1940 sample does not include data from Alaska and Hawaii. Every					
H = 2,140	household has one "sample-line" person who answered additional					
	census questions. Only places of at least 100,000 population can be					
	identified with any geographic variable.					

Table 1. Data bases used in this study							
Data Base and Year	Description						
Population in 1,000s							
1950, 1 % sample	1-in-100 national random sample of the population. Weighted sample.						
T = 152,200	The 1930-1950 samples do NOT include data from Alaska and Hawaii.						
H = 3,300	Samples from 1900-1920, and 1960 to the present do include data						
	Alaska and Hawaii. Every household has one "sample-line" person						
	who answered additional census questions. Only places of at least						
	100,000 population can be identified with any geographic variable.						
1960, 1% sample	1-in-100 national random sample of the population. The smallest						
T = 179,300	identifiable geographic unit is the state.						
H = 5,800							
1970, 1% sample Form 1	1-in-100 national random sample of the population. The smallest						
State sample	geographic unit is the state.						
T = 202,500							
H = 7,700							
1980, 5% State sample	1-in-100 national random sample of the population. No place smaller						
T = 226,700	than 100,000 can be identified with any geographic variable.						
H = 14,700							
1990, 5% State sample	1-in-20 national random sample of the population. Data are weighted.						
T = 248,100	No place smaller than 100,000 can be identified with any geographic						
H = 21,800	variable.						
2000, 1% sample	1-in-100 national random sample. Data are weighted. The smallest						
T = 281,400	identifiable geographic unit is the Super-PUMA containing at least						
H = 35,200	400,000 persons. Super-PUMAs do not cross state boundaries.						
2007 American	See text for a description of the 2007 ACS.						
Community							
Survey							
T = 301,600							
H = 45,400							

Table 2. Operationalizing immigrant status: 1850 to 2007						
Year	Variable	Operationalization				
1850 to	Place of birth: BPL	1 = non-immigrant if born in the US to American				
1880		parents; 2 = immigrant if not born in the US, or born				
4000	V 1:	in the US to immigrant parents.				
1900 to	Years living in the US:	1 = non-immigrant if response was 'not applicable"				
1930	YRSUSA2	because person was a US citizen or born in the US; 2				
		= immigrant if years in the US was 0 or greater. (The				
		0 represents someone living in the US less than one				
		year.)				
1940 and	Citizenship status:	1 = Non-immigrant if the respondent was a citizen				
1950	CITIZEN	but not a naturalized citizen; 2 = immigrant if the				
		respondent was not a citizen or a naturalized citizen.				
1960	Status determined on	1 = Non-immigrant if the respondent was not foreign				
	foreign-born and foreign	born and if both parents were also not foreign born;				
	born status of parents:	2 = immigrant if the respondent was foreign born				
	NATIVITY	and also if both parents were foreign born.				
1970 and	Years living in the US:	1 = non-immigrant if response was 'not applicable"				
1980	YRSUSA2	because person was a US citizen or born in the US; 2				
		= immigrant if years in the US was 0 or greater. (The				
		0 represents someone living in the US less than one				
		year.)				
1990 to	Citizenship status:	1 = Non-immigrant if the respondent was a citizen				
2007	CITIZEN	but not a naturalized citizen; 2 = immigrant if the				
		respondent was not a citizen or a naturalized citizen.				

DRAFT

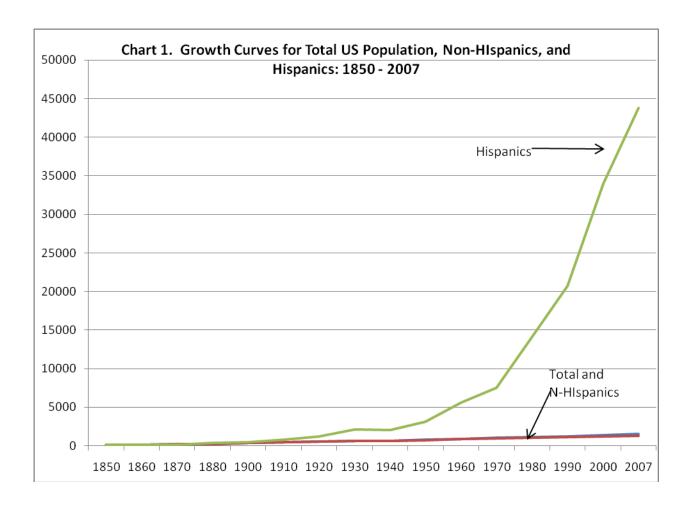
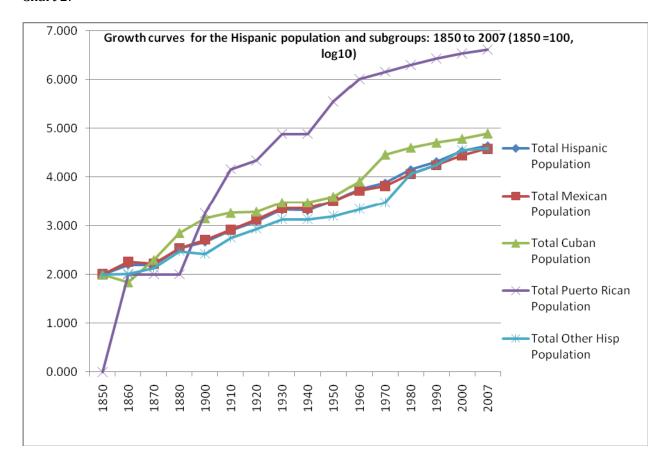


Chart 2:



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Table 3. Changes in the native-born and foreign-born Hispanic population: 1850 - 2007

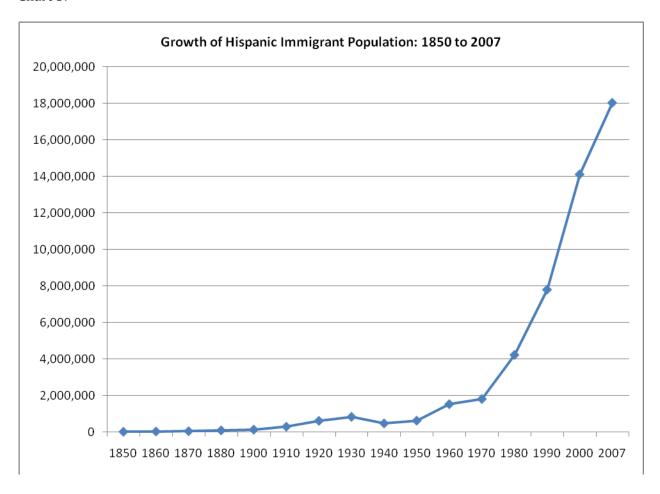
			Non			Change in
	Total	Hispanic	Immigrant	Change in	Change in	Non Immig
	Hispanic	Immigrant	Hispanic	Hispanic	Hispanic Immig	Hispanic
Year	Population	Population	Population	Population	Population	Population
1850	110,000	21,017	88,983			
1860	160,000	37,785	122,215	50,000	16,768	33,232
1870	170,000	52,484	117,516	10,000	14,699	-4,699
1880	350,000	97,746	252,254	180,000	45,262	134,738
1900	510,000	140,000	370,000	160,000	42,254	117,746
1910	820,000	300,000	520,000	310,000	160,000	150,000
1920	1,300,000	620,000	680,000	480,000	320,000	160,000
1930	2,300,000	840,000	1,460,000	1,000,000	220,000	780,000
1940	2,139,819	480,000	1,659,819	-160,181	-360,000	199,819
1950	3,300,000	630,000	2,670,000	1,160,181	150,000	1,010,181
1960	5,800,000	1,535,121	4,264,879	2,500,000	905,121	1,594,879
1970	7,700,000	1,818,200	5,881,800	1,900,000	283,079	1,616,921
1980	14,700,000	4,230,700	10,469,300	7,000,000	2,412,500	4,587,500
1990	21,800,000	7,810,000	13,990,000	7,100,000	3,579,300	3,520,700
2000	35,200,000	14,130,000	21,070,000	13,400,000	6,320,000	7,080,000
2007	45,400,000	18,050,000	27,350,000	10,200,000	3,920,000	6,280,000

Source: Ruggles, S., Sobek, M., Alexander, T., Fitch, C.A., Goeken, R., Hall, P.K., King, M., and Ronnander, C. 2009 *Integrated Public Use Microdata Series: Version 4.0* [Machine-readable database]. Minneapolis, MN: Minnesota Population Center [producer and distributor], 2008.

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Chart 3:



The Hispanic Population and its Impact on the US population 1850 to 2007 FOUR.doc

Chart 4:

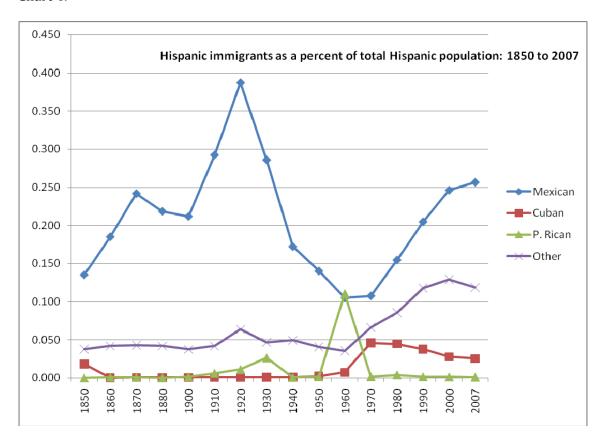
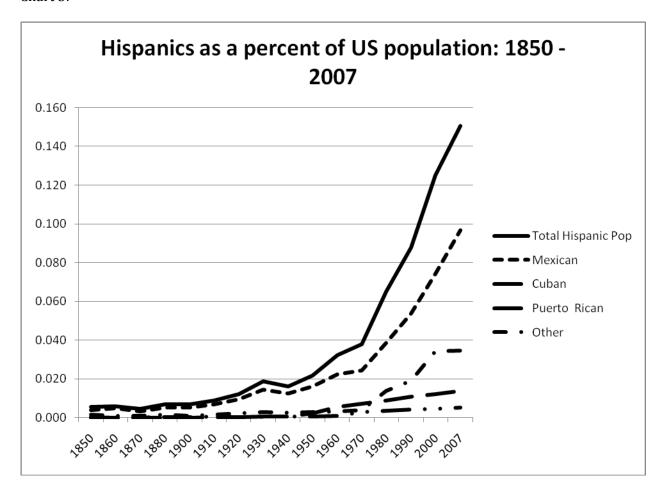
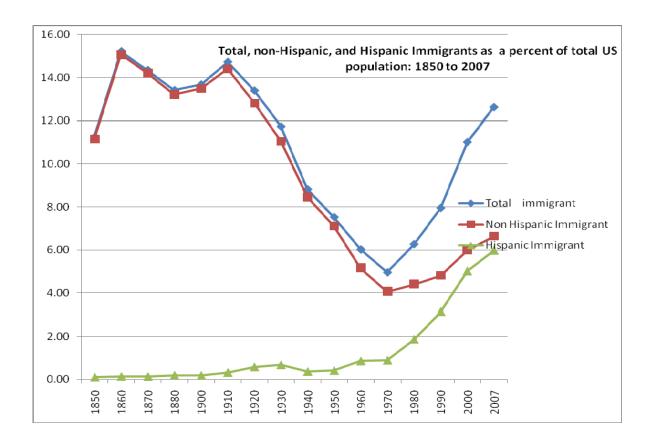


Chart 5:



The Hispanic Population and its Impact on the US population 1850 to 2007 FOUR.doc

Chart 6:



The Hispanic Population and its Impact on the US population 1850 to 2007 FOUR.doc

Appendix A: Hispanic Rule

In the IPUMS data set, a person was coded as Spanish/Hispanic/Latino with the variable HISPAN from 1850-1970. In contrast, Hispanic origin was asked directly on the census forms from 1980 onward. In the earlier samples we inferred Hispanic origin from other variables

The IPUMS established Hispanic origin in the pre-1980 samples according to eight basic rules, the HISPRULE algorithm. If Hispanic origin could be assigned according to more than one rule, the lowest-numbered rule was applied. See Table A.

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Table A. HISPRULE algorithm used in identifying Hispanics, pre-1980 Census

0 = Person is not Hispanic.

- 1 = Person was born in a Hispanic area. This covers two possibilities. (1) The person was born in a Hispanic country. Hispanic countries are: Argentina, Bolivia, Canary Islands, Central America, Central America, n.s., Chile, Columbia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Latin America, n.s., Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Puerto Rico, South America, South America, n.s., Spain, Uruguay, and Venezuela. (2) The person was born in Arizona, California, New Mexico, or New Mexico Territory while the area was still under Spanish/Mexican jurisdiction (i.e., before July 1848). Country of origin was coded as Mexican in these cases.
- 2 = The person's father or mother was born in a Hispanic country. In cases where father or mother's birthplaces were not available and the person was living with his/her father or mother, IPUMS used other geographic data to impute birthplace information. Although birth place data are available for sample-line respondents in 1940 and 1950, this rule was not applied in 1940 and 1950 because of comparability issues. If both the father and the mother were Hispanic, the person received the country-of-origin code of his/her father.
- 3 = The person's grandparent was born in a Hispanic country. Grandparent birthplace was imputed only in cases where father's birthplace and mother's birthplace were asked in the census and the person was living with his/her father and/or mother. Although birthplace data are available for sample-line respondents in 1940 and 1950, this rule was not applied in 1940 and 1950 because of comparability issues. If multiple grandparents were Hispanic, the person received the country-of-origin code of the Hispanic grandparent first on the following list: father's father, father's mother, mother's mother.
- 4 = The person's spouse is Hispanic because of rule 1, 2, or 3. The country of origin was coded to match the spouse.
- 5 = The person is a relative of a householder who is Hispanic because of rule 1, 2, 3, or 4. The country of origin was coded to match the householder.
- 6 = The person has a Spanish surname and the person was born in the United States and his/her father was born in the United States (or has a missing value for birthplace) and his/her father's father was born in the United States (or has a missing value for birthplace). This rule only applies to males or females with no spouse in the household. For people who were allocated to Hispanic using rules 6-8, country of origin was assigned based on the predominating country of origin (if any) among Hispanics (as defined by rules 1-5) in that state in that year; see Gratton and Gutmann (2000) for specific states and years.
- 7 = A woman whose spouse qualifies as Hispanic through rule 6.
- 8 = The person is a relative of a householder who is Hispanic because of rule 6 or 7.

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Notes

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Proponents of Globalization cite its benefits: increased economic prosperity, increased opportunities for prosperity, increased civil liberties, and the efficient use of resources (see Friedman 2000, 2005; Sachs 2005; Bhagwati 2004; Croucher 2004).

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² Another interesting finding is that the longer immigrants stay in the US, the lower their fertility rate. Scholars have speculated about this pattern and the most common explanations are (1) that social norms about fertility take hold of immigrants' behavior, and (2) greater economic opportunities in the US for women translates to fewer children.

³ While I limit my discussion to the Push/Pull paradigm, there are at least nine theories of international migration. Their main contribution has been to add context to why people migrate, the involvement of networks (at home and abroad), the sort of jobs awaiting immigrants, and country-to-country relationships that affect the decision to immigrate and the sort of labor needed in the receiving country. For excellent discussions see Massey et al (1993),and Portes and Borocz (1989).

⁴ There is another set of factors that appear to have increased the composition of Hispanic immigrants: US laws regarding immigration. Three laws are most often cited for having such an effect. (1) The 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act: restricted immigration from Eastern Europe and opened up the door for immigrants Asia, and ended the Bracero Program. (2) The 1968 Immigration Reform and Control Act: limited immigration from Mexico, and opened it up for immigrants from other Hispanic-dominated countries. (3) The 1996 Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigration Responsibilities Act: Restricted program for immigrants, many of whom had depended on such programs; and opened up the possibility for undocumented Hispanic immigrants to be naturalized. In fact, the number applying for naturalization tripled over the year and they did so with the full knowledge that their sending countries would not deny them their original citizenship and the rights attached to such citizenship.

⁵ Spain, for example, has a large Latin American immigrant population. See Verdugo and Swanson (2009).

⁶ Data were downloaded from the University of Minnesota's Population Research Center. See Ruggles et al (2009).

⁷ The 1850 Census was the first to actually identify country of origin, and so becomes a wonderful resource for immigration research.

⁸ The relevant topic here is Globalization. Globalization is a concept that focuses on the elimination or reduction of national barriers in order that businesses might operate unfettered across international borders. As Saskia Sassen (2006) states: "...a good part of globalization consists of an enormous variety of micro-processes that begin to denationalize what had been constructed as national—whether policies, capital, political subjectivities, urban spaces, temporal frame, or any other of a variety of dynamics and domains."

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Opponents of Globalization point out that it limits national sovereignty and decision making, increases the power of multi-national corporations, damages the rights of citizens and labor, the environment (see Stiglitz and Charlton 2005; Hirst and Thompson 2002).

For an alternate view see Cohen (2006). Cohen appears to argue that Globalization is not necessarily imposed or exploitative. He argues that poor countries simply do not have anything that rich countries want or need. Globalization can work if certain "levers" are pulled by poor countries, like improve their educational systems. The main problem I have with Cohen's argument is that he is dead wrong about rich countries not wanting anything poor countries have—they want their cheap labor for one thing, and their raw materials for a second thing.

- ¹¹ Once the revolutionaries had taken control of Cuban, and the Cuban middle and upper-classes began immigrating to the US, the US government took great pains to ensure that Cuban refugees were successful in the US. For example, as far as we know, the first English or Second Language program (ESL) was started to help Cubans learn English. It was not so much that US officials were humanitarians as it was important for them that Cubans succeed in a democratic society. The Cold War and the Communist/Democratic ideological battles were in full swing (Sullivan and Pedraz-Bailey 1979).
- ¹² In 1900, the US Congress established a civil government in Puerto Rico, and about 17 years later, under pressure from Puerto Rican activists, US President, Woodrow Wilson signed the Jones Act which granted US citizenship to all Puerto Ricans. Citizenship is an important factor because it allowed Puerto Ricans the ability to travel to and from the US and Puerto Rican without any barriers.
- ¹³ Theoretically, Puerto Ricans are not immigrants, but many of those migrating from Puerto Rico consider themselves immigrants. In my analysis I rely on a respondent's self identification as an immigrant.
- ¹⁴ Keep in mind that many Central and South American countries were experiencing difficult economic and political circumstances. Both circumstances "pushed" many to the US and to Europe as well. For example, a sizeable proportion of immigrants to Spain are from South America (Verdugo and Swanson 2009).
- ¹⁵ Projections of the Hispanic population is expected to be about 29 percent of the US population by 2050 (Passel and Cohn 2008). What is also interesting about this report are the following:
 - 82% of the population increase in the US that will occur between 2005 and 2050 will be from immigrants and their descendants
 - 19% of all Americans will be an immigrant

⁹ Data on the Puerto Rican population were not available from the 1850 Census.

¹⁰ There is some sense that Cuban authorities encouraged an important number of its criminals to immigrate to the US. Such action rid Cuba of a troublesome element of its society and placed it in the lap of the US.