

6-2013

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Tuman, J. P., Damore, D. F., Agreda, M. J. (2013). Immigration and the Contours of Nevada's Latino Population. 1-18.

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Immigration and the Contours of Nevada's Latino Population

JOHN P. TUMAN, DAVID F. DAMORE, AND MARIA JOSÉ FLOR ÁGREDÁ

Since the early 1980s, Nevada has experienced significant demographic change. In particular, the ethnic composition of the state has become considerably more diverse. Although growth in the Asian population is one of the sources of Nevada's growing diversity, Nevada's Latino¹ population has also accounted for much recent demographic and social change.² Except for brief periods following the emergence of the Great Recession of 2008, the Latino population of Nevada has experienced sustained annual growth over the past two decades. Perhaps more important, much of the growth in the Latino population has been associated with immigration, principally from Mexico and other parts of Central America.

In this study, we analyze data from the U.S. Census Bureau's Decennial Census and American Community Survey³ to examine the drivers of Latino population growth. The first part of the paper provides an overview of the growth in Nevada's Latino population, with a focus on the age structure and the concentration of the population in certain metropolitan areas and counties. In part two, we examine the contribution of Latin American immigration to the state's Latino population. From there, we move to a discussion of the factors that have shaped migration flows from Mexico, Guatemala, and El Salvador (and other parts Latin America). In so doing, our analysis allows us to consider what makes Nevada attractive as a "destination state" to immigrants. The paper concludes by exploring some of the implications of immigration and growth in the Latino population.

Overview: Trends in Nevada's Latino Population

Over the course of the last decade, the Latino population of Nevada grew appreciably. The 2000 Census reported that 393,970 Latinos resided in Nevada, which represented approximately 19.7% of the state's total population. In 2010, Nevada's Latino population increased to 737,221, or 27.1% of the state population.⁴ The number of Latinos in Nevada increased by approximately 82% between 2000 and 2010, although average annual growth rates slowed after the emergence of the "Great Recession" in 2008.

As is detailed in Table 1, the Latino population in Nevada is also distinctive for being a relatively young population. In 2011, the most recent year for which complete data

"Except for brief periods following the emergence of the Great Recession of 2008, the Latino population of Nevada has experienced sustained annual growth over the past two decades. "

from the U.S. Census Bureau are available, nearly 48% of all Latino Nevadans were 24 years old or younger. Latino children five years old and younger comprise 10.5% of the total population, with larger shares between the ages of 6 and 24. In addition, the vast majority of the state's Latino population under the age of 24 is native born. Indeed, just 13.4% of the Latino population aged 24 and younger was born in Latin America.⁵ In part, the small weight of immigrants in the younger segments of the population may reflect the preference among many immigrants to migrate without children (or before having any children). Particularly for individuals who arrive in the U.S. without legal authorization, the risks associated with cross-border travel are high. In addition, some immigrants might remain in the U.S. only for limited periods of time, with the hope of returning to their home countries after earning or remitting sufficient amount of money.

Age Groups	Share of Latino Population
Under 5 years	10.5%
5 to 17 years	25.6%
18 to 24 years	11.6%
24 years and younger	47.7%
25 to 34 years	16.7%
35 to 44 years	15.3%
45 to 54 years	10.5%
55 to 64 years	5.7%
65 to 74 years	2.6%
75 years and over	1.6%
25 years and over	52.4%

Note: Data from the 2011 American Community Survey

Having discussed the age structure of the Latino population, we turn now to an examination of the spatial concentration of the population throughout Nevada. If Nevada's Latino population is relatively young, it is also a population that concentrates in just two counties: Clark and Washoe. Data from the 2011 American Community Survey indicates that 79.3% of all Latinos in Nevada resided in Clark County. Moreover, over the course of the past decade, the growth trajectory of the Latino population of Clark County was slightly higher than the pattern observed at the state level. Between 2000 and 2010, the number of Latinos in Clark County went from 302,143 to 568,644, a change of 88%. In the same period, the share of Latinos in Clark County increased from 22% to 29.1% (see Table 2). An examination of patterns of residential occupancy in Clark County suggests that the majority of Latinos reside in North Las Vegas, in the eastern side of the Las Vegas, and, to a much smaller extent, in Henderson.

Beyond Clark County, the only population center of Latinos in Nevada is located in Washoe County. In 2011, approximately 13% of Nevada’s Latino population was located in Washoe County, with most residing in the Reno metropolitan area. The composition of the foreign-born Latino population in Clark and Washoe counties is broadly similar to the pattern observed at the state level. As is detailed below, the spatial concentration of Latinos in Clark and Washoe counties reflects in large part the economic opportunities in each county, particularly for immigrant workers.

Table 2 Latino Population in Clark and Washoe Counties, 2000 and 2010				
County	Year	Total	Share of County Population	Percent Change, 2000 to 2010
Clark	2000	302,143	22%	-
	2010	568,644	29.1%	88.2%
Washoe	2000	56,301	16.6%	-
	2010	93,724	22.2%	66.5%

Note: Data from the U.S. Census Bureau, 2000 and 2010 Census.

Immigration and Growth in Nevada’s Latino Population

As many analysts have observed, a relatively large share of Nevada’s Latino population is comprised of recent immigrants from Latin America. In 2011, 42% of Latinos in Nevada were foreign-born, but only 29.5% of the state’s foreign-born Latinos were naturalized U.S. citizens.⁶ Migration flows from Mexico account for the vast majority (78%) of the total immigrant population in the Latino community in the state.⁷ Nevada also attracts smaller groups of émigrés from Central American (principally, El Salvador and Guatemala) and the Caribbean (Cuba and Puerto Rico). Nearly three in ten Latin American immigrants in Nevada who are not naturalized U.S. citizens entered the U.S. in the year 2000 or later. Although estimates of the size of the unauthorized immigrant population varies, a widely-cited study by Passel and Cohn found a steep and statistically significant decline in the number of unauthorized immigrants in Nevada between 2008 and 2009 (more than 80% of whom were from Latin America).⁸ Overall, net migration from Mexico to the U.S. may have declined to negligible levels between 2009 and 2011, with attendant consequences for the Latino population in Nevada.⁹ However, given the recent improvement in Nevada’s residential home construction and other service sectors, one has good reason to suspect that net migration flows from Mexico will increase again, albeit at lower growth rates than in the first part of the decade of the 2000s.

Migration Flows from Mexico and Central America to Nevada

Regardless of the recent slow-down in migration flows, immigration from Latin America has contributed significantly to growth in Nevada’s Latino population. Given the overall weight of immigration from Mexico, El Salvador, and Guatemala, it is important to understand the factors that have shaped migration flows from these countries over the past three decades.

Individuals migrate for a variety of reasons, but the available evidence suggests that economic considerations are preeminent in these decisions. The data in Table 3, which are taken from the 2006 Latino National Survey (LNS), provide a glimpse of the self-reported reasons for immigration given by Mexican-born respondents in Nevada and in other U.S. states. It is not surprising that the most prevalent reason for migration among Mexicans in Nevada (59%) and other states (64%) was improvement of one’s economic situation. In contrast, immigration as a child, family unification, education, and to escape political turmoil were much less cited factors in migration for Mexicans. Although the numbers of Salvadoran and Guatemalan respondents in the Nevada sample of the LNS are too small to analyze, other studies have pointed to the importance of economic factors for migrants from these two countries as well.¹⁰

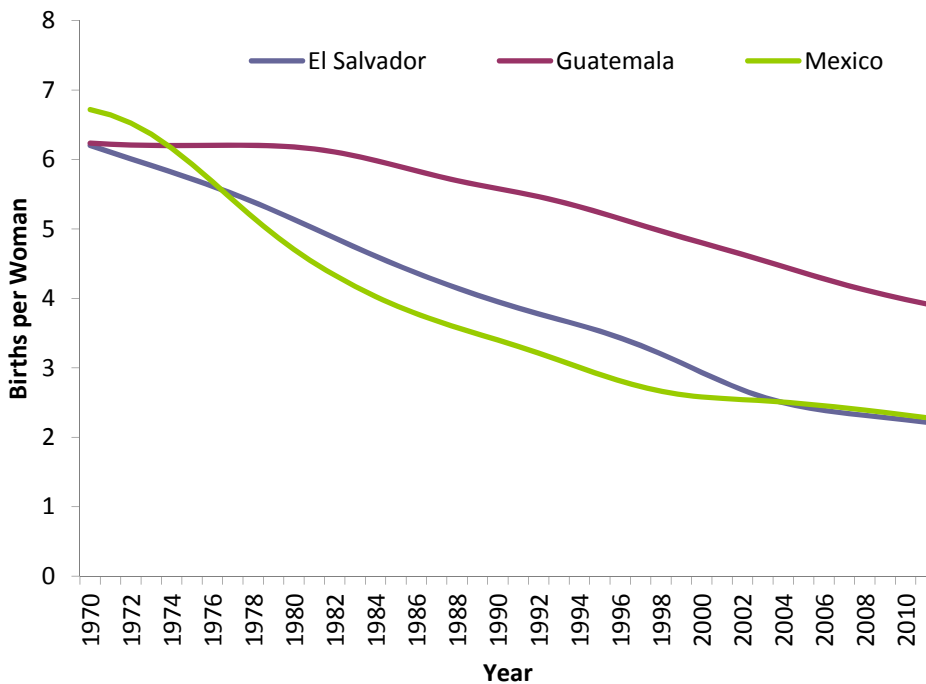
Reason	Share of Mexican-Born Respondents in Nevada	Share of Mexican-Born Respondents Nationally
Education	6.49%	5.83%
Family reunification	9.16%	9.69%
Escape political turmoil	1.15%	0.72%
My parents brought me as a child	14.89%	13.38%
Improve economic situation	59.16%	63.57%
Other	9.16%	6.81%

Note: Authors’ tabulation and analysis of Latino National Survey, adjusting for Mexican-born respondents residing in Nevada and Mexican-born in the entire sample. Each state in the sample is a representative sample of the total Latino population in that state. In Nevada, the total sample size was 403; Mexican-born respondents represented 65 percent of the total sample.

Because the data suggest that the desire to improve one’s economic situation is clearly important to understanding Mexican and Latin American flows to Nevada, the remainder of this section explores how demographic change, economic restructuring, and social and human capital have influenced evaluations of individual economic situations.¹¹ In what follows, we briefly discuss the role of each of these factors as inducements for out-migration.

First, due to a delay in the demographic transition, pressure for out-migration in Mexico and parts of Central America has remained strong during the past three decades. In Mexico, for example, fertility rates did not begin to decline until the mid-1970s (see Figure 1). As a result, the number of young people in the workforce remained at high levels for a number of years. Between 1970 and 1990, the share of Mexican population aged 15 to 29 increased from 25.6% to 29.4% of the total population.¹² The share of the Mexican population between the ages of 15 and 29 remained at 28% of the total population in the year 2000, but fell (principally, after 2005) to 26.4% in 2010. Yet, during the period between 1982 and 2008, job creation in the formal sector of the Mexican economy was generally insufficient to absorb the number of new entrants in the labor market, resulting in a large informal sector and underemployment.¹³ These problems are more pronounced in rural areas, where employment and income are more precarious than in cities.¹⁴ Similar fertility trends are evident in El Salvador and Guatemala, two Central American countries that have also contributed to Nevada’s Latino population.

Figure 1
Fertility Rates in Mexico, El Salvador and Guatemala, 1975-2010



Note: Data from *World Development Indicators*, “Population 0-15 (% population),” <http://databank.worldbank.org/>

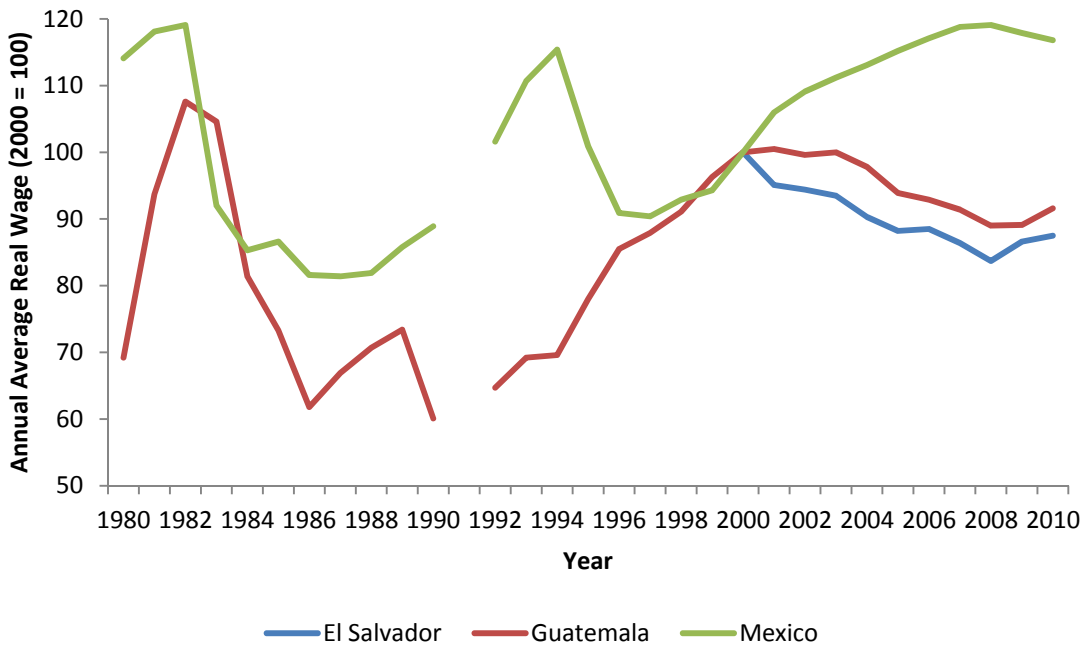
To be sure, as fertility rates in Mexico and Central America fall, the situation for new labor market entrants may improve – although this will also occur slowly and will be mediated by other factors (i.e., macroeconomic policy, competition from China) that are not directly influenced by demographic change.¹⁵

Second, in Mexico and other parts of Central America, trade liberalization and other structural problems have created continuing pressures for out-migration. In the aftermath of implementation of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), small corn farmers in Mexico faced difficulty competing with more efficient, large-scale producers in the U.S. The resulting competition from cheap corn imports from the U.S. has displaced many smallholders in Mexico. Although the Mexican government has implemented a policy (*Procampo*) that is designed to provide income support to farmers who are adversely affected by competition from U.S. agricultural imports, several studies have found that the program is not adequately funded and tends to have a bias toward larger producers.¹⁶ As a result, many small farmers in Mexico exited farming and migrated in search of employment. It is important to note, however, that the impact of trade liberalization and economic integration has not been confined to rural areas. Although North American economic integration led to creation of manufacturing employment in Mexico, the process also produced a high degree of volatility in manufacturing employment, particularly in Mexico's in-bond export processing plants located on the U.S.-Mexico border (*maquiladoras*).¹⁷ As a result, out-migration from industrial areas in northern Mexico also occurred during the past fifteen years.¹⁸

In other Central American countries, such as Guatemala and El Salvador, an extreme concentration in land holdings, combined with import competition, uneven prices for commodity exports (e.g., coffee), and government repression during the civil wars of the 1980s induced migration from the agricultural sector as well.¹⁹

Third, despite reforms that have promoted economic openness to trade and foreign investment, annual growth in real average wages has been flat or negative in Mexico and other parts of Latin America. As one can see from the data in Figure 2, which are from the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean, the real average wage in Mexico (as measured in constant 2000 pesos) fell dramatically after 1982 and remained below its 1982-level for virtually every year between 1982 and 2010.²⁰ In part, the decline in real wages in the 1980s reflected the impact of government adjustment policies that were implemented after the 1982 debt crisis. However, the longer-term trend in Mexico's stagnating real wages is due to the prevalence of weak (or no) unions in many sectors of the Mexican economy, labor-market barriers, and the absence of policies to link labor productivity and wage settlements.²¹ Perhaps more important, although the trends in real wages affected many workers, the impact of real wage stagnation has (until recently) been most pronounced among workers with lower levels of education.²² Under these conditions, incentives for cross-border migration to the U.S. remained strong, particularly for individuals with lower levels of educational attainment.²³ Similar problems are evident in patterns of wage determination in Guatemala and El Salvador.²⁴

Figure 2
Real Wage Trends in Mexico, Guatemala, and El Salvador, 1980-2010



Note: Data from the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean ECLAC (2012)

A final factor that has shaped migration flows is the growth of informal immigration networks. Mexican immigrants, for example, have developed informal migration networks between their municipality-of-origin and the destination areas in the U.S.²⁵ As a form of social capital, migration networks reduce the costs and uncertainty associated with immigration. In particular, migration networks often provide information about employment opportunities and living arrangements in selected U.S. destination cities, as well as conditions that might affect transit at different points of entry along the U.S.-Mexico border. Research on immigrants from Guatemala found that migration networks are important, particularly given the risks for Guatemalan migrants who travel through Mexico to the United States.²⁶

Nevada as a Destination State

Although immigrants have been a part of Nevada’s social fabric prior to statehood, migration flows from Latin America grew dramatically after 1980.²⁷ Some immigrants in the state arrive directly from Mexico and other parts of Latin America, but the data suggest that a (small) majority tend to reside in California, and to a much smaller degree in Arizona, before moving to Nevada. In our analysis of data from the 2006 LNS, we found that among Mexican respondents in Nevada, approximately 54% reported residing in another state previously. Among those Mexican respondents (in Nevada) who lived in another state, 72.5% responded that they had lived in California, while 5% reported Arizona, 3.5% reported Colorado, and about 2% each reported Colorado,

Texas, Utah, Illinois, and Washington.²⁸ In addition, the LNS data suggest that 73% of the Mexican respondents in Nevada had resided in the state in early childhood. Not surprisingly, once they arrive in Nevada, most Latin American immigrants search for employment in the Las Vegas metropolitan area.

Latin American immigrants choose Nevada as a destination state for reasons that are relatively straightforward. Given the skill profile of many immigrants, Nevada’s two major metropolitan areas, Las Vegas and Reno, offer economic opportunities that are attractive. Many immigrants from Mexico and Central America have relatively low levels of educational attainment. In 2011, for example, U.S. Census data suggests that 59.6% of individuals from Mexico (who were 25 years or older) residing in Nevada had a less than a high school degree. In the same year, 43.6% of individuals (25 years and older) from Central America had less than a high school degree. Immigrant workers with lower levels of educational attainment (see Table 4) are well matched to jobs that, despite the Great Recession, remain relatively abundant in the state. These include jobs in the service, construction, and wholesale and retail trade sectors. In 2011, 37.2% of the immigrants from Mexico residing in Nevada, and 52.1% of the Central American immigrant population, were employed in the entertainment, accommodation, and food services sector in the state. As the data in Table 5 suggest, many immigrants from Mexico and Central America also concentrate in the retail trade and constructions sectors as well.

Table 4			
Educational Attainment among Foreign-Born Latinos, Nevada, 2011			
Educational Attainment	Latin America	Mexico	Other Central America
Less than High School Graduate	53.5%	59.6%	43.6%
High School Graduate (includes equivalency)	26.1%	24.6%	28.0%
Some College or Associate’s Degree	13.8%	11.5%	18.4%
Bachelor’s Degree	5.2%	3.3%	8.9%
Graduate or Professional Degree	1.4%	1.0%	1.2%
Note: Data from the 2011 American Community Survey			

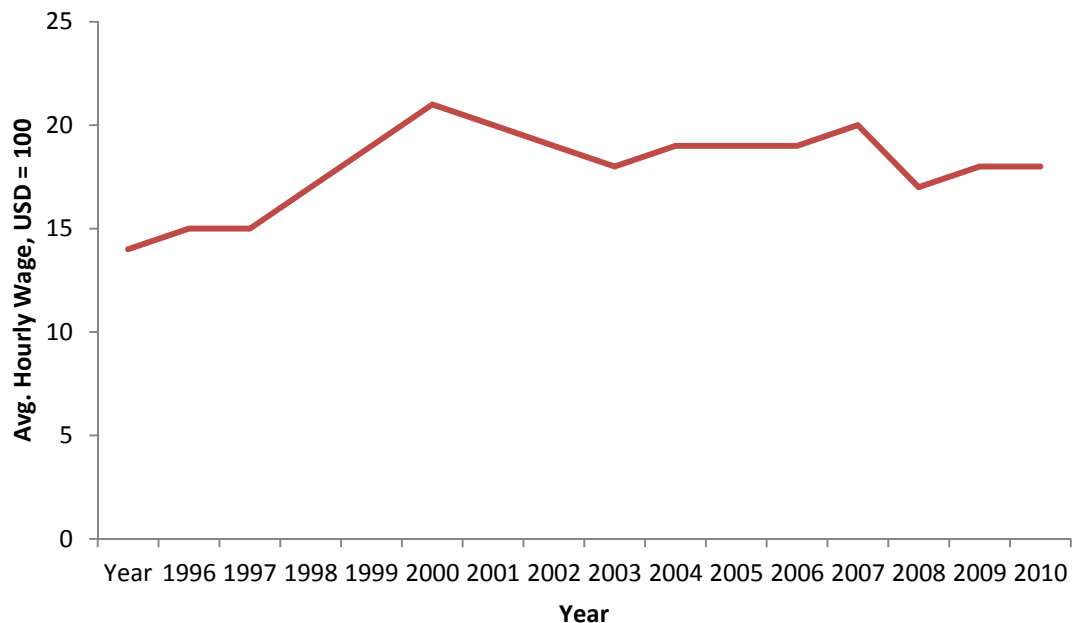
Table 5
Occupation of Nevada Latinos Born in Mexico and Central America, 2011

Sector	Mexico	Other Central America
Agriculture, Forestry, Fishing, Hunting, Mining	2.5%	0.6%
Construction	13.1%	5.5%
Manufacturing	7.3%	4.2%
Wholesale Trade	2.1%	1.0%
Retail Trade	6.5%	9.9%
Transportation, Warehousing, Utilities	3.0%	2.5%
Information	0.7%	0.9%
Finance, Insurance, Real Estate, Rental, Leasing	3.4%	0.8%
Professional, Scientific, Management, Administrative, Waste	11.3%	8.2%
Educational Services, Health Care, Social Assistance	5.2%	6.2%
Arts, Entertainment, Recreation, Accommodation, Food Services	37.2%	52.1%
Other Services (Except Public Administration)	7.1%	4.8%
Public Administration	0.6%	3.4%
Note: Data from the 2011 American Community Survey		

Nevada also remains attractive to immigrants because average levels of remuneration have remained well above the extant level in Mexico. The data in Figure 3 show Mexican hourly compensation in comparison to the U.S. (as an index number, where the U.S. = 100). As the figure makes clear, a fairly large gap persists between the two countries despite over a decade of closer economic integration.²⁹ In those sectors of the Nevada economy where immigrant workers from Mexico and Central America are concentrated (e.g., services, construction, and wholesale and retail trade), each sector's average wage in Nevada is also well above wage levels in Mexico.

For example, a highly simplified comparison of average daily wages for a construction laborer reveals that in Mexico, construction laborers were paid on average U.S. \$15.83 per day in 2012, while in Nevada the corresponding daily average was U.S. \$153.84 per day in the same period.³⁰ In other words, a construction worker’s wages in Nevada might be close to ten times the remuneration level in Mexico. Of course, immigrant workers in Nevada may be remunerated at closer to entry-level (or minimum) wages in construction. However, examining Nevada construction laborer’s wages at the 10th percentile of wages in the sector still points to a large wage gap. In 2012, construction laborers in Nevada at the 10th percentile earned \$80.32 a day, more than five times the average level in Mexico. Similar gaps in wages persist in the hospitality and services sectors in Mexico and Nevada.

Figure 3
Index of Comparative Hourly Compensation Costs
in Mexican Manufacturing, 1996-2011



Note: Data from the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics

Moreover, working conditions in some sectors in the Silver State have benefitted from unionization. In Las Vegas, for example, the Culinary Union Local 226 has a membership base of approximately 55,000 workers, of which approximately 45% are Latino. Significantly, the union estimates that a large share of its Latino membership is comprised of immigrants.³¹ The Culinary Union raised wages and provided health insurance and other benefits for its members, and the union’s efforts also had “spill over” effects on wage determination in other non-union firms in the sector.³² Thus, even if Latin American immigrants in the Las Vegas hospitality sector are not members of the Culinary Union (or other trade unions), they may still be experiencing a higher wage floor due to the efforts of the union throughout the sector.

Finally, particularly in the Las Vegas metropolitan area, a variety of different social and economic organizations have eased the transition for immigrants. For example, there are a number of Mexican “hometown” associations in Las Vegas that are organized around the state-of-origin of Mexican immigrants. The largest association is comprised of immigrants from state of Michoacán, while smaller clubs represent Mexican immigrants from the states of Jalisco, Zacatecas, Chihuahua, Durango, and several other Mexican states.³³ Likewise, the Guatemalan Unity Committee (COMUGUA) is the principal association for Guatemalan immigrants working in Las Vegas.³⁴ In some cases, hometown associations have coordinated their activities with the Catholic Church (and its charitable institutions, such the Catholic Legal Immigration Services) and other religious organizations. Through their activities, immigrant associations, the Catholic Church, and other religions organizations not only prevent the cultural isolation of people from Mexico and Central America, but they also help individuals get into contact with consular officials and provide other forms of social assistance (e.g., classes in English, counseling, etc.).³⁵ In addition, a variety of retail businesses market food and other products to Latin American immigrants, while many financial institutions provide a secure means for individuals to send remittances to their country-of-origin. Collectively, the immigrant clubs, religions organizations, retail business, and other informal networks represent social capital that has reduced social isolation and, to varying degrees, helped Latin American immigrants make the transition to working and living in Las Vegas and in Nevada more generally.

Conclusion

This report has contributed to the research on the political demography of Nevada by investigating trends in the Latino population in the state. The findings suggest that the Latino population experienced steady growth since 1980, although annual growth rates slowed somewhat between 2008 and 2010. In addition, the findings suggest that the Latin population is a relatively young population, with close to half of the group (48 %) aged 24 years old or younger. As with other minority population groups in the state, Latinos are concentrated in Clark and Washoe counties, with the vast majority in Clark and residing in the Las Vegas metropolitan area.

The findings also underscore that immigration from Mexico and other parts of Central America comprises a large share of Nevada’s Latino population. At present, approximately 42% of all Latinos in Nevada are foreign-born, with over two-thirds in this group originating in Mexico, and much smaller groups (of recent immigrants) from El Salvador and Guatemala. The factors that are associated with out-migration from these countries include challenging labor-market conditions, exacerbated by the legacy of high fertility rates, the effects of trade liberalization on agricultural and manufacturing employment, stagnation in real wages, and the failure of government policy to promote better linkage between labor productivity and wage settlements.

At same time, Nevada has remained attractive to immigrants from Mexico and other parts of Latin America because of a relative abundance of jobs that are well matched to levels of education attainment and skill among immigrants. This includes employment in services, wholesale and retail trade, and (historically) in construction. Nevada is also attractive due to the average level of remuneration in sectors where immigrants tend to work, along with the effects of various civic and religious groups that have tended to reduce the social isolation of Latin American immigrants in the state.

Looking forward, immigration flows from Latin America to Nevada are likely to continue over the short- to medium-term, although growth rates may be lower than in the mid-2000s. The Great Recession clearly resulted in large dislocations among immigrant workers in residential construction, hospitality, and other associated sectors, but economic recovery in these branches of the Nevadan economy has now resumed. In addition, despite the recent improvement in fertility trends, overall economic conditions in Mexico, El Salvador, and Guatemala create ongoing incentives for individuals to engage in migration to the U.S. Taken together, these trends suggest that any recent reduction in net migration flows from Mexico to Nevada was only temporary and is unlikely to persist.

ENDNOTES

¹ In this report, we follow the convention and use “Latino” and “Hispanic” interchangeably.

² See Thomas Wright, John P. Tuman, and Maryam T. Stevenson. “Immigration and Ethnic Diversity in Nevada,” in Dmitri Shalin (ed.) *The Social Health of Nevada: Leading Indicators and Quality of Life in the Silver State*. UNLV: Center for Democratic Culture Publications, 2012, http://digitalscholarship.unlv.edu/social_health_nevada_reports/44, accessed May 28, 2013.

³ Throughout this report, we utilize the following data files. For the 2000 and 2010 Census, we draw upon: U.S. Census Bureau, “2000 Census. File DP-1. “Profile of General Demographic Characteristic: Census 2000 Summary File (SF1), Nevada” <http://factfinder2.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/pages/productview.xhtml?src=bkmk> Accessed February 22, 2013; “2000 Census. QT-P9. Hispanic or Latino by Type: 2000 Census. Geographic Area, Clark County,” <http://factfinder.census.gov>, accessed May 1, 2007; 2010 Census. File DP-1. “Profile of General Population and Housing Characteristics: 2010 Demographic Profile Data, Nevada,” <http://factfinder2.census.gov>, Accessed February 22, 2013; 2010 Census. File DP-1. “Profile of General Population and Housing Characteristics: 2010 Demographic Profile Data. Geography: Clark County” <http://factfinder2.census.gov/faces/tableservices>, Accessed February 22, 2013. For one-year estimates from 2011, we use the American Community Survey: U.S. Census Bureau, “2011 American Community Survey, 1-year Estimates. File S0506, Selected Characteristics of the Foreign-Born Population by Region and Birth: Latin America. Geography: Nevada” <http://factfinder2.census.gov/faces/tableservices>, Accessed February 22, 2013; and “2011 American Community Survey, 1-year Estimates. File B010011. “Sex by Age (Hispanic or Latino). Geography: Nevada” <http://factfinder2.census.gov/faces/tableservices>, Accessed February 22, 2013.

⁴ According to data from the American Community Survey (ACS), in 2011, Latinos accounted for 27.1% of Nevada’s population. It should be noted that when we discuss trends over time, we generally make use of the decennial census data to avoid problems with the comparability between different census figures and estimates reported by the ACS. According to the U.S. Census Bureau, it is not advisable to compare data on the “Hispanic origin” population from the 2011 ACS to data from the 2000 Census: “The ACS question on Hispanic origin was revised in 2008 to make it consistent with the Census 2010 Hispanic origin question. Any change, compared with Census 2000, may be due to demographic changes, questionnaire changes, differences in ACS population controls, and/or methodological differences in the population estimates.” (U.S. Census Bureau, “American Community Survey: Guide to Data Users, Hispanic Origin.” http://www.census.gov/acs/www/guidance_for_data_users/comparing_2011/, accessed April 17, 2013) For this reason, when we compare changes over time (before 2008), we employ data from the 2000 and 2010 Census. For one-year estimates for the most recent data available, we employ the ACS data.

⁵ Approximately 51.3% of the Latino population is male, while 48.7% is female. The proportion of men and women in the foreign-born population from Latin America in Nevada is the same. See U.S. Census Bureau, “2011 American Community Survey, 1-year Estimates. File B010011. “Sex by Age (Hispanic or Latino). Geography: Nevada.”

⁶ Beginning with the 2010 Census, the U.S. Census Bureau shifted some of the more detailed questions

on Hispanics and the foreign-born population to the ACS (which is based on a large voluntary sample but not a complete population count). For this reason, we report the ACS data (from 2011) in this section because it provides the only estimate for this group. See U.S. Census Bureau, “American Community Survey: History,” http://www.census.gov/history/www/programs/demographic/american_community_survey.html Accessed April 17, 2013

⁷ In the same year, immigrants from Mexico represented 32.5% of Nevada’s total population.

⁸ See Jeffrey S. Passel and D’Vera Cohn, “U.S. Unauthorized Immigration Flows Are Down Sharply Since Mid-Decade” Pew Hispanic Center, Washington D.C., 2011. Certainly, this finding is consistent with our calculations from the ACS data. Between 2007 and 2010, the number of people born in Mexico and residing in Nevada fell. We will elaborate more on state-to-state and international migration trends in a separate report. It should be noted that our results are preliminary and only for the Mexican population, without any adjustments for immigration status, while Passel and Cohn examine the unauthorized population in the entire state, without adjustments for the country-of-origin of the immigrant.

⁹ See, Jeffrey S. Passel, D’Vera Cohn, and Ana Gonzalez-Barrera, “Net Migration from Mexico Falls to Zero—Perhaps Less,” Pew Hispanic Center, Washington D.C., 2012.

¹⁰ See, Thomas Wright and Jesse Dino Moody, “The Salvadorans,” in Jerry Simich and Tom Wright (eds.) *The Peoples of Las Vegas: One City, Many Faces*, Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2005, 247-267, and John P. Tuman and Dawn Gearhart, “The Guatemalans,” in Jerry Simich and Tom Wright (eds.) *More Peoples from Las Vegas: One City, Many Faces*, Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2010, 213-230.

¹¹ See, David P. Lindstrom, “Economic Opportunity in Mexico and Return Migration from the United States,” *Demography*, 33, no. 3 (1996): 357-374; Douglas S. Massey and Kristin E. Espinosa, “What’s Driving Mexico-U.S. Migration? A Theoretical, Empirical, and Policy Analysis,” *American Journal of Sociology* 102, no. 4 (1997): 939-999; Douglas S. Massey and Fernando Riosmena, “Undocumented Migration from Latin America in an Era of Rising U.S. Enforcement,” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 630 (2010): 294–321; Douglas S. Massey, Jorge Durand, and Nolan J. Malone, *Beyond Smoke and Mirrors: Mexican Migration in an Era of Economic Integration*, New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2002; and Mathew J. Creighton and Fernando Riosmena, “Migration and the Gendered Origin of Migrant Networks Among Couples in Mexico,” *Social Science Quarterly*, 94, no. 1 (2013): 79–99.

¹² The percentages are calculated from data on age structure of the population in Mexico from the 1970 - 2010 Mexican census. See Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía (INEGI), *Censo General de Población y Vivienda 1970*. Aguascalientes, Mexico: INEGI, 1970; <http://www.inegi.org.mx/est/contenidos/proyectos/ccpv/cpv1970/default.aspx>; Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía (INEGI), *Censo General de Población y Vivienda 1980*. Aguascalientes, Mexico: INEGI, 1980. <http://www.inegi.org.mx/est/contenidos/proyectos/ccpv/cpv1980/default.aspx>; Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía (INEGI), *Censo General de Población y Vivienda 1990*. Aguascalientes, Mexico: INEGI. 1990. <http://www.inegi.org.mx/est/contenidos/proyectos/ccpv/cpv1990/default.aspx>; Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía (INEGI), *Censo General de Población y Vivienda 2000*.

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¹³ On the longer-term trends, see John P. Tuman, "Labor Markets and Economic Reform in Latin America: A Review of Recent Research," *Latin American Research Review*, 35, no. 3 (2000): 173-187, and John P. Tuman, *Reshaping the North American Automobile Industry: Restructuring, Corporatism and Union Democracy in Mexico*, London and New York: Routledge, 2003. The term "formal sector" refers to work that is counted and measured in government employment surveys and in reporting for government social security contributions and national income accounts.

¹⁴ See, Landy Sanchez and Edith Pacheco, "Rural Population Trends in Mexico: Demographic and Labor Changes," *International Handbooks of Population*, 3 (2012): 155-168.

¹⁵ The zero to 14 years old age share of the population in Mexico and El Salvador has declined recently, which will eventually reduce pressure on labor markets as more people move into retirement. In Guatemala, the reduction in the 0-14 age share has been slight (indeed, fully 43% of the population in 2011 was still in the 0-14 age range). For comparison purposes, it should be noted that only 20% of the U.S. population was 15 and under in the year 2010. Estimates are obtained from: World Bank. 2013. *World Development Indicators*. Data Series: "Population 0-15 (% population)," On-line statistical database. <http://databank.worldbank.org/>, accessed February 24, 2013.

¹⁶ See, Jonathan Fox and Libby Haight, "Mexican Agricultural Policy: Multiple Goals and Conflicting Interests," in Jonathan Fox and Libby Haight (eds.) *Subsidizing Inequality: Mexican Corn Policy Since NAFTA*, Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, 2010, 9-50.

¹⁷ Between 1999 and 2008, some of the volatility in manufacturing employment in the Mexican maquila sector was exacerbated by industrial relocation of low-wage export assembly from northern Mexico to China. The recent rise in fuel, shipping, and unit labor costs in China has reversed some of this trend.

¹⁸ Miguel Flores, Mary Zey, Cinthya Caamal, and Nazrul Hoque, "NAFTA, Industrial Concentration, Employment Volatility, Wages, and Internal and International Mexican Migration: 1990–2009," in Nazrul Hoque and David A. Swanson (eds.) *Opportunities and Challenges for Applied Demography in the 21st Century* (Applied Demography Series Volume 2), New York: Springer, 2012, 155-72.

¹⁹ See, Tuman and Gearhart, "The Guatemalans" and Wright and Moody, "The Salvadorans." As noted, Latinos born in Cuba also constitute one of the top-five Latino groups in Nevada. Although some Cubans who have come to Nevada are political refugees, the vast majority of recent immigrants appear to be motivated by economic considerations.

²⁰ The stagnation in real wages has been observed in the dynamic sectors of Mexican manufacturing as well, including the Mexican automobile industry (see Tuman, *Reshaping the North American Automobile Industry: Restructuring Corporatism and Urban Democracy in Mexico*). It is interesting to

note that wage returns for lower-skilled labor have improved in the past few years (see, Nora Lustig, Luis F. Lopez-Calva, and Eduardo Ortiz-Juarez, “The Decline in Inequality in Latin America: How Much, Since When and Why,” Tulane Department of Economics Working Papers, No. 1118, November 2011, <http://econ.tulane.edu/RePEc/pdf/tul1118.pdf>, accessed May 29, 2013).

²¹ Indeed, several studies have noted the negative relationship between labor productivity and real wage settlements in Mexico (for a review, see James Cypher and Raúl Delgado Wise, “Restructuring Mexico, Realigning Dependency: Harnessing Mexican Labor Power in the NAFTA Era,” in Jon Shefner and Maria Patricia Fernández-Kelly (eds.) *Globalization and Beyond: New Examinations of Global Power and Its Alternatives*, State College: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011).

²² See, Lustig, Ortiz-Juarez, and Lopez-Calva “The Decline in Inequality in Latin America: How Much, Since When and Why.”

²³ See, Lindstrom, “Economic Opportunity in Mexico and Return Migration from the United States,” Massey and Espinosa, “What's Driving Mexico-U.S. Migration? A Theoretical, Empirical, and Policy Analysis,” and Sanchez and Pacheco, “Rural Population Trends in Mexico: Demographic and Labor Changes,”

²⁴ See, Tuman and Gearhart, “The Guatemalans.”

²⁵ See, Lindstrom, “Economic Opportunity in Mexico and Return Migration from the United States,” and Massey, Durand, and Malone, *Beyond Smoke and Mirrors: Mexican Migration in an Era of Economic Integration*.

²⁶ See, Tuman and Gearhart, “The Guatemalans.”

²⁷ See, Wright, Tuman, and Stevenson, “Immigration and Ethnic Diversity in Nevada.”

²⁸ Authors’ tabulation and analysis of Question K19 in the LNS, “Have you lived in another state in the US previously?” and (if yes), “which state was that”? The analysis adjusted for only those Mexican-born respondents who were residing in Nevada at the time of the survey (Mexican-born in Nevada = 262; see Table 3). A limitation of the data is that the survey item does not allow us to sort out which state respondents resided in immediately before living in Nevada. An additional limitation is that respondents could select more than one state; still, given that almost three-fourths reported California, this is a minor limitation.

²⁹ Although comparable data for El Salvador and Guatemala are not available, other studies have pointed to a large wage gap between each of these two countries and the U.S.; Tuman and Gearhart, “The Guatemalans.”

³⁰ Data for this comparison are taken from Nevada Department of Employment, Training and Rehabilitation. 2012. “Nevada Occupational Employment and Wages (2012), Statewide Occupational Wage Estimates All Industries -- SOC 472061(Construction Laborer)” <http://www.nevadaworkforce>

[.com/admin/uploadedPublications/2857_OES_WAGE_Statewide_2012.xls](#), and Secretaría del Trabajo y Previsión Social, “Salario de Cotización al IMSS por Sector de Actividad Económica—Pesos por día—Construcción,” http://www.stps.gob.mx/bp/secciones/conoce/areas_atencion/areas_atencion/web/menu_infsector.html, accessed April 5, 2013. Of course, this is a broad average that does not adjust for specific occupations within construction.

³¹ See, John P. Tuman, *Latin American Migrants in the Las Vegas Valley: Civic Engagement and Political Participation*, Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, 2009.

³² Jeffrey Waddoups and Vincent Eade, “Hotels and Casinos: Collective Bargaining during a Decade of Instability,” *Labor and Employment Relations (LERA) Collective Bargaining: Institutional Threats and Opportunities for Renewal*, forthcoming.

³³ See, Tuman, *Latin American Migrants in the Las Vegas Valley: Civic Engagement and Political Participation*.

³⁴ See, Tuman and Gearhart, “The Guatemalans.”

³⁵ Research finds no evidence that membership in an immigrant association created a barrier to assimilation or naturalization among immigrants in Nevada and the U.S.; see Kenneth Fernandez, John P. Tuman, and Maryam Stevenson, “Transnational Ties and Political Behavior of Latin American Immigrants.” Paper presented at the Western Political Science Association, San Antonio, Texas, 2011.

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Acknowledgments

The authors are indebted to Robert Lang, Mark Muro, and William E. Brown, Jr., at Brookings Mountain West, all who provided invaluable insights. Alexandra Nikolich, Brookings Mountain West, offered valuable editing and design expertise.

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