

## ABSTRACT

# THE EVOLVING RESIDENTIAL PATTERN OF THE MEXICAN, PUERTO RICAN AND CUBAN PEOPLE IN THE CITY OF CHICAGO

By

Gerald W. Ropka

The Latin Americans are the leading immigrant group and constitute the second largest minority population in the United States today. Since they are now showing a trend toward urban locations, there is a need to know more about their roles in the development of the settlement pattern of our cities. While the study of Spanish-speaking people in conjunction with the development of urban areas has attracted the interest of some geographers and other scholars, most have analyzed only one national group in one location, e.g., the Mexicans in Los Angeles, the Puerto Ricans in New York City, or the Cubans in Miami. This study investigates the spatial evolution of all three of the Spanish-speaking groups in Chicago, the Mexicans, Puerto

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Ricans and Cubans and focuses on three major topics:

1) the first movement of Latin Americans into the city and the influences effecting the settlement pattern that evolved; 2) the pattern of Latin American residential development compared with that of previous European groups and the interrelationships with other ethnic groups, especially the Blacks, and 3) the internal organization of the Spanish-speaking areas and the interactions and individual settlement preferences of the three groups involved.

The study disclosed several important facts.

First, there is not one single center of Spanish-speaking settlement in Chicago but three. Also, while three national groups are represented they often do not occupy the same areas. When they do, there is often as much spatial separation as possible maintained between them. Therefore, the term "community" does not apply in the complete sense.

The major influences on settlement were the availability of inexpensive housing, job opportunity and the desire for each national group to locate in close proximity, often near friends or relatives. Since poor quality, low income housing is found in many of the older areas of the city, job preference played an important role in the early settlement decision. The Mexicans showed a preference for

jobs in the heavier industries which were often located away from the center of the city. The Cubans and Puerto Ricans tended to associate themselves more with the commercial activity of the central business district making the availability of public transportation more important for them.

The Mexicans appeared to be more ethnically oriented and developed business districts to meet their particular needs. They also organized activities to help preserve their cultural identity. The Cubans and Puerto Ricans demonstrated less of this.

Between 1960 and 1970, the city's Latin American population more than doubled. This was accompanied by a decided shift in their settlement pattern toward the north. In 1970, nearly all of the city's Cubans and Puerto Ricans and a growing number of Mexicans were living there. It appears that the northern and northwestern areas will continue to attract Latin newcomers and those shifting from earlier residential areas within the city.

The Black/Latin American association was found to be very important. The strongest competition for jobs and housing came from the Blacks. As the Blacks expanded their residential pattern, the Spanish-speakers felt compelled to evacuate some of their previous settlement area. Since the



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Latin Americans and the Blacks will probably constitute a majority of the city's population by 1980, the competition for housing will become even more important. As there appears to be a desire on the part of most Latin Americans to remain as separated as possible from the Black community, their future residential pattern will undoubtedly show greater nucleation of Spanish-speakers in the northern area of the city and more abandonment of the central and southern areas as the Blacks continue to gain in population there. Therefore, the future settlement pattern of the Latin Americans in Chicago may be more of a reflection of their movement away from Black dominated areas than of any other factor.

THE EVOLVING RESIDENTIAL PATTERN OF  
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POPULATION IN THE CITY OF CHICAGO

By

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

Immigration has played a very important role in the population dynamics of the United States. Traditionally, Europe provided most of the immigrants during the earlier formative years of the country. At that time, millions of immigrants representing several ethnic backgrounds made their contribution to the cultural and settlement pattern developing within the United States as they filled the frontiers and populated the cities. Some ethnic groups settled together forming readily identifiable rural communities or city neighborhoods. Often, vestiges of their culture remain visible in the landscape and geographers, historians and others have conducted many studies attempting to gain insight into the role played by each group in the total development of the country.

In recent decades, however, a new group of immigrants, the Spanish-speaking people from Mexico, Puerto Rico and Cuba have become numerically the most important newcomers to the country. While there has always been some



representation of Spanish-speaking people in the population of the United States from earliest times, the recent magnitude of their influx is resulting in a significant change in their older settlement patterns. The earlier association of Mexicans with mining and agriculture in the West and Southwest is shifting to a stronger trend toward urban occupations and settlement. Puerto Ricans who first migrated from their island to New York City have begun to show more interest in settling in the cities of the Middle West. Also, Cuban refugees arriving in large numbers have settled in several cities in the United States during the past few years.

These latest newcomers are attracted to urban areas where they hope to find employment in the numerous industrial and commercial establishments located there. However, as they are most often poorly equipped financially and lack educational and employment skills they find themselves competing for the poorer paying jobs of the unskilled laborer. Their limited knowledge of the English language is a further handicap often standing in the way of promotion and setting them apart from other workers.

While they hope to fit into the general cosmopolitan atmosphere of the multiethnic population of the large city,

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their employment and financial condition result in their accepting inexpensive housing in the older decaying areas. Additional newcomers tend to settle near those of similar cultural background, often with friends or relatives. This results in the formation of certain Spanish-speaking areas. Many Mexicans who moved to larger cities rather than become the outstanding minority group in the smaller towns of the Southwest, found they are still identifiable as a group.<sup>1</sup> They often experience discrimination in general and as their nucleated settlements grow they find their needs are not met in proportion to their numbers. Puerto Ricans and Cubans have experienced these problems also. However, since there are no attractive frontier regions remaining in the United States, this latest movement of Spanish-speaking people to the large cities of the United States is not unusual.<sup>2</sup>

The sudden influx of Latin Americans into the United States, mostly during the past twenty-five years, has introduced a substantial and recognizable element to

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<sup>1</sup>Leo Grebler, Joan Moore, Ralph Guzman et al., The Mexican American People (New York: The Free Press, 1970), p. 239.

<sup>2</sup>Emrys Jones, Human Geography (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1965), p. 89.

the settlement pattern of several large metropolitan centers and the term "Spanish-speaking community" has become a frequent phrase in contemporary literature. In New York City it refers to the Puerto Rican people in Spanish Harlem, in Los Angeles and other towns in the Southwest to the Mexican "barrios" and more recently, in Miami, Florida, to the Cuban exiles in Little Havana. They were all attracted to this country for the same basic reasons as their European predecessors; economic opportunity and escape from political and social oppression. While they face many of the same problems of the earlier immigrants, their problems are compounded due to the more highly complex system in which they must compete for living space, economic activity and social acceptance.

While the "lines" separating most earlier European groups have become somewhat blurred with the passing generations, the more recent Spanish-speaking people have not had time to be accepted and absorbed into the more general "American" pattern. Much like the French Canadian and Black American, the Spanish-speaking residents usually remain as a readily identifiable minority group. As such, their settlement pattern is clearly distinguishable to geographers interested in determining the factors and relationships

most evident in influencing the location and morphology of that development.<sup>3</sup>

### Statement of the Problem

Chicago, like most other large eastern and middle-western cities, experienced its greatest growth during the great European immigration period of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Each "new wave" of immigrants brought their own particular cultural traits with them and their settlement patterns often reflect some of those values. The newest group, the Spanish-speaking people, have also brought their cultural background to their new home and parts of it may be seen to varying degrees in the human landscape.

Whereas many cities in the United States have Spanish-speaking people in their population mix, one national group, Cuban, Mexican or Puerto Rican usually predominates. Therefore, most studies which have been conducted to date have concerned only one national group.

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<sup>3</sup>The term morphology is used here in its broader context as developed in Carl Sauer, "Morphology of Landscape," University of California Publications in Geography, Vol. II, No. 2 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1925).

In New York it is the Puerto Ricans, in Los Angeles the Mexicans and in Miami the Cubans.

Chicago, however, is the largest city which has a significant Spanish-speaking population composed of not one, but three national groups: the Mexicans, Puerto Ricans and Cubans. Therefore, Chicago offers a unique opportunity to study the development of a multinational Spanish-speaking community located within the same large metropolitan center. Such research will be able to analyze not only the Latin American community as a whole, but also to analyze the internal development and organization within the community itself to see what contributions each group makes. In carrying out this research, the following questions will be addressed:

- 1) What has been the role of Spanish-speaking immigration as part of the general immigration pattern into the United States?
- 2) How does Spanish-speaking immigration into Chicago compare with earlier patterns established by Europeans?
- 3) What are the spatial characteristics of the evolving pattern of Latin Americans within the city, including the internal structure of the settlement area, and what factors are most influential in its formation?
- 4) What is the visible nature of the presence of the Spanish-speaking peoples' cultural background?

- 5) After analyzing the factors involved in the development of the Latin American community, and in view of future development of the city in total, what predictions can be made regarding its future?

The answers to these questions should provide new insights into the factors influencing the settlement pattern of these newest immigrants as compared to previous groups. Also, for the first time, some understanding may be obtained of the internal spatial organization of the Spanish-speaking community as influenced by the presence of three different national groups each with its own characteristics, needs and desires.

#### Methodological Approach

Studies in population, settlement and the cultural impact of particular groups upon their areas of settlement have a substantial tradition in American geography. In the United States, Carl Sauer is probably most responsible for establishing the cultural-historical approach for the analysis of the evolution of the human landscape. He outlined his basic methodology in "The Morphology of Landscape" and demonstrated the important role culturally inspired values play in the perception and organization of a particular area. Several of his subsequent studies were based upon this concept.

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George Carter further demonstrates the role cultural values play in the perception and development of the human habitat. An important theme of his book Man and the Land is the different ways in which various cultural groups have organized the environments encountered to meet their particular needs and desires.<sup>5</sup>

Glenn Trewartha emphasized the need for a total analysis of population and proposed that studies in population geography be established as a basic subdivision within geography comparable to and complementing the subdivision of Physical Geography.<sup>6</sup> Wilbur Zelinski outlined three essential classifications for population studies:<sup>7</sup>

- 1) absolute numbers;
- 2) physical, social and economic characteristics;
- 3) population dynamics.

Also, John Clarke stated that population geography ". . . is concerned with demonstrating how spatial variations in the

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<sup>5</sup>George Carter, Man and the Land (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1964).

<sup>6</sup>Glenn T. Trewartha, "The Case for Population Geography," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Vol. 43, 1953, p. 71-97.

<sup>7</sup>Wilbur Zelinski, Prologue to Population Geography (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966), p. 5.

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distribution, composition, migration and growth of populations are related to spatial variations in the nature of places."<sup>8</sup>

These and other statements defining and demonstrating the role of the study of human populations in geography place geography on an equal scholarly footing with population studies in sociology, demography and anthropology. Indeed, some studies conducted by researchers in these disciplines appear to borrow heavily from techniques in the study of spatial distribution and analysis.<sup>9</sup>

Since the spatial organization of populations and the effects particular groups have upon the developing human landscape have been well defined and presented in the past, there is sufficient justification for this dissertation. The basic principles of population geography will be applied in the analysis of a specific group, the Spanish-speaking people, and their relationships with one urban area, Chicago, Illinois.

This study is basically empirical and data was

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<sup>8</sup> John I. Clarke, Population Geography (New York: Pergamon Press, 1965), p. 2.

<sup>9</sup> Ronald Freedman, Recent Migration to Chicago (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1950).

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collected, analyzed and presented in the following way:

- 1) Historical. As this is an analysis of an evolving pattern, some historical data was necessary in order to demonstrate the pattern of immigration into the United States and its relationship to the growth of Chicago and the groups settling there through time. The principal sources of information were the decennial United States Census of Population, the City of Chicago School Census, documents and reports of the Bureau of Immigration and naturalization, and other information from various churches, historical libraries and museums, published and unpublished books, monographs and articles, and reports from public and private agencies.
- 2) Field Observation. Since this is such a dynamic population pattern, published information is often not current. Therefore, much data had to be gained by direct field observation. Also, land-use mapping had to be carried out and interviews with various individuals and representatives of the most influential institutions and organizations involved in the establishment and evolution of the settlement pattern were conducted.
- 3) Cartographic Analysis. One of the chief tools used in the analysis of the changing spatial patterns was several maps which demonstrated and compared the areal growth and change of the Spanish-speaking community and its relationships with the rest of the city. Also, cartographic analysis was necessary to investigate the internal structure of the community itself relative to its three constituent groups. The most important maps were constructed for the years 1960 and 1970 when the greatest population growth took place.
- 4) Comparative Analysis. While comparing the characteristics of the spatial organization for the periods 1960 and 1970, two types of influential factors appeared. The first were those which helped shape the settlement pattern of the past and the second are those which are bringing about

the present change in the structure. From this, a feeling for the future location of the Spanish-speaking people in Chicago was arrived at.

Research and analysis of this type are appropriate for this study. In view of the limited areal scope and the size of the population involved, it is necessary to understand the slightest spatial variation.

### Related Literature and Studies

There have been several studies published concerning Spanish-speaking in the United States, mostly involving the Mexicans in the Southwest. Historians have published much, tracing the original Spanish and Mexican inhabitants in that area even before it became a part of the United States. Sociologists became interested in the 1920's when the Mexican population was beginning to be looked upon as a distinctive social class especially in terms of family and income characteristics. Also, many reports and surveys were made at that time in an effort by labor groups to bring about some restrictions on immigration to protect the "native American" labor force.

In more recent times, the growing importance of the population in the Southwest, together with their growing self-awareness, has stimulated much interest. The results of the most complete general research, The

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Mexican American People, was published in 1970.<sup>10</sup>

A modern geographical study concerning the historical-cultural impact of the Mexican people on the southwestern United States was published in 1971.<sup>11</sup> However, this analysis concentrated on past influences which were still discernible today and did not investigate modern settlement patterns.

Investigations involving Puerto Ricans are almost all centered on New York City. The most comprehensive analysis to date is probably that of Oscar Lewis in which he examined the general conditions of Puerto Ricans in their home island and in New York.<sup>12</sup> There have also been several less scholarly books published in recent years describing the Puerto Ricans and their experiences in Spanish Harlem.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>10</sup>Grebler, op.cit.

<sup>11</sup>Richard L. Nostrand, "The Hispanic-American Borderland: Delimitation of an American Cultural Region," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Vol. 60, 1970.

<sup>12</sup>Oscar Lewis, La Vida (New York: Random House, 1966).

<sup>13</sup>Christopher Rand, The Puerto Ricans (New York: The Oxford University Press, 1958); Ellena Padillo, Up From Puerto Rico (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958).



Research into Cuban populations in the United States is less abundant. While their sudden arrival under extenuating circumstances during the past ten years has caused the writing of many newspaper articles, few comprehensive research projects concerning this newest group of Latin Americans have been completed. However, one recent study was completed at Stanford University in 1968.<sup>14</sup>

In Chicago, the Mexican population has aroused some academic interest, especially at the University of Chicago. Several masters and doctoral theses in sociology and geography were produced.<sup>15</sup> One recent geographical thesis completed in 1965, involved only Mexicans and Cubans and, therefore, was not a comprehensive investigation into the larger Spanish-speaking community.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>14</sup>Richard Fagen, Richard Brody, Thomas O'Leary, Cubans in Exile: Disaffection and the Revolution (Stanford: The Stanford University Press, 1968).

<sup>15</sup>Robert C. Jones, "The Mexicans in Chicago," a report to the Committee Commission of the Chicago Church Federation, Chicago Congregational Union, 1931; Edward J. Bauer, "Delinquency Among Mexican Boys in South Chicago" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Chicago, 1938); Anita E. Jones, "Conditions Surrounding Mexicans in Chicago" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Chicago, 1928).

<sup>16</sup>Marta Isabel Killman de Curutchet, "Location of the Mexican and Cuban Population of Chicago" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Chicago, 1966).



Therefore, while there has been a considerable amount of research involving the settlement patterns of Blacks and other ethnic groups in our large cities, there have been no comprehensive geographical analyses of our second largest and most rapidly growing group, the Spanish-speaking people.

### Value of the Study

Latin Americans are the fastest growing immigrant group entering the United States. Their recent tendency to congregate in urban locations further emphasizes their numbers and influences upon the internal settlement pattern of cities. In Chicago, their numbers have doubled during the past decade, making them a minority group second only to the Black Americans. In these times of turbulence in the cities, we should know as much as possible about all the residents in order to anticipate and plan for the future. There have been few modern studies by geographers concerning the spatial aspects of the settlement pattern of Spanish-speaking Americans in large cities. The delimitation of the location and changes in the settlement pattern of this minority group in Chicago over the past ten years together with an analysis and comparison of the factors influencing

that pattern hopefully will provide the basis of a better understanding of the specific desires and needs of this group.

This dissertation will establish and analyze the settlement pattern--both the internal structure and the relationships with the total city--of the Spanish-speaking population of Chicago. It will be particularly unique in that the three largest national groups within the total Spanish-speaking population in the United States will be examined within the context of one city. In this paper, therefore, we will see not only how these people influence the development of the environment of the city as a whole, but also how they associate and relate spatially to one another. Having all the population groups necessary for this study within one environment, only the very real social and economic conditions which exist in the city will be present to influence all members of the Spanish-speaking population alike. Any differences in the settlement pattern will be a demonstration of the desires of the individual groups.

## CHAPTER II

### THE GENERAL IMMIGRATION PATTERN OF SPANISH- SPEAKING PEOPLE INTO THE UNITED STATES

Immigration of persons into the United States with the intention of establishing permanent residence has played a most important role in the growth of the population of this country. The greatest influx of immigrants took place during the latter half of the nineteenth and early part of the twentieth centuries. During that period the United States was the recipient of the greatest mass movement of people ever recorded. Between 1820, when record keeping of immigrants first began, and 1930, approximately thirty-eight million aliens were registered.<sup>1</sup> Since that time, an additional seven million immigrants have been recorded. An examination of these records and the records of the United States Census Bureau discloses some very definite patterns both of intense periods of immigration

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<sup>1</sup>All immigration data was taken from the public records of the U.S. Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization unless otherwise stated.

and of the countries of origin of the immigrants. (Figure 2-1) Viewed historically, a strong correlation between these patterns and the development of strong "push-pull" factors in countries abroad and in the United States may be made.

### The General Pattern of Immigration

#### The Colonial Period to 1880

During this early period of development of the United States an estimated 13 to 15 million immigrants took up residence in the country. The vast majority came from the western and northern European countries. In the first United States census of 1790, 75 per cent of the white population was of British origin and "Germans" accounted for an additional eight per cent.<sup>2</sup> Smaller percentages from the Netherlands, France, Sweden and Spain were also recorded. Shortly thereafter, Spain and France became less important while Scandinavia grew as an important source region when large numbers of Norwegians entered the immigration stream. Oppressive social, political, economic

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<sup>2</sup>Our Immigration: A Brief Account of Immigration to the United States, U.S. Department of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Revised 1967, p. 1.

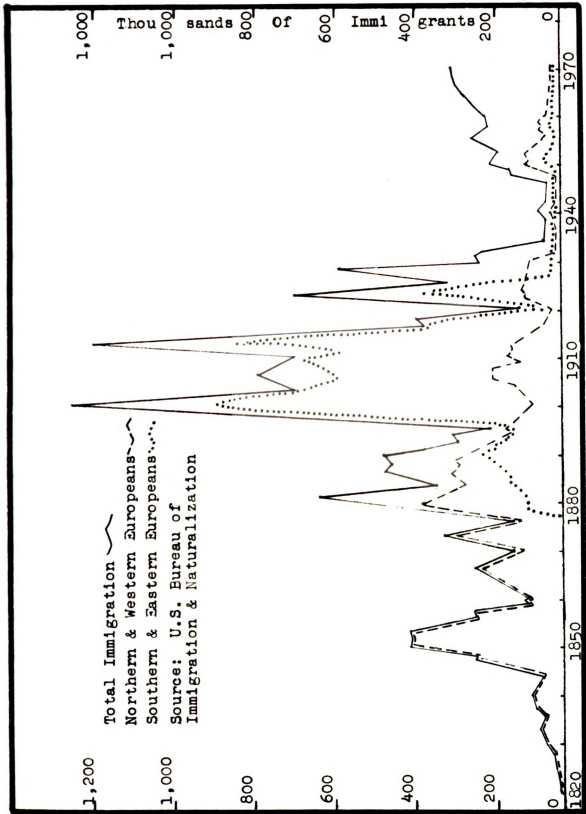


Figure 2-1. European Immigration Into The United States

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and religious conditions in those European countries contributed strong "push" factors which encouraged out migration; while stories of freedom, riches and opportunity, especially in free or inexpensive land, in the United States were strong "pull" attractions.

These immigrants often came from Europe in groups having common national and cultural backgrounds. As they filled the Atlantic seaboard, moved across the mountains, spread into the river valleys and across the Great Plains, they organized the land according to their particular desires which reflected certain values of their culture. Traces of the French "long lot," certain architectural styles in houses and barns and the organization of the farms of the "Pennsylvania Dutch" are but a few examples of the ethnic heritage left by early settlers.

Also, certain types of occupations attracted particular groups to settle in certain areas. The Scandinavian lumbermen, the Welsh coalminers and Irish railroad construction workers established early communities, many of which remain today.

While many of the early immigrants of this period were attracted by the possibility of owning their own farmland, others had less desire to establish themselves



on the frontier. Therefore, the developing towns and cities which also offered certain economic opportunities in commercial, industrial and service occupations, attracted other settlers. Since these newcomers also tended to remain together, ethnic neighborhoods displaying particular cultural traits were forming in the growing cities. The Irish, German and Swedish neighborhoods were some of the first to form. In these neighborhoods much of the "old country" life style was preserved including religious preference, language, food preparation and so on.

Not all immigrants arrived or remained in groups large enough to establish distinctive communities. Those who were white and willing to give up many of their ethnic values and learn to speak English "without an accent" melded into British origin or developing "native American" neighborhoods. Toward the end of this first period, a new group of city dwellers, escaped and later freed slaves, could not disappear into white neighborhoods. They found themselves rigidly segregated both as to housing and employment and occupied the poorest position in each category.

By 1880, a definite pattern of country of origin of the majority of immigrants and the corresponding development of ethnic communities and neighborhoods in the

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United States was well established.

The Period 1880 to 1920

This second period marks the greatest influx of European immigrants to the United States and also demonstrates some important changes from the earlier pattern.

First, even though the Germans and Irish continued to arrive in large numbers, the "country of origin" began to show a decided shift. With improved social, economic and political conditions in northern and western Europe during the latter part of the nineteenth century, the "push" factor influencing emigration was reduced. The development of industrialization and the creation of a working class helped to ease some of the social and economic ills of the time.

However, all of Europe did not enter into the economic and social revolution with the same vigor. Italy and Eastern Europe continued to exist as poor feudalistic areas. With a backward agricultural technology and little industrial development, the growing numbers of the poor and landless peasants had nowhere to turn for improvement.

Also, the non-responsiveness of certain governments and the constant threat of political turmoil made many

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people fearful for the preservation of their rights as citizens. The difficulty in unifying Italy, the partition of Poland, the fragility of the "Shatter Belt" and the imminent collapse of Czarist Russia encouraged many people to leave their homeland in search of a better life. Therefore, given these conditions, it is not unexpected that Italy and Eastern Europe should become important source regions for immigrants to the United States during this second period.

Together with the "push" factors growing in Europe were the "pull" factors reaching their peak of development in the United States. While there was now little free land available, industrialization in the urban centers of the developing "Industrial Belt" in the northeastern United States created what appeared to be a never-ending demand for labor. The low level of sophistication of most industries--large or small--offered employment to great numbers of unskilled, cheap workers; men, women and even children whenever legal.

Also, the attraction of workers was no longer left to chance. Active recruiting by companies and labor contractors in foreign countries became popular. Posters in rural villages throughout Europe urged the people to attend

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meetings at which recruiters promised free passage, housing, jobs and other benefits if the people would agree to emigrate. The sometimes unscrupulous methods of the recruiters and the poor treatment of the immigrants on arrival have been well documented. However, they continued to come, overflowing into the cities and factories. Crowding into the older sections of cities, which were being abandoned by their earlier residents and which were fast becoming slums, they slept several in a room under unsanitary and unhealthy conditions living in the only housing they could afford.

The lack of adequate public transportation which continued through the first half of this second period was one of the most important factors influencing residential location. Only the wealthy few could afford to commute via horse drawn carriages. The working class had to live within walking distance of their employment. Therefore, the first workman's residences were built adjacent to the factory areas. Then, as industry expanded, it moved into these residential areas creating an area of mixed landuse and bringing problems of dirt, smoke, noise and congestion which accelerated the deterioration of the early working class neighborhoods.

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The beginning of public transportation in some cities around the turn of the century allowed some of the older residents, who had saved a little money, to move out and establish new neighborhoods on the periphery of the inner city. Their leaving made room for the incoming immigrants and the old tenements and substandard houses continued to be populated by the poor unskilled workers at the bottom of the socio-economic scale.

The war years at the close of this second period nearly dried up European immigration and northern industry had to look elsewhere for its labor supply. Blacks and poor whites from the traditionally agricultural south filled most of the void. Also, although relatively small in numbers, Mexicans who had been present in large numbers only in the southwestern United States began moving into some of the industrial areas of the Middle West giving up their traditional, often migratory agricultural ways and taking up permanent urban residence. Many of these "Mexicans" had been born and raised in the United States, their ancestors having lived in the Southwest since the time of Spanish occupation there. Others, however, were moving into the country from Mexico. The poor peasant was escaping the constant "bandit" warfare and poverty and those

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of some means were escaping the revolution of 1910 and its aftermath. The poor illiterate Mexican competed for the same types of jobs and housing as his European counterpart.

Other Latin Americans were present in the United States by 1920, however, their numbers were small and they came from a broad distribution of nationalities. There were some Cubans in Florida attracted by the cigar industry and some Puerto Ricans in east coast cities. However, the great influx of Puerto Ricans into New York City would not take place for another twenty-five years, and Cuban immigration in large numbers would not occur until the 1960's.

### 1920 to the Present

This third period is marked by far reaching policy decisions made in the United States which drastically altered the pattern of immigration. Near the close of the nineteenth century, there were groups in the United States who feared that the number of "foreigners" was getting out of hand. They saw the cities becoming overcrowded and, moreover, feared competition for jobs from the constant inflow of new immigrants who would work for less and less money. As a result, certain "acts" passed by the United

States government began to restrict some of the alien traffic. The most restrictive was the "Chinese Exclusionary Act of 1882." This was followed in 1917 by the establishment of the "Asiatic Barred Zone" which prohibited immigration from most of Asia and the Pacific Islands.<sup>3</sup> Other acts passed around the turn of the century were more discretionary allowing the United States to "screen" applicants from all countries and to refuse entry of certain undesirables on grounds of past criminal records, the carrying of certain diseases, insanity and the possibility of becoming public charges.

Further pressure for general restrictions continued until World War I when the industrial boom and the downturn in the number of immigrants caused the question to be put aside. However, immediately after the war, immigration took a sudden surge, heading back toward the high numbers of the pre-war era. Therefore, in 1921, Congress passed the first general quota law which limited immigration to 350,000 persons annually. In 1924 the act was amended making the quota system permanent and establishing a "National Origin" provision which assigned a quota to individual

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<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 8.



countries based upon their representation in the United States according to the 1920 census.

A most important part of the 1924 act established certain aliens in a "non-quota" category.<sup>4</sup> The largest group of "non-quota" immigrants under the act were ". . . those born in Western Hemisphere countries, their wives, husbands and children." The non-quota countries at that time were Canada, Mexico, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Haiti, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay and Venezuela. This provision set the stage for the third major shift in the pattern of country of origin for a large number of immigrants. Non-quota immigrants soon came to equal and surpass those from quota regions. In the beginning, Canada was the leading non-quota country. However, in recent years Mexico has at times contributed greater numbers. (Table 2-1)

For the most part, the number of Mexicans residing in the United States has continued to increase since 1920. During the "Great Depression" of the 1930's, however, there

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<sup>4</sup>United States Immigration Laws: General Information, U.S. Department of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Revised, 1967, p. 9.



TABLE 2-1

**Number of Immigrants from Western Hemisphere  
Countries, 1955-1970<sup>a</sup>**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Mexican</b>	<b>Canadian<sup>b</sup></b>	<b>All Other</b>	<b>Total</b>
1955	50,772	23,091	22,468	96,331
1956	65,047	29,533	31,683	126,623
1957	49,154	33,203	33,587	115,944
1958	26,712	30,055	35,060	91,827
1959	23,061	23,082	28,389	74,532
1960	32,684	30,990	34,449	98,123
1961	41,632	32,038	45,188	118,858
1962	55,291	30,377	53,150	138,818
1963	55,253	36,003	61,368	152,624
1964	32,967	38,074	73,034	144,075
1965	37,969	38,327	81,395	157,691
1966	45,163	28,358	71,390	144,911
1967	42,371	23,442	90,842	156,655
1968	43,563	27,662	178,811	250,036
1969	44,623	18,582	101,122	164,327
1970	44,469	13,804	92,814	151,087

<sup>a</sup>By country or region of birth

<sup>b</sup>Including Newfoundland

**Source: Annual Reports of the U.S. Immigration and  
Naturalization Service**



was actually some overall loss of Mexican residents. At that time, the United States increased its surveillance of immigrants and more rigidly enforced provisions in the law which excluded those thought likely to become public charges. Therefore, Mexican immigration dropped during the ten year period to an average of 3,000 annually. Many of these were leaving Mexico due to the nationalization and new money policies being instituted by the Mexican government at that time. Of greater significance is the fact that nearly five times as many Mexicans were returning home as were leaving. Unemployment hit the unskilled, poorly educated foreigner the hardest. Native white Americans now were competing for jobs unwanted earlier and they were often shown preference over the Mexicans.

World War II, however, reversed this trend. With movement from Europe once again reduced, non-quota immigration accounted for more than half the United States total. Of these, nearly 50 per cent were from Mexico. Since 1953, the Western Hemisphere countries have accounted for approximately 60 per cent of the total immigration and Mexico and Canada have continued to share the lead.

Another important Latin American group which has contributed substantially to the population of several

cities in the United States is the Puerto Ricans. Unlike the Mexicans, the Puerto Ricans have not had a very lengthy history of residence in the United States. During World War II, however, they were recognized as a potential labor source. Since Puerto Rico enjoys a special political relationship with the United States, many of the immigration laws do not affect them and they can enter the country with comparative ease. The 1950's saw the greatest influx of Puerto Ricans, especially to the Eastern cities. Soon, however, their ever-increasing numbers caused strong competition for housing and jobs and they began moving into the interior. During the 1960's, Puerto Ricans have become significant minorities in a number of Middle Western cities.

Unfortunately, since Puerto Ricans are not true immigrants, their movement to and from the United States is not recorded by the Immigration Department. However, they have become of such numerical importance that the U.S. Census Bureau started enumerating them as a separate group in some cities. They appeared in the Chicago census for the first time in 1960.

Increased industrialization and land re-distribution has been taking place in Puerto Rico to reduce the economic "push" factor somewhat and has to a certain degree even

enticed some people to return to the island. However, the burgeoning population and continued poor condition in many parts of the island continue to influence some young people to try their luck in the United States.

A third Latin American group, the Cubans, have become important in some cities during the past decade. They too have entered the United States under less than ordinary conditions. As a result of the Castro Revolution many Cubans have asked for and received asylum in the United States under special "refugee" provisions to our immigration laws. After a two year "parole" period these people may apply for permanent residence.

The Cuban refugees entered mostly by way of Miami. At first they desired to remain in the Miami area as they believed their stay in the United States would be a temporary one. However, as their numbers increased to the point of causing over-congestion in the south Florida region and when the Bay of Pigs disaster convinced most of the refugees that their stay was going to be much longer, the Cubans, with assistance from United States agencies, established an organization to re-settle the refugees in several regions of the country. The regional offices help locate housing and jobs and offer other assistance to make re-location as smooth

as possible. At the same time they try not to create any more burden on the cities accepting the refugees than necessary. In this fashion, the Cubans have spread out from their Miami nucleus and have also become significant minorities in several United States cities.

### Summary

The pattern of immigration into the United States has been influenced by a series of "push-pull" factors which have developed abroad and in this country. This has resulted in a change in the relative importance of various areas of the world as "source regions" of aliens and has established the larger urban cities as the leading recipients of most newcomers.

Each new group is faced with several similar problems. They must learn to "fit in" in the restricted land space of the new urban location and must compete with the established residents for housing, services and employment. At first, some groups tried to preserve as much of their cultural heritage as possible and they banded together in ethnic neighborhoods. Several generations passed before many of these people considered themselves Americans first and German, Polish or Irish second.

Recently, a new group, the Spanish-speaking people from Latin America have entered this country in large numbers. While they do not numerically match the numbers of Europeans who entered before the immigration restrictions were enacted, they do compose the largest percentage of all newcomers in the past decade. How are they reacting when they find themselves as minority groups in large cities? Are they facing the same problems and following the same patterns of settlement and employment of previous European groups? The remainder of this study will be an analysis of the settlement pattern of the Mexicans, Cubans and Puerto Ricans, as a whole and separately, in Chicago in an effort to gain insight into these questions.

## CHAPTER III

### THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE IMMIGRANT POPULATION OF CHICAGO

Chicago began its development as an important focal point for the modern Middle West in the mid-nineteenth century. Its location provided easy access to the east coast region via the Great Lakes system or overland through Indiana, Ohio, and Pennsylvania. To the west lay the Mississippi River and the lands of the Great Plains awaiting settlement. The area had first attracted the French and later the British and finally the Americans. Each group had come to know what the Indians had known for some time, that the Chicago River region was the natural pivotal point of the Great Lakes and the Mississippi basin.

#### Early Settlement Patterns in Chicago

##### 1800-1880

At the turn of the nineteenth century, the newly founded United States government succeeded in removing



French and British interests in the area of the upper Mississippi River. Then a treaty with the local Indians was negotiated which ceded six square miles at the mouth of the Chicago River to the government. In 1803, to help guarantee United States possession of the "frontier" from foreign interests and to provide protection from the Indians for future settlers, Fort Dearborn was built near the mouth of the Chicago River.

The following few years saw only limited settlement in the area. Some fur trappers, Indian traders and a few farmers were willing to leave the more civilized eastern United States for the western frontier. The continuing Indian threat together with the possibility that the United States would not be able to protect her "western territory" from British interest, discouraged rapid, dense settlement in the region. However, after the War of 1812 and especially with the successful ending of the Blackhawk Indian War in 1832, settlers began arriving in substantial numbers claiming farmland and beginning to develop some commercial activity near the mouth of the river. In 1833, with a population of 350 and an area of less than one square mile, Chicago was chartered as a town. By 1837, the population had increased to 4,170 and a new charter

established Chicago as a city.

Most of the newcomers to early Chicago were of English origin. However, in 1836, a number of German and Irish laborers were brought in to start work on the proposed Illinois and Michigan Canal. This canal, which utilized in part the South Branch of the Chicago River (Figure 3-1), caused much land speculation as it was seen as the most important transportation link with the Mississippi River. This would allow agricultural products from the farming area southwest of Chicago to flow toward the city for processing and trade instead of going down the Mississippi or directly overland to the East. Therefore, grain elevators were added to the growing pattern of lumber yards, brick yards and other manufacturing establishments along the banks of the South Branch of the Chicago River nearest the city.

The city grew rapidly in population and area and continuing development in trade, commerce and manufacturing attracted settlers in ever increasing numbers. Following the national immigration pattern of the time, large numbers of Swedes, Norwegians and Danes joined the growing numbers of Germans and Irish. The early English and "native born American" population was rapidly becoming

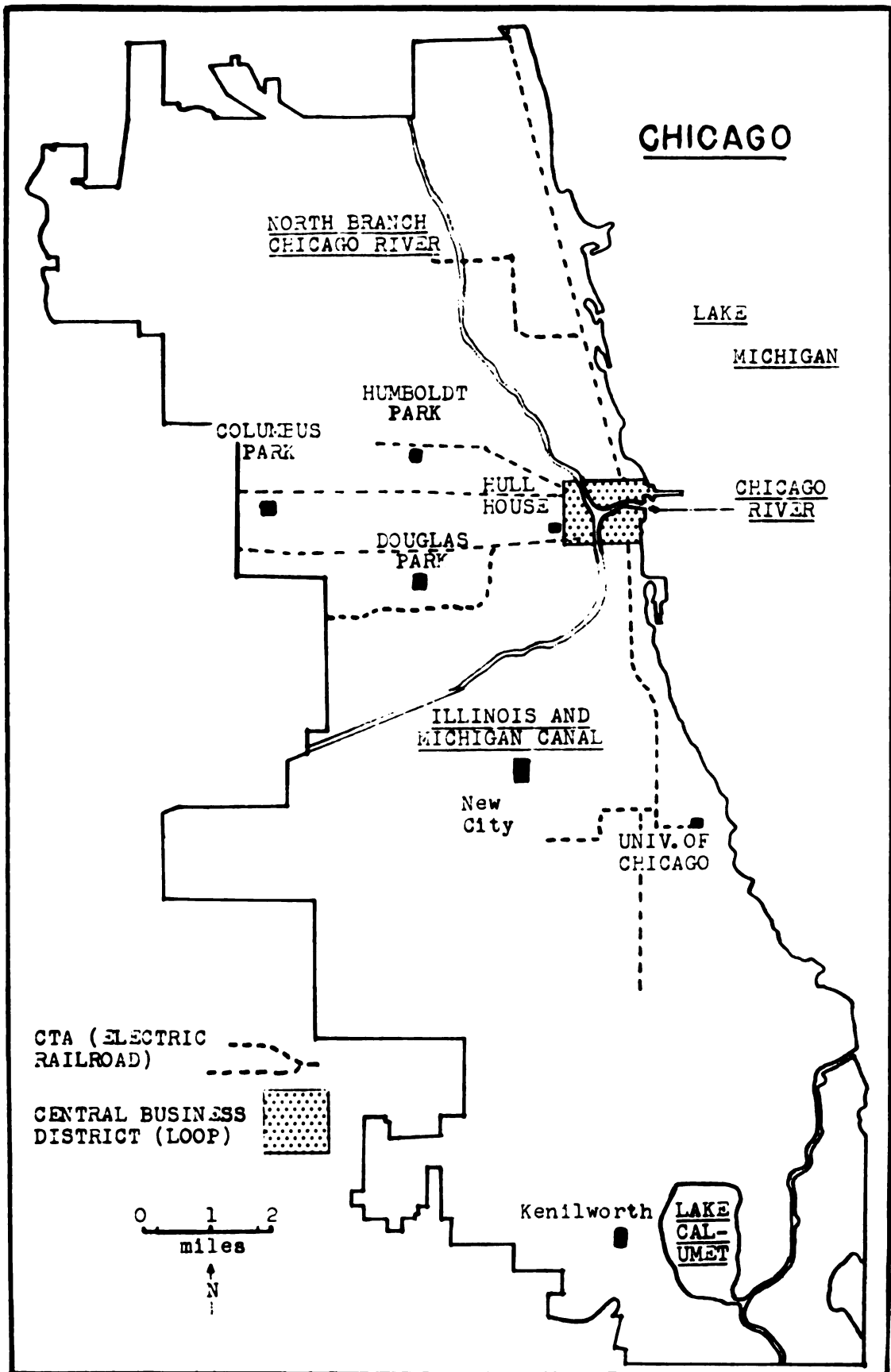


Figure 3-1. Chicago: Orientation

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diluted. By 1850, 54 per cent of the city's population was foreign born.

The Germans and Irish were numerically most important. Two important "push" factors in Europe, the Revolution of 1848 and the continued political and social unrest accompanying the "welding" together of the German State, and the Irish "potato famine," added emphasis to the emigrant flow of those two groups.

By 1870, the Germans were the largest foreign born group in the city. They worked in the construction trades, the growing meat packing industry, the newly developing and expanding railroad shops and in a variety of processing and manufacturing industries which were developing along both branches of the Chicago River. Also, many Germans established "truck gardens" at the edge of town to supply the growing demand for fresh fruit, vegetables and milk.

The Irish men also took jobs in the city's growing industries while many of their women took domestic positions as well. Also, the Irish quickly learned the value of political organization and soon they came to hold a disproportionate number of the city's "civil service" jobs.

During the 1830's and 1840's settlement had concentrated along the Chicago River, near the confluence of



its North Branch and South Branch and near the Lake Michigan shore. The poorer, foreign population generally crowded near the rivers close to the industrial development there. At that time, the city was small and the men and women could walk to their jobs in the factories along the river or into the commercial and wealthier residential areas where much new construction work was taking place. Also, the women employed as domestics could "commute" on foot to their places of employment.

As the city's population continued to grow, the Irish, Germans and Norwegians were showing a tendency to settle in separate neighborhoods. Immigration increased sharply during the 1850's and 1860's and these newcomers added strength to the old ethnic character of the neighborhoods. This was demonstrated in the growing number of German, Irish, Norwegian and Swedish political, social and athletic clubs, the neighborhood celebrations of ethnic holidays and the publication of several foreign language newspapers. So strong and important had the ethnic neighborhood structure become that the "local" language was the language of instruction in neighborhood schools with English taught as a second language.

The next important event which strengthened

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Chicago's central place position was the coming of the railroads beginning in the 1850's. Just as the Illinois and Michigan Canal had encouraged development toward the southwest of the city, the railroads soon converged on the city like the spokes of a great wheel encouraging industrial and residential development to the north, west and especially to the south along the lake shore. The railroads provided thousands of new jobs in the construction of miles of tracks and railroad yards and maintenance facilities. Also, industry was attracted to various points along the right of way in and near the city. Further, the added prosperity in the city, now that it was the undisputed focal point of the Middle West, attracted additional investment in a variety of trade and commercial establishments. Just as water had been a key locational factor for industry and settlement in the past, the railroads became the major locational influence after 1850.

While the new railroads opened some areas outside the mid-Chicago location for the development of industry and settlement areas for new populations, the transportation they provided was mostly for freight. Commuter transportation into the city was slower to organize and for many years was used only by the wealthier business class. The

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average factory worker still relied upon living within walking distance of his job. Therefore, the older pattern continued to exist. The workers lived in cheap frame cottages or poor tenements close to, and becoming more mixed in with, the expanding manufacturing establishments. The dirt, noise, smoke and congestion, together with the original cheap construction of most of the buildings, brought about their deterioration in less than fifty years. Even in the small "satellite" communities rising along the railroads the pattern was much the same.

The Chicago fire of 1871 did little to improve housing conditions in general. While the fire did clear out many of the old frame houses in one area of the city which were replaced by better quality structures, the poor people displaced by the fire crowded into the adjacent unaffected areas. There they crowded into existing housing or constructed cheap wooden shacks.<sup>1</sup> Most wanted to stay as close to "downtown" as possible so as to gain employment during the rebuilding period and regain their old jobs once the fire area was reconstructed.

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<sup>1</sup>Areas outside the fire zone did not have to comply with the new stricter building code of the burned portion of the city.

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Therefore, at the close of the 1870's the general growth and development pattern of the city closely followed that which had been established in the 1830's. After 1880 several important changes would take place.

#### 1880-1920

Following the pattern of national immigration, Chicago's greatest influx of newcomers began in the decade of the 1880's and continued until World War I. Also, following the national trend, Chicago's immigrants began to show a stronger representation from the southern and eastern European countries, especially Italy and Poland. As unskilled "foreigners," their economic and social position relegated them to housing which was now in slum condition and was being vacated by some of the earlier groups. The influx during this "boom" population period was such that all available housing units were quickly filled. To make room for the growing population, many older buildings were subdivided into several smaller apartments. In this fashion, the slum constantly encroached upon adjoining communities engulfing those that were in a rundown condition and where the owners felt there was more profit to be made in subdividing than there was in improvement and

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restoration. Therefore, Polish, Italian, Lithuanian, Russian Jews and Greek communities were forming in much the same way as the earlier German, Irish and Norwegian.

Not all of the older ethnic neighborhoods were disbanded, however. Some maintained their position and were fortified by new Irish and German immigrants. Those who felt compelled to leave the old neighborhoods moved out to the edge of town and settled around the newly developing industrial areas springing up along the rights of way of the constantly growing railroad net. Some of the families who had managed to save a little money, moved into more substantial brick and stone housing, often single family or two and three flat dwellings. The development of "rapid" transit lines to the west and north allowed residential communities to be constructed facing Garfield, Douglas and Humboldt Parks some three and one half miles from the Central Business District. In this way the population was being restructured socially and spatially. A middle class was forming between the wealthy and the very poor. This new class moved out of the inner city slums into newer working class suburbs located on the periphery of the city. The old tenement district was left to the poor and the Gold Coast to

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By the close of the second period, much of Chicago was residentially mature. Little more was added to the territorial jurisdiction of the city by annexation as surrounding communities began to stabilize and fight to maintain their independence. Construction of housing units within the city was leveling off and most construction activity involved the converting of older, larger structures into smaller apartment units or in the tearing down of slums and building public housing units. After 1920, most of the mature communities experienced less than five per cent of new private housing units per decade, many as little as two per cent.<sup>3</sup>

Another important event took place at the close of the period: World War I. The war brought on a great demand for labor and at the same time curtailed immigration from Europe. Therefore, industry went into the rural areas of

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<sup>2</sup>The Gold Coast is an area of expensive apartments and condominiums just north of the Chicago River facing Lake Michigan. This has been an exclusive residential area from early times in Chicago's development and has maintained its position up to the present.

<sup>3</sup>Evelyn M. Kitagawa and Karl E. Taeuber (eds.), Local Community Area Fact Book: Chicago Metropolitan Area, 1960 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963).

the South and Southwest to recruit labor much as they had done in Europe during the previous century. This resulted in adding two new dimensions to the population structure of the city; the Blacks and to a lesser extent, the Mexicans.

Blacks had been present in the city in small numbers from its earliest time. They became somewhat more numerous after the Civil War when some returned to the city from Canada where they had fled along the Underground Railway, and others had drifted north after being "freed" in the South. Nevertheless, they comprised only one per cent of the city's population in 1870. They continued to increase in number slowly until World War I when they suddenly were brought to the city in great numbers. From the beginning, they experienced discrimination and were only allowed to settle in certain very poor parts of the city's slums. Discrimination spread into the social and economic sphere as well. They were usually shunned by white society and were the victims of "sharp" practices and unemployment during economic recessions. Therefore, their settlement pattern was artificially restricted and its spatial development cannot be compared with that of the other ethnic groups who were free to choose their residential areas as their economic position improved.

World War I also introduced Mexicans into the city's population. While Mexicans were first mentioned in 1886, their numbers were too small to authenticate a settlement pattern. However, the industrial boom created by the war drew them into the area. Many came from the southwestern part of the United States where they had been employed for several generations on the large farms and vineyards of the "anglos," in railroad construction and in mining. Others, however, arrived more directly from Mexico where the revolution of 1910 and its aftermath frightened many Mexicans into fleeing their homeland. At the end of the war, there were considerable numbers of Mexicans in the city though by no means did they match the population of the other ethnic groups. However, they were the forerunners of a much larger movement of Spanish-speaking people into the city during the last period under consideration: 1920 to 1970.

#### 1920 to 1970

As a result of the increase in Mexican population during and after World War I, the United States Census Bureau enumerated them for the first time in Chicago as a special group in 1920. At that time they occupied three general locations which appeared to relate to their economic roles.

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One group, often single men, lived in several railroad camps about the city. These Mexicans had replaced some of the Irish "gandy dancers": the construction and maintenance labor force of the railroads. Many lived in old railroad cars which had been converted into dormitories. Others settled in some of the older housing which had been built adjacent to some of the original railroad yards. In this way, they could walk to the yard and then ride out to the work site on the crew train.

A second group became involved in the heavy steel industry that had developed on the far southside of Chicago. There they settled in Kennilworth, one of the oldest multi-family residential areas in West Pullman. The settlement of Mexicans in southern Chicago is associated with other Mexicans who had been attracted to the various heavy industry towns which had developed along the south shore of Lake Michigan extending into Indiana.<sup>4</sup>

A third general area of settlement was in the old "Hull House" region, one of Chicago's oldest and worst slums. Here the Mexicans "shared" the neighborhood with a

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<sup>4</sup>Julian Samora and Richard A. Lamanna, Mexican Americans in a Midwest Metropolis: A Study of East Chicago (Berkeley: University of California, 1967).

varied group of poor people. From this central location, the Mexicans could walk or use public transportation to reach the central business district or a multitude of nearby manufacturing establishments.

### The Mexicans in Chicago

Since 1920, the Mexicans have remained as one of the most rapidly growing immigrant groups in the city. An analysis of Table 3-1 indicates a premature spurt in the

TABLE 3-1

#### Mexican Population in Chicago

Year	Mexican Population
1920	1,265
1930	20,260 <sup>a</sup>
1940	7,132
1950	9,080
1960	44,686
1965	54,397 (est)
1970	82,057

<sup>a</sup>Enlarged figure partly due to the census definition of "Mexican" in 1930.

Source: U.S. Census of Population and Housing, 1970.

Mexican population during the 1920's. However, during the depression of the 1930's, the city lost part of its Mexican population when discrimination in hiring practices and their



limited job skills caused high unemployment rates among them. Therefore, following the national trend, many left the city and returned to Mexico rather than try to compete with the "white Americans" who were now willing to take jobs they had considered fit only for Negroes and "foreigners."

The onset of World War II created a labor shortage similar to that of the World War I period and Mexicans began to return to the city in significant numbers. They continued to leave Mexico after the war when a recession occurred there which caused a devaluation of the Mexican currency and a problem of unemployment. This exodus is reflected in the numbers of Mexicans coming to Chicago in the post war years. By 1960, Chicago ranked fourth among U.S. cities in Mexican population behind Los Angeles, San Antonio and El Paso and was the leading city outside the Southwest. This marks a considerable change from 1950 when Chicago ranked twelfth.

There have been some changes in the profile of the Mexican immigrants in recent years. One outstanding change has been in the increase in the numbers of women and children within the total. This would indicate a more stable family oriented population, probably planning on establishing





permanent residence if possible. Another trend toward stability is seen in the increase in the numbers of Mexican males who are becoming naturalized citizens.

Unfortunately, the majority of Mexican immigrants remain undereducated and continue to have a disproportionate number of their total in the unskilled, laboring employment classification. (Table 3-2)

TABLE 3-2

## Mexican Occupational Profile--1960

Occupation	Per Cent
Professional, technical & kindred workers	1.3
Farmers and farm managers	1.2
Managers, officials & proprietors	0.7
Clerical & kindred workers	1.6
Sales workers	0.6
Craftsmen, foremen & kindred workers	3.5
Operatives & kindred workers	2.1
Private household workers	7.9
Service workers except private household	1.2
Farm laborers and foremen	6.1
Laborers except farm and mine	20.8
Not reporting (includes women & children)	52.4

Source: Annual Reports of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service

Therefore, the Mexicans in Chicago find themselves on the lower rungs of the economic ladder and experience difficulty in competing for jobs and in the market place. Also, even those who have some education or vocational skills may have a poor command of the English language which places a burden on their abilities to function within the general Chicago area.

#### The Puerto Ricans in Chicago

The Puerto Ricans present a different picture of immigration. They do not have as lengthy a tradition of residence in the United States or the city of Chicago as the Mexicans. Their early association with the United States was centered on the east coast, mainly in New York and New Jersey, and to a lesser extent in Florida. During the post World War II era, when the greatest influx of Puerto Ricans took place, they began to spread inland. Up to 1960, most of the Puerto Ricans entering Chicago came by way of New York City. Some of them had spent enough time there to learn something of the ways of living in a large metropolitan area. However, after 1960, direct air service between Chicago and San Juan began to introduce a completely uninitiated Puerto Rican to the city. The continued migration into the city from the east and the

steady increase in Puerto Ricans coming directly from the Caribbean has resulted in a population growth during the past twenty years which has brought their numbers up to equal the Mexicans. In 1960, the Census Bureau enumerated Puerto Ricans in the city as a separate classification for the first time.

The profile of the Puerto Rican "immigrant" bears many similarities and some important differences to that of the Mexican. He is undereducated, even slightly more so than the Mexican, and underskilled. He did not develop a tradition with agriculture or construction in the United States as the Mexicans did on the large farms and ranches of the Southwest and with the railroads in that area. He also does not have the tradition of working in heavy industry and mining. His limited past experiences and present associations with the United States have been mostly with the lighter manufacturing and service industries in an urban setting. Therefore, although basically unskilled, the Puerto Rican is not a competitor with the Mexican in all types of unskilled labor. (Table 3-3)

The Puerto Rican has been more associated with the commercial center of the city than the Mexican. Probably because of their earlier association with New York City,

TABLE 3-3

## Puerto Rican Occupational Profile--1960

Occupation	Per Cent
Professional, technical & kindred workers	1.6
Farmers and farm managers	0.0
Managers, officials & proprietors	1.2
Clerical & kindred workers	5.2
Sales workers	1.8
Craftsmen, foremen & kindred workers	9.0
Operatives & kindred workers	45.7
Private household workers	0.0
Service workers except private household	11.7
Farm laborers & foremen	0.5
Laborers except farm & mine	13.7
Not reporting	9.0

Source: Annual Reports of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service

many Puerto Ricans are employed in the restaurant business. Starting as busboys, sweepers and kitchen help, some become waiters with much improved earning power. Also, many are employed in the business section as messenger and delivery men and in the "stock rooms" and packaging areas of many stores. Others have moved into janitorial work and in general they have accepted any of the unskilled, low paying jobs in the business district. Often the most important factor of improving their position, e.g., from busboy to waiter, is mastering the English language. Even those who received some education on the island remain job handicapped until they improve their English skills.

#### The Cuban Movement to Chicago

The Cuban movement to Chicago bears little resemblance to that of the other two Spanish-speaking groups.

First, there were very few Cubans in the city of Chicago prior to 1959. The United States Census Bureau included them in the general category "West Indies" in 1960. Those few who were in Chicago were associated mostly with the tobacco industry, or were business agents representing firms doing business in the Caribbean. These few were easily absorbed into the city's general population pattern.

However, when it was seen necessary to disperse the overwhelming number of refugees who had flooded into the Miami area, an agency was established in Chicago to aid in relocating and resettling Cubans. Since that time, approximately 6,000 Cubans have settled in Illinois, the majority choosing Chicago.

The profile of the Cuban immigrant differs from that of the Mexican or Puerto Rican. The Cuban is usually better educated and has superior employment skills than his Mexican or Puerto Rican counterpart. Table 3-4 demonstrates the consistently higher percentages of Cubans within the professional, skilled and white collar classifications. This profile also indicates the stronger urban background of most of the Cuban immigrants. Therefore, it is not unexpected that the Cubans, like the Puerto Ricans have been attracted to the cities and have never seen themselves as agricultural laborers or miners or heavy construction workers like the Mexicans. However, there are still some significant problems facing Cubans who arrive in Chicago which influence their new life styles and perhaps their settlement pattern.

While many of the newcomers had been successful business and professional people in Cuba, they arrived in





TABLE 3-4

## Cuban Occupational Profile--1960

Occupation	Per Cent
Professional, technical & kindred workers	10.5
Farmers and farm managers	0.2
Managers, officials & proprietors	4.3
Clerical and kindred workers	7.7
Sales workers	2.3
Craftsmen, foremen & kindred workers	3.2
Operatives & kindred workers	6.0
Private household workers	1.5
Service workers except private household	2.5
Farm laborers & foremen	0.2
Laborers except farm & mine	0.7
Not reporting (includes women & children)	60.2

Source: Annual Reports of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service.

the United States with little or no money or personal property. Therefore, they could not purchase new business establishments or homes commensurate with their potential. Also, certain professional, e.g., physicians and lawyers, had to go through a retraining period before they could be licensed to practice. Many accepted lesser positions rather than submit to extensive retraining and testing.

Also, there is still the problem of language. Many of the well educated Cubans had little or no command of English and while they could read and write Spanish much better than the Mexican or Puerto Rican, they were still handicapped in gaining employment in Chicago.

There has been a change in the Cuban profile in recent years. The first refugees to flee Cuba were the professional and white collar people who had seen immediately that their life would be effected by the new government which had taken over the island. More recently, however, the refugee is more apt to be of the working class. While his education and work experience may still be superior to the other Spanish-speaking immigrants, he does not have the broad base of education, training and professional experience of the earlier refugees.

Therefore, while the Cuban's credentials appear

superior, he still has a certain mobility problem when he first arrives in the city. He must rely upon social and economic help from friends and city agencies to help get him established. Without money and having to accept low paying employment, at least in the beginning, only inexpensive housing near public transportation is acceptable. Also, and perhaps even more so due to the traumatic events surrounding their leaving Cuba, they demonstrate a desire to be close to friends and others of similar background and language.

Many Cubans, however, appear to be quite resourceful and adapt quickly. Many become managers, if not owners, of small businesses or branches of chain store organizations. Physicians became laboratory technicians or medical researchers and lawyers joined real estate and insurance firms. Many have been found to be excellent factory workers and some have become supervisors, especially over other Spanish-speaking employees. Those who make an improvement in their economic position become more mobile and tend not to be as limited in their residential locations. Many move on to job opportunities in nearby suburbs after only a brief stay in Chicago. This makes an exact analysis of their locations difficult and any discussion of their settlement

pattern must be more generalized.

Therefore, while their background profile gives most Cubans a feeling of superiority over the other Latin American emigrees to the point where he does not consider himself "one of them" and has little desire to associate or identify with them, circumstances place them in a similar position with the other Spanish-speaking people in that they have to live where they can afford to and accept some of the lower paying jobs, at least in the beginning.

#### Summary

The ethnic growth and development of Chicago follows rather closely the overall immigration pattern into the United States set during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Further, there has been a conscious effort by the newcomers to band together in ethnic neighborhoods preserving their old cultural values as much as possible in the midst of a strange land. There is also a certain "pecking order" in the settlement pattern. The first immigrants settled near the center of the city in areas of mixed landuse and in dwellings of questionable quality. They and their descendants started in menial jobs but as they gained skills and organized themselves they moved into more substantial areas developing new and larger

neighborhoods. This development was fortified by a continuous flow of immigrants many of whom were friends and relatives of earlier settlers. Then, when a new and different group came upon the scene they found themselves at the bottom of the socio-economic ladder. They could only compete for the unskilled jobs and, therefore, could only afford the poorest of housing. Also, they were usually discriminated against by the established residents and therefore they formed new ethnic groupings in the old decaying residential areas recently vacated. This pattern was repeated through all the incoming European groups and the Blacks coming in from the South except that Blacks did not gain mobility in housing and occupations as rapidly as the Europeans did.

The latest immigrant group, the Spanish-speaking people are known to have several things in their background similar to the other Chicago immigrants. They have a certain problem with the English language and have been discriminated against as "outsiders." Many lack educational and employment skills and are employed mostly in unskilled and usually low paying jobs. They also have certain cultural institutions in common, the two most important of which are language and religion. Other customs and folk

ways differ, with the Mexicans visibly preserving and demonstrating more than the others.

The question of specific settlement pattern will be addressed in the following chapters to seek answers to three questions. First, what is the nature of the developing settlement pattern and how does it compare with that of previous immigrant groups? Second, what factors appear to exert the greatest influence on the residential location of the Spanish-speaking population? Third, what is the nature of the relationship between Cubans, Puerto Ricans and Mexicans within the Latin American residential area?

## CHAPTER IV

### THE 1960 SETTLEMENT PATTERN OF SPANISH- SPEAKING PEOPLE IN CHICAGO

In 1960, the combined population of Mexicans, Puerto Ricans and Cubans in the city was estimated at approximately 82,000 which was 2.3 per cent of the city's total population. Of these, 44,686 were Mexicans and 32,371 were Puerto Ricans.<sup>1</sup> While the Cubans were too few to be classified separately by the Census Bureau, their numbers were estimated at 5,000. While these numbers appear relatively small, it must be remembered that the Spanish-speaking people are nevertheless the fastest growing ethnic group in the city and their population could double and redouble during the next few decades. Since their numbers are at present small, the location of this group is especially important. If they are well distributed

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<sup>1</sup>All population figures in this chapter are taken from the United States Census of Population, 1960, unless stated otherwise.





throughout the city, they will tend to disappear into the majority population. If, however, they have followed the pattern of earlier European immigrants, they will have formed neighborhood enclaves in which they will be in the majority, or at least form a significant minority, so that their influence upon the development and organization of the neighborhood will be readily apparent. Therefore, it is essential that the population be located and mapped as accurately as possible so as to demonstrate the amount of nucleation present.

Also, since there are three major groups within the population, the internal structure of the "Spanish-speaking community" will have to be analyzed closely to determine the spatial relationships of each group involved.<sup>2</sup>

#### The Mapping Procedure

Since the population to be mapped represented less than 3 per cent of the city's total, it was important to use the smallest practicable unit for which data had been

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<sup>2</sup>The term "Spanish-speaking community" is used in this study for analytical purposes and refers to those areas of the city in which the Mexicans, Puerto Ricans and Cubans show settlement densities above the average for the city as a whole. Only rarely do they constitute an ethnic majority in these areas.

gathered. In the cases of the Mexicans and Puerto Ricans, individual census tract data was used. These tract areas were further reduced when field investigation revealed that there were areas within them which, due to non-residential land use or to the development of very expensive housing, contained no Spanish-speaking population.

In the case of the Cubans, their population was so small in 1960 that only a very general distributional pattern could be obtained. Therefore, the Cuban settlement pattern was de-limited on the 1960 map according to the much larger unit, the Community Area, which gives an exaggerated presentation of their numbers when compared to the more exact census tracts of the other two groups. However, its location in relation to the patterns of the other two groups is important and must be examined as best we can as part of the total Spanish-speaking community.

The major problem which arose was in representing the numerical values so that some indication of the density of the Latin American population relative to the remaining population could be taken into consideration. Since the Latin American population is so small that it rarely constitutes a majority in most of the census tracts, the question of which tracts to include in the study area posed a

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problem. Obviously, it was most desirable to arrive at a map which would include the greatest numbers of Spanish-speaking people in the fewest census tracts so that the greatest areal concentration would appear for further analysis. To this end, two approaches were tested, one expressing the Mexican and Puerto Rican population relative to the total population of each tract and the other based upon the absolute numbers of Mexicans and Puerto Ricans present in the tracts.

#### The Relative Criteria

In using the relative criteria, it was first decided that tracts in which the Mexican or Puerto Rican population occurred in numbers larger than twice their average density for the city as a whole--1.2 per cent and 0.9 per cent respectively--were significantly dense and should be included as part of the study area. This amounted to 154 of the 935 total census tracts in the city. Examination revealed that these tracts accounted for more than two thirds of all the Mexicans and Puerto Ricans in the city and indicated a certain amount of nucleation. All of these were then further classified as follows:

- 1) tracts with from two to five times the average city density;

- 2) tracts with from five to ten times the average city density;
- 3) tracts having more than ten times the average city density.

It was further decided to create a fourth category of less density to designate secondary tracts which might be in transition. This last classification would be of particular value when comparing the growth pattern shown on later maps. Therefore, tracts which displayed a density at least equal to the city average and which were adjacent to tracts already accepted as part of the study area were added. This brought the total number of census tracts to 184 and accounted for approximately three fourths of the Mexican and Puerto Rican population. According to these criteria, a map was made for each group and a composite of the two maps was constructed. This map revealed a pattern of considerable nucleation and some smaller, more dispersed "centers" which were either strongly Mexican or Puerto Rican or, in some instances, areas which had significant representation from both groups.

While this method produced a map which appeared acceptable for further analysis, some question as to the accuracy of its representation arose. The major weakness of

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the method arises from the fact that the units of reference (census tracts) are not uniform in area or in total population density. It was noted that some tracts showed a high proportion of Spanish-speaking people while their absolute numbers were quite small. Also, in some other cases the reverse was true and large numbers of Latin American residents were "overwhelmed" by other groups in certain tracts which had very high total population densities. Therefore, it was decided to re-map the city based upon the absolute number of Spanish-speaking residents in each tract and compare the results with the previous map.

#### The Absolute Criteria Method

In examining the tracts considered in the relative criteria method it was noted that most of those showing a density greater than twice the city average contained more than one hundred Mexicans or Puerto Ricans. Therefore, using one hundred Puerto Ricans or Mexicans as a new criteria a map was constructed which consisted of 139 census tracts and accounted for approximately three-fourths of the total Mexican/Puerto Rican population. While this more compact map showed ten per cent more population in 15 fewer tracts, it proved not to be significantly different areally from the pattern based on the relative criteria.

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To establish the "transitional" areas, secondary tracts with between 50 and 100 Mexicans or Puerto Ricans were selected. This increased the area to 212 tracts which accounted for 85 per cent of their total population. This increased number of secondary tracts will allow for better growth pattern comparisons with the 1970 data. These maps, therefore, present an accurate representation of the location of the majority of the Mexicans and Puerto Ricans living in the city in 1960. (See Figures 4-1 and 4-2)

A cursory glance at Figure 4-1 demonstrates that there is no one strong nucleus with a progressively diminishing density outward from the center. Rather, there appears to be one strong area and several sub-centers scattered from north to south along the eastern half of the city. Therefore, any "sub-regionalizing" of the settlement pattern may reveal several locational factors.

An additional pattern readily obvious is the incidence of co-occupation by both groups of certain census tracts. It is easily seen that there are mostly Puerto Ricans and some Mexicans in the north of the study area, several tracts in the large central area which have high densities of both groups, and then, moving toward the south, the Puerto Ricans give way to the Mexicans and in

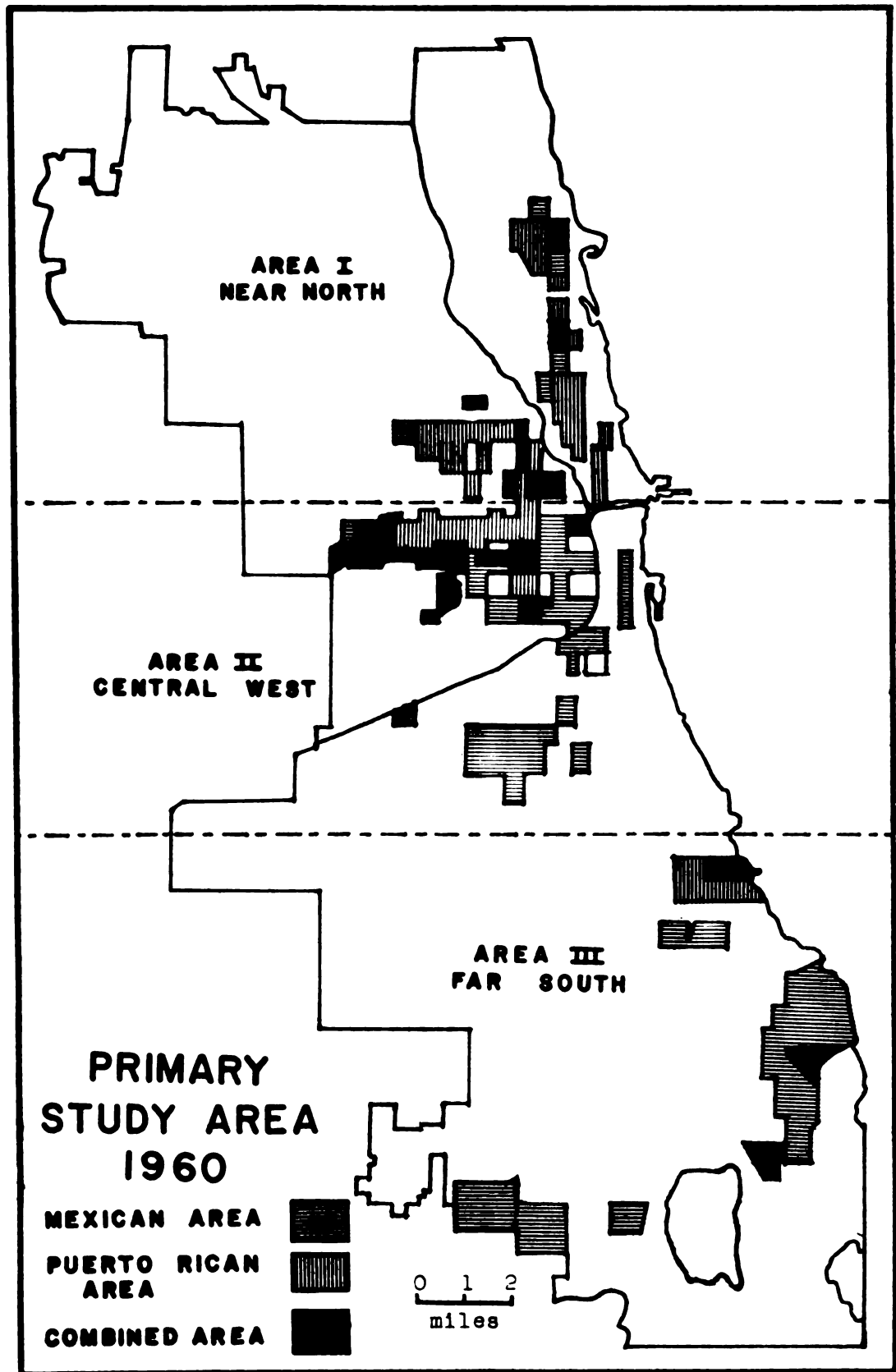


Figure 4-1. Primary Study Area: 1960

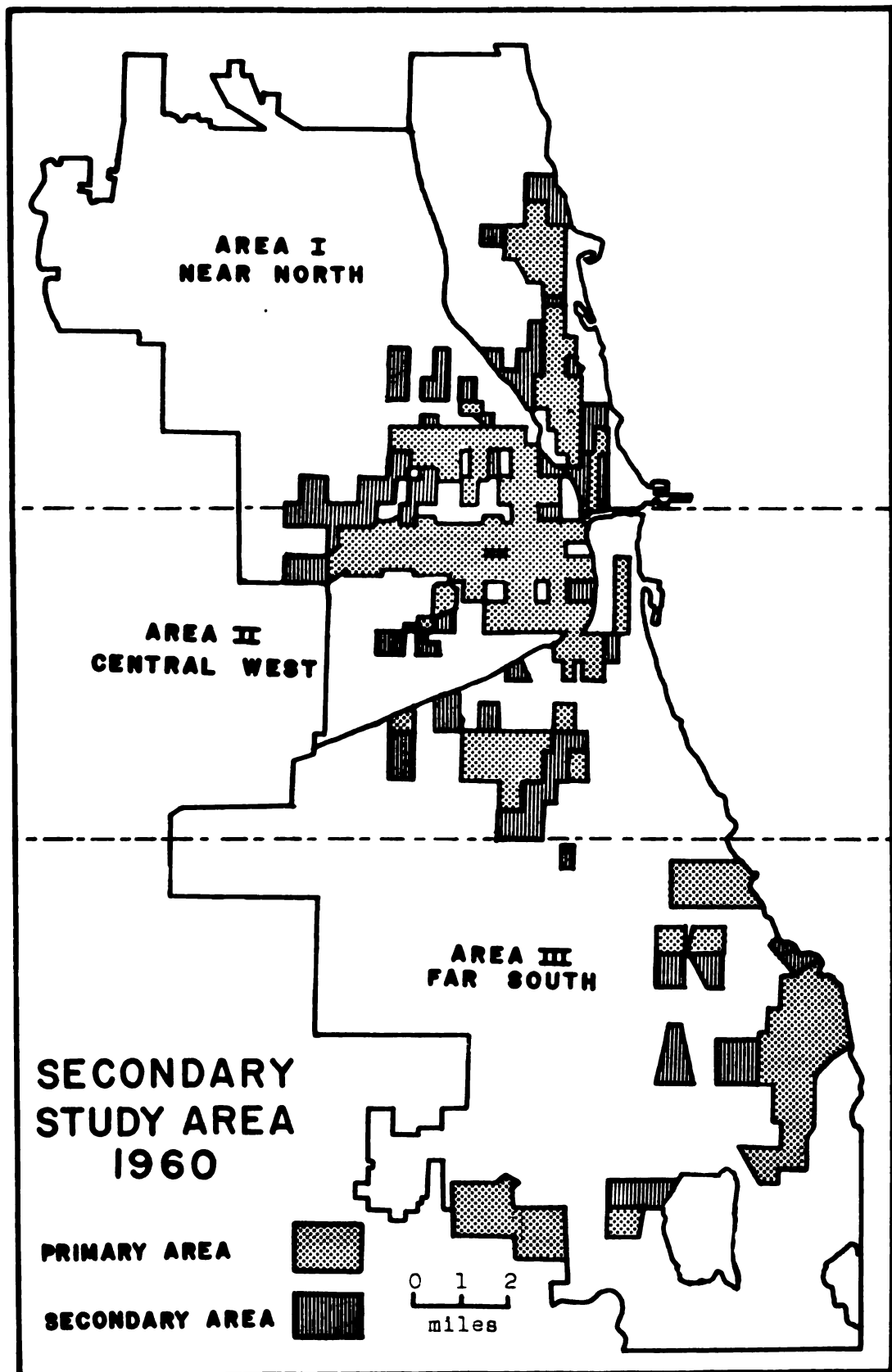


Figure 4-2. Secondary Study Area: 1960

the far south the situation has reversed and there are mostly Mexicans with some few Puerto Ricans present.

Given this basic distribution, and with some basic knowledge of the general organization of the city, it is suggested that three sub-areas be created to facilitate further analysis.

Area I: the Near North, consisting of tracts in community areas 3-6-7-8-22-23-24;

Area II: the Central West, consisting of tracts in community areas 25-26-27-28-29-30-31-32-33-34-58-59-60-61;

Area III; the Far South, consisting of tracts in community areas 42-43-46-48-50-51-56.

Each of these sub-areas will be examined to determine which factors are most influential in determining the settlement pattern of the Spanish-speaking people.

### Area I: The Near North<sup>3</sup>

The Near North portion of the study area consists of 48 census tracts which have Mexican or Puerto Rican populations in excess of 100, plus 31 secondary tracts located in eight Community Areas. Physically, the area is separated from the Central West (Area II) by a tier of census tracts

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<sup>3</sup>This sub-area of the study is not to be confused with the much smaller community area of the same name.

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which lie between Madison and Kinzie Streets to the west and the Chicago River to the east. There was only one primary tract which served as a bridge between the two areas in 1960. This was one of the smaller tracts which had a population of only 196 Puerto Ricans and 78 Mexicans.

The area itself is bisected by the North Branch of the Chicago River which causes two segments to appear. One segment forms a linear pattern extending directly north from the Chicago River for a distance of six and one half miles. The other segment, lying to the west of the river, is more compact forming almost a solid rectangle. The farthest point is only five miles distant from the Loop.

Where the two segments tend to converge, near the confluence of the two rivers, one of the oldest industrial, warehousing and commercial (wholesaling) areas of the city is located. This activity was first attracted by the rivers and later by the railroads coming in from the north and west which terminate along both sides of the rivers and stop just short of the central retailing district in the Loop.<sup>4</sup>

The line of settlement which extends to the north

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<sup>4</sup>Hereafter, the central business district focusing on State and Madison streets will be referred to as the Loop.

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closely follows the main line of public transportation which connects the Loop with the communities of northern Chicago and beyond. It may also be noted that the Spanish-speaking settlement lies inland from the Lake Michigan shore which has been developed into public beaches and parks which are often lined with exclusive high rise apartments and expensive condominiums. The housing which developed along this transportation is of the small apartment and two and three family "flat" variety interspersed with some single family dwellings. Almost all of the structures were built prior to 1930 with those nearer the center of the city built before 1910. As the area began to decline, industry encroached from nearer the rivers spreading along several of the major thoroughfares. While this practice has further added to the decay of the area, it has brought many jobs in warehousing, food processing and light manufacturing within walking distance, or a short ride on public transportation, of many of the present residents. Also, the direct line of public transportation puts the Loop with all of its employment potential within a maximum "distance" of 15 minutes.

Also, a railroad line passing to the west of the 1960 settlement area could be used for transportation to



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the business district. However, the commuter service of the railroad is organized more to facilitate the suburbs which lie to the north of Chicago and comparatively few "inner city" people use it on a regular basis.

The segment of Area I lying to the west of the North Branch of the Chicago River bears some similarity to the first segment. It is more compact and lies closer to the Loop probably because the areas further to the west and north are newer and had maintained a stable middle class population which did not give way to the practices which lead to neighborhood decay.

Like its counterpart to the east of the river, a line of public transportation leading to the Loop passes through the area. There is another line of public transportation which lies just to the south of the area and is within easy walking distance of many of the residents. Also, there are important railroad lines passing just to the south of the area and parallel to the North Branch of the river. While these are of less importance for transportation there is considerable industrial development associated with them. Also, to the west of the area there are two large railroad maintenance yards which supply additional employment.

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Industry associated with the area tends to be located more along the periphery rather than mixed in with the residential pattern. Many of the major thoroughfares are lined with commercial activity some of which is located in the first floors of partially converted apartments and "flats."

The western part of the area is mostly residential of the two and three family flat and single family dwelling variety. However, around Humboldt Park some larger, more substantial homes had been built around the turn of the century. Many of these structures have been converted into apartments and the entire area shows signs of crowding.

In the eastern part of the area, the housing is older and poorer and some industry has encroached from near the river.

The census of 1960 indicated that approximately 45 per cent (14,682) of the city's total Puerto Rican and 14 per cent (6,401) of the city's Mexican population were located within Area I. A cursory glance at the map indicates that the Puerto Ricans outnumber the Mexican both in numbers of tracts involved and in density. (Figure 4-3)

Figure 4-4 was constructed to aid in the analysis of the internal structure of the area. While the map on

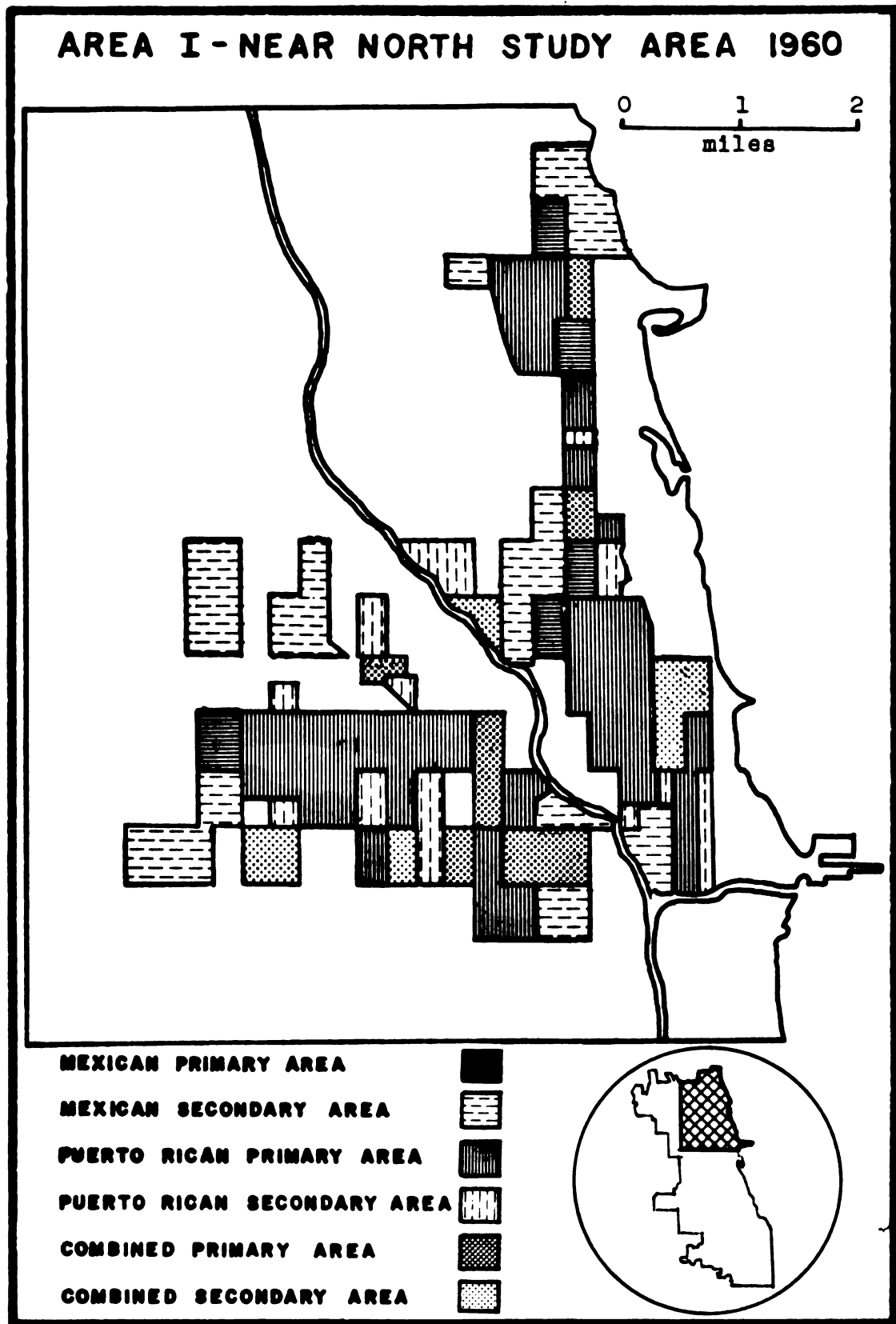


Figure 4-3. Near North Study Area: 1960

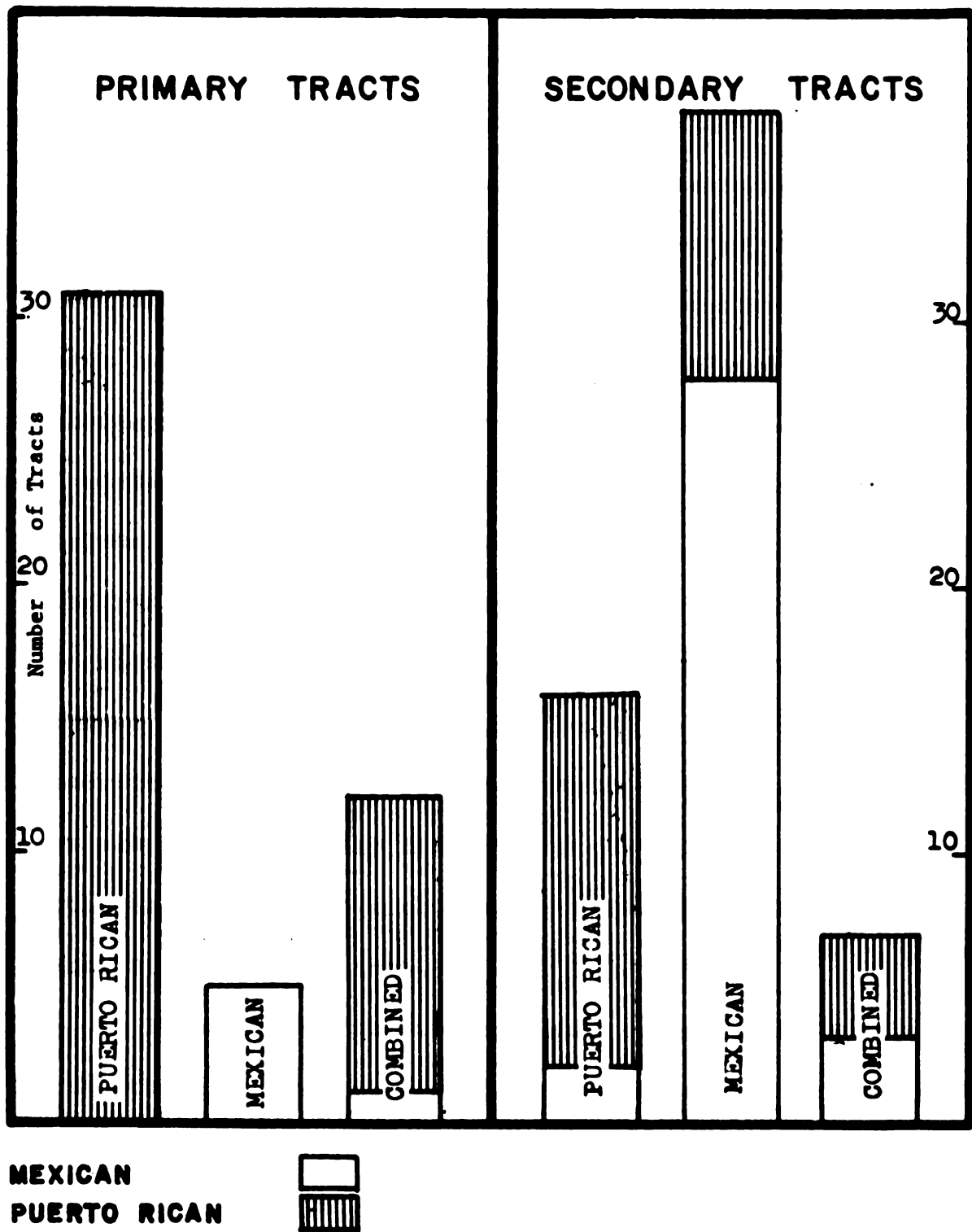


Figure 4-4. Near North:  
Distribution of Study Area Census Tracts

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page 76 clearly demonstrates the lack of cohesion of the Mexican tracts, Figure 4-4 further shows that only five of the Mexican tracts are not shared by Puerto Ricans, while 31 Puerto Rican tracts stand alone. Twelve of the tracts are occupied by both groups, however, 11 of these shared tracts have substantially larger numbers of Puerto Ricans than Mexicans. The 17 Mexican primary tracts average only 177 while the Puerto Ricans average 298 in 43 tracts. Thirteen of these 43 tracts had more than 300 Puerto Ricans in residence; one tract having over 1,000. It is also significant to note that while the Puerto Ricans dominate the total area they are particularly strong closer to the central business district whereas the Mexicans are almost equally distributed throughout, which further indicates the much greater nucleation of the Puerto Ricans in the area.

In analyzing the transitional areas of the Near North, the characteristic of the Mexican population toward dispersal and the Puerto Rican toward nucleation is further demonstrated. While there are 38 Mexican secondary tracts well scattered throughout the area there are only 16 such Puerto Rican tracts. Furthermore, the Puerto Rican tracts lie closer to the Loop in a more compact pattern. Also,



of the 38 Mexican secondary tracts, ten are found to be dominated by Puerto Ricans while only two of the 15 Puerto Rican secondary tracts are in Mexican dominated areas. Only seven of the secondary tracts are combined tracts, each showing fewer than 100 Mexicans and Puerto Ricans.

Therefore, it is evident that the Near North area was dominated by the Puerto Ricans in 1960. However, if the secondary Mexican areas are truly transitional and if the Puerto Ricans continue to show their more highly nucleated pattern, the following decade could show the Mexicans dominating the area spatially if not necessarily numerically.

In 1960, the Near North area was known to contain most of the city's estimated 5,000 Cubans. Since no formal census of their numbers was taken, information made available by the Cuban Association and the Immigrants Service League located them in the same "general" area as that inhabited by the Mexicans and Puerto Ricans.<sup>5</sup> (Figure 4-5) At that time, the Cubans were just beginning to arrive in the city and their organization was finding inexpensive housing for them in the ethnically well mixed area of the

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<sup>5</sup>De Curutchet, op.cit., p. 84.

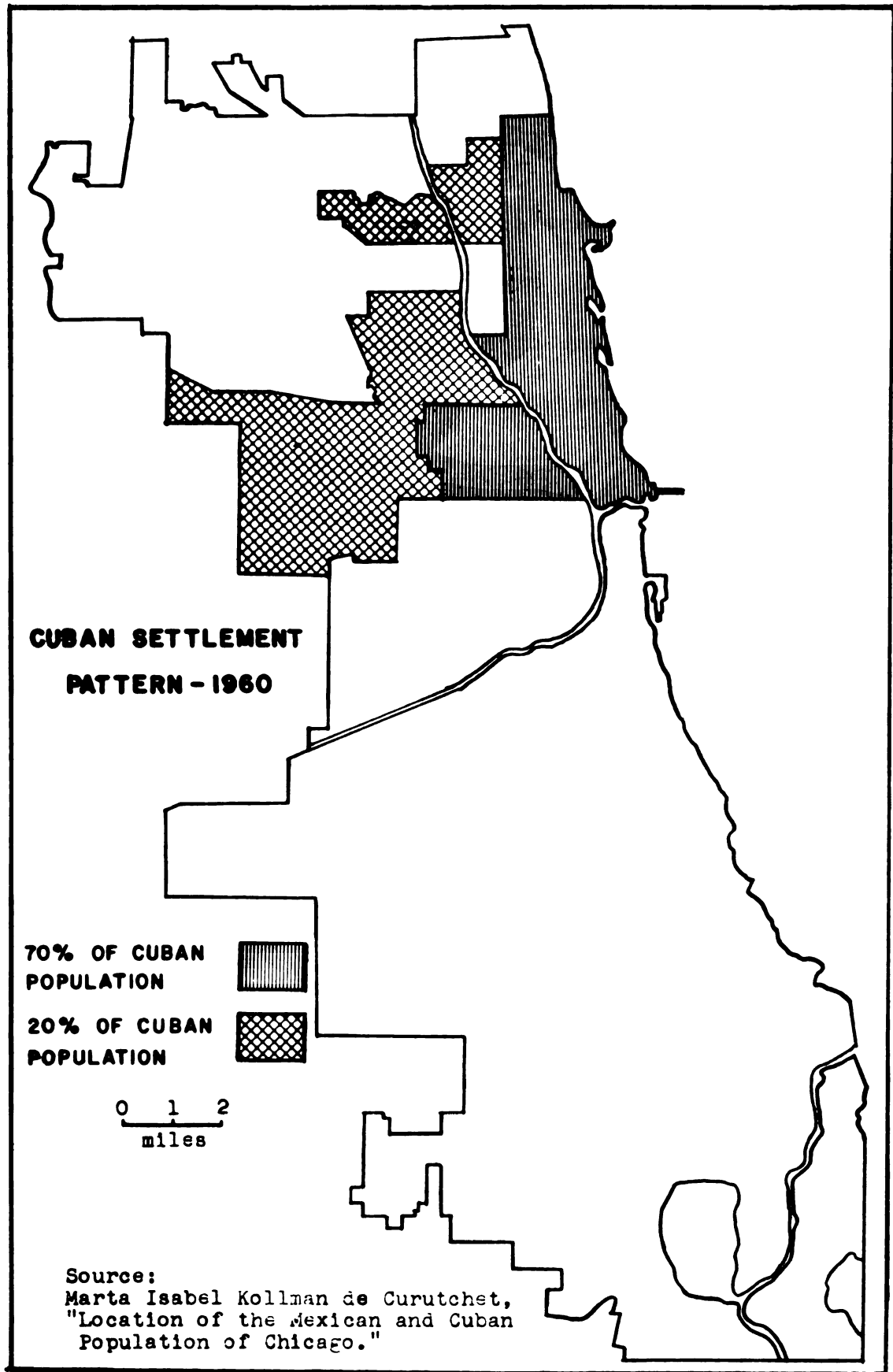


Figure 4-5. Cuban Settlement Pattern: 1960  
(by Community Area)

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Near North. There they received some financial aid, employment guidance, and orientation within an area of other Spanish-speaking people. In 1960 the Cubans were still basically displaced and it would take some time before they would be able and willing to make more decisions, including where they would live and work, for themselves. It is known that most Cubans were settled in the segment lying between the North Branch river and the lake and more toward the outer areas of the Spanish-speaking area rather than closer to the Loop. However, we have seen that Mexicans and Puerto Ricans do not always share the same tracts and therefore we cannot pinpoint the tracts of greatest Cuban population simply through an hypothesized but untested correlation. Therefore, we will have to be satisfied with the very general locational pattern shown on the map, realizing that the Cuban population was still very small in 1960.

#### Area II: The Central-West

The Central-West area is the largest of the three sub-regions. It is composed of 71 primary tracts plus 35 secondary tracts located in 12 Community Areas and had a population of 23,934 Mexicans, 53 per cent of the city's total and 12,418 Puerto Ricans, 36 per cent of the total in 1960. (Figure 4-6)



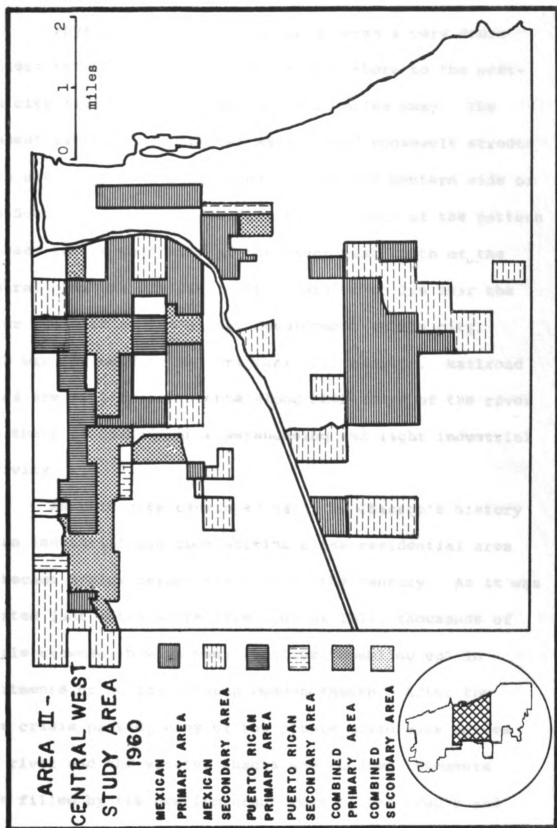


Figure 4-6. Central West Study Area: 1960

Physically, most of the area forms a very dense pattern extending almost from the lake shore to the western city limits some six and one half miles away. The densest pattern lies between Madison and Roosevelt streets with a strong appendage extending from the western side of the South Branch of the Chicago River. Part of the pattern crosses to the east side of the river just south of the central business district. The areas which lie near the river are part of the oldest development in the city. Much was included in the original city charter. Railroad yards are particularly dense along both sides of the river and there is considerable warehousing and light industrial activity.

As this area developed early in Chicago's history as an industrial and poor working class residential area it became a slum before the turn of the century. As it was located just outside the fire zone of 1871, thousands of people crowded in with many families "doubling up" in apartments or building cheap wooden shacks. After the fire crisis passed, many of the people moved back across the river and the vacated shacks and rundown tenements were filled by the new immigrant wave of the 1880's and 1890's. This became the famous--or infamous--Hull House

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area of the early twentieth century, one of Chicago's worst slums. It was into this slum area and some of the nearby railroad yards that Chicago's first Mexican population settled prior to 1920. While some of the worst buildings have been torn down, the area remains one of poorer quality housing with a considerable amount of industrial usage mixed in.

Where the South Branch River turns toward the west, it becomes canalized as part of the present Sanitary and Ship Canal (part of the original Illinois and Michigan Canal). Industrial development, much of it heavy manufacturing, building supplies and warehousing, with a strong associated railroad development, dominates the north side of the canal and explains why the Mexican settlement does not extend further south in this area.

Along the south shore of the canal the pattern of industrial and railroad development is similar to, but not as dense as, the pattern along the northern shore. There is a large railroad yard located in the one census tract which shows a considerable Mexican population.

A mile south of the canal is located a compact dense settlement of mostly Mexican population. This area is often referred to as New Town. It owes its development

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to three factors. To the north, extending nearly to the canal, is the "central industrial district," a very large area containing many establishments. In the northwest corner of the settlement and all along the eastern margin of the area is a very sense series of railroad lines and repair and maintenance yards. Finally, and originally of most importance, the Union Stock Yards are in the center of the settlement area. Originally the Mexican population was attracted to the railroad yards and then to the industrial sector as the stock yard employment was then dominated by Europeans. Recently, however, more Mexicans have been involved in the labor force at the stock yards.<sup>6</sup>

The largest, most concentrated portion of Area II, that part lying north of the canal and west of the river, is well serviced by public transportation leading directly to the Loop. One line runs along the northern border of the area (mentioned in connection with Area I) and another line passes through the densely populated area to the south. This puts the Loop from ten to 20 minutes away for most residents. South of the river, and in New City, however, public transportation is not as well developed. There is no

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<sup>6</sup>The Union Stock Yards closed in 1971.

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elevated or subway in the area and public transportation relies upon busses which are more confusing to use and have inferior schedules to the electric trains. Therefore, public transportation is much superior in the northern part of the area.

An analysis of the internal settlement pattern of this, the largest area, suggests some interesting conclusions. Figure 4-7 indicates that there are three times as many independent Mexican tracts as there are Puerto Rican and that an additional 21 tracts are shared by the two. The distribution of these tracts, however, is of more significance. The two northernmost tiers of tracts contain all but three of the total Puerto Rican tracts, independent and shared. These two tiers lie just to the south of the Puerto Rican dominated portion of Area I. South of Roosevelt Road, there were only three tracts with Puerto Rican populations over 100 and all three of these were shared with Mexican populations. Only one of the three was located south of the river and that tract was located just at the bend in the river and only two miles from the Loop. Also, the main south line of the subway passes along the eastern margin of that tract. The remainder of Area II south of the river and canal was virtually devoid of Puerto Rican population in



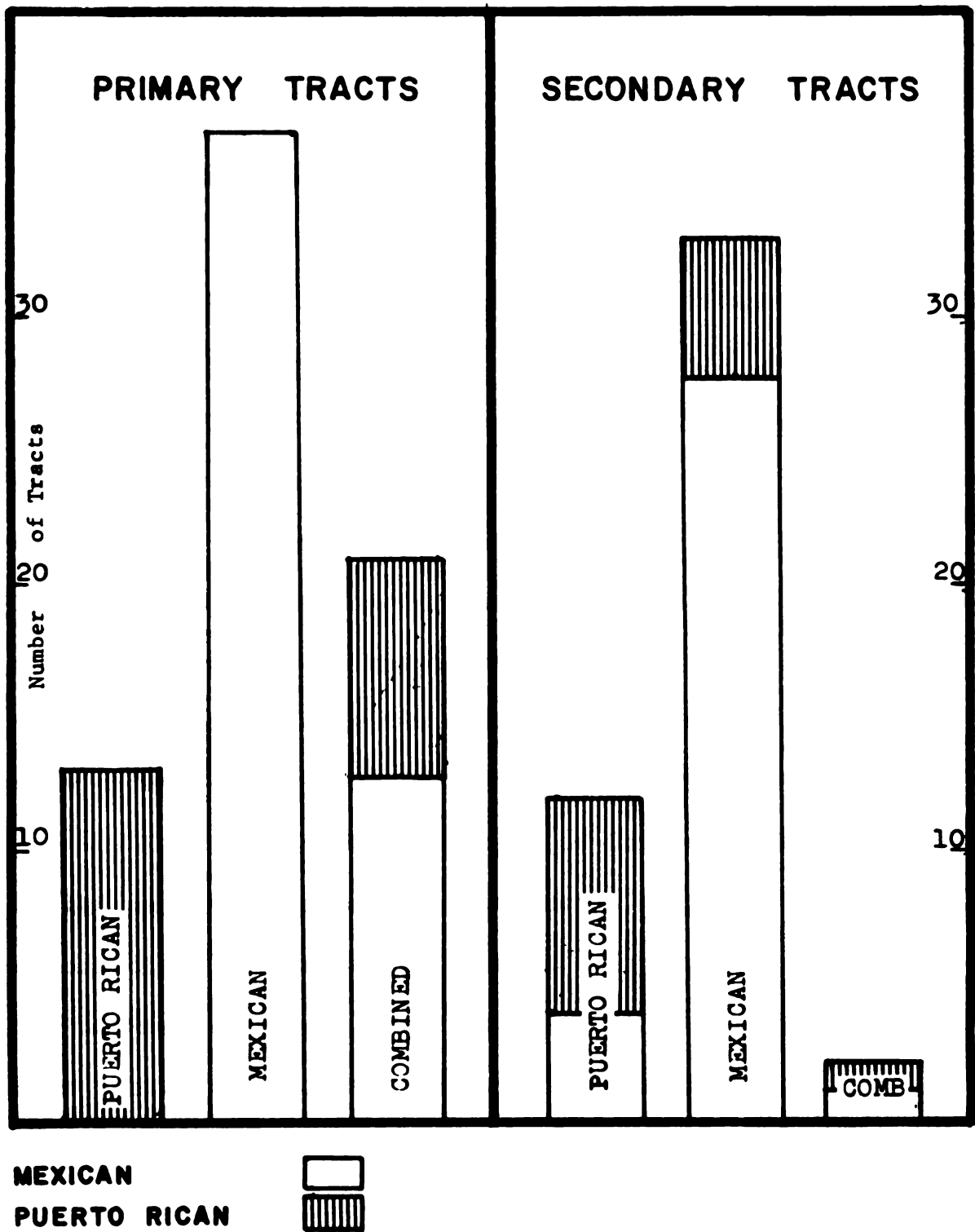


Figure 4-7. Central West:  
Distribution of Study Area Census Tracts

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1960. Not even a secondary tract of only 50 Puerto Ricans could be found in the New City area.

The Mexican primary tracts average 377 persons with 25 tracts having over 300 and one over 2,000. The Puerto Ricans with 297 persons per tract continued to show about the same density as in Area I.

In further analyzing the secondary pattern, the Mexicans again show a greater number of tracts. Figure 4-6 shows 33 Mexican transitional tracts of which only five had larger Puerto Rican populations, while the Puerto Ricans had only twelve secondary tracts of which eight had larger Mexican populations. Only two secondary tracts are shared by both groups.

In examining the location of the secondary tracts on the map it is noted that the Puerto Rican tracts tend to remain close to the established pattern (two-thirds of them are in Mexican areas) while the Mexican secondary tracts are more scattered, probing into marginal areas.

Therefore, Area II shows a definite shift in the dominating population groups. The Puerto Ricans were strongest in the north, there was a strong mixed area toward the center and the Mexicans dominated the south. Once again, as in Area I, the Puerto Ricans appeared to be

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more clustered and located nearer the Loop. Again there appeared to be the influence of the major public transportation lines. The Puerto Rican tracts were all close to the lines while several of the Mexican tracts were in areas of poor public transportation. There was also a continuation of the trend for Puerto Ricans to be found in areas of light industry and commercial activity while some Mexican tracts appear to show a direct association with railroad yards, stock yards and heavy industry.

The Cubans in Area II in 1960 were even less significant than in Area I. The few Cubans present were located more in the northern part of the area, closer to good transportation to the Loop and local commercial and light industrial employment opportunities. No accurate location of their numbers was available.

### Area III: The Far South

The Far South portion of the study area is the least consolidated and smallest of the three. Physically, it consists of 20 primary tracts and seven secondary tracts located in seven Community Areas. (Figure 4-8) Of the 20 primary census tracts in the area, Figure 4-9 indicates the dominance of the Mexicans. While there are 12 tracts dominated by Mexicans there are only five Puerto Rican tracts

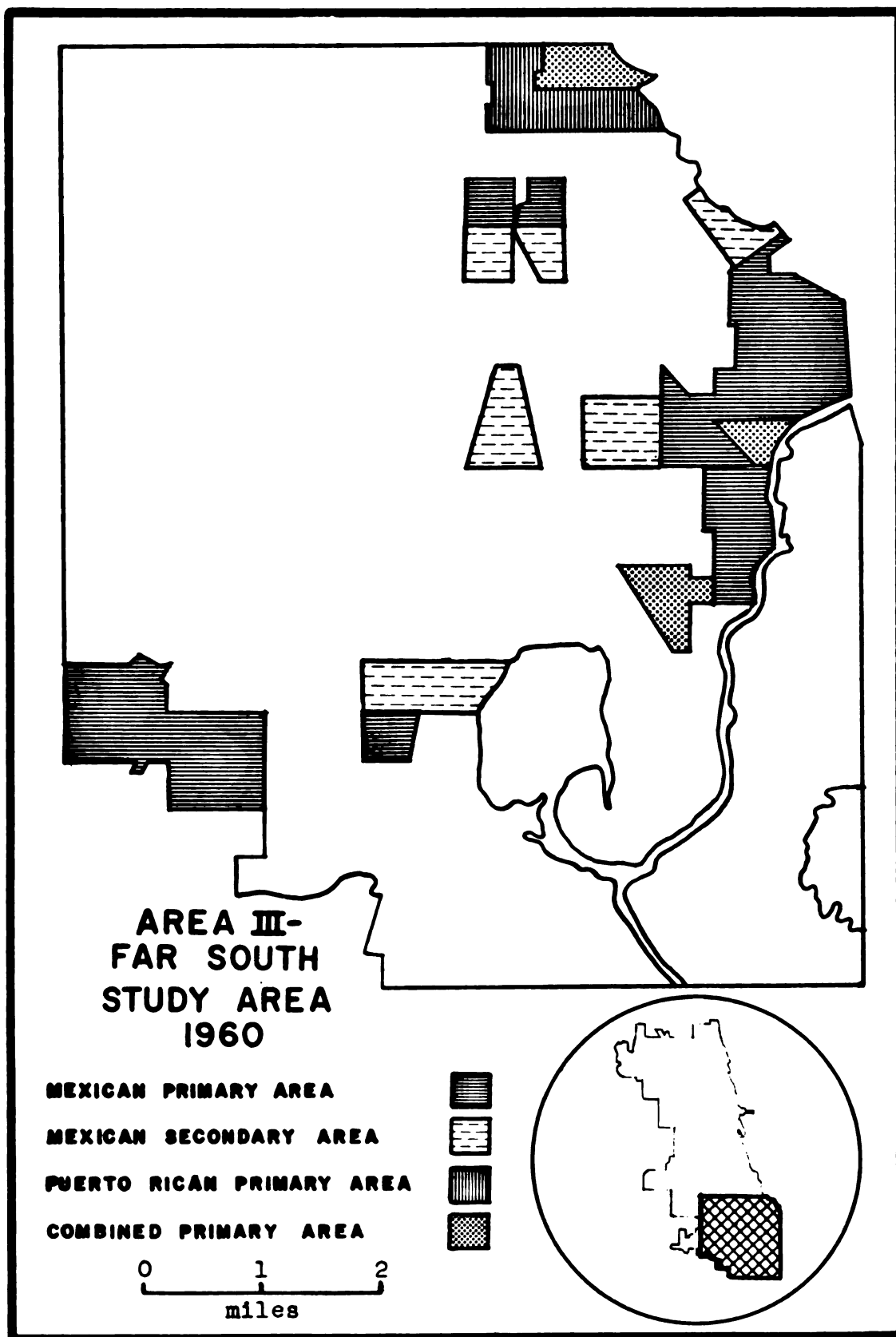


Figure 4-8. Far South Study Area: 1960

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and only three tracts show combined populations. Of the three combined tracts, two are dominated by Mexicans, one overwhelmingly so.

The Mexican primary tracts show a high average density of 474 with two tracts having over 1,000. The Puerto Ricans maintained an average of 283 in only eight primary tracts.

The nearest part of the area lies six miles south of the Loop while the farthest tracts are 12 miles away. This places this area much farther from the Loop than the other two. It is also more separated from the other two areas. The nearest tract in Area II is some three miles away.

In examining the map, three separate clusters appear. One in the north which is oriented toward the University of Chicago area, a somewhat larger cluster in the center which is oriented toward the heavy industry along the southern lake shore and the Calumet channel, and a third smaller, less cohesive settlement farther to the southwest which is oriented toward industry which developed there before the turn of the century where railroads coming from the East turned north toward Chicago. Those first railroads could not follow closer to the lake shore due

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to the swampy terrain there. George Pullman recognized the potential of the area, a large expanse of flat land far enough away from Chicago to be inexpensive, yet, with the railroad, close enough to maintain a close association with the city. Near the turn of the century he and others developed a sizable industrial base which attracted an early population.

The Far South has some of the same settlement factors that are found in the other two areas. However, there are also some differences, or at least some extremes, found there that should demonstrate some additional influences on the settlement pattern of the Spanish-speaking people there.

The Far South area had the smallest Spanish-speaking population of the three. In 1960, the census counted 7,726 Mexicans, 17 per cent of the city's total, and 2,564 Puerto Ricans, eight per cent of the city's total. There was no evidence of a Cuban population at that time.

The first cluster of tracts located in the northern part of the area is in the general vicinity of the University of Chicago. There are two primary sources of employment in the area, the University of Chicago, which employs many people in general maintenance and especially in the hospitals and clinics associated with the medical school;



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and the wealthy residential area of the South Shore which employs many domestics and other service personnel. While the Mexicans had the earliest association, their numbers did not grow and in 1960 only one tract of the six near the university showed a Mexican population and that tract was dominated by Puerto Ricans. To the south of this cluster, two Mexican tracts did appear. They appear to be more associated with railroad yards in the vicinity than with the university.

The denser Puerto Rican population in this area again appears to be attracted to the cheap housing, much of which was built to accommodate the 1893 World's Fair, and the opportunity of light industrial and service type employment. Also, the southern extension of a major line of the public transportation system connected this area with the Loop. Therefore, the central business district with its employment potential was also available to the residents of the area in 1960.

The larger cluster of tracts farther to the south is dominated by Mexicans. Only two Puerto Rican tracts appear in the nine tract cluster and they are overwhelmingly dominated by Mexicans.

The industry in the area is predominantly heavy in

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nature. Iron and steel furnaces and rolling mills and associated activity in railroad yards and in the port facilities located along the Calumet channel and in the Lake Calumet harbor area create a general work atmosphere quite different from that of Area I or Area II or even the northern cluster in Area III near the University of Chicago. In 1960, there was no public transportation between this area and the Loop. Only private automobiles or the commuter railroad provided a link between this area and the central business district. Therefore, most of the residents here depended more strongly upon local development to meet their needs. Only the middle and upper income families had a regular association with the Loop.

The third, much smaller cluster lies at some distance to the southwest. The three tracts there are Mexican and they occupy some of the oldest housing in the area. In 1960 there were several large manufacturing establishments in the area, one of which was a large branch of the International Harvester Company, and associated railroad and warehousing activity. Transportation to the Loop was limited to the railroads or private automobiles.

In examining the secondary tracts in the area the dominance of the Mexican population is again noted. There

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are seven Mexican tracts and only three Puerto Rican (Figure 4-9). Of the three Puerto Rican tracts two are Mexican dominated, while all seven of the Mexican secondary tracts are independent. There were no shared secondary tracts in 1960.

In many ways the Far South area is the antithesis of the Near North. It is predominantly Mexican, oriented toward heavier industry and much of the area was in a state of semi-isolation with the Loop area of Chicago due to poor mass transportation facilities. Also, the overall settlement pattern appears much less nucleated. For the size of the Spanish-speaking population involved, it is much more dispersed than in the other two areas. However, the Puerto Ricans are not dispersed throughout the area as are the Mexicans. They continue to show the greater nucleation of the two.

#### Summary

Checking the 1960 census data for Spanish-speaking people in the City of Chicago from two points of view, relative and absolute, indicates that they are located in certain areas rather than dispersed throughout the city. While there is no one location which contains all of the Spanish-speaking people to the point of exclusion of other ethnic

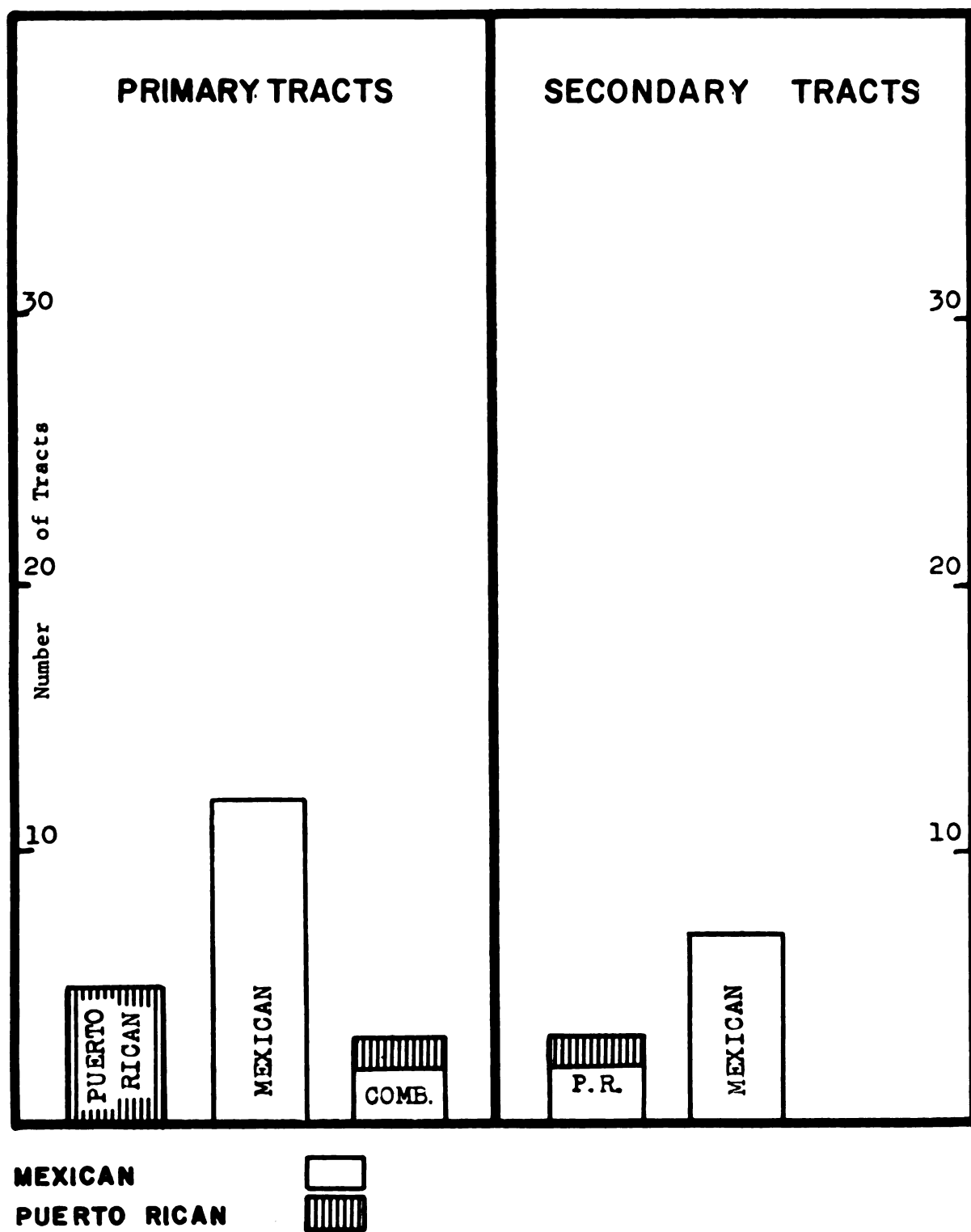


Figure 4-9. Far South:  
Distribution of Study Area Census Tracts

groups, it must be remembered that the factors most basic to the location of these people exist in many areas of the city. Transportation lines radiate from the center of the city to several points, low cost housing is found in several areas, industry is located in many places and commercial activity, although centered on the Loop, is also found in many sub-centers and strips.

However, these first maps do indicate a particular settlement pattern relative to the rest of the city. First, the majority of the population is settled nearer the center of the city with an extension to the north and south along the lake. Second, there are a variety of employment opportunities in industry and commerce near or mixed in with the settlement area. Third, most of the area, with the exceptions noted in the south, has adequate public transportation. Fourth, the settlement is associated with the older areas of the city, even those located at some distance from the Loop, and it is absent from the areas of the farther southwest and northwest.

In looking at the internal structure of the settlement, several interesting anomalies are evident. First there is the definite domination of Puerto Ricans in the north and Mexicans in the south with the greatest numbers



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of both appearing near the center of the distribution. Although the term "Spanish-speaking community" is often used in Chicago, the 1960 pattern reveals that only a limited number of tracts, 36 of 139, have significant combined Mexican and Puerto Rican populations.

In attempting to analyze the nucleation of the two groups, different answers are arrived at depending upon the point of view taken. If we consider the average number of persons per each primary census tract, we find the Mexican population to be denser than the Puerto Rican by virtue of the fact that each occupies the same number of tracts and the Mexicans had a larger population in 1960. If we add the secondary tracts, we find the two groups virtually tied; the Puerto Ricans more concentrated, the Mexicans more dispersed. However, if we examine the map, we see that the Mexican tracts are much more dispersed than the Puerto Rican, ranging farthest north, south and west from the Loop. Also it was noted that there are many more Mexican secondary tracts than Puerto Rican and that these Mexican tracts appear to be probing beyond the stronger settlement pattern rather than just filling in the blank spaces as the Puerto Ricans seem to be doing. However, the transitional character of these tracts will not be

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proven until an analysis of the 1970 pattern is made. Then, if the Puerto Ricans maintain their basic spatial pattern and if their members increase to where they equal the Mexicans, as is quite likely, the Puerto Ricans will be definitely the more nucleated of the two.

The Cubans were probably the most nucleated of all in 1960 as they really only occupied Area I. However, their small numbers make it impossible to equate their position with the other groups.

Two differentiating locational factors also appear in this first analysis. The Puerto Rican population appears to concentrate near the major arteries of the public transit system whereas many of the Mexicans are more isolated from the central city. Also, more Mexicans appear in areas in close proximity to heavy industry and railroad yards than do the Puerto Ricans. Additional analysis of the internal character of the 1960 pattern will take place in the next chapter.

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CHAPTER V

ETHNIC CHARACTERISTICS OF  
THE 1960 STUDY AREA

In the previous chapter, the basic settlement pattern of the Spanish-speaking community was delimited and analyzed spatially as to its relationship with the remainder of the city. Of particular interest were the factors of accessibility to employment and transportation and the association with the established residential pattern of the city. However, of equal importance are the associations between the ethnic groups within the total population of a cosmopolitan city. As indicated in earlier chapters, Chicago's population established several ethnic neighborhoods which evolved and changed composition as new groups entered the population mix. The affinity of one group for another has always posed an interesting question. It is of special significance in this study as it has already been seen that Mexicans, Puerto Ricans and Cubans do not always settle in the same areas. Therefore, this chapter will investigate the ethnic structure of the study area in an attempt to

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establish a pattern of ethnic association. An analysis of this factor may contribute to further understanding of the influences on the settlement pattern of the Spanish-speaking population in Chicago.

### Ethnic Characteristics of the Study Area

All areas within the Spanish-speaking community were previously occupied by other groups. Often several groups had been associated with the area and the coming of the Spanish-speaking people did not completely displace the earlier residents. Also, there is the possibility that the Spanish-speakers were not the only people moving into the area during the past ten years. The inner city is one of constantly shifting populations of which the Latin American people are but one group.

### The Primary Study Area

The 139 primary census tracts were examined to determine which ethnic groups showed the strongest representation. The three groups showing the largest population in each tract were selected for further analysis. Table 5-1 is a summary of the ethnic groups present in the primary study area. It shows the number of times each group was dominant, second or third. It also shows the total number



TABLE 5-1

**Leading Ethnic Groups in 1960  
Study Area by Census Tracts**

	Dominant group	2nd group	3rd group	Total occurrences
Puerto Rican	34	25	27	86
Polish	31	10	12	53
Mexican	28	40	21	89
Italian	25	29	12	66
German	16	16	32	64
Irish	2	4	9	15
Russian (Jews)	1	9	6	16
Czechoslovakian	1	4	8	13
Swedish	1	2	3	6
Canadian	0	0	6	6
British	0	0	2	2
Hungarian	0	0	1	1

Source: U.S. Census of Population and Housing, 1960

of times each group made a significant contribution to the population mix of the tracts involved.

This table clearly demonstrates how seldom either Puerto Ricans or Mexicans were the leading ethnic group in the census tracts they resided in. It must also be remembered that "leading" ethnic group does not mean a dominance over all other groups combined.

The strong position of the Germans, Italians and Polish is not unusual in that they were the leading ethnic

groups in the city at large. Also, it appears that the pattern of succession was still important. The Puerto Ricans and Mexicans had been moving into areas where the Polish and Italians, the most recent and unskilled of the last strong European immigration period, had replaced the earlier Germans and Irish. The weakness of the Irish is partly due to their limited immigration during the past several decades which resulted in making many people of Irish descent ineligible for enumeration under the "Irish" category.<sup>1</sup>

The remaining seven groups show only limited representation, mostly in the third position. The Czechs and the Irish are the most important of these later groups.

While this general examination of ethnic association is of some value, it must be remembered that the map of the Spanish-speaking community cuts across a large section of the city. Therefore, we must also investigate each of the three sub-areas for their specific patterns.

#### The Near North

Table 5-2 is a summary of the ethnic associations in the 49 primary tracts of Area I. The domination of the

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<sup>1</sup>To qualify for enumeration within a foreign category in the 1960 census, a person had to be born abroad or have at least one parent born abroad.

TABLE 5-2

Leading Ethnic Groups in Area I  
by Census Tract--1960

	Dominant group	2nd group	3rd group	Total occurrences
Polish	17	1	7	25
German	15	6	14	35
Puerto Rican	8	18	8	34
Italian	7	8	5	20
Russian (Jews)	1	8	2	11
Swedish	1	1	1	3
Mexican	0	4	7	11
Irish	0	3	4	7
Canadian	0	0	1	1

Source: U.S. Census of Population and Housing, 1960

Puerto Ricans over the Mexicans is again clearly seen when it is noted that in none of the tracts are the Mexicans the leading ethnic group. Their weakness is further demonstrated in the last column of the table where they are tied with the Russians for fifth out of nine groups present.<sup>2</sup> The strong German representation is a reflection of the early settlement by Germans in the area directly north of the city and later out around Humboldt Park.

Therefore, the outstanding pattern of the Near

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<sup>2</sup>Most of the Russian immigrants were Jewish.

North is the strength of the Puerto Ricans, the weakness of the Mexicans and the strong association with the Germans. One of the more important of the lesser groups, the Czechoslovakians, is totally absent in the area while the Russians and the Irish are disproportionately larger than their representation in the total area would indicate.

### The Central West

The 71 primary tracts of the Central West present a slightly broader ethnic base than that of the Near North. While this area was shown to have a much larger Mexican population than Puerto Rican, Table 5-3 further demonstrates

TABLE 5-3

#### Leading Ethnic Groups in Area II by Census Tract--1960

	Dominant group	2nd group	3rd group	Total occurrences
Mexican	22	32	11	65
Puerto Rican	20	6	19	45
Italian	17	16	6	39
Polish	8	5	4	17
Irish	2	1	3	6
German	1	6	13	20
Czechoslovakian	1	4	7	12
Russian (Jews)	0	1	3	4
Canadian	0	0	3	3
Swedish	0	0	1	1
British	0	0	1	1

Source: U.S. Census of Population and Housing, 1960.

the difference in their concentrations. The Mexicans represent the leading ethnic group in only two more tracts than do the Puerto Ricans. However, the Mexicans demonstrate their importance in the area with a much larger total representation especially where they appear as the second most numerous group within the tracts.

In the Central West, the Italians have replaced the Germans as the leading European group and the Poles, by virtue of their strong representation in the first and second positions, may also be seen as slightly more important than the Germans. One group which shows considerable strength in the area is the Czechoslovakians. An area of the city known as Little Pilsen situated just north of the Sanitary and Ship Canal has been encroached upon strongly by the Mexicans in their movement west from the older area located nearer the South Branch river.

The information in Table 5-3 continues to demonstrate the stronger nucleation of the Puerto Ricans. The shift in the relative importance of the other European groups is a reflection of the fact that fewer Germans were in this area to begin with and that in some older neighborhoods they had already given way to the incoming Polish and Italians.

### The Far South

The much smaller area of the Far South has been shown to be a definite Mexican area. They lead in total numbers and in number of tracts dominated within the area. However, Table 5-4 again demonstrates the importance of

TABLE 5-4

Leading Ethnic Groups in Area III  
by Census Tract--1960

	Dominant group	2nd group	3rd group	Total occurrences
Mexican	6	4	3	13
Puerto Rican	6	1	0	7
Polish	6	4	1	11
Italian	1	5	1	7
German	0	4	5	9
Irish	0	0	2	2
Swedish	0	1	1	2
Canadian	0	0	2	2
Russian (Jews)	0	0	1	1
Czechoslovakian	0	0	1	1
British	0	0	1	1
Hungarian	0	0	1	1

Source: U.S. Census of Population and Housing, 1960

nucleation. The Puerto Ricans although much smaller in total numbers are tied with the Mexicans in numbers of tracts in which they represent the leading ethnic group. In total representation, the Mexicans lead the Puerto

Ricans by only five. The much larger Mexican population, with a lengthy tradition in the area, is so distributed as to be about equal to that of the Poles.

Although this area has the fewest tracts, it has the broadest ethnic base of all three. However, much of the representation is slight and it must be remembered that all three areas were represented by almost all of the groups present in Table 5-1.

### The Black Population

It was mentioned that the Spanish-speaking people were only one of the dynamic groups within the city. No study of ethnic groups would be complete without including an analysis of association with the large, rapidly growing and spatially re-organizing minority group, the Blacks.

Of the 139 primary census tracts in the 1960 study area, the Blacks were the dominant "ethnic" group in 52. Further, the Blacks were found to dominate the combined numbers of Puerto Ricans and Mexicans in 51 of the 52 instances. To further demonstrate Black importance to an area when they are present in any numbers, there were only 11 tracts of the 139 in which the Blacks were not the leading group when they were present in excess of 100 persons. This is not seen as unusual since the Blacks have

been "ghettoized" from the beginning and usually become the overwhelming population in any area into which they move.

It has been shown in some instances that Blacks tend to have a stronger association with Puerto Ricans than any other group. The Puerto Ricans settled in the slums of Harlem in New York during the 1950's and 1960's. Some believe this is true because of a stronger racial association between Blacks and the Caribbean Islands than with the Mexican mainland. However, since there was no large Mexican settlement in New York City no direct comparison of co-settlement could be made. In Chicago, however, we can investigate the settlement association of both groups with the Blacks within the city.

In the Near North, Blacks occupy only 14 of the 49 tracts of the area in numbers greater than 100. (In six of these they number over 1,000.) Of these 14 tracts, they are dominant in ten. All ten of these tracts are Puerto Rican. Blacks number less than 25 in all five of the Mexican tracts. In the seven additional tracts which have Mexican populations over 100 (even though outnumbered by larger Puerto Rican populations), only three have Blacks in excess of 100. Therefore, there appears to be a much



stronger association between Blacks and Puerto Ricans in this primary area.

In the Central West, in which Mexican tracts outnumber Puerto Rican tracts nearly two to one, it is found that of the 24 Puerto Rican tracts 20 are dominated by Blacks. Of the 46 Mexican tracts, however, only 13 are Black dominated. In all 13, the Blacks are present in overwhelming numbers and outnumber the combined Mexican and Puerto Rican population.

In the remaining 33 Mexican tracts, Blacks number more than 100 in only five. Therefore, in this area where the Mexicans far outnumber the Puerto Ricans, both in population and number of census tracts, there was still a much stronger association of Blacks and Puerto Ricans.

In the Far South, which also shows a larger Mexican population, all six of the Puerto Rican tracts were overwhelmed by Blacks while only three of 13 Mexican tracts were dominated by Black populations.

Therefore, in 1960, in the area as a whole, 49 per cent of the Puerto Rican tracts were Black dominated while only 25 per cent of the Mexican tracts had that association. Also, in examining all three of the sub-regions the pattern of stronger Black/Puerto Rican association was found.

### Ethnic Associations in the Secondary Areas

There is also a need to examine the ethnic associations in the secondary area of the study, those tracts showing some Spanish-speaking population but not in large enough numbers to be of strong influence. Since we now know of the associations present in the primary area, we should know if the same pattern exists in the areas of lesser density. Then, when the 1970 pattern is investigated we will be able to see how the areas of new growth correlate with existing patterns of association. Also, areas in 1970 which show a loss of Spanish-speaking population can be examined for their pattern of associated groups which have increased or decreased over the decade.

### Ethnic Associations in the Total Secondary Area

Table 5-5 summarizes the ethnic association of all the secondary tracts of the study area.

The most obvious change, of course, is in the lesser role played by Puerto Ricans and Mexicans. Since their numbers were limited by definition it is known that they will never account for more than 99 of the total population in the tract. It is, therefore, perhaps more significant that they appear as any of the three leading groups. An investigation discloses that when either Puerto Ricans or

TABLE 5-5

Leading Ethnic Groups in Census Tracts of  
Secondary Study Area--1960

	Dominant group	2nd group	3rd group	Total occurrences
Polish	29	11	8	48
Italian	13	10	11	34
Puerto Rican	7	2	4	13
German	6	22	21	49
Irish	5	5	7	17
Mexican	3	10	7	20
Czechoslovakian	3	2	2	7
Russian (Jews)	2	7	3	12
Swedish	2	0	1	3
Hungarian	1	0	1	2
Norwegian	0	1	2	3
British	0	1	3	4
Canadian	0	0	1	1

Source: U.S. Census of Population and Housing, 1960

Mexicans appeared as "major" groups there were very few foreign groups present within those tracts.

The three groups, German-Polish-Italian, which had been most important following the Mexicans and Puerto Ricans in the primary tracts, are now seen to be the most important groups. While the Germans and Poles are about equal in total representation, the Poles appear to have a stronger association by virtue of their dominance as the leading ethnic group in 29 of the 71 total tracts while the

Germans are no longer as strong in the leading category.

The other ethnic groups follow about the same pattern with perhaps a closer association seen with the Irish and Russians. Otherwise, there are no significant additions or subtractions to the ethnic association pattern of the primary area.

In investigating the secondary tracts of the Near North it is seen in Table 5-6 that the Puerto Ricans still

TABLE 5-6

Leading Ethnic Groups in Census  
Tracts of Area I--1960

	Dominant group	2nd group	3rd group	Total occurrences
Polish	15	5	4	24
German	6	12	6	24
Italian	4	4	7	15
Puerto Rican	3	2	2	7
Russian (Jews)	2	4	3	9
Czechoslovakian	1	0	0	1
Mexican	0	1	3	4
Irish	0	1	2	3
Norwegian	0	1	2	3
British	0	1	1	2
Swedish	0	0	1	1

Source: U.S. Census of Population and Housing, 1960

retain some of their importance in the area by dominating three of the 31 tracts and showing some representation in the second and third categories. The Mexicans continue to present a weak position even though most of the secondary tracts appear on the map due to Mexican influence. The remainder of the pattern appears similar to that of the primary tracts of the area with the Poles, Germans and Italians maintaining strong positions. Perhaps the most dramatic change is seen in Irish representation. They are almost non-existent in the secondary tracts of the Near North.

While the Central West area was composed of many more primary tracts than the North East, Table 5-7 demonstrates that in secondary tracts the two areas are almost equal in size indicating again the greater compactness and density of the area.

Considering the difference in the absolute numbers of Mexicans and Puerto Ricans in Area III, it is somewhat surprising to find the Puerto Ricans as the leading ethnic group in one more tract than in the primary area. See Table 5-8. It is immediately noticed that Spanish-speaking influence is almost non-existent in the secondary area. This lack of significance plus the very small number of

TABLE 5-7

Leading Ethnic Groups in Census  
Tracts of Area II--1960

	Dominant group	2nd group	3rd group	Total occurrences
Polish	13	4	3	20
Italian	8	5	4	17
Irish	4	3	5	12
Puerto Rican	4	0	2	6
Mexican	3	9	3	15
Czechoslovakian	2	2	2	6
German	0	10	11	21
British	0	0	2	2
Russian (Jews)	0	1	0	1
Canadian	0	0	1	1
Hungarian	0	0	1	1

Source: U.S. Census of Population and Housing, 1960

TABLE 5-8

Leading Ethnic Groups in Census  
Tracts of Area III--1960

	Dominant group	2nd group	3rd group	Total occurrences
Swedish	2	0	0	2
Polish	1	2	1	4
Italian	1	1	0	2
Irish	1	1	0	2
Hungarian	1	0	0	1
German	0	0	4	4
Russian (News)	0	2	0	2
Mexican	0	0	1	1
Puerto Rican	0	0	0	0

Source: U.S. Census of Population and Housing, 1960

tracts involved indicate the great concentration of the Spanish-speaking people there.

As this secondary area is so small, the "pattern" of ethnic association is almost non-existent. Most of the same groups are present with the Poles and Italians continuing to be of importance. The Swedes gained in strength by virtue of two first place positions.

Therefore, it appears that the pattern of association with other European groups remains about the same in both the primary and secondary areas. It does not appear that the Latin Americans are moving into neighborhoods showing a predominance of any particular group. However, since it is not yet known if these secondary areas are truly transitional until they are compared to the 1970 patterns, we cannot determine if the Latin Americans are leaving tracts having a particular ethnic structure.

#### Black Association in the Secondary Tracts

The Black association with the secondary tracts shows some shifts in emphasis. There was a general decrease in the percentage (24%) of tracts having a Black population larger than that of the Puerto Ricans and Mexicans. In 15 of the 17 tracts, Blacks outnumbered the Puerto Ricans and Mexicans combined.

Of greater significance is the continued emphasis of Black domination in Puerto Rican areas. In the primary tracts, Blacks dominated in 49 per cent. In the secondary tracts, Blacks dominated in 52 per cent. The Mexicans, however, shifted in the other direction and only 18 per cent of their secondary tracts were Black controlled as compared to 25 per cent of their primary tracts.

This association of Blacks and Spanish-speaking will be of particular interest in comparing the 1960 pattern with that of 1970. It would appear from the above that we should see a stronger association of Blacks and Puerto Ricans. Also we might expect that any new Mexican tracts in 1970 will be located in non-Black areas.

#### Summary

In examining the internal characteristics and associations of the study area, several patterns become evident. Of greatest significance is the reinforcement of earlier findings that the Mexicans and Puerto Ricans do not really inhabit the same areas. Even when they inhabit the same general locations in the city, they often occupy separate tracts. As they both seek out similar low cost housing this is eliminated as a factor and since proximity to employment cannot always be cited when we are discussing



settlement of the two when they are often separated by only a few blocks, another reason for their lack of close cohesion must be considered.

Interviews conducted in the study revealed a social question which effected the Latin American community. There appeared to be a strong ethnocentrism present in which the Cubans saw themselves as superior to all other Latins and Mexicans placed themselves above the Puerto Ricans. There appears to be more social denial of similarities and a preservation of perceived differences. This continues in several social patterns including "gang" membership which is highly structured ethnically.

The association with other ethnic groups comes as no surprise. As the Spanish-speaking settlement cuts across a wide area of the city, it is expected that they would come into contact with many of the city's major ethnic groups. For that reason, the 1970 pattern will probably not differ much as far as association with European groups is concerned.

Therefore, the strongest factor of social association lies with the Black community. The Puerto Rican association with Blacks might indicate that the pattern of settlement in New York, where the Blacks and Puerto Ricans occupy Harlem, is not an isolated case. As the Black



community has shifted considerably in the past decade, comparison with the 1970 pattern should add appreciably to what was seen in 1960.

CHAPTER VI

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN

THE 1960 STUDY AREA

In the previous chapter the ethnic associations within the study area were discussed. However, to gain a greater understanding of the total morphology, additional internal patterns should be examined. From the data gathered by the census bureau in 1960 several topics which were seen to best further describe the physical and social composition of the region were selected for analysis. Two classifications involving housing and seven classifications involving the age, education and income of the population will be discussed. A graph produced from these data has been produced, Figure 6-1, and will be referred to throughout this chapter. The graph does not include every census tract of the study area for every classification due to the disclosure rule adopted by the Census Bureau. However, the number of nonreporting tracts is so small compared to the total that their absence is not seen as significant.

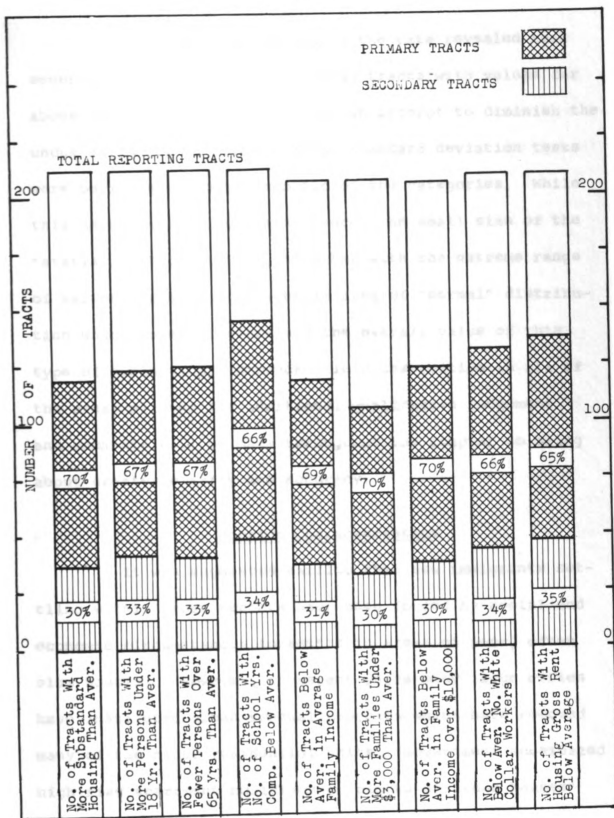


Figure 6-1. Socio-Economic Conditions of Study Area: 1960

A cursory examination of the data revealed that several community areas had census tracts with values far above or below the averages. In an attempt to diminish the undue influence of those tracts, standard deviation tests were performed on data from two of the categories. While this method was of some assistance, the small size of the "statistical" population, together with the extreme range of values, created a very broad area of "normal" distribution which somewhat decreased the overall value of this type of evaluation. However, field observation in all of the areas allowed for additional qualitative judgement and comments will be made throughout the chapter to bring about greater clarity and accuracy.

#### Housing Characteristics

It was suggested earlier that new immigrants settling within urban centers have been forced by social and economic circumstances to settle in areas of poor, often slum housing. However, in recent years many large cities have instituted urban renewal projects which have removed many of the older residential units. Government subsidized high rise apartment buildings or blocks of "town houses" have made new housing available for lower income families. However, there is still much housing in the city of Chicago

that is substandard. Many of these units are older small single family units, larger homes which have been divided into several "apartments," older two, three and four family "flats," and apartment buildings which have been deteriorating over the years.

The first part of this chapter will examine the quality of the housing within the Spanish-speaking area, An analysis of two categories of data gathered by the census, "substandard housing" and "gross rent" will be made to determine the overall quality of the housing and an investigation of public housing and a reconnaissance of the area will reveal the types and quality of the structures most occupied by the Spanish-speaking population.

### Public Housing

Slum clearance and urban renewal are not new to Chicago. In 1894, Marshall Fields Gardens was constructed on the site of a demolished slum in Chicago's near west side. Sporadically since that time other projects have been completed. However, these poorly coordinated developments did not meet the growing demands for lower income housing and the need for a continuous public housing program was seen. In 1937 the Chicago Housing Authority was created to plan and coordinate such a program. As part of

a depression inspired program the project created jobs, cleared some slum areas and provided some of the needed housing. Unfortunately, during the war years little progress was made. That together with the influx of populations to meet the needs of expanding defence production compounded the housing problem. Many of these newcomers did not leave the city after the war.

The major thrust of public housing came after World War II. Demolition and construction started in the late 1940's and to date the program has provided 40,239 dwelling units. Several thousand more units are in the planning and development stages for the 1970's.<sup>1</sup> Most of this housing was developed close to the inner city and continues to replace much of the oldest slum housing. The program was designed to provide housing for those who lost their homes due to slum clearance, expressway development and other commercial construction projects as well as to take the pressure off existing housing. With the flight to the suburbs of the wealthier families and the continued inward flow of poorer populations, the need for low income housing continues to exceed supply.

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<sup>1</sup>Chicago Housing Authority Annual Narrative Report, 1970.



In examining public housing records and by interviewing several Housing Authority officials, it was discovered that the vast majority of the tenants were Black.<sup>2</sup> Almost none were from the Spanish-speaking population. Investigation into this situation revealed two important factors. First, there was a reluctance on the part of the Latin Americans to become a very small minority group within the limited confines of the high rise apartments or other spatially restrictive housing developments. This is mostly due to the high crime rates in these developments. They fear that as a small minority a disproportionate share of the violence might be directed toward them. This was felt by Puerto Ricans and Mexicans alike. Even in mixed neighborhoods they feel more secure in their own houses and buildings where they have control over who enters and leaves.

The second factor is one of cultural background. Most of the Spanish-speaking women and children still belong to a family unit which has a male head of the household. The feeling of "machismo" is still very strong. Therefore, the men have often preferred to maintain the family unit in

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<sup>2</sup>This was not as much the case in public housing reserved for the elderly. However, no Spanish-speakers were in these units either.

poor housing and on a small, often irregular income rather than accept welfare and public housing assistance.

Therefore, public housing has played almost no role in establishing the settlement pattern of the Spanish-speaking population in the city even when such housing exists within census tracts having large Latin American residents.<sup>3</sup>

#### Substandard Housing

Since the Spanish-speaking population does not occupy the public housing facilities, the quality of the private housing occupied becomes important. Is the physical quality of the housing in the study area better than, poorer than or about the same as that found in the rest of the city? The census category which evaluates housing considered to be substandard is perhaps the most valuable in determining the physical quality of the housing in the study area.

The first column of the graph on page 121 demonstrates that 119 (56%) of the 212 reporting tracts in the study area had more housing in a substandard condition than was average for their surrounding community areas.

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<sup>3</sup>In 1971 and 1972, however, the Spanish-speaking population has been demanding public housing for their own use.

Of further interest, nearly 70 per cent of the substandard tracts were within the primary area of Spanish-speaking people indicating that a numerical majority of Latin Americans live in areas of substandard housing. The remaining 30 per cent of the substandard tracts were in the secondary areas of the study pattern. This indicates that more of the secondary tracts, tracts which have only limited numbers of Spanish-speakers, were of somewhat better quality housing. Perhaps these tracts were only beginning to give way to minority settlement in 1960.

Since there was considerable variation as to the amount of substandard housing found in each tract, it was decided to submit these data to a test of standard deviation. This test revealed that 79 of the substandard tracts were located more than one standard deviation below the mean. This means that compared to their immediate neighbors these tracts have an extremely high percentage of their housing units in substandard condition. Of these, 32 were within the Spanish-speaking settlement area. In addition, three of the four tracts which showed very heavy Mexican or Puerto Rican population (over 1,000) were more than one standard deviation below the mean. Therefore, it appears that most of the Latin American population was

living in areas in which the housing was substandard. Also, great numbers of them were in areas which were considerably below standard.

#### Gross Rent

Since it is known that most of the Spanish-speaking people do not own their own dwellings, it was thought that an analysis of the rents paid for living units would add additional understanding of the physical conditions of housing in the study area. Column two of the graph demonstrates that 136 (66%) of 208 reporting tracts in the study area had gross rents below the average for their community areas. Again, nearly two-thirds of the below average tracts were in the primary study area while one third were in the more lightly populated secondary area. This appears to further demonstrate that those tracts with only a few Spanish-speakers present were in better physical condition.

If "substandard condition" and "gross rent" are taken as two important indicators of the physical quality of a residential area, then those areas having values below average in both categories most have housing conditions among the poorest in the city. In Area III of the study, 88 per cent of the primary study tracts had below average indicators present for both categories. Area I followed

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with 79 per cent of the primary tracts below average in both categories and Area II, the largest area, had 44 per cent of its tracts displaying both sets of indicators below average. Therefore, nearly 70 per cent of the primary tracts in which most of the Spanish-speakers live are examples of some of the poorest housing in the city.

### Socio-Economic Conditions

In assessing the characteristics of an area, the physical factors are most evident. However, certain less tangible factors also contribute to its total morphology and they also must be considered. The remainder of this chapter will investigate those social and economic characteristics seen to be most important in influencing the shaping of the region under consideration.

### Economic conditions

In assessing the general economic conditions of the census tracts in the study area, an approach similar to that used in analyzing the housing conditions was followed. This time, however, four categories were selected from the census data as indicators. They were median family income, percentage of families with income under \$3,000 annually, percentage of families with income above

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\$10,000 annually and percentage of male white collar workers.

The graph on page 121 indicates that in 130 of 208 reporting tracts (63%) in the study area the number of white collar workers was below average for their community areas. This appears as a direct reflection of the Mexican and Puerto Rican job skills profile which showed the vast majority of workers to be in the "blue collar" capacities.

The family income column on the graph further indicates that a majority of the tracts fall below average in annual income. This is compatible with the above paragraph which suggests that poorer job skills usually mean lower income. It also suggests that unemployment and underemployment is high among this group as it is with Black Americans.

The two remaining economic categories complement each other. It appears logical that if most census tracts have above average numbers of families earning less than \$3,000 annually then there will be few having above average numbers of families earning above \$10,000 annually. The graph confirms this. However, it was decided to investigate income levels more closely. Since \$3,000 annual income was judged as the official poverty level, this



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category was selected for the standard deviation test. This test revealed that while only 105 tracts (52%) fell below average in their community areas, 35 tracts were more than one standard deviation below the average. Furthermore these 35 tracts in the study area were one half of all the tracts in the community areas involved which were more than one standard deviation away from the average. While it cannot be determined if it is actually the Spanish-speaking families living in these tracts which make up most of this statistic, it does give further feeling as to the economic condition of the study area.

#### Selected Social Characteristics

It has been demonstrated that the Mexican and Puerto Rican population tends to be young and undereducated. The graph demonstrates this to be true. Nearly 60 per cent of the tracts in the study area had greater than average populations under 18 years of age and, conversely, less than average numbers over 65.

Also, in the column "average school years completed" two thirds of the study area tracts were below average for their areas.

Summary

The pattern of income, age and education closely follows the national profiles of Mexicans and Puerto Ricans. Given these conditions, it was to be expected that the Spanish-speaking population would inhabit the older, poorer and more crowded housing in the city. If they showed a propensity to accept public housing, at least the physical quality of the dwelling units would improve somewhat. As there were still only very few Latin Americans in public housing in 1970, the analysis of living conditions in the following chapters will continue to focus upon private housing facilities. The important questions will be, "Were the secondary areas of the study truly transitional?" and "Has the settlement pattern expanded spatially in proportion to its numerical growth?" and "Has the general morphology of the settlement pattern improved during the decade of the 1960's?"

## CHAPTER VII

### THE 1970 SETTLEMENT PATTERN OF THE SPANISH-SPEAKING PEOPLE IN CHICAGO

In 1970, the combined population of Mexicans, Puerto Ricans and Cubans in the city of Chicago was placed at 175,177, approximately 5.1 per cent of the city's total population.<sup>1</sup> This is an increase of approximately 93,120 over the 1960 figure when the three groups represented about 2.3 per cent of the city's total. The Cuban population increased to approximately 9,000 or 182 per cent larger than the 1960 estimate. The Puerto Rican population increased by 140 per cent to 78,963 and the Mexican population increased by 113 per cent to 82,057.

The dramatic increase in the Cuban population was due to the large flow of Cubans from Cuba to Florida who later re-settled in several other large cities during the 1960's. Chicago has possibly received 10,000 of these

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<sup>1</sup>All population figures in this chapter are from the U.S. Census of Population and Housing, Vol. 1, Chicago, Illinois, 1970.

refugees since the Castro government came to power. However, the flow has decreased considerably in recent years and the movement to Chicago is probably past its peak.<sup>2</sup> Also, any new immigration to the city may be offset by a continuing movement of Cubans to nearby suburbs. Therefore, their numbers may stabilize or decline in the next decade.

The Puerto Rican increase was dramatic in that it brought their numbers up nearly to par with the Mexicans. They continued to arrive in great numbers during the 1960's and may continue to do so during the 1970's. However, there has been a decrease in the flow of population from the island to the United States in recent years. Improving economic and social conditions there have decreased the pressure to migrate. Also, possible changes in the islands political affiliation with the United States could place some restriction on their movement into this country. The change in the external pattern does not necessarily mean that Chicago will cease to gain in Puerto Rican population. Many will continue to leave other cities in the United States if they think they can do better here.

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<sup>2</sup>This suggestion from an interview at the Cuban Association.

The immigration records indicate that the Mexican movement remained constant during the last decade. As more and more of these people change from agricultural to industrial occupations, Chicago can expect to receive her share of newcomers. While the census enumerated 82,057, there is reason to believe that there may be as many as 40,000 additional Mexicans in the city illegally.<sup>3</sup> While this factor may tend to make density evaluations invalid, these illegal residents are mostly living within the present Mexican settlement pattern and therefore spatial evaluations should remain quite accurate.

Most importantly, this high percentage of increase of Spanish-speaking people is greater than that of any other group including the Blacks. A greater understanding of their presence in the city has become doubly important.

In analyzing the settlement pattern of this larger population four questions arise. First, has the new population settled approximately in the same location as the old thereby adding to the density of the old primary pattern? Second, was the secondary pattern of 1960 truly

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<sup>3</sup>This was suggested by Mr. Germain, director of the Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization in Chicago.

transitional and have these areas grown into denser areas of Spanish-speaking populations? Third, have any of the areas of the original pattern been vacated or experienced a decline of Spanish-speaking residents? Fourth, has there been a move toward more homogeneity or more separatism within the "Latin community"?

In analyzing the 1970 census data, the tracts were evaluated according to the absolute numerical method used in Chapter IV with the primary tracts having 100 or more Mexican or Puerto Ricans residents. Primary combined tracts must have populations of Mexicans and Puerto Ricans above 100. Secondary tracts must have populations between 50 and 100 of either or both groups together. An additional factor in the 1970 settlement pattern is the greater accuracy in locating the Cuban residents in the city. In the 1970 census the Cuban population was large enough to be classified as a separate group and their data is available at the census tract level for the first time.

Since the earlier part of the study concentrated on the Mexican and Puerto Rican settlement pattern, Figures 7-1 and 7-2 are based upon these two groups as is the analysis of the first part of this chapter. The Cuban pattern will then be defined and discussed relative to the analysis of the first two.

Area I: The Near North

The first conclusions gained from a glance at the map in Figure 7-1 is the increase in the size of the spatial pattern of Area I as compared to that of 1960. The area has expanded in such a way that it might now be more appropriately called the Near Northwest. A closer examination revealed that spatially the area has increased from 79 tracts in 1960 to 179 tracts in 1970. The number of primary tracts increased from 48 to 132 and the number of secondary tracts grew from 31 to 47. This makes Area I spatially larger than the other two areas combined.

An examination of the population statistics reveals that the number of Mexicans and Puerto Ricans increased dramatically as well. The Mexican population in this area increased from 6,401 to 22,449 and the Puerto Rican population increased from 14,682 to 66,123. While the Mexicans increased by 250 per cent, the Puerto Ricans increased by 350 per cent resulting in some important proportional changes. In 1960, 14 per cent of Chicago's total Mexican population lived in Area I. In 1970, 25.3 per cent of the city's Mexicans resided in the expanded area.

The Puerto Ricans increased similarly but more dramatically. In 1960, 45 per cent of the total Puerto



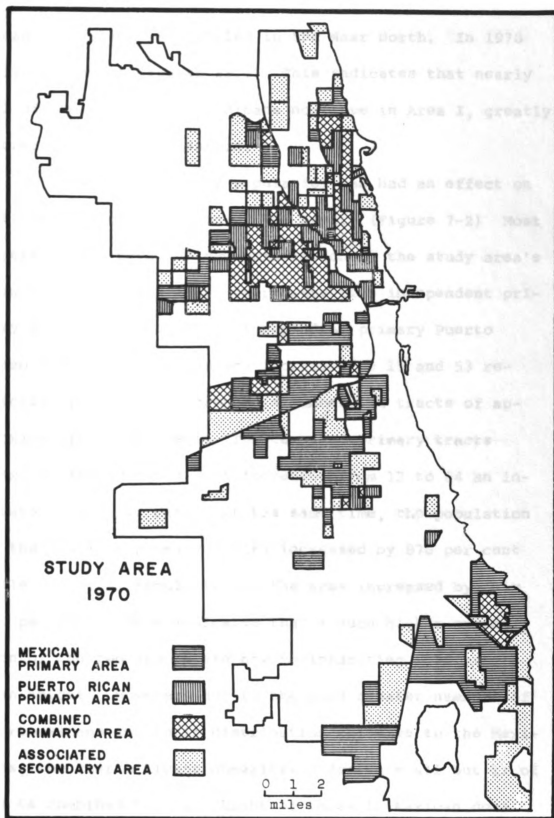


Figure 7-1. Study Area Census Tracts: 1970

Rican population was settled in the Near North. In 1970 this percentage grew to 83.7. This indicates that nearly all of the city's Puerto Ricans now live in Area I, greatly increasing their nucleation.

This much larger population has had an effect on the internal organization of the area. (Figure 7-2) Most important has been the new orientation of the study area's primary tracts. In 1960, there were five independent primary Mexican tracts and 31 independent primary Puerto Rican tracts. These numbers increased to 15 and 53 respectively; a total increase in numbers of tracts of approximately 89 per cent. The combined primary tracts (Mexican and Puerto Rican) increased from 12 to 64 an increase of 433 per cent. At the same time, the population in the combined primary tracts increased by 870 per cent while the total population of the area increased by only 320 per cent. This indicates that a much higher proportion of the two groups are now co-inhabiting more tracts than before. However, due to the much greater numbers of Puerto Ricans and their distribution relative to the Mexicans, the Puerto Ricans numerically dominate all but 11 of the 64 combined tracts. Eight of those 11 Mexican dominated tracts are located on the periphery of the pattern

# AREA I - NEAR NORTH STUDY AREA 1970

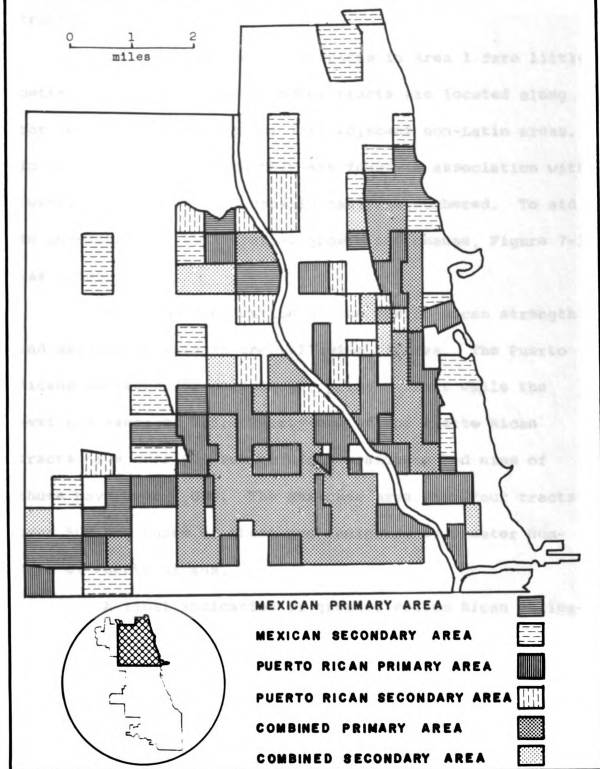


Figure 7-2. Near North Study Area: 1970

as are all but two of the Mexican independent primary tracts.

The Mexican secondary tracts in Area I fare little better. Most of the independent tracts are located along the periphery or even probe into adjacent non-Latin areas. In those tracts in which they are found in association with Puerto Ricans, they are usually badly outnumbered. To aid in understanding this spatial growth and change, Figure 7-3 was constructed.

A further indication of the Puerto Rican strength and density is seen in the following figures. The Puerto Ricans averaged 748 persons per primary tract while the Mexicans averaged 235. Thirty-one of the Puerto Rican tracts have over 500 Puerto Rican residents and nine of those have over 1,000. The Mexicans have only four tracts over 500 and three of those are dominated by greater numbers of Puerto Ricans.

A final indication of greater Puerto Rican nucleation lies in the independent secondary tracts. The Puerto Ricans with their much larger population have only 15 such tracts while the Mexicans have 20 independent secondary tracts.

The dramatic growth of Latin American population

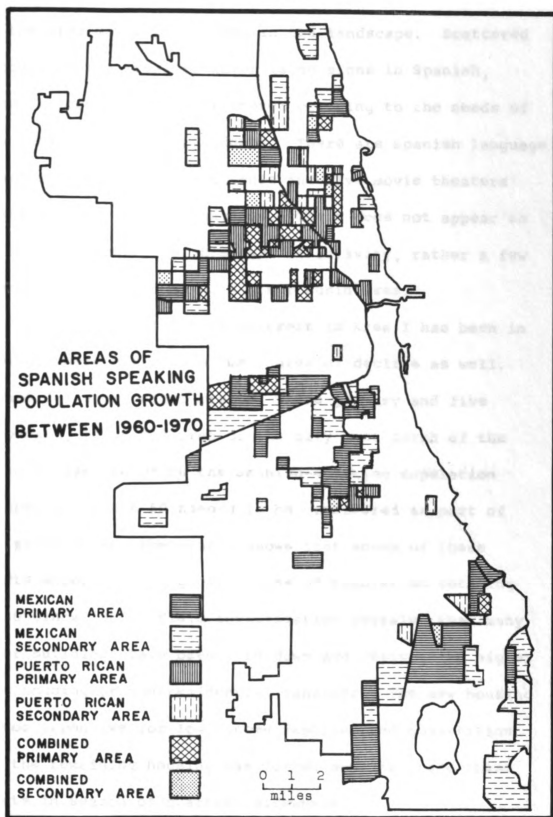


Figure 7-3. Areas of Spanish-speaking  
Population Growth Between 1960-1970

in the area may also be seen in the landscape. Scattered throughout the area are advertising signs in Spanish, some "tacorias" and other stores catering to the needs of the Spanish-speaking residents. There are Spanish language books and periodicals available and five movie theaters feature films in that language. There does not appear to be a large section of this type of activity, rather a few stores appear mixed in with other businesses.

While most of the interest in Area I has been in growth, there has been a small area of decline as well. Figure 7-4 shows eight tracts, three primary and five secondary, in an old area of the city just north of the Chicago River in which the Spanish-speaking population dropped below the 50 needed to be considered as part of the study area. The census shows that seven of these tracts experienced a general loss of population totaling 7,130 since 1960. Field investigation revealed that many older buildings have been torn down and replaced by higher cost housing or non-residential landuses. The new housing is too expensive for low income families and competition for the remaining housing has forced many to leave these tracts in search of quarters elsewhere.

Therefore, while Area I has experienced dramatic

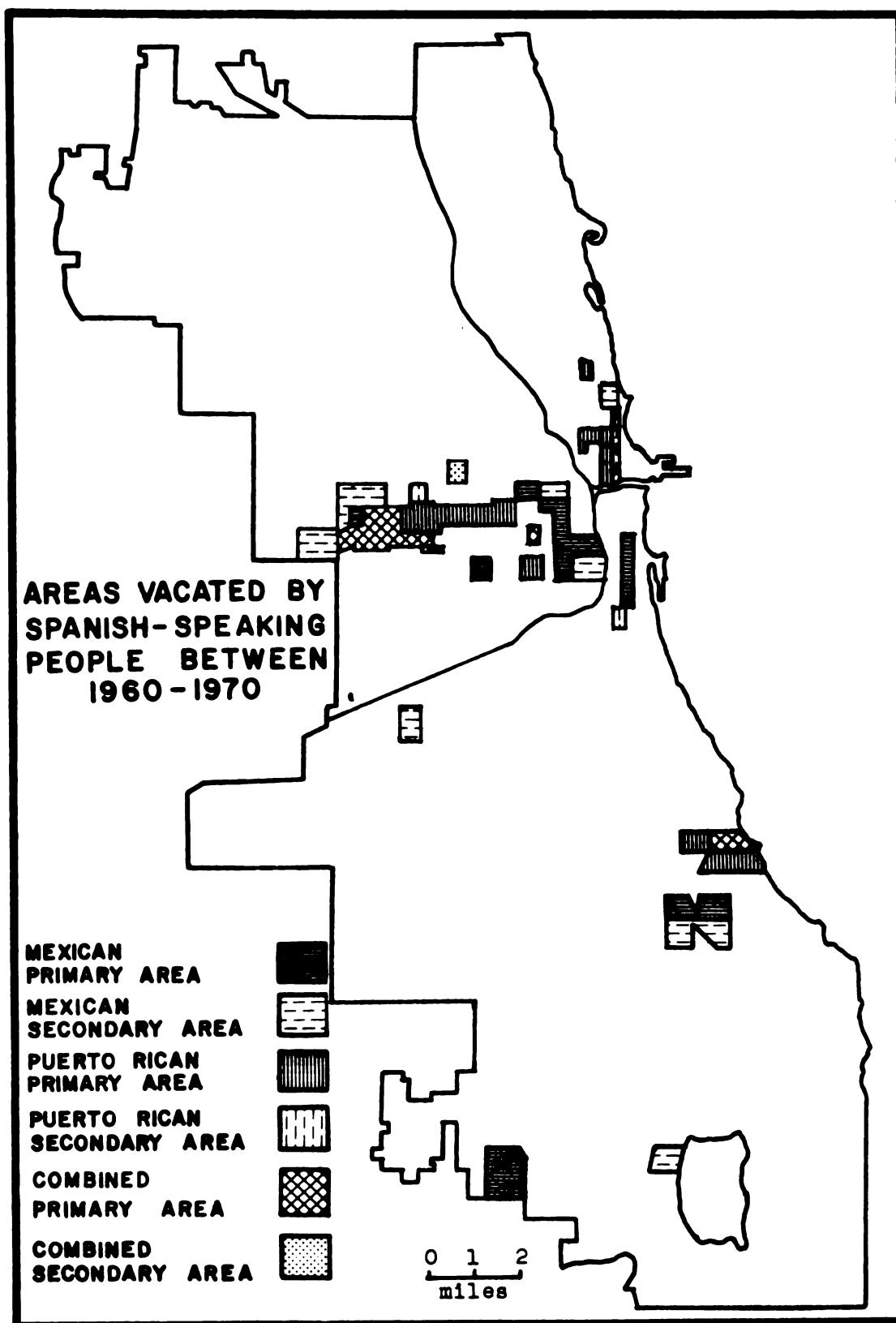


Figure 7-4. Areas Vacated by Spanish-Speaking People Between 1960-1970

growth in the numbers of its Spanish-speaking population, many of the earlier characteristics of the settlement pattern have remained the same. The Puerto Ricans continue to show greater nucleation concentrating their numbers in a more compact high density pattern closer to the center of the city. The Mexicans although increasing in numbers continue to be less consolidated, scattered more around the periphery of the pattern. Although there is much more cohabitation of tracts, the Puerto Rican concentration continues to overshadow the Mexicans in most of the combined tracts. The proportionally greater increase in primary tracts of all types compared to the growth of the secondary tracts further indicates a tightening of the overall settlement pattern. The Cuban influence in Area I will be examined later.

#### Area II: The Central West

The most obvious changes in the 1970 settlement pattern of Area II when compared to the pattern of 1960 are the areas of decline and shift. By 1970, the pattern of settlement had shrunk from 106 tracts to 101. While the Spanish-speaking population had increased from 36,352 to 50,083, that increase amounts to only 37.7 per cent whereas the overall growth of Puerto Rican and Mexican populations in the



city was 109 per cent. The Mexican population dominated Area II in 1960 and increased their numbers by 77.6 per cent which nearly equals their city wide growth over the ten year period. However, the Mexican population in Area II in 1970 only equals 51.7 per cent of the city total as compared to 53.5 per cent in 1960.

More importantly, the Puerto Ricans experienced a gross loss in the area of nearly 40 per cent, declining from 12,418 in 1960 to 7,571 in 1970. This 1970 figure represents only 9.5 per cent of the city's Puerto Rican population compared to 38.5 per cent in 1960. This decline helps explain part of the spatial and numerical growth in Area I. It is probable that many of the former 5,000 Puerto Rican residents of Area II moved a few blocks north into the expanding Area I, adding to the nucleation there.

A look at Figure 7-4 demonstrates the spatial impact of this decline and shift of population. A complete line of 35 1960 tracts, 23 primary and 12 secondary, extending along the northern border of Area II together with nine more just to the south are no longer part of the Spanish-speaking settlement pattern. This has created a more distinct division between Areas I and II since not

even a secondary tract connects the two in 1970.

The eastern half of this line of vacated tracts experienced a general decline in population brought on in part by the demolition of some of the old housing units. Some land was cleared for construction of the University of Illinois Circle Campus and some for the expansion of hospitals and other governmental facilities. Other areas have been cleared awaiting new development some of which was to be low and middle income housing.<sup>4</sup> In the past, however, this type of public housing has been shunned by the Latin Americans and might not attract them in the future.

The larger western half of this tier of tracts has experienced a dramatic inflow of Black residents. It appears that when Black population pressure became too great, especially in the competition for low cost private housing, the Spanish-speaking people moved out just as the "Anglo" residents had been doing earlier. Therefore, this large area, which had been a stronghold of Puerto Rican settlement in 1960, has virtually disappeared.

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<sup>4</sup>There is at present some dispute as to where future public housing is to be developed. Court orders are trying to break up the ghetto by dispersing public housing.

Those Puerto Ricans who did not move north into Area I appear to have moved a few blocks south and west to form a new line of combined tracts in an area which had been mostly Mexican in 1960. Only one Puerto Rican independent primary tract remains. It is associated with an "island" of 13 predominantly Mexican tracts which have become almost isolated from the main body of Latin Americans farther south near the Sanitary and Ship Canal. If Black encroachment and the demolition of low cost housing continues, this section may be devoid of Latin Americans by the 1980 census.

Since both Mexicans and Puerto Ricans have left this area, there was no expansion into the secondary tracts to the west and north of the 1960 primary pattern. Instead, all but one of these secondary tracts disappeared and became predominantly Black along with the strong primary tracts.

The strongest area of Spanish-speaking settlement in the Central West now centers around a traditional, older Mexican area just north of the canal. (See Figure 7-5) This is the area now combined with most of the Puerto Ricans who did not leave Area II. For several blocks in the center of this section, Mexican businesses abound.

# AREA II - CENTRAL WEST STUDY AREA 1970

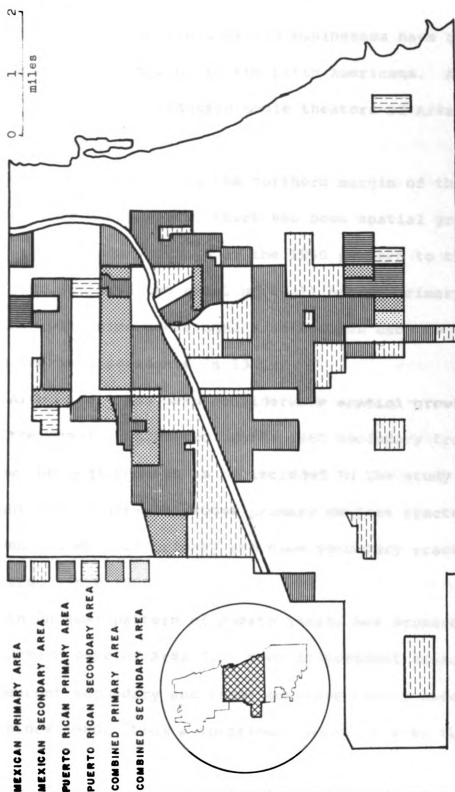


Figure 7-5. Central West Study Area: 1970

Restaurants, bakeries, grocery stores, pharmacies and a variety of Mexican owned and operated businesses have been here for many years catering to the Latin Americans. Also, two of the four Spanish language movie theaters of Area II are located there.

While the area along the northern margin of the 1960 pattern has disappeared, there has been spatial growth as well. The secondary tracts of the 1960 pattern to the west and just north of the canal have all become primary tracts along with nine additional tracts which had few if any Latin American residents in 1960.

Also, there has been considerable spatial growth south of the canal. While two of the 1960 secondary tracts fell below the requirements to be included in the study area, eight others grew to become primary Mexican tracts. Also, seven new Mexican primary and nine secondary tracts have appeared since 1960.

An unusual pattern of Puerto Ricans has appeared in the southern part of Area II. Four independent primary, one independent secondary and three combined tracts have appeared since 1960. From a locational point of view there appears to be no particular advantage in this area for the Puerto Ricans. There is a variety of industrial and

commercial establishments in the area but they had been ignored by the Puerto Ricans up to now. Perhaps this is an indication that some Puerto Ricans are changing their job preferences as new opportunities are opening to them. Whether they stay and grow strong and maintain their identity or become absorbed by additional Mexican growth will be of interest in coming years.

The growth in the southern part of Area II centers on New City. This Mexican community has been in existence for many years and a sizable business district catering to Latins is readily identifiable. This commercial area has expanded in recent years in answer to the growing Spanish-speaking population. Area II, with a much smaller Latin American population has succeeded in developing two specialized commercial districts, while Area I, with its much larger, but predominantly Puerto Rican population, had developed no comparable commercial centers by 1970.

#### Area III: The Far South

In 1960, Area III was the smallest, most loosely consolidated of the three. It was farthest from the Loop and had only limited contact with it via an incomplete public transportation line. The southern portion was almost an independent satellite and much of the population

turned to their own area for jobs, services and other needs. Much of the Mexican population, the dominant Latin group, rarely if ever visited the Loop.

The area has shown a curious combination of the trends found in the other two areas. There are both increases and decreases in tracts and numbers as well as overall re-orientation of the Spanish-speaking settlement pattern there. Figure 7-6.

First, the total number of tracts increased from 27 to 39 in the past ten years. Also the entire Spanish-speaking population increased by 37.2 per cent. This figure is misleading in that it was the Mexicans who increased (54.4 per cent) while the Puerto Ricans showed another gross loss shrinking their numbers to only 2,188. These figures account for 14.5 per cent of the city's total Mexican population, a decrease of 2.7 per cent since 1960. The decreased Puerto Rican population represents only 2.7 per cent of their city-wide total, a decrease of 5.2 per cent. The Mexicans now account for approximately 85 per cent of the Latin American population in the area which is just the reverse of the situation in the much larger Area I where the Puerto Ricans dominate.

A look at Figures 7-4 and 4-2 quickly confirms

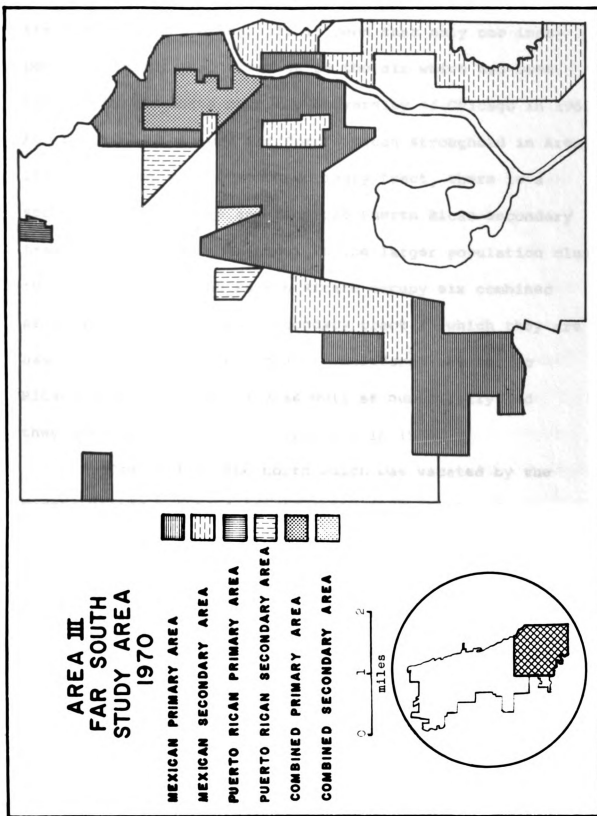


Figure 7-6. Far South Study Area: 1970



the Puerto Rican losses. It is seen that only one independent primary tract remains of the six which had been located in the north near the University of Chicago in 1960. At that time, this was the Puerto Rican stronghold in Area III. Together with that one primary tract, there is a secondary tract there and two more Puerto Rican secondary tracts farther south adjacent to the larger population cluster there. Also, the Puerto Ricans occupy six combined primary and one combined secondary tract in which they are badly outnumbered by Mexicans. Therefore, the Puerto Ricans have lost spatially as well as numerically and they are strong nowhere in Area III in 1970.

The area to the north which was vacated by the Puerto Ricans has experienced general population decline and is now almost exclusively Black. It has become an area of abandoned dilapidated buildings and has a very high crime rate. It is probable that the two tracts remaining there will be vacated soon. It is also probable that many of those who left moved to the west and established themselves in that Puerto Rican community found in the southern part of Area II.

While the Mexicans have shown modest population gains, the change in their spatial pattern is more

important. They have moved out of the tracts to the north and west and have consolidated into 18 primary tracts and dominate the combined tracts shared with the Puerto Ricans. They also occupy nine independent secondary tracts. This more consolidated pattern centers on the heavy industrial activity of the Lake Calumet area and the southern lake shore.

This consolidation and new growth has led to the strengthening of a Mexican business section catering to Latins. This commercial area is similar to those developed in Area II and provides for most of the goods and services, including another Spanish language movie theater, needed by the local population. It also provides a source of employment adding to the self-sufficiency of the area. Therefore, while there has been some general population and spatial decline, the somewhat denser and more compact area resulting may add to its stability and chance to maintain itself in the future.

#### The Cubans

In earlier chapters of this study the small 1960 Cuban population was of necessity vaguely defined and delimited. The area was in the general vicinity of northern and northwestern Area I. In 1970, Cuban population by



census was available for the first time. Figure 7-7 shows the settlement pattern of 78 per cent of the city's 1970 Cuban population. It was constructed according to the same criteria as the map for the other two groups. This map indicates that the general pattern of Cuban settlement remains about the same as in 1960, most dense in the northern part of the area with some lesser development to the west across the river. Additional tracts adjacent to this pattern but having less than 100 Cubans per tract account for an additional 10 per cent of the population.

Considering the small size of the Cuban population, there are some interesting spatial observations. First, 72 tracts were mapped of which 35 are primary. These primary tracts account for 61.7 per cent of the total Cuban population. Nine of these were independent primary tracts and in 14 others the Cubans were numerically dominant over the other two Latin American groups. These 23 account for 45 per cent of the Cubans in the city. Therefore, while their numbers are relatively small, their degree of nucleation and separatism has allowed them to be the leading Latin residents in a considerable area.

In those tracts which are shared with Mexicans or Puerto Ricans there appears to be little preferential

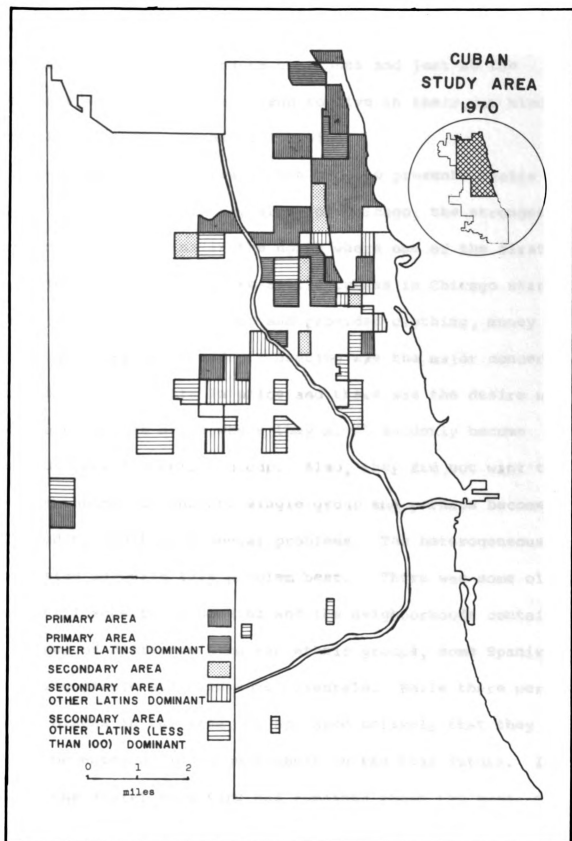


Figure 7-7. Cuban Study Area: 1970

association. It is known, however, that the pattern of separatism within the tracts continues and just as the Mexicans and Puerto Ricans tend to live in their own blocks or buildings, the Cubans do likewise.

While the general Cuban profile presents traits that would fit in with any areas of Chicago, the strongest concentration remains in the north where one of the first agencies working to help re-settle Cubans in Chicago started. They found housing and jobs and provided clothing, money and other services when needed. Housing was the major concern. It had to be moderate in price and there was the desire not to place them in areas where they might suddenly become an undesirable minority group. Also, they did not want to be overwhelmed by another single group and perhaps become plagued by additional social problems. The heterogeneous northside answered this problem best. There was some older but still acceptable housing and the neighborhoods contained a number of different European ethnic groups, some Spanish-speaking people and even some Orientals. While there were a few Blacks in the area, it appeared unlikely that they would be entering in large numbers in the near future. In 1970, the social structure had remained about the same; a general area of reasonable quality and considerable racial and ethnic mixture.

The Cubans coming into the city have remained proud of their heritage and look upon their plight as temporary. Many of them had skills and educational backgrounds that allowed them to improve their economic positions in a short time. They have expressed little demand for lengthy aid and welfare and have in general set about finding their place in the "Anglo" world. This may also help to explain their desire to avoid the center of the city with its problems of public housing, welfare, street gangs, high crime rates and other factors seen as undesirable by these immigrants.

The map indicates another less dense area to the west located in association with other Latin American groups there. All of these tracts are shared and the Cubans are dominant over the other Latins in only four of them.

A small scattered population is also noted farther south in Area II. Only three tracts have populations large enough to be mapped at this time. Whether this will lead to stronger settlement in Area II will remain for the future.

One factor which may influence the settlement pattern of Cubans in the city is their propensity to move into the surrounding suburbs once they are able to make the necessary social and economic adjustments. Therefore,

unless a new surge of immigration takes place, there may not be enough "raw material" to establish new settlement areas within the city or even to maintain the present ones. If the trend toward dispersal and assimilation continues, the next census may show a weakening of their pattern rather than a strengthening.

The Cuban presence in the city tends to be less obvious than the Mexican. They more often try to fit into established patterns and only occasionally are signs "Cuban Grocery" or "Cuban Barber Shop" seen. Often, however, the Spanish surnames of professionals--doctors, lawyers, etc.--belong to Cubans who have retrained themselves to gain legal admittance to these groups. Therefore, the Cuban, similar to the Puerto Rican, has not attempted to preserve and maintain activity of strong ethnic characteristics as has the Mexican. Now that they have made the decision to stay, they are more willing to be assimilated into the system and be a success there. They do not see themselves creating a "ghetto" problem.

#### Summary

The changes in the settlement pattern of the Spanish-speaking people in Chicago between 1960 and 1970 have been considerable. Area I grew so much spatially that



it is hardly recognizable. Much of the growth was due to the increase in the Puerto Rican population. Their growth was not only due to the general increase in Puerto Ricans in the city but was also due to the spatial reorganization of many of their earlier settlers. Many of the thousands who left Areas II and III relocated in Area I. Characteristically, the newcomers continued their nucleated settlement pattern and increased their density in a rather compact area nearer the city's center. Availability of housing as more old buildings are converted into additional dwelling units, close proximity to the Loop via adequate public transportation and the availability of jobs in light industry, warehousing and a variety of service industries appear to remain as strong attractive forces.

An important increase in the Mexican population in Area I during the period was also important. Not only did their numbers increase absolutely, they also increased relatively and now a much larger proportion of the total Mexican population resides in Area I than did in 1960. This could possibly be a trend of the future.

Even though Area I is larger than the other two areas combined, Latin presence is not as visible. The Puerto Ricans do not have the ethnic individuality of other

groups which was so often reflected in the landscape. Unlike the Mexicans, they have no Indian art and lore, no distinctive cooking, no rodeos or special music to preserve. Instead, the businesses engaged in by Puerto Ricans are the same as those of the "Anglos." The "San Juan Driving School" for instance is catering to Puerto Ricans and is performing a needed service but there is nothing particularly "ethnic" about it. The same is true of the independent dry cleaners, grocery stores, shoe repair and other establishments. There were no "taco" restaurants in the area until the Mexicans became more important there. The Spanish language movie theaters are perhaps the most visible examples of catering to a particular need.

Area II has not kept pace with the average city-wide growth of the Spanish-speaking population. Its most outstanding changes have been the vacating of the dense Puerto Rican and combined tracts in the north of the 1960 pattern and the shift in the new growth pattern toward the west and south. The development south of the Sanitary Canal is especially significant. The movement of Blacks into the tracts subsequently vacated by the Puerto Ricans appears to negate any supposition that those two groups could co-inhabit a neighborhood once the Blacks became too

numerous. Continued pressure by Black migration into the northern part of Area I may result in more displacement of the Latin population there. If so, one of the well established Mexican business districts may disappear. If that happens, the Mexican commercial area south of the canal in New City may become much more important.

In Area III, all of the changes taking place in the other two areas were found. There had been a loss of tracts and a gross loss of Puerto Rican population. The new tracts that had been formed were mostly Mexican dominated. The pattern of these new tracts has brought about greater nucleation of the area. This Mexican dominated more centralized population has created a growing Latin American business district. However, there has also been growth in the Black population in the south. Competition for housing and the jobs in heavy industry there may become too strong for the Spanish-speaking people and cause either greater nucleation of their numbers or their gradual withdrawal from the area.

## CHAPTER VIII

### CHANGING HOUSING, ETHNIC AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC

#### CHARACTERISTICS OF THE STUDY AREA

#### BETWEEN 1960 AND 1970

In Chapters V and VI, some of the ethnic, housing, social and economic characteristics of the 1960 study area were examined. Some of the conclusions reached showed little or no correlation with the settlement pattern of the Spanish-speaking population. For instance, it was discovered that the Spanish speakers had moved into several widely separated areas of the city and had, therefore, experienced association with a broad cross section of various European ethnic groups. There appeared to be little preferred association and, therefore, that factor contributed little as a locational influence. It was mostly coincidental that Latin Americans were found in either German, Polish or Italian neighborhoods. They were simply moving into older areas where they could find housing and meet their other needs and were following

a much older system which results in the most recent newcomers accepting whatever is available to them. In most instances, the older European settlers gradually moved out and the neighborhoods became mixed as the Latin Americans rarely constituted an overall majority. Therefore, since ethnic association in general proved to be non-productive in analyzing the Spanish-speaking settlement pattern it has been removed from further consideration in this study. However, the examination of Black association, income, age and educational patterns and general housing conditions should continue to prove fruitful.

#### Black Association

It was discovered in the 1960 pattern that there appeared to be a stronger Black/Puerto Rican association than a Mexican/Black association. Forty-nine per cent of the primary Puerto Rican tracts were dominated by Blacks while only 25 per cent of the Mexican tracts were so dominated. This was particularly true of the central tracts in the Near North, where Puerto Ricans far exceeded Mexicans; in the northern part of the Central West where a concentration of primary Puerto Rican and high density combined tracts of Area II were located and in the northern part of Area III near the University of Chicago where

the nucleus of Puerto Rican strength was located.

In examining the 1970 pattern of association, it was found that the Puerto Ricans have abandoned many areas which had been dominated by Blacks in 1960. This was true of all five of the Puerto Rican tracts abandoned in Area III; of ten out of 11 Puerto Rican tracts and nine of 11 combined tracts abandoned in Area II and of four of the six Puerto Rican tracts in Area I. The Mexicans, who had shown less association with the Blacks, abandoned 12 tracts in Area II of which only two had been dominated by Blacks. Three of the five Mexican tracts vacated in Area III had been Black controlled and only one tract evacuated by Mexicans in Area I had any Black representation; that one a secondary combined tract.

In examining the new tracts added to the study area in 1970, a considerable shift away from Latin/Black association is noted. Only 13 per cent of the primary tracts in the 1970 study area were dominated by Blacks as compared to 37 per cent in 1960. There was also a shift from Puerto Rican to greater Mexican association. Forty-five per cent of the Black/Latin dominated tracts were Mexican, 38 per cent were Puerto Rican and 17 per cent were combined. In Area I, where Blacks were numerically superior

in 20 per cent of the primary tracts in 1960, they held that position in only 13 per cent in 1970. Not unexpectedly, given the much larger Puerto Rican representation in the area, 84 per cent of the Black controlled tracts were Puerto Rican. See Figure 8-1.

In Area II, 23 per cent of the 1970 tracts were Black dominated compared to 30 per cent in 1960. Much of this change is the result of the abandonment of many previously Black controlled tracts. Also, only 26 per cent of the tracts added since 1960 show Black superiority. All five of the Puerto Rican tracts had larger Black populations while only five (14%) of the new Mexican tracts had that association.

The 1970 pattern in Area III showed a significant difference in the Black/Latin association. Of the 38 tracts, 22 are new since 1960. In 1960, 35 per cent of the area had larger Black populations. In 1970, although eight of the ten tracts evacuated had been Black, 45 per cent of the new area was Black. This high percentage of Blacks over Latin Americans has proved to be incompatible in the past. As the Puerto Rican influence has been greatly weakened since 1960, it was the Mexicans who now were showing the greater Black association in Area III.

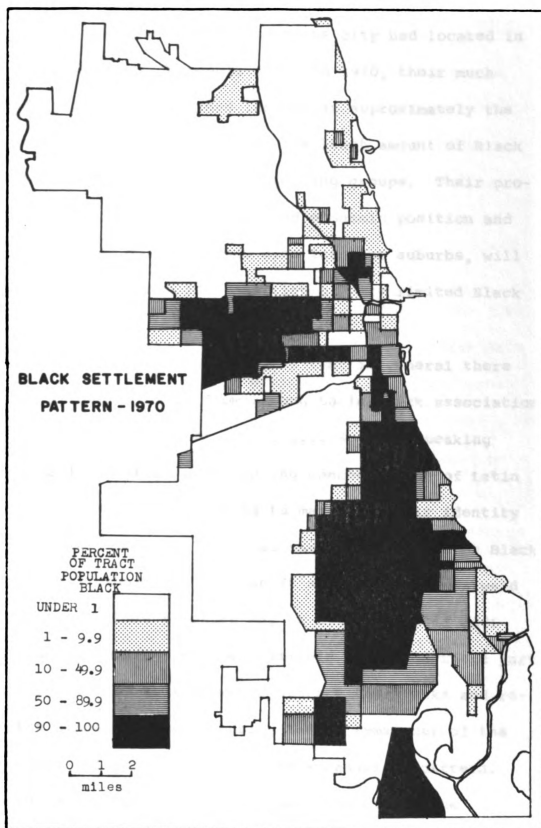


Figure 8-1. Black Population in Chicago: 1970



In 1960 the few Cubans in the city had located in areas of limited Black population. In 1970, their much expanded population remained located in approximately the same area. Therefore, they show the least amount of Black association of all the Spanish-speaking groups. Their propensity to improve their social and economic position and move into better neighborhoods even into the suburbs, will probably maintain them in a position of very limited Black association..

This analysis demonstrates that in general there has been a movement away from strong Latin/Black association. This is especially true of the largest Spanish-speaking area, Area I. Perhaps a continuing concentration of Latin Americans there will allow them to maintain their identity in the region. In Area II, it appears that continuing Black pressure will cause more of a shift southward and westward by the Latins. This pressure may be slowed down if additional public housing is made available in the northern part of the area. This housing would attract the Blacks and relieve the competition for housing in the remainder of the area. Area III shows what could be a dangerous pattern. While there has been growth and consolidation in the Spanish-speaking population, it has not kept pace with

Latin American growth in general nor has it kept pace with the Black growth in the area. The area is now more than half Black dominated and some Latins when interviewed mentioned their dissatisfaction with "bad elements" becoming more numerous even in the heart of the area, the Mexican business district.

### Housing Conditions

In the analysis of housing conditions in the 1960 settlement pattern, two classifications of the census data were used: "housing in substandard condition" and "gross rent." In 1970, the census no longer classified housing as substandard. However, they did include a classification "Dwelling units lacking all or some plumbing facilities." Since a major factor in classifying housing as substandard in 1960 had been the condition of the plumbing, this new classification was substituted in the 1970 analysis. While there will not be perfect comparability, this appears to be most acceptable. The graph, Figure 8-2, was constructed from the 1970 data to provide easier comparison between the two periods of the study.

In 1960, 56 per cent of the study area tracts were found to have more of their housing units in substandard condition than was true of the neighboring tracts in their



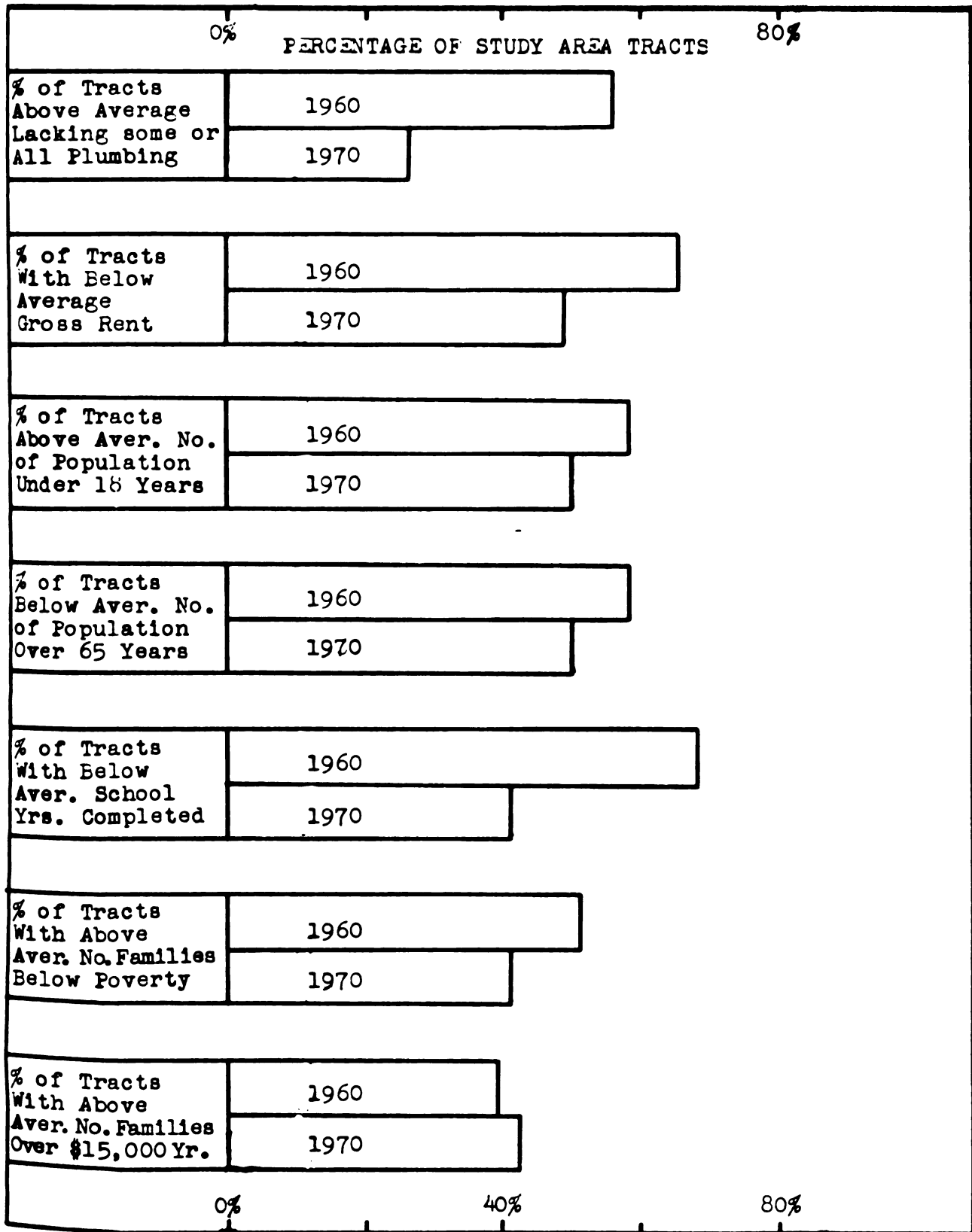


Figure 8-2. Comparative Socio-Economic Conditions of the Study Area: 1960-1970

community areas. In 1970, the tracts added to the study area showed a decided improvement in general conditions. Only 26 per cent of the new tracts had percentages of their housing "lacking in all or some plumbing facilities" greater than was the average for all the tracts in their communities. Seventy per cent of the area's tracts were found to be in better than average condition with three per cent being about equal to the average. This indicates that the tracts being moved into are of considerably better quality than in the past. Even though this analysis cannot be strictly compared to that of 1960, the simple fact that the new tracts appear superior to their neighbors cannot be ignored.

In comparing the category of gross rent with that of 1960 the change was less dramatic. In 1960, 65 per cent of the study area tracts had gross rents below average for their community areas. This improved in 1970 but still 49 per cent of the tracts added were below the average figure of their neighborhoods.

The Cuban tracts in the 1970 pattern appeared to be of slightly less quality than the new Mexican and Puerto Rican tracts. The Cubans showed 33 per cent of their tracts to be below average in plumbing facilities

and 58 per cent below average in gross rent. It must be remembered that some of these tracts are combined tracts and appeared in the analysis with the Mexicans and Puerto Ricans.

Therefore, the overall quality of the general Spanish-speaking neighborhoods appears to be improving. It must be remembered, however, that we cannot demonstrate that the Latin Americans are actually living in the better quality units, only that the general areas are improving. The residual European population may be living in the better housing and the Latins in the poorer housing.

There is also an overall improvement in the 1970 study in that many of the tracts which have been abandoned since 1960 were of the poorest quality. Some of those tracts were demolished as part of the urban renewal program and some areas were simply abandoned, leaving burned out, dilapidated buildings behind. In the latter case, the owners felt that it wasn't worth the cost and effort to rehabilitate the structures.

However, the new areas being moved into have mostly been constructed before 1930 and many are more than 50 years old. As the population densities continue to expand, the combination of aging buildings and population

pressure could cause a rapid deterioration of these neighborhoods in a short time if improvements and repairs are not made constantly.

The test of standard deviation was not applied in the 1970 analysis since a visual examination of the data demonstrated that the values for the Latin American areas were closely grouped about the mean. No study area tracts appeared to be in extreme positions.

### Social Conditions

The three categories of age, education and income examined in the 1960 pattern were again available in 1970. Therefore, a direct comparison may be made between the two patterns.

#### Age of the population

The analysis of age, persons under 18 years and over 65 showed a pattern in 1960 of considerable youth not unlike that of the general profile of Latin Americans entering the United States. At that time, 58 per cent of the tracts occupied had greater than average numbers of persons under 18 years of age and fewer than average number of persons over 65. In 1970, the pattern has narrowed considerably to where the number of tracts above and below

average are virtually equal. This is no guarantee that the age patterns of the Latins is changing, only that the areas being moved into are more balanced as to the ages of their populations. However, since nearly half of the 1970 population had been in Chicago in 1960, we know that they are now ten years older. This factor will gain in importance with each passing decade.

#### Educational level

The general environment of educational level also shows a considerable improvement. In 1960, 68 per cent of the study area tracts were below average in school years completed. In 1970, only 41 per cent of the study area tracts were below the average of their community areas. It is probable that part of this improvement is directly associated with the Spanish-speaking population. Since 1965, the Chicago Public School system and the Catholic parochial system have been adding additional programs in the Spanish language to improve the level of instruction and to encourage Spanish-speaking youngsters to stay in school longer. Also, there is a legal school "leaving" age which although often ignored helps keep youngsters in school. Therefore, over time a broader part of the population base will have the opportunity and encouragement





to complete more schooling. Also, as job opportunities increase and an awareness of the correlation between better jobs and improved educational skills becomes more obvious to them, more Latin Americans are apt to stay in school longer.

### Income

In analyzing the income level of the tracts in the 1970 study area, some adjustments had to be made. In 1960, the category "family income below 3,000 dollars annually" was used to designate poverty. In 1970, the census classification was labeled "below poverty level" and was adjusted upward to meet inflation and the economic conditions found in Chicago at the time.

Since an adjustment had been made at the lower level, it was decided to adjust the upper level for inflation as well. Therefore, a classification of "family income over 15,000 dollars" was constructed for the 1970 analysis instead of the "over 10,000 dollars" used in 1960.

There was some improvement in the tracts below the poverty level. In 1960, 51 per cent of the tracts of the study area had more families below the poverty than was average while in 1970 only 41 per cent of the tracts were below average with eight being equal to the average position.

Improvement at the higher income level was not as significant. In 1960, only 39 per cent of the study area tracts had family incomes above 10,000 and in 1970 only 42 per cent had incomes above 15,000 dollars. This indicates that while more of the areas now occupied are above the poverty level than before, the Latin Americans have still not moved significantly into upper income neighborhoods. Also, it is known that when they have, they continue to occupy the poorer housing there.

#### Summary

In this chapter, several characteristics associated with the 1970 Spanish-speaking population and their settlement pattern were compared with those of 1960. In general there appears to have been a trend toward improvement in the housing, economic and educational condition of the study area. Also, the age pattern of the population in the settlement areas has "evened" out not showing the extreme toward youth evident in the 1960 pattern. These changes were perhaps to be expected. As time passes, a greater proportion of the total Latin American population has experienced more contact and involvement in the socio-economic system in the city of Chicago. Therefore, a greater proportion of the Spanish-speaking population has



been taking advantage of growing educational and vocational opportunities. As their conditions improved, the Latin Americans were equipped with more potential to move into somewhat better neighborhoods. More have been buying their own homes and spending time and money improving and maintaining their "new" properties thereby becoming more active participants in their environments.

The most significant pattern of change has been in the association with the Black community. There appears to be in general a greater amount of separation between the two groups with the Latins evacuating many areas of high Black populations and moving into areas away from growing Black concentrations. In the earlier analysis of the 1960 pattern it appeared that the Puerto Ricans had a greater affinity for Blacks and would be more likely to settle in neighborhoods with them than would the Mexicans. However, they have moved away from the Blacks during the decade and have formed a much stronger nucleation, increasing their densities and combining with other Latin Americans.

The strongest association appears in the Far South between Mexicans and Blacks. This is one of the oldest areas of Mexican representation and has been developing for many years. Recently, Black movement into the area has been

growing creating greater pressure. An important question for the future is whether this area will be able to retain much of its Latin American identity. With the Puerto Ricans already leaving the area, and Mexican growth not equaling the overall city average it may be only a matter of time before the Latin American influence becomes overwhelmed.

## CHAPTER IX

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The Spanish-speaking people settling in Chicago have faced many of the same problems and followed many of the same trends as did earlier European immigrants to the city. They found themselves to be economically and socially disadvantaged in a fashion similar to each of the succeeding waves of Irish, Germans, Poles and Italians. Similarly, they have had to compete for the lowest paying, unskilled jobs and have been forced by economic and social forces to settle in the poorest and oldest parts of the city. Each incoming group has put pressure on the previous residents gradually pushing those who had improved themselves economically outward from the center of the city into newer neighborhoods on the periphery or even into the suburbs. The Latin newcomers faced competition for jobs and living space not only with earlier European groups, but also with a large and growing Black population. The Black population had not been allowed to improve itself economically

and its spatial organization had been highly restricted due to discrimination in hiring practices and housing. This led more than ever before to a greater concentration of people at the lower end of the socio-economic scale crowded into the center of the city.

The first large influx of Latin Americans came in the 1950's and established the settlement pattern discussed in the first part of the study. At that time, three areas of the city appeared to be most attractive to the incoming Spanish-speaking population; the Near North, the Central West and the Far South. The population mix graded noticeably from a predominance of Puerto Ricans in the north to one of mostly Mexicans in the south. Together with the known desire for ethnic groups to settle in close proximity, the availability of inexpensive housing, job opportunity and transportation appeared to be the most important settlement locational factors.

Although the terms "Spanish-speaking Community" or "Latin Americans" are often used in recent literature, it became clear that there were some significant differences in the general background of the different national groups which influenced their occupational and settlement preferences. Many of the early Mexicans had gained experience as



workers on large farms and in the mines and railroad construction camps of the West and Southwest United States. These people associated themselves first with the heavier industries and railroad yards in the Far South and Central West which explains the early residential pattern there. These areas were developing somewhat independently from the commercial activity of the central business district. Mexicans coming into the city after World War II continued to move into these areas, creating small but visible nuclei.

The Puerto Ricans started arriving during the 1950's. Most had lived for some time in New York or some other eastern city. While there, they had gained experience in the commercial districts as restaurant workers, stockboys, packagers and in light industry. When they moved to Chicago they again settled as close as possible to the central business district and the lines of public transportation focusing on the Loop. Therefore, occupational preference appeared as the most important factor contributing to the settlement pattern of the two groups in 1960.

In 1960, there was considerable association at the census tract level with the city's Black population. While it was discovered that the Spanish-speakers did not usually co-inhabit the same buildings or even the same

blocks as did the Blacks, they did come into close contact and experienced a degree of competition with them. One factor which contributed to the physical separation of the two was the propensity of the Blacks to make use of public housing, while the Latin Americans rarely if ever occupied those facilities. It was also demonstrated that there was often considerable segregation between Mexicans and Puerto Ricans when they occupied the same census tracts. Investigation disclosed that enough ethnocentrism prevailed to keep the two as completely separated as possible.

Some characteristics that the Mexicans and Puerto Ricans had in common were their lower than average education, their poverty in money and material possessions and their youth. This was reflected in the condition of the areas in which they settled. Whether in the north or south, the census tracts in their settlement area showed patterns reflecting a younger, poorer and less well educated population than that of surrounding areas.

The Cubans, who did not begin to arrive in numbers until the close of the 1950's, showed somewhat different characteristics. They tended to be older, better educated and possessed employment and professional skills well above the other Latin Americans. However, their linguistic skills

were often as limited as those of the other two groups. They also lacked money and material possessions due to the conditions under which they had left their country. Therefore, their "refugee" condition was most instrumental in influencing their settlement pattern. Their economic condition and need for relocation assistance caused them to seek inexpensive housing in the Near North.

The 1970 pattern showed some considerable change in the Spanish-speaking population and in the areas of settlement. The overall population more than doubled in the ten year period. Also, there were many shifts and changes in the density of the old pattern. Many more Cubans entered during the decade and the quality of their profile decreased somewhat. Now there was more representation from the working classes and less from the commercial and professional ranks. They were less well educated and their command of the English language almost nonexistent. Basically, they continued to settle in the Near North near the refugee centers.

The Puerto Ricans increased at a rapid rate and nearly equalled the Mexican total by 1970. While their profile remained about the same, their pattern of last previous residence changed. Starting in the early 1960's,

more Puerto Ricans began to arrive directly from the Caribbean. These newcomers did not have the benefit of experiencing life in a large United States city as had many of those who came to Chicago in the 1950's. Therefore, they were more dependent upon friends and relatives already living in the city. This was an important factor in their choice of housing.

The Mexican increase was the smallest of all. However, their larger population base in 1960 allowed them to retain a slight lead in total numbers over the Puerto Ricans in 1970. Also, it is known that there are many Mexicans living illegally in the city which would place their totals much higher.

While there are no new profiles of the characteristics of the 1970 population available some changes have been taking place. Nearly half of the present Latin American population has been living in the city for a decade or more. Therefore, many of the younger people have been upgrading their educational level. There has also been some improvement in job skills through limited organized training programs and informal "on the job training." Also, the average age has been increasing. This has led to a certain amount of improvement in their economic condition. The

Cubans have shown the greatest improvement. Learning the English language was often the major obstacle standing in their way.

The considerable increase in the numbers of Latin Americans together with the constant competition for housing in the inner city resulted in some important changes in the old settlement pattern. Most notable was the spatial shift toward the north and northwest which accounted for more than half of the city's Spanish-speaking people. Almost all of the Cubans and Puerto Ricans now reside there. Even the Mexicans showed a substantial increase there. This was not only due to the selection of this area by the new arrivals but also because of the abandonment of many of the older tracts in face of increasing encroachment by the Black population. Also, several tracts lost housing units to slum clearance programs. This effected the Puerto Ricans the most and they experienced a loss in their numbers in the Central West and Far South.

The Mexicans managed to maintain themselves in their traditional areas although they showed considerable reorganization. The shifts were mainly away from incoming Blacks. In the Central West, the move was toward the south and west. In the Far South, it was a move toward more

consolidation around a small Mexican dominated commercial area.

The increase in size and density of the Spanish-speaking population has resulted in the development of certain highly visible activities catering to their needs and desires. The Mexicans especially have tried to preserve their rich cultural heritage. Their civic associations sponsor parades, dances and rodeos. They have also developed some small business districts in which the establishments are owned and operated by Mexicans to satisfy Mexican tastes. The commercial area in the Far South has strengthened during the past decade in response to the growing consolidation of Mexicans there. Of the two in the Central West, the area to the south of the canal, New City, has also grown to service the incoming population there. The area north of the canal may be in jeopardy, however, as it now borders on the Black community. Its continued existence may depend more upon the future movement of Blacks into the area than on anything the Mexicans may do.

There is less visible evidence of the Puerto Rican and Cuban presence. Their ethnic background is not as colorful as that of the Mexicans. Their business ventures

tend to satisfy the more general needs of their community and involve such things as grocery stores, dry cleaners, barber shops and food establishments. The only ethnic feature about these activities is the Spanish language. However, with the Mexicans becoming more important in the Near North an ethnic atmosphere is beginning to develop. Whether a nucleated commercial area will evolve as in the Far South and Central West cannot be determined at this time.

The one characteristic associated with all three groups, the Spanish language, has made itself evident throughout the settlement area and in some ways throughout the city as well. Movies, books, periodicals and advertising in Spanish are found in abundance throughout the Latin settlement. Schools have special instruction in Spanish for the children and various agencies sponsor English language and other adult education programs. Also, many of the Catholic churches in the area conduct mass and hear confession in Spanish. By 1970, there were also several television and radio programs broadcast in Spanish and several "public service" programs dealt with problems peculiar to the Spanish-speaking population. There was also the request for several Spanish-speaking

public defenders and that certain laws be made available in Spanish so that Latin Americans would be less apt to accidentally break the law or risk misrepresentation in court. Most of these acknowledgements of the importance of the growing Spanish-speaking population have taken place during the past decade.

If the influx of Spanish-speaking people continues, some of the trends established during the past ten years may become stronger. It is probable that much of any additional new growth will take place in the Near North, which has become spatially the Near Northwest. It is probable that most of the Puerto Rican and more and more of the Mexican newcomers will be attracted to that area. However, since much of the movement into the area has been in response to the location of the Black population, factors in their settlement pattern, such as new public housing, could remove some of the housing competition with the Latin Americans. As it is thought that the Cuban immigration has passed its peak and as they continue to relocate around the city and into the suburbs, they will probably contribute little to the Spanish-speaking community of the future.

Transportation and associated location of



employment had been seen as a locational factor of the earlier Spanish-speaking settlement pattern just as it had been for earlier European groups in the city. However, transportation problems for the early Europeans was more of a question of technology; no economical source of private transportation had yet been invented. For the Latin Americans, it has been more of a problem of economics and experience. With an improved economic base and the proliferation of driving schools with Spanish-speaking instructors, this is rapidly changing and poses less of an influence to the settlement pattern.

In the future, it appears that several factors will influence the size and shape of the Latin American settlement pattern. One important consideration will be the number of immigrants during the next decade. It was noted that there should be a decided downturn in the Cuban flow and there is evidence that Puerto Ricans are no longer leaving their island in the great numbers of the past. Together with this, as a larger proportion of the Mexican and Puerto Rican population experiences a lengthy association with the city, their affiliation with the general population may change. Already, a new generation, educated in Chicago's schools, by television, radio and their daily

experiences, are beginning to change their values in much the same way as the earlier Europeans did. As the ratio of newcomers to "old Latin residents" changes with time, there may be less and less desire to preserve the old cultural ways. Like the other ethnic groups before them, the need to fit into the system and become part of it may gradually overcome the desire to remain separate from it.

Therefore, it appears that the greatest locational influence in the future will be related to economics, housing availability and competition with the Black population. If Spanish-speaking people continue to improve their educational and occupational skills, they will be able to afford a wider variety of housing, some of which may even lie outside the city. The question of Black association may be the most important of all. If current trends continue, the area of the far south may all but disappear and the northern portion of the Central West will come under heavy pressure. This would leave the areas to the southwest and northwest as prime targets for new Spanish-speaking settlement.

The 1980 census may reveal as much change as did the 1970. Even if Latin American population does not increase to the degree it did during the past decade, there

may be a considerable difference in the settlement pattern. Also, the growing Latin population together with a continued increase in the number of Blacks during the 1970's may establish the two as a majority of the city's total population. This could cause a great difference in the structure of the city, politically, commercially and ethnically. The next decade may be decisive in establishing the pattern of Chicago's future ethnic structure and development.



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