



CLACLS

Center for Latin American, Caribbean & Latino Studies

Demographic, Economic and Social Transformations in the Mexican-Origin Population of the New York City Metropolitan Area, 1990 - 2010

Center for Latin American,
Caribbean & Latino Studies

Graduate Center
City University of New York
365 Fifth Avenue
Room 5419
New York, New York 10016

212-817-8438

clacsl@gc.cuny.edu

<http://web.gc.cuny.edu/lastudies>

Laird W. Bergad

Distinguished Professor

Department of Latin American, Puerto Rican
and Latino Studies, Lehman College

Ph.D. Program in History, Graduate Center

Director, Center for Latin American,
Caribbean & Latino Studies



The Center for Latin American, Caribbean and Latino Studies is a research institute that works for the advancement of the study of Latin America, the Caribbean, and Latinos in the United States in the doctoral programs at the CUNY Graduate Center. One of its major priorities is to provide funding and research opportunities to Latino students at the Ph.D. level.

The Center established and helps administer an interdisciplinary specialization in Latin American, Caribbean and Latino Studies in the Masters of Arts in Liberal Studies program.

The Latino Data Project was developed with the goal of making information available on the dynamically growing Latino population of the United States and especially New York City through the analysis of extant data available from a variety of sources such as the U.S. Census Bureau, the National Institute for Health, the Bureau of Labor Statistics, and state and local-level data sources.

All Latino Data Project reports are available at <http://web.gc.cuny.edu/lastudies/>

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Staff:

Laird W. Bergad, Distinguished Professor, Latin American and Puerto Rican Studies, Lehman College, Ph.D. Program in History, Executive Director, CLACLS

Teresita Levy, Assistant Professor, Department of Latin American, Latino and Puerto Rican Studies, Lehman College, Associate Director

Laura Limonic, Administrative Director and Director of Quantitative Research

Victoria Stone-Cadena, Director of Outreach and Special Projects

Lawrence Cappello, Research Associate

Justine Calcagno, Quantitative Research Associate

Mila Burns, Website Developer

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Center for Latin American, Caribbean and Latino Studies
Room 5419
Graduate Center
City University of New York
365 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10016
212-817-8438
clacls@gc.cuny.edu
<http://web.gc.cuny.edu/lastudies>

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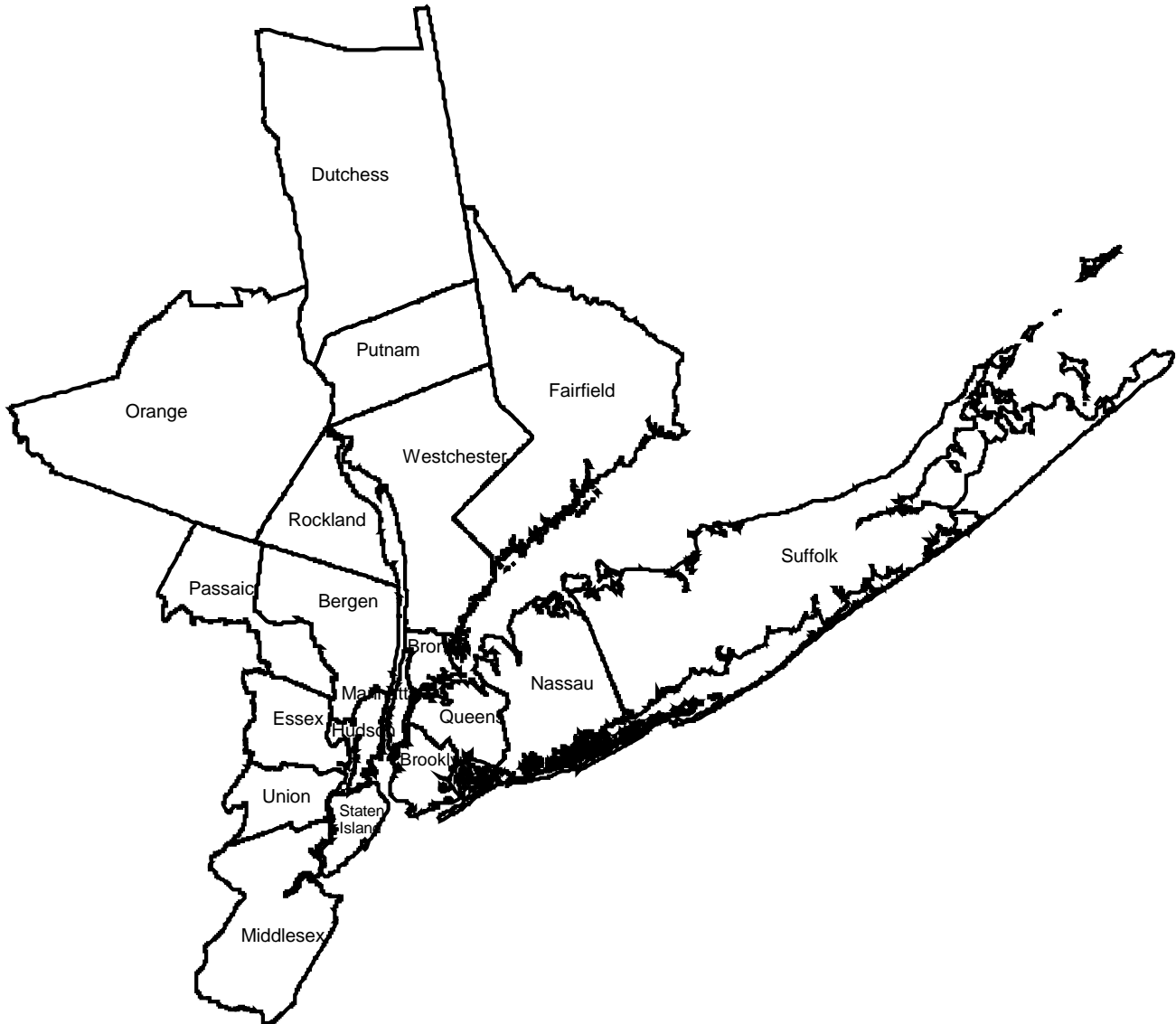
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Demography

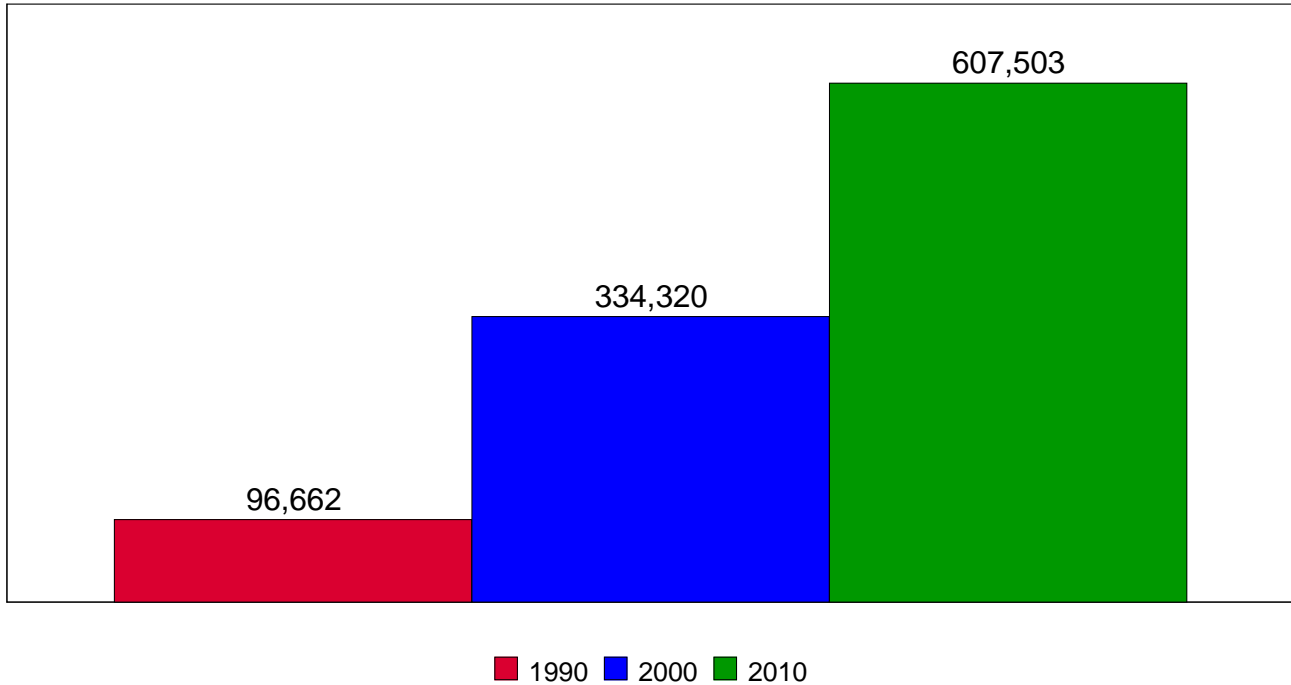
Between 1990 and 2010 the Mexican-origin population of the New York metropolitan area and its surrounding counties (see Map 1) increased from 96,662 to 607,503.¹ (See figure 1). Over these thirty years Mexicans grew as a percentage of all Latinos in the region from 3.6% in 1990 to 13.4% in 2010.

Map 1
Counties Analyzed in this Study



¹ This report will examine the following New York counties: Bronx, Kings (Brooklyn), Dutchess, New York (Manhattan), Nassau, Orange, Putnam, Queens, Rockland, Richmond (Staten Island), Suffolk, and Westchester. Fairfield County in Connecticut will be considered. The following New Jersey counties are included in this study: Bergen, Essex, Hudson, Middlesex, Passaic, and Union. All data, unless otherwise noted, were derived from the 1990, 2000, and 2010 PUMS data files provided by the IPUMS USA web site at <https://usa.ipums.org/usa/index.shtml>. See Steven Ruggles, J. Trent Alexander, Katie Genadek, Ronald Goeken, Matthew B. Schroeder, and Matthew Sobek. Integrated Public Use Microdata Series: Version 5.0 [Machine-readable database]. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2010.

Figure 1
 Growth of Mexican-Origin Population in New York City Metropolitan Area and Surrounding Counties
 1990 - 2010



The greatest concentration of Mexican-origin persons was in New York City although there was a slight decline in the percentage of all Mexicans in the region living in the City from 60.4% in 1990 to 56.4% in 2010. About one-fifth of the total Mexican population lived in New Jersey counties and the same percentage was found in surrounding New York counties in 2010.² (See figure 2).

Brooklyn, Queens, and the Bronx had the largest number of Mexicans in 2010 followed by Westchester, Manhattan, Passaic, and Middlesex counties. (See figure 3). See table 1 for complete data for all counties.

The Mexican population of the tri-state region experienced the fastest annual growth rates when the major Latino nationalities are examined between 2000 and 2010 at nearly 6.5% yearly. There is no guarantee that these rates will continue into the future and it is likely that they will slow with a contraction in migration and probable future lower birth rates. However, if these rates continue, Mexicans will comprise the region’s largest Latino national subgroup sometime in the early 2020s. (See figure 4).

² The term Mexican will be used throughout this report to refer to persons of Mexican origin irrespective of whether born in Mexico or in the United States.

Figure 2
Mexican-Origin Population in the New York City Metropolitan Area, 1990 - 2010
(by region in percentage of total population)

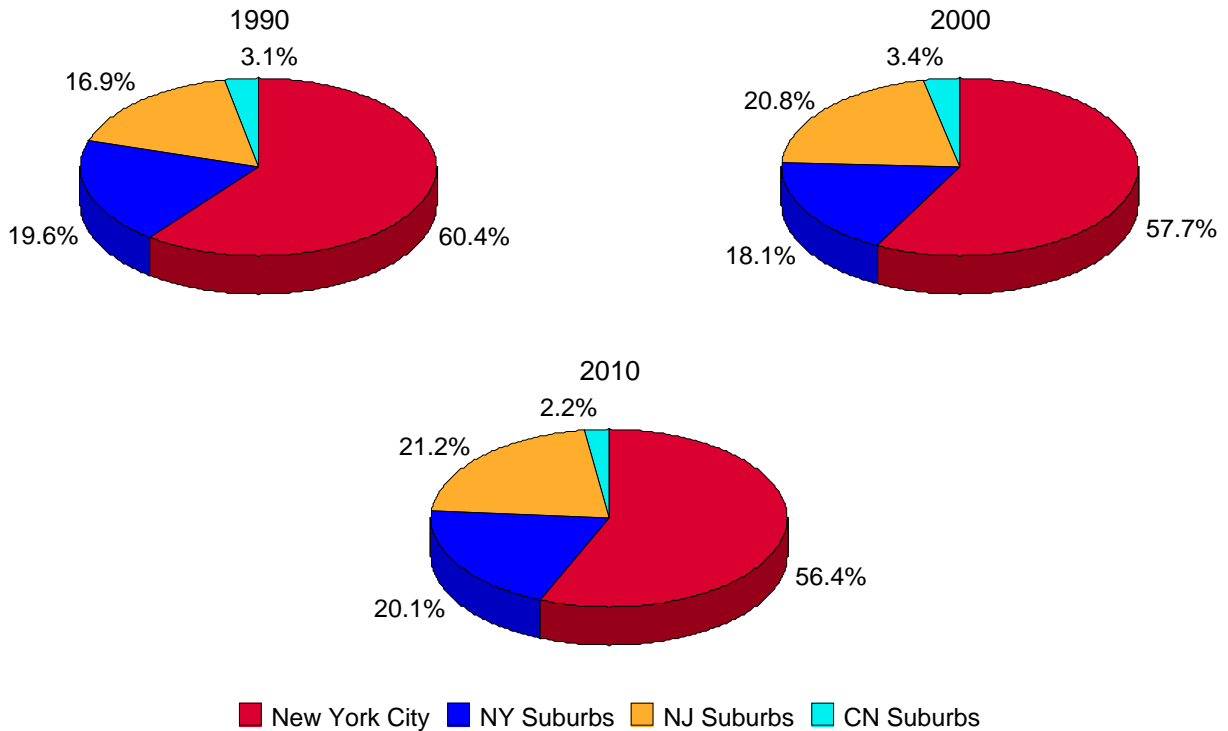


Figure 3
Mexican-Origin Population in the New York City Metropolitan Area by County, 2010

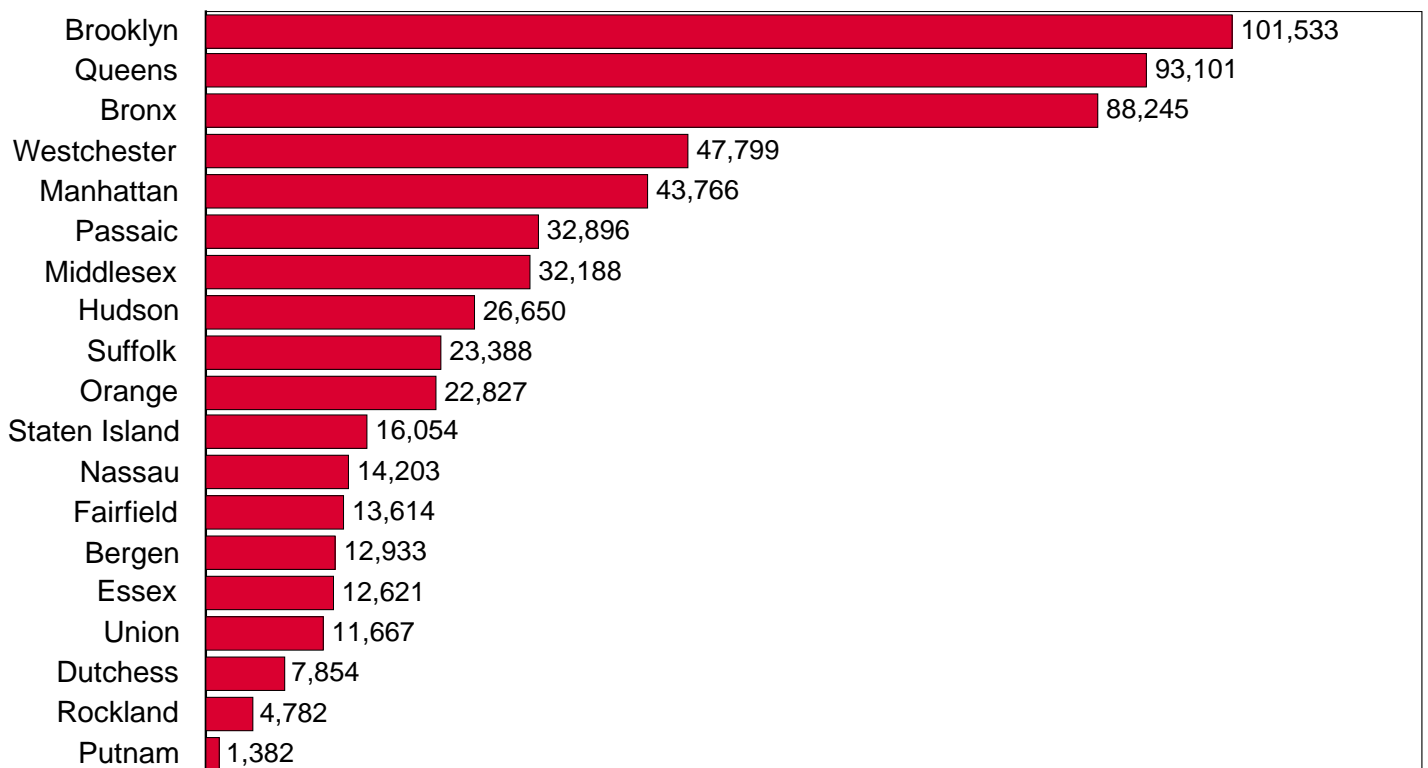
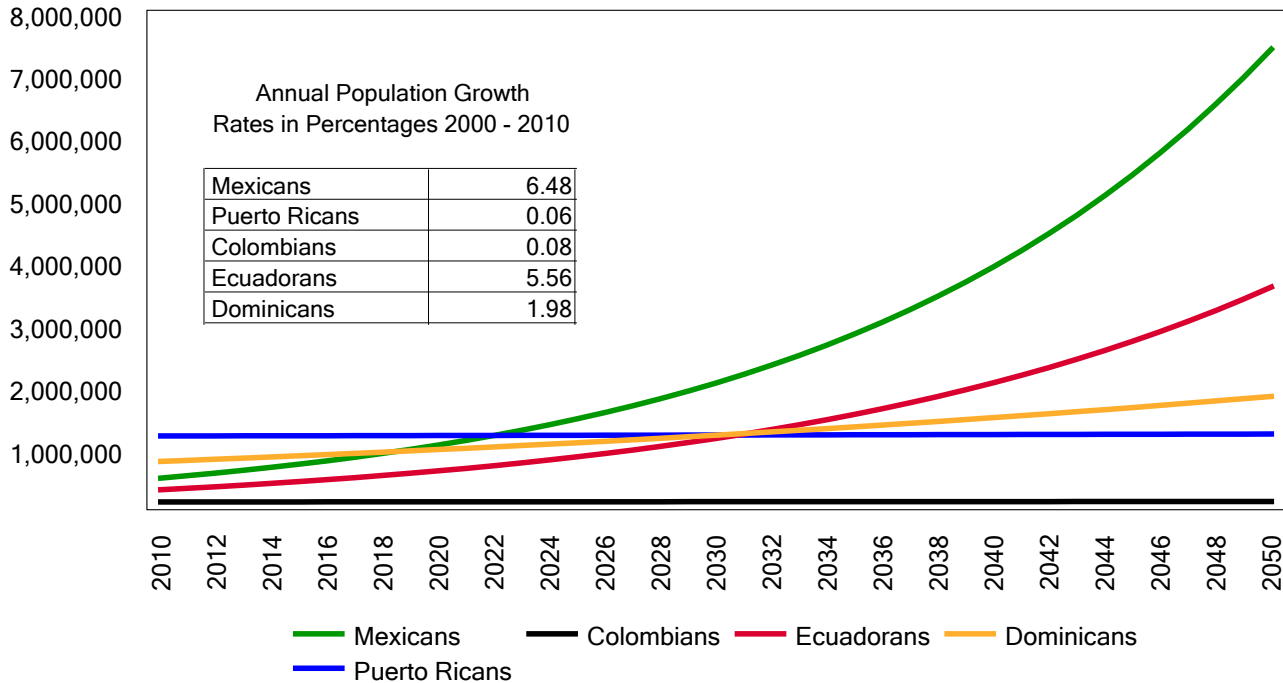


Figure 4
Hypothetical Population Projections to 2050 Among Five Largest Latino Nationalities in New York Metro Area Using Annual Population Growth Rates between 2000 and 2010



The expansion of the Mexican-origin population was fueled by both escalating immigration after 1990 as well as rates of natural reproduction which were significantly higher than found among the other major Latino national subgroups in the New York metropolitan region. In each decade after 1980 the arrival of foreign-born Mexicans increased and this is indicated in figure 5. After 1990, over 260,000 foreign-born Mexicans arrived in the tri-state area according to the 2010 PUMS census data, and this may very well be an undercount which does not include many undocumented persons. From available statistical sources it is impossible to determine the number of Mexicans living in the region who may have been omitted from the official census count of 2010.

While between 1951 and 1960 over two-thirds of all Mexicans arriving in the region were women, in every subsequent decade men predominated. In the decade between 2001 and 2010, 61% of all arrivals were males. (See figure 6).

The arrival of so many foreign-born Mexicans shifted the balance between U.S.-born and Mexican-born persons between 1990 and 2000 when the foreign-born increased from 52% to 67% of the total Mexican-origin population. (See table 2). This declined to 56% in 2010, not because fewer Mexicans arrived, but because of soaring fertility rates among Mexican-origin women who gave birth to offspring born in the U.S.

Table 1
 Mexican and Total Latino Populations of Selected Counties in the New York Metropolitan Area, 1990 - 2010

	Total Latino Population			Mexican Population			Mexicans as % of all Latinos		
	1990	2000	2010	1990	2000	2010	1990	2000	2010
Rockland	17,155	31,271	50,076	398	3,228	4,782	2.3%	10.3%	9.5%
Orange	22,037	43,762	69,720	3,224	9,341	22,827	14.6%	21.3%	32.7%
Westchester	86,702	150,041	220,941	8,092	25,330	47,799	9.3%	16.9%	21.6%
Putnam	11,641	6,954	11,525	1,057	967	1,382	9.1%	13.9%	12.0%
Dutchess		17,188	31,755		2,345	7,854		13.6%	24.7%
Nassau	76,717	139,398	201,666	2,941	7,992	14,203	3.8%	5.7%	7.0%
Suffolk	82,159	162,823	255,035	3,199	9,457	23,388	3.9%	5.8%	9.2%
Bronx	511,092	659,832	753,886	12,431	35,497	88,245	2.4%	5.4%	11.7%
Brooklyn	450,940	498,135	519,916	19,934	60,887	101,533	4.4%	12.2%	19.5%
Manhattan	384,032	443,772	411,584	11,026	31,059	43,766	2.9%	7.0%	10.6%
Queens	377,204	569,935	630,664	13,278	52,218	93,101	3.5%	9.2%	14.8%
Staten Island	30,188	55,233	80,324	1,741	7,598	16,054	5.8%	13.8%	20.0%
Total New York City	1,753,456	2,226,907	2,396,374	58,410	187,259	342,699	3.3%	8.4%	14.3%
Total New York Suburban	296,411	551,437	840,718	18,911	58,660	122,235	6.4%	10.6%	14.5%
Total New York State Counties	2,049,867	2,778,344	3,237,092	77,321	245,919	464,934	3.8%	8.9%	14.4%
Passaic	94,564	150,974	188,939	5,591	24,986	32,896	5.9%	16.5%	17.4%
Bergen	49,866	97,280	152,178	1,701	5,416	12,933	3.4%	5.6%	8.5%
Hudson	184,260	252,153	288,881	3,127	11,193	26,650	1.7%	4.4%	9.2%
Essex	90,953	136,182	175,658	1,535	5,435	12,621	1.7%	4.0%	7.2%
Union	67,495	110,216	155,705	1,114	5,441	11,667	1.7%	4.9%	7.5%
Middlesex	58,417	106,988	154,083	3,257	14,863	32,188	5.6%	13.9%	20.9%
Total New Jersey State Counties	545,555	853,793	1,115,444	16,325	67,334	128,955	3.0%	7.9%	11.6%
Fairfield, Connecticut	69,458	120,475	172,566	3,016	11,077	13,614	4.3%	9.2%	7.9%
Total Population All Counties	2,664,880	3,752,612	4,525,102	96,662	324,330	607,503	3.6%	8.6%	13.4%

Note: Data on the Mexican population were derived from PUMS files for each census year. Birthplace and ancestry data were used to calculate these data which differ somewhat from the data indicated using the "hispanid" variable in each data set.

Figure 5
 Foreign-Born Mexicans Living in New York Metropolitan Area Counties
 in 2010 by Decade of Arrival

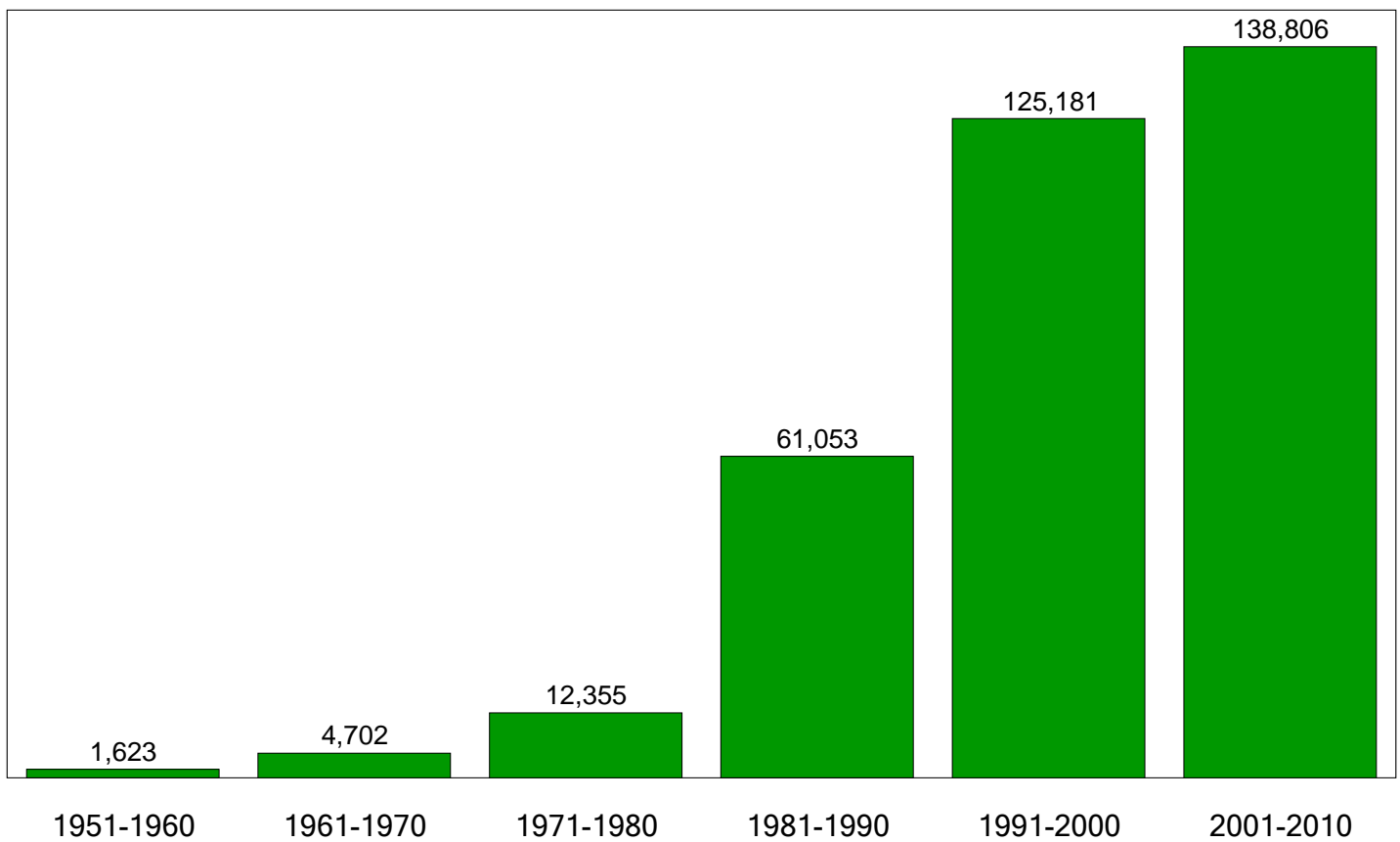


Figure 6
Foreign-Born Mexicans Living in New York Metropolitan Area Counties
in 2010 by Sex and Decade of Arrival (in percentages of total)

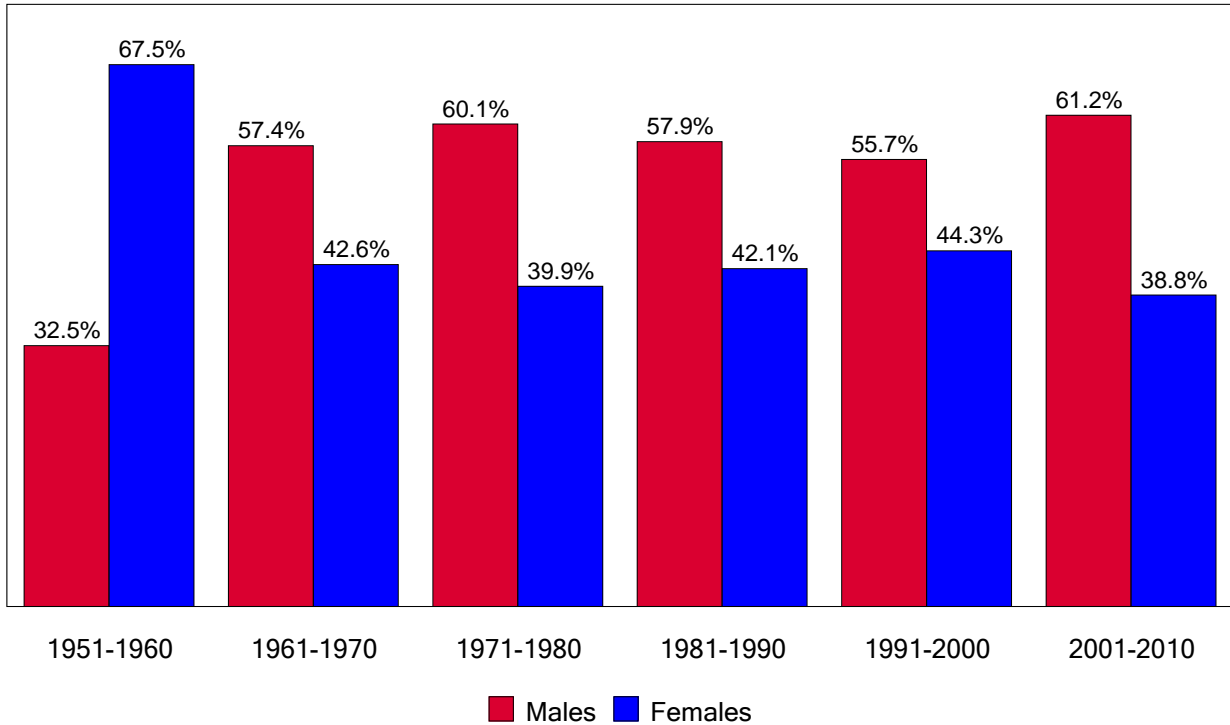


Table 2
Mexican-Origin Population by Nativity in New York Metropolitan
Area Counties, 1990 - 2010

	Domestic Born	% of Total	Foreign Born	% of Total	Total
1990	61,177	48.5%	65,024	51.5%	126,201
2000	108,462	33.4%	215,868	66.6%	324,330
2010	264,700	43.6%	342,803	56.4%	607,503

Data from the 2010 PUMS files released by the U.S. Census Bureau include estimates of live births by nationality.³ These data are not ideal because they are not derived from official vital statistics for each county, but they may be used as indicators of comparative general fertility and crude birth rates among the major Latino nationalities in the region.⁴ They demonstrate quite clearly that both rates were significantly higher among Mexicans in comparative perspective with other Latino nationalities and these are indicated in table 3.

Table 3
Comparative Indicators of Natural Increase
among Five Latino National Sub-groups in
the New York Metropolitan Region, 2010

	General Fertility Rate	Crude Birth Rate
Mexicans	98	24
Puerto Ricans	70	16
Colombians	50	12
Ecuadorians	65	15
Dominicans	75	19

³ These data do not exist for prior decennial census data sets.

⁴ The crude birth rate is the number of live births in a given year per 1,000 people. The general fertility rate is the number of live births in a year divided by the number of women aged 15-44, times 1,000.

These data are corroborated by precise information from vital statistics in New York City which yielded slightly different nominal results, but the same pattern of higher general fertility and crude birth rates among Mexican women. ⁵ (See table 4).

Table 4
Comparative Indicators of Natural Increase
among Five Latino National Sub-groups in
New York City, 2010

	General Fertility Rate	Crude Birth Rate
Mexicans	105	25
Puerto Ricans	60	13
Colombians	47	12
Ecuadorians	73	17
Dominicans	68	17

Because of these higher fertility and birth rates, and despite the fact that the migration to the New York City metropolitan region was comprised mainly of adults, Mexicans had the youngest population of any of the major Latino nationalities.⁶ When median age is examined, the gap widened in comparative perspective between 1990, when it was 23 years of age among Mexicans, to 2010 when it had increased marginally to 25 years of age. In 1990 Puerto Ricans and Dominicans both had median ages of 25, fairly close to Mexicans. But in 2010 the median age of these latter nationalities had risen to 31 years. (See table 5).

⁵ For the data on New York City births see New York City Department of Health and Mental Hygiene, *Summary of Vital Statistics 2010 The City of New York Pregnancy Outcomes* (December 2011), p. 5 and available for consultation on the internet at <http://www.nyc.gov/vitalstats>. Population data used to calculate the general fertility and crude birth rates for New York City were derived from the 2010 PUMS files.

⁶ About 79% of all foreign-born Mexicans living in the New York metropolitan region were between the ages of 15 and 44 in 2010. This compared with 57% of Ecuadorians; 48% of Dominicans; 45% of Colombians; and 26% of island-born Puerto Ricans.

The relatively young nature of the Mexican-origin population in the tri-state region is also highlighted by the fact that 65% of all Mexicans born in the U.S. living in area were 14 years of age and under. This compared with 58% of Ecuadorians; 48% of Colombians; 48% of Dominicans; and 33% of stateside-born Puerto Ricans. Overall, 31% of all Mexicans in the region were 14 years of age or younger compared with 25% among Puerto Ricans, 18% of Colombians, 22% of Ecuadorans, and 21% of Dominicans. Table 6 presents precise data on the broadly defined age structure categories of these Latino national subgroups. Figures 7 through 9 graphically depict the age pyramids of the foreign-born, domestic-born, and total Mexican-origin populations in the region. The domestic-born Mexican population pyramid demonstrates the ‘classic’ image of a population with a high birth rate and accompanying concentrations of younger people at the base. The foreign-born pyramid is a ‘classic’ image of an immigrant population comprised principally of working-age people.

Foreign-born Mexicans arriving and living in the New York metropolitan counties were heavily male. About 58% of the 2010 Mexican foreign-born population was male and the sex ratio was 141.⁷ Among foreign-born Mexicans arriving in the New York City region between 1981 and 1990, 58% were male; 56% between 1991 and 2000; and 61% between 2001 and 2010. (See table 7).

Table 5
Median Ages among Five Largest Latino National Subgroups in the New York Metropolitan Area 1990 - 2010

	1990	2000	2010
Mexicans	23	23	25
Ecuadorians	27	30	30
Puerto Ricans	25	29	31
Dominicans	25	28	31
Colombians	29	34	36

⁷ The ‘sex ratio’ is expressed as the number of males per one-hundred females.

Table 6
Age Structure of Latino National Subgroups in the New York City Metropolitan Counties, 2010 (in four age groups)

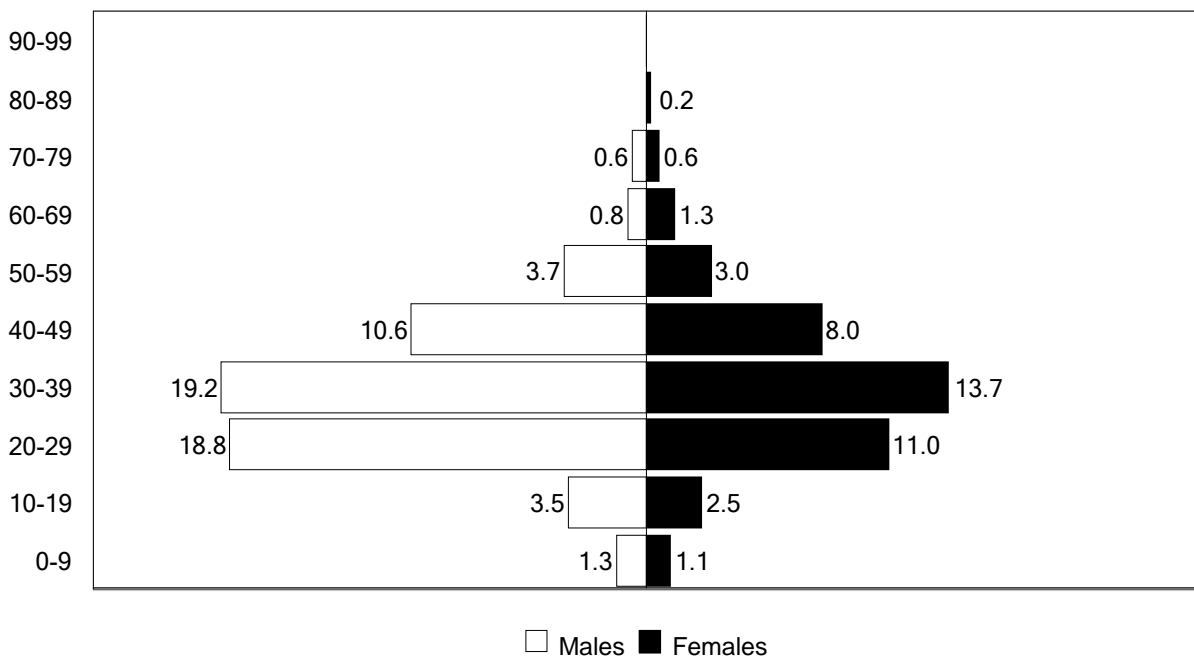
	Total Population		Domestic Born		Foreign Born	
	Age Groups	Percent of Total	Age Groups	Percent of Total	Age Groups	Percent of Total
Mexicans	0-14	30.7%	0-14	64.7%	0-14	4.5%
	15-44	57.5%	15-44	29.6%	15-44	79.0%
	45-59	9.0%	45-59	3.9%	45-59	12.9%
	60 +	2.8%	60 +	1.8%	60 +	3.6%
Puerto Ricans	0-14	25.1%	0-14	32.6%	0-14	5.4%
	15-44	44.2%	15-44	51.3%	15-44	25.5%
	45-59	17.4%	45-59	13.2%	45-59	28.5%
	60 +	13.3%	60 +	2.9%	60 +	40.7%
Colombians	0-14	17.6%	0-14	47.9%	0-14	2.4%
	15-44	45.7%	15-44	48.1%	15-44	44.6%
	45-59	22.6%	45-59	2.7%	45-59	32.6%
	60 +	14.1%	60 +	1.4%	60 +	20.5%
Ecuadorans	0-14	22.1%	0-14	58.3%	0-14	3.8%
	15-44	51.5%	15-44	40.5%	15-44	57.1%
	45-59	16.4%	45-59	0.7%	45-59	24.4%
	60 +	9.9%	60 +	0.6%	60 +	14.6%
Dominicans	0-14	20.9%	0-14	49.4%	0-14	4.9%
	15-44	48.5%	15-44	48.3%	15-44	48.6%
	45-59	19.6%	45-59	1.7%	45-59	29.7%
	60 +	11.0%	60 +	0.6%	60 +	16.8%

Note: For Puerto Ricans, foreign-born means born on the island.

Table 7
Sex of Foreign-Born Mexicans Arriving in the New York Metropolitan Counties by Decade, 1981 - 2010

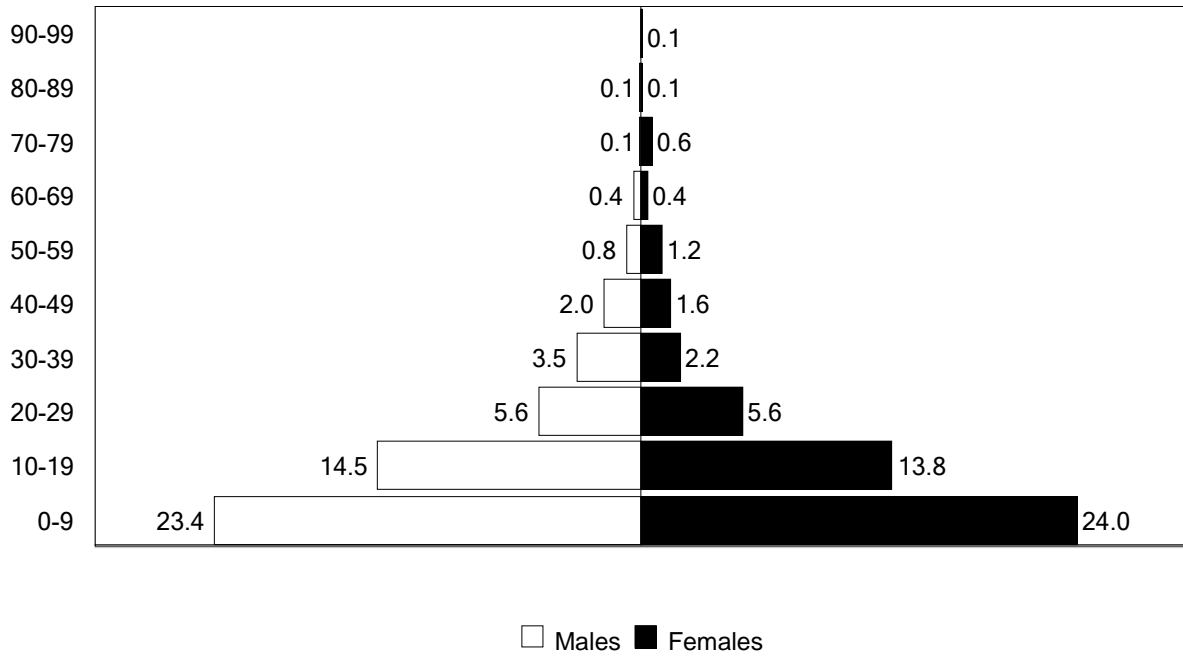
	Males	Females	Total	Sex Ratio	% Male	% Female
1981-1990	35,342	25,711	61,053	137	57.9%	42.1%
1991-2000	69,693	55,488	125,181	126	55.7%	44.3%
2001-2010	84,959	53,847	138,806	158	61.2%	38.8%
Total	189,994	135,046	325,040	141	58.5%	41.5%

Figure 7
Age Pyramid Mexican Foreign-Born Population of New York Metropolitan Area Counties, 2010
(in percentages of total population)



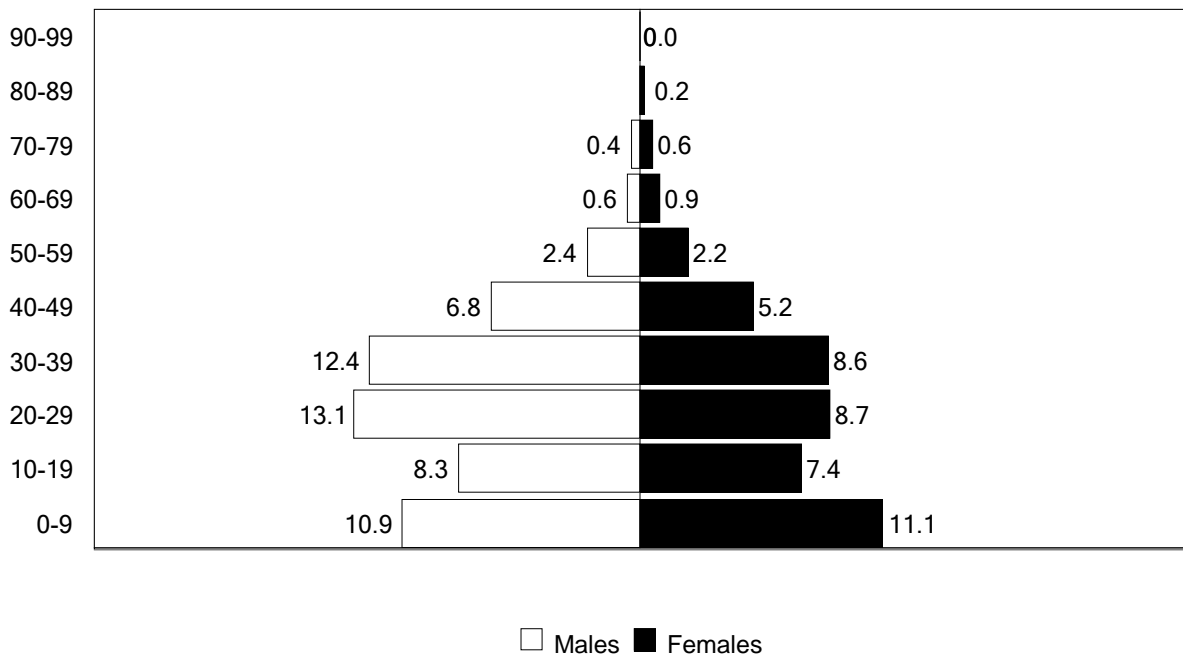
Sex Ratio 141

Figure 8
Age Pyramid Mexican Domestic-Born Population of New York Metropolitan Area Counties, 2010
(in percentages of total population)



Sex Ratio 102

Figure 9
Age Pyramid Total Mexican Population of New York Metropolitan Area Counties, 2010
(in percentages of total population)



Sex Ratio 122

Within New York City the Mexican-origin population was concentrated in Brooklyn, Queens, and the Bronx where nearly 80% of all Mexicans lived in 1990, 2000, and 2010. Over half of this population lived in Brooklyn and Queens. (See table 8).

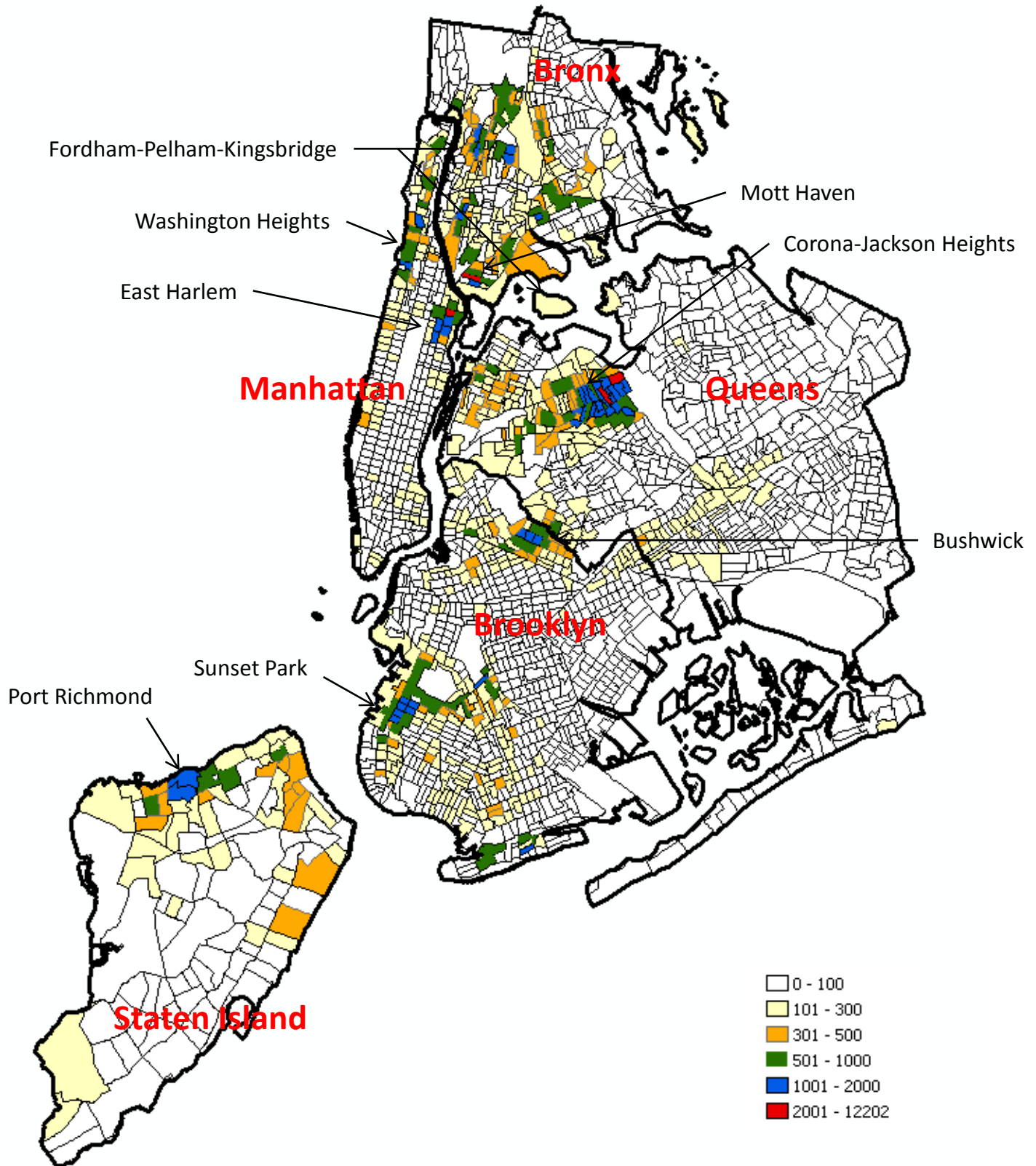
Table 8
Mexican-Origin Population by New York City Borough, 1990 - 2010

	1990		2000		2010	
	Population	% of Total	Population	% of Total	Population	% of Total
Bronx	11,683	20.9%	35,497	19.0%	88,245	25.8%
Manhattan	10,271	18.4%	31,059	16.6%	43,766	12.8%
Staten Island	1,741	3.1%	7,598	4.1%	16,054	4.7%
Brooklyn	19,244	34.4%	60,887	32.5%	101,533	29.6%
Queens	13,005	23.2%	52,218	27.9%	93,101	27.2%
Total	55,944	100.0%	187,259	100.0%	342,699	100.0%

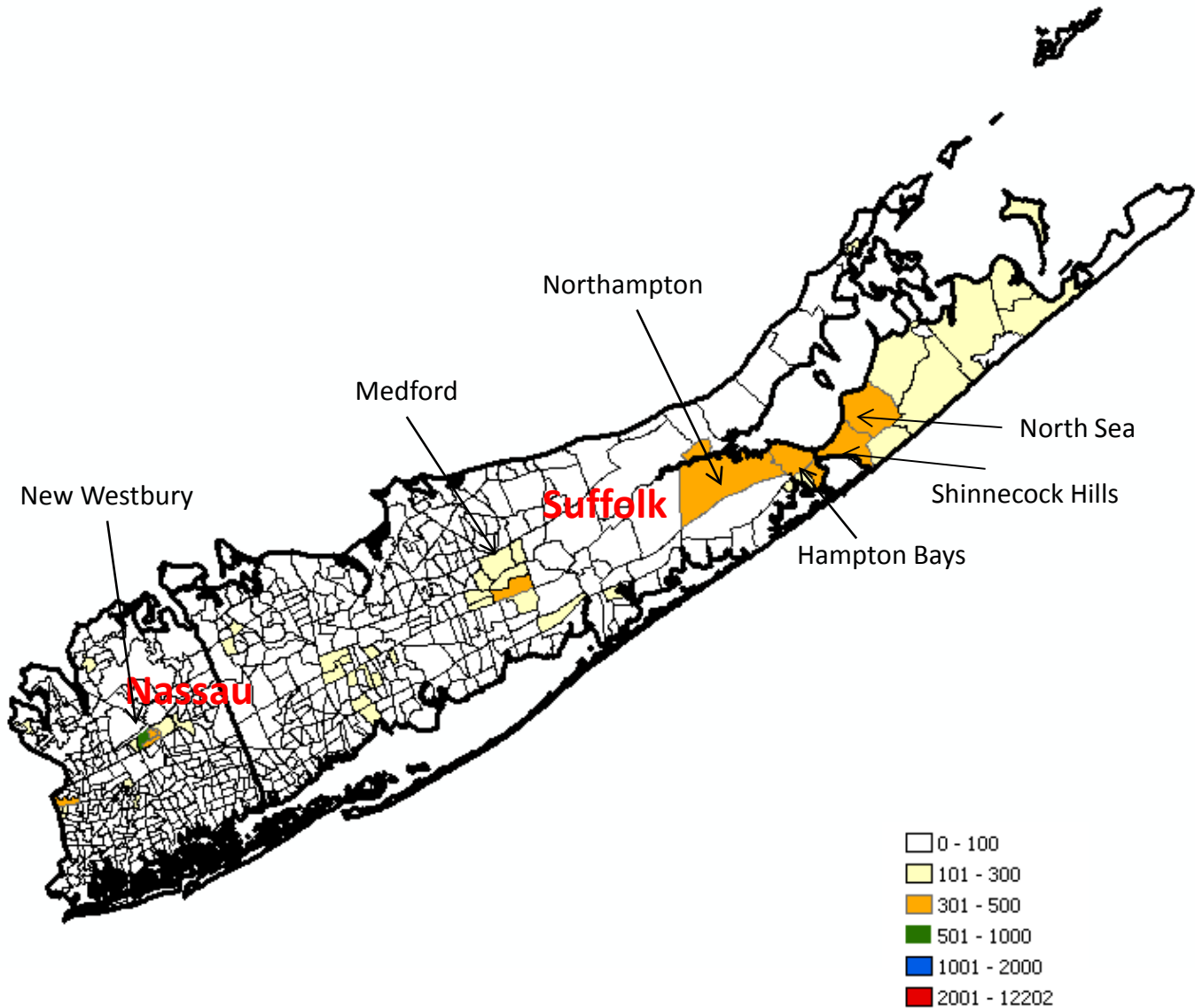
Mexicans tended to concentrate in New York City neighborhoods which were centers of Hispanic settlement well before the Mexican population began to increase meteorically in the 1990s. In Queens the Mexican-origin community in 2010 was concentrated in Corona, Jackson Heights, and surrounding neighborhoods, a destination for Latin American immigrants from the 1980s. In Brooklyn Mexicans were centered in Bushwick and Sunset Park. In the Bronx, Mexicans were found in nearly all neighborhoods with major centers in Mott Haven and the Fordham-Pelham-Kingsbridge districts. In Manhattan Mexicans settled in the traditional Latino neighborhoods of East Harlem and Washington Heights. Finally, in Staten Island, where relatively few of the City’s Mexicans reside, Port Richmond was a population center in 2010 (See map 2).

In Nassau and Suffolk counties comprising Long Island, there were no concentrations analogous to what was found in New York City and the total Mexican population was only 37,500 in both counties in 2010. New Westbury in Nassau County, fairly close to the City, was one area of slight concentration. In Suffolk County Medford, Northhampton, Hampton Bays, Shinnecock Hills, and North Sea were places with the greatest nuclei of Mexicans, although there were relatively small populations in these places. (See map 3).

Map 2
 Mexican Population Concentrations in New York City, 2010



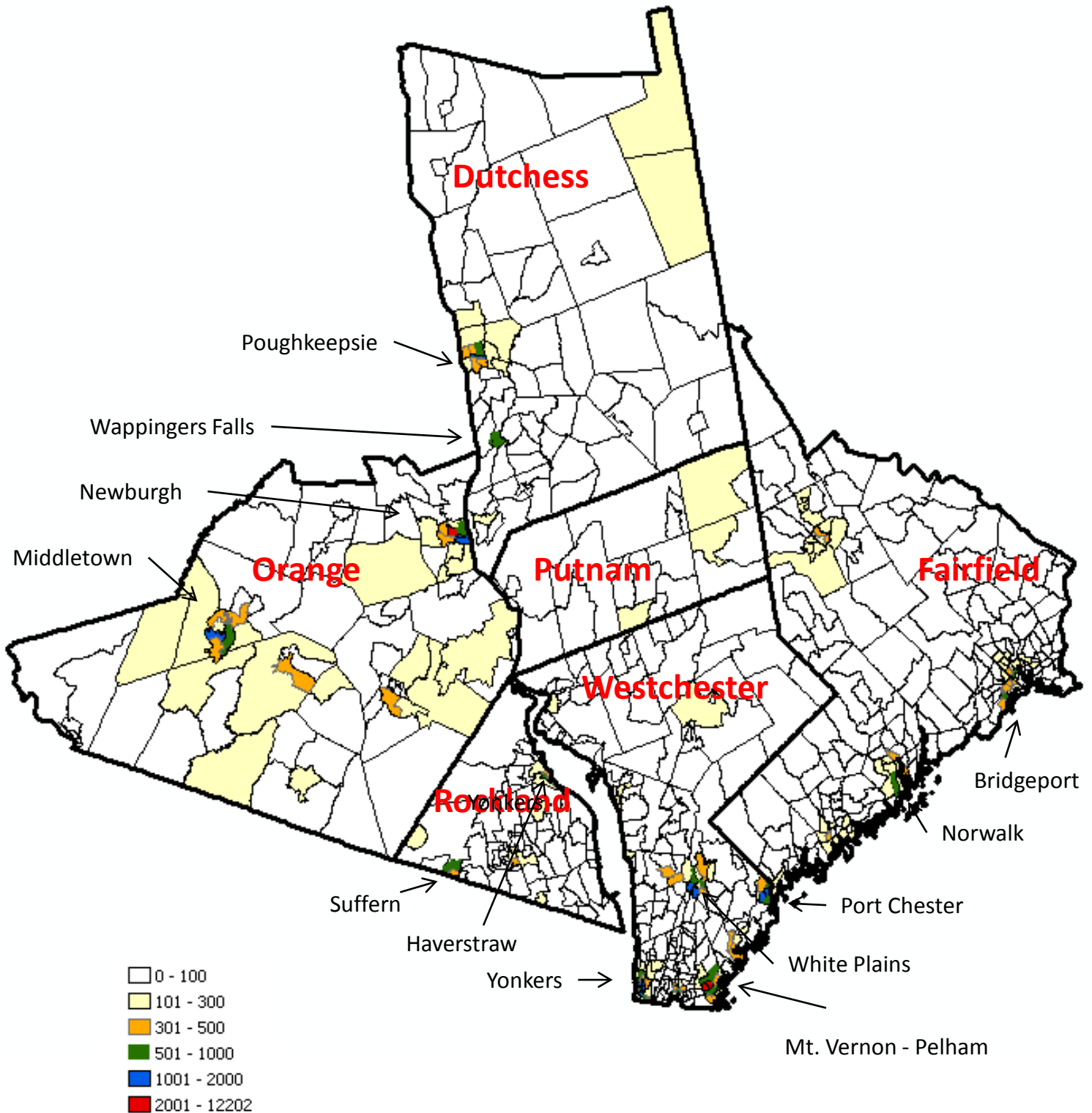
Map 3
Mexican Population Concentrations in Suffolk
and Nassau Counties, 2010



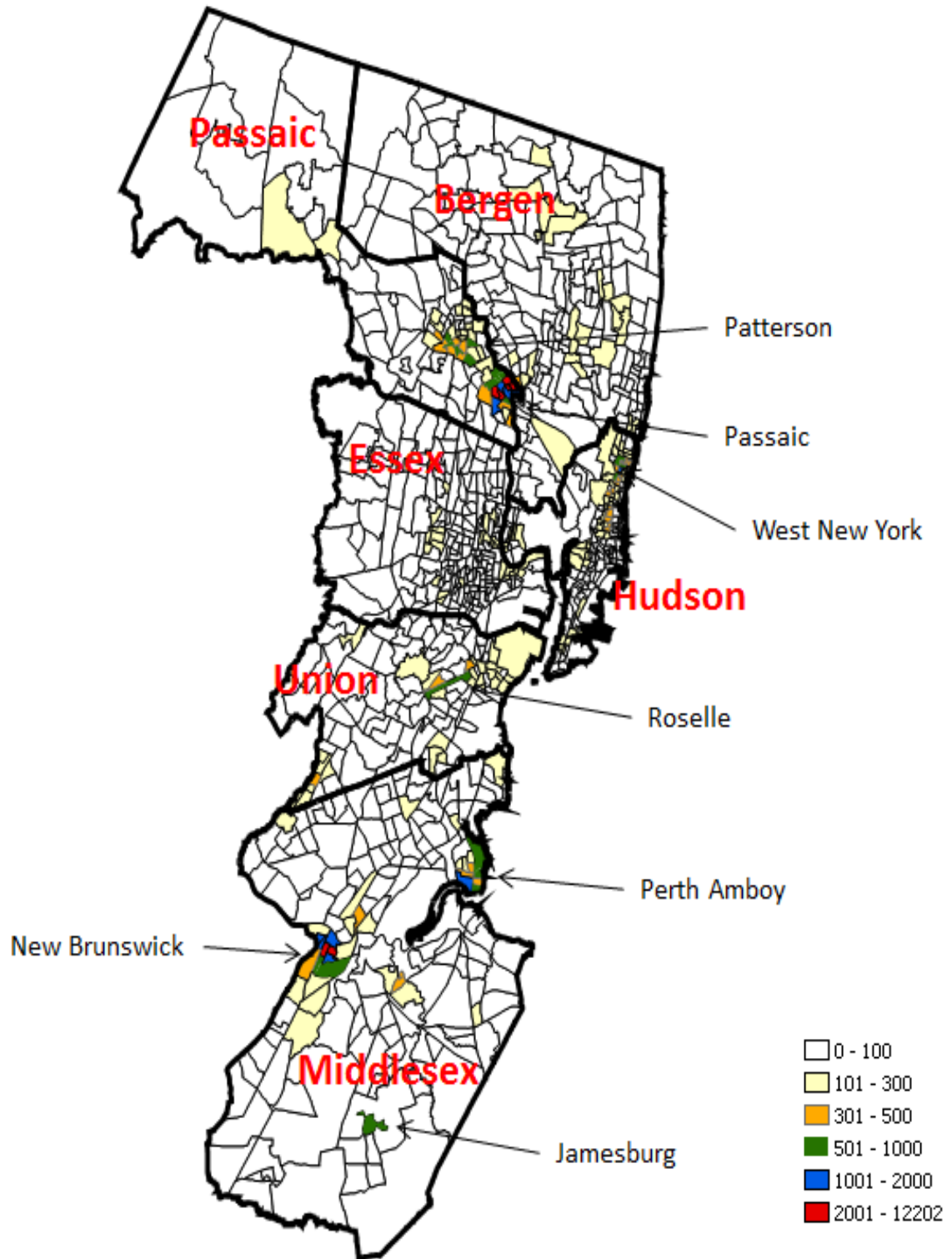
In the counties to the north of the City there was a clear 'spillover' from the Bronx as the contiguous urban nuclei of Yonkers and Mt. Vernon were Mexican population centers in 2010. White Plains and Port Chester were other Westchester County areas where Mexicans were concentrated. In Fairfield County, Connecticut, Mexicans were congregated in Norwalk and Bridgeport. In Rockland County, Haverstraw and Suffern became Mexican population centers over the past ten years. Middletown and Newburgh were the Orange County regions with the greatest concentrations of Mexican-origin persons. And finally in Dutchess County, Poughkeepsie and Wappinger Falls were centers of Mexican population. (See map 4).

In New Jersey Patterson and Passaic, in Passaic County, had fairly concentrated Mexican populations. Across the river from the City, the Bergenline Ave. corridor, which has long an area of Latino population concentration, was increasingly settled by Mexicans after 1990 and West New York was another Mexican population center. New Brunswick and Perth Amboy in Middlesex County had fairly concentrated Mexican populations as well. Roselle, in Union County may also be noted. (See map 5).

Map 4
 Mexican Population Concentrations in New York and Connecticut Counties in the Metropolitan Area, 2010



Map 5 Mexican Population Concentrations in New Jersey Counties In the Metropolitan Area, 2010



Household Income

There are three measures utilized by the Census to determine income: personal, family, and household income. Each is indicated for persons 15 years of age and older and consists of eight possible income sources which are added together if there are multiple sources.⁸ Household income is utilized here as an indicator of comparative living standards as it is recognized that people living together in households share expenses and this may leave more disposable income for non-essential consumption items.⁹ Household income is the sum total of income derived by every person 15 years of age and older living in a household, irrespective if they are related or not.

There are certain characteristics about Mexican households that should be noted prior to considering household income. First and foremost, Mexican households had the highest average (or mean) number of people living in them than any of the other Latino national sub-groups in all census years between 1990 and 2010. (See table 9).¹⁰ Although these data do not control for age, it is likely that they indicate more income earners per household than found among the other nationalities.

Table 9
Average Number of People Living in Each
Household by Largest Latino Nationalities
in New York Metropolitan Counties
1990 - 2010

	1990	2000	2010
Mexicans	4.4	4.9	4.3
Puerto Ricans	3.4	3.1	2.9
Colombians	3.8	3.4	3.0
Ecuadorans	3.9	3.7	3.7
Dominicans	3.9	3.6	3.2

⁸ These include: 1) wages, ages, salary, commissions, bonuses, or tips from all jobs; 2) self-employment income from own non-farm businesses or farm businesses; 3) interest, dividends, net rental income, royalty income, or income from estates and trusts; 4) social security or railroad retirement 5) supplemental security income (SSI); 6) any public assistance or welfare payments from the state or local welfare office; 7) retirement, survivor, or disability pensions (not social security; 8) any other sources of income received regularly such as Veterans' (VA) payments, unemployment compensation, child support, or alimony. See "All About Measures of Income in the Census" at following web site: http://mcdc.missouri.edu/allabout/measures_of_income/

⁹ Three people living in a household earning \$30,000 total are generally recognized as having a higher living standard than each of them earning \$10,000 and living alone. By the same token two families living in one household earning \$20,000 each are likely to have higher living standards than if they lived in separate households.

¹⁰These data were calculated by dividing the total number of people living in households by the total number of households as indicated by the total number of household heads. By way of further comparison, which highlights the relatively high number of people per household among Mexicans, in 2010 the average number of people per household among non-Hispanic whites was 2.4; for non-Hispanic blacks 2.7; and for Asians, 3.1.

Additionally, Mexican households had the highest average number of families living in them compared with the other Latino nationalities between 1990 and 2010, although in 2010 Ecuadorans had an identical number of families per household as indicated in table 10.¹¹

Table 10
Average Number of Families in Each
Household by Largest Latino Nationalities
in New York Metropolitan Counties
1990 - 2010

	1990	2000	2010
Mexicans	1.6	1.7	1.5
Puerto Ricans	1.2	1.1	1.2
Colombians	1.4	1.3	1.2
Ecuadorans	1.3	1.4	1.5
Dominicans	1.3	1.2	1.2

However, irrespective of relatively larger family sizes, and the higher average number of people living in Mexican households, median household income declined significantly for Mexicans between 1990 and 2010.¹² In 1990 it was \$62,700, and the highest among the five largest Latino nationalities living in the New York metropolitan area counties. By 2000 Mexican median household income had fallen to \$54,375 behind Colombians and Ecuadorans. And in 2010 there was a further decline to \$51,250, for an overall decrease of 18% from 1990. It is notable that every other Latino national subgroup in the region experienced increases in median household income between 1990 and 2010. Mexicans stand out as the only nationality for which there was a decrease. (See the data in table 11).

There are three interrelated reasons for this. First was the large-scale migration of foreign-born Mexicans to the region. In 1990 61.9% of the Mexican population 15 years of age and older were born in Mexico. In 2000 the percentage of foreign-born Mexicans over 15 years of age had soared to 84.6%. In 2010 there was a slight decrease to 77.8%, still significantly higher than in 1990.

¹¹ By way of comparison in 2010 non-Hispanic whites had 1.1 average families/household and non-Hispanic blacks and Asians each had averages of 1.2 families/household.

¹² All values have been adjusted for inflation into 2010 dollars using the Bureau of Labor Statistics Inflation Calculator at http://www.bls.gov/data/inflation_calculator.htm.

Table 11
 Median Household Income in 2010 inflation-
 adjusted Dollars by Largest Latino Nationalities
 in New York Metropolitan Counties
 1990 - 2010

	1990	2000	2010
Mexicans	\$ 62,700	\$ 54,375	\$ 51,250
Puerto Ricans	\$ 44,253	\$ 46,250	\$ 50,200
Colombians	\$ 62,311	\$ 60,750	\$ 67,000
Ecuadorians	\$ 57,618	\$ 58,250	\$ 64,100
Dominicans	\$ 42,075	\$ 42,500	\$ 45,000

Second, it is evident that migrants did not have the kinds of skills needed to secure work in better paying jobs as evidenced by occupational category data. When the occupational structure of Mexicans between 1990 and 2010 is examined for the population 15 years of age and older, the two largest categories of known occupations were cooks and laborers. In 2010 these two occupations accounted for nearly a quarter of all employed Mexicans (23.4%) among those whose occupations were known. They had accounted for only 11.5% in 1990 and 17.0% in 2000.¹³ These were in all likelihood low-paid occupations. By way of contrast only 6.3% of Puerto Ricans, 5.9% of Colombians, 14.4% of Ecuadorians, and 7.3% of Dominicans 15 years of age or older fell into these two occupational categories. If other traditionally lower paid occupations are added to cooks and labors - clerical workers, janitors, waiters, cashiers, and gardeners - these accounted for 43% of all Mexicans whose occupations were known in 2010, (See table 12 for these data). These other occupational categories combined with cooks and laborers accounted for 28% of employed Puerto Ricans, 24% of Colombians, 32% of Ecuadorians, and 27% of Dominicans.

¹³ These data were derived from the variable OCC1950 which is consistent in the 1990, 2000, and 2010 census data sets used here. In 2010 25.6% of Mexicans were employed in unknown occupations.

Table 12
 Largest Known Occupational Categories Among Five Largest Latino Nationalities in
 New York Metropolitan Counties, 2010
 (in percentage of all workers whose occupations were known)

	Mexicans	Puerto Ricans	Colombians	Ecuadorans	Dominicans
Cooks	12.7%	2.2%	1.7%	4.9%	3.0%
Laborers	10.7%	4.0%	4.3%	9.5%	4.3%
Clerical workers	4.8%	11.5%	7.2%	6.1%	8.1%
Janitors	4.6%	5.0%	5.3%	5.2%	4.9%
Waiters and waitresses	3.6%	1.1%	2.3%	1.1%	1.7%
Cashiers	3.5%	3.6%	2.6%	2.8%	4.2%
Gardners	2.8%	0.8%	0.5%	2.1%	0.6%
Sub-total	42.7%	28.2%	23.9%	31.6%	26.8%
Operatives	6.5%	3.3%	5.9%	6.8%	6.7%
Managers, officials, and proprietors	6.1%	9.3%	8.7%	7.3%	7.6%
Service workers	3.0%	0.6%	0.4%	1.0%	1.1%
Salesmen and sales clerks	2.4%	4.2%	3.8%	3.0%	5.1%
Total	60.7%	45.6%	42.7%	49.7%	47.3%

The third reason for declining household income was related to the significant growth of Mexican households headed by women, who generally earned less than men. In 1990 25% of all Mexican households in the New York metropolitan area counties considered here were headed by women. By 2010 this had increased to 38% of all households. (See figure 10). Over 80% of these female household heads in 2010 were foreign-born women who generally earned less than domestic-born women, although no such disparity existed among men. In 2010 the median income of all foreign-born Mexican women in the region was \$46,200 compared with \$50,000 for domestic-born women. (See figure 11).

If the data are disaggregated further, and the median household income of household heads only (not the total number of earners in the household) the differentials are even greater. In 2010 female Mexican household heads earned median incomes which were 29% lower than those of males -- \$37,950 compared with \$49,000 . (See figure 12). Since there was a greater share of households headed by lower income-earning women by 2010, this was a major factor in the decline in overall Mexican median household income from 1990 and 2000.

Figure 10
 Mexican Households Headed by Women in New York Metropolitan Area Counties
 1990 - 2010 (in percentage of total households)

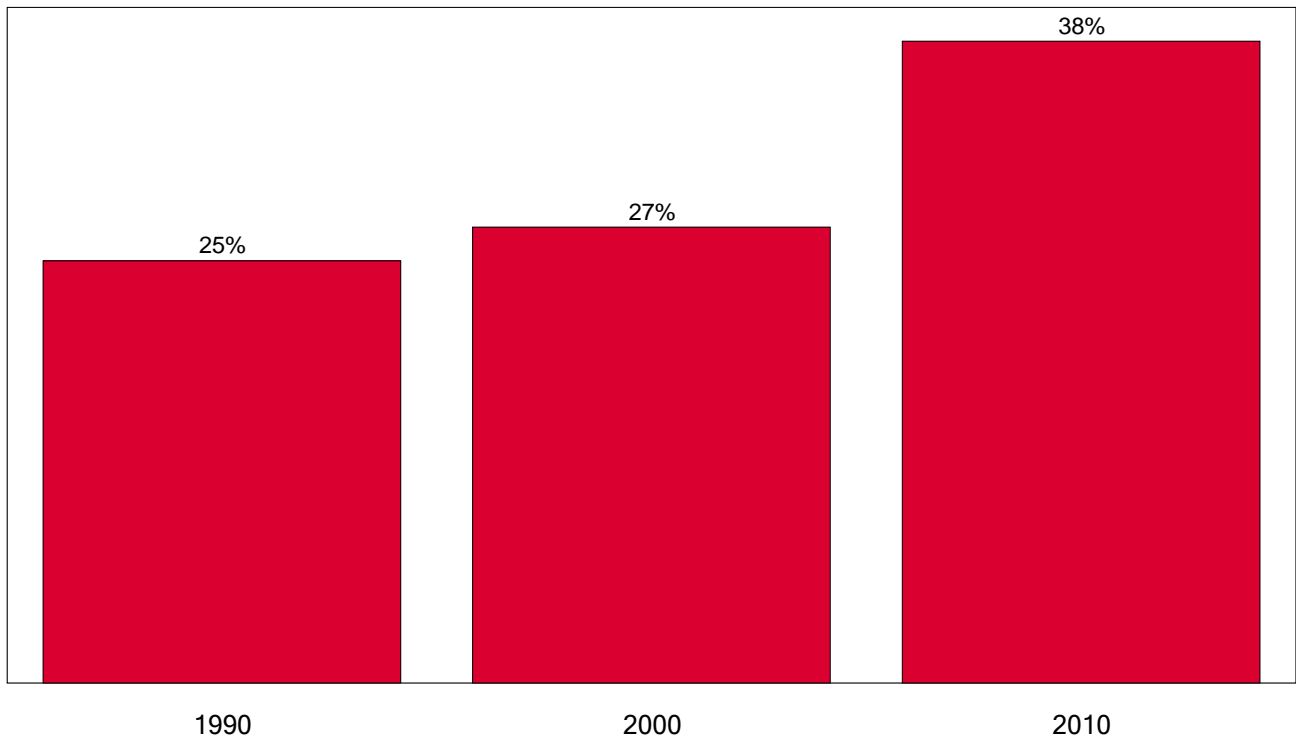


Figure 11
 Median Household Income by Nativity and Sex in New York Metropolitan Area Counties, 2010

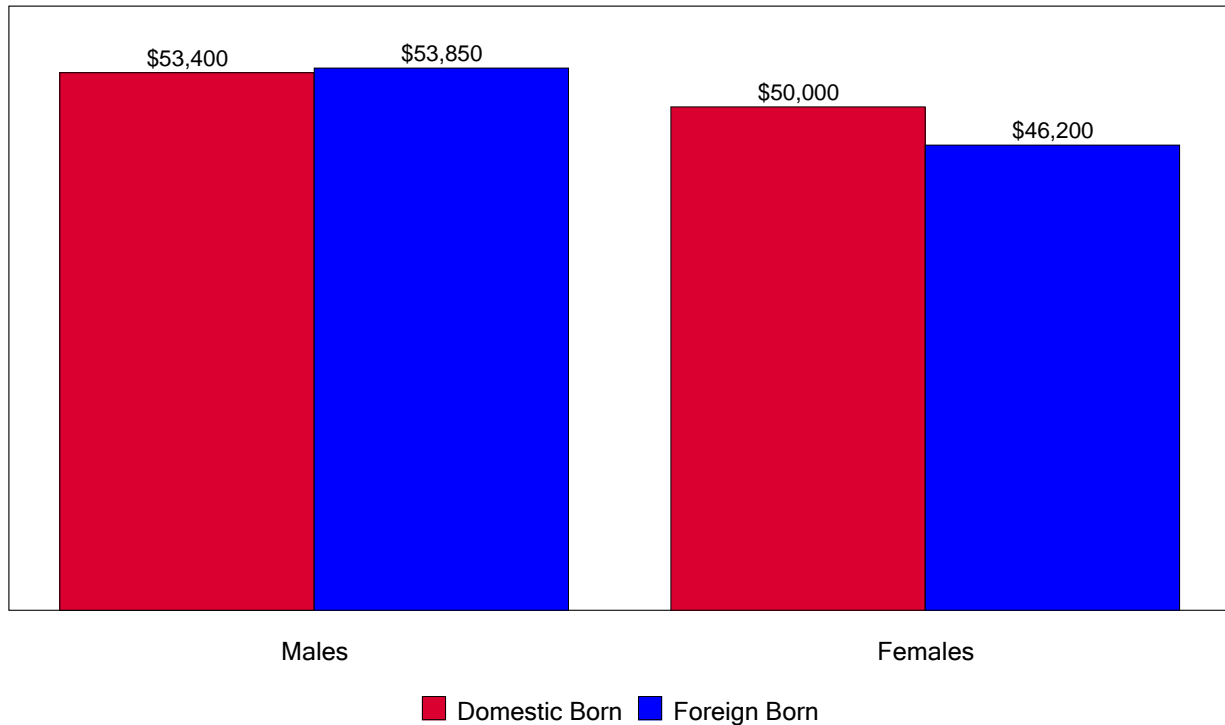
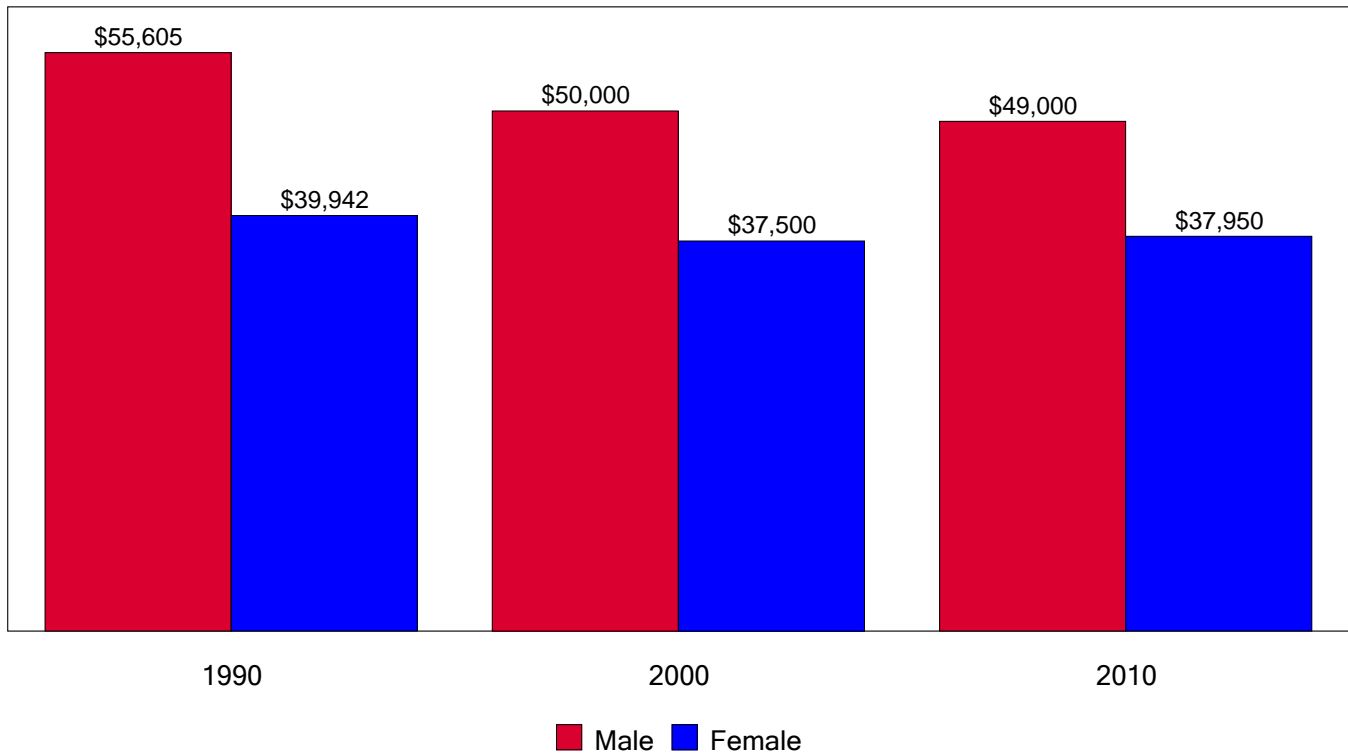


Figure 12
 Median Household Income by Sex for Household Heads Only
 in New York Metropolitan Area Counties, 2010



With respect to household income there was a great deal of diversity across the region and within the Mexican ‘community.’ Wealthier Mexicans tended to live in suburban counties or in Manhattan, much like other race/ethnic groups in the New York metropolitan area. The highest earning households lived in Middlesex, Essex, and Union counties in New Jersey; Nassau, New York (Manhattan), Rockland, Orange, and Suffolk counties in New York; and in Fairfield county in Connecticut. However, these wealthier Mexican households accounted for a relatively smaller percentage of the overall Mexican population than those living in counties with lower median household incomes.

The counties with the greatest concentrations of Mexicans, Bronx and Brooklyn where 31% of all Mexicans lived, had comparatively lower median household incomes in 2010. In Queens, where 15% of all Mexicans in the region lived, median household income fell between the wealthier and poorer counties. (See table 13 and figure 13).

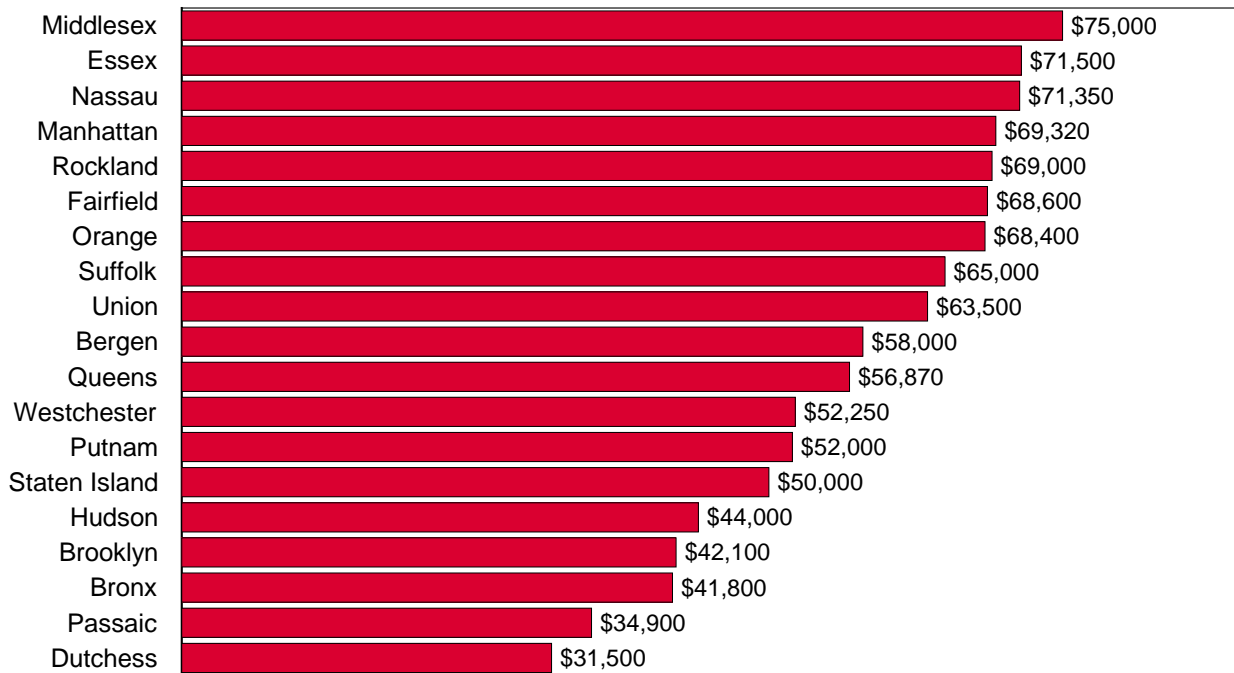
Mexicans in the New York metropolitan area may have come from similar cultural backgrounds, to be sure, but there were sharp differentiations within the Mexican community and a very clear socioeconomic structure. This is brought into sharp focus when the structure of household income is examined. Median incomes are indicators of relative well-being but it must be remembered that the median is a statistical measure which is the mid-point of income distribution. This means

Table 13
 Median Household Incomes among Mexicans in New York
 Metropolitan Counties, 1990 - 2010

	1990	2000	2010	% of Total Mexican Population 2010
Middlesex	\$ 56,245	\$ 72,625	\$ 75,000	5.3%
Essex	\$ 65,439	\$ 59,875	\$ 71,500	2.1%
Nassau	\$ 85,670	\$ 86,250	\$ 71,350	2.3%
Manhattan	\$ 56,100	\$ 51,688	\$ 69,320	7.2%
Rockland	\$ 79,233	\$ 62,500	\$ 69,000	0.8%
Fairfield	\$ 120,483	\$ 70,250	\$ 68,600	2.2%
Orange	\$ 64,654	\$ 65,450	\$ 68,400	3.8%
Suffolk	\$ 85,800	\$ 75,000	\$ 65,000	3.8%
Union	\$ 37,858	\$ 51,375	\$ 63,500	1.9%
Bergen	\$ 74,333	\$ 72,500	\$ 58,000	2.1%
Queens	\$ 67,241	\$ 56,250	\$ 56,870	15.3%
Westchester	\$ 68,083	\$ 59,750	\$ 52,250	7.9%
Putnam*	\$ 82,583	\$ 52,500	\$ 52,000	0.2%
Staten Island	\$ 80,850	\$ 40,250	\$ 50,000	2.6%
Hudson	\$ 59,987	\$ 50,000	\$ 44,000	4.4%
Brooklyn	\$ 49,500	\$ 43,750	\$ 42,100	16.7%
Bronx	\$ 49,500	\$ 41,000	\$ 41,800	14.5%
Passaic	\$ 59,400	\$ 52,500	\$ 34,900	5.4%
Dutchess		\$ 31,250	\$ 31,500	1.3%

*For 1990 data for Putnam is for Putnam and Dutchess counties.

Figure 13
 Median Household Incomes among Mexicans by County in the New York Metropolitan Region, 2010



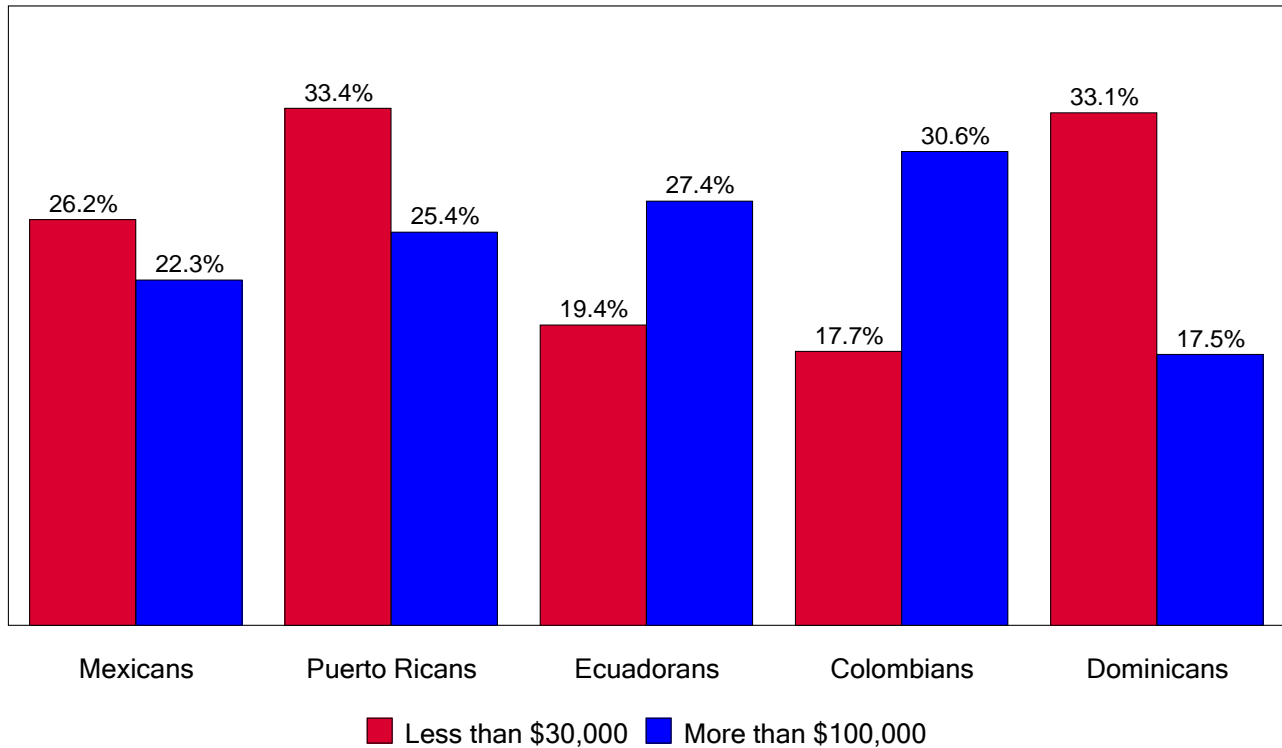
that half of all observed incomes are above the median, and half are below. For a better understanding of the internal dynamics of the Mexican community in the tri-state region, the distribution of income must be considered.

When these data are examined it is evident that there are very wealthy Mexican households in the region as well as very poor and middle income-level households. This was the case with both domestic and foreign-born Mexicans.

In 2010, for example, 22.3% of all Mexican households in the New York metropolitan region earned more than \$100,000 annually, which of course destroys all stereotypical images generated in the media about impoverished Mexicans. At the same time, 26.2% of all Mexican households earned less than \$30,000 annually. When disaggregated by nativity there was little differential in these extreme measures. About 24% of domestic-born Mexicans and lived in households earning over \$100,000 yearly and for foreign-born Mexicans it was slightly less at 21%. Some 27% of domestic-born Mexican households earned less than \$30,000 annually. About 25% of foreign-born Mexicans were in this same lower-income category.

These rates compare to the some of the other largest Latino national subgroups in the region. About 25% of Puerto Ricans, 27% of Ecuadorans, 31% of Colombians, and 18% of Dominicans lived in households earning over \$100,000 yearly in 2010. At the bottom of the income-earning structure 33% of Puerto Ricans, 19% of Ecuadorans, 18% of Colombians, and 33% of Dominicans lived in households earning less than \$30,000 annually. (See figure 14).

Figure 14
 Percentage of Households Earning Less than \$30,000 and More than \$100,000 by Five Largest Latino Nationalities in New York Metropolitan Area Counties, 2010



What also must be emphasized is that there was an extreme level of income concentration in wealthier Mexican households in 2010 and before. In 2010 85% of total household income was controlled by those Mexican households earning more than \$100,000. To state this in another way, 22.3% of all households earned 85% of all income. In fact, income concentration among Mexicans was even more extreme in 2010. Some 6.2% of all Mexican households earned \$200,000 or more, and these controlled 75.5% of total income to all Mexicans in the region.

The 26.3% of all households earning less than \$30,000 accounted for only 2.1% of total income accruing to Mexican households. Complete data on Mexican household income distribution from 1990 to 2010 is provided in table 14.

Educational Attainment

There is little question that the acquisition of higher levels of educational leads to greater income, irrespective of profession or job category. This is graphically depicted in figure 15 which clearly indicates the income advantages for high school graduates as well as for those able to attain a

higher educational degree. This section will examine how educational attainment levels changed for the Mexican community in the New York metropolitan counties between 1990 and 2010.

Table 14

Household Income Structure among Mexican Households in Inflation Adjusted 2010 Dollars in New York Metropolitan Counties, 1990 - 2010

	1990		2000		2010	
	% of Households	% of Income	% of Households	% of Income	% of Households	% of Income
Less than 10,000	3.6%	0.2%	4.2%	0.3%	3.9%	0.1%
10,000-19,999	6.4%	0.7%	8.6%	1.6%	10.2%	0.7%
20,000-29,999	8.8%	1.7%	9.8%	3.0%	12.1%	1.3%
30,000-39,999	9.7%	2.6%	11.5%	5.0%	12.3%	1.9%
40,000-49,999	10.2%	3.5%	10.1%	5.6%	9.4%	1.9%
50,000-74,999	20.2%	9.4%	21.4%	16.4%	18.7%	5.0%
75,000-99,999	15.1%	9.9%	14.4%	15.4%	11.0%	4.2%
100,000 - 199,999	19.2%	19.1%	16.2%	26.9%	16.1%	9.4%
200,000 +	6.8%	52.9%	3.8%	25.8%	6.2%	75.5%

The general data are not promising, although they tend to mask the differences in the tri-state area Mexican community by sex and nativity, which will be analyzed after general data are presented. Essentially, greater percentages of adult Mexicans (25 years of age and older) did not graduate high school in 2010 (48.6%) than in 1990 (43.4%). At the other end of the educational attainment profile, those with college degrees or higher, fewer Mexicans had attained at least a B.A. degree in 2010 (11.0%) than in 1990 (16.9%). (See figure 16 for these data). This was the worst performance among the major Latino nationalities in the region all of whom experienced significant declines in the non-high school graduation rates, and major increases in the college graduation rate between 1990 and 2010. (See figure 17 for educational attainment data for the five largest Latino nationalities in the region). The principal reason was the large scale influx of poorly educated migrants who skewed all averages toward lower educational performance rates. However, as will be indicated below, there were major improvements among domestic-born Mexicans, as well as among women. Given the connection between educational attainment and income indicated previously, it is hardly surprising that Mexicans had lower median household incomes in 2010 than in 1990 or 2000.

Figure 15
Educational Attainment and Average Personal Income Among Mexicans 25 Years of Age and Older New York Metropolitan Area Counties, 2010

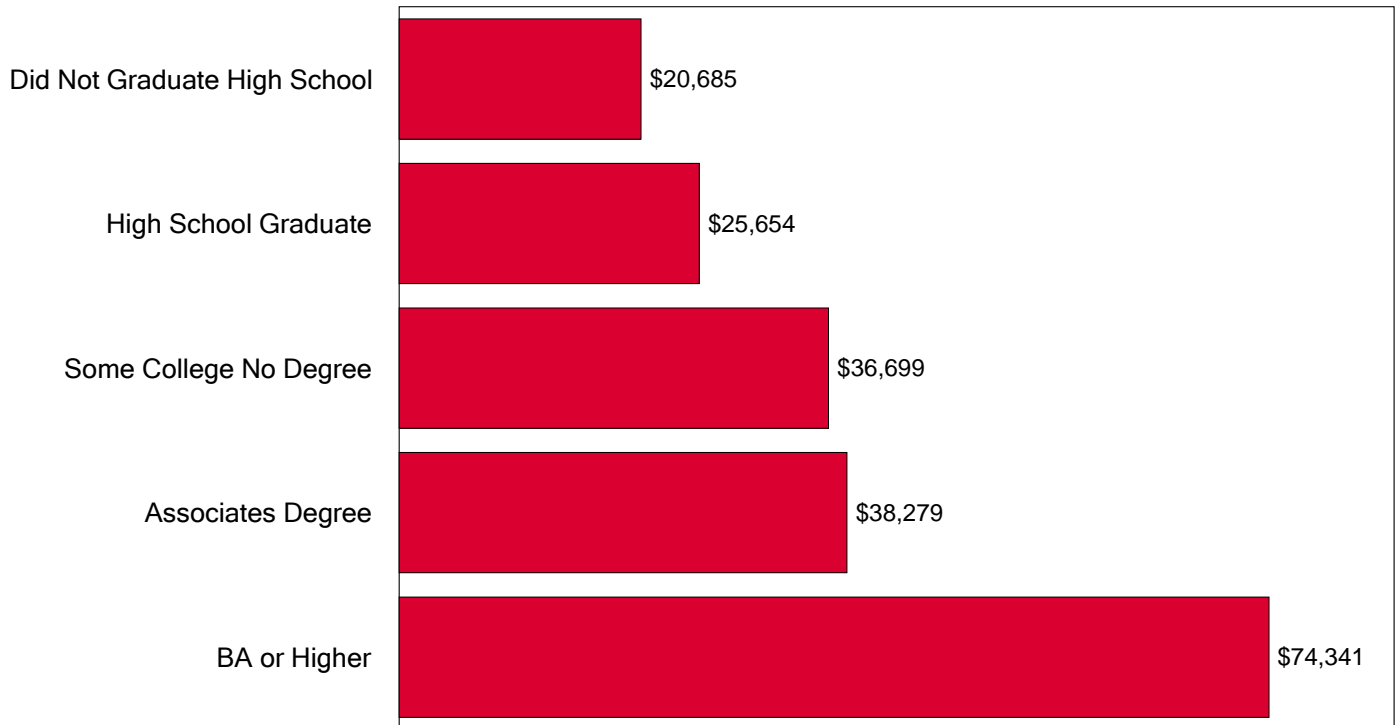


Figure 16
Educational Attainment Levels Among Mexicans in New York Metropolitan Area Counties 1990 - 2010 (in percent of population 25 Years of age and older)

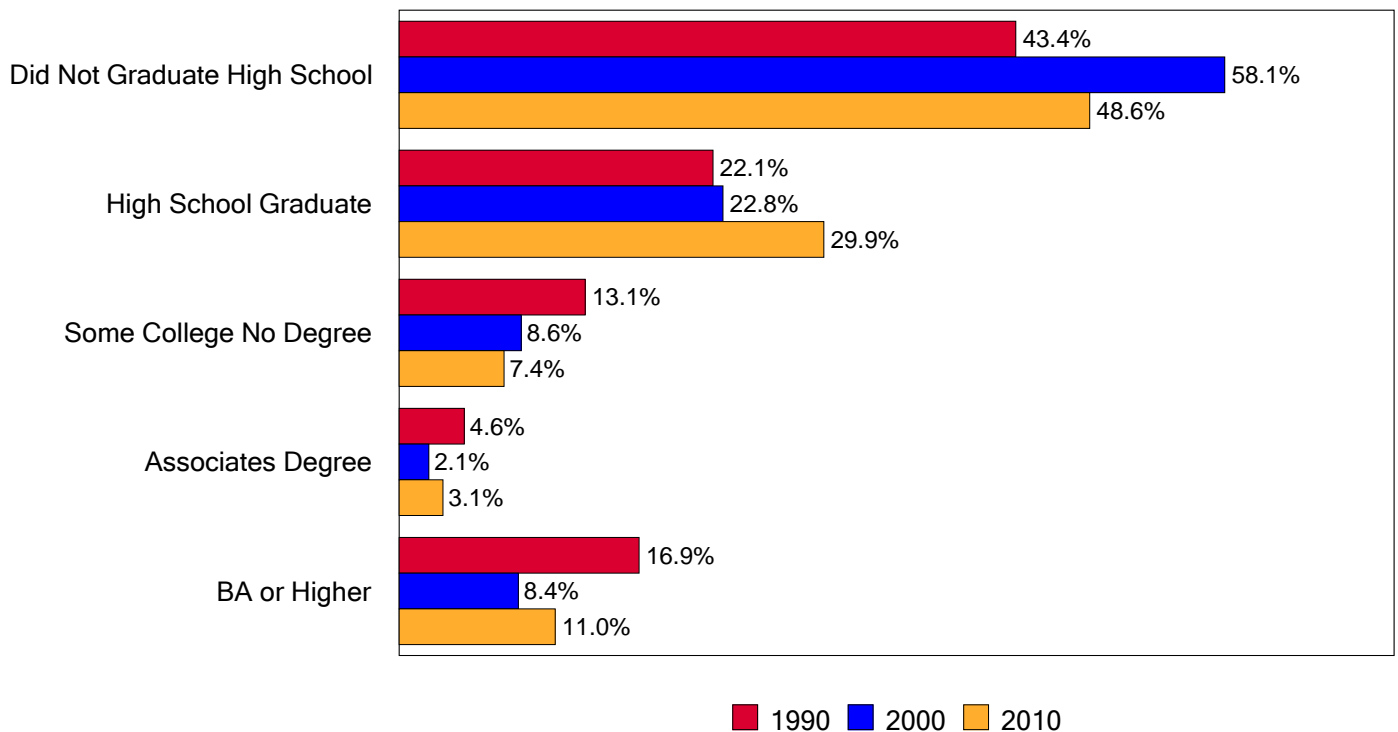
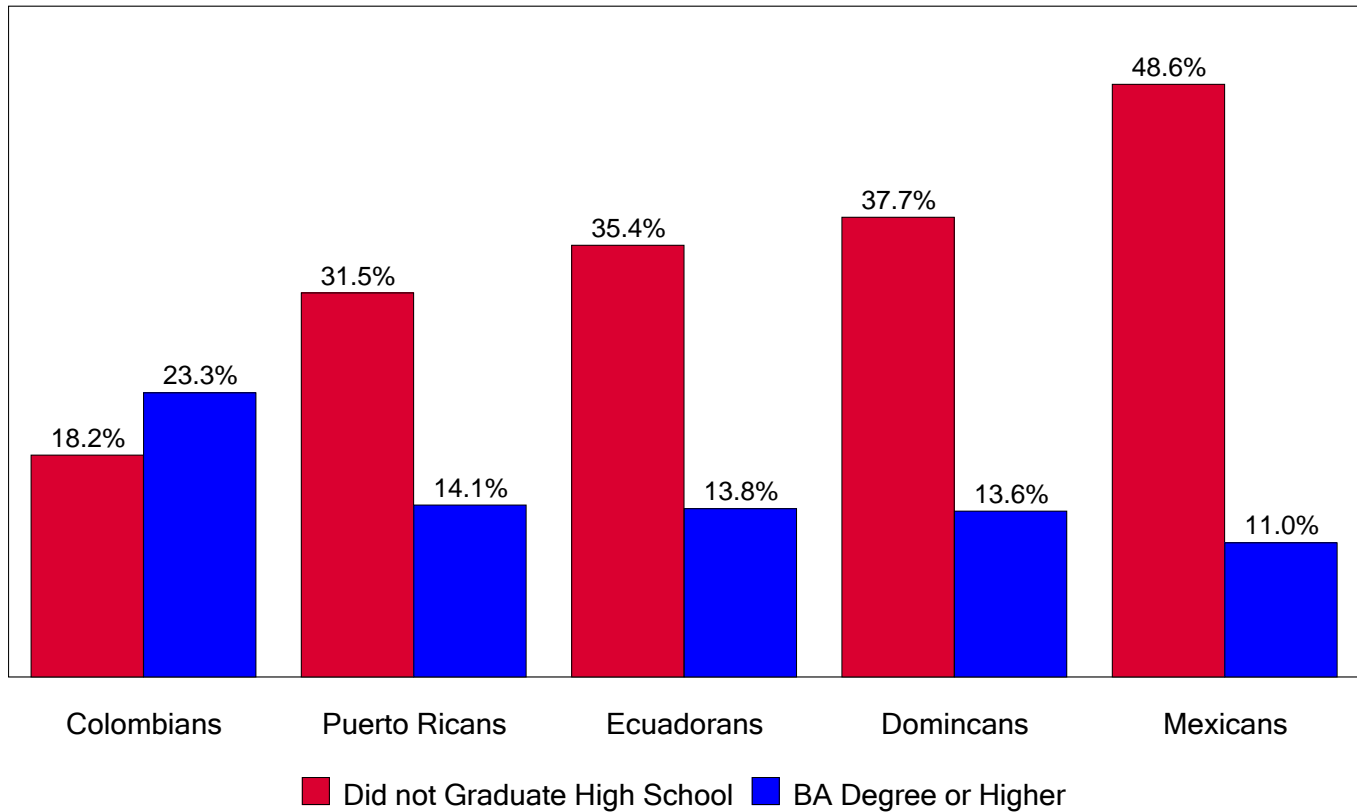


Figure 17
 Non-High School and College Graduation Rates Among Five Largest Latino Nationalities in New York Metropolitan Area Counties, 2010 (in percent of population 25 Years of age and older)



The most glaring difference in educational performance within the Mexican community is the extraordinary differential between domestic-born and foreign-born Mexicans. While 54% of foreign-born Mexicans in the region did not graduate high school, only 15% of domestic-born Mexicans 25 years of age and older failed to finish high school by 2010. The college graduation rate among domestic-born Mexicans was an astounding 40% while for the foreign born it was 11%.

When the data are disaggregated even further, 34% of domestic-born males and 45% of domestic-born female Mexican adults had graduated college or achieved a higher degree in 2010. Only 19% of U.S.-born Mexican males and 10% of domestic-born females had not graduated high school by 2010. By way of comparison 54% of foreign-born men and 56% of foreign-born Mexican women had not graduated high school by 2010. Only 5% of foreign-born males and 8% of foreign-born females had achieved a B.A. degree or higher by the same year. (See figures 18 and 19 and table 15 for complete data).

The data for 2010 reveal that only 15% of all Mexicans in the New York metropolitan area counties 25 years of age and older were domestic born. This proportion is certain to increase in the future as the demographic data presented previously indicate very clearly. As it does educational attainment for all Mexicans will improve because of opportunities in the higher public education systems in the states of New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut,

Figure 18
 Non-High School and College Graduation Rates Among Mexicans in New York Metropolitan Area Counties by Nativity, 2010 (in percent of population 25 Years of age and older)

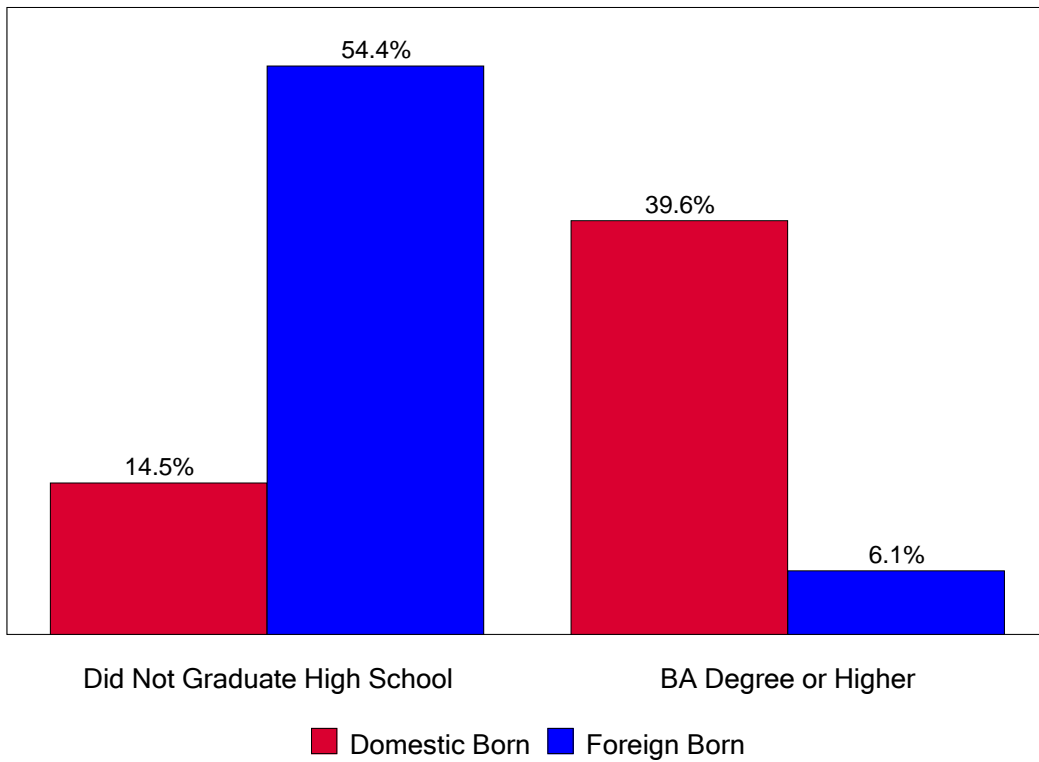


Figure 19
 Non-High School and College Graduation Rates Among Mexicans in New York Metropolitan Area Counties by Sex and Nativity, 2010 (in percent of population 25 Years of age and older)

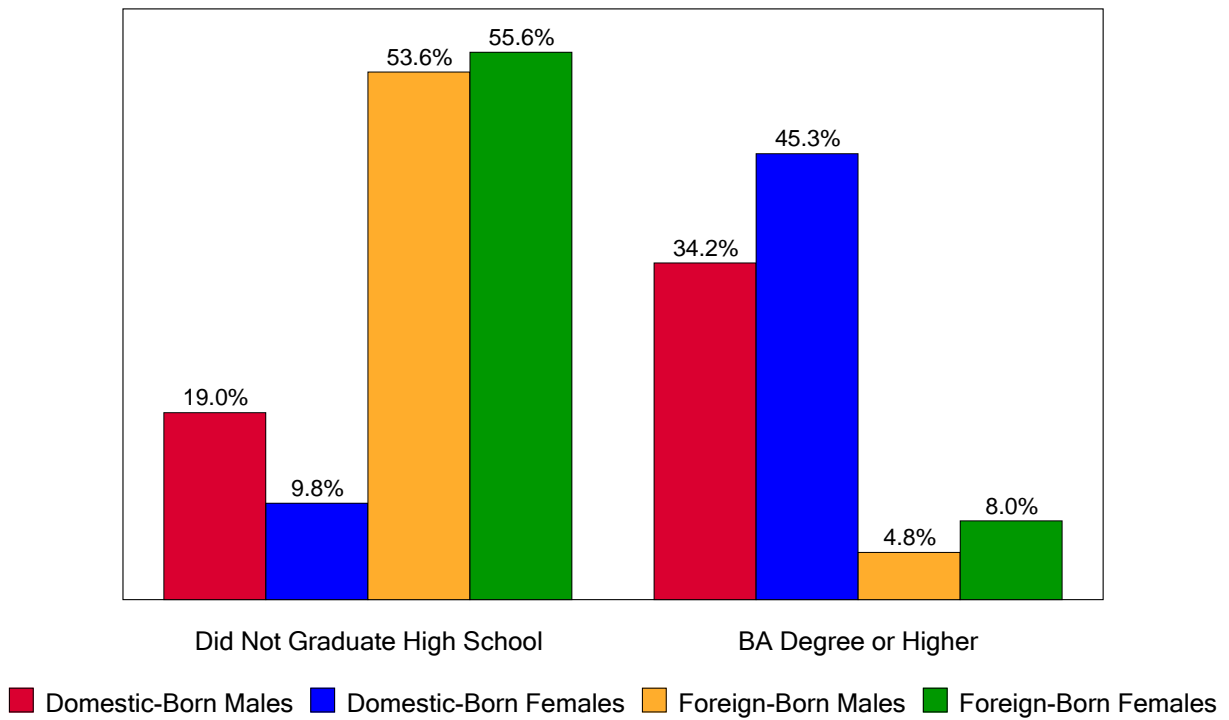


Table 15
 Educational Attainment Among Mexicans in New York Metropolitan Counties
 by Demographic Category, 1990 - 2010
 (in percentages of Mexican population 25 years of age and older)

	1990				
	Did Not Graduate High School	High School Graduate	Some College No Degree	Associates Degree	BA Degree or Higher
Total Population	43.4%	22.1%	13.1%	4.6%	16.9%
All Males	46.8%	19.3%	12.1%	4.2%	17.6%
All Females	39.0%	25.6%	14.3%	5.0%	16.1%
Domestic Born	17.6%	27.8%	22.0%	7.5%	25.1%
Foreign Born	59.1%	18.8%	7.4%	2.4%	12.3%
Domestic-Born Males	17.5%	23.2%	20.9%	8.3%	30.0%
Foreign-Born Males	61.5%	17.6%	7.7%	1.6%	11.6%
Domestic-Born Females	17.6%	32.4%	23.2%	6.7%	20.1%
Foreign-Born Females	55.4%	20.6%	7.0%	3.7%	13.3%

	2000				
	Did Not Graduate High School	High School Graduate	Some College No Degree	Associates Degree	BA Degree or Higher
Total Population	57.1%	22.5%	8.5%	2.3%	9.5%
All Males	58.1%	22.8%	8.6%	2.1%	8.4%
All Females	55.8%	22.1%	8.4%	2.6%	11.1%
Domestic Born	22.7%	23.1%	18.7%	7.7%	27.9%
Foreign Born	63.3%	22.4%	6.7%	1.3%	6.3%
Domestic-Born Males	24.7%	22.9%	19.0%	8.1%	25.3%
Foreign-Born Males	63.0%	22.8%	7.1%	1.2%	5.9%
Domestic-Born Females	20.9%	23.2%	18.4%	7.2%	30.3%
Foreign-Born Females	63.8%	21.8%	6.1%	1.5%	6.7%

	2010				
	Did Not Graduate High School	High School Graduate	Some College No Degree	Associates Degree	BA Degree or Higher
Total Population	48.6%	29.9%	7.4%	3.1%	11.0%
All Males	49.0%	31.3%	7.5%	3.5%	8.6%
All Females	48.1%	27.9%	7.3%	2.6%	14.2%
Domestic Born	14.5%	23.3%	15.7%	6.8%	39.6%
Foreign Born	54.4%	31.0%	6.0%	2.5%	6.1%
Domestic-Born Males	19.0%	22.9%	14.8%	9.1%	34.2%
Foreign-Born Males	53.6%	32.6%	6.4%	2.7%	4.8%
Domestic-Born Females	9.8%	23.8%	16.7%	4.4%	45.3%
Foreign-Born Females	55.6%	28.7%	5.4%	2.2%	8.0%

Finally, when college graduation rates are examined by county there was clearly a hierarchy. At the top, over one-third of all adult Mexicans living in Manhattan had achieved a B.A. degree or higher in 2010. Yet, less than 10% had graduated college in Westchester, Queens, Essex, Middlesex, Dutchess, Orange, Bronx, and Passaic counties. (See figure 20). There was a clear connection between the presence of domestic-born Mexicans and college graduation rates when the counties are isolated. These data are indicated in table 16.

Figure 20
 Mexicans College Graduates as Percentage of Population 25 Years of Age and Older
 New York Metropolitan Counties, 2010

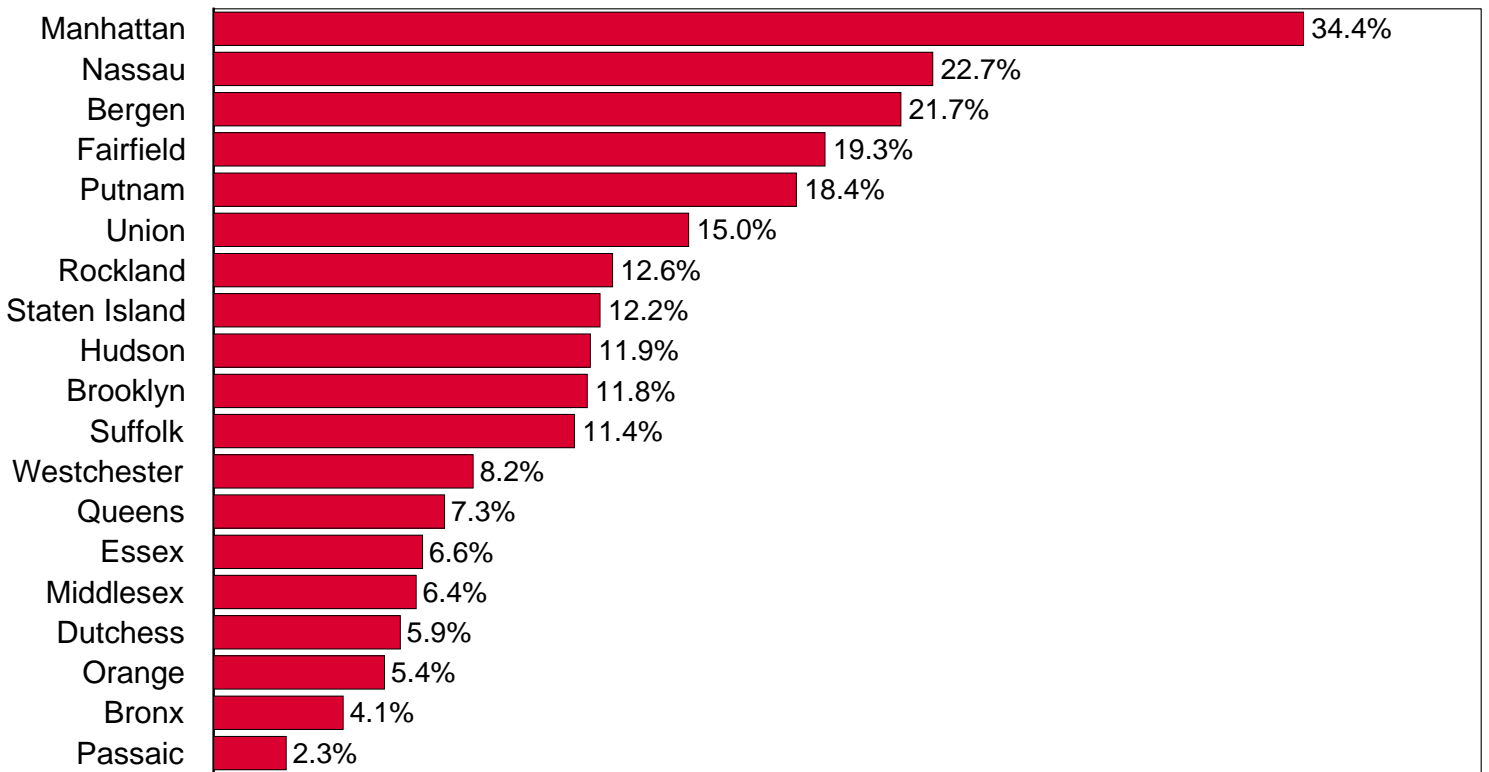


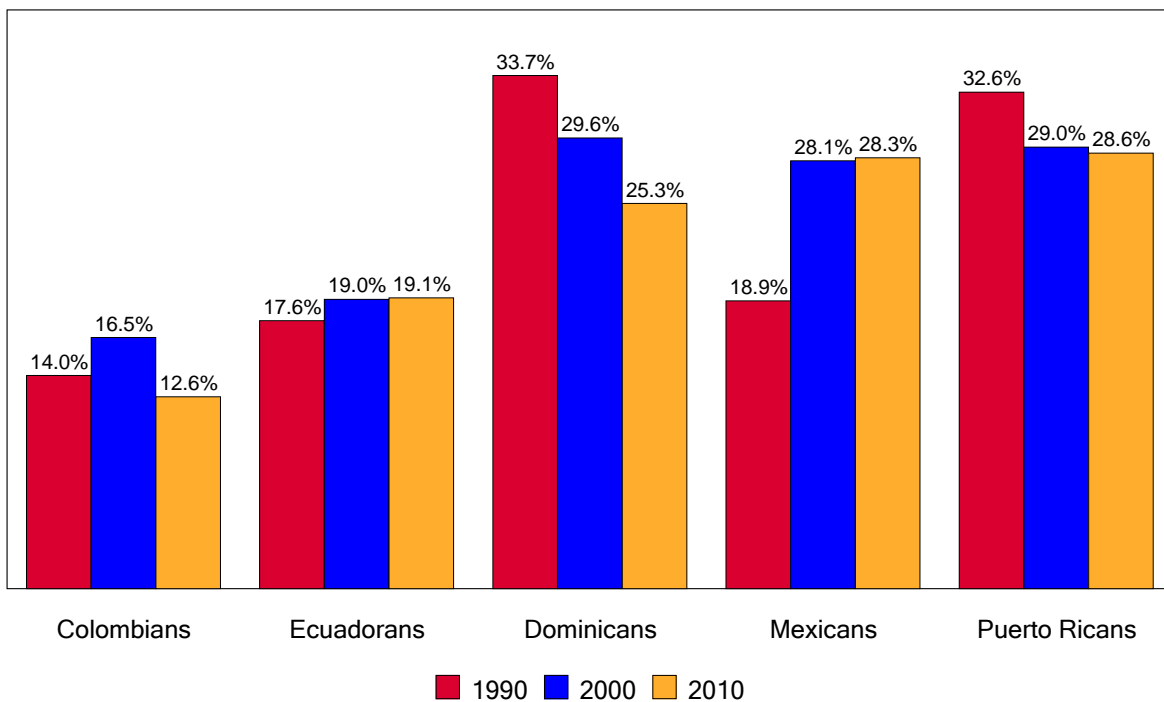
Table 16
 Percent of Population with B.A. Degree
 Compared with Percent of Mexican
 Population which was Domestic Born
 by New York Metropolitan Area County
 2010 (population 25 years of age and older)

	% with B.A. Degree or Higher	% Domestic Born
Manhattan	34.4%	31.6%
Nassau	22.7%	29.5%
Bergen	21.7%	24.0%
Fairfield	19.3%	16.5%
Putnam	18.4%	70.9%
Union	15.0%	18.7%
Rockland	12.6%	14.8%
Staten Island	12.2%	11.4%
Hudson	11.9%	7.8%
Brooklyn	11.8%	13.6%
Suffolk	11.4%	53.8%
Westchester	8.2%	8.9%
Queens	7.3%	9.4%
Essex	6.6%	10.1%
Middlesex	6.4%	8.2%
Dutchess	5.9%	6.5%
Orange	5.4%	10.7%
Bronx	4.1%	10.4%
Passaic	2.3%	4.0%

Poverty

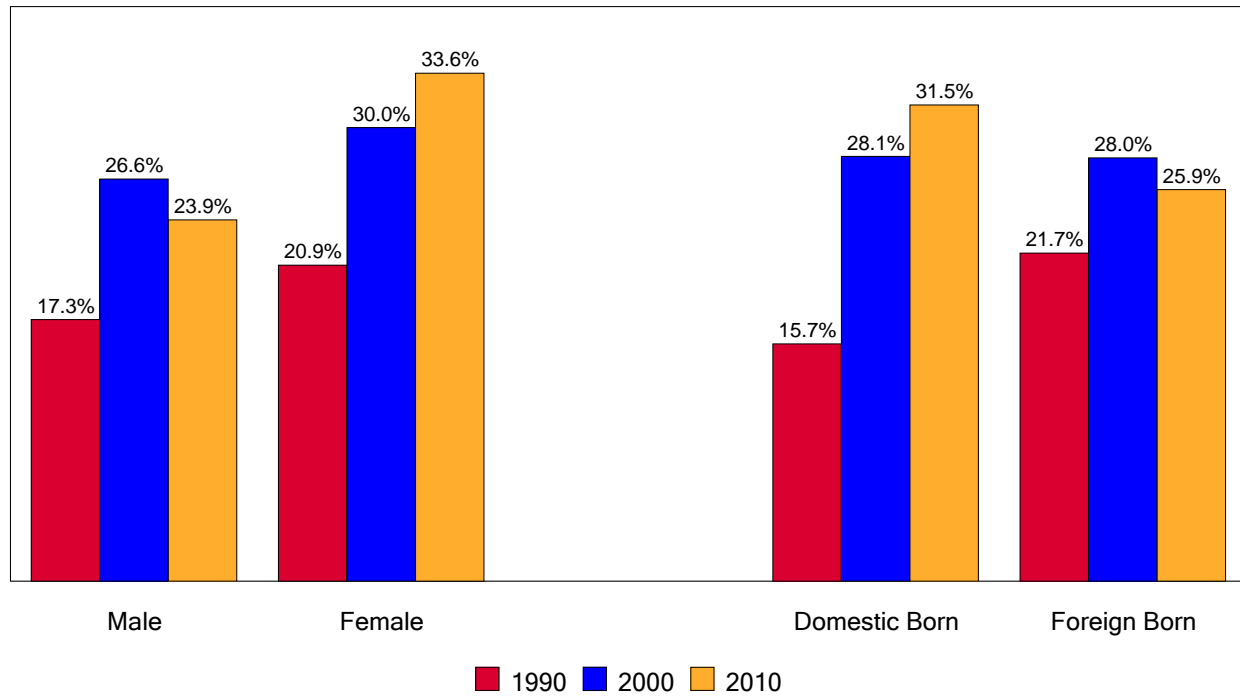
With the influx of less-skilled, less-educated, and relatively poor foreign-born Mexicans to the New York metropolitan region after 1990, the percentage of people living in poverty increased significantly. About 19% of all Mexicans lived in poverty in 1990. This rose to 28% in both 2000 and 2010. In 2010 the poverty rate among Mexicans was slightly higher than among Dominicans and about the same as for Puerto Ricans in the region. Colombians (13%) and Ecuadorans (19%) had much lower rates. (See figure 21).

Figure 21
Percentage of People Living in Poverty by Five Largest Latino Nationalities in New York Metropolitan Counties 1990 - 2010



Rising poverty rates took an especially devastating toll on women and girls. In 1990 about 21% of all Mexican females lived in poverty and this was slightly above male Mexicans who had a poverty rate of 17%. By 2010 poverty among females had soared to 34% while the differential with men had widened considerably as the Mexican male poverty rate was 24%. (See figure 22). The other notable characteristic about poverty rates among Mexicans in the New York City tri-state region was the soaring rate among the domestic born. About 16% of domestic-born Mexicans lived in poverty in 1990; 32% in 2010. The reason for this growth is because of the birth of so many children to foreign-born Mexican women who lived in the region after 1990. (This will be considered below when age-specific poverty rates are discussed). The poverty rate among the foreign born did not increase so dramatically: from 22% in 1990 to 26% in 2010. (See figure 22). This was largely due to the fact the foreign-born Mexicans were concentrated in the working-age categories and usually had jobs.

Figure 22
 Percentage of Mexicans Living in Poverty by Sex and Nativity in New York Metropolitan Counties
 1990 - 2010



Poverty among young Mexicans increased substantially between 1990 when 24% of all New York metropolitan-area Mexican children 14 years of age and under lived in poverty to a rate of 36% in 2010.¹⁴ (See figure 23). There does not seem to be much distinction when childhood poverty by sex and nativity are examined. Whether male or female, domestic or foreign born, by 2010 Mexican childhood poverty rates were between 34% and 36%. (See figure 24).

¹⁴ See the study which examines childhood poverty in New York City only, Lazar Treschan and Apurva Mehrotra, *Young Mexican-Americans in New York City: Working More, Learning and Earning Less* (Community Service Society, March 2013). This study uses different age categories including young people as all those 16 years of age and younger. It only examines 2010 while this report looks at trends over time from 1990 through 2010. Additionally, its methodology is flawed since it confuses family income with household income, first stating that poverty is defined by a family of three earning less than \$38,180, (200% of the federal poverty level), then using household income as a criteria without explaining the difference between the two. The government uses the 100% of income as the cutoff point for the poverty level, not 200%.

In fact, as this study indicates, Mexican households had an average of 1.5 families living in each household. Because of this important fact using family income is an erroneous criterion for measuring poverty. One family living alone and earning a particular income may be 'poor.' But two families living in the same household with \$38,180 in annual income each have a very different standard of living.

Added to this, the data presented in the report are erroneous. I have carefully analyzed the 2010 ACS data and found the following: a total of 35% of Mexicans 16 years of age and younger lived below the poverty line; 54% lived at 150% or below of poverty levels; and 66% lived at 200% or below poverty levels. The 80% claim for Mexicans living at 200% or below poverty levels is not accurate. Since the census bureau and the federal government use the 100% criterion, it is puzzling that the CSS study uses the 200% below-the-poverty rate level in its narrative. This artificially inflates the percentage of people of all age groups living in poverty.

Additionally, when household income structure is examined 45% of Mexicans 16 years of age and under live in households earning less than \$40,000 annually, a better indicator of poverty than the official poverty rate. This is a far cry from the 80% claimed in the CSS report. Poverty among Mexicans and especially young Mexicans is a socio-economic problem to be sure, but it is not as acute as the exaggerated claims indicated in the CSS study.

Figure 23
 Percentage of Mexicans Living in Poverty by Age Group in New York Metropolitan Counties
 1990 - 2010

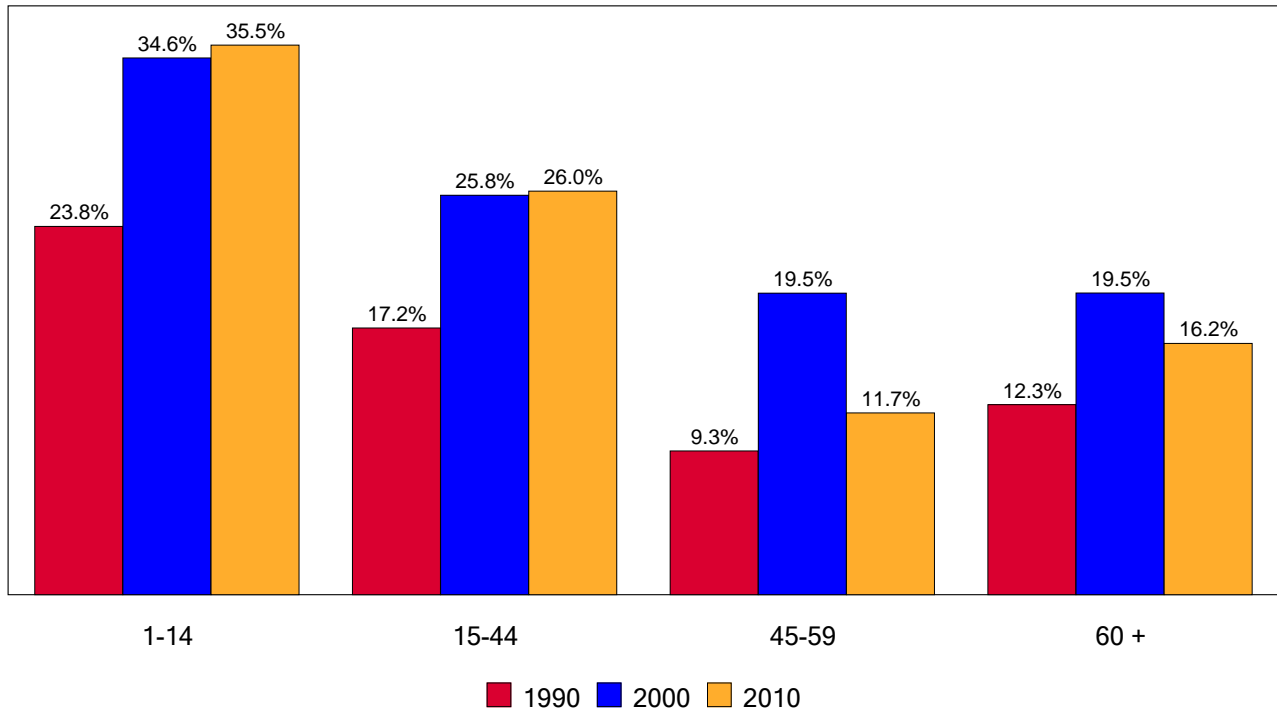
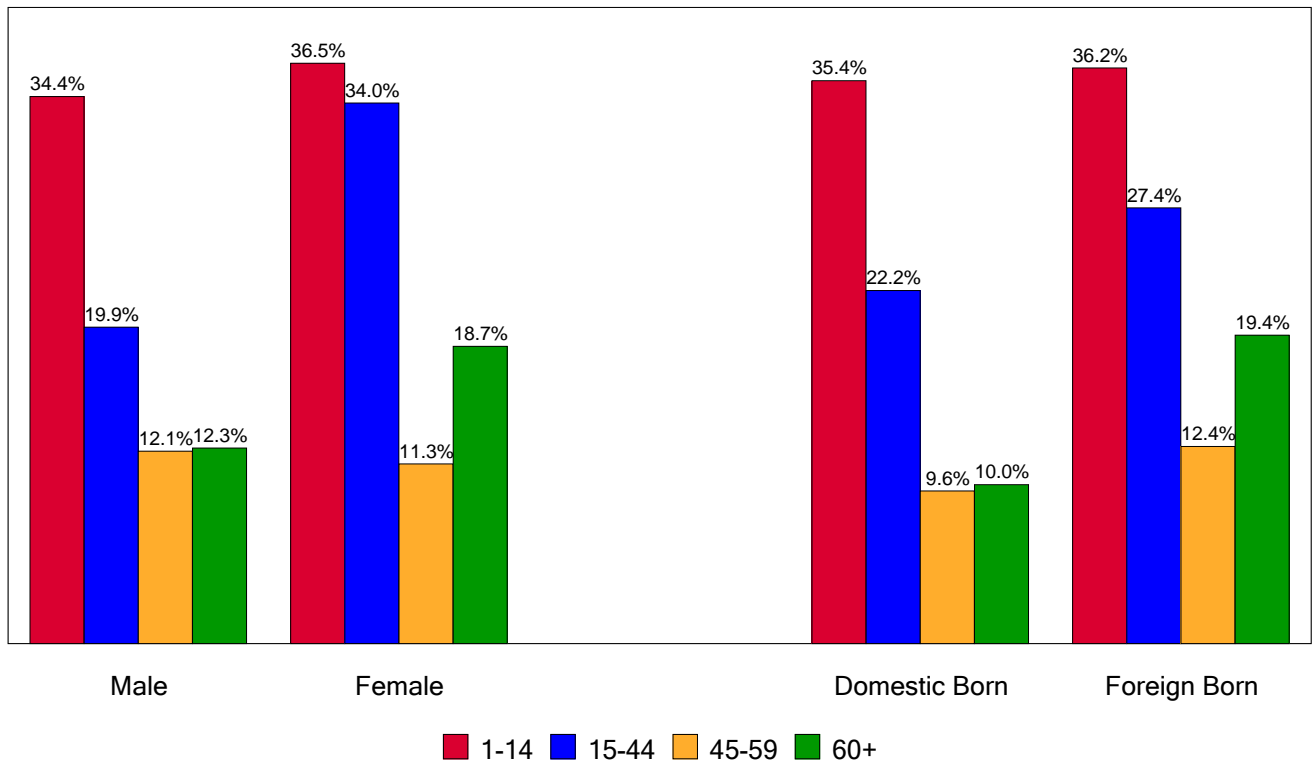
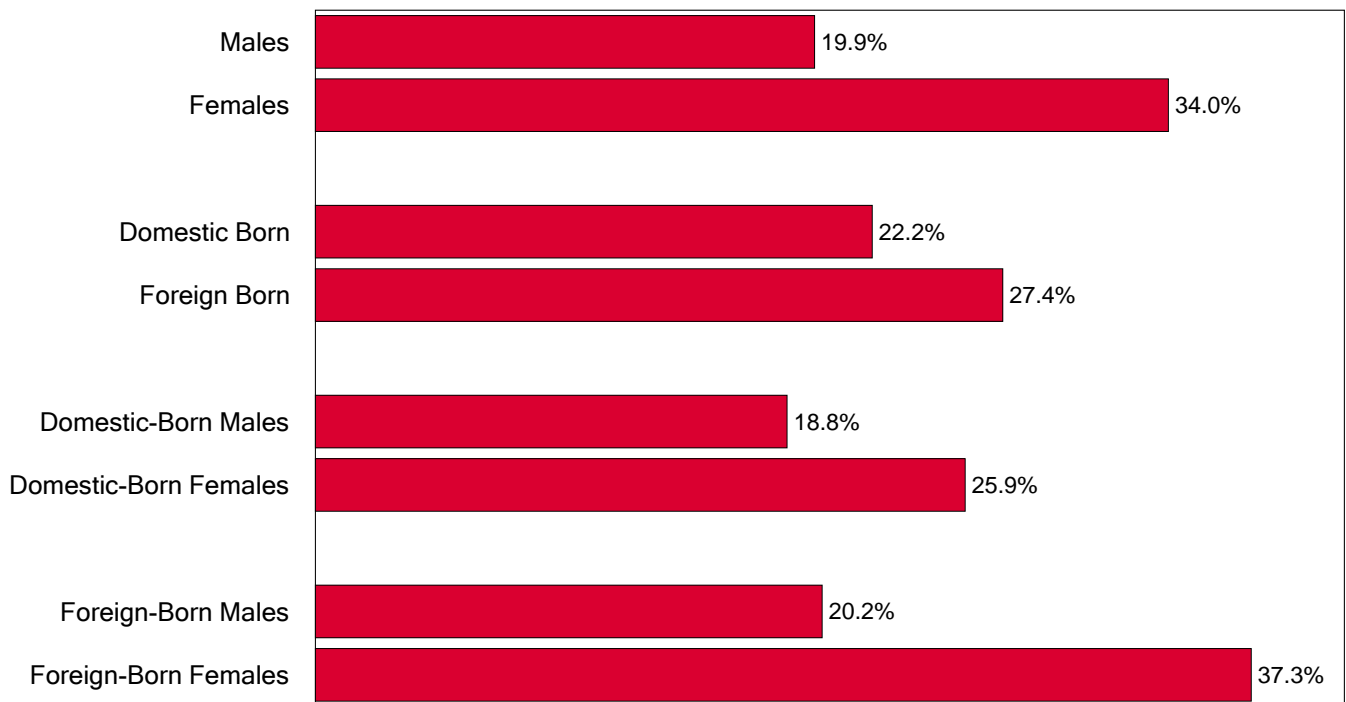


Figure 24
 Percentage of Mexicans Living in Poverty by Age, Sex, and Nativity in New York Metropolitan Counties, 2010



Among working age Mexicans, those between 15 and 44 years of age, it is striking that women had poverty rates which were significantly higher than men. In 2010 the rate was 26% for domestic-born women compared with 19% for domestic-born men. The poverty rate for foreign-born females (37%) was nearly twice that of foreign-born males (20%). (See figure 25). This was largely due to poor labor market skills and thus lower paying jobs. Perhaps as important was the relatively high percentage of foreign-born women who were not officially found to be working. This will be discussed in the following section on employment patterns.

Figure 25
 Percentage of Mexicans Living in Poverty by Sex and Nativity for Population Ages 15 - 44
 in New York Metropolitan Counties, 2010



Among Mexicans between 45 and 59 years of age, the disparities in income by sex and nativity were not as great as those found in all of the other age categories. Nativity seems to have been a critical factor as the foreign born had higher rates than domestic born Mexicans. Males had slightly higher poverty rates than females, the only age category where this was the case. (See figure 26).

Among older Mexicans in the region, those over 60 years of age, the comparatively higher poverty rates among women and the foreign born were particularly notable. All foreign-born Mexicans over 60 years old had poverty rates of 19% compared with 10% among the domestic born. The rate for domestic-born women was 12% compared with only 6% among domestic-born males. For foreign-born females the rate was 22% compared with 15% among foreign-born men. (See figure 27 and table 17 for complete data 1990 - 2010).

Figure 26
 Percentage of Mexicans Living in Poverty by Sex and Nativity for Population Ages 45-59
 in New York Metropolitan Counties, 2010

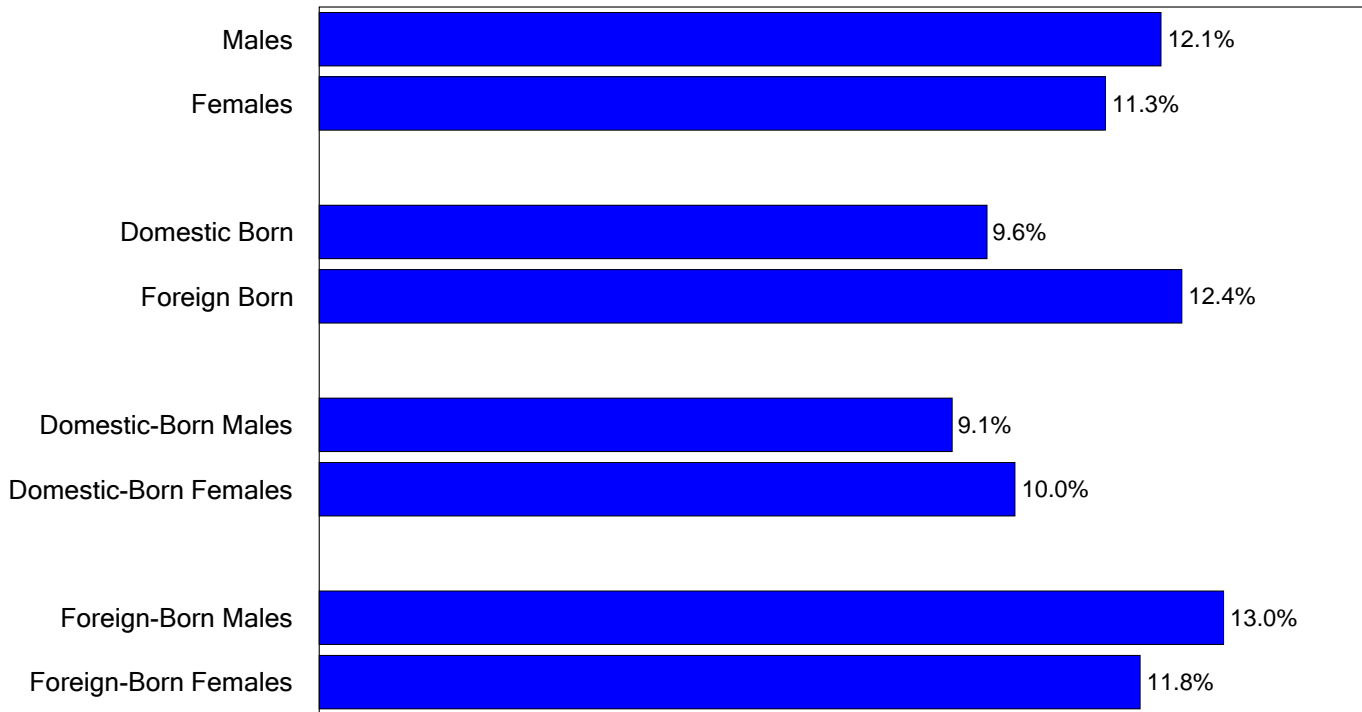


Figure 27
 Percentage of Mexicans Living in Poverty by Sex and Nativity for Population Ages 60 +
 in New York Metropolitan Counties, 2010

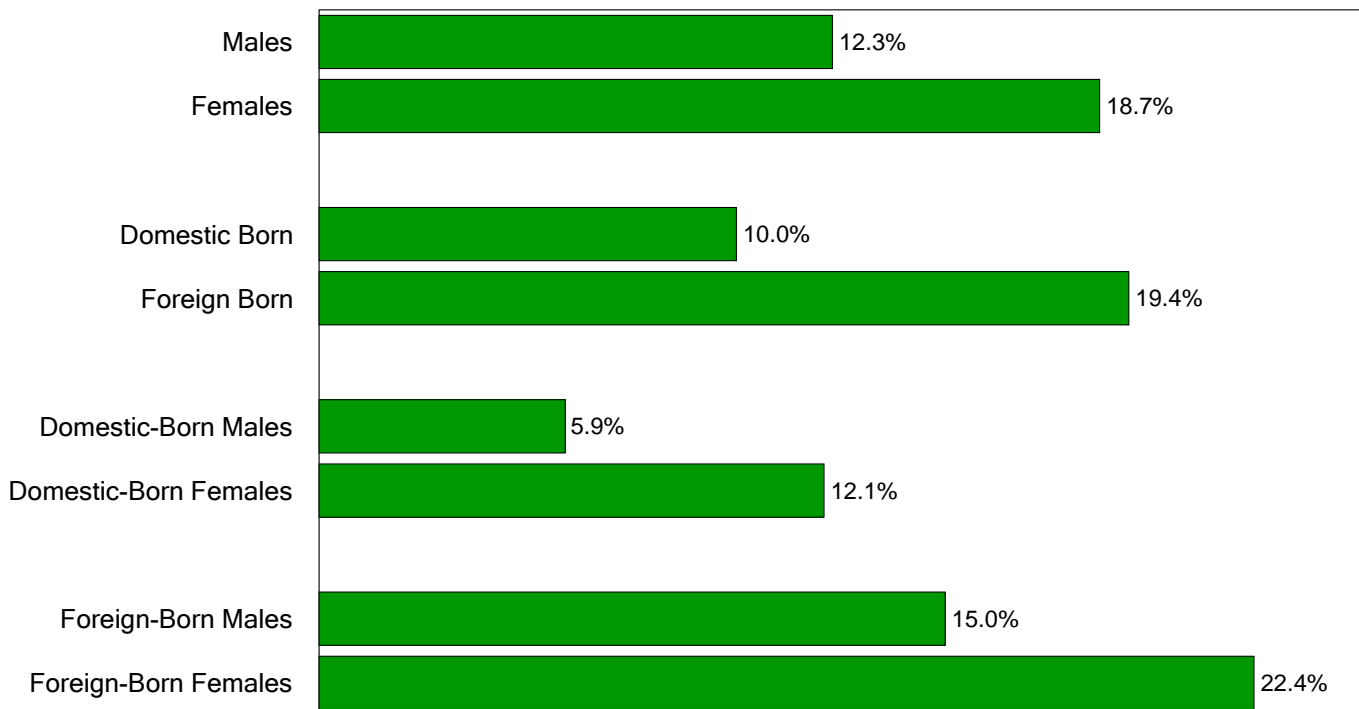
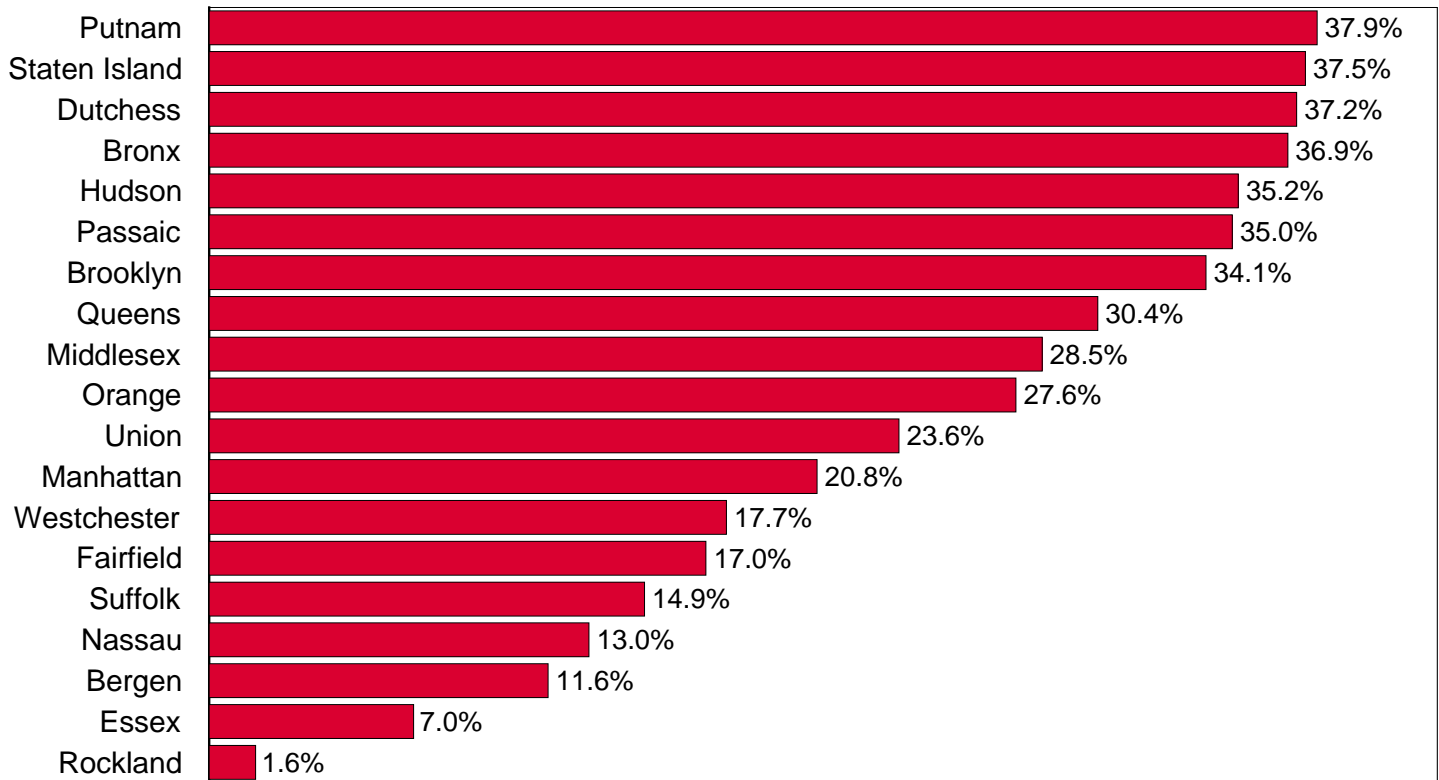


Table 17
 Poverty Rates by Age Group, Sex, and Nativity Among Mexicans in
 New York Area Counties, 1990 - 2010

	1990			
	0-14	15-44	45-59	60 +
Males	23.0%	15.2%	10.8%	9.4%
Females	24.6%	20.0%	7.9%	14.8%
Domestic Born	21.4%	10.5%	7.1%	8.9%
Foreign Born	32.2%	21.0%	10.0%	14.9%
Domestic-Born Males	20.1%	9.2%	8.9%	3.4%
Domestic-Born Females	22.7%	11.9%	5.6%	13.8%
Foreign-Born Males	31.8%	17.7%	11.3%	14.7%
Foreign-Born Females	32.6%	26.6%	8.8%	15.1%
	2000			
	0-14	15-44	45-59	60 +
Males	35.3%	23.3%	18.0%	18.0%
Females	33.9%	29.4%	21.4%	20.6%
Domestic Born	33.5%	16.7%	12.5%	14.5%
Foreign Born	38.9%	27.3%	21.5%	22.3%
Domestic-Born Males	33.9%	15.3%	12.8%	11.5%
Domestic-Born Females	33.0%	18.0%	12.3%	16.7%
Foreign-Born Males	40.0%	24.4%	19.1%	21.4%
Foreign-Born Females	37.6%	31.9%	24.8%	23.1%
	2010			
	0-14	15-44	45-59	60 +
Males	34.4%	19.9%	12.1%	12.3%
Females	36.5%	34.0%	11.3%	18.7%
Domestic Born	35.4%	22.2%	9.6%	10.0%
Foreign Born	36.2%	27.4%	12.4%	19.4%
Domestic-Born Males	34.4%	18.8%	9.1%	5.9%
Domestic-Born Females	36.4%	25.9%	10.0%	12.1%
Foreign-Born Males	34.0%	20.2%	13.0%	15.0%
Foreign-Born Females	38.2%	37.3%	11.8%	22.4%

Finally, poverty among Mexicans in the region was not uniform. The upstate New York counties, Putnam and Dutchess, the City boroughs of Staten Island, Bronx, Brooklyn, and Queens, and the New Jersey counties of Hudson and Passaic, all had poverty rates above 30%. (See figure 28 for complete county data).

Figure 28
Mexican Poverty Rates New York Metropolitan Counties, 2010

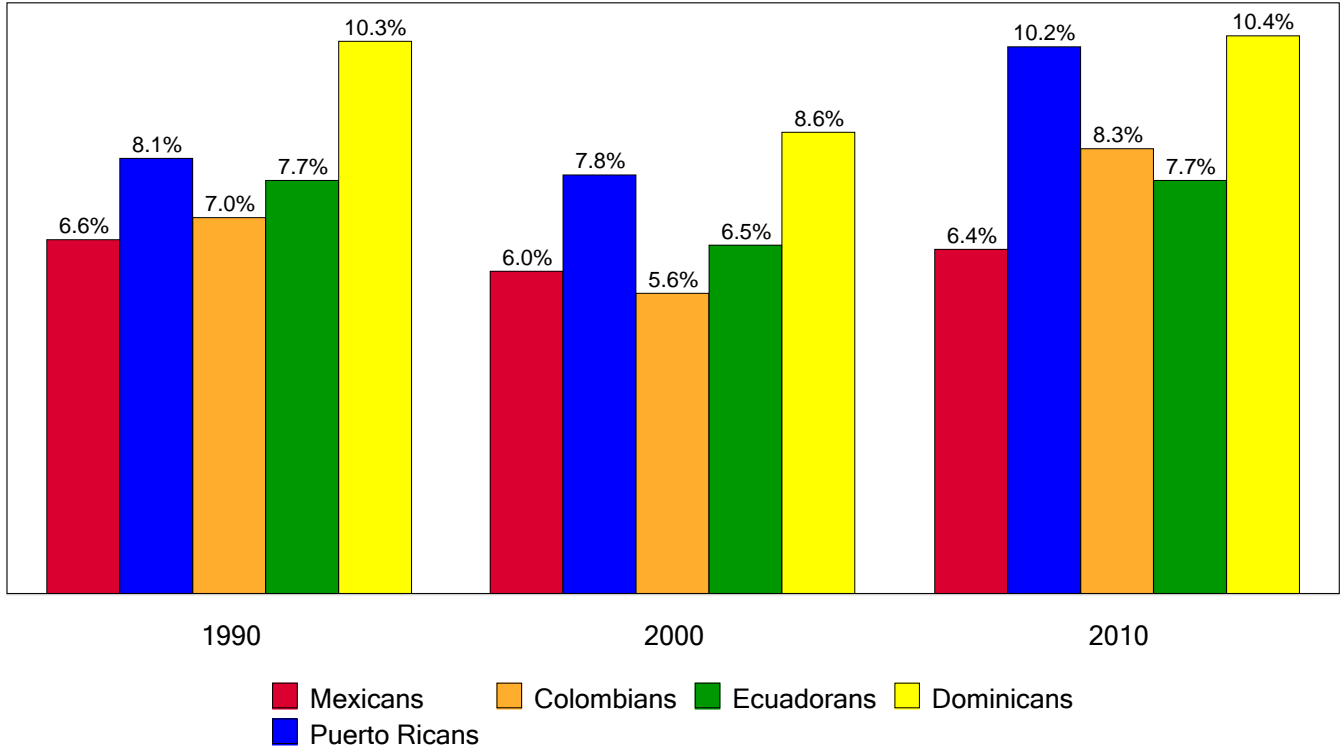


Employment and Unemployment

The Census Bureau utilizes three measures which help understand the employment characteristics of the work force: unemployment, employment, and those out of the work force. Each tells us something very different about the changing dynamics of the Mexican labor force in the tri-state region.¹⁵ Unemployment measures only those actively seeking work. In comparative perspective Mexicans had low unemployment rates in 1990 (6.6%), 2000 (6.0%), and in 2010 at 6.4% and this was the lowest unemployment rate among the five largest Latino nationalities in the New York metropolitan area counties examined in this study. (See figure 29).

¹⁵ The potential work force is considered people between the ages of 16 and 60 and all data analyzed in this section focus on this age category.

Figure 29
 Percentage of People Unemployed by Largest Latino Nationalities for Population Ages 16 - 60
 in New York Metropolitan Counties, 1990 - 2010



However, the employment and out of the work force rates, which move in opposite directions relative to each other, are important indicators of changes occurring within the Mexican labor force, and these were determined by the large influx of foreign-born migrants after 1990. It is important to examine the Mexican labor force by nativity and sex for a better understanding of the transformations occurring over this three decade period.

First, however, an examination of general trends is needed. The percentage of the Mexican work force which was employed dropped significantly from 1990 to 2000, from 71% to 59% and then recovered to 66% in 2010. In comparative perspective this was higher than among Puerto Ricans and Dominicans in 2010, but slightly lower than among Colombians and Ecuadorans in the New York metropolitan counties. (See figure 30).

The out of the labor force rate rose between 1990 and 2000 from 23% to 35%, a fairly large increase, but fell to 27% in 2010. (See figure 31). By 2010 a greater percentage of Mexicans was out of the labor force officially, than Colombians and Ecuadorans, about the same as Dominicans, and much lower than Puerto Ricans. (See figure 31).

Figure 30
 Percentage of People Employed by Largest Latino Nationalities for Population Ages 16 - 60
 in New York Metropolitan Counties, 1990 - 2010

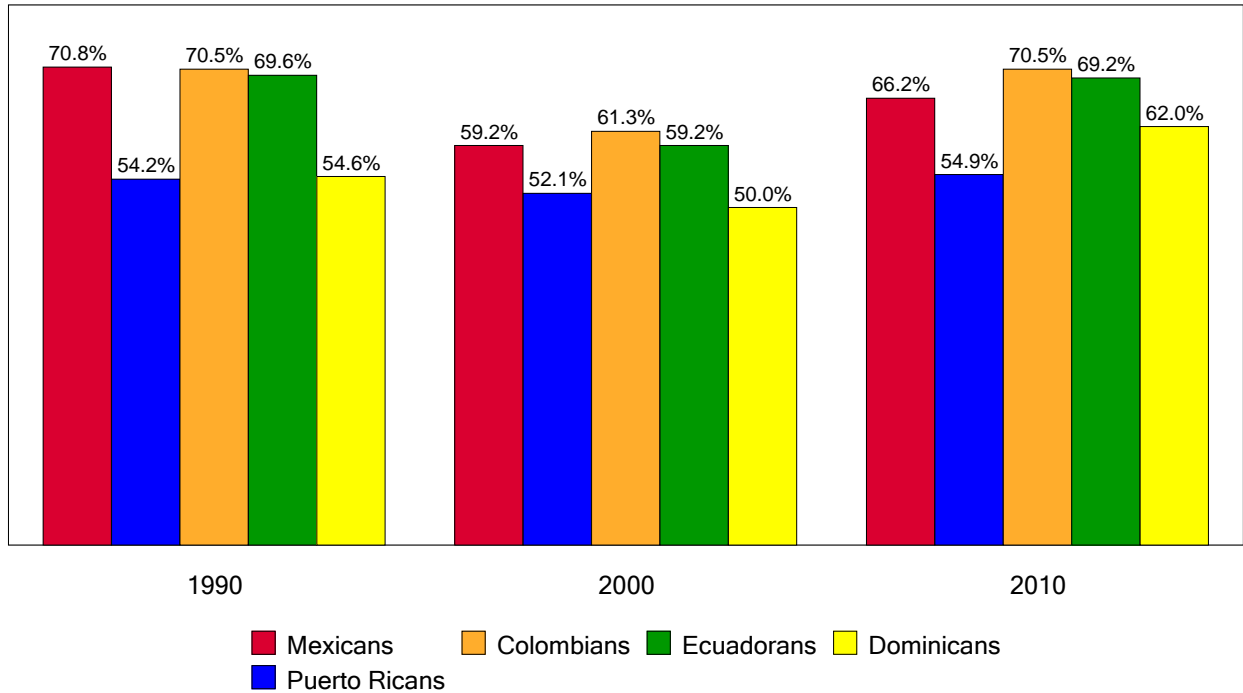
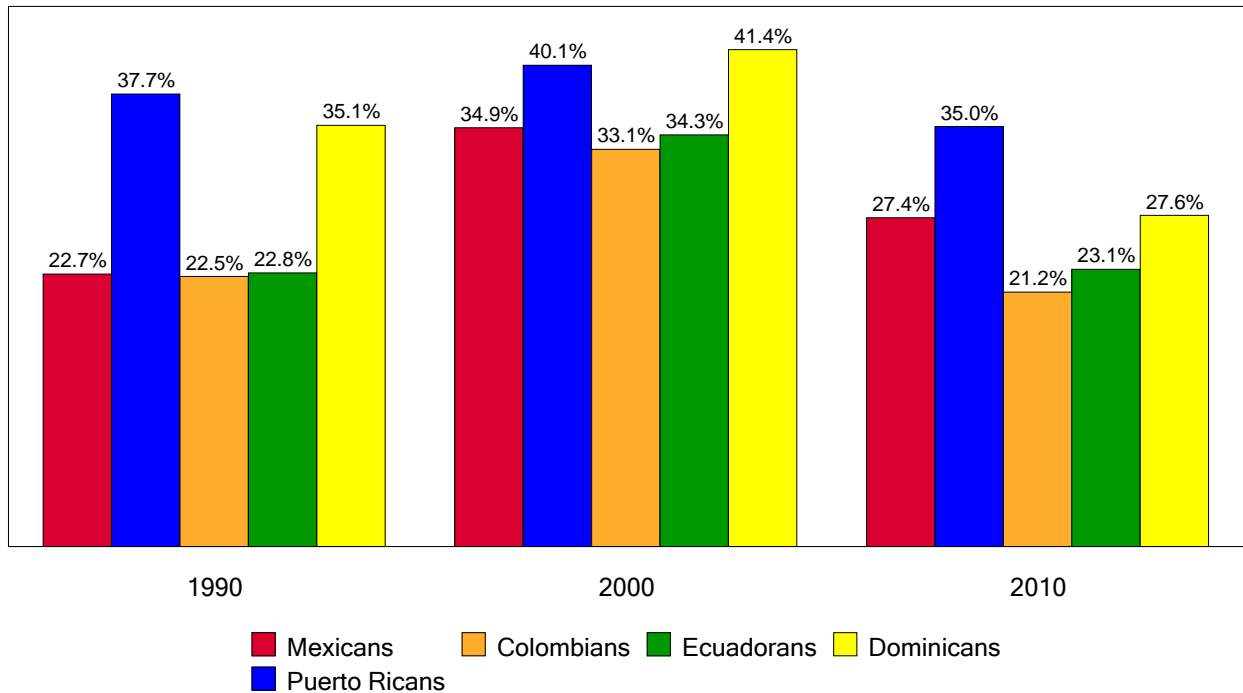


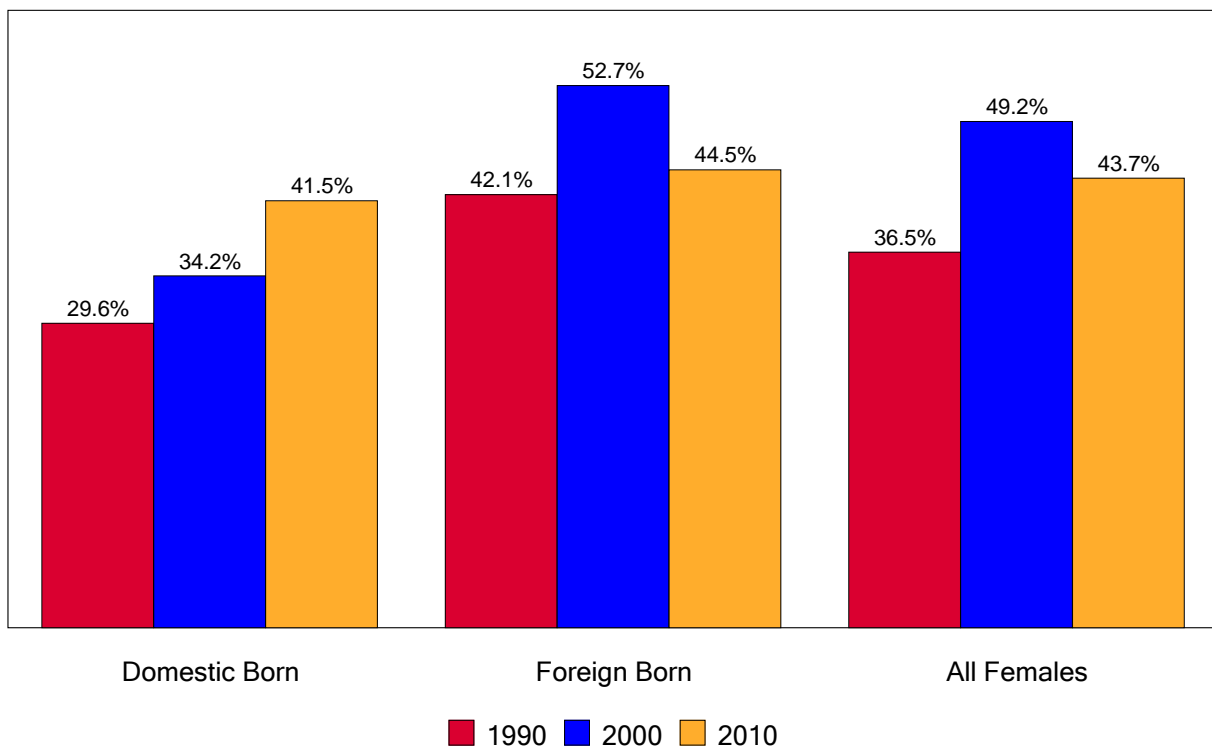
Figure 31
 Percentage of People Out of the Work Force by Largest Latino Nationalities for Population Ages 16 - 60
 in New York Metropolitan Counties, 1990 - 2010



To understand these changes it is important to first analyze the shifting characteristics among Mexican women between 1990 and 2010. One of the determining factors impacting the overall working-age population was the sharply declining labor participation rate among women, especially between 1990 and 2000, a period of increasing migration. In 1990 36% of all Mexican women were out of the labor force. This rose substantially to 49% in 2000, although there was a decline to 44% in 2010. This was largely due to the fact that there was a numerical increase in foreign-born Mexican women because of migration, and that a large share of these was not in the labor force. In 1990 42% of foreign-born Mexican women in the region were out of the labor force. This increased to 53% in 2000,

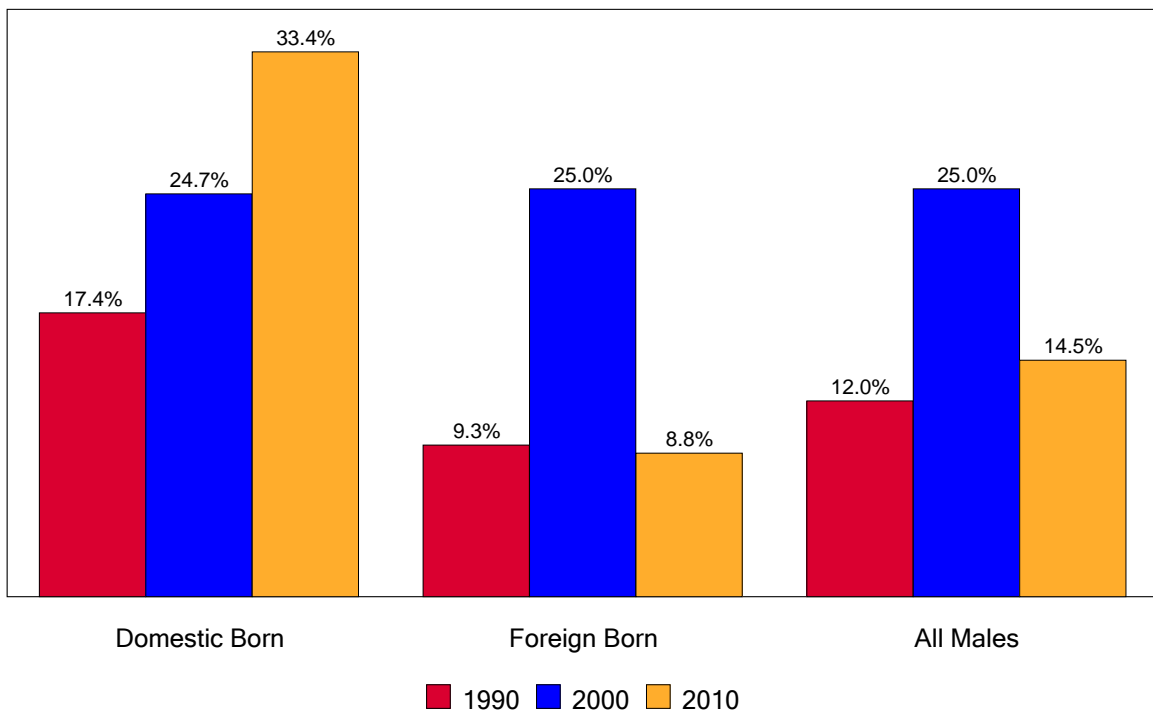
Additionally, there were rising out-of-the-workforce rates among domestic-born females. In 1990 30% of domestic-born Mexican women were not working. This increased to 34% in 2000 and 42% in 2010. Thus, among Mexican women, it seems that there were more stay-at-home mothers because of the high birth rates indicated in the section on demography, and that they did not formally enter regional labor markets. (See figure 32). Informal employment rates are impossible to determine.

Figure 32
Out of the Workforce Rates for Mexican Females by Nativity for Population Ages 16 - 60
in New York Metropolitan Counties, 1990 - 2010



There were also rising out-of-the-work force rates among Mexican males between 1990 and 2000, although there was a decline in these rates by 2010. This was especially graphic among the domestic born. The rates were not nearly as high as for females, but the upward trend is very clear. In 1990 only 12% of all Mexican males were out of the work force, 9% of the foreign born and 17% of those who were born in the U.S. By 2000 these rates had doubled: 25% of all males, whether domestic or foreign born were out of the work force. The rates among the domestic born kept rising and in 2010 stood at 33% of the male laboring age population. But the rate among foreign-born males dropped precipitously to 9% and among all males it fell to 15% by 2010. (See figure 33).

Figure 33
Out of the Workforce Rates for Mexican Males by Nativity for Population Ages 16 - 60
in New York Metropolitan Counties, 1990 - 2010



By 2010 about 80% of all Mexican males were employed, 60% of the domestic born and 86% of foreign-born males. This compares to Mexican women ages 16 - 60 years of age in the following way: only 49% of all Mexican women were employed in 2010, 54% of domestic-born females and 47% of the foreign born. (See figures 34 and 35). Complete data on the work force ages 16 - 60 for 1990 through 2010 are provided in table 18.

Figure 34
 Employment Status of Mexicans by Sex for Population Ages 16 - 60 in Percentages
 in New York Metropolitan Counties, 2010

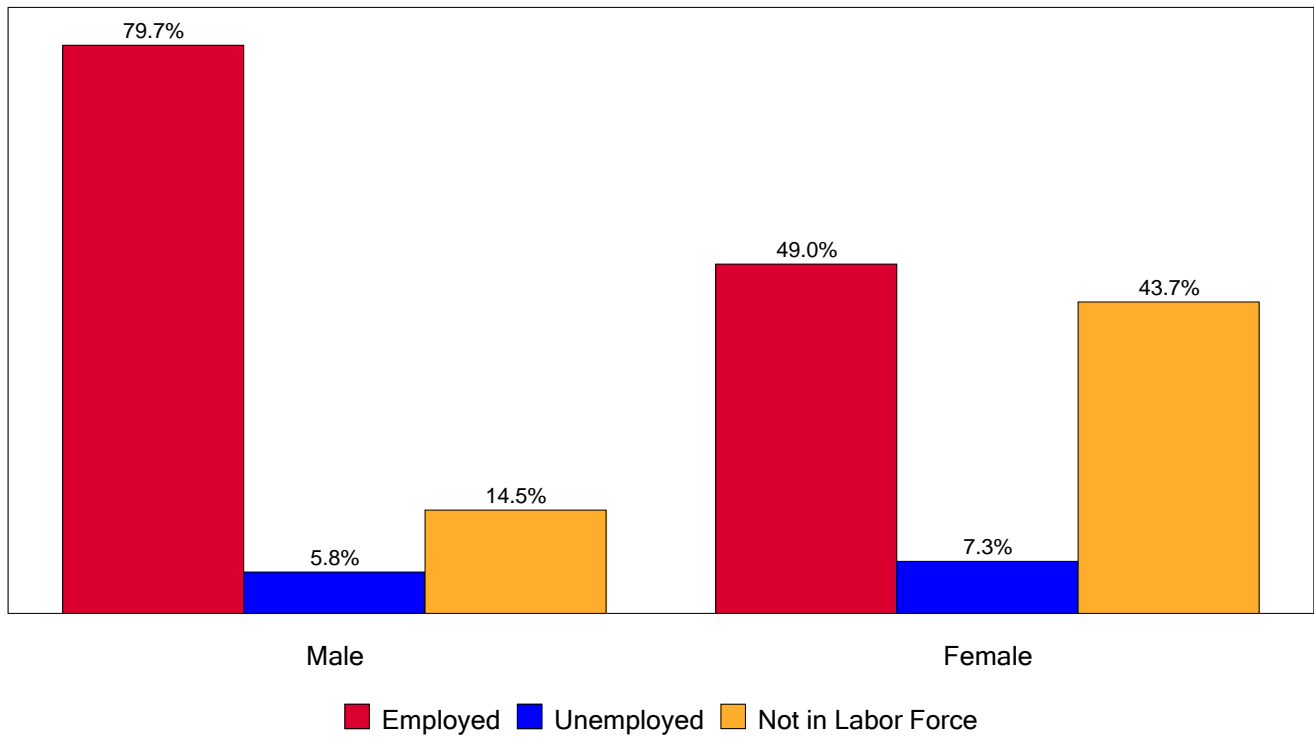


Figure 35
 Employment Status of Mexicans by Nativity and Sex for Population Ages 16 - 60 in Percentages
 in New York Metropolitan Counties, 2010

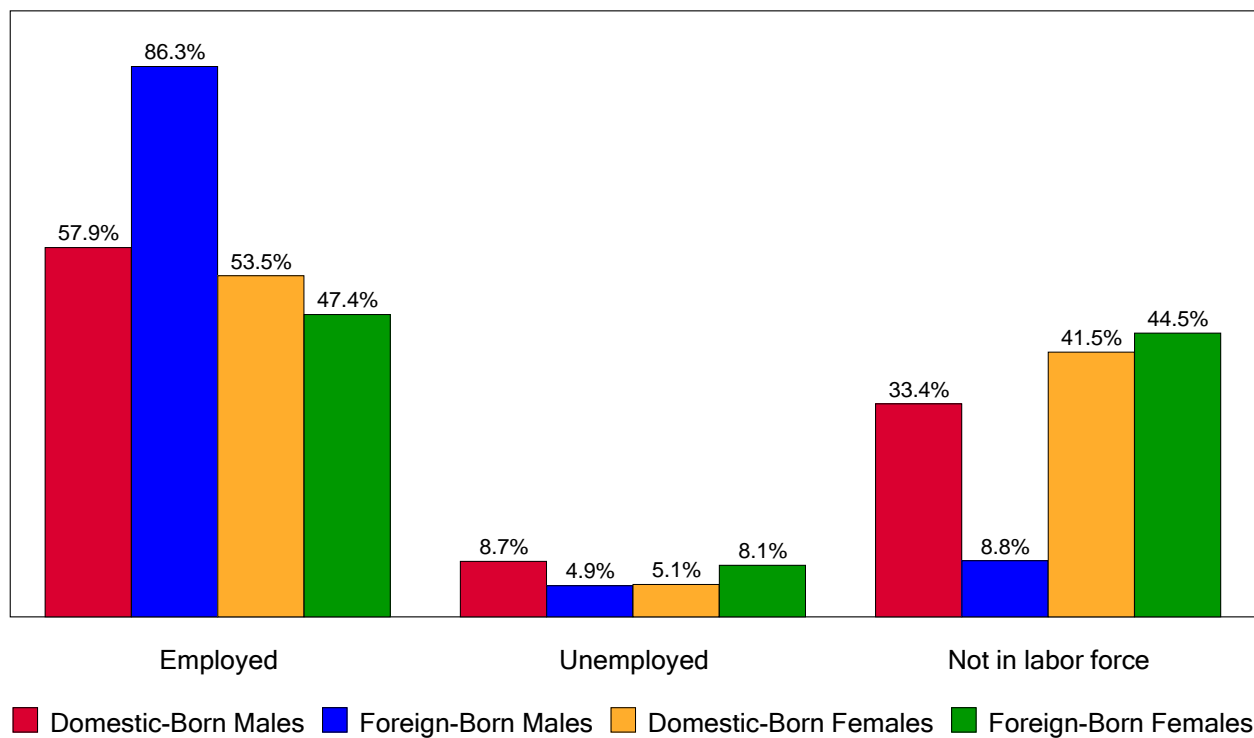


Table 18
 Employment Status of Mexicans by Sex and Nativity for Population Ages
 16 - 60 in New York Metropolitan Counties in Percentages, 1990 - 2010

	1990		
	Employed	Unemployed	Not in labor force
Domestic-Born Male	75.1%	7.6%	17.4%
Foreign-Born Male	85.8%	4.9%	9.3%
All Males	82.1%	5.8%	12.0%
Domestic-Born Female	64.0%	6.5%	29.6%
Foreign-Born Female	49.7%	8.3%	42.1%
All Females	56.1%	7.5%	36.5%
Total Domestic-Born	69.6%	7.0%	23.4%
Total Foreign Born	71.9%	6.2%	21.9%
Total Population	71.0%	6.5%	22.5%
	2000		
	Employed	Unemployed	Not in labor force
Domestic-Born Male	65.7%	9.6%	24.7%
Foreign-Born Male	69.8%	5.2%	25.0%
All Males	69.3%	5.7%	25.0%
Domestic-Born Female	59.6%	6.2%	34.2%
Foreign-Born Female	40.9%	6.4%	52.7%
All Females	44.4%	6.4%	49.2%
Total Domestic-Born	62.6%	7.8%	29.6%
Total Foreign Born	58.6%	5.7%	35.8%
Total Population	59.2%	6.0%	34.9%
	2010		
	Employed	Unemployed	Not in labor force
Domestic-Born Male	57.9%	8.7%	33.4%
Foreign-Born Male	86.3%	4.9%	8.8%
All Males	79.7%	5.8%	14.5%
Domestic-Born Female	53.5%	5.1%	41.5%
Foreign-Born Female	47.4%	8.1%	44.5%
All Females	49.0%	7.3%	43.7%
Total Domestic-Born	55.8%	6.9%	37.3%
Total Foreign Born	69.6%	6.3%	24.1%
Total Population	66.2%	6.4%	27.4%

Thus, employment rates were heavily determined by those who chose, for whatever reason, to not seek employment, or to remain out of the work force. What is not known is how many of Mexican men or women worked in the ‘informal’ economy. This could include working as nannies or other “off the books” domestic employment, or even in low-paying jobs which were not officially reported. Nevertheless, these rates on employment may be used as indicators of the job market status of the Mexican population in the New York metropolitan area.

It is certain that foreign-born Mexican males worked at extraordinarily high rates. About 86% of all foreign-born Mexican men between 16 and 60 years of age had jobs in 2010. This compared with 58% of domestic-born men. However, when we examine women by nativity, a greater portion of domestic-born females were in the labor force (54%) compared with foreign-born women (47%). It also must be kept in mind that foreign-born males comprised 77% of all Mexican males between the ages of 16 and 60 and that foreign-born Mexican women comprised 73% of all females in the same working-age category.

Language

The overall ability to speak English among the Mexican community in the New York metropolitan counties was conditioned by the large-scale arrival of foreign-born Mexicans in the region after 1990.¹⁶ While the reliability of the data collected by the Census Bureau may be somewhat suspect, since this relies on self-assessments of language ability, the trends are clear. In 1990 about 29% of all Mexicans in the region reported not speaking English or not speaking well. This rose sharply to 42% in 2000 and then declined to 35% in 2010. (See figure 36). However, as to be expected there was a divergence by nativity and age. Over 95% of domestic-born Mexicans in the region spoke only English or spoke English well or very well in 2010. Among foreign-born Mexicans, however, only 44% reported having adequate English speaking skills.

For foreign-born Mexicans there was some variation in English speaking skills by age category. Foreign-born Mexican children, between 5 and 14 years of age and most likely enrolled in school, had an 85% rate of good English speaking skills. However, in the core working age group, those between 15 and 44 years old and foreign-born, the rate dropped to 43%. For those between 45 and 59 years of age, the rate was 40% and it was 45% for those 60 years old or greater. (See figure 37).

Irrespective of English language skills the language spoken at home was usually Spanish and this was reinforced by the arrival of so many foreign-born Mexicans after 1990. In that year about 68% of all Mexicans spoke Spanish at home. This rose to 86% by 2000 and remained about the same at 84% in 2010. Thus, bilingualism among those who spoke English well was widespread. The domestic-born children of foreign-born parents, even though fluent in English, spoke Spanish at home. (See figure 38).

¹⁶ Language abilities are only measured for the population 5 years of age and older.

Figure 36
Language Ability Among Mexicans, Population Ages 5 and Older in Percentages
in New York Metropolitan Counties, 1990 - 2010

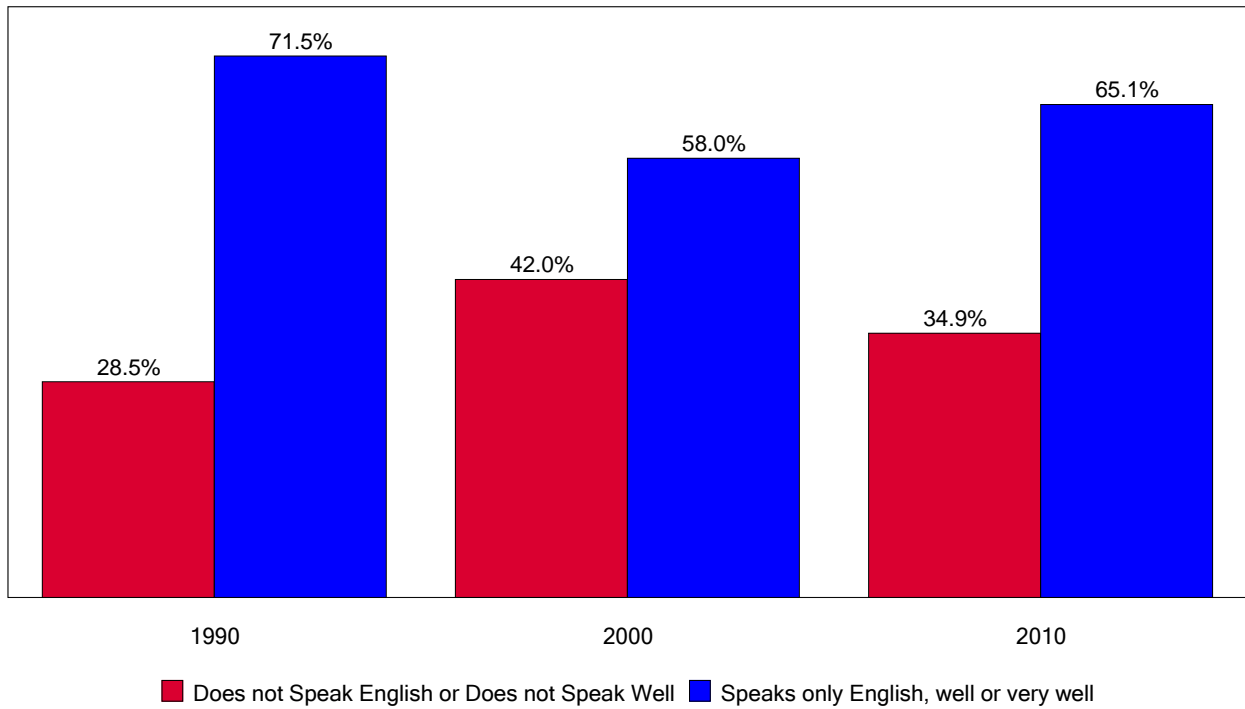
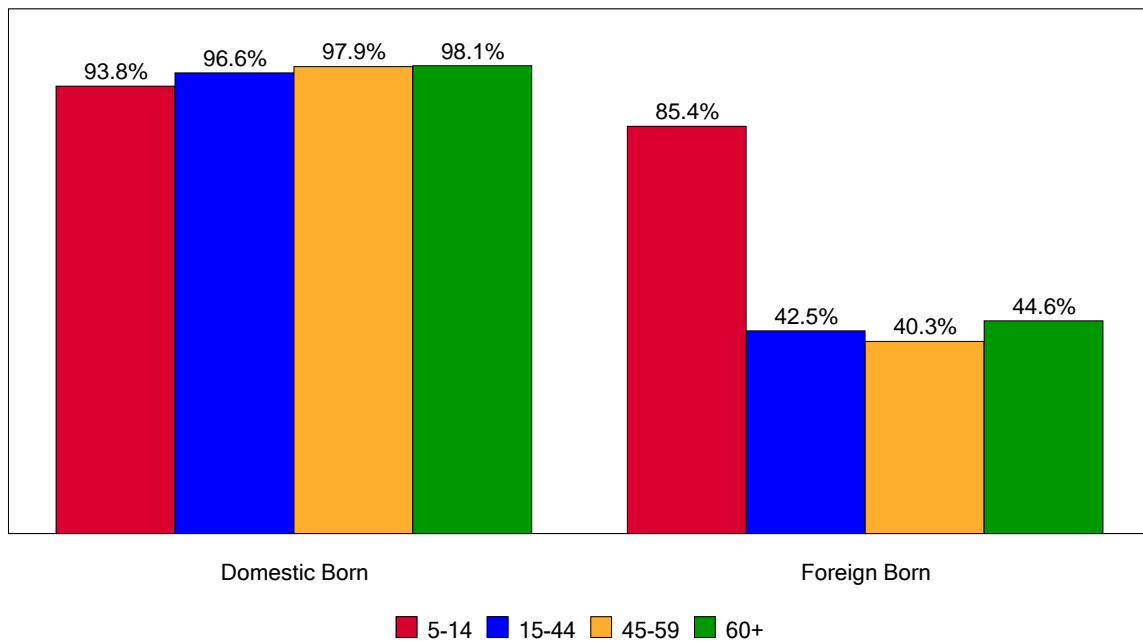
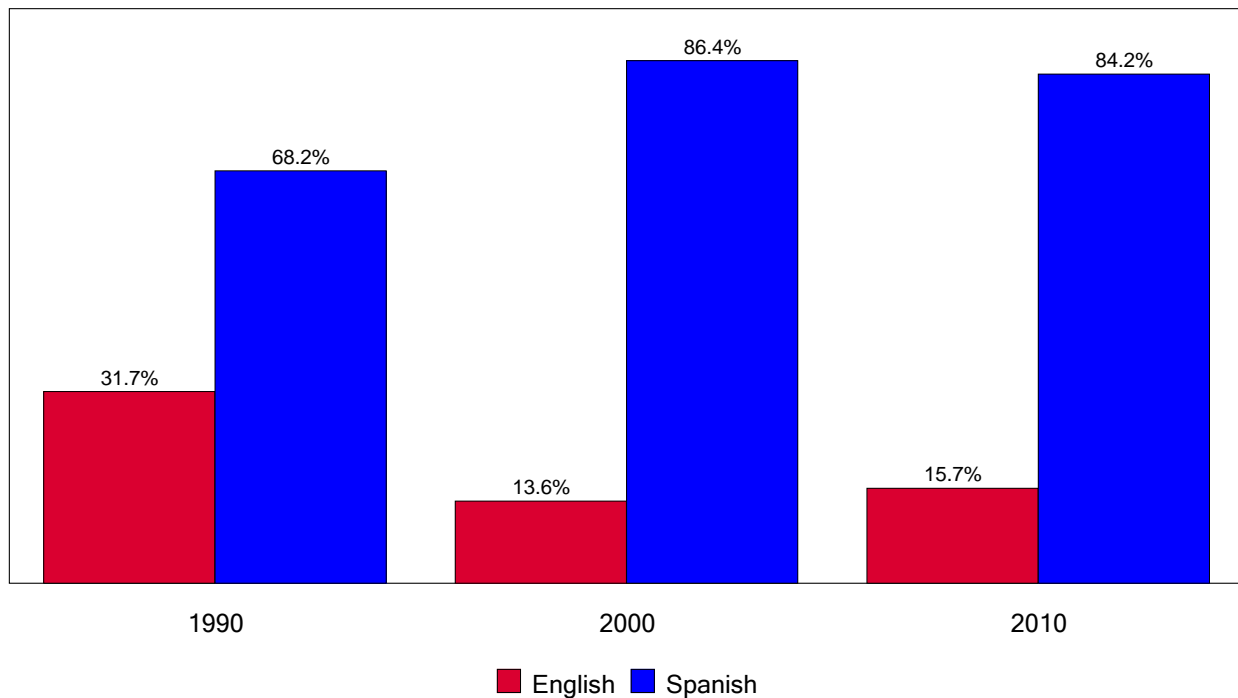


Figure 37
English-Speaking Proficiency Among Mexican Population by Age Category and Nativity
in Percentages in New York Metropolitan Counties, 2010



Note: These are individuals who reported speaking English exclusively, well, or very well.

Figure 38
 Language Spoken at Home Among Mexicans Population Ages 5 and Older in Percentages
 in New York Metropolitan Counties, 1990 - 2010



Citizenship and the Electorate

With the large influx of foreign-born Mexicans to the region between 1990 and 2000, the percentage of all Mexicans who were citizens declined from 59% to 41%. Although foreign-born migrants continued to arrive in increasing numbers between 2000 and 2010, there were also large numbers of children born in the U.S. to Mexican mothers because of the high fertility rates noted in the section on demography. This resulted in an increase in citizenship rates among all Mexicans to 51% in 2010. Nearly the entire increase was due to the high birth rate rather than any increase in naturalization rates. About 56% of all Mexican citizens in 2010 were 14 years of age and under and all were because they were born in the United States. Additionally, only 12% of all Mexicans who were citizens in 2010 were naturalized. Overall, only 6% of all Mexicans living in the region in 2010 were naturalized citizens. It is likely that those Mexicans who are foreign born, and with documentation of legal entry into the U.S., will become naturalized citizens in the future. However, the unknown issue is how many Mexicans in the region are undocumented and who, in the absence of immigration reform, will not have a path to citizenship. (See figure 39).

The absolute number of Mexicans in the region who were eligible to vote increased substantially between 2000 and 2010. These were citizens who were 18 years of age and older. These nearly doubled over the decade from 53,565 eligible voters in 2000 to 114,128 in 2010. There is no way to determine how many actually exercised their right to vote. However, the political influence of Mexicans was miniscule. In 2010 the Mexican potential electorate comprised only 1% of all eligible voters in the region. (See figure 40).

Figure 39
 Citizenship Status Among Mexicans in New York Metropolitan Area Counties, 1990 - 2010
 (in percentage of all Mexicans)

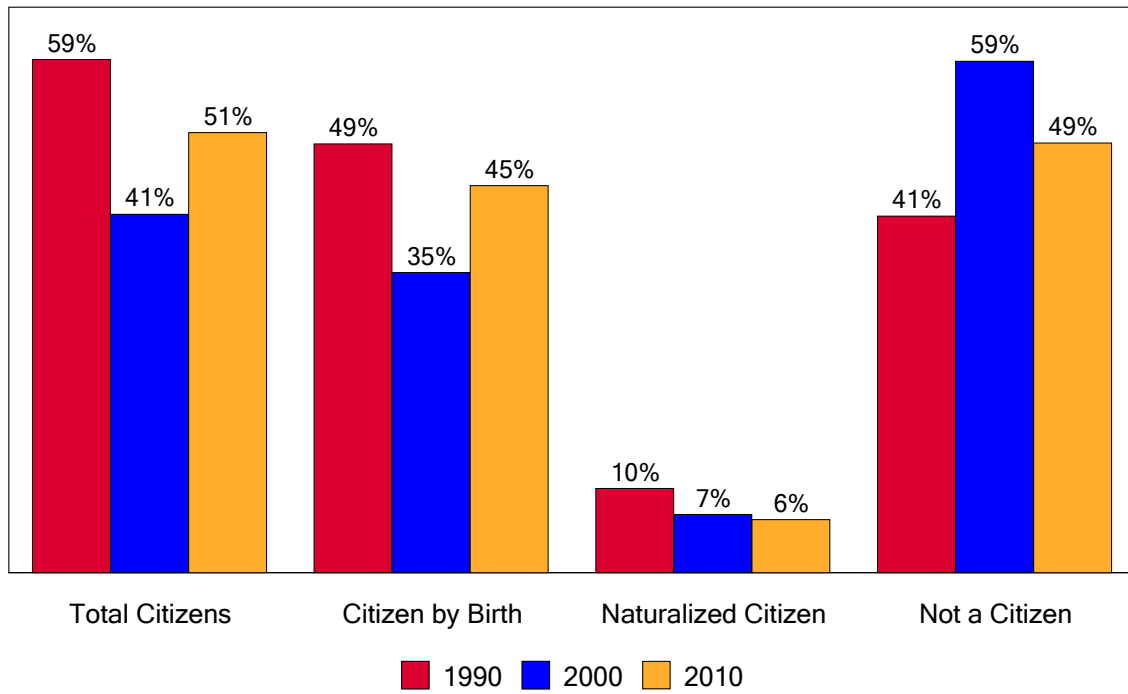
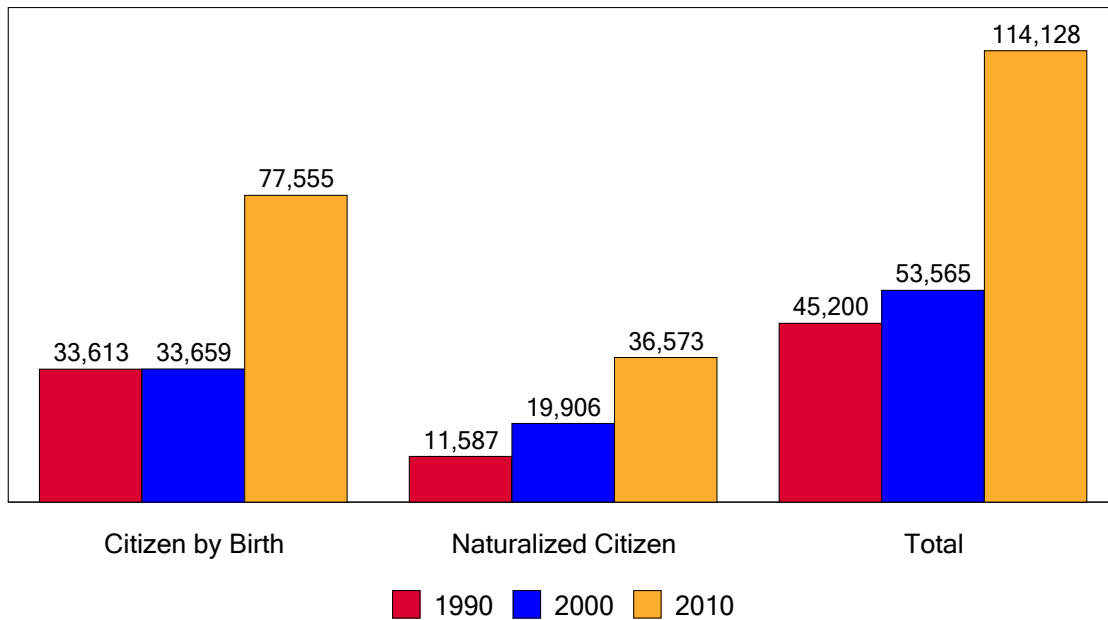


Figure 40
 Size of Mexican Electorate by Citizenship Category in New York Metropolitan Area Counties, 1990 - 2010 (Persons 18 Years of Age and Older)



Note: There were over 11 million eligible voters in the region in 2010.

Health Insurance

Mexicans living in the New York City tri-state region had the highest percentage of all Latinos who had no health insurance at nearly 40%. (See figure 41). As in every social and economic variable analyzed in this report access to some type of health insurance was highly influenced by the large number of foreign-born Mexicans arriving in the region after 1990. While 90% of all domestic-born Mexicans in the area had health insurance of some type, only 34% of foreign-born Mexicans were covered by some type of health insurance, and of course as noted over and over again foreign-born Mexicans were the largest share of all Mexicans in the region. (See figure 42).

Only 29% of foreign-born Mexican males had some kind of health coverage, and 40% of foreign-born females were covered by a public or private health insurance plan. This compared to rates of 89% among domestic-born males and 91% among domestic-born Mexican women. Overall, a greater percentage of women (66%) had health insurance coverage than men (55%).

Among Mexicans who had health insurance, about 54% had some type of publically provided health insurance and this was the second highest rate among the largest Latino national subgroups behind only Dominicans (56%). The remainder (46%) was covered by private health insurance plans, either purchased or provided by employers. (See figure 43).

Figure 41
 Percentage of Population with No Health Insurance Coverage among Largest Latino Nationalities in New York Metropolitan Area Counties, 2010

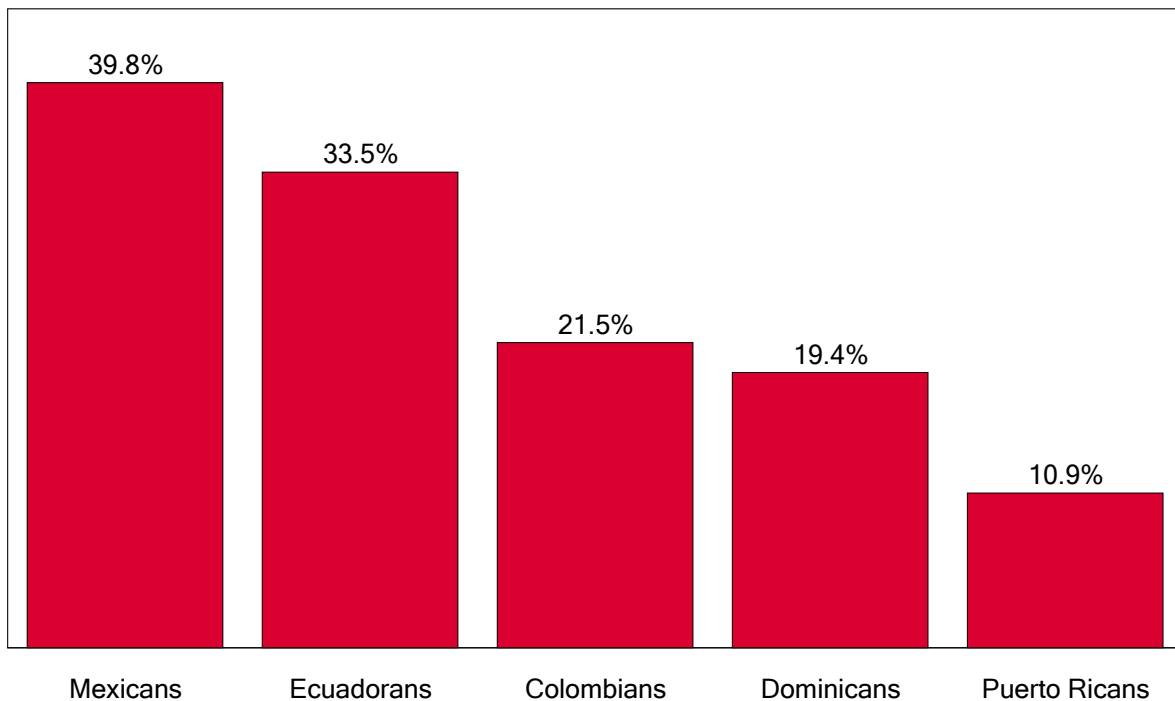


Figure 42
 Percentage of Mexican Population which had Health Insurance by Nativity and Sex
 in New York Metropolitan Area Counties, 2010

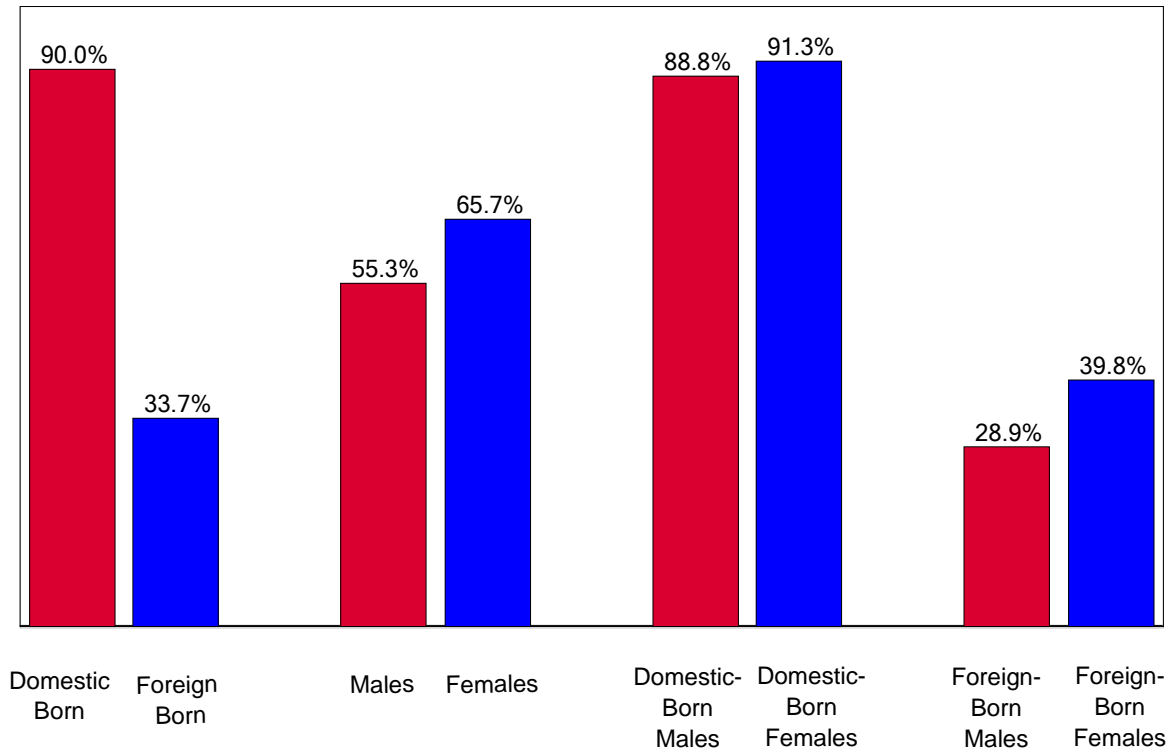
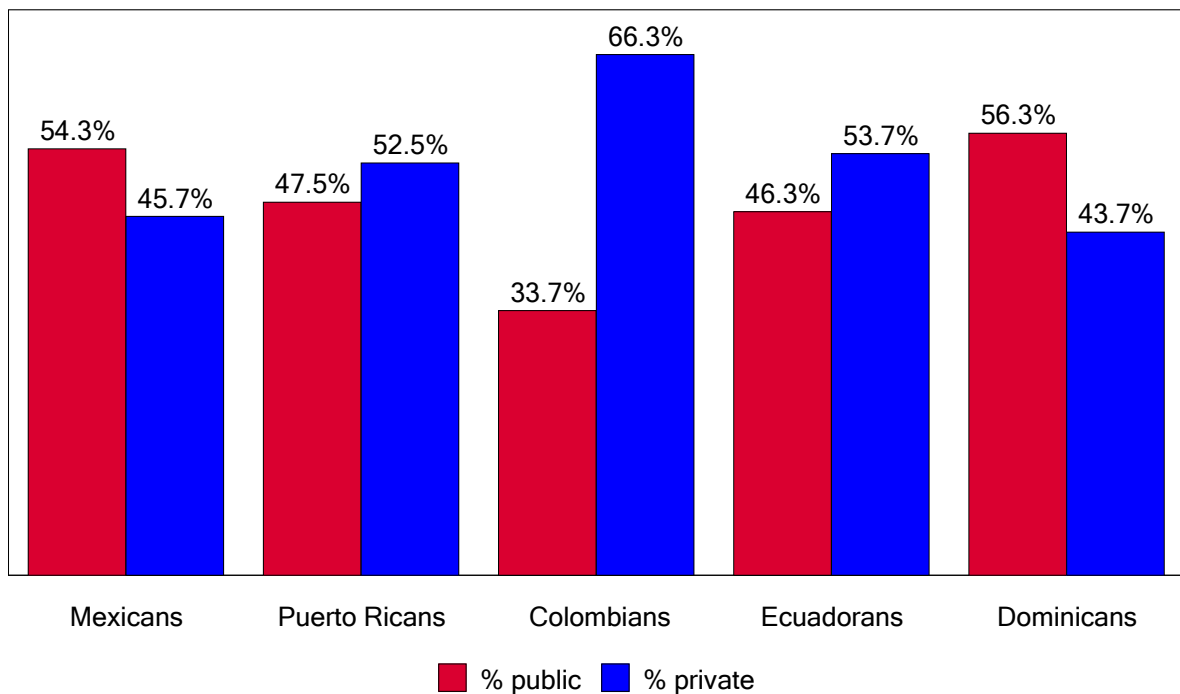


Figure 43
 Percentage of Population by Type of Insurance Coverage Among Five Largest Latino Nationalities which had Health Insurance in New York Metropolitan Area Counties, 2010

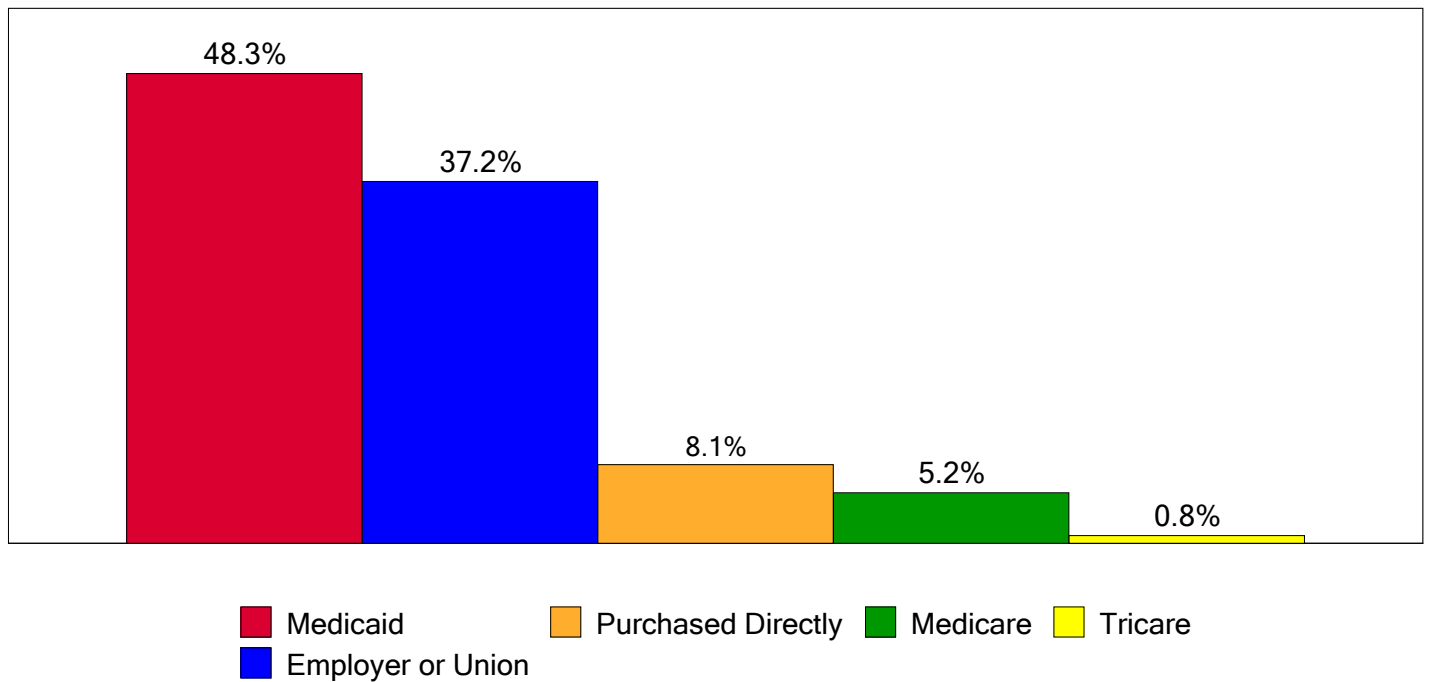


The most common forms of health insurance were Medicaid and plans provided by employers or unions. About 48% of all Mexicans who were insured were covered by Medicaid and a very heavy concentration of those covered were children 14 years of age or under. About two-thirds (65.6%) of all those covered by Medicaid were in this age category with another 28% falling between the ages of 15 and 44. (See table 19).

Slightly over 37% of all those Mexicans who had insurance were covered by employers or unions and these were mostly people in the working age categories of 15 - 44 years of age.

Privately purchased health insurance was held by 8% of all Mexicans and Medicare by 5%. (See figure 44).

Figure 44
Type of Insurance Coverage Among Mexicans with Health Insurance
in New York Metropolitan Area Counties, 2010



Note: Tricare is insurance provided by the military.

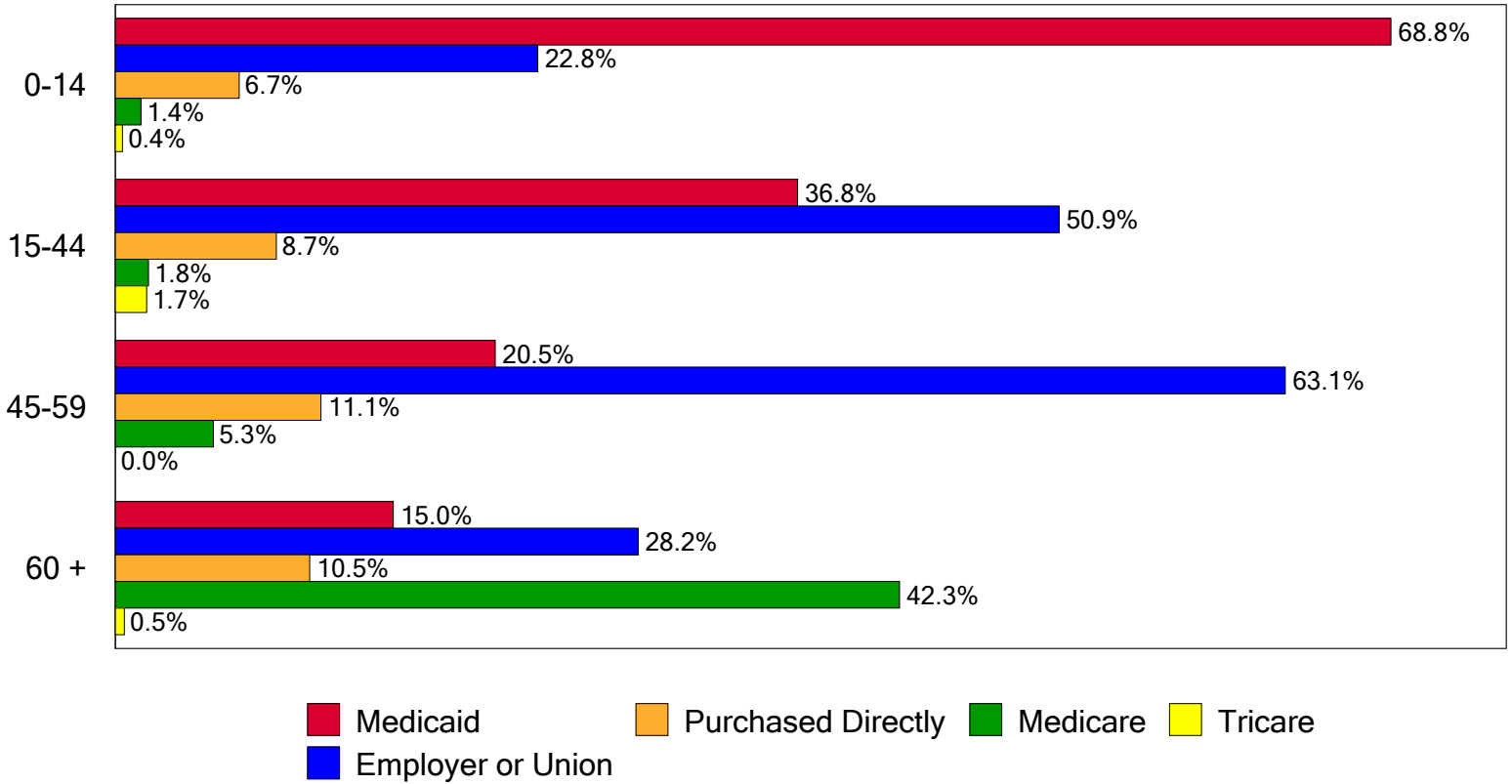
Table 19 indicates the percentage of each type of insurance held by Mexicans in each age category.

Table 19
Type of Insurance by Age Category of Insured among Mexicans in
New York Metropolitan Counties, 2010

	Medicaid	Medicare	Employer or Union	Purchased Directly	Tricare	VA
0-14	65.6%	12.1%	28.2%	37.7%	21.7%	0.0%
15-44	28.0%	12.8%	50.3%	39.5%	73.9%	11.1%
45-59	3.8%	9.2%	15.3%	12.3%	0.0%	0.0%
60 +	2.5%	66.0%	6.2%	10.5%	4.3%	88.9%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Finally, figure 45 indicates the type of insurance carried by Mexicans in the tri-state area for each age category. Younger people, 14 years of age and under, were more likely to be insured by Medicaid (69%), while those in the work force ages 15 - 44 and ages 45 - 59 were more likely to be insured by employers or unions. Older Mexicans, those 60 years of age and older were insured by Medicare (42%) or employers/unions (28%).

Figure 45
 Type of Insurance Coverage Among Mexicans with Health Insurance by Age Category
 in New York Metropolitan Area Counties, 2010



Limited Conclusions

Every demographic, social, and economic indicator considered in this report was heavily influenced by the arrival of large numbers of foreign-born Mexicans to the region after 1990. It may be observed that these migrants were fairly young, had low levels of educational attainment, were generally devoid of skills which could afford them entry into higher-paying occupations, had little knowledge of English, and were intent on finding work in any occupation in order to improve their lives and the situations of their families. There was a clear work ethic among Mexicans arriving in the region after 1990 and before, and this paved the way for better conditions for their children, although it may take some time before these improvements may be measured quantitatively.

The quantitative indicators presented in this report were skewed toward lower performance levels because of the overwhelming numbers of foreign-born men, women, and heads of households. One result of this was the rising number of Mexican households which were headed by foreign-born women, who were generally paid much less in regional labor markets than males. This had the effect of lowering median household incomes among Mexican households between 1990 and 2010, the only Latino national subgroup which experienced a decline in real income adjusted for inflation.

Since the general indicators among Mexicans were so heavily influenced by the presence of the recently-arrived foreign born, this has had the statistical effect of hiding or obfuscating the socioeconomic progress made by the domestic-born, or first, second, or third generations of Mexicans. Nothing so graphically underlines this than educational attainment data which are measured for the population 25 years of age and older.

At first glance it would seem that no progress has been made between 1990 and 2010. Examining the entire Mexican population in the region there was a declining percentage of people who had graduated from college (17% in 1990; 11% in 2010) and an increasing portion of the overall Mexican population which did not finish high school (43% in 1990 and 49% in 2010).

However, if we isolate domestic-born Mexicans our optic changes radically. About 25% of domestic-born Mexicans had attained a B.A. degree or higher in 1990 and this soared to 40% in 2010. Among U.S. born Mexican women living in the region in 2010 45% had graduated from college or attained higher degrees.

At the same time it would appear that Mexicans do not successfully graduate high school. Among the entire Mexican community 49% of adults had not graduated high school in 2010. However, when U.S.-born Mexicans are examined separately, only 15% had not achieved high-school graduation. These data reveal the pitfalls of generalizing about the Mexican experience in the region.

It is impossible to project how the socioeconomic performance of Mexicans will develop in the future. However, because of extraordinarily high fertility and birth rates the percentage of U.S.-born Mexicans in the region is increasing rapidly. If past performance is an indicator these Mexicans will have greater opportunities. Their high-school and college graduation rates will increase. Their domination of English will surpass the proficiency levels of their foreign-born parents and

grandparents. They will be better-prepared to enter the labor market in higher paying skilled occupations and this means their standards of living will improve over prior generations.

This optimistic outlook should not obfuscate the difficult extant situation faced by the Mexican community in the region. Childhood poverty rates are a major concern, but they emphatically do not approximate the sensationalistic and distorted claims (80%) found in the media as a result of the poorly parsed data released in March 2013 by the Community Service Society.

The entire question of how many Mexicans in the region are undocumented persons is unknown and simply may not be determined by available data. There are major linguistic barriers which serve as obstacles to access basic social services such as banking, as one example, even for people who are in the region with documentation. Poor skills prohibit securing employment in higher-paying occupations. The difficulties go well beyond what has briefly been noted here.

However, these are the exact same difficulties faced by every single immigrant group arriving in the United States from the 19th century to the present. There are claims that Latinos and specifically Mexicans face greater problems because of endemic racism and discrimination in the United States. These same claims were made by the Irish, Eastern Europeans, Italians, and every other group arriving in the U.S. which faced the same kind of anti-immigrant climate so prevalent in some sectors of U.S. society and in the body politique at the present historical juncture, despite current efforts at immigration reform.

Like most immigrant groups before them Mexicans are ambitious, hard workers, serious about improving their standards of living, and most of all they are dedicated to securing a better life for their children and future generations. This drive to succeed in the face of so many obstacles will in all likelihood result in gradually improving socioeconomic conditions in the future. It is impossible to project how far into the future this means chronologically.

However, contemporary descriptions of doom and gloom, exploitation and oppression, discrimination and racism are usually the observations of outsiders who have little understanding of the internal dynamics of Mexican communities in the region. Mexicans may be described as poverty-stricken, but what exactly does poverty mean in Mexico and the United States? And more importantly do Mexicans who are 'classified' as immersed in poverty consider themselves to be poor? What is lacking is how exactly Mexicans themselves visualize the world they have come to inhabit in the New York metropolitan region, and what their visions of the future actually are. This is something that is probably more important than the statistical data presented in this report, which only provide indicators and a framework for understanding some aspects of the Mexican community in the region.

Highlights

- The demographic structure of the region's Mexican community (over 600,000 in 2010) was in large part determined by the arrival of over 250,000 foreign-born Mexicans between 1990 and 2010.
- These migrants were generally working age, male (nearly 60%) with low levels of educational attainment, and low skill levels for entry into the local labor force.
- Mexican women in the region had comparatively higher fertility and birth rates than any other Latino nationality, and Mexicans had the fastest rate of demographic growth because of these high birth rates combined with large-scale immigration.
- If 2000 - 2010 population growth rates (6.5% annually) continue Mexicans will become the largest Latino nationality in the region sometime in the 2020s. There is no guarantee that these rates will continue.
- About 56% of all Mexicans in the tri-state counties considered here lived in New York City.
- Mexicans had the highest average number of people living in each household (4.3) and the greatest number of families per household (1.5) in 2010 compared with the other major Latino nationalities.
- Mexicans were the only major Latino nationality experiencing declining median household incomes in inflation adjusted dollars from 1990 (\$62,700) to 2010 (\$51,250).
- In large part this was related to the increase in lower paid female household heads from 25% of all Mexican households in 1990 to 38% in 2010.
- The non-high school graduation rate increased among all Mexicans from 43% in 1990 to 49% in 2010, but this was almost entirely because of the high rate among foreign-born migrants. Some 54% of the foreign born did not graduate high school in 2010 but only 15% of domestic born Mexican adults (25 years of age and older) did not graduate high school.
- College graduation rates also declined from 17% in 1990 to 11% in 2010 for the same reasons. Only 6% of foreign-born Mexican adults achieved a B.A. degree or higher in 2010 compared with 40% of the domestic born.
- Poverty rates rose for all Mexicans from 19% in 1990 to 28% in 2010, again because of officially classified poverty among foreign-born Mexican heads of households.

- Age-specific poverty rates reveal that those 14 years of age and under, whether male, female, domestic or foreign born, had higher poverty rates of about 36% for each category, than older Mexicans.
- Mexicans in work-age categories had poverty rates of 28% in 2010; those from 45-59 years of age were at 12%; and Mexicans 60 years of age and older were at 16%.
- Mexicans had the lowest unemployment rate of any Latino nationality in the region in 2010 at 6.4%, although occupational data indicate a concentrate in lower-paying unskilled jobs.
- They also had fairly high labor participation rates as over 2/3 of all Mexicans had jobs.
- However, Mexican women had very high out-of-the workforce rates, 44% of all females between 16 and 60 years of age in 2010. This may have been related to child-care responsibilities because of the high birth rates indicated previously.
- This was in sharp contrast with the out-of-the workforce rate among Mexican males in the working ages. Only 15% were not working in 2010 and 80% of all males between 16 and 60 years of age were working.
- Among foreign-born males 86% were employed.
- Despite the large-scale immigration after 1990 about two-thirds of Mexicans reported speaking English only, well or very well. Whether this is accurate is unknown.
- Yet, 84% of all Mexicans in the region report speaking Spanish at home, something consistent with the post-1990 influx of the foreign-born.
- In 2010 51% of all Mexicans in the region were citizens, although naturalization rates were very low at 6% of the total population.
- Nearly 40% of all Mexicans in the tri-state area did not have health insurance, the highest rate among all Latino nationalities in the area.
- Only 34% of all foreign-born Mexicans had health insurance compared with 90% of the domestic born.
- The most common form of insurance was Medicaid or coverage by employers or unions which accounted for 86% of all insurance coverage. Nearly two-thirds of all Medicaid recipients were 14 years of age or under.

Addendum¹⁷

School Enrollment among Mexicans in the New York Metropolitan Region

In the study published by the Community Service Society in March 2013 and cited in the press, most notably the *New York Times*, extraordinarily alarming data are presented about Mexican school enrollment and attendance.¹⁸ These paint a stark portrait of Mexican youth alleging that “Just 37 percent of Mexican young people are enrolled in school, including only 31 percent of young Mexican males.” Without mincing words, these data are grossly distorted, inaccurate, sensationalistic, and based on a faulty, and difficult to understand, methodology. The CSS study examined New York City only. The data presented below are for the entire metropolitan area.

First and foremost the CSS study is based on an age-specific population ranging from 16 to 24 year olds. Only the authors can indicate why they chose a population that would include a large cohort of people who could not have been in school if they chose to enter the work force.

Second, when the 2010 ACS data are analyzed for legitimate school-aged Mexican children (ages 5 - 18) they reveal that 95% were enrolled in school, a far cry from the 37% figure indicated in the CSS report. This was about the exact same percentage of Dominican, Puerto Rican, Colombian and Ecuadoran children of the same age category.

Third, the claim that 31% of Mexican males were not in school (16 - 24 year olds) may be contrasted with the data for the tri-state counties considered here which indicate that 93% of all Mexican males and 97% of all female children ages 5 - 18 were enrolled in school.

Of further concern is the assertion that “Just 15 percent of young Mexicans born outside the United States attend school.” This, of course, is for 16 - 24 year olds most of whom had entered the labor force. With respect to this allegation it should be underscored that 86% of all Mexicans between the ages of 5 and 18 in the New York City metropolitan area were born in the United States, not outside of the US.

When we isolate this age cohort by nativity, the school attendance rate was indeed lower for both foreign-born males and females when compared with their domestic-born counterparts, but hardly to the extremes indicated in the CSS report. Some 76% of foreign-born Mexican males 5-18 years old attended school (a bit higher than the 15% figure cited in the CSS report) and this compared with 96% school attendance among domestic-born males. However, it is important to keep in mind that foreign-born Mexican males accounted for only 16% of all Mexican males between ages 5 and 18.

¹⁷ This was added to this report after all of the other sections were written and formatted, making insertion into the text difficult.

¹⁸ See Lazar Treschan and Apurva Mehrotra, *Young Mexican-Americans in New York City: Working More, Learning and Earning Less* (Community Service Society, March 2013) pp. 12-16; and Kirk Semple, “Mexican New Yorkers are More Likely to Live in Poor Households” *New York Times* March 21, 2013.

About 87% of foreign-born Mexican females between ages 5 and 18 attended school compared with 99% of domestic-born females in the same age category. Foreign-born Mexican females accounted for only 13% of all school-age Mexican females in the region (ages 5 - 18).

When data for New York City only was analyzed very similar results were forthcoming. Some 96% of all Mexican children between ages 5 and 18 were enrolled in school. This included 94% of all males, and 98% of all Mexican females in this age cohort.

These data for the metropolitan area counties are presented in table 20.

Table 20
 Percentage of Mexican Children
 Ages 5 - 18 Attending School
 New York Metropolitan Counties, 2010

Males	93%
Females	97%
Total	95%

Foreign-Born Males	76%
Foreign-Born Females	87%
Total Foreign Born	81%

Domestic-Born Males	96%
Domestic-Born Females	99%
Total Domestic Born	97%

Of equal concern are the educational attainment data provided in the CSS report. Again, the authors of this report used the 16 - 24 year old age cohort and this presents a distorted image. Educational attainment in official government statistical data sets and publications examine the population 25 years of age and older when most people have had the opportunity to complete college if they were enrolled.

The overall data have been discussed in the section on educational attainment here (pp. 37-44). Indeed the non-high school graduation rate was extremely high in 2010 at 49% of all Mexicans in the tri-state region 25 years of age and older. It must be underlined that 85% of the Mexican population 25 years of age and older was foreign-born. A large portion was composed of migrants who arrived in the New York metropolitan area after 1990 with poor educational attainment records. They came to the U.S. to work and not to attend school. The percentage of non-high school graduates

was heavily influenced by this fact. When we isolate domestic-born Mexicans 25 years of age and older, some 85% had graduated high school. Because of high birth rates and the growing number and percentage of domestic-born Mexicans living in the region, these data are better predictors of the future than the data found in the CSS report.

College graduation rates are also revealing. The CSS report, which again focuses on 16 to 24 year olds, presents data which are by their nature a distorted portrayal of educational attainment. To even consider college graduation rates of this age group is more than questionable. How many 16 year olds graduate college?

The 11% college graduation rate among Mexicans 25 years of age and older indicated in this report (see figure 17) was very low in comparative perspective, the lowest among the largest Latino nationalities in the region. As all socioeconomic indicators among Mexicans these data were heavily influenced by the arrival of large numbers of poorly educated migrants after 1990. It should be stressed that the overall college graduation rate was 40% for domestic-born Mexicans compared with 6% for the foreign born. Once again, with the growing numbers of domestic-born Mexicans found in the region because of high fertility rates among Mexican women, these data are better indicators for the future than the doom and gloom data presented by CSS.