

# *LATINO DATA PROJECT*

## **Socio-Economic and Cost of Living Indicators among Foreign and Domestic-Born Latino Nationalities in the New York Metropolitan Area, 2005**

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The American Community Survey (ACS) of 2005 published by the U.S. Bureau of the Census provides data that permit the measurement of key socio-economic and cost of living indicators for foreign and domestic born Latino groups. This report will concentrate on a number of basic socio-economic indicators including annual family income, educational attainment, family size, labor force participation and occupational status. It will also measure cost of living indicators such as rent and related living expenses. In order to provide a clearer picture on socio-economic status and living conditions, this report will compare measurements between major domestic born and foreign born Latino nationalities. Unless indicated otherwise, all data are based on the 2005 population and household surveys from the 2005 ACS.

Comparing poverty and socio-economic indicators between foreign and domestic born Latino national groups is an increasingly important task. This is due not only to the rapid growth in Latino immigrant population in the last two decades, but also because Latino immigrants increasingly transfer substantial portions of their earnings to families and communities in their native countries. This remitted income has become an instrumental part of economic development throughout many parts of Latin America at both the household and national level. These factors raise the question as to the conditions under which Latino immigrants live and what possibilities for social mobility exist for Latino immigrants.

### **Comparing Latinos and other Racial Groups in New York City**

This report focuses on comparing socio-economic conditions between foreign born and domestic born populations among the major Latino national groups in the New York City metropolitan area. However before examining Latinos more in detail, let us briefly examine basic socio-economic indicators between Latinos and other groups in New York City.

As Table 1 and Figure 1 indicate, New York City Latinos lag considerably behind all other groups in terms of total family income. While median family income for Non-Hispanic white residents far outpaces all minority groups, Latinos median incomes also lags behind Asian and African-American city residents. Furthermore, New York City Latino families tend to fall into the lowest income brackets than their Black and Asian counterparts, both in terms of the percentage of families for each population group (Figure 2.) Nearly 70 percent of Latino families earn less than \$50,000 annually,

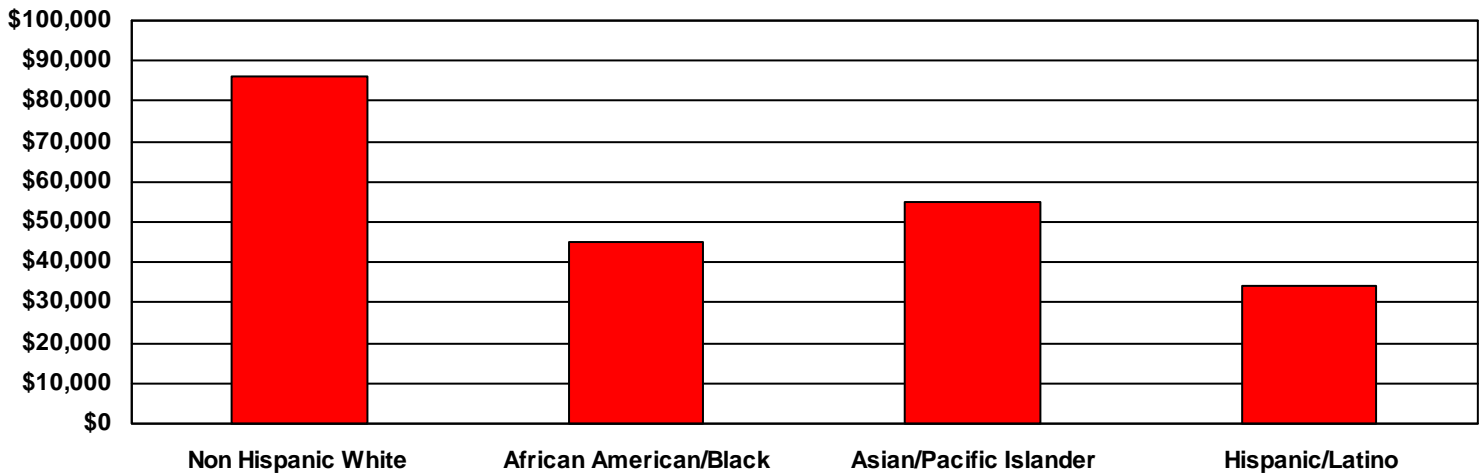
compared to 54 percent of Black families, 48 percent of Asian families, and 25 percent of Non-Hispanic White families. The income distribution figures suggest that Latinos on the whole still control a small portion of wealth in New York City compared to Non-Hispanic White, Black and Asian city residents.

Comparatively lower income levels among Latinos may be at least partially explained by lower reported levels of educational attainment compared with Asian, Black and Non-Hispanic Whites. Approximately two thirds of New York City Latinos over the age of 25 reported having no college education, which is a higher proportion than Asian and Black residents who fall in the same level of educational attainment (Table 3.) Latinos are much less likely to have college educations, and graduate or professional level education remains highly elusive for Latinos, with a mere 4 percent reporting a Masters, Professional or PhD level degree.

Nevertheless, among the city’s Latino population there is great differentiation in terms of socio economic indicators. This is true not only between foreign born and domestic born Latinos, but also between different Latino nationalities. The remainder of this report will examine these differences.

<b>Table 1. Median Annual Family Income by Major Race Categories in New York City , 2005</b>	
<b>Group</b>	<b>Median Annual Family Income</b>
Non-Hispanic White	\$86,050
Hispanic/Latino	\$34,000
African American/Black	\$45,000
Asian/Pacific Islander	\$55,000

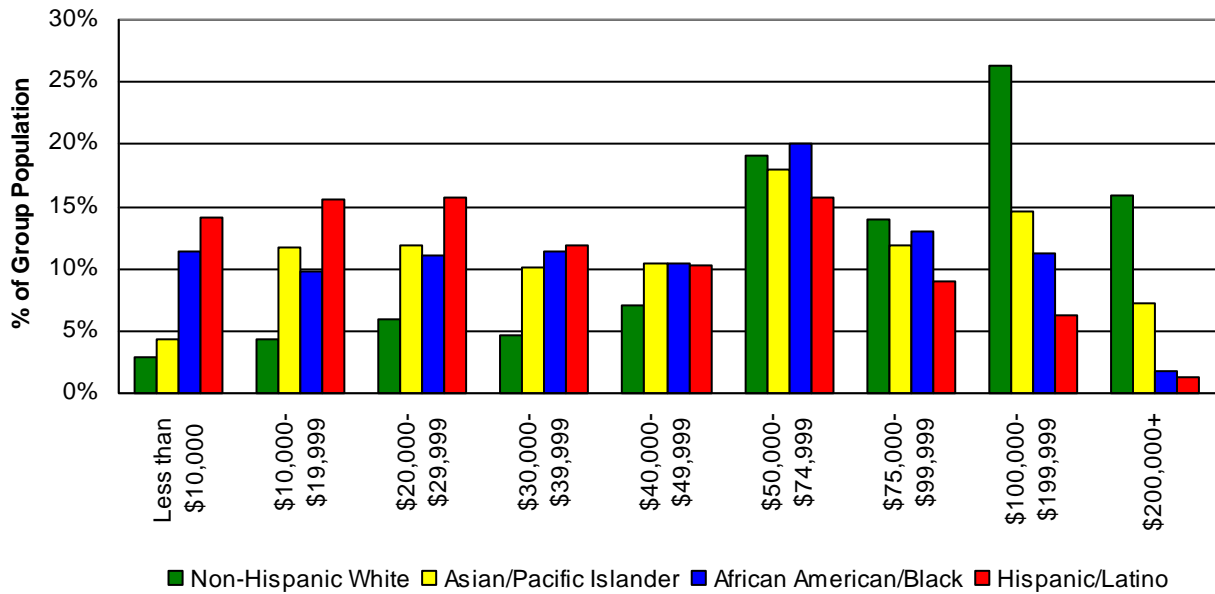
**Figure 1. Median Annual Family Income by Major Race Categories for New York City Metropolitan Area, 2005**



**Table 2: Annual Family Income Distribution by Major Race Categories in the New York Metropolitan Area**

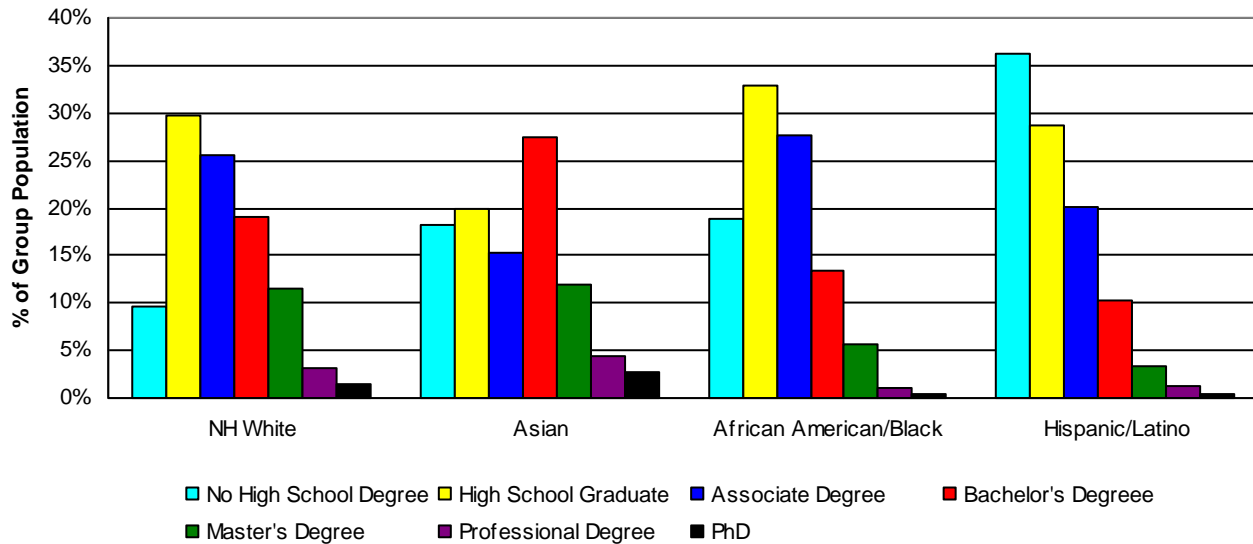
	<b>Non-Hispanic White</b>	<b>Hispanic/Latino</b>	<b>African American/Black</b>	<b>Asian/Pacific Islander</b>
Less than \$10,000	3%	14%	11%	4%
\$10,000-\$19,999	4%	16%	10%	12%
\$20,000-\$29,999	6%	16%	11%	12%
\$30,000-\$39,999	5%	12%	11%	10%
\$40,000-\$49,999	7%	10%	10%	10%
\$50,000-\$74,999	19%	16%	20%	18%
\$75,000-\$99,999	14%	9%	13%	12%
\$100,000-\$199,999	26%	6%	11%	15%
\$200,000+	16%	1%	2%	7%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

**Figure 2. Annual Family Income Distribution by Major Race Categories for New York City Metropolitan Area, 2005**



	Non-Hispanic White	Asian/Pacific Islander	African American/Black	Hispanic/Latino
No High School Degree	10%	18%	19%	36%
High School Graduate	30%	20%	33%	29%
Associate Degree	26%	15%	28%	20%
Bachelor's Degree	19%	27%	13%	10%
Master's Degree	11%	12%	6%	3%
Professional Degree	3%	4%	1%	1%
PhD	1%	3%	0%	0%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

**Figure 3. Educational Attainment for Population over age 25 by Major Race Categories for New York City Metropolitan Area, 2005**



### **Basic Population Data for Foreign-Born & Domestic-Born Latinos**

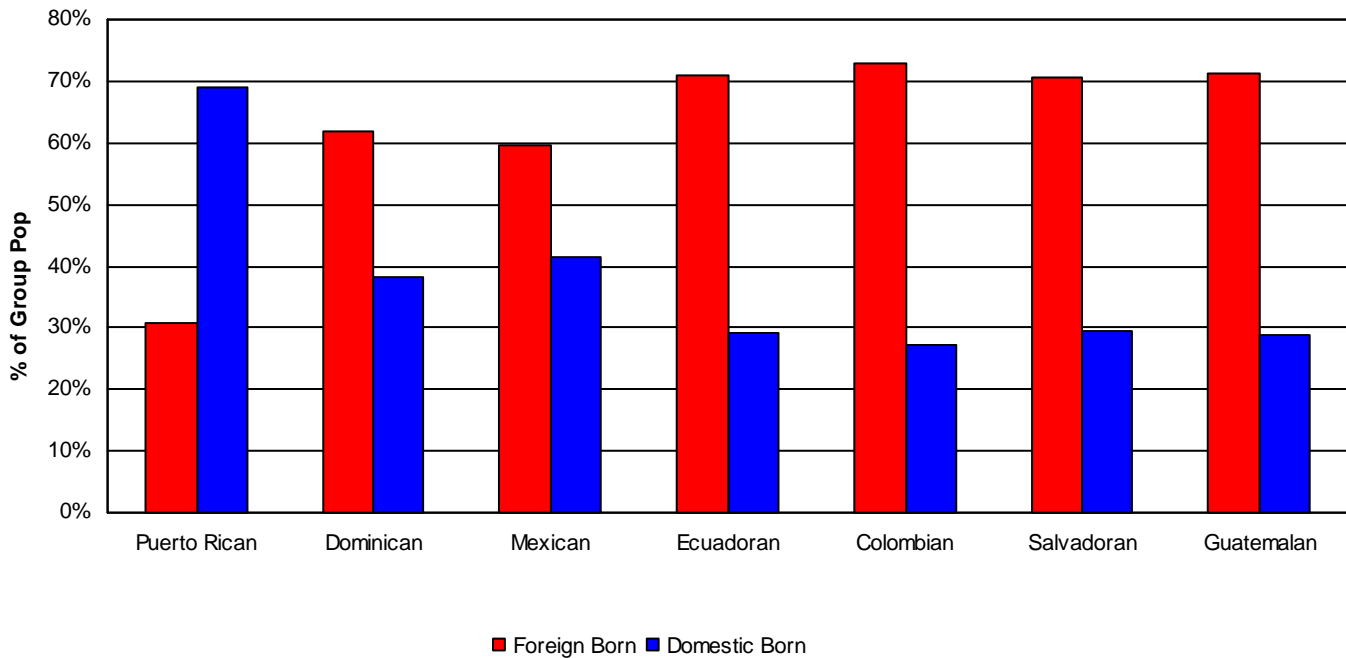
Puerto Ricans historically have been the largest Latino population in the New York City area, and continue to make up the largest percentage of the Latino population in the city. However Puerto Ricans are also the only national group in the Latino population where the majority of respondents were born in the United States. For all other national groups being Latino generally also means being an immigrant.

In addition to examining foreign born and domestic born population among Latino national groups, we also examined the geographic distribution of foreign and domestic born Latinos. In terms of geographic distribution, foreign born Latinos generally reside in the same parts of the city as their domestic born counterparts. However, across different Latino nationalities, there is a trend among more recently established Latino populations towards the peripheral parts of the New York metropolitan area, among both domestic and foreign born residents. More established Latino groups such as Dominicans and Puerto Ricans tend to reside in central parts of the city such as Manhattan, Brooklyn and the Bronx, while other Latino groups find themselves further away from downtown New York. A high percentage of Colombians, Ecuadorians and Salvadorans are located in Queens, but Guatemalans and Salvadorans now increasingly reside in suburban areas such as Nassau, Suffolk and Westchester Counties.

**Table 4. Foreign Born and Domestic Born Latino Populations by Nationality in New York City Metropolitan Area, 2005**

	Foreign Born	% of Group Population	Domestic Born	% of Group Population	Total
Puerto Rican	331,842	30.9	741,485	69.1	1,073,327
Dominican	375,437	61.9	230,882	38.1	606,319
Mexican	197,776	59.7	133,367	41.3	331,143
Ecuadorian	138,213	70.8	56,916	29.2	195,129
Colombian	92,066	72.9	34,263	27.1	126,139
Salvadoran	79,922	70.6	33,440	29.4	113,162
Guatemalan	45,023	71.2	18,180	28.8	63,203

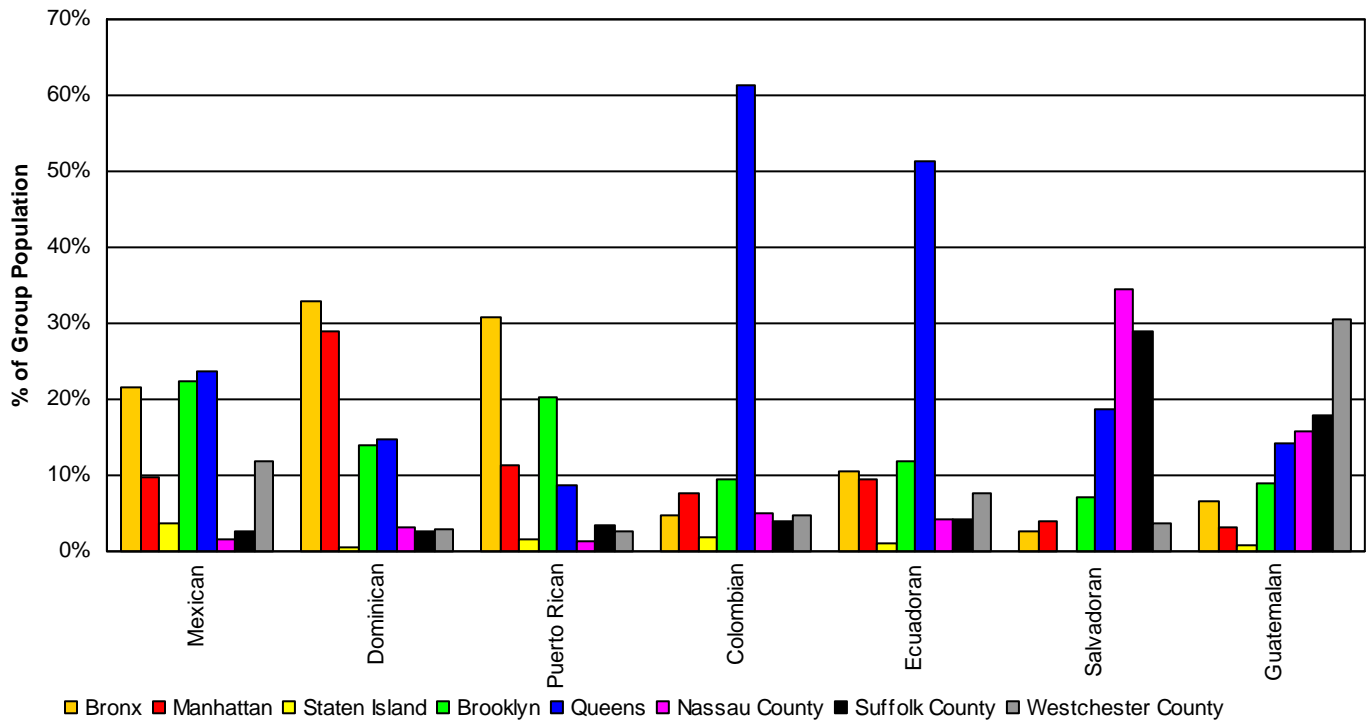
**Figure 4. Foreign-Born and Domestic-Born Latino Population by Nationality in New York City Metropolitan Area, 2005**



**Table 5. Geographical Distribution of Foreign Born Latino Population by Nationality in New York City Metropolitan Area, 2005**

Location	Mexican	Dominican	Puerto Rican	Colombian	Ecuadorian	Salvadoran	Guatemalan
Bronx	22%	33%	31%	5%	10%	3%	7%
Manhattan	10%	29%	11%	8%	9%	4%	3%
Staten Island	4%	0%	2%	2%	1%	0%	1%
Brooklyn	23%	14%	20%	9%	12%	7%	9%
Queens	24%	15%	9%	61%	51%	19%	14%
Nassau County	2%	3%	1%	5%	4%	35%	16%
Suffolk County	3%	3%	3%	4%	4%	29%	18%
Westchester County	12%	3%	3%	5%	8%	4%	31%
New Jersey	2%	1%	20%	1%	0%	0%	2%
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

**Figure 5. Geographic Distribution of Foreign-Born Latino Population by Nationality in New York City Metropolitan Area, 2005**

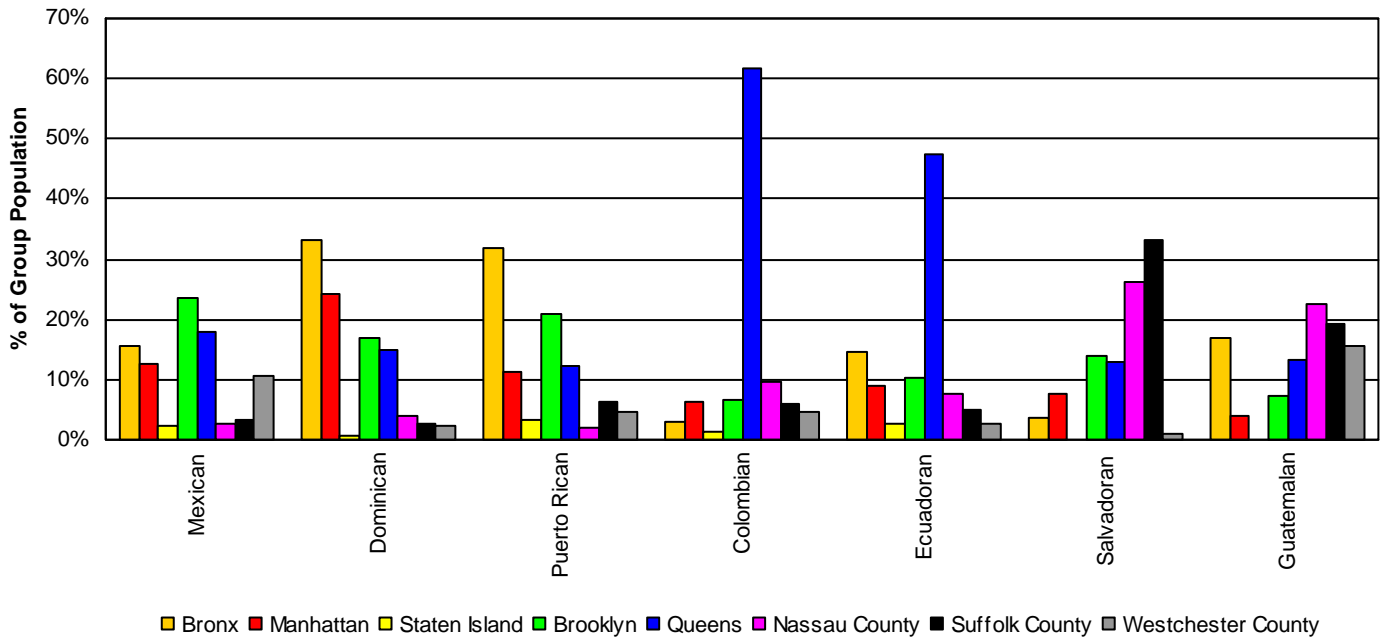




**Table 6. Geographical Distribution of Domestic-Born Latino Population by Nationality in New York City Metropolitan Area, 2005**

Location	Mexican	Dominican	Puerto Rican	Colombian	Ecuadorian	Salvadoran	Guatemalan
Bronx	16%	33%	32%	3%	15%	3%	17%
Manhattan	13%	24%	11%	6%	9%	8%	4%
Staten Island	2%	1%	3%	1%	3%	0%	0%
Brooklyn	24%	17%	21%	7%	10%	14%	7%
Queens	18%	15%	12%	62%	48%	13%	13%
Nassau County	3%	4%	2%	9%	8%	26%	22%
Suffolk County	3%	2%	6%	6%	5%	33%	19%
Westchester County	11%	2%	5%	5%	3%	1%	16%
New Jersey	11%	1%	7%	1%	0%	2%	1%
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

**Figure 6. Geographic Distribution of Domestic-Born Latino Population by Nationality in New York City Metropolitan Area, 2005**



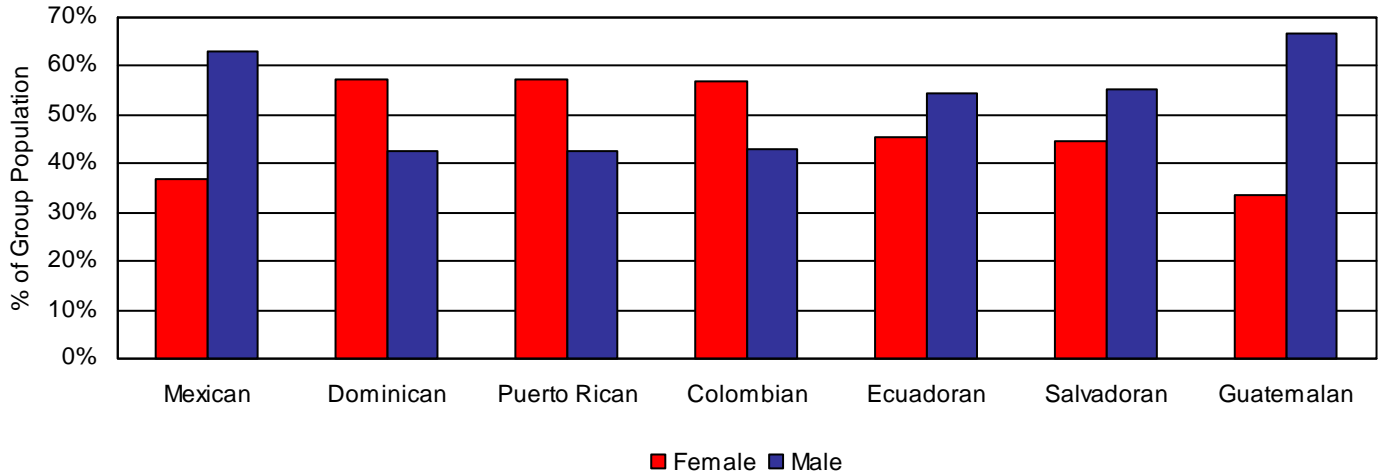
Population distributions by sex (see Tables 7 & 8 and Figures 7 & 8) demonstrate that while immigration continues to be largely male-dominated, it is far from uniform across different nationalities. Among national groups with a longer history of migration to New York City, such as Puerto Ricans and Dominicans, women make up the majority of the foreign-born population. More recent émigrés from Central America (Mexico, El Salvador, and Guatemala) and Ecuador are mostly male, though women make up between 30 and 40 percent of the foreign born population in these national groups. Sex distribution among domestic-born Latinos seems to follow the same trends, though there tends to be greater parity between men and women among most domestic born Latino groups. Domestic-born Salvadorans are an exceptional case, where the male population is actually greater than number of foreign-born Salvadoran males.

The age distribution among foreign-born and domestic-born Latinos reflects completely opposite trends, particularly in terms of the working age population<sup>1</sup>. Foreign-born Latinos (see Figure 9) across all ethnic groups are overwhelmingly of working age, and in most cases fall within the 15-44 year age range. Foreign-born Puerto Ricans differ slightly from other foreign born Latino national groups in that the working age population is older, with 31 percent of the population falling in the 45-59 year range. However with the exception of Puerto Ricans, the age trend is reversed for domestic-born Latinos, as an overwhelming majority of domestic-born Latinos are under the age of 15 (see Figure 10.) The younger demographic profile of domestic-born Latinos (with the exception of Puerto Ricans) may indicate that many of the city’s domestic-born Latino population is comprised of dependent children of foreign-born Latinos. If this is the case, then it may be that immigrants do not view migration as a temporary process, but rather a more permanent relocation to the United States. It is also important to make note of the younger demographic profile of domestic born Latinos when comparing socio-economic indicators such as income and educational attainment. The remainder of the report will compare socio-economic indicators for people in the working age range among domestic and foreign-born Latinos.

<b>Nationality</b>	<b>Percent Female</b>	<b>Percent Male</b>
Mexican	37%	63%
Dominican	57%	43%
Puerto Rican	57%	43%
Colombian	57%	43%
Ecuadorian	46%	54%
Salvadoran	45%	55%
Guatemalan	33%	67%

<sup>1</sup> Working age is defined as individuals between the ages of 16 and 60 for purposes of this study

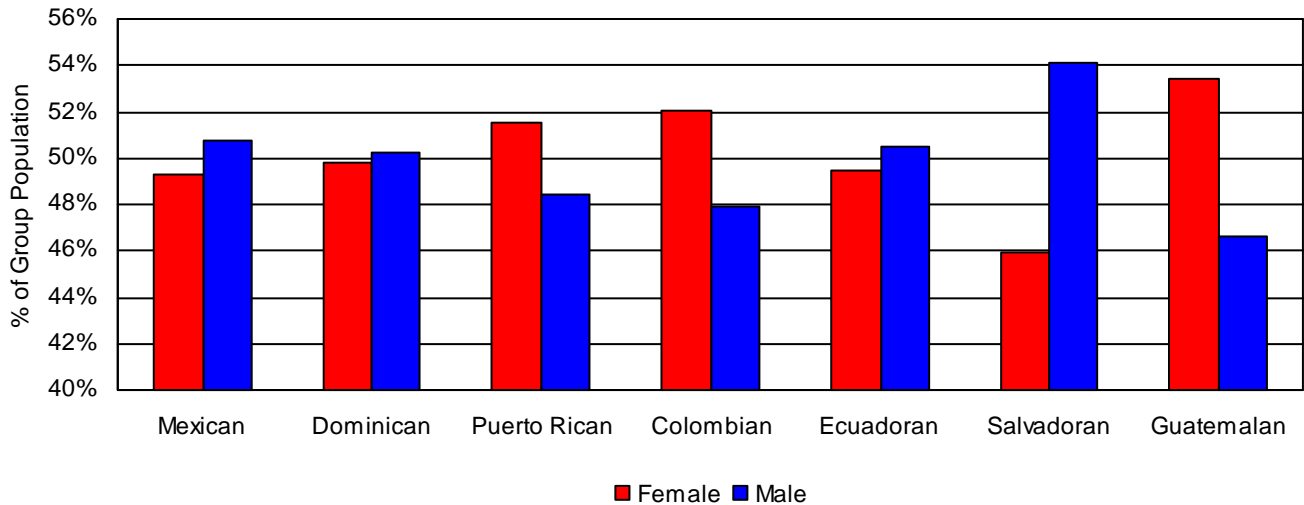
**Figure 7. Population Distribution by Sex for Foreign Born Latino Nationalities in New York City Metropolitan Area, 2005**



**Table 8. Population Distribution by Sex for Domestic-Born Latinos by Nationality in New York City Metropolitan Area, 2005**

Nationality	Percent Female	Percent Male
Mexican	49%	51%
Dominican	50%	50%
Puerto Rican	52%	48%
Colombian	52%	48%
Ecuadorian	49%	51%
Salvadoran	46%	54%
Guatemalan	53%	47%

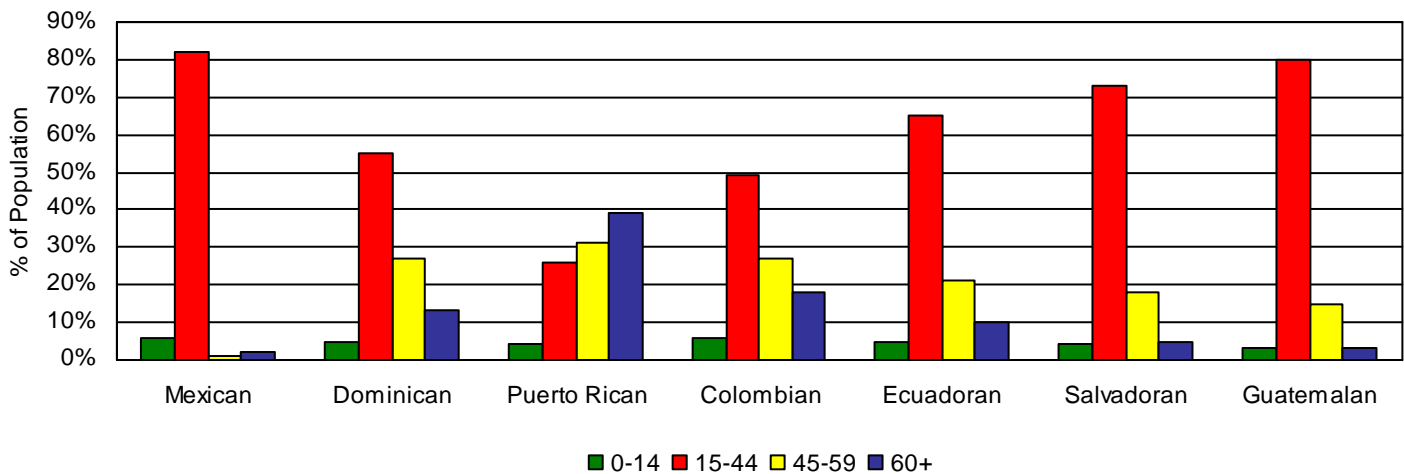
**Figure 8. Population Distribution by Sex for Domestic Born Latino Nationalities in New York City Metropolitan Area, 2005**



**Table 9. Foreign-Born Latino Population Distribution by Age Group and Nationality in The New York City Metropolitan Area, 2005**

Age Group	Mexican	Dominican	Puerto Rican	Colombian	Ecuadorian	Salvadoran	Guatemalan
0-14	6%	5%	4%	6%	5%	4%	3%
15-44	82%	55%	26%	49%	65%	73%	80%
45-59	10%	27%	31%	27%	21%	18%	15%
60+	2%	13%	39%	18%	10%	5%	3%

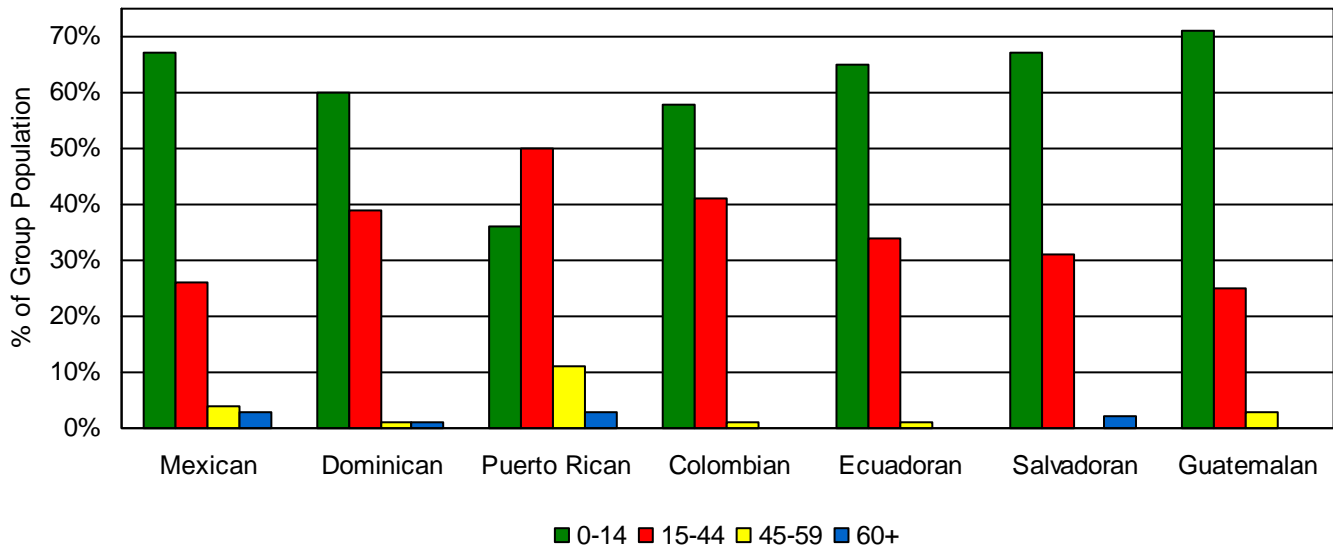
**Figure 9. Population Distribution by Age for Foreign Born Latinos Nationalities in New York Metropolitan Area, 2005**



**Table 10. Domestic-Born Latino Population Distribution by Age Group and Nationality in The New York City Metropolitan Area, 2005**

Age Category	Mexican	Dominican	Puerto Rican	Colombian	Ecuadorian	Salvadoran	Guatemalan
0-14	67%	60%	36%	58%	65%	67%	71%
15-44	26%	39%	50%	41%	34%	31%	25%
45-59	4%	1%	11%	1%	1%	0%	3%
60+	3%	1%	3%	0%	0%	2%	0%

**Figure 10. Population Distribution by Age for Domestic Born Latino Nationalities in New York Metropolitan Area, 2005**



### **Annual Family Income**

Income data focuses on people who we categorize as working age, or between 16 and 60 years of age. Family income was selected not only to account for income generated from all workers in a family as well as income provided by non-workers such as disability and retirement benefits, as well as any public assistance.

As Table 11 demonstrates, there is significant variation in terms of family income both within foreign-born and domestic-born Latino national groups. With the exception of Salvadoran respondents, foreign-born Latinos generally report lower family incomes than their domestic-born counterparts. However the data shows that income differences between foreign-born and domestic-born residents are wider among Latino national groups with a longer history of residency in New York City (Dominicans & Puerto Ricans) than for more recent arrivals (Colombians, Ecuadorians & Guatemalans), which suggests upward intergenerational economic mobility for older Latino national groups. Domestic and foreign-born Latinos among newer national groups are more closely matched, which may suggest limited economic mobility for this segment of Latino population. However given the younger profile of domestic born and their recent arrival in the US, it is possible that younger domestic-born Colombians, Ecuadorians and Guatemalans will experience income gains as more people enter the workforce.

New York City’s Mexican population presents a more complicated picture when we try to account for the wide disparity between foreign and domestic born residents. On the one hand, Mexican immigration to the US dates back to the early part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. On the other hand, the vast majority of Mexicans that have migrated to the US and specifically to New York City have done so in the past two decades. This fact may

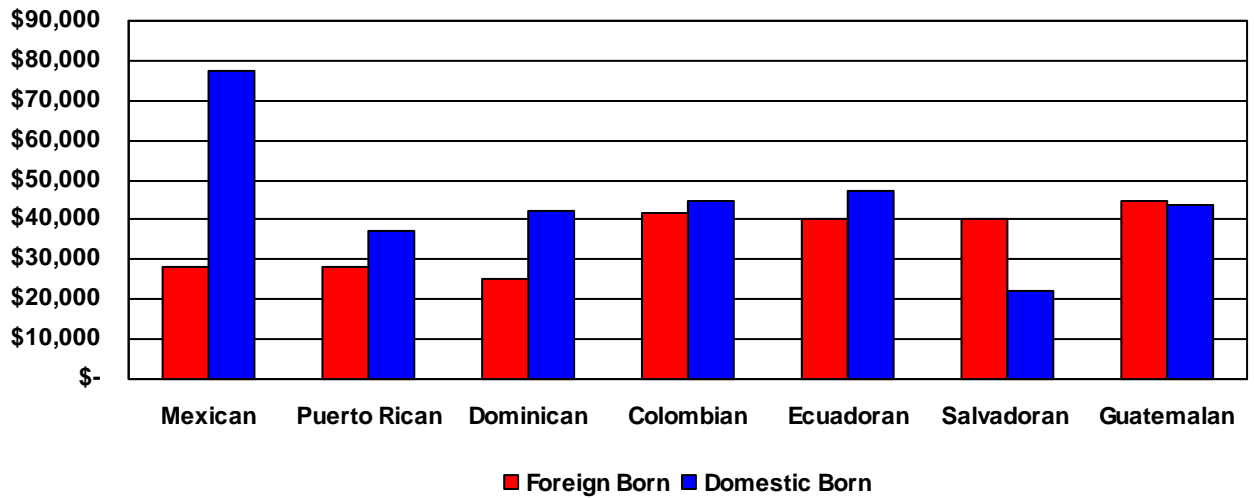
help to explain lower reported family incomes for the city’s foreign born Mexican population, as Mexicans struggle to overcome language barriers, educational limitations and discrimination. However the fact that most Mexicans in New York are recent émigrés makes it unlikely that most of the domestic born Mexicans are descendents of the foreign born population. Thus one possible explanation for the wide income gap is that domestic born Mexicans in New York are made up of second and third generation Mexicans who have migrated from other parts of the US.

While family income data appears to indicate that foreign-born Latinos are above the poverty line, income distribution patterns point to the possibility that many foreign-born Latinos face significant economic adversity. Income data demonstrates that between 18 and 39 percent of foreign-born families in each national group report annual incomes under \$20,000. Foreign-born Dominican (39%), Mexican (29%) and Puerto Rican (37%) families find themselves more frequently reporting annual incomes below \$20,000 than other foreign-born Latino counterparts. At the same time however, more recent Latino immigrant families are more likely to fall into what might be considered middle class incomes, with 30 to 33 percent of Colombians, Ecuadorians, Guatemalans and Salvadorans reporting annual incomes between \$50,000 and \$100,000. Finally while the percentage of foreign born Latino families earning over \$100,000 is generally low, about 9 percent of foreign-born Colombians, report annual incomes over \$100,000; a number far outpacing other foreign-born Latinos. Thus, the newer groups of Latino immigrants appear to have greater control of wealth within the Latino immigrant population than the more established Latino populations in New York City.

On the domestic-born side, economic hardship appears to be a less significant problem, for most national groups, as far fewer Latinos report annual family incomes under \$20,000. However lower incomes (under \$20,000 annually) persist among domestic-born Dominican (28%) and Puerto Rican (31%) families. At the same time however, some domestic-born Latino families are actually making greater economic gains at the highest income brackets than their foreign-born brethren, with one quarter of Mexican, 12 percent of Ecuadorian and 10 percent of Puerto Rican families reporting annual incomes over \$100,000. Thus while domestic born Latinos generally seem to be experiencing upward economic mobility, income disparities appear to be rather significant between foreign-born and domestic born families.

	<b>Foreign Born</b>	<b>Domestic Born</b>
Mexican	\$ 28,050	\$ 77,400
Puerto Rican	\$ 28,000	\$ 37,000
Dominican	\$ 25,000	\$ 42,000
Colombian	\$ 41,800	\$ 44,800
Ecuadorian	\$ 40,000	\$ 47,400
Salvadoran	\$ 40,000	\$ 22,200
Guatemalan	\$ 45,000	\$ 43,900

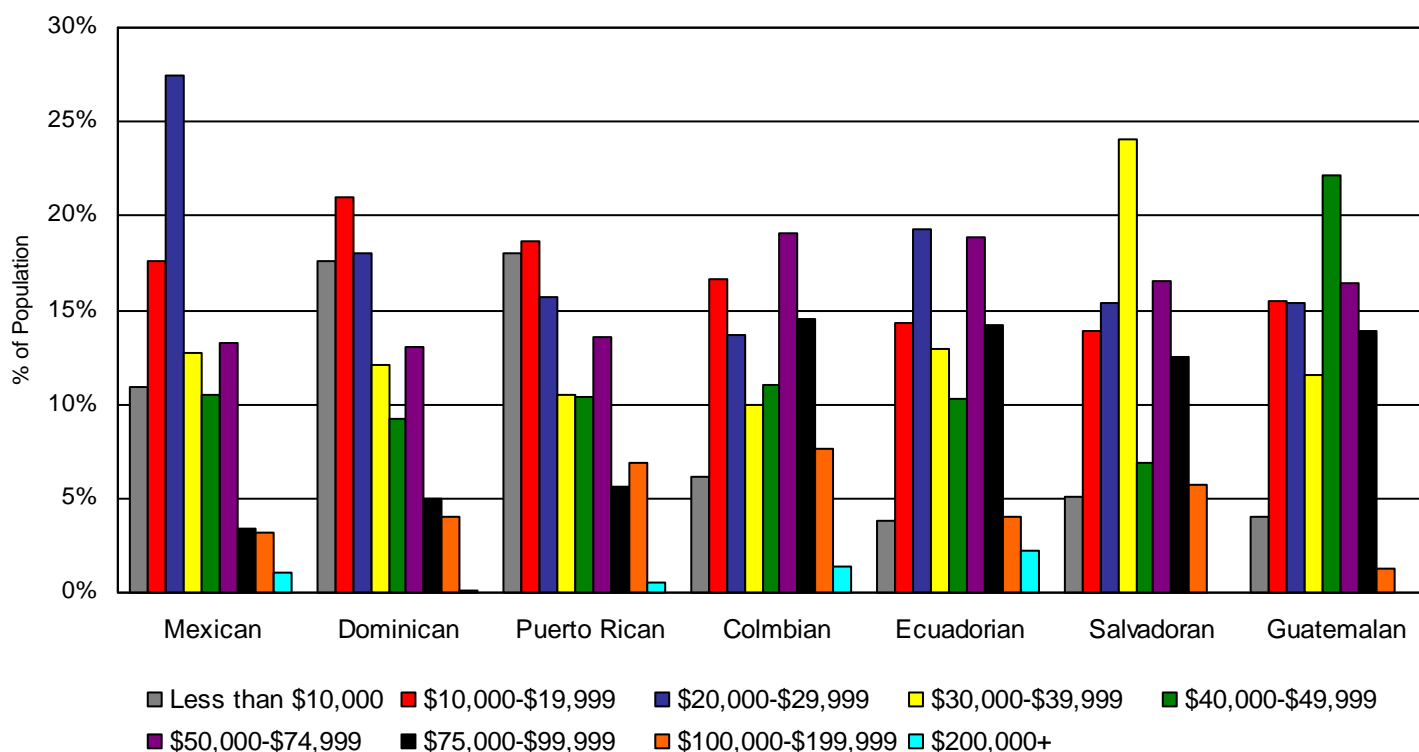
**Figure 11. Median Annual Family Income for Working-Age Foreign and Domestic Born Latino by Nationality in New York City Metropolitan Area , 2005**



**Table 12. Annual Family Income Distribution for Working Age Foreign Born Latinos by Nationality In the New York Metropolitan Area, 2005**

Income	Mexican	Dominican	Puerto Rican	Colombian	Ecuadorian	Salvadoran	Guatemalan
Less than \$10,000	11%	18%	18%	6%	4%	5%	4%
\$10,000-\$19,999	18%	21%	19%	17%	14%	14%	15%
\$20,000-\$29,999	27%	18%	16%	14%	19%	15%	15%
\$30,000-\$39,999	13%	12%	11%	10%	13%	24%	12%
\$40,000-\$49,999	10%	9%	10%	11%	10%	7%	22%
\$50,000-\$74,999	13%	13%	14%	19%	19%	17%	16%
\$75,000-\$99,999	3%	5%	6%	14%	14%	13%	14%
\$100,000-\$199,999	3%	4%	7%	8%	4%	6%	1%
\$200,000+	1%	0%	0%	1%	2%	0%	0%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

**Figure 12. Annual Family Income Distribution for Working-Age Foreign-Born Latinos by Nationality in New York City Metropolitan Area, 2005**

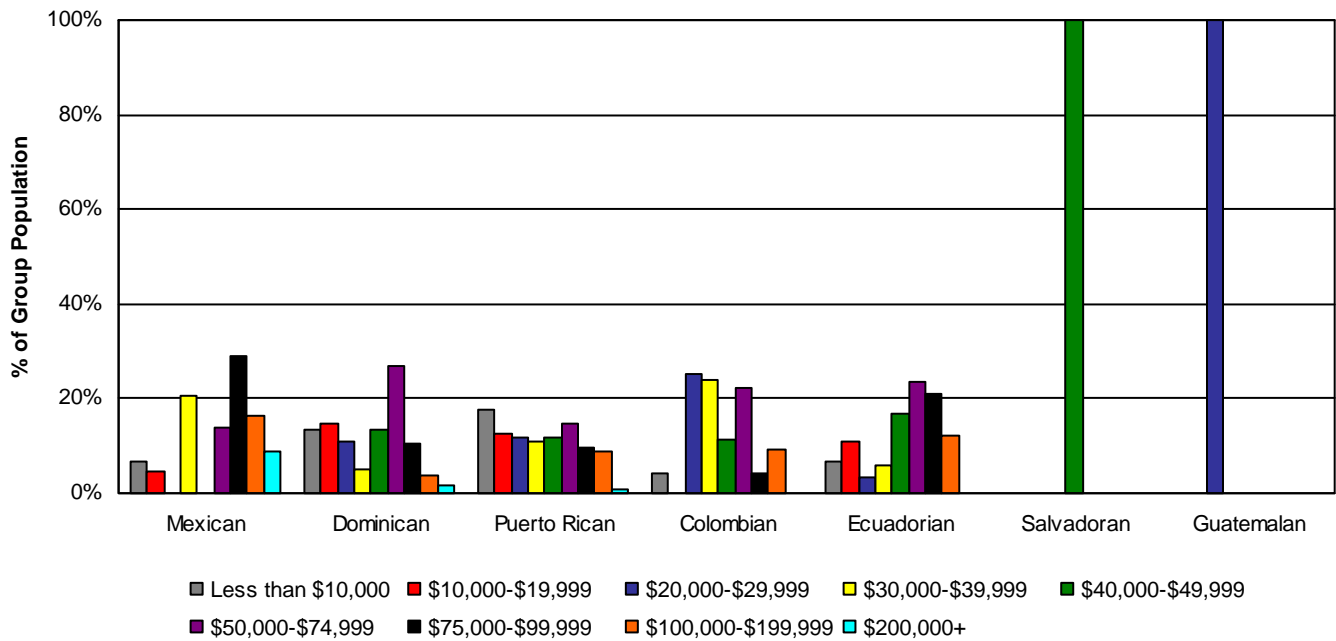


**Table 13. Annual Family Income Distribution for Working Age Domestic-Born Latinos by Nationality in New York City Metropolitan Area, 2005**

Income	Mexican	Dominican	Puerto Rican	Colombian	Ecuadorian	Salvadoran	Guatemalan
Less than \$10,000	7%	13%	18%	4%	7%	0%	0%
\$10,000-\$19,999	5%	15%	13%	0%	11%	0%	0%
\$20,000-\$29,999	0%	11%	12%	25%	3%	0%	100%
\$30,000-\$39,999	20%	5%	11%	24%	6%	0%	0%
\$40,000-\$49,999	0%	14%	12%	11%	17%	100%	0%
\$50,000-\$74,999	14%	27%	15%	22%	24%	0%	0%
\$75,000-\$99,999	29%	10%	10%	4%	21%	0%	0%
\$100,000-\$199,999	17%	4%	9%	9%	12%	0%	0%
\$200,000+	9%	2%	1%	0%	0%	0%	0%
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%



**Figure 13. Annual Family Income Distribution for Working Age Foreign-Born Latinos by Nationality in New York City Metropolitan Area, 2005**

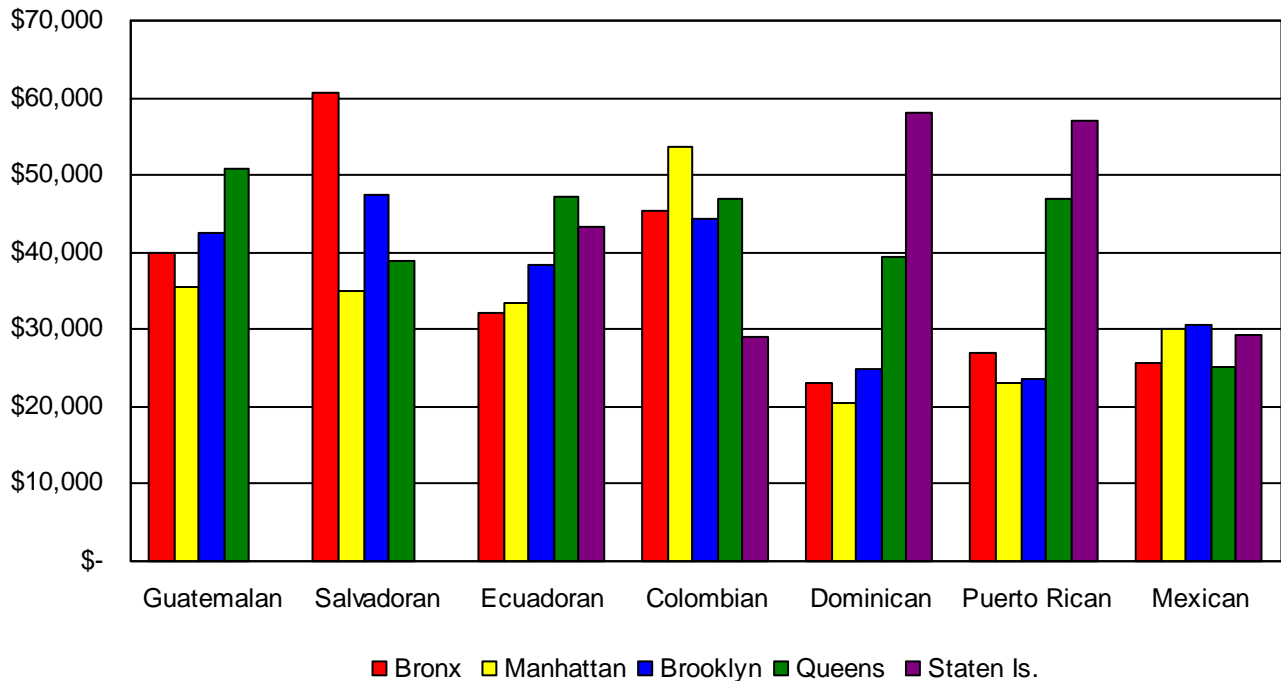


It is also important to analyze family income distribution by borough in New York City when making an assessment of socio-economic conditions, due to the impact of high housing costs on disposable income. The highest average foreign-born family incomes are found in Queens (see Table 14 & Figure 14). Manhattan presents an interesting profile in that it features the highest family incomes for foreign-born Colombians and Mexicans, but at the same time some of the lowest reported incomes for virtually all other foreign-born Latino groups. This seems to point to huge income disparities in the central part of the city. More generally however, foreign-born Latinos with higher family incomes tend to settle in the outer boroughs of the city, and particularly in Queens. It is possible that this reflects an adaptation by Latino immigrants to the same geographic trends that have traditionally characterized middle and upper class population in the US; mainly that of movement away from central cities to more suburban parts of metropolitan areas.

Domestic-born Latinos with higher reported incomes also tend to be migrating to Queens, and have similar income distribution patterns by borough. However, the number of domestic-born Latinos who did not report a family income is quite high. It is possible that given the younger demographic profile of many domestic-born Latino national groups, labor force participation is lower, which might explain higher non-response rates for domestic-born Latinos, compared to their foreign-born counterparts. A curious note is the high average income reported for domestic-born Colombians in Manhattan (Figure 15), which seems to be an unlikely average. However, the only reported family incomes from domestic-born Colombians in Manhattan were in the six figure range, according to 2005 ACS data.

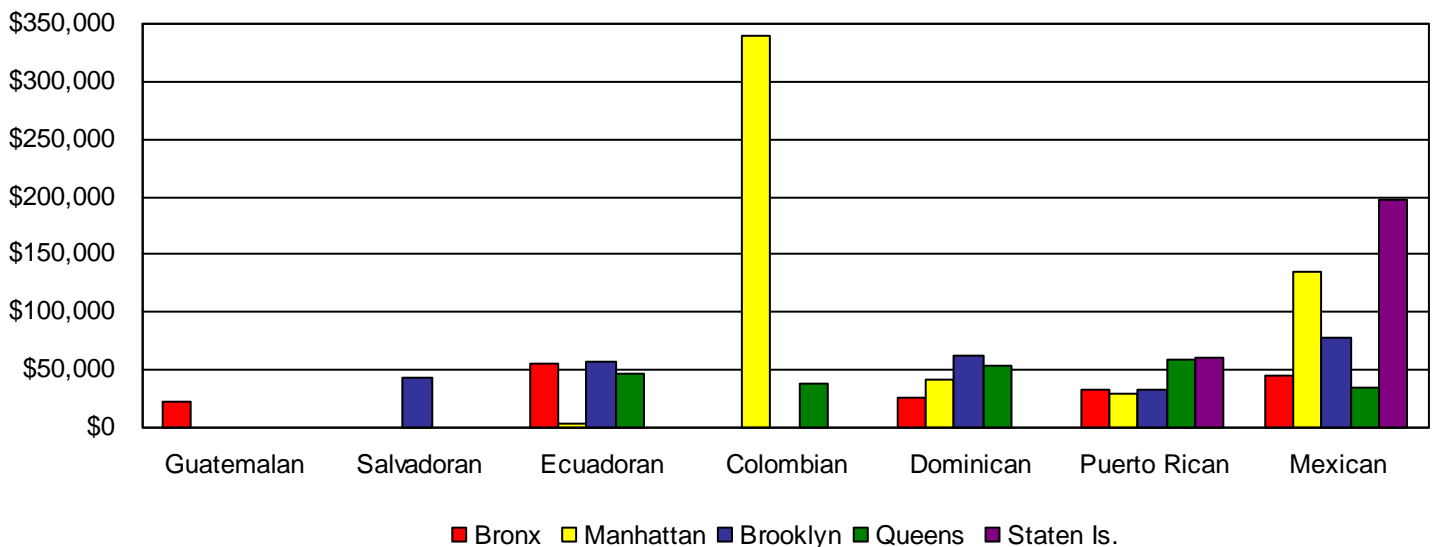
	<b>Bronx</b>	<b>Manhattan</b>	<b>Brooklyn</b>	<b>Queens</b>	<b>Staten Island</b>
<b>Mexican</b>	\$25,700	\$30,000	\$30,600	\$25,180	\$29,300
<b>Puerto Rican</b>	\$27,000	\$23,000	\$23,610	\$47,050	\$57,004
<b>Dominican</b>	\$23,000	\$20,400	\$25,000	\$39,300	\$58,000
<b>Colombian</b>	\$45,500	\$53,500	\$44,350	\$46,850	\$29,000
<b>Ecuadorian</b>	\$32,250	\$33,450	\$38,300	\$47,100	\$43,250
<b>Guatemalan</b>	\$40,000	\$35,500	\$42,500	\$50,750	N/A
<b>Salvadoran</b>	\$60,700	\$35,000	\$47,400	\$38,800	N/A

**Figure 14. Median Family Income by Borough for Working Age Foreign Born Latino Nationalities in New York City, 2005**



	Bronx	Manhattan	Brooklyn	Queens	Staten Island
<b>Mexican</b>	\$45,150	\$135,000	\$77,400	\$33,850	\$198,000
<b>Puerto Rican</b>	\$32,800	\$29,550	\$32,250	\$58,800	\$61,400
<b>Dominican</b>	\$25,950	\$42,350	\$63,000	\$54,400	N/A
<b>Colombian</b>	N/A	\$340,000	N/A	\$37,650	N/A
<b>Ecuadorian</b>	\$55,000	\$3,000	\$56,600	\$46,550	N/A
<b>Guatemalan</b>	\$22,200	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
<b>Salvadoran</b>	N/A	N/A	\$43,900	N/A	N/A

**Figure 15. Median Family Income by Borough for Working Age Domestic-Born Latinos Nationalities in New York City, 2005**



### Dependent Children

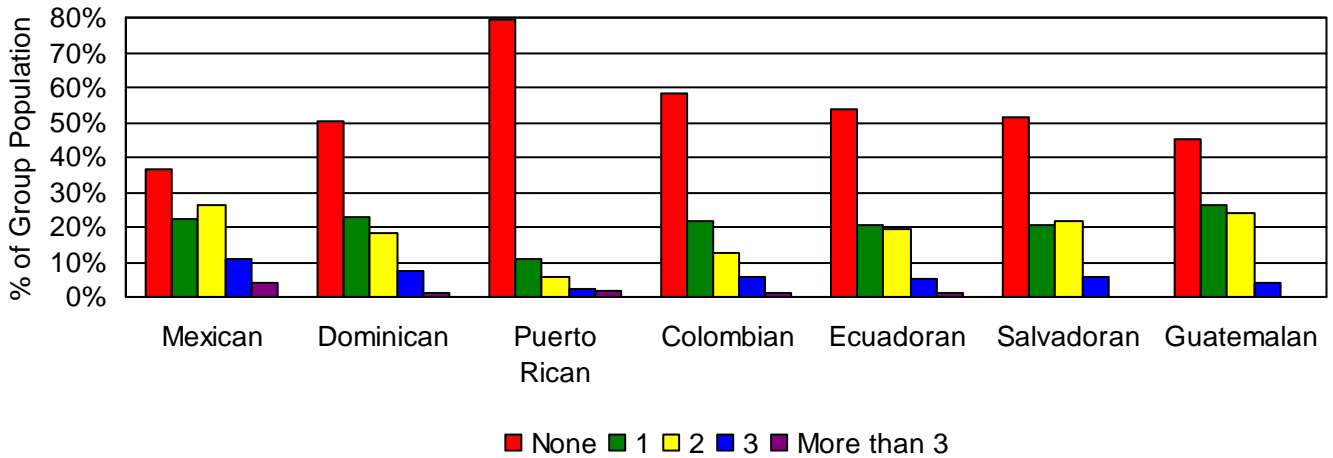
There is significant variation between different national groups with respect to family sizes, and in particular dependents (Table and Figure 16.) On the one hand, foreign-born Colombians, Dominicans, Guatemalans and Mexicans tend to have larger families than their domestic-born counterparts. Foreign-born Mexicans in particular have the largest number of dependents, with nearly 70 percent of households reporting having at least one child and 40 percent of households reporting having two or more children. Our data also indicates that between 40 and 60 percent of foreign-born households in the aforementioned groups has at least one dependent child. Conversely the data illustrates that between 50 and 70 percent of domestic-born households of these national groups report having no children (Table and Figure 17.) Foreign-born Dominican and Mexican families appear to face the greatest financial strain given that they have higher

percentages of households with dependents as well as higher numbers of families in lower income brackets.

On the other hand, foreign-born Puerto Rican and Salvadoran households in New York City are actually less likely to have dependent children, while household size patterns tend to be the same among both foreign-born and domestic-born Ecuadorians. The difference between Puerto Rican and households in other national groups is glaring, with 80 percent of foreign-born Puerto Ricans reporting no dependent children. One possible explanation for this distinction is that because many native Puerto Ricans transit back and forth between the United States and Puerto Rico, these people may feel less compelled to have children if they view themselves as transient. Other foreign born Latinos may view migration to the U.S. as a more permanent decision, since there are often economic and legal obstacles that make transit between countries more difficult, compared to Puerto Ricans. If non-Puerto Rican foreign-born Latinos see migration as a long-term or permanent situation, then they may feel more compelled to raise a family. One other possibility is that sexual education is improving among foreign-born Latinos, and as a result Latino households are making more informed family planning choices than in previous generations of immigrants.

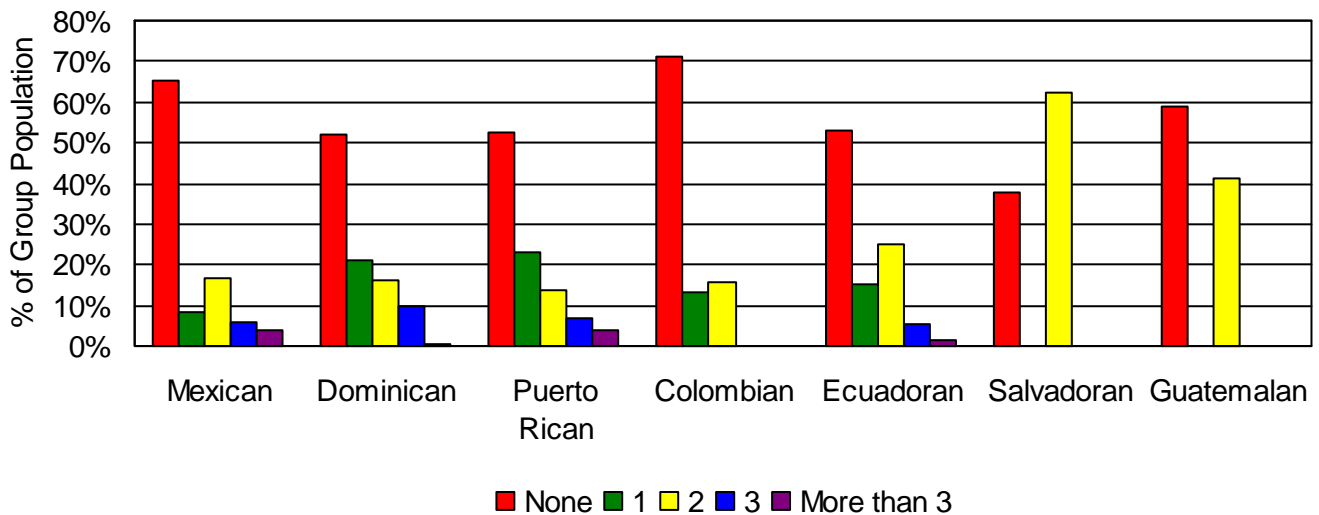
	% of Households by Nationality						
<b>Children</b>	<b>Mexican</b>	<b>Dominican</b>	<b>Puerto Rican</b>	<b>Colombian</b>	<b>Ecuadorian</b>	<b>Salvadoran</b>	<b>Guatemalan</b>
None	37%	50%	80%	59%	54%	52%	45%
1 child	23%	23%	11%	22%	21%	21%	26%
2 children	26%	18%	6%	13%	20%	22%	24%
3 children	11%	7%	2%	6%	5%	6%	4%
More than 3	4%	1%	2%	1%	1%	0%	0%
<b>Total</b>	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

**Figure 16. Children per Household for Foreign-Born Latinos by Nationality in New York City Metropolitan Area, 2005**



Children	% of Households by Nationality						
	Mexican	Dominican	Puerto Rican	Colombian	Ecuadorian	Salvadoran	Guatemalan
None	65%	52%	52%	71%	53%	38%	59%
1 child	8%	21%	23%	13%	15%	0%	0%
2 children	17%	16%	14%	15%	25%	62%	41%
3 children	6%	10%	7%	0%	0%	0%	0%
More than 3	4%	1%	4%	0%	0%	0%	0%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Figure 17. Number of Children per Household for Domestic-Born Latinos by Nationality in New York City Metropolitan Area, 2005**



## **Educational Attainment**

In order to account for all respondents who had the opportunity to complete a post-high school education, the educational attainment figures presented in this report focus on respondents over the age of 25.

In general both foreign-born and domestic-born Latinos report low levels of educational attainment. The majority of foreign-born respondents in each national group report having a high school degree or less (Table & Figure 18.) However some of the newer Latino immigrant groups have greater numbers of persons with some level of college education. The educational attainment trend among domestic-born Latinos is quite similar to those of the foreign-born population. Colombians lead the way in terms of educational attainment, with 42 percent of respondents having obtained an associate's degree or greater and 22 percent obtaining at least a four-year college degree. Ecuadorians follow a similar pattern, with 40 percent of respondents having at least two years of college education. Foreign-born Dominicans also appear more likely to get to college, though to a lesser extent than Colombians and Ecuadorians. Educational attainment trends for other recent arrivals such as Guatemalans and Salvadorans seem to mirror those of more established groups like Dominicans and Puerto Ricans, as over half of respondents over the age of 25 have not graduated high school. Graduate and Professional education is quite rare among all foreign born national groups, with less than 5 percent of respondents (excluding Colombians at 6%) having a Masters, professional or PhD-level degree.

The picture for domestic-born Latinos is generally not as bleak with respect to educational attainment (Table & Figure 19), where in most instances the majority of respondents over 25 have at least two years of college education. Domestic-born Colombians and Ecuadorians lead the way in educational attainment, with 55 and 30 percent respectively having at least two years of education. Puerto Ricans and Salvadorans are an exception to this trend, as the majority of domestic-born respondents in these groups have no college education.

As was the case with the annual family income data, educational attainment differences between foreign and domestic-born Mexicans should be more closely scrutinized. Foreign-born Mexicans are the least likely of all Latino nationalities to have completed a college degree (15%), and are comparable to foreign-born Guatemalans, Puerto Ricans and Salvadorans. However domestic-born Mexicans are much more likely to have a college degree (54%), whereas domestic-born Puerto Ricans and Salvadorans remain less likely to have gotten beyond a high school education. As stated earlier, it is possible that many of the domestic-born Mexicans currently in New York are second and even third generation Mexican-Americans with higher levels of educational attainment are migrating from other parts of the US to New York City, which may explain why there are such stark educational differences between domestic and foreign-born Mexicans in New York City. Durand and Massey's research on historical demographic trends in Mexico-US immigration provides some evidence for this. Specifically, their study notes

greater educational selectivity in early Mexican immigration to the US, with the majority of migrants arriving in the in the 1960's and 1970's having ten or more years of formal education<sup>2</sup>. It is therefore possible that a portion of the domestic-born Mexican population in New York is made up of descendents of these earlier migrants to other parts of the US.

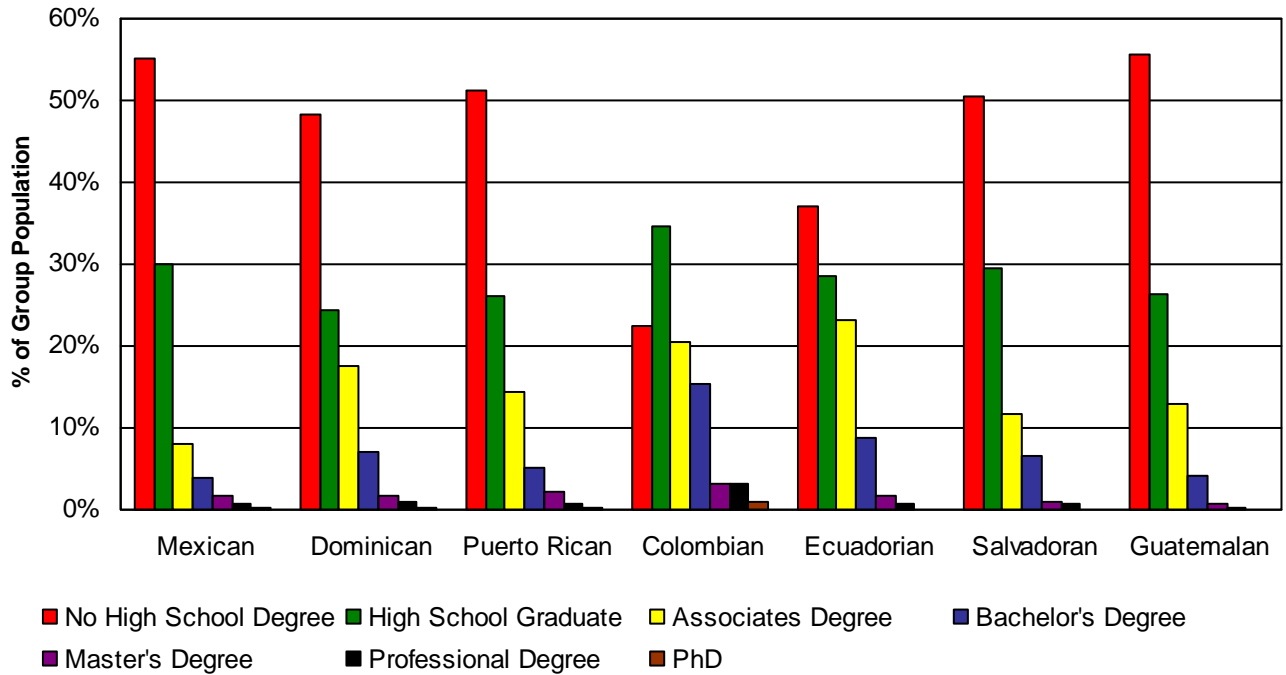
Thus the educational trends among foreign and domestic-born Latinos points to an association between educational attainment and family income. Foreign-born Latino groups which reported higher annual family incomes are those who also have higher levels of education. At the same time the greater numbers of domestic born going to college further supports the theory of upward intergenerational social mobility among certain sectors of the Latino population.

**Table 18. Educational Attainment for Foreign-Born Latinos by Nationality in The New York City Metropolitan Area, 2005**

<b>Education</b>	<b>Mexican</b>	<b>Dominican</b>	<b>Puerto Rican</b>	<b>Colombian</b>	<b>Ecuadorian</b>	<b>Salvadoran</b>	<b>Guatemalan</b>
No High School Degree	55%	48%	51%	23%	37%	51%	56%
High School Graduate	30%	24%	26%	35%	29%	30%	26%
Associates Degree	8%	17%	14%	20%	23%	12%	13%
Bachelor's Degree	4%	7%	5%	15%	9%	7%	4%
Master's Degree	2%	2%	2%	3%	2%	1%	1%
Professional Degree	1%	1%	1%	3%	1%	1%	0%
PhD	0%	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%	0%
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

<sup>2</sup> Source: Durand, J. & Massey, D. "Mexican Immigration to the United States: Continuities and Change." *Latin American Research Review*, Vol. 36, No. 1 (2001)

**Figure 18. Educational Attainment for Foreign Born Latinos by Nationality for New York City Metropolitan Area, 2005**

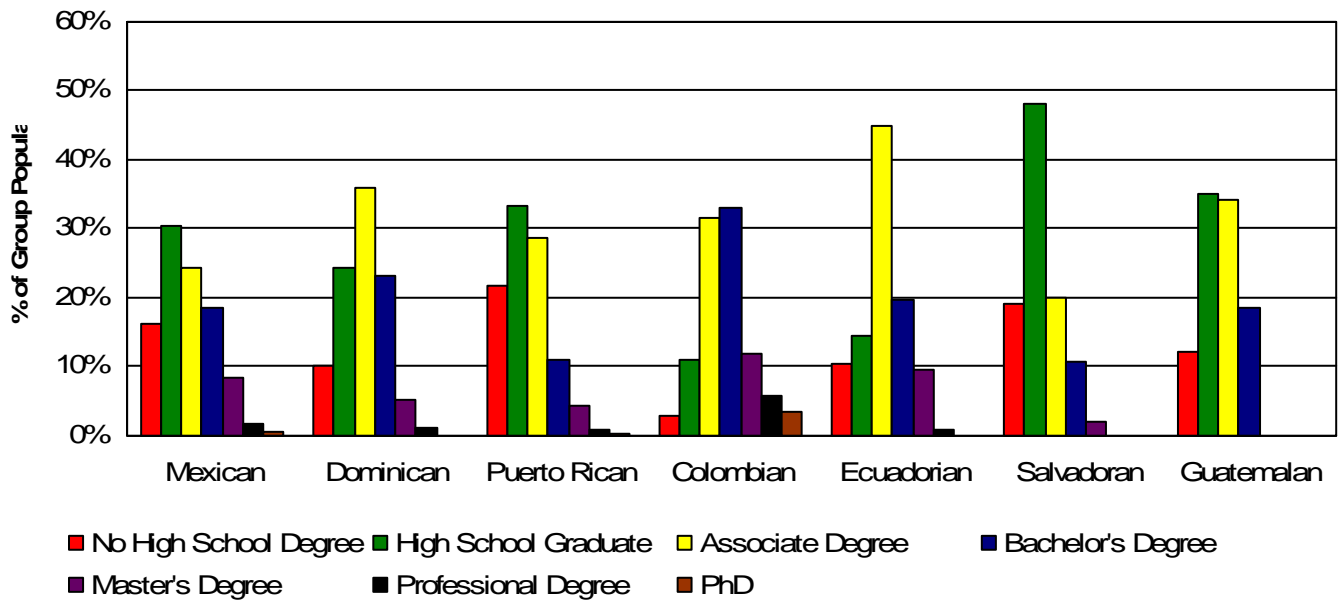


**Table 19. Educational Attainment for Domestic-Born Latinos by Nationality in The New York Metropolitan Area, 2005**

Education	Mexican	Dominican	Puerto Rican	Colombian	Ecuadorian	Salvadoran	Guatemalan
No High School Degree	16%	10%	22%	3%	11%	19%	12%
High School Graduate	30%	24%	33%	11%	14%	48%	35%
Associate Degree	24%	36%	29%	32%	45%	20%	34%
Bachelor's Degree	19%	23%	11%	33%	20%	11%	19%
Master's Degree	8%	5%	4%	12%	9%	2%	0%
Professional Degree	2%	1%	1%	6%	1%	0%	0%
PhD	0%	0%	0%	4%	0%	0%	0%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%



**Figure 19. Educational Attainment for Domestic Born Latinos by Nationality for New York City Metropolitan**



### Employment Status & Occupational Distribution

Employment figures focus on populations in the 16-60 age range, in order to account for individuals who one can reasonably expect to be labor force participants. There do not seem to be significant differences between domestic and foreign born Latinos in terms of employment status. Self-reported unemployment figures for foreign born Latinos are lower than domestic born, running at 5-7 percent of the population (Table 20.) A number of domestic born Latino groups, including Dominicans, Puerto Ricans and Guatemalans report unemployment rates around or above 10 percent (Table 21.) These numbers are distinguished from respondents who are not part of the labor force, which presumably includes students, the disabled and retirees. The percentage of labor force non-participation runs higher among domestic-born Ecuadorians, Guatemalans and Salvadorans, consistent with the younger age trends in Latinos of those nationalities. The higher percentage of labor force non-participation among foreign born Puerto Ricans could be explained by the higher number of persons over 60, vis-à-vis other foreign born Latino ethnic groups.

However in spite of the fact that unemployment figures and labor force non-participation rates are in many cases higher among domestic-born Latinos, family incomes for foreign born Mexicans, Dominicans and Colombians lag behind their

domestic born counterparts. Since employment figures do not fully account for this trend, it is necessary to scrutinize employment data further in order to uncover potential reasons for lower family income figures for foreign-born Latinos.

To address this, we examine the distribution of foreign and domestic born Latinos across a range of major occupational categories (See Table Nos. 22 & 23). Foreign-born Latinos appear to be concentrated in five major occupational fields: construction, custodial or domestic work, food service, manufacturing and transportation. Custodial/domestic jobs are especially prevalent among foreign born Latinos, since this sector accounts for between 10 and 20 percent of foreign born respondents in each ethnic group. Similarly, construction related jobs account for the bulk of employment among Ecuadorians (17%), Guatemalans (24%), Mexicans (16%) and Salvadorans (9%). Foreign born Mexicans (20%) and Salvadorans (20%) also figure prominently in the food service sectors. The New York manufacturing sector also employs a considerable percentage of foreign born workers, particularly among Ecuadorians (16%), Salvadorans (14%), Mexicans (13%) and Dominicans (10%). By and large, therefore, foreign born Latinos tend to be concentrated in traditionally lower paying occupational sectors.

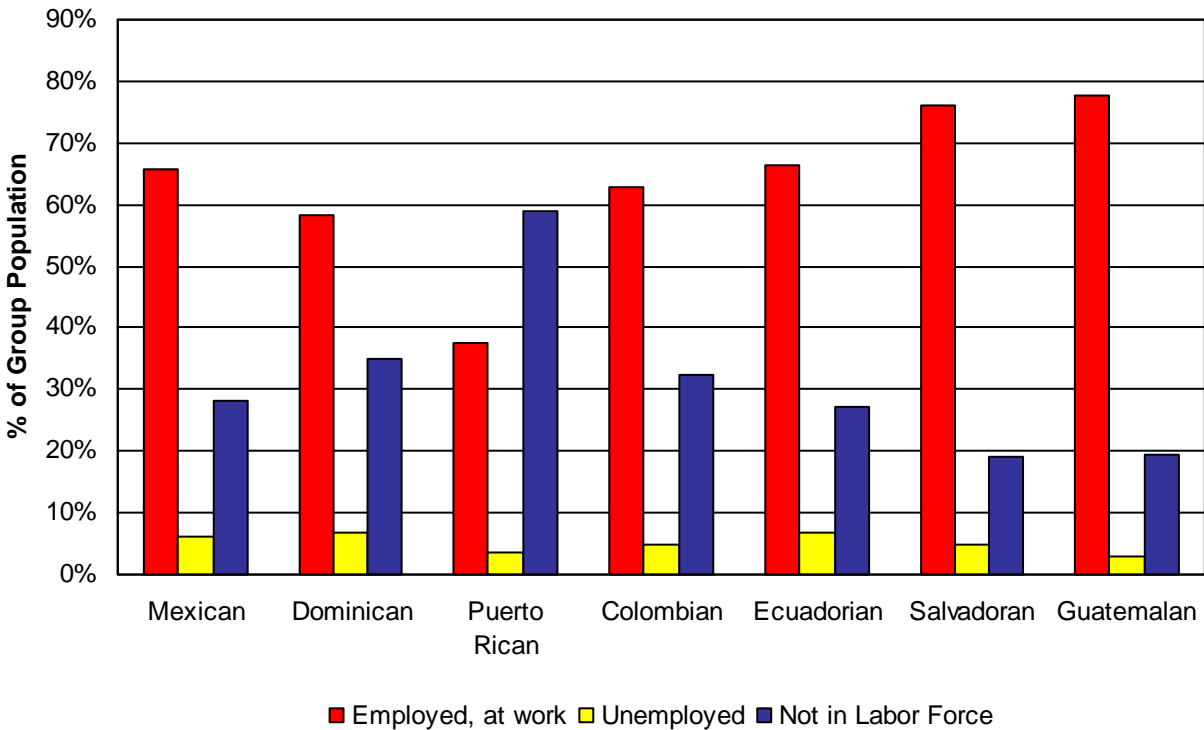
In the case of domestic born Latino workers (Table 23) we find greater variation across occupational sectors in New York. On the one hand, a significant number of domestic born Latinos are employed in the retail and sales sector- ranging from 10 percent (Guatemalans and Mexicans) to 21 percent of Salvadorans- and to a lesser extent in custodial/domestic work. However a large number of domestic born Latinos are finding employment in office/clerical types of jobs, ranging from 15 percent (Mexicans) all the way to one-third (Ecuadorians.) Managerial jobs are also a significant source of employment for Mexicans (13%), Colombians (9%) and Dominicans (7%). Finally many domestic born Latinos are making inroads into higher status occupational groups, including medical professional and education.

However the highest paying occupational sectors- finance, information technology, engineering and legal- are still elusive to both domestic and foreign born Latinos at the moment. Yet the overall trends in occupational sector employment suggest that foreign born Latinos are concentrated in traditionally low paying sectors, whereas at the moment domestic born seem to have more success obtaining positions in higher paying sectors.

**Table 20. Employment Status for Foreign-Born Latinos by Nationality in The New York Metropolitan Area, 2005**

Employment Status	Mexican	Dominican	Puerto Rican	Colombian	Ecuadorian	Salvadoran	Guatemalan
Employed, at work	66%	58%	37%	63%	66%	76%	78%
Unemployed	6%	7%	4%	5%	7%	5%	3%
Not in Labor Force	28%	35%	59%	32%	27%	19%	19%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

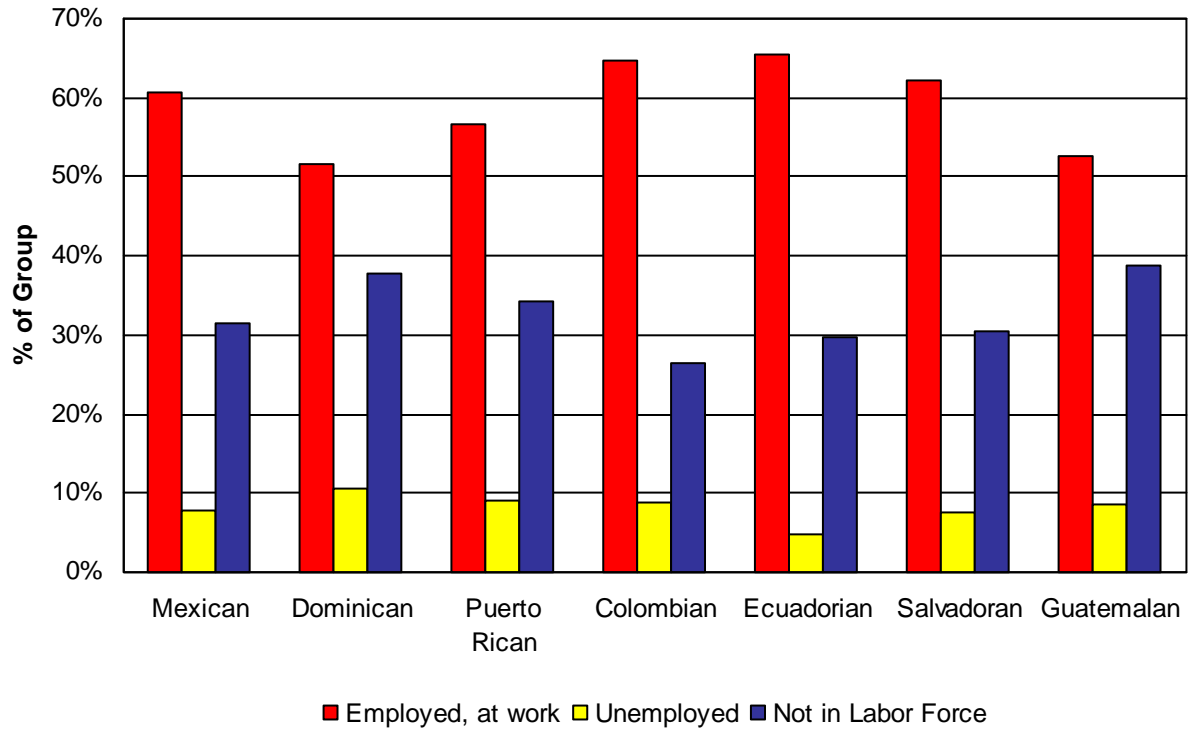
**Table 20. Employment Status for Foreign Born Latino Groups by Nationality for New York City Metropolitan Area, 2005**



**Table 21. Employment Status for Domestic Born Latinos by Nationality for  
The New York City Metropolitan Area, 2005**

<b>Employment Status</b>	<b>Mexican</b>	<b>Dominican</b>	<b>Puerto Rican</b>	<b>Colombian</b>	<b>Ecuadorian</b>	<b>Salvadoran</b>	<b>Guatemalan</b>
Employed, at work	61%	52%	57%	65%	66%	62%	53%
Unemployed	8%	10%	9%	9%	5%	8%	9%
Not in Labor Force	31%	38%	34%	26%	30%	30%	39%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

**Table 21. Employment Status for Working Age Domestic Born Latinos by Nationality in  
New York City Metropolitan Area, 2005**



**Table 22. Employment by Top Occupational Sector for Foreign Born Latinos by Nationality in New York City Metropolitan Area, 2005**

	Mexican	Puerto Rican	Dominican	Colombian	Ecuadorian	Guatemalan	Salvadoran
Construction	16%	4%	6%	8%	17%	9%	25%
Custodial/Domestic	16%	12%	9%	15%	11%	12%	23%
Food Service	20%	8%	5%	6%	8%	21%	6%
Manufacturing	14%	11%	8%	9%	16%	15%	10%
Office/Clerical	5%	10%	17%	13%	10%	8%	6%
Sales/Retail	6%	11%	7%	9%	7%	7%	4%
Transportation	8%	9%	10%	9%	12%	10%	7%

**Table 23. Employment by Top Occupational Sector for Domestic Born Latinos by Nationality in New York City Metropolitan Area, 2005**

	Mexican	Puerto Rican	Dominican	Colombian	Ecuadorian	Guatemalan	Salvadoran
Custodial/Domestic	8%	6%	5%	2%	6%	9%	13%
Education/Academic	4%	5%	5%	5%	9%	9%	7%
Food Service	6%	5%	5%	1%	2%	8%	0%
Managerial	13%	7%	6%	9%	4%	0%	0%
Office/Clerical	15%	19%	22%	22%	33%	22%	28%
Sales/Retail	10%	17%	12%	12%	13%	21%	10%
Transportation	7%	5%	5%	7%	2%	9%	5%

### Households in Poverty

While income, employment and occupational data provide some insight regarding the economic difficulties of foreign-born Latino ethnic groups, the question of poverty rates remains. To address this matter we have attempted to calculate household poverty rates by measuring annual family income against household sizes, in accordance with the poverty threshold guidelines established by the United States Department of Health and Human Services.<sup>3</sup> It should be noted that this measure relies exclusively on reported income, and does not take into account any sort of public economic assistance households may receive or participation in informal economic activity.

<sup>3</sup> For further information see *Federal Register*: January 24, 2006 (Volume 71, Number 15), 3848-3849; available at <http://aspe.hhs.gov/poverty/06fedreg.htm>

As Table No. 24 illustrates, foreign born Dominican, Mexican and Puerto Ricans have the highest number of families living below the poverty threshold. While largely due to the fact that these are also the largest immigrant populations in New York City, these three ethnic groups also rank the highest in terms of the percentage of families in poverty relative to the total foreign born population. It is also interesting to note that foreign-born Mexicans and Dominicans also have the highest percentage of families with households with dependent children.

However there are far fewer domestic born Latino households that below the federal poverty threshold than their foreign born counterparts (Table 25.) The lower poverty figures probably are a product of the younger demographic profile of most domestic born Latinos, but also the fact that they are also having smaller families and moving out of the traditionally low wage job sectors that many foreign born Latinos occupy.

<b>Table 24. Foreign Born Latino Families by Nationality Below the Federal Poverty Threshold in The New York City Metropolitan Area, 2005</b>							
	<b>Mexican</b>	<b>Dominican</b>	<b>Puerto Rican</b>	<b>Colombian</b>	<b>Ecuadorian</b>	<b>Salvadoran</b>	<b>Guatemalan</b>
2 person families	2,151	12,271	13,769	1,234	1,456	78	704
3 person families	3,012	13,795	6,365	1,325	1,355	487	199
4 person families	3,747	12,310	4,407	844	1,536	936	103
5 person families	2,587	4,789	2,017	463	615	-	-
6 person families	1,296	847	658	101	386	-	-
7 person families	1,472	259	582	-	68	-	-
8 person families	-	208	275	-	-	-	-
Total Poor Families	14,265	44,479	28,073	3,967	5,416	1,501	1,006
Total Foreign Born Population	197,776	375,437	331,482	92,066	138,213	45,023	79,922
<b>Poor as % of Foreign Born Population</b>	<b>7%</b>	<b>12%</b>	<b>8%</b>	<b>4%</b>	<b>4%</b>	<b>3%</b>	<b>1%</b>

**Table 25. Domestic Born Latino Families by Nationality Below the Poverty Threshold in The New York City Metropolitan Area, 2005**

	<b>Mexican</b>	<b>Dominican</b>	<b>Puerto Rican</b>	<b>Colombian</b>	<b>Ecuadorian</b>	<b>Salvadoran</b>	<b>Guatemalan</b>
2 person families	448	942	11,910	-	55	-	-
3 person families	-	930	9,457	-	73	-	147
4 person families	-	622	5,209	95	113	-	-
5 person families	-	543	4,341	-	-	-	-
6 person families	-	-	1,970	-	-	-	-
7 person families	-	-	117	-	-	-	-
8 person families	-	-	178	-	-	-	-
<b>Total Poor Families</b>	448	3,037	33,182	95	241	-	147
<b>Total Foreign Born Population</b>	133,367	230,882	741,485	34,263	56,916	18,180	33,440
<b>Poor as % of FB Population</b>	<b>0%</b>	<b>1%</b>	<b>4%</b>	<b>0%</b>	<b>0%</b>	<b>N/A</b>	<b>0%</b>

### Cost of Living Measures

In addition to standard socio-economic indicators such as education, employment status, family income and occupational status, this study also examines a number of cost of living measures. Housing related expenses were chosen as cost of living measurements because housing is a constant expense that all households must take into account. Cost of living measures have been included in this study because while family income provides a benchmark for measuring poverty, official poverty lines do not take into account how much income is devoted to basic living expenses. Thus, while a family may report incomes that exceed the poverty threshold, high living expenses may actually reduce the amount of disposable income a family may have for other expenses, such as transportation, education, investment and saving.

#### Monthly Rent

There is some variation between national groups on whether foreign-born or domestic-born households pay higher rents (Figure 22 & Table 26.) Foreign born Colombians, Dominicans, Mexicans and Puerto Ricans on average pay lower rents than domestic born members of their group. However Ecuadorians, Salvadorans and Guatemalans pay higher rents on average than their domestic born counterparts. However average rent payments seem to be associated with family income. Foreign-born Colombians, Dominicans and Puerto Rican households pay lower rents, but also tend to earn less, while households from the national groups that pay higher rents also tend to earn more. Foreign-born Mexican households are an exceptional case, as they earn the least income wise yet pay the highest average rent.

The percentage of income dedicated to rent (Figure 23 & Table 27) provides a more detailed picture on the impact of rent. These figures indicate that virtually all foreign-born Latinos devote a higher percentage of income to rent than domestic-born Latinos. While domestic-born Latinos spend less than 40 percent of income on rent, foreign born Latinos spend between 40 and 50 percent of their income on rent, and consistently above 40 percent above all groups.

Rent expenses by borough (Figures 24 & 25; Tables 28 & 29) reveal that the highest average rent payments by foreign born Latino groups are in Queens, with the exception of foreign born Puerto Ricans. Most foreign-born Latinos in Brooklyn, with the exception of Salvadorans and Colombians, rank second in terms of monthly rent. Furthermore, many foreign born Latino Queens residents tend to devote a higher percentage of household income to rent, and in the case of Colombians, Guatemalans, Mexican and Salvadorans, Queens residents are near the top of the percentage of income devoted to rent. The prevalence of higher rents and higher percentages of income dedicated to rent in Queens is relevant in light of the fact that the majority of foreign born Colombians, Ecuadorians, and Mexicans, as well as significant numbers of foreign born Salvadorans and Guatemalans now reside in Queens.

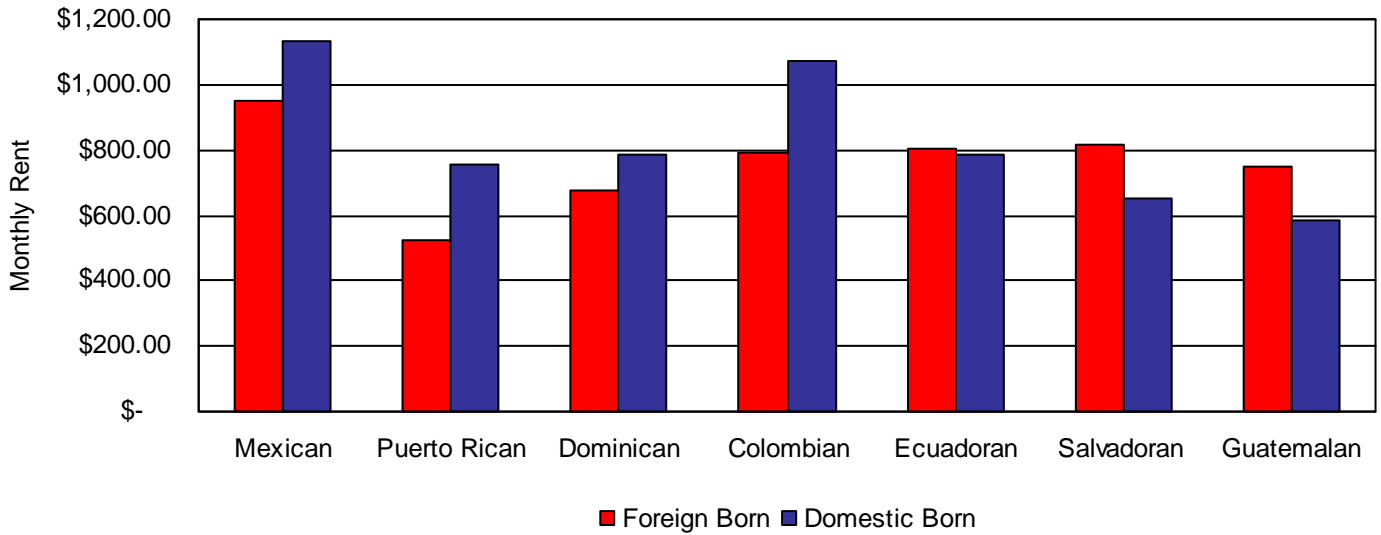
### Utilities

This study also examined a second major component to housing expenses, utilities. Utilities expenses were calculated based on combined monthly electric and natural gas expenses per household (Figure 28 & Table 32.) Census data indicates that with the exception of Puerto Ricans, foreign born Latino groups spend more on monthly utilities than their domestic born counterparts. While the utilities spending gap between foreign and domestic born respondents is relatively narrow among Dominicans, Ecuadorians, Mexicans and Puerto Ricans, the gap among Colombians, Salvadorans and Guatemalans is particularly wide. Thus when utilities expenses akin into consideration with rent payments, housing costs tend to be more onerous for foreign born Latino ethnic groups, and have a more profound impact given lower reported family incomes.

	<b>Foreign Born</b>	<b>Domestic Born</b>
Mexican	\$ 952.00	\$ 1,134.00
Puerto Rican	\$ 522.00	\$ 755.00
Dominican	\$ 679.00	\$ 786.00
Colombian	\$ 793.00	\$ 1,070.00
Ecuadorian	\$ 803.00	\$ 788.00
Salvadoran	\$ 819.00	\$ 650.00
Guatemalan	\$ 752.00	\$ 583.00

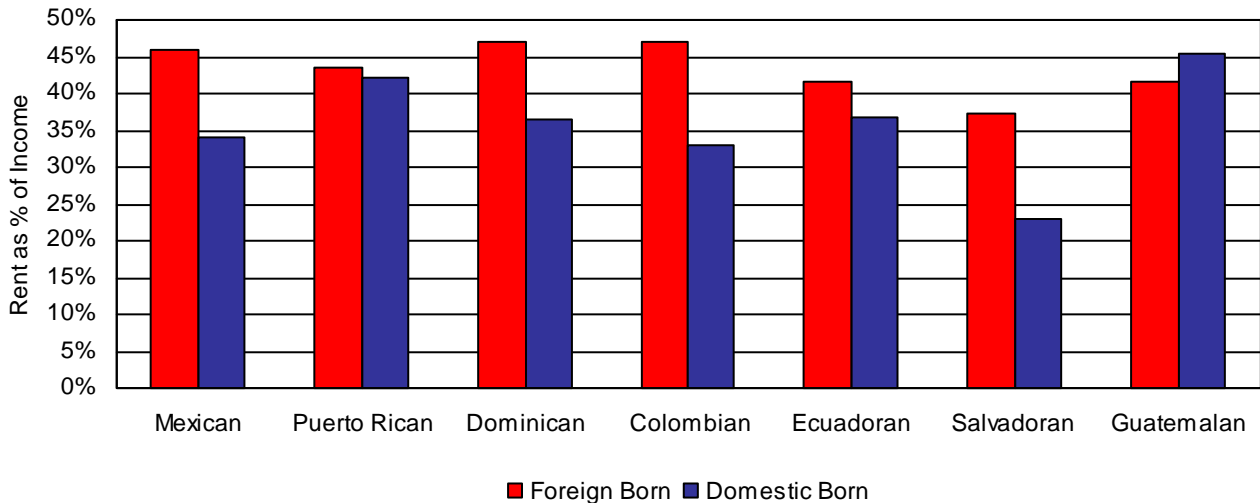


**Figure 22. Average Monthly Rents for Domestic & Foreign-Born Latinos by Nationality in New York City Metropolitan Area, 2005**



	Foreign Born	Domestic Born
Mexican	45.9%	33.9%
Puerto Rican	43.4%	42.1%
Dominican	47.1%	36.4%
Colombian	47.1%	32.9%
Ecuadorian	41.5%	36.8%
Salvadoran	37.4%	23.0%
Guatemalan	41.6%	45.3%

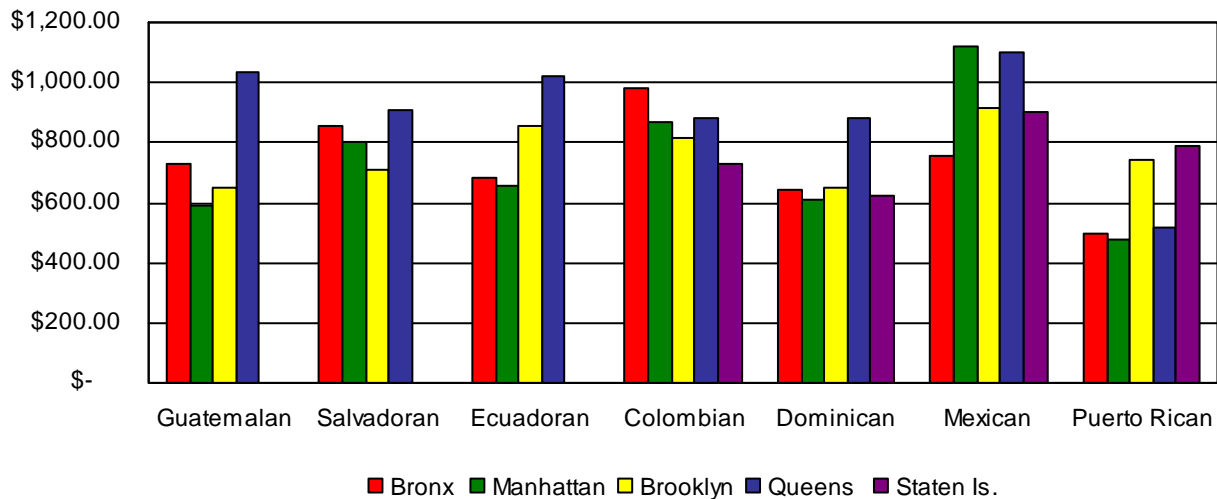
**Figure 23. Average Gross Rent as a Percentage of Total Household Income for Domestic & Foreign-Born Latinos by Nationality in New York City Metropolitan Area, 2004**



**Table 28. Average Monthly Rents by Borough for Foreign-Born Latinos by Nationality in New York City, 2005**

	Bronx	Manhattan	Brooklyn	Queens	Staten Island
<b>Mexican</b>	\$755.22	\$1,122.89	\$914.44	\$1,097.38	\$ 903.85
<b>Puerto Rican</b>	\$499.71	\$476.95	\$745.00	\$514.27	\$ 790.00
<b>Dominican</b>	\$644.54	\$608.11	\$652.44	\$879.72	\$ 625.00
<b>Colombian</b>	\$983.00	\$870.00	\$814.55	\$881.10	\$ 728.00
<b>Ecuadorian</b>	\$683.12	\$654.67	\$857.37	\$1,018.83	\$ -
<b>Salvadoran</b>	\$855.00	\$801.25	\$710.00	\$908.10	\$ -
<b>Guatemalan</b>	\$732.00	\$590.00	\$648.75	\$1,037.27	\$ -

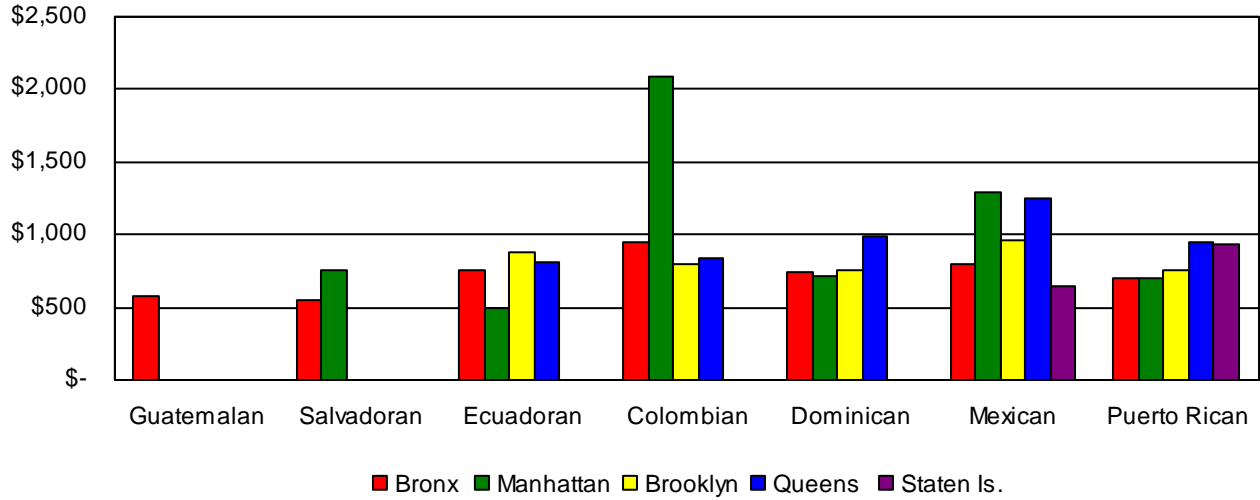
**Figure 24. Average Monthly Rents by Borough for Foreign-Born Latinos by Nationality in New York City, 2005**



**Table 29. Average Monthly Rent by Borough for Domestic-Born Latinos by Nationality in New York City, 2005**

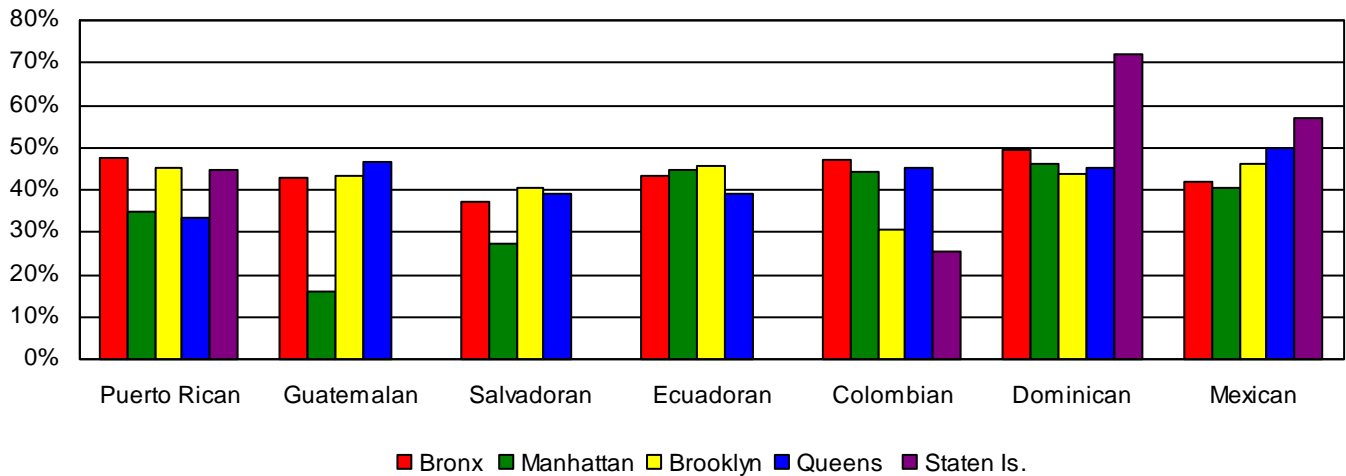
	Bronx	Manhattan	Brooklyn	Queens	Staten Is.
<b>Mexican</b>	\$803.49	\$1,290.51	\$961.52	\$1,244.70	\$640.00
<b>Puerto Rican</b>	\$695.50	\$705.17	\$757.66	\$946.92	\$930.19
<b>Dominican</b>	\$747.53	\$712.76	\$761.88	\$990.50	\$ -
<b>Colombian</b>	\$950.00	\$2,085.00	\$792.00	\$833.00	\$ -
<b>Ecuadorian</b>	\$754.47	\$500.00	\$881.00	\$815.00	\$ -
<b>Salvadoran</b>	\$550.00	\$750.00	\$ -	\$ -	\$ -
<b>Guatemalan</b>	\$583.00	\$ -	\$ -	\$ -	\$ -

**Figure 25. Average Monthly Rents by Borough for Domestic-Born Latinos by Nationality in New York City, 2005**



	Bronx	Manhattan	Brooklyn	Queens	Staten Island
<b>Mexican</b>	41.8%	40.4%	46.2%	50.1%	56.9%
<b>Puerto Rican</b>	47.6%	34.7%	45.0%	33.3%	44.9%
<b>Dominican</b>	49.2%	46.2%	43.7%	45.0%	72.0%
<b>Colombian</b>	47.1%	44.4%	30.5%	45.1%	25.5%
<b>Ecuadorian</b>	43.1%	44.8%	45.5%	39.0%	0.0%
<b>Salvadoran</b>	37.0%	27.5%	40.7%	39.1%	0.0%
<b>Guatemalan</b>	42.8%	16.0%	43.5%	46.7%	0.0%

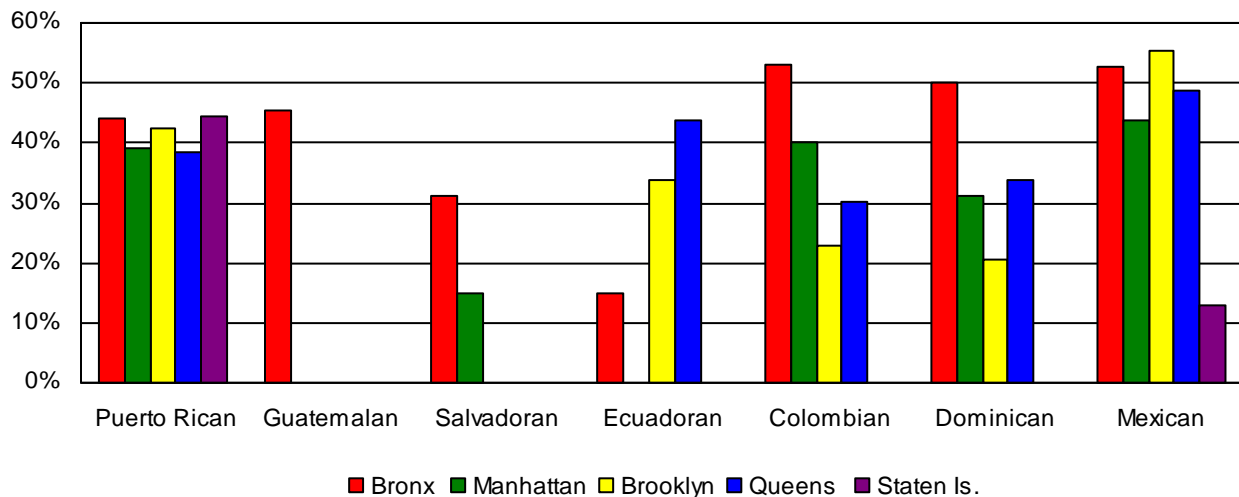
**Figure 26. Average Percentage of Annual Household Income Devoted to Rent for Foreign Born Latinos by Nationality in New York City by Borough, 2005**



**Table 31. Average Gross Rent as % of Annual Household Income by Borough for Domestic-Born Latinos by Nationality in New York City, 2005**

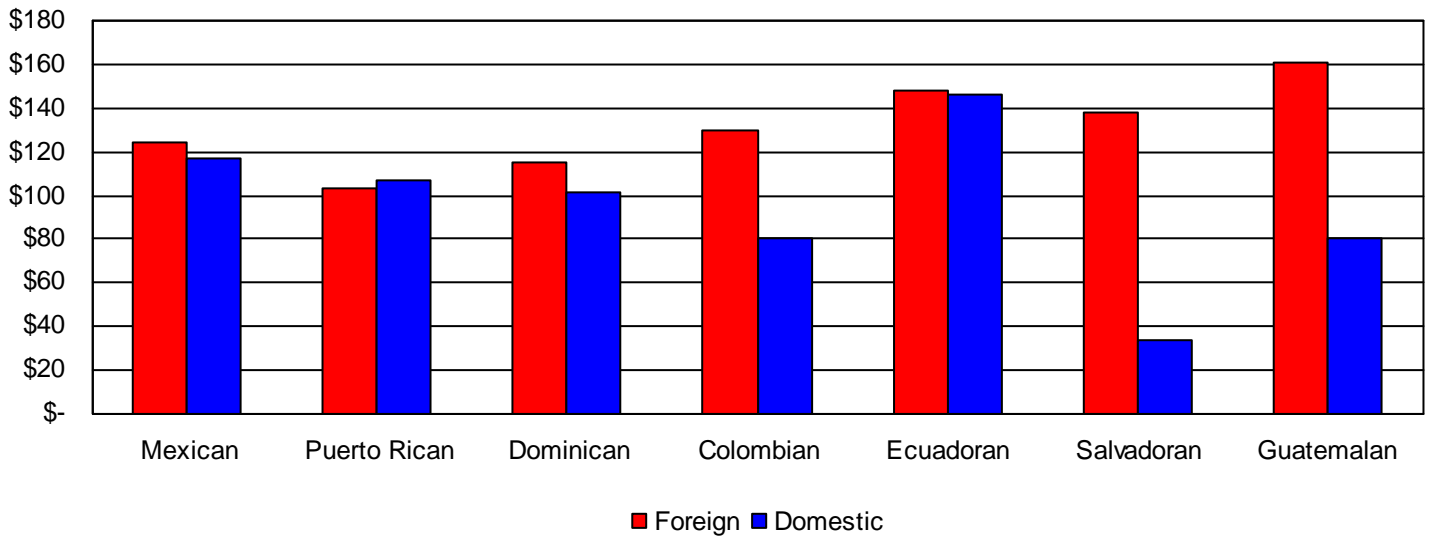
	Bronx	Manhattan	Brooklyn	Queens	Staten Is.
<b>Mexican</b>	52.7%	43.9%	55.2%	48.8%	13.0%
<b>Puerto Rican</b>	44.0%	39.1%	42.6%	38.4%	44.4%
<b>Dominican</b>	50.1%	31.1%	20.7%	33.9%	0.0%
<b>Colombian</b>	53.0%	40.2%	23.0%	30.2%	0.0%
<b>Ecuatoran</b>	14.9%	101.0%	33.7%	43.6%	0.0%
<b>Salvadoran</b>	31.0%	15.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
<b>Guatemalan</b>	45.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%

**Figure 27. Average Percentage of Annual Household Income Devoted to Rent for Domestic Born Latinos by Nationality in New York City by Borough, 2005**



<b>Table 32. Average Monthly Utilities Expenses for Foreign &amp; Domestic-Born Latinos by Nationality in New York City Metropolitan Area, 2005</b>		
	<b>Foreign-Born</b>	<b>Domestic-Born</b>
Mexican	\$124.46	\$117.23
Puerto Rican	\$103.16	\$106.81
Dominican	\$115.51	\$101.16
Colombian	\$130.00	\$80.28
Ecuadorian	\$148.19	\$146.05
Salvadoran	\$137.99	\$33.55
Guatemalan	\$161.09	\$80.57

**Figure 28. Average Monthly Utilities Expenses for Foreign and Domestic Born Latinos by Nationality in New York City Metropolitan Area, 2005**



## Summary & Conclusion

On the whole, there is considerable variation between immigrants from different Latino national groups in New York City in terms of socio-economic conditions. However, the differences appear to be related, to some extent, on group population size. Smaller national groups such as Colombian, Ecuadorian, Guatemalan and Salvadoran have higher earnings than immigrants from larger population groups, such as Dominicans, Mexicans and Puerto Ricans. Households from these latter groups also report larger numbers of dependent children, higher living expenses (as far as the amount of income devoted to rent) and higher poverty rates than their counterparts from Colombia, Ecuador, Guatemala and El Salvador.

These findings highlight the fact that the Latino immigrant experience is not uniform, and that in fact inequalities do exist between Latino immigrants of different nationalities. Furthermore it is worth taking note of the fact that some of the data points to limited social mobility for older Latino immigrant groups, particularly Puerto Ricans, and Dominicans. The relative socio-economic success of newer Latino immigrant groups may be more successful in adapting to the economic landscape of New York City than previous generations of immigrants, particularly as the growth of a Spanish-speaking foreign-born population has created economic opportunities for newer immigrants in specialized professional services. The growing socio-economic disparity between older and newer Latino immigrant groups may also be due to changes in the profile of those who chose to migrate. In other words, it may no longer be the poorest people who opt to migrate from Latin America, especially given a growing professional services market for Spanish speaking people. A final consideration is the sex discrepancies between foreign-born Dominicans and Puerto Ricans versus other population groups. It is possible that because women make of the majority of foreign-born Dominicans and Puerto Ricans that households earn less, due to the wage gap between sexes and/or the “double shift” phenomenon that hinders many women’s opportunities to pursue education while working full time. Nevertheless the data presented in this report may indicate changes in the demographic profiles of Latinos as poor immigrants.

Yet in spite of the noticeable socio-economic differentiation among foreign-born national groups, this should not lead us to conclude that poverty and economic hardship are a thing of the past for Latino immigrants. By and large many foreign-born Latinos continue to report lower levels of educational attainment, and tend to fall into traditionally low paying occupational categories. Furthermore, households from newer immigrant groups do earn more than immigrants from larger national groups; overall foreign-born family incomes lag behind Non-Hispanic/Latino residents of the New York metropolitan area.

Domestic-born Latinos appear to be making gains vis-à-vis their foreign-born counterparts in terms of socio-economic conditions. Generally speaking domestic-born Latinos report higher family incomes, and a larger percentage of domestic-born Latinos report higher levels of educational attainment. Furthermore, domestic-born Latinos have

greater presence in higher status occupational categories than do foreign-born Latinos, such as office work and professional categories (doctors, educators, attorneys, etc.) Yet in spite of these gains domestic born-Latino income and education are substantially lower than Non-Hispanic/Latino groups, and are not substantially better off than foreign-born Latinos. Thus while there is evidence of inter-generational social mobility present among New York City Latinos, upward social mobility has not been dramatic. Additionally, if poverty rates persist among foreign-born Latinos, this may place constraints on inter-generational upward mobility in the future. Finally the evidence of intergenerational social mobility among Latinos should not obscure the fact that poverty and economic hardship are still major concerns, especially among foreign-born populations. Considering that the majority of Latinos are foreign-born persons, upward mobility among the domestic-born sectors may not be reflective of the overall socio-economic condition of Latinos in New York City.

Ultimately more research must be carried out on socio-economic indicators for foreign-born and domestic-born Latinos in order to assess the long term trends. This data is important not only because of the rapid growth of the Latino immigrant population in New York City and nationally, but also because of the growing phenomenon of remittances among Latino immigrant groups. The amounts of money immigrants send back to their native countries have made them an increasingly important source of income for families and communities in Latin America. If families and even governments in Latin America continue to rely on remittance income for economic development, this may place greater pressure on immigrants to remit income back to their native countries. Should this trend persist, then it may place greater financial constraints on Latinos in places like New York City.