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Have Dominicans Surpassed Puerto Ricans to become New York City's Largest Latino Nationality?

An Analysis of Latino Population Data from the 2013 American Community Survey for New York City and the Metropolitan Area

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

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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

Mila Burns, Administrative Director

Justine Calcagno, Director of Quantitative Research

Lawrence Cappello, Research Associate

Victoria Stone-Cadena, Director of Outreach and Special Projects

Amanda M. Marin-Chollom, Research Associate

Karen Okigbo, Research Associate

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Introduction
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This study examines three data sets from the recently released American Community Survey (ACS) of 2013 to estimate the population sizes of the largest Latino national sub groups in New York City and in the City's surrounding counties. These are the Public Use Microdata Samples, the ACS 1-Year Sample, and the ACS 3-Year Sample.[1]

PUMS data for the ACS 2013 are 1% samples of the total population.[2] These samples are then weighted by the Census Bureau to project estimates on total population size and the size of any subgroups chosen for study. However, the reliability of any estimated population subgroup is related to the size of the sample. Smaller weighted samples have less reliability when converted to the overall size of any given subgroup. A critical problem is that there is no way to measure the margin of error when these projections are made.

However, the advantage of using the PUMS data is that raw and unprocessed files are provided which contain detailed data on individuals and households for a wide variety of demographic, economic, and social variables.[3] These data may be recoded to create new variables which are not available from any other sources, such as age categories, birthplace and ancestry variables, and many others.

The ACS data are also provided by the Census Bureau in summary tabular formats which have been calculated by the Census Bureau for specific geographic areas. These data are provided with margins of error which are useful in assessing data reliability. They may be queried using the Bureau's American FactFinder (AFF).[4]

For the ACS 2013, AFF provides access to two different tabular data bases: the 1-Year and 3-Year estimates. The 1-Year data were derived from 12 months of collected data for areas with populations of 65,000 or above. These are the most current data available. The 3-Year data were derived from 36 months of collected data for areas with populations of 20,000 and above. This generates a larger sample size, and although less current, it is useful for analyzing smaller populations and geographies because there are more records.[5]

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[1] A word of caution is mandated here. The Census Bureau advises against comparing 1 year and 3 year samples.. See http://www.census.gov/acs/www/guidance_for_data_users/comparing_data/. I have decided to present these data because of the increase in sample size for the 3-year data. However, because of the manner in which data are collected the Census Bureau advises using the 1-Year sample for more current data even though the sample sizes are smaller. Nevertheless, the 3-Year data are presented here for informational and comparative purposes.l

[2] The PUMS data were released by the U.S. Census Bureau in October 2014 and made available to the public by the University of Minnesota Population Center through its IPUMS site (Integrated Public Use Microdata Series) in November 2014, 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. See IPUMS-USA, University of Minnesota, www.ipums.org.

[3] See the Census Bureau's description of PUMS data at http://www.census.gov/acs/www/data_documentation/public_use_microdata_sample/

[4] AFF is available at the following url: http://factfinder2.census.gov/faces/nav/jsf/pages/index.xhtml

[5] See http://www.census.gov/acs/www/guidance_for_data_users/estimates/ for a description of these different data sets. Also see the very technical but informative Census Bureau publication " A Compass for Understanding and Using American Community Survey Data" February 2009 and available at

However, the 3-Year data often yields an undercount of people in areas such as New York City and the metropolitan region where populations are constantly changing because of immigration or outmigration. This is because it includes data collected on a monthly basis up to three years before release. If populations have changed dramatically, as is the case with Dominicans discussed below, there will be an inevitable undercount in the 3-Year estimates.[6]

This study will comparatively examine all three data sets to determine the sizes of the largest Latino nationalities in the City and surrounding counties. The data suggest that in the City the Dominican-origin population may have surpassed Puerto Ricans to become the largest Latino national subgroup. However, Puerto Ricans continue to be the most numerous of all Latinos in the metropolitan region.

The ACS PUMS 2013 Data for New York City

The data released by IPUMS in November 2014 from American Community Survey for 2013, and analyzed here, suggest a major shift in the composition of New York City's Latino population. They indicate that Dominicans may have surpassed Puerto Ricans as the most numerous Latino national sub-group. Based on these PUMS data CLACLS has estimated that the Dominican population in 2013 numbered 747,473 compared with the City's 719,444 Puerto Ricans.[7]   Data from the Census Bureau's HISPAND variable and the CLACLS generated LATINOS variable on the City's five largest Latino nationalities are presented in table 1.

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http://www.census.gov/acs/www/Downloads/handbooks/ACSPUMS.pdf The Census Bureau will be releasing 5-Year samples for 2013 at some time in the future.

[6] The U.S. Census Bureau's "A Compass for Understanding and Using American Community Survey Data" appendix A-2 observes the following: "Single-year estimates provide more current information about areas that have changing population and/or housing characteristics because they are based on the most current data–data from the past year. In contrast, multiyear estimates provide less current information because they are based on both data from the previous year and data that are 2 and 3 years old. As noted earlier, for many areas with minimal change taking place, using the "less current" sample used to produce the multiyear estimates may not have a substantial influence on the estimates. However, in areas experiencing
major changes over a given time period, the multiyear estimates may be quite different from the single-year estimates for any of the individual years. Single-year and multiyear estimates are not expected to be the same because they are based on data from two different time periods. This will be true even if the ACS single year is the midyear of the ACS multiyear period (e.g., 2007 single year, 2006-2008 multiyear). For example, suppose an area has a growing Hispanic population and is interested in measuring the percent of the population who speak Spanish at home. Table 3 shows a hypothetical set of 1-year and 3-year estimates. Comparing data by release year shows that for an area such as this with steady growth, the 3-year estimates for a period are seen to lag behind the estimates for the individual years."

[7] These estimates were generated using the data on Hispanics provided by the Census Bureau as the HISPAND variable and adding data derived from ancestry data of the individual or his/her parents' place of birth to each national subgroup.
  CLACLS created a LATINOS variable with the results of this procedure. For technical details of how this was accomplished contact CLACLS.
  One of the problems in enumerating Hispanics has been a category of people labeled as 'Other Hispanics' whose ancestry and nationality is unknown. Using ancestry data the nationality of some of these 'Other Hispanics' may be determined.

Table 1
Five Largest Latino Nationalities in New York City, 2013
from IPUMS ACS 2013 Data Base
(using HISPAND and LATINO variables)

	HISPAND	LATINOS	Difference	Difference in %
Puerto Ricans	716,092	719,444	3,352	0.5%
Dominicans	709,553	747,473	37,920	5.3%
Mexicans	324,450	329,861	5,411	1.7%
Ecuadorans	201,980	211,141	9,161	4.5%
Colombians	92,278	98,807	6,529	7.1%
Total Latinos	2,428,568	2,495,722	67,154	2.8%

Note: The 'Other Hispanic' variable reduced from 60,016 to
32,524 a drop of -46.1% when HISPAND was converted into
LATINOS by CLALCS.

The surge in the Dominican population and the decline of the Puerto Rican population is part of a longer-term trend which began during the 1990s when the number of Puerto Ricans in the City began to decrease while Dominican migration increased significantly. IPUMS ACS data for each census year from 1990 through 2013 analyzed by CLACLS using the same methodology described previously indicate this very clearly. (See table 2).[8]

Table 2
Largest Latino Nationalities in New York City, 1990 - 2010

	1990	2000	2010	2013
Puerto Ricans	860,889	816,827	738,978	719,444
Dominicans	348,951	547,379	605,840	747,473
Mexicans	58,410	187,259	342,699	329,861
Ecuadorans	85,155	149,897	210,532	211,141
Colombians	91,769	109,710	101,784	98,807
Others	308,282	415,835	396,541	388,996
Total	1,753,456	2,226,907	2,396,374	2,495,722

Note: These data were derived from the IPUMS ACS files for
corresponding years using the LATINOS variable created by CLACLS.

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[8] The data in this table were derived using the LATINO variable created by CLACLS

The extraordinary increase of over 140,000 Dominicans in the three years between 2010 and 2013 demands careful analysis as it was substantially larger than the overall Dominican population expansion indicted in the decade between 2000 and 2010.

There were three factors which may explain this extraordinary population surge. The first was a renewal of large scale migration from the Dominican Republic. The PUMS data for 2013 indicate that 55,436 Dominicans arrived in New York City between 2010 and 2013 from the island.

The second was births to Dominican mothers in the City. Dominicans had the highest absolute number of live births among all of the Latino nationalities in the City according to data from the New York City Bureau of Vital Statistics. Between 2010 and 2012 there were 33,295 live births to Dominicans.[9]

The third factor was the arrival of Dominicans from other areas of the U.S. or Latin America to New York City. Between 2010 and 2013 the PUMS data indicate that 14,046 Dominicans arrived in the City from other U.S. States or nations in the hemisphere.

These three factors meant that 102,687 Dominicans who were not living in New York City in 2010 were added to the population by 2013. The data do not permit a determination of where the other 38,000 or so Dominicans originated from, but part of the explanation may be arrivals in the City from other areas of New York State.[10]

For the Puerto Rican population of the City a well-known process of outmigration has been underway since 1990, although the exact number of Puerto Ricans leaving between 1990 and 2013 is unknown and not revealed by the census data examined for this study. Some Puerto Ricans returned to the island; others moved to other states; and there was movement from the City to the New York metropolitan region's surrounding counties which experienced Puerto Rican population growth.[11]

Compared to Dominicans the number of Puerto Ricans arriving in the City from Puerto Rico was small between 2010 and 2013: 5,786 people.[12] There were 7,383 arrivals from other areas of the United States or from Latin America and the Caribbean; and 27,242 live births. Comparative data on population increases for Dominicans and Puerto Ricans are indicated in table 3.

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[9] *Summary of Vital Statistics, The City of New York, 2010, 2011, 2012* (Bureau of Vital Statistics, New York City Department of Health And Mental Hygiene, corresponding years). These data do not include births during 2013 which in all likelihood numbered more than 10,000 given the average number of births in the three years 2010-2012.

[10] The IPUMS data for 2013 indicate that 61,155 Dominicans living in New York City lived somewhere in New York state between 2010 and 2013, and had changed residences. An undetermined number may have lived in New York City or in surrounding counties.

[11] The Puerto Rican population in surrounding New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut counties will be considered below.
   See Carlos Vargas-Ramos, 'Recent Trends in Puerto Rican Settlement and Segregation in the United States' Center for Puerto Rican Studies, December 2013 found at:
   http://centropr.hunter.cuny.edu/sites/default/files/Data_Briefs/Segregation_report_publisher.pdf

[12] Although Puerto Ricans have been leaving the island in increasing numbers because of the ongoing economic crisis there, they have settled in other U.S. states with Florida leading the way. See Pew Hispanic Center, " Puerto   Rican Population Declines on the Island, Grows on U.S. Mainland" report released in August 2014 and available at:
   http://www.pewhispanic.org/files/2014/08/2014-08-11_Puerto-Rico-Final.pdf

One other factor affecting each population was death rates. Between 2010 and 2012 some 14,287 Puerto Ricans died who born in Puerto Rico and living in New York City. The comparative number for Dominicans was 4,959. There are no data on deaths for Puerto Ricans or Dominicans who were born in New York City. However, the higher death rates for island-born Puerto Ricans may have been a marginal factor in accounting for the decline in the City's Puerto Rican population.[13]

Table 3

Population Increase Factors for Dominicans and Puerto Ricans
in New York City 2010 - 2013

	Dominicans	Puerto Ricans
Live Births to Mothers of Nationality	33,205	27,242
Arrivals from the D.R. or P.R.	55,436	5,786
Arrivals from other Areas of the U.S. or L.A.	14,046	7,383
Totals	102,687	40,411

Note: Live birth data are from *Summary of Vital Statistics The City of New York, 2010, 2011, 2012* ; arrival data are from IPUMS ACS 2013.

These analyzed data from the ACS 2013 PUMS files are certainly suggestive, but not definitive. The ACS 2013 1-Year and 3-Year samples available in tabular form have some consistency and some great disparities with the population data derived from PUMS.

The ACS 2013 1-Year and 3-Year Data for New York City

CLACLS has examined both the 1-Year and 3-Year tabular data for the ACS 2013 in order to compare findings with those derived from the PUMS data indicated above. One of the advantages of these data is that they provide margins of error for each population group. These permit the presentation of three possible population estimates: the maximum estimate given the margin of error; the estimate of the census bureau based on its sample and weighting factors; and the lowest estimate factoring in the margin of error.[14]

These data are presented in table 4.

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[13] *Summary of Vital Statistics, The City of New York, 2010, 2011, 2012* (Bureau of Vital Statistics, New York City Department Of Health And Mental Hygiene, corresponding years).

[14] The maximum estimate adds the margin of error to the Census Bureau estimate derived from weighting the samples. The minimum estimate subtracts the margin of error from the Census Bureau's weighted estimate.

Table 4
Five Largest Latino Nationalities in New York City, 2013
from Three Data Bases

	ACS 2013 IPUMS		ACS 2013 1-Year Samples			ACS 2013 3-Year Samples			Extreme Ranges for all Data Sets			
	HISPAND	LATINOS	Estimate	Maximum Estimate	Minimum Estimate	Estimate	Maximum Estimate	Minimum Estimate	Lowest	Highest	Median	Mean
Puerto Ricans	716,092	719,444	720,706	765,509	675,903	739,281	765,596	712,966	675,903	765,596	720,075	723,881
Dominicans	709,553	747,473	696,565	744,101	649,029	654,349	681,031	627,667	627,667	747,473	703,059	701,985
Mexicans	324,450	329,861	325,853	369,789	281,917	327,060	350,480	303,640	281,917	369,789	326,457	326,806
Ecuadorans	201,980	211,141	196,671	226,189	167,153	194,286	212,615	175,957	167,153	226,189	199,326	201,020
Colombians	92,278	98,807	92,001	106,766	77,236	96,103	104,917	87,289	77,236	106,766	94,191	94,797
Total Latinos	2,428,568	2,495,722	2,428,756	n.a.	n.a.	2,401,574	n.a.	n.a.	2,401,574	2,495,722	2,428,662	2,438,655

Notes: The 1-Year and 3-Year samples contained a margin of error for each nationality. The 'maximum estimate' was calculated by adding the margin of error to the 'estimate.' The 'minimum estimate' was calculated by subtracting the margin of error fro n.a. means not available because no margin of error.

The median and mean populations were calculated on the basis of the HISPAND, LATINOS, 1-Year Sample Estimate, and 3-Year Sample Estimate.

Interpreting these data is difficult because of the wide range of possible statistical scenarios posed by the estimates and their respective margins of errors. These highlight the difficulty of using sample data as precise indicators in any given year, although trends over time may be more accurate because of the assumption that the margin of error in each data set was similar. However, even that is impossible to prove with precision.

It is likely that the estimate for Puerto Ricans made by CLACLS using the PUMS sample data, and the variable LATINOS created using ancestry and birthplace data is fairly accurate. CLACLS estimated the City's Puerto Rican population to be 719,444 in 2013 and this was strikingly close to the 1-Year ACS estimate of 720,706. It was also very close to the both the median (720,075) and the mean (723,881) populations calculated using the HISPAND, LATINO, 1-Year, and 3-Year estimates.

The estimate for Dominicans using the PUMS data and the LATINOS variable was the highest of the three data sets at 747,473. For this estimate to be somewhat accurate the margin of error for the ACS 1-Year sample would have to be extremely positive. The maximum margin of error yielded a Dominican population of 744,101. The probability of this being accurate is not known, but probably slight. The median (703,059) and the mean (701,985) populations using the four variables indicated above are somewhat lower.

There is a distinct similarity in the estimates for Dominicans in New York City made in the 1-Yr sample (696,565) and using the HISPAND variable in the PUMS data (709,553), a differential of only 12,988. Since neither of these samples used ancestry or birthplace data, the LATINOS variable which did factor in these important indicators of nationality may be suggestive that there were more City Dominicans than in either of these estimates. This conclusion is supported by the evidence on births, arrivals from the Dominican Republic, and from other areas indicated in table 3. The 3-Year sample, larger but less current, seems too low for the City's Dominican population and indeed the Census Bureau observed that for populations affected by immigration or outmigration, the 3-Year estimates are less reliable as current indicators than the 1-Year sample estimates. (See footnote 6).

The differential between Puerto Ricans and Dominicans in the PUMS samples using both the HISPAND and LATINOS variables, and in the 1-Year sample, was under 27,000 for every scenario. In the 3-Year sample the differential was about 85,000, which was much too high to be credible.
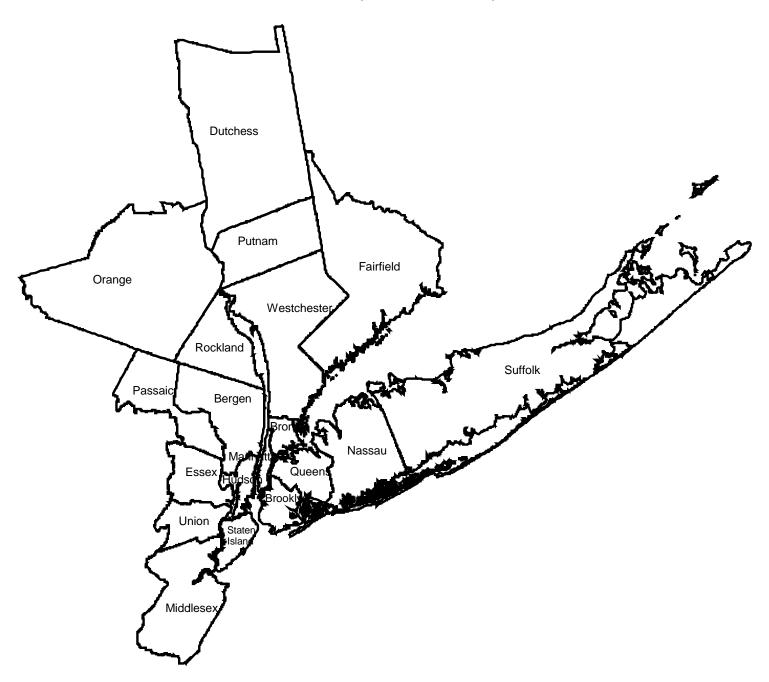
There is no definitive answer to the question of whether Dominicans have surpassed Puerto Ricans to become the City's largest Latino national subgroup. It is likely that there are roughly equal numbers of each nationality living in the City and that the trends, a declining Puerto Rican population and an increasing number of Dominicans, will mean that in the near future Dominicans will comprise the largest Latino national group in the City. The increase in immigration from the Dominican Republic after 2010 and relatively large number of births support this.

CLACLS will analyze the 2014 data a year from now with this question in mind. If anything, comparing the results of these three data sets for the City's Latino population highlights the difficulty of using any of these to arrive at absolute and definitive conclusions on population sizes for any nationality.

However, when examining the New York metropolitan region as a whole, it is clear that the Puerto Rican population was somewhat larger than the Dominican population and there is no inconsistency on this conclusion in the three data sets examined.

The ACS PUMS, 1-Year, and 3-Year 2013 Data for New York Metropolitan Area Counties

Map 1
Counties Analyzed in this Study

CLACLS has analyzed the data on Latino populations the New York City metropolitan area counties for 2013 indicated in map 1 using the three data sets discussed previously.

Over 40% of all New York metropolitan-area Latinos lived in City's surrounding counties studied here in 2013. Precise estimates are indicated in table 5 for the five largest Latino national subgroups. Without question Dominicans had the lowest percentage of their overall metropolitan-region

population living outside of New York City, about 31% or so. For Puerto Ricans the estimates from the various sources used in this study vary from 38% to 42%. These data in all likelihood reflect a move away from the City to surrounding counties by Puerto Ricans who have been in the region longer. It is likely that Dominicans will follow a similar settlement pattern profile in the future.

Table 5
Percentage of Populations Living in Counties Outside
of New York City, 2013

	PUMS LATINOS	PUMS HISPAND	ACS 1-Year Sample	ACS 3-Year Sample
Puerto Ricans	41.9%	41.8%	38.1%	37.8%
Dominicans	31.7%	32.0%	30.6%	30.5%
Mexicans	41.8%	41.9%	40.0%	40.0%
Ecuadorans	47.9%	48.0%	46.1%	45.5%
Colombians	62.9%	62.0%	58.3%	58.0%
Total Latinos	47.4%	47.3%	43.5%	43.7%

Note: The counties included here are those indicated in Map 1.

There is no question that Puerto Ricans were more numerous in the City's nearby New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut counties studied here. Each of the three data sets examined indicate this with clarity. Although the absolute estimates of Puerto Ricans in these counties range from about 440,000 to 519,000, these were all substantially higher than for Dominicans who were estimated to be from about 287,000 to 347,000 people. (See table 6).

That there were more Puerto Ricans in the entire region when all counties including the City's boroughs are enumerated is also evident in each of the three data sets analyzed. Dominicans ranged from a low of about 940,000 in the 3-Year sample to about 1,100,000 in the PUMS samples.[15] Puerto Ricans were estimated in the 1,200,000 range in all three samples. (See table 7).

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[15] Once again it should be reiterated that because of the way data are collected for the 3-Year samples the estimates are low for a population that is constantly changing because of immigration or out migration.

Table 6
Five Largest Latino Nationalities in All New York Metropolitan Area Counties Excluding New York City, 2013
from Three Data Bases

	ACS 2013 IPUMS		ACS 2013 1-Year Samples			ACS 2013 3-Year Samples			Extreme Ranges for all Data Sets			
	HISPAND	LATINOS	Estimate	Maximum Estimate	Minimum Estimate	Estimate	Maximum Estimate	Minimum Estimate	Lowest	Highest	Median	Mean
Puerto Ricans	513,710	518,655	443,936	497,133	390,739	450,110	481,661	418,559	390,739	518,655	481,910	481,603
Dominicans	334,028	347,024	306,679	360,598	252,760	286,927	315,451	258,403	252,760	360,598	320,354	318,665
Mexicans	233,609	236,588	216,868	262,917	170,819	217,825	243,701	191,949	170,819	262,917	225,717	226,223
Ecuadorans	186,655	194,032	167,895	207,090	128,700	162,242	186,071	138,413	128,700	207,090	177,275	177,706
Colombians	150,665	167,414	128,571	161,163	95,979	132,479	150,491	114,467	95,979	167,414	141,572	144,782
Total Latinos	2,179,498	2,250,089	1,873,598	n.a.	n.a.	1,861,713	n.a.	n.a.	1,861,713	2,250,089	2,026,548	2,041,225

Notes: The 1-Year and 3-Year samples contained a margin of error for each nationality. The 'maximum estimate' was calculated by adding the margin of error to the 'estimate.' The 'minimum estimate' was calculated by subtracting the margin of error from the 'estimate'.

The counties included are those indicated in Map 1 outside of New York City. The median and mean populations were calculated on the basis of the HISPAND, LATINOS, 1-Year Sample Estimate, and the 3-Year Sample Estimate.

Table 7
Five Largest Latino Nationalities in All New York Metropolitan Area Counties including New York City, 2013
from Three Data Bases

	ACS 2013 IPUMS		ACS 2013 1-Year Samples			ACS 2013 3-Year Samples			Extreme Ranges for all Data Sets			
	HISPAND	LATINOS	Estimate	Maximum Estimate	Minimum Estimate	Estimate	Maximum Estimate	Minimum Estimate	Lowest	Highest	Median	Mean
Puerto Ricans	1,229,802	1,238,099	1,164,642	1,262,642	1,066,642	1,189,391	1,247,257	1,131,525	1,066,642	1,262,642	1,209,597	1,205,484
Dominicans	1,043,581	1,094,497	1,003,244	1,104,699	901,789	941,276	996,482	886,070	886,070	1,104,699	1,023,413	1,020,650
Mexicans	558,059	566,449	542,721	632,706	452,736	544,885	594,181	495,589	452,736	632,706	551,472	553,029
Ecuadorans	388,635	405,173	364,566	433,279	295,853	356,528	398,686	314,370	295,853	433,279	376,601	378,726
Colombians	242,943	266,221	220,572	267,929	173,215	228,582	255,408	201,756	173,215	267,929	235,763	239,580
Total Latinos	4,608,066	4,745,811	4,302,354	n.a.	n.a.	4,263,287	n.a.	n.a.	4,263,287	4,745,811	4,455,210	4,479,880

Notes: The 1-Year and 3-Year samples contained a margin of error for each nationality. The 'maximum estimate' was calculated by adding the margin of error to the 'estimate.' The 'minimum estimate' was calculated by subtracting the margin of error from t n.a. means not available because no margin of error. The counties included are those indicated in Map 1. The median and mean populations were calculated on the basis of the HISPAND, LATINOS, 1-Year Sample Estimate, and the 3-Year Sample Estimate.

Conclusions

If anything this examination of the three 2013 American Community Survey data sets indicates the difficulty of arriving at precise population estimates for subgroups of the population, such as Latino nationalities, in smaller geographical areas such as New York City and its surrounding counties.

The data suggest that indeed the Dominican population of the City is either about the same size as the Puerto Rican population or has slightly surpassed it quantitatively. This is part of a longer-term trend of Puerto Rican exodus from the City to surrounding counties, back to Puerto Rico in retirement, or to other states such as Florida which has become a major destination of migration from Puerto Rico and other states in the U.S.

There appears to be a renewed surge in migration from the Dominican Republic to New York City as the U.S. economy recovers from the crisis of 2008-2009. Additionally, births to Dominican mothers have been the highest in absolute terms compared with the other Latino national subgroups in the City.

Puerto Rican migration to the City has waned or stopped and it is likely that more Puerto Ricans have left since 1990 than have arrived. Additionally, births to Puerto Rican mothers have been much lower than to Dominicans. One other factor is that Puerto Ricans have been in New York City longer and they are an older population. Death rates are much higher than for Dominicans.

It is likely that these trends will continue and that in the near future the Dominican population will definitively surpass the number of Puerto Ricans in the City.

Still, however, Puerto Ricans are clearly more numerous in the City's surrounding counties and in the entire New York metropolitan region. This is in all likelihood related to the fact that Puerto Ricans have left the City for nearby counties at much higher levels than Dominicans. This process of suburbanization is always greater for groups that have been in the City longer as is the case with Puerto Ricans compared with Dominicans. Dominicans have in fact begun this process but not to the extent as among the Puerto Rican population. It is likely that movement from the City to surrounding counties will gradually increase in the future for Dominicans in the region and that this will shift the balance in nearby counties.