

A map of the United States with two white circles marking Puerto Rico and New York City. Numerous red and pink arrows radiate from these circles across the map, pointing to various states. The text 'Atlas of Stateside Puerto Ricans' is overlaid in a large, blue, stylized font.

Atlas of Stateside Puerto Ricans

Angelo Falcón

Commonwealth of Puerto Rico

Sila M. Calderón, Governor

Puerto Rico Federal Affairs Administration

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ABOUT THE AUTHOR

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FOREWORD

In laying out a statistical portrait of the Stateside Puerto Rican community, we knew that the unique individuals who make up our community may get lost in the statistics. Behind the numbers lie millions of proud, passionate, and courageous Boricuas. One of them was David Santiago – an activist, community leader, and friend.

David was born on December 8, 1951, in Brooklyn, New York. He moved to Chicago as a teenager, and in his 20's worked as a labor organizer and political activist throughout the Midwest. He returned to New York in the late 1970's, and became co-chairman of the Southside Fair Housing Committee, a housing advocacy group that fought for equal treatment in the allocation of public housing in Williamsburg, Brooklyn. Through his hard work, David brought affordable housing to hundreds of needy families.

But David didn't limit his activism to just housing. He understood that Boricuas could only rise when they empowered themselves with the tools to get ahead, and that there is no better tool than political power. He coordinated Latinos for Dinkins, helping to elect the first African-American mayor of New York. He helped elect the first Puerto Rican Civil Court Judge in Brooklyn, Richard Rivera, in 1990. And David led the fight for a Latino congressional district; when he succeeded at that, he fought to elect Nydia Velazquez to that seat, making her the first Puertorriqueña elected to Congress.

In 1994, David moved to Washington to be with his beloved, Ida Castro, and there he worked as the director of membership and special events for the National Puerto Rican Coalition, and as director of regional affairs of PRFAA. Outside of the office, he was a prominent organizer of protests against the bombing of Vieques.

On September 17, 2001, David Santiago was taken from us, but his memory lives on in the work that he had done and the example he set for thousands of Puerto Ricans. David's extraordinary vision, unique creativity, dogged determination, and strong will allowed him quietly to assume the role of strategist, organizer, and leader. His passion provoked citizens to action. His energy brought people from different sides together to fight in common cause.

This atlas details a Puerto Rican community that has benefited enormously from the work and life of David Santiago. We hope that by dedicating it in his memory, we ensure that those who read it will be inspired to pick up where David left off and continue to fight for a brighter future for our people.

When David Santiago passed away, the loss was felt by his family, friends, and his co-workers at PRFAA. David was part of a team at PRFAA that has been extraordinary in what it has done for the Stateside Puerto Rican community.

The men and women who I have had the pleasure to work with these past four years never gave up when faced with a challenge. Instead, they drew on their creativity, skill, and each other to get the job done. Along the way, we have all learned from each other and grown to value the contributions that each and everyone of us in the office make to the life of the community that we so love. I have been truly blessed with such a wonderful staff.

Two members of that staff – Christine McLean and Mairym Ramos – played an active role in leading and completing the atlas project. Without their persistence and patience, this book would not have been completed.

Another critical part of our team in Washington was Puerto Rico's Resident Commissioner, Aníbal Acevedo-Vilá. He was a valuable partner in everything that PRFAA has done, and has set a new standard for the office and the relationship between it and PRFAA.

Out in the community, PRFAA has been fortunate to have been able to forge close relationships with dozens of community groups. It is as a result of our work with the Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund – whose able Senior Policy Executive, Angelo Falcón, drafted this study – that we were able to produce this atlas.

Finally, my team and I at PRFAA have been fortunate to have served under Governor Sila Maria Calderón. Governor Calderón rethought the relationship between the island and the mainland and was determined to make it a two-way street. With her direction, we have been able to make such a difference in the lives of both communities and to lay the foundation for an empowered Puerto Rican Stateside community.

Mari Carmen Aponte
Washington, DC
December 2004



ATLAS OF STATESIDE PUERTO RICANS

INTRODUCTION

Much has been written about the Stateside Puerto Rican community, but still misconception abound. It is often seen as poor and apathetic, concentrated in the poor barrios of the older cities of the Northeast, such as New York. (Baker 2003; de Genova and Ramos 2004) As the size of and interest in the Latino community in the US has grown, there is a need to understand the unique features of the Puerto Rican community. (Falcon, Haslip-Viera and Matos-Rodríguez 2004)

This Atlas of Stateside Puerto Ricans is intended to serve as an objective source of information about the demographic and social characteristics of the present day Puerto Rican diaspora living Stateside. This Atlas presents the latest statistics available on this community and maps its major settlements Stateside.

This Atlas will also hopefully facilitate a much-needed dialogue between *los de acá y los de allá* (those Stateside and those in Puerto Rico). While Stateside Puerto Ricans have a long and proud history of fighting against prejudice and ignorance within the United States, there is a longstanding concern that the people of Puerto Rico are not as informed as they should be about the history and challenges faced by their *compatriotas* who have ventured Stateside since the mid-1800s. (Duany 2002: 29-32) In light of the dramatic demographic changes occurring within the Stateside Puerto Rican community, making such a dialogue is more relevant and critical than ever.

The Puerto Rican Community: An Overview

According to the latest figures available from the Census Bureau (unpublished data from their Current Population Survey [CPS]), the Stateside Puerto Rican population in 2003 was estimated at 3,855,608, and the total population of Puerto Rico was 3,878,532. The 2000 Census count found that the Puerto Rican portion of the Island's population was 95.1 percent of the total (other Latinos made up another 3.4 percent, and non-Latinos made up an additional 1.2 percent). (Census Bureau 2001: 4) By applying this percentage, we estimate that in 2003 the Island's population that identified itself as Puerto Rican was 3,692,362. If the CPS estimate is correct for the Stateside Puerto Rican

population, then by 2003 the Puerto Rican population in the U.S. diaspora, for the first time, exceeded that on the Island — by 163,246 persons, making it 4.4 percent larger.

This demographic development has the potential to become a major watershed in Puerto Rican history. It may be the first time that a country's diaspora outnumbers its own population in this hemisphere. Among U.S. Latinos, the U.S. Mexican population, the largest Latino group by far (now over 26 million), represents the next largest percentage of its home country population, 25.4 percent. Comparable figures include 14.8 percent for El Salvador, 10.6 percent for the Dominican Republic, 4.7 percent for Honduras, and 1.4 percent for Colombia. (Census Bureau 2004a)



To give a sense of the scale of this Puerto Rican demographic development, the only comparable situation would be that of the Irish, which is so atypical that it underscores the uniqueness of the Puerto Rican case. This represents a new and not well understood phenomenon, but one that could serve to redefine the relationship between the Puerto Rican population Stateside and on the Island. The implications of this new demographic development in the Puerto Rican population *aquí y allá* (here and there) were not lost on Governor Sila M. Calderón. Implementing the Governor's vision, the Puerto Rico Federal Affairs Administration (PRFAA) has designed programs to reach out to the Puerto Rican communities in the United States in cultural affairs, civic participation and other areas, recognizing that this is a population whose future is closely linked with the future of Puerto Rico, and vice-versa.

A Note on Terms and Methods

This *Atlas of Stateside Puerto Ricans* was commissioned by PRFAA to provide government and grassroots planners and advocates with basic data on the location and status of Puerto Rican settlements throughout the United States. This publication is a first step in trying to capture the geographic diversity and conditions of Puerto Ricans in the United States in this new century.

This Atlas uses the term "Stateside Puerto Ricans" to describe the Puerto Rican population residing in the United States (outside of Puerto Rico). It refers to those Puerto Ricans living in the United States, outside of Puerto Rico, the U.S. Virgin Islands and the other U.S. territories. The term is less ambiguous than other terms more usually used such as "mainland Puerto Ricans," "Puerto Ricans in the United States," "U.S.-based Puerto Ricans," the "Puerto Rican diaspora," and so on, which, given Puerto Rico's political relationship with the United States and the presence of Puerto Ricans in foreign countries, can be imprecise in many respects.



The use of the terms "White", "Black", and "Asian" refers to persons of these racial-ethnic groups who are not Latino. The statistics presented in this introductory essay are largely from a federal government survey, the Current Population Survey (CPS), which is based on a sample generating statistics that are subject to sampling error and some variability depending on the variable and geographic levels being used. (Census Bureau 2003) Finally, the analysis of these statistics is meant to be suggestive of the conditions facing these communities and is far from definitive, at times posing provocative questions that require further research and analysis.

This *Atlas of Stateside Puerto Ricans* builds on and complements the self-described first atlas of Puerto Rico, *Atlas Puerto Rico*, co-authored by Angel David Cruz Baez and Thomas D. Boswell and published by the Miami-based Cuban American National Council in 1997. That atlas primarily focused on Puerto Rico, but included a chapter titled “Puerto Ricans Living in the United States” that provided national and selected state maps and statistics on Stateside Puerto Ricans. (Cruz Baez and Boswell 1997: 113-130) This current publication brings those statistics up-to-date and expands the geographic coverage to more states and down to the metropolitan area level.

The Census data used in this *Atlas of Stateside Puerto Ricans* is the most recent available, largely from the Current Population Surveys of 1990 through 2003 that were extracted and organized by sociologist Joseph A. Pereira, Ph.D., Director of the CUNY Data Services at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York. The reader will notice that data is utilized from a number of different years in an effort to present the most current statistics available for that particular variable or characteristic. The national, state and metropolitan area maps were produced using Arcview GIS by George Cheung and Luis Lopez of Lopez & Cheung Inc. Public Affairs Consulting, based in Seattle, Washington, with Census data provided by the PRLDEF Latino Data Center, a Census Information Center (CIC). The design and production of this publication was coordinated by Angelo Falcón and the staff of the Latino Data Center of the Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund (PRLDEF) in New York City, which is coordinated by José A. García. Mari Carmen Aponte, Executive Director of the Puerto Rico Federal Affairs Administration and her staff provided critical support and advice throughout the development of this project.



PUERTO RICAN IDENTITY

This *Atlas* is based on the premise that Stateside Puerto Ricans are a distinctive racial-ethnic group in the United States with a concrete connection to the people of Puerto Rico. (DeSipio and Pantoja 2004; Duany 2002; Hernández 1997; Pérez y González 2000; Sánchez González 2001; Torres and Velázquez 1995) Puerto Ricans have been coming to the States since the 1800s and have a long history of collective social action in advocating for their political and social rights and preserving their cultural heritage. In New York City, which has the largest concentration of Puerto Ricans in the United States, Boricuas began running for elective office in the 1920s, electing one of their own to the New York State Assembly for the first time in 1937. (see Falcón in Jennings and Rivera 1984: 15-42) In 1900, 114 Puerto Rican men, women and children were recruited to work in Hawaii in what was the beginning of a labor migration of over 5,000 to these Pacific islands. Histories and case studies have been written about Puerto Ricans not only in New York City, but also in Chicago (Ramos-Zayas 2003), Philadelphia (Whalen 2001), and many other locations where they have settled and made important contributions throughout the United States.

Important Puerto Rican institutions have emerged from this long history. (Nieto 2000) *Aspira*, a leader in the field of education, was established in New York City in 1961 and is now one of the largest national Latino nonprofit organizations in the United States. (Pantoja 2002: 93-108) There is also the National Puerto Rican Coalition in Washington, DC, the National Puerto Rican Forum, the Puerto Rican Family Institute, Boricua College, the Center for Puerto Rican Studies of the City University of New York at Hunter College, the Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund, and the National Conference of Puerto Rican Women, among others. One indicator of the strength of Puerto Rican

identity and pride in the United States is the massive annual National Puerto Rican Parade in New York City, not to mention the more than 50 other local Puerto Rican parades throughout the country.

The Government of Puerto Rico has a long history of involvement with the Stateside Puerto Rican community. (Duany 2002: Ch. 7) In July 1930, Puerto Rico's Department of Labor established an employment service in New York City (Chenault 1938: 72). The Migration Division (known as the "Commonwealth Office"), also of Puerto Rico's Department of Labor, was created in 1948 and by the end of the 1950s was operating in 115 cities and towns Stateside. (Lapp 1990) The Department of Puerto Rican Affairs in the United States was established in 1989 as a cabinet-level department in Puerto Rico. And, currently, the Commonwealth operates the Puerto Rico Federal Affairs Administration (PRFAA), which is headquartered in Washington, D.C. and has 12 regional offices throughout the United States.

In addition to this long history of collective organizing and institution-building, another indicator of the strong Puerto Rican identity of Stateside Puerto Ricans is their use of the Spanish language. According to the 2000 Census, of those Stateside Puerto Ricans, ages 5 and up, 81.5 percent indicated they spoke Spanish at home. In that same year, moreover, Stateside Puerto Ricans had the highest percentage among U.S. Latinos of "linguistically isolated" households, which the Census Bureau defines as a household in which everyone 14 years and older speaks English poorly or not very well. In 2000, 38.9 percent of Stateside Puerto Rican households were classified in this way, compared to 26.3 percent of Mexicans, 30.0 percent of Cubans, 34.4 percent of Dominicans and 30.5 percent of Colombians – in contrast, only 8.4 percent of the total U.S. population (excluding Puerto Rico) was in these so-called linguistically isolated households.



The late Dr. Antonia Pantoja, founder of Aspira.



The National Puerto Rican Parade in New York City in June 2004

The strength of Stateside Puerto Rican identity is fueled by a number of factors. These include: the large circular migration between the Island and Stateside; a long tradition of the Government of Puerto Rico promoting the Island's culture among its population and those Stateside; the continuing existence of racial-ethnic prejudice and discrimination in the United States that reinforces racial-ethnic identities; and the realities of high residential and school segregation in the U.S.

DEMOGRAPHICS OF THE STATESIDE PUERTO RICAN

Growth

Between 1990 and 2000, the Stateside Puerto Rican population grew by 24.9 percent, from 3.2 to 3.6 million. This Stateside Puerto Rican growth rate was significantly higher than the 8.4 percent population growth occurring in Puerto Rico during this same period. In 2003, the Census estimated the Stateside Puerto Rican population at close to 3.9 million. (Census Bureau 2003)

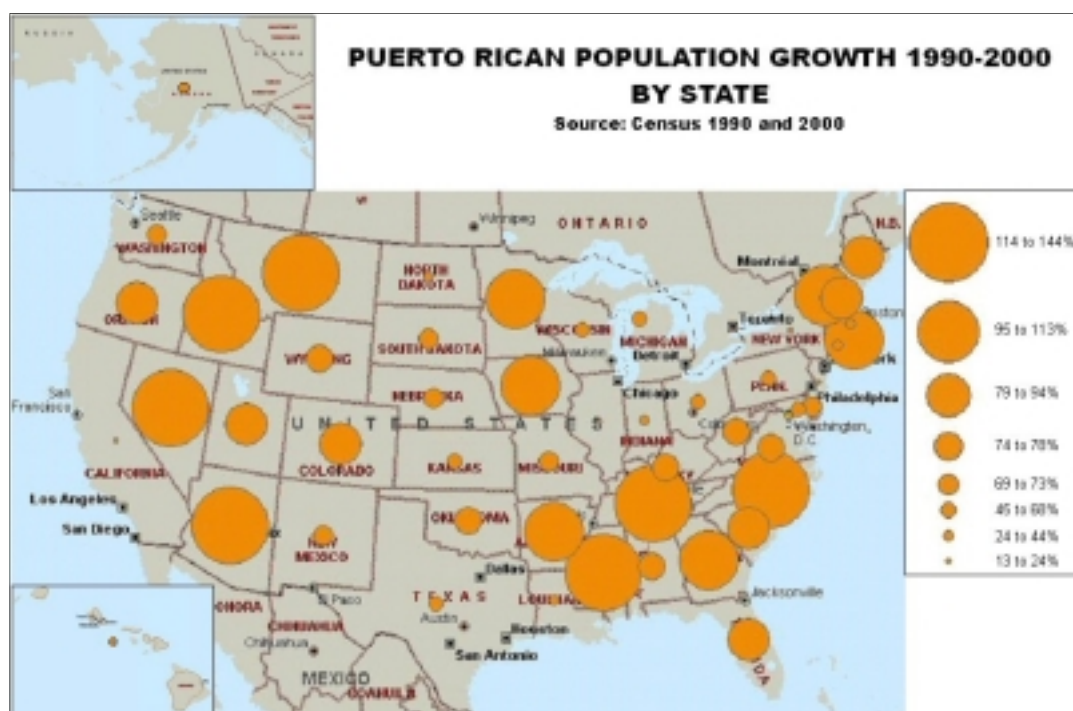


The states with the largest Puerto Rican populations in 2000 were New York, Florida, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Massachusetts. The states with the largest Puerto Rican percentage of their total populations were:

- Connecticut (5.7 percent)
- New York (5.5 percent)
- New Jersey (4.4 percent)
- Massachusetts (3.1 percent) and
- Florida (3.0 percent).

Those with the highest percentage of Puerto Ricans in their Latino populations were:

- Connecticut (60.7 percent)
- Pennsylvania (58.0 percent)
- Massachusetts (46.5 percent)
- New York (35.4 percent) and



- New Jersey (32.8 percent).

The cities with the largest Puerto Rican populations in 2000 were New York City, Chicago, Philadelphia, Newark and Hartford. In 1990-2000, among the cities with the largest Puerto Rican populations, the fastest-growing were:

- Orlando, FL (142 percent)
- Allentown, PA (83 percent)
- Tampa, FL (78 percent)
- Reading, PA (64 percent) and
- New Britain, CT (52 percent).

However, despite these dramatic growth rates, New York City - home of the largest Stateside Puerto Rican community – declined in size by more than 100,000, or 12 percent. Because of this drop in the Puerto Rican population in New York City, the state's largest city, New York State was the only state to register a drop in its Puerto Rican population during this time period (a phenomenon limited to the three biggest counties in New York City).

The New York City case is a good example of how complex Puerto Rican demographics have become. (Rivera-Batz and Santiago 1996; Christenson 2003). While overall there was a significant drop in the size of this city's Puerto Rican population in the 1990s, there was also significant growth in the Puerto Rican populations in two of its five boroughs (or counties). In addition, despite this population decline, New York City remains a major hub for migration from Puerto Rico and for Puerto Rican migration within the United States. Numbering close to 800,000, New York City's Puerto Rican community remains its largest Latino population group.

Although the attention on Puerto Rican population decline became focused on New York City, there were four other major cities that also experienced this phenomenon. These include Chicago, Illinois and three cities in New Jersey:



Controversial 2000 *New York Times* front page article proclaiming the “waning” of the Puerto Rican community in New York City

- Chicago, IL, had a decline of 6,811 Puerto Ricans (a 6 percent drop)
- Jersey City, NJ (-13,567, a 4 percent drop)
- Newark, NJ (-11,895, a 5 percent drop), and
- Paterson, NJ (-3,567, a 13 percent drop).

The reasons and impact of the decline in these communities are not well understood. Especially in the New York case, this has been the subject of much speculation but little serious analysis to date. (Falcón in Falcón, Haslip-Viera and Matos-Rodríguez 2004: Ch. 6)

To put this population decline question in an even broader context, it is important to note that beyond these major cities the Stateside Puerto Rican population dropped in 1990-2000 in 164 other smaller cities and other localities throughout the United States (together these represents 10.8 percent of all 1,503 cities and other reported in the 2000 Census). Of the 10 places in the country with the highest percentage drop in their Puerto Rican population, half (5) were in California, two were Florida and New Jersey, and one was in Massachusetts. The five places with the biggest 1990-2000 drops in Puerto Rican population were: Olympia Heights, FL (-72.4 percent), Marina, CA (-59.0 percent), Seaside, CA (-55.1 percent), Baldwin Park, CA (-48.4 percent), and Pompano Beach Highlands, CA (-43.8 percent) — none of these top ten, interestingly enough, were in the Northeast or Midwest.

Dispersion

The theme of “dispersal” has had a long history with the Stateside Puerto Rican community. (Rivera-Batz and Santiago 1996: 131-135; Maldonado 1997 :Ch. 13; Briggs 2002: Ch. 6) This history extends from the early concerns with overpopulation of Puerto Rico to those in the 1940s and '50s

about the need to disperse the rapidly growing Puerto Rican population (or “problem”, as it was referred to back then) that was dramatically concentrating itself in New York City, Chicago and other U.S. urban centers after World War II. A community once centered in these large cities (especially New York City), the Stateside Puerto Rican community now is dispersed all over the United States. In fact, we are seeing a “reconfiguration” or even “nationalizing” of this community throughout the United States.(Duany 2002:Ch.9)

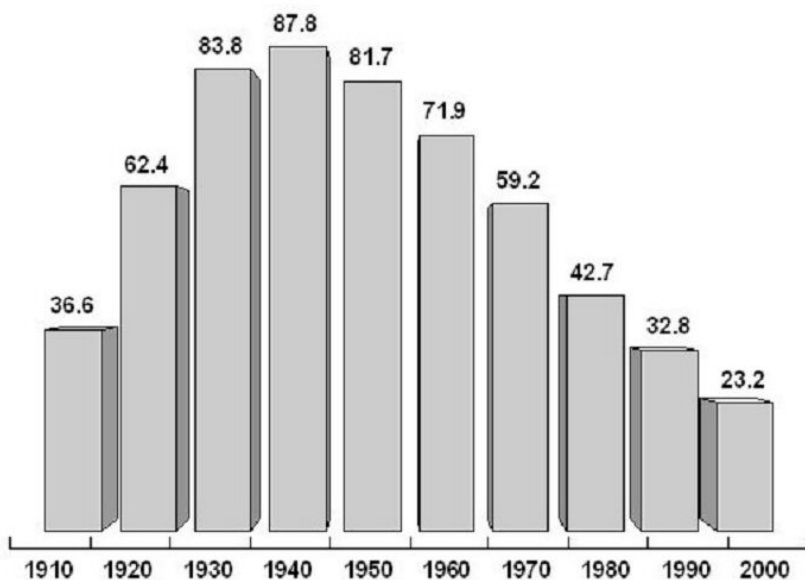
New York City was the center of the Stateside Puerto Rican community for most of the 20th century. With the 2000 Census, this picture changed in dramatic ways. New York City was once home to over 80 percent of Stateside Puerto Ricans and a place where Puerto Ricans were the majority of its Latino population. By 2000, Puerto Ricans in New York City represented only 23 percent of all Stateside Puerto Ricans, and made up 37 percent of the city’s Latino population. Nevertheless, New York City Puerto Ricans remain the largest Latino group in the city. Numbering close to 800,000 in 2000, their population is almost double that of Puerto Rico’s capital city, San Juan (estimated at 433,412 in 2002 by the Census Bureau).

The dramatic growth of the Puerto Rican population in Florida has generated considerable attention, especially given its important political implications for U.S. presidential elections. The number of Puerto Ricans in Florida between 1990 and 2000 almost doubled from 247,016 to 482,027 (a 95.1 percent increase). According to the Current Population Survey, in 2003 the Puerto Rican population in Florida was estimated to be 760,127, representing a growth of 57.7 percent since 2000.

CURRENT PUERTO RICAN MIGRATION PATTERNS



NEW YORK CITY SHARE OF STATESIDE PUERTO RICANS 1910-2000



in Florida was estimated to be 760,127, representing a growth of 57.7 percent since 2000.

However, it is not at all clear whether these settlement changes can be characterized as simple Puerto Rican population dispersal. Puerto Rican population settlements today are less concentrated than they were in places like New York City, Chicago and a number of cities in New Jersey. However, more than two-thirds (67.0 percent) of Stateside Puerto Ricans in 2003 still resided in the two most traditional areas of Puerto Rican settlement, the Northeast and Midwest. New York City, for example, remains one of the most important migration

hubs for Puerto Ricans for both those coming to the United States from Puerto Rico and those migrating within the United States.

The most dramatic Puerto Rican population growth in the 1990s, as it was for Latinos as a whole, was undeniably in smaller cities and towns, such as Allentown, Pennsylvania. (Nathan 2004) But while this type of growth outside of central cities is associated with suburbanization and upward mobility, in the Puerto Rican case this relationship has been recast in fundamental ways. While there was an element of upward mobility, there was also the spatial spread of the poor and low wage workers. At the point at which Stateside Puerto Ricans began moving to the suburbs, these areas had begun in general to take on many of the negative characteristics of the urban centers – housing and school segregation, poverty, rising crime and so on.

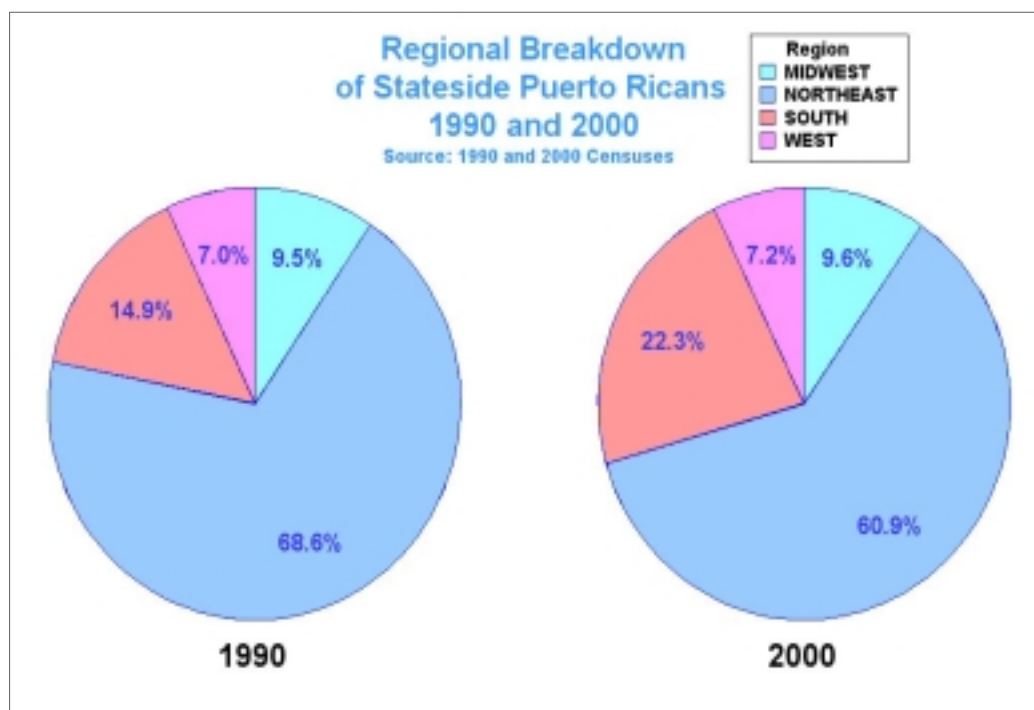
Rather than simple dispersal what we may be witnessing is a reconcentration and an increasingly complex migration circuit for Stateside Puerto Ricans. Undoubtedly occurring largely as part of economic restructurings, this redistribution of such a large portion of the Stateside and Island Puerto Rican populations is creating a significant social reconfiguration as well. The result will have important cultural, social, political and economic implications for the development of the Puerto Rican people as a whole. At this juncture, we can only begin to speculate about its long-term impact.

Concentration

Puerto Ricans continue to be one of the most urbanized groups in the United States, with 55.8 percent living in central cities in 2003. This is more than double the concentration in these urban centers of 25 percent by non-Latinos and higher than that of Mexicans (43.1 percent), Cubans (22.3 percent), or Central/South Americans (47.9 percent).

Among U.S. Latinos, Stateside Puerto Ricans are the most residentially segregated. (Baker 2002: Ch. 7 and Appendix 2) Using a measure of degree of segregation called the Index of Dissimilarity, for which a score of 60 or above indicates a high level of segregation, Puerto Ricans exceed this level in nine major metropolitan areas in the year 2000: Bridgeport, CT (score of 73), Hartford, CT (70), New York City (69), Philadelphia, PA-NJ (69), Newark, NJ (69) and Cleveland-Lorain-Elyria, OH (68).

Residential segregation is a serious problem related primarily to housing discrimination, especially for groups such as Puerto Ricans who have



been migrating Stateside for close to a century. Residential concentrations are associated with high poverty conditions and a host of other social problems, including low-performing schools, poor health and low-paying jobs.

Stateside Puerto Ricans also find themselves concentrated in a third interesting way: they are disproportionately clustered in what has been called the “Boston-New York-Washington Corridor” along the East Coast. This is the largest and most affluent urban corridor in the world. It has been described as a “node of wealth ... [an] area where the pulse of the national economy beats loudest and the seats of power are well established.” (Shaw 1997: 551). With major world class universities clustered in Boston and stretching throughout this corridor, the economic and media power and international power politics in New York City, and the seat of the federal government in Washington, DC, this is a major global power center.

The actual and potential impact that Stateside Puerto Ricans have and can have on the United States and globally because of their significant presence in this Boston-New York-Washington megalopolis has been and can be considerable. It is a locational advantage that can best be leveraged if this community is able to develop a regional leadership and infrastructure comparable to those of already influential groups. Compared to their percentage of the total population, Stateside Puerto Ricans are the subject of a disproportionate projection of their images globally through the media, the arts and institutions of higher education. The worldwide familiarity of Puerto Ricans through such plays and movies as *West Side Story*, social science accounts such as Oscar Lewis’ *La Vida*, the international reporting of incidents at events like the National Puerto Rican Parade in New York City, all attest that the attention this community has attracted is in part due to the locational concentration of Stateside Puerto Ricans in this corridor.

Segmentation

These changes in the settlement patterns of Stateside Puerto Ricans between so-called traditional and new areas, have resulted in a greater economic and social segmentation or polarization of this population geographically. The Northeast - which in 2003 was home to 59.2 percent of Stateside Puerto Ricans - was also where 88.5 percent of Stateside Puerto Ricans receiving public assistance lived. The average household income of this population in 2002 was \$42,032, the lowest of any major racial-ethnic group in the Northeast. This was the only region where it was lower than the national average household income for Stateside Puerto Ricans. The Northeast was also the region where Stateside Puerto Ricans had the lowest homeownership rate of 31.9 percent.

METROPOLITAN AREA	PUERTO RICAN POPULATION (2000)	PERCENT OF METRO AREA POPULATION	INDEX OF DISSIMILARITY	
			1990	2000
New York, NY	837,073	8.9%	70	69
Chicago, IL	152,045	1.8%	74	66
Philadelphia, PA-NJ	160,076	3.1%	74	69
Newark, NJ	86,208	4.2%	74	69
Hartford, CT	82,992	4.2%	74	70
Springfield, MA	61,310	10.4%	69	67
Bridgeport, CT	38,307	8.3%	76	73
Jersey City, NJ	58,312	9.6%	43	40
Boston, MA-NH	58,178	1.7%	66	63
Cleveland-Lorain-Elyria, OH	46,117	2.1%	71	68

NOTE: The dissimilarity index measures whether one particular group is distributed across census tracts in the metropolitan area in the same way as another group. A high value indicates that the two groups tend to live in different tracts. It ranges from 0 to 100. A value of 60 (or above) is considered very high. It means that 60% (or more) of the members of one group would need to move to a different tract in order for the two groups to be equally distributed. Values of 40 or 50 are usually considered a moderate level of segregation, and values of 30 or below are considered to be fairly low.

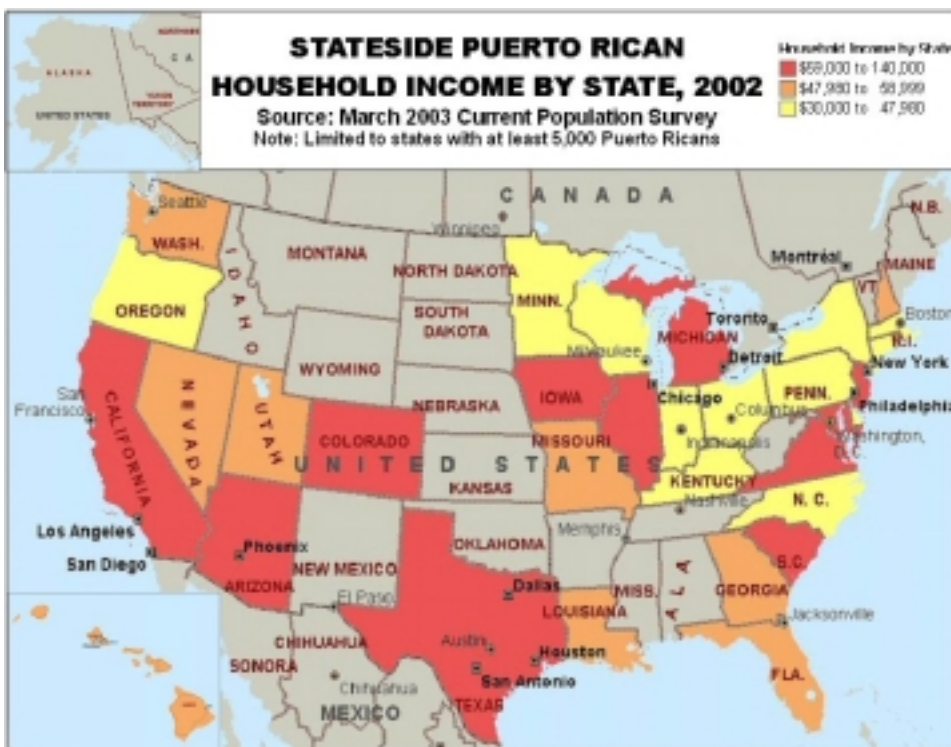
SOURCE: Lewis Mumford Center for Comparative and Regional Research, State University of New York at Albany
<http://mumford1.dyndns.org/cen2000/HispanicPop/HspReportNew/page1.html>

Because of its greater visibility and the dramatic growth of its Puerto Rican population, Florida is usually identified as the main engine behind this polarization. However, there are more dramatic differences in socioeconomic indicators between the Northeast and states like California, Texas and Hawaii. This is the case as well for states like New Jersey and Illinois, which are in the more traditional Puerto Rican settlement regions. The regional socioeconomic polarization of the Stateside Puerto Rican population is more complex than it may appear at first glance. While the greater affluence of the Puerto Rican population in states like California and Texas may be well-established, the future of a state like Florida in this regard is not at all clear given the rapidity and size of its migration and the different economic forces and labor markets at play.

While the 1990-2000 population growth rate of Stateside Puerto Ricans of 24.9 percent was impressive compared to the overall 13.1 percent growth of the total U.S. population, it was less than half of the 57.9 percent growth rate for the total Latino. Overall, Stateside Puerto Ricans make up approximately 9 to 10 percent of the total U.S. Latino population.

These shifts in the relative sizes of Latino populations have also changed the role of the Stateside Puerto Rican community within these more Latinized settings. (De Genova and Ramos-Zayas 2003) In many cases, Puerto Rican community leaders have become major advocates for immigration reform despite the fact that Puerto Ricans are U.S. citizens. In some cases, because this community has had a longer history in dealing with the U.S. political system, the increasing numbers of Puerto Rican elected and appointed government officials play gate-keeping and other key roles in terms of the growing non-Puerto Rican Latino communities. Thus, many long established Puerto Rican institutions have had to revise their missions (and, in some cases, change their names) to provide services and advocacy on behalf of non-Puerto Rican Latinos. Some have seen this as a process that has made the Stateside Puerto Rican community nearly invisible as immigration and a broader Latino agenda seem to have taken center stage, while others view this is a great opportunity for State-

side Puerto Ricans to increase their influence and leadership role in a larger Latino world.



SOCIOECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Income

The Stateside Puerto Rican community usually is characterized as being largely poor and part of the urban underclass in the United States. Studies and reports over the last fifty years have documented the high poverty status of this community.

(Baker 2002) However, the picture of Stateside Puerto Ricans at the start of the 21st century also reveals significant socioeconomic progress and a community with growing economic clout. (Rivera-Batiz and Santiago 1996)

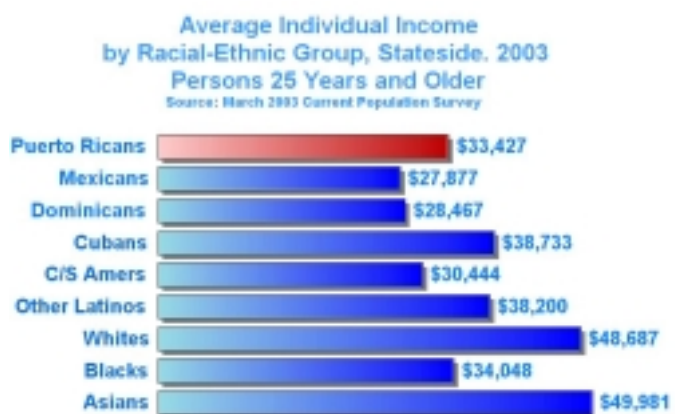
In 2002, the average individual income for Stateside Puerto Ricans was \$33,927. This represented only 68.7 percent of the income of Whites (\$48,687) and was below the average incomes of Asians (\$49,981), Cubans (\$38,733) and “Other Hispanics” (\$38,200). However, it was higher than that of Mexicans (\$27,877), Dominicans (\$28,467), and Central and South Americans (\$30,444). In 2002, there were an estimated 24,450 Stateside Puerto Ricans with individual incomes of \$100,000 or more, compared to 4,059 a decade earlier.

The Latino Market and Remittances to Puerto Rico. Combined, the aggregate personal income for Stateside Puerto Ricans in 2002 was \$54.5 billion. This aggregate personal income of Stateside Puerto Ricans exceeds the total personal income for Puerto Rico, which was \$42.6 billion in 2000. This is a significant share of the large and growing Latino market in the United States that has been receiving so much attention from the media and the corporate sector.

The size of the Latino market raises an important question: To what degree Stateside Puerto Ricans contribute economically to Puerto Rico? The only recent study that could be identified that examines the issue of remittances by Stateside Puerto Ricans to Puerto Rico limited itself to migrant Puerto Ricans (those living Stateside that were born on the Island) and found that 38 percent indicated they sent money to Puerto Rico, averaging \$1,179 a year per person (these are unpublished figures not included in the report that was released by DeSipio, et al. 2003). Using 2002 figures for Island-born adult Stateside Puerto Ricans, this would represent \$417.8 million in remittances to Puerto Rico annually from the Island-born members of the Stateside Puerto Rican community alone. A much earlier reference to Stateside Puerto Rican remittances had the Puerto Rico Planning Board estimating that they totaled \$66 million in 1963. (Senior and Watkins in Cordasco and Bucchioni 1975: 162-163)

Since the Island-born represented 34 percent of the Stateside Puerto Rican population in 2003, when the 66 percent of Stateside-born Puerto Ricans are included, actual remittances from the total Stateside Puerto Rican community are probably more than double this number, possibly approaching or exceeding \$1 billion a year. It is also important to keep in mind that these are family remittances and do not include investments in businesses and property in Puerto Rico, visitor expenditures and the like by Stateside Puerto Ricans.

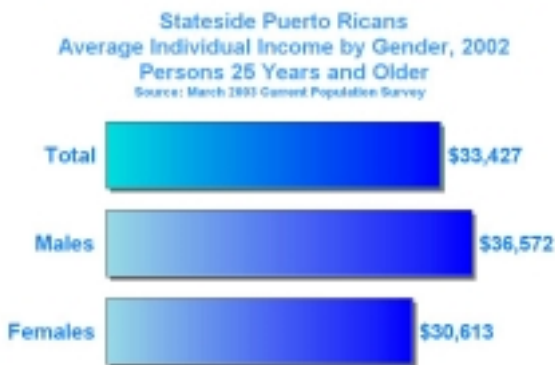
The full extent of the Stateside Puerto Rican community’s contributions to the economy of Puerto Rico is not known, but it is clearly significant and merits serious examination. The role of remittances and investments by Latino immigrants to their home countries has received much attention in the last few years, as countries like Mexico develop strategies to better leverage the large sums of money from their diasporas in their economic development planning. (DeSipio, et al. 2003) This is a clear signal to the Government of Puerto Rico and the Island’s businesses that they need to pay greater attention to the Stateside Puerto Rican population’s role in the overall economic development of the Island.



Gender. The average income in 2002 of Stateside Puerto Rican women was \$30,613 and for the men it was \$36,572. In other words, the women had incomes that were 83.7 percent of the men's. Compared to all Latino groups, Whites and Asians, Stateside Puerto Rican women had come closer to achieving parity in income with the men of their own racial-ethnic group.

In addition, Stateside Puerto Rican women had incomes that were 82.3 percent that of White women, while Stateside Puerto Rican men had incomes that were only 64.0 percent that of White men. Stateside Puerto Rican women were closer to income parity with White women than were women who were Mexican (63.8 percent), Dominican (58.7 percent), and Central or South Americans (68.4 percent); but they were below those of women who were Cuban (86.2 percent), "Other Hispanic" (87.2 percent), Black (83.7 percent), and Asian (107.7 percent).

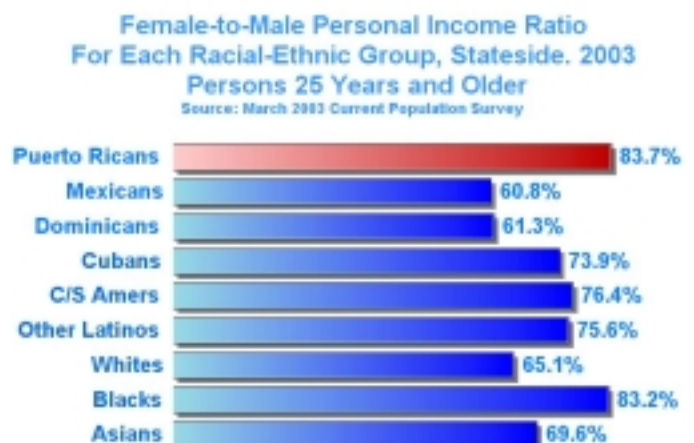
Stateside Puerto Rican men were, however, in a weaker position in comparison with men from other racial-ethnic groups. They were closer to income parity with White men than were men from the following groups: Dominicans (62.3 percent), and Central and South Americans (58.3 percent). Although very close to income parity with Blacks (who had incomes 65.5 percent that of White men), Stateside Puerto Rican men fell below that of men from the following groups: Mexicans (68.3 percent), Cubans (75.9 percent), "Other Hispanics" (75.1 percent), and Asians (100.7 percent).



Educational Attainment

High School Graduation Rates. Stateside Puerto Ricans, along with other U.S. Latinos, have relatively low educational attainment levels as a result of an unacceptably high dropout rate from school. (Nieto 2000) Of those 25 years and older, 63.3 percent of Stateside Puerto Ricans had graduated from high school, compared to 84.0 percent of Whites, 73.6 percent of Blacks and 83.4 percent of Asians. This Stateside Puerto Rican high school graduation rate, however, exceeded that of Mexicans (48.7 percent), Dominicans (51.7 percent) and Central and South Americans (60.4 percent), while it was below that of Cubans (68.7 percent) and Other Latinos (72.6 percent).

College Graduation Rates. In Puerto Rico, according to the 2000 Census, 24.4 percent of those 25 years and older had a 4-year college degree. For Stateside Puerto Ricans the figure was only 9.9 percent. By 2003, it increased to 13.1 percent, below the rate for Whites (34.8 percent), Blacks (18.5 percent) and Asians (59 percent). Among Latinos, only Mexicans (7.6 percent) and Dominicans (12.7 percent) fared worse than Stateside Puerto Ricans in college attainment, with the other groups having higher rates:



Cubans (26.1 percent), Central and South Americans (20.2 percent) and other Latinos (21.7 percent).

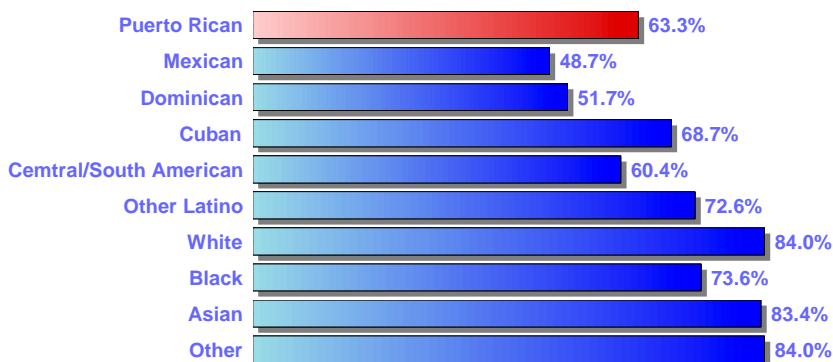
Graduate Degrees. Stateside Puerto Ricans in 2003 also had low attainment of graduate school degrees, with only 3.1 percent of those 25 and older having one (compared to 4.7 percent in Puerto Rico in 2000). This rate was lower than that for Whites (8.7 percent), Blacks (4.1 percent) and Asians (15.6 percent). Among Latinos, Stateside Puerto Ricans fared better in the attainment of graduate school degrees than Mexicans (1.4 percent) and Dominicans (1.8 percent), but worse than Cubans (6.7 percent), Central and South Americans (4.2 percent) and other Latinos (5.6 percent).

Employment

In 2003, 20.7 percent of Stateside Puerto Ricans were in professional-managerial occupations, while 33.7 percent were in service-sales jobs. The percentage in professional-managerial positions was higher than that of Mexicans (13.2 percent) and Central and South Americans (16.8 percent), but below that of Cubans (28.5 percent), Other Latinos (29.0 percent), and non-Latinos (36.2 percent).

Between 1993 and 2003, among Stateside Puerto Ricans, those in professional-managerial occupations grew from 15.3 to 20.7 percent, a 5.4 percentage point increase. While significant, this increase lagged behind that of non-Latinos (+8.8 points) and Cubans (+9.9 points).

Educational Attainment 2003
High School Graduate and Above by Group
Persons 25 Years and Older
 Source: March 2003 Current Population Survey

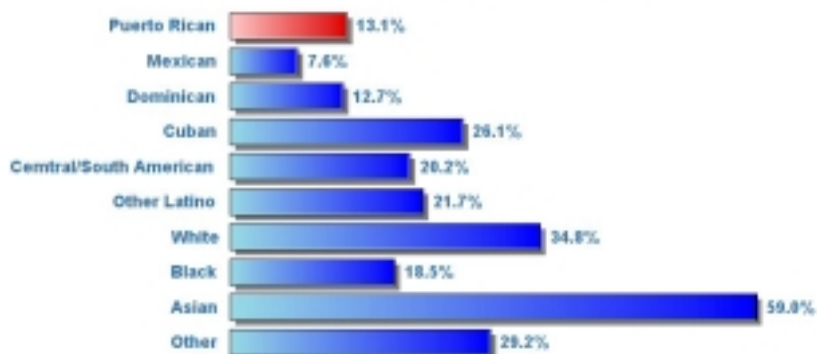


Poverty

Except for Dominicans, Stateside Puerto Ricans have among the highest poverty rates of any group in the United States (22.8 percent for families). However, over three quarters live above the poverty line. This rate is about half the poverty rate of Puerto Rico in 2000 of 44.6 percent. (PRLDEF Latino Data Center 2004)

Compared to other major racial-ethnic groups in the United States, the Stateside Puerto Rican poverty rate is only exceeded by that of Dominicans (29.9 percent). The Stateside Puerto Rican poverty rate is higher than every other

Educational Attainment 2003
Bachelor's Degree and Above by Group
Persons 25 Years and Older
 Source: March 2003 Current Population Survey



major group: Whites (6.3 percent), Blacks (21.3 percent), Asians (7.4 percent), Mexicans (21.2 percent), Cubans (12.9 percent), Central and South Americans (14.1 percent) and other Latinos (13.2 percent). What is troubling about these statistics is that among the Latino groups, Puerto Ricans are the only ones to arrive in the United States already as U.S. citizens, which should be an advantage but apparently is not in terms of socioeconomic status. (Baker 2002: 132, 133, 154, 167, 169, 171 and 172; Rivera Ramos 2001: 3-5, 162-63)

Female Headed Families. The Stateside Puerto Rican poverty rate for families headed by single women is especially alarming, standing at 39.3 percent. Again, in comparison with Puerto Rico, it is significantly less than the 61.3 percent poverty rate for single female headed families on the Island. As with general family poverty, the Stateside Puerto Rican poverty level for single female headed households is higher than every other major group except Dominicans (49.0 percent). The rate for the other groups was 20.3 percent for Whites, 35.3 percent for Blacks, 14.7 percent for Asians, 37.6 percent for Mexicans, 15.3 percent for Cubans, 27.1 percent for Central and South Americans, and 24.8 percent for Other Latinos.

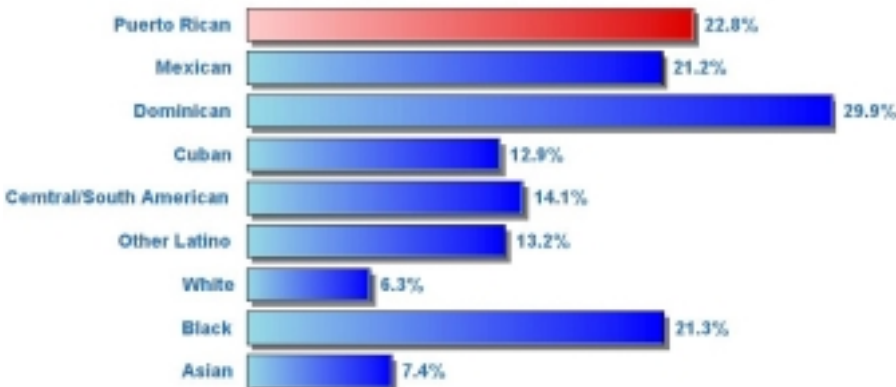
CIVIC PARTICIPATION

The Puerto Rican community has organized itself successfully to represent its interests in Stateside political institutions for close to a century. (Centro de Estudios Puertorriqueños 2003; Jennings and Rivera 1984) In New York City, Puerto Ricans first began running for public office in the 1920s — in 1937 they elected their first representative to government, Oscar Garcia Rivera, who was elected to the New York State Assembly. (see Falcón in Jennings and Rivera 1984: Ch. 2) Today, there are three Puerto Ricans elected to the

Occupational Groups for Stateside Puerto Ricans, 2003
Source: March 2003 Current Population Survey



Family Poverty Rates by Racial-Ethnic Group, 2002
Source: March 2003 Current Population Survey



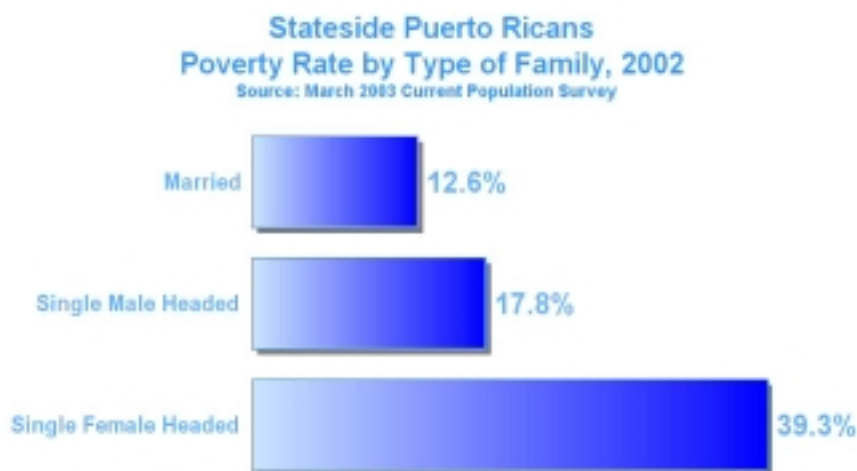
United States House of Representatives (two from New York City and one from Chicago), complementing the one Resident Commissioner elected to that body from Puerto Rico. In addition, there have been Puerto Rican mayors of major cities elected (Miami, Hartford, Camden and others).

There are various ways in which Stateside Puerto Ricans have exercised their influence. These include protest activity, making campaign contributions, lobbying, and voting. The level of voter participation in Puerto Rico is legendary, greatly

exceeding that of the United States. However, many see as a paradox that this high level of voting does not follow Puerto Ricans Stateside. (Falcón in Heine 1983: Ch. 2; Camara-Fuertes 2004) Stateside Puerto Ricans have had persistently low voter registration and turnout rates, despite the relative success they have had in electing their own to significant public offices throughout the United States.

To address this problem, the government of Puerto Rico has, since the late 1980s, launched two major voter registration campaigns to increase the level of Stateside Puerto Rican voter participation. While Stateside Puerto Ricans have traditionally been concentrated in the Northeast, coordinated Latino voter registration organizations, such as the Southwest Voter Registration Education Project (SVREP) and the United States Hispanic Leadership Institute (based in the Midwest), have not focused their efforts in this region and have historically concentrated on the Mexican-American voter. The government of Puerto Rico has sought to fill this vacuum to assure that Stateside Puerto Rican interests are well represented in the United States' electoral process, a potential benefit to both island and Stateside Puerto Ricans.

The Census Bureau estimated that 861,728 Stateside Puerto Ricans cast their votes in the November 7, 2000 presidential elections. Puerto Ricans represented less than one percent (0.8 percent) of total votes cast that year in the United States but made up a significant 14.5 percent of the increasingly visible Latino vote. The 5.9 million Latinos who voted in 2000 made up 5.4 percent of total U.S. voters, with higher percentages in politically strategic areas such as Florida, California, Texas, New York and New Mexico.



Another interesting fact about the Stateside Puerto Rican vote is that, while for other Latino groups citizenship status is a major obstacle to voting, this is not a significant issue for Stateside Puerto Ricans (99.7 percent of whom are U.S. citizens). One result of this is that although Stateside Puerto Ricans make up 10.2 percent of all Latinos of voting age, they make up a significantly higher 14.5 percent of Latinos who actually vote.

In 2000, only 38.6 percent of voting age Stateside Puerto Ricans who were citizens were registered to vote. Whites, on the other hand, had a voter registration rate of 54.7 percent, indicating the significant participation gap that exists in the United States. However, these rates vary widely by racial-ethnic group, with the only exception being the Cubans (55.9 percent). Among Latinos, the Stateside Puerto Rican voter registration rate was higher than that of Mexicans (24.0 percent), Central and South Americans (24.7 percent), and other Latinos (34.8 percent). It is also important to note that because these Census figures are based on self-reporting, they tend to overstate levels of participation and are more useful for comparative purposes.

In terms of actual voter turnout as a percent of those registered, 79.8 percent of Stateside Puerto Ricans voted in 2000. This turnout rate was lower than that of Whites (86.4 percent) and Blacks

(84.1 percent). Among Latinos, Stateside Puerto Rican turnout was lower than that of Cubans (87.2 percent), Central and South Americans (87.3 percent), and Other Latinos (83.8 percent), but was higher than that of Mexicans (75.0 percent).



To get a better picture of the small proportion of voters among all those eligible to vote (whether registered or not), the turnout rate can be calculated as the number of voters as a percentage of the citizen voting age population (C-VAP) for each group. Using this measure, the C-VAP turnout rate for Stateside Puerto Ricans was 30.8 percent in 2000.

This means more than two-thirds of Stateside Puerto Ricans who are eligible to vote either did not register or were registered but did not vote. In terms of actual numbers, this translates into 1.9 million Stateside Puerto Ricans who were eligible to vote but did not do so in the 2000 election.

This low level of electoral participation of Stateside Puerto Ricans is in sharp contrast with voting levels in Puerto Rico, which are much higher than that of this community but also than for the United States as a whole. (Camara-Fuertes 2004) In the 2000 gubernatorial election in Puerto Rico, 90.1 percent of the voting age population was registered to vote, and the voter turnout rate was 82.6 percent of those registered and 74.4 percent of the total voting age population. In contrast, in the U.S. presidential elections that same year, only 49.5 percent of eligible Americans were registered to vote and only 42.3 percent of these actually cast their ballots (and these are high estimates based on respondents' recall, while the figures from Puerto Rico are based on actual returns).

The reasons for the differences in Puerto Rican voter participation in both settings have been the subject of much discussion but relatively little scholarly research. (Falcón in Heine 1983: Ch. 2) Explanations for this difference have ranged from the structural/institutional, the role of political parties, and political culture, and a combination of these, as well as other explanations. There appears to be much to be learned about voter mobilization by the United States from the Puerto Rico case, especially since its electoral system is formally part of the U.S. However, relatively little has been done by U.S. scholars and policymakers to explore lessons from this case in their own backyard, preferring to look to other examples abroad.

When we examine the relationship of various factors to the turnout rates of Stateside Puerto Ricans in 2000, we find a clear pattern in the impact of socioeconomic status on this participation, or turnout rate (Vargas-Ramos examines this relationship for Puerto Ricans in New York City in Centro de Estudios Puertorriqueños 2003: 41-71). For example:

Income: the turnout rate for those with incomes



less than \$10,000 was 37.7 percent, while for those with incomes \$75,000 and above it was 76.7 percent.

Employment: for those unemployed it was 36.5 percent, while for those employed it was 51.2 percent. The rate for those outside of the labor force was 50.6 percent, probably reflecting the disproportionate role of the elderly in this category who generally have higher turnout rates.

Union Membership: for union members it was 51.3 percent, while for nonunion members it was 42.6 percent.

Housing Tenure: for homeowners it was 64.0 percent, while for renters it was 41.8 percent.

There are a number of other sociodemographic characteristics where turnout differences also exist, such as:

Age: the average age of voters was 45.3 years, compared to 38.5 years for eligible nonvoters.

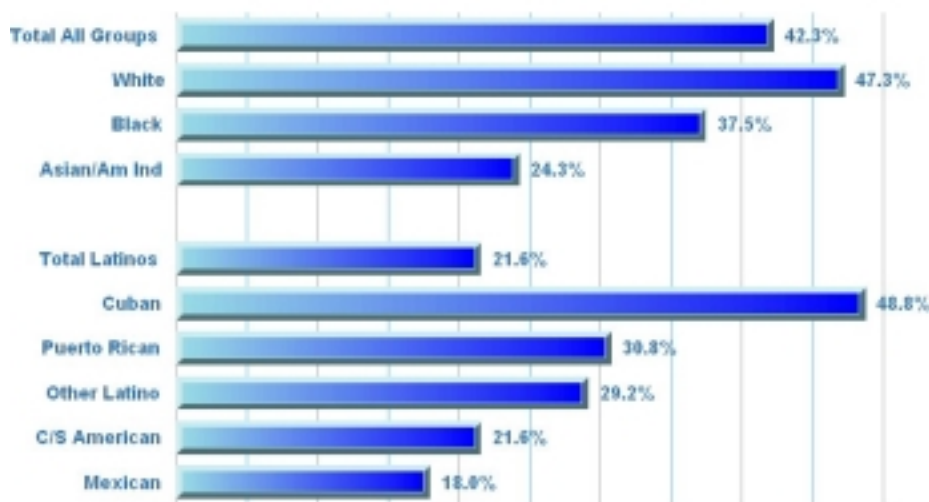
Educational Attainment: those with less than a high school diploma had a turnout rate of 42.5 percent, while for those with a graduate degree it was 81.0 percent.

Nativity: for those born Stateside it was 48.9 percent, compared to 52.0 percent for those born in Puerto Rico.

Family Type: for those who were married it was 62.0 percent, while for those who were never married it was 33.0 percent.

Military Service: for those who ever served in the U.S. military, the turnout rate was 72.1 percent, compared to 48.6 percent for those who never served.

Voter Turnout Rates (% of Eligible VAP)
by Racial-Ethnic Group
United States, November 7, 2000
Source: November 2000 Current Population Survey



There were a number of other characteristics that did not appear to make a significant difference in turnout rates for Stateside Puerto Ricans. These included gender and their racial identification.

There has also been attention given to electoral reforms in the last decade or so to create conditions that would make voting and registration easier. These include

such things as: the federal "Motor Voter" law that allows registration in government offices while applying for a driver's license, Food Stamps or another government service; more flexible absentee ballot procedures; bilingual ballot provisions; and same day registration.

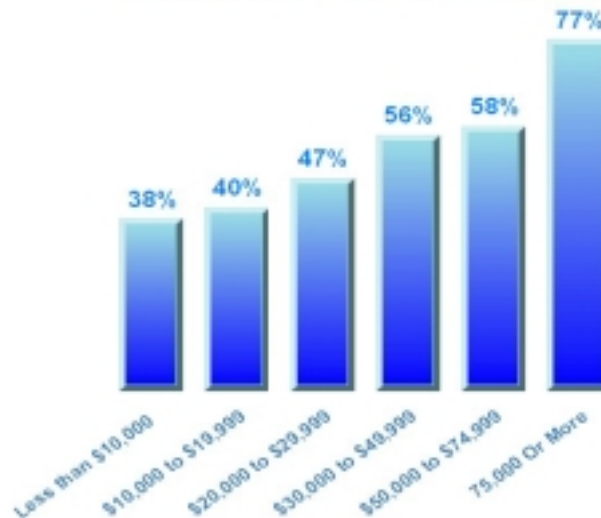
Stateside Puerto Ricans registered to vote in 2000 in a variety of ways and places. The largest group registered through the mail (33.3 percent), followed by those filling out a form at a voter registration drive (23.9 percent). The other ways they registered were: same day registration at the polling place (15.6 percent); government registration offices (14.9 percent); public assistance agencies (9.1 percent); and schools, hospitals and on campuses (3.2 percent).

Looking at the turnout rates for Stateside Puerto Ricans depending on how they registered, they are lowest for registration that occur in government offices. The highest turnout rates were for those who

registered at registration drives (95.2 percent), through the mail (93.8 percent) and those who did same day registration at the polls (90.5 percent). It was lowest for those who registered at a government registration office (70.9 percent) and public assistance agency (52.7 percent).

These figures indicate that a reform like “Motor Voter” is having the least effect for Stateside Puerto Ricans, while the techniques being pursued by the government of Puerto Rico (registration drives and direct mail) appear more promising. However, much more analysis, especially of a fieldwork nature, will be required to come to more definite conclusions about this.

Stateside Puerto Rican Voter Turnout by Income
United States, November 7, 2000
Source: November 2000 Current Population Survey



IMPLICATIONS

The demographic, socioeconomic conditions and civic participation of Stateside Puerto Ricans at the start of the 21st century has many implications. While much more analyses of both quantitative and qualitative varieties are required, some fairly obvious observations can be made.

The growth of the Stateside Puerto Rican community to the point of exceeding the Puerto Rican population in Puerto Rico is a historic development. This is a unique situation among countries, especially in the Western Hemisphere, to have more than half of a population living outside the homeland. The only case that we could find that has a larger scale is that of the Irish.

While the Stateside Puerto Rican population has been widely viewed as “dispersing” from its traditional settlement centers of the Northeast and the Midwest, the reality is more complex. There has been a shift in the percentage of Stateside Puerto Ricans from the Northeast to the South, but rather than dispersal, this seems to reflect changing patterns of migration that involve processes of reconcentration and reconfiguration from largely major inner city to more suburbanized and smaller cities.

Despite decades of migration, the Stateside Puerto Rican community still identifies strongly as Puerto Rican and has built a wide array of institutions and social practices, including a significant circular migration, that reinforce their identity. It is an identity also strengthened by the fact that Stateside Puerto Ricans are among the most residentially segregated communities in the United States and are subjected to the continuing racial-ethnic discrimination in the United States.

While the Stateside Puerto Rican community has been portrayed as a largely impoverished population, it currently is much more socioeconomically diverse. It has, for example, a small but numerically, if not proportionately, growing middle class. (Rivera-Batiz and Santiago 1996: 128-131)

Distribution of Places/Types of Voter Registration Utilized by Stateside Puerto Ricans United States, November 7, 2000
 Source: November 2000 Current Population Survey



The role of the Stateside Puerto Rican community in the economic development of Puerto Rico has been underestimated and requires further study and support. The aggregate income of Stateside Puerto Ricans exceeds that of Puerto Rico, and Stateside Puerto Ricans probably send to Puerto Rico close to \$1 billion (if not more) a year in family remittances, in addition to investments in businesses, housing, land and other areas.

While in the United States there has been a major discovery of a large Latino market by American business, corporations in Puerto Rico need to view the Stateside Puerto Rican market in the same terms. Particularly given the strong

cultural nationalism of Stateside Puerto Ricans, they represent a large potential market for specifically Puerto Rican products and services that has not been cultivated in any significant way. As the government of Puerto Rico has done in promoting Puerto Rican business Stateside in general, it has an opportunity to promote Island business relations with the Stateside Puerto Rican market.

The role of the government of Puerto Rico has been an important factor in the social, cultural and political development of the Stateside Puerto Rican community. With all the attention that is currently being given to the role of Latino American governments in the development of their U.S.-based diasporas, such as legislating dual citizenship and promoting the sending of remittances, it is important to note that the government of Puerto Rico's role in working with its Stateside population has been unique and path-breaking in ways that offers important lessons for Latino and other immigrants and their home countries.

While the government of Puerto Rico has worked in important ways with the Stateside Puerto Rican community in the areas of civic participation, cultural reinforcement and in the provision of employment and other social services over the years, one critical area it has not developed sufficiently is that of higher education. Given the relatively poor

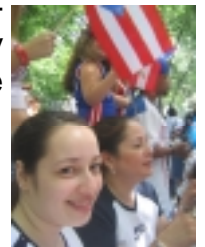
Stateside Puerto Rican Voter Turnout by Type/Place of Registration United States, November 7, 2000
 Source: November 2000 Current Population Survey



educational attainment of Stateside Puerto Ricans, especially at the level of higher education, and the achievement of much higher levels in Puerto Rico in this area, Puerto Rico has much to offer in extending higher educational opportunities to Stateside Puerto Ricans. The University of Puerto Rico is the major Hispanic serving institution of higher education in the United States that has the capacity, with increased federal government assistance, to open its doors much more aggressively to Stateside Puerto Ricans. This could have a significant impact of the higher education attainment of Stateside Puerto Ricans that in turn would enhance this community's economic and general social development.



As the nature of Puerto Rican migration becomes more complex and fluid, the Island/Stateside boundary becomes increasingly blurred. One result is that Puerto Ricans on both sides of this porous "border" cross over it with greater frequency than before and participate more effortlessly than ever in each other's labor forces and social processes. For Puerto Rico, the participation of Stateside Puerto Ricans on the Island potentially means strengthening the skills set of its labor force in terms of bilingual language proficiency and experience with Stateside institutions and practices in ways that could significantly strengthen its position as a unique bridge to Latin American business and markets for itself and the United States. By strengthening the educational and economic profile of the Stateside Puerto Rican, Puerto Rico would be strengthening its own position.



In addition, the role of the Stateside Puerto Rican with Puerto Rico appears underdeveloped despite the significant investments made by Stateside Puerto Ricans in Puerto Rico, their role as a major portion of visitors/tourists to the Island, their representation in the United States Congress by three Puerto Rican voting representatives and their concentration in the influential Boston-New York-Washington, DC corridor. These are potentially important resources for Puerto Rico that need to be acknowledged and strategically cultivated.

The relationship between Stateside and Island Puerto Ricans should be one *de familia* (of family) and should be above politically partisan concerns. The investment by the government of Puerto Rico, no matter which political party is in power, and Island-based corporations in the development of the Stateside Puerto Rican community is an investment in the future of Puerto Rico. As we enter this new century, it could represent a new beginning in the relationship between Puerto Rico and its diaspora that recognizes their interdependence and the enormous potential for mutual social, political and economic growth and prosperity. The only thing standing in the way is the will and imagination to make it so.



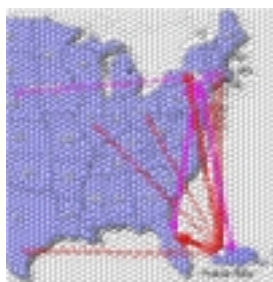
Stateside Puerto Rican Congresspersons (from left to right): The Honorable Luis Gutierrez (Chicago), The Honorable José Serrano (Bronx, NY), and The Honorable Nydia Velazquez (Brooklyn-Manhattan-Queens, NY)

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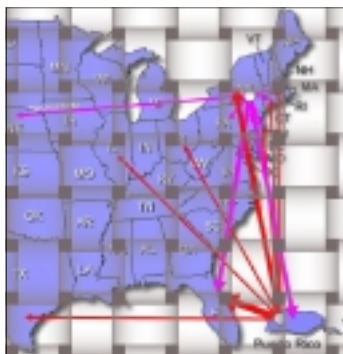
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MAPS



MAPPING STATESIDE PUERTO RICANS The Geographies of Community

Nearly 4 million Puerto Ricans residing Stateside in diaspora have been forming diverse settlements throughout the country for more than a century. While these settlements have in common the search for work, each has its own unique history, trajectories and reasons for being. One useful starting point for understanding the community-building processes of the Stateside Puerto Rican is a mapping of their locations. This *Atlas of the Stateside Puerto Rican* has situated this community on 93 maps covering 12 states and the District of Columbia.

For the Stateside Puerto Rican, this geography becomes an important ingredient in characterizing their status. Are they living in an inner city, a suburb, an edge city or near a downtown? Is the space they settled in highly segregated along racial or national-origin lines, or is it being gentrified? Is it an area located close to a toxic dump, an incinerator, or on a Brownfield? (Gandy 2002) What manner of social capital is contained within that space, and does it weaken their voting rights through racial-ethnic gerrymandering or some other manipulations by the powerful?

The recurring question of why so many Puerto Ricans migrated to New York City of all places after World War II provides a hint as to the nature of this settlement process. It is such a counter-intuitive migration choice from the vantage points of distance and weather that it was obviously not a “natural” selection. It was clearly driven by the search for employment, but even here there were closer and more climatically hospitable candidates. Clearly there appeared to be other forces at play. Today, New York City is no longer playing such a central role in Puerto Rican migration, raising questions about why this pattern has now changed and what this change means.

The 93 maps in this *Atlas* cover 12 states and the District of Columbia ranging, in alphabetical order, from California to Wisconsin. They cover the range of geography of the Stateside Puerto Rican experience with California representing the passageway and sometimes final stop for some of the earliest Puerto Rican immigrants (before becoming U.S. citizens in 1917) through New Orleans to Arizona and Hawaii, among other states. It includes a New York City that dominated and largely defined this migration in the post-World War II period; a Florida that seems to be playing much of that role today; and other states in between.

These maps represent a national geography of economic polarization for Stateside Puerto Ricans,

with those in the Northeast being poorer than those in the South. (Rivera-Batiz and Santiago 1996) It is also increasingly a geography of political difference, as support for one status option for Puerto Rico that dominated the Northeast is now rivaled by another in Florida. It is also a geography of cultural difference, with the more English-dominant Puerto Rican residing in Hawaii and California, and the more Spanish-dominant in newer settlements like Florida. This spatial dimension of the State-side Puerto Rican experience requires careful and thoughtful analysis to provide a better understanding of what is occurring in these communities and where they might be heading.

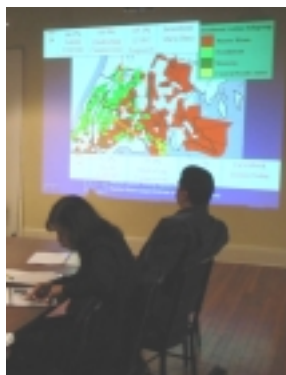
The maps in this *Atlas* are primarily locational in that their purpose is simply to indicate where Puerto Ricans reside Stateside. Further work needs to be undertaken to develop a series of detailed thematic maps that can help provide a spatial understanding of this community's social, economic, cultural and political development. This is an analysis that will reveal the range of Puerto Rican experiences along all of these dimensions within the United States in ways that will, in part, help undermine images of false homogeneity and its resultant stereotypes. Hopefully, what follows is only the very beginning of such an undertaking.

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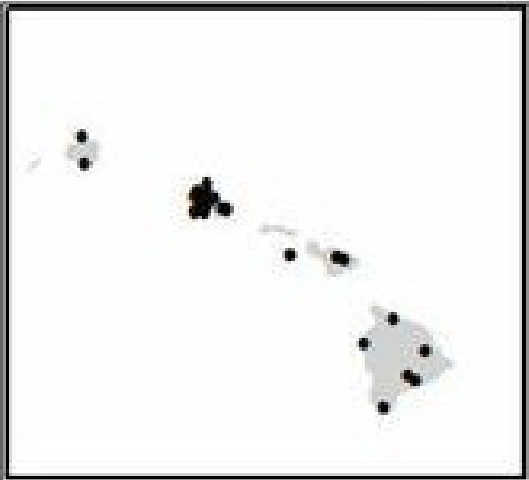
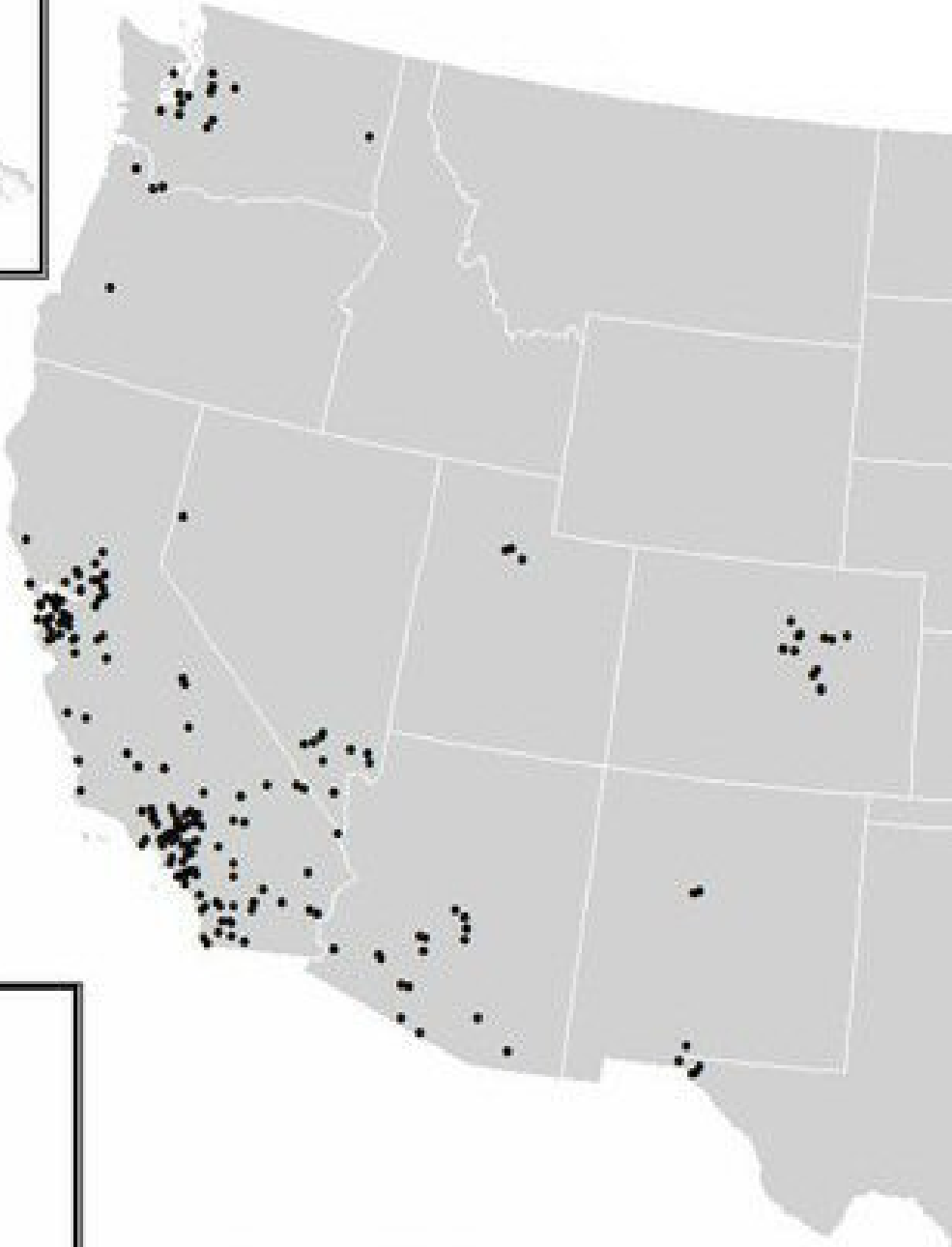
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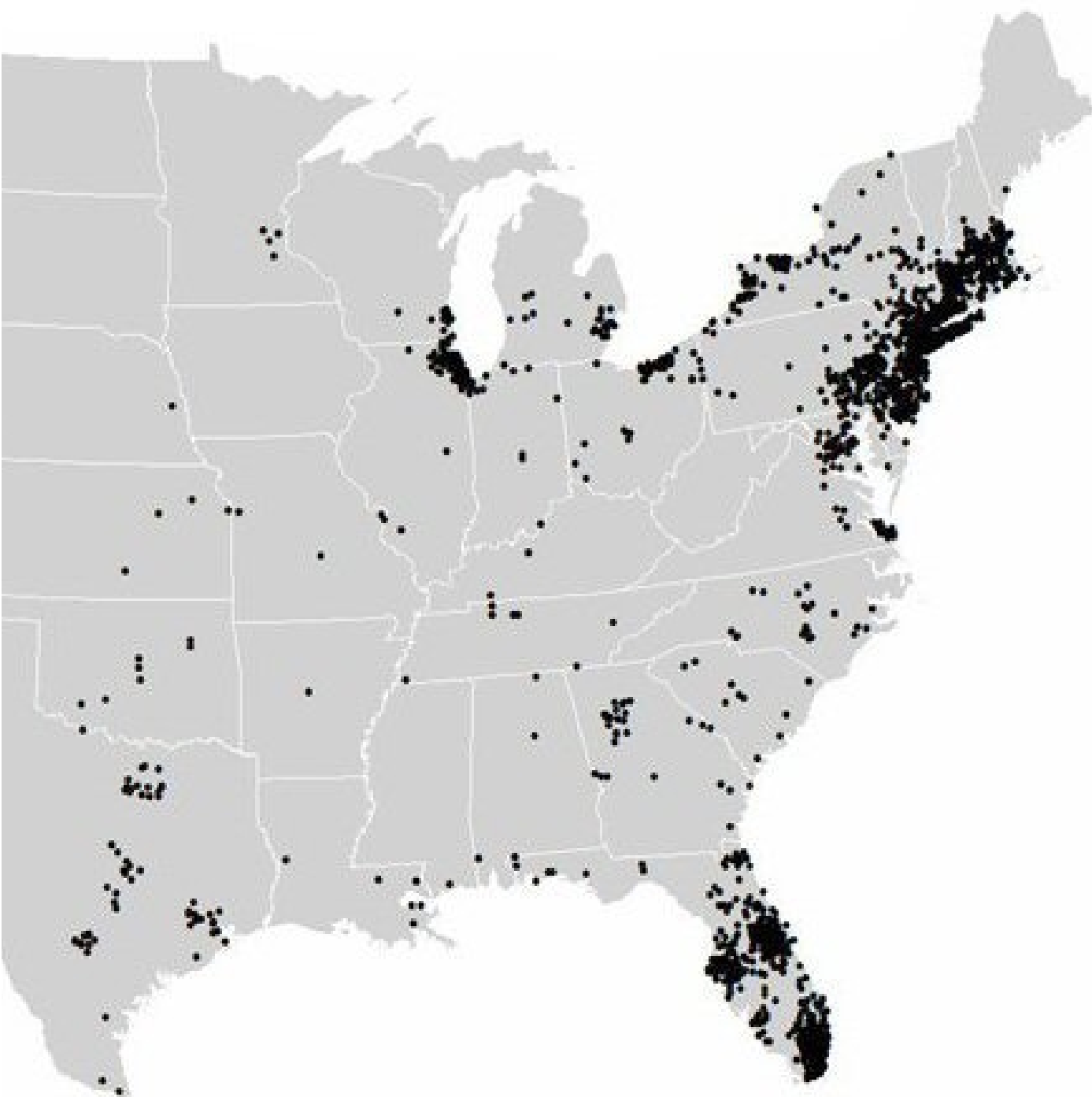


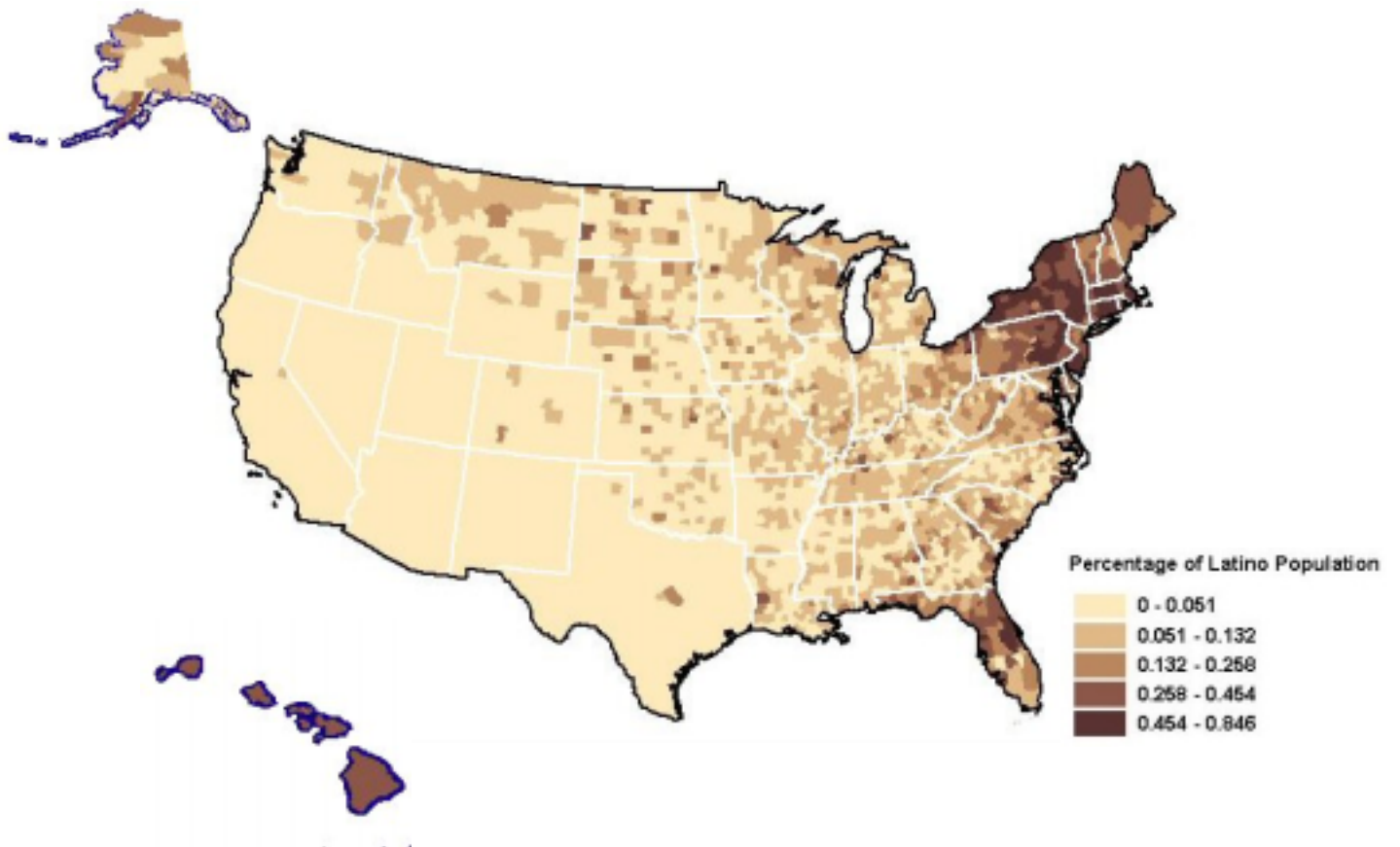
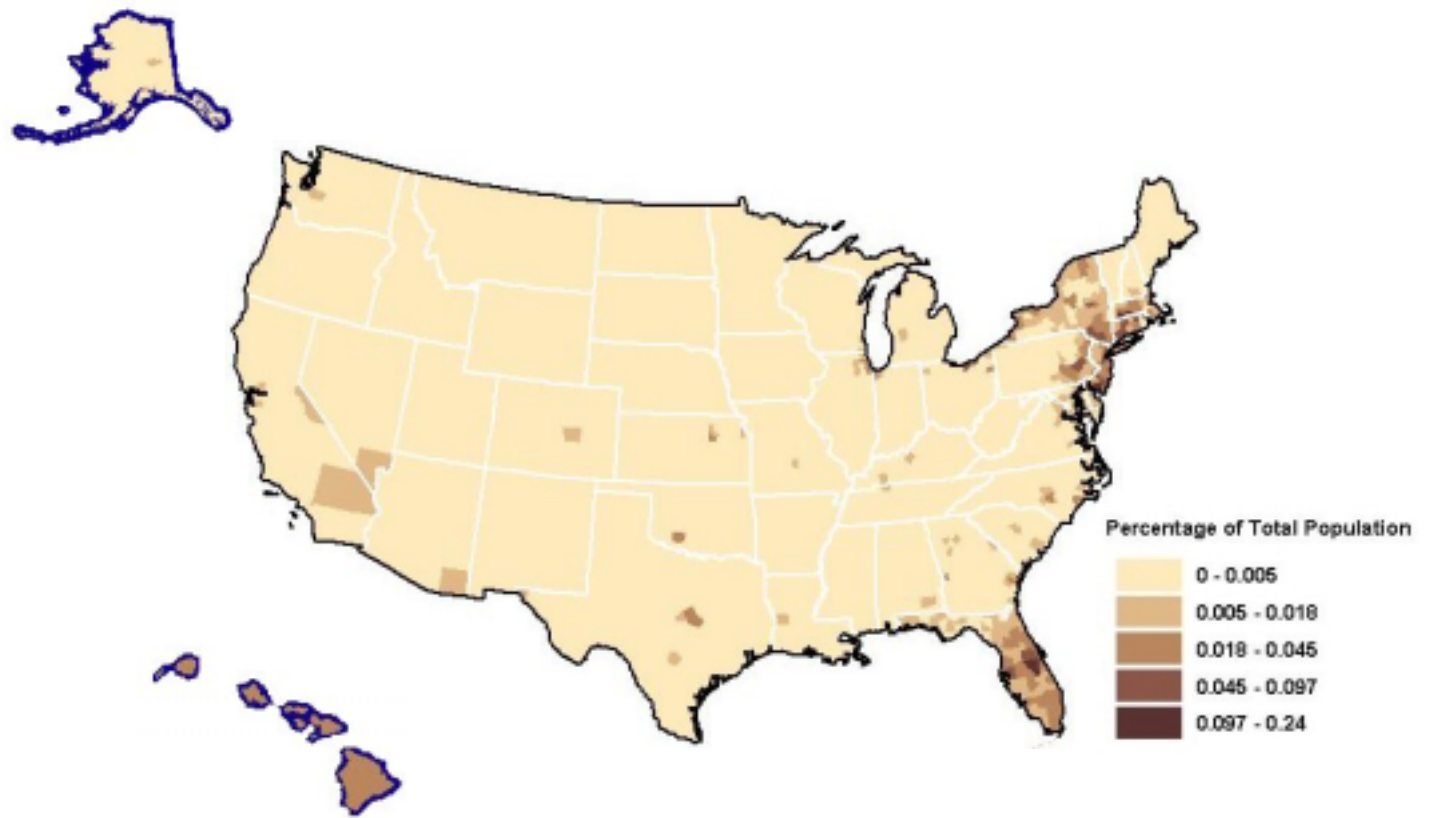
United States

State	2000 Puerto Rican Population	Percent Puerto Rican 2000	1900-2000 Numeric Change Puerto Rican	Percent Change Puerto Rican
Alabama	6,322	0.1%	2,769	77.9%
Alaska	2,649	0.4%	711	36.7%
Arizona	17,587	0.3%	9,331	113.0%
Arkansas	2,473	0.1%	1,297	110.3%
California	140,570	0.4%	14,153	11.2%
Colorado	12,993	0.3%	5,768	79.8%
Connecticut	194,443	5.7%	47,601	32.4%
Delaware	14,005	1.8%	5,748	69.6%
District of Columbia	2,328	0.4%	124	5.6%
Florida	482,027	3.0%	235,017	95.1%
Georgia	35,532	0.4%	18,089	103.7%
Hawaii	30,005	2.5%	4,227	16.4%
Idaho	1,509	0.1%	844	126.9%
Illinois	157,851	1.3%	11,792	8.1%
Indiana	19,678	0.3%	5,657	40.3%
Iowa	2,690	0.1%	1,420	111.8%
Kansas	5,237	0.2%	1,667	46.7%
Kentucky	6,469	0.2%	2,787	75.7%
Louisiana	7,670	0.2%	1,490	24.1%
Maine	2,275	0.2%	1,025	82.0%
Maryland	25,570	0.5%	8,042	45.9%
Massachusetts	199,207	3.1%	48,014	31.8%
Michigan	26,941	0.3%	8,403	45.3%
Minnesota	6,616	0.1%	3,330	101.3%
Mississippi	2,881	0.1%	1,577	120.9%
Missouri	6,677	0.1%	2,718	68.7%
Montana	931	0.1%	494	113.0%
Nebraska	1,993	0.1%	834	72.0%
Nevada	10,420	0.5%	6,148	143.9%
New Hampshire	6,215	0.5%	2,916	88.4%
New Jersey	366,788	4.4%	46,655	14.6%
New Mexico	4,488	0.2%	1,853	70.3%
New York	1,050,293	5.5%	(36,308)	-3.3%
North Carolina	31,117	0.4%	16,497	112.8%
North Dakota	507	0.1%	121	31.3%
Ohio	66,269	0.6%	20,416	44.5%
Oklahoma	8,153	0.2%	3,460	73.7%
Oregon	5,092	0.1%	2,328	84.2%
Pennsylvania	228,557	1.9%	79,569	53.4%
Rhode Island	25,422	2.4%	12,406	95.3%
South Carolina	12,211	0.3%	5,788	90.1%
South Dakota	637	0.1%	260	69.0%
Tennessee	10,303	0.2%	6,011	140.1%
Texas	69,504	0.3%	26,523	61.7%
Utah	3,977	0.2%	1,796	82.3%
Vermont	1,374	0.2%	715	108.5%
Virginia	41,131	0.6%	17,433	73.6%
Washington	16,140	0.3%	6,795	72.7%
West Virginia	1,609	0.1%	712	79.4%
Wisconsin	30,267	0.6%	11,151	58.3%
Wyoming	575	0.1%	250	76.9%



● One dot represents 1,000 Puerto Ricans

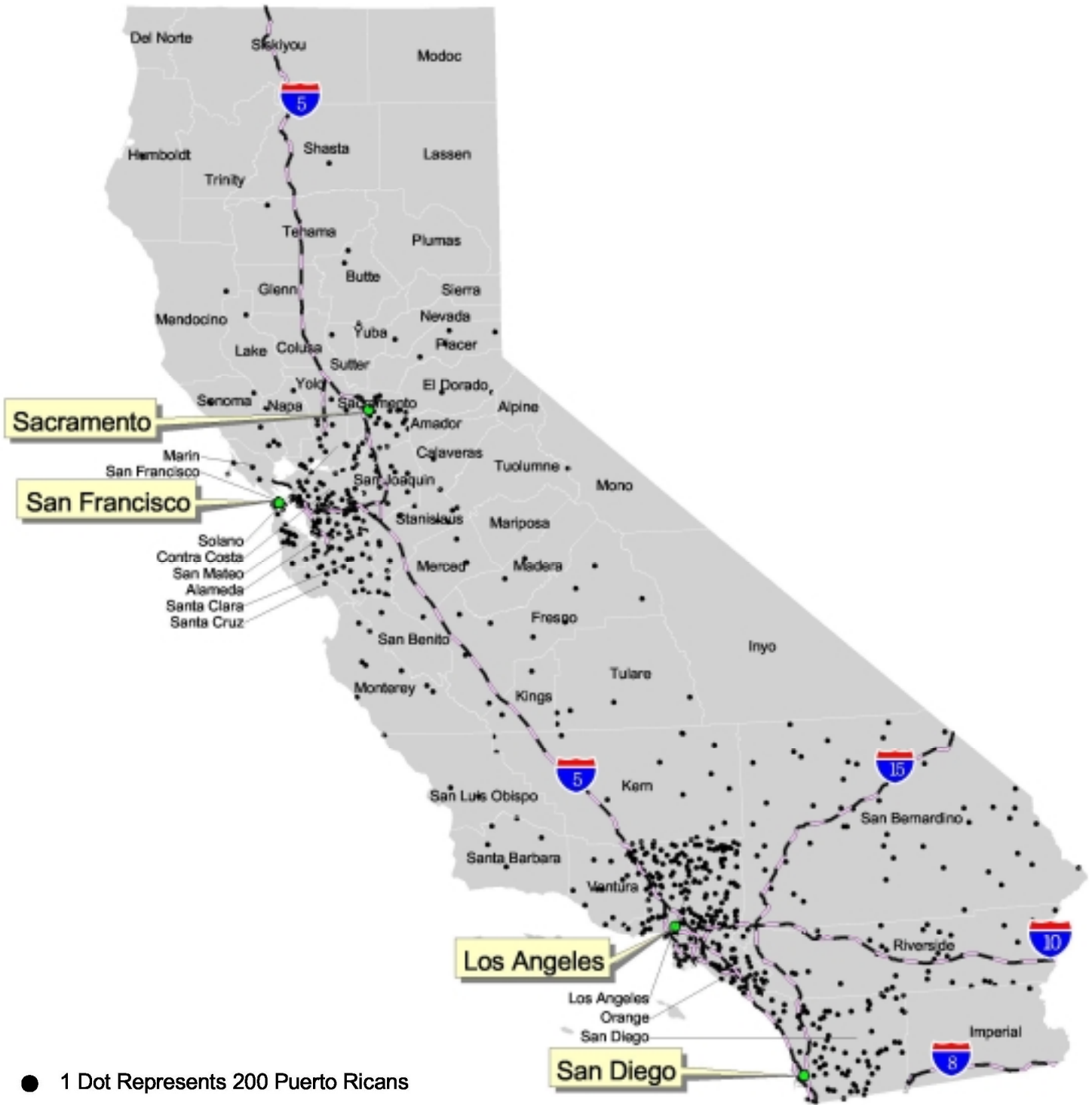


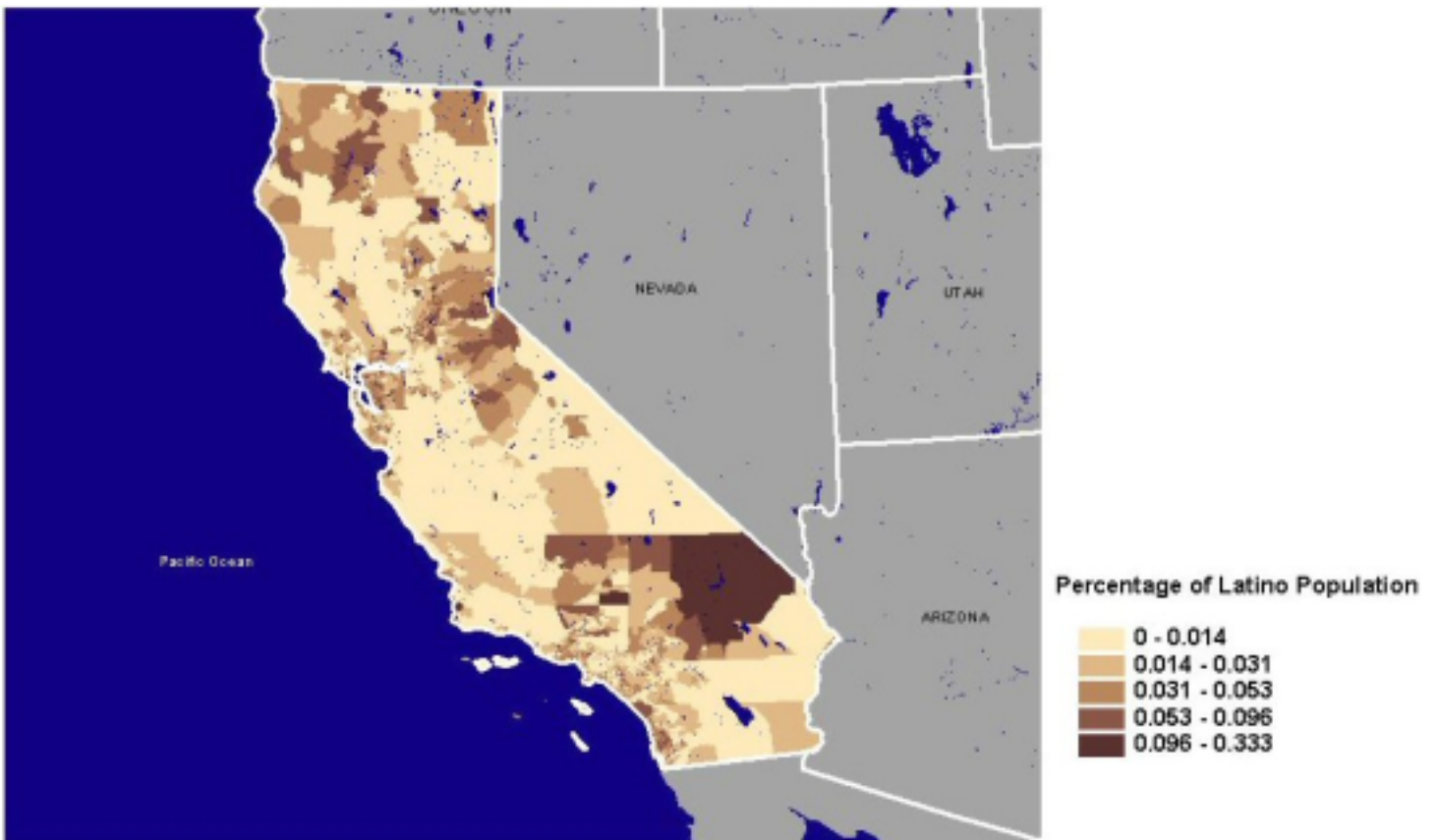
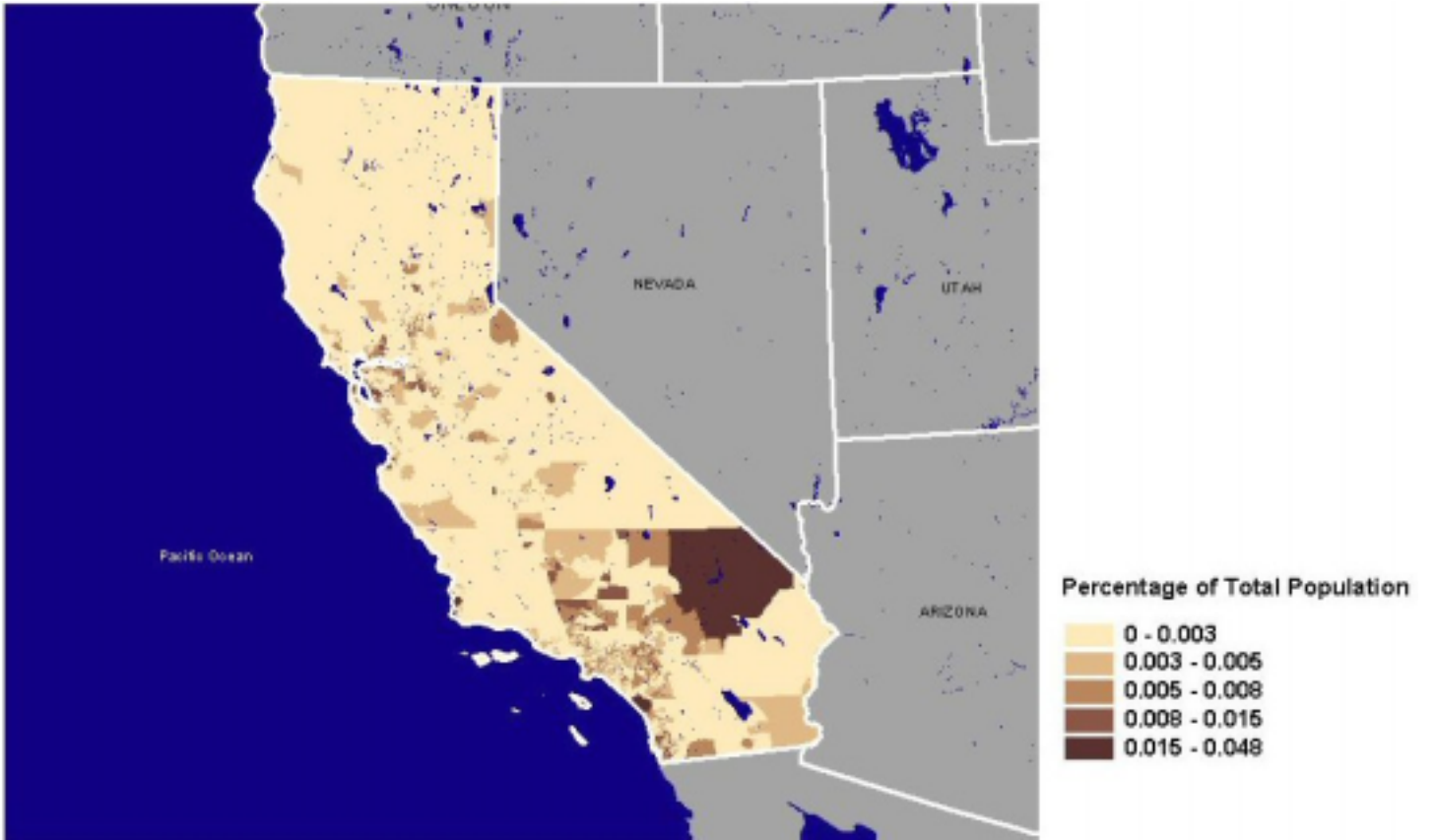


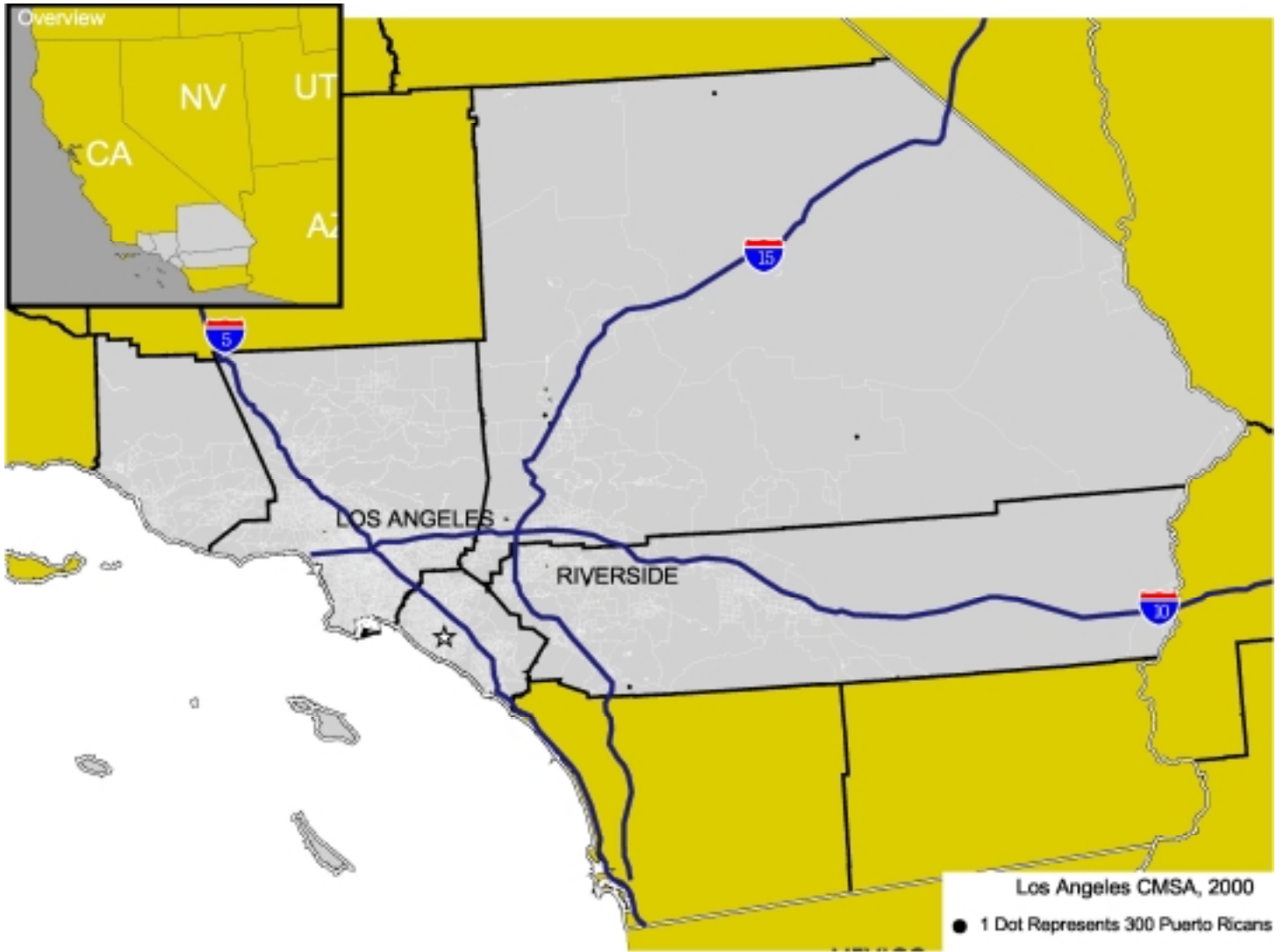
Selected States

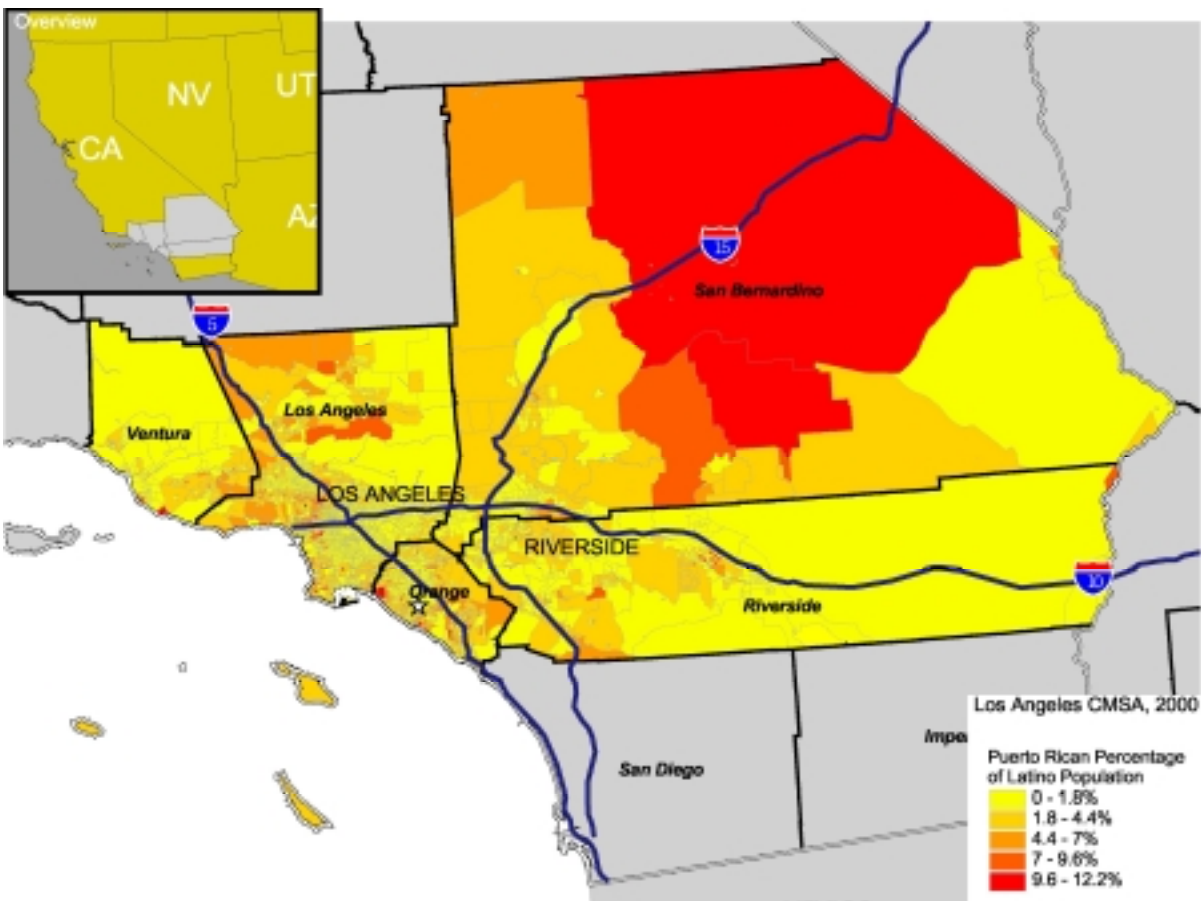
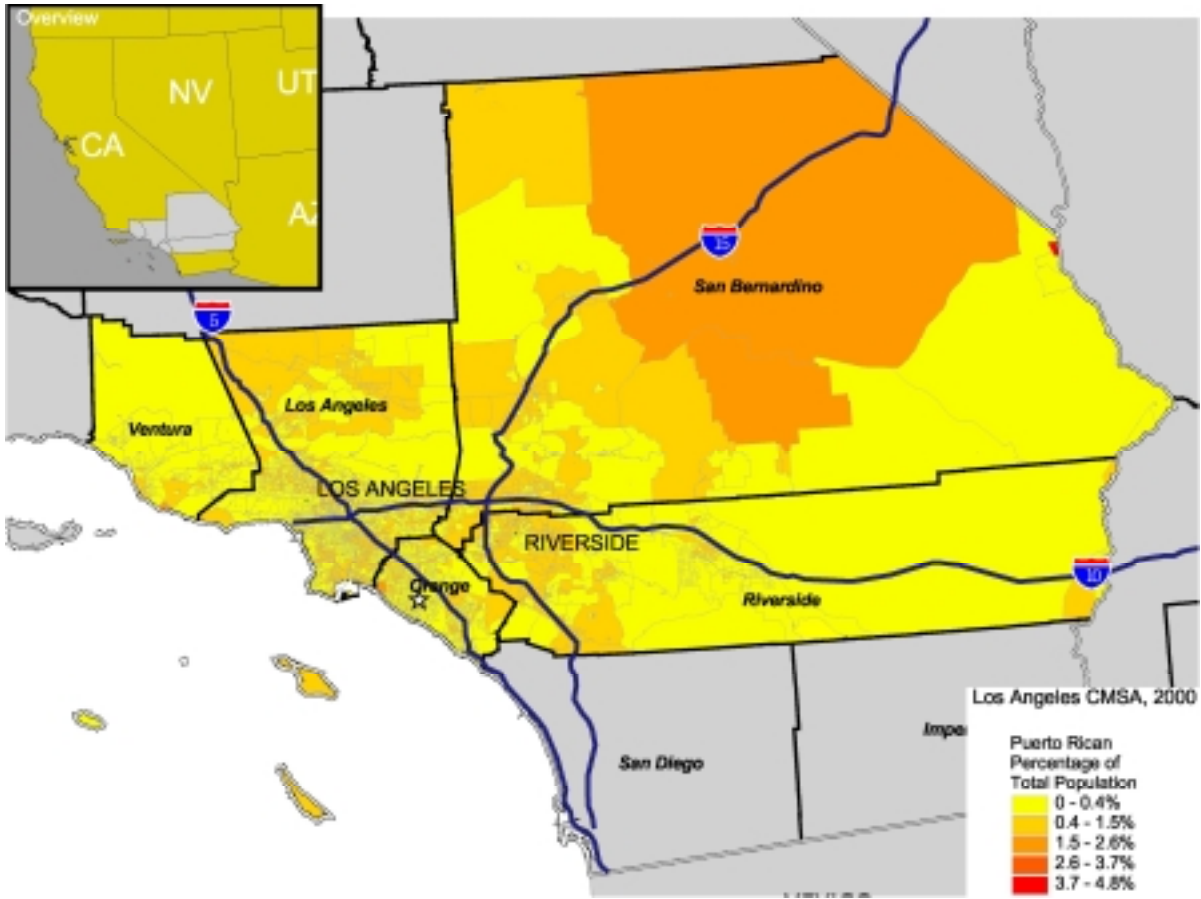
California

State/Place	2000 Puerto Rican Population	Percent Puerto Rican 2000	1900-2000 Numeric Change Puerto Rican	Percent Change Puerto Rican
CALIFORNIA	140,570	0.4%	14,153	11.2%
Los Angeles city	13,427	0.4%	(940)	(6.5)
San Diego city	5,938	0.5%	601	11.3
San Jose city	4,072	0.5%	(400)	(8.9)
San Francisco city	3,758	0.5%	(943)	(20.1)
Long Beach city	2,339	0.5%	276	13.4
Oakland city	2,325	0.6%	(42)	(1.8)
Hayward city	2,177	1.6%	(387)	(15.1)
Sacramento city	2,053	0.5%	446	27.8
Riverside city	1,562	0.6%	242	18.3
Chula Vista city	1,421	0.8%	491	52.8
Anaheim city	1,306	0.4%	160	14.0
Oceanside city	1,306	0.8%	240	22.5
Fremont city	1,233	0.6%	(135)	(9.9)
Moreno Valley city	1,177	0.8%	87	8.0
Fresno city	1,105	0.3%	260	30.8
San Bernardino city	1,077	0.6%	211	24.4
Stockton city	1,056	0.4%	471	80.5
Modesto city	1,049	0.6%	456	76.9







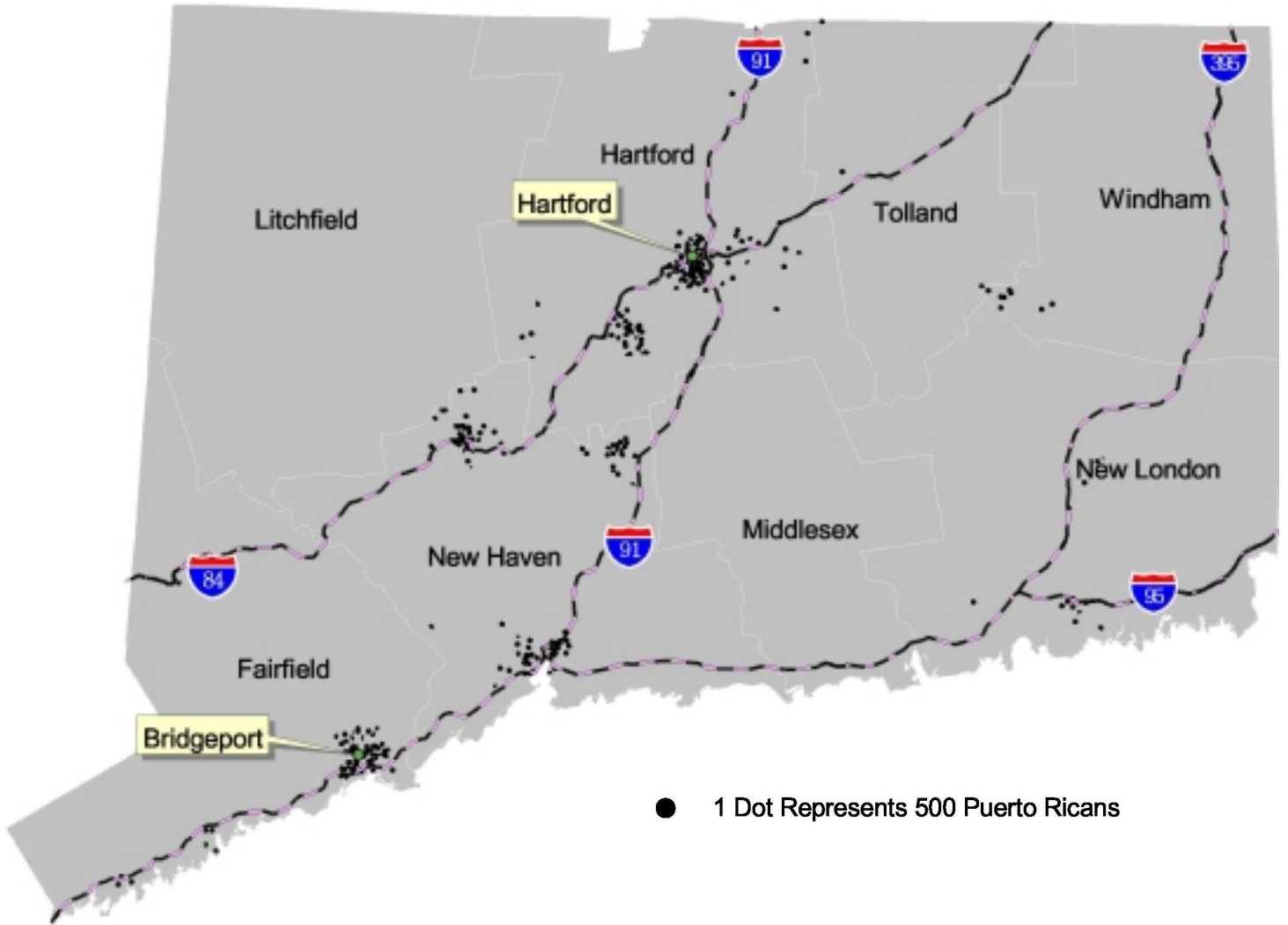


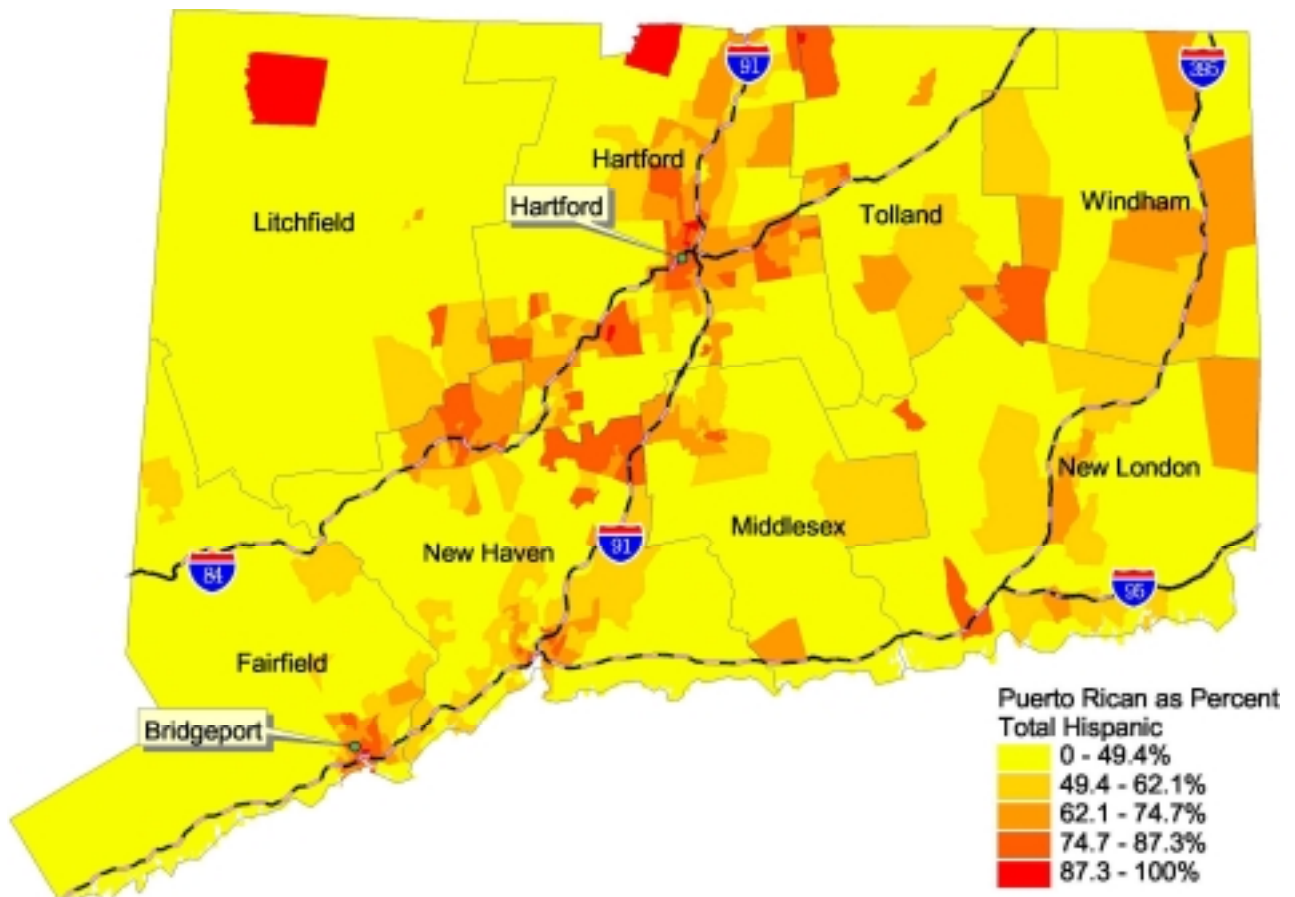
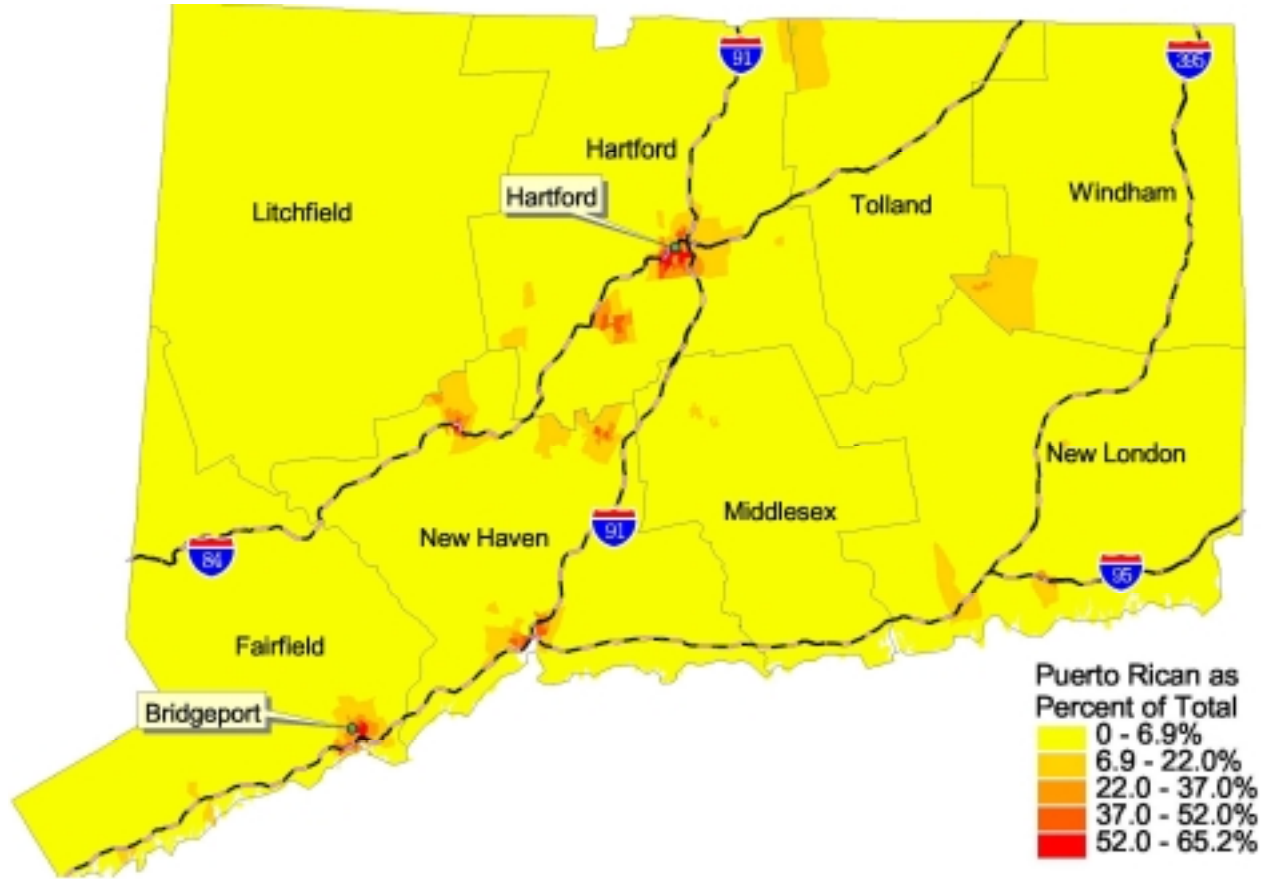


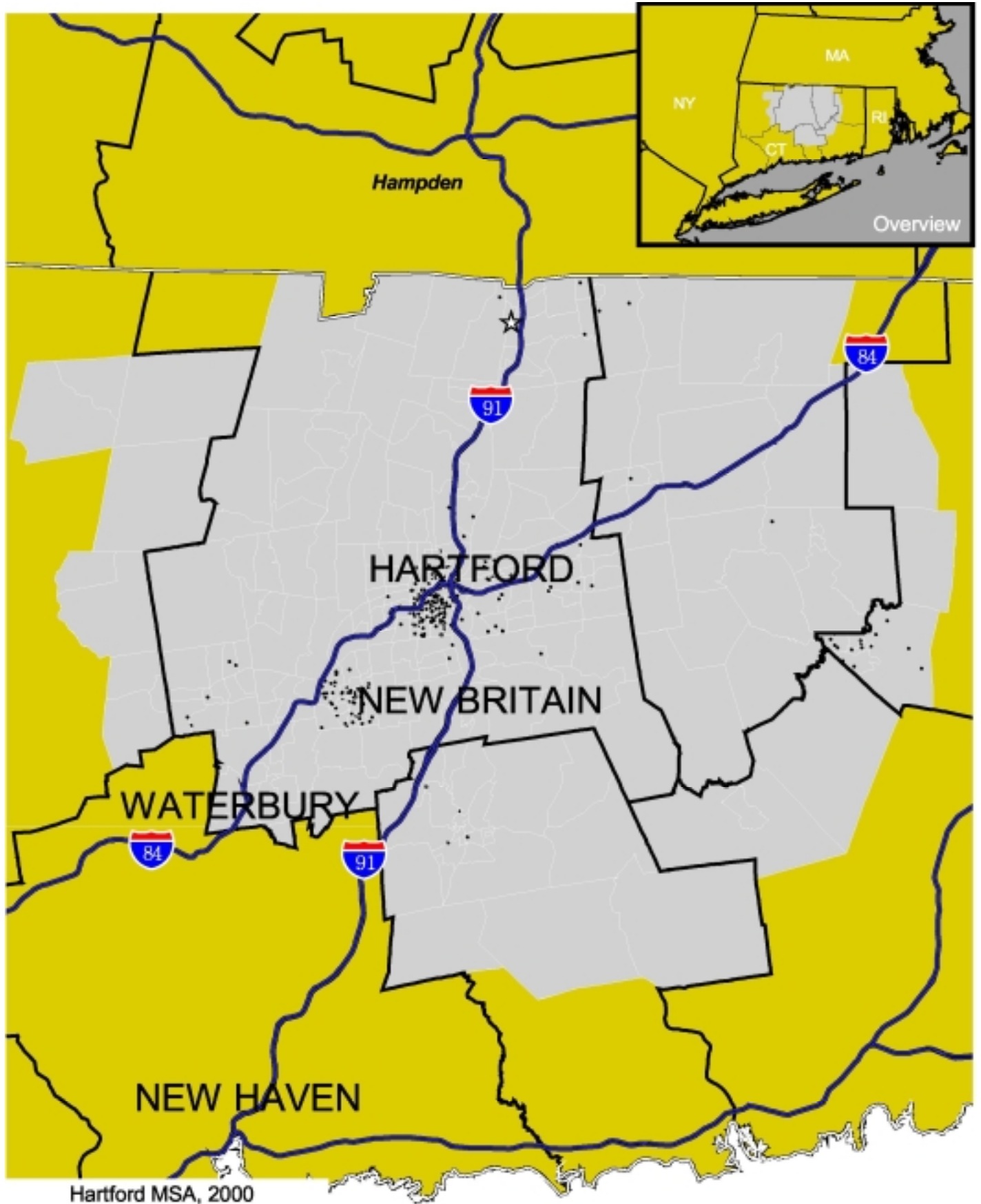


Connecticut

State/Place	2000 Puerto Rican Population	Percent Puerto Rican 2000	1900-2000 Numeric Change Puerto Rican	Percent Change Puerto Rican
CONNECTICUT	194,443	5.7%	47,601	32.4%
Hartford city	39,586	32.6%	1,410	3.7
Bridgeport city	32,177	23.1%	1,927	6.4
Waterbury city	18,149	16.9%	6,069	50.2
New Haven city	17,683	14.3%	3,817	27.5
New Britain city	15,693	21.9%	5,368	52.0
Meriden city	9,637	16.5%	2,606	37.1
East Hartford CDP	5,121	10.3%	3,324	185.0
New London city	3,382	13.2%	707	26.4
Willimantic CDP	3,310	20.9%	1,368	70.4
Stamford city	3,167	2.7%	(294)	(8.5)
Norwalk city	2,978	3.6%	104	3.6
West Haven city	2,510	4.8%	1,409	128.0
Bristol city	2,150	3.6%	1,097	104.2
Stratford CDP	2,143	4.3%	998	87.2
West Hartford CDP	2,019	3.2%	1,187	142.7
Danbury city	1,818	2.4%	270	17.4
Middletown city	1,501	3.5%	631	72.5
Central Manchester CDP	1,400	4.6%	1,038	286.7
Norwich city	1,365	3.8%	680	99.3

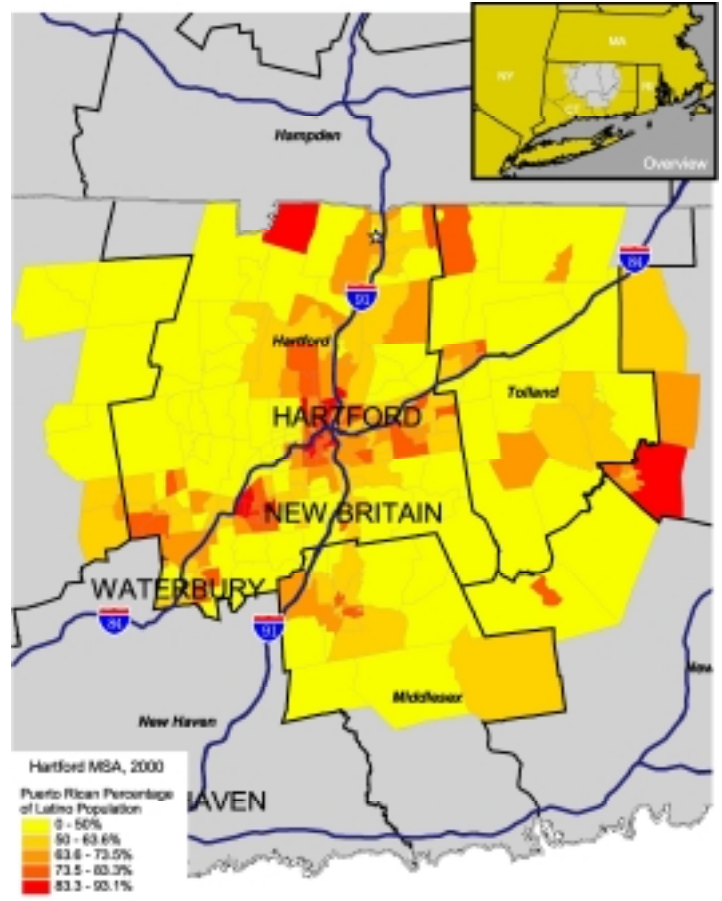
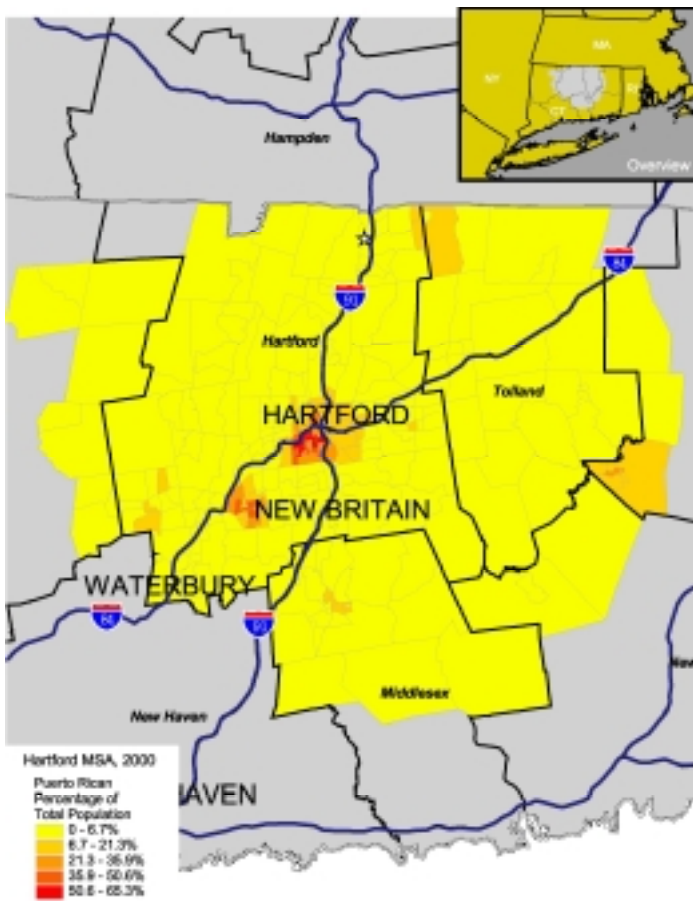






Hartford MSA, 2000

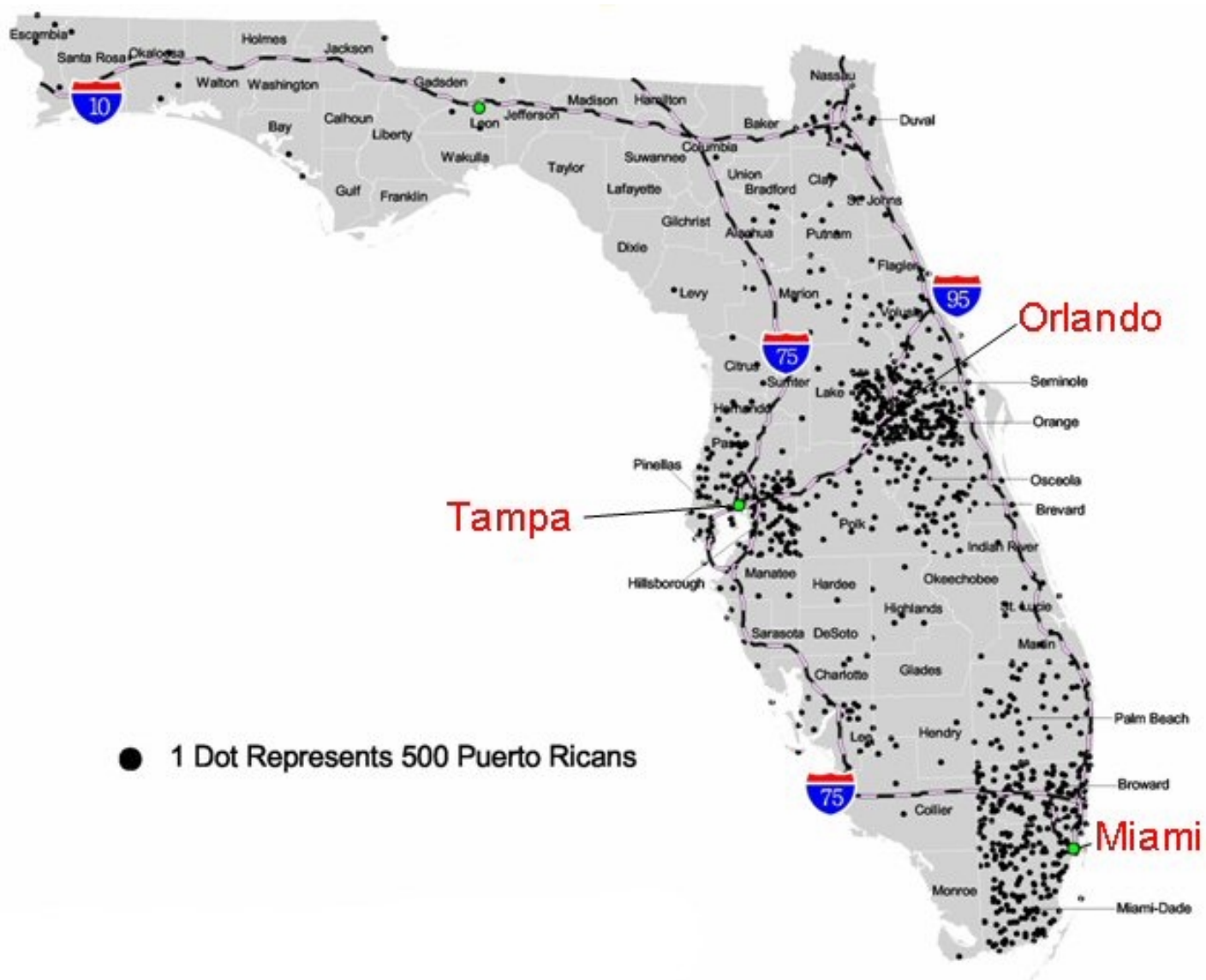
● 1 Dot Represents 300 Puerto Ricans

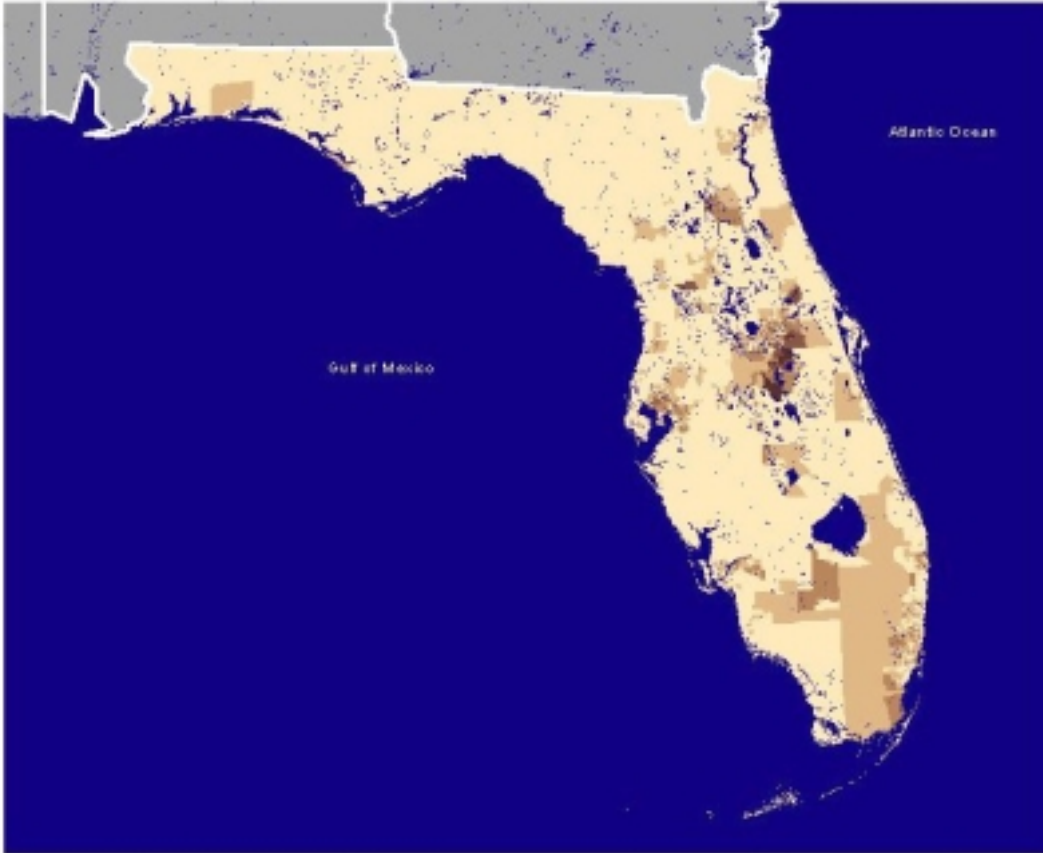


Florida

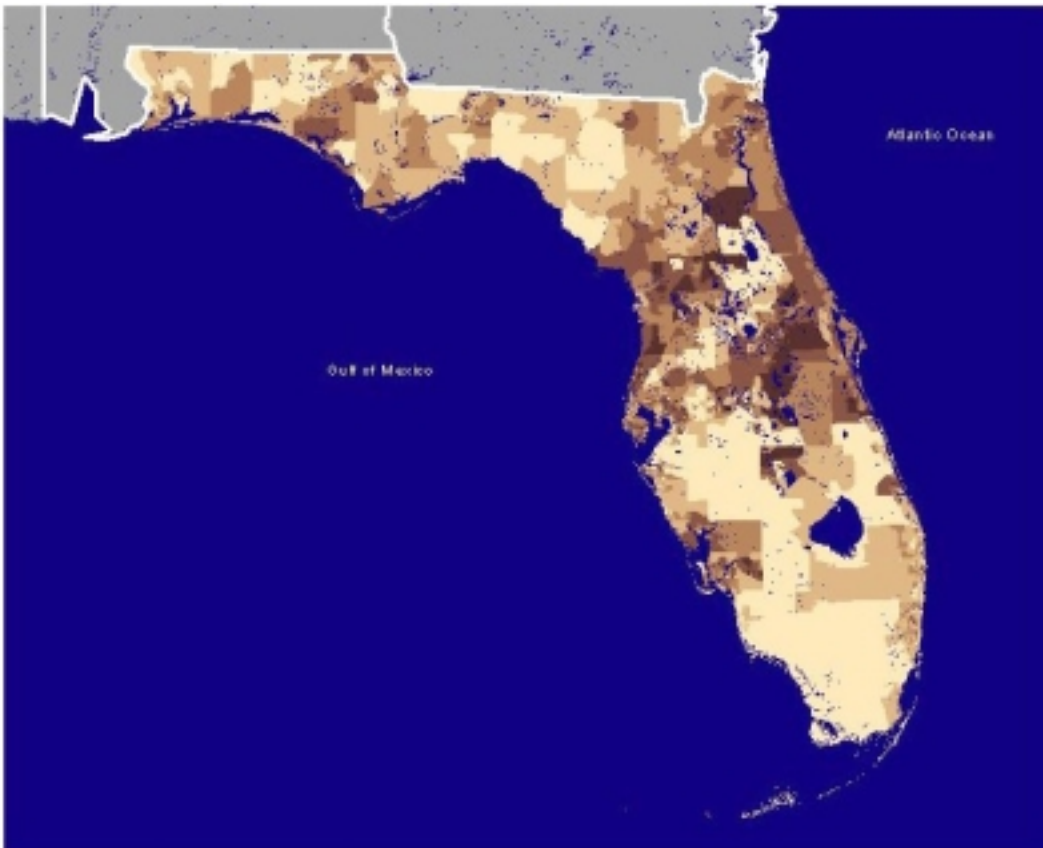
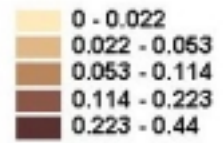
State/Place	2000 Puerto Rican Population	Percent Puerto Rican 2000	1900-2000 Numeric Change Puerto Rican	Percent Change Puerto Rican
FLORIDA	482,027	3.0%	235,017	95.1%
Tampa city	17,527	5.8%	7,664	77.7
Orlando city	17,029	9.2%	9,994	142.1
Kissimmee city	11,312	23.7%	8,734	338.8
Jacksonville city	11,066	1.5%	(X)	(X)
Miami city	10,257	2.8%	(1,747)	(14.6)
Deltona city	9,136	13.1%	(X)	(X)
Yeehaw Junction CDP	7,980	36.6%	(X)	(X)
Town 'n' Country CDP	7,505	10.3%	4,375	139.8
Hollywood city	7,463	5.4%	3,358	81.8
Pembroke Pines city	6,887	5.0%	5,191	306.1
Hialeah city	6,584	2.9%	(608)	(8.5)
Brandon CDP	4,599	5.9%	2,921	174.1
Oak Ridge CDP	4,249	19.0%	2,100	97.7
Coral Springs city	4,163	3.5%	2,699	184.4
Miramar city	3,800	5.2%	1,918	101.9
Poinciana CDP	3,789	27.8%	(X)	(X)
Meadow Woods CDP	3,772	33.4%	(X)	(X)
Palm Bay city	3,767	4.7%	2,103	126.4
Miami Beach city	3,596	4.1%	(921)	(20.4)
St. Petersburg city	3,574	1.4%	1,690	89.7
Egypt Lake-Leto CDP	3,559	10.9%	(X)	(X)
Davie town	3,285	4.3%	2,011	157.8
Sunrise city	3,223	3.8%	1,745	118.1
Spring Hill CDP	3,067	4.4%	2,266	282.9
Altamonte Springs city	3,007	7.3%	1,398	86.9
Pine Hills CDP	2,958	7.1%	1,305	78.9
Port St. Lucie city	2,811	3.2%	1,917	214.4
Fort Lauderdale city	2,801	1.8%	592	26.8
The Hammocks CDP	2,763	5.8%	(X)	(X)
Azalea Park CDP	2,745	24.8%	1,702	163.2
Carol City CDP	2,745	4.6%	143	5.5
Cape Coral city	2,715	2.7%	1,840	210.3
University CDP	2,699	8.8%	(X)	(X)
North Miami city	2,660	4.4%	(61)	(2.2)
Kendall CDP	2,298	3.1%	37	1.6
South Miami Heights CDP	2,285	6.8%	(164)	(6.7)
Fort Myers city	2,258	4.7%	881	64.0
Margate city	2,154	4.0%	1,172	119.3
Country Club CDP	2,152	5.9%	2,009	1,404.9
Kendall West CDP	2,142	5.6%	(X)	(X)
West Palm Beach city	2,130	2.6%	658	44.7
Lehigh Acres CDP	2,098	6.3%	1,811	631.0
Homestead city	2,084	6.5%	(96)	(4.4)
Richmond West CDP	2,045	7.3%	(X)	(X)
Fountainbleau CDP	2,015	3.4%	(X)	(X)
Kendale Lakes CDP	1,995	3.5%	(166)	(7.7)

State/Place	2000 Puerto Rican Population	Percent Puerto Rican 2000	1900-2000 Numeric Change Puerto Rican	Percent Change Puerto Rican
Sanford city	1,974	5.2%	1,096	124.8
Leisure City CDP	1,960	8.8%	176	9.9
Tamarac city	1,955	3.5%	1,256	179.7
Greater Carrollwood CDP	1,942	5.8%	(X)	(X)
Clearwater city	1,924	1.8%	1,216	171.8
Plantation city	1,915	2.3%	925	93.4
Casselberry city	1,869	8.3%	1,044	126.5
Lakeland city	1,852	2.4%	1,157	166.5
Oviedo city	1,807	6.9%	1,333	281.2
North Miami Beach city	1,789	4.4%	283	18.8
Winter Springs city	1,762	5.6%	1,122	175.3
Union Park CDP	1,730	17.0%	1,193	222.2
Apopka city	1,704	6.4%	1,267	289.9
St. Cloud city	1,653	8.2%	1,419	606.4
Boynton Beach city	1,652	2.7%	699	73.3
Lake Worth city	1,652	4.7%	646	64.2
Weston city	1,632	3.3%	(X)	(X)
Cutler Ridge CDP	1,625	6.6%	690	73.8
Gainesville city	1,596	1.7%	722	82.6
North Lauderdale city	1,552	4.8%	751	93.8
Melbourne city	1,529	2.1%	711	86.9
Palm River-Clair Mel CDP	1,462	8.3%	627	75.1
Pine Castle CDP	1,444	16.4%	464	47.3
Citrus Park CDP	1,442	7.1%	(X)	(X)
Tamiami CDP	1,382	2.5%	216	18.5
Lake Worth Corridor CDP	1,356	7.3%	(X)	(X)
Lake Magdalene CDP	1,313	4.6%	982	296.7
Tallahassee city	1,302	0.9%	453	53.4
Golden Glades CDP	1,275	3.9%	(44)	(3.3)
Pompano Beach city	1,275	1.6%	444	53.4
Pinellas Park city	1,219	2.7%	600	96.9
Deerfield Beach city	1,177	1.8%	778	195.0
Greenacres city	1,169	4.2%	(X)	(X)
Lockhart CDP	1,123	8.7%	499	80.0
Coconut Creek city	1,120	2.6%	834	291.6
West Little River CDP	1,117	3.4%	(449)	(28.7)
Goldenrod CDP	1,106	8.6%	510	85.6
Ocala city	1,040	2.3%	713	218.0
Oakland Park city	1,038	3.4%	429	70.4
Lauderhill city	1,028	1.8%	82	8.7
Citrus Ridge CDP	1,027	8.5%	(X)	(X)
Hallandale city	1,027	3.0%	438	74.4
Ocoee city	1,013	4.2%	645	175.3
Princeton CDP	1,009	10.0%	391	63.3

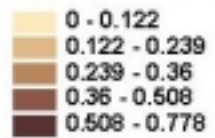


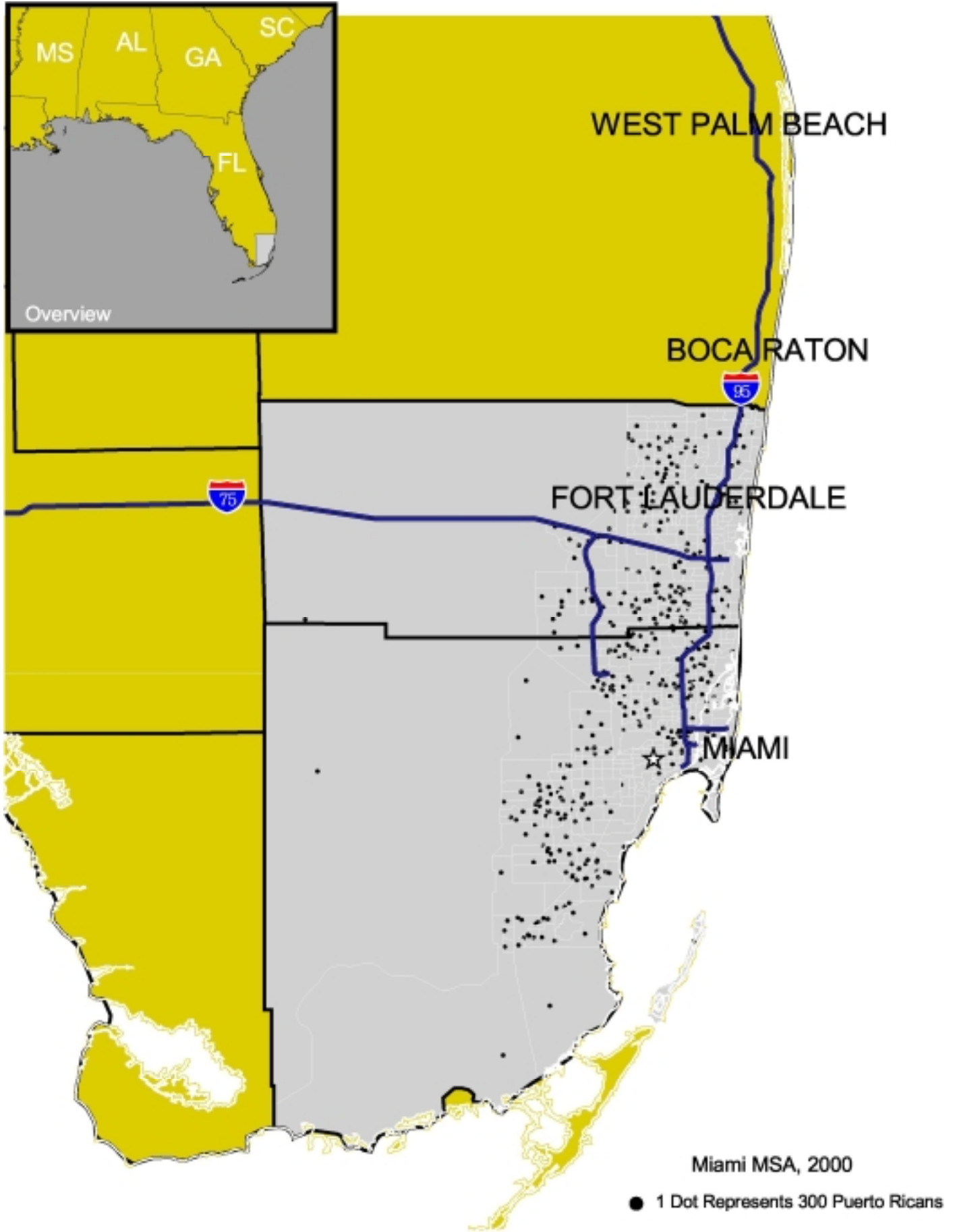


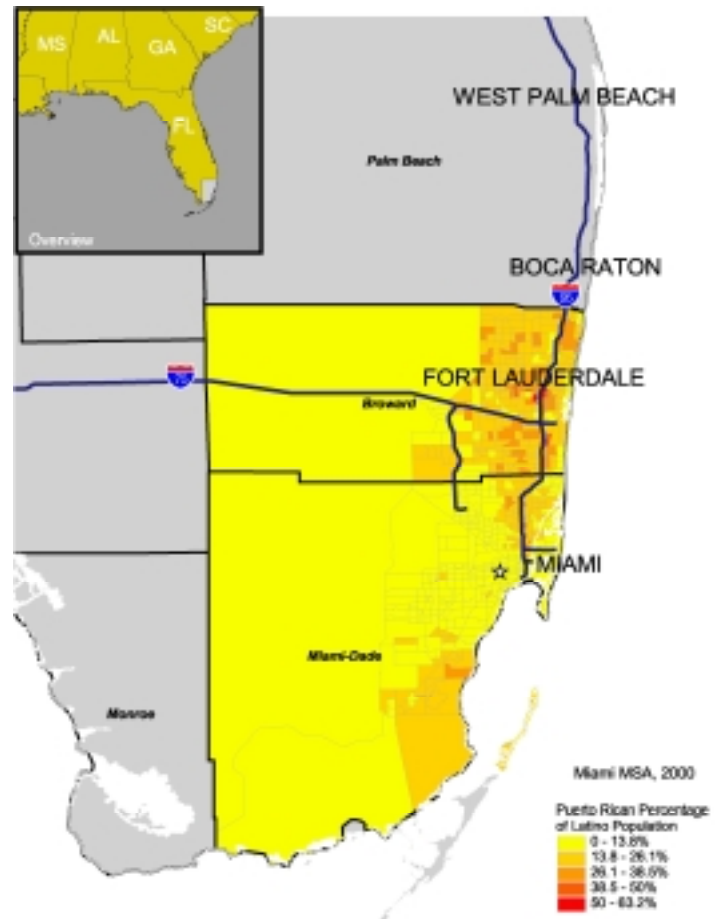
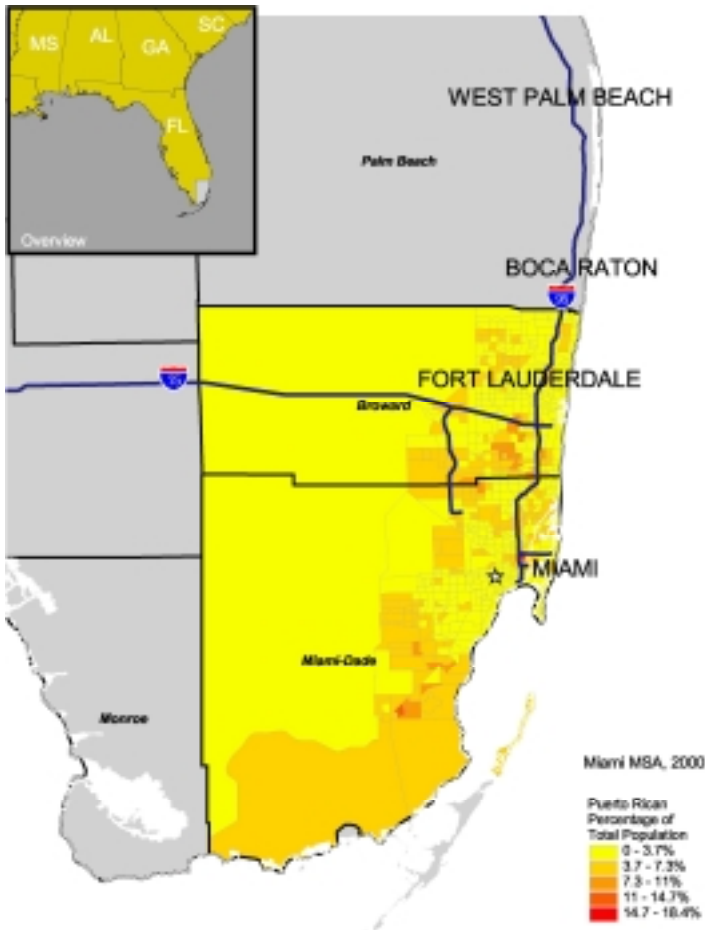
Percentage of Total Population

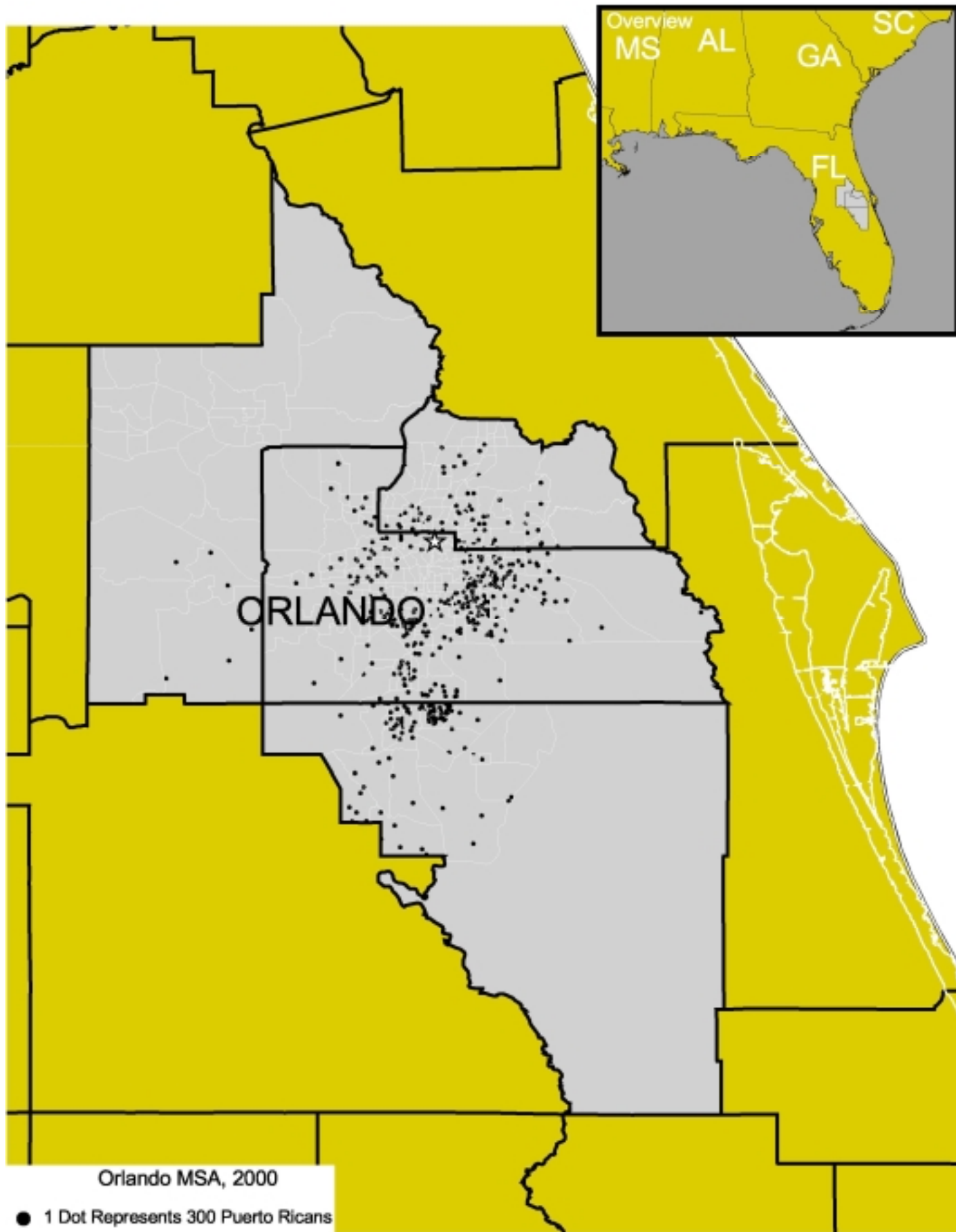


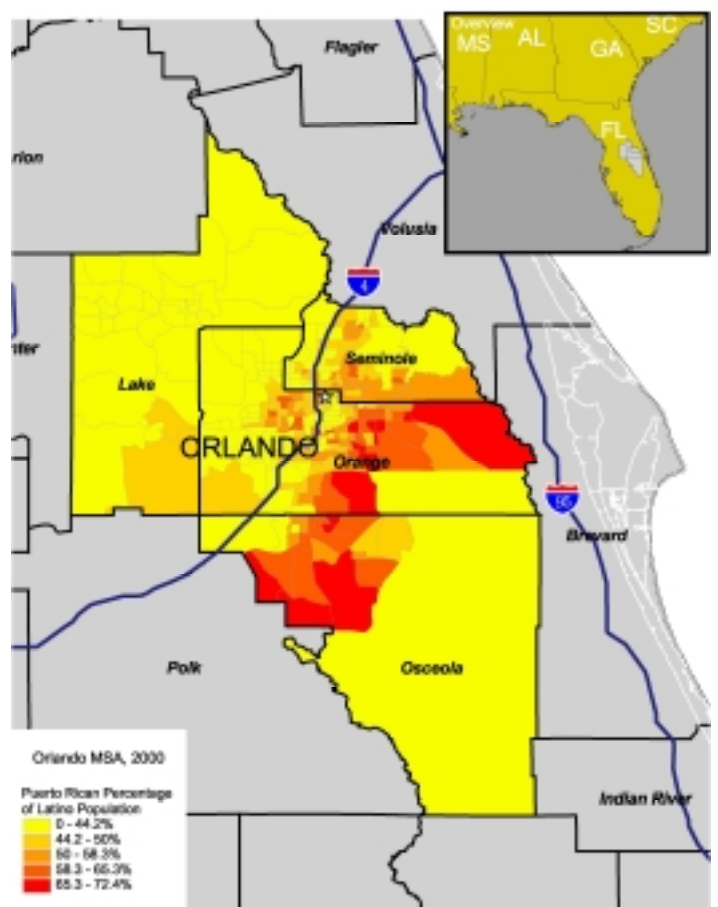
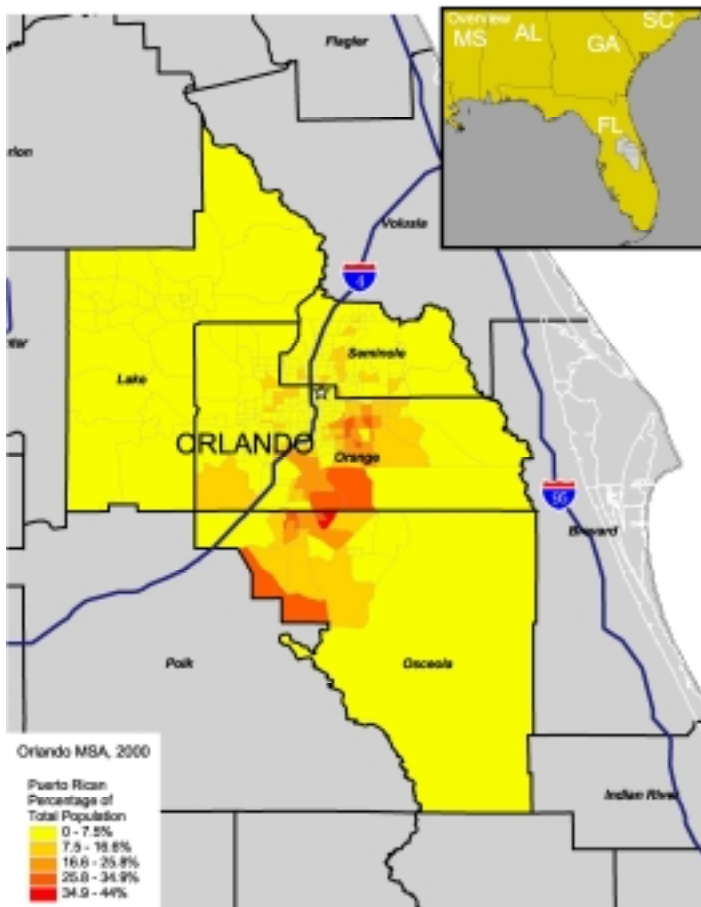
Percentage of Latino Population

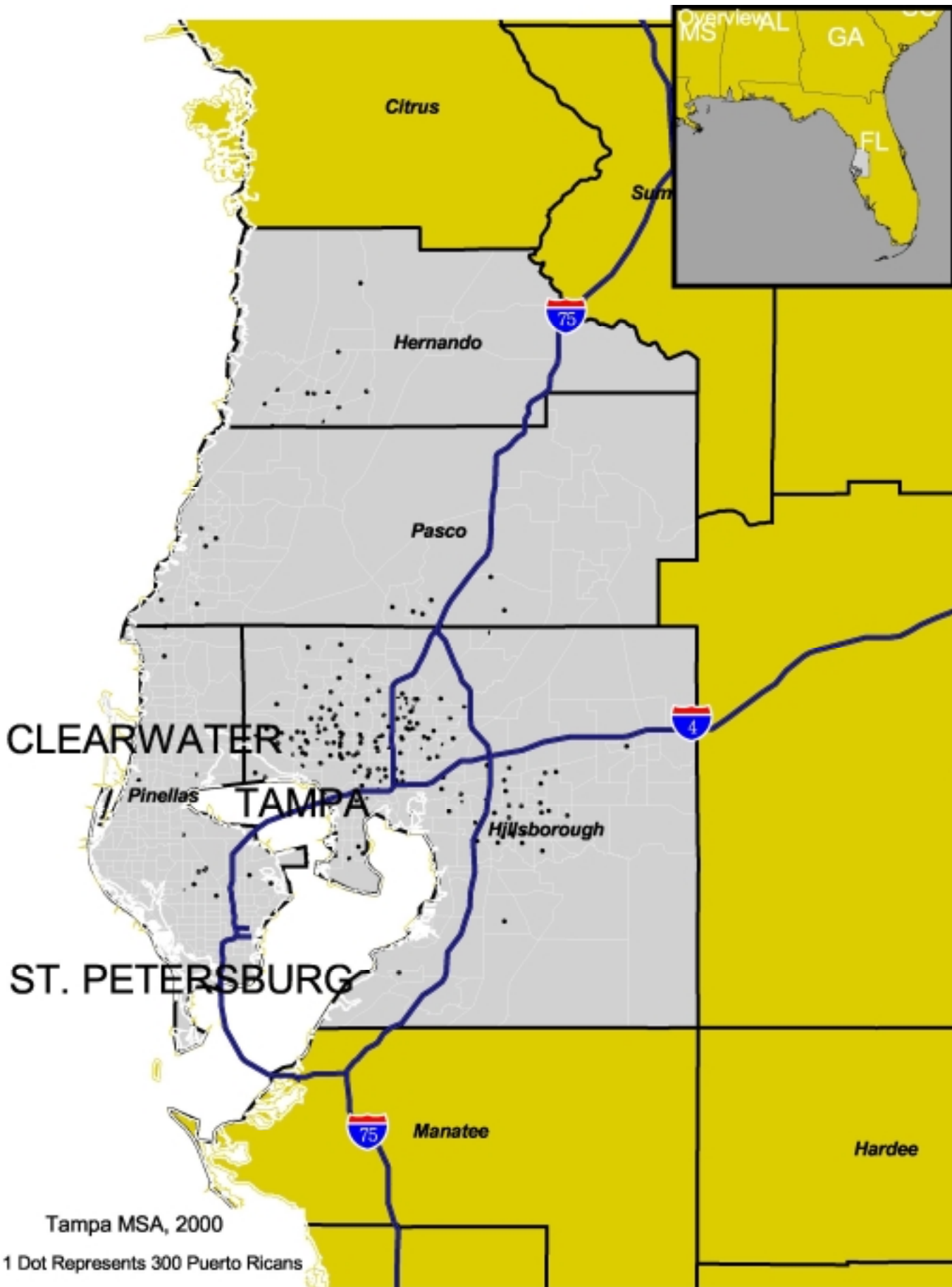


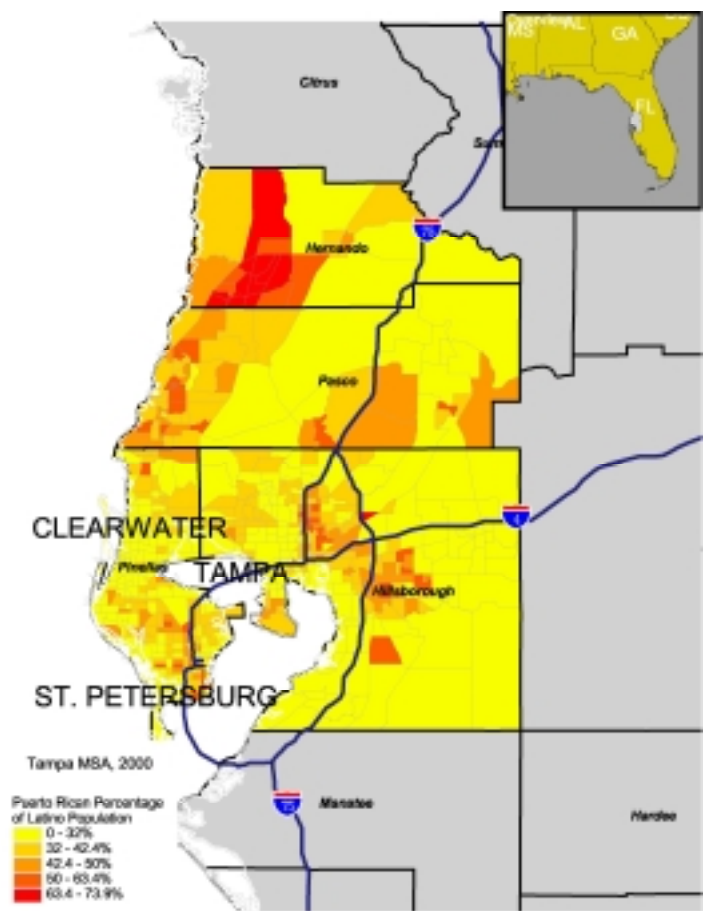
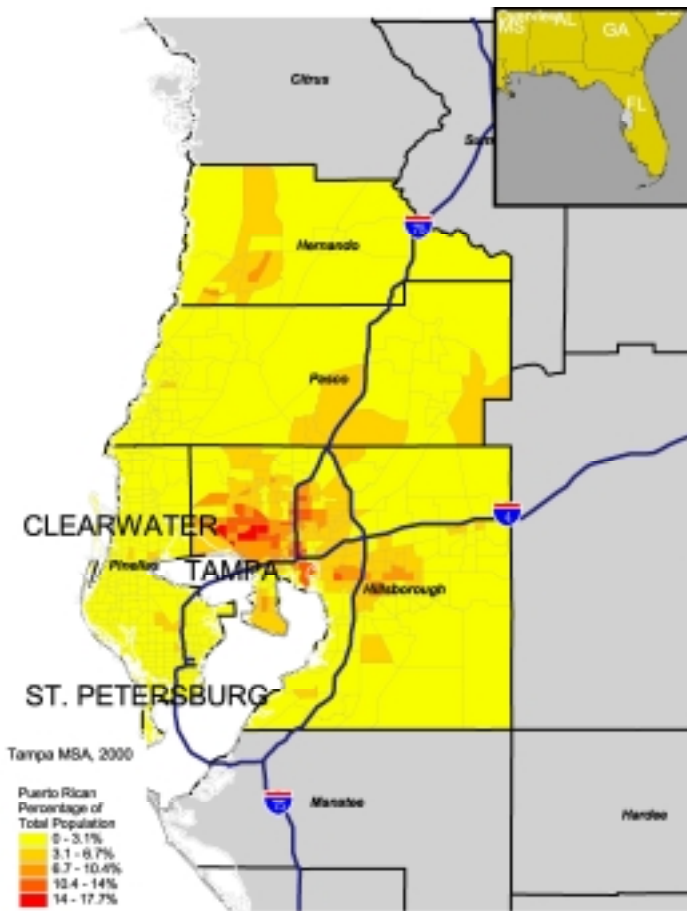


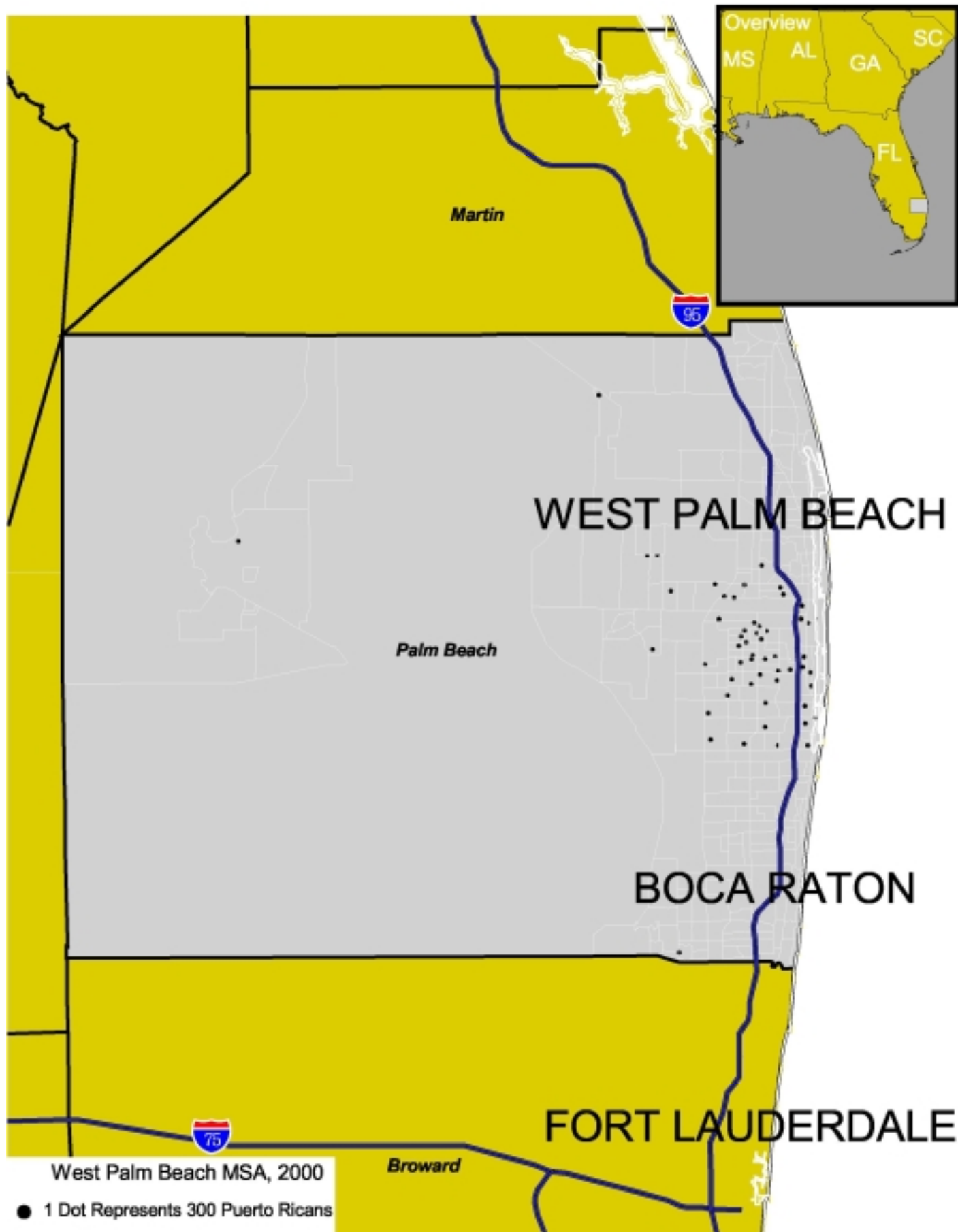


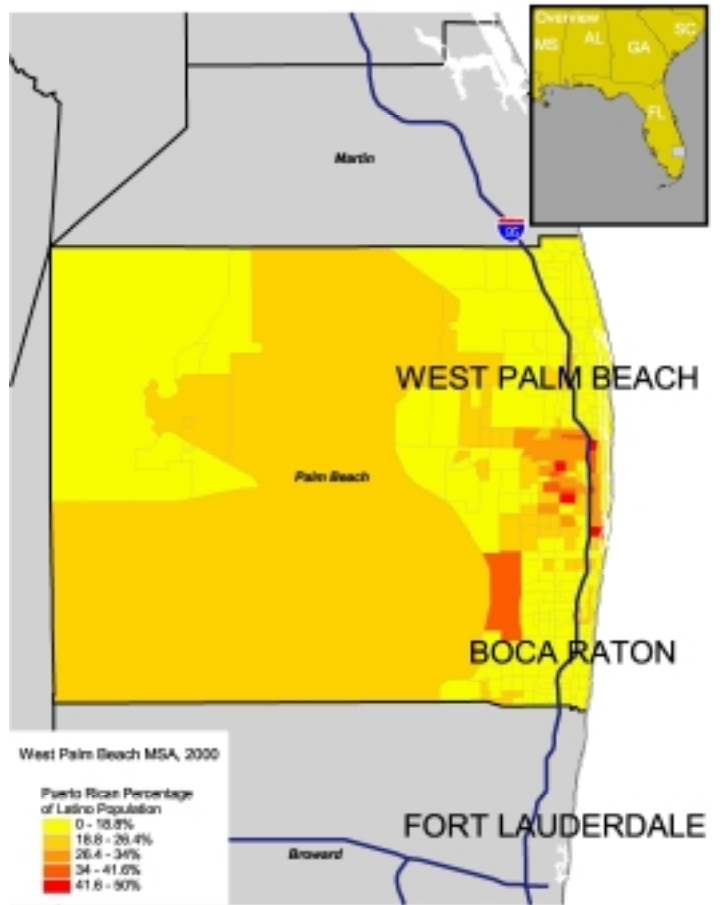
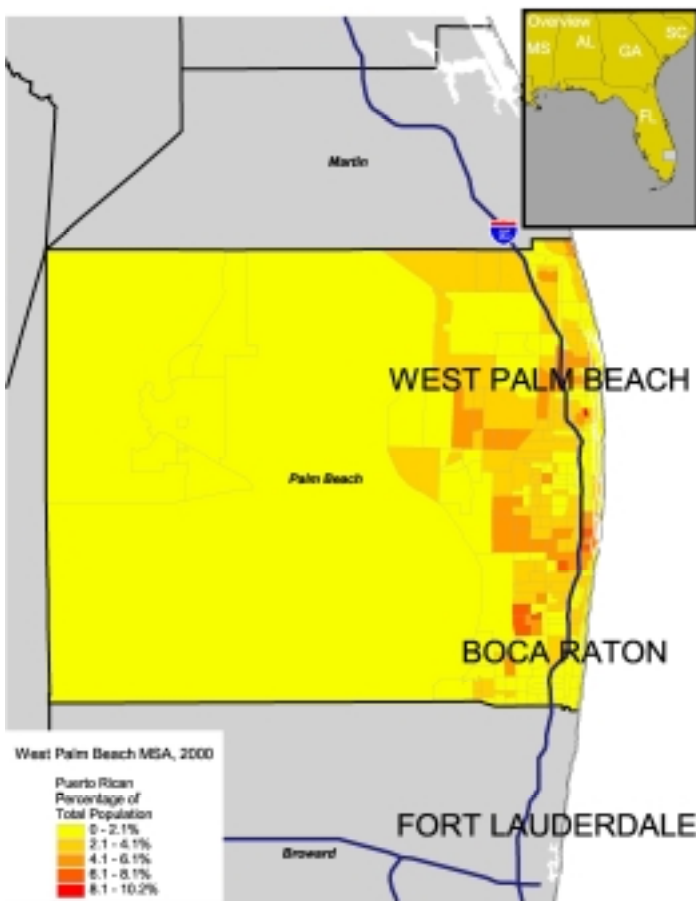






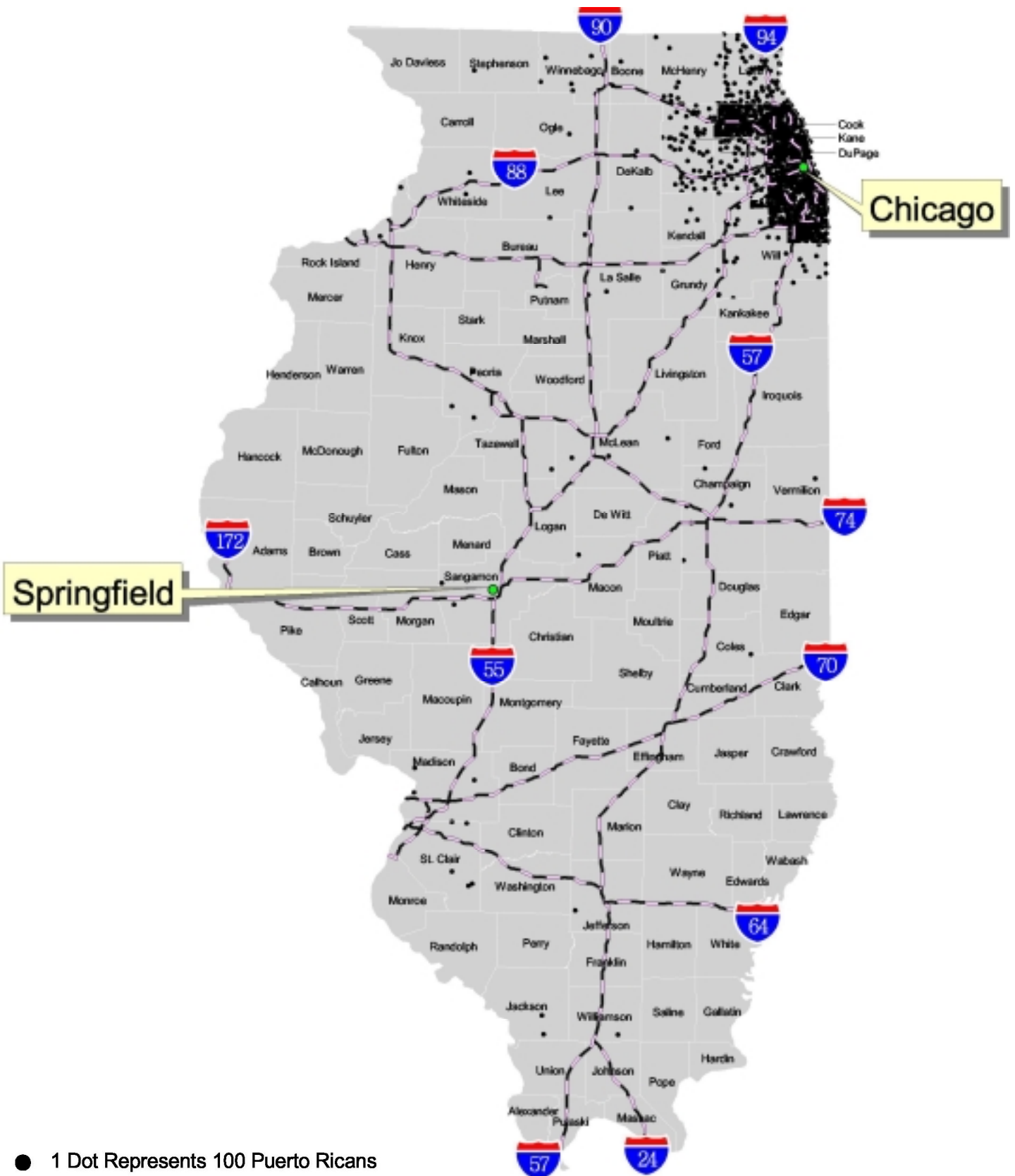


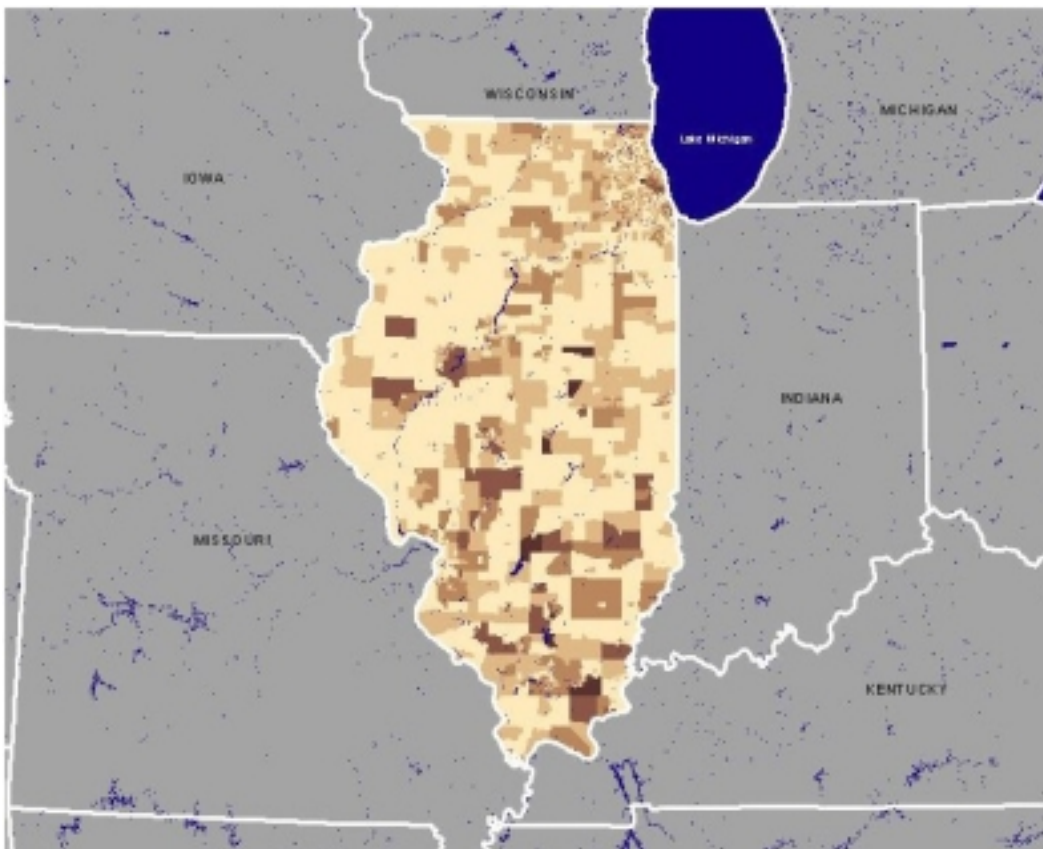


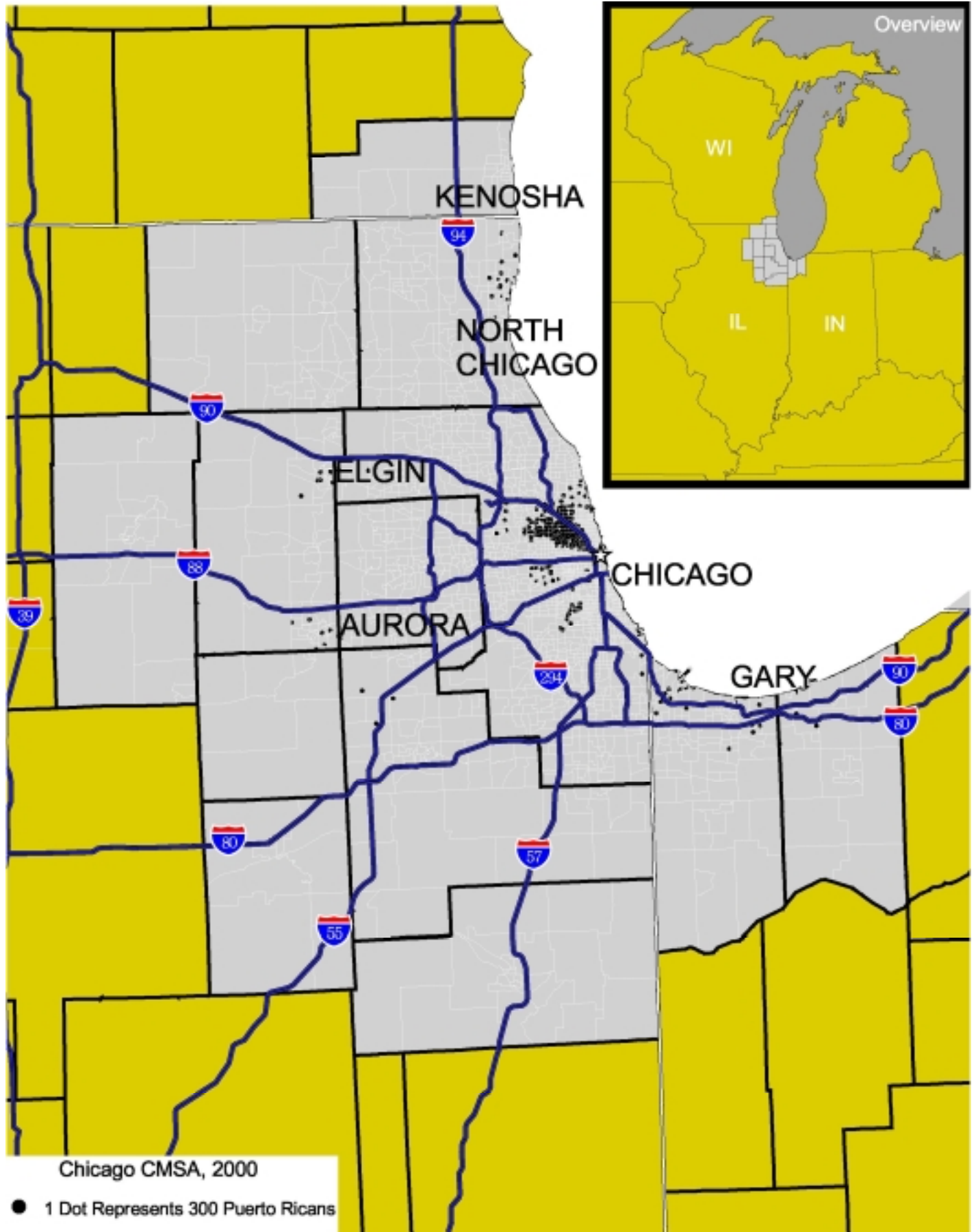


Illinois

State/Place	2000 Puerto Rican Population	Percent Puerto Rican 2000	1900-2000 Numeric Change Puerto Rican	Percent Change Puerto Rican
ILLINOIS	157,851	1.3%	11,792	8.1%
Chicago city	113,055	3.9%	(6,811)	(5.7)
Waukegan city	2,976	3.4%	415	16.2
Aurora city	2,611	1.8%	277	11.9
Elgin city	2,355	2.5%	460	24.3
Cicero town	2,331	2.7%	1,076	85.7
Berwyn city	1,392	2.6%	1,183	566.0



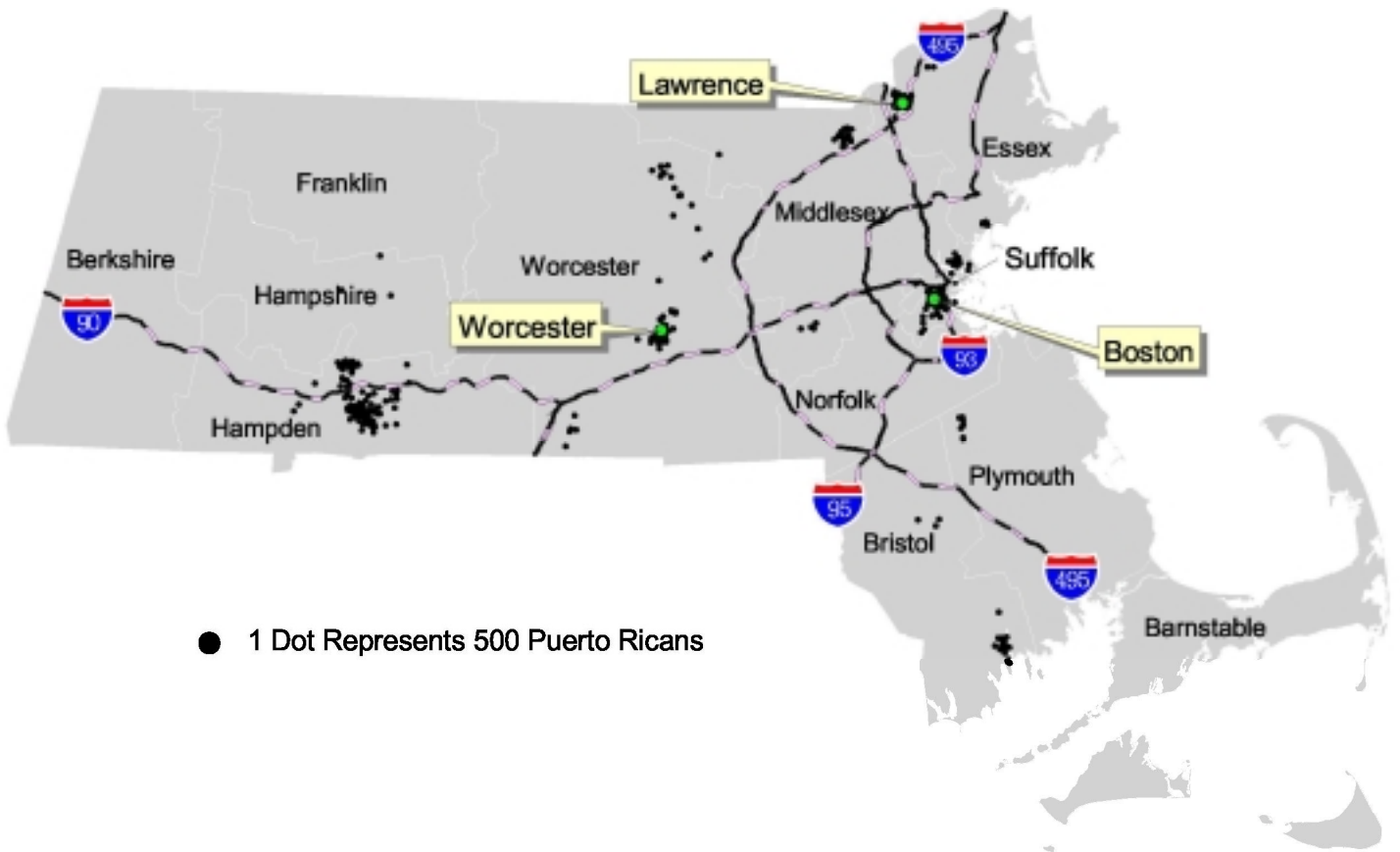


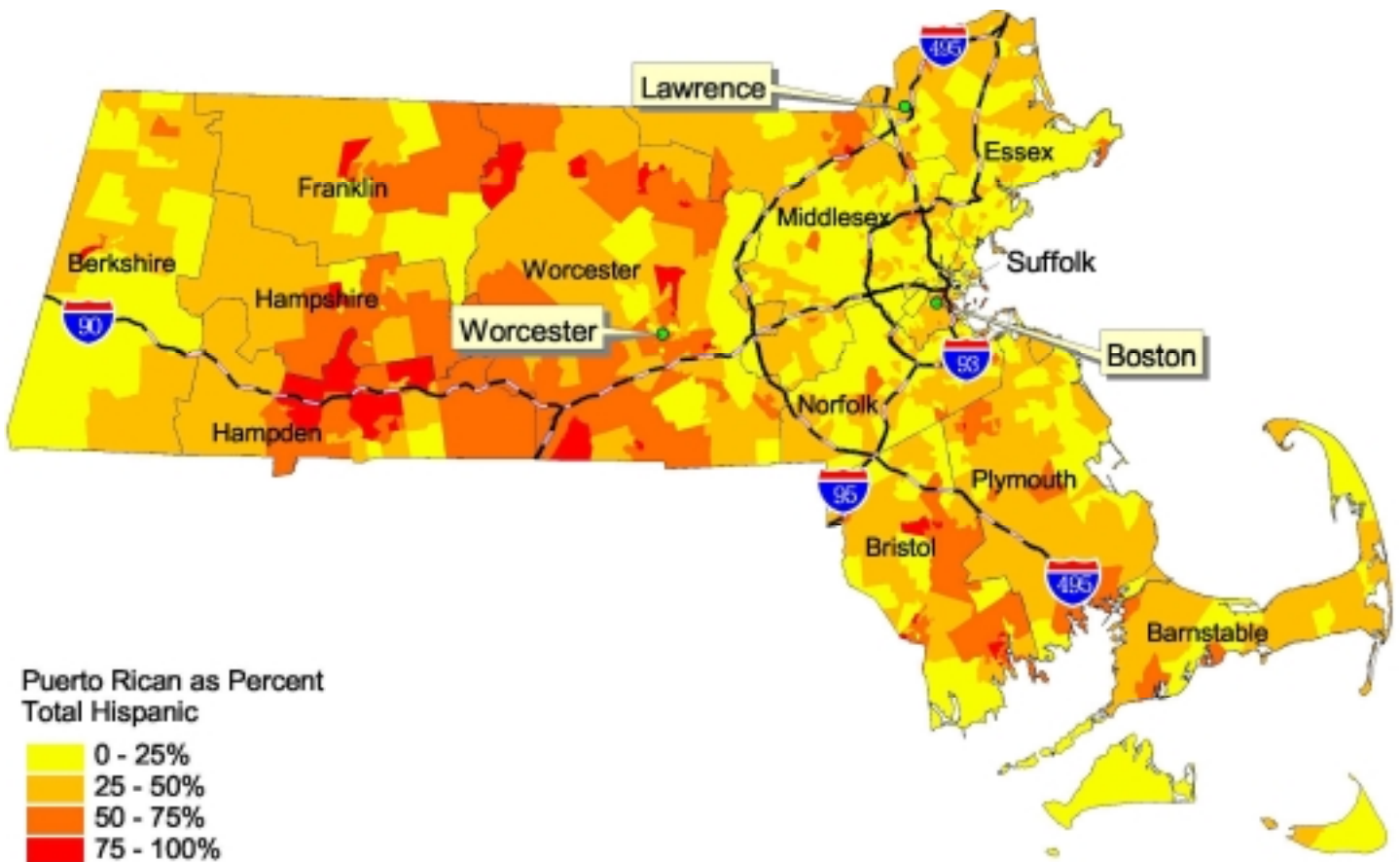


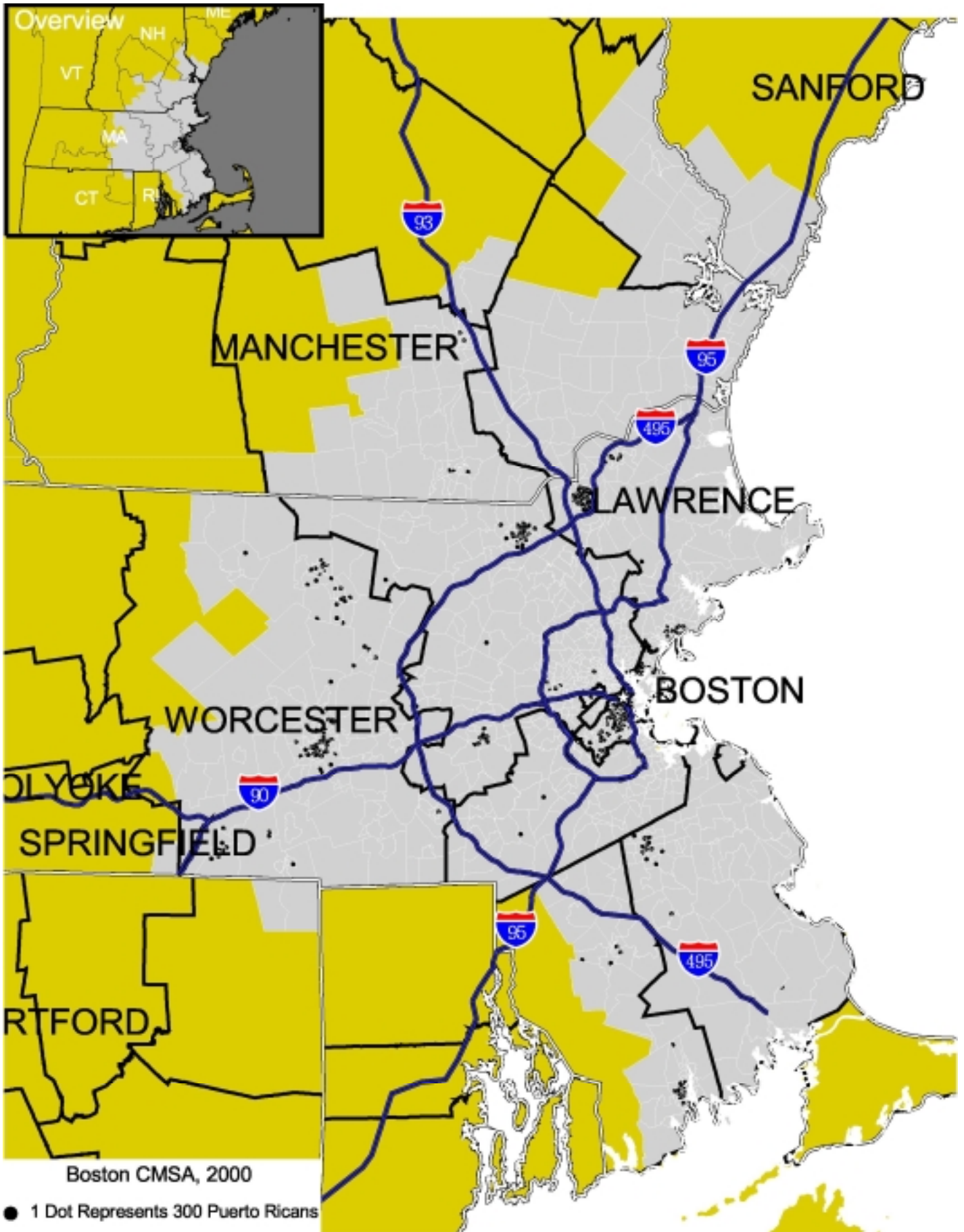


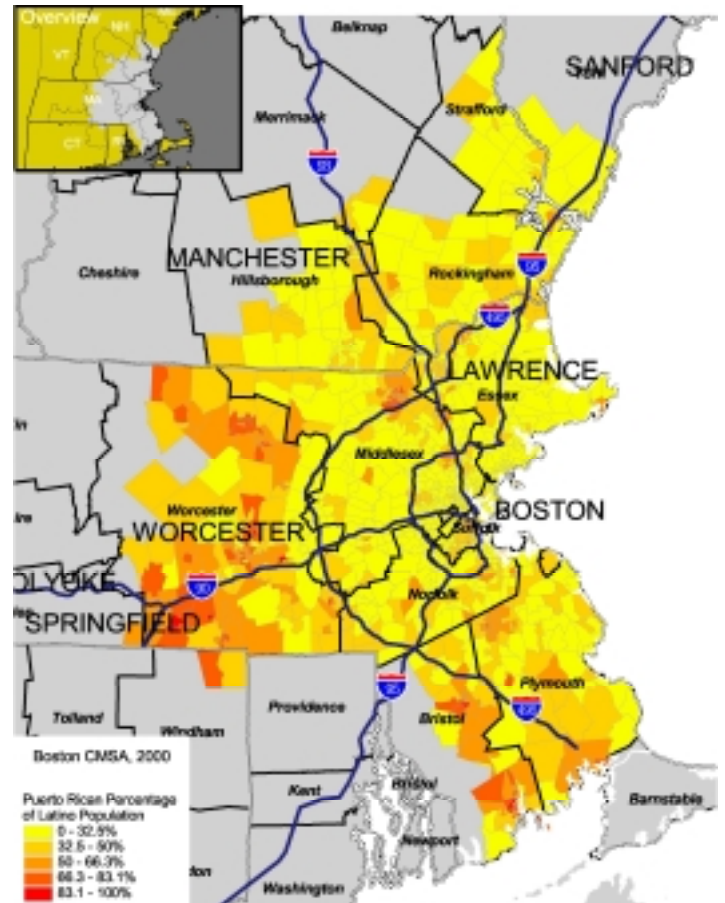
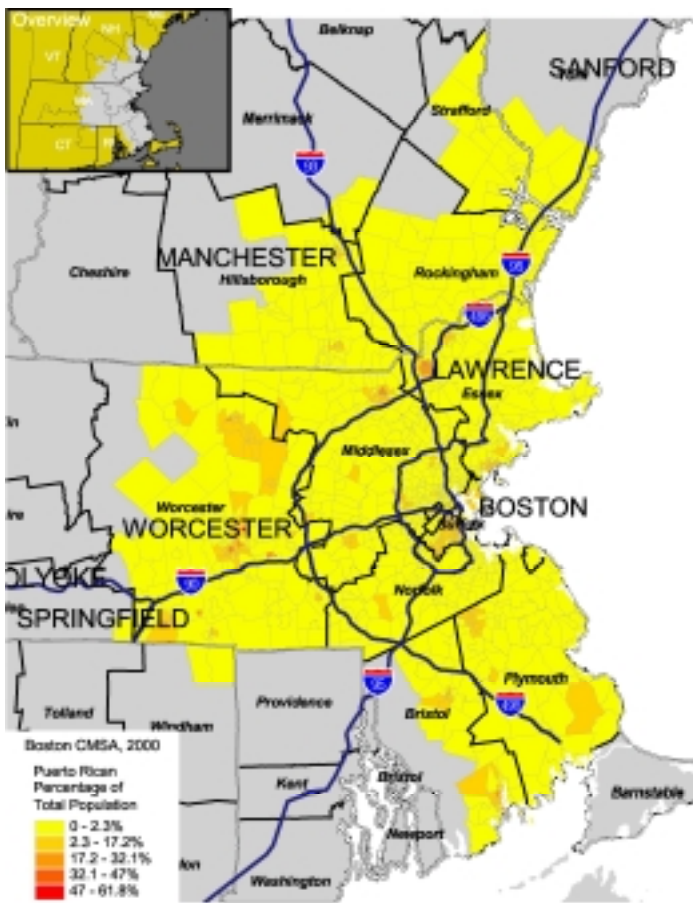
Massachusetts

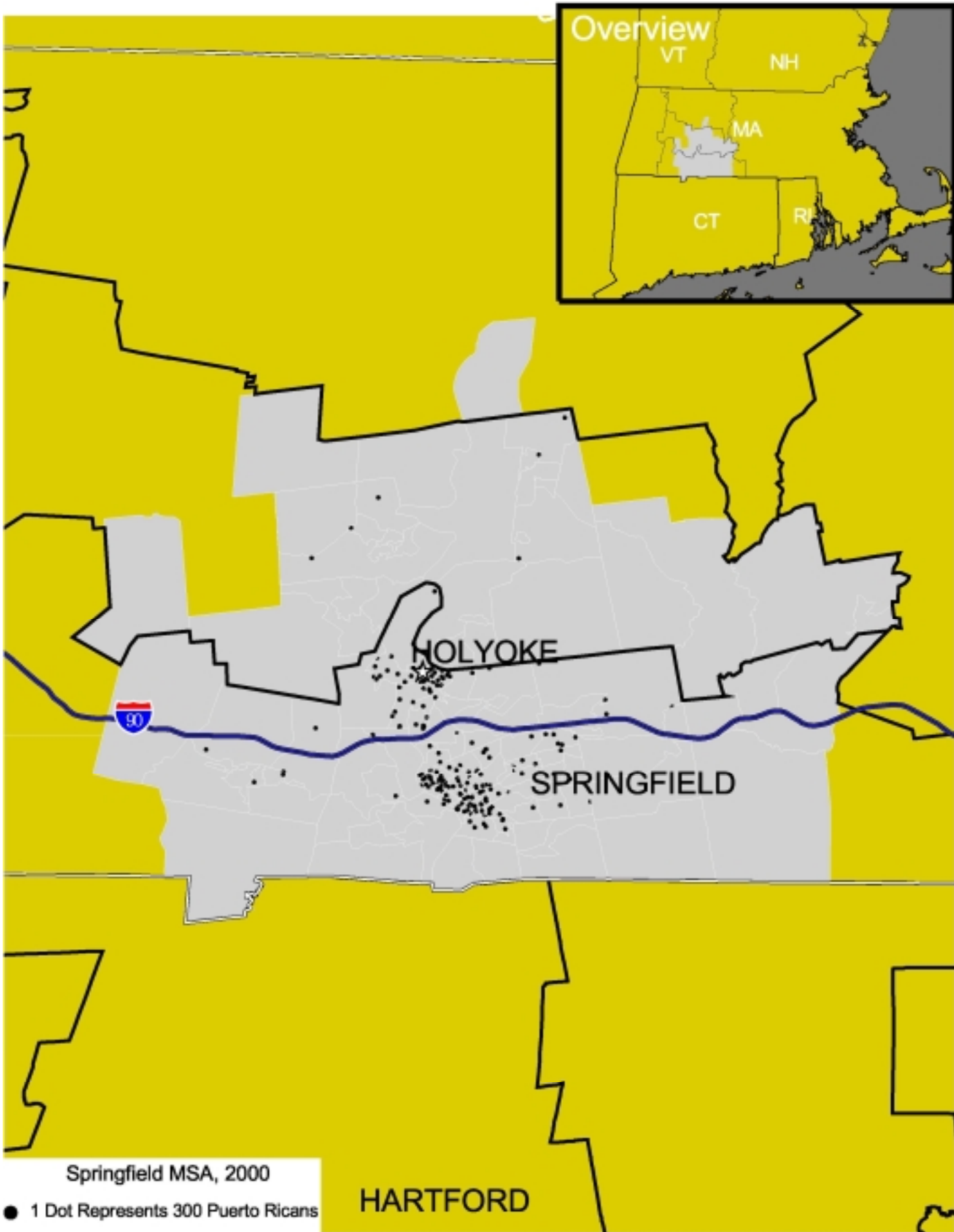
State/Place	2000 Puerto Rican Population	Percent Puerto Rican 2000	1900-2000 Numeric Change Puerto Rican	Percent Change Puerto Rican
MASSACHUSETTS	199,207	3.1%	48,014	31.8%
Springfield city	35,251	23.2%	11,522	48.6
Boston city	27,442	4.7%	1,675	6.5
Worcester city	17,091	9.9%	4,925	40.5
Lawrence city	15,816	22.0%	1,155	7.9
Holyoke city	14,539	36.5%	1,852	14.6
Lowell city	9,604	9.1%	1,872	24.2
New Bedford city	6,657	7.1%	1,793	36.9
Chelsea city	5,363	15.3%	782	17.1
Brockton city	4,545	4.8%	1,441	46.4
Fitchburg city	4,199	10.7%	1,099	35.5
Chicopee city	3,932	7.2%	2,328	145.1
Lynn city	3,769	4.2%	1,484	64.9
Framingham CDP	2,903	4.3%	235	8.8
Leominster city	2,843	6.9%	634	28.7
Southbridge CDP	2,712	21.1%	764	39.2
Haverhill city	2,242	3.8%	918	69.3
Fall River city	1,946	2.1%	1,444	287.6
Methuen city	1,691	3.9%	(X)	(X)
Westfield city	1,671	4.2%	376	29.0
Cambridge city	1,637	1.6%	(238)	(12.7)
Taunton city	1,518	2.7%	196	14.8
Waltham city	1,360	2.3%	(63)	(4.4)
West Springfield CDP	1,155	4.1%	585	102.6
Northampton city	1,011	3.5%	132	15.0

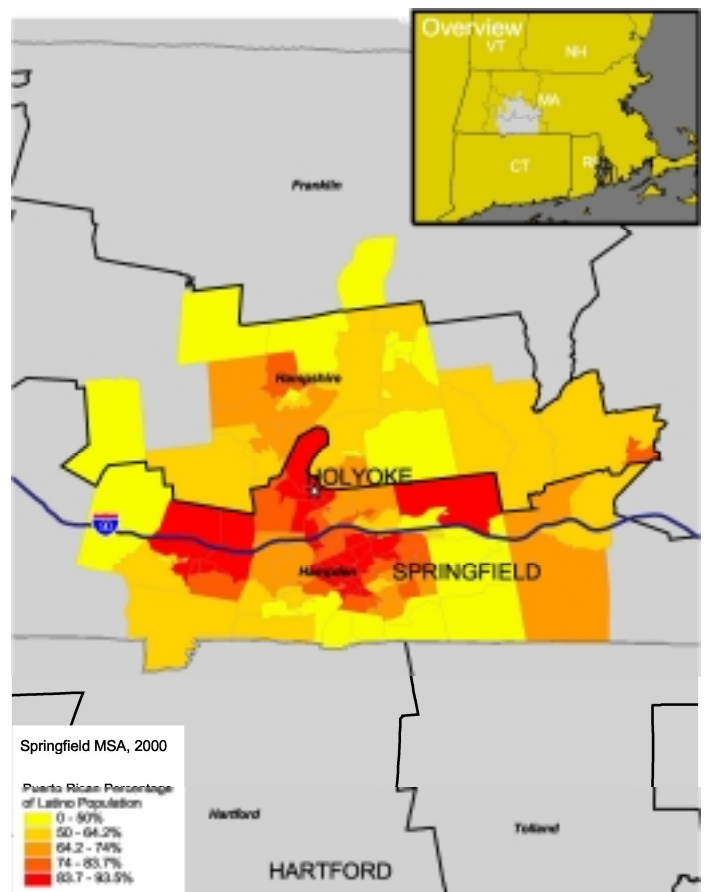
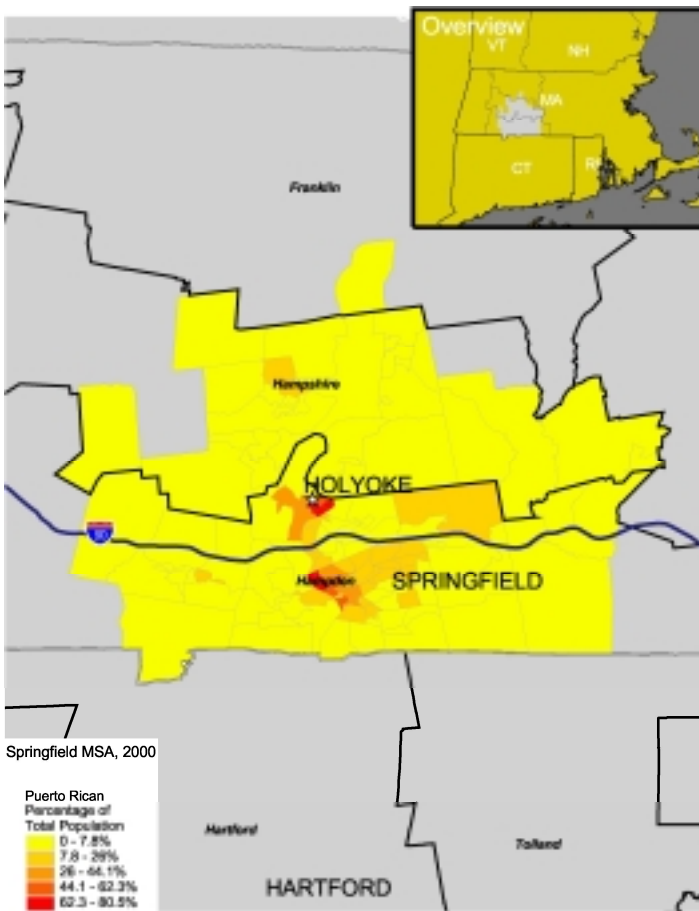






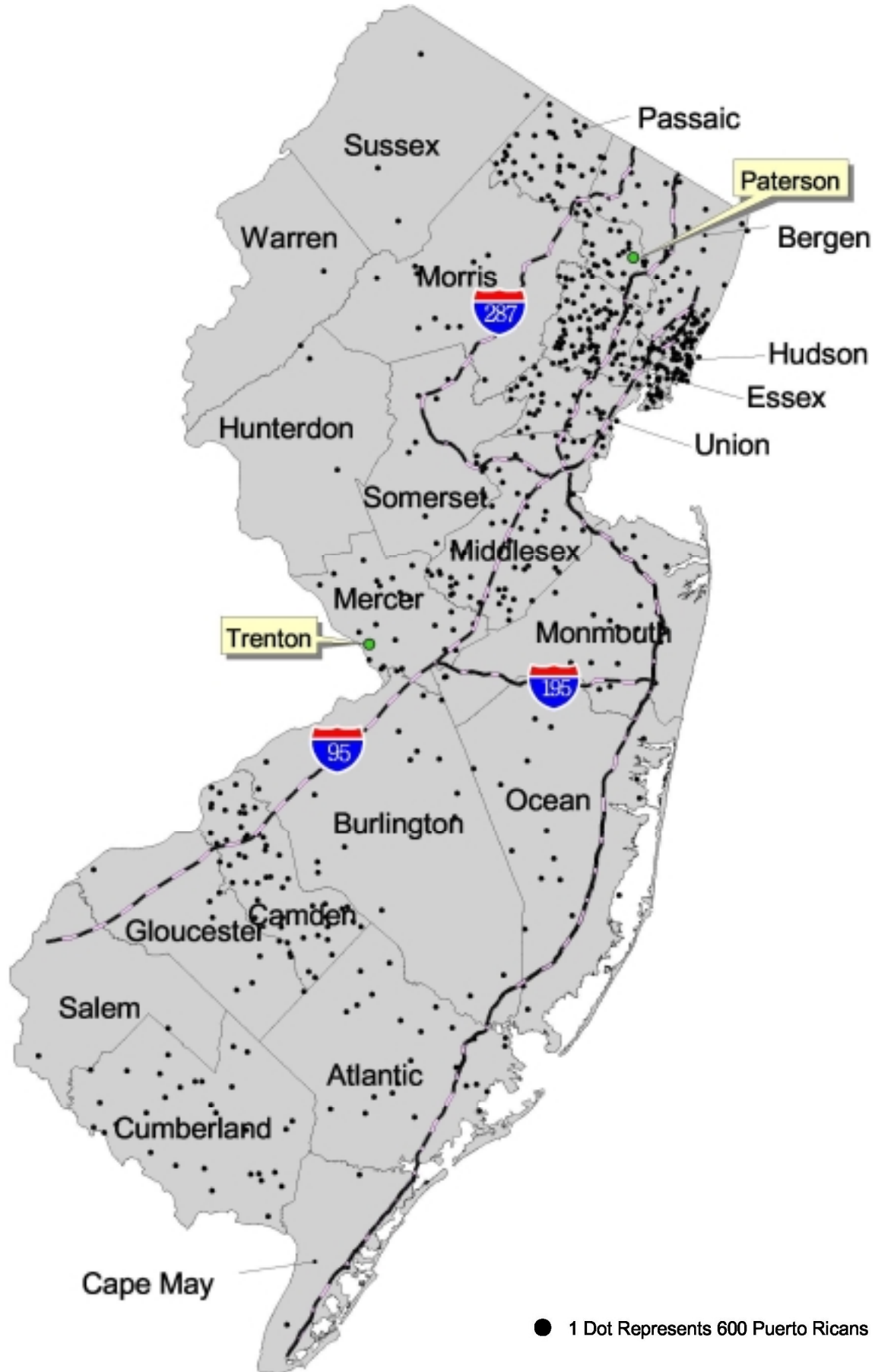


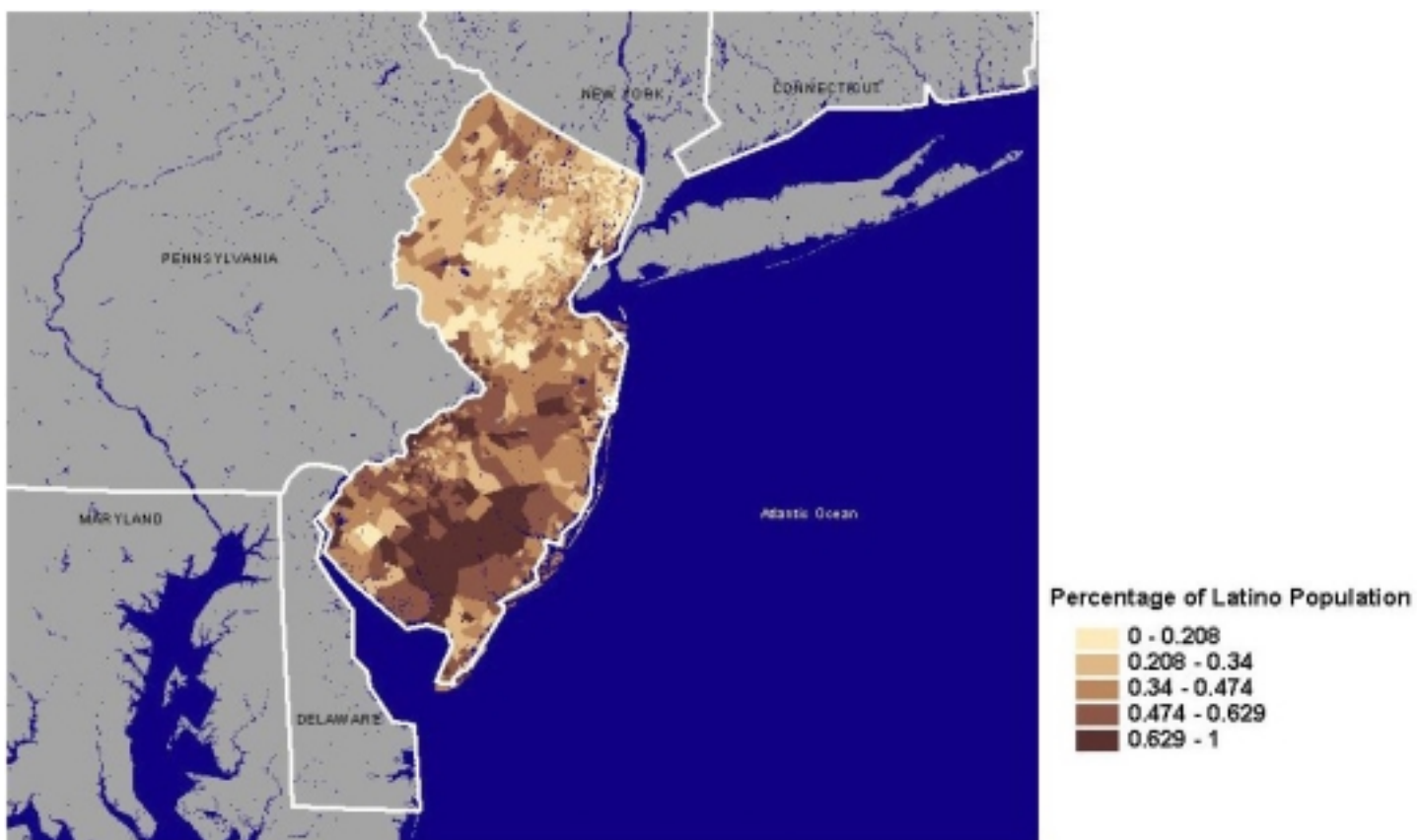
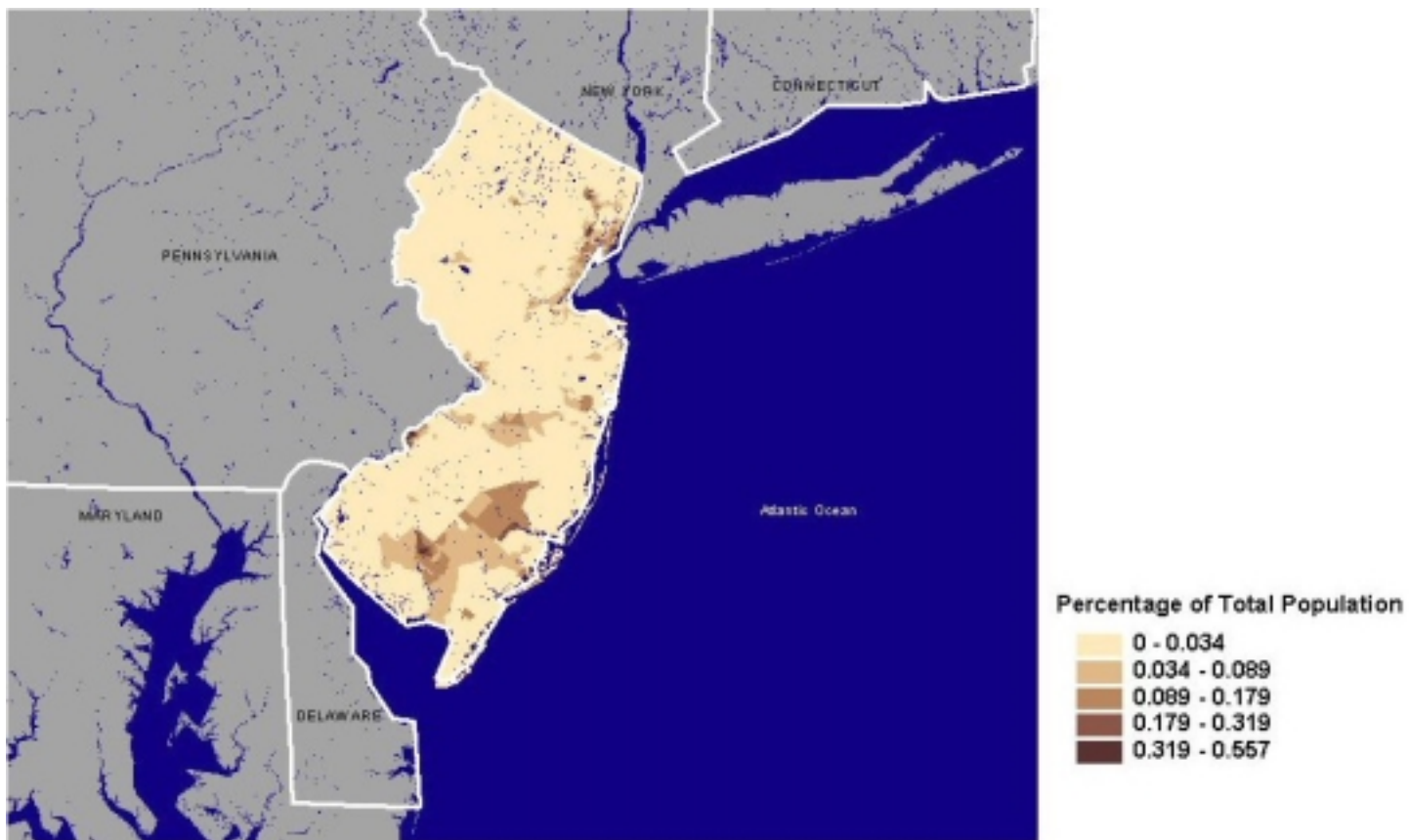




New Jersey

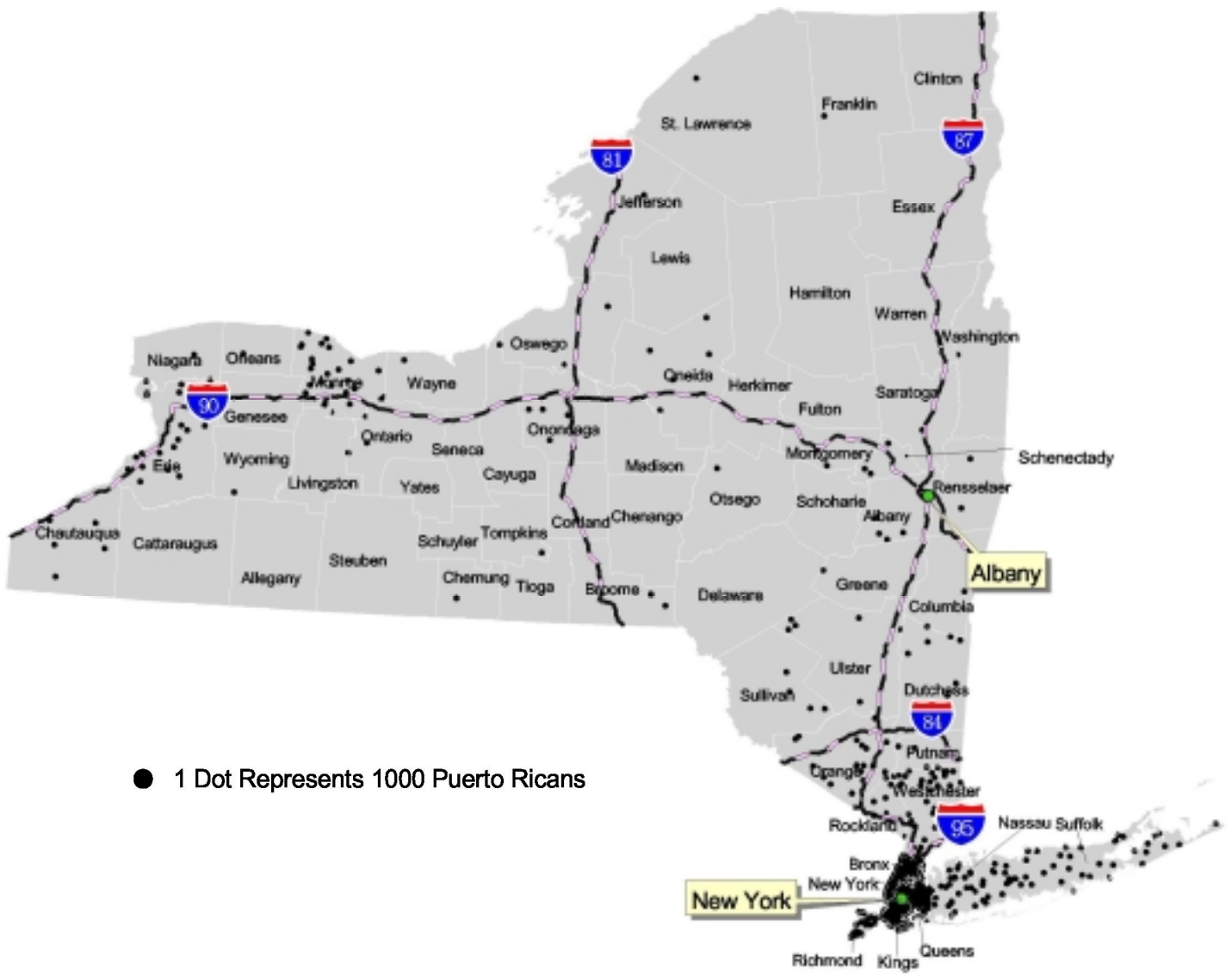
State/Place	2000 Puerto Rican Population	Percent Puerto Rican 2000	1900-2000 Numeric Change Puerto Rican	Percent Change Puerto Rican
NEW JERSEY	366,788	4.4%	46,655	14.6%
Newark city	39,650	14.5%	(1,895)	(4.6)
Jersey City city	29,777	12.4%	(1,173)	(3.8)
Paterson city	24,013	16.1%	(3,567)	(12.9)
Camden city	23,051	28.8%	67	0.3
Vineland city	13,284	23.6%	1,612	13.8
Perth Amboy city	13,145	27.8%	(386)	(2.9)
Elizabeth city	12,989	10.8%	927	7.7
Passaic city	9,122	13.4%	(2,504)	(21.5)
Trenton city	8,952	10.5%	(398)	(4.3)
Union City city	7,388	11.0%	(1,279)	(14.8)
Hoboken city	4,660	12.1%	(2,173)	(31.8)
Bayonne city	4,244	6.9%	1,929	83.3
Clifton city	3,923	5.0%	2,329	146.1
Atlantic City city	3,635	9.0%	90	2.5
Pennsauken CDP	3,629	10.2%	2,342	182.0
Belleville CDP	3,430	9.5%	2,026	144.3
New Brunswick city	3,178	6.5%	(537)	(14.5)
West New York town	2,791	6.1%	(338)	(10.8)
Long Branch city	2,778	8.9%	329	13.4
Bloomfield CDP	2,724	5.7%	1,836	206.8
Dover town	2,413	13.3%	(478)	(16.5)
Millville city	2,392	8.9%	698	41.2
Lakewood CDP	2,381	6.6%	(276)	(10.4)
Kearny town	2,237	5.5%	1,265	130.1
Carteret borough	2,216	10.7%	738	49.9
Edison CDP	2,095	2.1%	700	50.2
Pleasantville city	2,085	11.0%	970	87.0
Irvington CDP	2,083	3.4%	(1,424)	(40.6)
Plainfield city	1,782	3.7%	(115)	(6.1)
Toms River CDP	1,744	2.0%	1,592	1,047.4
Bridgeton city	1,558	6.8%	327	26.6
Linden city	1,512	3.8%	723	91.6
Union CDP	1,398	2.6%	866	162.8
Hackensack city	1,371	3.2%	490	55.6
Sayreville borough	1,365	3.4%	756	124.1
Garfield city	1,348	4.5%	628	87.2
North Brunswick Township	1,316	3.6%	573	77.1
East Orange city	1,248	1.8%	(97)	(7.2)
Teaneck CDP	1,132	2.9%	315	38.6
Asbury Park city	1,021	6.0%	82	8.7

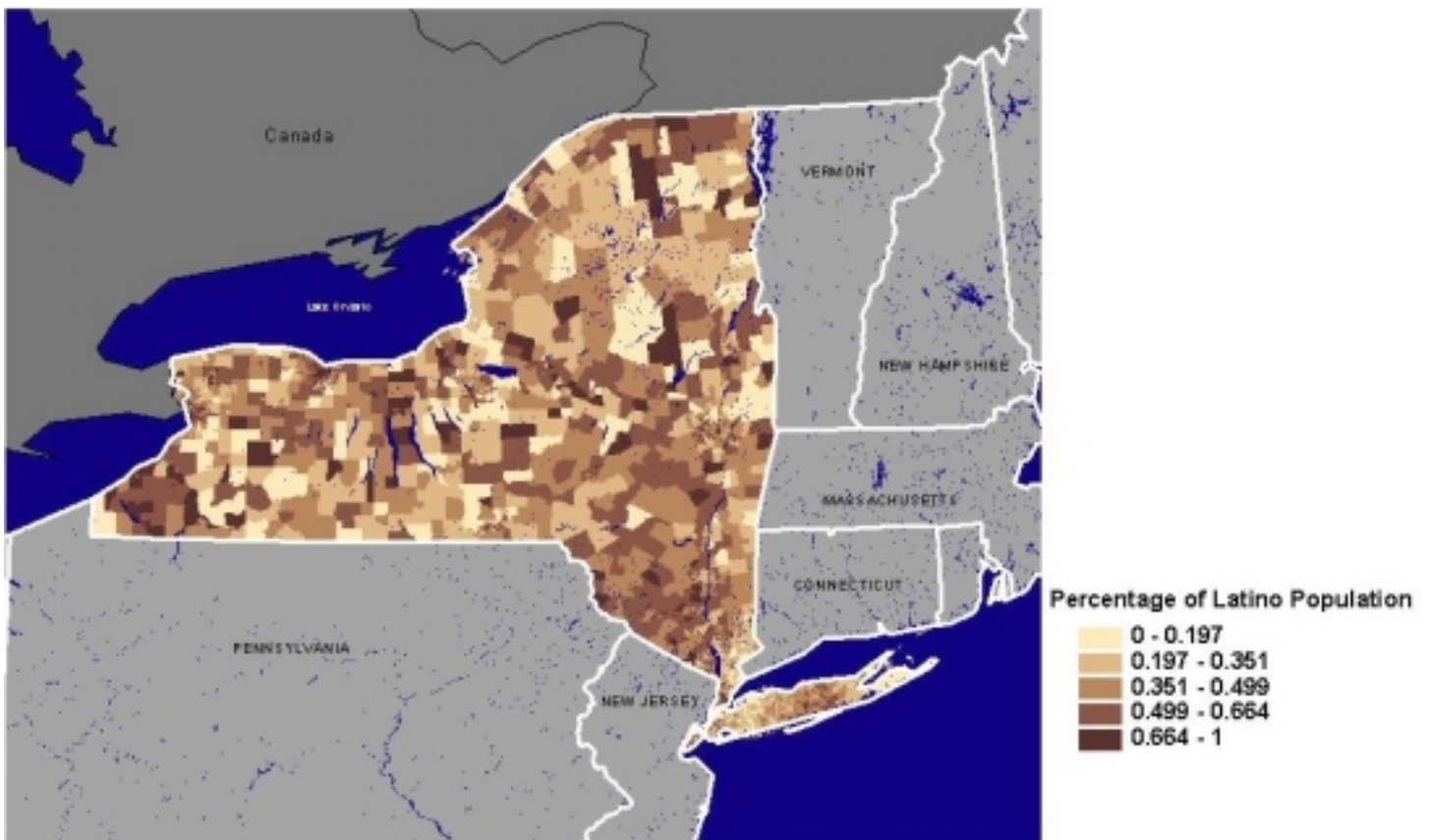
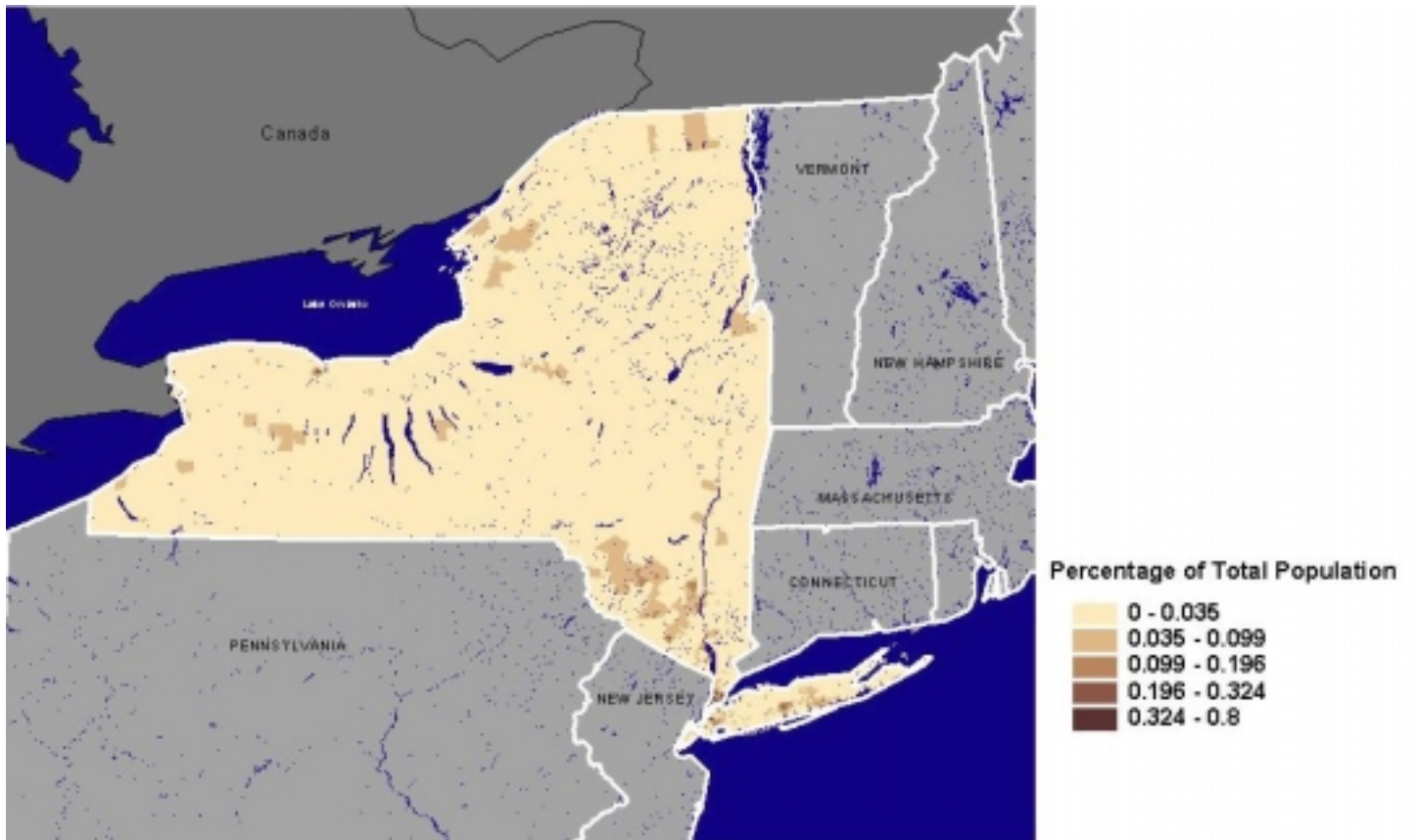


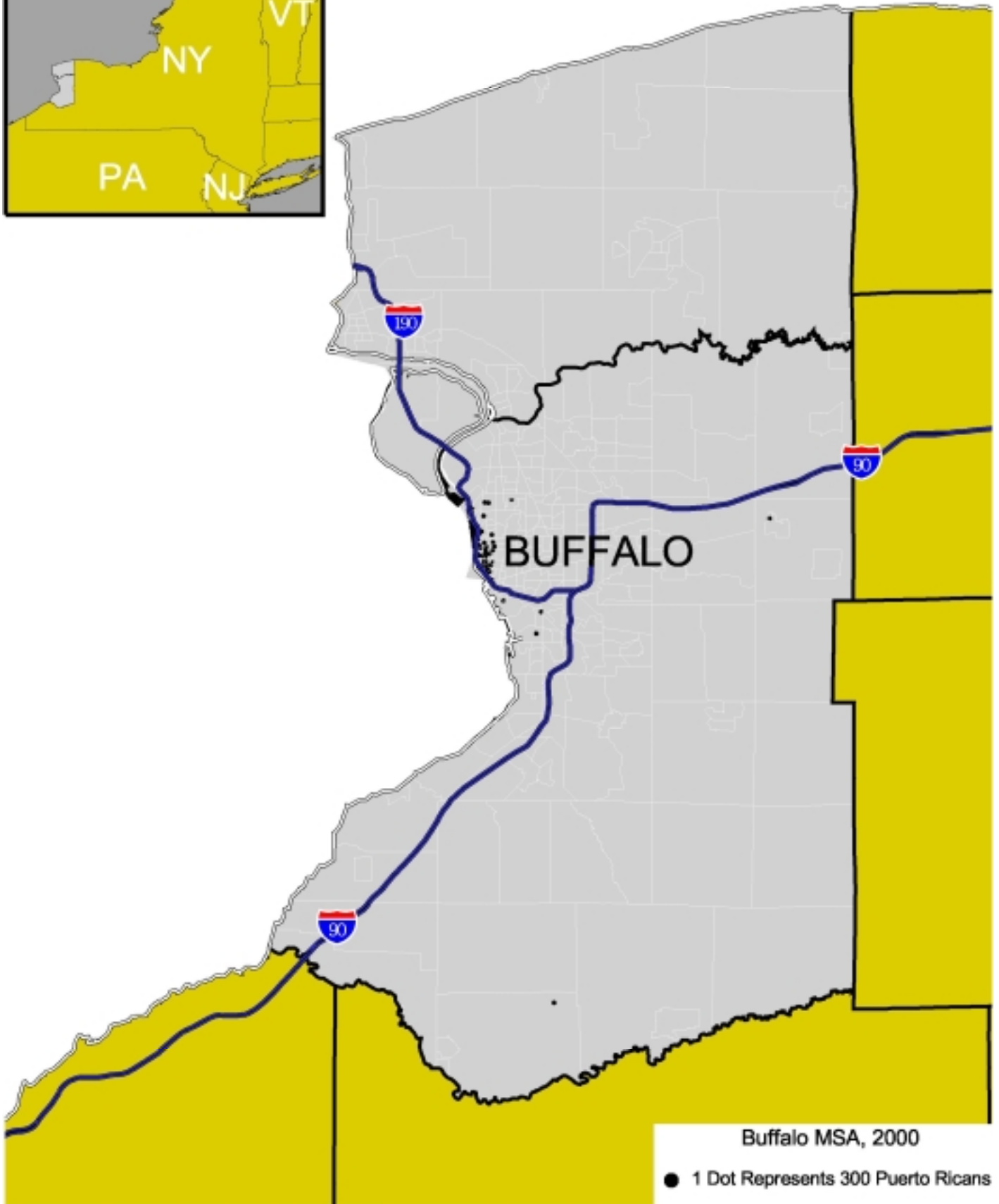


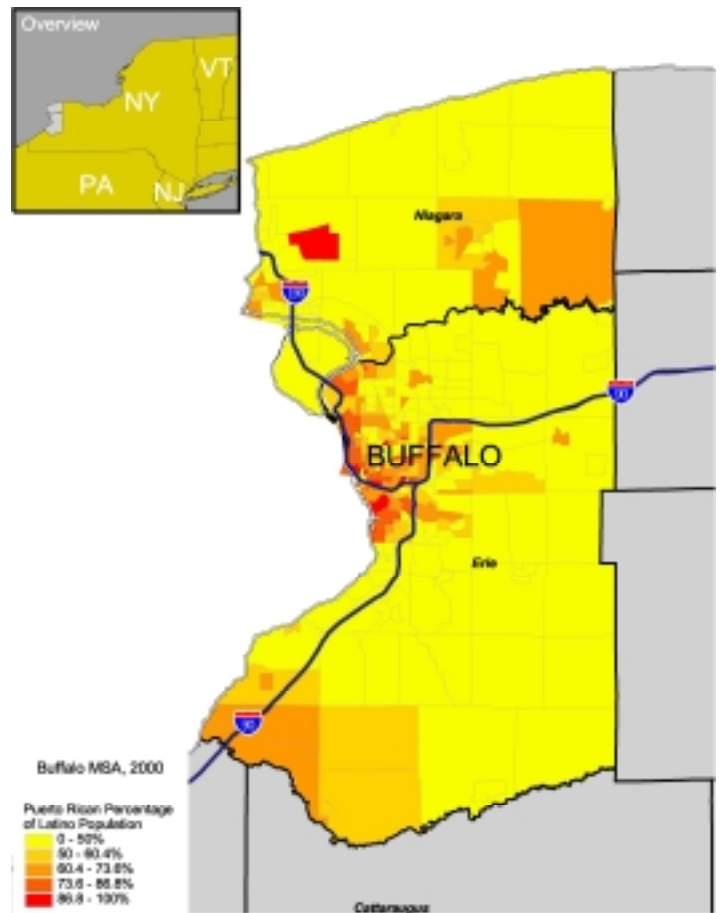
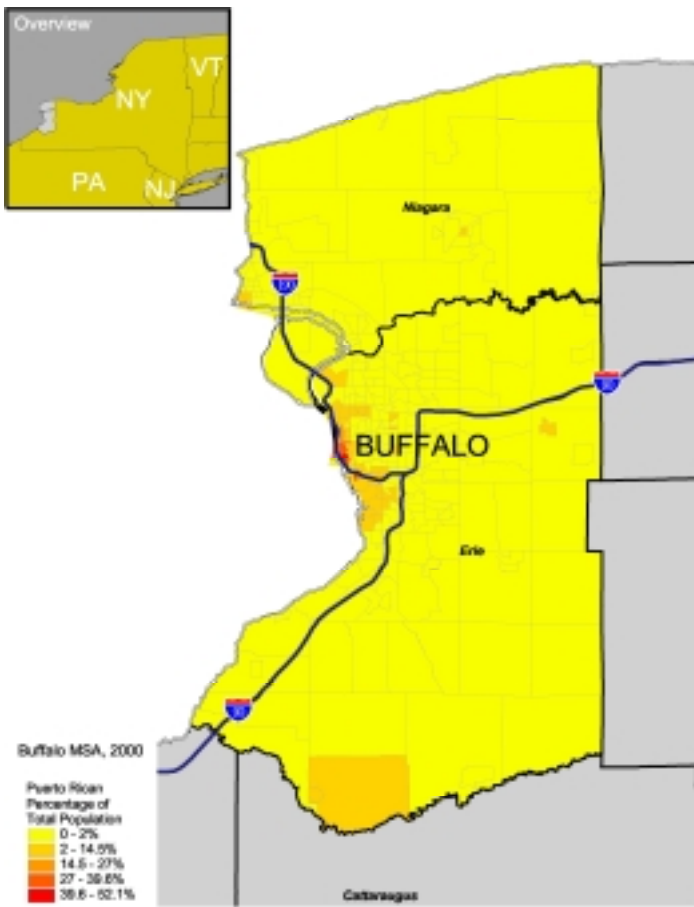
New York

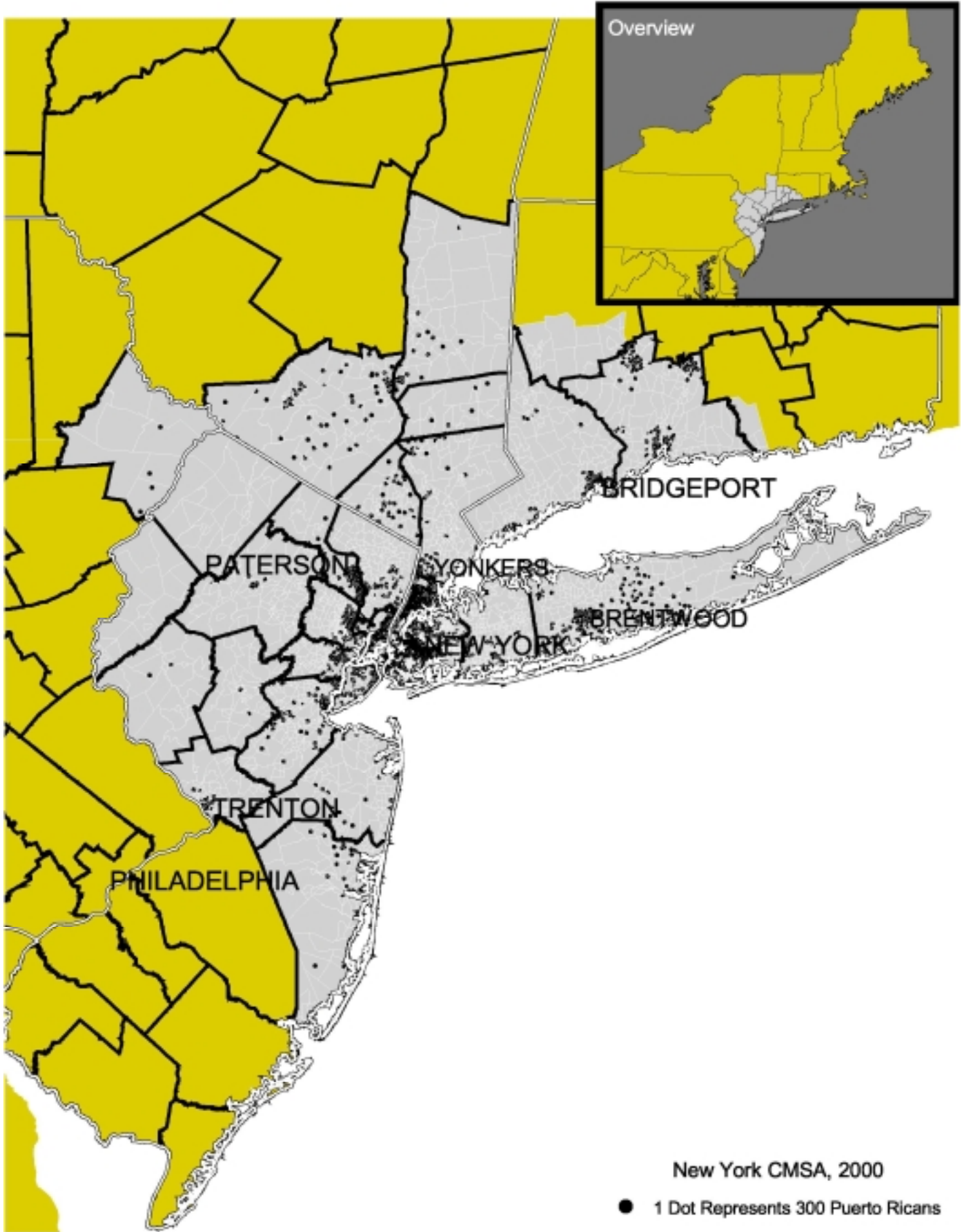
State/Place	2000 Puerto Rican Population	Percent Puerto Rican 2000	1900-2000 Numeric Change Puerto Rican	Percent Change Puerto Rican
NEW YORK	1,050,293	5.5%	(36,308)	-3.3%
New York city	789,172	9.9%	(107,591)	(12.0)
Rochester city	21,897	10.0%	5,514	33.7
Yonkers city	18,097	9.2%	3,677	25.5
Buffalo city	17,250	5.9%	4,452	34.8
Brentwood CDP	8,254	15.3%	51	0.6
Syracuse city	4,885	3.3%	1,960	67.0
Central Islip CDP	4,050	12.7%	(100)	(2.4)
Albany city	3,094	3.2%	1,390	81.6
Newburgh city	3,069	10.9%	177	6.1
Middletown city	3,066	12.1%	935	43.9
Utica city	2,721	4.5%	865	46.6
North Bay Shore CDP	2,578	17.2%	(16)	(0.6)
Schenectady city	2,422	3.9%	1,348	125.5
Dunkirk city	2,238	17.0%	408	22.3
Mount Vernon city	2,212	3.2%	429	24.1
Amsterdam city	2,124	11.6%	317	17.5
New Rochelle city	1,918	2.7%	671	53.8
Bay Shore CDP	1,855	7.8%	355	23.7
Shirley CDP	1,689	6.7%	555	48.9
Freeport village	1,554	3.5%	265	20.6
Haverstraw village	1,494	14.8%	(388)	(20.6)
West Haverstraw village	1,464	14.2%	403	38.0
Peekskill city	1,454	6.5%	563	63.2
Beacon city	1,436	10.4%	71	5.2
Huntington Station CDP	1,427	4.8%	(45)	(3.1)
Coram CDP	1,420	4.1%	389	37.7
Troy city	1,412	2.9%	838	146.0
Hempstead village	1,381	2.4%	(35)	(2.5)
Levittown CDP	1,360	2.6%	431	46.4
West Babylon CDP	1,300	3.0%	357	37.9
Jamestown city	1,287	4.1%	396	44.4
Ossining village	1,194	5.0%	32	2.8
Mastic CDP	1,166	7.6%	349	42.7
White Plains city	1,162	2.2%	181	18.5
Valley Stream village	1,159	3.2%	707	156.4
Medford CDP	1,141	5.2%	34	3.1
Irondequoit CDP	1,123	2.1%	694	161.8
Long Beach city	1,071	3.0%	43	4.2
Binghamton city	1,021	2.2%	555	119.1

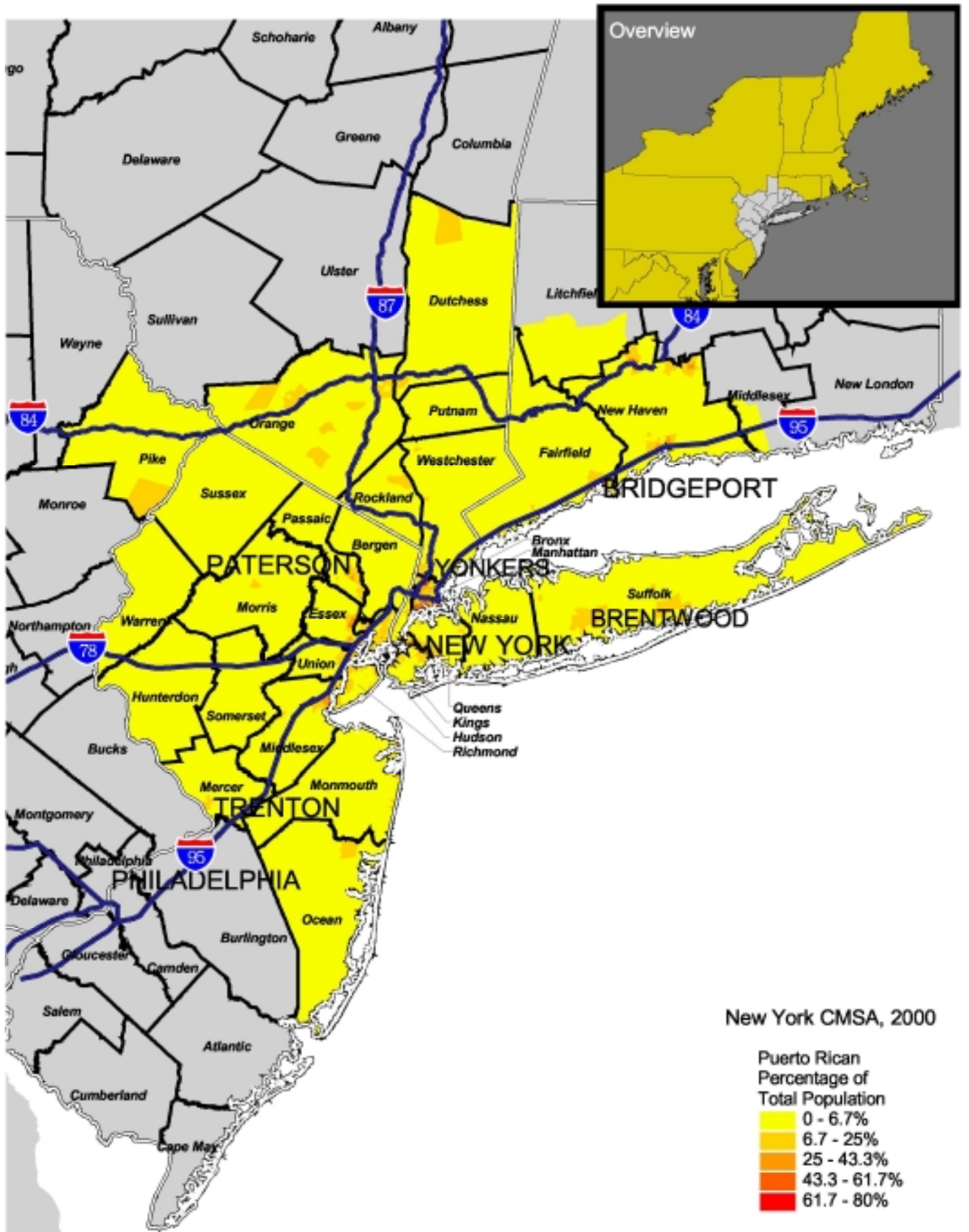


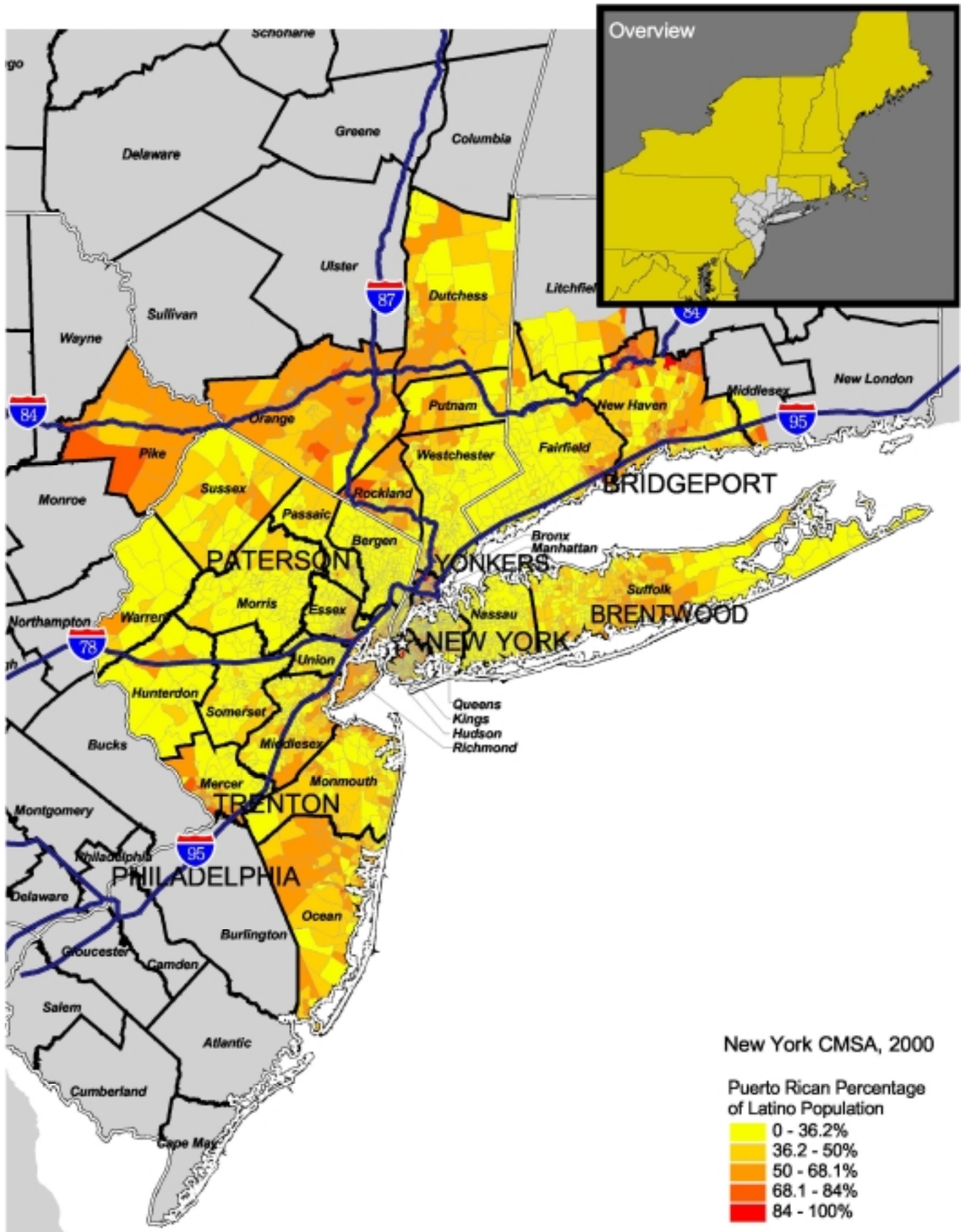




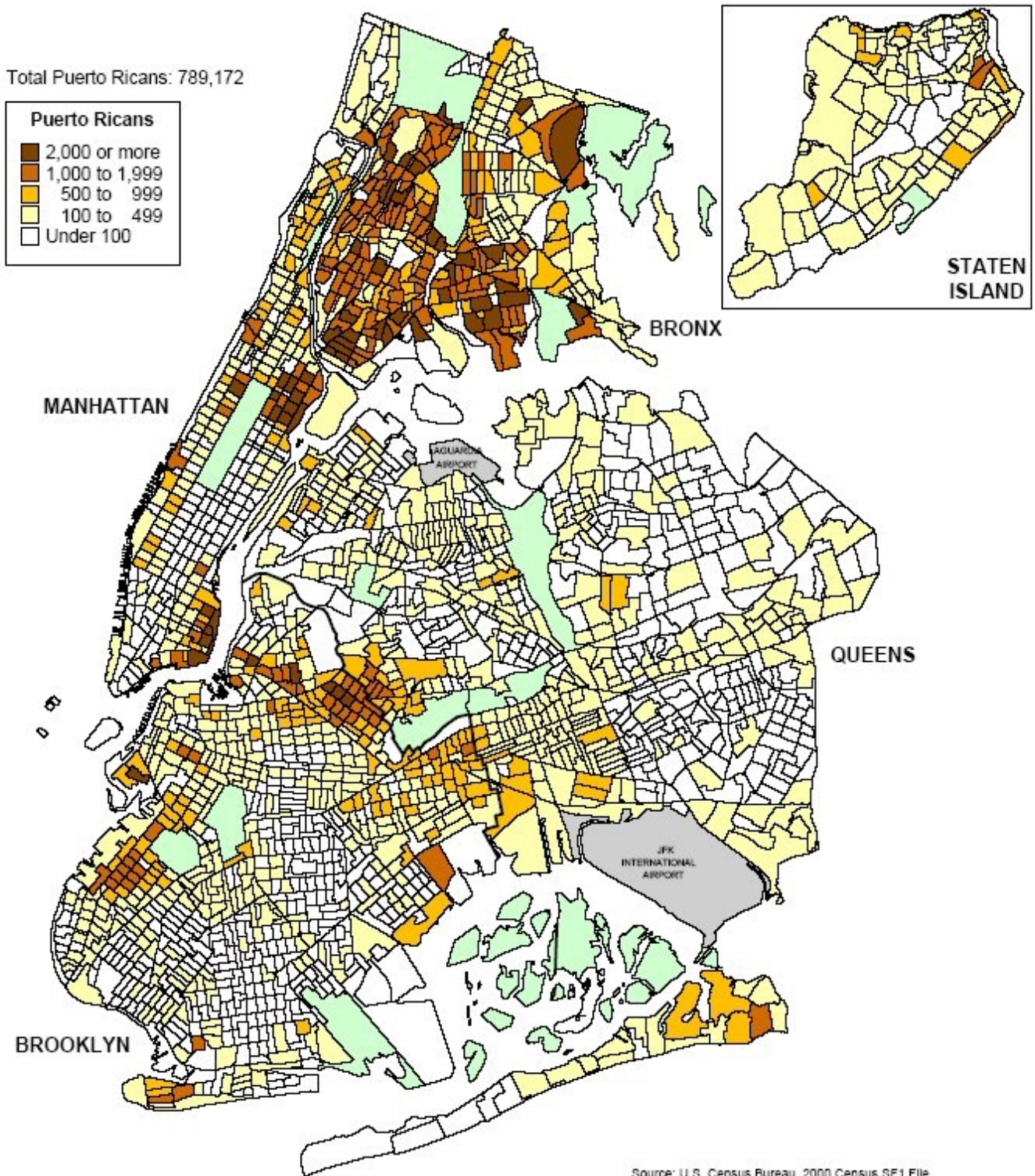




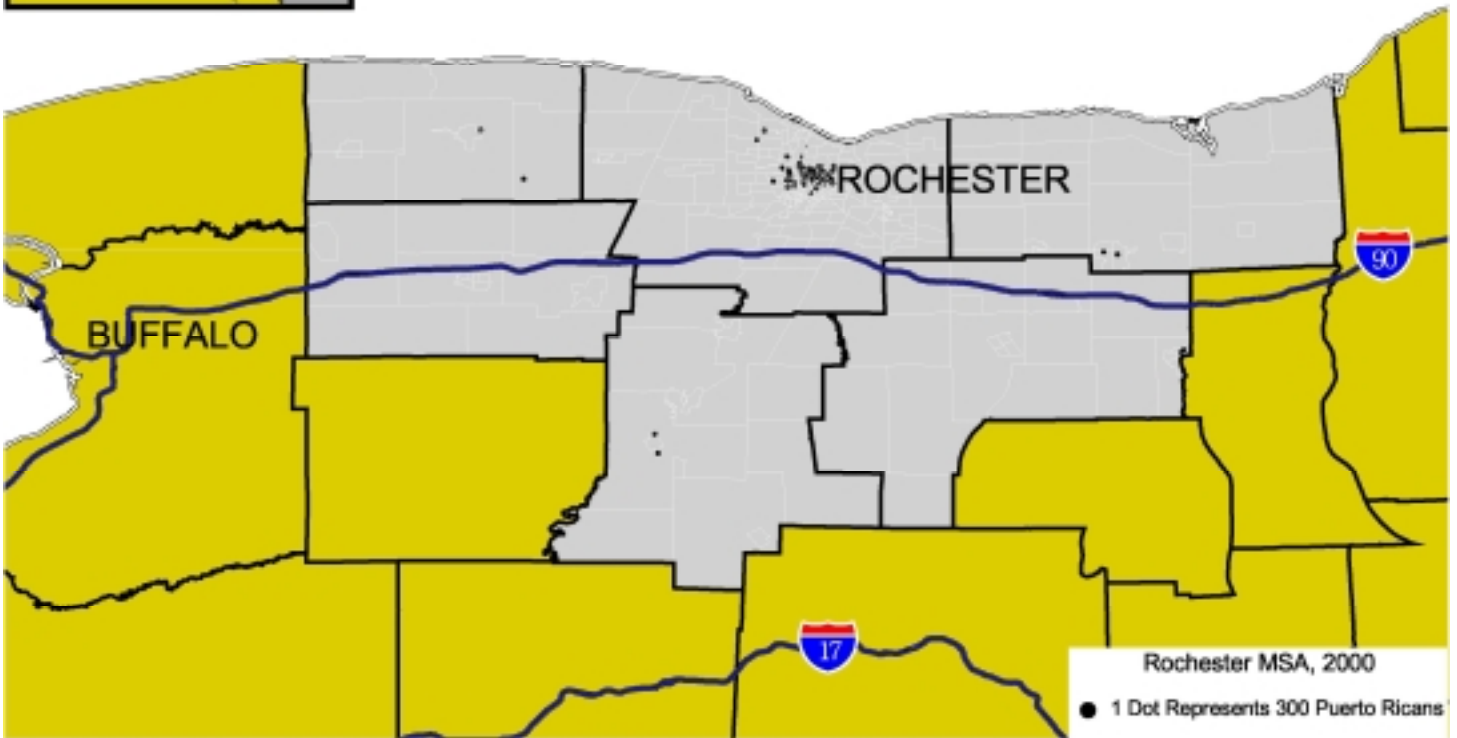


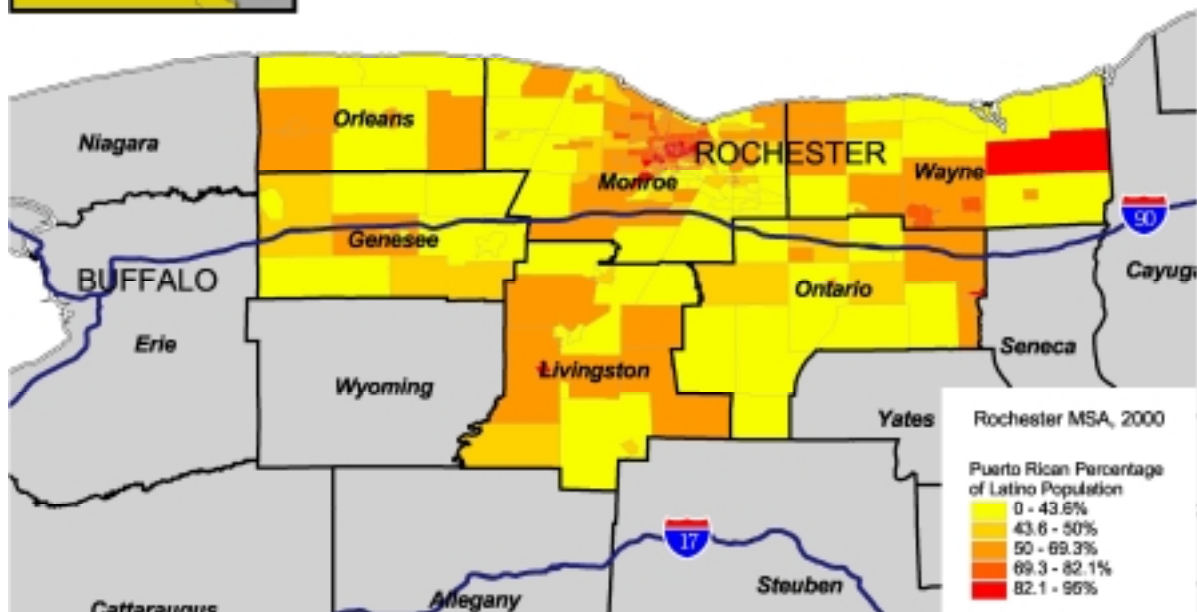


Map SF1-1: Number of Puerto Ricans by Census Tract
New York City, 2000



Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2000 Census SF1 File
Population Division - New York City Department of City Planning

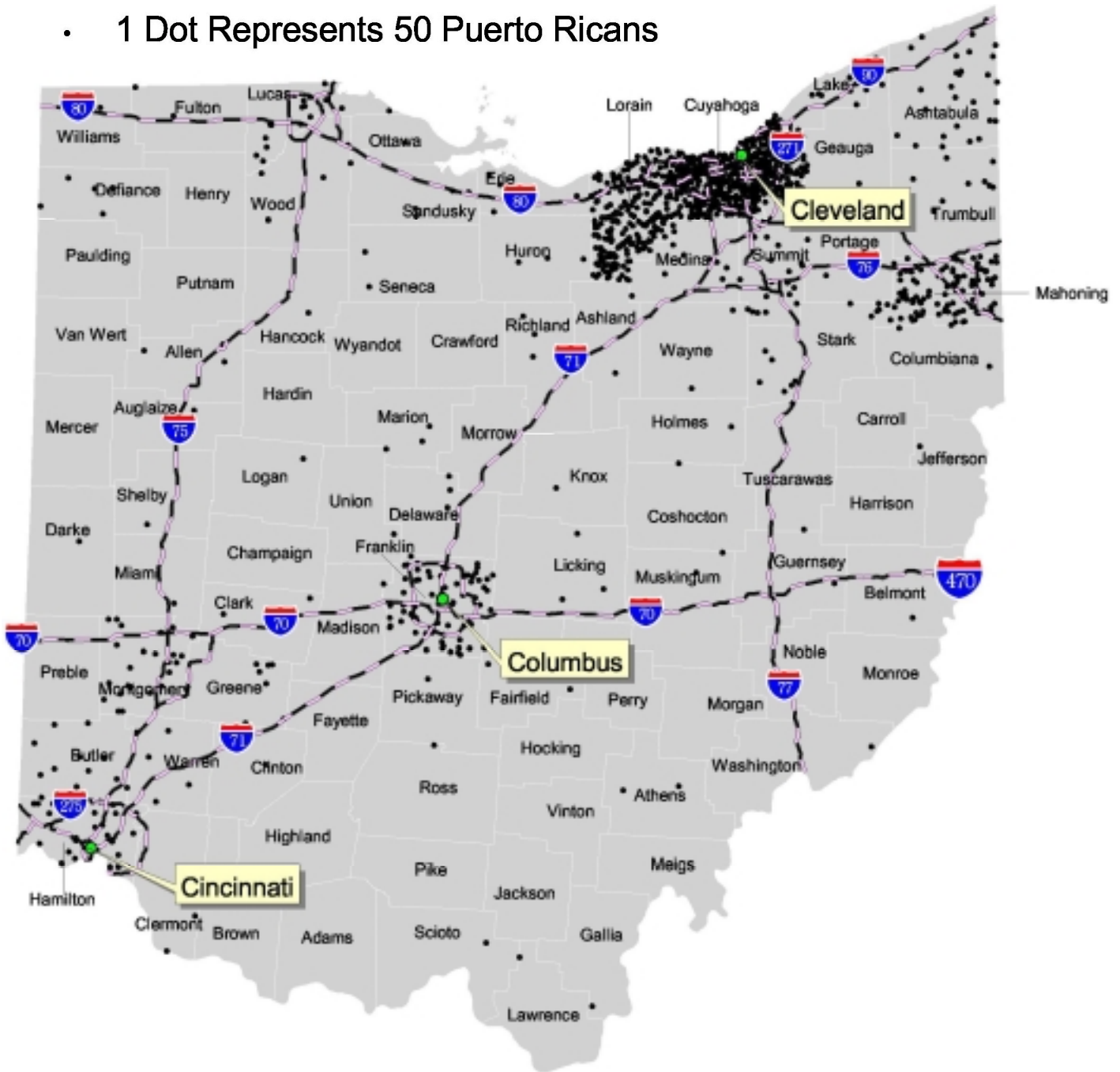


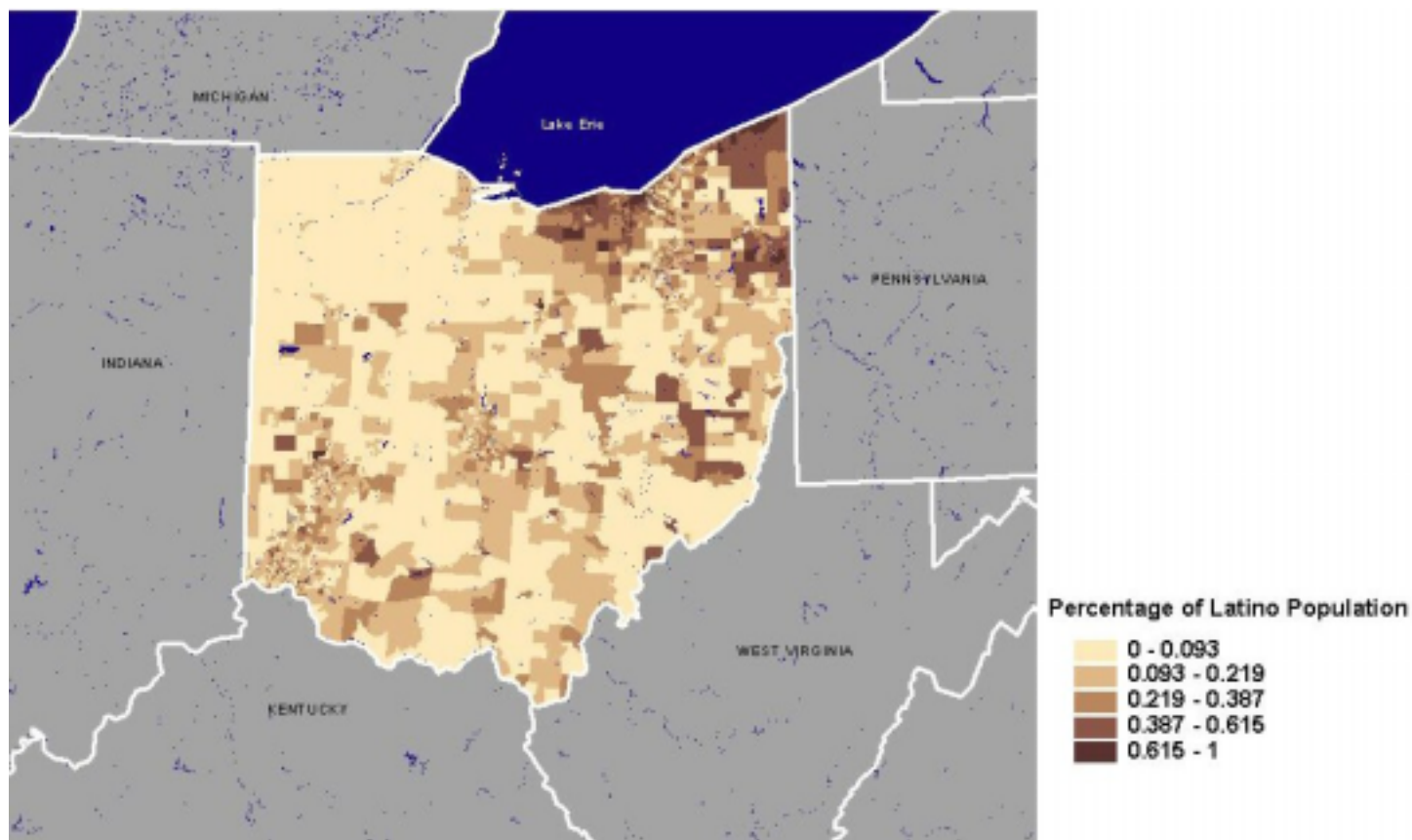
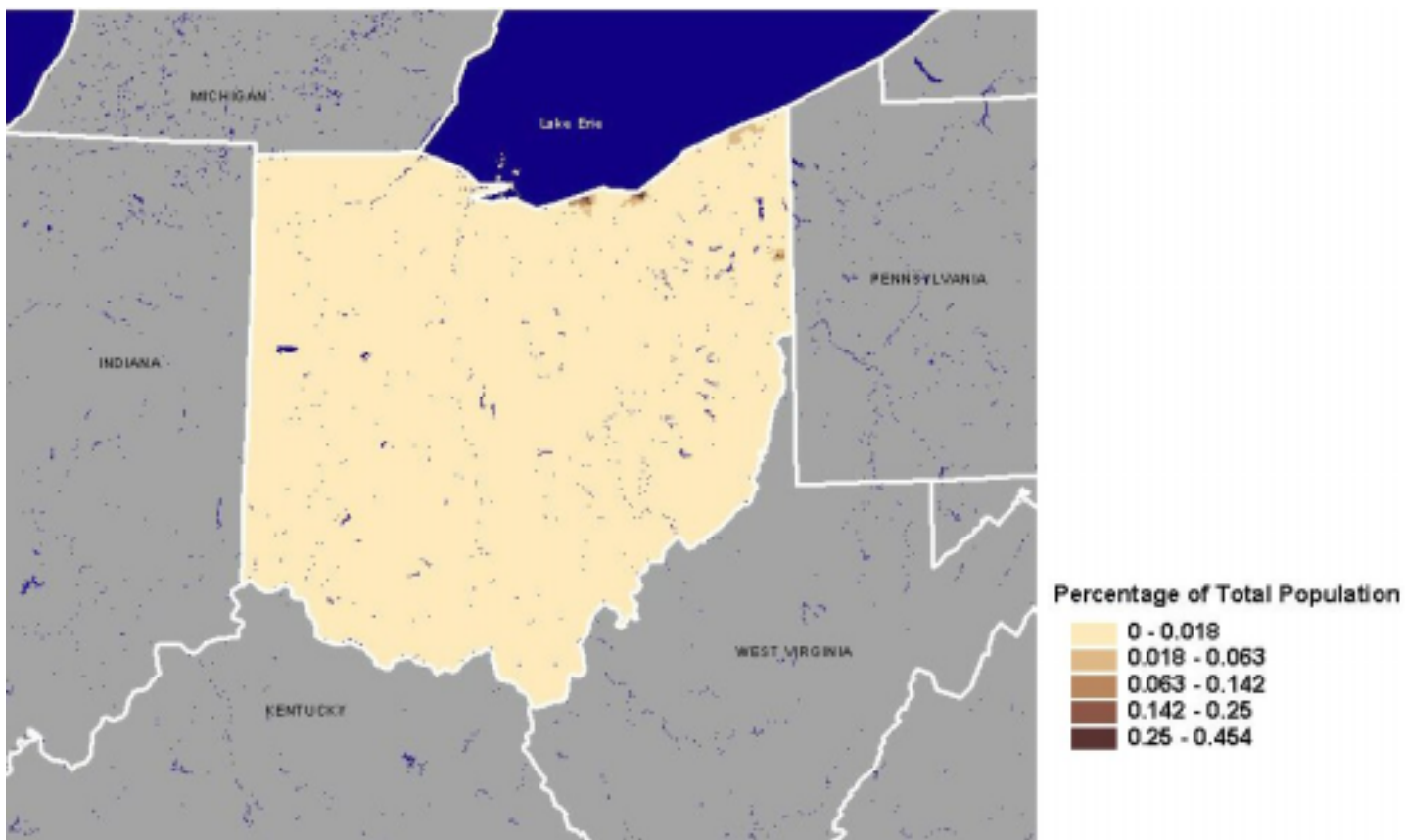


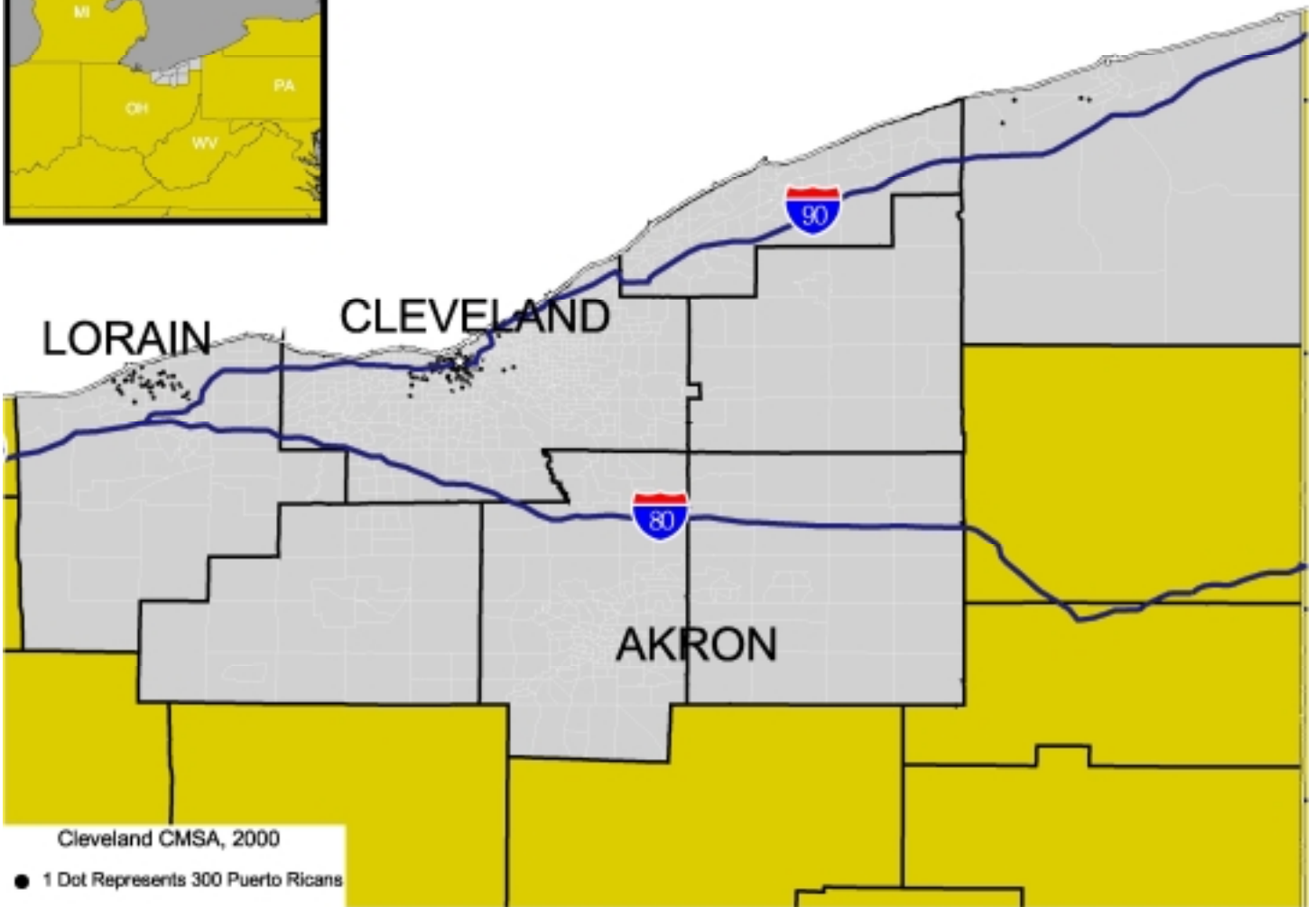
Ohio

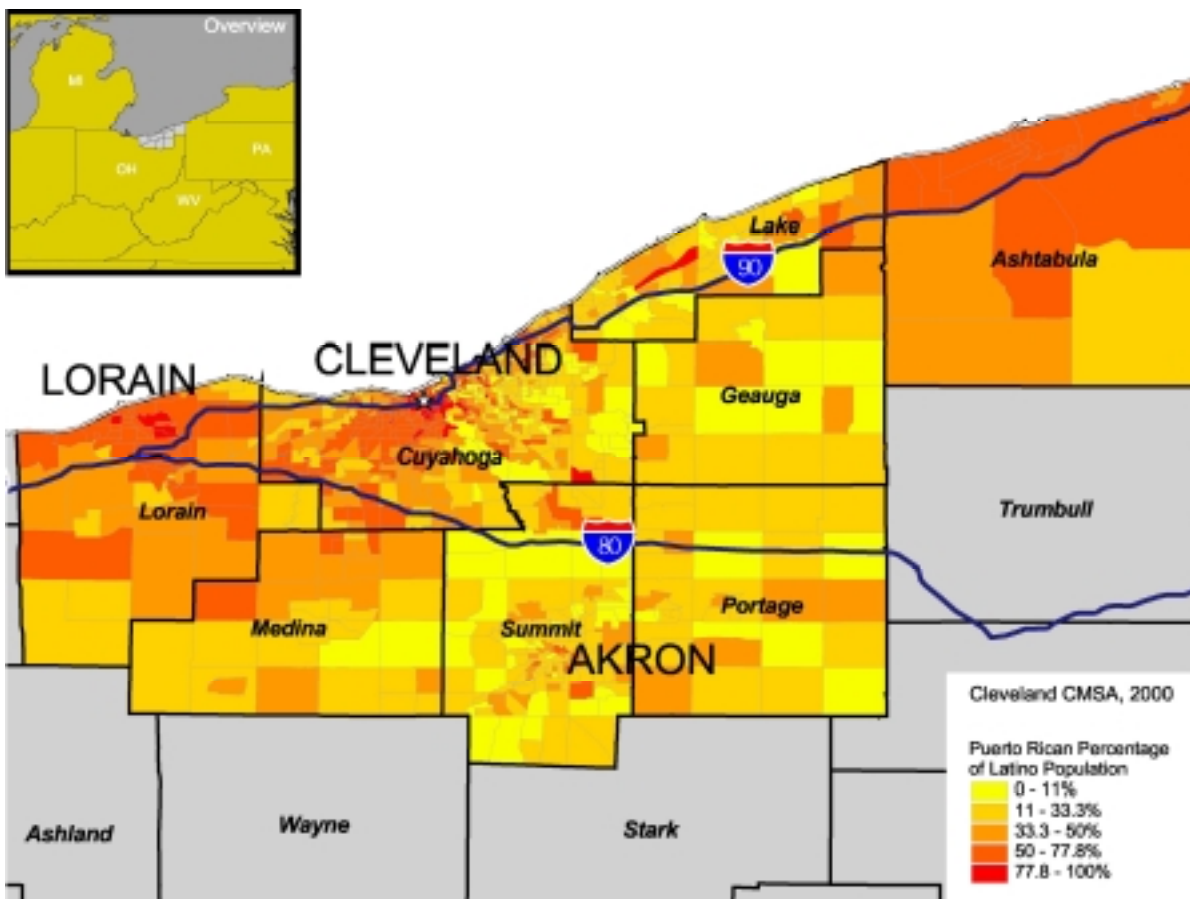
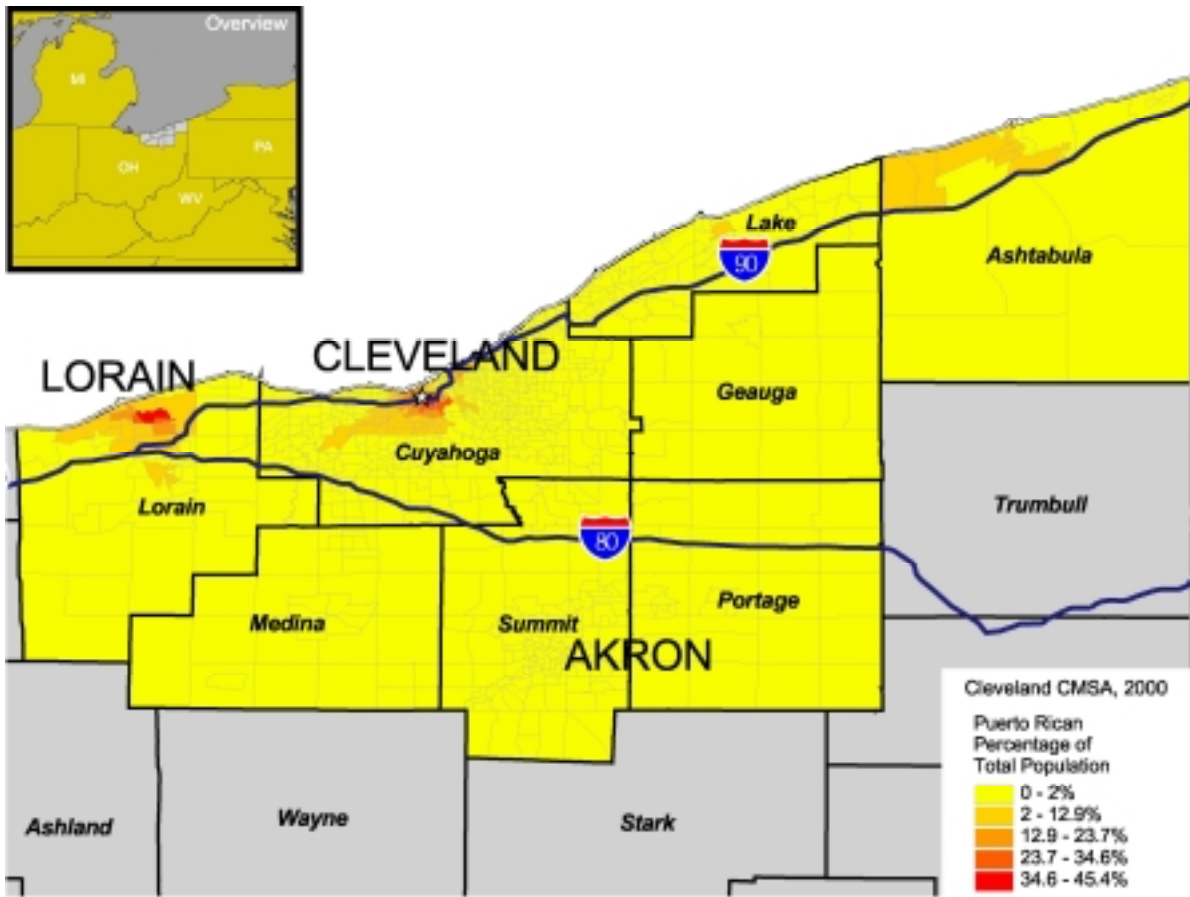
State/Place	2000 Puerto Rican Population	Percent Puerto Rican 2000	1900-2000 Numeric Change Puerto Rican	Percent Change Puerto Rican
OHIO	66,269	0.6%	20,416	44.5%
Cleveland city	25,385	5.3%	7,556	42.4
Lorain city	10,536	15.3%	1,154	12.3
Youngstown city	3,222	3.9%	326	11.3
Columbus city	2,790	0.4%	1,384	98.4

- 1 Dot Represents 50 Puerto Ricans





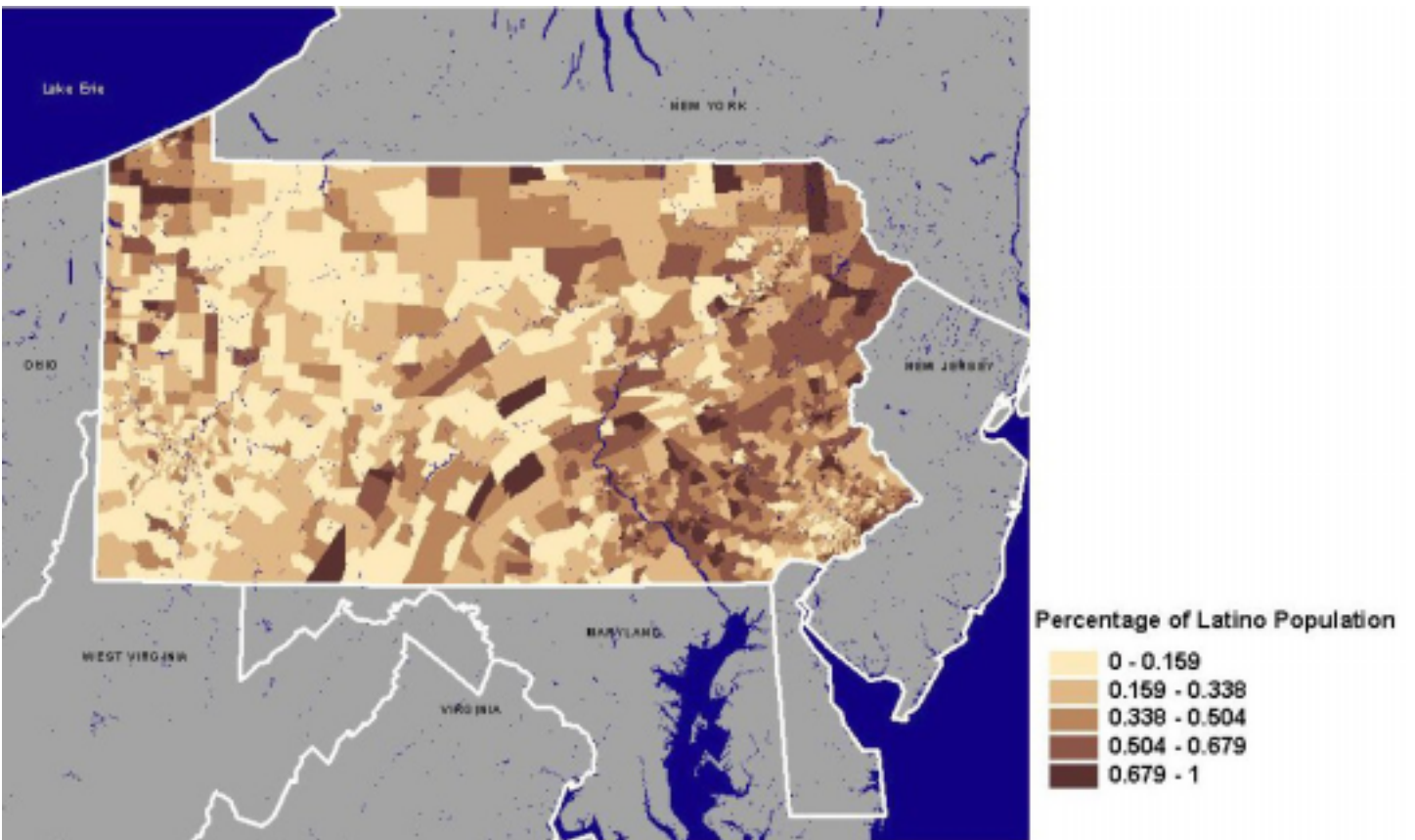
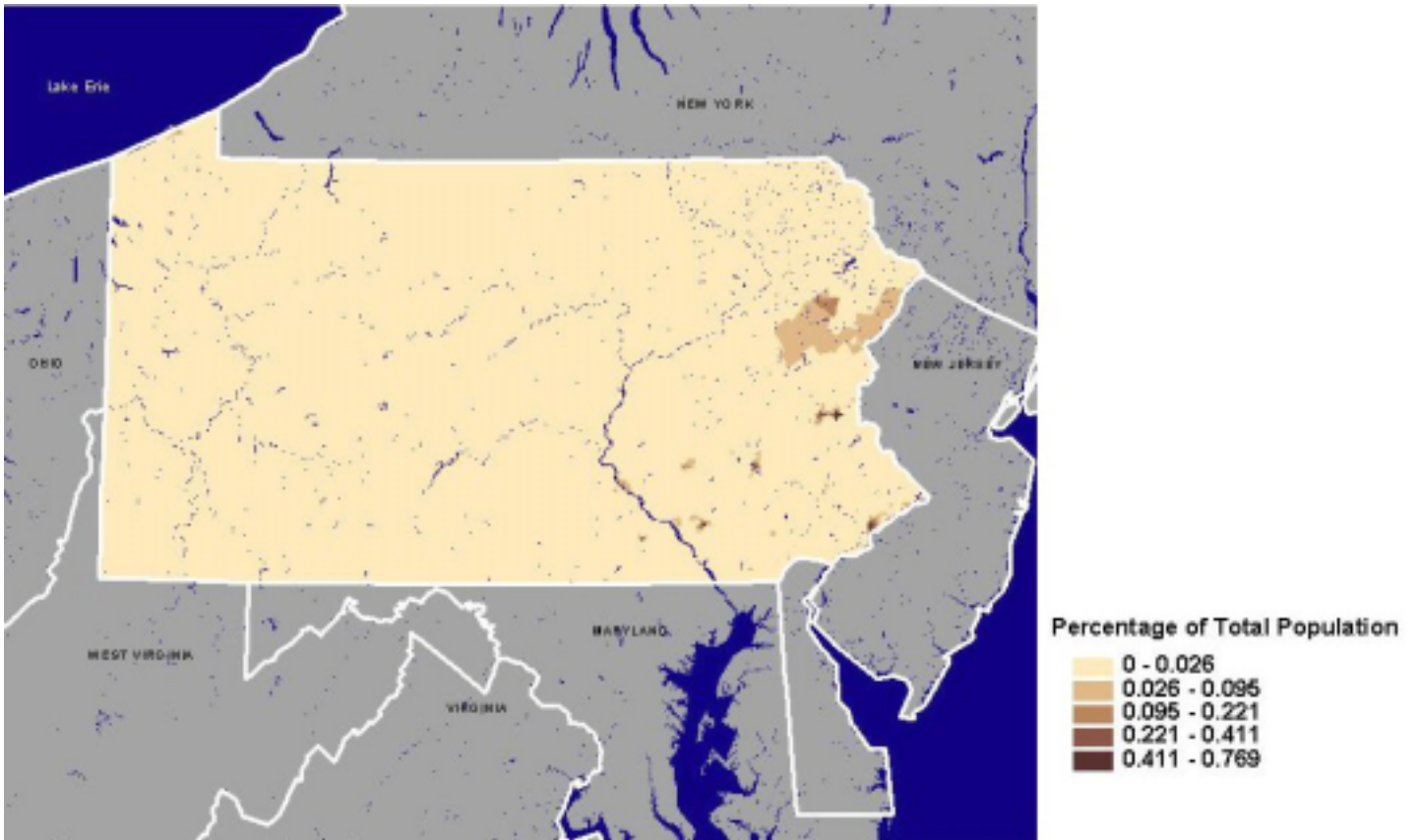


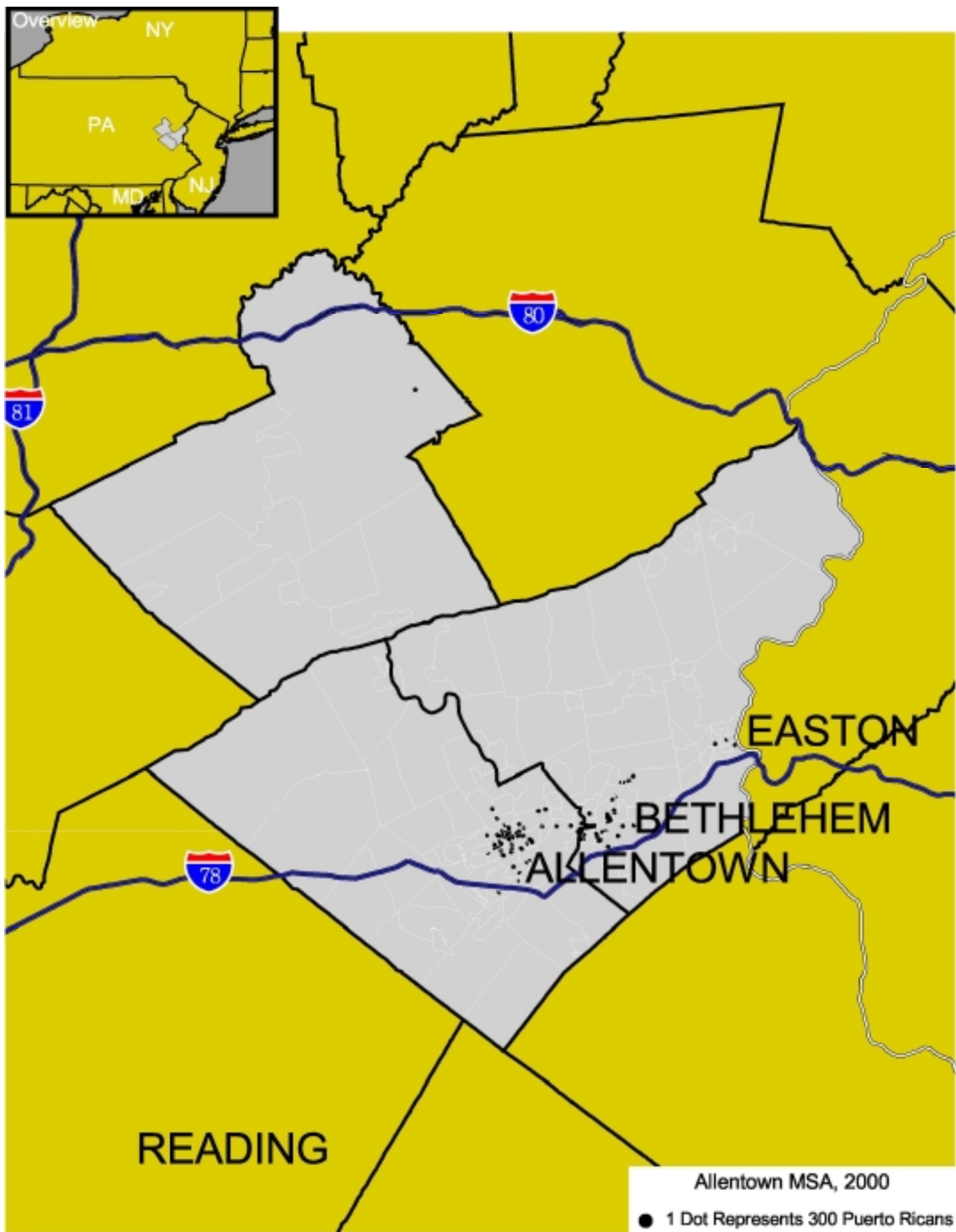


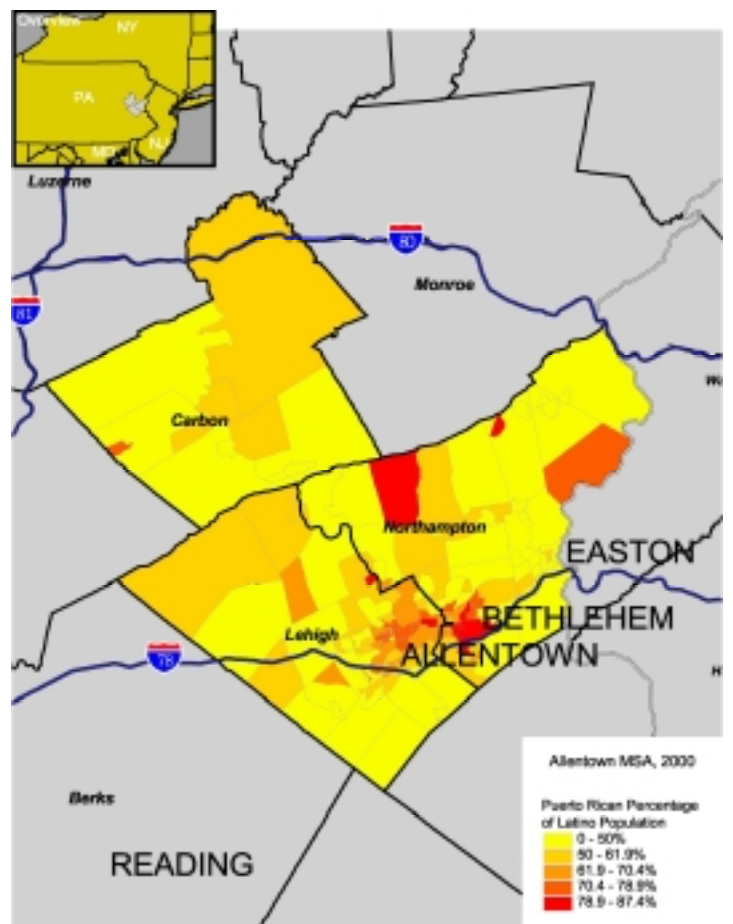
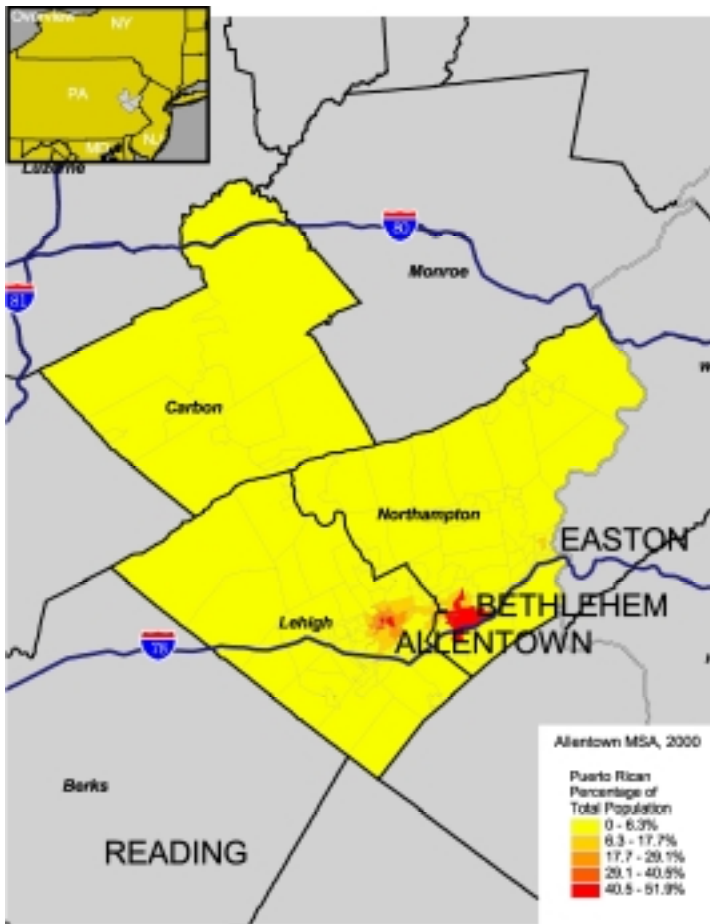
Pennsylvania

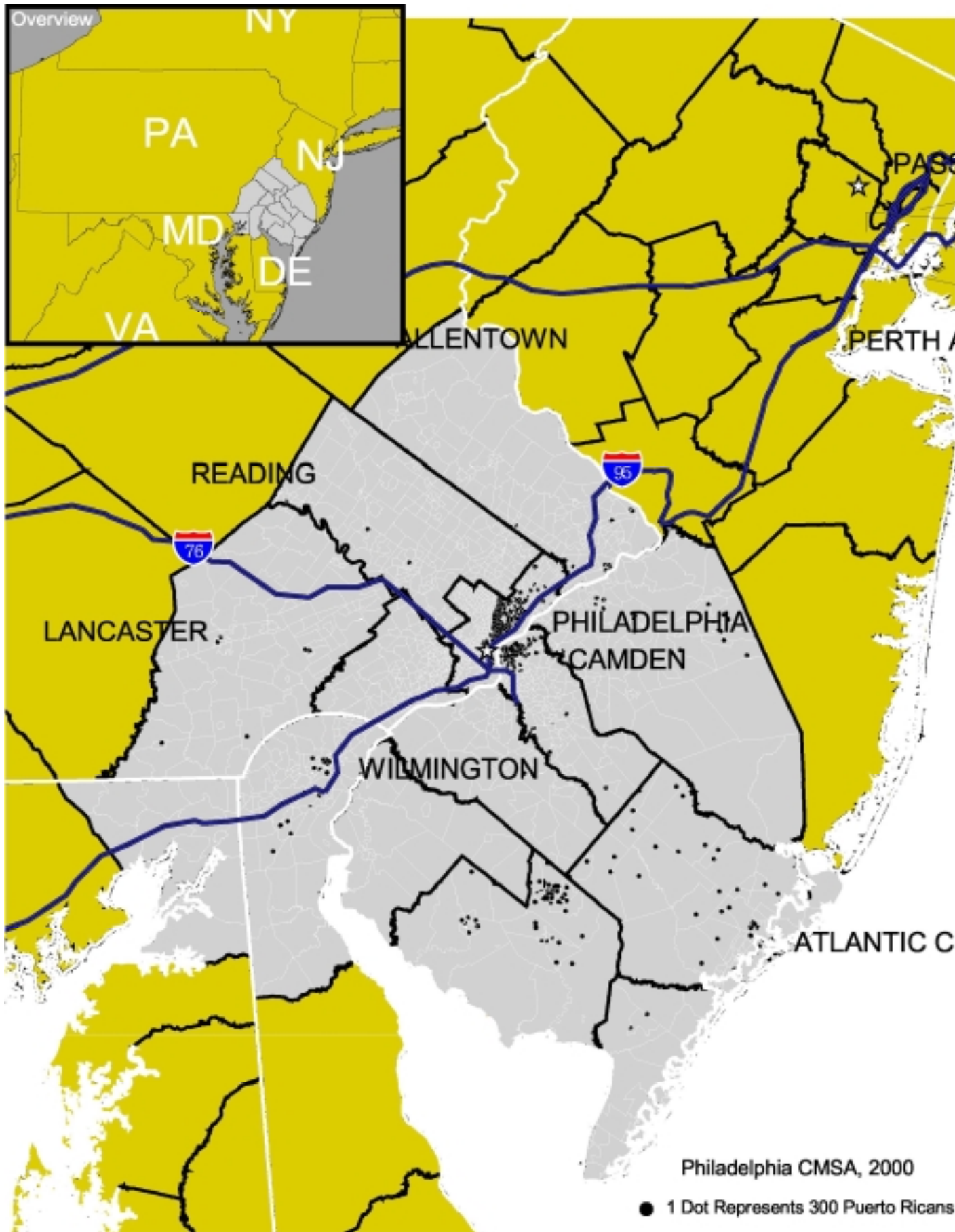
State/Place	2000 Puerto Rican Population	Percent Puerto Rican 2000	1900-2000 Numeric Change Puerto Rican	Percent Change Puerto Rican
PENNSYLVANIA	228,557	1.9%	79,569	53.4%
Philadelphia city	91,527	6.0%	23,670	34.9
Reading city	19,054	23.5%	7,442	64.1
Allentown city	17,682	16.6%	8,012	82.9
Lancaster city	13,717	24.3%	3,412	33.1
Bethlehem city	10,096	14.2%	2,372	30.7
York city	4,977	12.2%	2,259	83.1
Harrisburg city	3,984	8.1%	933	30.6
Lebanon city	3,053	12.5%	1,643	116.5
Erie city	2,911	2.8%	1,033	55.0
Chester city	1,464	4.0%	242	19.8
Easton city	1,127	4.3%	469	71.3

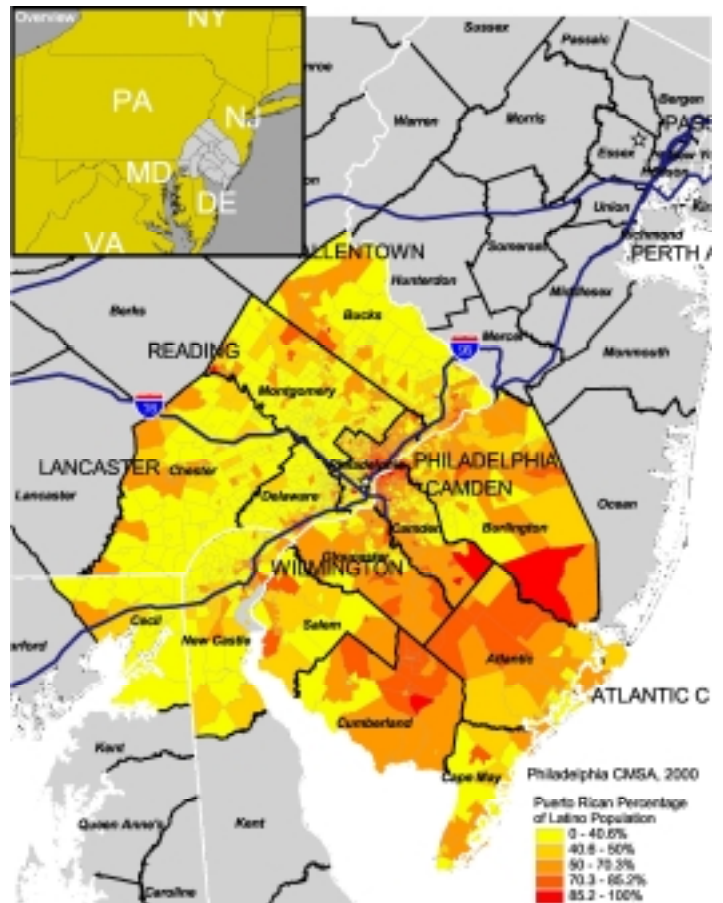
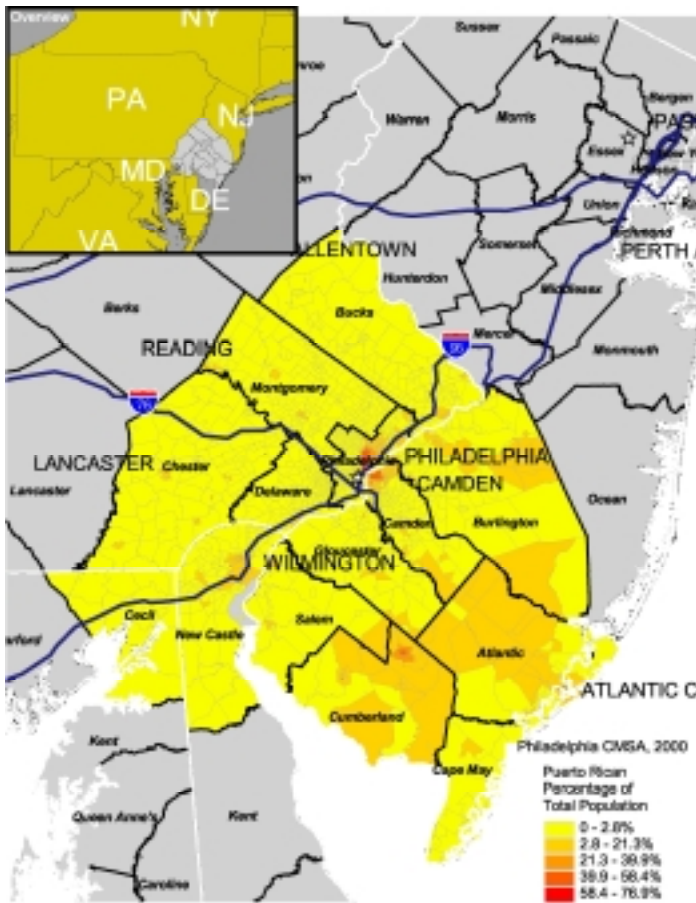


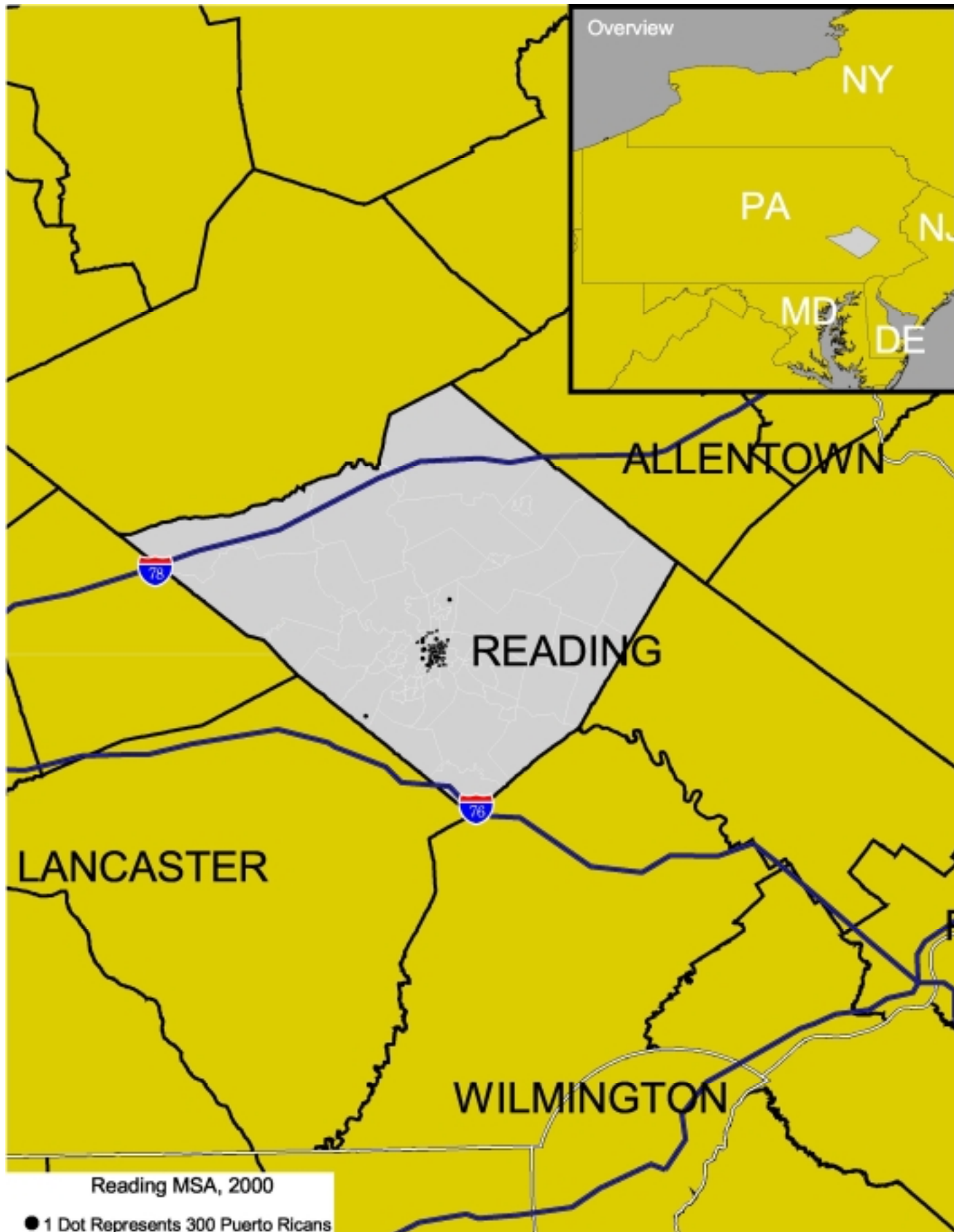


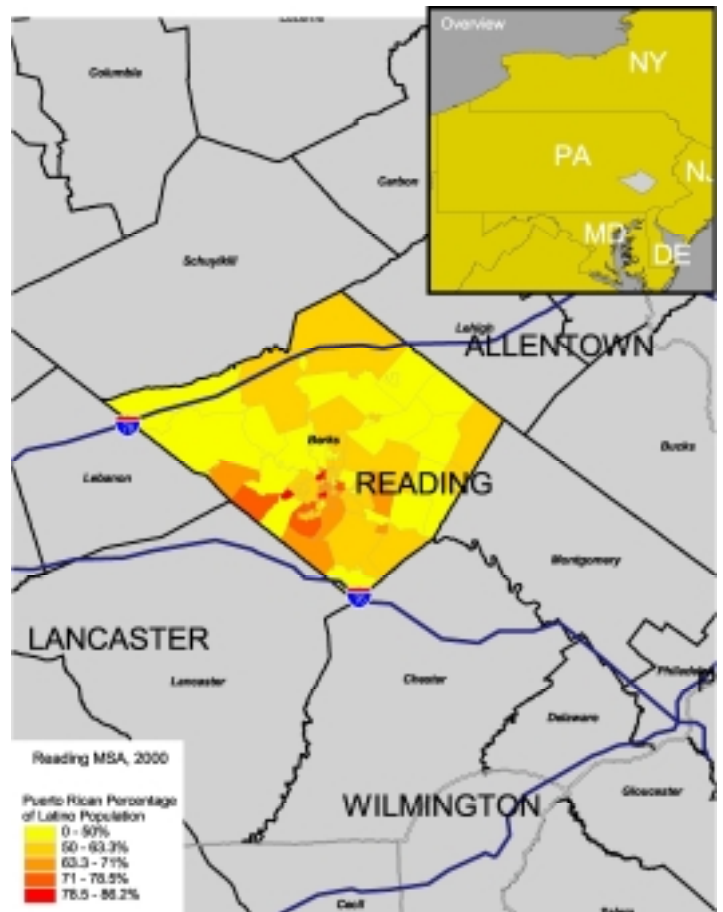
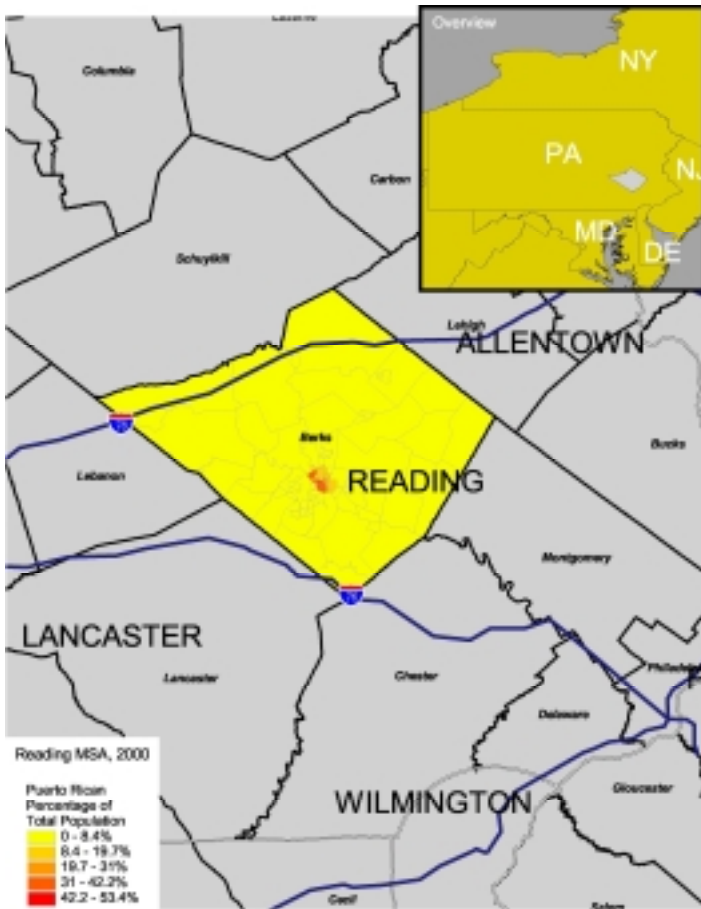






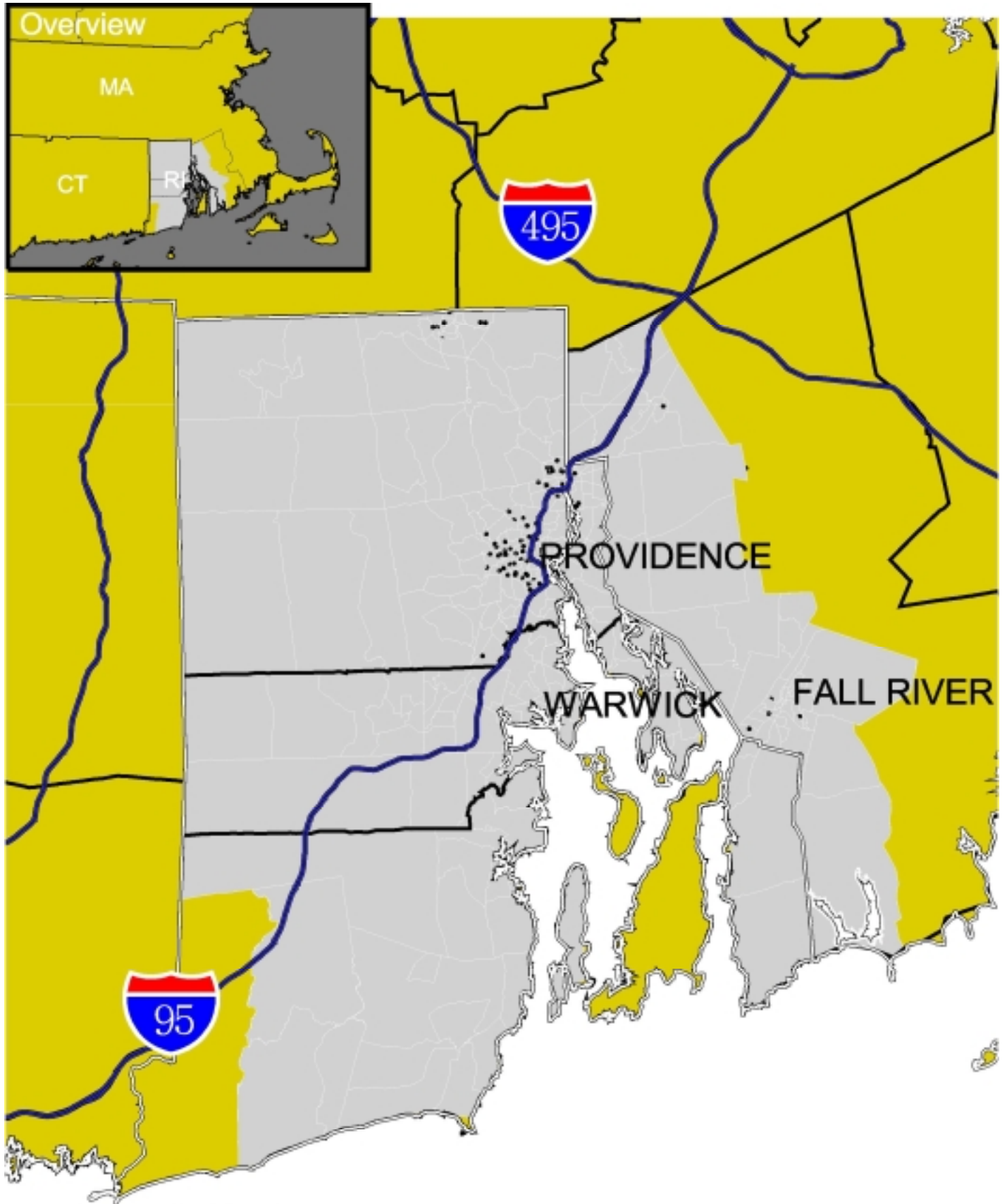






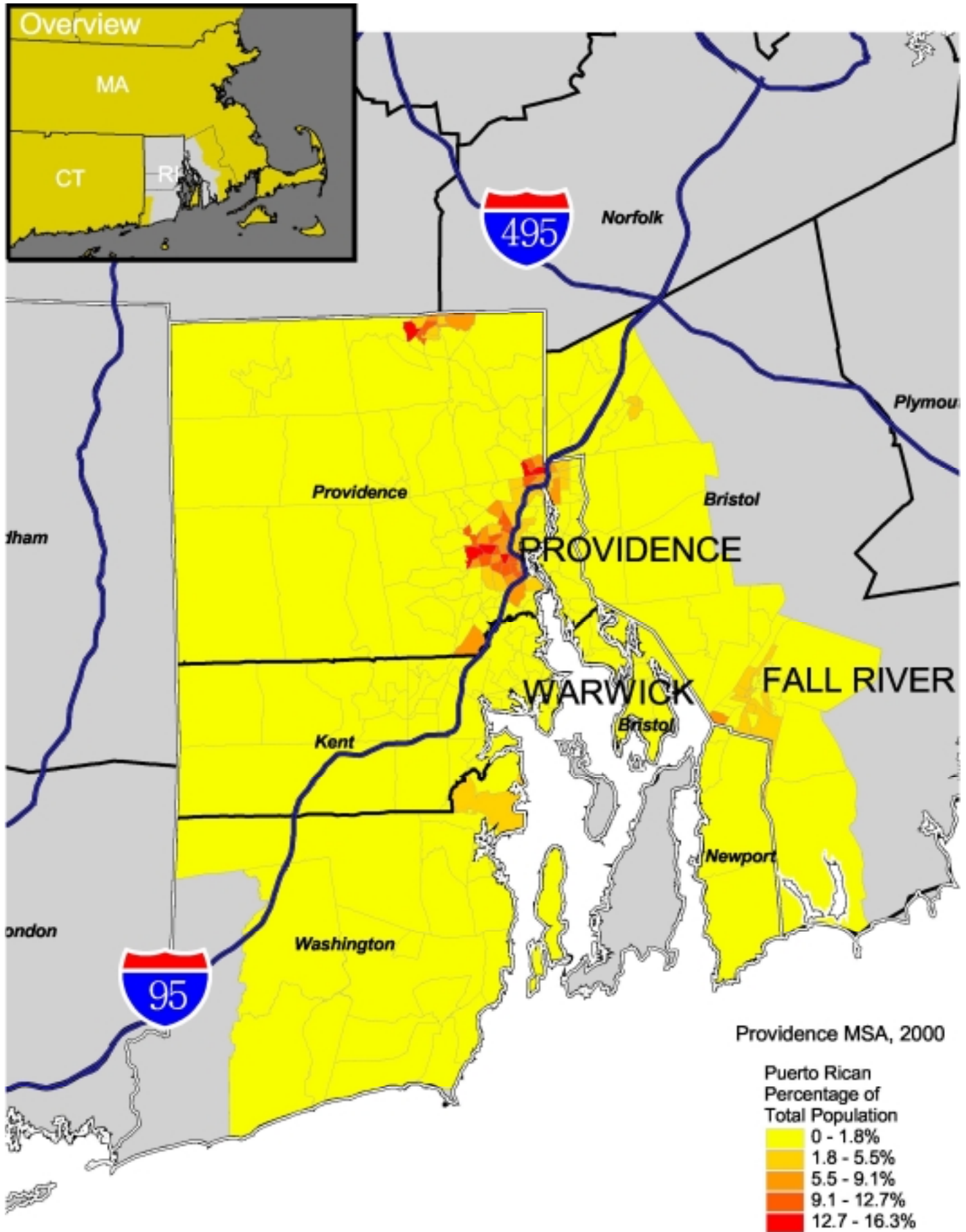
Rhode Island

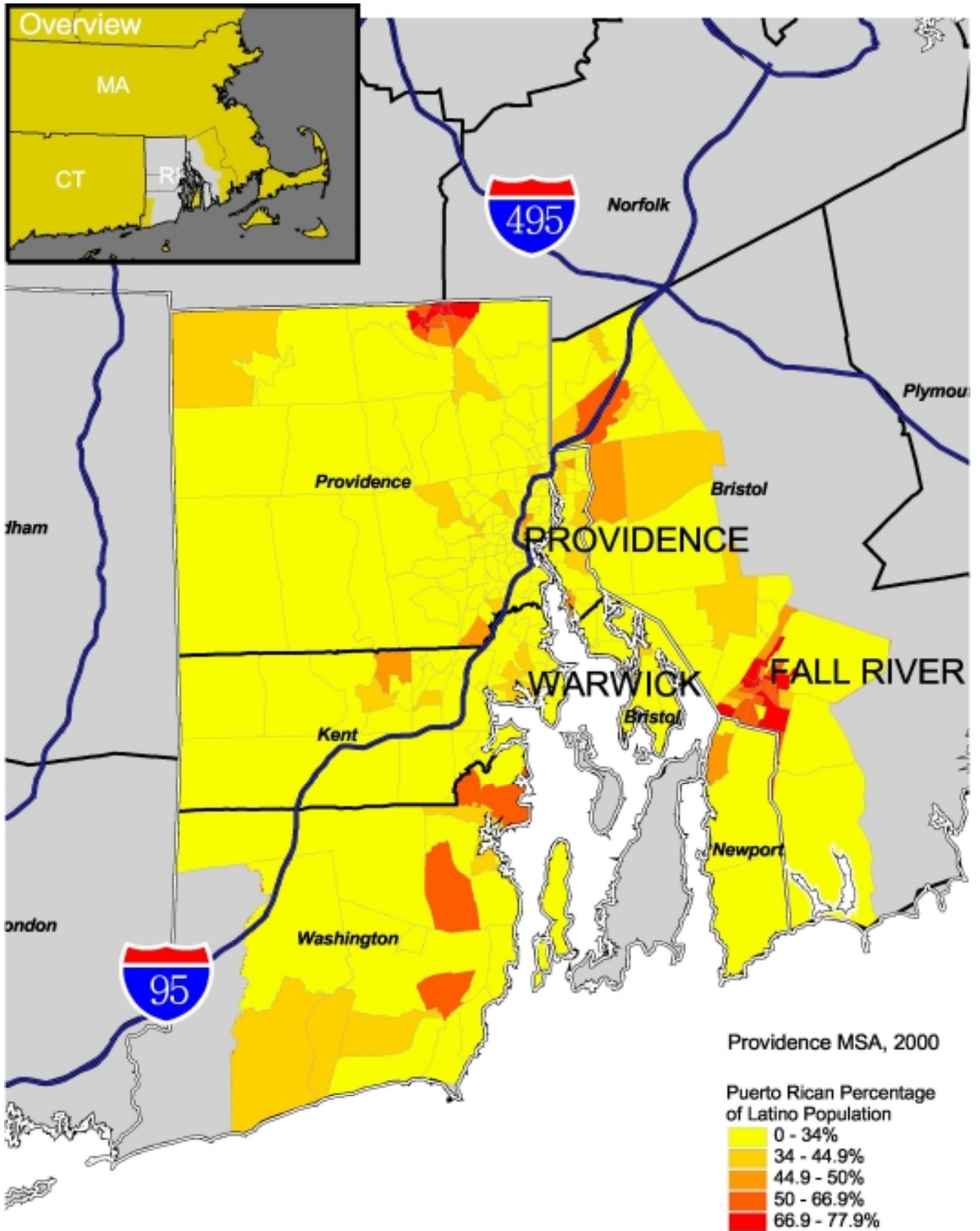
State/Place	2000 Puerto Rican Population	Percent Puerto Rican 2000	1900-2000 Numeric Change Puerto Rican	Percent Change Puerto Rican
RHODE ISLAND	25,422	2.4%	12,406	95.3%
Providence city	12,712	7.3%	5,555	77.6
Pawtucket city	3,298	4.5%	1,812	121.9
Woonsocket city	2,798	6.5%	2,002	251.5
Central Falls city	2,249	11.9%	747	49.7



Providence MSA, 2000

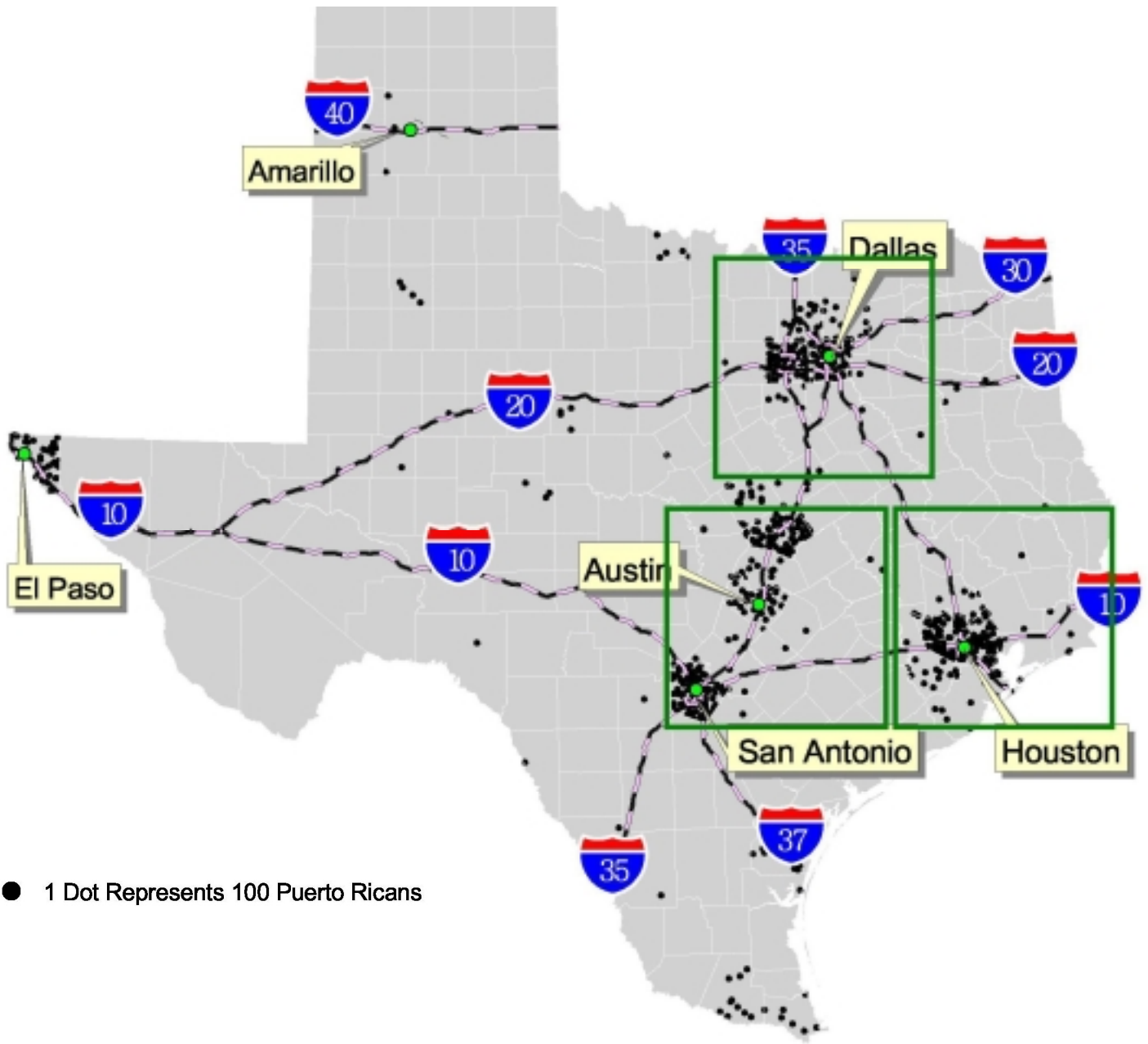
● 1 Dot Represents 300 Puerto Ricans



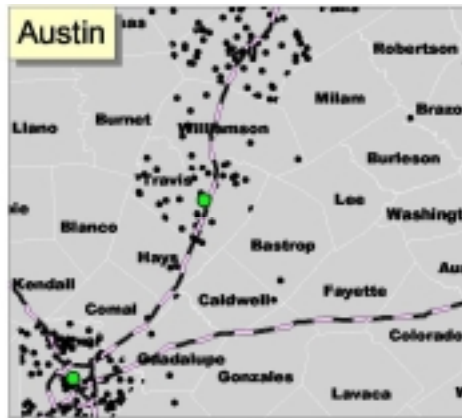
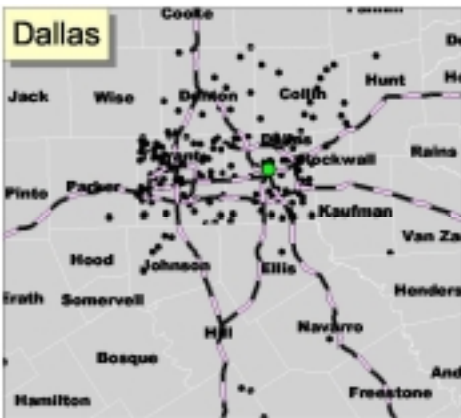


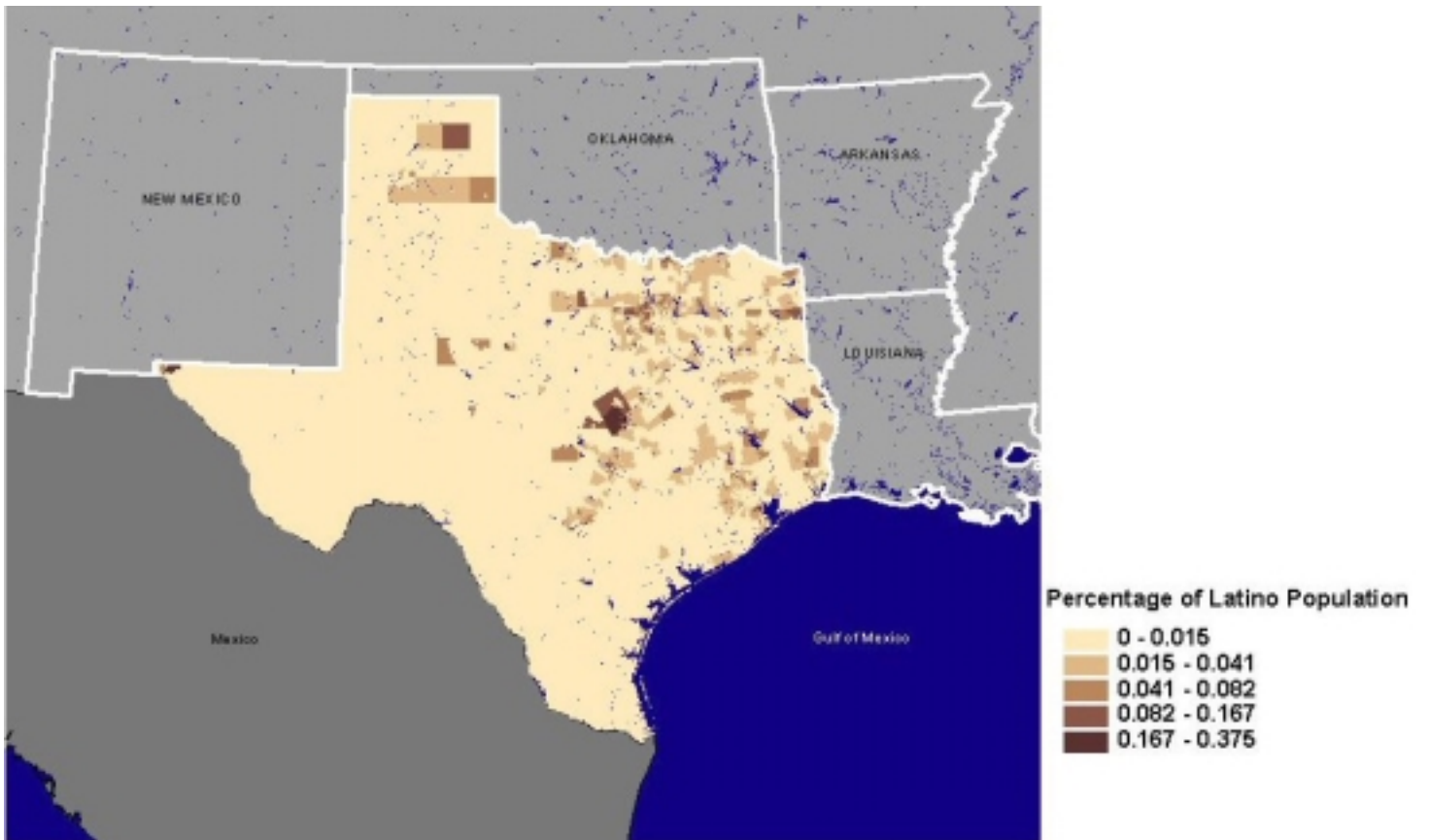
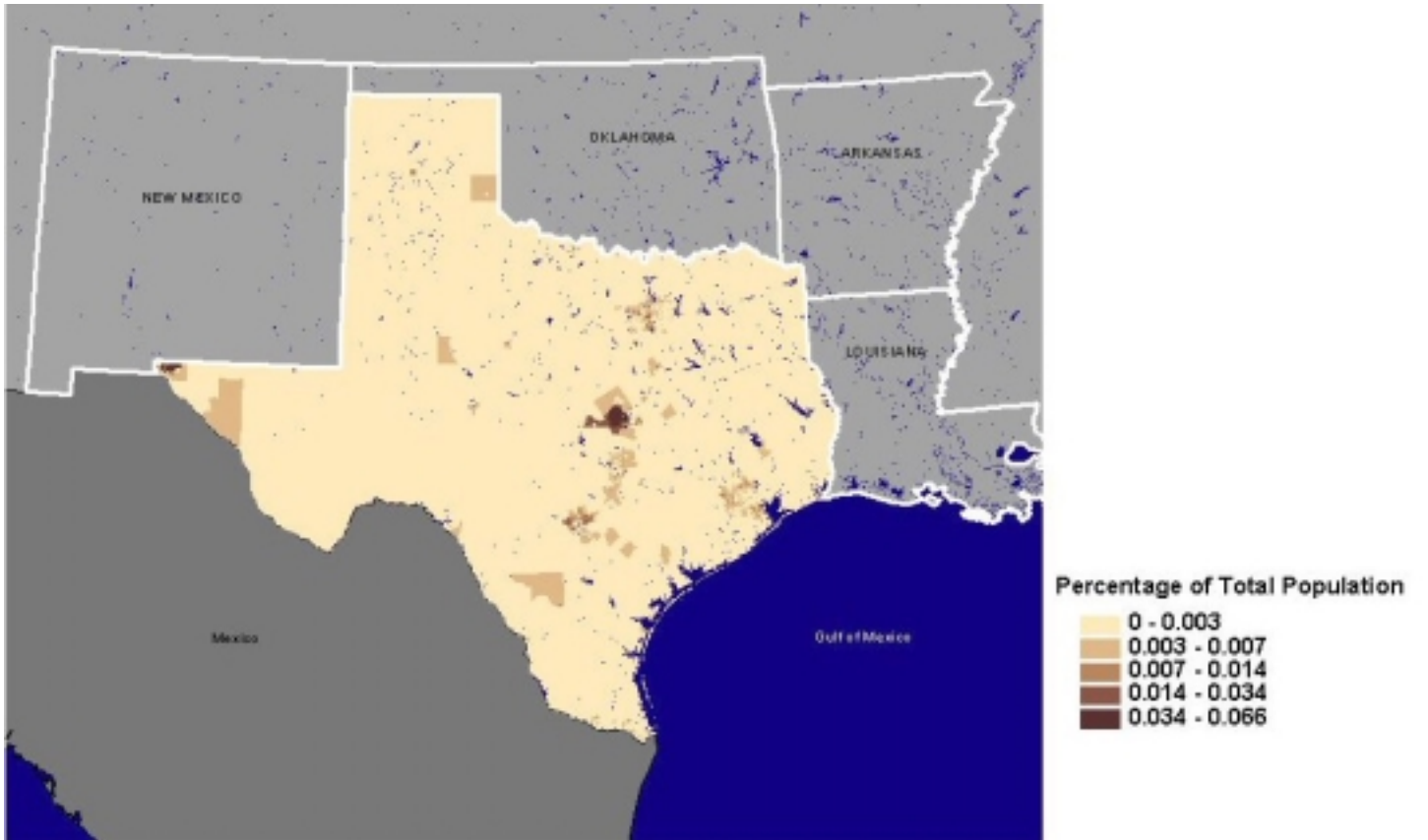
Texas

State/Place	2000 Puerto Rican Population	Percent Puerto Rican 2000	1900-2000 Numeric Change Puerto Rican	Percent Change Puerto Rican
Texas	69,504	0.3%	26,523	61.7%
San Antonio city	7,774	0.7%	3,025	63.7
Houston city	6,906	0.4%	2,523	57.6
Killeen city	4,499	5.2%	1,938	75.7
El Paso city	3,660	0.6%	423	13.1
Austin city	2,529	0.4%	1,104	77.5
Dallas city	2,369	0.2%	872	58.2
Arlington city	2,081	0.6%	1,193	134.3
Fort Worth city	1,892	0.4%	811	75.0
Fort Hood CDP	1,540	4.6%	91	6.3



● 1 Dot Represents 100 Puerto Ricans



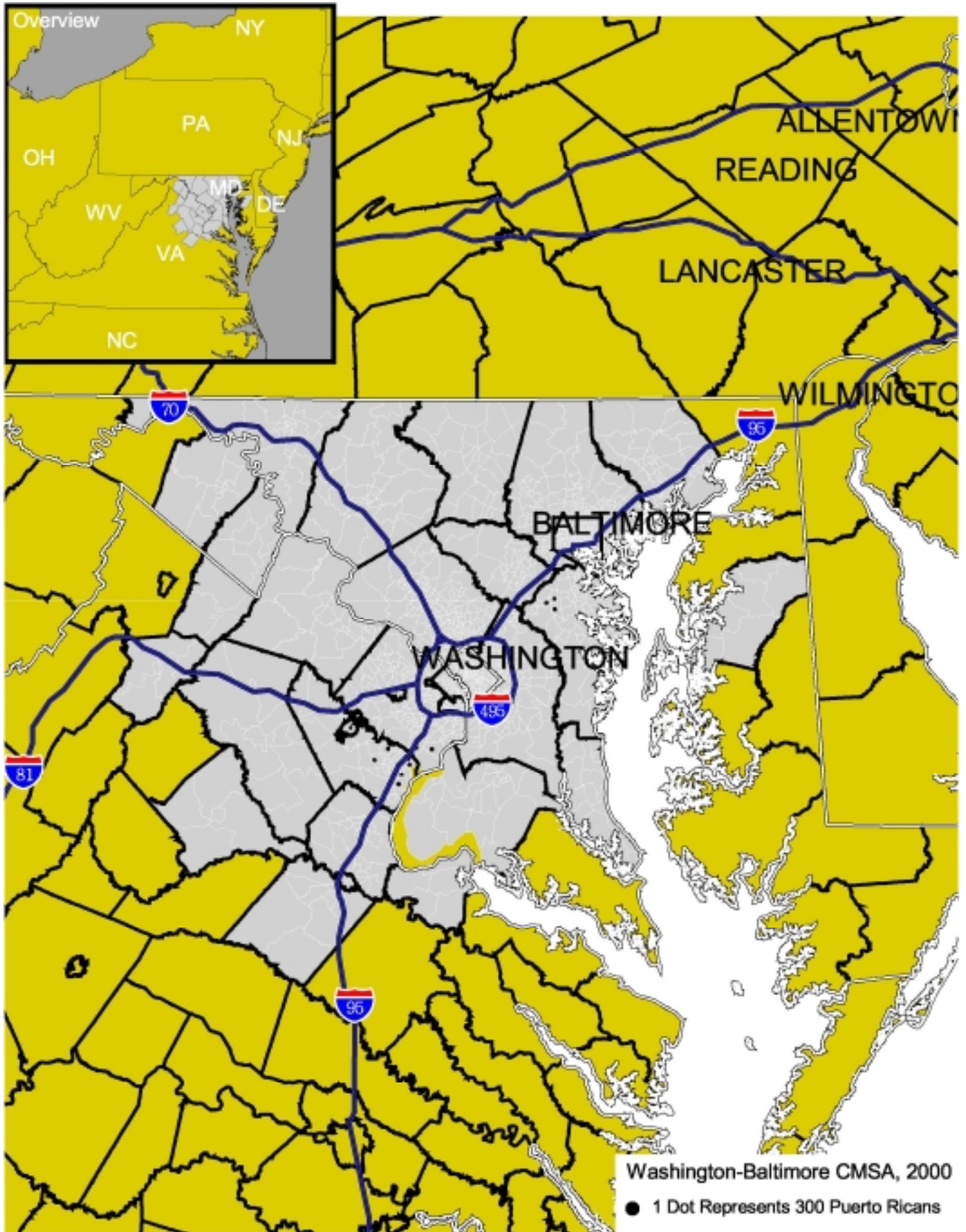


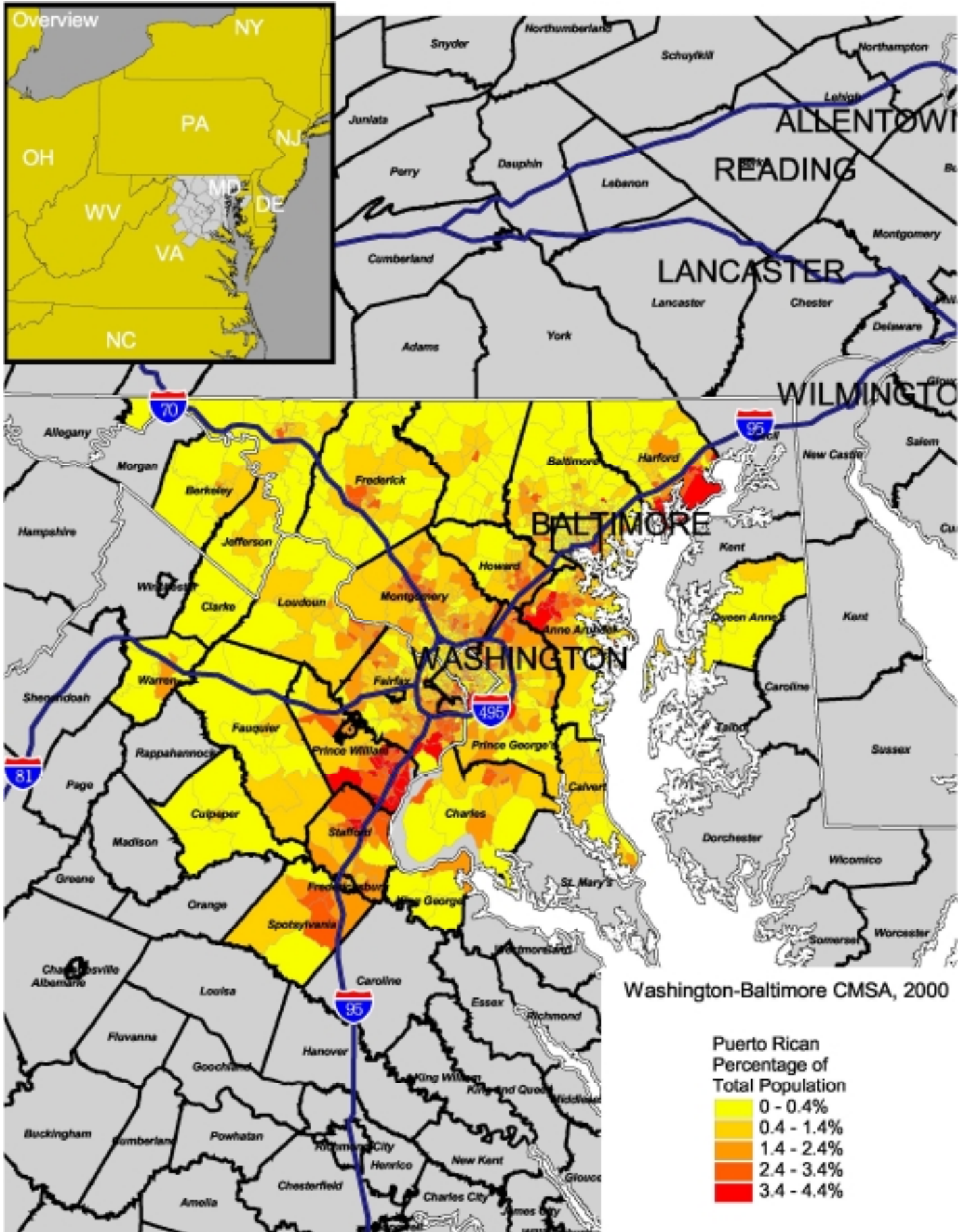
Washington, DC Metro Area

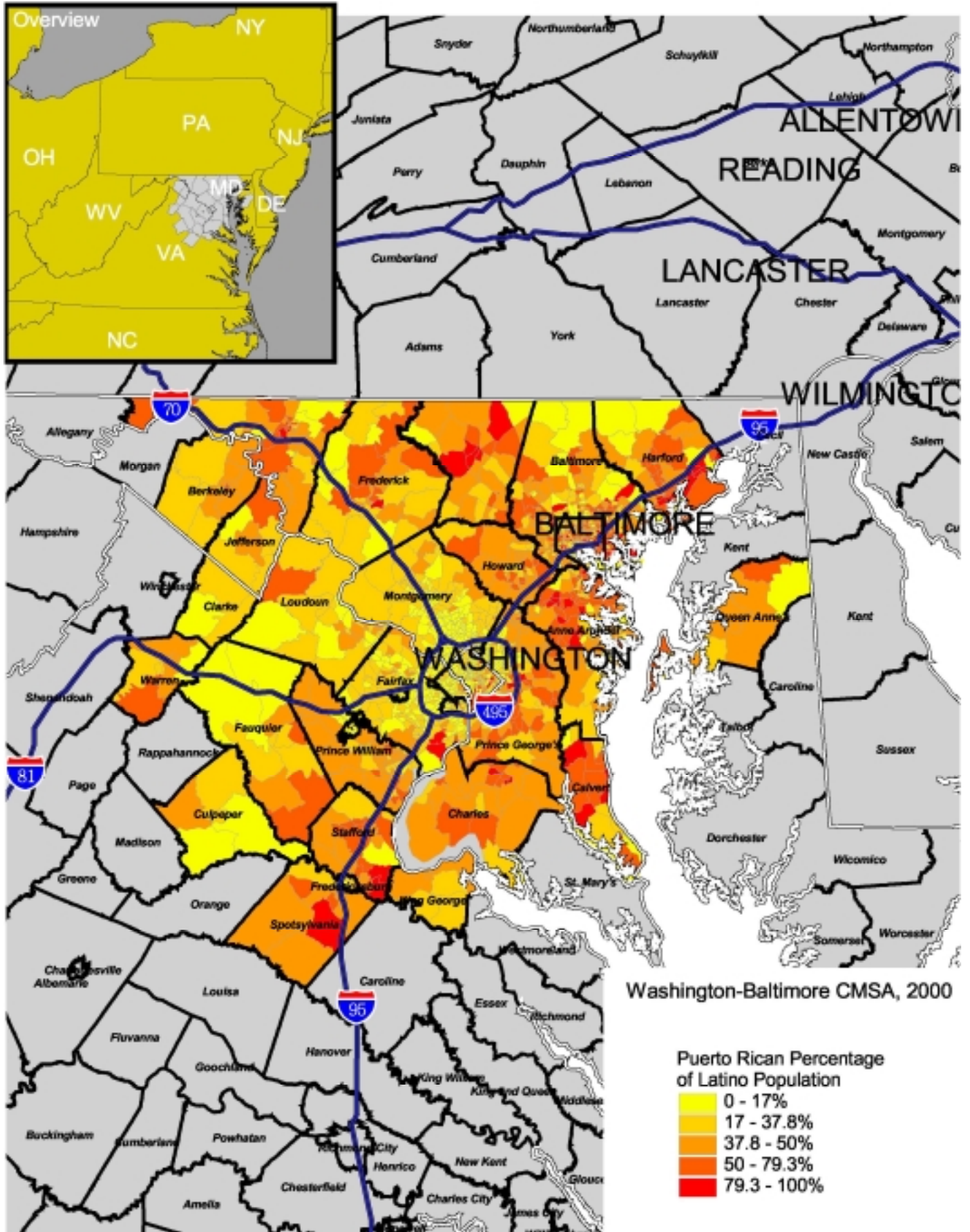
Place	2000 Puerto Rican Population	Percent Puerto Rican 2000	1900-2000 Numeric Change Puerto Rican	Percent Change Puerto Rican
Washington, DC city	2,328	0.4%	124	5.6

State/Place	2000 Puerto Rican Population	Percent Puerto Rican 2000	1900-2000 Numeric Change Puerto Rican	Percent Change Puerto Rican
VIRGINIA	41,131	0.6%	17,433	73.6%
Virginia Beach city	6,273	1.5%	2,802	80.7
Newport News city	3,144	1.7%	1,247	65.7
Norfolk city	2,916	1.2%	638	28.0
Hampton city	1,469	1.0%	629	74.9
Chesapeake city	1,276	0.6%	800	168.1
Alexandria city	1,116	0.9%	338	43.4
Arlington CDP	1,103	0.6%	41	3.9

State/Place	2000 Puerto Rican Population	Percent Puerto Rican 2000	1900-2000 Numeric Change Puerto Rican	Percent Change Puerto Rican
MARYLAND	25,570	0.5%	8,042	45.9%
Baltimore city	2,207	0.3%	350	18.8

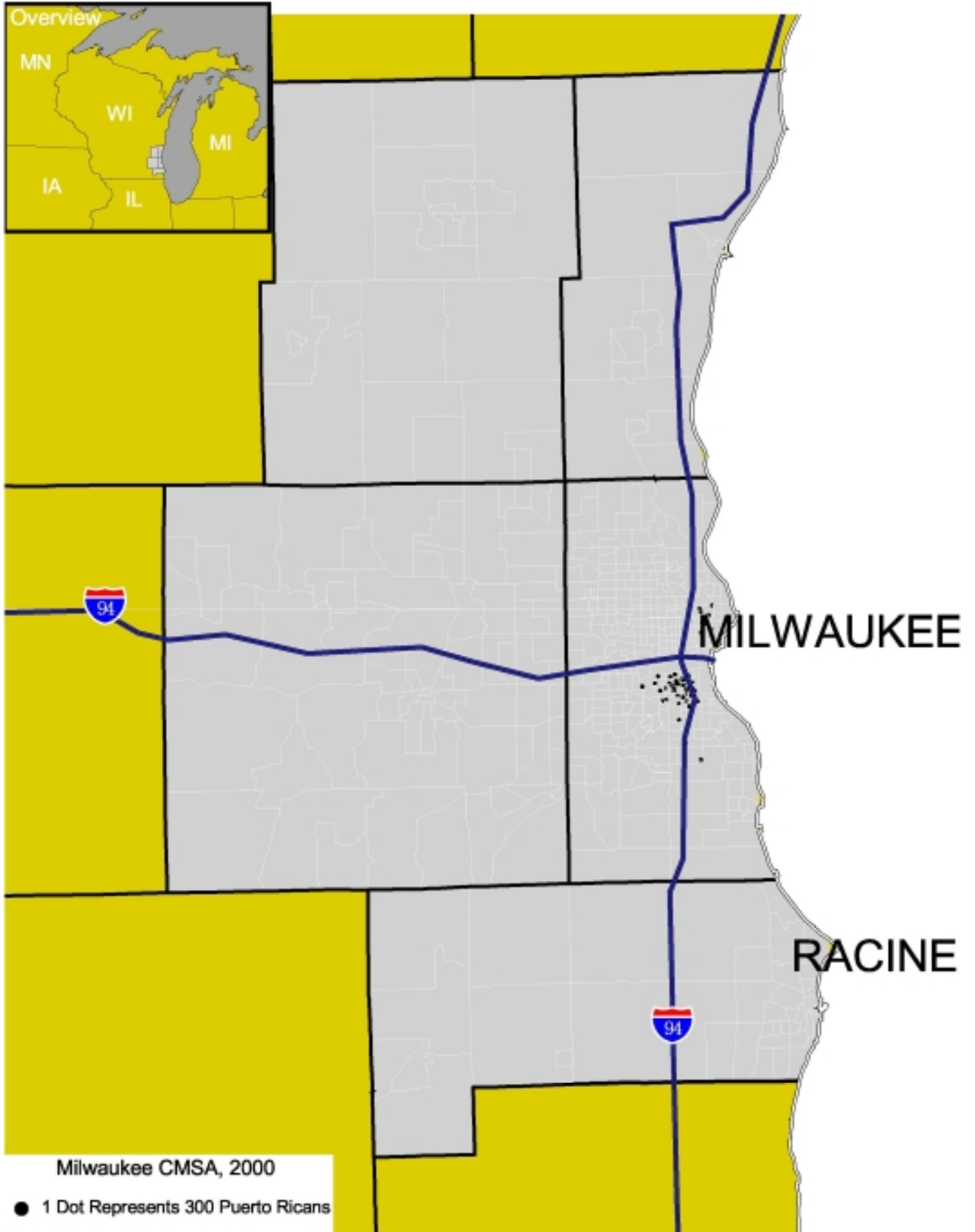


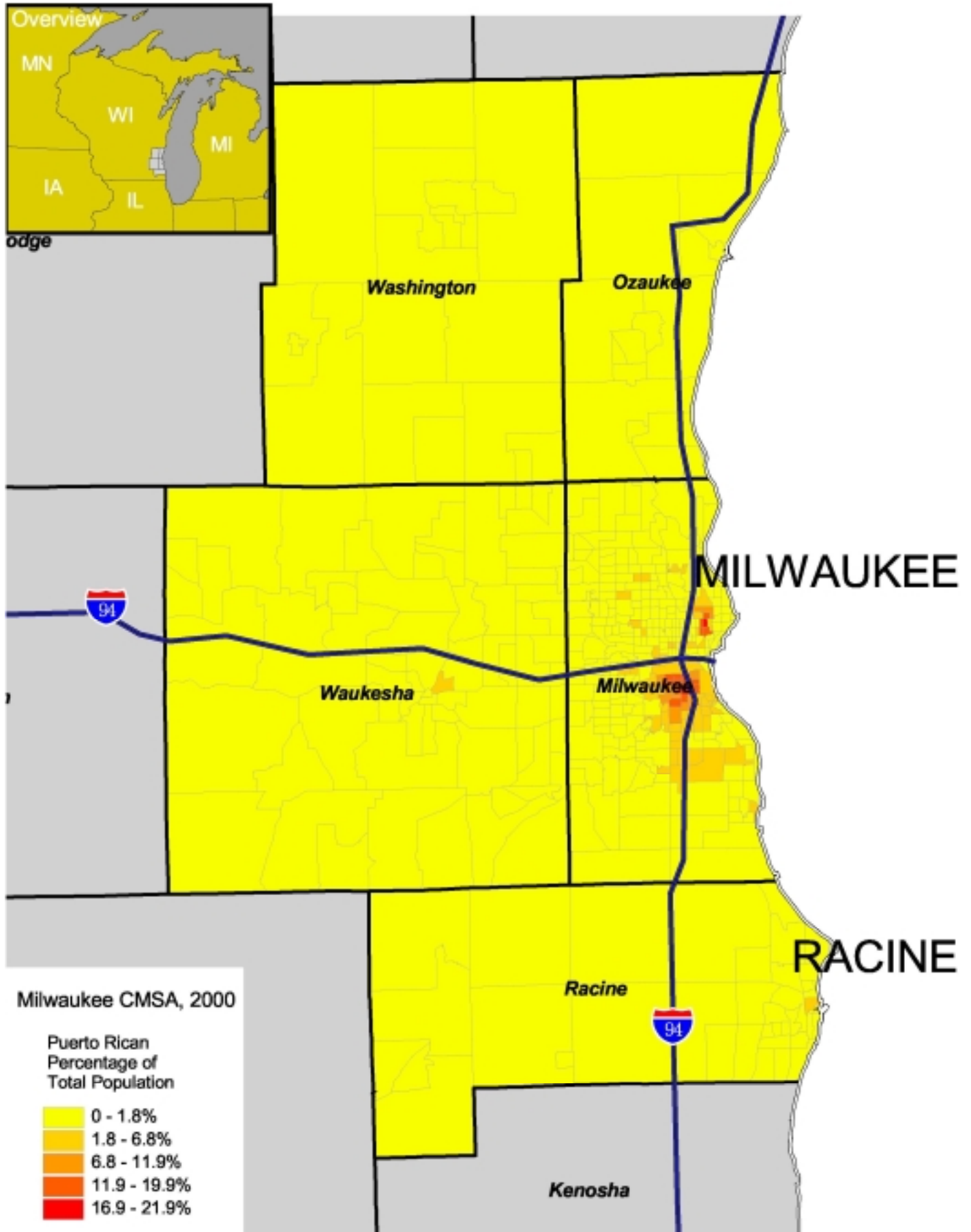


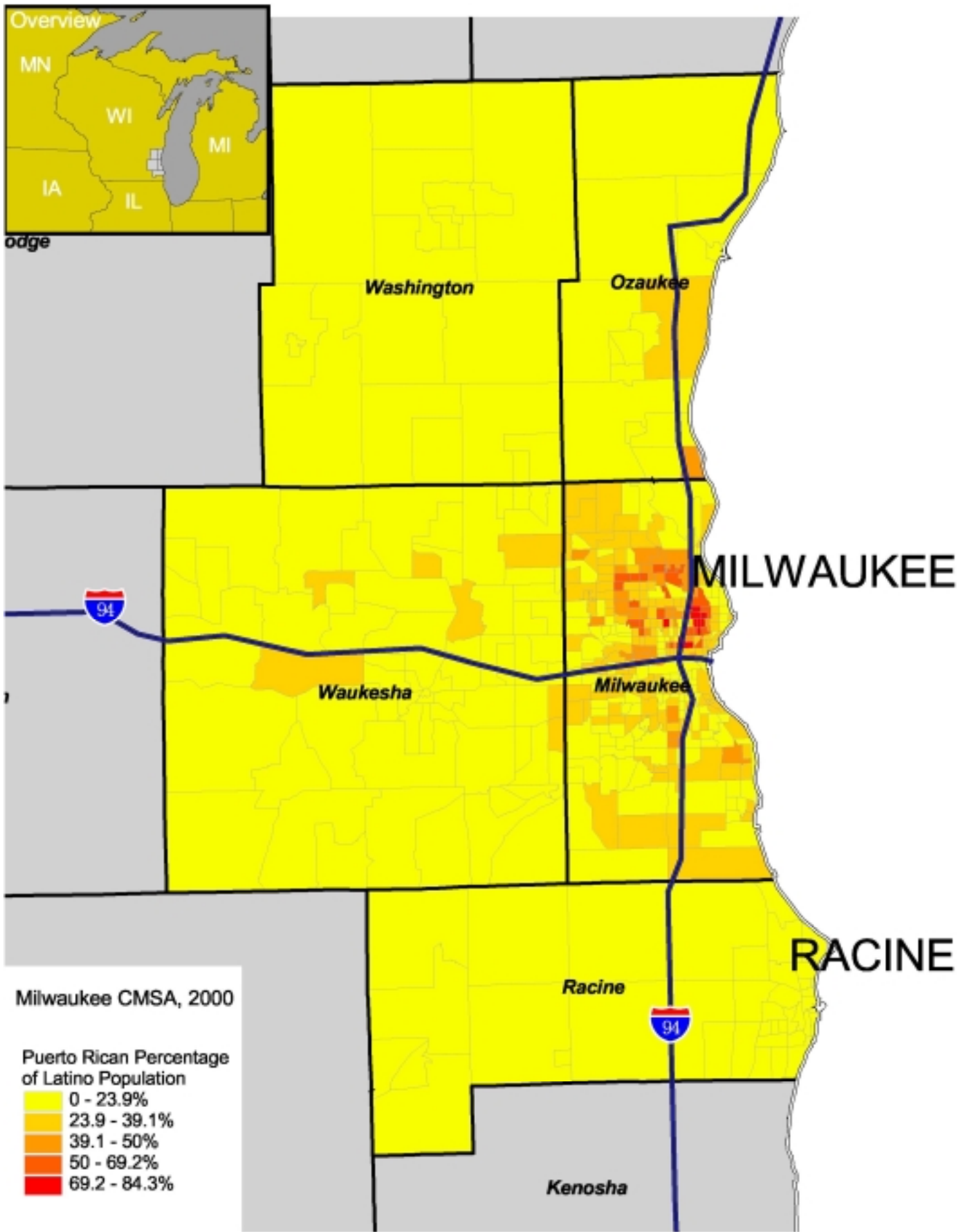


Wisconsin

State/Place	2000 Puerto Rican Population	Percent Puerto Rican 2000	1900-2000 Numeric Change Puerto Rican	Percent Change Puerto Rican
WISCONSIN	30,267	0.6%	11,151	58.3%
Milwaukee city	19,613	3.3%	5,585	39.8









Our Mission

To advance the well-being of Puerto Ricans on the Island and Stateside. Advise the Governor, Resident Commissioner and our various constituents on all activities in the United States of interest to Puerto Rico. Facilitate and promote economic and public policy initiatives important to the growth and empowerment of all Puerto Rican communities.

Regional Offices

More than half of all Puerto Ricans reside in the U.S. Therefore, it is critical that PRFAA enfranchises and serves not only those Puerto Ricans on the Island, but also in our many communities across the country. Through our eleven regional offices nationwide, PRFAA's role as an advocate-working within local communities to partner on a wide range of mutual projects and activities is hastening the social and economic empowerment of Puerto Ricans and all Latinos across the U.S. communities.

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