Demographic, Economic and Social Transformations in Bronx Community District 4: High Bridge, Concourse and Mount Eden, 1990 - 2008

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Demographic, Economic and Social Transformations in Bronx Community District 4: High Bridge, Concourse and Mount Eden, 1990 - 2008

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

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

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

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

For additional information you may contact the Center at 212-817-8438 or by e-mail at clacls@gc.cuny.edu.

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

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

Carolina Barrera-Tobón, Administrative Director

Victoria Stone-Cadena, Director of Special Projects

Laura Limonic, Director of Quantitative Research

Marcela González, Research Associate
This report analyzes changes among the current top five Latino national groups over the period between 1990 and 2008 in New York City Community District 4 of the borough of the Bronx, which comprises the neighborhoods of High Bridge, Concourse, and Mount Eden. A profile of demographic and socioeconomic characteristics including population distribution, age, homeownership, income, educational attainment, employment, and citizenship is provided. These characteristics are compared, whenever appropriate, with those of the other major racial/ethnic components of the Bronx population - non-Hispanic Whites, non-Hispanic Blacks, and Asians1. The term Latino and Hispanic will be used interchangeably throughout this report.

Demographic Indicators

Hispanics are becoming an increasingly larger percentage of the population in the United States. The Hispanic population has tripled between 1990 and 2008 to over 46 million at the national level (See Table 1). Approximately 75% of the total Hispanic population lived in seven states in 2008 including California (28.7%), Texas (18.9%), Florida (8.2%), New York (6.9%), Illinois (4.2%), Arizona (4.2%), and New Jersey (3%). It is projected that by 2050, Hispanics will become over 30% of the total U.S. population.2 In New York State nearly 17% of the population was of Hispanic origin in 2008 and in New York City about 28% of all residents were Latinos.

Table 1
Hispanics as a Percent of the Total Population of the U.S. and New York State, 1980 - 2008

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>United States</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hispanics</td>
<td>14,608,673</td>
<td>22,354,059</td>
<td>35,305,818</td>
<td>46,943,613</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Hispanic</td>
<td>6.4%</td>
<td>9.0%</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
<td>15.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York State</td>
<td>17,558,072</td>
<td>17,990,445</td>
<td>18,976,457</td>
<td>19,490,297</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanics</td>
<td>1,660,901</td>
<td>2,214,026</td>
<td>2,867,583</td>
<td>3,250,038</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Hispanic</td>
<td>9.5%</td>
<td>12.3%</td>
<td>15.1%</td>
<td>16.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


New York is the state with the fourth largest Hispanic population in the nation. Approximately 72% of all Latinos in the state reside in the New York City Metropolitan area. In the borough of the Bronx, the neighborhoods comprising Community District 4 have the second highest concentration of Latinos in the borough. Since 1990, the Latino population in this particular community district has increased steadily. As indicated in Figure 1, in 1990 Latinos accounted for approximately 55% of the total population in this district, 60% in 2000, and approximately 67% in 2008. The percentage of Asians increased slightly over the 18-year period examined, comprising less than 1% of the total population in 1990, a little bit over 1% in 2000, and 1.7% in 2008. On the other hand, the non-Hispanic black population showed the greatest decrease, from 42% in 1990 to 29% in 2008. The percentage of the population who are non-Hispanic whites also decreased from 2.6% in 1990 to 2% in 2008.
In the period between 1990 and 2008, the relative distribution of the five Latino subgroups identified in this report changed. (See tables 2 and 3). Since 1990 the number of Mexicans in this community district has soared. In 1990, Mexicans accounted for 2% of the total Latino population, while in 2008 they comprised 11% of the Hispanic population in the district. Likewise, the number of Ecuadorians, Hondurans and Dominicans have grown considerably. In 1990 Ecuadorians were 2% of the Latino population and 4% in 2008. Hondurans were 3% of the district’s Latino population in 2008. Dominicans were the largest Latino subgroup, comprising 36% of the Latino population in 1990; by 2008, they constituted 44% of the all Hispanics. Although Puerto Ricans represented the majority Latino subgroup in this district in 1990, the number of Puerto Ricans in this community district has steadily decreased. In 1990, Puerto Ricans accounted for 51% of the total Latino population. But in 2008, only 31% of the population was of Puerto Rican descent, the second most numerous Latino subgroup behind Dominicans.

### Table 2
Population of Bronx Community District 4 by Race/Ethnicity, 1990 - 2008

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nationality</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>% of Total Population</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>% of Total Population</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>% of Total Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Non-Hispanic White</td>
<td>2,895</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
<td>1,975</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
<td>2,704</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Hispanic Black</td>
<td>47,796</td>
<td>42.1%</td>
<td>47,098</td>
<td>36.8%</td>
<td>40,211</td>
<td>29.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>704</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
<td>1,783</td>
<td>1.4%</td>
<td>2,311</td>
<td>1.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latino</td>
<td>62,109</td>
<td>54.7%</td>
<td>77,262</td>
<td>60.3%</td>
<td>92,725</td>
<td>67.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>113,504</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>128,118</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>137,951</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 3
Latino Population of Bronx Community District 4 by Nationality, 1990 - 2008

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nationality</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>% of all Latinos Population</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>% of all Latinos Population</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>% of all Latinos Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dominican</td>
<td>22,630</td>
<td>36.4%</td>
<td>33,096</td>
<td>42.8%</td>
<td>40,791</td>
<td>44.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puerto Rican</td>
<td>31,926</td>
<td>51.4%</td>
<td>26,902</td>
<td>34.8%</td>
<td>28,896</td>
<td>31.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexican</td>
<td>1,088</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
<td>4,610</td>
<td>6.0%</td>
<td>10,644</td>
<td>11.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecuadorian</td>
<td>1,034</td>
<td>1.7%</td>
<td>2,594</td>
<td>3.4%</td>
<td>3,869</td>
<td>4.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honduran</td>
<td>903</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
<td>3,268</td>
<td>4.2%</td>
<td>3,158</td>
<td>3.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>4,528</td>
<td>7.3%</td>
<td>6,792</td>
<td>8.8%</td>
<td>5,367</td>
<td>5.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>62,109</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>77,262</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>92,725</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Latinos in the Bronx’s Community District 4 had a median age of 29 years in 2008. (See Figure 2). As a group, Latinos tend to be younger than Asians and non-Hispanic Blacks. Among Latinos, Mexicans and Hondurans tend to be younger than other Latinos, while the median age of Puerto Ricans, Dominicans and Ecuadorians subgroups were about the same.

Figure 2
Median Age of Population in Bronx Community District 4 by Latino Nationality and Racial/Ethnic Group, 2008

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nationality</th>
<th>Median Age</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Puerto Rican</td>
<td>30.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dominican</td>
<td>30.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecuadorian</td>
<td>30.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honduran</td>
<td>28.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexican</td>
<td>25.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latinos</td>
<td>29.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Hispanic White</td>
<td>29.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Hispanic Black</td>
<td>35.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>34.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Homeownership

The majority of the population in the Bronx’s Community District 4 lived in rented houses or apartments, and the percentage of people owning their homes decreased steadily in the years between 1990 and 2008. In 2008, 4% of the total population owned their homes a decline from 7% in 1990. Homeownership patterns for the Latino population reflected those of the total population. (See Figures 3, 4, and 5).

The percentage of Latinos who owned their homes has been lower in comparison to other racial/ethnic groups. In 2008, only 1% of the Latino population owned their homes compared to 11% of the Asian population, 9% of the non-Hispanic Black population, and 2% of the non-Hispanic White population.

Figures 6 and 7 indicate that among Latino subgroups, Puerto Ricans had the highest rate of homeownership in 2008 (2%), followed by Dominicans (1%). Homeownership rates among the other subgroups were less than 1%. The precise reasons for the disparities in homeownership are unknown and not revealed by the data analyzed, but in any case the rates were very low for all Latino nationalities.
Figure 3
Homeownership and Rental Rates in the Bronx Community District 4 for the Total Population, 1990-2008

Figure 4
Homeownership in Bronx Community District 4 by Racial/Ethnic Group, 1990-2008
Figure 5
Rental Rates in Bronx Community District 4 by Racial/Ethnic Group, 1990-2008

Figure 6
Homeownership in Bronx Community District 4 by Latino Nationality, 1990 - 2008
Economic Characteristics

The economic performance of the for major race/ethnic groups as measured by family and household income data was heavily influenced by the demographic changes in the district between 1990 and 2008. It is clear from these data that poorer black, Asian, and non-Hispanic white families remained living in Bronx CD 4, as Latinos moved to about two-thirds of the population. The median family incomes (in inflation adjusted dollars) declined between 1990 and 2008 for all groups but Latinos who experienced a marginal increase from about $21,500 (1990) to $25,460 (2008). (See figure 8).

Median family income data for the top Latino subgroups are indicated in figure 9. The data indicate that Puerto Ricans and Dominicans, the demographically dominant Latino nationalities, experienced slight increases in median family income from 1990 to 2008. It is important to note that although the number of Mexicans in this neighborhood steadily increased from 1990 to become the third largest Latino subgroup in 2008, they had the lowest family median income reported in 2008. One explanation for this may be that families with lower incomes have settled in this neighborhood and/or families with higher incomes have moved out of this neighborhood since 2000. Ecuadorian and Honduran median family incomes are indicated in figure 9, but it should be kept in mind that the sample sizes were very small.

These same patterns were found when examining median household income. Many households had more than one family. Latinos experienced a slight increase in median household income from $25,474 in 1990 to $28,515 in 2008 (in 2008 inflation adjusted dollars). Every other race/ethnic group experienced slight declines in real median household income. (See figure 10). Among the dominant Dominican and Puerto Rican national sub-groups in Bronx CD4, there were slight improvements in median household incomes. Dominicans moved from $27,225 in 1990 to $30,552 in 2008 while over the same period Puerto Rican households experienced and increase from $19,800 to $26,580. All other groups are indicated in figure 11.
Figure 8
Median Family Income in Bronx Community District 4 by Racial/Ethnic Group, 1990-2008 (in inflation adjusted 2008 dollars)

Figure 9
Median Family Income in Bronx Community District 4 by Latino Nationality, 1990-2008 (in inflation adjusted 2008 dollars)
Figure 10
Median Household Income in Bronx Community District 4 by Racial/Ethnic Group, 1990 - 2008 (in inflation adjusted 2008 dollars)

Figure 11
Median Household Income in Bronx Community District 4 by Latino Nationality, 1990 - 2008 (in inflation adjusted 2008 dollars)
Social Characteristics

Education

The data on educational attainment for Bronx CD 4 were heavily influenced by the apparent migration to the district of poorer families with less education between 1990 and 2008 as well as the outmigration of families which were in all likelihood better-off from a financial point of view. When considering the data for the district it also must be kept in mind that the sample sizes for all groups other than Latinos was fairly small and this may have distorted the data somewhat. Nevertheless, the data indicated that educational attainment levels fluctuated among all racial/ethnic groups in the Bronx’s Community District 4 since 1990. Among non-Hispanic whites, 14% of its population age 25 and above had attained a Bachelor’s or higher degree of education in 1990 and this decreased to 3% in 2008. Likewise, among Asians, percentage of its population attaining a B.A. or higher degree decreased from 24% in 1990 to 13% in 2008. Among Latinos, the percentage age of its population attaining a B.A. or higher degree rose very slightly from 6% in 1990 to 7% in 2008. Non-Hispanic blacks had the highest percentage of individuals 25 years of age and older who had attained a Bachelor’s or higher degree of education, with 18% of its total population age 25 and over acquiring a B.A. or higher degree in 2008 compared to 10% in 1990. As indicated previously, non-Hispanic blacks also had the highest median family and household incomes reported. In comparison, non-Hispanic whites had the lowest percentage of individuals 25 years of age and older who had attained a Bachelor’s or higher degree of education as well as the lowest family and household incomes reported. These observations confirm the connection between income levels and educational attainment in the district. (See figure 12).

Figure 12
Population in Bronx Community District 4 with a Bachelor’s Degree or Higher by Racial/Ethnic Group, 1990 - 2008
(in percentages of total population 25 years of age and older)
There were also fluctuations in the educational attainment levels among Latino national subgroups in the community district. The largest sample sizes were available for the Puerto Rican and Dominican populations. Dominicans had the highest percentage of individuals 25 years of age and over who had attained a B.A. or higher degree in 2008 and for Puerto Ricans the rate was 4%, a decline from the 6% college graduation rate in 1990. Ecuadorians followed at 5% in 2008. Mexicans and Hondurans in the district had the lowest college graduation rates. (See figure 13). These low rates were also tied to the fact that poorer families moved into the district after 1990, undoubtedly with less ability to send children to college.

In general, females of all race/ethnic groups tended to have higher educational attainment levels than males. However, in the particular community district examined here, males had higher educational attainment levels than females. In 1990, 8% of all males and 5% of all females in the general population age 25 and older had a B.A. or higher degree. In 2000, the percentage of males in the general population with similar educational achievement levels decreased to 7% and the percentage of females attaining a B.A. or higher degree decreased to 4%. In 2008, the percentage of males attaining higher levels of education increased to 9%, while that of females rose to 6%.
Among Latinos, the reversed patterns were observed when compared to the general population. Overall, the percentage of Latino males and females at or above age 25 who had a Bachelor’s or higher degree was lower than that for the general population. In 1990, the percentage of individuals 25-years of age and older achieving a B.A. or higher degree was 7% among males and 3% among females. In 2000, the percentage of males 25-years of age and older achieving a B.A. or higher degree decreased to 5%, while among females it increased to 6%. By 2008, the percentage of males and females 25-years of age and older achieving a B.A. or higher degree dropped once more to 4% and 3% respectively. (See figure 14).

Employment

Employment data for the total population revealed a marked increase in the number of people between 16 and 60 years of age who were employed between 2000 (44%) and 2008 (65%). The percentage of people unemployed or not in the labor force decreased. No specific reasons are given for those “not in the labor force”. Reasons could range from debilitating illnesses to people who have chosen, for whatever motive, not to seek work, or women who stayed at home to raise children. (See figure 15).

The data in figure 16 were heavily influenced by sample sizes, which among whites and Asians were fairly small, and thus less reliable than among the Latino and non-Hispanic black populations. Nevertheless, they reveal that roughly two-thirds of all Latinos and blacks of working ages had jobs in 2008, compared with an astounding 96% of Asians, and an equally surprising 36% of non-Hispanic whites. Again this latter figure is in all likelihood linked to small sample sizes as well as the fact that poorer, and apparently unemployed or not in the labor force whites moved into the district.
Figure 15
Employment Status in Bronx Community District 4
for the Total Population Age 16 - 60, 1990 - 2008

Figure 16
Percent of the Population Employed in Bronx Community District 4
Age 16 - 60 by Racial/Ethnic Group, 1990 - 2008
The trends in employment status among the Latino national subgroups were comparable to those found within the total population. About 64% of the Latino population was employed in 2008, 7% unemployed, and 29% not in the labor force. (See figure 17). Compared to data in 1990, the percentage of the population employed in 2008 within each Latino subgroup increased, with the exception of Ecuadorians. Figure 18 shows that Mexicans had the highest percentage of people age 16 to 60 employed in 2008 (77%), followed by 69% of all Dominicans, 59% of all Hondurans and Ecuadorians, and 54% of all Puerto Ricans. As indicated before, Puerto Ricans represented the second largest Latino segment in the district and had the highest median family income reported, suggesting that a greater proportion of the Puerto Rican population may hold higher-paying jobs compared to other segments of the Latino population. Mexicans, on the other hand, represented the fourth largest Latino segment, and had the lowest median family income reported even though they had the highest percentage of people employed, suggesting that a greater proportion of the Mexican population hold lower-paying jobs compared to other segments of the Latino population.

Figure 17
Employment Status in Bronx Community District 4 for the Latino Population Age 16 - 60, 1990 - 2008
Foreign-Born and Domestic-Born Latinos

The percentage of foreign-born Latinos in the Bronx’s Community District 4 decreased slightly between 1990 and 2008. In 1990, over 86% of the Honduran population was foreign-born, whereas in 2008 the percentage of foreign-born Hondurans decreased to 66% despite a three-fold increase in the population of Honduran descent. Among the Mexican population over 55% was foreign-born in 2008 compared to 75% in 1990 even though this population increased ten-fold over the 18-year period examined. The same is true for Ecuadorians whose foreign-born population decreased from 70% in 1990 to 68% in 2008 while the number of Ecuadorians in the district increased four times. These data suggest that the increase in the percentage of foreign-born Latinos as a whole in this district is mainly due to an influx of foreign-born Latinos from other Latino nationalities and not due to an influx of foreign-born Latinos from those representing the most numerous Latino national groups in the community. In addition, the percentage of domestic-born Latinos among each of the major Latino national groups represented in this district increased since 1990, suggesting that the overall decrease in the percentage of domestic-born Latinos as a whole in this district is mainly due to domestic-born individuals from other subgroups migrating to other districts. Additionally, in 2008 about 31% of all Puerto Ricans living in the district were born in Puerto Rico. This is about the same rate as found city wide. (See figures 19, 20, and 21).
Figure 19
Percent of Domestic-Born and Foreign-Born Latinos in Bronx Community District 4, 1990-2008

Figure 20
Percent of Foreign-Born Latinos in Bronx Community District 4 by Latino Nationalities, 1990 - 2008
Citizenship and the Electorate

The percentage of foreign-born Latinos age 18 and over increased since 1990. In 2008, 61% of all Latinos in the Bronx’s Community District 4 were foreign-born compared to 44% in 1990. (See figure 22). Among the foreign-born population, 34% were naturalized citizens in 2008 and this was a significant increase from the 25% found in 1990. This indicates that foreign-born Latinos were very much aware of the advantages of citizenship. (See figure 23).

The percentage of foreign-born naturalized citizens age 18 and older among the various Latino subgroups in this community district, with the exception of Mexicans, also increased since 1990. (See figure 24). However, the percentage of foreign-born naturalized citizens in 2008 among the major Latino subgroups differed significantly, ranging from 2% to 45%. In 2008, Ecuadorians had the largest percentage of foreign-born naturalized citizens (45%), followed by Hondurans (40%), and Dominicans (38%). The percentage of foreign-born naturalized citizens age 18 and older among the Mexican population decreased from 11% in 1990 to 2% 2008. It is quite clear that Mexicans living in the district were probably recent migrants from Mexico.

Figure 25 indicates that the percentage of domestic-born Latinos age 18 and over among the major Latino national groups increased since 1990 as well. These data suggest that the overall decrease in the percentage of domestic-born Latinos age 18 and over in this district as a whole is mainly due to domestic-born adults from other Latino subgroups migrating to other districts. As the percentage of domestic-born Latinos and foreign-born naturalized citizens age 18 and over increased, the percentage of non-citizens age 18 and over decreased. Still in 2008 some two-thirds of all Latino adults were non-citizens. Mexicans had the largest proportion of non-citizens (95%), followed by Dominicans (61%), Hondurans (60%), and lastly, Ecuadorians (55%). (See figures 26 and 27).
Figure 22
Percent of Domestic-Born and Foreign-Born Latinos Age 18 and Older in Bronx Community District 4, 1990-2008

Figure 23
Percent of Foreign-Born Naturalized Citizens (FBNC) and Non-Citizen Latinos Age 18 and Older in Bronx Community District 4, 1990 - 2008
Figure 24
Foreign-Born Naturalized Citizens Age 18 and Older in Bronx Community District 4 as a Percent of the Foreign-Born Latino Population Age 18 and Older, 1990 - 2008

Figure 25
Domestic-Born Latinos Age 18 and Older in Bronx Community District 4 as a Percent of the Latino Population Age 18 and Older, 1990-2008
Figure 26
Percent of Non-Citizens in Bronx Community District 4
for the Foreign-Born Latino Population Age 18 and Older, 1990 - 2008

Figure 27
Percent of Non-Citizens in Bronx Community District 4
for the Latino Population Age 18 and Older, 1990 - 2008
Concluding Highlights

The data analyzed in this report allow the following conclusions:

- Dominicans are the largest Latino subgroup in the Bronx’s Community District 4, accounting for over 30% of the total population and 44% of the Latino population in the district in 2008.

- Latinos in the Bronx’s Community District 4, as a group, tend to be younger than most racial/ethnic groups.

- Among the major racial/ethnic groups, Latinos have the lowest homeownership rate in the district.

- The annual median family and household incomes of the majority of the residents in the Bronx’s Community District 4 have not risen significantly since 1990 in real terms, or in inflation-adjusted dollars. Among Latinos, there were not major differences in median incomes among the major national groups.

- Educational attainment levels differed significantly among the major racial/ethnic groups, with non-Hispanic blacks achieving significantly higher educational attainment levels over Latinos, which had the lowest percentage of individuals with a Bachelor’s or higher degree. Among Latinos, Dominicans had the highest percentage of people 25 years and older who had a B.A. or higher degree.

- Within the overall population, as well as within the Latino population, a greater percentage of males 25 years and older had earned a B.A. or higher degree compared to females.

- In the total population, the percentage of people employed has increased, while the percentage of people unemployed and/or not in the labor force has decreased. The percentage of employed Latinos is comparable to that of the general population at about 64%. In 2008, Puerto Ricans had the lowest percentage of people age 16-60 employed, while Mexicans had the greatest percentage of people age 16-60 employed.

- The percentage of foreign-born Latinos in the Bronx’s Community District 4 has risen since 1990, suggesting an increase in immigration.

- The percentage of Latinos age 18 and older who are foreign-born naturalized citizens has increased since 1990. Among Latinos, Ecuadorians had the largest percentage of foreign-born naturalized citizens, while Mexicans had the lowest percentage of foreign-born naturalized citizens.