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Center for Latin American, Caribbean, and Latino Studies

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Demographic, Economic, and Social Transformations in Brooklyn Community District 4: Bushwick, 1990 - 2007

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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.

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This report analyzes changes among the current top five Latino national groups over the period between 1990 and 2007 in New York City Community District 4 of the borough of Brooklyn, which comprises the neighborhood of Bushwick. 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 Bushwick population -- non-Hispanic Whites, non-Hispanic Blacks, and Asians.\(^1\) 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 having tripled during the years 1990-2007 to over 45 million at the national level. (See Table 1). Approximately 75% of Hispanics lived in seven states in 2007 including California (29.1%), Texas (18.9%), Florida (8.3%), New York (6.9%), Illinois (4.2%), Arizona (4.1%), and New Jersey (3%). It is projected that by 2050, Hispanics will become over 25% of the total U.S. population.\(^2\)

### Table 1

Hispanics as a Percent of the Total Population of the U.S. and New York State, 1980-2007

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>United States</th>
<th>New York State</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1980(^3)</td>
<td>1990(^4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanics</td>
<td>14,608,673</td>
<td>22,354,059</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Population</td>
<td>226,545,805</td>
<td>248,709,873</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Hispanic</td>
<td>6.4%</td>
<td>9.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanics</td>
<td>1,660,901</td>
<td>2,214,026</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Population</td>
<td>17,558,072</td>
<td>17,990,445</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Hispanic</td>
<td>9.5%</td>
<td>12.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\) The findings reported here are based on data collected by the Census Bureau IPUMS (Integrated Public Use Microdata Series), available at http://www.usa.ipums.org for the corresponding years. This report analyzes data from PUMAS 05304 (1990) and 04002 (2000/2007) in Brooklyn.

New York is the state with the fourth largest Hispanic population in the nation, with over 70% of all Latinos residing in the New York City Metropolitan area. In the borough of Brooklyn, the Bushwick neighborhood has the highest concentration of Latinos. Since 1990, the Latino population in this particular community district has increased by almost 15%. As indicated in Figure 1, in 1990, Latinos accounted for approximately 66% of the total population in this district, and approximately 69% in years 2000 and 2007. The number of Asians also increased over the 17-year period examined, comprising 3% of the total population in 1990, 3.5% in 2000, and 3.8% in 2007. The non-Hispanic White population showed the greatest increase, from 5.3% in 1990 to 7.8% in 2007. On the other hand, the percentage of the population who are non-Hispanic Blacks decreased from approximately 25% in years 1990 and 2000 to 19.6% in 2007.

Figure 1
Racial/Ethnic Groups in Brooklyn Community District 4 as a Percent of the Total Population, 1990-2007


During the years 1990-2007, the relative distribution of the five Latino subgroups identified in this report changed. (See Figures 2 and 3). For example, since 1990 the number of Mexicans in this community district has grown approximately nine-fold. In 1990, Mexicans accounted for 3% of the Latino population, whereas in 2007 they accounted for 20% of the Latino population in the district. Likewise, the number of Ecuadorians, Salvadorans and Dominicans more than doubled over the 17-year period. In 2007, there was approximately three times the number of Ecuadorians than in 1990, comprising 6% of the Latino population in 1990, and 13% in 2007. Although the number of Salvadorans doubled from 1990, they only comprised 2% of the Latino population in 2007. Dominicans were the second most numerous Latino subgroup, comprising 16% of the Latino population in 1990; by 2000, they constituted 20% of the total Latino population, and 24% in 2007. Although Puerto Ricans represented the majority Latino subgroup in this district, the portion of Puerto Ricans as a percentage of all Latinos this community district has steadily decreased. In 1990, Puerto Ricans accounted for 66% of the total Latino population, but in 2007 only 32% of the population was of Puerto Rican descent.

Figure 2
Total Population, Total Latinos, and Latino Nationalities in Brooklyn Community District 4, 1990-2007

Figure 3
Latino Nationalities in Brooklyn Community District 4 as a Percent of the Total Latino Population, 1990-2007
Latinos in Brooklyn’s Community District 4 had a median age of 29 years in 2007. (See Figure 4). As a group, Latinos tend to be younger than Asians, non-Hispanic Blacks and non-Hispanic Whites. Among Latinos, Mexicans and Ecuadorians tend to be younger than other Latinos, while Puerto Ricans represented the oldest Latino subgroup.

![Figure 4](image)

**Figure 4**
Median Age of Population in Brooklyn Community District 4 by Latino Nationality and Racial/Ethnic Group, 2007

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nationality</th>
<th>Median Age</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Puerto Rican</td>
<td>35.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dominican</td>
<td>32.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salvadoran</td>
<td>32.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecuadoran</td>
<td>24.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexican</td>
<td>23.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latinos</td>
<td>29.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Hispanic White</td>
<td>30.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Hispanic Black</td>
<td>32.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>37.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Homeownership**

The majority of the population in Brooklyn’s Community District 4 lived in rented houses or apartments, and the percentage of people that owned their homes remained relatively constant in the years 1990-2000. In 2007, 20% of the total population owned their homes, an increase in the percentage of people who owned their homes since 1990. Homeownership patterns for the Latino population reflected those of the total population, (See Figures 5, 6, and 7).

![Figure 5](image)

**Figure 5**
Homeownership and Rental Rates in Brooklyn Community District 4 for the Total Population, 1990-2007

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Own</th>
<th>Rent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>85%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>84%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>80%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The percentage of Latinos who owned their homes has been lower in comparison to other racial/ethnic groups, except when compared to non-Hispanic Whites. In 2007, 17% of the Latino population owned their homes compared to 35% of the Asian population, 31% of the non-Hispanic Black population, and 10% of the non-Hispanic White population.
Figures 8 and 9 indicate that among Latinos, Puerto Ricans had the highest rate of homeownership in 2007 (26%), followed by Dominicans (22%), Mexicans (7%), and Ecuadorians (1%). The precise reasons for the disparities in homeownership are unknown and not revealed by the data analyzed.

Figure 8
Homeownership in Brooklyn Community District 4 by Latino Nationality Group, 1990-2007

Figure 9
Rental Rates in Brooklyn Community District 4 by Latino Nationality Group, 1990-2007
**Economic Characteristics**

As indicated in Figure 10, the annual median family income among all major racial/ethnic groups in Brooklyn’s Community District 4 increased from ranging from $30,459 in 1990 to $54,339 in 2007. These data also show that Asians had the highest median family income followed by non-Hispanic Blacks. While Latinos had the lowest median family income in years 1990 and 2000, in 2007 they had the second lowest median family income. Non-Hispanic Whites had the lowest reported median family income in 2007.\(^7\)

Median family income data for the top Latino subgroups are indicated in Figure 11. The data indicate that Puerto Ricans and Dominicans had a constant increase in median family income from 1990 to 2007, both with a yearly growth rate of 6%. In 2007 Dominican median family income was $41,215, and this made them the highest-earning Latino subgroup. Although the median family income of Mexicans and Salvadorians decreased between 1990 and 2000, in 2007 they were the second and third highest earning groups ($37,441 each), followed by Ecuadorians ($35,224), and Puerto Ricans ($30,003). It is important to note that although the number of Puerto Ricans in this neighborhood steadily decreased from 1990, they were the largest Latino subgroup and had the lowest family median income reported since 1990. 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 1990. This observation may also be confirmed by examining the patterns among non-Hispanic whites in comparative perspective, who were the poorest race/ethnic group in the district.

\(^7\) These data are in current dollars and have not been adjusted for inflation.
Figure 12 indicates the median household income among the various racial/ethnic groups from 1990 to 2007. Similar to median family income, the annual median household income among all major racial/ethnic groups in Brooklyn’s Community District 4 increased from 1990 to 2007. In 2007, Asians had the highest median household income ($54,339), followed by Non-Hispanic Blacks ($47,560), non-Hispanic Whites ($46,143), and Latinos ($41,488).
Fluctuations in median household income among Latino national groups from 1990 to 2007 were more pronounced than those for median family income. (See Figure 13). Again, although Puerto Ricans were the largest national sub-group within the Latino population in the district, constituting 32% of the Latino population, they had the lowest median household income ($34,304). In 2007, Mexicans had the highest median household income ($43,168), followed by Ecuadorians ($43,158), Dominicans ($42,500), and Salvadorians ($37,441).

![Figure 13](image)

**Figure 13**
Median Household Income in Brooklyn Community District 4 by Latino Nationality Group, 1990-2007

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Mexican</th>
<th>Puerto Rican</th>
<th>Salvadoran</th>
<th>Ecuadoran</th>
<th>Dominican</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>28,807</td>
<td>13,812</td>
<td>18,300</td>
<td>19,700</td>
<td>28,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>27,878</td>
<td>18,300</td>
<td>30,300</td>
<td>31,000</td>
<td>30,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>43,168</td>
<td>34,304</td>
<td>37,441</td>
<td>43,158</td>
<td>42,500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Social Characteristics**

**Education**

Figure 14 indicates that educational attainment levels increased among all race/ethnic groups in Brooklyn’s Community District 4 since 1990. Among non-Hispanic Whites, 8% of its population age 25 and above had attained a Bachelor’s or higher degree of education in 1990, increasing to 43% in 2007. Among non-Hispanic Blacks, the percentage of its population attaining a B.A. or higher degree rose from 6% in 1990 to 13% in 2007. Among Asians, the percentage of its population attaining a B.A. or higher degree increased from 26% in 1990 to 41% in 2007. Latinos had the lowest percentage of individuals 25 years of age and older who had attained a Bachelor’s or higher degree of education, with only 4% of its total population age 25 and over acquiring a B.A. or higher degree in 1990, and 7% in 2007. The reasons for this meteoric rise in the college graduation rates among non-Hispanic whites, given their overall lower income profiles, are unclear. It is unknown whether this resulted from better educated people moving into the community, or whether the extant population in earlier periods became better educated. It is likely that it was a combination of both factors.
There was some variation in educational attainment levels among Latino nationalities. Dominicans had the highest percentage of individuals 25 years of age and over who had attained a B.A. or higher degree in 2007 (9%), followed by Mexicans and Puerto Ricans (7% each), Ecuadorians (6%), and Salvadorans (less than 1%). The precise reasons for the disparities in educational attainment and income across 1990-2007 are unknown and not revealed by the data analyzed. (See Figure 15). However, as was the case with non-Hispanic whites it may have been a combination of factors: better educated people moving into the district as well as improvements in educational attainment by the existing population.

Figure 14
Percent of the Population in Brooklyn Community District 4 Age 25 and Older with a B.A. or Higher Degree by Racial/Ethnic Group, 1990-2007

Figure 15
Percentage of Population in Queens Community District 3 25 Years of Age and Over with Educational Attainment Levels at BA or Above by Latino National Subgroups, 1990-2007
Traditionally, it has been found that females tend 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 the years between 1990 and 2007, the percentage of both males and females attaining higher levels of education increased. Specifically, in 1990, 6% of all males and 3% 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 increased to 7%, and the percentage of females attaining a B.A. or higher degree increased to 4%. In 2007, the percentage of males attaining higher levels of education was considerably higher, with 16% of all males in the total population attained a B.A. or beyond, compared to 5% of all females.

Among Latinos, the percentage of Latino males and females at or above age 25 who had a Bachelor’s or higher degree in 1990 was lower than that for the general population. In 1990, the percentage of males and females 25-years of age and older achieving a B.A. or higher degree was 2%. In 2000, the percentage of males 25-years of age and older achieving a B.A. or higher degree increased to 4% compared to 3% among females. By 2007, the percentage of males and females 25-years of age and older achieving a B.A. or higher degree was 7% and 4%, respectively. (See Figure 16).

Figure 16
Percent of the Population in Brooklyn’s Community District 4 Age 25 and over with a B.A. or Higher Degree by Sex by Total Population and Latino Nationalities, 1990-2007
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 1990 and 2007. Figure 17 indicates that between 2000 and 2007 the percentage of people in the total population employed increased from 48% to 66%, while 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.

![Employment Status in Brooklyn Community District 4 among the Total Population Age 16-60, 1990-2007](image)

The percentage of the population employed within each major racial/ethnic group was above 45% across the 17-year period examined here. Within most of the major racial/ethnic groups, the percentage of the population who were employed increased from 1990, with the exception of Asians. (See Figure 18). Asians experienced a decrease in the percentage of individuals employed, from 73% in 1990 to 70% in 2007. Nevertheless, they had the second highest employment rate in 2007. On the other hand, 78% of non-Hispanic Whites and 66% of all Latinos were employed in 2007 compared to 51% and 45% in 1990, respectively. Among non-Hispanic Blacks, the percentage of individuals employed fluctuated from 52% in 1990, 45% in 2000, and 60% in 2007.

The trends in employment status among the Latino subgroups were comparable to those from the total population. About 66% of the Latino population was employed in 2007, 4% unemployed, and 30% not in the labor force. Overall, the percentage of the population employed within each Latino nationality group was above 39% across the 17-year period examined here. (see Figure 19). Compared to data for 1990, the percentage of the population employed within each Latino subgroup increased, with the exception of Mexicans. Salvadorans had the highest percentage of people age 16 to 60 employed in 2007, with 91% of its population employed, followed by 83% of all Ecuadorians, 68% of all Mexicans, 67% of all Dominicans, and 55% of all Puerto Ricans. As indicated before, Puerto Ricans represented the largest Latino segment in the district and had the lowest reported median incomes in 2007. (See Figure 20).
Figure 18
Percent of the Population Employed in Brooklyn Community District 4
Age 16-60 by Racial/Ethnic Group, 1990-2007

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>1990</th>
<th>2000</th>
<th>2007</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Non-Hispanic White</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>78%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Hispanic Black</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>73%</td>
<td>71%</td>
<td>70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latino</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>66%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 19
Employment Status Distribution in Brooklyn Community District 4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Status</th>
<th>1990</th>
<th>2000</th>
<th>2007</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Employed</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>66%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NILF</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 20
Percent of the Population Employed in Brooklyn Community District 4
Age 16-60 by Latino Nationality Group, 1990-2007

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nationality</th>
<th>1990</th>
<th>2000</th>
<th>2007</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mexican</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>68%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puerto Rican</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>55%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salvadoran</td>
<td>78%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>91%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecuadoran</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>83%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dominican</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>67%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Foreign- and Domestic-Born Latinos

The percentage of foreign-born Latinos in Bushwick increased dramatically since 1990. In 2007 45% of all Latinos in Brooklyn’s Community District 4 were foreign-born compared with 24% in 1990. (See Figure 21).

There were differentiations in the nativity of the major Latino national sub-groups. Among the Mexican population over 72% was foreign-born in 1990, whereas in 2007 the percentage of foreign-born Mexicans decreased to 66%. As noted before, the number of Mexicans in this district grew nine-fold during 1990 and 2007, suggesting that the increase in the Mexican population resulted mainly from domestic-born Mexicans migrating from other districts and/or domestic births.

The same may be noted for Ecuadorians. In 2007 approximately 70% of its district population was foreign-born compared to 81% in 1990. Among Salvadorans the foreign-born population decreased from 78% in 1990 to 66% in 2007; and among Dominicans the foreign-born population decreased from 78% in 1990 to 70% in 2007. 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 sub-groups in the community. (See Figure 22).
Citizenship

Naturalized citizens have all the rights of American citizenship -- except that of becoming President of the United States -- including the right to vote. 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, increased since 1990, with 29% of all foreign-born Latinos age 18 and older becoming naturalized citizens by 2007. (See Figure 23). However, the percentage of foreign-born naturalized citizens in 2007 among the various Latino subgroups differed significantly. In 2007, Salvadorans had the largest percentage of foreign-born naturalized citizens (60%), followed by Dominicans (38%), and Ecuadorians (18%). The percentage of foreign-born naturalized citizens age 18 and older among the Mexican population decreased from 18% in 1990 to 10% 2007.
Concluding Highlights

The data analyzed in this report allow the following conclusions:

- Puerto Ricans are the largest Latino subgroup in Brooklyn’s Community District 4, accounting for over 22% of the total population and 32% of the Latino population in the district in 2007.

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

- Among the major racial/ethnic groups, Latinos have the second lowest homeownership rate in the district after non-Hispanic Whites.

- The annual median incomes of the majority of the residents in Brooklyn’s Community District 4 have increased since 1990. Asians and non-Hispanic Blacks had the highest median incomes. Among Latinos, Dominicans and Mexicans had the highest median incomes.

- Educational attainment levels differed significantly among the major racial/ethnic groups, with non-Hispanic Whites and Asians 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 males 25 years and older had 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 66%. In 2007, Puerto Ricans had the lowest percentage of people age 16-60 employed.

- The percentage of foreign-born Latinos in Brooklyn’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 in this district has increased since 1990. Among Latinos, Salvadorians had the largest percentage of foreign-born naturalized citizens, while Mexicans had the lowest percentage.