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Gentrification and the South Bronx: Demographic and Socioeconomic Transformations in Bronx Community District #1

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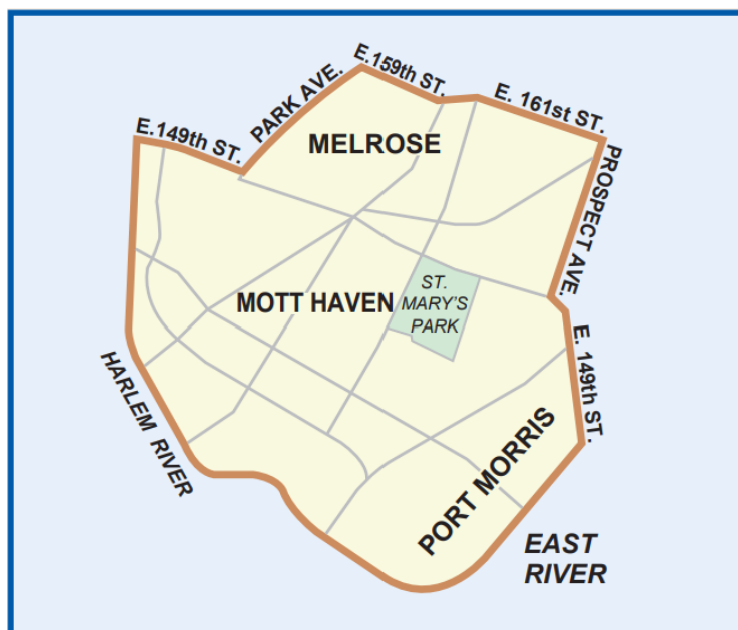
THE
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Center for Latin American, Caribbean, and Latino Studies

Gentrification & The South Bronx: Demographic and Socioeconomic Transformations in Bronx Community District #1

Lawrence Cappello, PhD



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The Center established 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://clacls.gc.cuny.edu>

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Executive Summary

In recent decades skyrocketing real estate values throughout New York City have, according to many scholars, prompted residents to seek out reasonably priced housing and speculative investment opportunities in traditionally poorer neighborhoods. Commonly referred to as “gentrification,” this development has been the subject of much debate. Many pundits claim it displaces poor residents and “white washes” the racial composition of culturally vibrant minority neighborhoods. Others argue that gentrification brings increased job opportunities, diminished crime rates, and a general improvement to a neighborhood’s quality of life. Whatever one’s position, gentrification has become one of the foremost concerns facing contemporary urban America.¹

This report examines the extent of gentrification in the South Bronx neighborhoods of Melrose, Mott Haven, and Port Morris - officially designated Bronx Community District #1 - widely known as one of New York City’s prominent Latino areas. It presents key socioeconomic and demographic trends between 1990 and 2017. To achieve a richer understanding of the conditions facing South Bronx residents on the ground, this examination moves beyond general population demographics by looking at topics such as employment, income structures, poverty rates, language acquisition, race/ethnicity, citizenship rates, and educational attainment.²

The findings do not align with the traditional gentrification narrative. Contrary to other parts of the city, the Latino community of the South Bronx is not being displaced in any meaningful way. While there has certainly been an increase in the number of middle-class, non-Hispanic whites over the last decade, as of 2017, the Latino and non-Hispanic black populations of the South Bronx have consistently accounted for the overwhelming majority of the area’s residents for almost three decades.

But the South Bronx does show signs of change. The total number of Latinos has increased steadily since 1990, and the makeup of the neighborhood’s Latino community by nationality has changed significantly. The total percentage of Puerto Ricans, once the overwhelmingly dominant Latino nationality, has plummeted, while that of Dominicans and Mexicans have soared in recent decades. In short, the Latino population of the South Bronx is far more diverse than it ever has been. Puerto Ricans are leaving the community in large numbers, and a more diverse cohort of Latinos by nationality are taking their place.

The number of foreign-born persons in the South Bronx has also been declining steadily since 1990. This is most prevalent among the neighborhood’s Latino community, which has witnessed a sharp increase in its domestic-born population among all major Latino subgroups.

¹ See particularly: P.E. Moskowitz, *How to Kill a City: Gentrification, Inequality, and the Fight for the Neighborhood* (New York: Nation Books, 2017); Lance Freeman, *There Goes the ‘Hood’: Views of Gentrification from the Ground Up* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2006); and Ruth Glass, editor, London; *Aspects of Change* (University College, London. Centre for Urban Studies. London, MacGibbon & Kee, 1964).

² 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 and the US Census Bureau’s American Community Survey. This report analyzes data from PUMAS 05001 (1990) and 03170 (2000/2010/2017) in The Bronx.

From a socioeconomic standpoint, the neighborhood remains one of New York City's poorest. Poverty levels, despite a slight improvement since 1990, remain noticeably high for every major race/ethnic group. Approximately half of the non-Hispanic whites, non-Hispanic blacks, and Latinos who reside in the South Bronx live below the poverty line, with the Mexican population reporting the highest rate of poverty among the Latino national subgroups.

Household income levels in the South Bronx have remained mostly steady since 1990, with non-Hispanic whites, non-Hispanic blacks, and Latinos all reporting median household incomes below the national average, when adjusting for inflation. Non-Hispanic blacks have consistently earned less than their racial/ethnic counterparts. Unemployment levels for those race/ethnic groups are also well above the national average for 2017, though employment rates are slowly rising over the last decade.

Finally, educational attainment rates have shown consistent improvement among the community's non-Hispanic white and non-Hispanic black, and among most Latino subgroups. Among all race/ethnic groups, instances of high school non-completion have declined sharply and the percentage of the population with a bachelor's degree or higher has increased steadily in recent decades. However, despite this improvement, these data also indicate that Latinos had the lowest levels of educational attainment in the South Bronx, as of 2017. Less than half of the community's Latinos aged 25 and older completed high school, and less have earned a bachelor's degree when compared to all other race/ethnic groups.

Complete and detailed data for non-Hispanic whites, non-Hispanic blacks, Asians, and Latinos are presented throughout this report. These data may be used as basic reference materials for researchers, journalists, students, and information seekers.

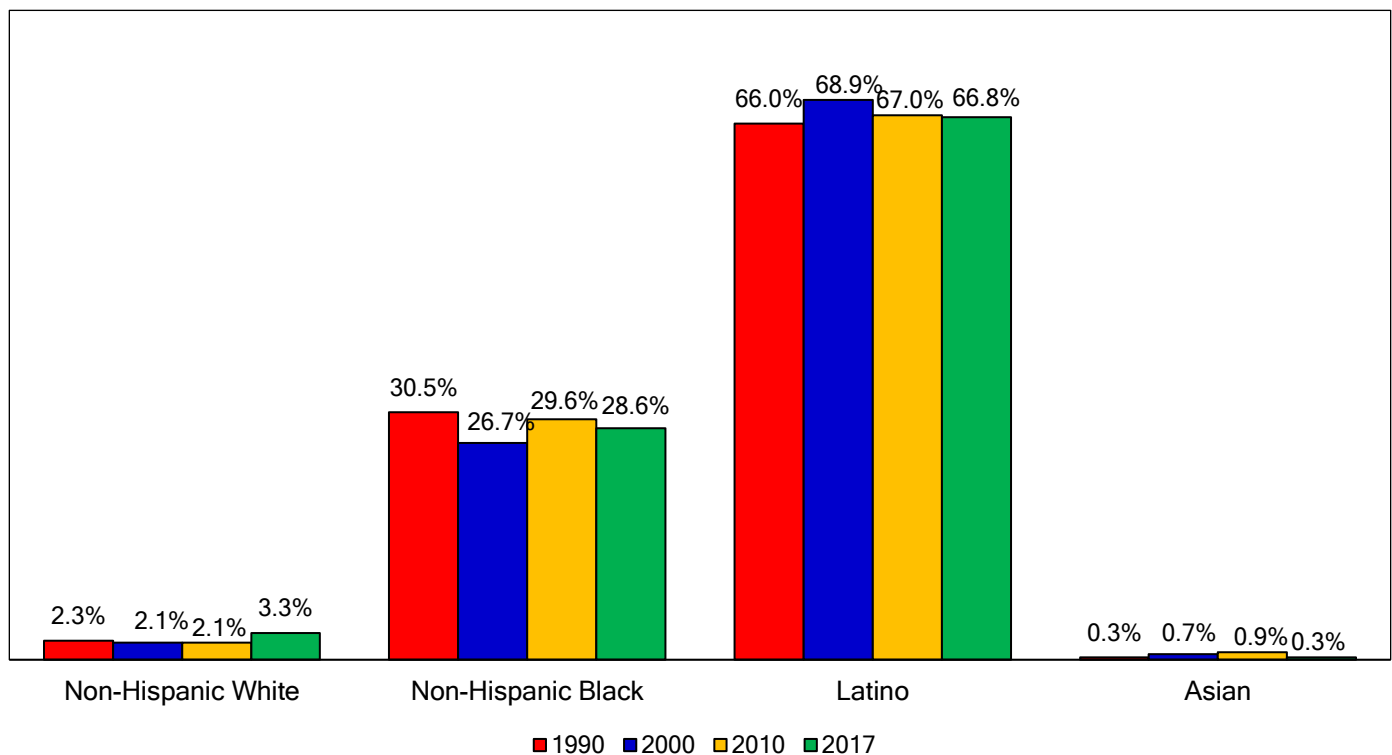
It is important to keep in mind that while the data here are valuable indicators when approaching trends concerning the modern suburban experience, they do not answer certain fundamental questions. Readers interested in the causal factors behind these trends may benefit from the concluding section of this report, which offers avenues of future inquiry.

General Demography

Since the 1990s, the South Bronx has been widely regarded as a bastion of New York City's Latino culture, owing largely to its substantial Latino population comprised of multiple nationalities. Latinos accounted for approximately 67% of the South Bronx population in 2017, with approximately 104,000 residents. In 1990 Latinos accounted for 66% of the community's population with approximately 86,000 residents. Thus, it is clear that the Latino population of the district has absolutely not been displaced by the so-called process of gentrification.

Non-Hispanic blacks are the second largest race/ethnic group at approximately 45,000 residents and a 29% share of the population in 2017, down from approximately 40,000 residents comprising 31% of the population in 1990. Non-Hispanic whites are the third largest group with approximately 5,000 residents and 3% of the population, up from nearly 3,000 residents accounting for 2% of the neighborhood's population in 1990. Asians are by far the least populous race/ethnic group at approximately 500 residents, comprising less than 1% of South Bronx residents. This is consistent with trends from 1990 when nearly 400 Asians accounted for 0.3% of the neighborhood's population. (See figure 1).

Figure 1
Percentage of Total Population of South Bronx by Race/Ethnicity
1990-2017

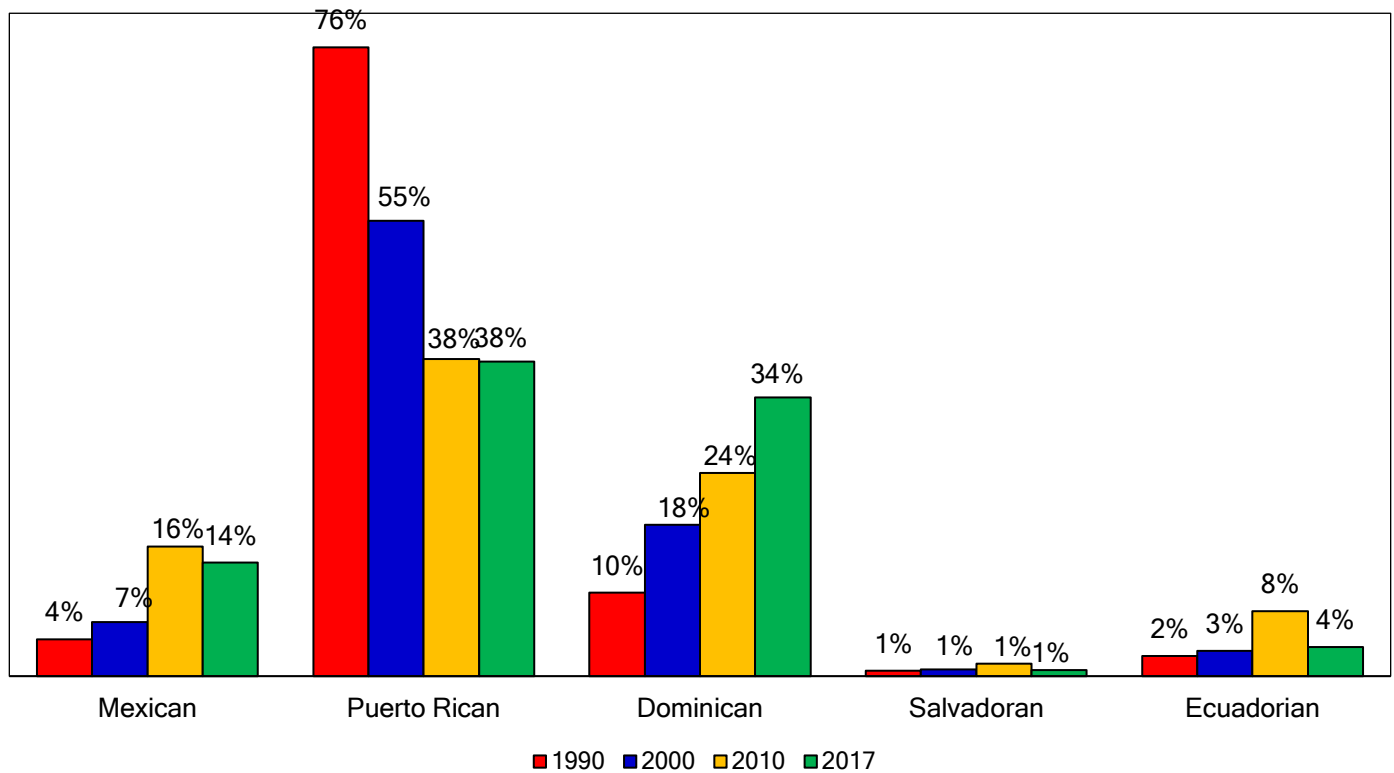


An examination of the various Latino nationalities residing in the South Bronx finds that Puerto Ricans still accounted for the largest subgroup in 2017 at 38% of the total Latino population. Dominicans were a close second, comprising 34% of all Latinos.

Both the Dominican and Mexican populations have seen considerable growth since 1990, when they accounted for only 10% and 4% of the neighborhood’s Latino population, respectively. The expansion of both subgroups in total residents is particularly striking, as the total number of Dominicans increased from 8,689 to 35,087 residents. Likewise, the total number of Mexicans increased from 3,878 to 14,282 between 1990 and 2017. This shift in demographics is one of the most significant changes to occur in the South Bronx in recent decades.

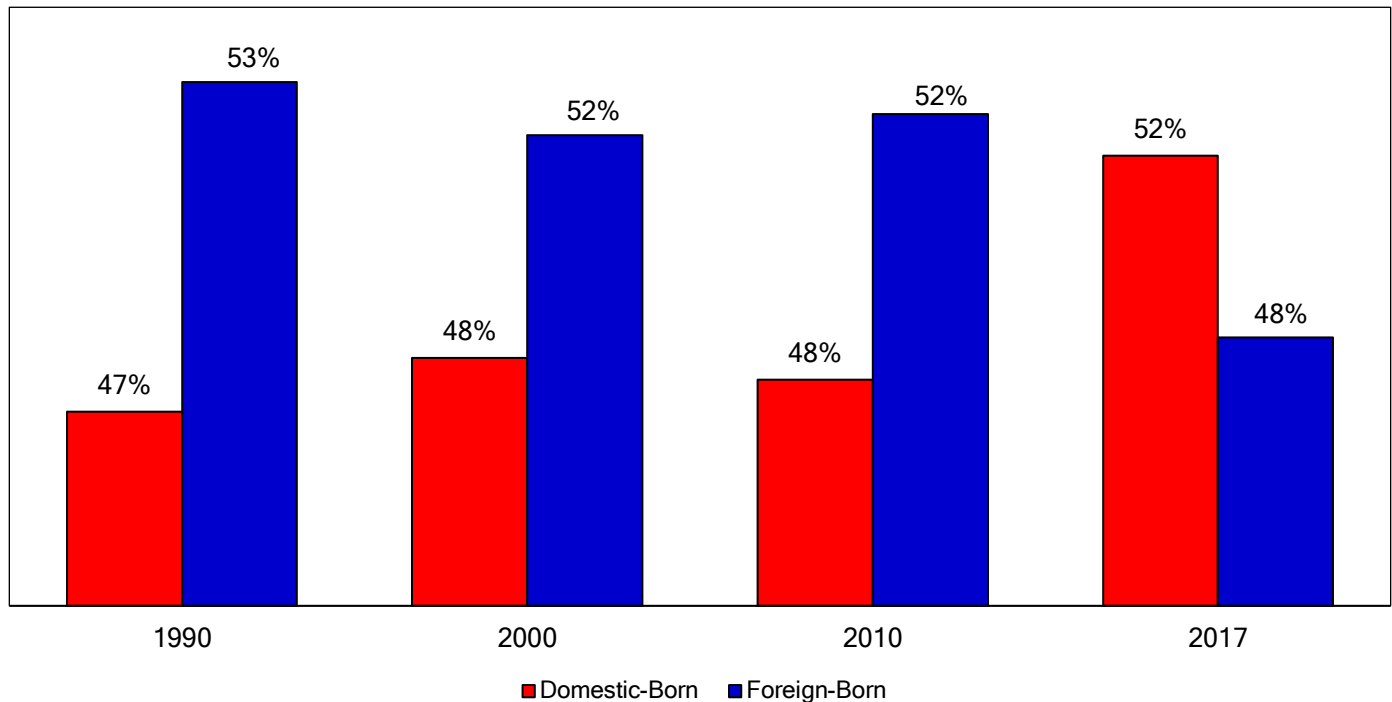
Mexicans were the third largest Latino subgroup in 2017, accounting for 14% of the population, followed by Ecuadorians at 4%, and Salvadorans at approximately 1%. (See figure 2).

Figure 2
Five Largest Latino Nationalities of South Bronx by Percentage of Latino Population, 1990-2017



Regarding national origin, the South Bronx population has consistently presented an even balance in terms of its foreign- and domestic-born inhabitants, although the data suggests a trend toward increasing numbers of domestic-born residents. In 1990, 53% of the neighborhood's population was foreign-born. By 2017, that number fell to 48%. (See figure 3).

Figure 3
Percentage of Foreign- and Domestic-Born Population in South Bronx
1990-2017



Every single Latino subgroup in the South Bronx has seen a significant increase in their domestic-born population between 1990 and 2017.

As of 2017, the largest domestic-born Latino subgroup are Puerto Ricans, at 65%. Forty-nine percent of Mexicans residing in the South Bronx were born in the United States, along with 41% of Ecuadorians, 40% of Salvadorans, and 36% of Dominicans in 2017. Puerto Ricans are the only Latino subgroup whose domestic-born population comprises more than half their numbers. (See figure 4).

However, all of the Latino subgroups have shown a steady increase in domestic-born persons, most pronounced among the Mexican, Puerto Rican, and Dominican communities, which all saw an increase between 1990 and 2017. (See figure 5).

Figure 4
Percentage of Foreign-Born Population of South Bronx
by Five Largest Latino Groups, 1990-2017

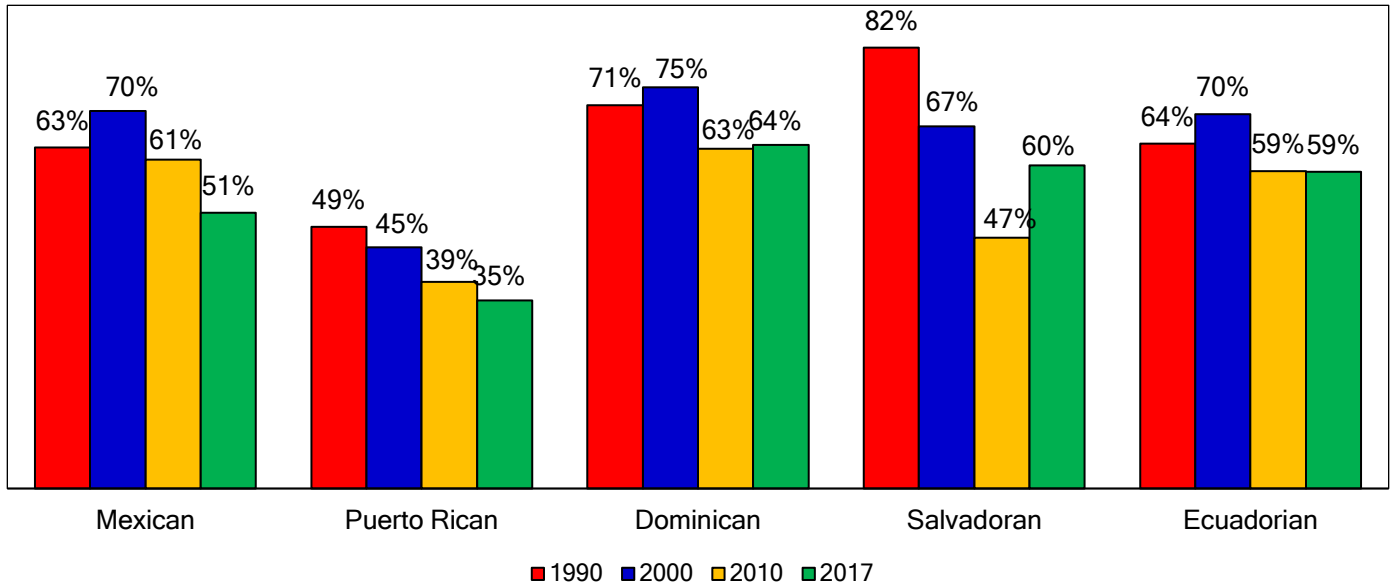
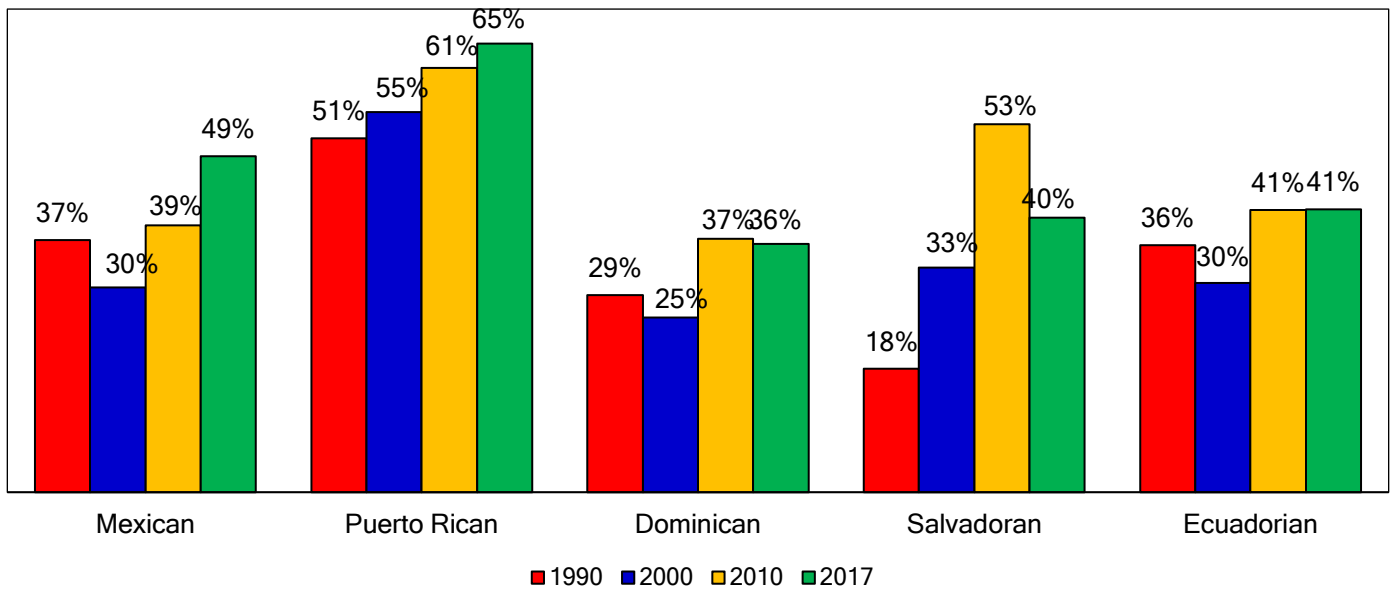


Figure 5
Percentage of Domestic-Born Population of South Bronx
by Five Largest Latino Groups, 1990-2017

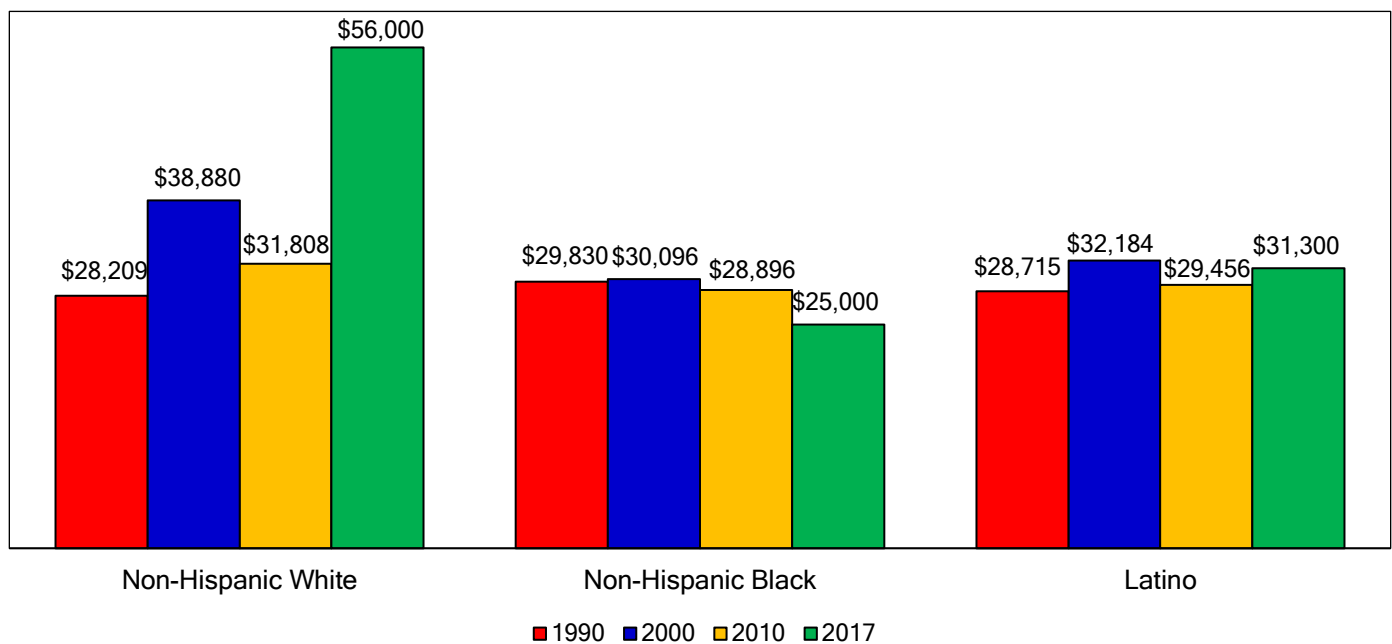


Income

An examination of household income shows that the South Bronx remains among the poorer areas of the New York metropolitan area. About 40% of the community's non-Hispanic black households and 31% of Latino households earned less than \$20,000 in 2017. While the neighborhood overall saw a slight increase in median household income between 1990 and 2017, non-Hispanic blacks and numerous Latino subgroups experienced an income *decline* over that period, when accounting for inflation. (See figure 6).

Asians were technically the highest income earners, as of 2017, with a median household income of \$96,000, up from \$13,800 in 1990 when adjusted for inflation to 2017 dollars, but it is important to note here that Asians comprise less than 1% of the South Bronx population and thus their numbers might be skewed due to sample size (that is why they are not included in the below figure). Non-Hispanic white household income was \$56,000 in 2017, up from \$28,209 in 1990. Latino households took in \$31,300 in 2017, up from \$28,715 in 1990. Non-Hispanic blacks had the lowest household income levels across the time period studied in this report with \$25,000 in 2017, down from \$29,830 in 1990.

Figure 6
Median Household Income of South Bronx Population by Race/Ethnicity
1990-2017 (Adjusted for Inflation to 2017 Dollars)



When examining household income structures by race/ethnicity, the data indicate that approximately 25% of non-Hispanic white households made over \$75,000 in 2017, with 2% making more than \$200,000 and 42% making less than \$20,000. By comparison, among Latino households approximately 16% made over \$75,000 in the same year, with 2% also making above \$200,000 and half earning less than \$30,000. Among non-Hispanic black households, approximately 14% made over \$75,000 in 2017, with less than 1% making above \$200,000 and approximately 58% earning less than \$30,000. Again, because Asians constitute less than 1% of the South Bronx population, income statistics are not a reliable indicator of that race/ethnic community's financial health. (See table 1).

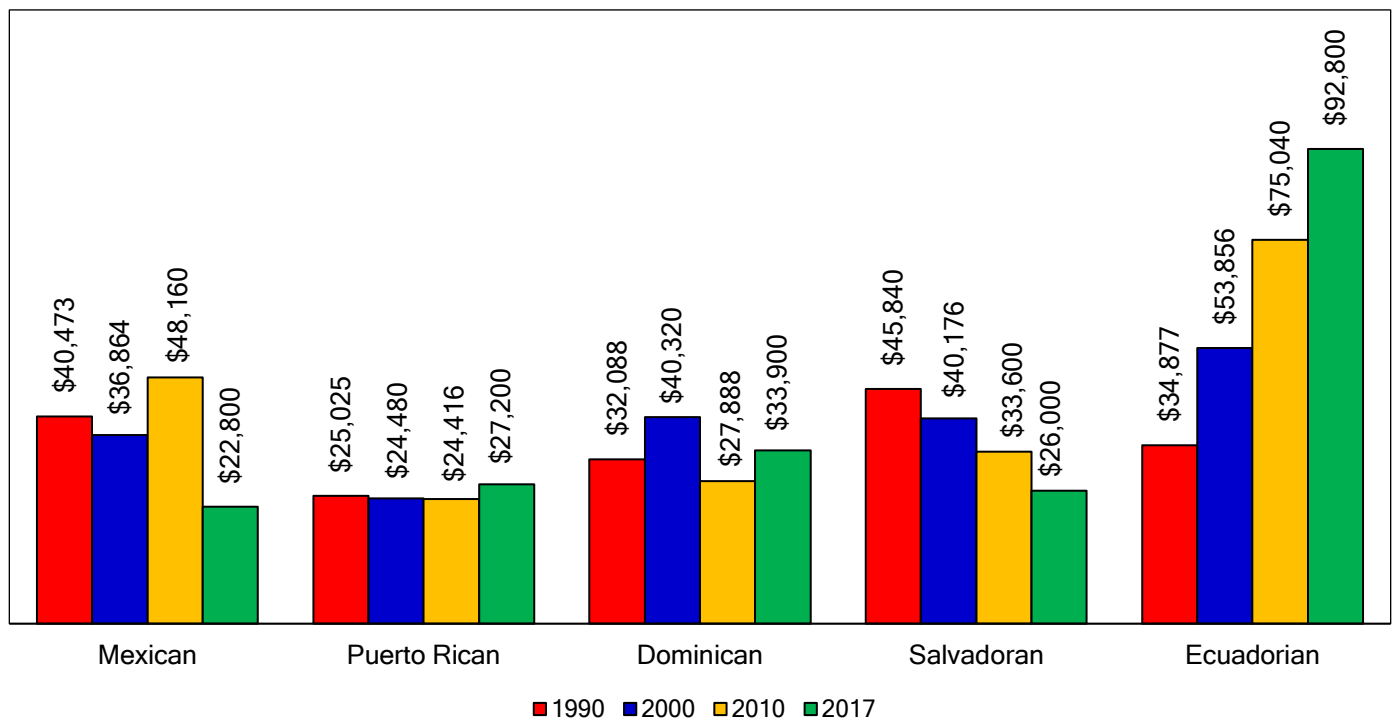
Table 1
Median Household Income Structure of South Bronx Population
by Race/Ethnicity 2017 (in percentage of all households)

	NH White	NH Black	Latino
Less than 10,000	5%	19%	13%
10,000-19,999	37%	21%	18%
20,000-29,999	0%	18%	18%
30,000-39,999	5%	7%	8%
40,000-49,999	2%	7%	11%
50,000-74,999	24%	15%	16%
75,000-99,999	10%	5%	8%
100,000 - 199,999	15%	9%	6%
200,000 +	2%	0%	2%
Total	100%	100%	100%

Among the various Latino subgroups living in the South Bronx, Ecuadorians have consistently shown the highest median household income earnings at \$92,800 as of 2017. Given that Ecuadorians comprise only 4% of the Latino population in the area, that seems to indicate that the South Bronx is home to a small group of high-income Ecuadorians. They were followed by Dominicans at \$33,900, Puerto Ricans at \$27,200, Salvadorans at \$26,000, and finally Mexicans at \$22,800 - a decline in income from \$40,473 in 1990. (See figure 7).

Regarding wealth concentration among the Latino nationalities, 69% of Ecuadorian households made over \$75,000 and 3% made less than \$20,000 in 2017. Puerto Ricans were more stratified, with 12% of households earning over \$75,000 and 35% earning under \$20,000. Dominicans were also largely stratified with 12% of households earning over \$75,000 and 29% earning under \$20,000. Finally, 4% of Mexican households earned over \$75,000 and 36% earned under \$20,000 in 2017.

Figure 7
Median Household Income of Five Largest Latino Groups in South Bronx
1990-2017 (Adjusted for Inflation to 2017 Dollars)

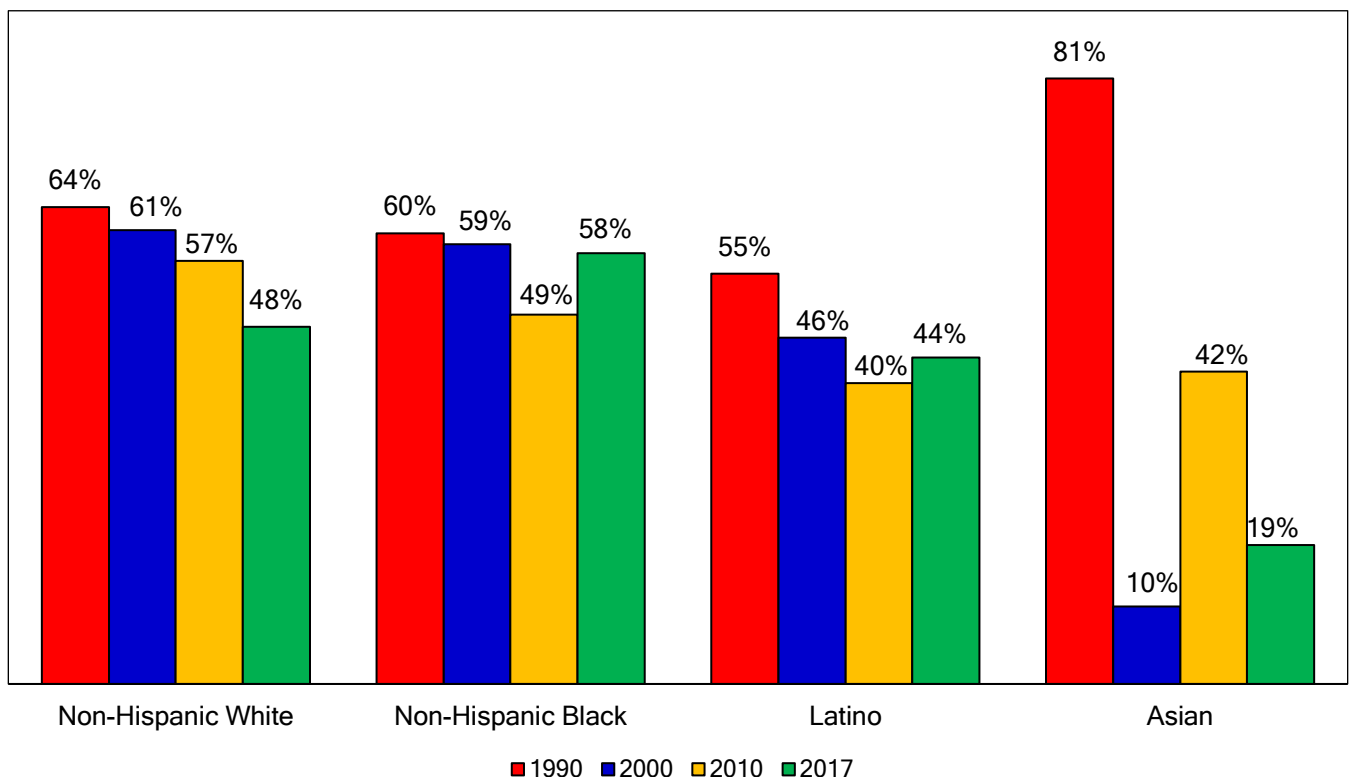


Poverty

Understandably, low levels of household income in the South Bronx directly correlate with the community's high levels of poverty. While every race/ethnic group in the South Bronx did in fact experience an overall decrease in poverty rates between 1990 and 2017, on the whole, poverty rates in the neighborhood are still significantly high when compared to both the national average and the rest of the New York metropolitan area.

In 2017, non-Hispanic blacks in the South Bronx had the highest rates of poverty among the major race/ethnic groups at 58%, down from 60% in 1990. Non-Hispanic whites had the second highest poverty rates at 48%, down from 64% in 1990. They were closely followed by Latinos at 44% in 2017, down from 55% in 1990. Asians had the lowest rates of poverty at 19% in 2017, but again, comprise less than 1% of the area's total population. (See figure 8).

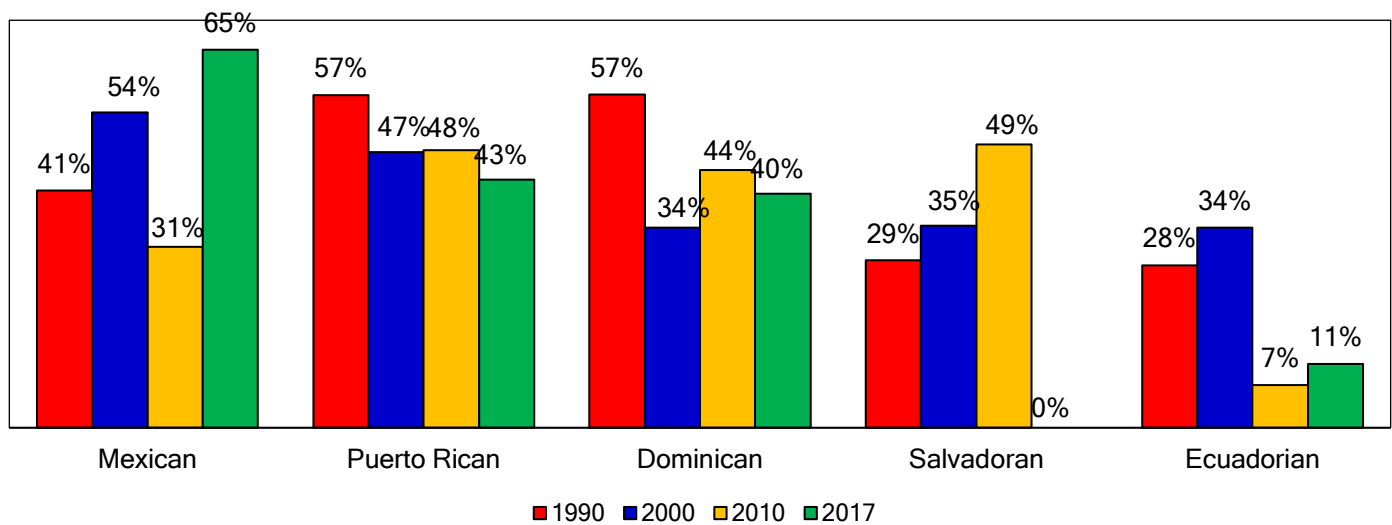
Figure 8
Percentage of South Bronx Population in Poverty by Race/Ethnicity
1990-2017



Among the Latino subgroups, Mexicans had the highest rate of poverty in 2017 at 65%, followed by Puerto Ricans at 43%, Dominicans at 40%, and finally Ecuadorians at 11%. (See figure 9³).

In short, within the Dominican, Puerto Rican, and Mexican populations, 40% of households lived in poverty as of 2017. This is notable considering that they are the three largest Latino subgroups in the South Bronx and together comprise approximately 86% of the community's Latino population. Salvadoran poverty rates were unavailable for 2017, and so they are not considered here.

Figure 9
Percentage of South Bronx Populatio in Poverty
by Five Largest Latino Groups, 1990-2017



Employment

Among the most striking characteristics of the South Bronx population is the extent to which large segments of the working age population (aged 16-60) identify themselves as “not in the labor force.”⁴ These data suggest that the community's low rates of household income and high rates of poverty are due to significant portions of the working age population not participating in the workforce and less because of officially counted high rates of unemployment. (See tables 2-5).

³ The 0% of Salvadorans in 2017 represents a n/a data.

⁴ The US Census Bureau's American Community Survey defines *Not Employed* as “people who do not currently have a job, are looking for a job, and have not yet found one” and “persons who have never worked but are actively seeking their first job.” It defines *Not in Labor Force* as a working age individual who “does not have a job; does not work for pay; is not an unpaid family worker; and is not looking for or available for work.” The bulk of the category, according to the bureau, “is comprised of full-time homemakers, retirees, students who have no other occupation, people permanently unable to work, and people who simply choose not to work or to look for work, [and] formerly unemployed persons who have given up seeking work.”

Working-age Latinos had the highest rate of employment in the South Bronx, with 54% employed in 2017, up from 35% in 1990. Among Latinos, 38% identified as “not in the labor force” in 2017. Non-Hispanic whites had the second highest employment rates at 46%, up from 26% in 1990. Among non-Hispanic whites, 46% identified as “not in the labor force.” Non-Hispanic blacks had the lowest rate of employment with 42% in 2017, up from 30% in 1990. Among non-Hispanic blacks, 48% of the working age population is “not in the labor force.” (See figures 10 & 11⁵).

Table 2
Employment Statistics for Non-Hispanic Whites in South Bronx
Ages 16-60, 1990-2017

	1990	2000	2010	2017
Employed	26%	21%	22%	46%
Not Employed	3%	6%	2%	8%
Not in the Labor Force	71%	72%	75%	46%

Table 3
Employment Statistics for Non-Hispanic Blacks in South Bronx
Ages 16-60, 1990-2017

	1990	2000	2010	2017
Employed	30%	24%	44%	42%
Not Employed	9%	11%	12%	10%
Not in the Labor Force	61%	65%	44%	48%

Table 4
Employment Statistics for Latinos in South Bronx
Ages 16-60, 1990-2017

	1990	2000	2010	2017
Employed	35%	36%	51%	55%
Not Employed	8%	11%	11%	7%
Not in the Labor Force	57%	54%	38%	38%

⁵ The 0% of Asians in 1990 and 2017 represent n/a data.

Table 5
 Employment Statistics for Asians in South Bronx
 Ages 16-60, 1990-2017

	1990	2000	2010	2017
Employed	59%	49%	43%	72%
Not Employed	0%	8%	4%	0%
Not in the Labor Force	41%	43%	54%	28%

Figure 10
 Percentage of "Employed" Population of South Bronx by Race/Ethnicity
 (Ages 16-60) 1990-2017

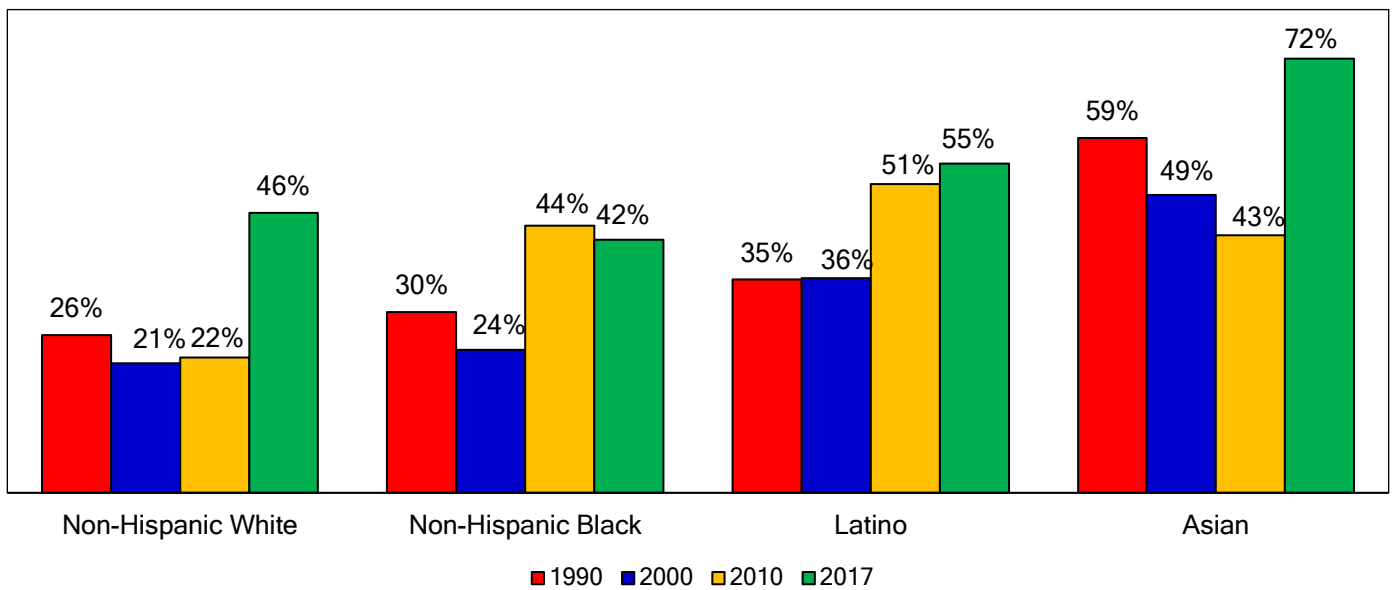
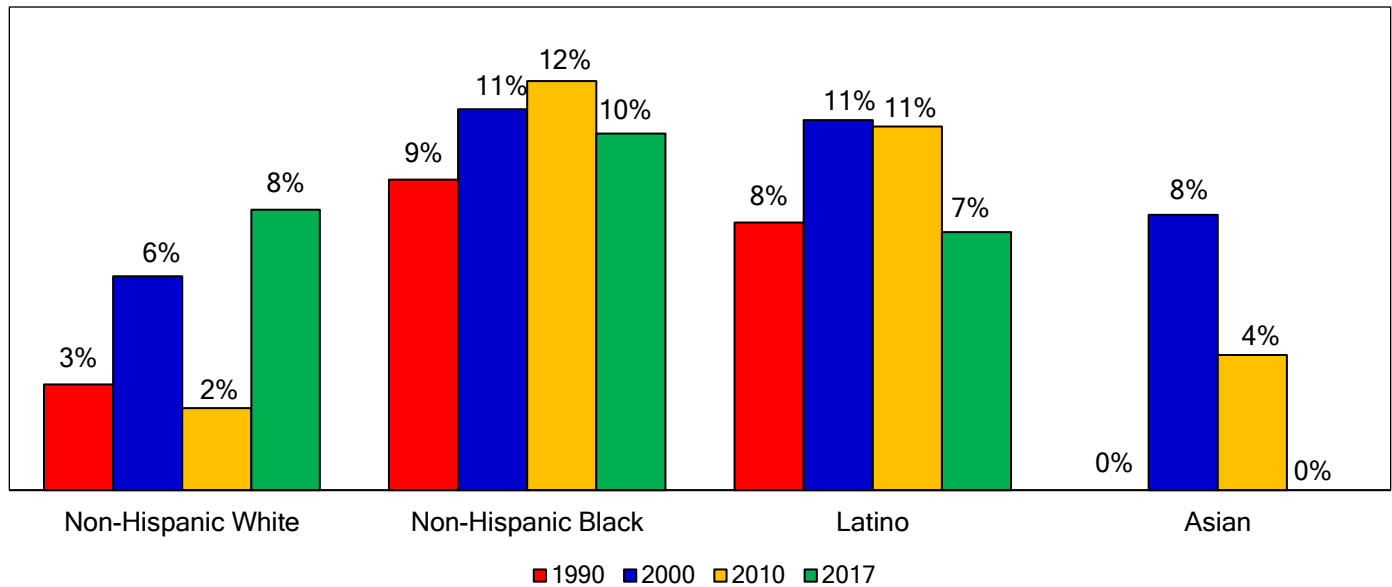


Figure 11
Percentage of "Not Employed" Population of South Bronx by Race/Ethnicity
(Ages 16-60) 1990-2017



Among the Latino subgroups, Ecuadorians had the highest rate of employment among the working age population in 2017 at 76%, followed in descending order by Dominicans at 59%, Mexicans at 53%, and finally Puerto Ricans at 49%. Every one of these subgroups saw an increase in employment rates over the years examined in this report 1990 - particularly Puerto Ricans, up approximately 16 percentage points since 1990. (See figures 12⁶-13).

Again, when taken in concert with stagnant household incomes and high rates of poverty, significant portions of the South Bronx population identify as "not in the labor force." This trend was witnessed in every race/ethnic group and all Latino subgroups (excluding Ecuadorians) and should not be ignored by stakeholders. (See table 6).

⁶ The 0% of Salvadorans in 2017 represents a n/a data.

Table 6
 Percentage of Largest Latino Groups Not in Labor Force
 in South Bronx Ages 16-60, 1990-2017

	1990	2000	2010	2017
Mexican	47%	44%	16%	37%
Puerto Rican	60%	51%	54%	41%
Dominican	50%	55%	37%	35%
Salvadoran	27%	48%	71%	n/a
Ecuadorian	48%	46%	30%	24%

Figure 12
 Percentage "Employed" Among Largest Latino Groups in South Bronx
 (Ages 16-60) 1990-2017

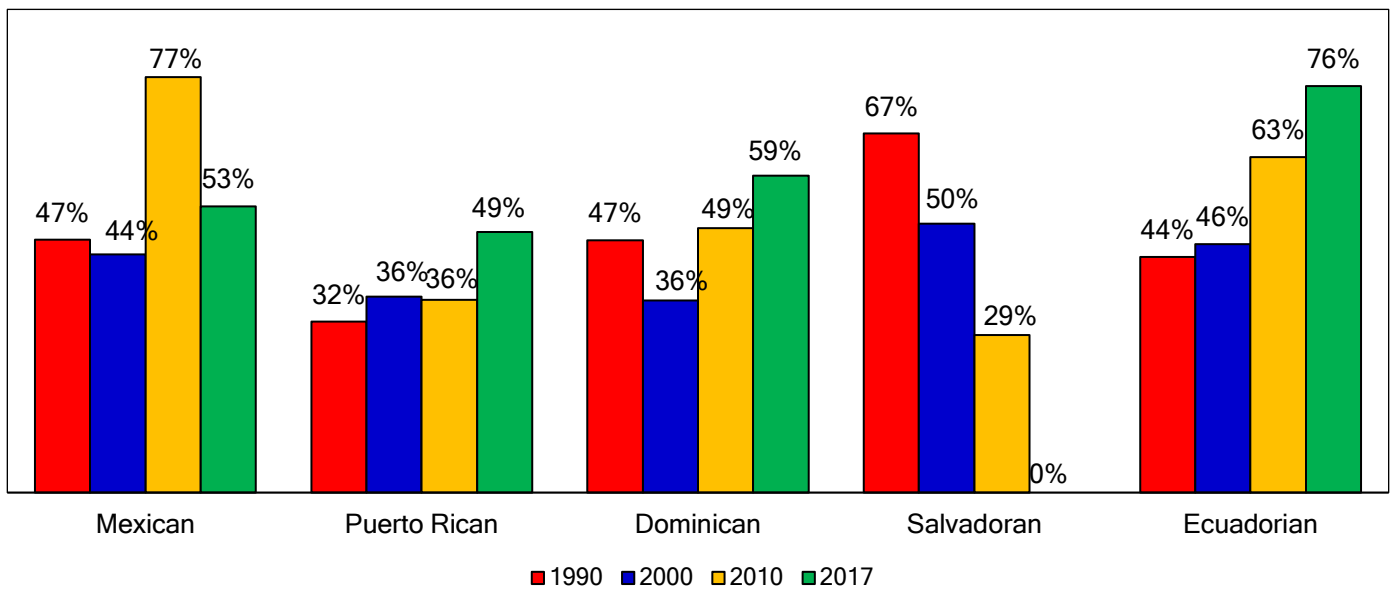
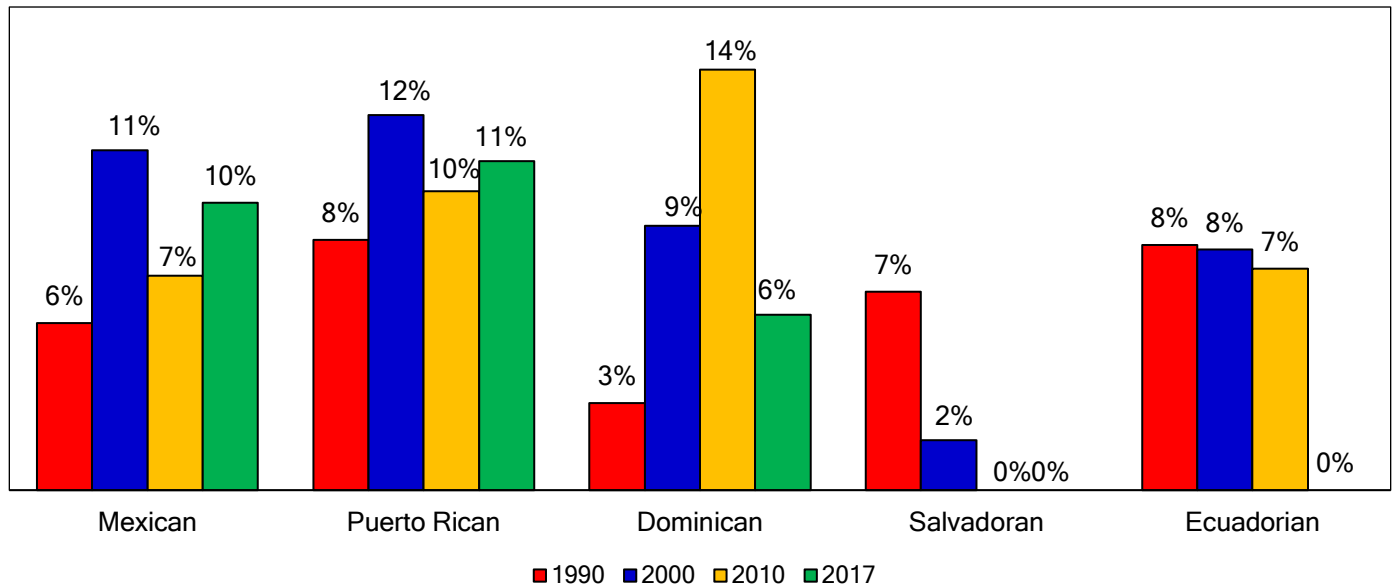


Figure 13
Percentage "Not-Employed" Among Largest Latino Groups in South Bronx
(Ages 16-60) 1990-2017



Educational Attainment

Educational attainment rates of South Bronx residents have increased at a significant rate among all race/ethnic groups between 1990 and 2017. The percentage of persons over the age of 25 years with a Bachelor's degree or higher have been increasing, and rates of non-high school completion decreased between 1990 and 2017.

The highest educational attainment levels were found among non-Hispanic whites, 26% of which had earned a BA or higher in 2017, up more than 22 percentage points since 1990, and a 20% rate of high school non-completion. Non-Hispanic blacks had the second highest rate of college graduates in 2017 at 10% and a high school non-completion rate of 28%. Latinos consistently had the lowest rates of educational attainment among the South Bronx population between 1990 and 2017, with 49% having not completed high school and 8% having earned a Bachelor's or higher in 2017. (See table 7).

Regardless of ranking in educational attainment, each race/ethnic group is making meaningful strides with regard to educational performance even as New York City's public education curriculum standards continue to increase.

In short, while high school non-completion rates remain concerning across all groups, the South Bronx population is more educated than it has ever been and is trending in a markedly positive direction. (See figures 14 and 15).

Figure 14
 Percentage of South Bronx Population with a BA or Higher by Race/Ethnicity
 (Aged 25+) 1990-2017

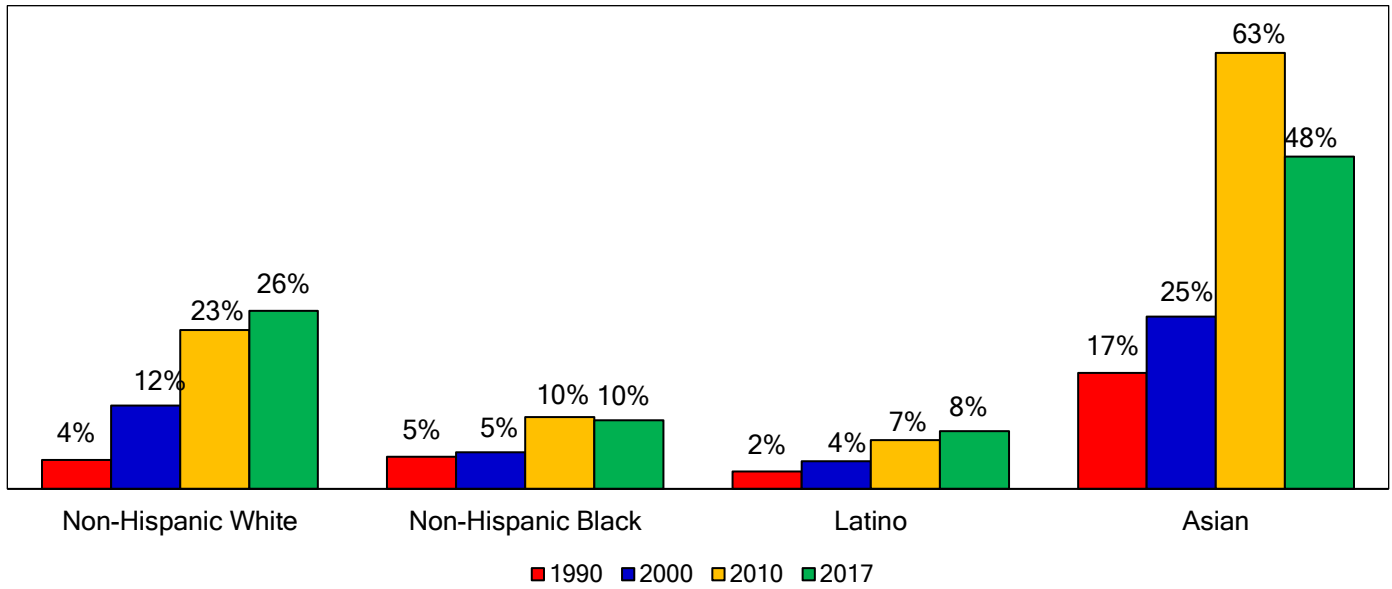


Figure 15
 High School Non-Completion Rates of South Bronx Population by
 Race/Ethnicity, (Aged 25+) 1990-2017

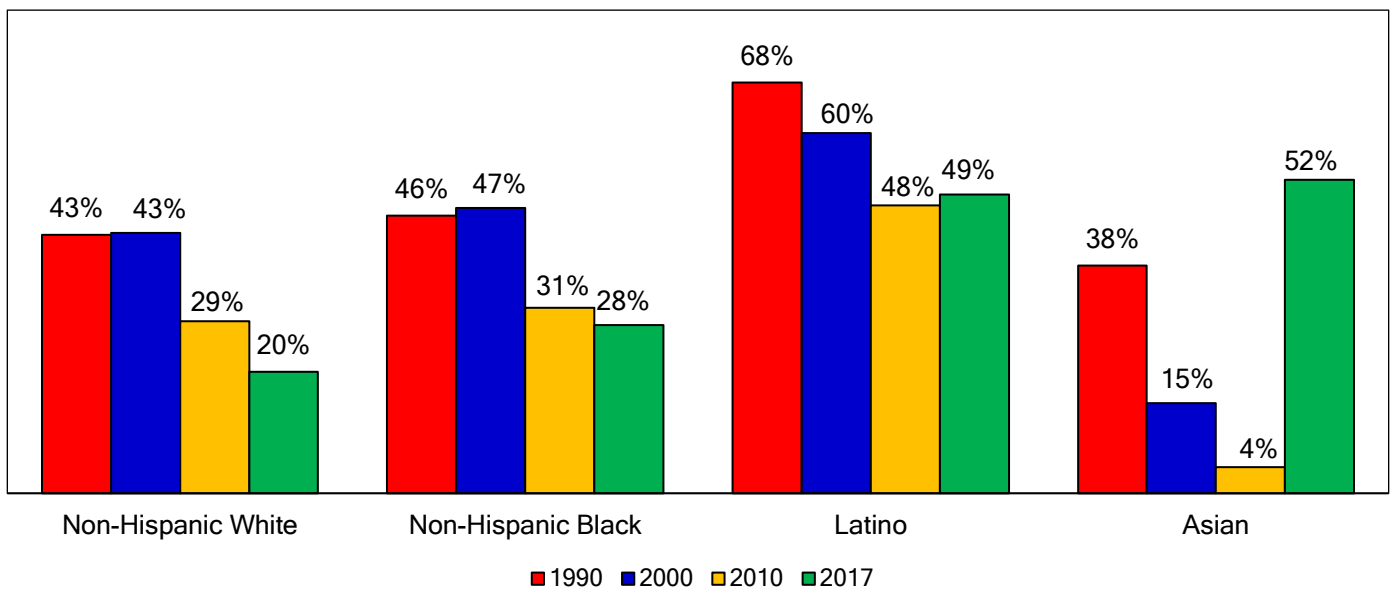


Table 7
Educational Attainment Rates of South Bronx
(Population Aged 25+) by Race/Ethnicity 1990-2017

	1990	2000	2010	2017
Non-Hispanic White				
Did Not Graduate High School	43%	43%	29%	20%
High School Graduate	34%	21%	13%	34%
Some College No Degree	16%	15%	21%	15%
Associates Degree	3%	9%	14%	6%
BA or Higher	4%	12%	23%	26%
Non-Hispanic Black				
Did Not Graduate High School	46%	47%	31%	28%
High School Graduate	31%	31%	32%	30%
Some College No Degree	15%	13%	17%	24%
Associates Degree	4%	4%	10%	8%
BA or Higher	5%	5%	10%	10%
Latino				
Did Not Graduate High School	68%	60%	48%	49%
High School Graduate	17%	20%	28%	23%
Some College No Degree	9%	13%	13%	12%
Associates Degree	3%	3%	4%	7%
BA or Higher	2%	4%	7%	8%
Asian				
Did Not Graduate High School	38%	15%	4%	52%
High School Graduate	27%	27%	7%	0%
Some College No Degree	19%	25%	9%	0%
Associates Degree	0%	8%	17%	0%
BA or Higher	17%	25%	63%	48%

With regard to the different Latino subgroups aged 25 and over in the South Bronx, Mexicans had the highest rate of high school non-completion at 63% in 2017 *and* the lowest college graduation rates at 6%. Nevertheless, those numbers are a significant improvement from educational attainment rates recorded in 1990. Puerto Ricans had second highest rate of high school non-completion and the second lowest rate of bachelor’s degrees in 2017, at 49% and 6%, respectively. Ecuadorians had the lowest rate of high school non-completion in 2017 at 38%, and 7% earned a bachelor’s or higher. Dominicans had, by far, the highest college graduation rate among Latinos at 14%, though 45% did not graduate high school. (See figures 16 and 17).

When taken in aggregate, these educational data suggest that many Mexicans living in the area are entering the work force at an earlier age and placing less emphasis on education, whereas the Dominican and Puerto Rican populations may have taken a somewhat different approach.

Figure 16
 Percentage of Five Largest Latino Groups in South Bronx Population
 with a BA or Higher, (Aged 25+) 1990-2017

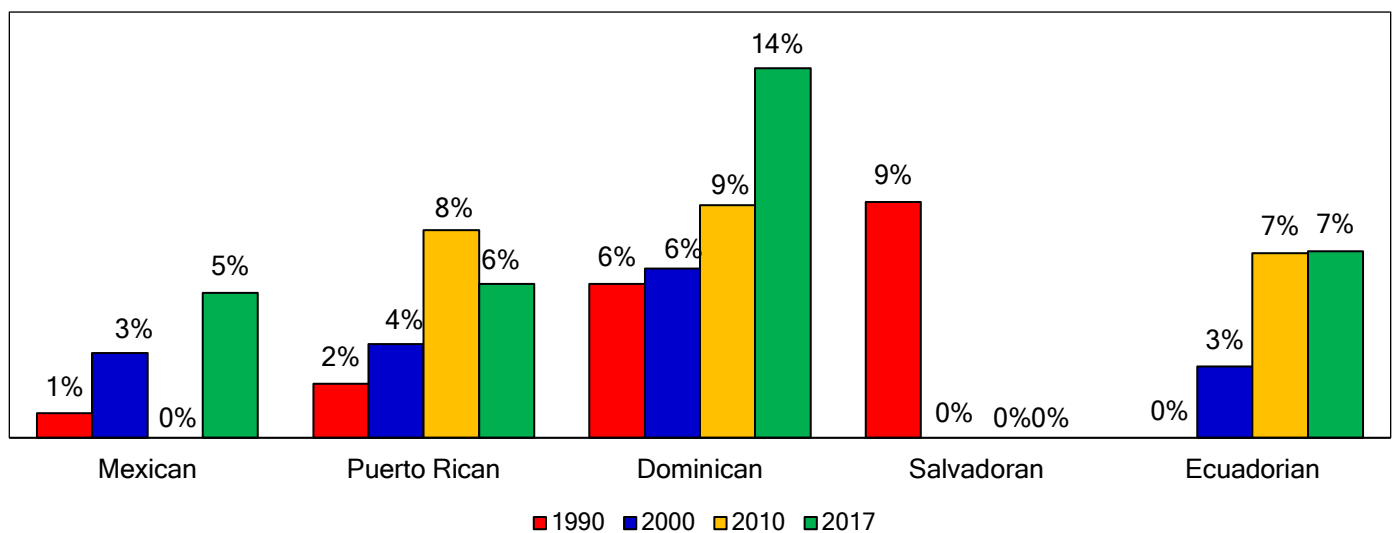
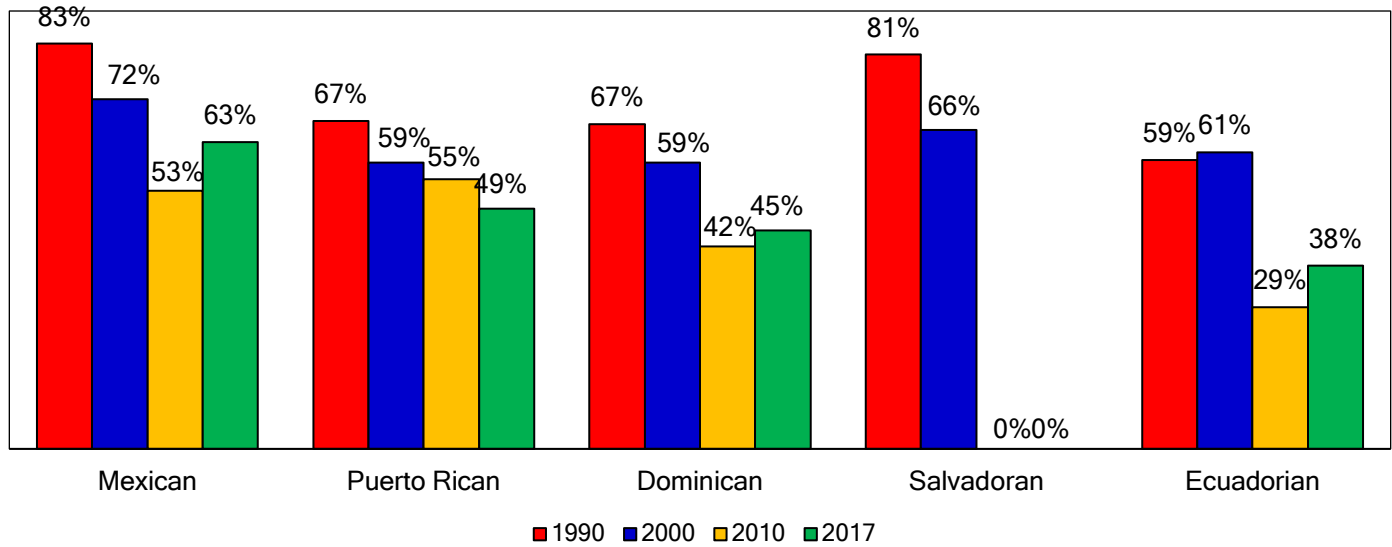


Figure 17
High School Non-Completion Rates Rates of Five Largest Latino Groups in
South Bronx, (Aged 25+) 1990-2017



Citizenship Status

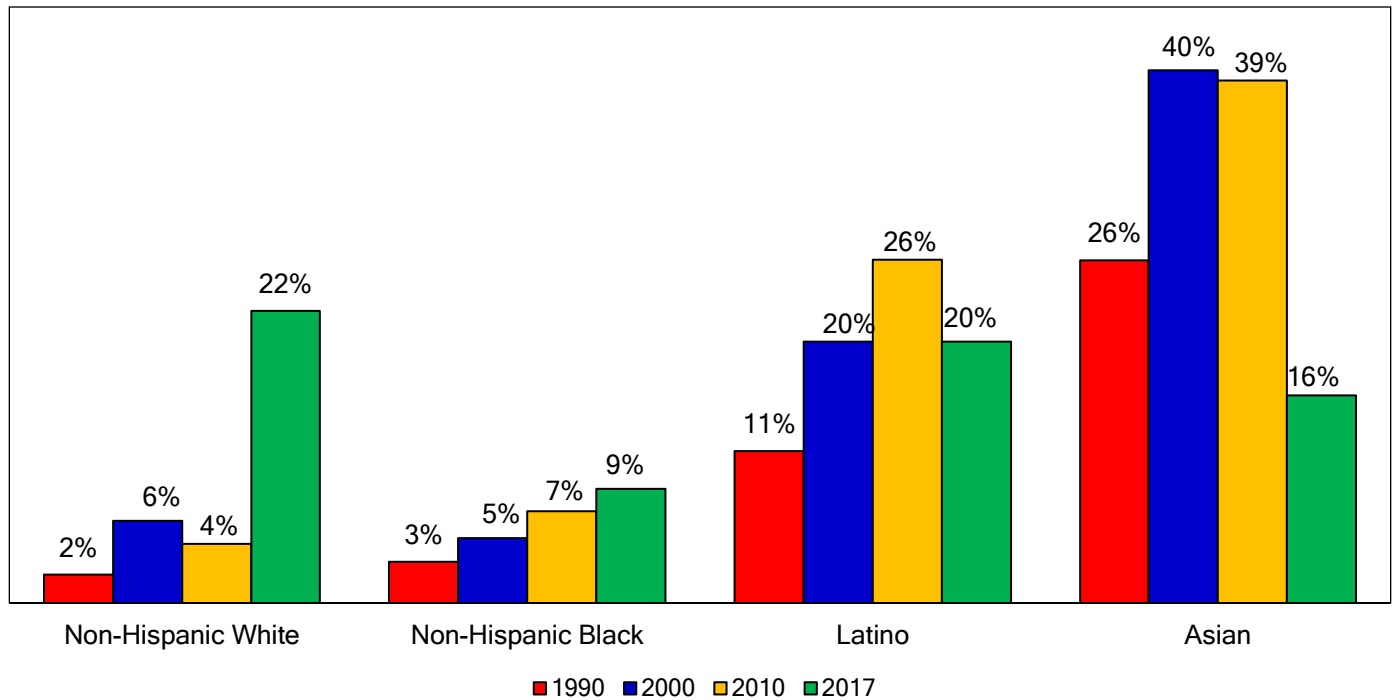
While almost half of South Bronx residents are foreign-born, an overwhelming majority are also citizens of the United States. However, citizenship rates have seen a steady and significant trend downward for every race/ethnic group between 1990 and 2017. (See table 8).

Non-Hispanic blacks had the highest rate of citizenship at 92% in 2017, followed by Latinos at 80%—down from 89% in 1990. The non-Hispanic white population experienced a marked increase in non-citizens between 2010 and 2017—moving from a 98% citizenship share in 1990 to a 78% share in 2017. These data suggest there has been a large influx of foreign-born non-citizens to the South Bronx over the last decade. (See figure 18).

Table 8
 Citizenship Status of South Bronx Population
 by Race/Ethnicity, 1990-2017

	1990	2000	2010	2017
Non-Hispanic White				
Citizen by Birth	90%	87%	90%	78%
Naturalized Citizen	8%	7%	5%	0%
Not A Citizen	2%	6%	4%	22%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
Non-Hispanic Black				
Citizen by Birth	94%	92%	87%	82%
Naturalized Citizen	3%	3%	6%	10%
Not A Citizen	3%	5%	7%	9%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
Latino				
Citizen by Birth	84%	73%	62%	65%
Naturalized Citizen	5%	7%	12%	15%
Not A Citizen	11%	20%	26%	20%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
Asian				
Citizen by Birth	13%	33%	43%	41%
Naturalized Citizen	61%	27%	18%	43%
Not A Citizen	26%	40%	39%	16%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Figure 18
Percentage of South Bronx Population Without Citizenship by Race/Ethnicity
1990-2017



Among the Latino subgroups of South Bronx (excluding Puerto Ricans, who are born citizens), in 2017, Ecuadorian citizenship rates were markedly higher than all other national groups at 88%, followed by Dominicans at 70%. Approximately 56% of the community's Mexicans were citizens in 2017.

Dominicans, in particular, showed a stark increase in citizenship rates since 1990, when approximately half of that Latino subgroup were not citizens. (See table 9).

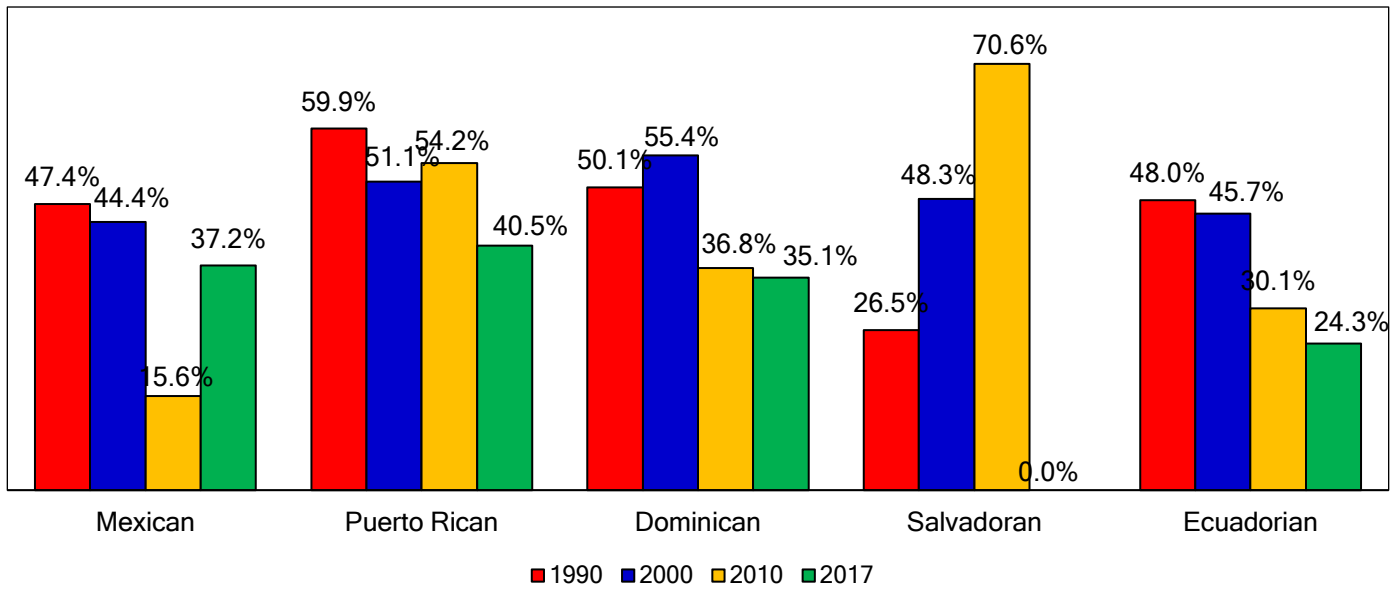
A large increase in the overall Mexican population of the South Bronx seems to be the most important contributing factor to the decline of Latino citizenship in the area on a whole. (See figure 19⁷).

⁷ The 0% for Salvadorians in 2017 represent a n/a data.

Table 9
 Citizenship Status of South Bronx Population
 by Five Largest Latino Groups, 1990-2017

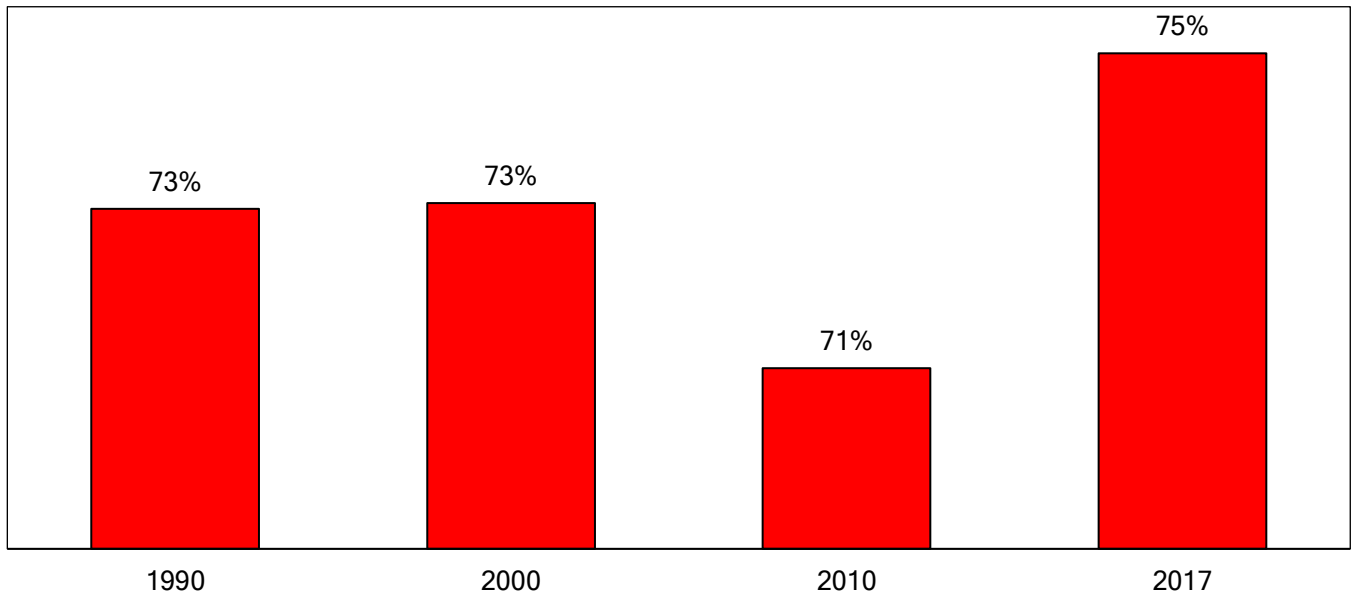
	1990	2000	2010	2017
Mexican				
Citizen by Birth	37%	30%	39%	51%
Naturalized Citizen	19%	8%	3%	5%
Not A Citizen	44%	62%	58%	44%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
Puerto Rican				
Citizen by Birth	99%	100%	99%	99%
Naturalized Citizen	1%	0%	1%	1%
Not A Citizen	0%	0%	0%	0%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
Dominican				
Citizen by Birth	28%	26%	37%	37%
Naturalized Citizen	22%	20%	27%	32%
Not A Citizen	50%	54%	36%	30%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
Salvadoran				
Citizen by Birth	21%	33%	53%	n/a
Naturalized Citizen	15%	33%	39%	n/a
Not A Citizen	64%	34%	8%	n/a
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
Ecuadorian				
Citizen by Birth	38%	30%	41%	41%
Naturalized Citizen	15%	25%	25%	47%
Not A Citizen	47%	45%	34%	12%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Figure 19
 Percentage of Largest Latino Groups Without Citizenship in South Bronx
 1990-2017



English Language Proficiency

Figure 20
 Percentage of South Bronx Latino Population that Speaks English
 "Exclusively, Well, or Very Well," 1990-2017



Finally, the South Bronx Latino population has seen some improvement in its English language skills. In 1990, 73% of the neighborhood's Latinos spoke English "Exclusively," "Well," or "Very Well." That number rose to 75% in 2017, after a slight dip in 2010. (See figure 20).

Concluding Remarks

A close examination the South Bronx (Bronx Community District #1) finds that it has undergone significant change in recent decades. However, that change is quite different from the gentrification narrative so common to other New York City neighborhoods that contain (or contained) large numbers of minority residents.

While there has certainly been a slight increase in the number of wealthy non-Hispanic whites in the neighborhood over the last two decades, the truth is that since 1990, the Latino community has remained the overwhelmingly dominant demographic expanding both their total numbers and in their percentage of the total population. Furthermore, despite increased rates of educational attainment, poverty rates remain high and employment/income both remain comparatively low.

Without a doubt, among the most significant changes identified in this report is the extent to which the Latino community has grown much more diverse in recent decades. Once an overwhelmingly Puerto Rican district, the area now has large Mexican and Dominican contingents, along with a smaller group of Ecuadorian elites.

CLACLS hopes the information presented here will motivate others to pursue further avenues of research on this topic. To this end, we have some suggestions.

First, stakeholders and advocacy groups may wish to investigate why so much of the South Bronx working age population identifies as "not in the labor force." Is this perhaps tied to the decline of full-time labor prospects in an increasingly part-time modern economy? Or is it simply that residents, upon securing gainful employment, tend to leave the area?

Second, Bronx Community District #1 has purportedly been home to an unknown (but likely large) number of undocumented Latino immigrants. While data may be difficult to collect, social scientists with an interest in undocumented Latino communities may benefit from combining the information presented in this report with their own findings to achieve a more nuanced picture of the on-the-ground demographic and socioeconomic factors facing this very dynamic New York City neighborhood.

And finally, the rather significant influx of Mexicans and Dominicans into the community over the last two decades warrants further examination. More detailed analysis along the lines of sex, household heads, and type of employment may provide a better explanation of why their population numbers and poverty rates are swelling, while so many Puerto Ricans are leaving.

CLACLS welcomes the opportunity to discuss these questions, and others pertaining to this topic, with interested parties.