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Settlement patterns and residential segregation of Puerto Ricans in the United States

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With the research assistance of Andrew Maroko



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PART OF THE SERIES

“One Day, My Child, This Land Will Also Be Yours... Or Not: Puerto Ricans in the United States” (1980–2000)¹

One of the characteristics of the Puerto Rican population in the United States is its mobility. Puerto Ricans are a people on the move in more ways than one. Ever since Puerto Ricans began arriving in the United States, whether on their own accord and volition or whether encouraged or compelled by government policies, relative dispersion has been one of their notable characteristics. This dispersion has taken place simultaneously with the concentration of Puerto Ricans in dispersing settlements.

If the very first Puerto Rican *colonia* in the United States was in New York City’s Chelsea, this changed very quickly and their settlements extended to other parts of the borough and the city (e.g., Brooklyn waterfront and East Harlem).² With the great influx of Puerto Ricans from the island after WWII, and the great concentration of Puerto Ricans in Manhattan’s West Side, East Harlem and, later, the Bronx, a concerted effort was made through government policies and institutions to disperse Puerto Ricans to other geographical areas in the United States (e.g., Chicago, Philadelphia, Connecticut).³ However Puerto Ricans were dispersed, the tendency to congregate persisted, and if Puerto Ricans appeared in western Massachusetts, Southern New

Jersey or Florida, the settlements swelled with natural increases of the population as well as migration from other states or Puerto Rico. Whether the tendency to concentrate as they disperse across the United States is natural or the result of intended and unintended consequences of governmental and non-governmental policies, the fact is that Puerto Ricans are significantly segregated in the United States.

Concentration may have positive and negative consequences culturally, politically and socioeconomically. On the one hand, it increases the chances for political descriptive representation (i.e., representation from within one's own group), it fosters enclaves where self-sustaining commercial exchanges may take place and where a unique cultural production is manifest. However, concentration tends to congregate Puerto Ricans in poorer wards of cities and suburbs, where the provision of governmental services is generally deficient, education is largely substandard and access to mainstream social, economic, cultural and political institutions are greatly curtailed when compared with other jurisdictions or sub-jurisdictions.

This report is part of a larger project that seeks to create a sociodemographic profile of the Puerto Rican population in the United States over time, using aggregate data from decennial censuses from 1980 through 2000.⁴ It intends to contribute descriptive data analysis so it may become a benchmark of comparison as well as a source of information that will result in theory building and theory testing. The emphasis of the analysis will be on settlement patterns. It also seeks to highlight conditions the Puerto Rican population in the United States faces, so that policymakers and other stakeholders may provide solutions to them.

Beyond tracking how Puerto Ricans have physically settled in the United States over the last quarter of the 20th century by looking at gross numbers, the report focuses on more detailed analysis of geographic mobility and segregation, using indices of dissimilarity, isolation and exposure. This more detailed analysis will look not only at Puerto Ricans vis-à-vis the majority population (i.e., non-Hispanic white population), but also at other groups (e.g., African Americans, other Latinos, etc.). The findings will point to the continued dispersion of people of Puerto Rican descent in the United States beyond the traditional foci of settlement in the Northeast and Midwest to the Sunbelt. This dispersion and varied settlement pattern, however, exhibits a twofold feature. On the one hand, as Puerto Ricans leave their traditional settlement sites, segregation for those who remain behind tends to decrease, although it still remains at very high levels. On the other hand, while new settlements have low levels of segregation, overall and relative to traditional settlement sites, over time Puerto Rican segregation increases in these new areas of settlement.

Puerto Rican population growth and distribution

In 2000, the US Census Bureau found 3,406,178 Puerto Ricans in the United States in its decennial count. This number represents a 25% increase over the 2,727,754 Puerto Ricans it had found in 1990, and a 69% increase over the numbers in 1980 (SEE TABLE 1).⁵

TABLE 1. Puerto Rican population in the United States: 1980–2000

	1980	1990	2000	% CHANGE		
				1980–1990	1990–2000	1980–2000
Total Number of Puerto Ricans	2,013,945	2,727,754	3,406,178	35.44%	24.87%	69.13%
Puerto Ricans (AS PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL U.S. POPULATION)	0.89%	1.10%	1.21%			
Total U.S. population	226,545,805	248,709,873	281,421,906	9.78%	13.15%	24.22%

The states in which Puerto Ricans were settled in 2000 continued to be largely in the Northeast, both in the mid-Atlantic states (e.g., New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania) and in New England (e.g., Connecticut, Massachusetts). The Puerto Rican populations of these five states accounted for 60% of all Puerto Ricans counted by the Census Bureau in the United States in 2000. (The figure increases to 64% when including Illinois, the other traditional center of Puerto Rican migrant reception and settlement.) However, the proportion of Puerto Ricans in these five northeastern states represents a decline from the 68% (73% including Illinois) in 1990 and the 74% (80% including Illinois) in 1980 that these states' Puerto Ricans represented as a share of the US Puerto Rican population. The decline is accounted by two somewhat simultaneous phenomena: the accelerated growth of Puerto Rican settlements outside the Northeast (and Illinois) and the precipitous decline of the Puerto Rican population in New York State.

New York State, traditionally the magnet for and largest settlement of Puerto Rican in the United States, continued to be the most Puerto Rican of all states, with a population of 1,050,293 Puerto Ricans in 2000 (SEE TABLE 2). However, that number represented a decline from the peak of 1,086,601 in 1990. Between 1990 and 2000, New York State lost 3.34% of its Puerto Rican population, and it was the state with the slowest population growth (6.5%) between 1980 and 2000 (SEE TABLE 3, BOTTOM). For the same period, the aggregate Puerto Rican population in the United States grew at a rate of 69%. In fact, among the states with the slowest growth in its Puerto Rican populations between 1980 and 2000 were states that had the largest Puerto Rican populations, such as Illinois (22% growth), New Jersey (51%), California (51%) or Hawaii (55%) (SEE TABLE 3, BOTTOM). Conversely, among the states with the largest growth rates in their Puerto Rican populations were states with the smallest proportions of the US Puerto Rican population. For example,

**TABLE 2. Distribution of the Puerto Rican Population in the US 1980–2000
(Sorted by Proportion in 2000)**

STATE	1980		1990		2000	
	PR Population	% of US PR Pop	PR Population	% of US PR Pop	PR Population	% of US PR Pop
New York	986,389	48.98%	1,086,601	39.84%	1,050,293	30.83%
Florida	94,775	4.71	247,010	9.06	482,027	14.15
New Jersey	243,540	12.09	320,133	11.74	366,788	10.77
Pennsylvania	91,802	4.56	148,988	5.46	228,557	6.71
Massachusetts	76,450	3.80	151,193	5.54	199,207	5.85
Connecticut	88,361	4.39	146,842	5.38	194,443	5.71
Illinois	129,165	6.41	146,059	5.35	157,851	4.63
California	93,038	4.62	126,417	4.63	140,570	4.13
Texas	22,938	1.14	42,981	1.58	69,504	2.04
Ohio	32,442	1.61	45,853	1.68	66,269	1.95
Virginia	10,227	0.51	23,698	0.87	41,131	1.21
Georgia	7,887	0.39	17,443	0.64	35,532	1.04
North Carolina	7,420	0.37	14,620	0.54	31,117	0.91
Wisconsin	10,483	0.52	19,116	0.70	30,267	0.89
Hawaii	19,351	0.96	25,778	0.95	30,005	0.88
Michigan	12,425	0.62	18,538	0.68	26,941	0.79
Maryland	9,014	0.45	17,528	0.64	25,570	0.75
Rhode Island	4,621	0.23	13,016	0.48	25,422	0.75
Indiana	12,683	0.63	14,021	0.51	19,678	0.58
Arizona	4,048	0.20	8,256	0.30	17,587	0.52
Washington	5,065	0.25	9,345	0.34	16,140	0.47
Delaware	4,801	0.24	8,257	0.30	14,005	0.41
Colorado	4,246	0.21	7,225	0.26	12,993	0.38
South Carolina	4,114	0.20	6,423	0.24	12,211	0.36
Nevada	1,853	0.09	4,272	0.16	10,420	0.31
Tennessee	2,399	0.12	4,292	0.16	10,303	0.30
Oklahoma	2,873	0.14	4,693	0.17	8,153	0.24
Louisiana	4,539	0.23	6,180	0.23	7,670	0.23
Missouri	2,512	0.12	3,959	0.15	6,677	0.20
Minnesota	1,550	0.08	3,286	0.12	6,616	0.19
Kentucky	2,747	0.14	3,682	0.13	6,469	0.19
Alabama	2,299	0.11	3,553	0.13	6,322	0.19
New Hampshire	1,316	0.07	3,299	0.12	6,215	0.18
Kansas	2,918	0.14	3,570	0.13	5,237	0.15
Oregon	1,768	0.09	2,764	0.10	5,092	0.15
New Mexico	1,610	0.08	2,635	0.10	4,488	0.13
Utah	1,494	0.07	2,181	0.08	3,977	0.12
Mississippi	1,058	0.05	1,304	0.05	2,881	0.08
Iowa	709	0.04	1,270	0.05	2,690	0.08
Alaska	965	0.05	1,938	0.07	2,649	0.08
Arkansas	828	0.04	1,176	0.04	2,473	0.07
District of Columbia	1,430	0.07	2,204	0.08	2,328	0.07
Maine	714	0.04	1,250	0.05	2,275	0.07
Nebraska	627	0.03	1,159	0.04	1,993	0.06
West Virginia	662	0.03	897	0.03	1,609	0.05
Idaho	407	0.02	665	0.02	1,509	0.04
Vermont	324	0.02	659	0.02	1,374	0.04
Montana	293	0.01	437	0.02	931	0.03
South Dakota	247	0.01	377	0.01	637	0.02
Wyoming	287	0.01	325	0.01	575	0.02
North Dakota	231	0.01%	386	0.01%	507	0.01%
TOTAL	2,013,945		2,727,754		3,406,178	

Source: US Census Bureau

Nevada’s Puerto Ricans, with a population growth rate of 462%, from 1,853 in 1980 to 10,420 in 2000, only represented 0.3% of the Puerto Ricans in the United States. Similarly, Georgia, with a Puerto Rican population growth of 350% for the same period, had a share of 1% of the Puerto Rican population in the United States.

In 2000, the following 15 states accounted for more than 90% of the Puerto Rican population in the United States (SEE TABLE 2): New York (30.8%), Florida (14.2%), New Jersey (10.8%), Pennsylvania (6.7%), Massachusetts (5.8%), Connecticut (5.7%), Illinois (4.6%), California

(4.1%), Texas (2%), Ohio (1.9%), Virginia (1.2%), Georgia (1%), North Carolina (0.9%), Wisconsin (0.9%) and Hawaii (0.9%). During the 1990s, the 15 states with the most growth in their Puerto Rican population were, in order of growth (SEE TABLE 3): Nevada (144%), Tennessee (140%), Idaho (127%), Mississippi (121%), Montana (113%), Arizona (113%), North Carolina (113%), Iowa (112%), Arkansas (110%), Vermont (109%), Georgia (104%), Minnesota (101%), Rhode Island (95%), Florida (95%), and South Carolina (90%). Thus, while the Northeast continued to hold three-fifths of the Puerto Rican population in the United States, more than a fifth of that population was settled in

TABLE 3. Growth of the Puerto Rican and State Populations 1980–2000, 1980–1990, and 1990–2000

%PUERTO RICAN POPULATION GROWTH					
STATE	1980–2000	STATE	1980–1990	STATE	1990–2000
Nevada	462.33%	Rhode Island	181.67%	Nevada	143.91%
Rhode Island	450.14	Florida	160.63	Tennessee	140.05
Florida	408.60	New Hampshire	150.68	Idaho	126.92
New Hampshire	372.26	Virginia	131.72	Mississippi	120.94
Georgia	350.51	Nevada	130.55	Montana	113.04
Arizona	334.46	Georgia	121.16	Arizona	113.02
Tennessee	329.47	Minnesota	112.00	North Carolina	112.84
Minnesota	326.84	Arizona	103.95	Iowa	111.81
Vermont	324.07	Vermont	103.40	Arkansas	110.29
North Carolina	319.37	Alaska	100.83	Vermont	108.50
Virginia	302.18	Massachusetts	97.77	Georgia	103.70
Iowa	279.41	North Carolina	97.04	Minnesota	101.34
Idaho	270.76	Maryland	94.45	Rhode Island	95.31
Washington	218.66	Texas	87.38	Florida	95.14
Maine	218.63	Nebraska	84.85	South Carolina	90.11
Nebraska	217.86	Washington	84.50	New Hampshire	88.39
Montana	217.75	Wisconsin	82.35	Oregon	84.23
Colorado	206.01	Iowa	79.13	Utah	82.35
Texas	203.01	Tennessee	78.91	Maine	82.00
Arkansas	198.67	Maine	75.07	Colorado	79.83
South Carolina	196.82	Delaware	71.99	West Virginia	79.38
Delaware	191.71	Colorado	70.16	Alabama	77.93
Wisconsin	188.72	North Dakota	67.10	Wyoming	76.92
Oregon	188.01	Connecticut	66.18	Kentucky	75.69
Oklahoma	183.78	New Mexico	63.66	Oklahoma	73.73
Maryland	183.67	Idaho	63.39	Virginia	73.56
New Mexico	178.76	Oklahoma	63.35	Washington	72.71
Alabama	174.99	Pennsylvania	62.29	Nebraska	71.96
Alaska	174.51	Missouri	57.60	New Mexico	70.32
Mississippi	172.31	Oregon	56.33	Delaware	69.61
Utah	166.20	South Carolina	56.13	South Dakota	68.97
Missouri	165.80	Alabama	54.55	Missouri	68.65
Massachusetts	160.57	District of Columbia	54.13	Texas	61.71
South Dakota	157.89	South Dakota	52.63	Wisconsin	58.33
Pennsylvania	148.97	Michigan	49.20	Pennsylvania	53.41
West Virginia	143.05	Montana	49.15	Kansas	46.69
Kentucky	135.49	Utah	45.98	Maryland	45.88
Connecticut	120.06	Arkansas	42.03	Michigan	45.33
North Dakota	119.48	Ohio	41.34	Ohio	44.52
Michigan	116.83	Louisiana	36.15	Indiana	40.35
Ohio	104.27	California	35.88	Alaska	36.69
Wyoming	100.35	West Virginia	35.50	Connecticut	32.42
Kansas	79.47	Kentucky	34.04	Massachusetts	31.76
Louisiana	68.98	Hawaii	33.21	North Dakota	31.35
District of Columbia	62.80	New Jersey	31.45	Louisiana	24.11
Indiana	55.15	Mississippi	23.25	Hawaii	16.40
Hawaii	55.06	Kansas	22.34	New Jersey	14.57
California	51.09	Wyoming	13.24	California	11.20
New Jersey	50.61	Illinois	13.08	Illinois	8.07
Illinois	22.21	Indiana	10.55	District of Columbia	5.63
New York	6.48%	New York	10.16%	New York	-3.34%

Source: US Census Bureau

high population growth Sunbelt states, particularly in the South; and this proportion is growing. This migration pattern is indicative of the fact that Puerto Ricans are following a similar migration pattern to that of other residents of the United States.⁶

Puerto Rican population concentration and segregation

It is meaningful to also observe how concentrated Puerto Ricans are in the United States. A first measure of concentration is the proportion of the total population that Puerto Ricans in the United States represent. In 1980, the 2,013,945 Puerto Ricans represented 0.89% of the population of the United States; by 1990, this proportion had increased to 1.1%, and by 2000, Puerto Ricans had grown to 1.21% of the total population (SEE TABLE 1). Given these national rates we observe that in 2000, there were ten states where Puerto Ricans were overrepresented (or concentrated) as a percentage of those states' populations (SEE TABLE 4): Connecticut (5.7%), New York (5.5%), New Jersey (4.4%), Massachusetts (3.1%), Florida (3%), Hawaii (2.5%), Rhode Island (2.4%), Pennsylvania (1.9%), Delaware (1.8%) and Illinois (1.3%). A comparison with the results for 1990 shows that, with the exception of New York and Illinois, the remaining eight states, where Puerto Ricans had settled in and were overrepresented relative to their proportion in the national population, were becoming more concentrated with Puerto Ricans: New York (6%), Connecticut (4.5%), New Jersey (4.1%), Massachusetts (2.5%), Hawaii (2.3%), Florida (1.9%), Pennsylvania (1.3%), Illinois (1.3%), Rhode Island (1.3%) and Delaware (1.2%). The data for 2000 and 1990 represent an increase over the proportions for 1980, when only eight states' population were overrepresented with Puerto Ricans: New York (5.6%), New Jersey (3.3%), Connecticut (2.8%), Hawaii (2%), Massachusetts (1.3%), Illinois (1.1%) and Florida (0.9%). Pennsylvania (0.8%) and Rhode Island (0.5%) had Puerto Rican populations below the 0.89% national rate of Puerto Ricans in the United States in 1980.

As Puerto Ricans (and the rest of the population in the United States) are not evenly distributed throughout the country, neither are they evenly distributed in the counties, cities, towns, suburbs and rural areas where they have taken up residency. The analysis that follows shows the extent to which Puerto Ricans are concentrated and segregated in the counties they live in. The data provided are from the 1990 and 2000 censuses and provide information for 15 states and 71 counties. These selected states (and counties) are: California (Alameda, Los Angeles and San Diego), Connecticut (Fairfield, Hartford, New Haven and Windham), Delaware (Newcastle), Florida

TABLE 4. Puerto Rican population as share of the state's population: 1980–2000

1980		1990		2000	
STATE	% of State Pop.	STATE	% of State Pop.	STATE	% of State Pop.
New York	5.62%	New York	6.04%	Connecticut	5.71%
New Jersey	3.31	Connecticut	4.47	New York	5.53
Connecticut	2.84	New Jersey	4.14	New Jersey	4.36
Hawaii	2.01	Massachusetts	2.51	Massachusetts	3.14
Massachusetts	1.33	Hawaii	2.33	Florida	3.02
Illinois	1.13	Florida	1.91	Hawaii	2.48
Florida	0.97	Rhode Island	1.30	Rhode Island	2.43
Delaware	0.81	Illinois	1.28	Pennsylvania	1.86
Pennsylvania	0.77	Pennsylvania	1.25	Delaware	1.79
Rhode Island	0.49	Delaware	1.24	Illinois	1.27
California	0.39	California	0.42	Ohio	0.58
Ohio	0.30	Ohio	0.42	Virginia	0.58
Alaska	0.24	Wisconsin	0.39	Wisconsin	0.56
Nevada	0.23	Virginia	0.38	Nevada	0.52
Indiana	0.23	Maryland	0.37	New Hampshire	0.50
District of Columbia	0.22	District of Columbia	0.36	Maryland	0.48
Wisconsin	0.22	Nevada	0.36	Georgia	0.43
Maryland	0.21	Alaska	0.35	Alaska	0.42
Virginia	0.19	New Hampshire	0.30	California	0.42
Texas	0.16	Georgia	0.27	District of Columbia	0.41
Arizona	0.15	Texas	0.25	North Carolina	0.39
Colorado	0.15	Indiana	0.25	Arizona	0.34
Georgia	0.14	Arizona	0.23	Texas	0.33
New Hampshire	0.14	North Carolina	0.22	Indiana	0.32
Michigan	0.13	Colorado	0.22	South Carolina	0.30
South Carolina	0.13	Michigan	0.20	Colorado	0.30
North Carolina	0.13	Washington	0.19	Washington	0.27
New Mexico	0.12	South Carolina	0.18	Michigan	0.27
Kansas	0.12	New Mexico	0.17	New Mexico	0.25
Washington	0.12	Oklahoma	0.15	Oklahoma	0.24
Louisiana	0.11	Louisiana	0.15	Vermont	0.23
Utah	0.10	Kansas	0.14	Kansas	0.19
Oklahoma	0.09	Utah	0.13	Tennessee	0.18
Kentucky	0.08	Vermont	0.12	Maine	0.18
Oregon	0.07	Maine	0.10	Utah	0.18
Maine	0.06	Kentucky	0.10	Louisiana	0.17
Vermont	0.06	Oregon	0.10	Kentucky	0.16
Wyoming	0.06	Tennessee	0.09	Oregon	0.15
Alabama	0.06	Alabama	0.09	Alabama	0.14
Tennessee	0.05	Missouri	0.08	Minnesota	0.13
Missouri	0.05	Minnesota	0.08	Missouri	0.12
Idaho	0.04	Nebraska	0.07	Idaho	0.12
Mississippi	0.04	Wyoming	0.07	Nebraska	0.12
Nebraska	0.04	Idaho	0.07	Wyoming	0.12
Minnesota	0.04	North Dakota	0.06	Montana	0.10
Montana	0.04	Montana	0.05	Mississippi	0.10
Arkansas	0.04	South Dakota	0.05	Arkansas	0.09
South Dakota	0.04	Mississippi	0.05	Iowa	0.09
North Dakota	0.04	Arkansas	0.05	West Virginia	0.09
West Virginia	0.03	West Virginia	0.05	South Dakota	0.08
Iowa	0.02%	Iowa	0.05%	North Dakota	0.08%

Source: US Census Bureau

(Broward, Dade, Hendry, Highlands, Hillsborough, Orange, Osceola, Palm Beach, Pinellas, Seminole and Volusia), Georgia (Chattahoochee and Liberty), Hawaii (Honolulu, Kauai and Maui), Illinois (Cook), Indiana (Lake), Massachusetts (Bristol, Essex, Hampden, Hampshire, Middlesex, Suffolk and Worcester), New Jersey (Atlantic, Bergen, Camden, Cumberland, Essex, Hudson, Mercer, Middlesex, Monmouth, Passaic and Union), New York (Bronx, Chautauqua, Erie, Kings, Montgomery, Monroe, Nassau, New York, Orange, Queens, Richmond, Rockland, Suffolk, Sullivan, Ulster and

TABLE 5. Puerto Rican Population in Selected Counties and Change between 1990 and 2000

PUERTO RICAN POPULATION						
STATE	COUNTY	2000	1990	STATE	COUNTY	1990-2000
New York	Bronx	319,240	349,115	Pennsylvania	Monroe	450.68%
New York	Kings	213,025	274,530	Florida	Osceola	278.33
Illinois	Cook	130,414	128,540	Florida	Orange	153.00
New York	New York	119,718	154,978	Florida	Highlands	133.41
New York	Queens	108,661	100,410	Florida	Volusia	126.07
Pennsylvania	Philadelphia	91,527	67,857	Florida	Pinellas	122.03
Florida	Orange	86,583	34,223	Pennsylvania	Lebanon	111.82
Florida	Miami-Dade	80,327	72,827	Florida	Hillsborough	109.60
Connecticut	Hartford	73,750	56,160	Florida	Seminole	106.37
Massachusetts	Hampden	58,528	40,331	Florida	Broward	103.98
New Jersey	Hudson	58,312	58,540	Florida	Palm Beach	103.54
Connecticut	New Haven	55,851	38,194	Rhode Island	Providence	95.12
Florida	Broward	54,938	26,933	Pennsylvania	Lehigh	89.03
New Jersey	Essex	53,015	51,345	Pennsylvania	Berks	69.93
Florida	Hillsborough	52,568	25,080	Delaware	Newcastle	66.83
New York	Suffolk	51,256	43,852	Georgia	Liberty	65.37
Connecticut	Fairfield	45,311	40,990	Connecticut	Windham	62.18
New Jersey	Passaic	41,324	42,973	New York	Richmond	60.90
California	Los Angeles	37,862	40,082	New York	Orange	60.88
New York	Westchester	34,898	27,094	Massachusetts	Bristol	52.49
New Jersey	Middlesex	34,676	28,591	Pennsylvania	Lancaster	50.80
Massachusetts	Suffolk	33,717	30,855	Wisconsin	Milwaukee	48.48
New Jersey	Camden	33,712	27,956	New Jersey	Bergen	46.74
Massachusetts	Worcester	32,432	23,183	Ohio	Cuyahoga	46.57
Florida	Osceola	30,728	8,122	Connecticut	New Haven	46.23
Ohio	Cuyahoga	30,147	20,568	Massachusetts	Hampden	45.12
New York	Richmond	28,528	17,730	Florida	Hendry	43.89
New York	Monroe	27,501	19,229	New York	Ulster	43.33
Massachusetts	Essex	25,803	20,901	New York	Monroe	43.02
Florida	Palm Beach	25,170	12,366	New York	Erie	42.17
New York	Nassau	23,540	17,766	Massachusetts	Worcester	39.90
Rhode Island	Providence	22,987	11,781	Pennsylvania	Northampton	38.78
Massachusetts	Middlesex	22,386	18,571	New York	Chautauqua	38.39
New Jersey	Union	22,164	18,020	Pennsylvania	Philadelphia	34.88
Wisconsin	Milwaukee	22,074	14,867	New Jersey	Atlantic	34.45
Pennsylvania	Berks	22,038	12,969	New York	Sullivan	33.54
New York	Erie	21,575	15,176	New York	Nassau	32.50
Pennsylvania	Lehigh	21,066	11,144	New Jersey	Monmouth	31.38
Florida	Seminole	19,609	9,502	Connecticut	Hartford	31.32
Pennsylvania	Lancaster	19,341	12,826	New York	Westchester	28.80
New York	Orange	19,153	11,905	Massachusetts	Hampshire	26.51
Hawaii	Honolulu	18,933	17,068	New York	Rockland	26.19
New Jersey	Cumberland	18,520	15,676	Massachusetts	Essex	23.45
New Jersey	Bergen	17,290	11,783	New Jersey	Union	23.00
California	San Diego	14,937	12,163	California	San Diego	22.81
New Jersey	Monmouth	14,712	11,198	New York	Montgomery	22.03
New Jersey	Atlantic	14,580	10,844	New Jersey	Middlesex	21.28
New Jersey	Mercer	13,865	12,164	Ohio	Lorain	20.76
Florida	Volusia	13,546	5,992	New Jersey	Camden	20.59
Ohio	Lorain	13,273	10,991	Massachusetts	Middlesex	20.54
Florida	Pinellas	12,600	5,675	New Jersey	Cumberland	18.14
Pennsylvania	Northampton	12,042	8,677	Hawaii	Maui	17.51
Massachusetts	Bristol	11,606	7,611	New York	Suffolk	16.88
Delaware	Newcastle	11,139	6,677	New Jersey	Mercer	13.98
New York	Rockland	10,681	8,464	Hawaii	Honolulu	10.93
California	Alameda	10,186	10,707	Connecticut	Fairfield	10.54
Indiana	Lake	9,495	8,735	Florida	Miami-Dade	10.30
New York	Ulster	5,594	3,903	Massachusetts	Suffolk	9.28
Connecticut	Windham	5,373	3,313	Indiana	Lake	8.70
Pennsylvania	Monroe	5,281	959	New York	Queens	8.22
New York	Chautauqua	4,542	3,282	Hawaii	Kauai	3.29
Pennsylvania	Lebanon	4,302	2,031	New Jersey	Essex	3.25
New York	Sullivan	3,631	2,719	Illinois	Cook	1.46
Hawaii	Maui	3,289	2,799	New Jersey	Hudson	-0.39
Florida	Highlands	3,039	1,302	New Jersey	Passaic	-3.84
Massachusetts	Hampshire	2,863	2,263	California	Alameda	-4.87
New York	Montgomery	2,376	1,947	California	Los Angeles	-5.54
Georgia	Liberty	2,173	1,314	New York	Bronx	-8.56
Hawaii	Kauai	1,539	1,490	New York	Kings	-22.40
Florida	Hendry	813	565	New York	New York	-22.75
Georgia	Chattahoochee	479	732	Georgia	Chattahoochee	-34.56%

Source: US Census Bureau

Westchester), Ohio (Cuyahoga and Lorain), Pennsylvania (Berks, Lancaster, Lebanon, Lehigh, Monroe, Northampton and Philadelphia), Rhode Island (Providence) and Wisconsin (Milwaukee).

These states and counties were selected by a combination of factors: a high absolute number of Puerto Ricans within their boundaries in 1990 and 2000; an above average proportion of Puerto Ricans as percentages of their respective populations in 1990 and 2000; and a relatively rapid growth during the 1990s. The Puerto Rican population in these selected states represented 92% of the Puerto Rican population in the United States in 1990 and 89% in 2000. The selected counties represented 82% of the Puerto Rican population in the United States in 1990 and 75% in 2000.

Table 5 shows the Puerto Rican population in these selected counties, rank-ordered by their numbers in 2000 and by the percentage change in growth between 1990 and 2000. It is observed that those counties with the most Puerto Ricans are principally those in the Northeast. Of the top ten counties in terms of Puerto Rican population seven are in the Northeast: Bronx, Kings, New York and Queens (NY); Philadelphia (PA); Hartford (CT) and Hampden (MA). The remaining three are Cook (IL) and Orange and Miami-Dade (FL). In terms of growth, the change between 1990 and 2000 is shifted to the South and to counties with relatively new settlement elsewhere in the Northeast. Consequently, Monroe (PA) more than quadrupled the number of Puerto Ricans in its midst between censuses. The remaining top ten counties in terms of growth, with the exception of Lebanon (PA), were in Florida (Osceola, Orange, Highlands, Volusia, Pinellas, Hillsborough, Seminole, Broward and Palm Beach). Providence (RI) and Lehigh and Berks (PA) were counties that also exceeded the US growth rate among Puerto Ricans between decades.

Puerto Rican / Non-hispanic white segregation

The measures used to establish the extent of the segregation Puerto Ricans in the United States experience are based on three separate indices: dissimilarity, isolation and exposure.⁷ The dissimilarity index measures the percentage of people from one group (e.g., Puerto Ricans) that would have to move from a given geographical area (e.g., the county) in order to achieve parity with another (e.g. non-Hispanic whites). A value of 60% or higher denotes high segregation levels. Values of 40% to 50% are deemed moderate; and those lower than 30% are seen as low measures of segregation. The index of isolation measures the likelihood or probability that a person from a given group (e.g., Puerto Rican) would encounter another person of the same group in the same geographical area (e.g., the county). The exposure index measures the likelihood or probability that a person from a given group (e.g., Puerto Rican)

TABLE 6. Index of Puerto Rican Dissimilarity from Non-Hispanic Whites, 1990 and 2000 (Sorted by 2000)

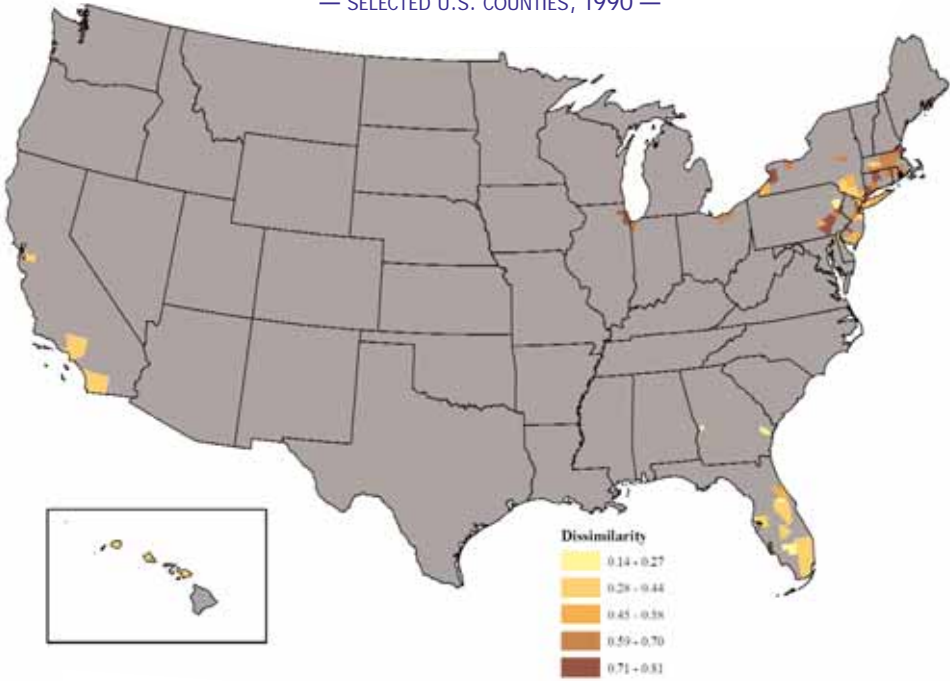
STATE	COUNTY	DISSIMILARITY PR TO NHWH	
		2000	1990
Pennsylvania	Berks	74.84%	75.35%
New Jersey	Camden	74.39	80.72
Massachusetts	Essex	73.64	76.28
New Jersey	Essex	73.45	77.18
Connecticut	Fairfield	72.09	73.80
Pennsylvania	Philadelphia	71.07	77.91
Connecticut	Hartford	70.31	75.19
New York	New York	69.67	69.61
New York	Kings	68.98	70.15
New Jersey	Passaic	68.73	75.12
Pennsylvania	Lancaster	68.34	72.01
Connecticut	Windham	67.53	66.42
New York	Erie	67.53	70.76
Ohio	Cuyahoga	67.40	69.06
Illinois	Cook	66.86	74.66
New York	Monroe	66.81	69.34
Rhode Island	Providence	65.57	65.37
New York	Bronx	65.45	68.91
Pennsylvania	Lehigh	65.40	65.11
Pennsylvania	Northampton	65.14	73.17
Massachusetts	Hampden	64.88	69.97
Connecticut	New Haven	64.14	65.55
Ohio	Lorain	63.68	67.01
Massachusetts	Suffolk	62.02	66.52
Massachusetts	Worcester	60.84	62.00
Wisconsin	Milwaukee	60.83	66.97
Pennsylvania	Lebanon	59.70	55.39
New Jersey	Mercer	59.52	67.53
New Jersey	Union	59.20	65.04
Massachusetts	Middlesex	58.10	59.78
Massachusetts	Bristol	57.29	62.37
New York	Montgomery	56.57	61.61
Indiana	Lake	56.03	66.36
New York	Chautauqua	55.97	58.31
Florida	Volusia	54.33	50.47
New Jersey	Middlesex	50.28	60.16
Delaware	Newcastle	48.67	57.90
New York	Westchester	48.60	52.59
New York	Queens	48.10	46.70
New Jersey	Cumberland	46.96	47.75
New Jersey	Atlantic	44.82	50.80
Florida	Osceola	43.57	34.88
New York	Suffolk	43.20	46.66
Hawaii	Honolulu	42.61	41.78
New York	Ulster	42.40	50.14
New York	Richmond	42.40	40.60
Florida	Palm Beach	42.08	41.55
California	Los Angeles	41.86	43.76
California	Alameda	41.71	42.29
Hawaii	Maui	41.58	37.98
New Jersey	Monmouth	40.08	43.70
Florida	Orange	39.92	34.45
New Jersey	Hudson	39.79	42.52
Florida	Hillsborough	39.14	33.91
Florida	Miami-Dade	38.42	39.40
New York	Rockland	38.05	37.20
California	San Diego	37.77	37.83
New York	Nassau	35.11	37.39
New Jersey	Bergen	34.52	30.83
Massachusetts	Hampshire	34.26	39.92
New York	Orange	33.67	39.02
New York	Sullivan	32.63	38.01
Florida	Broward	32.55	30.08
Florida	Highlands	30.69	33.30
Pennsylvania	Monroe	26.93	20.34
Florida	Pinellas	26.86	26.56
Hawaii	Kauai	26.17	29.20
Florida	Hendry	23.84	19.45
Florida	Seminole	22.46	21.04
Georgia	Chattahoochee	19.44	14.33
Georgia	Liberty	17.93%	14.68%

Source: US Census Bureau
NHWH: Non-Hispanic White

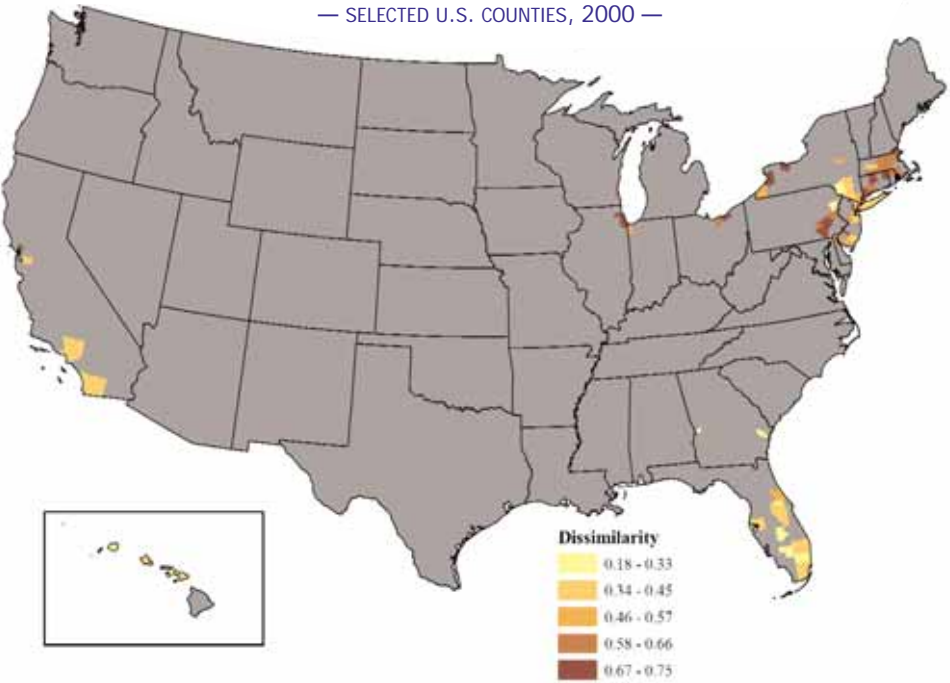
would meet a person from a different group (e.g., non-Hispanic white) in the same geographical area. For all three indices, the unit of analysis is the census tract within the counties. While dissimilarity is the most widely used measure of segregation, using all three indices provides a more accurate description of residential distance or closeness.

Results for the index of dissimilarity for 2000 (SEE TABLE 6) show that of 71 counties analyzed, segregation was high in 26 of them, with scores ranging from 61% to 75%. All of these counties with high residential separation between Puerto Ricans and non-Hispanic whites were located in the Northeast or in the Midwest. (e.g., Berks, PA; Camden, NJ; Essex, MA or Fairfield, CT). These highly segregated counties contained 45% of the Puerto Rican population in the United States. Dissimilarity was moderate in 15 counties, located in Mid-Atlantic and Sunbelt states (e.g., Newcastle, DE; Westchester, NY; Cumberland, NJ or Osceola, FL), which contained 12% of the US Puerto Rican population. Dissimilarity was low in 7 counties, located largely in the Sunbelt (e.g., Liberty and Chattahoochee, GA or Seminole and Hendry, FL), representing 1% of Puerto Ricans in the United States. Thus, most Puerto Ricans in the United States in 2000 lived in segregated or very segregated counties.

Index of Dissimilarity: Puerto Rican vs. Non-Hispanic White
— SELECTED U.S. COUNTIES, 1990 —



Index of Dissimilarity: Puerto Rican vs. Non-Hispanic White
— SELECTED U.S. COUNTIES, 2000 —



Between 1990 and 2000, dissimilarity improved slightly (decreasing between 8% and 0.5%) in 22 of the highly segregated counties (SEE TABLE 7). It remained unchanged or increased slightly in the remaining four. In overall low dissimilarity counties, however, dissimilarity increased (between 1% and 7%) in 5 of the counties and remained unchanged or decreased in two. In those counties with overall moderate dissimilarity, the index increased in six and decreased in nine. Thus, segregation over time tended to decrease in high dissimilarity, high Puerto Rican concentration counties and it tended to increase in low segregation, low Puerto Rican concentration counties. Segregation is following Puerto Ricans to where they settle anew.

This trend, whereby segregation tended to diminish in older Puerto Ricans settlements and increase in new ones, is also reflected in the index of isolation. The county with the largest increase in its Puerto Rican isolation score was Florida's Osceola, the epicenter of the new and fast-growing Puerto Rican settlement in the United States. Puerto Rican isolation in Osceola jumped 14%, from 12% to 26% between 1990 and 2000 (SEE TABLE 8, BOTTOM). Osceola was also the eighth most isolated county for Puerto Ricans in the US in 2000. Significantly, the county with the second greatest increase in isolation for Puerto Ricans was Orange, also in the state of Florida. It increased 7%, from 9% to 16%, during the 1990s. In contrast, the most pronounced decrease in isolation was Kings County, NY, where between 1990 and 2000, the score decreased 9%, from 29% to 20%.

Overall, Puerto Ricans were isolated in neighborhoods in states and counties with largely older Puerto Rican settlements; for instance, Philadelphia, PA; Hartford, CT; Bronx, NY or Camden, NJ. In these counties, the isolation score ranged from 38% to 15% (SEE TABLE 9). Counties with the lowest isolation were harder to categorize. However, they tended to reflect, though not necessarily share, the following features: very large and highly populated counties (e.g., California's Los Angeles, San Diego and Alameda); fairly affluent counties (e.g., Florida's Pinellas and Palm Beach, New York's Nassau or New Jersey's Bergen); the very multicultural and ethnically and racially pluralistic Hawaiian counties of Kauai, Maui and Honolulu; or very recent settlement counties of Florida (e.g., Hendry or Palm Beach) or Georgia (Chattahoochee and Liberty). In these counties, isolation ranged from 4% to virtually no chance of living with another Puerto Rican in the same neighborhood.

Another measure of segregation—exposure to other groups—reflects the trend noted above. The probability that Puerto Rican would meet non-Hispanic whites ranged from as little as 9% in Bronx County, NY to 85% in Hampshire County, MA (SEE TABLE 10). The counties where Puerto Ricans were less exposed to non-Hispanic whites tended also to be older

TABLE 7. Change in Dissimilarity for Puerto Ricans and Non-Hispanic Whites between 1990 and 2000

STATE	COUNTY	DISSIMILARITY PR TO NHHW		
		Difference	2000	1990
Indiana	Lake	-10.33%	56.03%	66.36%
New Jersey	Middlesex	-9.88	50.28	60.16
Delaware	Newcastle	-9.22	48.67	57.90
Pennsylvania	Northampton	-8.03	65.14	73.17
New Jersey	Mercer	-8.01	59.52	67.53
Illinois	Cook	-7.80	66.86	74.66
New York	Ulster	-7.74	42.40	50.14
Pennsylvania	Philadelphia	-6.84	71.07	77.91
New Jersey	Passaic	-6.38	68.73	75.12
New Jersey	Camden	-6.33	74.39	80.72
Wisconsin	Milwaukee	-6.14	60.83	66.97
New Jersey	Atlantic	-5.98	44.82	50.80
New Jersey	Union	-5.84	59.20	65.04
Massachusetts	Hampshire	-5.66	34.26	39.92
New York	Sullivan	-5.38	32.63	38.01
New York	Orange	-5.35	33.67	39.02
Massachusetts	Hampden	-5.09	64.88	69.97
Massachusetts	Bristol	-5.08	57.29	62.37
New York	Montgomery	-5.04	56.57	61.61
Connecticut	Hartford	-4.88	70.31	75.19
Massachusetts	Suffolk	-4.50	62.02	66.52
New York	Westchester	-4.00	48.60	52.59
New Jersey	Essex	-3.74	73.45	77.18
Pennsylvania	Lancaster	-3.67	68.34	72.01
New Jersey	Monmouth	-3.62	40.08	43.70
New York	Suffolk	-3.46	43.20	46.66
New York	Bronx	-3.46	65.45	68.91
Ohio	Lorain	-3.33	63.68	67.01
New York	Erie	-3.23	67.53	70.76
Hawaii	Kauai	-3.03	26.17	29.20
New Jersey	Hudson	-2.74	39.79	42.52
Massachusetts	Essex	-2.65	73.64	76.28
Florida	Highlands	-2.61	30.69	33.30
New York	Monroe	-2.53	66.81	69.34
New York	Chautauqua	-2.34	55.97	58.31
New York	Nassau	-2.28	35.11	37.39
California	Los Angeles	-1.90	41.86	43.76
Connecticut	Fairfield	-1.71	72.09	73.80
Massachusetts	Middlesex	-1.67	58.10	59.78
Ohio	Cuyahoga	-1.66	67.40	69.06
Connecticut	New Haven	-1.41	64.14	65.55
New York	Kings	-1.17	68.98	70.15
Massachusetts	Worcester	-1.16	60.84	62.00
Florida	Miami-Dade	-0.98	38.42	39.40
New Jersey	Cumberland	-0.79	46.96	47.75
California	Alameda	-0.58	41.71	42.29
Pennsylvania	Berks	-0.51	74.84	75.35
California	San Diego	-0.06	37.77	37.83
New York	New York	0.06	69.67	69.61
Rhode Island	Providence	0.20	65.57	65.37
Florida	Pinellas	0.29	26.86	26.56
Pennsylvania	Lehigh	0.29	65.40	65.11
Florida	Palm Beach	0.53	42.08	41.55
Hawaii	Honolulu	0.83	42.61	41.78
New York	Rockland	0.85	38.05	37.20
Connecticut	Windham	1.10	67.53	66.42
New York	Queens	1.40	48.10	46.70
Florida	Seminole	1.42	22.46	21.04
New York	Richmond	1.80	42.40	40.60
Florida	Broward	2.47	32.55	30.08
Georgia	Liberty	3.26	17.93	14.68
Hawaii	Mauai	3.60	41.58	37.98
New Jersey	Bergen	3.68	34.52	30.83
Florida	Volusia	3.86	54.33	50.47
Pennsylvania	Lebanon	4.31	59.70	55.39
Florida	Hendry	4.40	23.84	19.45
Georgia	Chattahoochee	5.10	19.44	14.33
Florida	Hillsborough	5.23	39.14	33.91
Florida	Orange	5.47	39.92	34.45
Pennsylvania	Monroe	6.60	26.93	20.34
Florida	Osceola	8.69%	43.57%	34.88%

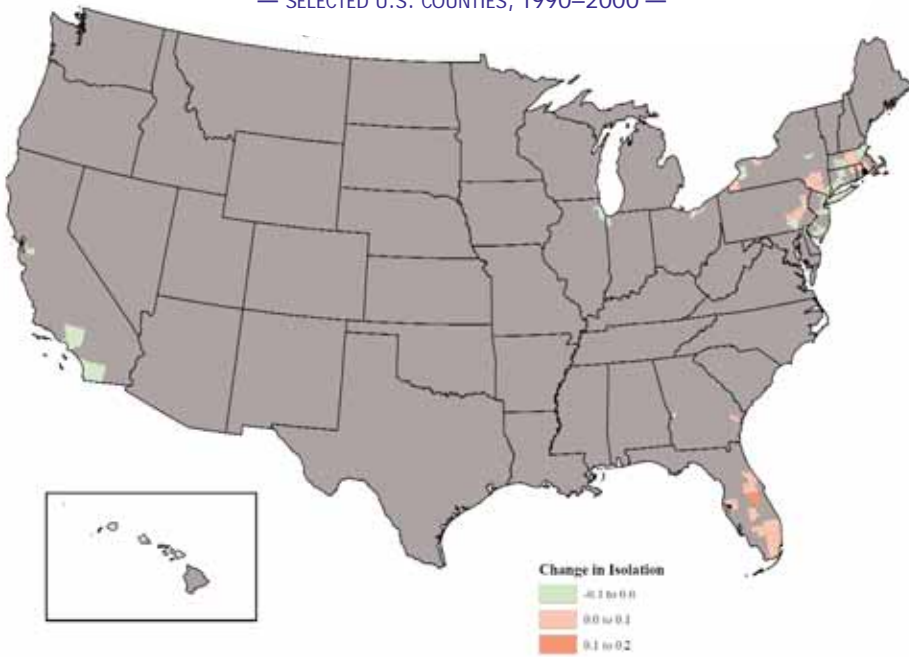
Source: US Census Bureau
NHHW: Non-Hispanic White

TABLE 8. Change in Puerto Rican Isolation between 1990 and 2000

STATE	COUNTY	PUERTO RICAN ISOLATION		
		Difference	2000	1990
New York	Kings	-8.99%	19.65%	28.64%
New York	Bronx	-8.22	29.28	37.49
New Jersey	Passaic	-8.03	15.33	23.36
New York	New York	-7.71	20.73	28.43
Illinois	Cook	-7.28	15.02	22.30
New Jersey	Middlesex	-5.72	13.95	19.66
Pennsylvania	Philadelphia	-5.63	33.93	39.56
Delaware	Newcastle	-5.33	7.42	12.75
New Jersey	Mercer	-4.99	11.54	16.53
Massachusetts	Hampden	-4.84	37.65	42.49
New Jersey	Essex	-4.58	24.12	28.70
Massachusetts	Essex	-4.42	17.42	21.84
New Jersey	Hudson	-3.98	12.57	16.55
Massachusetts	Suffolk	-3.90	10.36	14.27
Connecticut	Fairfield	-3.59	23.40	26.99
Connecticut	Hartford	-3.40	30.53	33.93
Pennsylvania	Lancaster	-3.35	25.29	28.64
Ohio	Lorain	-3.07	18.46	21.53
New Jersey	Camden	-2.96	26.43	29.40
New York	Suffolk	-2.38	7.58	9.96
New Jersey	Cumberland	-1.88	25.71	27.59
Indiana	Lake	-1.59	5.46	7.05
New Jersey	Atlantic	-1.21	8.97	10.18
New Jersey	Union	-1.20	8.52	9.71
New York	Montgomery	-1.19	15.42	16.61
New York	Westchester	-1.17	7.96	9.13
Georgia	Chattahoochee	-1.15	3.80	4.95
Pennsylvania	Northampton	-0.97	27.77	28.74
New York	Rockland	-0.94	6.75	7.69
New Jersey	Monmouth	-0.80	4.66	5.46
Hawaii	Kauai	-0.60	3.13	3.73
Hawaii	Maui	-0.58	3.26	3.84
California	Alameda	-0.50	1.03	1.53
Wisconsin	Milwaukee	-0.48	8.52	9.00
Massachusetts	Middlesex	-0.45	8.18	8.63
Massachusetts	Hampshire	-0.25	3.39	3.64
Connecticut	New Haven	-0.22	22.28	22.50
New York	Erie	-0.21	17.93	18.14
Hawaii	Honolulu	-0.14	3.31	3.45
California	Los Angeles	-0.10	0.53	0.63
New York	Queens	0.02	9.24	9.22
California	San Diego	0.04	0.77	0.73
New York	Nassau	0.05	2.51	2.46
New York	Ulster	0.10	8.31	8.21
New York	Monroe	0.22	15.58	15.35
Massachusetts	Worcester	0.35	16.95	16.61
New York	Orange	0.44	7.93	7.49
New York	Sullivan	0.53	7.12	6.59
New Jersey	Bergen	0.71	2.79	2.08
Florida	Hendry	0.91	3.33	2.41
Florida	Pinellas	0.92	1.89	0.96
Florida	Palm Beach	0.96	3.96	3.00
Pennsylvania	Berks	1.01	26.56	25.55
Georgia	Liberty	1.20	4.07	2.87
Massachusetts	Bristol	1.20	8.34	7.14
Florida	Broward	1.42	4.59	3.17
New York	Richmond	1.62	9.79	8.16
Ohio	Cuyahoga	1.86	15.93	14.07
Florida	Highlands	1.87	5.16	3.30
New York	Chautauqua	2.06	11.02	8.97
Florida	Miami-Dade	2.07	4.74	2.67
Florida	Seminole	2.43	6.63	4.20
Rhode Island	Providence	2.73	9.17	6.45
Florida	Hillsborough	3.48	7.94	4.46
Florida	Volusia	4.13	9.19	5.05
Pennsylvania	Monroe	4.23	5.49	1.26
Pennsylvania	Lehigh	4.30	21.83	17.53
Connecticut	Windham	5.24	18.08	12.84
Pennsylvania	Lebanon	5.31	11.93	6.63
Florida	Orange	7.38	15.95	8.57
Florida	Osceola	13.57%	25.84%	12.27%

Source: US Census Bureau

Change in Index of Isolation: Puerto Rico
— SELECTED U.S. COUNTIES, 1990–2000 —

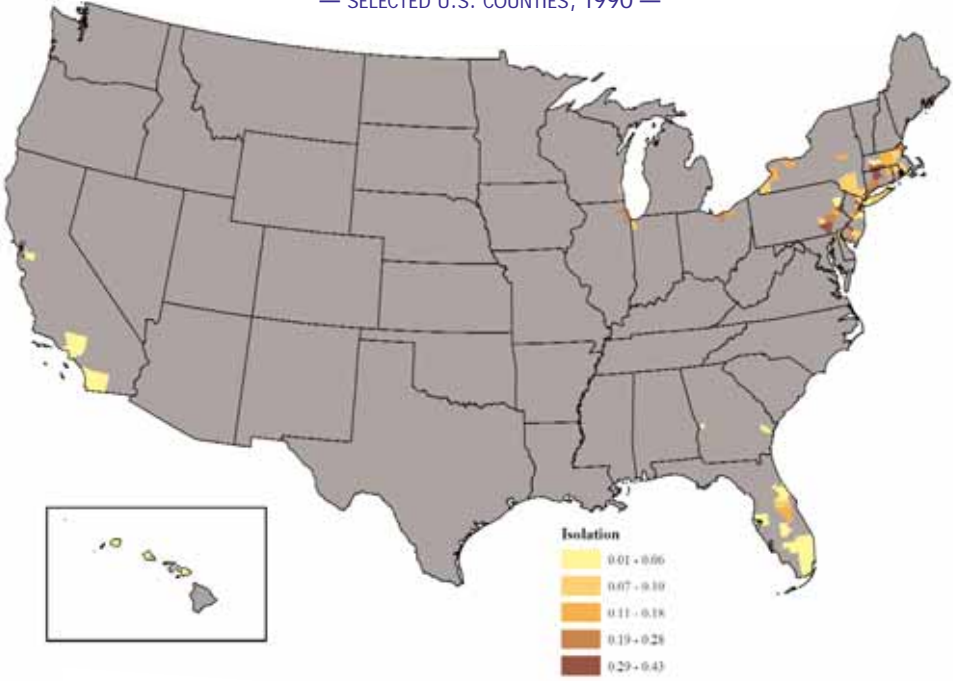


**TABLE 9. Puerto Rican Isolation in 1990 and 2000
(Sorted by 2000)**

STATE	COUNTY	PUERTO RICAN ISOLATION	
		2000	1990
Massachusetts	Hampden	37.65%	42.49%
Pennsylvania	Philadelphia	33.93	39.56
Connecticut	Hartford	30.53	33.93
New York	Bronx	29.28	37.49
Pennsylvania	Northampton	27.77	28.74
Pennsylvania	Berks	26.56	25.55
New Jersey	Camden	26.43	29.40
Florida	Osceola	25.84	12.27
New Jersey	Cumberland	25.71	27.59
Pennsylvania	Lancaster	25.29	28.64
New Jersey	Essex	24.12	28.70
Connecticut	Fairfield	23.40	26.99
Connecticut	New Haven	22.28	22.50
Pennsylvania	Lehigh	21.83	17.53
New York	New York	20.73	28.43
New York	Kings	19.65	28.64
Ohio	Lorain	18.46	21.53
Connecticut	Windham	18.08	12.84
New York	Erie	17.93	18.14
Massachusetts	Essex	17.42	21.84
Massachusetts	Worcester	16.95	16.61
Florida	Orange	15.95	8.57
Ohio	Cuyahoga	15.93	14.07
New York	Monroe	15.58	15.35
New York	Montgomery	15.42	16.61
New Jersey	Passaic	15.33	23.36
Illinois	Cook	15.02	22.30
New Jersey	Middlesex	13.95	19.66
New Jersey	Hudson	12.57	16.55
Pennsylvania	Lebanon	11.93	6.63
New Jersey	Mercer	11.54	16.53
New York	Chautauqua	11.02	8.97
Massachusetts	Suffolk	10.36	14.27
New York	Richmond	9.79	8.16
New York	Queens	9.24	9.22
Florida	Volusia	9.19	5.05
Rhode Island	Providence	9.17	6.45
New Jersey	Atlantic	8.97	10.18
Wisconsin	Milwaukee	8.52	9.00
New Jersey	Union	8.52	9.71
Massachusetts	Bristol	8.34	7.14
New York	Ulster	8.31	8.21
Massachusetts	Middlesex	8.18	8.63
New York	Westchester	7.96	9.13
Florida	Hillsborough	7.94	4.46
New York	Orange	7.93	7.49
New York	Suffolk	7.58	9.96
Delaware	Newcastle	7.42	12.75
New York	Sullivan	7.12	6.59
New York	Rockland	6.75	7.69
Florida	Seminole	6.63	4.20
Pennsylvania	Monroe	5.49	1.26
Indiana	Lake	5.46	7.05
Florida	Highlands	5.16	3.30
Florida	Miami-Dade	4.74	2.67
New Jersey	Monmouth	4.66	5.46
Florida	Broward	4.59	3.17
Georgia	Liberty	4.07	2.87
Florida	Palm Beach	3.96	3.00
Georgia	Chattahoochee	3.80	4.95
Massachusetts	Hampshire	3.39	3.64
Florida	Hendry	3.33	2.41
Hawaii	Honolulu	3.31	3.45
Hawaii	Maui	3.26	3.84
Hawaii	Kauai	3.13	3.73
New Jersey	Bergen	2.79	2.08
New York	Nassau	2.51	2.46
Florida	Pinellas	1.89	0.96
California	Alameda	1.03	1.53
California	San Diego	0.77	0.73
California	Los Angeles	0.53%	0.63%

Source: US Census Bureau

Index of Isolation: Puerto Rican
— SELECTED U.S. COUNTIES, 1990 —



Index of Isolation: Puerto Rican
— SELECTED U.S. COUNTIES, 2000 —

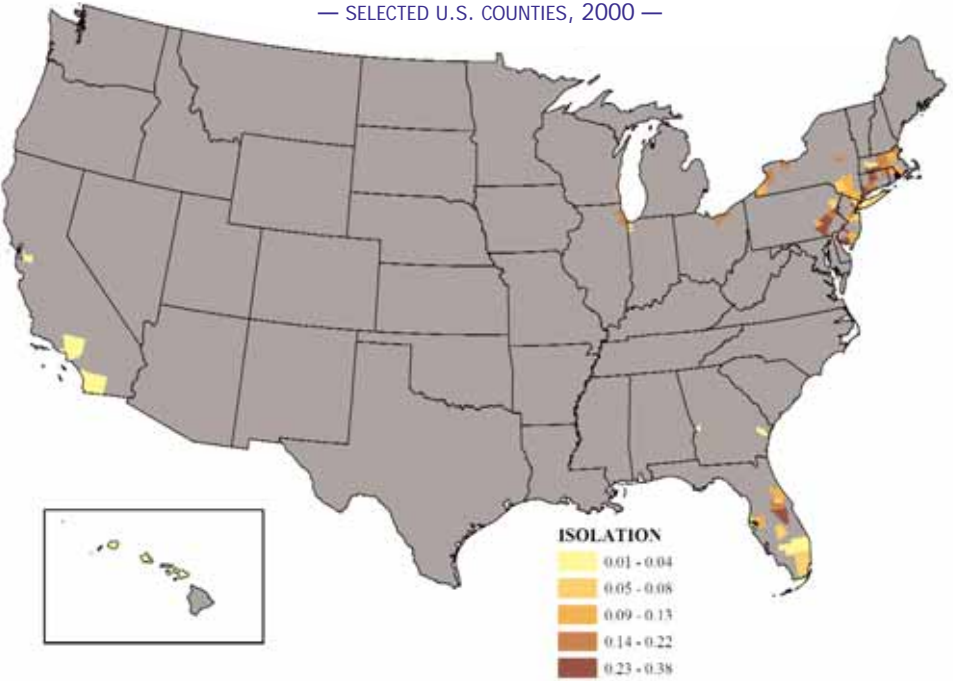
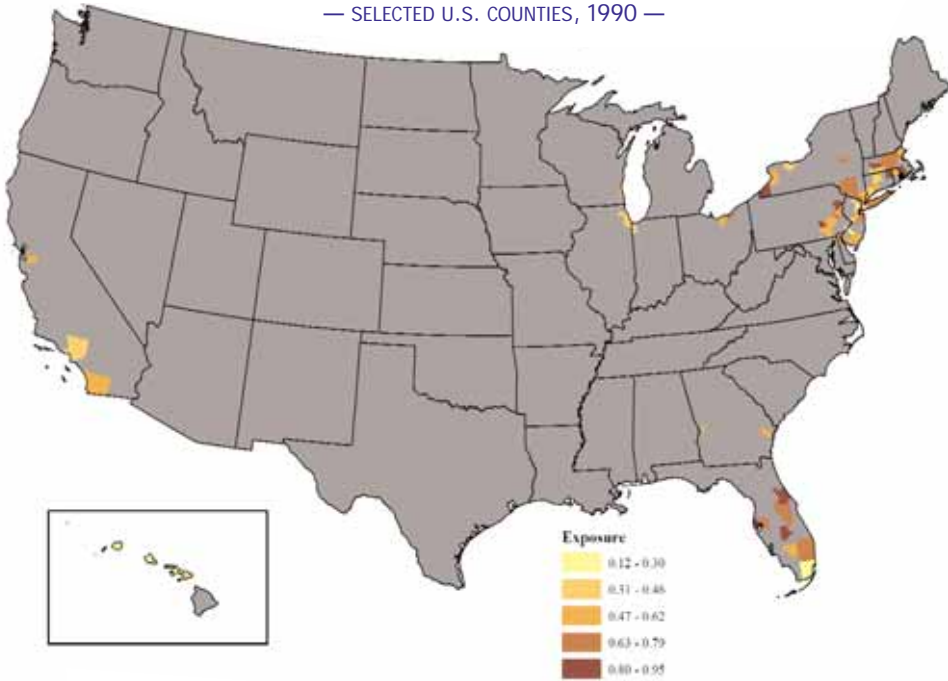


TABLE 10. Puerto Rican Exposure to Non-Hispanic Whites, 1990 and 2000 (Sorted by 2000)

STATE	COUNTY	EXPOSURE TO NHWH	
		2000	1990
New York	Bronx	9.24%	11.55%
Hawaii	Honolulu	18.52	27.20
New York	Kings	19.49	22.23
New Jersey	Essex	19.84	21.50
Florida	Miami-Dade	19.89	14.38
New York	New York	22.25	23.45
New Jersey	Passaic	24.26	25.89
New Jersey	Camden	24.54	22.93
Hawaii	Kauai	25.75	29.97
Pennsylvania	Philadelphia	26.20	27.24
Hawaii	Maui	27.26	34.14
New York	Queens	31.11	41.64
California	Los Angeles	31.45	36.90
New Jersey	Hudson	31.81	39.93
Massachusetts	Suffolk	31.90	35.61
Illinois	Cook	32.24	34.25
Connecticut	Fairfield	32.51	36.34
New Jersey	Union	34.52	39.98
California	Alameda	35.45	47.82
Connecticut	Hartford	38.24	38.46
New York	Monroe	40.92	45.69
Massachusetts	Hampden	41.23	41.23
Georgia	Liberty	42.47	52.82
New Jersey	Mercer	42.61	40.60
Indiana	Lake	42.74	42.97
Massachusetts	Essex	43.29	52.36
New Jersey	Middlesex	43.35	49.04
Florida	Hendry	43.93	57.60
Wisconsin	Milwaukee	44.01	51.53
Pennsylvania	Berks	44.80	55.88
New Jersey	Cumberland	45.12	53.93
Connecticut	New Haven	45.26	51.77
Florida	Osceola	45.37	73.96
Rhode Island	Providence	46.22	57.89
New York	Westchester	46.63	53.11
California	San Diego	50.23	58.03
New Jersey	Atlantic	51.16	61.49
Florida	Orange	51.47	73.16
Delaware	Newcastle	52.03	48.13
Pennsylvania	Lancaster	52.56	50.94
Georgia	Chattahoochee	53.36	54.84
New York	Erie	53.54	58.40
Florida	Hillsborough	54.33	66.60
Florida	Broward	54.67	73.23
New York	Richmond	55.78	64.50
Pennsylvania	Lehigh	56.86	70.81
Pennsylvania	Northampton	56.98	60.74
Ohio	Lorain	57.03	58.45
Ohio	Cuyahoga	60.73	71.70
New York	Rockland	61.00	68.50
Florida	Palm Beach	61.21	72.13
New York	Suffolk	61.62	68.39
Massachusetts	Worcester	63.47	70.91
Massachusetts	Middlesex	64.66	72.42
New Jersey	Bergen	65.54	77.71
New York	Nassau	65.56	71.28
Connecticut	Windham	67.21	81.31
New Jersey	Monmouth	67.42	69.96
New York	Orange	67.47	71.81
New York	Sullivan	70.22	73.53
Florida	Highlands	72.92	82.39
Florida	Seminole	73.62	84.10
New York	Ulster	73.88	78.45
Massachusetts	Bristol	74.11	80.72
Florida	Volusia	75.90	86.46
New York	Montgomery	76.02	77.33
Pennsylvania	Monroe	79.05	94.74
Pennsylvania	Lebanon	79.71	89.65
New York	Chautauqua	80.17	86.03
Florida	Pinellas	80.37	88.47
Massachusetts	Hampshire	85.10%	87.22%

Source: US Census Bureau
NHWH: Non-Hispanic White

Index of Exposure: Puerto Rican vs. Non-Hispanic White
— SELECTED U.S. COUNTIES, 1990 —



Index of Exposure: Puerto Rican vs. Non-Hispanic White
— SELECTED U.S. COUNTIES, 2000 —

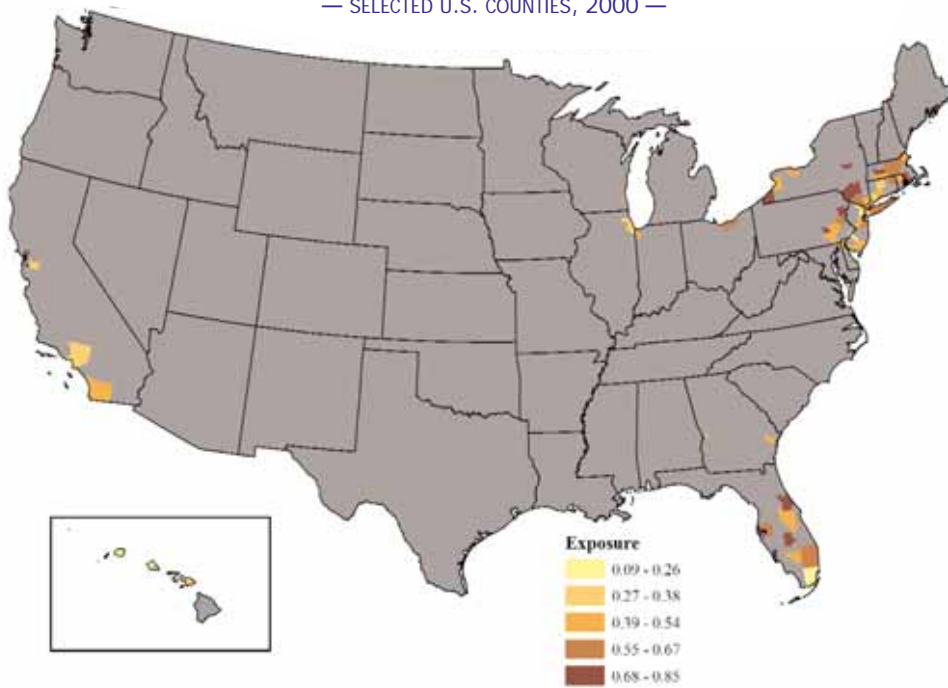


TABLE 11. Change in Puerto Rican Exposure to Non-Hispanic Whites between 1990 and 2000

STATE	COUNTY	EXPOSURE TO NHWH		
		Difference	2000	1990
Florida	Osceola	-28.59%	45.37%	73.96%
Florida	Orange	-21.69	51.47	73.16
Florida	Broward	-18.56	54.67	73.23
Pennsylvania	Monroe	-15.69	79.05	94.74
Connecticut	Windham	-14.11	67.21	81.31
Pennsylvania	Lehigh	-13.95	56.86	70.81
Florida	Hendry	-13.66	43.93	57.60
California	Alameda	-12.37	35.45	47.82
Florida	Hillsborough	-12.27	54.33	66.60
New Jersey	Bergen	-12.17	65.54	77.71
Rhode Island	Providence	-11.66	46.22	57.89
Pennsylvania	Berks	-11.08	44.80	55.88
Ohio	Cuyahoga	-10.97	60.73	71.70
Florida	Palm Beach	-10.92	61.21	72.13
Florida	Volusia	-10.56	75.90	86.46
New York	Queens	-10.52	31.11	41.64
Florida	Seminole	-10.48	73.62	84.10
Georgia	Liberty	-10.35	42.47	52.82
New Jersey	Atlantic	-10.33	51.16	61.49
Pennsylvania	Lebanon	-9.94	79.71	89.65
Florida	Highlands	-9.47	72.92	82.39
Massachusetts	Essex	-9.07	43.29	52.36
New Jersey	Cumberland	-8.81	45.12	53.93
New York	Richmond	-8.72	55.78	64.50
Hawaii	Honolulu	-8.68	18.52	27.20
New Jersey	Hudson	-8.12	31.81	39.93
Florida	Pinellas	-8.10	80.37	88.47
California	San Diego	-7.80	50.23	58.03
Massachusetts	Middlesex	-7.76	64.66	72.42
Wisconsin	Milwaukee	-7.53	44.01	51.53
New York	Rockland	-7.50	61.00	68.50
Massachusetts	Worcester	-7.43	63.47	70.91
Hawaii	Maui	-6.87	27.26	34.14
New York	Suffolk	-6.77	61.62	68.39
Massachusetts	Bristol	-6.61	74.11	80.72
Connecticut	New Haven	-6.51	45.26	51.77
New York	Westchester	-6.48	46.63	53.11
New York	Chautauqua	-5.86	80.17	86.03
New York	Nassau	-5.72	65.56	71.28
New Jersey	Middlesex	-5.68	43.35	49.04
New Jersey	Union	-5.46	34.52	39.98
California	Los Angeles	-5.44	31.45	36.90
New York	Erie	-4.86	53.54	58.40
New York	Monroe	-4.77	40.92	45.69
New York	Ulster	-4.57	73.88	78.45
New York	Orange	-4.34	67.47	71.81
Hawaii	Kauai	-4.21	25.75	29.97
Connecticut	Fairfield	-3.83	32.51	36.34
Pennsylvania	Northampton	-3.76	56.98	60.74
Massachusetts	Suffolk	-3.71	31.90	35.61
New York	Sullivan	-3.31	70.22	73.53
New York	Kings	-2.74	19.49	22.23
New Jersey	Monmouth	-2.54	67.42	69.96
New York	Bronx	-2.32	9.24	11.55
Massachusetts	Hampshire	-2.13	85.10	87.22
Illinois	Cook	-2.01	32.24	34.25
New Jersey	Essex	-1.66	19.84	21.50
New Jersey	Passaic	-1.62	24.26	25.89
Georgia	Chattahoochee	-1.48	53.36	54.84
Ohio	Lorain	-1.42	57.03	58.45
New York	Montgomery	-1.32	76.02	77.33
New York	New York	-1.21	22.25	23.45
Pennsylvania	Philadelphia	-1.04	26.20	27.24
Indiana	Lake	-0.23	42.74	42.97
Connecticut	Hartford	-0.22	38.24	38.46
Massachusetts	Hampden	-0.01	41.23	41.23
New Jersey	Camden	1.61	24.54	22.93
Pennsylvania	Lancaster	1.62	52.56	50.94
New Jersey	Mercer	2.01	42.61	40.60
Delaware	Newcastle	3.91	52.03	48.13
Florida	Miami-Dade	5.51%	19.89%	14.38%

Source: US Census Bureau
NHWH: Non-Hispanic White

settlement counties, such as Kings, NY or Essex, NJ and/or counties with relatively low percentage of non-Hispanic whites in their population, such as Bronx, NY, Kauai, HI or Miami-Dade, FL. Conversely, counties with a relatively high exposure score tended to be counties with high proportional non-Hispanic white populations (e.g., Hampshire, MA; Pinellas, FL or Chautauqua, NY).

Puerto Ricans exposure to non-Hispanic whites declined in the vast majority of the counties surveyed, evidence of increasing segregation, in the form of white flight, between Puerto Ricans and non-Hispanic whites. Only five counties saw increases in exposure between 1990 and 2000: Miami-Dade, FL; Newcastle, DE; Mercer, NJ; Lancaster, PA and Camden, NJ (SEE TABLE II, BOTTOM). Exposure decreased the most in the fast-growing settlement counties along the Sunbelt during the 1990s. Florida's Osceola and Orange saw the biggest drop in exposure. In Osceola, exposure dropped 29%, from 74% to 45%; while in Orange, the decrease was 22%, from 73% to 51%, between 1990 and 2000. Broward County, FL also had a notable drop in exposure—19%—followed by Monroe County, PA, with a 16% decrease.

Puerto Rican / Non-Hispanic black segregation

Most analyses of segregation use non-Hispanic whites as the reference and comparison group, as they have historically been and still currently are the majority and dominant ethnoracial group in the United States. However, the migration experience of Puerto Ricans has put them into contact with other racialized groups in the country. In the urban centers of the Northeast and Midwest, these contacts have been particularly relevant with African Americans (i.e., non-Hispanic blacks). Below we describe the levels of segregation between Puerto Ricans and non-Hispanic blacks for 2000 and 1990.

Dissimilarity between African Americans and Puerto Ricans in 2000 ranged from a very high 84% in Cook County, IL to a very low 9% in Monroe County, PA (SEE TABLE I2). This segregation measure between Puerto Ricans and African Americans was actually higher in Cook, IL; Cuyahoga, OH (83%); and Philadelphia, PA (77%) than in the county with most dissimilarity for non-Hispanic whites and Puerto Ricans (Berks, PA at 75%). But whereas relative to non-Hispanic whites Puerto Ricans lived in 26 counties with very high dissimilarity, relative to African Americans, Puerto Ricans were very separated in 11 of the 71 counties surveyed. Puerto Ricans were moderately separated from African Americans in 23 counties and little segregated in another 13 counties.

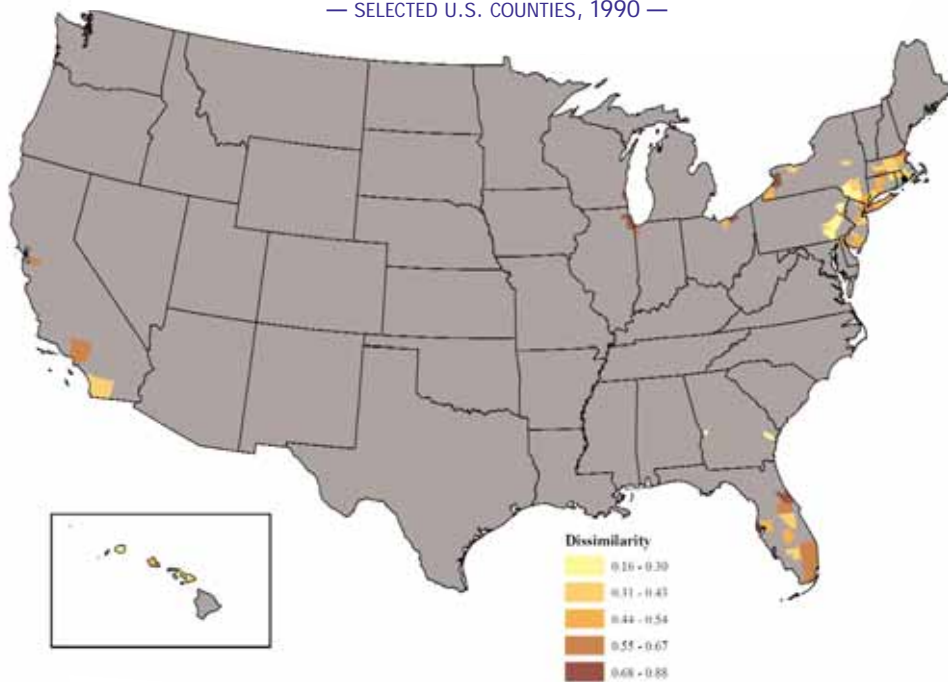
Counties with little dissimilarity between African Americans and Puerto Ricans tended to be counties of new settlement for Puerto

TABLE 12. Index of Puerto Rican Dissimilarity from Non-Hispanic Blacks, 1990 and 2000 (Sorted by 2000)

STATE	COUNTY	DISSIMILARITY TO NHBL	
		2000	1990
Illinois	Cook	84.21%	87.22%
Ohio	Cuyahoga	83.41	88.38
Pennsylvania	Philadelphia	77.00	82.25
Wisconsin	Milwaukee	73.37	71.19
New York	Erie	69.40	74.52
New Jersey	Essex	67.98	66.54
Florida	Volusia	66.35	75.92
New York	Queens	64.15	60.97
Indiana	Lake	62.07	63.30
New York	Kings	61.68	62.68
Florida	Pinellas	60.47	70.01
Massachusetts	Essex	58.51	64.78
Florida	Miami-Dade	57.37	58.37
Florida	Orange	57.01	63.74
New York	Nassau	56.62	57.13
New Jersey	Hudson	54.14	61.30
Florida	Palm Beach	53.78	64.13
New Jersey	Bergen	53.64	57.04
California	Los Angeles	53.14	60.04
Pennsylvania	Northampton	52.56	56.25
New York	Rockland	50.86	51.51
Florida	Broward	50.21	59.70
California	Alameda	49.86	57.09
Massachusetts	Middlesex	49.69	53.95
Hawaii	Honolulu	49.27	52.49
Connecticut	Hartford	48.03	52.40
New Jersey	Cumberland	47.92	51.42
New Jersey	Union	47.56	52.24
Massachusetts	Hampden	47.16	56.88
New York	New York	46.35	49.48
New Jersey	Middlesex	44.56	50.62
New York	Suffolk	44.13	53.06
Ohio	Lorain	43.99	49.76
Florida	Highlands	43.46	53.68
New York	Westchester	43.29	47.43
Florida	Hendry	42.87	35.28
New Jersey	Monmouth	42.77	43.17
Florida	Hillsborough	42.02	50.45
Connecticut	New Haven	41.87	49.34
New Jersey	Mercer	41.85	47.05
Florida	Seminole	41.15	56.64
Massachusetts	Suffolk	41.11	47.04
Hawaii	Maui	40.26	32.72
New Jersey	Atlantic	39.90	51.42
New Jersey	Passaic	39.05	42.53
New Jersey	Camden	38.82	41.36
New York	Richmond	38.78	37.87
New York	Chautauqua	37.58	46.69
Delaware	Newcastle	37.35	46.54
Connecticut	Windham	34.35	34.37
California	San Diego	34.05	34.75
New York	Monroe	34.01	39.79
New York	Bronx	33.68	34.20
Massachusetts	Hampshire	32.86	36.98
New York	Ulster	32.76	32.91
Pennsylvania	Lebanon	32.71	31.21
Massachusetts	Worcester	32.63	34.71
Connecticut	Fairfield	32.01	39.49
Massachusetts	Bristol	30.29	36.69
New York	Montgomery	29.70	40.49
Rhode Island	Providence	29.02	36.85
Hawaii	Kauai	26.56	29.78
New York	Orange	25.75	27.60
Pennsylvania	Berks	23.36	29.38
Pennsylvania	Lehigh	23.13	29.47
Florida	Osceola	22.23	36.30
Georgia	Chattahoochee	19.09	16.11
New York	Sullivan	18.97	18.11
Pennsylvania	Lancaster	17.68	19.87
Georgia	Liberty	15.80	16.90
Pennsylvania	Monroe	9.26%	29.66%

Source: US Census Bureau
NHBL: Non-Hispanic Black

Index of Dissimilarity: Puerto Rican vs. Non-Hispanic Black
— SELECTED U.S. COUNTIES, 1990 —



Index of Dissimilarity: Puerto Rican vs. Non-Hispanic Black
— SELECTED U.S. COUNTIES, 2000 —

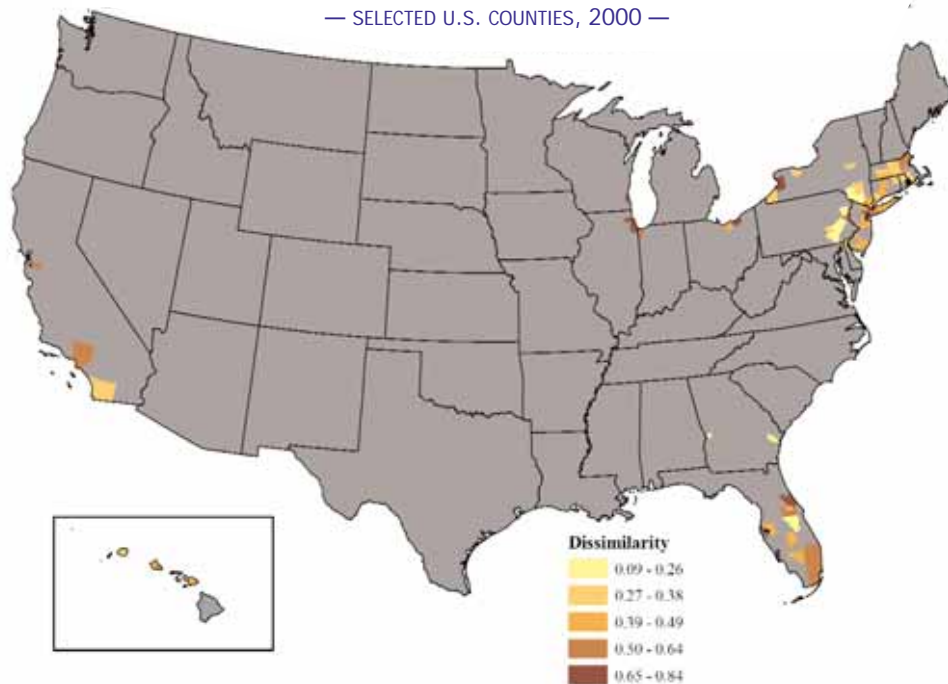
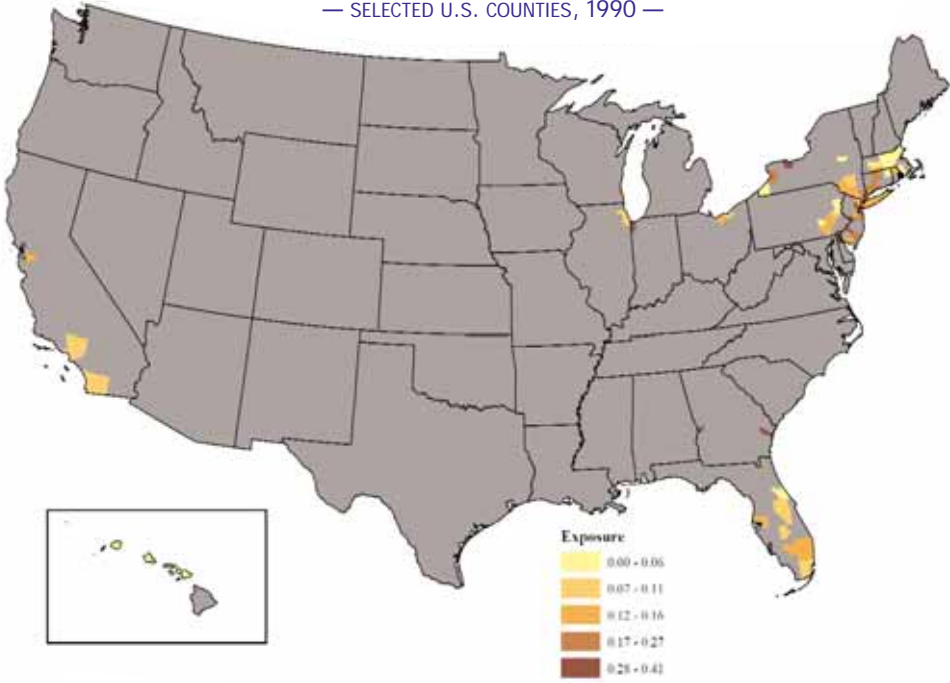


TABLE 13. Puerto Rican Exposure to Non-Hispanic Blacks, 1990 and 2000 (Sorted by 2000)

STATE	COUNTY	EXPOSURE TO NHBL	
		2000	1990
Georgia	Liberty	42.19%	37.10%
New Jersey	Camden	34.99	41.22
New York	Monroe	34.84	34.24
New Jersey	Essex	31.14	33.37
Delaware	Newcastle	31.07	35.49
New Jersey	Mercer	30.33	35.74
New York	Bronx	29.19	30.27
Massachusetts	Suffolk	29.07	31.55
New York	Kings	28.81	28.06
Georgia	Chattahoochee	28.50	29.31
Connecticut	Fairfield	26.60	26.94
Indiana	Lake	26.28	27.53
Pennsylvania	Philadelphia	25.87	24.93
New Jersey	Atlantic	22.96	20.99
New Jersey	Union	22.86	24.85
New York	New York	22.64	22.89
Connecticut	New Haven	20.31	20.94
New York	Erie	19.64	18.35
New Jersey	Passaic	19.06	22.73
Florida	Miami-Dade	19.00	9.24
New York	Westchester	18.95	20.75
Connecticut	Hartford	18.62	21.00
New York	Richmond	17.94	18.13
Florida	Broward	17.92	13.23
Wisconsin	Milwaukee	17.56	19.47
New Jersey	Cumberland	17.35	14.22
Florida	Hillsborough	16.91	14.19
New York	Queens	16.24	19.70
Ohio	Lorain	15.54	14.40
New Jersey	Monmouth	15.49	18.50
Florida	Hendry	14.81	16.36
California	Alameda	14.80	16.45
Ohio	Cuyahoga	14.51	9.46
New York	Nassau	14.22	15.55
Florida	Palm Beach	14.03	12.84
Florida	Orange	13.67	9.30
New York	Sullivan	13.56	14.31
New Jersey	Hudson	12.68	12.01
Massachusetts	Hampden	12.38	12.40
New York	Rockland	12.19	10.44
Pennsylvania	Lancaster	12.02	16.22
New York	Suffolk	11.42	11.34
New York	Orange	11.37	13.20
Rhode Island	Providence	11.19	12.86
Pennsylvania	Berks	11.12	12.55
New Jersey	Middlesex	10.51	12.17
Illinois	Cook	10.18	10.70
California	Los Angeles	9.52	9.30
Florida	Highlands	9.33	9.55
Florida	Pinellas	9.07	6.96
New York	Ulster	9.01	7.91
Florida	Osceola	8.60	5.86
Pennsylvania	Monroe	8.37	1.83
Florida	Seminole	8.32	6.02
Florida	Volusia	7.85	4.91
Pennsylvania	Lehigh	7.63	6.34
California	San Diego	7.15	8.70
New Jersey	Bergen	7.14	7.03
Massachusetts	Worcester	5.82	5.54
Massachusetts	Middlesex	5.43	5.00
Pennsylvania	Northampton	5.19	5.15
New York	Chautauqua	4.55	3.32
Massachusetts	Bristol	4.05	3.99
Connecticut	Windham	3.83	2.32
Massachusetts	Essex	3.37	2.66
Hawaii	Honolulu	2.98	3.94
Massachusetts	Hampshire	2.47	2.66
Pennsylvania	Lebanon	2.14	1.23
New York	Montgomery	1.68	1.09
Hawaii	Maui	0.33	0.43
Hawaii	Kauai	0.26%	0.37%

Source: US Census Bureau
NHBL: Non-Hispanic Black

Index of Exposure: Puerto Rican vs. Non-Hispanic Black
— SELECTED U.S. COUNTIES, 1990 —



Index of Exposure: Puerto Rican vs. Non-Hispanic Black
— SELECTED U.S. COUNTIES, 2000 —

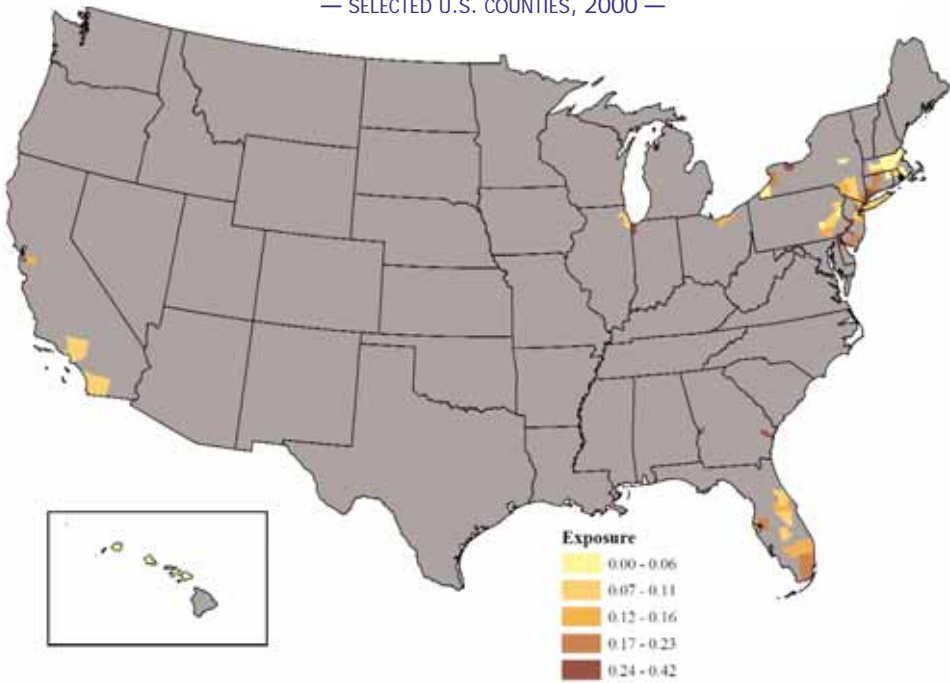


TABLE 14. Change in Puerto Rican Dissimilarity from Non-Hispanic Blacks between 1990 and 2000

STATE	COUNTY	DISSIMILARITY TO NHBL		
		Difference	2000	1990
Florida	Hendry	7.60%	42.87%	35.28%
Hawaii	Maui	7.54	40.26	32.72
New York	Queens	3.18	64.15	60.97
Georgia	Chattahoochee	2.98	19.09	16.11
Wisconsin	Milwaukee	2.19	73.37	71.19
Pennsylvania	Lebanon	1.50	32.71	31.21
New Jersey	Essex	1.44	67.98	66.54
New York	Richmond	0.92	38.78	37.87
New York	Sullivan	0.86	18.97	18.11
Connecticut	Windham	-0.02	34.35	34.37
New York	Ulster	-0.15	32.76	32.91
New Jersey	Monmouth	-0.40	42.77	43.17
New York	Nassau	-0.51	56.62	57.13
New York	Bronx	-0.52	33.68	34.20
New York	Rockland	-0.65	50.86	51.51
California	San Diego	-0.69	34.05	34.75
Florida	Miami-Dade	-1.00	57.37	58.37
New York	Kings	-1.00	61.68	62.68
Georgia	Liberty	-1.10	15.80	16.90
Indiana	Lake	-1.23	62.07	63.30
New York	Orange	-1.85	25.75	27.60
Massachusetts	Worcester	-2.08	32.63	34.71
Pennsylvania	Lancaster	-2.19	17.68	19.87
New Jersey	Camden	-2.54	38.82	41.36
Illinois	Cook	-3.00	84.21	87.22
New York	New York	-3.12	46.35	49.48
Hawaii	Honolulu	-3.22	49.27	52.49
Hawaii	Kauai	-3.22	26.56	29.78
New Jersey	Bergen	-3.40	53.64	57.04
New Jersey	Passaic	-3.48	39.05	42.53
New Jersey	Cumberland	-3.50	47.92	51.42
Pennsylvania	Northampton	-3.69	52.56	56.25
Massachusetts	Hampshire	-4.12	32.86	36.98
New York	Westchester	-4.14	43.29	47.43
Massachusetts	Middlesex	-4.27	49.69	53.95
Connecticut	Hartford	-4.37	48.03	52.40
New Jersey	Union	-4.68	47.56	52.24
Ohio	Cuyahoga	-4.96	83.41	88.38
New York	Erie	-5.12	69.40	74.52
New Jersey	Mercer	-5.20	41.85	47.05
Pennsylvania	Philadelphia	-5.25	77.00	82.25
Ohio	Lorain	-5.77	43.99	49.76
New York	Monroe	-5.77	34.01	39.79
Massachusetts	Suffolk	-5.93	41.11	47.04
Pennsylvania	Berks	-6.02	23.36	29.38
New Jersey	Middlesex	-6.07	44.56	50.62
Massachusetts	Essex	-6.27	58.51	64.78
Pennsylvania	Lehigh	-6.35	23.13	29.47
Massachusetts	Bristol	-6.40	30.29	36.69
Florida	Orange	-6.73	57.01	63.74
California	Los Angeles	-6.90	53.14	60.04
New Jersey	Hudson	-7.16	54.14	61.30
California	Alameda	-7.23	49.86	57.09
Connecticut	New Haven	-7.47	41.87	49.34
Connecticut	Fairfield	-7.48	32.01	39.49
Rhode Island	Providence	-7.84	29.02	36.85
Florida	Hillsborough	-8.43	42.02	50.45
New York	Suffolk	-8.93	44.13	53.06
New York	Chautauqua	-9.11	37.58	46.69
Delaware	Newcastle	-9.19	37.35	46.54
Florida	Broward	-9.50	50.21	59.70
Florida	Pinellas	-9.55	60.47	70.01
Florida	Volusia	-9.58	66.35	75.92
Massachusetts	Hampden	-9.71	47.16	56.88
Florida	Highlands	-10.21	43.46	53.68
Florida	Palm Beach	-10.35	53.78	64.13
New York	Montgomery	-10.79	29.70	40.49
New Jersey	Atlantic	-11.53	39.90	51.42
Florida	Osceola	-14.07	22.23	36.30
Florida	Seminole	-15.49	41.15	56.64
Pennsylvania	Monroe	-20.40%	9.26%	29.66%

Source: US Census Bureau
NHBL: Non-Hispanic Black

TABLE 15. Change in Puerto Rican Exposure to Non-Hispanic Blacks between 1990 and 2000

STATE	COUNTY	EXPOSURE TO NHBL		
		Difference	2000	1990
Florida	Miami-Dade	9.76%	19.00%	9.24%
Pennsylvania	Monroe	6.54	8.37	1.83
Georgia	Liberty	5.09	42.19	37.10
Ohio	Cuyahoga	5.05	14.51	9.46
Florida	Broward	4.69	17.92	13.23
Florida	Orange	4.36	13.67	9.30
New Jersey	Cumberland	3.13	17.35	14.22
Florida	Volusia	2.95	7.85	4.91
Florida	Osceola	2.73	8.60	5.86
Florida	Hillsborough	2.72	16.91	14.19
Florida	Seminole	2.30	8.32	6.02
Florida	Pinellas	2.11	9.07	6.96
New Jersey	Atlantic	1.97	22.96	20.99
New York	Rockland	1.74	12.19	10.44
Connecticut	Windham	1.50	3.83	2.32
New York	Erie	1.29	19.64	18.35
Pennsylvania	Lehigh	1.29	7.63	6.34
New York	Chautauqua	1.23	4.55	3.32
Florida	Palm Beach	1.19	14.03	12.84
Ohio	Lorain	1.14	15.54	14.40
New York	Ulster	1.10	9.01	7.91
Pennsylvania	Philadelphia	0.94	25.87	24.93
Pennsylvania	Lebanon	0.92	2.14	1.23
New York	Kings	0.76	28.81	28.06
Massachusetts	Essex	0.72	3.37	2.66
New Jersey	Hudson	0.67	12.68	12.01
New York	Monroe	0.60	34.84	34.24
New York	Montgomery	0.59	1.68	1.09
Massachusetts	Middlesex	0.44	5.43	5.00
Massachusetts	Worcester	0.28	5.82	5.54
California	Los Angeles	0.21	9.52	9.30
New Jersey	Bergen	0.10	7.14	7.03
New York	Suffolk	0.07	11.42	11.34
Massachusetts	Bristol	0.06	4.05	3.99
Pennsylvania	Northampton	0.05	5.19	5.15
Massachusetts	Hampden	-0.02	12.38	12.40
Hawaii	Maui	-0.10	0.33	0.43
Hawaii	Kauai	-0.10	0.26	0.37
New York	Richmond	-0.18	17.94	18.13
Massachusetts	Hampshire	-0.18	2.47	2.66
Florida	Highlands	-0.22	9.33	9.55
New York	New York	-0.26	22.64	22.89
Connecticut	Fairfield	-0.34	26.60	26.94
Illinois	Cook	-0.52	10.18	10.70
Connecticut	New Haven	-0.64	20.31	20.94
New York	Sullivan	-0.75	13.56	14.31
Georgia	Chattahoochee	-0.81	28.50	29.31
Hawaii	Honolulu	-0.97	2.98	3.94
New York	Bronx	-1.08	29.19	30.27
Indiana	Lake	-1.26	26.28	27.53
New York	Nassau	-1.33	14.22	15.55
Pennsylvania	Berks	-1.42	11.12	12.55
California	San Diego	-1.55	7.15	8.70
Florida	Hendry	-1.56	14.81	16.36
California	Alameda	-1.65	14.80	16.45
New Jersey	Middlesex	-1.66	10.51	12.17
Rhode Island	Providence	-1.67	11.19	12.86
New York	Westchester	-1.80	18.95	20.75
New York	Orange	-1.82	11.37	13.20
Wisconsin	Milwaukee	-1.91	17.56	19.47
New Jersey	Union	-2.00	22.86	24.85
New Jersey	Essex	-2.23	31.14	33.37
Connecticut	Hartford	-2.38	18.62	21.00
Massachusetts	Suffolk	-2.48	29.07	31.55
New Jersey	Monmouth	-3.00	15.49	18.50
New York	Queens	-3.46	16.24	19.70
New Jersey	Passaic	-3.67	19.06	22.73
Pennsylvania	Lancaster	-4.20	12.02	16.22
Delaware	Newcastle	-4.42	31.07	35.49
New Jersey	Mercer	-5.41	30.33	35.74
New Jersey	Camden	-6.23%	34.99%	41.22%

Source: US Census Bureau
NHBL: Non-Hispanic Black

Ricans (e.g., Montgomery and Sullivan, NY; Osceola, FL or Chattahoochee, GA). These counties, however, tended to have low levels of dissimilarity because the exposure of Puerto Ricans to African Americans was relatively low, largely under 20% and even lower than 10% (SEE TABLE 13). Exceptions to these low levels of exposure are Georgia's Chattahoochee and Liberty Counties, where exposure to African Americans was 29% and 42%, respectively, while dissimilarity was under 20%.

Counties with moderate dissimilarity tended to be counties in the Northeast (e.g., Middlesex, MA; Hartford, CT; New York and Westchester, NY or Union and Atlantic, NJ) and to a lesser extent the Sunbelt (Broward and Seminole, FL or Alameda, CA). Puerto Ricans in these counties tended to have level of exposure to African Americans that ranged from the single digits to about 30%. These levels of exposure were fairly similar, however, to those in counties with the most dissimilarity between Puerto Ricans and African Americans. As with Puerto Rican-non-Hispanic white dissimilarity, the most segregated counties for African Americans and Puerto Ricans were those of traditional settlement (i.e., the Northeast and the Midwest); for example, Cuyahoga, OH; Lake, IN; Philadelphia, PA; Kings and Queens, NY and Essex, NJ. But high dissimilarity counties also included a few new settlement sites, such as Volusia and Pinellas, FL.

Between 1990 and 2000, dissimilarity between Puerto Ricans and African Americans increased in 9 of the counties surveyed (SEE TABLE 14). It remained virtually unchanged in 7 other counties, while it decreased in the remaining 54 counties. Dissimilarity increased the most—about 8%—in Hendry, FL and Maui, HI. In Queens, NY and Chattahoochee, GA dissimilarity increased by 3%. Thus, one discerns increases in segregation between these two groups in both counties of new and old settlement. On the other hand, dissimilarity decreased significantly in largely new settlement counties. Counties with the largest decrease in dissimilarity were largely new settlement counties. Monroe, PA, with a 20% decrease in segregation led the list, followed by Seminole, FL, with a 15% decline. In fact, of the 11 counties with at least a 10% decline in dissimilarity, 7 were in Florida (Broward, Pinellas, Volusia, Highlands, Palm Beach, Osceola and Seminole).

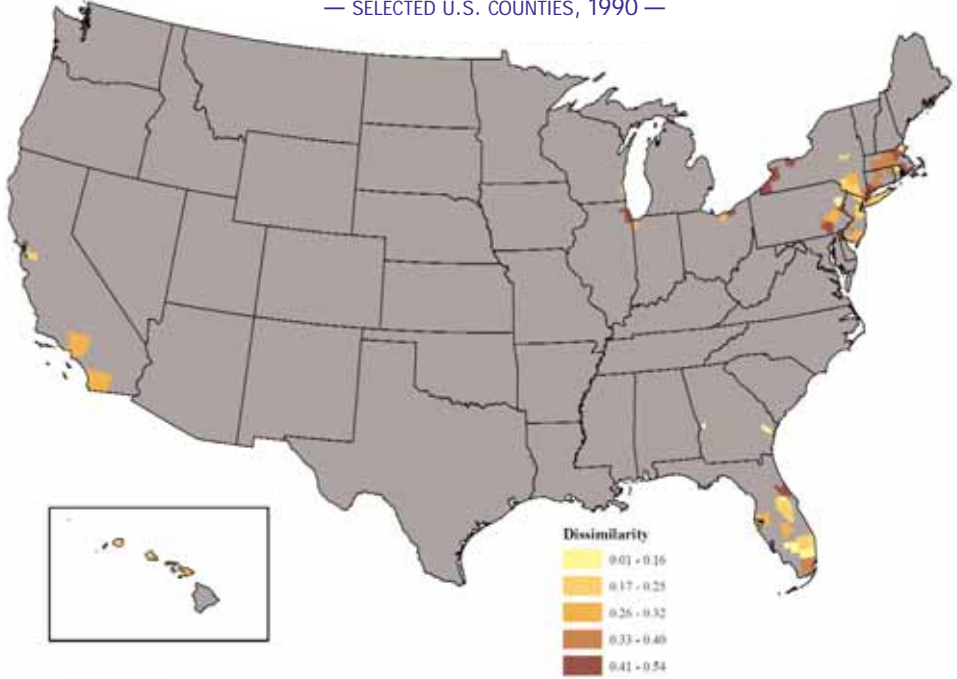
Exposure of Puerto Ricans to African Americans also increased the most in many of the new settlement counties of Florida and Georgia, ranging from 2% to 10% (SEE TABLE 15). Where exposure decreased the most, from 2% to 6%, it tended to be in counties of relatively older settlement in the mid-Atlantic states region (e.g., Camden, Mercer and Passaic, NJ; Newcastle, DE; Lancaster, PA and Queens, NY).

TABLE 16. Index of Puerto Rican Dissimilarity from other Hispanics, 1990 and 2000 (Sorted by 2000)

STATE	COUNTY	DISSIMILARITY TO NPRH	
		2000	1990
Connecticut	Fairfield	53.81%	51.05%
Illinois	Cook	48.59	52.72
New York	New York	48.10	50.80
Florida	Volusia	46.79	52.16
New Jersey	Hudson	40.81	43.65
New York	Queens	40.70	36.84
New Jersey	Cumberland	40.34	29.85
Massachusetts	Middlesex	40.10	44.66
New York	Erie	39.45	52.25
Ohio	Cuyahoga	38.29	48.16
Florida	Highlands	37.81	29.26
Pennsylvania	Northampton	35.85	47.87
California	Los Angeles	35.56	31.47
New York	Monroe	35.06	45.87
New York	Westchester	34.23	34.65
California	San Diego	33.11	31.08
Florida	Miami-Dade	32.22	35.18
Pennsylvania	Philadelphia	32.21	46.62
New York	Chautauqua	31.88	53.85
Massachusetts	Bristol	31.79	43.16
New Jersey	Essex	31.37	38.29
New Jersey	Atlantic	30.61	29.32
New Jersey	Mercer	30.50	37.58
New York	Nassau	29.61	26.30
New York	Rockland	29.56	19.85
Delaware	Newcastle	29.27	43.65
Florida	Hillsborough	28.43	30.42
Massachusetts	Suffolk	27.71	33.34
Connecticut	New Haven	27.53	40.40
Pennsylvania	Lancaster	26.69	43.89
Connecticut	Hartford	26.15	40.29
Massachusetts	Hampshire	25.28	33.90
New York	Orange	25.09	22.00
New York	Bronx	24.61	21.94
Hawaii	Maui	24.56	27.84
New Jersey	Monmouth	23.76	25.14
Florida	Hendry	23.73	15.83
Massachusetts	Worcester	23.55	34.34
New Jersey	Middlesex	23.30	21.73
Indiana	Lake	23.03	27.36
New York	Ulster	22.97	26.43
Ohio	Lorain	22.88	29.53
New York	Suffolk	22.66	19.42
California	Alameda	21.96	22.98
New York	Kings	21.78	22.99
Rhode Island	Providence	21.61	19.22
Florida	Pinellas	21.07	23.15
Connecticut	Windham	20.80	36.10
New Jersey	Camden	20.58	39.22
Pennsylvania	Berks	20.30	30.11
Florida	Orange	19.51	21.53
Wisconsin	Milwaukee	19.20	23.60
New Jersey	Bergen	18.69	17.23
Florida	Palm Beach	18.55	23.08
New York	Montgomery	18.26	22.34
Pennsylvania	Lehigh	18.15	30.11
Massachusetts	Essex	17.92	23.85
Hawaii	Honolulu	17.92	20.32
Pennsylvania	Lebanon	17.21	33.87
New Jersey	Union	16.89	15.32
Hawaii	Kauai	16.73	22.61
Massachusetts	Hampden	16.51	36.59
New Jersey	Passaic	16.01	17.52
New York	Richmond	15.87	16.31
New York	Sullivan	15.79	21.47
Florida	Broward	15.64	14.09
Florida	Osceola	15.24	17.57
Georgia	Liberty	13.01	2.04
Florida	Seminole	12.73	15.01
Pennsylvania	Monroe	11.17	13.60
Georgia	Chattahoochee	0.69%	1.19%

Source: US Census Bureau
NPRH: Non Puerto Rican Hispanic

Index of Dissimilarity: Puerto Rican vs. Non-Puerto Rican Hispanic
— SELECTED U.S. COUNTIES, 1990 —



Index of Dissimilarity: Puerto Rican vs. Non-Puerto Rican Hispanic
— SELECTED U.S. COUNTIES, 2000 —

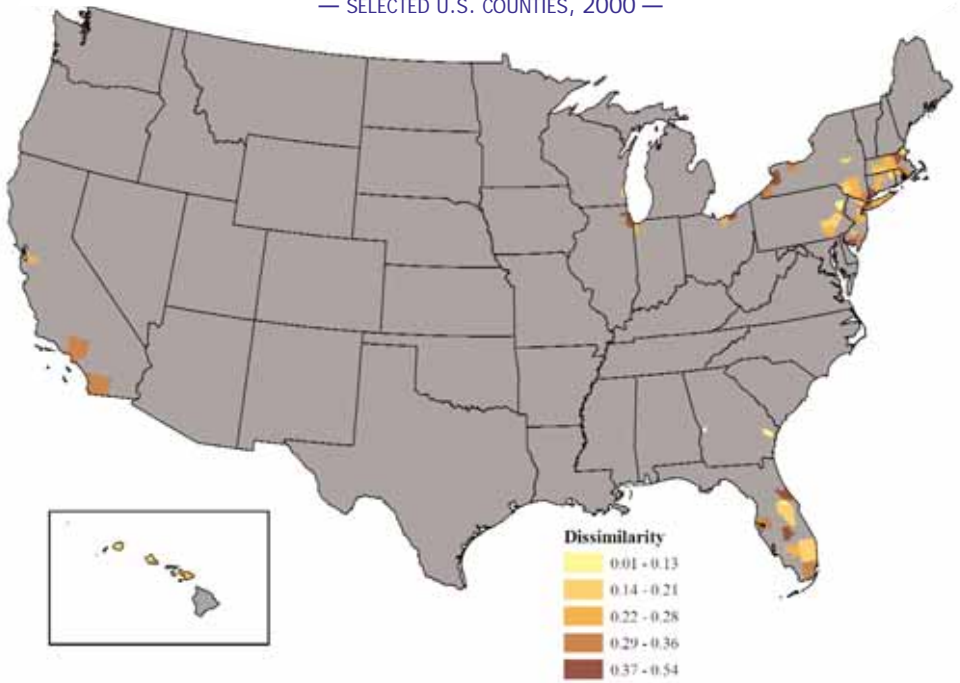


TABLE 17. Changes in Dissimilarity between Puerto Ricans and Other Hispanics between 1990 and 2000

STATE	COUNTY	DISSIMILARITY TO NPRH		
		Difference	2000	1990
Georgia	Liberty	10.96%	13.01%	2.04%
New Jersey	Cumberland	10.49	40.34	29.85
New York	Rockland	9.72	29.56	19.85
Florida	Highlands	8.54	37.81	29.26
Florida	Hendry	7.90	23.73	15.83
California	Los Angeles	4.09	35.56	31.47
New York	Queens	3.86	40.70	36.84
New York	Nassau	3.30	29.61	26.30
New York	Suffolk	3.24	22.66	19.42
New York	Orange	3.09	25.09	22.00
Connecticut	Fairfield	2.76	53.81	51.05
New York	Bronx	2.66	24.61	21.94
Rhode Island	Providence	2.38	21.61	19.22
California	San Diego	2.02	33.11	31.08
New Jersey	Middlesex	1.57	23.30	21.73
New Jersey	Union	1.57	16.89	15.32
Florida	Broward	1.55	15.64	14.09
New Jersey	Bergen	1.46	18.69	17.23
New Jersey	Atlantic	1.29	30.61	29.32
New York	Westchester	-0.42	34.23	34.65
New York	Richmond	-0.44	15.87	16.31
Georgia	Chattahoochee	-0.50	0.69	1.19
California	Alameda	-1.02	21.96	22.98
New York	Kings	-1.20	21.78	22.99
New Jersey	Monmouth	-1.39	23.76	25.14
New Jersey	Passaic	-1.51	16.01	17.52
Florida	Hillsborough	-1.99	28.43	30.42
Florida	Orange	-2.02	19.51	21.53
Florida	Pinellas	-2.08	21.07	23.15
Florida	Seminole	-2.28	12.73	15.01
Florida	Osceola	-2.33	15.24	17.57
Hawaii	Honolulu	-2.40	17.92	20.32
Pennsylvania	Monroe	-2.43	11.17	13.60
New York	New York	-2.70	48.10	50.80
New Jersey	Hudson	-2.84	40.81	43.65
Florida	Miami-Dade	-2.96	32.22	35.18
Hawaii	Maui	-3.28	24.56	27.84
New York	Ulster	-3.46	22.97	26.43
New York	Montgomery	-4.08	18.26	22.34
Illinois	Cook	-4.12	48.59	52.72
Indiana	Lake	-4.34	23.03	27.36
Wisconsin	Milwaukee	-4.41	19.20	23.60
Florida	Palm Beach	-4.53	18.55	23.08
Massachusetts	Middlesex	-4.56	40.10	44.66
Florida	Volusia	-5.36	46.79	52.16
Massachusetts	Suffolk	-5.63	27.71	33.34
New York	Sullivan	-5.69	15.79	21.47
Hawaii	Kauai	-5.88	16.73	22.61
Massachusetts	Essex	-5.92	17.92	23.85
Ohio	Lorain	-6.65	22.88	29.53
New Jersey	Essex	-6.92	31.37	38.29
New Jersey	Mercer	-7.08	30.50	37.58
Massachusetts	Hampshire	-8.62	25.28	33.90
Pennsylvania	Berks	-9.81	20.30	30.11
Ohio	Cuyahoga	-9.87	38.29	48.16
Massachusetts	Worcester	-10.78	23.55	34.34
New York	Monroe	-10.81	35.06	45.87
Massachusetts	Bristol	-11.37	31.79	43.16
Pennsylvania	Lehigh	-11.97	18.15	30.11
Pennsylvania	Northampton	-12.02	35.85	47.87
New York	Erie	-12.80	39.45	52.25
Connecticut	New Haven	-12.88	27.53	40.40
Connecticut	Hartford	-14.14	26.15	40.29
Delaware	Newcastle	-14.38	29.27	43.65
Pennsylvania	Philadelphia	-14.41	32.21	46.62
Connecticut	Windham	-15.31	20.80	36.10
Pennsylvania	Lebanon	-16.66	17.21	33.87
Pennsylvania	Lancaster	-17.21	26.69	43.89
New Jersey	Camden	-18.64	20.58	39.22
Massachusetts	Hampden	-20.07	16.51	36.59
New York	Chautauqua	-21.97%	31.88%	53.85%

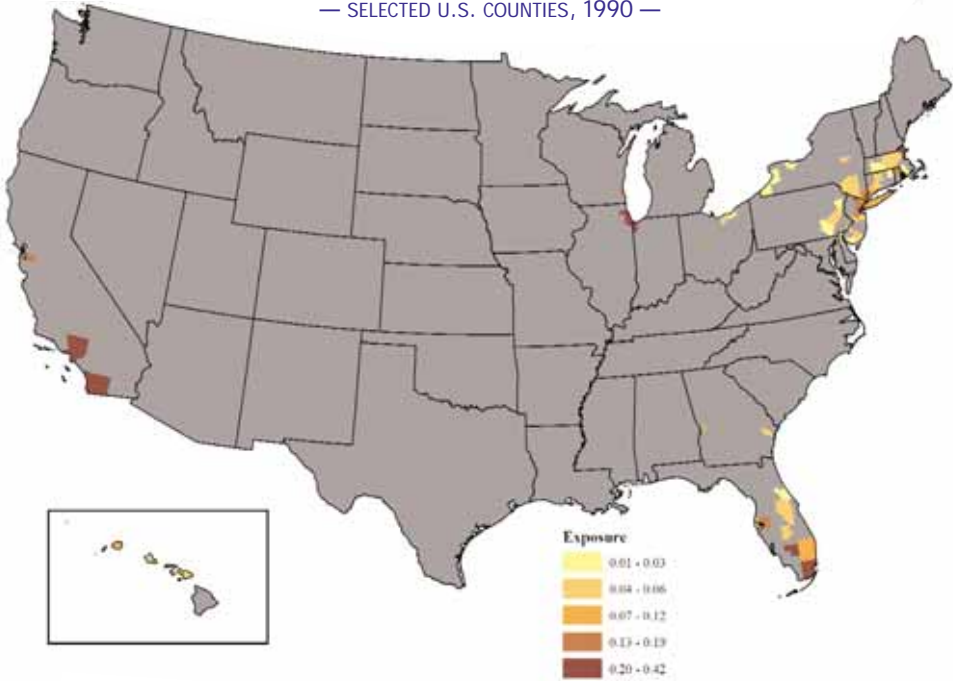
Source: US Census Bureau
 NPRH: Non Puerto Rican Hispanic

TABLE 18. Changes in Puerto Rican Exposure to Other Hispanics, 1990 and 2000

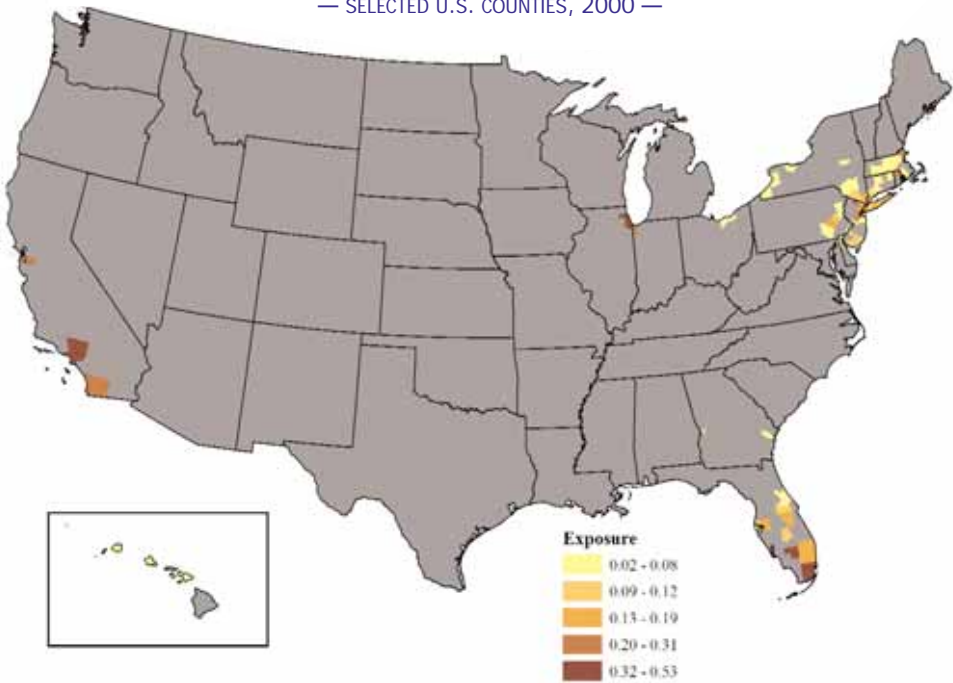
STATE	COUNTY	EXPOSURE TO NPRH		
		Difference	2000	1990
Florida	Miami-Dade	29.99%	52.90%	22.91%
Florida	Hendry	15.04	36.09	21.05
New Jersey	Passaic	10.21	35.42	25.21
Massachusetts	Essex	9.77	30.74	20.97
Florida	Osceola	9.41	15.13	5.72
New York	Bronx	9.26	26.77	17.52
Wisconsin	Milwaukee	9.04	23.57	14.53
Pennsylvania	Berks	8.97	13.98	5.01
Florida	Broward	8.59	17.05	8.46
Rhode Island	Providence	7.89	22.69	14.80
Illinois	Cook	7.82	37.15	29.33
New Jersey	Middlesex	6.92	22.27	15.35
New York	Suffolk	6.50	14.79	8.29
New York	Kings	6.16	21.98	15.82
Florida	Orange	6.15	12.26	6.11
Florida	Palm Beach	6.08	16.79	10.72
New Jersey	Mercer	6.03	11.44	5.41
Florida	Highlands	5.77	9.56	3.79
New Jersey	Union	5.72	28.63	22.91
New Jersey	Cumberland	5.67	8.70	3.02
Pennsylvania	Lehigh	5.66	9.47	3.81
New Jersey	Hudson	5.66	29.71	24.06
New York	Westchester	5.62	19.09	13.47
California	San Diego	5.55	28.55	23.00
New York	New York	5.53	24.40	18.88
Massachusetts	Suffolk	5.44	17.05	11.60
Connecticut	Windham	5.34	7.47	2.14
New Jersey	Bergen	5.29	11.93	6.64
New York	Queens	5.12	22.23	17.11
New Jersey	Essex	5.09	19.47	14.39
California	Alameda	5.07	23.93	18.85
New Jersey	Atlantic	4.81	9.00	4.19
New Jersey	Camden	4.51	9.00	4.49
Connecticut	New Haven	4.01	7.40	3.39
Connecticut	Fairfield	3.91	10.60	6.69
New York	Nassau	3.75	11.40	7.65
Pennsylvania	Lancaster	3.70	6.09	2.39
Delaware	Newcastle	3.63	6.19	2.57
New York	Richmond	3.46	8.12	4.66
New York	Orange	3.35	9.43	6.08
New Jersey	Monmouth	3.33	6.94	3.61
Florida	Seminole	3.19	6.78	3.58
Florida	Hillsborough	3.14	16.08	12.95
Massachusetts	Worcester	3.06	6.60	3.53
Pennsylvania	Philadelphia	2.84	7.57	4.73
Pennsylvania	Northampton	2.84	6.31	3.47
New York	Rockland	2.83	12.36	9.53
Pennsylvania	Lebanon	2.77	4.02	1.25
Massachusetts	Hampden	2.75	5.50	2.75
Connecticut	Hartford	2.72	7.24	4.52
Pennsylvania	Monroe	2.44	3.73	1.29
Massachusetts	Middlesex	2.36	6.96	4.61
Florida	Pinellas	2.24	4.06	1.82
California	Los Angeles	2.12	44.06	41.95
Florida	Volusia	1.94	4.48	2.54
Ohio	Cuyahoga	1.75	4.21	2.46
Indiana	Lake	1.72	23.58	21.86
New York	Sullivan	1.65	6.04	4.39
New York	Ulster	1.55	5.37	3.82
Georgia	Chattahoochee	1.36	8.46	7.10
New York	Chautauqua	1.29	2.05	0.76
New York	Monroe	1.24	3.40	2.15
Massachusetts	Bristol	1.24	3.41	2.17
Ohio	Lorain	1.13	6.13	4.99
Georgia	Liberty	1.07	5.26	4.20
New York	Montgomery	1.06	5.29	4.23
New York	Erie	0.92	3.15	2.24
Massachusetts	Hampshire	0.61	2.04	1.43
Hawaii	Maui	0.20	5.23	5.03
Hawaii	Honolulu	-0.51	5.68	6.19
Hawaii	Kauai	-2.60%	5.70%	8.30%

Source: US Census Bureau
NPRH: Non Puerto Rican Hispanic

Index of Exposure: Puerto Rican vs. Non-Puerto Rican Hispanic
— SELECTED U.S. COUNTIES, 1990 —



Index of Exposure: Puerto Rican vs. Non-Puerto Rican Hispanic
— SELECTED U.S. COUNTIES, 2000 —



Puerto Rican / Non-Puerto Rican Hispanic segregation

Historically, different Hispanic groups in the United States had settled in and had been identified with specific regions of the country. Mexicans and Mexican Americans had largely settled in and were identified with the Southwest and scattered locations in the Midwest. Cubans had settled largely in south Florida, northeastern New Jersey and the west side of Manhattan. Puerto Ricans were largely settled in and identified with the urban centers of the New York tri-state area and elsewhere in the Northeast and scattered places in the Midwest. For the past forty years, with changes in immigration laws in the United States, wars and social instability in Central and South America, and a constant demand for labor and recruitment efforts from the United States, the immigration of people of Latin American origin, and elsewhere, has increased and diversified. And whereas initially Dominicans may have settled in New York City, Salvadorans in southern California and the District of Columbia, and Nicaraguans in south Florida, currently, the fastest growing segment of the Hispanic population in New York City is of Mexican origin. They have also settled in areas rarely associated with Hispanic populations, such as Arkansas, Georgia or Iowa. Salvadorans have settled in definable municipalities in Long Island. Dominicans are following the trails blazed by Puerto Ricans to Connecticut and New Jersey and opening new ones in Rhode Island.

Given historical patterns and new trends, we look to discern how different Latino groups interact in their neighborhoods. We look specifically to establish how separated from or concentrated Puerto Ricans are with other Latinos.

As might be expected, Puerto Ricans were not very segregated from other Latinos in 2000. In fact, of the 71 counties surveyed, there was not one county with very high dissimilarity between Puerto Ricans and other Latinos. The county where Puerto Ricans were most separated from other people of Hispanic origin was Fairfield, CT, with a dissimilarity score of 54% (SEE TABLE 16). There were six counties where the dissimilarity was similarly moderate: Cook, IL (49%); New York, NY (48%); Volusia, FL (47%); Hudson, NJ (41%); Queens, NY (41%); Cumberland, NJ and Middlesex, MA (both 40%). With the exception of Volusia, FL, these counties are largely older settlement sites for Puerto Ricans, identified largely, albeit not exclusively, as Puerto Rican. Puerto Ricans lived with low levels of segregation from other Latinos in two-thirds of the counties surveyed.

Dissimilarity between Puerto Ricans and other Latinos increased in 19 counties during the 1990s (SEE TABLE 17). It increased the most in Liberty, GA and Cumberland, NJ (by 11%) and Rockland, NY (by 10%). Increases in separation, ranging from 1% to 8%, were apparent largely in

counties in New Jersey and New York, California and southern New England. However, the largest decreases in dissimilarity—greater than 10%—were also in counties in the Northeast (e.g., Chautauqua, NY; Hampden, MA and Camden, NJ). As the Latino population spreads across the country, so does the likelihood that Latinos will increasingly occupy the same residential space. This was in fact the case in 47 of the counties surveyed. This inter-Latino interaction is further corroborated with data on exposure. Exposure of Puerto Ricans to other Latinos increased in 69 counties surveyed. It only decreased in Honolulu and Kauai, HI (SEE TABLE 18, BOTTOM). Nevertheless, in 13 of 33 counties with exposure increases larger than 5%, dissimilarity also increased. In other words, in a third of the counties with increases in exposure between Puerto Ricans and other Latinos during the 1990s, separation also increased.

A closer look

These data provide a countrywide picture of segregated conditions for Puerto Ricans in the United States. The next section provides a closer analysis at the state level for selected states and counties.

CALIFORNIA

California ranks eighth as the state with most Puerto Ricans in the United States, both in 1990 and 2000. In terms of the Puerto Rican percentage of its population, the state ranked eleventh in 1990 and seventeenth in 2000. The state population grew 26% in 1980s, 14% in 1990s and 43% between 1980 and 2000. During this same period, the Puerto Rican population grew at a rate of 36%, 11% and 51%, respectively. For the twenty-year period, the Puerto Rican population grew faster than the state's population, but this was driven by the growth in the 1980s. In the 1990s, the Puerto Rican population grew, but at slower rate than the population as a whole.

These growth rates are reflected in the segregation measures. Overall, the level of segregation from non-Hispanic whites California's Puerto Ricans are exposed to is moderate to moderately low. San Diego County was less segregated than Alameda or Los Angeles in 2000, and this is observed in its lower index of dissimilarity (38% compared to 42% for the other two counties) as well as in its index of exposure, where Puerto Ricans had a 50% chance of meeting a non-Hispanic white resident of the county that year. Los Angeles County had a slightly lower index of isolation for Puerto Ricans, but Puerto Ricans were noticeably less likely to randomly run into a non-Hispanic white person in LA County than they did in San Diego or even Alameda County. This is driven by the fact that San Diego had proportionally a considerably larger non-Hispanic white population than Los Angeles

County as well as a slightly larger Puerto Rican population. Alameda County has a proportionally larger Puerto Rican population than either Los Angeles and San Diego, and is in between these two counties in their proportion of the non-Hispanic white population. With a higher index of dissimilarity and isolation and higher degree of exposure than LA County, Alameda Puerto Ricans are the most segregated from non-Hispanic whites of the three California counties. It is also important to note that as moderate or low levels of segregation for Puerto Ricans as these counties exhibited in 2000, their level of dissimilarity changed little between 1990 and 2000 while their exposure to non-Hispanic whites decreased appreciably.

Puerto Ricans are also more segregated from African Americans in Los Angeles and Alameda Counties at moderate dissimilarity than in San Diego County, where dissimilarity was moderately low. Dissimilarity between Puerto Ricans and African Americans was higher in Alameda and Los Angeles than it was for Puerto Ricans and non-Hispanic whites, but lower in San Diego. Puerto Rican exposure to African Americans was also lower in these California counties than exposure to non-Hispanic whites. Segregation conditions did not change much in San Diego during the 1990s, but were reduced by 7% on both Alameda and Los Angeles. Exposure grew about 2% in Alameda and San Diego, but remained virtually unchanged in Los Angeles, between 1990 and 2000.

Segregation between Puerto Ricans and other Latinos was low to moderately low (22% to 36%) in these California counties in 2000. Dissimilarity was higher in Los Angeles and San Diego than in Alameda, while exposure was higher in Los Angeles, than in Alameda or San Diego (44% to 24%). Dissimilarity increased in Los Angeles (by 4%) and San Diego (by 2%), while it decreased very slightly in Alameda. Exposure in all three counties increased between 2% and 6%.

CONNECTICUT

In terms of its share of the Puerto Rican population in the United States, Connecticut ranked sixth in both 1990 and 2000. It ranked second in 1990 and first in 2000 in terms of the state's population share that is Puerto Rican. The state population grew at a rate of 5.8% from 1980 to 1990 and 3.6% from 1990 to 2000, and almost 10% between 1980 and 2000. The Puerto Rican population, on the other hand, grew at a 66%, 32% and 120%, respectively, consistently faster than the state's overall growth.

Puerto Ricans in Connecticut are highly segregated from non-Hispanic whites in the counties they live in. Dissimilarity ranged from 64% in New Haven County to 72% in Fairfield County in 2000. Exposure to non-Hispanic whites ranged from a low of 33% in Fairfield County to a high of 67% in Windham County. Puerto Rican Isolation ranged from 18% in

Windham County to 31% in Hartford County. Between 1990 and 2000, conditions seem to have remained the same for Puerto Ricans in Fairfield and New Haven counties; improved ever so slightly in Hartford; and worsened in Windham County, where exposure to non-Hispanic whites decreased markedly and isolation increased noticeably.

Dissimilarity between Puerto Ricans and African Americans ranged between moderate and moderately low (48% to 32%). It was higher in Hartford County and to a lesser extent New Haven than in Windham or Fairfield. The largest decreases in segregation during the 1990s—around 8%—were in New Haven and Fairfield. Exposure ranged between 19% and 27%, with the exception of Windham County, where it was 4%. However, it was in this last county where Puerto Rican exposure to African Americans increased. It remained largely unchanged or declined slightly in the other three Connecticut counties surveyed.

Segregation between Puerto Ricans and other Latinos was highest in Fairfield County. As noted above, Fairfield's dissimilarity score of 53% was the highest of the 71 counties surveyed. But the remaining counties exhibited low levels of segregation between Puerto Ricans and other Latinos (from 21% to 28%). However, exposure to other Latinos was relatively low (between 7% and 11%), particularly when compared with exposure to non-Hispanic whites and African Americans. Dissimilarity decreased between 13% and 15% during the 1990s in all counties but Fairfield, where it increased by 3%. Exposure in all four counties also increased, albeit slightly (from 3% to 5%).

DELAWARE

By share of the Puerto Rican population in the United States, Delaware ranked twenty-first in 1990 and twenty-second in 2000. By share of its population that is Puerto Ricans in origin, Delaware ranked tenth in 1990 and ninth in 2000. The number of Puerto Ricans grew at a rate of 72% in the 1980s, 70% in the 1990s and 192% between 1980 and 2000, compared to 12%, 18% and 32%, respectively, for the state's overall population.

Puerto Ricans in Newcastle County were moderately segregated from non-Hispanic whites and this segregation improved between 1990 and 2000, albeit in small measure. Dissimilarity was reduced by 9%, from 58% to 49%; isolation was reduced by 5% and exposure increased by 4%. Puerto Rican segregation from African Americans was moderately low in Newcastle county—at 37%—an improvement of 9% over 1990. Exposure to African Americans in this county was 31%, a decrease of 4% over 1990. Dissimilarity from other Latinos was a low 29%, a significant improvement over 1990, when it was 44%. But exposure was low at 6% despite an increase of almost 4%.

FLORIDA

Florida is perhaps the state that reflects most clearly the overall new settlement pattern of Puerto Ricans in the United States. It ranked third in 1990 and second in 2000 in terms of the proportion of the Puerto Rican population in the United States that lives within its jurisdiction; while it ranked sixth in 1990 and fifth in 2000 in the proportion of its population that is Puerto Rican. The rate of growth of its Puerto Rican population has been prodigious, particularly during the 1980s, when it grew at a rate of 161%, compared to 33% for the state as a whole. During the 1990s, this high rate of growth slowed somewhat for both for Puerto Ricans and the population overall in comparison to the 1980s, but it was still significantly high at 95% and 24%, respectively. Between 1980 and 2000, the Puerto Rican population grew an astounding 409%, compared to 64% of that state's population as a whole.

The segregation picture for Puerto Ricans in Florida is a mixed one. Dissimilarity ranged from a moderately high 54% in Volusia County to a moderate 44% in Osceola County to a low 22% in Seminole County in 2000. Exposure to non-Hispanic whites ranged from a low of 20% in Miami-Dade to 80% in Pinellas County; while isolation was greatest in Osceola County (26%) and slightest (2%) in Pinellas County. The isolation and exposure measures for Pinellas County are accounted for by the fact that it had the proportionally smallest Puerto Rican population (1.4%) and the highest non-Hispanic white population (83%) of the eleven counties measured. Osceola Puerto Ricans, with the highest proportion of Puerto Ricans of any Florida county (18%), exhibited an isolation level of 26%, while the second most "Puerto Rican" county—Orange (10%)—had an isolation level of 16%.

However, segregation is not exclusively an artifact of the proportion of Puerto Ricans in the population relative to the non-Hispanic white population. A contrast between Palm Beach and Hendry counties is illustrative. Both counties had similarly low proportions of Puerto Ricans in their respective jurisdictions in 2000: 2.25% in Hendry and 2.23% in Palm Beach. The isolation index for Puerto Ricans was similarly low: 3.3% in Hendry and 3.9% in Palm Beach. Dissimilarity, however, was much higher in Palm Beach (42%) than in Hendry (24%). Admittedly, in Hendry County, with a 44% non-Hispanic white population, a Puerto Rican had 44% chance of living next to one of them; while in Palm Beach, with a 71% non-Hispanic white population, a Puerto Rican would have 61% chance of encountering a non-Hispanic white person, but less likely to live next to that person.

Conditions have become more segregated for Puerto Ricans in these selected Florida counties between 1990 and 2000. Dissimilarity

decreased in Miami-Dade and Highlands counties, but only marginally; it increased in the remaining counties surveyed, from a slight 0.3% in Pinellas County to a noteworthy 9% in Osceola County. This worsening of relatively moderate segregation overall is observed in the diminished exposure of Puerto Ricans to non-Hispanic whites in all counties (but for Miami-Dade) as well as by the increased Puerto Rican isolation over this decade. All of these measures point over time to the concentration of Puerto Ricans in their new places of settlement.

Segregation between Puerto Ricans and African Americans was high to moderately high in five of the eleven Florida counties surveyed (e.g., Volusia, Pinellas, Miami-Dade). Dissimilarity was low in only one county: Osceola. But segregation was reduced between 7% and 15% in nine counties, increasing in only one (i.e., Hendry) and remaining unchanged in another (i.e., Miami-Dade), between 1990 and 2000. Exposure ranged between 8% and 19%, increasing modestly in nine while decreasing in two (i.e., Highlands and Hendry).

Dissimilarity between Puerto Ricans and other Latinos was moderate in Volusia (47%); moderately low in Highlands (38%) and Miami-Dade (32%) and low in the remaining counties, ranging from 13% to 28%. During the 1990s, dissimilarity increased in Highlands, Hendry and Broward, but it declined in the remaining eight counties, between 2% and 5%. Exposure to other Latinos in 2000 ranged from 53% in Miami-Dade to 4% in Pinellas. This exposure increased in every county between 2% and 30%.

GEORGIA

Georgia ranked sixteenth in 1990 and twelfth in 2000 in terms of the total Puerto Rican population of the United States. It ranked nineteenth and eighteenth in the share of its population that was Puerto Rican in 1990 and 2000, respectively. However, the growth of the state's Puerto Rican population during the 1980s was 121% and 104% during the 1990s. The Puerto Rican population grew 351% between 1980 and 2000, compared to the overall Georgian population growth rate, which was 50% for the same period.

Puerto Rican segregation from non-Hispanic whites in this southern state was low both in 2000 and in 1990. Dissimilarity in 2000 was 19% in Chattahoochee County and 18% in Liberty County. Puerto Rican isolation was 4%, while exposure to non-Hispanic whites was 53% in Chattahoochee and 42% in Liberty. What is noteworthy in these figures is that while segregation was low for Puerto Ricans in these Georgia counties in 2000, they represented an increase over 1990. Dissimilarity increased 5% in Chattahoochee and 3% in Liberty, while exposure to non-Hispanic whites decreased 10% in Liberty. The large drop in exposure to non-Hispanic

whites for Puerto Ricans in Liberty County is given, not by the absolute decline of the non-Hispanic white population in the county (i.e., white flight), but rather due to their proportional decline as a result of an absolute and proportional increase of the county's non-Hispanic black population. The segregation trend from decade to decade is not alarming, as the indices are low and slow in changing; however, they are indicative of the trend.

Dissimilarity between Puerto Ricans and African Americans was low in 2000: 19% in Chattahoochee and 16% in Liberty. Exposure was 29% in Chattahoochee and 42% in Liberty. Between 1990 and 2000, dissimilarity increased in Chattahoochee by 3% but decreased slightly in Liberty, by 1%. Exposure during the 1990s was virtually unchanged in Chattahoochee, but it increased 5% in Liberty.

Segregation between Puerto Ricans and other Latinos was virtually zero in Chattahoochee and a low of 13% in Liberty; but exposure was also low: 8% and 5%, respectively. This measure increased slightly during the 1990s, while dissimilarity increased by 11% in Liberty, but remained virtually unchanged in Chattahoochee.

HAWAII

Hawaii is a special case in the Puerto Rican migratory experience. It was the first US territory recipient of Puerto Rican labor migrants, who were specifically targeted by private agents as well as colonial government officials on the island to populate another colonial possession within two years of the US invasion of Puerto Rico in 1898.⁸ The Hawaii islands ranked eleventh and fifteenth as the US state with most Puerto Ricans, in 1990 and 2000, respectively. Hawaii, however, ranked fifth and sixth, in 1990 and 2000, as the states with the highest proportion of Puerto Ricans in their populations. The islands Puerto Rican population grew at a rate of 33%, 16% and 55%, during the 1980s, the 1990s and between 1980 and 2000, respectively. These growth rates were twice as high as that of the Hawaiian population as a whole, albeit still lower than the growth rates of Puerto Ricans in the United States as a whole. The Hawaiian islands ranked between fifth and eighth place among states with the slowest Puerto Rican population growth.

Segregation from non-Hispanic whites in the three selected counties (Honolulu, Kauai and Maui) ranges from moderate to low. Dissimilarity in 2000 was 26% in Kauai, 42% in Maui and 43% in Honolulu. This index was virtually unchanged between 1990 and 2000 for Honolulu County; it actually decreased somewhat in Kauai, but it increased slightly in Maui. Isolation for Puerto Ricans on these islands was very small and, while decreasing, little changed between 1990 and 2000. Exposure to non-Hispanic whites was low in all three counties, ranging from 19% in

Honolulu to 27% in Maui, and it decreased between 4% and 9% during the 1990s. However, this last index is very sensitive to the percentage of non-Hispanic white population that lived in Hawaii. The state was the one with the lowest non-Hispanic white population in the United States in 2000 at 24% and the highest Asian population, at 42%. Thus, changes in exposure are more the reflection of changes in the non-Hispanic white population in relation to the entire state's population than to Puerto Ricans exclusively.

Puerto Rican segregation from African Americans in 2000 was fairly similar to segregation of Puerto Ricans from non-Hispanic whites: it was moderate to low. In Kauai, dissimilarity was low (27%); while in Honolulu and Maui it was moderate (49% and 40%, respectively). However, exposure was minimal, ranging from 3% in Honolulu to less than 1% in the other two counties surveyed. Exposure also decreased in all three counties between 1990 and 2000. In Maui, where there was hardly any exposure to African Americans, dissimilarity actually increased by 7% during the 1990s, while it decreased by 3% in the other two counties.

In relation to other Latinos, dissimilarity was low in 2000, ranging from 17% to 25%. Exposure was also low—around 5%—and it declined or remained unchanged during the 1990s. Dissimilarity declined between 3% and 5% between censuses.

ILLINOIS

Illinois, particularly the city of Chicago, contained in Cook County, has been another traditional settlement site for Puerto Ricans in the United States. It ranked seventh among states with the largest proportion of Puerto Ricans in the United States, both in 1990 and 2000. It ranked eighth and tenth among the states with the highest Puerto Rican proportion in its population, in 1990 and 2000, respectively. As with other states with large absolute and proportional numbers of Puerto Ricans in their populations, Illinois Puerto Ricans grew at a low rate. Puerto Ricans in Illinois grew at a rate of 13% during the 1980s, at 8% during the 1990s, and at 22% between 1980 and 2000. Puerto Ricans in Illinois, therefore, had the second lowest growth rate of all Puerto Ricans in the United States during the 1990s and between 1980 and 2000. They also had the third slowest population growth during the 1980s.

The city of Chicago has been one of the most notoriously segregated cities in the United States. The results for Cook County bear this notoriety. While not the most segregated county in the country, two thirds of Puerto Ricans in Cook County would have to move out of the census tract their house is located in order to achieve parity with non-Hispanic whites. This is a high rate of segregation. Similarly, exposure to non-

Hispanic whites is close to a third. In terms of isolation, Puerto Ricans in Cook County live in neighborhoods that are 15% Puerto Rican. As high as the segregation seems to be in Cook County, it is encouraging to note that during the 1990s it decreased notably. Dissimilarity decreased by 8% from 75% in 1990. Isolation decreased as well by 7% from 22%.

In 2000, segregation was very high in relation to African Americans. The dissimilarity index yielded a very high 84%, while exposure was only 10%, in a county where non-Hispanic blacks made up more than a quarter of the population. During the 1990s, exposure remained virtually unchanged, while dissimilarity decreased by a paltry 3%, less than half the decrease in dissimilarity between Puerto Ricans and non-Hispanic whites.

Relative to non-Puerto Rican Hispanics, dissimilarity was moderate (49%), while exposure was 37%. This exposure increased 8% during the 1990s, while dissimilarity decreased by 4%.

INDIANA

Indiana ranked 18th in 1990 among the states with most Puerto Ricans in the United States. It ranked 19th for the same category in 2000. Its share of the state population that was Puerto Rican was 0.3%, ranking 21st in the country in 1990 and 23rd in 2000. Puerto Ricans in Indiana grew at a rate of 11% in the 1980s, 40% in the 1990s and 55% between 1980 and 2000, exponentially faster than the state's population as a whole, but not as fast as the overall Puerto Rican population in the United States.

Lake County's Puerto Rican segregation from non-Hispanic whites was moderately high in 2000, reflected primarily in its index of dissimilarity—56%. Exposure to non-Hispanic whites was measured at 43%, and Puerto Rican isolation was 5%. These measures did not change significantly in the 1990s, but dissimilarity decreased notably (10%), from a high 66% to the moderately high measure mentioned above.

Dissimilarity relative to African Americans was high (62%) and higher than it was relative to non-Hispanic whites in 2000. Exposure was 26%. These measures declined ever so slightly (1%) during the 1990s. Segregation from other Latinos was low at 23% and this represented a decrease of 4% over 1990. Puerto Rican exposure to other Latinos in Lake County stood at 24% in 2000, a 2% increase over the previous decade.

MASSACHUSETTS

Unlike other settlement sites for Puerto Ricans in the United States, Puerto Ricans in Massachusetts grew at a robust pace—98%—in the 1980s. During the 1990s and for the 1980–2000 period, the growth—32% and 161%, respectively—was more modest. Massachusetts, as other old settlement states, has a sizable Puerto Rican population, ranking fourth

in 1990 and fifth in 2000 as the state with most Puerto Ricans in the US. It also ranked high—fourth—as a state with a sizable proportion of Puerto Ricans as a share of its population both in 1990 and 2000.

Segregation for Puerto Ricans in the state varied in 2000. It ranged from a high dissimilarity level of 74% in Essex County to a moderately low 34% in Hampshire County. However, Hampshire Puerto Ricans seem to be the exception in the state. Not only was dissimilarity from non-Hispanic whites moderately low in Hampshire, isolation in the county was also a low 3%, while exposure to non-Hispanic whites was the highest for the counties surveyed at 85%. By and large, dissimilarity in the remaining six Massachusetts counties measured in high levels. Puerto Rican isolation in the counties had more variety, ranging from Hampshire's low to Hampden's high of 38%. Similarly, Puerto Rican exposure to non-Hispanic whites ranged from Hampshire's high to Suffolk's low of 32%.

Segregated conditions in these seven Massachusetts counties improved very moderately between 1990 and 2000. For instance, dissimilarity rates decreased between 6% (Hampshire) and 1% (Worcester). Isolation also improved, albeit anemically, ranging from a 5% decrease (Hampden) to a 0.3% (Hampshire); it increased minimally in Worcester and Bristol. Exposure to non-Hispanic whites also decreased, from 8% in Middlesex to a virtually unchanged figure in Hampden.

In relation to African Americans, segregation ranged from moderately low in Bristol (32%), Worcester and Hampshire (33%); to moderate in Suffolk (41%), Hampden (47%) and Middlesex (50%); and high in Essex (59%). Puerto Rican exposure to African Americans tended to be around the low single digits in Essex, Hampshire, Bristol, Middlesex and Worcester; and the low teens in Hampden and Suffolk. Dissimilarity decreased in these seven Massachusetts counties, ranging from 2% in Worcester to 10% in Hampden during the 1990s. Exposure, on the other hand, remained virtually unchanged, but for Suffolk, where it decreased by 2% between decades.

Dissimilarity relative to other Latinos was low in five counties in 2000, ranging from 17% to 28%. It was moderate low in Bristol (32%) and moderate in Middlesex (40%). Exposure was 31% in Essex and 17% in Suffolk, but much lower in the remaining counties. During the 1990s, dissimilarity decreased the most in Hampden (20%) and the least in Middlesex (5%), while exposure the most in Essex (10%) and least in Bristol (1%).

NEW JERSEY

New Jersey has traditionally ranked as one of the states with the largest Puerto Rican population. In 1990, it ranked as the second of all states, after New York, in terms of its share of the US Puerto Rican

population. In 2000, it fell to third place, displaced by Florida. But in the share of the state's population that is Puerto Rican, New Jersey ranked third in both 1990 and 2000, after New York and Connecticut. In this sense, New Jersey is prototypical of northeastern states, with the exception of New York. Its Puerto Rican population grew at a rather weak 31% during the 1980s and an anemic 15% in the 1990s. However, this growth was faster than that of the state's overall population. Relative to other Puerto Ricans in the US, New Jersey Puerto Ricans were situated towards the bottom of the category: eighth slowest in the 1980s, fourth slowest in the 1990s, and third slowest between 1980 and 2000. Despite this slow growth rate relative to Puerto Ricans in other states, New Jersey Puerto Ricans are growing at a faster rate than the state's population as a whole.

Segregated conditions for Puerto Ricans in the state varied. The index of dissimilarity from non-Hispanic whites ranged from a low 31% in Bergen County to a very high 81% in Camden County, the highest of the seventy-one counties surveyed, in 2000. In addition to Camden County, very segregated conditions existed for Puerto Ricans in Essex, Passaic, Mercer, Union and Middlesex counties. Dissimilarity in Atlantic, Cumberland and Monmouth and Hudson counties was moderately high. Puerto Rican isolation also followed a similar trend. It was higher in Camden, Cumberland and Essex counties than in Bergen or Monmouth. Exposure to non-Hispanic whites varied as well, from 20% in Essex to 67% in Monmouth.

These segregated conditions improved, but improvements varied as well among the several counties. They actually worsened in Bergen County, where dissimilarity was actually 4% lower and exposure was 12% higher in 1990. Elsewhere, dissimilarity between 1990 and 2000 was reduced by a notable 10% in Middlesex and 8% in Mercer to very little in Cumberland. Puerto Rican isolation was also reduced, but much more modestly, from 6% in Middlesex to a virtually unchanged rate in Bergen and Monmouth. The trend in segregation is therefore one that is slowly but seemingly improving steadily.

Puerto Rican residential separation from African Americans was moderate in eight of eleven counties surveyed; moderately high in two more and very high in one (i.e., Essex). Dissimilarity decreased in the vast majorities of these counties, with the exception of Essex, where it increased 1% during the 1990s. The biggest decreases in residential segregation were in Atlantic (11%) and Hudson (7%). Exposure, however, decreased in all but two (Camden and Mercer).

Puerto Rican residential segregation from other Latinos was low in most of these New Jersey counties, ranging from 16% to 24%. Segregation was moderately low in three (i.e., Essex, Atlantic and Mercer) and

moderate in two (i.e., Hudson and Cumberland). Dissimilarity between decades increased by 11% in Cumberland and slightly in another four counties, while it decreased in another six, with Camden County reporting the biggest decrease (19%). Puerto Rican exposure to other Latinos ranged from 7% in Monmouth to 35% in Passaic, with this latter county exhibiting also the largest increase in exposure (10%) during the 1990s.

NEW YORK

As mentioned throughout, New York State is singular among the states of the US union in many respects. It continues to be the state with the largest number of Puerto Ricans in the country, as it has for decades. Until 2000, when it was replaced by Connecticut, it was also the state with the highest proportion of Puerto Rican in its population. New York is also singular in that it was the state with the slowest growth rate in the 1980s, in the 1990s and between 1980 and 2000. In 2000, unlike any other state in the country, New York lost Puerto Ricans. However, this loss in the state's Puerto Rican population was driven almost exclusively by the flight of Puerto Ricans from New York City. Whereas New York City lost 107,591 Puerto Ricans during the 1990s, the rest of the state increased its Puerto Ricans population by 71,283, from 189,838 in 1990 to 261,121 in 2000.⁹

Segregated conditions for Puerto Ricans in the New York State counties surveyed are varied. The index of dissimilarity from non-Hispanic whites for 2000 was very high in five of the sixteen counties surveyed (New York, Kings, Erie, Monroe and Bronx), ranging from 70% to 65%; moderately high for two (Chautauqua, 56%, and Montgomery, 57%); moderate for five (Westchester, Queens, Suffolk, Ulster and Richmond), ranging from 49% to 42%; and moderately low in the remaining four (Rockland, Nassau, Orange and Sullivan), ranging from 38% to 33%. Isolation was highest in Bronx County at 29% in 2000 and lowest in Nassau County at 2.5%. Similarly, exposure to non-Hispanic whites varies from a high exposure score of 80% in Chautauqua County to a low of 9% in the Bronx.

Changes in segregated conditions across New York State counties between 1990 and 2000 also varied. By some measures segregation increased. Puerto Rican exposure to non-Hispanic whites decreased in all sixteen counties between 1990 and 2000. The range in the decrease in exposure went from a low of 1.2% in New York County to a high decrease of 11% in Queens County. By other measures, some conditions improved, but not consistently. The index of dissimilarity decreased in twelve of the counties surveyed, between 8% in Ulster County and 1% in Kings County. It increased in Richmond (1.8%), Queens (1.4%) and Rockland (0.8%). Dissimilarity was virtually unchanged in New York County. Isolation

decreased in half the counties, by 9% in Kings County to 0.9% in Rockland. Isolation increased slightly in two (Chautauqua and Richmond) and remained virtually unchanged in the remaining six counties.

Segregation between Puerto Ricans and non-Hispanic blacks in 2000 was low in three counties: Sullivan (19%), Orange (27%) and Montgomery (30%). They were moderately low in five other counties: Ulster, Bronx and Monroe, Chautauqua and Richmond, ranging from 33% to 39%. Dissimilarity was moderate to moderately high in Westchester, Suffolk, New York and Nassau; and high in Kings (62%), Queens (64%) and Erie (69%). The greatest Puerto Rican exposure to African Americans was in Monroe (35%), Bronx and Kings Counties (29%). The lowest exposure was in Montgomery (less than 2%). Dissimilarity increased in Queens County by 3%; it remained unchanged in another six counties and decreased in another nine (ranging from 1% to 10%).

Puerto Rican segregation from other Latinos in 2000 was low in ten counties: Sullivan, Richmond, Montgomery, Kings, Suffolk, Ulster, Bronx, Orange, Rockland and Nassau, ranging from 16% to 30%. Dissimilarity was moderately low in four—Chautauqua, Westchester, Monroe and Erie—and moderate in two—Queens and New York. Exposure to other Latinos was highest in the four largest New York City counties, ranging from 22% to 27%, while it was lowest, between 2% and 10%, in ten mostly upstate counties. Dissimilarity during the 1990s increased the most (between 3% and 10%) largely in counties that form the suburbs of New York City (e.g., Rockland, Nassau, Suffolk, Orange), but also in city counties such as Queens and Bronx. Dissimilarity decreased most in counties in western New York (e.g., Monroe, Erie and Chautauqua). Exposure, on the other hand, increased in virtually in every county between 1990 and 2000.

OHIO

Ohio was in the top ten states with the largest Puerto Rican populations both in 1990 and 2000. In 1990 it ranked ninth, and in 2000 it ranked tenth. By its share of the state's population that is Puerto Rican, Ohio ranked twelfth in 1990 and eleventh in 2000. Puerto Ricans in the state grew at a rate of 41% in the 1980s, 45% in the 1990s and 104% between 1980 and 2000, much faster than the state's overall population, but trailing other states' Puerto Rican growth.

Segregation from non-Hispanic whites was high for Puerto Ricans in Ohio in 2000. The index of dissimilarity for Puerto Ricans in Cuyahoga County was 67% and 64% in Lorain County. Isolation measured 16% in Cuyahoga and 18% in Lorain, while exposure to non-Hispanic whites was 61% in the former and 57% in the latter.

Dissimilarity diminished between 1990 and 2000 in both counties: 1.6% in Cuyahoga and 3% in Lorain. While isolation also decreased in Lorain by 3%, it increased in Cuyahoga by 2%. Exposure also decreased in both counties: 11% in Cuyahoga and 1.4% in Lorain. Overall segregation for Puerto Ricans persists.

Puerto Rican segregation from African Americans in 2000 was very high in Cuyahoga County (83%), second only to Cook County, IL, much higher than residential segregation from non-Hispanic whites. It was moderate in Lorain County (44%), lower than relative to non-Hispanic whites. Exposure to African American in both counties was about 15%. Between decades, dissimilarity declined in both counties by about 5%, while exposure increased by about 5% as well. Relative to other Latinos, Puerto Rican segregation was moderately low in Cuyahoga (38%) and low in Lorain (23%). But exposure was low: 4% and 6%, respectively. It increased slightly during the 1990s, by less than 2%. Dissimilarity in Cuyahoga decreased by 10% during the same period; 7% in Lorain.

PENNSYLVANIA

Pennsylvania ranked fifth as the state with most Puerto Ricans in 1990, and fourth in 2000. Among the states with a Puerto Rican population above the national average, Pennsylvania ranked seventh in 1990 and eighth in 2000. Puerto Ricans grew 62% in the 1980s, 53% in the 1990s and 149% between 1980 and 2000. Pennsylvania thus ranked at the bottom third or fourth in terms of growth at the national level. However, as with other northern states, Pennsylvania's Puerto Ricans grew faster than the state's overall population.

Segregation from non-Hispanic whites in Pennsylvania is high. Dissimilarity in 2000 was indexed at 75% in Berks County—the highest in the country—71% in Philadelphia County, 68% in Lancaster County and 65% in Lehigh and Northampton counties. Only in Monroe County did Puerto Ricans enjoy a low level of dissimilarity from non-Hispanic whites: 27%. In this latter county Puerto Rican isolation was lowest, at 5%. However, it reached 34% in Philadelphia, 28% in Northampton, 27% in Berks and 25% in Lancaster. Exposure to whites was correspondingly lowest in Philadelphia County and highest in Lebanon and Monroe counties.

While segregation conditions are relatively better in Lebanon and Monroe county when compared with the other seven counties in the survey, these worsened between 1990 and 2000. Dissimilarity increased 7% in Monroe and 4% in Lebanon, while isolation increased 4% and 5%, respectively. Exposure to non-Hispanic whites decreased the most in Monroe (16%), followed by 14% in Lehigh, 11% in Berks

and 10% in Lebanon. In all, as the Puerto Rican population in the state and throughout the counties grows, segregation increases as well.

Puerto Rican segregation from African Americans in 2000 is moderate to low, with the exception of Philadelphia County, where the index of dissimilarity was a very high 77%. In the remaining six counties surveyed, dissimilarity ranged between 53% and 9%, lower than the dissimilarity rate vis-à-vis non-Hispanic whites. Exposure to African Americans was relatively low, with the exception of Philadelphia County, where it was 26%. In most other counties, exposure to African Americans ranged between 2% and 12%. Dissimilarity during the 1990s decreased in six counties, between 2% and 20%; while it increased in one—Lebanon—by less than 2%. Exposure increased between decades in five of the counties, but decreased in Lancaster and Berks.

Segregation from other Latinos is moderately low to low, with dissimilarity ranging from 36% to 11%, in 2000. It was higher in Northampton and Philadelphia than in the remaining five counties. Exposure, however, was relatively low, ranging from 14% in Berks County to 4% in Monroe. Exposure nevertheless saw an increase during the 1990s, ranging from 2% to 9%; while dissimilarity decreased in all seven counties, between 2% and 17%.

RHODE ISLAND

Rhode Island, more so than Massachusetts, is a very unusual northeastern state insofar as the Puerto Rican migration is concerned. Puerto Ricans grew by 450% between 1980 and 2000, second only to Nevada. They grew 182% in the 1980s (when it ranked first in terms of Puerto Rican growth across all states) and 95% in the 1990s. Its absolute Puerto Rican population is small, ranking only 19th in 1990 and 18th in 2000, when compared to other states with larger Puerto Rican populations. But proportionately, Rhode Island ranks fairly high, ninth in 1990 and seventh in 2000, as a state with a sizable Puerto Rican population as a share of the state's population.

Rhode Island is not that unusual from other northeastern states, however, in terms of segregation. Providence County had a high dissimilarity score: 66%, and this score was an increase, albeit small, from 1990. Isolation also increased during the 1990s, from 6% to 9%, while exposure to non-Hispanic whites decreased by 11%. Providence Puerto Ricans are growing—95% in the 1990s—but they are also becoming more segregated.

Dissimilarity from non-Hispanic blacks was low in Providence County in 2000, at 29%, significantly lower than segregation from non-Hispanic whites. However, exposure to blacks was only 11%.

This exposure decreased slightly between 1990 and 2000, while dissimilarity decreased by 8% for the same period. Relative to other Latinos, Puerto Rican segregation was also low—21%; and exposure was 23% in 2000. This exposure increased by 8% between decades, while dissimilarity increased by 2% as well.

WISCONSIN

Wisconsin, along with Indiana, is another Midwestern state that is not thought of as a prototypical site for Puerto Rican settlement, outside of Cook County. However, the state ranked 14th in 2000 among the states with large numbers of Puerto Ricans. (It ranked 13th in 1990.) It also ranked 13th in terms of the share of Puerto Ricans in the state's population in 2000. (It similarly ranked 13th in this category in 1990.) Puerto Ricans grew 82% in the 1980s, 58% in the 1990s and 189% between 1980 and 2000, exponentially higher than the growth rate of the state's overall population.

Segregation in Milwaukee County was a high dissimilarity score of 61% in 2000, though Puerto Rican neighborhoods were only 9% Puerto Rican. Milwaukee Puerto Ricans were exposed to non-Hispanic whites at a rate of 44% in 2000. Segregated conditions improved modestly in the 1990s. Dissimilarity decreased by 6%, though isolation was virtually unchanged (0.4%). Exposure to non-Hispanic whites, however, also decreased by 8%.

Dissimilarity from African Americans was also higher in Milwaukee County (73%) than compared to non-Hispanic whites, while exposure was 18% in 2000. Moreover, exposure decreased by 2% between decades, while dissimilarity increased by the same rate. Segregation from other Latinos was low at 20%, while exposure was 24%. Exposure increased by 10% during the 1990s, while dissimilarity decreased by 4%.



NOTES

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- ² Andreu Iglesias (1984); Sánchez Korrol (1994).
- ³ Pérez (2004); Ramos Zayas (2003); Cruz (1998); Whalen (2001); Hardy-Fanta (1993).
- ⁴ The author gratefully acknowledges the Inter-University Program for Latino Research, in its capacity as a Census Information Center, and specifically Timothy Ready and Sung Chun, for facilitating the census data files. The author also benefited from the skill-building training provided through the IUPLR Census Workshop.
- ⁵ The data used for this analysis as well as for all tables and maps produced are from the US Census Bureau decennial censuses of the population; specifically, 1980 Census of Population and Housing, Summary Tape File 1A; 1990 Census of Population and Housing, Summary Tape File (STF 1); and Census 2000 Summary File (SF 1).
- ⁶ Schachter (2003); Perry and Mackun et al. (2001).
- ⁷ Mumford Center (2001).
- ⁸ Oral History Task Force (1984); History Task Force (1982).
- ⁹ I thank Andrés Torres for his insightful comment on this point.



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