

Uneven Outcomes Due to Puerto Rican Racial-Ethnic Perceptions? Potential Indicators for Foreign-Born Dominicans and Cubans in San Juan

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Introduction

For more than two hundred years, the population in the Caribbean was constantly intra-migrating, suggesting no specific push and pull forces that made them move from one place to another (Duany, 2005). However, due to political changes, poverty and economic stagnation the region began to suffer around the 1960's, transforming the population perspective into a more emigration-oriented society. The geographical position and the Role of Puerto Rico in the region as a US territory, its high economic development, and similar history, language and culture, with Cuba and Dominican Republic, made this country a primary destination for these immigrants (Funkhouser, 1993).

Purpose

Have a better understanding about the migration to Puerto Rico and find, if any SES or settlement patterns differences exist between the Cubans and Dominicans in San Juan.

Research Questions

- Is there any socioeconomic difference between the native-born Puerto Ricans and the foreign-born in San Juan?
 - Is the SES of one group better than the other?
- Are the income differences or the education attainment related with the nationality?
- Are all three ethnic groups spatially segregated in San Juan?
- Are settlement patterns related to their income?

Literature Review

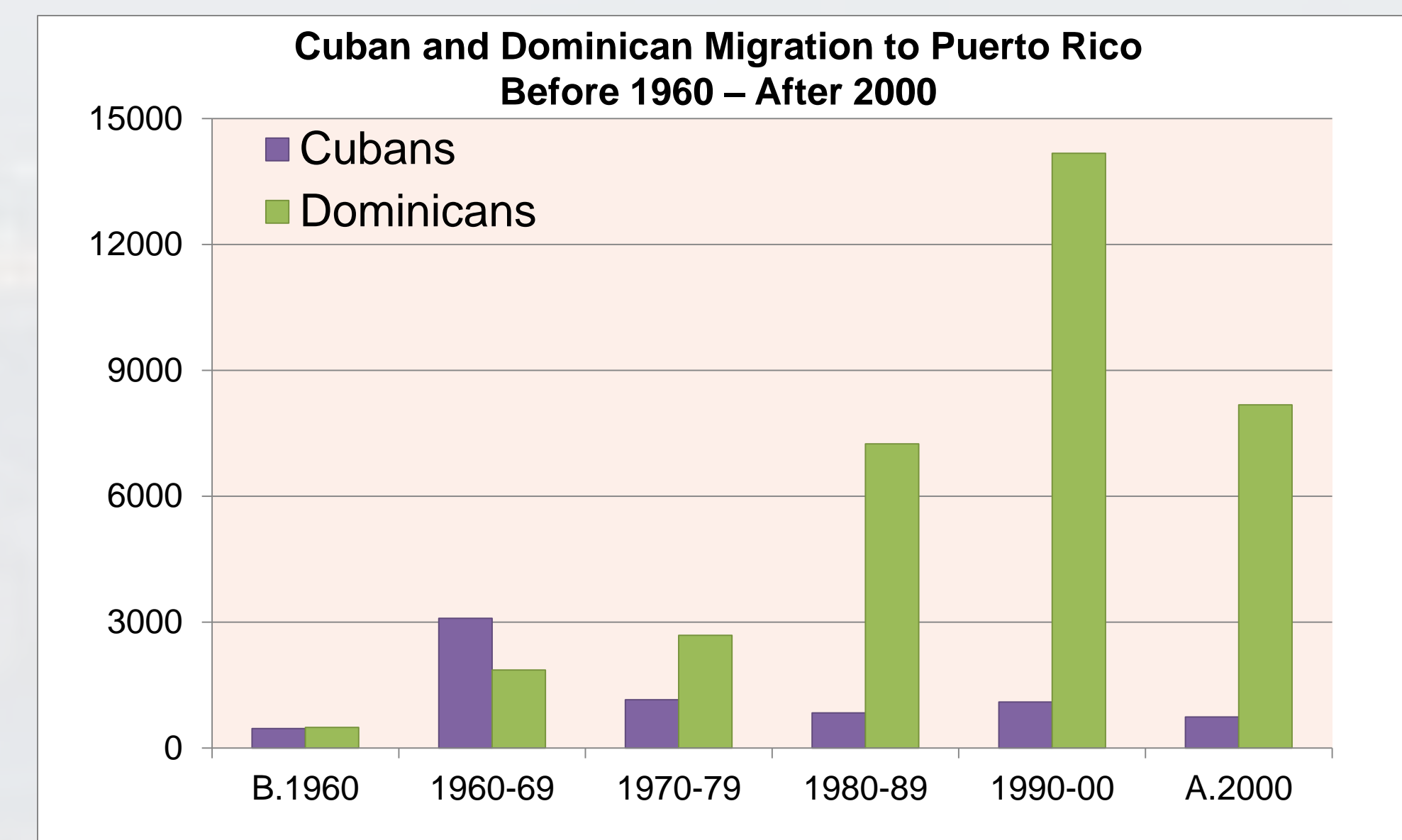
- Movement of people to gateway cities creates changes and tensions in the socioeconomic, cultural and political life of the city. (Price et al 2008)
- Immigrants' socio-commercscapes (residential and ethnic commercial areas) have a concrete spatial implication on cities and are not always welcomed by natives residents (Price et al. 2008)
- Cubans and Dominicans have entered opposite sectors on the Puerto Rican's labor force, no matter their socio-economic background on their birthplace (Duany, 1989).
- During the high wave of the Cuban migration, Puerto Rico's economy was booming and more receptive of labor force, while most of the Dominicans arrived when the economy was stagnated and the competition of skilled jobs increased (Duany, 1989).
- Many countries have a caste-like systems that distinguish citizens, residents, temporary workers, guest, refugees, undocumented, illegal immigrants etc. (Price et al. 2008)
- Most Cubans in San Juan are considered "white" in physical appearance in contrast with Dominicans who are considered "black" or "mulatos" by the Puerto Rican standards (Duany, 1989)
- Differences between US legal status (Duany, 2005).
 - Cubans are consider US refugees
 - Dominicans are perceived illegals.

Null Hypotheses

- H₀₁** There is not a significant difference between Puerto Ricans, Cubans and Dominicans' income in San Juan.
- H₀₂** Cubans' household incomes are not significantly higher than Dominicans' household income in San Juan.
- H₀₃** Cubans and Dominicans' do not significantly differ in their education attainment.
- H₀₄** Cubans and Dominicans' do not significantly differ in their occupation distribution.
- H₀₅** Cuban and Dominican settlements in San Juan do not significantly differ from each other.
- H₀₆** Cubans and Dominicans' settlements in San Juan are not significantly related to their economic status.

Study Area

- San Juan has the highest degree of economic development of the Island, being also the center of its financial district (Denton et al. 2007).
- 35.57% of the Cubans and 52.77% of the Dominicans living in Puerto Rico for 2010 where located in San Juan (US Census Bureau 2010)
- There is a time difference in their arrive to Puerto Rico.



PUMS data does not provide margin of error (PUMS, 2005-2009)

- The pull and push factors change between the two groups (1985-1990)

Reason	% Cubans	% Dominicans
Economic	28.4	60.0
Political	4.2	3.6
Family	56.8	12.7
Other*	10.6	23.7

(Duany, 1989)

- Cubans and Dominican's occupation distribution in Puerto Rico as been different across the years (1985-1990)

Occupation	% Cubans		% Dominicans	
	1970	1980	1970	1980
Managerial, Professional	38.3	26.7	24.3	12.3
Service	19.6	22.3	51.5	60.7
Sales and Office	39.7	48.0	19.2	22
Fishing, Farming and Forestry	0.3	0.7	0.6	0.4
Construction and Maintenance	2.1	2.3	4.4.	4.6

(Duany, 1989)

Data and Method

Data Acquisition Sources

- 2005- 2009 PUMS data San Juan County
- Census Tract - San Juan 2000 US Census Bureau

Variables of Study

- Population's income - Educational Attainment
- Population's settlements - Occupation

Method of Analysis

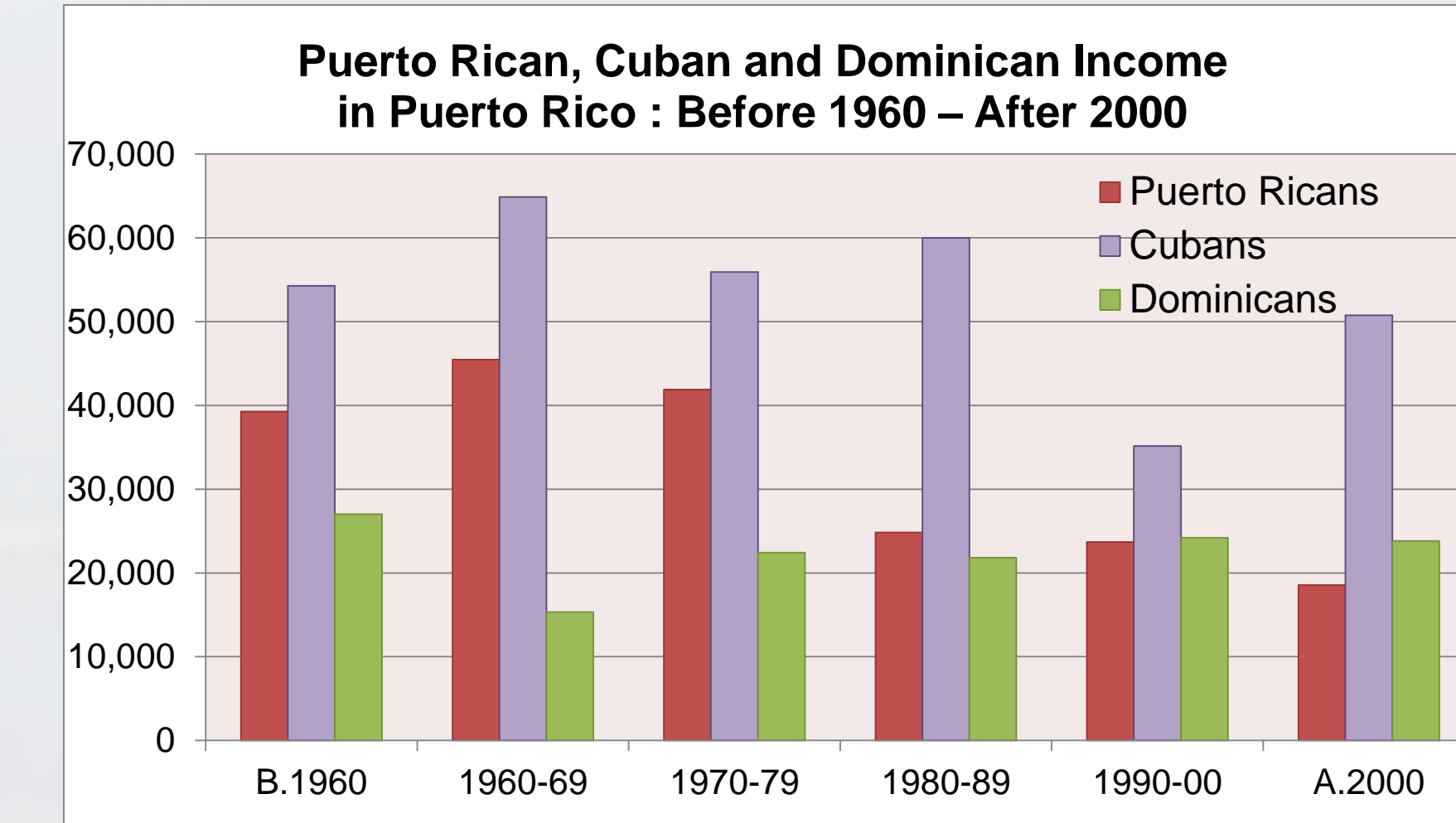
- ANOVA, Spearman and Chi Square were used to test the differences
- Arc Map was used to create the maps

References

- Duany, J. (1989). Caribbean migration to Puerto Rico: A comparison of Cubans and Dominicans. *International Migration Review*, xxvii, 46-66.
- Duany, J. (2005). Dominican migration to Puerto Rico: A transnational perspective. *Centro Journal*, xvii, 243-296.
- Funkhouser, E., & Ramos, F. A. (1993). The choice of migration destination: Dominican and Cuban immigrants to Mainland United States and Puerto Rico. *International Migration Review*, xxvii, 537-556.
- Price, M., & Benton-Short, L. (2008). *Migrants to the metropolis: The rise of immigrant gateway cities*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press.
- US Census Bureau - PUMS Data

Results and Analysis

H₀₁ Differences between groups' income in San Juan



Reject the H₀₁: Sig. p<.05 F=4.8

H₀₂ Reject the H₀₂: Sig. p<.05 Strength: -.731

H₀₃ Cubans and Dominican's Education Attainment in 2005-2009

Education Attainment	# Cubans	Income	# DR	Income
N/A or no schooling	144	\$27,814	1,710	\$16,940
Less than High School	1,047	\$40,457	17,683	\$19,768
HS Graduated	1,902	\$50,761	7,068	\$23,177
Some College	1,197	\$55,914	5,181	\$29,592
Higher Degrees	3,067	\$78,819	2,999	\$31,856

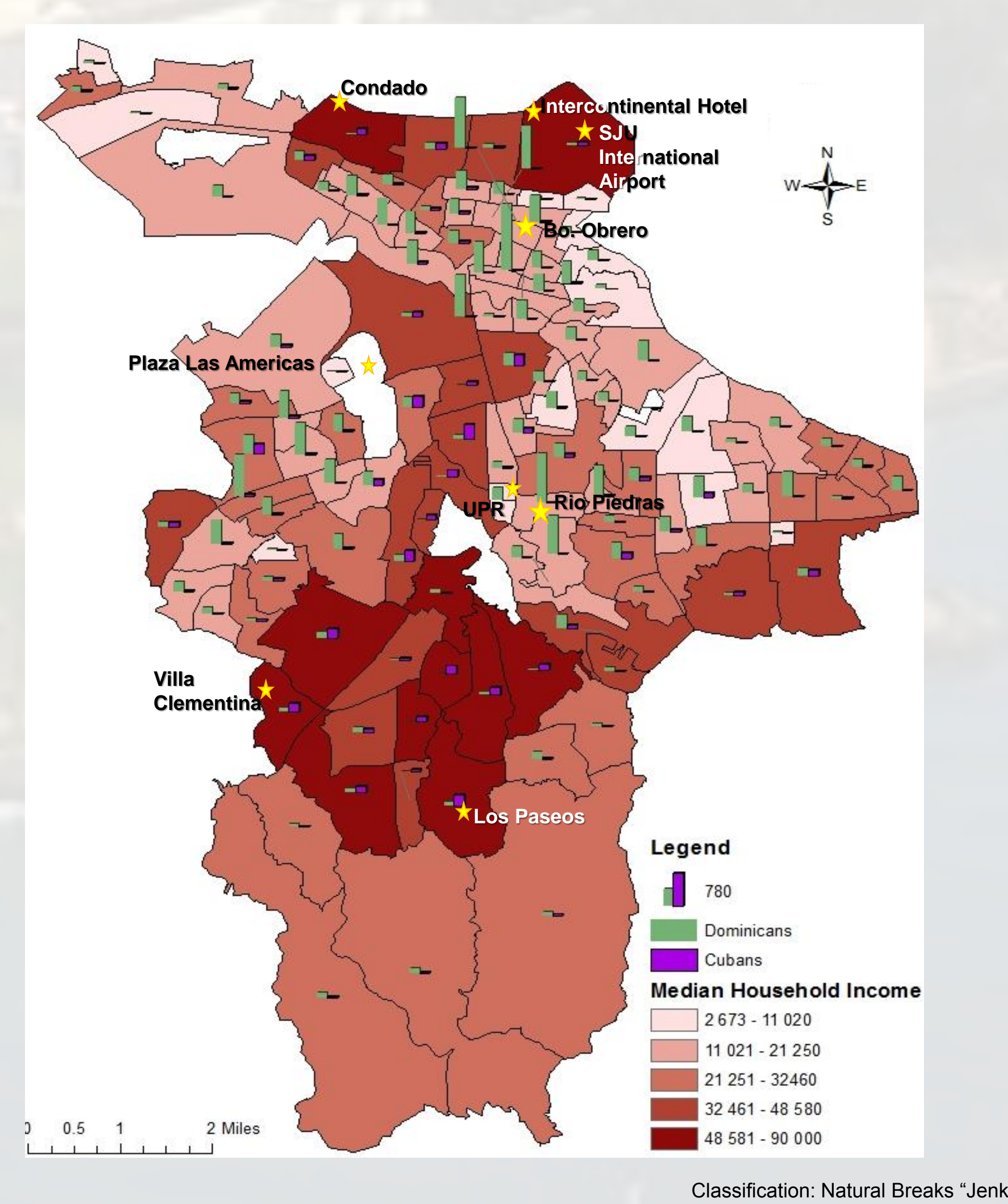
Reject the H₀: Sig. p<.01 Strength: -.396

H₀₄ Occupation Distribution in Puerto Rico, 2005 -2009

Occupation	# Cubans	Income	# DR	Income
Managerial, Professional	2,045	\$80,911	2,186	\$39,546
Service	461	\$36,628	11,296	\$21,822
Sales and Office	1788	\$53497	3907	\$28,661
Fishing, Farming and Forestry	0	N/A	99	\$21,623
Construction and Maintenance	302	\$55,914	5,431	\$25,143

Reject the H₀: Sig. p<.01 Strength: .486

H₀₅ Income and Settlements of Cubans and Dominicans in SJ

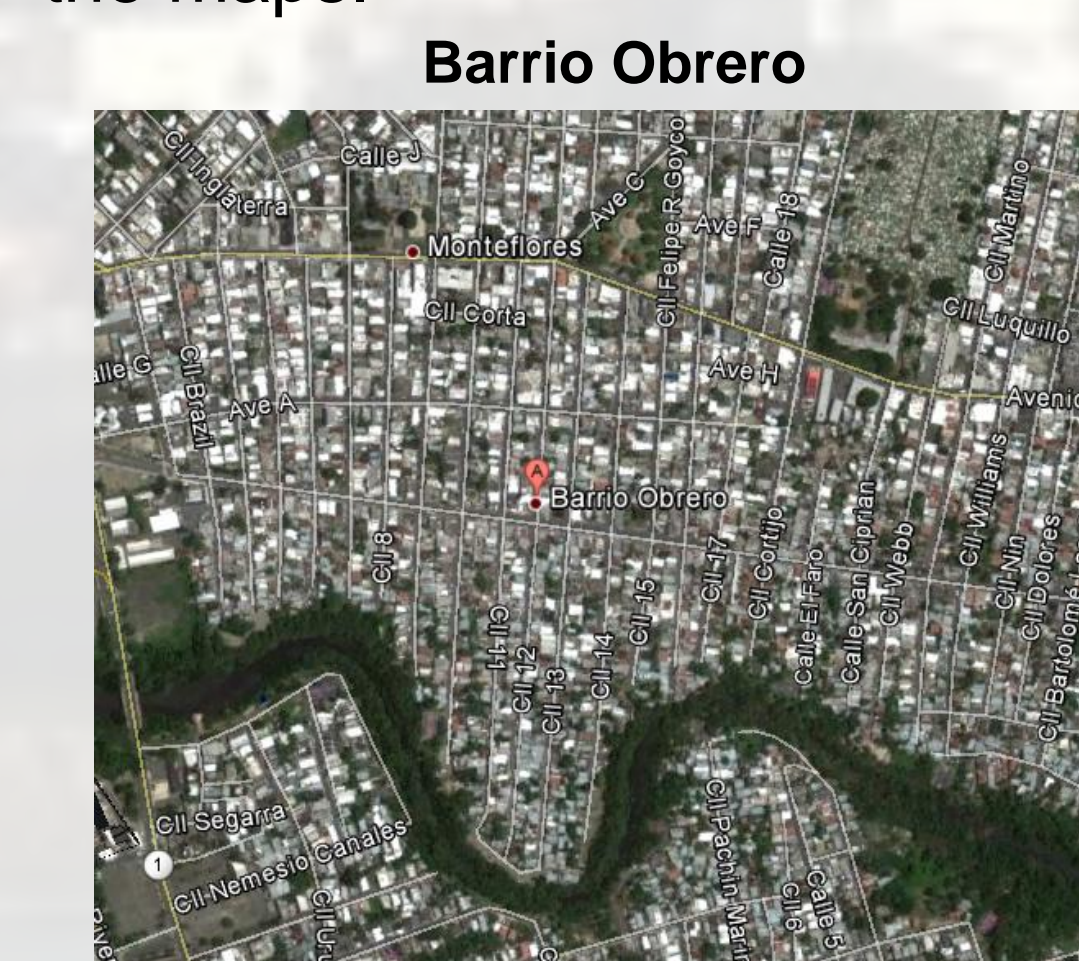


Results and Analysis Cont.

- H₀₆ Reject the H₀₆**
 - Cubans' settlement patterns are related with the high income areas at census tract level.
- H₀₇ Reject the H₀₅**
 - Cubans' settlement patterns are significantly different from Dominicans' settlements at the census tract level.

Discussion

- The results shows that there is a significant difference between Puerto Ricans, Cubans and Dominicans' income. Cubans have a higher income even when they are compare with the Puerto Ricans in San Juan.
- There is a significant correlation with being Cuban and have high income in San Juan. This correlation is moderately strong. The negative direction suggests that Dominicans are more likely to have less income in this city.
 - This is also supported by the map that shows a higher presence of Cubans in areas above the median \$23,478 (+/- \$463) (American Fact Finder, 2010)
- Although the strength is weak, the results show that Cubans in San Juan are related in a significant way with have a high education attainment. The negative direction suggests that Dominicans have less education attainment in San Juan.
- There is an empirically evidence that Cubans and Dominicans have different settlement patterns at the census track level. Even when a large population of both groups lives in Santurce, Cubans are located in sub-barrios like Miramar, Condado, Ocean Park. In the other hand Dominicans in Santurce lives in deteriorated quarters such as Parada No.15, Villa Palmetas and Barrio Obrero (Picture 1), etc.(Duany, 1989)
- Cuban main settlements, mentioned above, are also known as the wealthiest and suburban areas of San Juan such as Los Paseos (Picture 2). However, Dominicans main settlements are located in the principal low and middle low areas. This could be clearly observed on the maps.



Picture 1



Picture 2

- In 1989, Duany suggested that one reason for inequality between Cubans and Dominicans in Puerto Rico could be the racial perception that Puerto Ricans have about each group. Twenty-two years later, the economy, immigration flow, and profiles has changed. However, the Puerto Rican's perception of race remains the same (Picture 3 & 4). This suggests that even after two decades, racial perception still can be the reason that explains their socioeconomic inequalities on the Island.



Picture 3



Picture 4