



Centro de Estudios Puertorriqueños  
Hunter College (CUNY)

POLICY REPORT | VOLUME 2 | NO. 1 | FALL 2008

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**IN 2000**, the US Census Bureau reported that there were 3,810,610 people living on the island of Puerto Rico and surrounding islets in its jurisdiction.<sup>1</sup> This number represented a 7.6% increase over the 3,522,037 people who lived on the island on census day in 1990 and a 16.1% increase over the population count in 1980. As rapid as this growth has been over the previous two decades, it did not keep pace with the population growth of the Puerto Rican population in the United States during the same period, which grew 35.4% between 1980 and 1990, 24.9% between 1990 and 2000 and 69.1% between 1980 and 2000 (Vargas-Ramos 2006). The Puerto Rican population in the United States has not only grown faster, but some also argue that it now outnumbers Puerto Ricans living on the island (Falcón 2004).

The size of the population in a given geography changes as a result of a number of factors, for example, the number of births and deaths in the population. Migration, whether inbound or outbound, also affects the size of a population. Historically, migration has been a key component in the size and growth of the population in Puerto Rico. During the last century hundreds of thousands of Puerto Rican left the island in a series of waves: one spanning the intra war period, particularly during the 1920s; the post war Great Migration wave, which lasted through the 1950s; a third wave in the early 1980s and most recently during the 1990s. But the migratory movement has not been out bound only. Historically, Puerto Rico has received waves of people from Cuba, the Dominican Republic and other islands in the Caribbean (Cobas & Duany 1994; Duany, 1990) as well as a return flow of Puerto Ricans from the United States.

The waves of emigration from and return migration to Puerto Rico have been framed by the economic and political conditions of both the island and the United States (e.g., shifting from an agricultural economy to an export-led industrial society with a strong service and public sector in an effort to “modernize” Puerto Rican society; cyclical recessions; structural limitations to extant economic and political models; and the dynamics of the migration stream). Much attention has been paid to this population movement. Most recently, migration and settlement patterns have begun to shift among Puerto Ricans, with increasing suburbanization and settlement in the United States’ South (Falcón 2004, Matos & Duany 2006, Vargas-Ramos 2006, Marzán et al. 2008).

This paper seeks to contribute to this literature on emigration and return migration by providing a descriptive analysis of census data for the period 1985 through 2005.

## VAN Y VIENEN

One way in which migration is established between decennial censuses is to determine where a person (5 years of age and older) lived 5 years prior to the population count. By this account, 242,973 people who resided in Puerto Rico 1995 were living in the United States in 2000 (See Table 1). On the other hand, 112,788 persons who lived in the United States in 1995 were living in Puerto Rico in 2000. These figures represent a net loss of population for Puerto Rico of 130,185 people. By way of contrast, there were 128,558 persons living in the United States in 1985 that were residing in Puerto Rico in

1990. On the other hand, there were 213,886 people who lived in Puerto Rico in 1985 and were residing in the United States in 1990, for a net emigration from Puerto Rico of 85,328 persons.

These migration data exhibit several characteristics. First, there was

**TABLE 1. Migration Between Puerto Rico and the United States, 1985-2000 (for people age 5 and older)**

Source: US Census Bureau

YEAR	Population in Puerto Rico	Population in the US	Net Migration from Puerto Rico	Absolute number of migrants between decades
1985	213886	128558		
1990	128558	213886	-85328	342444
1995	242973	112788		
2000	112788	242973	-130185	355761

a greater movement of people in both directions between Puerto Rico and the United States during the 1990s than during the 1980s. Approximately 355,700 people changed residence between Puerto Rico and the United States between 1995 and 2000, compared to 342,400 who resided alternatively in Puerto Rico and the United States between 1985 and 1990. This pattern is given by two factors: while relatively more people returned to Puerto Rico during the 1980s (128,500) than did during the 1990s (112,700), more people left Puerto Rico for the United States during the 1990s (242,900) than during the 1980s (213,800). Puerto Rico appeared to be a less desirable location during the 1990s than during the 1980s. Not only did it lose a relatively greater number of people to the United States; it also received fewer people who had resided in the United States.

**VAN...**

The majority of people who left Puerto Rico during the 1980s (56%) settled largely in the Northeast, as had been customary for the Puerto Rican migration since early in the 20th century (See Table 2). Leading the way as the state in that region that received the most people from Puerto Rico was New York (41,794 people), followed by Massachusetts, New Jersey, Connecticut and Pennsylvania (See Table 3). These five Northeast states were among the top ten destinations for Puerto Ricans in the 1980s and where the states of settlement for almost 55% of all migrants who were residing in Puerto Rico in 1985. An additional 30% of people living in the United States in 1990 settled in the South after moving from Puerto Rico. Florida, the state of the union that received the most people from Puerto Rico during the 1980s (43,884 migrants), accounted for more than 20% of all the people who lived on the island in 1985. Texas was the other state in the South that received a large proportion of people from Puerto Rico between 1980 and 1990, but it represented less than 3% of the total number of movers between the island and the United States. The Midwest accounted for 9% of movers from Puerto Rico, with Illinois and Ohio as the leading settlement states in this region. However, it is apparent that the South had become a preferred destination for people leaving the island over the Midwest, a change from the migration pattern that predominated in previous decades. The states of the West accounted for less than 5% of people from Puerto Rico who resided on the island in the 1980s, with California as the leading settlement site.

**TABLE 2. Region of Settlement in the US among residents of Puerto Rico 5 years prior (for people age 5 years and older)**  
 Source: US Census Bureau

REGION	In PR in 1985 and in US in 1990		In PR in 1995 and in US in 2000	
		%		%
Northeast	120082	56.14	113589	46.75
Midwest	19334	9.04	21835	8.99
South	64115	29.98	96195	39.59
West	10355	4.84	11354	4.67

During the 1990s, the Northeast continued to be the region of the United States to which most people who had resided in Puerto Rico moved. But two features are noteworthy. First, the Northeast was no longer the place to where the *majority* of people from Puerto Rico moved, although it continued to be the region where *most* people from the island settled

once arriving in the United States. The proportion of people who lived in this region of the United States in 2000 but resided in Puerto Rico five years earlier was 47%, almost 10% lower than the corresponding proportion of people in 1990 (See Table 2). Secondly, this difference in proportions of the population from Puerto Rico that settled in the Northeast was complemented by a corresponding increase in the number of people from Puerto Rico who settled in the South, which by 2000 was 40%, virtually 10% higher than its proportion in 1990. Given that both the Midwest and the West remained constant as sites of settlement for people from the island, it becomes evident that the South has

become the epicenter of the Puerto Rican migration from the island as it has been for Puerto Ricans who had relocated within the United States (Vargas-Ramos 2006).

This new phenomenon is driven by the effect that Florida, as preeminent site of settlement for Puerto Ricans, both from the island as well as elsewhere in the US, has had on the Puerto Rican migration. Florida was the state that received by far the largest number of people who had moved from the island (61,179) in the 1990s, not only relative to other states, but also relative to the previous decade. As accounted for in the 2000 census, Florida received more than 20,000 more people from Puerto Rico than the next receiving state (i.e., New York). This difference was 10 times larger than the difference reflected in the 1990 census, where Florida exceeded the settlement of people from Puerto Rico relative to the next receptor state (also New York) by only 2,000 people.

But Florida is not the only state that has driven the growth of the South as the growing epicenter of the Puerto Rican migration. Texas has seen the number of people from Puerto Rico that settled in the state increase relative to other states in the 1990s as well as in relation to the previous decade. In the 1990 census, Texas ranked ninth as the state where most people who resided in Puerto Rico in 1985 were living currently. By the 2000 census, Texas had climbed to seventh in that category. The contribution may have been modest (8,300 people), but the trend is clear. The United States South is an attractive region to settle in for

people who had previously lived in Puerto Rico. Other southern states, such as Georgia, Virginia and North Carolina, saw the numbers of people from the island relocating within their jurisdiction increase during the 1990s. By way of contrast, Northeastern states, which

**TABLE 3. State of Residence in the US in 1990 & 2000 (for people age 5 years and older)** Source: US Census

	<i>In Puerto Rico in 1985</i>		<i>In Puerto Rico in 1995</i>
<b>UNITED STATES</b>	213886	<b>UNITED STATES</b>	242973
Florida	43884	Florida	61179
New York	41794	New York	39318
Massachusetts	23749	Massachusetts	19568
New Jersey	21624	Pennsylvania	17639
Connecticut	15820	New Jersey	16961
Pennsylvania	13960	Connecticut	15649
Illinois	9061	Texas	8344
California	6589	Illinois	6874
Texas	5922	Ohio	5184
Ohio	3908	California	4962
Virginia	3355	Georgia	4836
Maryland	2437	Virginia	4359
Rhode Island	2331	North Carolina	4107
Georgia	2276	Rhode Island	3497
Wisconsin	2205	Wisconsin	3202
Michigan	1801	Maryland	2432
North Carolina	1343	Michigan	2311
Delaware	902	Arizona	1745
Indiana	860	Delaware	1609
South Carolina	835	Tennessee	1578
Washington	786	Oklahoma	1351
Arizona	665	Indiana	1307
Colorado	655	South Carolina	1306
New Hampshire	613	Arkansas	1262
Louisiana	592	Washington	1196
Hawaii	517	Louisiana	919
Tennessee	508	Kentucky	857
Alabama	506	Alabama	844
Missouri	504	Missouri	839
Kentucky	461	Colorado	829
Kansas	398	Minnesota	781
District of Columbia	379	Mississippi	770
Oklahoma	369	New Hampshire	672
Utah	340	Kansas	659
Minnesota	278	Hawaii	466
Oregon	228	Utah	452
Alaska	214	New Mexico	398
Nevada	186	Nevada	390
Iowa	156	Iowa	369
Mississippi	148	Alaska	348
Maine	136	Oregon	269
Arkansas	125	District of Columbia	229
New Mexico	110	Nebraska	227
Nebraska	74	West Virginia	213
West Virginia	73	Maine	181
South Dakota	70	Wyoming	109
Vermont	55	Idaho	104
Idaho	29	Vermont	104
Wyoming	23	Montana	86
North Dakota	19	South Dakota	49
Montana	13	North Dakota	33

had traditionally been settlement sites for people from Puerto Rico, while continuing to receive relatively large numbers during the 1990s, did so in diminishing proportions to previous decades. Only Pennsylvania saw the number of people from Puerto Rico living in the state increase relative to the previous decade. Pennsylvania also out ranked New Jersey and Connecticut as a state where most people who had lived in Puerto Rico in 1995 were settled in 2000; in fourth place, after Florida, New York and Massachusetts.

**... Y VIENEN**

A corresponding migration wave to Puerto Rico during the 1980s originated in the northeast of the United States as well. Data from the 1990 census show that 72% of the 128,558 people who were in Puerto Rico in 1990 but resided in the United States in 1985 were living in the Northeast (See Table 4). Given that the South had become the second settlement site for people leaving Puerto Rico, we find that the South was also the region of the United States from which migrants arriving in Puerto Rico came. Approximately 13% of people in Puerto Rico who had resided in the US five years prior were located in southern states. The Midwest accounted for 10% of returnees and the West was the source for 4%.

**TABLE 4. Region of Residence in the US prior to return (for people age 5 years and older)** Source: US Census Bureau

REGION	Persons 5 years and over in US in 1985 and in PR in 1990		Persons 5 years and over in US in 1995 and in PR in 2000	
		%		%
	128558		112788	
Northeast	92990	72.33	63155	55.99
Midwest	13215	10.28	12219	10.83
South	16701	12.99	29459	26.12
West	5652	4.40	7955	7.05

The shifts noted in the emigration from Puerto Rico, where the Northeast was the principal receiving region but at a diminishing rate, with a corresponding increase settlement in the South, are also reflected in the inbound flow to the island during the 1990s. The Northeast was the region of the United States from where most people arrived. Approximately 56%

of people who migrated from the United States lived in Puerto Rico in 2000 had lived in the Northeast in 1995. This contrasts with the 72% arriving from the United States in Puerto Rico the previous decade. The South followed the Northeast as the source region for most people living in Puerto Rico in 2000 who lived in the US in 1995, with 26%. This proportion, while still lower from that of the Northeast, nevertheless represents a doubling of the proportion for this source region compared to the data from the 1980s. These data cement the observation that the South is a region of central importance in the migratory experience of Puerto Ricans. Moreover, these data highlight the fact that the migratory movement of Puerto Ricans is not unidirectional —it never was— but rather a dynamic process with a return migration component.

The Midwest remained steady as a source region for people who had lived in the United States prior to residing in Puerto Rico in 2000. It ranked third among the four regions the Census Bureau divides the United States, with an 11% of the total of people migrating to Puerto Rico. The West, on the other hand, increased its proportion as source region for those living in Puerto Rico in 2000 in relation to its proportion in 1990, from 4.4% to 7%.

**MIGRATORY SETTLEMENT IN PUERTO RICO: A LOOK BY REGION**

In 1990, just under 4% of the population of the island (5 years of age and older) was residing in the United States in 1985. However, the proportion of these migrants in their municipio’s population ranged from a low of 2.2% (in Loíza) to almost 25% (in Ceiba) (See Table 5). Forty-five of Puerto Rico’s 78 municipios were overrepre-

sented with these migrants; that is, 58% of municipios had more than 4% of residents who lived in the United States in 1985. These migrants to Puerto Rico were not evenly distributed throughout the island. Rather, there seemed to be greater concentrations of migrants to Puerto Rico (or return migrants) in specific regions of the country. If Puerto Rico were divided into ten sociogeographic regions, it can be observed that these migrants who had resided in the US 5 years prior were overrepresented in municipios of the southeast and northwest of the main island of Puerto Rico as well as in its two island municipalities.<sup>2</sup> In other words, in both island municipalities as well as in all 6 southeastern municipios, the population who had migrated from the United States exceeded 4% (See Table 6). This was also the case in 5 of 6 municipios in the northwest of the island. For instance, in Aguadilla 6.1% of the population had lived in the United States in 1985; in Aguada, the proportion was 5.9%. In the case of Vieques, migrants from the United States accounted for 5.7% of the municipio's population; in Patillas and Arroyo, this proportion hovered around 5.1% (See Table 5).

The trend of settlement of migrants in Puerto Rico shifted somewhat by 2000. Firstly, the proportion of the population that had resided in the United States five years prior diminished to 3.2% (112,788 people). This is a trend that had been observed since 1980 (See Table 7).

**TABLE 6. Migrant Overrepresentation in Municipios in Region, 1990**

Source: US Census Bureau

Municipios in region	Region	Municipios with overrepresentation	Ratio of migrant overrepresentation
78		45	0.58
20	Central	10	0.50
4	Central East	2	0.50
6	Central West	3	0.50
15	North	7	0.47
7	North East	4	0.57
6	North West	5	0.83
7	South	4	0.57
6	South East	6	1.00
5	South West	2	0.40
2	Islands	2	1.00

**TABLE 5. Percentage of the Population in Puerto Rico (age 5 & older) Resident in the US in 1985** Source: US Census Bureau

Municipio	Region	% Migrant
Ceiba	N.E.	24.55
Salinas	S.	7.02
Fajardo	N.E.	6.34
San Sebastián	Central West	6.18
Camuy	N.	6.10
Aguadilla	N.W.	6.10
Aguada	N.W.	5.92
Naguabo	N.E.	5.84
Isabela	N.W.	5.77
Vieques	Island	5.71
Quebradillas	N.W.	5.56
Luquillo	N.E.	5.54
Guánica	S.W.	5.49
Moca	Central West	5.47
Patillas	S.E.	5.11
Arroyo	S.E.	5.09
Florida	Central	5.08
Hatillo	N.	5.07
Guayama	S.E.	5.07
Vega Baja	N.	5.06
Maunabo	S.E.	4.83
San Lorenzo	Central East	4.81
Culebra	Island	4.71
Comerio	Central	4.70
Yabucoa	S.E.	4.68
Sabana Grande	Central West	4.57
Yauco	S.	4.45
Santa Isabel	S.	4.44
Coamo	Central	4.43
Rincón	N.W.	4.41
Lares	Central	4.40
Aibonito	Central	4.40
Utua	Central	4.39
Cabo Rojo	S.W.	4.36
Cidra	Central	4.35
Morovis	Central	4.28
Barranquitas	Central	4.25
Juana Díaz	S.	4.23
Arecibo	N.	4.23
Juncos	Central East	4.22
Dorado	N.	4.19
Toa Baja	N.	4.18
Humacao	S.E.	4.12
Cayey	Central	4.08
Vega Alta	N.	4.02
Barceloneta	N.	3.97
Añasco	N.W.	3.95
Ciales	Central	3.91
Peñuelas	S.	3.83
Río Grande	N.E.	3.74
San Germán	Central West	3.72
Lajas	S.W.	3.67
Caguas	Central	3.66
Jayuya	Central	3.54
Las Piedras	Central East	3.52
Mayagüez	S.W.	3.51
Maricao	Central West	3.50
Ponce	S.	3.49
Guaynabo	N.	3.46
Gurabo	Central East	3.45
Manatí	N.	3.40
Guayanilla	S.	3.37
Bayamón	N.	3.32
Villalba	Central	3.22
Corozal	Central	3.22
Aguas Buenas	Central	3.17
Cataño	N.	3.08
Adjuntas	Central	3.03
Carolina	N.	3.03
San Juan	N.	2.95
Orocovis	Central	2.90
Las Marías	Central West	2.77
Naranjito	Central	2.76
Hormigueros	S.W.	2.67
Canóvanas	N.E.	2.66
Toa Alta	Central	2.54
Trujillo Alto	N.	2.18
Loíza	N.E.	2.18
<b>Puerto Rico</b>		<b>3.99</b>



Examining the inbound migration trend since 1960, one observes that in that year the proportion of residents of Puerto Rico that was residing in the United States 5 years before was 2.8% (55,652 people). It almost doubled proportionately, to 5.04% (120,654 people), in 1970, when the island witnessed a great wave of Puerto

**TABLE 7. Percentage of the Population of Puerto Rico (age 5 and older) that resided in the United States 5 years prior**

	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000
Puerto Rico	2.79	5.04	4.81	3.99	3.21

and absolute number of people living in Puerto Rico who had resided in the United States 5 years prior, their settlement pattern in Puerto Rico shifted slightly in 2000. Thirty-four municipios (44% of all municipios) reported proportions of the population who were residing in the US five years prior that were in excess of the island-wide rate (*See Table 8*). The municipios of the Northwest region were once again significantly overrepresented, with 5 of 6 exceeding 3.2% (e.g., Quebradillas, at 5.5%; Rincón, 4.5%; Aguadilla, 4.4%: *See Table 9*). The Southeast region was also overrepresented with half the municipios exceeding 3.2% (e.g., Guayama, 6.5%; Arroyo, 5.4%), but not to the extent that municipios in the South or Northeast region were overrepresented (71% of the regions' municipios, respectively: e.g., Ceiba, 18.3%; Ponce, 4.5%; Luquillo and Río Grande, 4.3% each).

**TABLE 8. Migrant Overrepresentation in Municipios in Region, 2000**

Municipios in region	Region	Municipios with overrepresentation	Ratio of migrant overrepresentation
78		34	0.44
20	Central	6	0.30
4	Central East	2	0.50
6	Central West	3	0.50
15	North	3	0.20
7	North East	5	0.71
6	North West	5	0.83
7	South	5	0.71
6	South East	3	0.50
5	South West	2	0.40
2	Islands	0	0.00

not the case in 1980, 1970 or 1960. Municipios in the North and Northeast regions were overrepresented with former residents of the United States in 1960 and 1970. But municipios of the North region were not overrepresented in 1980, 1990 or 2000. Municipios of the Northeast region were overrepresented in 1980 and 2000, but not in 1990. Municipios from other regions may have been overrepresented with migrant residents between 1960 and 2000, but not in any stable fashion. In this sense, Puerto Rico's Northwest region stands out as a fountain of extraterritorial migration during the second half of the 20th century.

Rican return migrants. But it decreased somewhat in 1980, to 4.8% (though it peaked in absolute numerical terms with 137,474 people) and then to 4% (128,558 people) in 1990.

Along with a relative decrease in the percentage

The trend of overrepresentation of municipios in the Northwest region among those with a proportional excess of former residents of the United States is observed not only in 1990 and 2000, but also in 1980, when all 6 municipios exceeded the 4.8% rate of the former residents of the United States in their populations; in 1970, when 4 of 6 municipios were overrepresented with these migrants; and in 1960, when 2 of 6 municipios were overrepresented (*See Table 10*).

The pattern for the Southeast region is not as stable. The municipios in this region may have been overrepresented among those with relatively greater proportions of their populations containing former residents in the United States five years prior in 1990 and 2000. But that was



**TABLE 9. Percentage of the Population in Puerto Rico (age 5 & older) Resident in the US in 1995**

Municipio	Region	% Migrant
Ceiba	N.E.	18.28
Guayama	S.E.	6.47
Quebradillas	N.W.	5.53
Arroyo	S.E.	5.40
Coamo	Central	4.52
Ponce	S.	4.49
Rincón	N.W.	4.45
Aguadilla	N.W.	4.43
Jayuya	Central	4.39
Isabela	N.W.	4.36
Luquillo	N.E.	4.30
Río Grande	N.E.	4.28
San Sebastián	Central West	4.24
Santa Isabel	S.	4.21
Juana Díaz	S.	4.12
Salinas	S.	4.11
Guaynabo	N.	4.04
Villalba	Central	3.91
Fajardo	N.E.	3.90
Aguada	N.W.	3.90
Guánica	S.W.	3.82
Moca	Central West	3.64
San Lorenzo	Central East	3.61
Hatillo	N.	3.48
San Juan	N.	3.48
Juncos	Central East	3.47
Yauco	S.	3.46
San Germán	Central West	3.45
Morovis	Central	3.36
Yabucoa	S.E.	3.35
Aibonito	Central	3.32
Cayey	Central	3.32
Naguabo	N.E.	3.25
Lajas	S.W.	3.23
Culebra	Island	3.21
Barceloneta	N.	3.19
Patillas	S.E.	3.15
Camuy	N.	3.10
Orocovis	Central	3.05
Ciales	Central	3.02
Arecibo	N.	3.01
Gurabo	Central East	3.00
Maunabo	S.E.	2.99
Humacao	S.E.	2.98
Canóvanas	N.E.	2.90
Utua	Central	2.82
Añasco	N.W.	2.75
Dorado	N.	2.72
Vega Baja	N.	2.70
Guayanilla	S.	2.64
Vega Alta	N.	2.64
Toa Baja	N.	2.64
Cidra	Central	2.63
Bayamón	N.	2.55
Hormigueros	S.W.	2.54
Cabo Rojo	S.W.	2.51
Caguas	Central	2.50
Manatí	N.	2.37
Comerío	Central	2.33
Las Piedras	Central East	2.23
Sabana Grande	Central West	2.23
Mayagüez	S.W.	2.20
Las Marías	Central West	2.18
Adjuntas	Central	2.16
Peñuelas	S.	2.15
Agua Buenas	Central	2.12
Loíza	N.E.	2.11
Lares	Central	2.10
Florida	Central	2.07
Carolina	N.	2.06
Trujillo Alto	N.	1.99
Maricao	Central West	1.91
Barranquitas	Central	1.80
Cataño	N.	1.74
Toa Alta	Central	1.67
Vieques	Island	1.66
Corozal	Central	1.56
Naranjito	Central	1.22
<b>Puerto Rico</b>		<b>3.21</b>

**TABLE 10. Migrant Overrepresentation in Municipios in Regions, 1960, 1970 & 1980**

Region, 1960	Municipios in region	Municipios with overrepresentation	Ratio of migrant overrepresentation
	76	9	0.12
Central	19	0	0.00
Central East	4	0	0.00
Central West	6	0	0.00
North	15	4	0.27
North East	6	2	0.33
North West	6	2	0.33
South	7	0	0.00
South East	6	0	0.00
South West	5	0	0.00
Islands	2	1	0.50
<b>Region, 1970</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>0.33</b>
Central	19	2	0.11
Central East	4	2	0.50
Central West	6	0	0.00
North	15	7	0.47
North East	6	5	0.83
North West	6	4	0.67
South	7	0	0.00
South East	6	1	0.17
South West	5	2	0.40
Islands	2	2	1.00
<b>Region, 1980</b>	<b>78</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>0.51</b>
Central	20	6	0.30
Central East	4	3	0.75
Central West	6	5	0.83
North	15	7	0.47
North East	7	4	0.57
North West	6	6	1.00
South	7	3	0.43
South East	6	2	0.33
South West	5	2	0.40
Islands	2	1	0.50

## A CLOSER LOOK: ARRIVAL IN MUNICIPIOS

As mentioned above, the majority of migrants found in Puerto Rico in 2000 (56%) came to the island from the United States Northeast. In addition, the U.S. Northeast is overrepresented as a region of origin for migrants to Puerto Rico. *All* municipios in Puerto Rico had migrants who were living in the Northeast in 1995 (See Table 11). This was not the case for all US regions. There were no migrants who lived in the Midwest in 1995 living in 3 municipios in 2000 (i.e., Culebra, Florida, Comerío). Similarly, there were no migrants who lived in the U.S. West in 1995 living in 12 municipios in 2000.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, there were only 22 municipios whose proportion of migrants from the United States West exceeded the island-wide rate of 7% of migrants to Puerto Rico. This is a similar situation to those who arrived in Puerto Rico from the United States South; 19 municipios had proportions that exceeded the 26% islandwide rate of migrants from the United States South. What this implies is that there is less dispersion of migrants throughout Puerto Rico arriving from the U.S. West or the South, unlike those arriving from the U.S. Northeast. The Midwest was a source region for migrants in Puerto Rico that had a dispersion level situated midway between the Northeast and the South, with 33 municipios exceeding the islandwide proportion of migrants in their population.

One reason why municipios of Puerto Rico's Northeast region appear overrepresented among those with higher than average rates of former residents of the United States in their population is driven by the impact that the municipio of Ceiba has had on these results. Since the Census Bureau has been recording information on residence five years prior to the census count, Ceiba has exceeded by an inordinate rate the proportion of people in its population that lived in the United States five years prior: 16.9% in 1960; 24.7% in 1970; 25.7% in 1980; 24.6% in 1990 and 18.3% in 2000 (See Appendix 3). The fact that the municipio of Ceiba contains the overwhelming bulk of the U.S. Navy Station Roosevelt Roads accounts for the larger than expected number and proportion of people who had resided in the United States 5 years before as military personnel and their dependents make up a substantial proportion of these former US residents. A similar explanation accounted for this inordinate proportion in Aguadilla in 1960, and 1970, as US Air Force Base Ramey was located in its jurisdiction. The proportion of people who had resided in the United States 5 years prior to the census count was 14.8% in 1960 and 13.2% in 1970. By 1980, (the base was decommissioned in 1973) that rate, though significantly higher than in the rest of Puerto Rico, was about half what it had been the previous decade— 7.3%.

## RETURN MIGRANTS

These two cases —Ceiba and Aguadilla— raise the issue of who constitutes this segment of the resident population of Puerto Rico, which at set points in times is found residing in the United States. The variable as reported accounts for all people who resided in the United States five years before the decennial census in Puerto Rico, but tabular data do not identify the national or ethnic origin of that segment of the population. In fact, the bulk of this segment of the resident population of Puerto Rico is made up of Puerto Rican *return migrants* and their progeny. But the proportion of Puerto Rican return migrants in a municipio's population is at best indirectly measured or partially calculated. The US Bureau of the Census does not ask whether a current resident of Puerto Rico had *ever* lived in the United States for a given length of time. At best, the Census Bureau has asked residents of Puerto Rico whether they had lived in the United States at some point during the preceding decade and the year of their return to the island, but it has only been done so for the 1980 and 1990 decennial censuses. In spite of the data's limitations one can observe some trends among the return migrant population.

The first trend is given by a different measure of migration to Puerto Rico. This measure of migration reported by the Census Bureau in 1980 is based on respondents

**TABLE 11. US Region of Proccedence for Migrants to Puerto Rico's Municipios, 2000**

	% Migrant in U.S. Northeast in 1995		% Migrant in U.S. South in 1995		% Migrant in U.S. Midwest in 1995		% Migrant in U.S. West in 1995	
Comerio	90.74	Ceiba	55.47	Utuaado	25.24	Ceiba	20.11	
Guayanilla	88.99	Guaynabo	54.07	Ciales	23.13	Guayama	17.26	
Barceloneta	85.87	Fajardo	45.47	San Lorenzo	22.54	Ponce	12.42	
Florida	85.84	Guayama	43.10	Juncos	20.86	Loiza	12.42	
Arroyo	85.19	Culebra	42.86	Yabucoa	20.40	Las Piedras	11.99	
Vega Alta	82.81	Bayamón	41.83	Maunabo	18.87	Aibonito	11.51	
Aguas Buenas	81.83	Dorado	41.06	Río Grande	17.01	Guaynabo	11.44	
Guánica	81.82	Cataño	39.25	Aibonito	16.89	San Juan	11.31	
Morovis	80.88	Toa Baja	38.01	Luquillo	16.50	Culebra	8.93	
Villalba	80.38	San Juan	37.05	Camuy	16.30	Moca	8.92	
Adjuntas	79.79	Trujillo Alto	34.83	Ponce	15.71	Naguabo	8.70	
San Sebastián	79.49	Carolina	32.68	Manatí	15.18	Sabana Grande	8.49	
Lajas	78.81	Gurabo	32.11	Peñuelas	15.05	Bayamón	8.35	
Patillas	78.57	Toa Alta	30.65	Hatillo	14.80	Jayuya	8.35	
Orocovis	78.40	Ponce	29.96	Arecibo	14.71	Trujillo Alto	7.89	
Santa Isabel	77.79	Cayey	28.75	Mayagüez	14.42	Naranjito	7.81	
Salinas	77.70	Mayagüez	28.25	Cidra	14.41	Peñuelas	7.62	
Rincón	76.85	Aguadilla	28.07	Vega Baja	13.96	Juana Díaz	7.62	
San Germán	76.40	Vieques	26.43	Yauco	13.82	Cabo Rojo	7.44	
Canóvanas	76.35	Maunabo	25.07	Trujillo Alto	13.47	Río Grande	7.29	
Sabana Grande	75.47	Maricao	24.78	Hormigueros	13.16	Aguadilla	7.03	
Aguada	74.55	Peñuelas	24.76	Santa Isabel	12.74	Toa Baja	6.93	
Las Marías	73.99	Arecibo	23.98	Las Piedras	12.69	Quebradillas	6.88	
Cabo Rojo	73.92	Quebradillas	23.11	Lares	12.59	Luquillo	6.65	
Moca	72.34	Río Grande	21.57	Orocovis	12.54	Juncos	6.64	
Coamo	72.02	Naranjito	19.82	Loiza	12.42	Barranquitas	6.53	
Humacao	71.55	Hormigueros	19.49	Aguada	12.10	Caguas	6.19	
Isabela	69.73	Corozal	19.47	Moca	12.09	Humacao	6.07	
Cidra	69.15	Añasco	19.14	Coamo	12.06	Mayagüez	5.95	
Maricao	69.03	Jayuya	19.14	Corozal	11.91	Isabela	5.46	
Barranquitas	68.63	Juana Díaz	18.80	Cayey	11.83	Hormigueros	5.32	
Juana Díaz	68.43	Isabela	18.67	San Juan	11.55	San Sebastián	5.13	
Manatí	68.42	Vega Baja	18.33	Aguadilla	11.12	Carolina	5.10	
Hatillo	68.32	Las Piedras	17.91	Bayamón	10.78	Manatí	4.96	
Añasco	68.24	Caguas	17.83	Canóvanas	10.38	Florida	4.72	
Caguas	68.07	Rincón	17.73	Ceiba	10.22	Dorado	4.71	
Lares	67.32	Camuy	17.69	Barranquitas	10.11	Añasco	4.58	
Corozal	67.11	Patillas	17.69	Naguabo	10.10	Gurabo	4.57	
Yabucoa	66.89	Yauco	17.67	Vieques	10.00	Fajardo	4.39	
San Lorenzo	65.57	Las Marías	17.49	Jayuya	9.93	Vega Baja	4.37	
Aibonito	65.36	Ciales	17.30	Carolina	9.89	Hatillo	4.16	
Yauco	65.21	Lares	17.24	Fajardo	9.88	Toa Alta	4.13	
Naranjito	64.86	Naguabo	16.97	Gurabo	9.44	San Lorenzo	3.89	
Naguabo	64.24	Cabo Rojo	16.71	San Sebastián	8.58	Cataño	3.76	
Vieques	63.57	Cidra	16.44	Las Marías	8.52	Coamo	3.61	
Loiza	63.38	Luquillo	16.37	Aguas Buenas	8.47	Yauco	3.30	
Vega Baja	63.34	Lajas	16.12	San Germán	8.37	Rincón	3.28	
Camuy	62.82	Humacao	15.88	Dorado	8.24	Arecibo	3.26	
Quebradillas	62.60	Villalba	14.99	Toa Alta	8.15	Camuy	3.18	
Jayuya	62.59	Barranquitas	14.74	Añasco	8.04	Lares	2.85	
Hormigueros	62.03	Vega Alta	14.58	Salinas	7.98	Cayey	2.68	
Utuaado	61.54	San Germán	12.97	Guaynabo	7.93	Patillas	2.55	
Juncos	60.78	Hatillo	12.72	Caguas	7.91	Maunabo	2.54	
Luquillo	60.49	Canóvanas	12.65	Adjuntas	7.61	San Germán	2.26	
Ciales	59.56	Salinas	12.44	Naranjito	7.51	Aguas Buenas	2.12	
Arecibo	58.05	Coamo	12.31	Quebradillas	7.42	Adjuntas	2.10	
Las Piedras	57.40	Yabucoa	12.14	Morovis	7.36	Vega Alta	1.96	
Toa Alta	57.07	Utuaado	12.03	Cataño	6.68	Aguada	1.92	
Cayey	56.74	Guánica	11.95	Humacao	6.50	Salinas	1.89	
Río Grande	54.13	Loiza	11.78	Sabana Grande	6.42	Guayanilla	1.60	
Gurabo	53.88	Morovis	11.76	Guánica	6.23	Corozal	1.51	
Aguadilla	53.78	Juncos	11.72	Maricao	6.19	Lajas	1.27	
Maunabo	53.52	Manatí	11.44	Isabela	6.13	Utuaado	1.19	
Peñuelas	52.57	Aguada	11.43	Juana Díaz	5.15	Canóvanas	0.61	
Carolina	52.34	Barceloneta	11.06	Arroyo	4.52	Yabucoa	0.58	
Mayagüez	51.38	Adjuntas	10.50	Villalba	4.23	Villalba	0.40	
Toa Baja	51.29	Arroyo	10.29	Lajas	3.81	Arroyo	0.00	
Cataño	50.31	Sabana Grande	9.62	Toa Baja	3.77	Barceloneta	0.00	
Culebra	48.21	Santa Isabel	9.47	Barceloneta	3.07	Ciales	0.00	
Dorado	46.00	Florida	9.44	Guayanilla	2.31	Cidra	0.00	
Trujillo Alto	43.81	Comerio	9.26	Guayama	2.21	Comerio	0.00	
Ponce	41.90	Orocovis	9.06	Rincón	2.13	Guánica	0.00	
Fajardo	40.26	San Lorenzo	8.00	Cabo Rojo	1.93	Las Marías	0.00	
San Juan	40.10	Aguas Buenas	7.58	Patillas	1.19	Maricao	0.00	
Bayamón	39.04	Guayanilla	7.10	Vega Alta	0.65	Morovis	0.00	
Guayama	37.42	San Sebastián	6.80	Culebra	0.00	Orocovis	0.00	
Guaynabo	26.57	Moca	6.65	Florida	0.00	Santa Isabel	0.00	
Ceiba	14.20	Aibonito	6.24	Comerio	0.00	Vieques	0.00	
<b>Total PR</b>	<b>55.99</b>	<b>Total PR</b>	<b>26.12</b>	<b>Total PR</b>	<b>10.83</b>	<b>Total PR</b>	<b>7.05</b>	

**TABLE 12. Percentage of Puerto Rican Return Migrants (age 5 and older) that Resided in the US between 1970 & 1980 and 1980 & 1990**

Municipio	Region	% PR-born, in US 1970 & 1980	% PR-born, in US 1980 & 1990
Adjuntas	Central	9.29	9.61
Aguada	N.W.	14.42	13.14
Aguadilla	N.W.	13.72	11.37
Aguas Buenas	Central	10.55	8.09
Aibonito	Central	7.90	9.17
Añasco	N.W.	11.01	8.24
Arecibo	N.	11.09	10.35
Arroyo	S.E.	12.44	16.23
Barceloneta	N.	13.24	8.96
Barranquitas	Central	8.87	10.66
Bayamón	N.	8.77	7.21
Cabo Rojo	S.W.	12.40	8.95
Caguas	Central	10.13	9.19
Camuy	N.	13.15	11.49
Canóvanas	N.E.	9.60	8.59
Carolina	N.	8.23	6.99
Cataño	N.	8.70	7.32
Cayey	Central	9.39	9.50
Ceiba	N.E.	10.75	11.08
Ciales	Central	11.42	8.92
Cidra	Central	9.42	12.33
Coamo	Central	12.09	11.17
Comerio	Central	9.99	9.07
Corozal	Central	8.55	6.99
Culebra	Island	3.52	9.08
Dorado	N.	8.67	8.91
Fajardo	N.E.	9.44	10.89
Florida	Central	12.65	13.13
Guánica	S.W.	12.40	12.18
Guayama	S.E.	12.07	14.00
Guayanilla	S.	12.50	8.60
Guaynabo	N.	6.91	7.59
Gurabo	Central East	12.48	10.30
Hatillo	N.	14.35	11.28
Hormigueros	S.W.	7.69	6.31
Humacao	S.E.	12.22	9.33
Isabela	N.W.	13.64	12.03
Jayuya	Central	8.14	10.40
Juana Díaz	S.	10.26	11.49
Juncos	Central East	10.08	9.95
Lajas	S.W.	11.33	8.39
Lares	Central	12.48	9.74
Las Marías	Central West	10.58	7.83
Las Piedras	Central East	10.57	8.08
Loíza	N.E.	7.40	6.92
Luquillo	N.E.	12.74	9.48
Manatí	N.	11.73	7.95
Maricao	Central West	11.73	8.84
Maunabo	S.E.	8.30	11.84
Mayagüez	S.W.	10.38	8.16
Moca	Central West	13.69	11.67
Morovis	Central	8.15	9.09
Naguabo	N.E.	12.61	11.24
Naranjito	Central	5.71	5.56
Orocovis	Central	7.39	7.85
Patillas	S.E.	11.13	11.23
Peñuelas	S.	9.29	9.97
Ponce	S.	8.90	9.67
Quebradillas	N.W.	12.60	11.18
Rincón	N.W.	16.90	9.41
Río Grande	N.E.	9.43	8.97
Sabana Grande	Central West	11.86	9.29
Salinas	S.	12.75	14.01
San Germán	Central West	11.49	8.96
San Juan	N.	7.28	7.15
San Lorenzo	Central East	11.46	10.72
San Sebastián	Central West	16.44	12.35
Santa Isabel	S.	10.11	12.24
Toa Alta	Central	10.75	7.11
Toa Baja	N.	10.96	8.31
Trujillo Alto	N.	7.00	6.48
Utuado	Central	10.83	11.71
Vega Alta	N.	11.90	9.63
Vega Baja	N.	13.11	9.60
Vieques	Island	7.91	8.99
Villalba	Central	10.92	10.64
Yabucoa	S.E.	8.24	10.55
Yauco	S.	8.47	10.62
<b>Puerto Rico</b>		<b>9.92</b>	<b>9.09</b>

who, while born in Puerto Rico and living in the United States at some point between 1970 and 1980, were residing in Puerto Rico in 1980. By this measure the percentage of the migrant population (5 years of age and older) is 9.9% (283,223 people) (See Table 12). This rate is almost double the rate that measures the proportion of the population (Puerto Ricans and others) that had resided in the United States in 1975, but was residing in Puerto Rico in 1980 (and double in absolute numerical terms). Thus, by relying exclusively on data on residence 5 years prior, the decennial census misses a large number of Puerto Ricans who have experienced migration to and from the United States. Data for the 1980s, captured by the 1990 decennial census report that 9.1% of people (5 years of age and older) born in Puerto Rico and residing in Puerto Rico that year had lived in the United States and returned to the island at some point during the decade, a total of 292,516 people. Similarly, this proportion is more than double the rate that measured simply residence 5 years prior. Data on migration throughout the decade for the 1990s are not available as the Census Bureau did not replicate the question in the 2000 Census.

Observing data for these two points in time, the decade of the 1970s and the decade of the 1980s, one can validate further the previous observation that *proportionately* more people, Puerto Ricans in this case, returned to the island during the 1970s than during the 1980s, even if an actually larger number of people returned to the island in the 1980s. Moreover, there were 49 municipios (63% of all municipios) in 1980 whose proportion of return migrants exceeded the 9.9% island wide rate. These municipios tended to be concentrated in the Northwest region, where all municipios had over-representation of return migrants,

along with municipios in the East Central and West Central regions (e.g., Rincón, San Sebastián, Aguada, Aguadilla, Moca, Gurabo: *See Table 13*). Municipios in the Southeast region were also overrepresented, but at a lower rate (4 of 6 municipios; e.g., Arroyo, Humacao).

In 1990, it is observed that slightly fewer, 45, but still more than half the municipios in Puerto Rico (58%), had rates of return migrants that exceeded the island-wide rate (9.1%). Once again, the municipios on the Northwest, East Central and Southeast regions (e.g., Arroyo, Guayama, Aguada, San Lorenzo: *See Table 13*) bore an above-average representation of return migrants, along with municipios in the South region (e.g., Salinas, Santa Isabel).

**TABLE 13. Municipal Overrepresentation of Puerto Rican Return Migrants by Region, 1980 & 1990**

Region	Municipios in region	Municipios with overrepresentation, 1980	Ratio of migrant overrepresentation, 1980	Municipios with overrepresentation, 1990	Ratio of migrant overrepresentation, 1990
	78	49	0.63	45	0.58
Central	20	10	0.50	12	0.60
Central East	4	4	1.00	3	0.75
Central West	6	6	1.00	3	0.50
North	15	8	0.53	5	0.33
North East	7	3	0.43	4	0.57
North West	6	6	1.00	5	0.83
South	7	4	0.57	6	0.86
South East	6	4	0.67	6	1.00
South West	5	4	0.80	1	0.20
Islands	2	0	0.00	0	0.00

## US-BORN PUERTO RICANS

Another segment of the population that was living in Puerto Rico on census day, but who may have resided in the United States previously, are the *descendants of* Puerto Rican migrants, both those of migrants who returned to the island as well as those who did not: Puerto Ricans born in the United States. The Census Bureau has collected data on birthplace for Puerto Rico, including whether born in the United States, since 1910. However, it was not until the 1980 census and then again in 1990 that the Census Bureau reported whether people born in the United States had parents (one or both) born in Puerto Rico.<sup>4</sup> For 1980, one observes that 5.5% of the population of Puerto Rico had been born in the United States to at least one parent born in Puerto Rico (*See Table 14*). In 1990, the rate increased to 5.8%. Across the country, there were 40 municipios in 1980 whose populations exceed 5.5% of people born in the United States to Puerto Rico-born parents.

As with return migrants, and not unexpectedly, the municipios of Puerto Rico with this overrepresentation of US-born Puerto Ricans in 1980 were those in the Northwest, East Central and West Central regions, where between three-quarters to all of the municipios in the region exhibited this overrepresentation (e.g. Rincón, Aguadilla, Quebradillas, Las Piedras, Moca: *See Table 15*). However, an above average number of municipios in the North and Northeast regions also exhibited an overrepresentation of so-called *Nuyoricans* (e.g., Luquillo, Fajardo, Hatillo, Vega Baja, Bayamón). In 1990, as the proportion of US-born Puerto Ricans increased, so did the number of municipios with an overrepresentation of this population: 45 municipios (or 58% of all municipios). The regions where this overrepresentation was most evident were once again the Northwest, East Central, Northeast and North (e.g. Rincón, Fajardo, Aguadilla, Quebradillas, San Lorenzo, Luquillo, Hatillo, Ceiba, Aguada). In addition, both the Southeast and

**TABLE 14. Percentage of Puerto Ricans born in the United States in Municipal Populations, 1980 & 1990**

Municipio	Region	% Puerto Ricans born in US (1980)	% Puerto Ricans born in US (1990)
Adjuntas	Central	3.69	4.36
Aguada	N.W.	6.76	7.86
Aguadilla	N.W.	8.45	9.06
Aguas Buenas	Central	5.07	5.14
Aibonito	Central	4.02	4.84
Añasco	N.W.	5.88	5.87
Arecibo	N.	6.38	6.62
Arroyo	S.E.	6.14	7.44
Barceloneta	N.	6.14	6.77
Barranquitas	Central	4.34	5.42
Bayamón	N.	7.34	6.06
Cabo Rojo	S.W.	7.19	7.56
Caguas	Central	6.35	6.44
Camuy	N.	6.83	7.34
Canóvanas	N.E.	4.53	5.33
Carolina	N.	5.79	5.26
Cataño	N.	4.42	4.68
Cayey	Central	4.06	5.55
Ceiba	N.E.	5.76	7.89
Ciales	Central	4.66	4.50
Cidra	Central	4.52	6.12
Coamo	Central	4.91	6.69
Comerio	Central	2.76	4.59
Corozal	Central	3.87	4.84
Culebra	Island	2.85	8.63
Dorado	N.	6.13	5.62
Fajardo	N.E.	8.18	9.11
Florida	Central	17.52	7.69
Guánica	S.W.	7.59	7.58
Guayama	S.E.	4.62	6.31
Guayanilla	S.	4.40	4.84
Guaynabo	N.	4.23	3.43
Gurabo	Central East	4.87	6.44
Hatillo	N.	7.94	8.06
Hormigueros	S.W.	3.41	5.48
Humacao	S.E.	6.74	6.84
Isabela	N.W.	6.66	7.49
Jayuya	Central	4.50	4.77
Juana Díaz	S.	3.81	4.97
Juncos	Central East	5.94	6.74
Lajas	S.W.	5.35	6.32
Lares	Central	4.76	5.96
Las Marías	Central West	4.95	3.55
Las Piedras	Central East	7.32	7.36
Loíza	N.E.	2.42	3.29
Luquillo	N.E.	8.53	8.38
Manatí	N.	6.17	7.18
Maricao	Central West	4.75	3.67
Maunabo	S.E.	3.99	6.33
Mayagüez	S.W.	5.01	5.15
Moca	Central West	6.92	8.46
Morovis	Central	3.28	4.94
Naguabo	N.E.	5.74	7.14
Naranjito	Central	3.12	4.30
Orocovis	Central	3.82	4.49
Patillas	S.E.	5.53	6.67
Peñuelas	S.	4.60	4.81
Ponce	S.	4.55	5.09
Quebradillas	N.W.	8.33	8.77
Rincón	N.W.	9.32	10.37
Río Grande	N.E.	6.11	6.73
Sabana Grande	Central West	6.58	7.05
Salinas	S.	6.12	6.90
San Germán	Central West	5.96	5.41
San Juan	N.	3.99	4.17
San Lorenzo	Central East	6.36	8.40
San Sebastián	Central West	6.27	7.15
Santa Isabel	S.	5.94	5.65
Toa Alta	Central	6.43	5.68
Toa Baja	N.	6.77	6.43
Trujillo Alto	N.	3.88	4.11
Utuado	Central	4.58	5.96
Vega Alta	N.	6.89	6.55
Vega Baja	N.	7.38	7.19
Vieques	Island	5.68	5.44
Villalba	Central	3.60	5.17
Yabucoa	S.E.	4.21	6.30
Yauco	S.	4.79	5.85
<b>Puerto Rico</b>		<b>5.48</b>	<b>5.83</b>



Southwest regions also exhibited an overrepresentation of US-born Puerto Ricans in their municipal populations (e.g., Guánica, Cabo Rojo, Arroyo, Humacao).

**TABLE 15. Municipal Overrepresentation of Puerto Ricans born in the United States by Region, 1980 & 1990**

Region	Municipios in region	Municipios with overrepresentation, 1980	Ratio of overrepresentation, 1980	Municipios with overrepresentation, 1990	Ratio of overrepresentation, 1990
	78	40	0.51	45	0.58
Central	20	3	0.15	6	0.30
Central East	4	3	0.75	4	1.00
Central West	6	4	0.67	3	0.50
North	15	11	0.73	9	0.60
North East	7	5	0.71	5	0.71
North West	6	6	1.00	6	1.00
South	7	2	0.29	2	0.29
South East	6	3	0.50	6	1.00
South West	5	2	0.40	3	0.60
Islands	2	1	0.50	1	0.50

## FOREIGN-BORN

These data on population and migration highlight the fact that the overwhelming majority of people residing in Puerto Rico are Puerto Ricans, whether by birth or by descent, and it has been so over the past century (See Table 16). However, the numbers and proportions of the foreign born has increased over the decades. Until the 1950s, 99% of the population of Puerto Rico was composed of those born in Puerto Rico. The shift began to take shape in the 1950s and captured in the 1960 census when the proportion of those born in Puerto Rico dipped ever so slightly to 97%. Since that census, the proportion of those born in Puerto Rico (regardless of ancestry) has hovered around 90%. The biggest share of those born outside of Puerto Rico is among those residents of the island who were born in the United States. This segment of the population did not represent even one half of one percent (0.5%) until the 1940s. By the 1960 census, their proportion had increased to 2.3% of the population of the island. This US-born population increased to 3.9% in 1970 and has stabilized around 6% since then. From the preceding discussion, it can be established that the bulk of this segment of the population is made up of people born in the United States to parent(s) born in Puerto

**TABLE 16. Place of Birth for the Population Residing in Puerto Rico, 1910-2000**

	PLACE OF BIRTH				US-born Puerto Ricans
	Puerto Rico	United States	Foreign Born	Total	
1910	98.72	0.21	1.05	99.98	
1920	99.16	0.12	0.63	99.91	
1930	99.40	0.17	0.39	99.96	
1940	99.30	0.36	0.27	99.93	
1950	98.97	0.64	0.38	100.00	
1960	97.25	2.29	0.44	99.99	
1970*	89.70	3.93	1.95	95.58	
1980*	90.14	6.47	1.98	98.59	5.48
1990	90.88	6.51	2.27	99.66	5.83
2000	90.67	6.13	2.8	99.68	4.95

\*4.4% did not declare birthplace in 1970; \*1.4% did not report birthplace in 1980.

Rico, the so-called Nuyoric population. US-born Puerto Ricans represented 5.5% of the population of Puerto Rico in 1980, 5.8% in 1990 and 4.95% in 2000.<sup>5</sup>

Since the 1960s, however, the other segment of the population that has steadily grown, though it remains relatively small, is the foreign born population. Since 1910, the foreign born had not represented more than 1% of the island's population. This began to change in the 1960s, with a number of political and economic events that



**TABLE 17. Percentage of the Foreign-Born Population, 1950-2000 (Ranked by results for 2000)**

Municipio	% 1950	% 1960	% 1970	% 1980	% 1990	% 2000
San Juan	1.45	1.29	6.83	6.99	8.57	11.63
Carolina	0.22	0.60	3.44	4.95	4.95	6.21
Guaynabo	0.73	1.00	5.80	6.31	6.01	5.97
Culebra	0.11	0.17	0.58	0.40	2.85	4.76
Bayamón	0.26	0.63	2.37	2.45	2.85	3.63
Trujillo Alto	0.12	0.14	0.63	2.54	2.24	3.44
Ceiba	0.34	0.67	0.80	2.58	2.33	3.17
Toa Baja	0.09	0.13	1.56	1.56	2.17	2.88
Canóvanas				0.46	1.25	2.82
Cataño	0.52	0.38	0.43	0.99	2.26	2.61
Fajardo	0.29	0.21	0.59	1.59	1.15	2.06
Mayagüez	0.65	0.65	1.73	1.62	1.81	2.00
Dorado	0.10	0.10	0.32	1.11	1.32	1.94
Caguas	0.23	0.21	1.37	1.10	1.43	1.82
Luquillo	0.08	0.13	0.14	1.17	1.49	1.70
Loíza	0.12	0.12	0.30	0.49	0.79	1.69
Río Grande	0.10	0.13	0.43	0.64	1.14	1.56
Gurabo	0.16	0.06	0.26	0.40	0.71	1.54
Toa Alta	0.08	0.06	0.16	0.45	0.97	1.44
Humacao	0.12	0.16	0.37	0.71	1.05	1.36
Vieques	0.17	0.32	0.32	0.59	0.36	1.35
Hormigueros	0.38	0.10	0.62	0.96	1.07	1.27
Ponce	0.49	0.51	1.29	1.14	1.09	1.23
Aguadilla	0.22	0.59	1.14	0.41	0.73	1.17
Arecibo	0.27	0.28	0.89	0.80	0.97	1.12
Vega Baja	0.11	0.11	0.20	0.49	0.89	1.06
Sabana Grande	0.05	0.06	0.00	0.18	0.38	1.03
Arroyo	0.22	0.13	0.15	0.06	0.60	1.03
Cabo Rojo	0.23	0.10	0.10	0.23	0.44	1.02
Rincón	0.07	0.08	0.00	0.31	0.34	1.02
Manatí	0.11	0.13	0.27	0.37	0.75	0.96
Vega Alta	0.07	0.06	0.11	0.29	0.57	0.95
Cayey	0.13	0.27	0.30	0.40	0.45	0.91
Las Marías	0.11	0.10	0.08	0.07	0.19	0.90
Maricao	0.20	0.13	0.00	0.00	0.61	0.85
Quebradillas	0.06	0.05	0.39	0.46	0.49	0.85
Hatillo	0.10	0.05	0.26	0.37	0.64	0.83
Guánica	0.81	0.36	0.54	0.41	0.21	0.83
Moca	0.05	0.03	0.05	0.21	0.49	0.82
Santa Isabel	0.16	0.11	0.18	0.25	0.37	0.80
Las Piedras	0.01	0.06	0.13	0.30	0.31	0.78
Juncos	0.13	0.15	0.20	0.38	0.52	0.77
Naguabo	0.06	0.05	0.10	0.22	0.25	0.76
Isabela	0.15	0.16	0.21	0.37	0.46	0.75
San Lorenzo	0.03	0.03	0.12	0.13	0.29	0.74
Lajas	0.31	0.12	0.15	0.16	0.55	0.74
Camuy	0.16	0.11	0.06	0.30	0.52	0.74
Yauco	0.28	0.15	0.19	0.48	0.38	0.74
Ciales	0.24	0.14	0.12	0.12	0.40	0.72
Salinas	0.22	0.22	0.24	0.28	0.50	0.71
Añasco	0.19	0.06	0.19	0.49	0.40	0.70
San Sebastián	0.10	0.07	0.06	0.35	0.63	0.65
Lares	0.14	0.10	0.02	0.21	0.35	0.64
Aibonito	0.21	0.15	0.35	0.30	0.52	0.64
Morovis	0.06	0.04	0.08	0.18	0.38	0.63
Guayama	0.26	0.24	0.33	0.34	0.33	0.63
San Germán	0.18	0.26	0.47	0.45	0.93	0.62
Juana Díaz	0.13	0.09	0.30	0.16	0.29	0.61
Peñuelas	0.08	0.07	0.20	0.34	0.36	0.59
Cidra	0.04	0.04	0.12	0.10	0.37	0.54
Aguada	0.11	0.08	0.07	0.15	0.80	0.54
Maunabo	0.03	0.04	0.00	0.14	0.05	0.47
Agua Buenas	0.08	0.08	0.09	0.16	0.30	0.44
Corozal	0.07	0.12	0.18	0.14	0.52	0.44
Yabucoa	0.05	0.04	0.17	0.08	0.33	0.42
Comerio	0.07	0.05	0.03	0.13	0.17	0.40
Coamo	0.08	0.10	0.32	0.39	0.43	0.39
Utua	0.16	0.07	0.11	0.30	0.12	0.38
Patillas	0.08	0.05	0.04	0.24	0.30	0.37
Villalba	0.06	0.03	0.07	0.07	0.06	0.35
Adjuntas	0.15	0.12	0.17	0.28	0.22	0.32
Barranquitas	0.14	0.09	0.08	0.40	0.15	0.31
Florida				0.24	0.38	0.31
Barceloneta	0.11	0.07	0.13	0.11	0.14	0.28
Orocovis	0.08	0.06	0.02	0.00	0.06	0.28
Jayuya	0.14	0.10	0.00	0.12	0.26	0.23
Guayanilla	0.14	0.07	0.30	0.19	0.35	0.22
Naranjito	0.09	0.07	0.04	0.19	0.20	0.21
Río Piedras	0.84					
<b>Puerto Rico</b>	<b>0.38</b>	<b>0.44</b>	<b>1.95</b>	<b>1.98</b>	<b>2.27</b>	<b>2.88</b>

facilitated in the immigration of foreigners to Puerto Rico: the Cuban Revolution, the death and end of the Trujillo regime and US invasion of the Dominican Republic in 1965, and the immigration reform of 1965, among others. These events propelled the inflow of, mostly, Cuban émigrés and Dominican political and economic migrants, but other Latin Americans as well. The growth of the foreign born population on the island, as reported by the Census Bureau,<sup>6</sup> has inched upward from 2% in 1970 and 1980 to 2.3% and 2.9% in 1990 and 2000, respectively (See Table 16).

Since 1960s, this foreign-born population has settled in and around the San Juan metropolitan area, with San Juan municipio as the most overrepresented with the foreign born, along with Guaynabo and Carolina. In 2000, there were 8 municipios with an above average representation of the foreign born population (See Table 17).<sup>7</sup> With the exception of Culebra and Ceiba, these were all metropolitan municipalities. In 1990 and 1980, there were 6 municipios overrepresented with foreign-born residents. Four municipios were thusly overrepresented in 1970. While there are foreign-born residents in every municipio in Puerto Rico, what these data show is how the foreign-born are slowly dispersing as their concentration in metropolitan municipios increases.

## THE NEW MILLENNIUM

As we enter a new decade, century and millennium, we note the following changes in the population of Puerto Rico. In 2006, the last year for which there is information available, the population was estimated to have grown to 3,927,000 people, an increase of approximately 3% since 2000.<sup>8</sup> The majority of the population was still overwhelmingly Puerto Rican, with 95% of all residents of the island (3.745 million) identifying as Puerto Ricans. Moreover, 3.6 million residents (92%) were born on the island; of these Puerto Rico-born residents of the island, 98.9% identified as Puerto Ricans, that is, 91% of all residents of Puerto Rico were Puerto Ricans born on the island. An additional 4% were Puerto Ricans born in the United States. The percentage of foreign-born stood at approximately 3%, while those born on the island but who did not identify as Puerto Ricans were approximately 1.1% of the estimated population.

In 2006, the Census Bureau estimated that 341,800 people in Puerto Rico moved. The overwhelming majority of these movers (274,700) changed residence within Puerto Rico. Approximately 67,110 people were residing in Puerto Rico in 2005, but a year later they were residing in one of the fifty states of the United States or the District of Columbia. An additional 30,500 people were residing in the United States in 2005 but were living in Puerto Rico in 2006. Therefore, more than twice as many people left Puerto Rico for the United States than arrived on the island from the US; the pattern of net emigration from Puerto Rico thus continues in the new century.

## SUMMARY HIGHLIGHTS

- The overwhelming majority of inhabitants of Puerto Rico are Puerto Ricans born on the island.
- The largest segment of the resident population of Puerto Rico not born in the islands is still Puerto Rican, albeit born in the United States.
- The foreign-born population in Puerto Rico, and their descendants, do not reach 5% of the total population of the island; a proportion much smaller than what the public discourse regarding the foreign born generally seems to indicate. They concentrate in the San Juan metropolitan area.
- Migration is a fact of life for Puerto Ricans. Hundreds of thousands of people have migrated between Puerto Rico and the United States during the second half of the 20th century.
- The decades old trend of return to the island for Puerto Ricans in the United States, while continuing, is diminishing in proportion. Migration from Puerto Rico to the United States is the dominant trend.
- The United States Northeast is still the main region of settlement for Puerto Ricans arriving from the island, albeit in diminishing proportion. The Northeast is also the

- main region from where most people returning to Puerto Rico come.
- The United States South, particularly Florida, is the growing site for Puerto Rican migration in the United States, both from Puerto Rico as well as from elsewhere in the United States. The South is also growing in importance as a place from where most returnees to the island arrive.
- The municipios of Puerto Rico’s northwest region show an above average rate of settlement by return migrants; a trend that is sustained through the decades.

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> The demographic data presented in this report are based on censuses of the population for the years 1910 through 2000 as reported by the Census Bureau in 1950, 1960, 1970, 1980, 1990 and 2000.

<sup>2</sup> The country’s 78 municipios were grouped into ten regions, accordingly: 20 municipios in a Central (mountain) region (Adjuntas, Aguas Buenas, Aibonito, Barranquitas, Caguas, Cayey, Ciales, Cidra, Coamo, Comerío, Corozal, Florida, Jayuya, Lares, Morovis, Naranjito, Orocovis, Toa Alta, Utuado, Villalba); 4 municipios in a East Central (mountain) region (Gurabo, Juncos, Las Piedras, San Lorenzo); 6 municipios in a West Central region (Las Marías, Maricao, Moca, Sabana Grande, San Germán, San Sebastián); 2 Island municipalities (Culebra, Vieques); 15 municipios in a North region (Arecibo, Barceloneta, Bayamón, Camuy, Carolina, Cataño, Dorado, Guaynabo, Hatillo, Manatí, San Juan, Toa Baja, Trujillo Alto, Vega Alta, Vega Baja); 7 municipios in a Northeast region (Canóvanas, Ceiba, Fajardo, Loíza, Luquillo, Naguabo, Río Grande); 6 municipios in a Northwest region (Aguada, Aguadilla, Añasco, Isabela, Quebradillas, Rincón); 7 municipios in a South region (Guayanilla, Juana Díaz, Peñuelas, Ponce, Salinas, Santa Isabel, Yauco); 6 in a Southeast region (Arroyo, Guayama, Humacao, Maunabo, Patillas, Yabucoa); and 5 in a Southwest region (Cabo Rojo, Guánica, Hormigueros, Lajas, Mayagüez).

<sup>3</sup> Arroyo, Barceloneta, Ciales, Cidra, Comerío, Guánica, Las Marías, Maricao, Morovis, Orocovis, Santa Isabel, Vieques.

<sup>4</sup> This definition of US-born Puerto Rican underestimates the actual number as there may be Puerto Ricans born in the United States whose parents may both have been born in the United States but whose grandparents (at least two) may have been born in Puerto Rico.

<sup>5</sup> For 1980 and 1990, the proportion of US born Puerto Ricans was calculated based on those having at least one parent born in Puerto Rico. For 2000, it was calculated among those identifying as Puerto Rican and born in the United States, living in Puerto Rico.

<sup>6</sup> The statistics on the foreign born population suffer from reliability concerns given the tenuous situation of some foreign-born residents of the United States and its territories. In 1970, for instance, 4.4% of respondents did not report birthplace in the census questionnaire. Birthplace was not reported by 1.4% of respondents to the 1980 census.

<sup>7</sup> San Juan, Carolina, Guaynabo, Culebra, Bayamón, Trujillo Alto, Ceiba and Toa Baja.

<sup>8</sup> Data culled from the Puerto Rico Community Survey conducted by the US Census Bureau in 2006.

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**APPENDIX 1. State of Residence in the US in 1990 & 2000 (for people age 5 & older)** *Source: US Census*

<i>Residents in Puerto Rico in 1985</i>		<i>Residents in Puerto Rico in 1995</i>	
<b>UNITED STATES</b>		<b>UNITED STATES</b>	
Alabama	506	Alabama	844
Alaska	214	Alaska	348
Arizona	665	Arizona	1745
Arkansas	125	Arkansas	1262
California	6589	California	4962
Colorado	655	Colorado	829
Connecticut	15820	Connecticut	15649
Delaware	902	Delaware	1609
District of Columbia	379	DC	229
Florida	43884	Florida	61179
Georgia	2276	Georgia	4836
Hawaii	517	Hawaii	466
Idaho	29	Idaho	104
Illinois	9061	Illinois	6874
Indiana	860	Indiana	1307
Iowa	156	Iowa	369
Kansas	398	Kansas	659
Kentucky	461	Kentucky	857
Louisiana	592	Louisiana	919
Maine	136	Maine	181
Maryland	2437	Maryland	2432
Massachusetts	23749	Massachusetts	19568
Michigan	1801	Michigan	2311
Minnesota	278	Minnesota	781
Mississippi	148	Mississippi	770
Missouri	504	Missouri	839
Montana	13	Montana	86
Nebraska	74	Nebraska	227
Nevada	186	Nevada	390
New Hampshire	613	New Hampshire	672
New Jersey	21624	New Jersey	16961
New Mexico	110	New Mexico	398
New York	41794	New York	39318
North Carolina	1343	North Carolina	4107
North Dakota	19	North Dakota	33
Ohio	3908	Ohio	5184
Oklahoma	369	Oklahoma	1351
Oregon	228	Oregon	269
Pennsylvania	13960	Pennsylvania	17639
Rhode Island	2331	Rhode Island	3497
South Carolina	835	South Carolina	1306
South Dakota	70	South Dakota	49
Tennessee	508	Tennessee	1578
Texas	5922	Texas	8344
Utah	340	Utah	452
Vermont	55	Vermont	104
Virginia	3355	Virginia	4359
Washington	786	Washington	1196
West Virginia	73	West Virginia	213
Wisconsin	2205	Wisconsin	3202
Wyoming	23	Wyoming	109

**APPENDIX 2. Percentage of the Population in Puerto Rico Resident in the US in 1955, 1965, 1975, 1985 & 1995**

Municipio	Region	1955	1965	1975	1985	1995
Adjuntas	Central	1.42	1.25	3.96	3.03	2.16
Aguada	N.W.	0.80	1.36	6.66	5.92	3.90
Aguadilla	N.W.	14.75	13.18	7.25	6.10	4.43
Aguas Buenas	Central	0.97	0.75	5.16	3.17	2.12
Aibonito	Central	1.13	1.08	4.18	4.40	3.32
Añasco	N.W.	0.73	0.75	6.50	3.95	2.75
Arecibo	N.	2.19	0.88	4.98	4.23	3.01
Arroyo	S.E.	1.63	0.87	5.03	5.09	5.40
Barceloneta	N.	1.06	1.46	5.70	3.97	3.19
Barranquitas	Central	1.23	1.84	2.50	4.25	1.80
Bayamón	N.	5.55	8.33	4.88	3.32	2.55
Cabo Rojo	S.W.	2.62	7.86	7.40	4.36	2.51
Caguas	Central	2.79	7.11	4.81	3.66	2.50
Camuy	N.	1.34	3.72	6.99	6.10	3.10
Canóvanas	N.E.			4.12	2.66	2.90
Carolina	N.	3.29	8.16	3.81	3.03	2.06
Cataño	N.	2.26	3.55	3.54	3.08	1.74
Cayey	Central	2.57	3.08	3.76	4.08	3.32
Ceiba	N.E.	16.89	24.71	25.65	24.55	18.28
Ciales	Central	1.16	3.28	4.36	3.91	3.02
Cidra	Central	0.84	3.78	6.14	4.35	2.63
Coamo	Central	1.57	3.90	4.49	4.43	4.52
Comerio	Central	0.95	1.97	4.20	4.70	2.33
Corozal	Central	1.35	2.85	3.04	3.22	1.56
Culebra	Island	6.11	13.04	5.60	4.71	3.21
Dorado	N.	0.52	4.75	3.89	4.19	2.72
Fajardo	N.E.	3.40	8.45	6.31	6.34	3.90
Florida	Central			8.47	5.08	2.07
Guánica	S.W.	1.97	7.82	6.14	5.49	3.82
Guayama	S.E.	1.58	3.73	4.57	5.07	6.47
Guayanilla	S.	1.25	3.38	5.09	3.37	2.64
Guaynabo	N.	3.82	6.68	4.04	3.46	4.04
Gurabo	Central East	1.48	3.12	4.19	3.45	3.00
Hatillo	N.	2.67	5.08	9.98	5.07	3.48
Hormigueros	S.W.	1.72	4.93	3.64	2.67	2.54
Humacao	S.E.	2.00	5.53	6.63	4.12	2.98
Isabela	N.W.	2.10	6.82	6.76	5.77	4.36
Jayuya	Central	0.97	1.67	4.66	3.54	4.39
Juana Díaz	S.	1.00	4.46	5.24	4.23	4.12
Juncos	Central East	1.60	3.82	6.33	4.22	3.47
Lajas	S.W.	1.41	4.77	3.87	3.67	3.23
Lares	Central	1.60	5.34	5.48	4.40	2.10
Las Marías	Central West	0.46	1.51	3.46	2.77	2.18
Las Piedras	Central East	1.55	5.20	7.03	3.52	2.23
Loíza	N.E.	1.01	3.15	3.03	2.18	2.11
Luquillo	N.E.	1.67	5.20	9.78	5.54	4.30
Manatí	N.	2.16	4.77	4.48	3.40	2.37
Maricao	Central West	1.16	1.30	8.32	3.50	1.91
Maunabo	S.E.	0.94	2.41	4.65	4.83	2.99
Mayagüez	S.W.	2.46	3.93	4.50	3.51	2.20
Moca	Central West	0.95	3.75	7.06	5.47	3.64
Morovis	Central	0.57	1.06	2.86	4.28	3.36
Naguabo	N.E.	1.45	7.07	7.67	5.84	3.25
Naranjito	Central	1.05	2.24	2.42	2.76	1.22
Orocovis	Central	0.44	1.87	4.55	2.90	3.05
Patillas	S.E.	0.57	3.12	2.32	5.11	3.15
Peñuelas	S.	0.91	2.81	3.12	3.83	2.15
Ponce	S.	2.51	4.60	3.97	3.49	4.49
Quebradillas	N.W.	2.86	6.75	9.24	5.56	5.53
Rincón	N.W.	2.59	6.10	9.53	4.41	4.45
Río Grande	N.E.	1.81	5.08	3.48	3.74	4.28
Sabana Grande	Central West	1.29	2.98	7.30	4.57	2.23
Salinas	S.	1.78	4.66	4.80	7.02	4.11
San Germán	Central West	1.99	4.16	5.18	3.72	3.45
San Juan	N.	4.60	5.15	3.04	2.95	3.48
San Lorenzo	Central East	1.40	6.00	6.41	4.81	3.61
San Sebastián	Central West	1.84	4.00	6.41	6.18	4.24
Santa Isabel	S.	1.38	3.21	5.77	4.44	4.21
Toa Alta	Central	1.34	2.46	5.85	2.54	1.67
Toa Baja	N.	2.43	9.47	5.08	4.18	2.64
Trujillo Alto	N.	2.63	4.63	2.66	2.18	1.99
Utuado	Central	1.60	3.56	5.16	4.39	2.82
Vega Alta	N.	1.04	4.95	5.46	4.02	2.64
Vega Baja	N.	1.21	5.24	6.16	5.06	2.70
Vieques	Island	2.02	8.90	3.57	5.71	1.66
Villalba	Central	0.33	1.50	3.61	3.22	3.91
Yabucoa	S.E.	0.87	3.37	4.11	4.68	3.35
Yauco	S.	0.87	4.04	4.43	4.45	3.46
<b>Puerto Rico</b>		<b>2.79</b>	<b>5.04</b>	<b>4.81</b>	<b>3.99</b>	<b>3.21</b>

**APPENDIX 3. Percentage of Puerto Rican Municipal Populations (age 5 & older) with Residents Living in the US in 1955, 1965, 1975, 1985 & 1995**

Municipio	% in US 1955		% in US 1965		% in US 1975		% in US 1985		% in US 1995	
	Municipio		Municipio		Municipio		Municipio		Municipio	
Ceiba	16.89	Ceiba	24.71	Ceiba	25.65	Ceiba	24.55	Ceiba	18.28	
Aguadilla	14.75	Aguadilla	13.18	Hatillo	9.98	Salinas	7.02	Guayama	6.47	
Culebra	6.11	Culebra	13.04	Luquillo	9.78	Fajardo	6.34	Quebradillas	5.53	
Bayamón	5.55	Toa Baja	9.47	Rincón	9.53	San Sebastián	6.18	Arroyo	5.40	
San Juan	4.60	Vieques	8.90	Quebradillas	9.24	Camuy	6.10	Coamo	4.52	
Guaynabo	3.82	Fajardo	8.45	Florida	8.47	Aguadilla	6.10	Ponce	4.49	
Fajardo	3.40	Bayamón	8.33	Maricao	8.32	Agua	5.92	Rincón	4.45	
Carolina	3.29	Carolina	8.16	Naguabo	7.67	Naguabo	5.84	Aguadilla	4.43	
Quebradillas	2.86	Cabo Rojo	7.86	Cabo Rojo	7.40	Isabela	5.77	Jayuya	4.39	
Caguas	2.79	Guánica	7.82	Sabana Grande	7.30	Vieques	5.71	Isabela	4.36	
Hatillo	2.67	Caguas	7.11	Aguadilla	7.25	Quebradillas	5.56	Luquillo	4.30	
Trujillo Alto	2.63	Naguabo	7.07	Moca	7.06	Luquillo	5.54	Río Grande	4.28	
Cabo Rojo	2.62	Isabela	6.82	Las Piedras	7.03	Guánica	5.49	San Sebastián	4.24	
Rincón	2.59	Quebradillas	6.75	Camuy	6.99	Moca	5.47	Santa Isabel	4.21	
Cayey	2.57	Guaynabo	6.68	Isabela	6.76	Patillas	5.11	Juana Díaz	4.12	
Ponce	2.51	Rincón	6.10	Agua	6.66	Arroyo	5.09	Salinas	4.11	
Mayagüez	2.46	San Lorenzo	6.00	Humacao	6.63	Florida	5.08	Guaynabo	4.04	
Toa Baja	2.43	Humacao	5.53	Añasco	6.50	Hatillo	5.07	Villalba	3.91	
Cataño	2.26	Lares	5.34	San Lorenzo	6.41	Guayama	5.07	Fajardo	3.90	
Arecibo	2.19	Vega Baja	5.24	San Sebastián	6.41	Vega Baja	5.06	Agua	3.90	
Manatí	2.16	Luquillo	5.20	Juncos	6.33	Maunabo	4.83	Guánica	3.82	
Isabela	2.10	Las Piedras	5.20	Fajardo	6.31	San Lorenzo	4.81	Moca	3.64	
Vieques	2.02	San Juan	5.15	Vega Baja	6.16	Culebra	4.71	San Lorenzo	3.61	
Humacao	2.00	Hatillo	5.08	Cidra	6.14	Comerio	4.70	Hatillo	3.48	
San Germán	1.99	Río Grande	5.08	Guánica	6.14	Yabucoa	4.68	San Juan	3.48	
Guánica	1.97	Vega Alta	4.95	Toa Alta	5.85	Sabana Grande	4.57	Juncos	3.47	
San Sebastián	1.84	Hormigueros	4.93	Santa Isabel	5.77	Yauco	4.45	Yauco	3.46	
Río Grande	1.81	Lajas	4.77	Barceloneta	5.70	Santa Isabel	4.44	San Germán	3.45	
Salinas	1.78	Manatí	4.77	Culebra	5.60	Coamo	4.43	Morovis	3.36	
Hormigueros	1.72	Dorado	4.75	Lares	5.48	Rincón	4.41	Yabucoa	3.35	
Luquillo	1.67	Salinas	4.66	Vega Alta	5.46	Lares	4.40	Aibonito	3.32	
Arroyo	1.63	Trujillo Alto	4.63	Juana Díaz	5.24	Aibonito	4.40	Cayey	3.32	
Lares	1.60	Ponce	4.60	San Germán	5.18	Utua	4.39	Naguabo	3.25	
Juncos	1.60	Juana Díaz	4.46	Utua	5.16	Cabo Rojo	4.36	Lajas	3.23	
Utua	1.60	San Germán	4.16	Agua Buenas	5.16	Cidra	4.35	Culebra	3.21	
Guayama	1.58	Yauco	4.04	Guayanilla	5.09	Morovis	4.28	Barceloneta	3.19	
Coamo	1.57	San Sebastián	4.00	Toa Baja	5.08	Barranquitas	4.25	Patillas	3.15	
Las Piedras	1.55	Mayagüez	3.93	Arroyo	5.03	Juana Díaz	4.23	Camuy	3.10	
Gurabo	1.48	Coamo	3.90	Arecibo	4.98	Arecibo	4.23	Orocovis	3.05	
Naguabo	1.45	Juncos	3.82	Bayamón	4.88	Juncos	4.22	Ciales	3.02	
Adjuntas	1.42	Cidra	3.78	Caguas	4.81	Dorado	4.19	Arecibo	3.01	
Lajas	1.41	Moca	3.75	Salinas	4.80	Toa Baja	4.18	Gurabo	3.00	
San Lorenzo	1.40	Guayama	3.73	Jayuya	4.66	Humacao	4.12	Maunabo	2.99	
Santa Isabel	1.38	Camuy	3.72	Maunabo	4.65	Cayey	4.08	Humacao	2.98	
Corozal	1.35	Utua	3.56	Guayama	4.57	Vega Alta	4.02	Canóvanas	2.90	
Camuy	1.34	Cataño	3.55	Orocovis	4.55	Barceloneta	3.97	Utua	2.82	
Toa Alta	1.34	Guayanilla	3.38	Mayagüez	4.50	Añasco	3.95	Añasco	2.75	
Sabana Grande	1.29	Yabucoa	3.37	Coamo	4.49	Ciales	3.91	Dorado	2.72	
Guayanilla	1.25	Ciales	3.28	Manatí	4.48	Peñuelas	3.83	Vega Baja	2.70	
Barranquitas	1.23	Santa Isabel	3.21	Yauco	4.43	Río Grande	3.74	Guayanilla	2.64	
Vega Baja	1.21	Loiza	3.15	Ciales	4.36	San Germán	3.72	Vega Alta	2.64	
Ciales	1.16	Patillas	3.12	Comerio	4.20	Lajas	3.67	Toa Baja	2.64	
Maricao	1.16	Gurabo	3.12	Gurabo	4.19	Caguas	3.66	Cidra	2.63	
Aibonito	1.13	Cayey	3.08	Aibonito	4.18	Jayuya	3.54	Bayamón	2.55	
Barceloneta	1.06	Sabana Grande	2.98	Canóvanas	4.12	Las Piedras	3.52	Hormigueros	2.54	
Naranjito	1.05	Corozal	2.85	Yabucoa	4.11	Mayagüez	3.51	Cabo Rojo	2.51	
Vega Alta	1.04	Peñuelas	2.81	Guaynabo	4.04	Maricao	3.50	Caguas	2.50	
Loiza	1.01	Toa Alta	2.46	Ponce	3.97	Ponce	3.49	Manatí	2.37	
Juana Díaz	1.00	Maunabo	2.41	Adjuntas	3.96	Guaynabo	3.46	Comerio	2.33	
Agua Buenas	0.97	Naranjito	2.24	Dorado	3.89	Gurabo	3.45	Las Piedras	2.23	
Jayuya	0.97	Comerio	1.97	Lajas	3.87	Manatí	3.40	Sabana Grande	2.23	
Moca	0.95	Orocovis	1.87	Carolina	3.81	Guayanilla	3.37	Mayagüez	2.20	
Comerio	0.95	Barranquitas	1.84	Cayey	3.76	Bayamón	3.32	Las Marías	2.18	
Maunabo	0.94	Jayuya	1.67	Hormigueros	3.64	Villalba	3.22	Adjuntas	2.16	
Peñuelas	0.91	Las Marías	1.51	Villalba	3.61	Corozal	3.22	Peñuelas	2.15	
Yabucoa	0.87	Villalba	1.50	Vieques	3.57	Agua Buenas	3.17	Agua Buenas	2.12	
Yauco	0.87	Barceloneta	1.46	Cataño	3.54	Cataño	3.08	Loiza	2.11	
Cidra	0.84	Agua	1.36	Río Grande	3.48	Adjuntas	3.03	Lares	2.10	
Agua	0.80	Maricao	1.30	Las Marías	3.46	Carolina	3.03	Florida	2.07	
Añasco	0.73	Adjuntas	1.25	Peñuelas	3.12	San Juan	2.95	Carolina	2.06	
Morovis	0.57	Aibonito	1.08	Corozal	3.04	Orocovis	2.90	Trujillo Alto	1.99	
Patillas	0.57	Morovis	1.06	San Juan	3.04	Las Marías	2.77	Maricao	1.91	
Dorado	0.52	Arecibo	0.88	Loiza	3.03	Naranjito	2.76	Barranquitas	1.80	
Las Marías	0.46	Arroyo	0.87	Morovis	2.86	Hormigueros	2.67	Cataño	1.74	
Orocovis	0.44	Agua Buenas	0.75	Trujillo Alto	2.66	Canóvanas	2.66	Toa Alta	1.67	
Villalba	0.33	Añasco	0.75	Barranquitas	2.50	Toa Alta	2.54	Vieques	1.66	
Canóvanas		Canóvanas		Naranjito	2.42	Trujillo Alto	2.18	Corozal	1.56	
Florida		Florida		Patillas	2.32	Loiza	2.18	Naranjito	1.22	
<b>Puerto Rico</b>	<b>2.79</b>	<b>Puerto Rico</b>	<b>5.04</b>	<b>Puerto Rico</b>	<b>4.81</b>	<b>Puerto Rico</b>	<b>3.99</b>	<b>Puerto Rico</b>	<b>3.21</b>	

**APPENDIX 4. Ranked Percentage of Return Migrant Population Who Resided in the US between 1970 & 1980 and 1980 & 1990 (for people age 5 & older)**

Municipio	% PR-Born in US 1970-1980	Municipio	% PR-born in US 1980-1990
Rincón	16.90	Arroyo	16.23
San Sebastián	16.44	Salinas	14.01
Aguada	14.42	Guayama	14.00
Hatillo	14.35	Aguada	13.14
Aguadilla	13.72	Florida	13.13
Moca	13.69	San Sebastián	12.35
Isabela	13.64	Cidra	12.33
Barceloneta	13.24	Santa Isabel	12.24
Camuy	13.15	Guánica	12.18
Vega Baja	13.11	Isabela	12.03
Salinas	12.75	Maunabo	11.84
Luquillo	12.74	Utua	11.71
Florida	12.65	Moca	11.67
Naguabo	12.61	Camuy	11.49
Quebradillas	12.60	Juana Díaz	11.49
Guayanilla	12.50	Aguadilla	11.37
Gurabo	12.48	Hatillo	11.28
Lares	12.48	Naguabo	11.24
Arroyo	12.44	Patillas	11.23
Guánica	12.40	Quebradillas	11.18
Cabo Rojo	12.40	Coamo	11.17
Humacao	12.22	Ceiba	11.08
Coamo	12.09	Fajardo	10.89
Guayama	12.07	San Lorenzo	10.72
Vega Alta	11.90	Barranquitas	10.66
Sabana Grande	11.86	Villalba	10.64
Maricao	11.73	Yauco	10.62
Manatí	11.73	Yabucoa	10.55
San Germán	11.49	Jayuya	10.40
San Lorenzo	11.46	Arecibo	10.35
Ciales	11.42	Gurabo	10.30
Lajas	11.33	Peñuelas	9.97
Patillas	11.13	Juncos	9.95
Arecibo	11.09	Lares	9.74
Añasco	11.01	Ponce	9.67
Toa Baja	10.96	Vega Alta	9.63
Villalba	10.92	Adjuntas	9.61
Utua	10.83	Vega Baja	9.60
Ceiba	10.75	Cayey	9.50
Toa Alta	10.75	Luquillo	9.48
Las Marías	10.58	Rincón	9.41
Las Piedras	10.57	Humacao	9.33
Aguas Buenas	10.55	Sabana Grande	9.29
Mayagüez	10.38	Caguas	9.19
Juana Díaz	10.26	Aibonito	9.17
Caguas	10.13	Morovis	9.09
Santa Isabel	10.11	Culebra	9.08
Juncos	10.08	Comerio	9.07
Comerio	9.99	Vieques	8.99
Canóvanas	9.60	Río Grande	8.97
Fajardo	9.44	Barceloneta	8.96
Río Grande	9.43	San Germán	8.96
Cidra	9.42	Cabo Rojo	8.95
Cayey	9.39	Ciales	8.92
Peñuelas	9.29	Dorado	8.91
Adjuntas	9.29	Maricao	8.84
Ponce	8.90	Guayanilla	8.60
Barranquitas	8.87	Canóvanas	8.59
Bayamón	8.77	Lajas	8.39
Cataño	8.70	Toa Baja	8.31
Dorado	8.67	Añasco	8.24
Corozal	8.55	Mayagüez	8.16
Yauco	8.47	Aguas Buenas	8.09
Maunabo	8.30	Las Piedras	8.08
Yabucoa	8.24	Manatí	7.95
Carolina	8.23	Orocovis	7.85
Morovis	8.15	Las Marías	7.83
Jayuya	8.14	Guaynabo	7.59
Vieques	7.91	Cataño	7.32
Aibonito	7.90	Bayamón	7.21
Hormigueros	7.69	San Juan	7.15
Loíza	7.40	Toa Alta	7.11
Orocovis	7.39	Carolina	6.99
San Juan	7.28	Corozal	6.99
Trujillo Alto	7.00	Loíza	6.92
Guaynabo	6.91	Trujillo Alto	6.48
Naranjito	5.71	Hormigueros	6.31
Culebra	3.52	Naranjito	5.56



**APPENDIX 5. Ranked Percentage of Puerto Rican population born in the US residing in Puerto Rico, 1980 & 1990**

	% PR born in US (1980)		% PR born in US (1990)
Florida	17.52	Rincón	10.37
Rincón	9.32	Fajardo	9.11
Luquillo	8.53	Aguadilla	9.06
Aguadilla	8.45	Quebradillas	8.77
Quebradillas	8.33	Culebra	8.63
Fajardo	8.18	Moca	8.46
Hatillo	7.94	San Lorenzo	8.40
Guánica	7.59	Luquillo	8.38
Vega Baja	7.38	Hatillo	8.06
Bayamón	7.34	Ceiba	7.89
Las Piedras	7.32	Aguada	7.86
Cabo Rojo	7.19	Florida	7.69
Moca	6.92	Guánica	7.58
Vega Alta	6.89	Cabo Rojo	7.56
Camuy	6.83	Isabela	7.49
Toa Baja	6.77	Arroyo	7.44
Aguada	6.76	Las Piedras	7.36
Humacao	6.74	Camuy	7.34
Isabela	6.66	Vega Baja	7.19
Sabana Grande	6.58	Manatí	7.18
Toa Alta	6.43	San Sebastián	7.15
Arecibo	6.38	Naguabo	7.14
San Lorenzo	6.36	Sabana Grande	7.05
Caguas	6.35	Salinas	6.90
San Sebastián	6.27	Humacao	6.84
Manatí	6.17	Barceloneta	6.77
Arroyo	6.14	Juncos	6.74
Barceloneta	6.14	Río Grande	6.73
Dorado	6.13	Coamo	6.69
Salinas	6.12	Patillas	6.67
Río Grande	6.11	Arecibo	6.62
San Germán	5.96	Vega Alta	6.55
Juncos	5.94	Gurabo	6.44
Santa Isabel	5.94	Caguas	6.44
Añasco	5.88	Toa Baja	6.43
Carolina	5.79	Maunabo	6.33
Ceiba	5.76	Lajas	6.32
Naguabo	5.74	Guayama	6.31
Vieques	5.68	Yabucoa	6.30
Patillas	5.53	Cidra	6.12
Lajas	5.35	Bayamón	6.06
Agua Buenas	5.07	Utuaado	5.96
Mayagüez	5.01	Lares	5.96
Las Marías	4.95	Añasco	5.87
Coamo	4.91	Yauco	5.85
Gurabo	4.87	Toa Alta	5.68
Yauco	4.79	Santa Isabel	5.65
Lares	4.76	Dorado	5.62
Maricao	4.75	Cayey	5.55
Ciales	4.66	Hormigueros	5.48
Guayama	4.62	Vieques	5.44
Peñuelas	4.60	Barranquitas	5.42
Utuaado	4.58	San Germán	5.41
Ponce	4.55	Canóvanas	5.33
Canóvanas	4.53	Carolina	5.26
Cidra	4.52	Villalba	5.17
Jayuya	4.50	Mayagüez	5.15
Cataño	4.42	Agua Buenas	5.14
Guayanilla	4.40	Ponce	5.09
Barranquitas	4.34	Juana Díaz	4.97
Guaynabo	4.23	Morovis	4.94
Yabucoa	4.21	Guayanilla	4.84
Cayey	4.06	Corozal	4.84
Aibonito	4.02	Aibonito	4.84
San Juan	3.99	Peñuelas	4.81
Maunabo	3.99	Jayuya	4.77
Trujillo Alto	3.88	Cataño	4.68
Corozal	3.87	Comerio	4.59
Orocovis	3.82	Ciales	4.50
Juana Díaz	3.81	Orocovis	4.49
Adjuntas	3.69	Adjuntas	4.36
Villalba	3.60	Naranjito	4.30
Hormigueros	3.41	San Juan	4.17
Morovis	3.28	Trujillo Alto	4.11
Naranjito	3.12	Maricao	3.67
Culebra	2.85	Las Marías	3.55
Comerio	2.76	Guaynabo	3.43
Loíza	2.42	Loíza	3.29

**APPENDIX 6. US Region of Proccedence for Migrants to Puerto Rico's Municipios, 1990**

	<i>% Migrant in U.S. Northeast in 1985</i>		<i>% Migrant in U.S. South in 1985</i>		<i>% Migrant in U.S. Midwest in 1985</i>		<i>% Migrant in U.S. West in 1985</i>
Municipio		Municipio		Municipio		Municipio	
Arroyo	90.59	San Lorenzo	38.90	Ceiba	49.38	Vieques	26.52
Toa Alta	90.14	Lares	21.75	Guaynabo	32.51	Ceiba	16.94
Maricao	89.23	Luquillo	19.91	Cataño	30.02	Loiza	11.48
Barceloneta	88.86	Aibonito	19.03	Culebra	28.36	Rincón	10.26
Naranjito	87.90	Moca	17.21	Fajardo	25.22	Guaynabo	10.15
Salinas	87.31	Comerio	16.94	Las Marías	23.08	Peñuelas	9.29
Loiza	86.93	Utuaado	16.51	Trujillo Alto	22.73	Naguabo	8.15
Santa Isabel	85.59	Jayuya	16.50	Toa Baja	22.15	San Juan	7.87
Vega Alta	85.06	Las Piedras	16.41	Bayamón	21.22	Bayamón	7.59
Guayanilla	85.00	Yabucoa	16.34	San Juan	19.87	Ciales	7.11
Guayama	84.95	Caguas	16.26	Carolina	19.38	Dorado	6.62
Morovis	84.90	Coamo	16.22	Luquillo	14.69	Vega Baja	5.48
Orocovis	84.70	Ciales	15.32	Gurabo	14.68	Luquillo	5.44
Cabo Rojo	84.03	Corozal	15.14	Cayey	14.42	Isabela	5.11
Isabela	83.61	Maunabo	15.06	San Germán	13.41	Guayanilla	5.00
Cidra	83.32	Yauco	14.50	Dorado	12.56	Lajas	4.96
Aguas buenas	82.83	Arecibo	14.46	Aguadilla	12.50	Lares	4.82
Canóvanas	82.70	Hatillo	14.18	Quebradillas	12.40	Fajardo	4.73
Florida	82.54	Quebradillas	14.14	Adjuntas	12.36	Río Grande	4.62
Aguada	81.92	Barranquitas	14.11	Hormigueros	12.11	Carolina	4.59
Guánica	81.82	Guánica	13.59	Lajas	11.70	Manatí	4.58
Sabana Grande	81.77	Camuy	13.57	Patillas	11.55	Caguas	4.39
Manatí	81.77	Aguada	12.65	Río Grande	11.50	San Sebastián	4.35
San Sebastián	81.60	Fajardo	12.21	Camuy	11.46	Adjuntas	4.31
Añasco	81.16	Villalba	12.18	Ciales	11.37	Yauco	4.25
Juncos	80.90	Vega Baja	11.94	Jayuya	11.00	Canóvanas	4.04
San Germán	80.77	Mayagüez	11.23	Maricao	10.77	Aguadilla	4.00
Yabucoa	80.65	Rincón	11.07	Florida	10.72	Maunabo	3.90
Lajas	80.53	Dorado	10.95	Mayagüez	10.62	Ponce	3.82
Cayey	80.47	Humacao	10.91	Cabo Rojo	10.26	Hormigueros	3.68
Juana Díaz	80.36	Manatí	10.91	Ponce	9.86	Cidra	3.56
Hormigueros	80.00	Cidra	10.76	Santa Isabel	9.78	Orocovis	3.46
Peñuelas	79.84	Toa Baja	9.77	Juncos	9.72	Gurabo	3.42
Barranquitas	79.36	Orocovis	9.65	Utuaado	9.62	Florida	3.24
Villalba	79.35	Juana Díaz	9.65	Vieques	9.44	Sabana Grande	3.23
Hatillo	78.89	Aguas buenas	9.54	Añasco	8.76	Utuaado	3.16
Humacao	78.71	Morovis	9.51	Humacao	8.65	Corozal	3.03
Patillas	78.44	Patillas	9.46	Caguas	8.52	Cabo Rojo	3.01
Aguadilla	77.89	Ponce	9.46	San Sebastián	8.29	Toa Baja	2.99
Yauco	77.71	San Juan	9.33	Arecibo	7.99	Arecibo	2.85
Moca	77.06	Río Grande	9.12	Guayama	7.73	Comerio	2.80
Las Piedras	77.01	Adjuntas	8.99	Villalba	7.73	Camuy	2.73
Las Marías	76.92	Naguabo	8.98	Juana Díaz	7.63	Aibonito	2.72
Ponce	76.86	Gurabo	8.83	Corozal	7.41	Santa Isabel	2.70
Naguabo	76.31	Vega Alta	8.74	Vega Baja	7.04	San Germán	2.50
Coamo	76.25	Bayamón	8.31	Comerio	6.89	Juana Díaz	2.37
Mayagüez	76.01	Añasco	8.21	Sabana Grande	6.88	Mayagüez	2.14
Vega Baja	75.53	Ceiba	8.21	Rincón	6.84	Guánica	2.10
Río Grande	74.76	Canóvanas	8.20	Aguas buenas	6.81	Añasco	1.86
Maunabo	74.72	Juncos	8.20	Lares	6.71	Humacao	1.73
Arecibo	74.70	Sabana Grande	8.13	Toa Alta	6.57	Vega Alta	1.51
Aibonito	74.62	Guaynabo	7.95	Naguabo	6.57	Jayuya	1.43
Corozal	74.43	Isabela	6.94	Coamo	6.42	Quebradillas	1.38
Adjuntas	74.34	Cataño	6.59	Maunabo	6.32	Trujillo Alto	1.32
Comerio	73.36	Peñuelas	6.54	Hatillo	6.07	Naranjito	1.30
Gurabo	73.07	Guayama	6.48	Barranquitas	6.02	Juncos	1.18
Camuy	72.24	Barceloneta	6.29	San Lorenzo	5.70	Arroyo	1.15
Quebradillas	72.08	Arroyo	6.20	Salinas	5.65	Coamo	1.11
Rincón	71.83	Salinas	6.15	Morovis	5.58	Las Piedras	1.00
Culebra	71.64	Guayanilla	6.06	Las Piedras	5.58	Salinas	0.89
Trujillo Alto	71.24	Naranjito	6.05	Canóvanas	5.06	Hatillo	0.86
Jayuya	71.08	San Sebastián	5.75	Aguada	5.01	Moca	0.85
Caguas	70.83	Carolina	5.68	Moca	4.88	Guayama	0.84
Utuaado	70.71	Aguadilla	5.62	Naranjito	4.76	Aguas buenas	0.82
Carolina	70.35	Trujillo Alto	4.71	Vega Alta	4.69	Barceloneta	0.79
Dorado	69.86	Cayey	4.42	Isabela	4.34	Villalba	0.74
Lares	66.72	Hormigueros	4.21	Peñuelas	4.32	Cayey	0.69
Ciales	66.19	Florida	3.49	Barceloneta	4.06	Patillas	0.55
Toa Baja	65.09	San Germán	3.33	Guayanilla	3.94	Cataño	0.52
San Juan	62.93	Lajas	2.80	Aibonito	3.63	Barranquitas	0.52
Bayamón	62.87	Toa Alta	2.79	Yauco	3.54	Toa Alta	0.50
Cataño	62.87	Cabo Rojo	2.69	Yabucoa	3.01	Aguada	0.41
Vieques	62.02	Vieques	2.02	Manatí	2.75	Culebra	0.00
Luquillo	59.96	Santa Isabel	1.93	Guánica	2.50	Las Marías	0.00
Fajardo	57.84	Culebra	0.00	Cidra	2.35	Maricao	0.00
San Lorenzo	55.40	Las Marías	0.00	Orocovis	2.19	Morovis	0.00
Guaynabo	49.39	Loiza	0.00	Arroyo	2.07	San Lorenzo	0.00
Ceiba	25.47	Maricao	0.00	Loiza	1.59	Yabucoa	0.00
<b>Total PR</b>	<b>72.33</b>	<b>Total PR</b>	<b>10.28</b>	<b>Total PR</b>	<b>12.99</b>	<b>Total PR</b>	<b>4.40</b>





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