

# CUBANS IN THE ISLAND AND IN THE U.S. DIASPORA: SELECTED DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIAL COMPARISONS

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In August 2001, the Cuban Government announced that it would conduct a census of population and housing from September 7 to September 16, 2002, the first census of the island's population in over 20 years, and only the third such census since the revolutionary takeover of 1959.<sup>2</sup> The census count was carried out and data were tabulated by the *Oficina Nacional de Estadísticas* (National Statistical Office, ONE). According to Cuba's Minister of Economics and Planning José Luis Rodríguez, "there is no census of any country in the world with higher reliability [than Cuba's 2002 census]."<sup>3</sup>

In November 2005, ONE released the long-awaited census results, giving them broad circulation by making them available in electronic form in its website.<sup>4</sup> Researchers and journalists have seized upon these new data, reporting on such topics as basic demographic information about the Cuban population,<sup>5</sup>

the changing racial makeup of the island's population,<sup>6</sup> its changing age structure,<sup>7</sup> and internal migration patterns,<sup>8</sup> among others.

In this paper, I compare selected demographic and social characteristics of Cubans in the island and Cuban-Americans in the United States in 2002. The comparison is based on Cuba's 2002 census and statistics from the United States Census Bureau's American Community Survey (ACS) for 2002, a data set that updates the U.S. decennial census. Naturally, some data in the two data sources do not lend themselves to direct comparison (e.g., wage information, or information about English proficiency of Cuban-Americans residing in the United States). Nevertheless, it has been possible to compare a limited number of indicators and, in so doing, to gain some interesting insights about similarities and differences in

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1. I'd like to thank Benigno Aguirre and Silvia Pedraza for thoughtful comments on an early version of this paper. All errors and omissions, however, are my own responsibility.

2. Revolutionary Cuba's previous censuses were conducted in 1970 and 1982.

3. Iraida Calzadilla Rodríguez, "Cuba al detalle," *Granma* (November 13, 2005). For concerns about the reliability of the census see, e.g., José Antonio Fornaris, "El censo más confiable del mundo," [www.cubanet.org](http://www.cubanet.org) (November 23, 2005); Michel Suárez, "El Censo de Oz," [www.cubaencuentro.com](http://www.cubaencuentro.com) (November 29, 2005); Raúl Soroa, "Cuento de censoficción," [www.cubanet.org](http://www.cubanet.org) (December 5, 2005); and Oscar Espinosa Chepe, "Censo demorado y contradictorio," parts I and II, [www.cubanet.org](http://www.cubanet.org) (December 28 and 29, 2005).

4. Andrea Rodríguez, "Presentan los resultados del censo de población de Cuba," Associated Press (November 12, 2005). Results of the census are at [http://www.cubagob.cu/otras\\_info/censo/index.htm](http://www.cubagob.cu/otras_info/censo/index.htm).

5. See, e.g., Pablo Alfonso, "Cuba en Cifras," *El Nuevo Herald* (November 13, 2005).

6. E.g., "Cada vez más cubanos son mulatos," [www.cubaencuentro.com](http://www.cubaencuentro.com) (November 14, 2005) and Oscar Espinosa Chepe, "Censo demorado y contradictorio (II y final)," [www.cubanet.org](http://www.cubanet.org) (December 29, 2005).

7. E.g., "Cuba tendrá en 2020 la población más vieja de América Latina," [www.cubaencuentro.com](http://www.cubaencuentro.com) (March 30, 2006).

8. "El 32% de los habitantes de la capital cubana nació en otras provincias," [www.cubaencuentro.com](http://www.cubaencuentro.com) (December 31, 2005).

characteristics of Cubans in Cuba and Cubans in the U.S. diaspora at the turn of the century.

The paper begins with some background on the 2002 Cuban census and the ACS, and then compares data from each for selected demographic and social characteristics across different age groups. The paper explains how comparable data were developed, highlights points of interest, and makes a few suggestions for future research using Cuban and U.S. demographic and social data.

## SOURCES OF DATA

### Cubans in the Island: The 2002 Cuban Census<sup>9</sup>

As stated earlier, Cuba conducted a census of population and housing during the period September 7 through 16, 2002. The census was conducted entirely through personal interviews of heads of households or other adults. Interviewers were typically students enrolled in technical or professional high schools and at the university level, with instructors at these institutions serving as supervisors; in hard-to-reach areas, local personnel was hired to conduct the census. Approximately 63,000 students and some 11,000 instructors were involved in data collection; in addition, over 20,000 persons were involved in data processing and other activities associated with the census. All personnel underwent significant training to prepare them for their activities associated with the census. Cuba published the results of the census 38 months after it was completed.

### Cuban-Americans:

#### The American Community Survey (ACS)<sup>10</sup>

The American Community Survey (ACS) is an ongoing survey designed to collect detailed U.S. demographic and economic information previously collected through the decennial census. The ACS is a random sample, conducted by mail, with reminders

sent out for those who do not immediately respond. The sample size is about 3 million households nationally, equating to about 1-in-40 addresses.

At the time of the decennial census, two types of forms are mailed out: “short” forms are sent to all housing units and “long” forms are sent to about 1-in-6 housing units. The “short” form serves to provide population counts, racial and ethnic characteristics, and age. The “long” form is the source of rich data on fertility, place of birth, English language proficiency, occupation, industry, household relationships, and income, as well as many other variables. These data take two to three years to tabulate and release. The ACS will eventually replace the “long” form in the 2010 decennial census. For data-users, this means that the rich data generated by the “long” form every decade will be updated annually at large geographies, and every 3 to 5 years at smaller geographies.

## VARIABLE DEFINITIONS

In this paper Cuban-Americans are defined as all respondents to the ACS who called themselves Cuban in response to the question about Hispanic ethnicity. Those respondents were further classified as either (1) U.S.-born (including Puerto Rico) Cuban-Americans or (2) foreign-born Cuban-Americans, on the basis of their response to the citizenship question.<sup>11</sup> No distinction was made between naturalized citizens and non-citizens in the data.

In this paper I will refer to Cubans living in Cuba as “Cubans,” and self-identified Cubans living in the United States as “U.S.-born Cuban-Americans” or “foreign-born Cuban-Americans,” depending on their place of birth. This naming scheme is being introduced simply for the sake of clarity, and to avoid

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9. This section is based on [http://www.ccsr.ac.uk/cuba/cepde2004/censomultimedia/c\\_iii.htm](http://www.ccsr.ac.uk/cuba/cepde2004/censomultimedia/c_iii.htm).

10. This section is based on the Census Bureau website at [www.census.gov](http://www.census.gov), especially the press release “National Mailing of New American Community Survey Marks Historic Shift for Census Bureau” (January 10, 2005), available at [http://www.census.gov/Press-Release/www/releases/archives/american\\_community\\_survey\\_acs/003349.html](http://www.census.gov/Press-Release/www/releases/archives/american_community_survey_acs/003349.html)

11. Although it is the case that most foreign-born self-identified Cubans were born in Cuba, a person of Cuban descent born in Honduras, for example, who then immigrated to the United States could be both a foreign-born self-identified Cuban, and not born in Cuba itself. Still, it makes sense for this analysis of diaspora Cubans to include such a person in the group of Cuban-Americans. In any event, the number of persons who fall into this category is rather small.

having to refer repeatedly to “Cubans in Cuba” or “Cubans on the island” and other over-long phrases.

The demographic and social variables compared in the next section were constructed from Cuban and U.S. official statistics that were developed not necessarily based on the same definitions. In order to construct roughly comparable indicators from the Cuban Census and the ACS, it was necessary to exercise some judgment.

- **Child-Woman Ratio (CWR):**<sup>12</sup> The child-woman ratio is a rough measure of fertility where direct information is not available. The CWR is defined as:

$$CWR = \frac{P_{0-4}}{F_{15-49}} * 1000$$

where the numerator is the population of children under the age of 5, and the denominator is the number of women between 15 and 49 years old, inclusive. These women are considered to be the child-bearing age group. It was necessary to compute the CWR because the Cuban Census did not record fertility.

- **Currently Married:** The ACS and the Cuban census differ on how relationships are defined. The ACS differentiates between married, spouse present, and married, spouse absent. Here, they are combined to mirror the Cuban *casadola*. Furthermore, the Cuban census includes the concept of *unido/a consensualmente*, defined as a person in a stable relationship between two people of opposite sex without any legal documentation.<sup>13</sup> While this approximates a common-law marriage in the United States, in the ACS, no such status is provided. Instead, couples “who live together (unmarried people, people in common-law marriages) were allowed to report the marital status they considered the

most appropriate.”<sup>14</sup> Because of these differences in definition, I chose to report only “Currently Married,” for all people 15 years of age and older. Those persons in the *unido/a consensualmente* respondents are classified with the non-married respondents. Additionally, in the born after 1959 tabulation, data were reported for those up to age 44, to conform to the given Cuban Census tabulation.

- **Race:** In the Cuban Census, enumerators were instructed to decide on the race of the respondent, and only to ask about other family members if they were not present and the enumerator had some doubt. Only three choices were given to enumerators, white, black, and mulatto/mestizo. In contrast, the ACS was conducted by mail, and all race categories were self-chosen. Not only that, but multi-racial responses were allowed, and in the most detailed version of the variable, 70 racial categories are listed, along with “other.” Since race is a concept that varies considerably across cultures, it seemed sensible to compare *blanco* with “white, alone,” *negro* with “black, alone,” and to avoid trying to create a mulatto/mestizo variable out of the ACS data.
- **Educational Attainment:** Five general categories of attainment were constructed out of ACS data, corresponding loosely to primary school, middle school, high school, more than high school but less than a BA, and BA or more. The following corresponding categories were constructed out of the Cuban Census: *primaria* and lower, *media básica (secundaria básica* including the 10<sup>th</sup> year and *obrero calificado*), *media superior (preuniversitario* including the 13<sup>th</sup> year, *técnico medio*, and *pedagogía nivel medio*), up to three years of *superior o universitaria*, and four years or more of *superior o universitaria*. In the all ages tabulation, educational attainment was calculat-

12. Gary Peters and Robert Larkin, *Population Geography: Problems, Concepts, and Prospects*, 4<sup>th</sup> Edition (Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall Hunt Publishers, 1993).

13. Taken from XII. Definiciones Básicas, Censo Cubano, 2002, available at [http://www.ccsr.ac.uk/cuba/cepde2004/censomultimedia/c\\_xii.htm](http://www.ccsr.ac.uk/cuba/cepde2004/censomultimedia/c_xii.htm)

14. Taken from Marital Status definition, American Community Survey 2002 Subject Definitions, available at <http://www.census.gov/acs/www/Products/PUMS/codelist2002.html>

ed for persons aged 25 to 59, inclusive. Although a range of 25 to 64 would have been more desirable, the presentation of the Cuban Census data did not allow this tabulation. In the born after 1959 tabulation, data were reported for those up to age 44, to conform to the given Cuban Census tabulation.

- **Labor Force Status/Employment:** The Cuban Census did not separate out civilians and members of the armed forces in its definition of employed persons, so members of the armed forces were included in the ACS employment tally to better compare across countries. The ACS employment status variable was compressed into three categories, employed, unemployed, and not in labor force. This will cause the employment totals and unemployment rates given to differ from the standard tallies produced for the civilian labor force. The unemployment rate for both Cuban Census data and ACS data was simply calculated as the number of unemployed persons divided by the sum of employed and unemployed persons. The labor force participation rate for both data sources was calculated as the sum of employed and unemployed persons divided by the sum of employed, unemployed, and those not in the labor force. In the all ages tabulation, labor force status and employment values were calculated for persons aged 16 to 64, inclusive.

## SELECTED COMPARISONS

Tables 1, 2, and 3 display selected demographic characteristics for the three major groups of interest: Cubans and Cuban-Americans, both U.S.-born and foreign-born. Table 1 presents characteristics for the three groups at all ages, Table 2 for the cohort born in 1959 and after, and Table 3 for the cohort that was 60 years or older in 2002. The cohort born after 1959 represents the children of the revolution, while the cohort 60 years of age or older represents those persons typically no longer in the labor force and drawing some sort of pension or social security payments.

## All Ages

Table 1 compares Cubans and Cuban-Americans, both U.S.-born and foreign-born, of all ages. Cubans in the island number 11,177,743, while Cuban-Americans number 1,355,898. This means that in 2002, Cuban-Americans made up around 11% of all Cubans in the island and in the U.S. diaspora.

The sex ratio does not differ greatly across the three groups, as all are almost evenly divided between males and females. The age structure, however, varies significantly. Foreign-born Cuban-Americans are clearly the oldest group, as 27.9% of this group is 65 or older, and fully 45% are 55 or older. Cubans are also much older than U.S.-born Cubans, as almost a fifth (19.7%) are 55 and older. The U.S.-born Cuban population is comparatively young, as fewer than 5% of U.S.-born Cubans are 55 and older, and over 60% are under 25. Meanwhile, a third of Cuba's population is under 25. Close to half of Cubans and foreign-born Cuban-Americans are between 25 and 54, inclusive (46.6% and 48.1%, respectively), while closer to one third of U.S.-born Cuban-Americans fall into this age group (34.4%).

The child-woman ratio (CWR) also varies a great deal, probably in large part due to the age structure of the three groups. The older, foreign-born Cuban-American population has a very low CWR, while the younger U.S.-born Cuban-American population's CWR is very high. The Cuban CWR is somewhere in between, as is the Cuban age structure. The share married for those 15 and older would also be affected by age, and this partly explains the lower share married for U.S.-born Cuban-Americans (39.5%) as well as the higher marriage rate for the foreign-born Cuban-Americans. The Cuban rate is just 35.1%, but it must be recalled here that the Cuban Census allows for an *unido/a consensualmente* status, which is a clue that many people live in stable common law-type marriages without legal standing.

Great differences can be observed in the racial makeup of Cuba and of the Cuban-American population. Both Cuban-American groups are over 80% white alone, while less than two-thirds of Cubans are white. Meanwhile, 10.1% of Cubans are black, but

**Table 1. Selected Indicators for Cubans and Cuban-Americans, 2002**

	In Cuba			In the United States				
	Cubans		Total	U.S.-born Cuban-Americans		Foreign-born Cuban-Americans		
Total	11,177,743		1,355,898	493,822		862,076		
Share female	49.93%		49.66%	49.63%		49.68%		
Age Distribution								
14 years and below	2,296,348	20.5%	227,643	16.8%	201,120	40.7%	26,523	3.1%
15 up to 24	1,473,095	13.2%	133,386	9.8%	101,743	20.6%	31,643	3.7%
25 up to 34	1,971,956	17.6%	181,187	13.4%	89,270	18.1%	91,917	10.7%
35 up to 44	1,938,289	17.3%	235,766	17.4%	59,170	12.0%	176,596	20.5%
45 up to 54	1,297,106	11.6%	167,530	12.4%	21,317	4.3%	146,213	17.0%
55 up to 64	1,036,983	9.3%	157,266	11.6%	8,531	1.7%	148,735	17.3%
65 and up	1,163,966	10.4%	253,120	18.7%	12,671	2.6%	240,449	27.9%
Child-Woman Ratio <sup>a</sup>	239.15		246.04	517.83		34.21		
Share Currently Married <sup>b</sup>	35.1%		56.4%	39.5%		62.3%		
Race								
White alone	7,271,926	65.1%	1,150,148	84.8%	406,297	82.3%	743,851	86.3%
Black alone	1,126,894	10.1%	30,931	2.3%	15,609	3.2%	15,322	1.8%
Mulatto or Mestizo	2,778,923	24.9%	not listed		not listed		not listed	
All Other races, including two or more races	not listed		174,819	12.9%	71,916	14.6%	102,903	11.9%
Educational Attainment <sup>c</sup>								
Elementary school or lower (up to 6th grade)	878,966	15.2%	22,350	3.4%	1,896	1.1%	20,454	4.2%
7th-9th grades (Media Básica)	1,839,549	31.9%	42,206	6.4%	3,580	2.1%	38,626	8.0%
10th-12th, including HS grads(Media Superior, including up to 13th grade in pre-universitaria)	2,347,890	40.7%	232,788	35.3%	39,773	22.8%	193,015	39.8%
Some College, no BA, including Vocational or Technical school, Associates degrees (up to 3 years of Universitaria)	45,476	0.8%	185,111	28.0%	62,957	36.1%	122,154	25.2%
Bachelor's or higher (4 years of Universitaria, or more)	657,157	11.4%	177,572	26.9%	66,368	38.0%	111,204	22.9%
Labor Force Status <sup>d</sup>								
Employed	4,206,871		613,088	192,752		420,336		
Unemployed	132,884		51,949	18,909		33,040		
Not in Labor Force	3,215,759		194,997	56,046		138,951		
Unemployment rate	3.1%		7.8%	8.9%		7.3%		
Labor Force Participation Rate	57.4%		77.3%	79.1%		76.5%		

a. The child-woman ratio refers only to women between the ages of 15 and 49 years, and children below the age of five. This is a rough measure of fertility in the case where number of births is not available.

b. This covers only persons 15 and older.

c. This covers only persons between the ages of 25 and 59 inclusive.

d. This variable covers only persons between the ages of 16 and 64, inclusive.

just a few percent of Cuban-Americans are black alone. The mulatto/mestizo category makes up one-quarter of Cuba's population, but only 13% of Cuban-Americans fall into all other races, and all mixed races. It should be noted, however, that Cuban mulatto/mestizo totals cannot be compared directly with non-white, non-black totals for Cuban-Americans in the ACS.<sup>15</sup> These international racial comparisons should be taken with a grain of salt for a number of reasons, among them: (1) the Cuban Census only provides three categories, while the ACS provides up to 71; and (2) because having enumerators assign race classifications differs from letting respondents choose their own. Not only that, but race categories are subjective, and differ across countries due to cultural differences. The low totals of "black, alone," in the ACS, for instance, may be a response to the common usage of the term "black" in the United States, generally referring to non-Hispanic blacks. Still, the white and black totals at least tell us something about the racial composition of the Cuban and Cuban-American populations.

Of Cubans 25 to 59, inclusive, just under half have been educated up through *media básica* or less, about 9<sup>th</sup> grade (47.1%). Meanwhile, 97% of U.S.-born Cuban-Americans between those ages record educational attainment past the 9<sup>th</sup> grade. Foreign-born Cuban-American attainment falls between these two groups, as over one in ten have received a 9<sup>th</sup>-grade education or less (12.2%). Over one-third of U.S.-born Cuban-Americans have a BA or higher, while closer to one-fourth of foreign-born Cuban-Americans do, and closer to one-tenth of Cubans (38%, 22.9%, and 11.4%, respectively).

The Cuban labor force differs markedly from the Cuban-American one. The Cuban population age 16 to 64, inclusive, has a labor force participation that is

19 points lower than the Cuban-American group with the lowest labor force participation (57.4% for Cubans vs 76.5% for foreign-born Cuban-Americans). To check if this is partly a result of the Cuban retirement system, which provides for retirement for men at age 60 and for women at age 55,<sup>16</sup> we can look at a tabulation from ACS data with a different age range. In table 1A, we use the same labor force status and employment variables but this time for women aged 16 to 54, inclusive, and men aged 16 to 59, inclusive, to reflect the retirement situation in the island. Restricting the ages of workers in this way raises the Cuban labor force participation rate almost 4 points (from 57.4% to 61.2%). Even with this change, the Cuban labor force participation rate is still significantly lower than the rate for all Cuban-American groups.

At 3.1%, the Cuban labor force has an unemployment rate less than half of that of any of the Cuban-American groups examined. This very low Cuban unemployment rate is likely the result of some manipulation of statistics by the Cuban government.<sup>17</sup> U.S.-born Cuban-Americans are unemployed at a higher rate than foreign-born Cuban-Americans (8.9% vs. 7.3%).

### Born in 1959 and Later

Table 2 displays characteristics of the cohort born in 1959 or after. This group was 43 years old and younger in 2002. As the rise of Fidel Castro to power dates to January 1, 1959, I think it is useful to consider the 1959 and younger population as a group representing the children of the revolution. Although the age structure was discussed above regarding Table 1, it bears mentioning that this group makes up over two-thirds of Cubans, over 90% of U.S.-born Cuban-Americans, and closer to one-third of foreign-born Cuban-Americans (36.1%). Half of all Cubans

15. The Cuban census gives no explanation as to how someone whose ancestors were Chinese, but whose family had been in Cuba for generations would be categorized, for example. Presumably, enumerators would call such a person non-white, and non-black, but that would force them to be classified as mulatto or mestizo, which does not seem appropriate.

16. Lorenzo L. Pérez, "The Pension System of Cuba," *Cuba in Transition—Volume 8* (Washington: Association for the Study of the Cuban Economy, 1998), p. 522.

17. On this point see, e.g., Carmelo Mesa-Lago and Jorge Pérez-López, *Cuba's Aborted Reform* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2005), pp. 49–52.

**Table 1A. Labor Force Variables for Different Age Structure Reflecting Cuban Labor Situation, 2002**

	In Cuba		In the United States	
	Cubans	Total	U.S.-born Cuban-Americans	Foreign-born Cuban-Americans
Labor Force Status				
Employed	4,023,583	548,380	188,204	360,176
Unemployed	132,884	45,345	18,695	26,650
Not in Labor Force	2,635,630	141,538	54,451	87,087
Unemployment rate	3.2%	7.6%	9.0%	6.9%
Labor Force Participation Rate	61.2%	80.8%	79.2%	81.6%

**Note:** These constructions only consider women from ages 16 to 54, inclusive, and men ages 16 to 59, inclusive.

born after the Revolution are under 25, while fewer than one-fifth of foreign-born Cuban-Americans are (18.7%).

While the sex ratio for Cubans and for U.S.-born Cuban-Americans mirrors the all ages tally, foreign-born Cuban-Americans born after 1959 are just 44% female. This is likely a result of the lopsided character of the *Mariel* boatlift population. That migration wave was heavily male, and a man who was 20 in 1980—at the time of the boatlift—would be 42 at the time of the ACS, falling into the 1959 and younger category. The CWR is modified here, since ages are capped at 43. This has the effect of raising the CWR for all groups, since it removes women aged 44 to 49, who are less fertile than those aged 15 to 43. The same relationship seen in the all-ages population persists in this one, with foreign-born Cuban-Americans having the lowest CWR, U.S.-born Cuban-Americans having the highest, and Cubans having a CWR that is in between.

For those 15 and older, the share married is about three percentage points lower than the all-ages population for U.S. and foreign-born Cuban-Americans. The post-1959 Cubans, however, see a drop-off of around seven percentage points, suggesting that fewer of these Cubans are getting married, or that they are waiting until much later (after 43 years of age) to do it.

The racial composition of this group does not vary greatly from the all-ages group in Table 1.

Educational attainment for those 25 and over shows some differences from Table 1. In the post-1959 group, the share of Cubans who have completed primary school or less drops from 15.2% of Cubans of all ages to just 9%. The share that have completed from 10<sup>th</sup> grade up to finishing *pre-universitaria* jumps from 40.7% to 46.4%. The share with BA or better is essentially unchanged at 11.5%. U.S.-born Cuban-Americans in this age group show largely the same attainment as the all ages group. Foreign-born Cuban-Americans again have a level of attainment between that of Cubans and U.S.-born Cuban-Americans. The group in this age group has a slightly higher attainment than the all-ages group shown in Table 1. This is illustrated by the fact that just 1.2% of these Cuban-Americans have primary school education or less, compared to 4.2% of the all ages group.

Cubans in this cohort also have a lower labor force participation than Cuban-Americans. U.S.-born Cuban-Americans have a lower labor force participation than foreign-born Cuban-Americans, and a higher unemployment rate.

### 60 Years of Age and Older

As mentioned above, the retirement age for men in Cuba is 60 years of age and 55 for women, while workers in the United States can receive social security benefits as early as 62. It seemed logical to treat those 60 years and older as a separate group, already or close to being out of the labor force. It should be noted that this group accounts only for 3.3% of U.S.-born Cuban-Americans and 14.7% of Cubans.

**Table 2. Selected Indicators for Cubans and Cuban-Americans Born in and after 1959, 2002**

	In Cuba		In the United States					
	Cubans		Total	U.S.-born Cuban-Americans		Foreign-born Cuban-Americans		
Total	7,546,369		757,915		446,504		311,411	
Share of All Ages population born after 1959	67.51%		55.90%		90.42%		36.12%	
Share female	49.16%		47.72%		50.02%		44.44%	
Age Distribution								
14 years and below	2,296,348	30.4%	227,643	30.0%	201,120	45.0%	26,523	8.5%
15 up to 24	1,473,095	19.5%	133,386	17.6%	101,743	22.8%	31,643	10.2%
25 up to 34	1,971,956	26.1%	181,187	23.9%	89,270	20.0%	91,917	29.5%
35 up to 43	1,804,970	23.9%	215,699	28.5%	54,371	12.2%	161,328	51.8%
Child-Woman Ratio <sup>a</sup>	276.60		295.08		549.51		45.66	
Share Currently Married <sup>b</sup>	27.9%		52.2%		36.9%		65.1%	
Race								
White alone	4,859,089	64.4%	631,883	83.4%	369,785	82.8%	262,098	84.2%
Black alone	750,745	9.9%	18,580	2.5%	13,707	3.1%	4,873	1.6%
Mulatto or Mestizo	2,069,854	27.4%	not listed		not listed		not listed	
All Other races, including two or more races	not listed		107,452	14.2%	63,012	14.1%	44,440	14.3%
Educational Attainment <sup>c</sup>								
Elementary school or lower (up to 6th grade)	351,543	9.0%	4,552	1.1%	1,272	0.9%	3,280	1.2%
7th-9th grades (Media Básica)	1,261,340	32.3%	20,102	4.8%	3,580	2.4%	16,522	6.2%
10th-12th, including HS grads(Media Superior)	1,812,905	46.4%	148,876	35.7%	30,883	20.8%	117,993	43.9%
Some College, no BA, including Vocational or Technical school, Associates degrees (up to 3 years of Universitaria)	33,151	0.8%	130,666	31.3%	57,002	38.4%	73,664	27.4%
Bachelor's or higher (4 years of Educación Superior, or more)	451,306	11.5%	112,757	27.0%	55,703	37.5%	57,054	21.2%
Labor Force Status <sup>d</sup>								
Employed	2,951,565		381,945		165,547		216,398	
Unemployed	116,441		36,561		17,281		19,280	
Not in Labor Force	2,153,419		96,665		50,232		46,433	
Unemployment rate	3.8%		8.7%		9.5%		8.2%	
Labor Force Participation	58.8%		81.2%		78.4%		83.5%	

a. The child-woman ratio refers only to women between the ages of 15 and 49 years, and children below the age of five. This is a rough measure of fertility in the case where number of births is not available. These data cover women up to 43 years old.

b. This covers only persons 15 and older, also, due to the way that Cuban Census data were presented, this variable applies to those 44 years and younger, not 43. For consistency, the U.S. ACS data for this variable were calculated to include 44-year-olds as well.

c. This covers only persons 25 and older, also, due to the way that Cuban Census data were presented, this variable applies to those 44 years and younger, not 43. For consistency, the U.S. ACS data were calculated to include 44-year-olds as well.

d. This variable covers only persons 16 and older.

Over one-third of foreign-born Cuban-Americans however, are 60 or older (36.9%). As expected, Cubans and foreign-born Cuban-Americans have a larger share of females than males, 52% and 53.6% re-

spectively, reflecting the longer life-expectancy of women. U.S.-born Cuban-Americans however, are heavily male, as just 43.1% of this group is female.

When compared to the all-ages and post-1959 groups in Tables 1 and 2, this older group has a higher share married. Forty-four percent of Cubans, 53.8% of U.S.-born Cuban-Americans, and 57.7% of foreign-born Cuban-Americans are married.

the share of whites (from 65.1% in the all ages group to 71.5% in the 60 and over group) comes almost entirely from the mulatto/mestizo group, as blacks make up around 10% of Cubans in Tables 1 and 3. In the case of foreign-born Cubans, there is little change in the share self-identifying as white.

This older group is whiter than the all ages and post-1959 groups. In the case of Cubans, the increase in

**Table 3. Selected Indicators of Cubans and Cuban-Americans Over the Age of 60, 2002**

	In Cuba		In the United States					
	Cubans		Total	U.S.-born Cuban-Americans		Foreign-born Cuban-Americans		
Total	1,639,262		334,842		16,385		318,457	
Share of All Ages population 60 or older	14.67%		24.70%		3.32%		36.94%	
Share female	52.07%		53.05%		43.10%		53.56%	
Age Distribution								
60 to 64	475,296	29.0%	81,722	24.4%	3,714	22.7%	78,008	24.5%
65 to 74	660,506	40.3%	146,120	43.6%	8,444	51.5%	137,676	43.2%
75 to 84	370,837	22.6%	86,024	25.7%	2,528	15.4%	83,496	26.2%
85 and up	132,623	8.1%	20,976	6.3%	1,699	10.4%	19,277	6.1%
Share Currently Married	44.0%		57.5%		53.8%		57.7%	
Race								
White alone	1,172,020	71.5%	294,176	87.9%	14,535	88.7%	279,641	87.8%
Black alone	170,321	10.4%	5,585	1.7%	1,090	6.7%	4,495	1.4%
Mulatto or Mestizo	296,921	18.1%	not listed		not listed		not listed	
All Other races, including two or more races	not listed		35,081	10.5%	760	4.6%	34,321	10.8%
Educational Attainment								
Elementary school or lower (up to 6th grade)	1,107,860	67.6%	81,039	24.2%	2,627	16.0%	78,412	24.6%
7th-9th grades (Media Básica)	296,134	18.1%	53,320	15.9%	419	2.6%	52,901	16.6%
10th-12th, including HS grads(Media Superior)	180,220	11.0%	102,418	30.6%	7,865	48.0%	94,553	29.7%
Some College, no BA, including Vocational or Technical school, Associates degrees (up to 3 years of Universitaria)	4,952	0.3%	41,204	12.3%	1,618	9.9%	39,586	12.4%
Bachelor's or higher (4 years of Educación Superior, or more)	50,096	3.1%	56,861	17.0%	3,856	23.5%	53,005	16.6%
Labor Force Status								
Employed	192,784		79,541		4,791		74,750	
Unemployed	0		8,130		214		7,916	
Not in Labor Force	1,446,478		247,171		11,380		235,791	
Unemployment rate	0.0%		9.3%		4.3%		9.6%	
Labor Force Participation Rate	11.8%		26.2%		30.5%		26.0%	

Educational attainment in the 60 and older group shows an exaggerated version of the educational patterns seen in Tables 1 and 2. Over two-thirds of Cubans have a primary school education or less, while only a quarter of foreign-born Cuban-Americans list primary as their highest level of educational attainment (67.6% vs. 24.6%). Twenty-nine percent of foreign-born Cuban-Americans have post-high school education, while just 3.4% of Cubans can make the same claim.

This older cohort has a much lower labor force participation in both countries. Cubans have a labor force participation of just over 10%, while Cuban-Americans participate at a rate of just over 25%.

### **CONCLUSIONS AND AREAS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH**

Cuban-Americans number 1.3 million, close to 11% of all Cubans in Cuba and the United States combined. The Cuban population is older than the U.S.-born Cuban-American population, and Cubans are far less likely to be married than U.S.-born and foreign-born Cuban-Americans. Perhaps as a result of those two factors, the Cuban population is less fertile than the U.S.-born Cuban-American population. The U.S.-born and foreign-born Cuban-American populations are whiter than the Cuban population, and the Cuban population is close to 10% black in all age groups examined. The Cuban population has the lowest educational attainment, and the U.S.-born Cuban-Americans have the highest educational attainment. Educational attainment is higher for those born after 1959 than for all ages and those 60 or older for all populations. Cubans have lower labor force participation than Cuban-Americans at all age levels, as well as lower unemployment.

The 2002 Cuban Census is a rich but flawed data source. As the first census of the Cuban population since 1981, it is of great importance for students of Cuban demography regardless of its quality. A judgment as to the quality of the data and of the data-gathering process is beyond the scope of this paper. While the electronic release of data and documentation is a boon to researchers, greatly speeding analysis, the form of the data release is limiting, and influenced the variables I chose to analyze here. Data were released as 61 tables, which may seem to be a large number, but is actually quite sparse for a national census. In the area of educational attainment, for instance, only 3 tables were released, severely limiting the possibility for analysis. Even more limiting is the lack of microdata files in the Cuban Census, which would allow researchers to create their own cross-tabulations of the data.

The Cuban Census covers numerous topics not discussed in this paper. In particular, the release includes various tables on household dynamics and on housing, as well as data by territory and municipality for some fields. Other areas covered in the Cuban Census include workforce characteristics by occupation and industry. Researchers may want to work in these areas in the future. Some scholars have suggested research analyzing the Cuban and Cuban-American populations as complementary workforces in the context of a political and economic transition in the island that resulted in the free movement of labor between Cuba and the United States. This would entail, among other things, comparing the Cuban workforce's labor experience and education with the Cuban-American workforce's characteristics. Essential for all of this additional research would be release by Cuba of microdata from the 2002 census.