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Foreign-born Dispersion to New Destinations: Characteristics of Settlers and Places

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For a couple of decades the foreign-born population has grown rapidly beyond the traditional states of California and New York where most immigrants congregated for decades and that still have the largest foreign-born populations. Foreign-born resettlement in non-traditional states and metropolitan areas has been well documented by a number of scholars (Bump, Lowell and Pettersen, 2005; Massey, 2008; Singer, 2004). However, before we can understand the complex of forces driving foreign-born resettlements and the importance of this shift for the country and immigrants, much remains to be learned about the characteristics of immigrants living in new destinations and the characteristics of places with growing immigrant populations. Most of what we know about the determinants and consequences of foreign-born resettlement in new destinations comes from public use files or ethnographic studies. Unfortunately, both types of data have limitations that constrain knowledge. By definition, new destinations are places with relatively small foreign-born populations, which means that national level studies that draw on PUMS data can only look at states, larger metro areas or pumas. Other studies have focused on the 100-150 metros that have relatively large foreign-born populations. In addition, insufficient cases for small population subgroups limit PUMS studies to the total foreign born or foreign-born subgroups with large populations, such as Mexicans, Latinos, or Asians although there is considerable national origin heterogeneity in settlement and internal migration patterns (Kritz and Gurak, 2015).

Ethnographic studies, on the other hand, provide rich and interesting information on immigrants settled in new destinations that advances understanding of the work that immigrants do in the study communities and the problems they confront in places that lack the social support systems available to them in large metropolitan areas. To date most ethnographic studies have focused on Latino or Mexican settlers in small rural Southern communities (Durand, Massey and Parrado, 1999; Griffiths, 2005; Hall, 2013; Kandel and Parrado, 2005; Marrow, 2011; Odem and

Lacy, 2009; Zúñiga and Hernández-León, 2005). Their findings indicate that immigrants moved to those places to work in low-wage jobs in agriculture, food processing, and other non-durable manufacturing industries (e.g. textiles, furniture, carpets, etc.) for which native-born workers are either unavailable or unwilling to do the work for the wages offered. While the portrait that has emerged from the ethnographic studies describe one group of new destination settlers (Crowley and Evert, 2014; Lichter and Johnson, 2006), Asians and immigrants from other world regions have received less attention in ethnographic studies[1] although they constitute about half of all U.S. immigrants and are also known to be dispersing to new destinations (Flippen and Kim, 2015; Frey and Liaw, 1999; Kritz and Gurak, 2015; Massey and Capoferro, 2008; Moberg and Thomas, 1998). In addition, most new immigrant destinations are not small rural communities, but medium-sized metropolitan areas. The latter, however, have received little study because PUMS and other datasets have no or minimal microdata in places with small populations and few immigrants due to federal privacy laws.

In this study, we examine both the characteristics of immigrants living in dispersed places throughout the country and the characteristics of new destination places by drawing on confidential ACS and census data. The confidential files have full geographic and national origin detail for foreign-born settlements throughout the country, including every metropolitan area as well as non-metropolitan areas. We address several issues in the paper. First, we compare dispersion levels and trends for the largest Asian and Latin American origin groups from 1990 to the mid-2000s. Since the growth of foreign-born populations in new destinations can only occur through internal migration or immigration from abroad, we also examine whether there are national origin differences in internal migration and recent immigration to new destinations. Second, we use fixed-effect regression models to predict foreign-born settlement in 741 geographic areas based on immigrant's individual characteristics and the economic context of

those areas. Because that analysis shows that internal migrants are significantly more likely to live in dispersed areas than recent immigrants are, we estimate a second fixed-effect regression model that examines the individual and context correlates of dispersed settlement for internal migrants.

Data and Measurement

To examine national origin differences in settlement it would be useful to have a data matrix that disaggregates immigrants by national origin across all metropolitan and non-metropolitan places. Such a matrix, however, is only available for states because privacy considerations prevent the Census Bureau from releasing data for small population subgroups such as the foreign born in dispersed places.[2] Although most immigrants continue to live in traditional gateways and states, the fastest growing settlement places tend to be non-metro or small metro places in Southern and Midwestern states for which data are often suppressed in public use files (Passel, Capps and Fix, 2002). Using states as geographic units is especially problematic because many of the new destinations for immigrants living in the largest gateways - New York, Los Angeles, Miami, Chicago, Houston -has been to cities with smaller co-ethnic populations in the same state (Henrie and Plane, 2008; Jaret and Baird, 2013; Plane, Henrie and Perry, 2005) because most immigrants move relatively short distances. This implies that different initial settlements mean that new destinations will also differ by national origins (Portes and Rumbaut, 2014). For instance, Dominicans and the Chinese are concentrated in the New York metro, Cubans in the Miami/Fort Lauderdale metro, Salvadorans, Koreans, and Filipinos in the Los Angeles metro, Indians in New York and New Jersey metros.

To provide insights into foreign-born settlement and migration patterns in different parts of the country for the largest national origin groups, we use Confidential Use Microdata Samples (CUMS) from the 2005-2009 ACS. CUMS data are a rich but underutilized data source on the foreign born that are available for analysis at Census Bureau Research Data Centers (RDCs).[3] The

CUMS have about 40 percent more study cases than PUMS files do as well as detailed individual information on residence places. This geographic detail for individuals allows scholars to construct spatial units for all metropolitan and non-metropolitan areas. For this analysis, we modified a set of spatial units that Tolbert (2006; 2009) developed by using cluster analysis to identify contiguous counties with close socioeconomic linkages and commuting patterns in 1990. The resulting 741 spatial units cover all 50 states and the District of Columbia and correspond roughly to metropolitan statistical areas if they have large populations but span large territories if they are non-metro areas with small populations. We refer to these geographic units as labor markets given that most of them are relatively compact commuting areas that offer employment and provide consumer and other services to people in surrounding areas. The analytic sample includes all foreign-born adults aged 24-65 living in the USA at the time of the ACS survey. It does not include individuals who live in group-quarters.

Defining New Destinations: Differential population sizes and migration tendencies across U.S. national origin groups and differential settlement patterns complicate the study of immigrant resettlement to new destinations (Kritz and Gurak, 2004; Kritz, Gurak and Lee, 2011). Because of data limitations, most previous studies have ignored national origin heterogeneity and defined new destinations based on growth and/or composition patterns of the total foreign born or foreign born in states or metropolitan areas (Lichter and Johnson, 2009; Singer, 2008; Stamps and Bohon, 2006; Suro and Singer, 2002). That approach biases estimates toward the Mexican mean and ignores anomalous patterns of smaller origin groups. Because of the greater geographic and national origin detail in CUMS data, we identify new destinations for the 40 largest national origin groups based on their settlement percentages in the 741-geo areas. We aggregated the remaining foreign-born into seven world regions (other Asia, North Africa/West Asia, Pacific, other Europe, sub-Saharan Africa, other Latin America, and other Caribbean). The 40 origin countries each had

more than 100,000 nationals in the United States at the time of the ACS survey and accounted for 88 percent of the total foreign born.

For descriptive statistics, we calculated each origin group's top five gateways and new destinations. The gateways include the top five labor markets that had the highest percentages of immigrants for each origin group. New destinations include labor markets ranked from 51 to 741 in percentages of immigrants from each origin. Not all origin groups had nationals settled in all 741-labor markets but all of them did have immigrants from some origins. Mexicans had nationals in the largest number of labor markets (727) but Guyanese, one of the smaller origin groups, has nationals in only 212 areas. Filipinos and Indians were present in 637 and 538 labor markets, respectively.[4]

The dependent variable in our regression models is the percentage of immigrants from each origin settled in each labor market. Because our focus is on dispersion, we reverse coded the measure so that positive coefficients reflect association with greater dispersion and negative ones reflect nativity concentration. Models estimate dispersion for two population groups: settlers, which include the total number of foreign born from each national origin in each labor market, and migrants, which include only internal migrants who lived elsewhere in the USA a year ago and recent immigrants who arrived from abroad in the past year. Internal migrants are people who lived in a different labor market at the time of the ACS survey than they did a year earlier. To separate local residential moves from internal migration, which implies movement to a new community and change in social context, we added a further constraint, namely that the new place of residence had to be located at least 50 miles from the former residence. We used county centroid coordinates to calculate the distance of internal moves. Recent immigrants, on the other hand, are people who moved to their current residence from abroad in the past year. Given that the

migration period only covers one year, 95 percent of immigrants in the sample are non-migrants and comparable percentages were internal migrants (2.7%) and recent immigrants (2.5%). Model covariates include dichotomous and continuous variables that measure individual socio-demographic status, acculturation levels, region of residence, and continuous variables measuring labor market context. The socio-demographic status measures include: *sex* (male=1); age (years), marital *status (never married = 1);education level (no high school degree, high school degree/some college, college degree [reference], and advanced or professional degree=1); and school attendance in the past three months (=1).* The acculturation measures include years in USA (years and years squared); naturalized citizen (=1); lives with native-born *householder=1; English language proficiency* (none [reference]; poor; well; very well/only=1); *internal migration status =1); and recent immigrant (=1). F*our variables specify region of residence a year ago (West, Northeast, Midwest, and South [reference]=1). The full model specifies the economic context of the 741 labor markets: native-born mean wage, native born employment change between 1990 and 2000; and five industry measures that specify the percentage of the labor force employed in manufacturing, education/research, construction, agriculture, and the military. Initially we estimated models with a larger set of industry measures but settled for this parsimonious set because they had they are the ones that employ most immigrants and that had the most robust relationships to settlement and internal migration. By using native-born measures of wages and employment growth, we minimize endogeneity issues. All models have indicators for the ACS survey year to control for changes in the economy or other factors that may have occurred in the 2005 to 2009 period. Several previous studies show that nativity concentration is the main factor that accounts for where immigrants settle initially, whether they migrate internally, and internal destination choices if they do migrate (Frey and Liaw, 2005; Gurak and Kritz, 2000; Kritz and Nogle, 1994; Lieberson and Waters, 1987; Logan, Alba and Zhang, 2002). While analyses like

this normally include indicators of national origin concentration, that is not done in this analysis because the outcome is an indicator of nativity concentration.

Foreign-Born Dispersion to New Destinations: What Do We Know?

For the 40 largest national origin groups in the ACS sample, Figure 1 shows the distribution of the 40 largest national origin groups by gateway, new destination, and mid-dispersed area (labor markets ranked 6-50) in the ACS data (2007, for short). The group rankings go from low to high based on their percentages in new destinations. In 2007, only 13 percent of the total foreign born lived in new destinations compared to 47 percent in the top five gateways and 40 percent in the mid-dispersed labor markets. Those distributions varied considerably, however, for immigrants from different national origins. Whereas fewer than 5 percent of Dominicans, Haitians, Guyanese, Portuguese, Cubans, and Ecuadoreans lived in their group's new destination areas in 2007, over 16 percent of Japanese, Mexicans, Laotians, Thais, Brits, Canadians, and Germans did. Indeed the majority of nationals from those countries as well as ones from India, Romania, Cambodia, and Nigeria were more likely to be in the mid-dispersed category rather than in gateways or new destinations. There is a correlation of 0.15 between origin percentages in new destinations and origin foreign-born size, which suggests that there is only a weak tendency toward greater dispersion among the larger immigrant groups. Given that the new destination classification is based on origin-specific settlement patterns across labor markets, the findings are not affected by the fact that foreign-born groups differ greatly in their population sizes. However, origin population size does have different implications for immigrants from the standpoint of compatriot availability. For instance, a Mexican living in that group's 51st labor market would have 31,000 other compatriots living there while an Indian in the 51th labor market would have 4,200 compatriots and Dominicans would only have 460 compatriots.

Figure 2 shows how the percentages of immigrants living in the three types of settlement areas changed from 1990 to the second half of the 2000s. Using the group-specific settlement classifications, the black line shows the percentages living in the top five gateways; the red line shows the percentages living in new destinations; and the blue line shows the percentages living in the mid-dispersed areas. Although immigrants are now less concentrated in the top five gateways than they were in 1990, about half of the total foreign born continue to live in those places. The mid-dispersed category had the fastest growth and includes all of the metro areas identified by Suro and Singer (2002) (e.g. Atlanta, Dallas, Phoenix, Washington DC, San Jose, Seattle, Tampa, etc.) as well as several smaller metros that were not in their listing. While both the new destinations and the mid-dispersed categories include metro areas, for most origin groups the new destination area includes small metro areas rather than non-metro ones.

The pace at which dispersion is occurring, however, differs greatly by national origin. Figure 3 shows the percentages of immigrants from the seven largest Asian and Latin American origins in the new destination category. The green lines show trends for the Latin American groups and the red lines show trends for the Asian groups. Only three groups (Mexicans, Koreans, and Indians are more dispersed than the total foreign born, illustrating the effect that origin group size can have on the total foreign-born statistics. From 1990 to 2007, Mexicans and Guatemalans had a much faster pace of dispersion than other groups while two Asian groups, the Chinese and Taiwanese, were less dispersed in 2007 than they were in 1990. Three Latin American groups (Dominicans, Cubans, and Ecuadorans, were the least likely to live in new destinations – just over 3 percent of them compared to 16 percent of Mexicans lived in new destinations. Except for Mexicans, Asians are more likely than Latin Americans are to live in new destinations.

That becomes even clearer in Figure 4, which shows the percentage of immigrants from the same national origins that lived in their group's top five gateways in 1990, 2000 and 2007.

Except for Mexicans and Guatemalans, all the Asian groups were less likely to be in one of their group's top five gateways than the Latin American groups were. Indians were the least concentrated in their group's top five gateways (35%), followed by Mexicans (42%), Vietnamese (44%), and Filipinos (46%). Although the slopes indicate that the pace of dispersion varies by national origin, the trend was downward for all 14 groups as well as the total foreign born. Dominican, Cubans, and Ecuadorans were the most concentrated groups – over 75 percent of immigrants from those origins continued to live in their group's top five gateways in 2007.

Accounting for Immigrant Dispersion to New Destinations

Before presenting our empirical findings on the relationships between settlement patterns and immigrants' individual and labor market contexts, it may be useful to review what spatial assimilation theory would lead us to expect. Assimilation theorists described a process that occurred mainly for immigrants' descendants after they had acquired the cultural, social, and economic skills that increased the likelihood that they intermarried members of the majority group, competed for mainstream jobs, and acquired housing in majority neighborhoods. In contrast to this generational process that characterized the assimilation of European immigrants in the past century, first generation immigrants today are dispersing rapidly. Alba and colleagues were the first to recognize that contemporary immigrants were venturing beyond their concentrated co-ethnic settlements in central cities and settling directly in suburbs (Alba, et al., 1999; Alba and Nee, 1999). Today, increasing numbers of immigrants are moving further beyond the traditional metropolitan gateways, into states and regions dubbed "new destinations." Most acknowledge that the classic assimilation model held for immigrants from Eastern and Southern Europe in the past century (Alba and Nee, 1999; Alba and Nee, 2003), but some argue that Asians and Latinos may follow different pathways today because of their racial phenotypes (Massey and

Sánchez, 2009; Portes and Rumbaut, 2001; Portes and Zhou, 1993; Waldinger, 2001; Zhou, 1999). Immigrant groups that are phenotypically more similar to the Caucasian majority may assimilate but others that include peoples of mixed ethnicities and skin tones may be stereotyped as "minorities", experience discrimination in job and housing markets, and have limited upward mobility (Portes and Zhou, 1993; Zhou, 1999). In this paper, rather than looking at sources of differences in national origin experiences, control for national origin differences in population size to minimize the effect of Mexicans and other large groups on assimilation outcomes for the total foreign born.

Table 1 has four models that control additively for immigrant's socio-demographic status, acculturation levels, geographic region, and labor market context. It also has two additional models for Mexicans and non-Mexicans that allow us to evaluate whether Mexicans, who constitute a third of all immigrants, have different settlement dynamics. Tables 1 and 2 only show the coefficients for the four sets of covariates but the models have adjustments for the fixed effects of national origin groups and the seven origin regions described above.[5] The first model shows that immigrants who are men and have advanced degrees are significantly more likely to disperse while ones who are older and never married are significantly less likely to disperse. The survey year indicators show an increased tendency toward dispersion among immigrants, which indicates that throughout the 2007-2011 period, immigrant dispersion increased. All the variables included in the acculturation model are significant and consistent with spatial assimilation tenets. Settlers who have greater English language fluency or who live in a household with a native-born head have significantly higher dispersion levels. Although the relationship between the respondent and the native-born head of household is unknown, some people in that category are likely to be marital partners while others may be roommates who live together for a host of reasons. Based on spatial assimilation tenets, we expected higher dispersion levels among internal migrants than

recent immigrants and confirmed that to be the case for settlers – Model 2 shows that dispersion was 8-9 times greater for internal migrants compared to recent immigrants. While immigrants who lived in the USA longer could be expected to disperse because they had more time to learn about job and cost-of-living differences across the country, it is also the case that people put down community roots as they age, which might account for why years in USA is negatively related to dispersion. Nonetheless, that relationship becomes positive the longer people stay in the country. That pattern could occur if immigrants leave dispersed areas for co-ethnic communities when they retire. Model 3 shows that geographic region also shapes dispersion patterns. Immigrants were significantly less likely to live in dispersed labor markets in the northeast and the west than they were in the south. That finding makes sense given that most immigrants now live in the northeast or the west and, therefore, if they are located in an area where their origin group has few settlers, they are likely to live in the South.

The 4th model, which controls for economic context, attenuates several of the individual relationships but most of them, with the exception of age, never married status, naturalized citizen, and recent immigrant, remain significant. Never married men, for instance, may be in the military or work in low-wage jobs in agriculture or manufacturing jobs. The finding for recent immigrants, on the other hand, differs for Mexicans and non-Mexicans. In the sixth model, the coefficient for Mexican recent immigrants is insignificant while it remains significant for non-Mexicans in Model 5. That finding differs from findings in the ethnographic studies, which have found that immigrants were arriving in the study communities directly from abroad rather than from elsewhere in the USA (Marrow, 2011). The non-Mexican model also shows that immigrants with no high school degree are significantly less likely to disperse. However, the education measures are not significant for Mexicans. That finding underscores that the dispersion of Mexicans responds to very different factors than spatial assimilation theory suggests. For most immigrants,

dispersion is positive and significantly related to native-born employment change and the percentages employed in manufacturing, education/research, construction, agriculture, and the military but negatively related to native-born mean wage. The economic context findings are consistent with neo-classical economic claims that people remain in or relocate to areas that have robust economies. The economic context findings hold for non-Mexicans but three of them are insignificant for Mexicans (native-born mean wage, % in manufacturing, and % in construction). One reason for this discrepancy may stem from the higher dispersion levels of Mexicans and their settlement in almost all of the labor markets.

Most immigrants in new destinations probably migrated to those places from elsewhere in the USA or abroad at some point in the past given the rapid growth of those places in the past couple of decades. To examine whether there are differences between immigrant settlers and migrants in dispersion determinants, Table 2 replicates Table 1, but for migrants (internal and recent from abroad) alone. Migrants would have moved to the labor market in the past year. Therefore, it might be reasonable to expect some of the relationships to be stronger for migrants than they are for settlers. However, limiting the analysis to migrants means that there are fewer analysis cases and even with CUMS data, the variance on many measures is small, especially in dispersed areas, after controlling for foreign-born origin. Table 2 shows the findings for migrants and reveals some differences between settlers and migrants. For instance, in the human capital model, migrants who attended school in the past three months were more likely to live in a dispersed labor market. Except for Mexicans, that finding holds up in subsequent models. Given that the USA now hosts about 700,000 international students annually and the largest senders of international students (China, India, and Korea) are among the largest senders of U.S. immigrants, the school attendance finding is not surprising.

There are other differences between settlers and migrants. For instance, Model 2 shows that after controlling for immigrant's acculturation levels, migrants that had no high school or some college were significantly more likely to have moved to a dispersed labor market in the past year. The coefficient for internal migrants is positive and highly significant, which underlines the importance of internal migration for dispersion in the USA.[6] The coefficients for the English language measures remain positive and highly significant in the acculturation model. That finding suggests that many immigrants who move to places with less compatriot availability usually have sufficient English language ability to be able to find jobs, housing, and services in new destinations. Findings for Model 4, which controls for economic context, are comparable to those in Table 1 for foreign born and non-Mexican settlers. Foreign-born migrants in the past year were significantly more likely to have settled in dispersed labor markets that had native-born employment growth and larger shares of workers employed in manufacturing, education/research, construction, agriculture, and military industries. They were less likely to be in labor markets that had higher native-born wages, which is not surprising since the areas with higher wages are typically the largest metropolitan areas rather than smaller metros or non-metro areas. None of the economic context measures, however, were significant for Mexicans. Since many Mexicans work in those industries, that finding likely occurs because there is less variability in the types of labor markets where Mexicans settle.

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS FROM Table 3 WILL BE INSERTED HERE. THAT TABLE HAS COUNTRY OF ORIGIN MODELS FOR 3 LATIN AMERICAN GROUPS (MEXICANS, SALVADORANS AND CUBANS) & 4 ASIAN GROUPS (FILIPINOS, CHINESE, INDIANS, AND KOREANS) THESE ARE THE LARGEST ORIGIN GROUPS FROM EACH REGION AND ALL 4 ASIAN GROUPS ARE LARGER THAN CUBANS

AND SALVADORANS. FINDINGS FROM THOSE MODELS ARE MORE NUANCED THAN THE ONES FROM THE COMBINED MODELS SHOWN IN TABLES 1 AND 2. DISCUSSION OF FIGURE 5 WILL ALSO BE INSERTED HERE.

Discussion and Conclusions

THIS SECTION HAS SOME DISCUSSION BUT MOST OF IT WILL BE REWRITTEN.

The analysis provides strong support for the assimilation thesis that dispersal to new destinations is part of a social process that unfolds over time as immigrants become more acculturated and knowledgeable about opportunities located in other parts of the country. The findings also indicate that Mexican dispersion responds to forces that appear inconsistent with spatial assimilation theory. While Mexican dispersion (based on Table 3) appears to be largely dependent on the context characteristics of labor markets rather than based on their individual characteristics, several findings for that group differ from other groups. The most significant and substantively important determinants of Mexican dispersion were the agricultural industrial share and percentage changes in native-born employment. Mexican dispersion appears to be consistent with segmented labor market theories, which posit that immigrants take jobs in secondary labor markets characterized by low-wages. If industries that offer low-wage jobs are concentrated in a handful of counties, as Lichter (2012) suggests, and, if immigrants move out of new destinations at high rates as other studies suggests (Kritz, Gurak and Lee, 2011), it is plausible that Mexicans will be sojourners in new destinations rather than permanent settlers. Sojourners tend to be target earners who move on to other places as attractive opportunities open up elsewhere.

To sum up, our findings provide strong support for classic assimilation theory but also provide grounds for optimism given that the immigrant incorporation and assimilation process which took 3-4 generations to complete at the turn of the last century is now well underway in the

first generation for many immigrants of Asian and Hispanic origin. These findings suggest that American society is becoming a more tolerant place for immigrants of color and that it is easier for "mixing" to occur as native-born race and ethnic diversity increases. Although there is evidence to the contrary, including the passage by states of legislation aimed at making it more difficult for undocumented immigrants to work, the dispersal of immigrants that have different phenotypes to places where few of their compatriots live suggests that they perceive that they can find housing and jobs beyond the gateways. It is also likely that as immigrants settle in dispersed areas, their interactions with natives will increase, which should speed up the assimilation process. This implies that it is important to look more closely than has been done in this paper at how residential segregation patterns differ for immigrants in dispersed and traditional areas and whether there are threshold numbers of compatriots for immigrants from different origins that make a difference for incorporation and assimilation processes (Hall, 2013).

The fact that many of those who are dispersing to new destinations have high levels of human capital and acculturation does, of course, make it easier for immigrants who may appear phenotypically different to move to areas where they have few compatriots. It is also likely that many skilled immigrants moving to dispersed places may be doing so because they secured jobs in health, education and other industries before they made that move. Restructuring has not only occurred in agriculture and low-wage industries in recent years but also in health and education industries. Those changes have opened up opportunities in rural areas that are often difficult to fill with native workers. Hiring in health and higher education industries usually occur through national-based companies and recruitment. We know little, however, about the work and settlement patterns of skilled immigrants in dispersed parts of the country and, therefore, that topic requires more research. Given that U.S. foreign-born population has a highly bifurcated education structure that splits into two very different segments – one group of immigrants have college,

advanced and professional degrees and the ones in the other group have high school or less than a high school degree - further research is needed on how that bifurcation shapes dispersal. It appears that with the exception of Mexicans and some Central American groups (Guatemalans, Hondurans), most other immigrant groups that have low human capital profiles (e.g. Dominicans, Haitians, Jamaicans, Portuguese) continue to live in the large gateways. We need further research on why immigrants with similar skill profiles disperse while others remain in concentrated settlements.

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End Notes

[1] A couple of ethnographic studies have studied Asians (Kim, 1998; Moberg and Thomas, 1998).

[2] Due to disclosure restrictions, 8.3% of the foreign born (or total pop) in metropolitan areas had the identity of their residence place restricted in the 2005-2009 ACS PUMS file. The degree of suppression is larger in the one and three year ACS files.

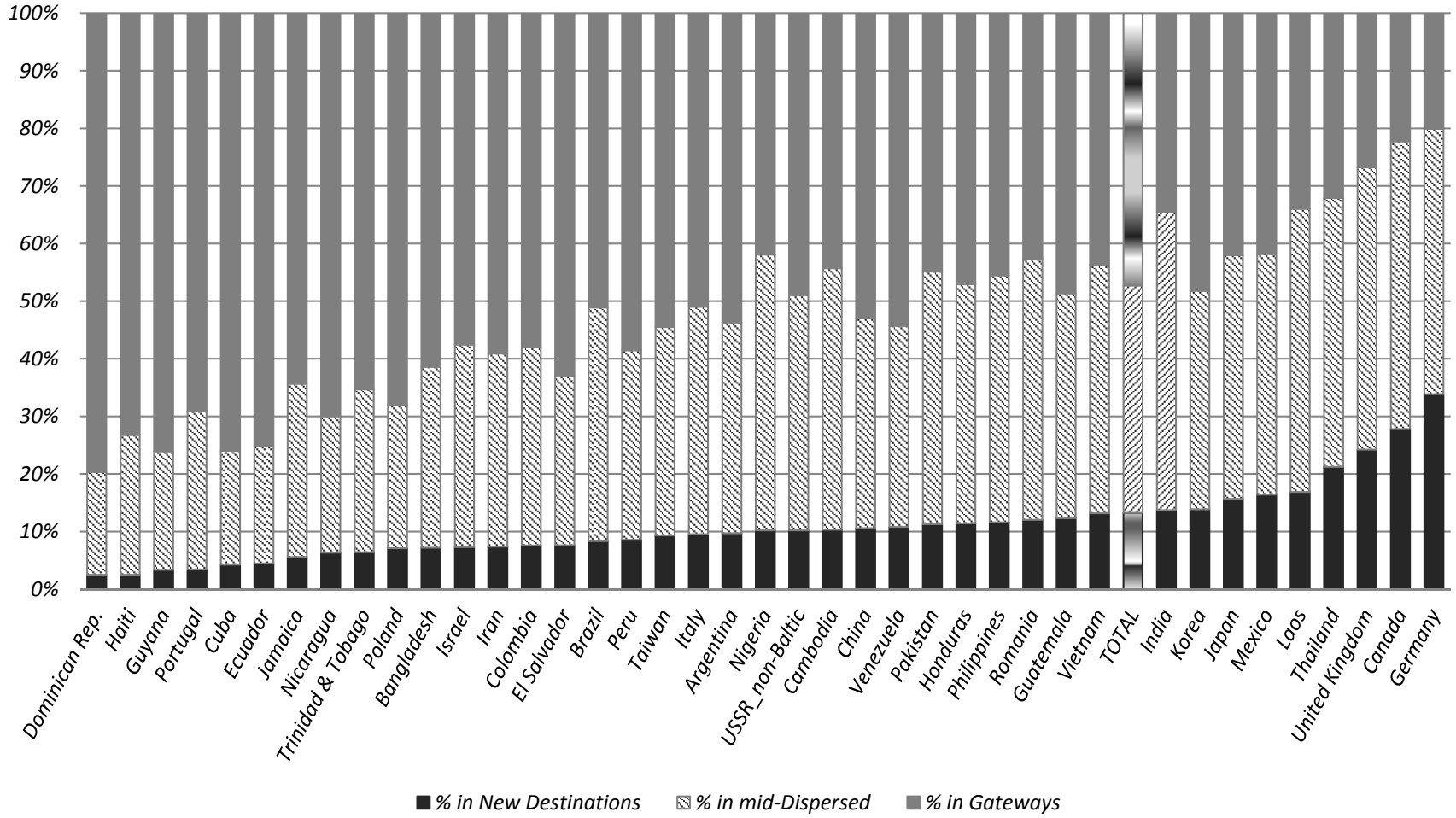
[3] Information on the RDCs is available at: http://www.census.gov/ces/. To assure respondents' privacy, statistics require approval from the Bureau's Disclosure Review Board. The statistics reported in this paper have been reviewed and approved for release.

[4] Other groups that were located in a relatively large number of labor markets include Canadians (650) and Other Europeans (635). Based on a comparison of census 2000 decennial data and ACS 2005-2009 data, we found that the foreign born from different origins were located in fewer areas in the 2005-2009 period than they were in 2000.

[5] The models were estimated using Stata's *areg* command. Canadians are the reference group in those models. The coefficients estimated by *areg* are identical to those estimated by OLS. The 6th model in Tables 1 and 2 (for Mexicans), was estimated for Mexicans and Canadians.

[6] An interaction between internal migrant and the education categories would allow us to determine whether this speculation is correct. However, we cannot currently estimate that model because our Census research project has terminated and we can only re-access the data if we receive a revise-and-resubmit invite from a journal editor.

Figure 1: Percent of Immigrants Living in Gateways, Mid-Dispersed, and Dispersed Labor Markets by National Origin, Ages, 24-65, ACS 2005-2009



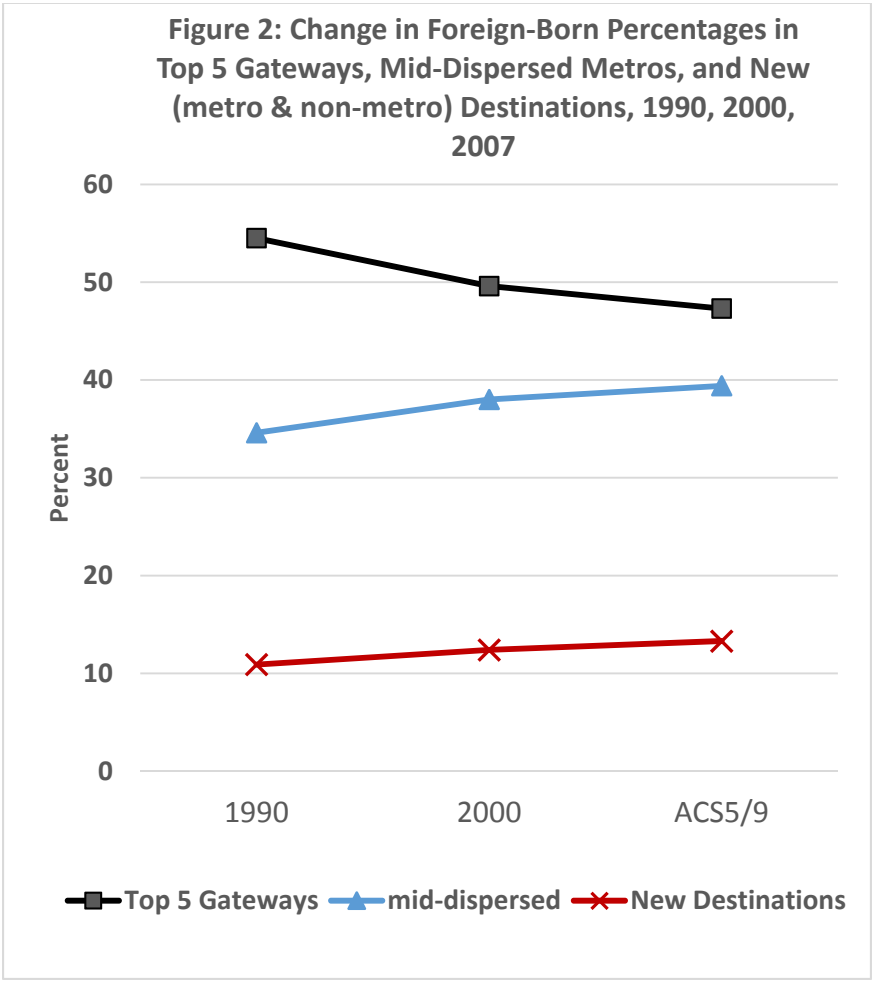


Figure 2: Change in Foreign-Born Percentages in Top 5 Gateways, Mid-Dispersed Metros, and New (metro & non-metro) Destinations, 1990, 2000, 2007
60
50
40
30
20
10
0
Percent
1990
2000
ACS5/9
Top 5 Gateways
mid-dispersed
New Destinations

Figure 3: Percent of Latin American and Asian Foreign-Born Origin Groups Living in New Destination (dispersed) Labor Markets, 1990, 2000 and 2005-2009

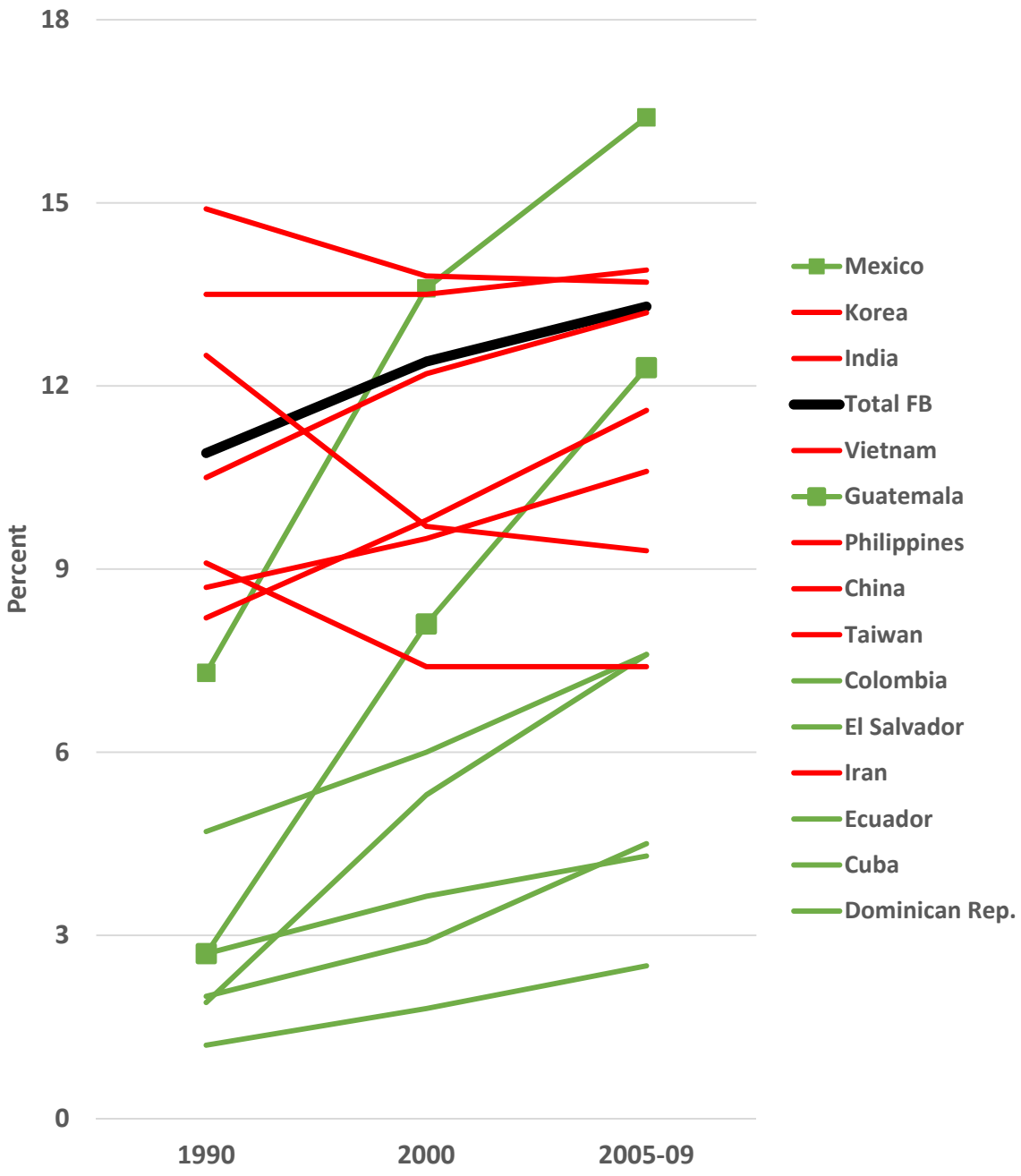


Figure 4: Percent of Latin American and Asian Foreign-Born Origin Groups Living in a Top 5 Gateways, 1990, 2000 and 2005-2009

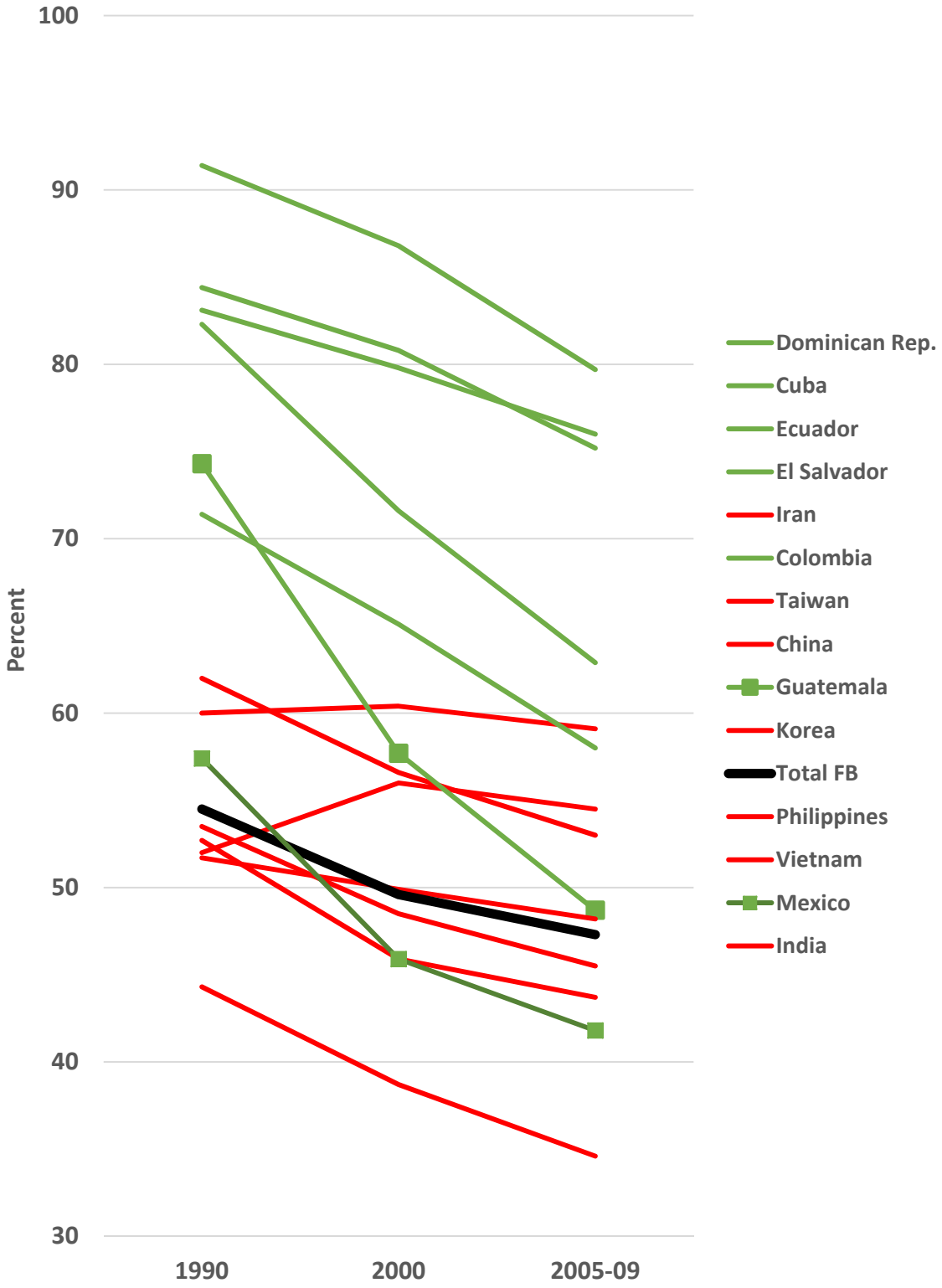
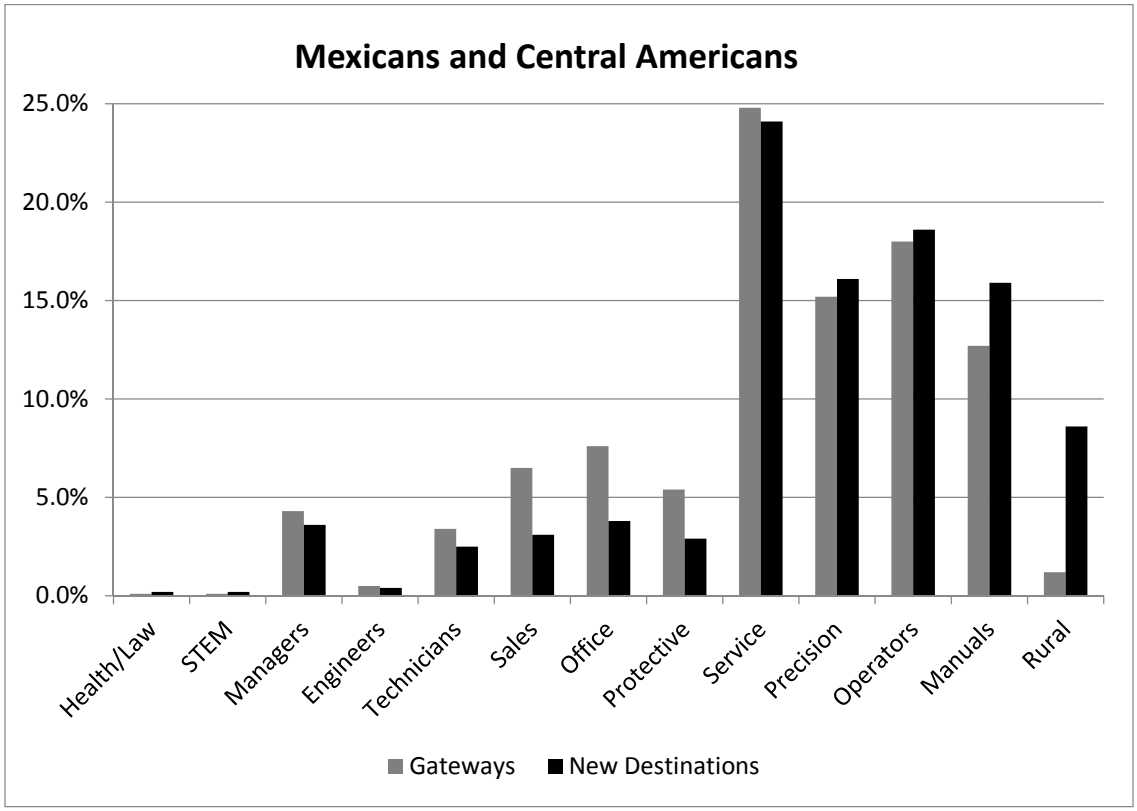


Figure 5. These 2 charts shows the occupational distributions of Asians and Mexicans/Central Americans in gateways and new destinations.



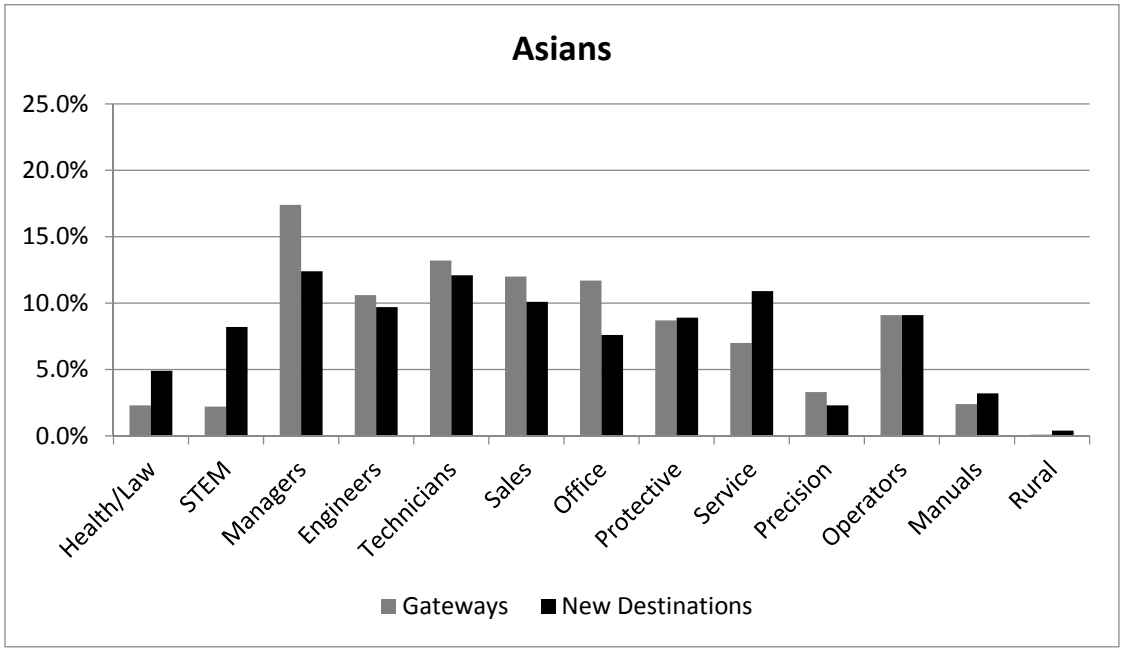


Table 1: Regression of Foreign-born Settlement in Dispersed Labor Markets on Human Capital, Acculturation, Geographic and Economic Context, and National Origin, 2005-2009 ACS multiyear sample [a]

	Human Capital (demographic & education)	+ Acculturation	+ Geographic Region	+ Economic Context (full model)	Full model for non-Mexicans	Full model for Mexicans
Male (=1)	1.267*	1.427**	1.127***	0.485**	0.254	0.651
Age (years)	-0.268***	-0.084***	-0.077***	-0.003	0.022	-0.001
Never Married (=1)	-4.750***	-4.546***	-3.189***	0.138	-0.275	0.072
No high school (HS) degree (=1)	-0.856	1.001	1.082	-1.601*	-1.744**	-0.585
HS degree/some college (=1)	-0.371	0.524	0.724	-0.698	-0.742	-0.436
College degree (ref)	---	---	---		---	---
Advanced Degree (=1)	5.613***	4.901***	4.213***	2.048***	1.904***	0.684
Attending school (=1)	1.901	0.895	1.048	-0.577	-0.157	-0.513
Years in U.S.		-0.822***	-0.593***	-0.215***	-0.098**	-0.404***
Years in U.S. squared		0.013***	0.010***	0.003***	0.002***	0.005***
Citizen (=1)		-0.990**	-0.741*	-0.057	-0.283	-0.176
Native Born Head of Household (=1)		8.050***	7.247***	2.405***	2.874***	0.552*
English ability: none (ref)		---	---		---	---
English ability: poor (=1)		1.374*	0.971	1.568*	2.317***	1.494*
English ability: well (=1)		3.420***	2.634*	2.368**	3.892***	2.152*
English ability: very well, only (=1)		6.659***	5.403***	3.743***	5.467***	2.828**
Internal migrant (=1)		16.204***	13.237***	3.702***	3.329***	3.995**
Recent immigrant (=1)		1.761*	1.657*	0.335	1.219**	-0.202
South region (ref)			---		---	---
Northeast region (=1)			-23.788***	27.584***	24.205***	60.194***

West region (=1)			-29.536**	-17.488***	-15.787***	-20.678*
Midwest region (=1)			-1.779	12.723***	8.125*	17.950*
Native-born (NB) mean wage (log) [b]				-8.569	-21.415**	10.532
NB employment change (sq. root) [b]				17.287***	17.460***	17.561**
Labor force (LF) % Manufacturing (log) [b]				461.991	797.114***	-320.991
LF % Education/Research (log) [b]				130.711***	136.909***	128.940*
LF % Construction (log) [b]				59.662*	52.428***	49.364
LF % Agriculture (log) [b]				22.610***	21.291***	23.027**
LF % Military (log) [b]				3.594***	4.041***	2.722**
2007 survey year (ref)	---	---	---		---	---
2008 survey year	0.174	0.253	0.099	-0.023	-0.029	0.003
2009 survey year	0.468*	0.641**	0.359*	0.018	-0.143	0.340
2010 survey year	0.610**	0.808**	0.537**	0.068	-0.120	0.360
2011 survey year	1.113***	1.339***	1.045***	0.205	0.040	0.571**
Observations	1,728,909	1,728,909	1,728,909	1,728,909	1,239,859	489,050
Constant	75.260***	70.400***	84.154***	-3,451.085*	-5,453.223***	1,351.882
R-squared	0.056	0.074	0.187	0.587	0.569	0.686
LR test	2326.73***	6205.12***	na	1,395,459***	na	na

[a] Fixed effect model for 47 origin categories using STATA's areg procedure

[b] Context measures describe current year (2005-2009) labor market using data for 2000 except for employment change (1990 to 2000)

*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05

Table 2: Regression of Foreign-born Settlement in Dispersed Labor Markets on Human Capital, Acculturation, Geographic and Economic Context, and National Origin for Internal and Recent Immigrants, 2005-2009 ACS multiyear sample [a]

	Human Capital (demographic & education)	+ Acculturation	+ Geographic Region	+ Economic Context (full model)	Full model for non-Mexicans	Full model for Mexicans
Male (=1)	2.132***	1.965***	1.694***	0.406	0.153	1.174*
Age (years)	-0.100**	-0.070*	-0.084***	-0.036*	-0.020	-0.046
Never Married (=1)	-3.256***	-2.656***	-1.956***	0.063	-0.108	0.447
No high school (HS) degree (=1)	0.292	2.515*	2.655*	-0.476	-0.500	0.402
HS degree/some college (=1)	1.240	1.188	0.971	-0.678	-0.711	-0.017
College degree (ref)	---	---	---	---	---	---
Advanced Degree (=1)	1.983**	1.106	0.926	0.916*	0.940*	-0.788
Attending school (=1)	4.573***	4.480***	4.047***	1.104*	1.188**	0.189
Years in U.S.		-0.236*	-0.151	-0.049	-0.012	-0.122
Years in U.S. squared		0.005**	0.004*	0.001	0.001	0.002
Citizen (=1)		0.136	-0.036	0.247	-0.280	0.294
Native Born Head of Household (=1)		5.036***	4.907***	2.607***	2.532***	1.084
English ability: none (ref)		---	---	---	---	---
English ability: poor (=1)		3.927***	3.206**	1.923*	3.632**	0.559
English ability: well (=1)		6.121***	5.149***	3.354***	5.347***	0.932
English ability: very well, only (=1)		6.072***	5.366***	3.613***	5.646***	1.011
Internal migrant (=1)		9.812***	8.199***	2.928***	2.729***	3.195**
South region (ref)			---	---	---	---
Northeast region (=1)			-21.119***	12.288**	11.684**	32.460*
West region (=1)			-17.359***	-13.352***	-13.206***	-15.196
Midwest region (=1)			1.705	6.741**	5.684**	9.004

Native-born (NB) mean wage (log) [b]				-25.714***	-28.801***	-12.263
NB employment change (sq. root) [b]				10.850***	12.108***	8.826
Labor force (LF) % Manufacturing (log) [b]				531.103**	662.939***	-143.514
LF % Education/Research (log) [b]				69.274***	73.083***	48.662
LF % Construction (log) [b]				47.603***	41.150***	39.215
LF % Agriculture (log) [b]				14.426***	14.901***	11.461
LF % Military (log) [b]				2.481***	3.054***	1.163
2007 survey year (ref)	---	---	---		---	---
2008 survey year	-0.568	-0.490	-0.355	-0.072	-0.083	-0.261
2009 survey year	0.039	-0.129	-0.018	-0.081	-0.203	0.093
2010 survey year	-1.011	-1.016	-0.774	-0.304	-0.520	0.867
2011 survey year	0.584	0.409	0.479	0.024	0.132	0.314
Observations	84,337	84,337	84,337	84,337	65,469	18,868
Constant	79.805***	68.790***	78.888***	-3,436.966**	-4,251.454***	811.091
R-squared	0.049	0.078	0.167	0.514	0.529	0.459
LR test	104.54***	800.57***	na	54,002.7***	na	na

[a] Fixed effect model for 47 origin categories using STATA's areg procedure

[b] Context measures describe current year (2005-2009) labor market using data for 2000 except for employment change (1990 to 2000)

*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05

Table 3: Regression of Settlement in Dispersed Labor Markets on Human Capital, Acculturation, Geographic, and Economic Context for the largest Latin American and Asian Foreign-born groups, 2005-2009 ACS multiyear sample.

	Mexico	El Salvador	Cuba	Philippines	China	India	Korea
Male (=1)	0.736*	0.686*	-0.158	-0.260	-0.423*	0.040	-0.640**
Age (years)	-0.006	0.008	0.017	-0.045**	0.063*	-0.026	0.001
Never Married (=1)	0.035	-0.278	-0.491	-0.752*	-1.510**	-0.382	-0.870*
No high school (HS) degree (=1)	-0.706	-2.181*	1.065	4.498***	-2.130	0.753	3.546***
HS degree/some college (=1)	-0.458	-0.921	1.572	2.039***	-0.451	0.337	1.628**
College degree (ref)	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Advanced Degree (=1)	0.702	0.498	1.778	0.038	2.841***	1.077***	1.265**
Attending school (=1)	-0.485	0.672	-0.138	-0.429	-1.286*	0.087	-0.549
Years in U.S.	-0.385***	-0.349**	-0.067	-0.068	-0.003	0.104	-0.095*
Years in U.S. squared	0.005***	0.006**	0.002	0.003*	-0.001	-0.002	0.003**
Citizen (=1)	-0.103	-0.042	-0.833	0.786**	0.243	-1.489*	-0.110
Native Born Head of Household (=1)	0.585*	1.926***	2.470*	1.057	0.671	1.356*	3.632***
English ability: none (ref)	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
English ability: poor (=1)	1.114*	0.686	1.361	-1.620**	2.172**	-0.078	2.162***
English ability: well, very well, only (=1)	1.740***	1.742**	2.460	-3.428***	3.245**	0.903	3.148***
Internal migrant (=1)	3.992**	4.182**	5.568*	0.209	1.031	1.069*	1.807
Recent immigrant (=1)	-0.392	-0.541	2.029	0.961	0.395	0.481	2.219
South region (ref)	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Northeast region (=1)	60.250***	47.266***	86.649***	40.110***	7.010	-6.653	35.861***
West region (=1)	-20.672*	-27.687**	35.044	-33.814***	-25.351***	0.590	-31.205***
Midwest region (=1)	18.002*	19.520**	24.069	18.442*	7.333	-1.640	18.456*
Native-born (NB) mean wage (log) [a]	10.503	60.963	6.936	6.254	-39.205*	-96.953***	50.345
NB employment change (sq. root) [a]	17.550**	33.977***	33.497**	18.032**	6.949	10.775**	25.314***
Labor force (LF) % Manufacturing (log) [a]	-317.975	-541.940	1,427.600	-1,249.926	1,976.322**	463.864	-976.087
LF % Education/Research (log) [a]	128.971*	55.189	264.891**	152.792**	71.970	55.080	102.267**

LF % Construction (log) [a]	49.707	-63.468	3.784	19.673	99.204*	6.245	-8.003
LF % Agriculture (log) [a]	22.996**	26.648***	37.528***	24.268**	18.155***	2.098	28.115***
LF % Military (log) [a]	2.720**	1.177	1.298	4.812**	8.250***	3.743**	4.491**
2007 survey year (ref)	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
2008 survey year	0.010	1.046	0.363	-0.039	-0.285	0.061	-0.758*
2009 survey year	0.351	0.741	-0.382	-0.308	0.144	0.188	-0.456
2010 survey year	0.379	0.632	-0.627	0.171	-0.299	-0.057	-0.522
2011 survey year	0.590**	1.116*	-0.395	0.050	-0.043	-0.012	-0.263
Observations	489,050	48,889	35,024	89,234	80,902	87,593	49,249
Constant	1,333.3	2,582.3	-10,194.7*	7,295.2	-12,545.9**	-2,123.7	5,253.2
R-squared	0.686	0.771	0.778	0.747	0.785	0.722	0.751

[a] Context measures describe current year (2005-2009) LM using data for 2000 except for employment change (1990 to 2000).

*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05