William H. Frey
Kao-Lee Liaw

Internal Migration of Foreign-born Latinos and Asians: Are They Assimilating Geographically?

Report No. 98-421

July 1998

Research Reports

PSC
POPULATION STUDIES CENTER
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

The Population Studies Center at the University of Michigan is one of the oldest population centers in the United States. Established in 1961 with a grant from the Ford Foundation, the Center has a rich history as the main workplace for an interdisciplinary community of scholars in the field of population studies. Today the Center is supported by a Population Research Center Core Grant from the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development (NICHD) as well as by the University of Michigan, the National Institute on Aging, the Hewlett Foundation, and the Mellon Foundation.

PSC Research Reports are prepublication working papers that report on current demographic research conducted by PSC associates and affiliates. The papers are written by the researcher(s) for timely dissemination of their findings and are often later submitted for publication in scholarly journals. The PSC Research Report Series was begun in 1981 and is organized chronologically.

PSC Publications
http://www.psc.lsa.umich.edu/pubs/
psc-pubs@umich.edu

Population Studies Center, University of Michigan
1225 S. University, Ann Arbor, MI 48104-2590 USA
Voice: 734-998-7176 Fax: 734-988-7415

Internal Migration of Foreign-born Latinos and Asians: Are They Assimilating Geographically?

by William H. Frey, Kao-Lee Liaw

Research Report No. 98-421

July 1998

Abstract: Changes in US immigration Laws since 1965 along with economic forces have led to sharp rises in the numbers of the nation's Latino and Asian populations. Yet, these gains have not been dispersed evenly across the national landscape but, rather, are confined to just a handful of US States and metropolitan areas. This research examines 1990 census migration data to determine if more recent internal migration patterns of Latinos and Asians portend a dispersion of these groups away from the traditional "port-of-entry" areas. It addresses the questions: (1) Are US-born Latinos and Asians more likely to disperse than their foreign-born counterparts? (2) Are the more educated members of these groups more likely to disperse than those with high school educations or less? The results of our analysis suggest that although there is some dispersal among US-born Latinos and Asians, high levels of racial concentration across regions and metropolitan areas are likely to continue. This is the case because the magnitude of immigration tends to overwhelm the smaller dispersal effects of US-born and longer-term resident members of these groups. This is illustrated by recent changes in population for the Los Angeles metropolitan area, in the concluding section.

Data set used: 1990 US Census special migration tabulations.

About the Authors:

William H. Frey is a Ph.D. Demographer and Research Scientist at the Population Studies Center. Kao-Lee Liaw is Professor of Geography at McMaster University.

Acknowledgments:

This research is funded by the NICHD Project, "The Changing Structure of US Metropolitan Migration" (No. R01-HD297525) and by the NIA project, "Migration and Redistribution of the US Elderly," (No. RO1-AG 12291). Cathy Sun performed computer programming and Ron Lue-Sang prepared graphics.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLES, MAPS AND FIGURES

Internal Migration of Foreign-born Latinos and Asians:
Are They Assimilating Geographically?

INTRODUCTION

Changes in US immigration laws since 1965 along with economic forces have led to sharp rises in the numbers of the nation's Latino and Asian populations (Passel and Edmonston, 1994; Martin and Midgley, 1994). Yet these gains have not been dispersed evenly across the national landscape but, rather, are confined to just a handful of US States and metropolitan areas. In fact, the focused geographic concentration of Latinos and Asians within the US along with the existing concentration of blacks and the new redistribution of whites arising from High Immigration metropolitan areas suggests that an increasing "demographic balkanization" of the US population may be emerging across broad regions of the country (Frey, 1995a; 1995c).

Of course, the focused growth of the new minority populations is heavily driven by the tendency of new immigrants to locate in familiar port-of-entry areas. While the gulf does appear to be widening between large, growing multi-ethnic metropolitan areas, on the one hand, and predominantly white (or white and black) regions of the country, on the other -- a scenario of long-term, persisting geographic racial divisions rests on an important assumption. This scenario assumes that these new immigrant minorities will not disperse more widely with increasing exposure to the US, and as they assimilate socio-economically. Earlier studies suggest that the internal migration patterns of Latinos and Asians are highly channelized, following same race and ethnic networks and social ties (Bean and Tienda, 1987; McHugh, 1989; Pedraza and Rumbaut, 1996) Specific research on "secondary migration" among the new immigrant minorities, from the 1980 census, suggests that broader dispersal did not occur (Bartel, 1989; Bartel and Koch, 1991). This and other evidence for legalized aliens from administrative records (Neuman and Tienda, 1994) suggests that the overall impact of secondary migration toward reducing Latino and Asian concentration has been small.

The present analysis examines 1990 census migration data to determine if more recent internal migration patterns of Latinos and Asians portend a dispersion of these groups away from the traditional "port-of-entry" areas. It addresses the questions: (1) Are US-born Latinos and Asians more likely to disperse than their foreign-born counterparts? (2) Are the more educated members of these groups more likely to disperse than those with high school educations or less? If the dispersal of these groups is associated with their general assimilation, we would anticipate more dispersed redistribution to occur with native-born residents, and those with some college or greater educations. It would be especially telling if more educated Latinos and Asians are not dispersing, in light of trends which show that the labor force quality of recent immigrants, relative to natives, is declining (Borjas, 1994).

In order to evaluate these questions, we examine metropolitan and state-level migration statistics, for Latinos and Asians, over the 1985-90 period based on tabulations of the "residence 5 years ago" question of the 1990 census. The analysis results will be presented in three parts. The first two sections present descriptive findings which reveal the extent to which nativity and education attainment are associated with the greater dispersal of Latinos and Asians. The next section will present a multivariate analyses of metropolitan area determinants in order to assess the extent to which the metropolitan area's racial composition becomes less important as a "push" or "pull" among native-born and more educated Latino and Asian residents. The final section will evaluate the overall distributional impact of recent immigration and internal migration patterns for these groups in the Los Angeles metropolitan region.

The results of our analysis suggest that although there is some dispersal among US-born Latinos and Asians, high levels of racial concentration across regions and metropolitan areas are likely to continue. This is the case because the magnitude of immigration tends to overwhelm the smaller dispersal effects of US-born and longer-term resident members of these groups. This is illustrated by recent changes in population for the Los Angeles metropolitan area, in the concluding section.

INTERNAL MIGRATION OF FOREIGN AND US-BORN RESIDENTS

To what extent are foreign- and US-born residents likely to relocate out of traditional "port-of-entry" metropolitan areas? And, what are the greatest destination metros for each group? These questions will be answered to the Latino and Asian populations based on 1985-90 migration patterns. Relevant data appear in Tables 1 and 2 and (for States) Maps 1 and 2.

The 1990 census showed that nine metropolitan areas housed 58 percent of the nation's total Latino population. Listed in Table 1 (upper box), their 1990 Latino populations range from 4.8 million for Los Angeles to slightly more than one-half million for San Diego. Furthermore, each of these metropolitan areas can be classed as "high immigration metropolitan areas" in the sense that immigration plays a dominant role in contributing to the metropolitan area-wide demographic gains (Frey, 1995c). This is clearly the case for Latino populations for these areas, led by Los Angeles where immigrant Latinos over the 1985-90 period accounted for 12.5 percent of the metropolitan area's 1990 Latino population.

This being the case, to what extent are the internal migration patterns for Latinos in these areas contributing to a dispersal of their members from these high immigration metro areas? The evidence presented here indicates that some dispersal is occurring in six of these areas. It is most pronounced in the most traditional "port-of-entry" areas, and among US-born Latinos. The latter observation is based on a comparison of rates which shows that the net out-migration of US-born Latinos is greater than for foreign-born Latinos in Los Angeles, New York, San Francisco, and Chicago. Miami, Dallas, and San Diego differ from the general pattern in that these areas incurred a net in-migration of Latino foreign- and US-born residents over the period. Miami has been a traditional

magnet for east-coast Latinos -- especially Cubans and Puerto Ricans and especially from New York City. (Note: In this analysis, Puerto Ricans who were born in Puerto Rico are considered to be "foreign-born.) San Diego, during the late 1980s, was unique in the sense that it drew large numbers of both immigrants and internal migrants from other parts of the country (Frey, 1995b, 1995c). Many in-migrant Latinos may be out-migrants from nearby Los Angeles.

The data as displayed in the lower portion of Table 1 permit similar analysis for Asians. The eight metropolitan areas, shown here, account for 62 percent of the nation's 1990 Asian population. Except for Honolulu which houses a substantial native-born Asian population, recent immigration contributed substantially to the Asian populations of these areas. Yet, in contrast to Latinos, recent internal migration of Asians in the US further concentrates them into five of the eight areas shown here. This is the case for each of the west-coast metro areas as well as Washington, D.C. Only New York, Chicago, and Honolulu show a new out-migration of internal Asian migrants. Moreover, it is the foreign-born rather than the US-born Asians who are contributing most to this concentration in Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Washington, D.C. Certainly, the recent Asian immigration exerts a strong impact on this trend.

Because both Latino and Asian US-born migrants were most likely to leave (or least likely to stay) in traditional "ports-of-entry," is it likely that they will differ in their overall migration patterns across US metropolitan areas? To aid in assessing this question, the lists in Table 2 show areas with greatest net migration gains and losses, separately, for foreign-born and US-born Latinos and Asians. Focusing first on Latinos, it is clear that the "port-of-entry" metro of Miami dominates as the main net migration destination for foreign-born Latinos with a net gain of 38,500 of them over the 1985-90 period. The remainder of the larger gainers among foreign-born Latinos tend to be metro areas that are in close proximity to traditional "ports-of-entry" (e.g., Orlando, Tampa and West Palm Beach in proximity to Miami; Phoenix, San Diego, Modesto and Las Vegas in proximity to Los Angeles and San Francisco) two areas which do not fit this description are Washington, D.C. and Atlanta for migration directed to these areas may be simply more than "spillover" from high immigration areas. Rather it is more directed to opportunities available in these fast growing labor markets.

Metro areas showing greatest gains for US-born Latinos are not dominated by Miami. They include the metro areas with significant Latino populations, San Diego and Dallas, along with Miami. Again, areas in close proximity of traditional "ports-of-entry" are included on this list. Population gains among US-born Latinos are more pervasive than those for the foreign-born. Among the 280 metropolitan areas included in this study, 195 show net gains of US-born Latinos whereas only 157 gain via net migration of the foreign-born. Greatest out-migration metros for both groups of Latinos do not differ substantially and include "port-of-entry" metros, New York, Los Angeles, Chicago and San Francisco. (The State patterns, displayed in Map 1, show this to be the case, as well.)

The greatest net migration gainers for Asians also differ, somewhat, between foreign-born and US-born Asian residents. Just as foreign-born Latinos gravitated, in large numbers, to Miami, foreign-born Asians are drawn to Los Angeles. Other areas

which rank high on the list of attracting foreign-born Asians are those with significant existing Asian populations (e.g., San Francisco, Boston, San Diego, Washington, D.C.), "spillover" areas near to larger Asian concentrations (e.g., Sacramento, Modesto, Fresno); and areas with fast-growing economies that do not have especially large Asian populations (e.g., Atlanta).

Areas gaining in the US-born Asian population are distinct, primarily, because the list is not dominated by gains to Los Angeles and San Francisco. Rather, the distribution of US-born migrants is much more dispersed. One hundred and fifty-three metro areas gained US-born internal migrants compared with only 108 for foreign-born internal migrants. As with Latinos, foreign-born and US-born Asians show greatest losses for a similar group of metro areas (see Table 2). This is also the case with States (see Map 2).

This section has shown that there is some internal migration away from large "port-of-entry" areas primarily among Latinos who are US-born. Asians, for the most part, have not contributed to further concentration as a result of their internal migration patterns, although this is less the case among the US-born. The fact that there is noticeable net out-migration from traditional concentrations of Latinos, and that the US-born are the least likely Asian residents to concentrate, suggests that a gradual spatial assimilation of these groups may be in the offing. However, the net internal migration numbers (either in or out) observed for Latinos and Asians in the areas considered here, are dwarfed by the immigration gains that are likely to continue. Moreover, there is the question of whether the internal out-migration of new immigrant groups represents a response to "pulls," to more assimilated residents, or "pushes" resulting from the economic competition of new immigrants to these areas.

SELECTIVE INTERNAL MIGRATION BY EDUCATION ATTAINMENT

The question just raised can be answered, in part, by the analyses in this section. That is, if the new out-migration of Latinos and some Asians from traditional "port-of-entry" areas is a positive response to economic opportunities elsewhere, and the response should be stronger for the most skilled and educated residents of these two groups (Long, 1988). If, on the other hand, there is strong competition from new immigrants for a limited number of employment opportunities, the out-migration response might be higher for the less-skilled, less-educated segments of these populations. If the latter is the case, it would be consistent with the recent out-migration of whites from these "high immigration areas" (Frey, 1995b; 1995c). We address these questions first by looking at the education selectivity associated with net migration of foreign-born and US-born Latinos and Asians from the metropolitan area's introduced above. Relevant data are shown in Table 3.

Contrary to patterns consistent with a "pull" migration response, the education selectivity of Latinos -- both native-born and US-born -- show an accentuated net in-migration for college graduates. This is consistent with previous analyses of the white population for "high immigration metropolitan areas" (Frey, 1995c). The interpretation given there, is that many of these areas have dual economies where the best educated whites (and presumably Latinos, Asians and blacks) will not be in as much direct

competition as the predominantly low-skilled immigrants for employment opportunities, housing and social services (Waldinger, 1989; Mollenkopf and Castells, 1991). Although this cannot be verified here, the selectivity patterns of Latinos show greatest out-migration, from these areas, for persons with less than college educations -- often high school graduates.

Although Asian internal migration, for these areas, tends to be positive, it is also the case that college graduates show accentuated net in-migration. Of course, when the migration is a net positive flow, then an "upward selectivity" on education attainment is consistent with positive opportunities at these destination areas. Still, there are instances where there is a net internal out-migration of Asians, the pattern is similar to that shown for Latinos. This suggests that there is a "push," perhaps exerted by immigrant competition, and is consistent with a "spillover" into nearby metropolitan areas.

To address the latter suggestion further, we evaluate, separately, metropolitan areas that show greatest gains for college graduate internal migrants and those that show greatest gains for those with high school educations or less. (See Table 4 for this comparison of metropolitan areas.) A comparison of the greatest gainers for Latino internal migrants by education and by foreign or US birth reveal a surprising finding. It is that the US-born play a more important role in distinguishing magnets for internal migrants than does education attainment. This is clear when examining the most prominent destination of the different groups shown. Miami is the dominant net migration gainer for foreign-born Latinos -- both college graduates and those with high school or less educations. There is a good deal of overlap among the other large gainers for both population groups -- many with large existing Latino populations or areas which we have characterized as "spillover" metros. In contrast, main destinations for US-born Latino college graduates tend to be national employment magnets for professionals -- including Dallas, Washington, Los Angeles, Atlanta, and Seattle. This list, in fact, overlaps strongly with the list of greatest metro gainers who are college graduate whites. In contrast, US-born Latinos with high school educations or less tend to locate more exclusively in "spillover" areas, suggesting that their migration is in response to "pushes" from nearby high immigrant areas.

For Asians, lists of largest gaining metro areas overlap considerably for each Asian group shown in Table 4. Nonetheless, there is again a difference between foreign-born and US-born net migration patterns which cuts across education attainment. That is, foreign-born college graduate Asians as well as foreign-born Asians with less education show highest net migration gains for Los Angeles. This is not the case for US-born Asians, whose gains are more evenly distributed among different high opportunity metropolitan areas. For US-born Asians with high school educations or less, major destinations do not include Los Angeles or San Francisco, but rather a variety of "spillover" areas as well as Seattle.

This review of education selectivity patterns which accompany the recent net internal migration of Latinos and Asians is not consistent with the spatial assimilation picture which was suggested earlier. Internal migration which relocates these groups away from traditional "ports-of-entry" appears to be "push" rather than "pull" oriented. In

fact, most of these metros are attracting net in-migration of college graduate Latino and Asian residents from other parts of the US. Out-migration is most evident among less-skilled Latino and Asian residents, who opted to nearby "spillover" metro areas. The only evidence of a spatial assimilation appears to be occurring among relatively small numbers of college graduate US-born Latinos and Asians whose primary destinations are most consistent with those of college graduate whites.

METRO AREA INFLUENCES

To further identify the distinctiveness of the migration processes for "more assimilated" and "less assimilated" minorities, we examine the most important metropolitan area attributes of each group's migration. To do so, we undertake separate multivariate regression analyses for selected population subgroups, shown in Table 5. Separate analyses are conducted for foreign-born and US-born Latinos and Asians, for Latinos and Asians who are college educated and for those with high school educations or less; and for blacks and whites in these two education categories.

Metropolitan attributes include: a geographic region classification (dummy variables the pacific division, where parts of the South that are not included in the South Atlantic division, represent the omitted category); four variables reflecting the metropolitan area's economic structure (unemployment rate of 1988, per capita income in 1988, percent of change in manufacturing employment of 1982-87, and percent of males engaged in professional and managerial employment based on the 1990 census); and the log of the metropolitan area's population size in 1985.

Particular attention is given to two additional variables: Percent of the metropolitan population that is comprised of the given minority group (Latino, Asian, black or white); the level of volume of immigration to the metropolitan area over the 1985-90 period. If, in then we would anticipate a negative relationship between that group's percent of the metropolitan population and the net migration level for that group (the dependent variable). Further, if recent immigrants are exerting a competitive effect on members of that minority group, we would expect a negative relationship between immigration to the metropolitan area, a group's net migration level.

(Table 5 here)

The findings in Table 5 show mixed results with respect to expectations about dispersed redistribution, a competitive effect of immigrants. That is, we find the expected negative effect between the group's percent of the metropolitan population and net migration level for all Asian groups, but a positive effect for all Latinos groups. However, relationships are more complicated when viewed in connection with the immigration effects shown in the Table. That is, the expected negative or competitive impact of immigration on net migration is found for all Latino groups (as well as all white and black groups), but the effect is positive for the net migration of Asian groups except US-born Asians.

Hence, for Latinos it appears as if their net out-migration patterns are a response to recent immigration levels, rather than to a desire to deconcentrate in areas with large percentages of Latinos. For Asians, however, there is a tendency to relocate toward areas

with high levels of immigration but, controlling for that, there is a desire to relocate away from areas with high percentages of Asians. (A positive relationship for immigration does not hold for US-born Asians, however.) Although admittedly not amenable to straightforward interpretation, it appears as if recent internal migration of Latinos is most responsive to the negative impacts of immigration in the areas we discussed above. So, US-born Latinos do not show the positive relationship between group percent of metropolitan population that is shown for the other Latino groups.

For whites and blacks, the impacts of group percent on internal migration patterns is negligible and there is no strong tendency either to concentrate or deconcentrate. Moreover, whites and blacks of each education level are negatively responsive to recent immigration, where the response is strongest among those with high school or less education. Clearly, immigration exerts a significant impact on internal migration for a number of groups.

The remaining metropolitan area attributes tend to show expected relationships with each of the groups analyzed. That is, unemployment is generally negative related to net migration while income is generally positively related. Area migration appears to be positively related to increases in manufacturing growth, expecially for US-born Asians, Asians with high school or less educatin, and whites wit high school or less education. A more, somewhat inexplicable finding among the economic and occupation variables, is the negative relatinship between percent of upper white collar workers in an area, and the net migratin of some groups.

In sum, the results of these equations are not consistent with the view that internal migration patterns of Latinos and Asians, are becoming more dispersed with increasing residence in the US and greater education attainment. Rather than confirming an assimilation-based deconcentration of these groups, evidence pointed up the competitive effects of recent immigrants to traditinal "port-of-entry" metropolitan areas.

IMPACT ON THE LOS ANGELES METRO AREA

This paper has investigated the extent to which recent internal migratin patterns of Latinos and Asians may lead to their wider disperal away from traditional "port-of-entry" metropolitan areas. The results are hardly consistent with this view. The net out-migration of Latinos is most accentuated among US-born Latinos with lower skills, possibly in reaction competition with recent immigrants for lower-level jobs (Borjas, 1994; Frey, 1995b). Among Asians, there continues to be a net internal migration into those metro areas with greatest Asian populations (New York, Honolulu and Chicago are exceptions); though this tendency is not as strong for US-born Asians.

Nonetheless, the magnitudes of these internal migration patterns are relatively small in relation to the larger numbers of Latino and Asian immigrants who continue to focus on traditional "port-of-entry" metropolitan areas. Table 6 displays the relative impacts of immigration and internal migration contributions for each race and minority group to the Los Angeles metropolitan area (see Table 6). These data make plain that the metro area's migration components are individuals with less than college educations. A

major impact exerted by internal migration is a positive impact associated, primarily, with college graduate whites, blacks and foreign-born Asians. Further, greatest internal out-migration contributions are made by whites with less than college graduate educations, and by Hispanics with less than high school educations. The overall result of these patterns, should these migration contributions persist, would be an increasingly foreign-born population comprised primarily of the "new immigrant" minorities that will be especially dominant for persons with less than high school educations. The growth of the college graduate population will be more balanced between immigration and internal migration and includes significant numbers of whites, Asians and blacks.

The long-term dispersal of immigrants to the US has been a continuing theme in our history. However, the results shown in this paper are in concert with earlier results of the 1980 census. Such a dispersal of the "new immigrant" minorities will not occur quickly. This could very well lead to a continued "demographic balkanization" over broad regions of the country.

(Table 6 here)

Another perspective can be gained by examining the dispersal of the current foreign-born population who immigrated at different times. To this we have compiled 1995 statistics from the US Census Bureau's Current Population Survey that establishes the high concentration of both long-term and recent immigrants in the 10 "High Immigration Metros" (Frey, 1995b). Figure 3 indicates that this concentration remains relatively strong for native-born Latinos, native-born Asians, and for the foreign-born populations of all race-ethnic groups who arrived in different five-year intervals since 1965. Indeed, while less than half of the 1995 native-born Latinos and Asians are located in combined High Immigration Metros, over 50 percent of Asians in all recent immigrant cohorts, and well over 60 percent of all Latinos in these cohorts reside in the High Immigration Metros. This pattern is relatively pervasive among recent immigrants with different social and demographic characteristics, and suggests a continuing concentration of the recent foreign-born in selected metropolitan areas.

REFERENCES

Barringer, Herbert R., Robert W. Gardner, Michael J. Levin. 1993. Asians and Pacific Islanders in the United States. A 1980 Census Monograph. New York: Russell Sage.

Bartel, Ann P. 1989. "Where Do the New Immigrants Live?" Journal of Labor Economics, Vol. 7, No. 4, pp. 371-391.

Bartel, Ann P. and Marianne J. Koch. 1991. "Internal Migration of U.S. Immigrants." Pp. 121-134 in J.M. Abowd and R.B. Freeman Immigration Trade and the Labor Market. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Bean, Frank D. and Marta Tienda. 1987. The Hispanic Population of the United States. A 1980 Census Monograph. New York: Russell Sage.

Borjas, George J. 1994. "The Economics of Immigration." Journal of Economic Literature, Vol. 32 (December 1994) pp. 1667-1717.

Edmonston, Barry and Jeffrey S. Passel. 1994. Immigration and Ethnicity. Washington, DC: The Urban Institute Press.

Fix, Michael and Jeffrey Passel. 1994. "Immigration and Immigrants' Setting the Record Straight." Washington, DC: The Urban Institute.

Frey, William H. 1995a. "The New Geography of US Population Shifts: Trends Toward Balkanization." In Reynolds Farley (ed.), The State of the Union: Social Trends. New York: Russell Sage, pp. 271-336.

Frey, William H. 1995b. "Immigration and Internal Migration 'Flight': A California Case Study." Population and Environment, Vol. 16, No. 4 (March) pp. 353-375.

Frey, William H. 1995c. "Immigration and Internal Migration Flight: Toward a New Demographic Balkanization." Urban Studies Vol. 32, May.

Frey, William H., Kao-Lee Liaw, Yu Xie and Marcia Carlson. 1995. "Interstate Migration of the US Poverty Population: Immigration 'Pushes' and Welfare Magnet 'Pulls'." Research Report 95-231. Ann Arbor, MI: Population Studies Center, University of Michigan.

Liaw, K. L. and Ledent, J. 1987. "Nested Logit Model and Maximum Quasi-Likelihood Method: A Flexible Methodology for Analyzing Interregional Migration Patterns," Regional Science and Urban Economics, Vol. 17, pp. 67-88.

Long, Larry. 1988. Migration and Residential Mobility in the United States. New York: Russell Sage.

Martin, Philip and Elizabeth Midgley. 1994. "Immigration to the United States: Journey to an Uncertain Destination. Population Bulletin, Vol. 49, No. 2. Washington, DC: Population Reference Bureau.

McHugh, Kevin E. 1989. "Hispanic Migration and Population Redistribution in the United States." Professional Geographer, Vol. 41(4), pp. 429-439.

Mollenkopf, John H. and Manuel Castells (eds.). 1991. Dual City: Restructuring New York. New York: Russell Sage.

Neuman, Kristen E. and Marta Tienda. 1994. "The Settlement and Secondary Migration Patterns of Legalized Immigrants: Insights from Administrative Records." in Edmonston, Barry and Jeffrey S. Passell. Immigration and Ethnicity. Washington, DC: The Urban Institute Press, pp. 157-226.

Pedraza, Silvia and Ruben G. Rumbaut. 1996. Origins and Destinies, Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

Waldinger, Roger. 1989. "Immigration and Urban Change." Annual Review of Sociology, Vol. 15, pp. 211-232.

Table 1: Immigration and Internal Migration Components of 1985-90 Change for Metro Areas with Largest Latino and Asian Populations

LATINOS		Migration Components			Rates per 100 1990 Population		
		Immigration	Net Internal Migration		Immigration	Net Internal Migration	
Metro Areas	1990 Population	from Abroad	Foreign Born*1	US Born	from Abroad*2	Foreign Born*3	US Born*4
LOS ANGELES	4,779,118	520,653	-22,840	-30,810	12.5	-1.0	-1.7
NEW YORK	2,774,937	269,141	-79,129	-68,859	11.0	-5.1	-7.6
MIAMI	1,061,846	144,692	38,570	9,700	14.6	4.8	5.2
SAN FRANCISCO	970,403	86,222	-4,910	-19,395	10.2	-1.3	-4.1
CHICAGO	893,422	72,719	-6,331	-10,838	9.4	-1.5	-3.1
HOUSTON	772,295	50,433	-5,736	-1,557	7.5	-1.9	-0.4
SAN ANTONIO	620,290	12,548	-1,565	-2,113	2.3	-1.8	-0.5
DALLAS	518,917	34,662	1,397	10,874	7.8	0.7	4.3
SAN DIEGO	510,781	54,704	7,258	12,453	12.3	3.3	5.6

ASIANS		Migration Components			Rates per 100 1990 Population		
		Immigration	Net Internal Migration		Immigration	Net Internal Migration	
Metro Areas	1990 Population	from Abroad	Foreign Born	US Born	from Abroad	Foreign Born	US Born
LOS ANGELES	1,339,048	219,652	29,845	1,959	17.7	3.2	0.6
SAN FRANCISCO	926,961	137,006	9,230	1,115	16.0	1.5	0.4
NEW YORK	871,999	190,512	-11,404	-6,632	23.7	-1.7	-5.1
HONOLULU	526,459	26,869	-5,604	-9,994	5.5	-4.4	-2.7
CHICAGO	256,050	44,823	-9,664	-3,862	19.0	-5.3	-7.2
WASHINGTON, D.C.	202,437	43,481	3,660	194	23.3	2.4	0.6
SAN DIEGO	198,311	31,274	3,821	2,534	17.1	3.0	4.7
SEATTLE	164,286	26,817	1,952	2,038	17.7	1.9	4.3

*1 Foreign Born includes Puerto Rico
*2 Per 1990 Population Aged 5 and above of Group
*3 Per 1990 Foreign Born Population Aged 5 and above of Group
*4 Per 1990 US Born Population Aged 5 and above of Group

Table 2: List of Metro Areas with Greatest Gains and Losses, 1985-90, of Foreign Born and US Born Net Internal Migration: Latinos and Asians

Greatest Gains due to Net Internal Migration 1985-90

Latinos				Asians			
Foreign Born		US Born		Foreign Born		US Born	
MIAMI	38,570	SAN DIEGO	12,453	LOS ANGELES	29,845	SACRAMENTO	4,148
ORLANDO	12,951	DALLAS	10,874	SAN FRANCISCO	9,230	SAN DIEGO	2,534
TAMPA	7,522	ORLANDO	10,750	SACRAMENTO	7,055	SEATTLE	2,038
SAN DIEGO	7,258	MIAMI	9,700	BOSTON	4,031	LOS ANGELES	1,959
WASHINGTON, D.C.	7,019	LAS VEGAS	9,231	SAN DIEGO	3,821	LAS VEGAS	1,602
LAS VEGAS	6,985	SACRAMENTO	8,470	WASHINGTON, D.C.	3,660	ATLANTA	1,353
WEST PALM BEACH	5,951	PHOENIX	8,017	ATLANTA	3,407	BOSTON	1,333
ATLANTA	4,835	MODESTO	7,030	ORLANDO	2,823	SAN FRANCISCO	1,115
PHOENIX	3,110	TAMPA	6,241	MODESTO	2,128	ORLANDO	1,019
MODESTO	3,042	SEATTLE	5,743	FRESNO	2,095	MODESTO	939

Greatest Losses due to Net Internal Migration 1985-90

Latinos				Asians			
Foreign Born		US Born		Foreign Born		US Born	
NEW YORK	-79,129	NEW YORK	-68,859	NEW YORK	-11,404	HONOLULU	-9,994
LOS ANGELES	-22,840	LOS ANGELES	-30,810	CHICAGO	-9,664	NEW YORK	-6,632
CHICAGO	-6,331	SAN FRANCISCO	-19,395	HOUSTON	-6,972	CHICAGO	-3,862
HOUSTON	-5,736	CHICAGO	-10,838	HONOLULU	-5,604	HOUSTON-GALV	-2,283
FRESNO	-5,055	BROWNSVILLE, TX	-6,938	NEW ORLEANS	-3,417	DENVER	-939
SAN FRANCISCO	-4,910	EL PASO	-6,663	OKLAHOMA CITY	-1,999	NEW ORLEANS	-919
BROWNSVILLE, TX	-4,037	MCALLEN, TX	-6,591	DENVER	-1,995	CLEVELAND	-548
NEW ORLEANS	-3,610	CORPUS CHRISTI	-6,267	SALT LAKE CITY	-1,840	KANSAS CITY	-483
MCALLEN, TX	-2,834	NEW ORLEANS	-2,920	MINN-ST. PAUL	-1,319	OKLAHOMA CITY	-427
SAN ANTONIO	-1,565	SAN ANTONIO	-2,113	ST. LOUIS	-1,283	BAKERSFIELD, CA	-367

Table 3: Rates of Net Internal Migration by Education Attainment, 1985-90, for Total, Foregin-Born and US Born Latinos and Asians*

LATINOS

	Foreign Born				US Born			
	Less than High School	High School	Some College	College Graduate	Less than High School	High School	Some College	College Graduate
LOS ANGELES	-1.2	-1.5	-1.3	-0.1	-1.3	-1.5	-1.8	1.2
NEW YORK	-4.7	-5.7	-6.8	-5.0	-5.9	-6.6	-7.4	-4.9
MIAMI	5.3	5.5	5.0	4.9	3.8	8.2	5.4	5.5
SAN FRANCISCO	-1.9	-1.7	-2.0	2.6	-5.8	-4.1	-4.1	0.5
CHICAGO	-1.5	-2.1	-3.3	-2.6	-3.0	-1.1	-2.1	-1.3
HOUSTON	-2.2	-1.9	-4.6	0.7	0.4	0.1	0.3	3.4
SAN ANTONIO	-1.2	-4.5	1.5	2.6	-0.4	-0.4	0.0	-0.4
DALLAS	-0.5	2.3	2.4	3.2	1.0	4.7	8.5	12.2
SAN DIEGO	2.7	4.5	3.8	7.2	3.2	0.9	4.5	4.7

ASIANS

	Foreign Born				US Born			
	Less than High School	High School	Some College	College Graduate	Less than High School	High School	Some College	College Graduate
LOS ANGELES	4.4	2.1	2.6	4.0	-1.4	-1.2	-1.6	1.0
SAN FRANCISCO	1.1	0.4	0.5	3.6	-2.3	0.2	-1.1	2.6
NEW YORK	-2.3	-1.7	-2.4	0.1	-5.1	-3.2	-3.1	0.9
HONOLULU	-1.5	-2.9	-6.1	-5.4	-1.0	-1.5	-2.6	-2.1
CHICAGO	-4.8	-5.5	-4.2	-4.7	-9.1	-6.5	-3.1	-2.3
WASHINGTON	-0.3	0.7	2.1	6.3	-5.3	-0.9	-0.2	11.1
SAN DIEGO	0.6	2.2	2.8	4.4	-3.2	2.0	4.5	11.1
SEATTLE	0.7	2.3	2.7	3.5	5.2	3.1	5.2	4.3

*Population Aged 25 and Above in 1990

Table 4: List of Metro Areas with the Greatest Net Migration Gains 1985-90, for Latinos and Asians by Education and Nativity*

LATINOS

Total		College Graduate: Foreign Born		College Graduate: US Born		High School or Less: Foreign Born		High School or Less: US Born	
MIAMI	5,059	MIAMI	4,515	DALLAS	1,652	MIAMI	23,259	LAS VEGAS	3,015
WASHINGTON, D.C.	1,959	ORLANDO	1,031	WASHINGTON, D.C.	1,109	ORLANDO	7,060	MODESTO, CA	2,011
DALLAS	1,916	WASHINGTON, D.C.	850	LOS ANGELES	844	LAS VEGAS	4,210	DALLAS	1,885
ORLANDO	1,567	SAN DIEGO	803	ATLANTA	689	TAMPA	4,107	ORLANDO	1,828
SAN DIEGO	1,361	SAN FRANCISCO	679	SEATTLE	564	WASHINGTON, D.C.	3,524	SACRAMENTO	1,692
ATLANTA	1,235	TAMPA	637	SAN DIEGO	558	SAN DIEGO	3,434	STOCKTON, CA	1,669
TAMPA	982	WEST PALM BEACH	613	MIAMI	544	WEST PALM BEACH	2,928	TAMPA	1,633
SAN FRANCISCO	827	ATLANTA	546	ORLANDO	536	ATLANTA	2,481	MIAMI	1,478
LOS ANGELES	800	PHOENIX	317	HOUSTON	524	MODESTO, CA	2,092	PHOENIX	1,178
PHOENIX	780	DALLAS	264	PHOENIX	463	TUCSON	1,716	SAN DIEGO	1,034

ASIANS

Total		College Graduate: Foreign Born		College Graduate: US Born		High School or Less: Foreign Born		High School or Less: US Born	
LOS ANGELES	10,651	LOS ANGELES	10,136	SAN FRANCISCO	1,235	LOS ANGELES	9,003	LAS VEGAS	587
SAN FRANCISCO	6,832	SAN FRANCISCO	5,597	WASHINGTON, D.C.	654	SACRAMENTO	1,969	SACRAMENTO	405
WASHINGTON, D.C.	4,117	WASHINGTON, D.C.	3,463	SAN DIEGO	602	SAN FRANCISCO	1,668	SEATTLE	243
SAN DIEGO	1,765	SAN DIEGO	1,163	LOS ANGELES	515	ATLANTA	1,103	ORLANDO	154
ATLANTA	1,210	ATLANTA	1,005	SEATTLE	376	STOCKTON, CA	990	MODESTO, CA	118
SEATTLE	1,144	DALLAS	947	SACRAMENTO	243	MODESTO, CA	948	STOCKTON, CA	96
DALLAS	1,102	ORLANDO	859	ATLANTA	205	FRESNO, CA	933	NEWPORT NEWS	91
SACRAMENTO	1,044	SACRAMENTO	801	ORLANDO	164	ORLANDO	886	ATLANTA	88
ORLANDO	1,023	SEATTLE	768	DALLAS	155	LAS VEGAS	796	JACKSONVILLE	74
TAMPA	593	TAMPA	586	PHOENIX	150	PHILADELPHIA	678	PORTLAND	60

*Aged 25 and above in 1990

Table 5: Net Internal Migration, 1985-90, for Population Groups, across US Metro Areas Regressed on Metro Area Attributes

(Standardized Regression Coefficients)

	Persons aged 5 and Above				Persons Aged 25 and Above							
	Latinos		Asians		Latinos		Asians		Blacks		Whites	
Metro Attributes[a]	FB	US	FB	US	HS	Coll	HS	Coll	HS	Coll	HS	Coll
REGION[b]												
Northeast	-.09	-.09	-.10	-.10	-.07	-.19	-.07	-.19	-.16	-.19	-.15*	-.33*
Midwest	.01	-.10	-.15	.21*	-.00	-.03	-.13	-.16	-.10	-.13	-.14*	-.19*
South Atlantic	.21*	.06	-.05	-.06	.19*	.26*	-.04	-.01	.10	.21*	.09	.14
Mountain	.14	.16*	.29*	.41*	.14	.17	.31*	.23*	.14	.02	.15	.24
Pacific	.07	.06	-.08	-.06	.08	.05	-.06	-.06	-.01	-.06	.05	-.01
UNEMPLOYMENT	-.18	-.11	-.20	-.13	-.15	-.20	-.18	-.16	-.13	.03	-.12*	-.11
INCOME	.16	.08	.03	.06	.14	.22*	.04	.12	-.01	.17	.03	.22*
MFG GROWTH	-.01	.10	.18	.23*	.01	-.05	.22*	.06	.03	.11	.12*	.12
% UPPER WHITE COLLAR	-.13	-.06	-.05	-.01	-.14	-.19*	-.17	.04	-.00	.07	-.17*	-.14
GROUP % of METRO POP	.23*	.01	-.24*	-.80*	.18*	.23*	-.35*	-.22*	-.05	-.06	.08	.06
IMMIGRATION	-.84*	-.98*	.42*	-.25*	-.90*	-.53*	.29*	.64*	-.74*	-.29*	-.76*	-.44*
POP SIZE (LOG)	.23*	.27*	-.09	.09	.23*	.31*	-.04	-.12	.08	.24*	-.03	.31*
R^2	.50	.70	.36	.63	.59	.27	.32	.55	.50	.21	.75	.36
N	115	115	91	91	115	115	91	91	126	126	126	126

[a]Metropolitan areas with 1990 total populations exceeding 250,000, and group populations exceeding 5,000 (equations for whites include same metro areas as equations for blacks)

[b]Omitted category includes the remainder of the South region (other than South Atlantic)

*Significant at .1 level

able 6: Immigration and Internal Migration Components of 1985-90 Change by Race, Latino Status and Education Attainment, LOS ANGELES METRO AREA

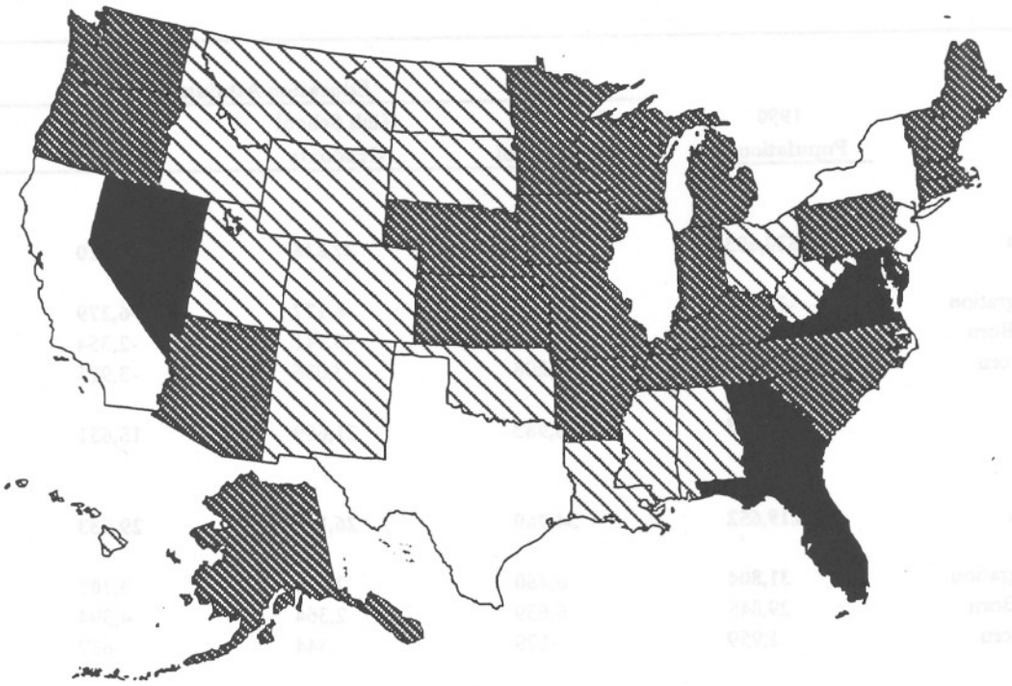
	1990 Population*1	Education Attainment*3 Less than High School	High School Graduate	Some College	College Graduate
HISPANICS					
Immigration	**520,653**	**152,992**	**27,836**	**21,910**	**14,794**
Internal Migration	**-53,650**	**-16,009**	**-6,177**	**-6,279**	**800**
Foreign Born	-22,840	-12,801	-3,141	-2,354	-44
Native Born	-30,810	-3,208	-3,036	-3,925	844
Total	**467,003**	**136,983**	**21,659**	**15,631**	**15,594**
ASIANS					
Immigration	**219,652**	**34,769**	**26,144**	**29,533**	**50,646**
Internal Migration	**31,804**	**6,460**	**2,020**	**3,707**	**10,651**
Foreign Born	29,845	6,639	2,364	4,394	10,136
Native Born	1,959	-179	-344	-687	515
Total	**251,456**	**41,229**	**28,164**	**33,240**	**61,297**
BLACKS					
Immigration	**16,925**	**2,258**	**2,798**	**3,679**	**1,603**
Internal Migration	**-11,731**	**-3,172**	**-3,546**	**-2,829**	**3,997**
Total	**5,194**	**-914**	**-748**	**850**	**5,600**
WHITES					
Immigration	**140,136**	**20,268**	**20,407**	**24,673**	**31,561**
Internal Migration	**-136,158**	**-38,108**	**-53,232**	**-57,220**	**31,550**
Total	**3,978**	**-17,840**	**-32,825**	**-32,547**	**63,111**
TOTAL					
Immigration	899,007	210,287	77,185	79,795	98,604
Internal Migration	-174,673	-50,829	-60,935	-62,621	46,998
Hispanics	467,003	136,983	21,659	15,631	15,594
Asians	251,456	41,229	28,164	33,240	61,297
Blacks	5,194	-914	-748	850	5,600
Whites	3,978	-17,840	-32,825	-32,547	63,111
Total*3	**724,334**	**159,458**	**16,250**	**17,174**	**145,602**

*1 Aged 5 and Above in 1990

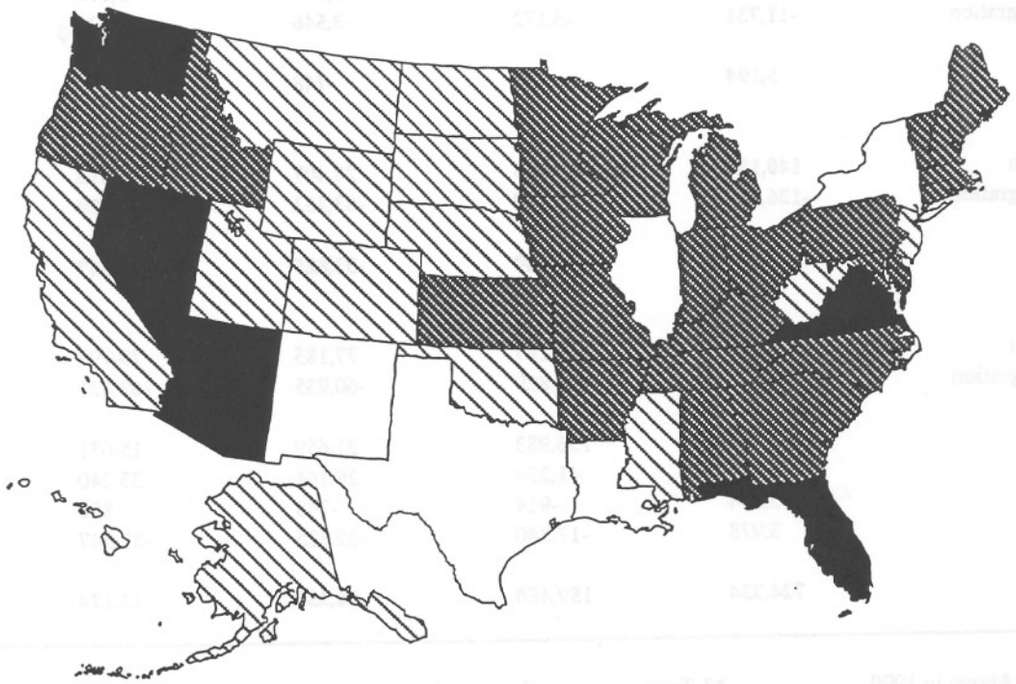
*2 Aged 25 and Above in 1990

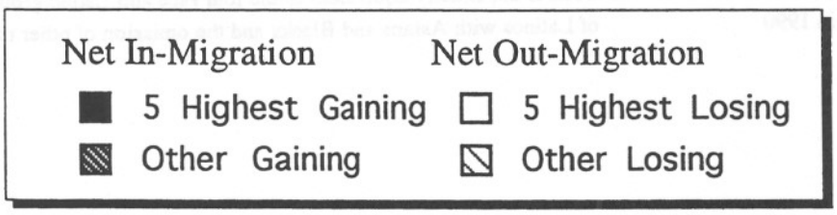
*3 Total is not exactly equivalent to the four race and Latino groups due to some overlap of Latinos with Asians and Blacks and the omission of other race groups

Latinos - Foreign Born



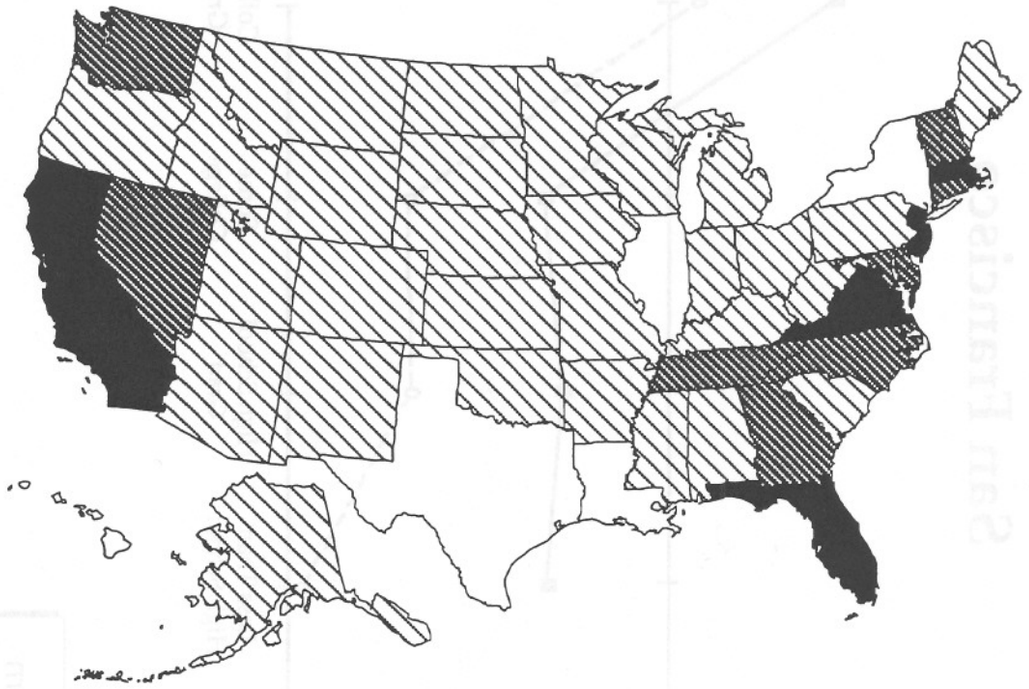
Latinos - U.S. Born



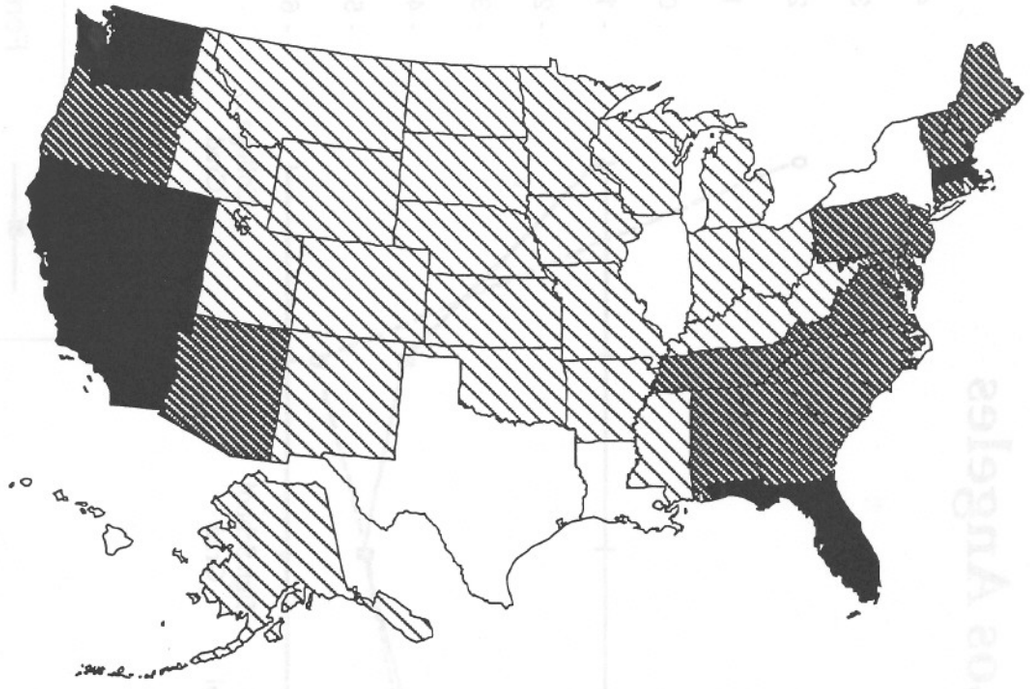


Map 1

Asians - Foreign Born



Asians - U.S. Born



Net In-Migration		Net Out-Migration	
■	5 Highest Gaining	□	5 Highest Losing
▨	Other Gaining	▨	Other Losing

Map 2

Figure 1

Latino Net Migration By Education

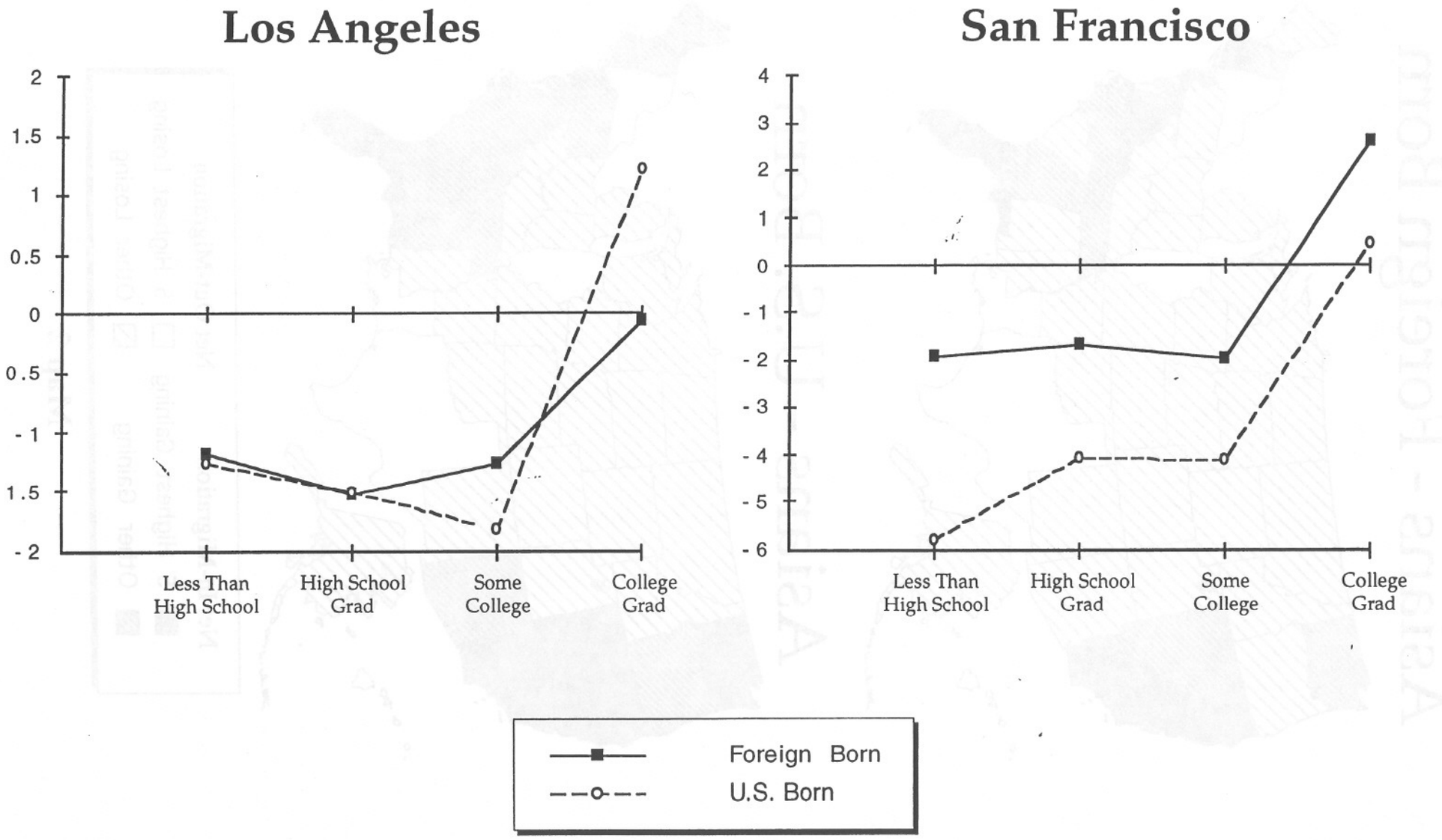


Figure 2

Asian Net Migration By Education