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10

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

William H. Frey and Kao-Lee Liaw

Changes in U.S. immigration laws since 1965, along with economic forces, have led to sharp rises in the numbers of the nation's Latino and Asian populations (Edmonston and Passel 1994; Martin and Midgley 1994). These gains have not been dispersed evenly across the national landscape but rather are confined to a handful of U.S. states and metropolitan areas. In fact, the focused geographic concentration of Latinos and Asians *within* the United States, 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 U.S. population may be emerging across broad regions of the country (Frey 1995b, 1995c).

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. Although the gulf does appear to be widening between large, growing multiethnic 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 United States and as they assimilate socioeconomically. 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 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 on reducing Latino and Asian concentrations has been small.

The present analysis examines 1990 census migration data to determine whether more recent internal migration patterns of Latinos and Asians portend a dispersion of these groups away from the traditional port-of-entry areas. The chapter addresses the following questions: (1) Are U.S.-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 education 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 education. It would be especially telling if more educated Latinos and Asians were not dispersing in light of trends that show that the labor force quality of recent immigrants, relative to natives, is declining (Borjas 1994).

To evaluate these questions we examine metropolitan- and state-level migration statistics for Latinos and Asians over the 1985–1990 period based on tabulations of the "residence 5 years ago" question in the 1990 census. The analysis results will be presented in three parts. The first two sections present descriptive findings that reveal the extent to which nativity and education attainment are associated with the greater dispersal of Latinos and Asians. The next section presents a multivariate analysis of metropolitan-area determinants to assess the extent to which a 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 evaluates 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 *some* dispersal is found among U.S.-born Latinos and Asians, high levels of racial concentration across regions and metropolitan areas are likely to continue because the magnitude of immigration tends to overwhelm the smaller dispersal effects of U.S.-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 U.S.-Born Residents

To what extent are foreign- and U.S.-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 for Latino and Asian populations based on 1985–1990 migration patterns. Relevant data appear in Tables 10.1 and 10.2 and (for states) Figures 10.1 and 10.2.

Table 10.1 Immigration and Internal Migration Components of 1985–1990 Change for Metro Areas with Largest Latino and Asian Populations

		Migration Components			Rates per 100, 1990 Population		
			Net Internal Migration			Net Internal Migration	
	1990 Population	Immigration (from Abroad)	Foreign Born[1]	U.S. Born	Immigration from Abroad[2]	Foreign Born[3]	U.S. Born[4]
Latino							
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
Asian							
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

Notes: 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 U.S.-born population aged 5 and above of group.

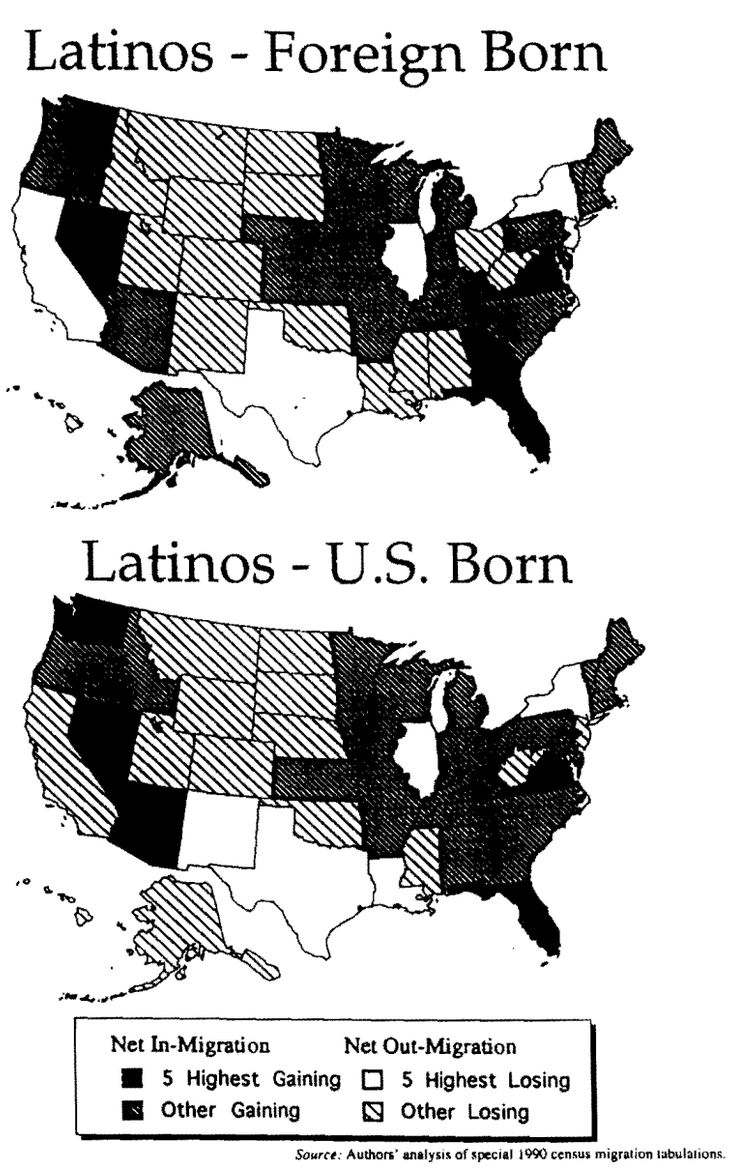
Table 10.2 Metro Areas with Greatest Gains and Losses, 1985–1990, of Foreign-Born and U.S.-Born Net Internal Migration: Latinos and Asians

A. Greatest Gains from Net Internal Migration 1985–1990

Latinos				Asians			
Foreign Born		U.S. Born		Foreign Born		U.S. 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

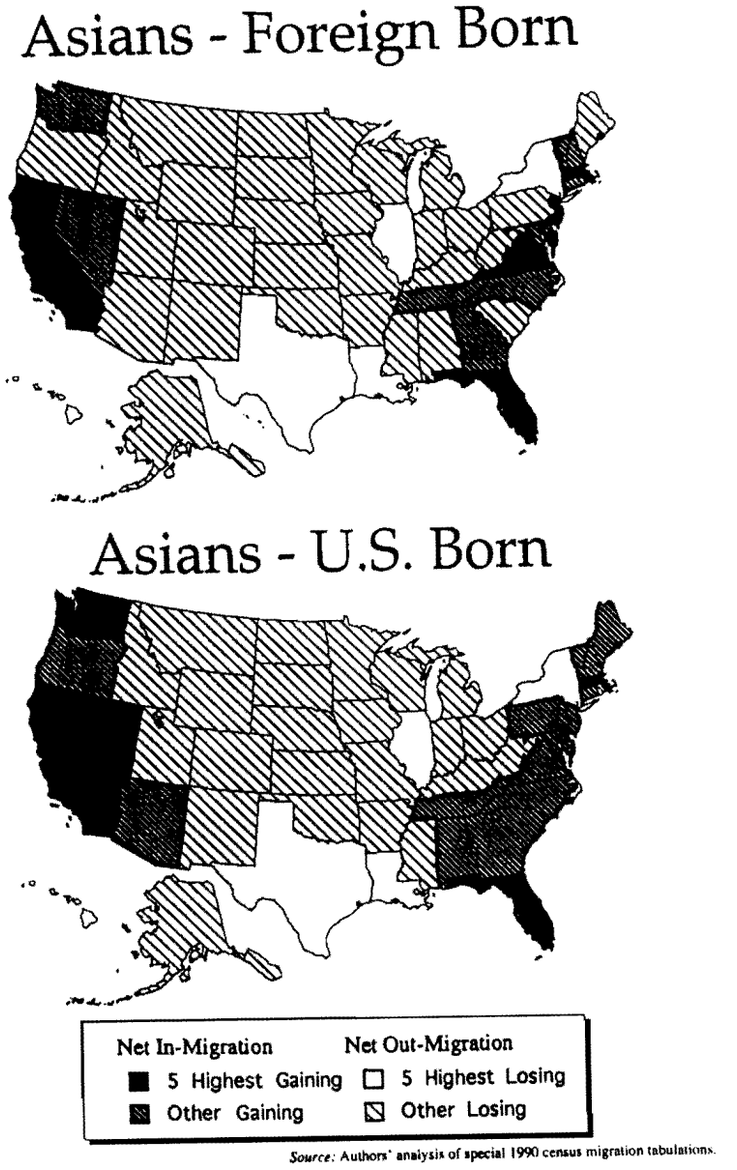
B. Greatest Losses from Net Internal Migration 1985–1990

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-Galveston	−2,283
Fresno	−5,055	Brownsville, Texas	−6,938	New Orleans	−3,417	Denver	−939
San Francisco	−4,910	El Paso	−6,663	Oklahoma City	−1,999	New Orleans	−919
Brownsville, Texas	−4,037	McAllen, Texas	−6,591	Denver	−1,995	Cleveland	−548
New Orleans	−3,610	Corpus Christi	−6,267	Salt Lake City	−1,840	Kansas City	−483
McAllen, Texas	−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, Calif.	−367



Source: Authors' analysis of special 1990 census migration tabulations.

Figure 10.1 Latino Net Internal Migration for U.S. States, 1985–1990



Source: Authors' analysis of special 1990 census migration tabulations.

Figure 10.2 Asian Net Internal Migration for U.S. States, 1985–1990

The 1990 census showed that nine metropolitan areas housed 58 percent of the nation's total Latino population. Listed in Table 10.1 (upper panel), their 1990 Latino populations ranged from 4.8 million for Los Angeles to slightly more than 0.5 million for San Diego. Furthermore, each of these metropolitan areas can be classed as a "high-immigration metropolitan area" in the sense that immigration plays a dominant role in contributing to metropolitan area-wide demographic gains (Frey 1995b). This is clearly the case for Latino populations for these areas, led by Los Angeles where immigrant Latinos over the 1985–1990 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 the 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 U.S.-born Latinos. The latter observation is based on a comparison of rates which shows that the net out-migration of U.S.-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 they incurred a net *in-migration* of Latino foreign- and U.S.-born residents over the period. Miami has been a traditional magnet for East Coast Latinos, especially Cubans and Puerto Ricans and especially those 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 1995a, 1995b). Many in-migrant Latinos may be out-migrants from nearby Los Angeles.

The data in the lower portion of Table 10.1 permit similar analysis for Asians. The eight metropolitan areas shown in the table 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 United States further concentrated them into five of the eight areas shown in the table. 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, foreign-born rather than U.S.-born Asians 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 U.S.-born migrants were the most likely to leave (or the least likely to stay) in traditional ports of entry, will they likely differ in their overall migration patterns across U.S. metropolitan areas? To aid in assessing this question, the lists in Table 10.2 show areas with greatest net migration gains and losses separately for foreign-born and U.S.-born Latinos and Asians. Focusing first on Latinos, the port-of-entry metro of Miami clearly dominates as the main net migration destination for foreign-born Latinos, with a net gain of 38,500 over the 1985–1990 period. The remainder of the largest gainers of foreign-born Latinos tend to be metro areas 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 that do not fit this description are Washington, D.C., and Atlanta, for migration directed to these areas may be more than spillover from high-immigration areas. Rather, it is directed more to opportunities available in these fast-growing labor markets.

Metro areas showing greatest gains for U.S.-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 to traditional ports of entry are included on this list. Population gains among U.S.-born Latinos are more pervasive than those for the foreign born. Among the 280 metropolitan areas included in this study, 195 showed net gains of U.S.-born Latinos, whereas only 157 gained from 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 Figure 10.1, show this to be the case as well.)

The greatest net migration gainers for Asians also differ somewhat between foreign-born and U.S.-born Asian residents. Just as foreign-born Latinos gravitated in large numbers to Miami, foreign-born Asians were drawn to Los Angeles. Other areas that rank high in attracting foreign-born Asians are those with significant existing Asian populations (e.g., San Francisco, Boston, San Diego, Washington, D.C.), spillover areas near 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 U.S.-born Asian population are distinct primarily because the list is not dominated by gains to Los Angeles and San Francisco. Rather, the distribution of U.S.-born migrants is much more dispersed. One hundred and fifty-three metro areas gained U.S.-born internal migrants, compared with only 108 for foreign-born internal migrants. As with Latinos, foreign-born and U.S.-born Asians showed greatest losses for a similar group of metro areas (see Table 10.2). This is also the case with states (see Figure 10.2).

This section has shown that there is some internal migration away from large port-of-entry areas, primarily among Latinos who are U.S. 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 U.S. born. The fact that there is noticeable net out-migration from traditional concentrations of Latinos and that the U.S. born are the least likely Asian residents to

concentrate suggests that a gradual spatial assimilation of these groups may be in the offing. The net internal migration numbers (either in or out) observed for Latinos and Asians in the areas considered here, however, 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 toward more assimilated residents or pushes resulting from the economic competition among new immigrants to these areas.

Selective Internal Migration by Educational 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, the response should be stronger for the most skilled and educated residents of the two groups (Long 1988). If, on the other hand, new immigrants strongly compete 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 1995a, 1995b). We address these questions first by looking at the education selectivity associated with net migration of foreign-born and U.S.-born Latinos and Asians from the metropolitan areas introduced earlier. Relevant data are shown in Table 10.3 and Figures 10.3 and 10.4.

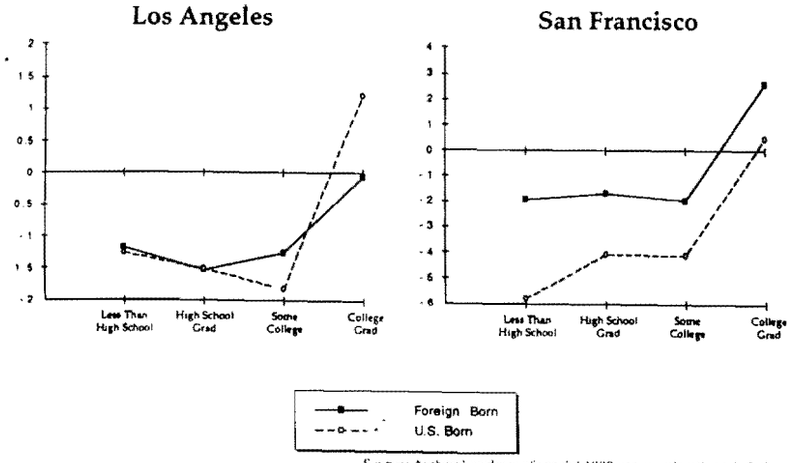
Contrary to patterns consistent with a pull migration response, the education selectivity of Latinos—both native born and U.S. born—shows an accentuated net *in-migration* for college graduates. This is consistent with previous analyses of the white population for high-immigration metropolitan areas (Frey 1995b). The interpretation given there is that many of these areas have dual economies in which 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 the greatest out-migration from these areas for persons with less than college education—often high school graduates.

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

Table 10.3 Rates of Net Internal Migration by Educational Attainment, 1985–1990, for Total, Foreign-Born, and U.S.-Born Latinos and Asians

	Foreign Born				U.S. Born			
	Less than High School	High School	Some College	College Graduate	Less than High School	High School	Some College	College Graduate
Latinos								
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								
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, D.C.	−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

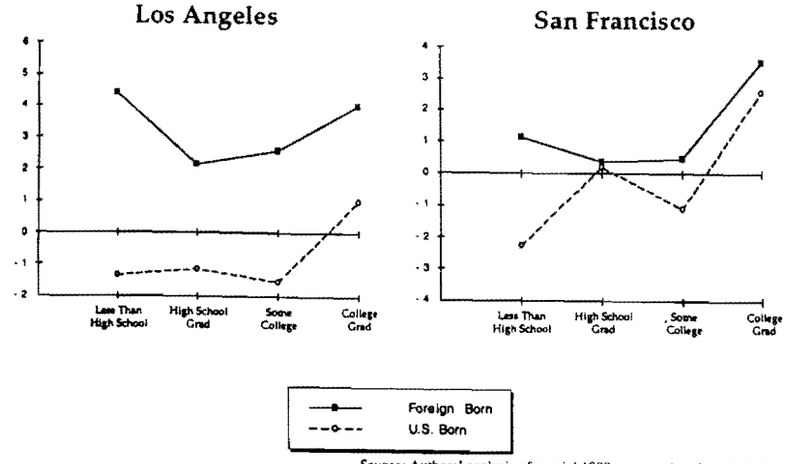
Note: Population aged 25 and above in 1990.



Source: Authors' analysis of special 1990 census migration tabulations.

Figure 10.3 Latino Net Internal Migration by Education, 1985–1990

To address the latter suggestion further, we evaluate separately metropolitan areas that show the greatest gains for both college graduate internal migrants and those with high school education or less. (See Table 10.4 for this comparison of metropolitan areas.) A comparison of the greatest gainers for Latino internal migrants by education and by foreign or U.S. birth reveals a surprising



Source: Authors' analysis of special 1990 census migration tabulations.

Figure 10.4 Asian Net Internal Migration by Education, 1985–1990

Table 10.4 Metro Areas with Greatest Net Migration Gains, 1985–1990, for Latinos and Asians by Education and Nativity

Latinos

	College Graduate				High School or Less			
	Foreign Born		U.S. Born		Foreign Born		U.S. Born	
Total								
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	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, Calif.	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	2,092	Phoenix	1,178
Phoenix	780	Dallas	264	Phoenix	463	Tucson	1,716	San Diego	1,034

Asians

	College Graduate				High School or Less			
	Foreign Born		U.S. Born		Foreign Born		U.S. Born	
Total								
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, Calif.	990	Modesto	118
Seattle	1,144	Dallas	947	Sacramento	243	Modesto	948	Stockton, Calif.	96
Dallas	1,102	Orlando	859	Atlanta	205	Fresno	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

Note: Population aged 25 and above in 1990.

finding: the U.S. born played a more important role in distinguishing magnets for internal migrants than did educational attainment. This is clear when examining the most prominent destination of the groups shown. Miami is the dominant net migration gainer for foreign-born Latinos, both college graduates and those with high school or less education. A good deal of overlap is seen among the other large gainers for both population groups—many with large existing Latino populations or areas we have characterized as spillover metros. In contrast, main destinations for U.S.-born Latino college graduates tended 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, U.S.-born Latinos with high school education or less tended to locate more exclusively in spillover areas, suggesting that their migration was a response to pushes from nearby high-immigrant areas.

For Asians, lists of largest-gaining metro areas overlap considerably for each group shown in Table 10.4. Nonetheless, a difference is again seen between foreign-born and U.S.-born net migration patterns that cuts across educational attainment. That is, foreign-born college graduate Asians, as well as foreign-born Asians with less education, show the highest net migration gains for Los Angeles. This is not the case for U.S.-born Asians, whose gains are more evenly distributed among different high-opportunity metropolitan areas. For U.S.-born Asians with high school education 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 that accompany the recent net internal migration of Latinos and Asians is not consistent with the spatial assimilation picture suggested earlier. Internal migration that 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 United States. Out-migration is most evident among less skilled Latino and Asian residents, who opted for nearby spillover metro areas. The only evidence of spatial assimilation appears to be occurring among relatively small numbers of college graduate U.S.-born Latinos and Asians whose primary destinations are 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 10.5. Separate analyses are conducted for foreign-born and U.S.-born Latinos and Asians, for Latinos and Asians who are college educated and those with high school education or less, and for blacks and whites in these two education categories.

Metropolitan attributes include a geographic region classification (dummy variables are the Northeast, Midwest, South Atlantic, Mountain, and Pacific divisions, with parts of the South not included in the South Atlantic division representing the omitted category), four variables reflecting the metropolitan area's economic structure (unemployment rate in 1988, per capita income in 1988, percentage of change in manufacturing employment in the period 1982–1987, and percentage 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: percentage of the metropolitan population composed of the given minority group (Latino, Asian, black, or white) and the volume of immigration to the metropolitan area over the 1985–1990 period. If a minority group (especially a new immigrant minority group) is deconcentrating, we would anticipate a negative relationship between that group's percentage 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 and a group's net migration level.

The findings in Table 10.5 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 percentage of the metropolitan population and the net migration level for all Asian groups but a *positive* effect for all Latino groups. 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 for U.S.-born Asians.

Hence, it appears as if Latino 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 to 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 U.S.-born Asians, however.) Although this finding is admittedly not amenable to straightforward interpretation, it appears as if recent internal migration of Latinos is the most responsive to the negative impacts of immigration in the areas discussed earlier. Also U.S.-born Latinos do not show the positive relationship with group percentage of metropolitan population shown for the other Latino groups.

Table 10.5 Net Internal Migration, 1985–1990, for Population Groups across U.S. 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[1]	Foreign Born	U.S. Born	Foreign Born	U.S. Born	HS	COLL	HS	COLL	HS	COLL	HS	COLL
Region[2]												
Northeast	−0.09	−0.09	−0.10	−0.10	−0.07	−0.19	−0.07	−0.19	−0.16	−0.19	−0.15*	−0.33*
Midwest	0.01	−0.10	−0.15	0.21*	−0.00	−0.03	−0.13	−0.16	−0.10	−0.13	−0.14*	−0.19*
South Atlantic	0.21*	0.06	−0.05	−0.06	0.19*	0.26*	−0.04	−0.01	0.10	0.21*	0.09	0.14
Mountain	0.14	0.16*	0.29*	0.41*	0.14	0.17	0.31*	0.23*	0.14	0.02	0.15	0.24
Pacific	0.07	0.06	−0.08	−0.06	0.08	0.05	−0.06	−0.06	−0.01	−0.06	0.05	−0.01
Unemployment	−0.18	−0.11	−0.20	−0.13	−0.15	−0.20	−0.18	−0.16	−0.13	0.03	−0.12*	−11.00
Income	0.16	0.08	0.03	0.06	0.14	0.22*	0.04	0.12	−0.01	0.17	0.03	0.22*
Mfg. Growth	−0.01	0.10	0.18	0.23*	0.01	−0.05	0.22*	0.06	0.03	0.11	0.12*	−0.11
% upper white collar	−0.13	−0.06	−0.05	−0.01	−0.14	−0.19*	−0.17	0.04	−0.00	0.07	−0.17*	0.22*
Group % of metro pop.	0.23*	0.01	−0.24*	−0.80*	0.18*	0.23*	−0.35*	−0.22*	−0.05	−0.06	0.08	0.06
Immigration	−0.84*	0.98*	0.42*	−0.25*	−0.90*	−0.53*	0.29*	0.64*	−0.74*	−0.29*	−0.76*	−0.44*
Pop Size (log)	0.23*	0.27*	−0.09	0.09	0.23*	0.31*	−0.04	−12.00	0.08	0.23*	−0.03	0.31*
R-square	0.50	0.70	0.36	0.63	0.59	0.27	0.32	0.55	0.50	0.21	0.75	0.36
N	115	115	91	91	115	115	91	91	126	126	126	126

Notes: 1. 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.

2. Omitted category includes the remainder of the South region (other than South Atlantic).

* Significant at 0.1 level.

For whites and blacks the impact of group percentage on internal migration patterns is negligible, and there is no strong tendency either to concentrate or deconcentrate. Moreover, whites and blacks at each educational level are negatively responsive to recent immigration, whereas 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, whereas income is generally positively related. Area migration appears positively related to increases in manufacturing growth, especially for U.S.-born Asians, Asians with high school or less education, and whites with high school or less education. A somewhat inexplicable finding among the economic and occupation variables is the negative relationship between the percentage of upper-level white-collar workers in an area and the net migration of some groups.

In sum, the results of these equations are not consistent with the view that the internal migration patterns of Latinos and Asians are becoming more dispersed with increasing residence in the United States and greater educational attainment. Rather than confirm an assimilation-based deconcentration of these groups, evidence points to the competitive effects of recent immigrants to traditional port-of-entry metropolitan areas.

Impact on the Los Angeles Metro Area

This chapter has investigated the extent to which recent internal migration patterns of Latinos and Asians may lead to their wider dispersal away from traditional port-of-entry metropolitan areas. The results are hardly consistent with this view. The net out-migration of Latinos is the most accentuated among U.S.-born Latinos with lower skills, possibly in reaction to competition with recent immigrants for lower-level jobs (Borjas 1994; Frey 1995a). Among Asians a net internal migration continues into metro areas with the greatest Asian populations (New York, Honolulu, and Chicago are exceptions), although this tendency is not as strong for U.S.-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 10.6 displays the relative impact of immigration and internal migration contributions for each race and minority group in the Los Angeles metropolitan area. These data make plain that, overall, the metro area's migration components are individuals with less than college education. A major impact exerted by internal migration is a positive impact associated primarily with college graduate whites, blacks, and foreign-born Asians. Further, the greatest internal out-migration contribu-

Table 10.6 Immigration and Internal Migration Components of 1985–1990 Change by Race, Latino Status, and Educational Attainment, Los Angeles Metro Area

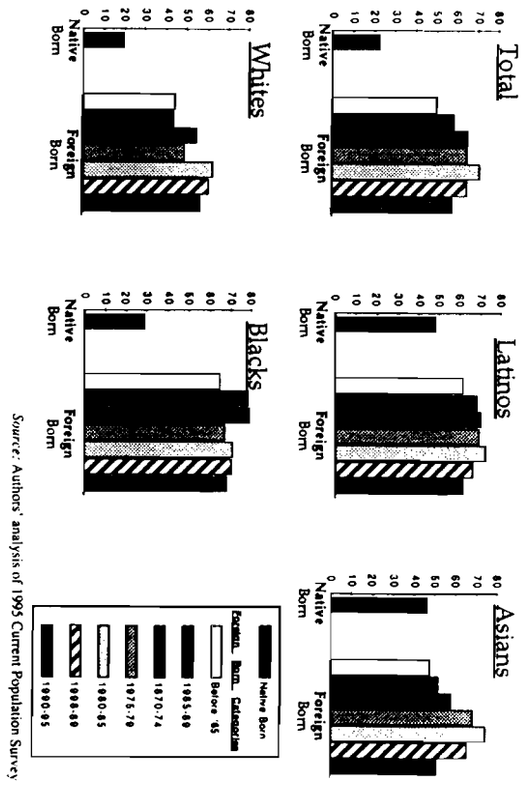
	1990 Population[2]	Educational Attainment[1]			
		Less than High School	High School Graduate	Some College	College Graduate
Hispanics					
Immigration	520,653	152,992	27,836	21,910	14,794
Internal migration	−53,650	−16,009	−6,177	−6,279	800
Total	467,003	136,983	21,659	15,631	15,594
Asians					
Immigration	219,652	34,769	26,144	29,533	50,646
Internal migration	31,804	6,460	2,020	3,707	10,651
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
Total[3]	724,334	159,458	16,250	17,174	145,602

Notes: 1. Aged 25 and above in 1990.
2. Aged 5 and above in 1990.
3. Total is not exactly equivalent to the four race and Latino groups because of some overlap of Latinos with Asians and blacks and the omission of other race groups.

tions are made by whites with less than a college education and Hispanics with less than a high school education. 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 a high school education. The growth of the college graduate population will be more balanced between immigration and internal migration and will include significant numbers of whites, Asians, and blacks.

The long-term dispersal of immigrants to the United States has been a continuing theme in U.S. history. The results shown in this chapter, however, are in concert with earlier results of the 1980 census. Such a dispersal of new immigrant minorities will not occur quickly. This could well lead to a continued "demographic Balkanization" over broad regions of the country.

Another perspective can be gained by examining the dispersal of the current foreign-born population who immigrated at different times. For this we compiled 1995 statistics from the U.S. Census Bureau's Current Population Survey, which establishes the high concentration of both long-term and recent immigrants in the ten "High-Immigration Metros" (Frey 1995a). Figure 10.5 indicates that this concentration remains relatively strong for native-born Latinos, native-born Asians, and foreign-born populations of all race-ethnic groups who arrived in different five-year intervals since 1965. Indeed, whereas less than



Source: Authors' analysis of 1995 Current Population Survey.

Figure 10.5 Percentage Resident in Ten High-Immigration Metros, by Nativity, Foreign-Born Year of Arrival, and Race-Ethnicity

half of 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 Latinos in those 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 recent foreign born in selected metropolitan areas.

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