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Chapter 14

A History of Recent Urban Development in the United States

W. H. Frey

INTRODUCTION

For a very long time there was a tendency among people in America to concentrate in the large and expanding cities of the United States while inside the cities there was a tendency to decentralize (Clark, 1967). Early on, the higher concentration of industries in certain parts of the country than in others played a major part in the direction of these migration flows. Although there was a gradual shift in focus away from industries to the tertiary and quaternary sectors in the US economy during the second part of the twentieth century, economic development based on factors such as the location of natural and human resources, distances to markets and scale economies kept on attracting people to the large metropolitan areas (Ullmann, 1958; Hoover, 1963; Richardson, 1973). This is perhaps the most important reason why the turnaround in the population concentration trends that was detected for the first time after the 1970 census results came as such a complete surprise (Beale, 1977). In the extensive body of literature that has developed on the migration reversal in the United States subsequently, three prominent characteristics of the phenomenon have been uncovered thus far: (i) de-concentrating streams of people seem to cascade down the urban hierarchy (Frey and Speare, 1988), (ii) the small and medium-sized cities closest to the core regions were the first to absorb de-concentrating migrants (Gordon, 1979), and (iii) the ripple-effect of the reversal was detected throughout the country, even in distant non-metropolitan areas in peripheral regions (Vining and Strauss, 1977; Vining, 1982).

Various factors that are related to the de-concentration trends in America have been highlighted since. They include the location of immigrants in

America (Frey and Liaw, 1998), and the locational dynamics caused by immigrants inside and between cities in the United States (Frey, 1998a; 1998b; 1998c; Frey and Geverdt, 1998). A migration trend that is impacting visibly on the American urban environment currently is the significant 'South to North' immigration, largely from Latin American and Asian origins. The destinations of these immigrants are unevenly distributed within the U.S. and concentrated primarily in selected large 'port of entry metropolitan areas'. Many of these same 'port of entry' areas are losing domestic migrants who are more likely to relocate in faster-growing, but smaller metropolitan areas, as well as non-metropolitan territories. Because the immigrant flows tend to have younger age structures and higher fertility levels than the U.S. native population, their 'port of entry' areas are becoming demographically distinct from the parts of the urban system that are attracting mostly domestic migrants. This chapter contrasts the demographic structures of immigrant 'port of entry' areas with other metropolitan and non-metropolitan areas. In so doing, the U.S. case study illustrates how 'South-to-North' migration is impacting settlement systems in Developed Countries in ways that further isolate immigrant groups from long-standing residents.

The chapter also demonstrates how immigration may serve to reinvigorate previously declining populations in large metropolitan areas that otherwise sustain losses. At the same time, the new immigrant settlement clusters in selected metropolitan areas may be adding a further impulse toward a de-concentration of the native-born population toward metropolitan and non-metropolitan areas that are less populated. This added immigrant-driven impulse toward de-concentration of native-born residents adds a further ingredient to the longstanding population de-concentration in Developed Counties that has been tracked since the 1970s (Champion, 1989; Long and DeAre, 1988; Frey and Speare, 1988, 1992; Fuguitt, Brown and Beale, 1989; Johnson and Beale, 1995).

Within the US, recent immigration is relevant toward accounting for a continued population dispersal. This is not because the immigrants themselves are dispersing. It is because they are prompting a selective dispersal of domestic migrants away from the large immigrant port-of-entry metropolitan areas – a pattern which is also evident in Europe (Champion, 1994). This phenomenon can be attributed, in part, to the increasing dual labour market character of high immigration metropolitan areas such as Los Angeles and New York (Waldinger, 1996). Low-skilled immigrants, many with at most high school education, tend to take poorly-paying service jobs and work in the informal sector. Because these metropolitan areas also tend to serve as advanced service centers, they attract highly educated professional domestic migrants to activities which complement the informal and low-wage sectors that employ the bulk of new immigrants. In the process, low-skilled and lower-income US residents see their wages bid down, and job prospects

reduced at the same time that costs of housing and commuting rise. The increased multiethnic nature of these metropolitan areas also leads to the perception that social service costs in these areas are driven up and the potential for inter-ethnic conflict will increase. In response, lower middle class domestic residents of these areas show a propensity to out-migrate (Frey, 1995a).

The destinations of these out-migrants are not always to small metropolitan areas or non-metropolitan territories. Often they relocate to growing metropolitan areas which are less ethnic and do not have a dual economy character. However, the coincidence of heavy immigration in California metropolitan areas, coupled with increased development and diversification of small towns located in non-metropolitan and small metropolitan areas in the states surrounding California and in the Rocky Mountain region, laid the groundwork for selective domestic out-migration into more dispersed settlement areas in the western United States in the early 1990s (Frey, 1995b; 1996).

This chapter presents evidence underlying these trends, based on the most recently available estimates of demographic components of change, as well as race-ethnic and age attributes from the 2000 U.S. decennial census. Following a discussion of data, definitions and methods, separate sections are presented on how these shifts are affecting individual metropolitan areas and how they are impacting on the regional, metropolitan settlement system in the United States. This is followed by a comparison of cohort component projections which contrasts the future demographic scenarios of a large immigrant port-of-entry metropolitan area (Los Angeles) and of a modestly growing metropolitan area which attracted a minimal number of immigrants (Detroit).

DATA, DEFINITIONS AND METHODOLOGY

The data for this chapter draw from (1) estimates of demographic components of change (international migration, net domestic migration, net natural increase) compiled at the county-level by the U.S. Bureau of the Census for the period 1990-99; and (2) decennial census data from the periods 1960, 1970, 1980, 1990 and 2000 for population totals, race-ethnic status, and age. These sources permit us to make an assessment of immigration and domestic migration trends over the 1990s, in comparison to earlier decades.

It should be noted that the 2000 US decennial census results are now in the process of being released and a full evaluation and reconciliation with earlier estimates of components of change has not yet been conducted. Yet there is initial evidence to suggest that the earlier estimates understate the size of net international migration to the U.S. over the 1990s (Cohn, 2001). Because of these discrepancies, this analysis presents parallel tables to those examining

immigration and domestic migration components of change over the 1990-2000 decade, with tables showing relative gains of the combined Hispanic and Asian populations, on the one hand, with those of the combined non-Hispanic white and black populations, on the other hand. The Hispanic and Asian populations represent a high percentage of recent immigrants and provide a crude indicator of immigrant patterns, as can be currently assessed with the 2000 decennial census data.

RACE-ETHNIC DEFINITIONS

Statistics in the U.S. make a distinction between race and Hispanic status, so that persons of all major racial groups, such as whites, blacks and Asians can also be classed as Hispanic or non-Hispanic in terms of their ethnicity. In this chapter, we follow the convention of classing groups into mutually consistent categories: Hispanics, non-Hispanic whites, non-Hispanics blacks, and non-Hispanic Asians.

METROPOLITAN DEFINITION

This chapter will employ metropolitan area definitions that were in effect with the 2000 US census. Although we categorize metropolitan areas in selected categories, such as 'High Immigration Metropolitan Areas' (discussed in the next section), the broad categorization of metropolitan and non-metropolitan areas are defined as follows:

The metropolitan population comprises the combined population of all individual metropolitan areas. First used in the 1950 census, the metropolitan area is a functionally based concept designed to approximate to the socially and economically integrated community. As originally defined, individual metropolitan areas included a central city nucleus with a population of at least 50,000 along with adjacent counties (or towns in the New England states) that were economically and socially integrated with that nucleus, as determined by commuting data, population density and measures of economic activity. While most of the nation's present metropolitan areas can still be characterized by this concept, minor modifications to the definition have been implemented to account for special cases and more complex urbanization patterns. Current metropolitan areas are designated as either Metropolitan Statistical Areas (MSA), stand-alone areas; or Consolidated Metropolitan Statistical Areas (CMSAs), combinations of smaller metropolitan units (Primary Metropolitan Statistical Areas) which show commuting relationships with other such units. In 1995, there were 276 metropolitan areas (MSAs and CMSAs) which housed approximately 80 percent of the US population; the residual 20 percent was defined as a 'non-metropolitan' category.

The present analysis will follow the conventional definitions of metropolitan and non-metropolitan with one minor exception. This occurs in the six New England states, where metropolitan definitions, based on towns, preclude the availability of some population data. For this reason, we follow the convention of earlier research, to employ county-based New England County Metropolitan Areas (any NECMAs) to define the metropolitan population in these states.

METHODOLOGY

The methodology for this chapter utilizes: (1) demographic trend and decomposition of changes in population for areas between 1990 and 2000; and (2) multi-state cohort component projections, developed by the author, for individual metropolitan areas. The trend analyses contrast metropolitan areas that are dominated by immigrants, other metropolitan areas and non-metropolitan areas. These categories are further subdivided by major regions of the U.S.: North, South, and West. (The North combines the Northeast and Midwest census regions).

Projections are conducted over the 2000-2025 time span, tracking the components of change for each 5-year period. The methodology draws from a multi-state cohort component framework developed by the author (Frey, 1983) which incorporates domestic migration steams between individual metropolitan areas and other major regions of the country. This application of the framework also incorporates immigration from abroad. The projections are based on a disaggregation of: 5-year age groups, gender, and a race-ethnic classification that includes Hispanics, non-Hispanic whites, blacks, Asians, and other races. The immigration, fertility and mortality components of change are estimated separately for each of these groups, based on U.S. Census estimates and projected future changes built into the Census Bureau's national projections. The domestic migration stream patterns, assumed for these projections, are based on those observed with the 1990 U.S. Census for the 1985-90 migration interval. Results of the projections permit an examination of demographic components of change for each period, and allow conclusions to be reached regarding how individual metropolitan areas differ with respect to dominant demographic components of change, age structure, and race-ethnic composition.

THE DISTINCTIVENESS OF 'HIGH IMMIGRATION METRO AREAS'

While immigration to the United States has always been high, it has changed both in magnitude and character in the last two decades as the result of revisions in immigration legislation in the mid-1960s which were further

modified in 1986 and in 1990 (Martin and Midgley, 1994). The increasing number of immigrants, both legal and illegal, from Latin America as well as from Asia have tended to accentuate the concentration of these immigrants into familiar port-of-entry areas where there are like race-ethnic and nationality populations who can provide both social and economic support as well as information about employment in the informal economy. Because the US immigration preference system favors family reunification rather than recruitment based on skills, the most recent immigrant cohorts tend to comprise a disproportionate number of labour force aged persons with at most high school education who are best suited for lower-level service kinds of employment (Briggs, 1992). As a consequence, these immigrants provide competition for less-skilled US residents because they tend to bid down the wages for employment in these large gateway metropolitan areas. This is part of the reason that the high immigration metropolitan areas are showing large domestic out-migration.

A METROPOLIAN AREA TYPOLOGY

What is clear when looking at Table 14.1 is that the nine areas listed as high immigration metro areas (Figure 14.1) are sustaining all or most of their migration-related growth from immigration rather than from domestic, internal migration. These areas are quite distinct from areas which are classed as high domestic migration metro areas (Figure 14.2) or high out-migration metro areas (Figure 14.3). The latter two kinds of areas either gain or lose most of their migration-related population change through domestic migration subject to the pushes and pulls of the economy. High domestic migration metropolitan areas such as Atlanta, Seattle, Raleigh-Durham, and Charlotte are among the fast-rising national or regional 'command and control' corporate or banking centers with significant advanced service components to their economies. Also on this list are places like Las Vegas, Phoenix and Orlando – noted retirement and recreation centers – which are attracting an increasing working aged population lured by new job growth in these areas. And, at the other extreme, Detroit, Cleveland, and other high out-migration metropolitan areas are losing internal migrants due to more sluggish economies.

In contrast to these latter two categories of metropolitan areas, the high immigration metropolitan areas are distinct in a number of respects. First, most of them can be thought of as either global cities or national corporate headquarters and trade centers. Not only do they attract large numbers of immigrants, mostly from Latin America and Asia, but they are also centers of finance and corporate decision-making at a national or worldwide level. Second, it is plain that there is a strong net out-migration of domestic migrants from most if not all of these areas and especially from those areas

Figure 14.1 High immigration metro areas

Figure 14.2 High domestic migration metro areas

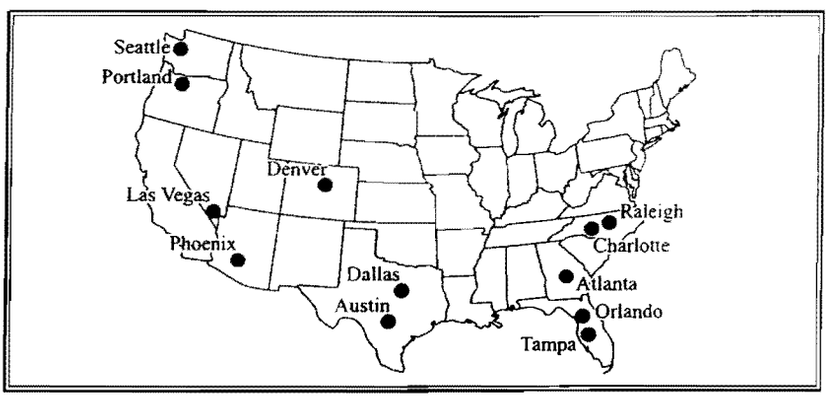

Figure 14.3 High out-migration metro areas

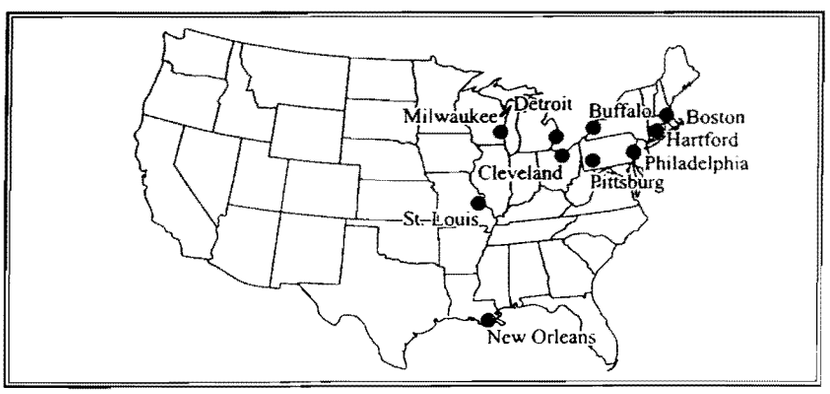

Table 14.1 Metropolitan areas classed by international and domestic migration contributions to population change, 1990-99

Metropolitan Categories Rank		Contribution to 1990-99 Change	
		Net International Migration	Net Domestic Migration
I. HIGH IMMIGRATION METROS [a]			
1	New York	1,408,543	-1,913,850
2	Los Angeles	1,257,925	-1,589,222
3	San Francisco	494,189	-373,187
4	Miami	420,488	-84,884
5	Chicago	363,662	-516,854
6	Washington DC	267,175	-172,425
7	Houston	214,262	85,537
8	Dallas	173,500	235,611
9	San Diego	159,691	-139,649
II. HIGH DOMESTIC MIGRATION METROS [b]			
1	Atlanta	81,037	498,283
2	Phoenix	60,800	396,092
3	Las Vegas	35,506	394,331
4	Dallas	173,500	235,611
5	Denver	50,089	200,658
6	Portland	55,583	198,896
7	Austin	27,114	168,817
8	Orlando	44,244	167,120
9	Tampa	42,088	157,209
10	Charlotte	14,719	154,320
11	Raleigh	16,269	154,049
12	Seattle	90,492	153,946
III. HIGH OUT-MIGRATION METROS [c]			
1	Philadelphia	106,951	-269,874
2	Detroit	76,185	-238,994
3	Boston	137,634	-199,506
4	Cleveland	19,705	-103,945
5	Buffalo	8,927	-82,174
6	Hartford	24,028	-79,177
7	Pittsburgh	8,681	-73,980
8	St. Louis	24,828	-71,014
9	Milwaukee	11,883	-70,223
10	New Orleans	14,128	-70,036

Notes: Metro areas are CMSAs, MSAs, and (in New England) NECMAs, as defined by OMB in June, 2000

a Metro areas with the largest net international migration

b Metro areas with the largest net domestic migration

c Large metro areas with the largest negative domestic migration and not recipients of large domestic international migration

Source: Author's analysis of US Census Bureau County Estimates

which are the largest 'world cities.' This suggests that these areas are taking on a dual city character (Sassen, 1991; Waldinger, 1996) in that their economic and labour force structures will become highly bifurcated between professionals, on the one hand, and lower-level service workers, on the other. In these areas (in contrast to the high domestic migration metropolitan areas) it appears that the recent immigrant population will be taking over more of the latter jobs, while domestic migrants and longer-term residents will be taking the former.

Although the metropolitan areas in each category have somewhat distinct patterns, there is some overlap. One metro, Dallas, appears on both the high immigration metro and high domestic migration metro list. Because of the strong economy of the 1990s in Texas, as well as its continued attraction for immigrants from Mexico and other countries, Dallas draws heavily from both sources. Two high out-migration metros, Philadelphia and Boston, show modestly high levels of immigration which serve to cushion the higher levels of net domestic out-migration.

Further, the metros in each category tend to have distinct regional locations. Those of the high domestic migration metro category are located in the South and the West regions of the U.S., whereas the metros of the high out-migration category are primarily located in the North (New Orleans standing as the exception). This reflects strong economic forces and the greater generation of employment in the 'Sunbelt' (South and West) regions than the more heavily industrialized 'Rustbelt' (North) portions of the U.S., that has characterized the nation's redistribution shifts for several decades. high immigration metros are located in each of the nation's major regions. However, most of them are located in coastal states that have served historic roles as immigrant 'ports of entry'. The role of 'chain migration, along with continued establishment of race and ethnic communities in these areas, allowed them to draw international migrants during periods, such as the 1990s, when most of the domestic migrants moved to more economically robust areas.

RACE-ETHNIC AND AGE DISTINCTIONS

Another way in which the three metropolitan categories differ from each other pertains to their relative attraction for new immigrant minorities--Hispanics and Asians – compared with their attraction for native-born racial groups – whites and blacks (see Table 14.2). It is clear that the high immigration metros dominate in their numeric gains for Hispanics and Asians, compared with metro areas in the other two categories. Moreover, consistent with the domestic migration patterns observed in Table 14.1, high immigration metros show either declines or smaller gains in their white and black populations.

Table 14.2 1990-2000 changes and 2000 sizes of selected race-ethnic groups for categories of large metro areas

Metropolitan Categories Rank		1990-2000 Change		2000 Size (1000s)	
		Hispanics & Asians*	Whites & Blacks*	Hispanics & Asians*	Whites & Blacks*
I. HIGH IMMIGRATION METROS					
1	New York	1,559,497	-398,422	5,283	15,270
2	Los Angeles	2,278,670	-800,482	8,333	7,587
3	San Francisco	852,811	-289,229	2,715	4,059
4	Miami	529,378	77,648	1,632	2,160
5	Chicago	741,078	49,953	1,888	7,123
6	Washington DC	386,288	342,586	888	6,545
7	Houston	676,974	202,184	1,577	3,019
8	Dallas	698,679	411,414	1,319	3,808
9	San Diego	315,467	-79,859	1,011	1,703
II. HIGH DOMESTIC MIGRATION METROS					
1	Atlanta	296,608	795,493	406	3,640
2	Phoenix	473,405	473,062	887	2,253
3	Las Vegas	288,576	379,283	403	1,109
4	Dallas	698,679	411,414	1,319	3,808
5	Denver	256,066	299,260	551	1,970
6	Portland	170,368	239,788	298	1,888
7	Austin	176,977	207,520	372	855
8	Orlando	196,286	189,672	317	1,290
9	Tampa	133,054	158,793	294	2,059
10	Charlotte	84,082	236,742	106	1,373
11	Raleigh	82,429	233,244	107	1,062
12	Seattle	222,631	231,443	486	2,900
III. HIGH OUT-MIGRATION METROS					
1	Philadelphia	210,220	4,546	550	5,542
2	Detroit	108,481	59,817	285	5,047
3	Boston	222,071	26,648	601	5,304
4	Cleveland	38,155	9,582	121	2,780
5	Buffalo	14,087	-46,319	49	1,100
6	Hartford	40,431	-33,188	134	994
7	Pittsburgh	13,714	-71,161	44	2,290
8	St. Louis	28,032	52,494	78	2,489
9	Milwaukee	62,770	-604	142	1,518
10	New Orleans	12,599	24,286	87	1,230

Notes: Metro areas are CMSAs, MSAs, and (in New England) NECMAs, as defined by OMB in June, 2000 (names are abbreviated).
*Asians, Whites and Blacks pertain to Non-Hispanic members of those races.

Source: Author's analysis of 1990 and 2000 US decennial census data.

This pattern is also consistent with the relative 2000 population sizes across metropolitan categories for the two race-ethnic groupings. Again, high immigration metros tend to have greatest numbers of Hispanic and Asian populations according to the results of the 2000 Census. This is especially the case for the New York and Los Angeles metropolitan areas.

Despite these sharp differences across metropolitan categories, new 2000 Census results show higher than expected gains in Hispanic populations in all parts of the U.S. These are reflected in the relatively higher levels of Hispanic and Asian gains shown for metropolitan areas outside the high immigration metro category. For example, the 1990-2000 numeric gains in Phoenix's Hispanic and Asian populations are slightly greater than its gains in the combined white and black population. Although not all Hispanics and Asians are foreign-born or recent immigrants, these 2000 U.S. Census results are consistent with the relative distributions of international migration and domestic migration for Phoenix (shown in Table 14.1).

In like manner, higher than expected gains are shown for Las Vegas, Orlando and Denver, among other metros in the high domestic migration category. It is not yet possible to determine whether these gains are the result of direct immigration from abroad, the secondary migration of the foreign-born, or domestic migration of Hispanic and Asians of second and higher generations. Nonetheless, 2000 Census results show a somewhat greater than expected spreading out of Hispanic and Asian populations away from the high immigration metros.

Table 14.3 shows the ethnic and age characteristics for metro areas in each of the metropolitan categories as reported in the 2000 U.S. Census, along with changes since 1990. With a few exceptions, high immigration metros have a larger percentage of Hispanics and Asians than those in other categories. Aside from Washington, DC and Chicago, Hispanics and Asians account for between one-quarter and over one-half of the populations in each of these areas. In six of the nine areas the combined white and black share of their populations declined by 9 percentage points or more.

Still, there is a surprisingly large Hispanic presence in several high domestic migration metros. This is evident in Phoenix and Las Vegas, which increased their Hispanic and Asian shares by over 8 percent in the 1990s. In like manner, these two areas, as well as Orlando reduced their combined white and black shares by over 10 percent. In high out-migration metros, Hispanic and Asian population percentages tend to be smaller, and 1990-2000 increases are less than in other metropolitan categories. These metro areas are at least 85 percent white and black in their race-ethnic composition.

Age comparisons are somewhat less distinct across these broad areas. High out-migration migration metros have lower shares of their populations

Table 14.3 2000 race-ethnic and age characteristics, and 1990-2000 changes for categories of large metro areas

Metropolitan Categories Rank		% Hispanics and Asians* Year 2000	% Hispanics and Asians* Chge since 1990	% Whites* and Blacks* Year 2000	% Whites* and Blacks* Chge since 1990	% Aged Under 18 Year 2000	% Aged Under 18 Chge since 1990	% Aged 65 and over Year 2000	% Aged 65 and over Chge since 1990
I. HIGH IMMIGRATION METROS									
1	New York	25.0	5.9	72.4	-8.2	24.7	1.7	12.7	-0.5
2	Los Angeles	50.9	9.2	46.3	-11.4	28.5	1.9	9.9	0.1
3	San Francisco	38.6	8.8	57.7	-11.9	23.6	0.6	11.1	0.1
4	Miami	42.1	7.6	55.7	-9.5	24.3	1.6	14.5	-2.2
5	Chicago	20.6	6.7	77.8	-8.1	26.9	0.8	10.9	-0.5
6	Washington DC	11.7	4.2	86.0	-6.2	25.3	1.4	10.1	0.3
7	Houston	33.8	9.6	64.6	-10.8	29.0	0.2	7.7	0.4
8	Dallas	25.3	9.9	72.9	-11.2	28.0	0.8	8.1	-0.3
9	San Diego	35.9	8.1	60.5	-10.9	25.7	1.3	11.2	0.2
II. HIGH DOMESTIC MIGRATION METROS									
1	Atlanta	9.9	6.2	88.5	-7.6	26.6	0.7	7.6	-0.5
2	Phoenix	27.3	8.8	69.3	-10.2	26.8	0.5	11.9	-0.6
3	Las Vegas	25.8	12.4	70.9	-14.6	25.3	1.0	11.8	0.2
4	Dallas	25.3	9.9	72.9	-11.2	28.0	0.8	8.1	-0.3
5	Denver	21.4	6.4	76.3	-8.1	25.7	-0.1	8.9	-0.3
6	Portland	13.1	6.0	83.4	-8.6	25.7	-0.1	10.7	-1.7
7	Austin	29.8	6.7	68.4	-8.1	25.4	-0.2	7.3	-0.5
8	Orlando	19.3	9.4	78.4	-11.4	24.8	1.0	12.4	-0.5
9	Tampa	12.3	4.5	85.9	-6.0	21.9	1.5	19.2	-2.4
10	Charlotte	7.1	5.2	91.6	-6.2	25.4	0.7	10.2	-0.7
11	Raleigh	9.0	6.1	89.4	-7.5	24.2	1.5	8.6	-0.9
12	Seattle	13.7	4.8	81.6	-8.3	24.8	-0.2	10.3	-0.4
III. HIGH OUT-MIGRATION METROS									
1	Philadelphia	8.9	3.1	89.6	-4.4	25.3	1.0	13.5	0.0
2	Detroit	5.2	1.8	92.5	-3.6	26.4	0.3	11.7	0.2
3	Boston	9.9	3.3	87.6	-5.3	24.0	1.3	12.7	-0.1
4	Cleveland	4.1	1.2	94.4	-2.5	25.3	0.3	14.3	0.3
5	Buffalo	4.2	1.3	94.0	-2.4	24.3	0.8	15.8	0.6
6	Hartford	11.7	3.3	86.5	-4.9	24.2	1.7	14.0	0.6
7	Pittsburgh	1.9	0.6	97.1	-1.5	22.3	0.2	17.7	0.6
8	St. Louis	3.0	1.0	95.6	-2.2	26.3	0.0	12.9	0.1
9	Milwaukee	8.4	3.5	89.8	-4.6	26.5	0.0	12.5	0.1
10	New Orleans	6.5	0.7	92.0	-1.9	26.8	-1.3	11.4	0.4

Notes: Metro areas are CMSAs, MSAs, and (in New England) NECMAs, as defined by OMB in June, 2000 (Names are abbreviated)
*Asians, Whites and Blacks pertain to Non-Hispanic members of those races

Source: Author's analysis of 1990 and 2000 US decennial census data

under 18 and higher shares over age 65 than the other categories. High immigration metro areas tend to have the youngest age structures. Among all of the metropolitan areas on the list, the high immigration metros, Los Angeles, Houston and Dallas lead the rest with more than 28 percent of their populations under 18. High domestic migration metros also exhibit relatively young age structures, although, in some cases, this is moderated by the aging of their large middle-aged baby boom populations (Frey, 2001b).

In sum, distinct demographic dynamic processes are at work for the three categories of metropolitan areas. High immigration metros dominate with respect to attracting immigrants, and in their concentration of Hispanic and Asian immigrant minority groups. Nonetheless, the 2000 U.S. Census results suggests 'spilling out' of the latter into other growing metropolitan areas, perhaps in response to the service, retail, and construction jobs being created by the even larger domestic migration gain exhibited in high domestic migration metros. A systemic view of how these patterns are playing out across the nation's metropolitan and regional settlement grid is taken up in the next section.

IMMIGRATION AND THE SETTLEMENT SYSTEM

This section will evaluate the impacts that immigration and domestic migration components exert on the regional and metropolitan area settlement system of the US. This system includes the three broad regions of the U.S., North, South and West and, within them, a metropolitan status trichotomy that includes the combined high immigration metropolitan areas, all other metropolitan areas, and the residual non-metropolitan territory. This settlement system grid permits us to evaluate the extent to which immigration is being concentrated in the high immigration metro areas, and the extent to which domestic migration disperses across regions and other metropolitan status categories.

SETTLEMENT SYSTEM REDISTRIBUTION TRENDS

Before evaluating these components of change, it is useful to examine the trends over the past three decades in the relative growth and decline of metropolitan and non-metropolitan areas for this settlement system. Table 14.4 indicates that in the 1970s, so-called 'rural renaissance' characterized the settlement system such that, overall, non-metropolitan areas grew faster than either of the two metropolitan categories. This non-metropolitan growth has been attributed to a number of deconcentration and period influences associated with the dispersion of small manufacturing and extractive jobs, and the rise of a large retirement population during the decade (Frey, 1989). A sharp reversal of fortunes for non-metropolitan economies during the 1980s

egion	Share of US Population				Change in	
	1970	1980	1990	2000	19	
	13.5	11.9	10.8			
	28.8	26.4	23.2			
	9.7	9.4	8.0			
	24.7	8.5	7.1			
	11.1	6.4	18.4			
	5.9	17.3				
	15.9	9.5				
	9.2					
		7.9	8.1			
		6.9				
		2.3				
		100				

Year change	
80-1990	1990-2000
	2.8
-1.6	3.0
2.1	.0.4
7.8	9.2
	6.2
22.7	5.4
21.6	
15.5	21.1
	16.3
	2.8
	20.8
	18.7
	11.5
	24.3
	23.3
	12.9
	12.6
	26.7
	20.8
16.4	
31.2	
28.1	
	13.9
	10.6
	2.6
	13.4
	14.2
	10.2

54.2
24.6
26.2
28.6
8.3
77.9
148.2
55.3
8.9
12.0
13.3

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STATES
gh Immig Metros
Other Metros
Non-metropolitan

Notes:
* Pertains to US Census regions with the exception that 'North' pe
** High Immigration Metros are: New York and Chicago in the
San Francisco and San Diego in the West

Source: Author's analysis of US decennial censuses

substantially reduced their population growth. Still, a new revival of non-metropolitan areas, reflected in new population gains, appears to have occurred during the 1990s. These gains were less attributable to self-contained rural and non-metropolitan economic activities. Rather, non-metropolitan growth in the 1990s occurred in counties that lie just adjacent to metropolitan areas and serve as residences for ex-urban commuters. Likewise, large gains occurred in high amenity non-metropolitan counties which attracted retirees who, in fact, served to create economic growth rather than respond to it (Johnson and Beale, 1995).

From the metropolitan perspective, the slow growth or population declines of the 1970s were attributable to a wholesale downsizing of manufacturing production. As a consequence, some of the largest metropolitan areas in the U.S. sustained unprecedented population losses during the decade. Among those experiencing significant losses were areas we have classed as high immigration metros, although rising immigration did not occur until after this decade had passed.

In the 1980s, there was a selective rebounding of metropolitan area growth. Areas that were most likely to gain were the locations of advanced service activities, including corporate headquarter cities, high-tech incubation centers, and other places that were able to make the manufacturing-to-advanced services transition, or those that were generally diversified enough to weather the 1970s manufacturing 'shakeouts' (Frey, 1993). These included some of the high immigration metros such as New York, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Chicago and Dallas-Fort Worth. Still, the 1980s showed negative patterns for metros areas specializing in particular industries that were not doing well. For example, the reduced mid-decade demand for products of the extractive industries reversed population growth in metro areas such as Houston and Denver.

The 1990s showed some rebounding of the latter two areas which diversified their economies, and there was a more broadly based growth in metropolitan areas of all sizes, especially in the South and West. Still, there were adverse growth impacts associated with the early 1990s recession. It affected metropolitan areas that held significant U.S. government defense installations or areas which did much contract work with U.S. defense agencies (e.g., San Diego, Los Angeles). This is evident from the reduced growth shown for high immigration metro areas in the West during the 1990s decade.

MIGRATION COMPONENTS IN THE 1990s

Yet, perhaps the most important long-term phenomenon of the 1990s which affected both the demographics and economics of selected large metropolitan areas was the impact that concentrated immigration imposed on a few port-of-

entry areas. This is clear from the 1990s components of change data shown in Table 14.5. Were it not for immigration in the 1990s, the large high immigration metros in the West would have shown insignificant growth in their populations; those in the North would have sustained declines. In the South, these areas would have gained modestly, but primarily due to natural increase. In short, immigration, combined with natural increase, accounted for most of the population gains in each region's metropolitan areas during the 1990s.

In contrast, small metropolitan areas in the both the South and West regions sustained greater growth from domestic migration than from international migration, and this is even more so the case for non-metropolitan areas in these regions. This pattern is consistent with the scenario where domestic migrants are locating in low-cost, less congested smaller metropolitan areas at the same time that immigration continues to be concentrated. Nationally, 65 percent of all the 1990s immigrants located in the nine high immigration metropolitan areas. These same metro areas house less than 28 percent of the total U.S. population, and less than 23 percent of the combined white and black population of the nation.

RACE-ETHNIC AND AGE DISTINCTIONS

The 1990-2000 decade changes by race-ethnic groups are shown in Table 14.6. As with immigration over the 1990s, Hispanics and Asians are more concentrated in the high immigration metros than whites and blacks. Those in the north and west regions sustained declines in their combined white and black populations; and in the other metros in these same two regions, Hispanic and Asian gains exceeded gains among whites and blacks. This is not the case for other metropolitan areas in the south where the gains of whites and blacks were greater than those for Hispanics and Asians. This is fueled, in part, by a substantial black migration to the south during the 1990s (Frey, 2001a). Moreover, in the non-metropolitan areas of all three regions, the gains for whites and blacks outnumber those for Hispanics and Asians.

Table 14.6 contrasts somewhat with Table 14.5 by showing that the new immigrant minority groups are gaining in all parts of the settlement system, suggesting some 'spilling out' of these race-ethnic groups away from the high immigration metros. Overall, however, these groups continue to remain far more concentrated in these selected metros than the general population.

The impact of this concentrated immigration is reflected in the race-ethnic compositions of high immigration metros, as contrasted with other categories of areas in the settlement system. Table 14.7 indicates one-third of the population of high immigration metros, nationally, is comprised of Hispanics and Asians in contrast to less than 12 percent of other metros and less than

Table 14.5 Demographic components of change by metropolitan status and region, 1990-99

Region* Metropolitan Status*	International Migration	Domestic Migration	Natural Increase		International Migration	Domestic Migration	Natural Increase		2000 Population	1990-1999 Intl. Migration
NORTH										
High Immig Metros	6.4	-8.0	6.7		1,772,205	-2,430,704	1,849,785		10.8	24.3
Other Metros	1.2	-2.2	4.8		709,798	-1,439,108	2,935,179		23.2	9.7
Non-metropolitan	0.3	1.4	2.1		68,040	318,416	436,536		8.0	0.9
SOUTH										
High Immig Metros	6.1	0.3	8.8		1,075,425	63,839	1,556,199		7.6	14.7
Other Metros	1.6	4.5	6.3		741,739	2,448,870	2,906,687		19.3	10.2
Non-metropolitan	0.6	4.1	2.9		133,970	998,283	649,553		8.8	1.8
WEST										
High Immig Metros	8.2	-8.0	10.6		1,911,805	-2,102,058	2,488,664		9.3	26.2
Other Metros	3.4	5.5	9.2		760,073	1,571,516	2,103,253		10.2	10.4
Non-metropolitan	1.9	6.9	6.4		133,710	570,946	439,937		3.0	1.8
									100.0	100.0
UNITED STATES										
High Immig Metros	6.9	-5.7	8.6		4,759,435	-4,468,923	5,894,648		27.7	65.1
Other Metros	1.7	1.7	6.1		2,211,610	2,581,278	7,945,119		52.7	30.3
Non-metropolitan	0.7	3.4	3.0		335,720	1,887,645	1,526,026		19.7	4.6
									100.0	100.0

Notes:

* Pertains to US Census regions with the exception that 'North' pertains to the combined Northeast and Midwest census regions.

** High Immigration Metros are: New York and Chicago in the North; Washington DC, Miami, Dallas and Houston in the South; Los Angeles, San Francisco and San Diego in the West.

Source. Author's analysis of US Census Bureau County Estimates

Table 14.6 1990-2000 changes and 2000 sizes of selected race-ethnic groups by metropolitan status and region

Region* Metropolitan Status**	1990 -2000 Change			2000 Size (1000s)			Share of US 2000 Population	
	Hispanics & Asians	Whites &Blacks		Hispanics & Asians	Whites &Blacks		Hispanics & Asians	Whites &Blacks
NORTH								
High Immig Metros	2,300,575	-348,469		7,171	22,393		15.7	9.8
Other Metros	1,590,607	1,257,451		3,887	60,223		8.5	26.4
Non-metropolitan	291,572	610,220		643	21,320		1.4	9.3
SOUTH								
High Immig Metros	2,291,319	1,033,832		5,416	15,531		11.8	6.8
Other Metros	2,735,369	5,043,049		6,529	46,666		14.3	20.4
Non-metropolitan	655,161	1,603,859		1,583	22,497		3.5	9.8
WEST								
High Immig Metros	3,446,948	-1,169,570		12,060	13,350		26.3	5.8
Other Metros	2,753,744	2,372,217		7,121	20,278		15.6	8.9
Non-metropolitan	394,783	753,433		1,373	6,244		3.0	2.7
							100.0	100.0
UNITED STATES								
High Immig Metros	8,038,842	-484,207		24,646	51,274		53.8	22.4
Other Metros	7,079,720	8,672,717		17,537	127,167		38.3	55.7
Non-metropolitan	1,341,516	2,967,512		3,599	50,060		7.9	21.9
							100.0	100.0

Notes:

* Pertains to US Census regions with the exception that 'North' pertains to the combined Northeast and Midwest census regions

** High Immigration Metros are: New York and Chicago in the North; Washington DC, Miami, Dallas and Houston in the South; Los Angeles, San Francisco and San Diego in the West.

Source: Author's analysis of 1990 and 2000 US decennial census data

Table 14.7 2000 race-ethnic and age characteristics, and 1990-2000 changes, by metropolitan status and region

Region* Metropolitan Status**	% Hispanics and Asians		% Whites and Blacks		% Aged under 18		% Aged 65 and over	
	Year 2000	Chge since 1990	Year 2000	Chge since 1990	Year 2000	Chge since 1990	Year 2000	Chge since 1990
NORTH								
High Immig Metros	23.7	6.1	74.0	-8.1	25.4	1.5	12.1	-0.5
Other Metros	5.9	2.2	92.2	-3.7	25.2	0.2	13.0	0.1
Non-metropolitan	2.9	1.2	95.2	-2.3	24.9	-1.3	15.4	-0.1
SOUTH								
High Immig Metros	25.3	7.7	72.7	-9.3	26.6	1.1	9.9	-0.3
Other Metros	12.0	3.7	86.1	-5.1	25.3	-0.2	12.4	0.0
Non-metropolitan	6.4	2.2	91.3	-3.3	25.0	-1.5	14.5	-0.2
WEST								
High Immig Metros	46.0	9.0	50.9	-11.5	26.9	1.5	10.4	0.1
Other Metros	24.9	5.5	70.8	-8.4	26.9	-0.2	10.9	-0.1
Non-metropolitan	16.5	2.3	75.0	-4.7	27.2	-2.0	13.0	0.1
UNITED STATES								
High Immig Metros	31.7	7.5	65.8	-9.5	26.2	1.4	10.9	-0.3
Other Metros	11.8	3.8	85.8	-5.5	25.6	0.0	12.4	0.0
Non-metropolitan	6.5	2.0	90.4	-3.3	25.3	-1.5	14.7	-0.2
Total US	16.3	4.5	81.2	-6.2	25.7	0.1	12.4	-0.1

Notes:

* Pertains to US Census regions with the exception that 'North' pertains to the combined Northeast and Midwest census regions

** High Immigration Metros are: New York and Chicago in the North; Washington DC, Miami, Dallas and Houston in the South; Los Angeles, San Francisco and San Diego in the West.

Source. Author's analysis of 1990 and 2000 US decennial census data

seven per cent for non-metropolitan areas. The patterns differ regionally such that all three categories in the West exhibit a greater Hispanic and Asian presence than those in the North and South. This suggests some dispersal of the new immigrant minority groups away from the high immigration metro areas in the West toward smaller-sized places and some non-metropolitan counties. In the North and South, however, there is a sharp difference between the race-ethnic compositions of high immigration metros, on the one hand, and other metros, on the other. Non-metropolitan areas in the north and south, and other metropolitan areas in the south are over 90 percent white and black. At the other extreme, barely half of the population of high immigration metros in the West is white and black.

The differences in age structures among the categories of the settlement system are sharper than those for race and ethnicity. The youngest areas of the system include high immigration metropolitan areas in the South and West, as well as other metros and non-metros in the latter region. Non-metropolitan areas in each region have the highest shares of their populations aged 65 and above. These areas sustained significant domestic out-migration with relatively little infusion of immigration and the in-movement of new ethnic minority groups that have younger age structures.

In sum, this section has shown that immigration over the 1990s tended to be concentrated within the high immigration metros, although there has been some dispersal of Hispanics and Asians to other metropolitan areas and non-metropolitan areas, especially in the West region. Other metropolitan areas in the South and West have also shown large gains in their white and black populations. Hence, there is a greater representation of immigrant minorities in the high immigration metropolitan areas in all three regions.

PROJECTIONS TO 2025

Although one cannot reliably predict the future demographic patterns associated with immigration and domestic migration across the nation's settlement systems, multi-state cohort component projections provide a way of assessing outcomes if current demographic processes continue. These projections have been performed for individual metropolitan areas: Los Angeles, a high immigration metro area and Detroit, a high out-migration metro. The projections utilize a procedure developed by Frey (1983) that incorporates separate migration components of change. Each metropolitan area projection is part of a multi-state system which includes the metropolitan area, and the four residual census regions of the U.S. Hence, the net domestic migration is shown as a result of this projection, representing the net of exchanges between the given metropolitan area (Los Angeles or Detroit) and all other regions of the U.S.

The contrast between the projected Detroit and Los Angeles migration components over the 2000-2025 period is striking (see Table 14.8). Over the 25 years, metropolitan Los Angeles increases its population by 43 percent wherein international migration accounts for more than half of that gain. Metro Los Angeles is projected to lose domestic migrants over each of the periods of the projection. However, this is more than compensated for by immigration, as well as a significant level of natural increase which reflects its younger age structure and the higher fertility of the larger Hispanic population in the Los Angeles metropolitan area. The Detroit metropolitan area, on the other hand, shows a projected growth of only 8.5 percent over the 25-year period. The bulk of this growth is accounted for by natural increase, although the rate of natural increase in Detroit is only about half of that for Los Angeles. Detroit also has shown negative domestic migration rates slightly higher than those for Los Angeles. In short, Detroit's scenario is one of a steady-state population where natural increase overcomes the net loss that would accrue from the combination of immigration and domestic migration contributions alone.

Figures 14.4 and 14.5 contrast 2025 age structures by race for Los Angeles and Detroit. The difference is quite striking with Los Angeles showing an extremely young age structure where large Hispanic and Asian populations overwhelm the sizes of its combined white and black populations for all ages under 50. Only at the age category of 70 and above, are the Hispanic and Asian populations in Los Angeles smaller than whites and blacks in the year 2025. In Detroit, on the other hand, the projection is dominated by the white and black populations that exhibit a relatively flat age distribution. The youth momentum generated by Hispanics and Asians in Los Angeles is not available to Detroit, which would not attract any new immigrant minorities, according to the projection.

The differences in these two metro area age structures and race compositions hold important implications for the policies related to youth versus the elderly, on the one hand, and the needs of immigrant minorities versus native-born whites and blacks on the other. In Los Angeles, much of the working aged population will be Hispanic and Asian in origin and will be more concerned about issues related to their large child populations. In Detroit, in contrast, the elderly population will hold greater sway in decisions made by the electorate and its leaders. Here racial and multi-cultural matters such as the infusion of bilingual education in the schools or alterations in preferences of the nation's immigration laws, will be far less important than they are for the residents of Los Angeles. In like manner, residents in the nation's clusters of high immigration metros, will hold distinctly different views of national policy priorities, than those parts of the settlement system which have been populated primarily by native-born domestic migrants.

*Table 14.8 2000-25 projected demographic components of change for Los Angeles and Detroit Metropolitan Areas**

	5-year Periods					25-years
	2000-05	2005-10	2010-15	2015-20	2020-25	2000-25
Los Angeles Metro Area		363,669				
Numeric Change						
International Migration	862,641	737,898	663,674	680,121	743,669	3,688,003
Domestic Migration	-158,139	-213,386	-269,585	-322,330	-369,514	-1,332,954
Natural Increase	811,290	928,442	1,016,496	1,062,274	1,082,548	4,901,050
Total	1,515,792	1,452,954	1,410,585	1,420,065	1,456,703	7,256,099
Percent Change						
International Migration	5.2	4.0	3.4	3.2	3.3	22.0
Domestic Migration	-0.9	-1.2	-1.4	-1.5	-1.6	-8.0
Natural Increase	4.8	5.1	5.2	5.0	4.8	29.3
Total	9.1	8.0	7.2	6.7	6.5	43.4
Detroit Metro Area						
Numeric Change						
International Migration	44,099	37,798	34,013	34,829	38,192	188,931
Domestic Migration	-104,656	-105,491	-106,060	-104,239	-98,670	-519,116
Natural Increase	160,219	155,836	157,282	163,200	161,252	797,789
Total	99,662	88,143	85,235	93,790	100,774	467,604
Percent Change						
International Migration	0.8	0.7	0.6	0.6	0.7	3.4
Domestic Migration	-1.9	-1.9	-1.9	-1.8	-1.7	-9.4
Natural Increase	2.9	2.8	2.8	2.8	2.8	14.5
Total	1.8	1.6	1.5	1.6	1.7	8.5

Notes: *defined as CMSAs

Source: Author's multistate cohort component projection

Figure 14.4 Los Angeles 2025 age structure by race-ethnicity

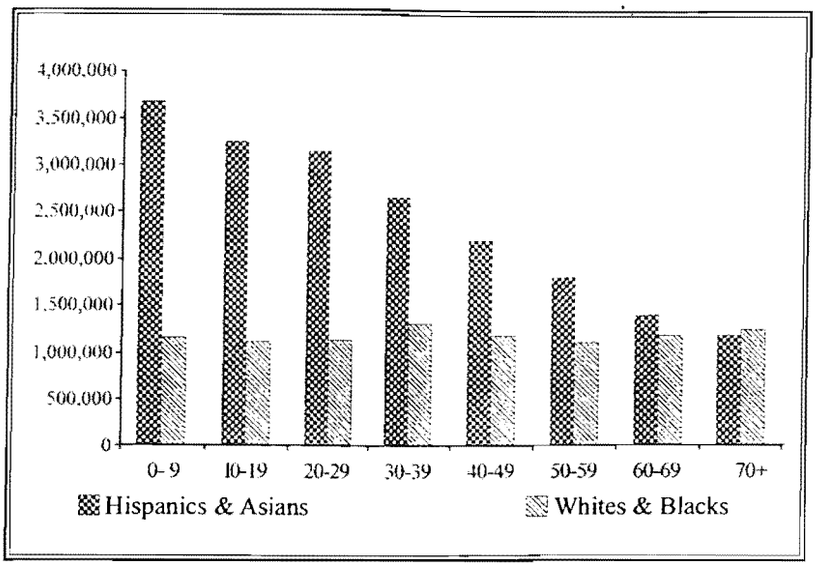
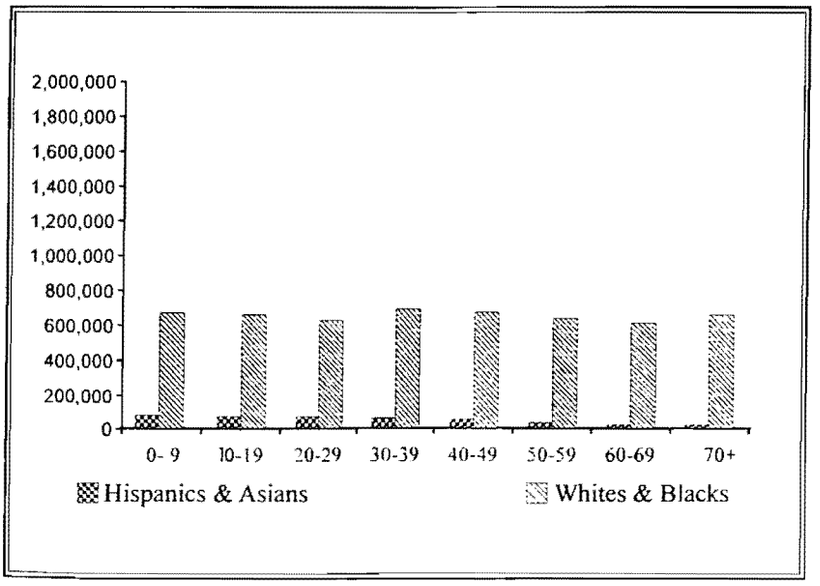


Figure 14.5 Detroit 2025 age structure by race-ethnicity



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