Immigration and Native Residential Mobility in Established, New, and Nongateway Metropolitan Destinations

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Abstract

Using longitudinal data from the Panel Study of Income Dynamics linked to three decades of census data on neighborhood immigrant populations, this study examines how the effect of local immigrant concentration (i.e., tract percent immigrant and change in tract percent immigrant) on the residential mobility decisions of native-born whites and blacks varies in established, new, and nongateway metropolitan areas. We find that, regardless of type of area, the likelihood of migration is higher for natives living in neighborhoods with increasing immigrant populations, that cannot be explained by micro-level characteristics of householders or by the features of the neighborhoods in which they reside. While natives in these different types of areas respond similar to growing immigrant populations, natives, especially non-Hispanic whites, in metros with small and slow growing immigrant populations (nongateways) exhibit much higher tendencies to flee neighborhoods with large immigrant populations than their counterparts in more established or emerging immigrant gateway metros. We also find that natives exiting neighborhoods with large immigrant shares are likely to settle in neighborhoods with substantially smaller immigrant populations. The implications of these findings for residential integration during a time of foreign-born population dispersion are discussed throughout.

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Introduction

Over the last four decades, immigration to the U.S. has exploded. The foreign-born population (37.9 million strong) is larger now than at any point in our nation's history, and its relative proportion of all Americans (12.6%) is nearly as high as it was during the height of the industrial era. Yet, unlike previous immigration streams, the surge in the foreign-born population over the last few decades has not occurred solely in traditional immigrant ports of entry, but has been distributed more evenly across the national landscape, bringing foreign populations to central city, suburban, exurban, and rural communities alike. This spatial diffusion of the contemporary immigrant population has helped to dramatically increase levels of diversity across American neighborhoods (Bean et al. 2005; Fasenfest, Booza, and Metzger 2006; Iceland 2009; Logan and Zhang 2010), and has been accompanied by increases in intergroup exposure and declines in multigroup segregation (Timberlake and Iceland 2007).

In spite of these signs of increased racial/ethnic integration tied to immigration are indications of persistent segregation of some groups and the emergence of new forms of spatial stratification. Residential separation of Latinos and Asians – groups composing a bulk of the new immigrant population – from non-Latino white majority has remained virtually unchanged or, by some measures, increased since 1980 (Logan 2003; Iceland 2009). The heightened segregation levels experienced by Asians and Hispanics are partially, if not largely a reflection, of new immigrants' tendency to band together (Iceland and Scopilliti 2008; Iceland and Nelson 2008; Iceland 2009; Massey 1985). But, the reaction of native-born residents and their decisions to

remain in diversifying neighborhoods or flee in the face of swelling immigrant populations are just as crucial in determining the prospects for residential incorporation.

That the immigrant population is now dispersing out of traditional gateways areas and resettling in communities with little prior history of immigration and in many cases, strictly bi-racial or homogenous racial structures, thus presents reason for celebration but also concern. Appropriately, existing research on residential integration in established and new immigrant destinations imparts mixed conclusions. Several commentators are optimistic, holding that the new areas lack both the critical mass necessary to form large immigrant neighborhoods and the long histories of racial exclusion and systematic segregation typical of major immigrant gateways (Alba et al. 2010; Frey and Liaw 2005). Other, however, are less sanguine, noting that in contrast to natives in traditional destinations, those in newer areas, have had little exposure to immigrants and recognizing that contexts of reception in these places can often be less than welcoming (Lichter et al. 2010; Massey 2008).

The goal of this paper is to help adjudicate these claims, by exploring if natives' mobility responses to immigrant concentrations differ in established, new, and nongateway metropolitan areas. We utilize data from the Panel Study of Income Dynamics (PSID) linked with data from the three most recent U.S. censuses to describe basic patterns of out-mobility as a function of both the size of, and changes in, local immigrant populations. The longitudinal nature of the PSID also allows us to examine changes in the effects of foreign-born population concentrations on the mobility decisions of native-born householders and the availability of data on a wide range of microlevel and neighborhood characteristics permit the opportunity to assess theoretically-implicated mechanisms linking foreign-born populations to native out-mobility. Finally, to more fully assess the impact of native mobility of community change and segregation,

we examine if the neighborhood destinations of local movers differ in established, new, and nongateway areas.

New Destinations and Residential Incorporation

Immigration has had major effects on many facets of contemporary society, such as on native workers' job prospects (Borjas 1999, 2003; Card 2005), the challenges faced by school systems in educating foreign and diverse populations (Donato and Marschall 2010; Fry 2003; Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco 2002), and America's ethnic mix and cultural identity (Bean and Stevens 2003; Huntingdon 2004; Reimers 1998). The potential for these and other transformative impacts of immigration are, however, closely related to the settlement patterns of the foreign-born. Competition between immigrants and natives over jobs and housing, for example, is directly tied to the extent to which immigrants and natives share housing and labor markets. Expressions of ethnic tolerance and conflict likewise reflect proximity and social interaction between the two populations.

In assessing the effects of immigration on urban spatial structures, popular theoretical arguments have focused on highlighting residential segregation from the native-born majority as a temporary phenomenon that originates in dense central-city enclaves of major immigrant gateways, that gradually transitions into residential integration as immigrants accumulate the social and economic resources necessary to exit urban cores for non-immigrant, typically whiter, communities (Lieberson 1963; Massey 1985; Park and Burgess 1969). A considerable body of research has emerged to test the implications of these theoretical arguments for processes of neighborhood attainment and segregation writ large (for recent reviews see Charles 2006; Iceland 2009; Rosenbaum and Friedman 2007). Less attention has been paid to whether these

models apply to the broader dispersion patterns that characterizes the contemporary immigrant population.

Despite earlier speculation that divergent migration patterns of immigrant and native population will lead to "regional balkanization" between the two groups (Frey 1995, 1996; Frey and Liaw 1998), more recently Frey and Liaw (2005) argue that the geographic diffusion of the foreign born is symbolic of their successful spatial incorporation not only nationally, but locally as well, with the bold prediction that "minorities undergoing spatially-assimilating long-distance migration will be residing in more integrated neighborhoods locally" (p. 212). Empirical support for this hypothesis is provided by Park and Iceland (2009) who find that dissimilarity from native whites and isolation scores are lower for Hispanic and non-Hispanic white, black, and Asian immigrants in new than traditional metropolitan destinations. Similarly, Alba and colleagues (2010) find that Hispanic children in non-traditional gateways are more exposed to non-Hispanic whites than are Hispanic children living in established gateways.

By contrast, Lichter et al. (2010), using block-level data nested within census places, find that dissimilarity of Hispanics from non-Hispanic whites is higher in new destinations than in established areas, and that the difference cannot be explained by structural or demographic characteristics of communities or by income inequality between whites and Hispanics living there. Lichter and colleagues ultimately conclude that "the new spatial diffusion of Hispanics into emerging destinations has been accompanied by increasing spatial balkanization" (p. 226). Likewise, Fischer and Tienda (2006) find that Hispanic immigrants are more segregated from other groups in emerging Hispanic destinations than in traditional ones. They also report that Hispanic immigrant segregation is highest in "other" (i.e., not established nor new) metropolitan destinations (see Table 4-2). Using an approach that recognizes diversity in immigrant group

settlement patterns, Hall (2010) finds evidence to support arguments that immigrant group segregation from native whites (for most major immigrant groups) in established destinations is being reproduced in their new destinations, and amplified in nongateway areas.

It is unclear, however, what drives levels of segregation in these different types of metropolitan destinations. In line with the classic model of spatial assimilation, it follows that residential separation between immigrant and native populations materializes largely as a result of immigrants' desire to live with other co-ethnics. This own-group preferences is not simply due to ethnocentric attraction (Clark 1992; Clark and Blue 2004), but also to the social and economic benefits of enclave residence (Edin et al. 2003; Portes and Jensen 1987, 1989; but see Sanders and Nee 1987; Chiswick and Miller 2005). Thus, any break from the dense ethnic enclaves of the major immigrant gateways – whether to nearby suburban communities or far-off new territories – should translate into greater residential integration. Despite the perspicuity of this line of reasoning, the burgeoning 'new destinations' literature cautions that immigrants are not being welcomed with open arms by natives in all of the new areas they are settling in. In fact, it is in these emerging destinations where some of the more draconian policies toward local immigrant populations have been put forth (Broder 2007; Langlagaron et al. 2008) and a growing body of work details native backlash following immigration to these areas (Fennelly 2008; Johnson, Farrell, and Guinn 1999; Marrow 2008, 2009; Winders 2008). By comparison, natives in established destinations are, to at least some degree, well-accustomed to the diversity of faces and cultures that immigration brings. Massey (2008) ventures that established areas serve a functional purpose in assimilating new arrivals, serving "as buffers between the masses of immigrants and the rest of American society" (352).

The debate over what immigrants' dispersion out of gateway destinations portends for the future of residential integration is thus far from settled. Studies of native reactions to immigrants in different settings can help to address the inconsistency marking prior research. And given the long history in the U.S. of neighborhood retreat in the face of 'foreign' encroachment (e.g., whites in Northern and Midwestern cities fleeing to suburbia in the face of the influx of Southern blacks), it is plausible not only that native populations are resistant to new, immigrant neighbors, but also that these reactions are shaped by the broader, historical context of foreign settlement into their neighborhoods, schools, workplaces, churches, and day-to-day lives.

Theoretical Explanations

There are several factors that might lead to the exodus of native-born individuals from neighborhoods with large and/or growing immigrant populations. One possibility is that out-mobility away from immigrants might occur simply because of the composition of native-born populations in neighborhoods where immigrants tend to settle. For example, if immigrant populations concentrate in areas in which native-born residents have lifecycle characteristics (e.g., young, unmarried, childless) or housing conditions (e.g., short-term residents, non-owners) conducive to mobility, then areas with large or growing concentrations of foreign-born residents would exhibit relatively high levels of native out-migration. While such a finding would not diminish the importance of native out-migration flows in processes of neighborhood change and segregation, it would indicate that the connection of this out-migration to local concentrations of immigrants is simply coincidental and relatively benign.

Other theoretical arguments suggest an actual impact of immigrant concentrations on native out-mobility but point to a variety of mediating factors. First, large or growing

concentrations of foreign-born residents in the neighborhood could spur out-mobility through their effect on the racial and ethnic composition of neighborhoods. Consistent with this argument, Clark and Blue (2004) posit that high levels of segregation within immigrant gateway cities reflect the preferences of members of most groups to cluster residentially with co-ethnics, an argument that is consistent with at least some research on racial-residential preferences. While racial attitudes expressed by white survey respondents have liberalized over time (Farley et al. 1994), the latest survey results indicate that whites remain reluctant to remain in even moderately integrated neighborhoods (Charles 2006; Krysan 2002a) and tend to rate integrated neighborhoods as substantially less desirable than predominantly white neighborhoods (Krysan 2002b; Krysan and Bader 2007; Krysan, Farley, and Couper 2008; Krysan et al. 2009). Much of this research on neighborhood residential preferences has focused on whites' aversion to black neighbors but there is also evidence that whites have limited tolerance for living near Asians and Hispanics – groups that now makes up the bulk of the US foreign-born population – and continue to express the strongest preferences for neighborhoods with large shares of white neighbors (Charles 2006; Clark 2009). Limited research on actual mobility behavior tends to confirm that large concentrations of minorities significantly increase the likelihood of moving to a different neighborhood for white households (Crowder 2000; Crowder and South 2008). In comparison to whites, black survey respondents express considerably stronger tolerance for integration (Charles 2006; Krysan and Bader 2007; Krysan and Farley 2002). However, negative attitudes toward Latinos and Hispanics are also fairly common among black survey respondents (Charles 2006) and ethnographic research often points to animosity on the part of African Americans toward immigrant groups who enter their neighborhoods (e.g., Johnson, Farrell, and Guinn 1999; Oliver and Johnson 1984; Wilson and Taub 2006). Moreover, there is substantial evidence that blacks

tend to rate as most desirable those neighborhoods with large concentrations of their own race (Clark 1992, 2009; Krysan and Bader 2007). Thus, a racial preferences argument suggests that high concentrations of immigrants in the neighborhood may reduce residential satisfaction and increase the likelihood of out-mobility for both white and black native-born residents by increasing the share of relatively unattractive racial and ethnic groups and reducing the relative share of own-race neighbors.

Another possibility is that large concentrations of immigrants in the neighborhood will spur native out-mobility by undermining the overall socioeconomic quality of the area. Because immigrants tend to have lower levels of education and are more likely than the native-born to live in poverty (Clark 1998; DeJong and Madamba 2001), high concentrations of immigrants are likely to be associated with lower average income levels in the neighborhood. To the extent that these income levels are linked to the physical condition of the neighborhood, local levels of crime, and the quality of services and other valuable amenities (Logan and Alba 1993), residential satisfaction may be undermined, and the likelihood of residential out-mobility enhanced, for native-born householders with large numbers of foreign-born neighbors. This socioeconomic composition thesis is consistent with arguments suggesting that reactions to non-racial socioeconomic conditions, not the aversion to particular racial or ethnic groups, are the primary drivers of population loss and neighborhood change (Harris 1999; Keating 1994; Taub et al. 1984).

Finally, large and growing concentrations of immigrants might also produce fundamental changes in local housing market conditions that affect the mobility behavior of the native born (Ley 2007; Ley and Tutchener 2001). Specifically, increases in the concentration of immigrants might reduce the stock of vacant housing available in the an area and increase local housing costs

which, in turn may lead some native residents to look for housing elsewhere "push" some native residences out of their neighborhoods and lead them to look for housing elsewhere. In a related way, the concentration of immigrants in the neighborhood may be associated with other local housing market conditions that shape mobility decisions for native residents. For example, immigrants may cluster in neighborhoods with low levels of homeownership, a contextual characteristic typically associated with low out-mobility. Similarly, the availability of relatively new housing in the neighborhood may be associated with both the concentration of immigrants and the likelihood of native out-mobility. All of these arguments suggest that local housing market conditions represent a potentially important mediating factor in native-born residents' mobility reactions to the size and growth of immigrant populations in the area. Indeed, Wilson and Taub (2006) highlight variations in the competition for housing as a central factor to explain differential intergroup dynamics and trajectories of neighborhood change in the face of increasing immigrant concentrations. This housing competition model parallels arguments that focus on job competition as a primary driver of the link between immigrant concentrations and native inter-regional mobility (e.g., Frey 1995; Walker, Ellis, and Barff 1992; White and Liang 1998).

Data and methods

We explore these issues using data from the Panel Study of Income Dynamics (PSID) linked to contextual data drawn from the U.S. Census. The PSID is a well-known longitudinal survey of U.S. residents and their families begun in 1968 with approximately 5,000 families. Members of panel families were interviewed annually between 1968 and 1995 and every two years thereafter. We limit our analysis of PSID data to the post-1980 period since migration dispersion processes

were not fully underway until then. New families have been added to the panel as children and other members of original panel families form their own households. The longitudinal nature of the PSID data makes it possible to assess prospectively the migration behavior of individual householders and the data contain rich information on a variety of individual- and household-level characteristics that are known to influence residential mobility decisions, thereby improving the ability to isolate the effects of foreign-born concentrations on these behaviors.

The availability of restricted-access Geocode Match Files, which link the individual records of individual respondents to census codes describing their place of residence at each interview, also make the PSID well suited for our purposes. These supplemental data allow us to trace the migration of PSID respondents across neighborhoods between successive interviews and to attach detailed census data about the neighborhoods occupied by these respondents at each annual interview. The PSID Geocode data also allow us to identify the conditions of the extralocal neighborhoods – those neighborhoods that are in close proximity to the tract in which each PSID resided at each annual interview. We use standard GIS tools to determine the physical proximity of the census tract of residence to all other census tracts in the country. By attaching information on the characteristics of surrounding tracts, we are able to construct reliable measures of both local and extralocal neighborhood conditions for PSID respondents at each interview.

In this study, we follow much of the prior work in this area (e.g., Massey, Gross, and Shibuya 1994; Quillian 2002) by using census tracts to represent neighborhoods in defining local and extralocal neighborhood conditions. Although census tracts are imperfect operationalizations of neighborhoods (Tienda 1991), they undoubtedly come the closest of any commonly available spatial entity in approximating the usual conception of a neighborhood (Jargowsky 1997; White

1987). Furthermore, as of the 2000 census, census tracts were designated for the entire United States, providing the basis for characterizing neighborhoods consistently for all PSID respondents. Potential problems associated with changes in tract boundaries across decennial censuses are mitigated by our use of the Neighborhood Change Database (NCDB) constructed through a collaboration of GeoLytics Corporation and the Urban Institute (GeoLytics 2006). We utilize the NCDB's data on tracts from the 1970, 1980, 1990, and 2000 censuses and use linear interpolation/extrapolation to estimate values for all tract characteristics in non-census years.

Our effective sample for this analysis consists of 10,104 native-born non-Latino white and non-Latino black heads of PSID households interviewed between 1980 and 2005 who live, at some period of observation in one to the 100 largest metropolises.[1] Given the original structure of the PSID panel, based on a sample of families drawn in 1968, the numbers of native-born members of non-white, non-black groups are too small to sustain a separate analysis. Because most residential moves are undertaken by families, a decision to move made by the household head (or made jointly by the family) perforce means a move by other family members. The focus only on household heads allows us to avoid counting as unique and distinct those moves made by members of the same family (e.g., children and spouses). At the same time, moves by family members who were not the household head at one interview but become the head of a household by the subsequent interview (e.g., a child leaving the parental home or an ex-spouse establishing a new residence) are included in our effective sample.

We take advantage of the longitudinal nature of the PSID data and the fact that tract-coded residential addresses are available for PSID respondents at each interview by segmenting each respondent's data record into a series of person-period observations, with each observation referring to two-year period between PSID interviews. Although it is possible to define annual

mobility intervals for most years of the PSID, the use of a two-year interval is necessitated by the adoption of a biennial interview schedule in the PSID after 1995. On average, the individual household heads in the sample contribute just under 9.4 person-period observations for a total sample size of 76,619 person-period observations. We use logistic regression to examine the additive and interactive effects of local neighborhood conditions, metropolitan type and individual-level characteristics on the odds of moving to a different census tract between interviews. Because the same PSID respondent can contribute more than one person-period to the analysis, and because inter-neighborhood migration is a repeatable event, the usual regression assumption of the stochastic independence of error terms underlying tests of statistical significance is violated (Bye and Riley 1989). In all regression analyses we correct for this non-independence of observations using the cluster procedure available in Stata to compute robust standard errors (StataCorp 2008).

Outcome variables

We use a variety of descriptive statistics and regression analyses to examine two primary outcomes related to broader segregation patterns. First, we examine a dichotomous variable indicating whether the native-born respondent moved out of the census tract of origin between PSID migration intervals, taking a value of 1 for those who moved during the interval and a value of 0 for those who remained in the same tract. Second, for those who do move, we examine the percentage of the population that is foreign-born in the tract of destination (at time t+2).

Explanatory variables

The primary exogenous variables refer to the level of, and change in, the immigrant concentration in the tract of residence at the beginning of the migration interval. The local immigrant concentration is measured by the percentage of the population in the tract of residence made up of individuals born outside of the U.S. Change in the immigrant concentration is measured as the absolute difference between the percent foreign-born in the year of observation and the percent foreign-born in the tract as of five years prior to the observation year, both estimated through linear interpolation for non-census years.

To determine metropolitan (immigrant destination) type, over a century of data from the U.S. Census is used to track immigrant population sizes and shares for the 100 largest metro areas (as of 2003). To maintain consistent geographic boundaries overtime, spatial tools are used to overlay metropolitan area boundaries set by the Office of Management and Business in 2003 on county level decennial census data from 1900-2000 and the 2008 American Community Survey. Contemporary county boundaries were, for the most part, set in place by 1950 but for all records, metropolitan areas were assigned to counties falling completely within the 2003 boundaries of a metropolitan area, and counties crossing metropolitan boundaries (i.e., intersect a boundary), are assigned the metropolitan area in which their (internal) geometric centroid lies. Based on immigrant population size and patterns of growth and change in each of these metropolitan areas, Hall et al. (2010), in collaboration with Audrey Singer and the Brookings Institution, devise a typology that allocates the top-100 metro areas to one of eight categories: Former, Major Continuous, Minor Continuous, Post World War II, Emerging, Re-Emerging, Pre-Emerging, and Nongateway. Our for purposes, these metro areas are collapsed into three general categories, “Established” (including Major Continuous, Minor Continuous, and Post World War II gateways), “New” (Emerging, Re-Emerging, Pre-Emerging), and “Nongateways”

(Former and Nongateways). A list of these metropolitan areas by metropolitan type is shown in Appendix Table 1.

We consider a variety of other characteristics of the native-born sample members, their families, and their neighborhoods in order to test theoretical arguments related to the link between local immigrant concentrations and native out-mobility. Key demographic predictors of residential mobility include age and, to capture the non-monotonic dependence of migration on age (Long 1988), age-squared. The sex of the householder is captured as a dummy variable scored 1 for females and marital status takes a value of 1 for respondents who were married or permanently cohabiting. The effect of children is tapped with a dummy variable taking a value of 1 for those individuals living in a family with any members under age 18. We also control for the education of the householder, measured by years of school completed, and the total family taxable income, measured in thousands of constant 2000 dollars. Home ownership is coded as 1 for those in an owner-occupied housing unit, household crowding is measured by the number of persons per room, and length of residence takes a value of 1 for those respondents who had lived in their home for at least three years. All of these variables except gender are considered time-varying and refer to conditions at the beginning of the mobility interval. The year of observation is included to account for trends in inter-neighborhood migration.

We present models with controls for a variety of characteristics of the tract of origin to test theoretically implicated mechanisms through which local immigrant concentrations may influence out-mobility for native-born sample members. To test the argument that mobility away from immigrant populations reflects a reaction to local racial conditions we consider the percentage of the tract's population made up of residents with a different race than the respondent (i.e., percent other than non-Hispanic white for white respondents and percent other

than non-Hispanic black for black respondents). To account for the possibility that native-born residents are more responsive to socioeconomic characteristics and related conditions of the tract than to the concentration of immigrants, we control for the average income (adjusted to 1000s of year 2000 dollars) of all families in the tract of origin. We also control for several measures of the local housing market that may affect mobility decisions and may be associated with the size and change in the local concentration of immigrants. Housing competition is measured primarily with the average rent for renter-occupied housing in the tract and the percent of housing units that were vacant at the beginning of the observation period. We also control for the level of homeownership (the percentage of households in the tract of residence that are owner occupied) and the age of the housing stock (the percentage of housing in the tract built in the preceding ten years) to better isolate the effects of local immigrant concentrations.

Results

Native Exposure to Immigrants

We begin our analysis with a descriptive account of native whites' and blacks' exposure to immigrant populations since 1980 in established, new, and nongateway metropolitan areas. As shown in Figure 1, immigrant population shares at both the metropolitan (dashed line) and neighborhood (solid line) levels in 2003 are distinctly higher than in 1980 regardless of metro type, consistent with the general increase in the foreign-born population over the period, and pointing to increased exposure to foreign populations not just in areas that have traditionally received immigrants, but in all large metropolises. As expected, levels of metropolitan and neighborhood immigrant concentration are highest in established destinations for every year 1980-2003, followed by those observed in new destinations, which exceed those found in

nongateways. Also as expected, the rate of change in these figures during this time period was greatest in the new destinations, where immigrants flocked to during the 1980s and 1990s. Nongateway areas, despite having relatively low levels of immigration in all decades were in fact witness to substantial growth in their immigrant shares, rising from 3.8% to 8.9% and 4.3% to 10.0% at the neighborhood and metro levels, respectively.

That in each type of area, metro immigrant concentration trumps neighborhood immigrant concentration, serves as a reminder that PSID native householders in our sample are shielded from the more general residential repercussions of increasing immigrant concentrations, finding themselves in neighborhoods in which foreign-born populations are underrepresented relative to metropolitan concentrations. This does not diminish the vast increases in overall native exposure to immigrants occurring over the past three decades, nor does it cheapen foreign-born spatial dispersion that has brought immigrants to communities throughout the American landscape, but it does indicate that residential integration still has a ways to go.

Immigration and Native Out-Migration

What the descriptive patterns in natives' exposure to immigrants cannot reveal, however, is the extent to which residential separation in new, established, and nongateway areas is maintained through natives local mobility responses to local immigration. In this stage of the analysis, we set out to address the issue, by exploring the impact of measures of neighborhood immigrant concentration on the likelihood that native white and black PSID householders make local moves (i.e., migrate to a different neighborhood in the same metro area) before the end of each two-year interval, whether these relationships vary by metropolitan destination type, and if any observed

effects can be explained by previously discussed theoretically-informed mechanisms. (Descriptive statistics for variables used in the analysis are shown in Appendix Table 2.)

The logistic regression coefficients presented in Table 1 provide a basic answer to these questions, indicating how the log-odds of neighborhood out-migration of natives vary according to tract immigrant concentration and metropolitan type. The first model includes two measures of immigrant concentration: percent foreign-born and change in percent foreign-born over the preceding five years, and indicates that without considering metropolitan type there is no effect of percent immigrant on native mobility. Despite the null effect of tract percent immigrant, native blacks and whites are more likely to out-migrate from neighborhoods experiencing larger increases in the immigrant population in recent years. The coefficient (b=.041) indicates that the odds of out-migration increase by about 9.7% with a one standard deviation increase in immigrant concentration change ($e^{(.041*2.26)} = 1.097$).

The second model provides a basic test of whether immigrant concentration varies according to whether natives reside in established, new or nongateway metros.[2] The results indicate that, indeed, it does. The small, statistically insignificant coefficients for percent immigrant and for the interaction between percent immigrant and new metro destination implies that for natives' living in established and new metropolitan areas, their odds of migration are unaffected by the immigrant concentration of their neighborhoods. By contrast, the positive and significant logit coefficient (b = .018) on the interaction between percent immigrant and nongateway reveals that natives living in metropolitan areas with comparatively small and slow growing immigrant populations are more likely to leave neighborhoods as its immigrant share increases. In these nongateways, a one standard deviation increase in tract percent immigrant increases the odds of native out-migration by 25.1% ($e^{((.001+.018)*11.78))} = 1.251$). Thus, while

natives living in established, new and nongateway areas respond similar to changes in neighborhood immigrant populations, only natives in nongateways appear to be sensitive to the overall percent immigrant. This finding may help to explain the high levels of immigrant segregation some researchers have observed in these areas (Fischer and Tienda 2006; Hall 2010).

We explore whether immigrant concentration effects on native mobility are due to natives living in neighborhoods living in tracts with large immigrant populations possessing traits conducive to mobility in the third model. We find mixed support for this compositional thesis, finding that while micro-level characteristics of householders such as sex, age, marital status, income, and tenure shape natives' mobility patterns in expected ways, they only partially explain the effect of recent change in tract percent immigrant (reducing the coefficient by 36.6%) and actually suppress the effect of percent immigrant for nongateway metros (increasing the net effect by 68.4%).

Lastly, controls for demographic and socioeconomic features of natives' neighborhoods are introduced in Model 4. In line with the past scholarship (Crowder and South 2008), native white and black householders are more likely to exit neighborhoods where 'other' (i.e., non-own) racial groups comprise a larger share. The odds of migration are also increased in neighborhoods with higher rents and vacancy rates, and lower in higher income tracts and in neighborhoods with more homeowners. Most important for our purposes, features of natives' neighborhoods do not attenuate the effect of recent changes in percent immigrant, but they do account for part of the effect of percent immigrant. Specifically, the net effect of percent immigrant for nongateway metros is reduced by 37.5% from its value in Model 4 (from .032 to .020).[3] With these terms included, the base effect of percent immigrant (b = -.007) becomes negative and significant,

indicating that in established and new destinations, natives' odds of migration *decrease* as the tract immigrant share increases.

Despite these competing theoretical justifications for the effect of recent change in percent immigrant and percent immigrant in nongateways having some explanatory strength, the effects of both terms remain positive and significant. Across all metro destinations, a one standard deviation increase in recent changes in percent immigrants increase the odds of migration by 6.1% ($e^{(.026*2.26)} = 1.061$). For natives in nongateways, the likelihood of making a local moves increases by 26.6% with a one-standard deviation increase in tract percent immigrant ($e^{((-.007+.027)*11.78)} = 1.266$).

Immigration and Out-Migration for Native Blacks and Whites

Given the historical preponderance of white flight from minority communities, as well as the the possibility of growing tensions between immigrant groups and African Americans, there are compelling reasons to expect the effects of immigrant concentration on native mobility to vary by race. To evaluate this we re-run the same logit models separately for native-born black and white PSID householders and report the findings in Table 2.

The first set of models for blacks (left half) and white (right half) indicates that both groups' mobility patterns are affected by local immigrant concentrations, albeit in somewhat different ways. For native blacks in established and new metros, the nonsignificant coefficients for tract percent immigrant, recent change in tract percent immigrant, and the interaction between percent immigrant and new destination, imply that their odds of leaving neighborhoods are unrelated to the representation of and growth in local immigrant populations. For blacks in nongateways, however, the results are in line with the patterns observed in the racially-pooled

models, and suggest that increases in immigrant shares for neighborhoods in nongateway metros increase the chances that native blacks will exit. Specifically, for nongateway blacks, a one-standard deviation increase in tract percent immigrant increase the odds of migration by 91.2% ($e^{((.004+.051)*11.78)} = 1.912$).

Generally speaking, the basic model for whites is quite similar to that for blacks. Native whites' odds of migration in established and new destinations are unassociated with tract percent immigrant, but unlike blacks, a positive and significant coefficient on recent change in tract percent immigrant is registered, indicating that, regardless of metropolitan types, native whites' are at higher risk of out-migrating from neighborhoods with recent growth in its foreign-born population. The positive coefficient on the interaction between tract percent immigrant and nongateway indicates that, like blacks, white natives in nongateway metros are more likely to move out of neighborhoods with large immigrant shares than their counterpart in established or new metros. The net nongateway effect for whites is moderately smaller than for blacks, and indicates that a one-standard deviation increase in tract percent immigrant increases the odds of nongateway whites' out-migration by about 52.8% ($e^{((.004+.051)*11.78)} = 1.528$).

Holding micro- and neighborhood-level characteristics constant helps to assess the relevance of theoretically-informed explanations of the relationship between local immigration and native mobility. The second set of results for both whites and blacks suggests that these terms, like in the pooled models, do little to mediate the effect of recent change in tract percent foreign-born on mobility. For blacks, these characteristics actually suppress a positive and significant effect of recent change in percent immigrant that is roughly the size as that observed for whites. But the positive and significant interaction between tract percent immigrant and nongateway for blacks shown in the first model is eliminated when micro- and neighborhood-

characteristics are included.[4] Among whites, however, the effect of tract percent immigrant in nongateways is inflated (from a net .036 to .043) once sociodemographic, socioeconomic, and neighborhood characteristics of householders are added to the equation. The net effect indicates that, for whites in nongateways, a one standard deviation increase in tract percent immigrant increases the odds of out-migration by about two thirds ($(e^{(-.011+.054)*11.78)} = 1.660$).

Destination Immigrant Concentration

The findings up to now point to heightened mobility rates for natives households living in neighborhoods with large immigrant concentrations, that at least for whites, cannot be explained by compositional characteristics or by features of the neighborhoods they live in. Thus, they imply that part of the explanation for high levels of immigrant segregation – particularly in nongateway metros – is due to natives out-migrating in the face of large and/or growing foreign-born populations. But, the impact of these mobility patterns would be offset if native migrants move to neighborhoods with similar immigrant concentrations as the neighborhoods they are leaving. In the final stage of our analysis, we offer a basic, and admittedly descriptive, assessment of the destinations native migrants settle in.[5]

The linear regression coefficients in Table 3 describe the association between the immigrant concentration of native migrants' origin and destination tracts, and evaluate whether this effect varies by metropolitan type. Because the results are generally quite similar for white and black natives and for sake of presentation, only the racially-pooled model is shown. That the coefficient on tract percent immigrant is less than "1" indicates that in comparison to the tracts they are leaving, native migrants are, on average, moving to neighborhoods with lower immigrants shares. Even with a control for metropolitan percent foreign-born – which accounts

for broader opportunities to share neighborhoods with immigrants – the negative and significant interaction between origin percent immigrant and nongateway demonstrates that this tendency for native migrants to move to tracts with fewer immigrants is especially pronounced in nongateway metros.

To ease interpretation, Figure 2 converts the regression coefficients in Table 3 plots the predicted relationship between percent immigrant at origin and destinations for native black and white migrants. (MSA percent immigrant is centered around its group, i.e., metropolitan type, mean.) The dotted line running diagonally through the graph represents the hypothetical situation in which migrants move to tracts with the same percent immigrant as in their origin tracts (i.e., an identity function, where origin percent immigrant perfectly predicts destination percent immigrant). Given the overall larger immigrant populations in established areas, it is no surprise that both the origin and destination neighborhoods of established metro natives have higher immigrants shares. This pattern is followed by new and nongateway destinations. Most important from our standpoint is that, while the lines are in fact upward sloping, indicating that natives moving from tracts with higher percent immigrant are likely to move to tracts with higher percent immigrant, after the origin tract immigrant population reaches a certain threshold, native migrants tend to move to tracts with substantially smaller immigrant shares. In established metros this tangent point is about 15%, meaning that natives leaving from neighborhoods that are 15% immigrants move, on average, to neighborhoods that are also 15% immigrants, and that natives exiting tracts with larger immigrant shares are likely to move to tracts with substantially smaller immigrant populations. What is of particular interest is that the line for nongateway migrants is significantly flatter than the lines predicted for natives migrants in established and new metros. The ‘tipping point’ at which native migrants’ destination percent immigrant is

inclined to fall below percent immigrant at origin is 2.9%. The upshot is that for natives leaving tracts that are 20% immigrant, the destination percent immigrant is lower in lower in established, new, and nongateway metros alike, but while established migrants move (on average) to tracts that are 20.3% immigrant, those in new destinations move to tracts that are 16.9% and nongateway migrants to neighborhoods in which immigrants compose only 11.6% of the population.

Conclusion

Over the past several decades, immigration has brought millions of new faces from all reaches of the globe to American shores (and airport terminals). As these immigrants disperse throughout the country, their impact is bound to be felt across all U.S. communities, from rural hamlets to dense metropolises. Yet despite decreasing black-white segregation and heightened levels of multigroup exposure, segregation for Hispanics and Asians – amorphous groups that nonetheless constitute a majority of recent immigrants – seems to have stalled, and some commentators have raised concerns about the potential for residential integration as immigrants fan out through the nation.

Overall, the conclusions reached in this paper validate these anxieties. Using post-1980 data from the Panel Study of Income Dynamics linked to census data on the concentration of immigrants in native householders' neighborhoods, we find that regardless of whether natives are living in established, new, or nongateway metropolitan areas, recent increases in local immigrant populations are associated with a greater likelihood of migration for both white and black natives. While demographic and socioeconomic traits of householders and features of the neighborhoods they live in explain part of this pattern, a moderately large, positive, and

significant effect remains even after these characteristics are accounted for. In an era in which the immigrant population continues to grow beyond its already large base, this finding raises concerns about the emergence of a new system of residential stratification in which immigrants and natives, both black and white, live in separate communities.

In light of pronounced levels of immigrant segregation in metropolitan areas with comparatively small foreign-born populations (Fischer and Tienda 2006; Hall 2010; Lichter et al. 2010), the finding that native mobility reactions to immigrant population shares (percent immigrant) are especially high in these metros is particularly revealing. Our models show that native whites in the neighborhoods of nongateway metros where the foreign-born compose 10% of the local population are, net of personal and other neighborhood factors, have odds of leaving their neighborhood that are more than 50% higher than native whites in neighborhoods without any immigrants.

In the final stage of our analysis, we provide a preliminary glimpse into the consequences of these migration tendencies for emerging patterns of neighborhood change and segregation. These models indicate that native migrants leaving tracts with modestly-sized immigrant populations are likely to move to neighborhoods with substantially lower immigrant shares. This inclination is especially acute in nongateway metros, where native migrants leaving neighborhoods with even small immigrant shares (about 3%) tend to locate in neighborhoods where immigrants constitute a very small minority of the total population.

These results for nongateway metro areas are troubling.[6] To understand natives' reactions to immigration in nongateways it useful to recognize, as Massey (2008) and others do, that despite being the site of large ethnic enclaves and often the initial way point for new arrivals, natives in established areas, like New York and Los Angeles, are accustomed to, and arguably

even embrace, the diversity associated with long-run immigration to their regions. Native populations is these areas also tend to be more tolerant, better educated, and view pro-immigrant policies more favorably (De Jong and Tran 2001; Graefe et al. 2008; Haubert and Fussell 2006). In fact, our results suggest that after accounting for individual and neighborhood level characteristics positively related to migration, natives in established destination neighborhoods with large immigrant concentrations are actually *less* likely to migrate than are those in neighborhoods with smaller concentrations.

While the new metro areas, like Atlanta, Nashville, and Salt Lake, do not have the long histories of sustained immigrants that the established areas do, they still serve as gateways for many new immigrants, and reactionary mobility decisions in these areas may be something of the past. In contrast, most natives in nongateways have had very little exposure to foreign-born populations, and in line with the contact hypothesis, this reduced interaction may translate into a greater tendency to blame neighborhood transformations (e.g., on school quality, civic/neighborly relations, or crime/safety concerns) on their new, immigrant, neighbors (Allport 1954; Pettigrew and Tropp 2000). These arguments are of course, speculative, and need to be addressed with more research, specifically on native attitudes toward immigrants in these locations. Nonetheless, our results are at least suggestive that the native populations, especially native whites, in nongateways may be reacting to immigrants in a manner similar to how they did a half century ago: seek out new land away from the foreigners.

In exploring how native mobility responses to local immigrant concentrations differ by metropolitan type, we have likely raised as many new questions as we have answered, of which future work would profit from considering. First, while our sample of households in the 100 largest MSAs captures more than two-thirds of the native population and 85% of all immigrants

(as of 2003), this approach excludes many of the micropolitan and rural communities that have been the focus of much of the new destinations literature (Lichter and Johnson 2006, 2009). Recent research on racial residential segregation suggests that spatial processes of assimilation and stratification play out similarly in rural areas similar to how they do in urban areas (Lichter et al. 2007). It is unknown, however, if this applies to mobility decisions within housing markets or if it describes patterns of immigrant-native segregation.

A greater understanding of the emerging forms of residential stratification hinted at in this paper will require greater attention directed at the mechanisms that shape natives' reactions to immigrant neighbors. This is especially critical in the nongateway metros where support for our, rather tentative, theoretically-implied explanations was mixed, at best. Additional insights into native attitudes and residential preferences toward immigrants, patterns of social interaction in changing neighborhoods, and how natives perceive immigrants to affect features of these places would likely prove valuable. Along similar lines, it is crucial for future work to examine how native mobility responses to immigration depend on the race/ethnicity and country-of-origin of the immigrants populating their neighborhoods. Given the vast heterogeneity in appearances and differences in the social, economic, and cultural resources immigrant groups arrive with, it is quite possible that natives react differently to Canadian than Jamaican immigrants.

Notes

[1] Since the focus of this study is on local mobility patterns – a type of movement that is more likely to be influenced by local population and neighborhood characteristics – we exclude 6,750 observations in which households migrate out of a metropolitan area between an interval (to either other another metro or a non-metro area).

[2] In supplemental analyses, we tested whether recent change in percent immigrant varied by metropolitan type. Coefficients on these interaction terms were small and statistically non-significant for new (b = -.010, se = .020) and nongateway (b = -.012, se = .021) areas, indicating that the effect of recent change operates similarly across all metro types.

[3] Further examination indicates that this partial mediation is predominately due to the percent of the neighborhood population made up of other racial group members and to the percent of households living in owner-occupied units.

[4] The attenuate of the nongateway interaction with tract percent immigrants for black natives is due largely to socioeconomic differences in the black population sharing neighborhoods with immigrants in nongateways, and in line with earlier work (Crowder, Hall, and Tolnay 2009), to housing characteristics (i.e., average rent, vacancy and homeownership rates) of these neighborhoods.

[5] Alternative modeling approaches that are, arguably, more sophisticated, such as a difference approach and Heckman-corrected selection models, produce results that are in line with the more basic procedure taken here.

[6] This is especially true in light of recent research showing that these same set of metropolitan areas tend to attract immigrants with high educational levels – qualities that should lead to enhanced residential proximity with native populations (Hall et al. 2010).

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Figure 1: Immigrant Share at Neighborhood (solid lines) and Metropolitan (dashed lines) Levels, by Metropolitan Type

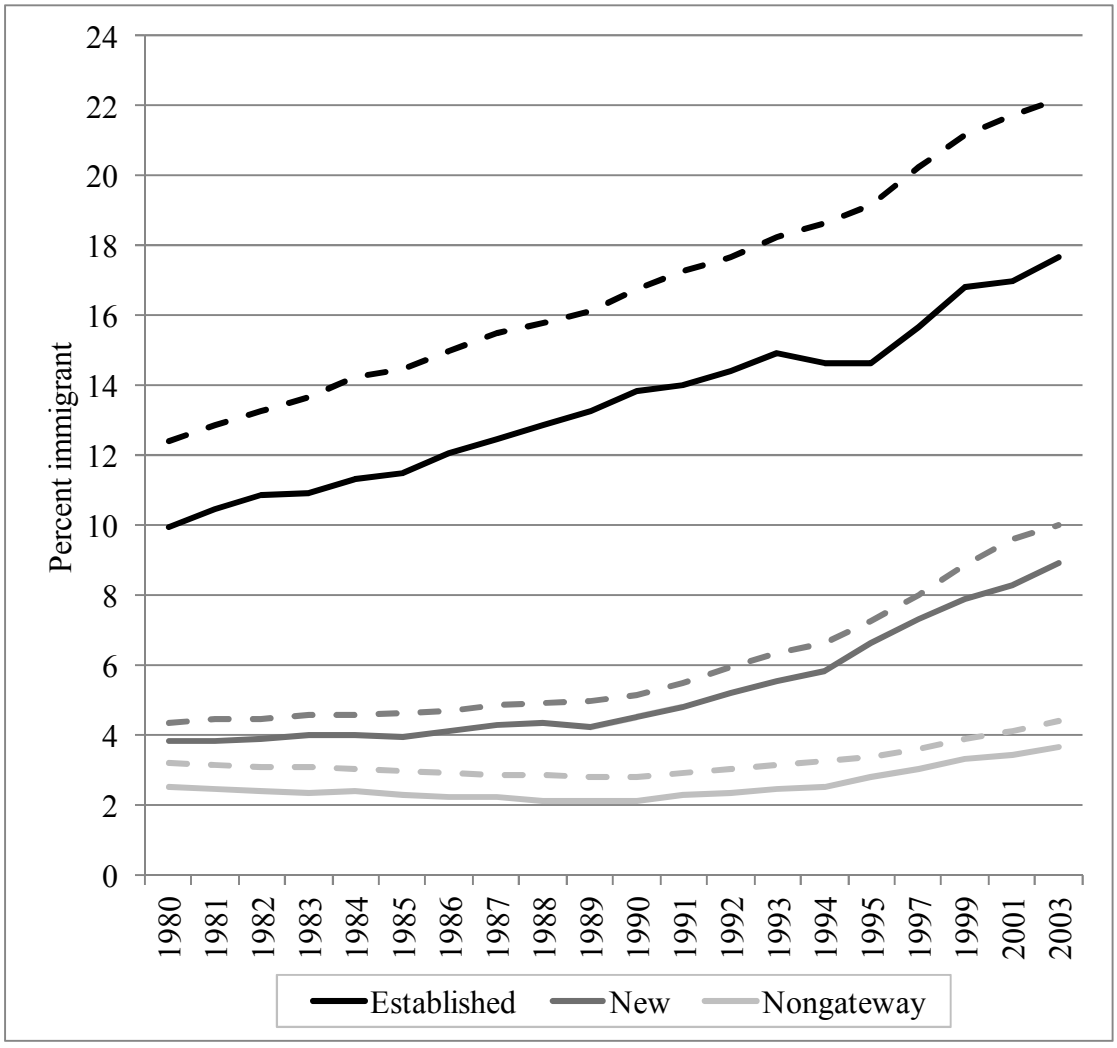
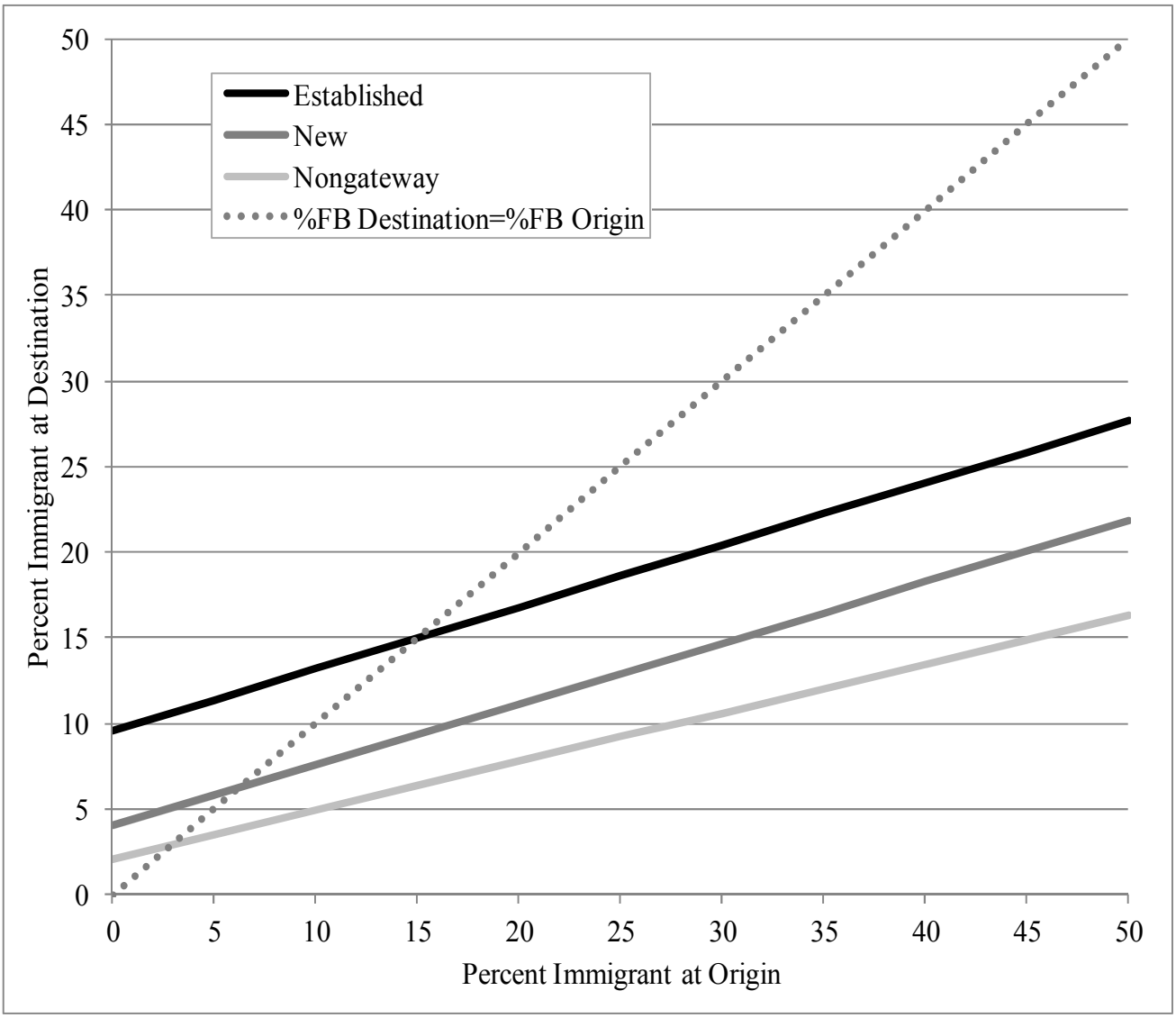


Figure 2: Percent Immigrant in Destination Neighborhood by Percent Immigrant in Origin Neighborhood for Native-Born Black and White PSID Local Movers, by Metropolitan Type



Note: Prediction equation is based on racially-pooled model in Table 3. "Metro percent immigrant" is centered on destination-type means.

Table 1: Logit Models Predicting Local Mobility for Native Blacks and Whites, 1980-2005

	(1)		(2)		(4)		(5)	
	b	se	b	se	b	se	b	se
Tract Immigrant Concentration								
Percent immigrant	-.002	(.002)	.001	(.002)	.000	(.002)	-.007	(.002) **
Recent change in percent immigrant	.041	(.008) ***	.041	(.008) ***	.026	(.007) ***	.026	(.007) **
Metropolitan Type								
Established (omitted)			--	--	--	--	--	--
New			.171	(.058) **	.110	(.052) *	.135	(.054) *
Nongateway			.081	(.051)	.051	(.047)	.085	(.050)
Interactions								
Percent immigrant x New			.000	(.005)	.009	(.006)	.004	(.006)
Percent immigrant x Nongateway			.018	(.007) **	.032	(.007) ***	.027	(.007) ***
Micro-level characteristics								
Black householder					-.049	(.032)	-.203	(.040) ***
Female householder					.118	(.038) **	.115	(.038) **
Age					-.045	(.001) ***	-.046	(.001) ***
Married					-.315	(.036) ***	-.319	(.037) ***
Children present					-.239	(.030) ***	-.231	(.030) ***
Education					-.027	(.005) ***	-.027	(.006) ***
Family income					.001	(.000) ***	.001	(.000) ***
Homeowner					-1.114	(.031) ***	-1.054	(.033) ***
Household crowding					.318	(.032) ***	.319	(.032) ***
Long-term resident					-.364	(.027) ***	-.357	(.027) ***
Neighborhood Conditions								
Percent other racial groups							.003	(.001) ***
Average family income							-.002	(.001) *
Average rent							.044	(.011) ***
Vacancy rate							.008	(.002) **
Homeownership rate							-.004	(.001) ***
New construction							.000	(.001)
Years since 1980					.023	(.002) ***	.018	(.003) ***
Constant	-1.141	(.020) ***	-1.256	(.041) ***	1.314	(.102) ***	1.418	(.115) ***
Wald chi-square	42.29		74.56		5724.06		5853.07	
Pseudo R-squared	.00		.00		.17		.18	

Notes: N of person-periods=76,619; N of persons=10,104; *p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001

Table 2: Logit Models Predicting Local Mobility, separately for Native Blacks and Whites, 1980-2005

	Black natives				White natives			
	(1)		(2)		(1)		(2)	
	b	se	b	se	b	se	b	se
Tract Immigrant Concentration								
Percent immigrant	.004	(.003)	-.006	(.003)	.005	(.004)	-.011	(.004) **
Recent change in percent immigrant	.016	(.010)	.030	(.010) **	.038	(.012) ***	.032	(.012) **
Metropolitan Type								
Established (omitted)	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
New	.072	(.077)	.116	(.069)	.211	(.086) *	.131	(.082)
Nongateway	-.007	(.067)	.232	(.064) ***	-.030	(.078)	-.132	(.082) ***
Interactions								
Percent immigrant x New	.006	(.008)	-.010	(.008)	.009	(.008)	.009	(.007)
Percent immigrant x Nongateway	.051	(.011) ***	.006	(.009)	.031	(.010) **	.054	(.010) ***
Micro-level characteristics								
Female householder			.110	(.050) *			.121	(.059) *
Age			-.045	(.002) ***			-.047	(.002) ***
Married			-.234	(.051) ***			-.449	(.053) ***
Children present			-.154	(.042) ***			-.301	(.043) ***
Education			-.024	(.008) **			-.036	(.008) ***
Family income			.004	(.001) ***			.001	(.000) ***
Homeowner			-1.086	(.049) ***			-1.055	(.046) ***
Household crowding			.330	(.038) ***			.276	(.060) ***
Long-term resident			-.445	(.036) ***			-.232	(.042) ***
Neighborhood Conditions								
Percent other racial groups			.003	(.001) ***			.002	(.002)
Average family income			.005	(.002) *			-.003	(.001) *
Average rent			.074	(.020) ***			.014	(.015)
Vacancy rate			.016	(.003) ***			.000	(.004)
Homeownership rate			-.004	(.001) ***			-.006	(.001) ***
New construction			-.008	(.001) ***			.004	(.001) ***
Years since 1980			.005	(.004)			.024	(.004) ***
Constant	-.955	(.054) ***	.813	(.154) ***	-1.565	(.059) ***	1.988	(.171) ***
Wald chi-square	43.30		2689.31		79.16		3027.04	
Pseudo R-squared	.00		.15					
N of person-periods	36,340		36,340		40,279		40,279	
N of persons	4,943		4,943		5,161		5,161	

Notes: *p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001

Table 3: OLS Models Predicting Percent Immigrant in Destination Tract for Native Blacks and Whites, 1980-2005

	b	se	
Tract Immigrant Concentration			
Percent immigrant (at origin)	.362	(.018)	***
Metropolitan Type			
Established (omitted)			
New	.270	(.294)	
Nongateway	-.147	(.283)	
Interactions			
Percent immigrant x New	-.006	(.029)	
Percent immigrant x Nongateway	-.078	(.028)	**
Metro Immigrant Concentration			
Percent immigrant (MSA)	.546	(.023)	***
Constant	.473	(.309)	
R-squared	.54		
N of person-periods	18,952		
N of persons	6,382		

Notes: *p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001

Appendix Table 1: Top-100 MSAs in three destination types

Established Destinations		
Bakersfield, CA	Houston-Sugar Land-Baytown, TX	Rochester, NY
Boston-Cambridge-Quincy, MA-NH	Los Angeles-Long Beach, CA*	San Antonio, TX
Bridgeport-Stamford-Norwalk, CT	McAllen-Edinburg-Mission, TX	San Diego-Carlsbad-San Marcos, CA
Chicago-Naperville-Joliet, IL-IN-WI	Miami-Fort Lauderdale, FL*	San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont, CA
Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	Modesto, CA	Stockton, CA
El Paso, TX	New Haven-Milford, CT	Tucson, AZ
Fresno, CA	New York, NY-NJ-PA*	Washington, DC-VA-MD-WV*
Hartford-West Hartford, CT*	Oxnard-Thousand Oaks-Ventura, CA	Worcester, MA
Honolulu, HI	Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	

New Destinations		
Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA	Lakeland-Winter Haven, FL	Portland-Vancouver, OR-WA*
Austin-Round Rock, TX	Las Vegas-Paradise, NV	Raleigh-Cary, NC
Baltimore-Towson, MD	Minneapolis-St. Paul, MN-WI*	Sacramento--Arden-Arcade, CA*
Cape Coral-Fort Myers, FL	Nashville-Davidson, TN*	Salt Lake City, UT
Charlotte-Gastonia-Concord, NC-SC	Orlando-Kissimmee, FL	San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA
Columbus, OH	Philadelphia-Camden, PA-NJ-DE-MD*	Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA
Denver-Aurora, CO	Phoenix-Mesa-Scottsdale, AZ	Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL
Greensboro-High Point, NC		

Nongateways		
Akron, OH	Detroit-Warren-Livonia, MI	Omaha-Council Bluffs, NE-IA
Albany-Schenectady-Troy, NY	Grand Rapids-Wyoming, MI	Palm Bay-Melbourne-Titusville, FL
Albuquerque, NM	Greenville-Mauldin-Easley, SC	Pittsburgh, PA
Allentown-Bethlehem-Easton, PA-NJ	Harrisburg-Carlisle, PA	Portland-South Portland-Biddeford, ME
Augusta-Richmond County, GA-SC	Indianapolis-Carmel, IN	Poughkeepsie-Newburgh, NY*
Baton Rouge, LA	Jackson, MS	Providence-New Bedford, RI-MA*
Birmingham-Hoover, AL	Jacksonville, FL	Provo-Orem, UT
Boise City-Nampa, ID	Kansas City, MO-KS	Richmond, VA
Bradenton-Sarasota-Venice, FL	Knoxville, TN	Scranton--Wilkes-Barre, PA
Buffalo-Niagara Falls, NY	Little Rock-North Little Rock, AR*	Springfield, MA
Charleston-North Charleston, SC*	Louisville-Jefferson County, KY-IN	St. Louis, MO-IL
Chattanooga, TN-GA	Madison, WI	Syracuse, NY
Cincinnati-Middletown, OH-KY-IN	Memphis, TN-MS-AR	Toledo, OH
Cleveland-Elyria-Mentor, OH	Milwaukee-Waukesha-West Allis, WI	Tulsa, OK
Colorado Springs, CO	New Orleans-Metairie-Kenner, LA	Virginia Beach-Norfolk, VA-NC*
Columbia, SC	Ogden-Clearfield, UT	Wichita, KS
Dayton, OH	Oklahoma City, OK	Youngstown-Warren, OH-PA*
Des Moines-West Des Moines, IA		

* Full metropolitan name is shortened for presentation

Appendix Table 2: Summary Statistics for Variables in Analysis, by Metropolitan Type

			Metropolitan Type					
	Top-100 MSAs		Established		New		Nongateway	
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.
Neighborhood characteristics								
Percent immigrant	6.79	8.94	13.31	11.78	5.24	5.45	2.53	3.05
Recent change in percent immigrant	.92	2.26	2.06	2.94	.94	2.00	.02	1.09
Percent other racial groups	24.24	27.01	28.24	27.97	20.21	24.40	23.42	27.26
Average family income	41.56	25.76	47.73	31.22	42.14	24.45	36.35	19.96
Average rent	4.84	2.36	5.79	2.82	4.96	2.25	4.02	1.61
Vacancy rate								
Homeownership rate	61.00	23.97	56.89	26.39	60.61	23.76	64.48	21.43
New construction	17.75	18.91	16.40	18.48	21.10	21.92	16.89	17.05
Micro-level characteristics								
Moved out of neighborhood	.25	.43	.24	.43	.26	.44	.25	.43
Black householder	.47	.50	.44	.50	.43	.50	.52	.50
Female householder	.36	.48	.35	.48	.36	.48	.37	.48
Age	42.50	16.04	42.98	15.95	41.88	15.76	42.49	16.25
Married	.52	.50	.53	.50	.52	.50	.52	.50
Children present	.49	.50	.47	.50	.48	.50	.52	.50
Education	12.73	3.16	13.20	3.24	12.96	3.11	12.24	3.06
Family income	51.29	60.02	61.50	76.82	51.98	51.51	42.83	46.70
Homeowner	.54	.50	.50	.50	.53	.50	.56	.50
Household crowding	.58	.39	.59	.40	.55	.36	.60	.39
Long-term resident	.56	.50	.56	.50	.54	.50	.57	.49
N of person-periods	76,619		25,566		18,683		32,370	
N of persons	10,104		3,506		2,717		4,333	