EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Will They Stay? Foreign-Born Out-Migration from New Destinations[i]

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Introduction

Growing numbers of immigrants are moving to new destinations in the Southeast, the Upper Midwest and other parts of the country that previously had attracted relatively few new immigrants in recent decades. While a growing number of scholars are studying the magnitude, determinants, and consequences of immigrant's changing settlement patterns, including Frey (2004), Goździak and Martin (2005), Kandel and Parrado (2005), Massey (2008), (Parrado and Kandel 2008), Singer (2004), Zúñiga and Hernández-León (2005), among others, considerable work remains to be done to understand the importance of these changes for American society. One question that has not been addressed in the literature is whether immigrants moving to "new" destinations are likely to remain in those places? This is an important question since new destinations by definition are not places where many immigrants have settled in recent decades. Moreover there is a growing body of research on intergroup relations in new destinations that suggest that some new destinations are more accommodating than others to immigrants arriving in those communities (Bohon et al. 2005, Winders 2005).

There are several reasons to be interested in the question of whether stable immigrant communities will develop in the new destinations. These places undoubtedly vary considerably

in their economic, political, and social structures and immigrant support systems and geographic locations, in the types of migrants they are attracting, and in the reasons why they are attracting immigrants. In addition, immigrant support systems whether from compatriots, local governments, or non-governmental organizations are likely to be limited in new destinations, which mean that immigrants may receive less social and institutional support than they do in large metropolitan places. Metropolitan areas generally have institutional arrangements that accommodate immigrants' needs (such as bilingual service providers in health and education systems). If immigrants lived in metropolitan areas before moving to new destinations, they may view their moves as temporary ones. In this paper we draw on long-form data from the 1990 and 2000 censuses to estimate the likelihood of out-migration from four geographic contexts defined by their foreign-born growth and composition characteristics. Our analysis focuses on the 23 largest Asian, Latin American, and Caribbean foreign-born groups and Canadians (referent population).

Bringing in the Context Dimension

Migration researchers have paid more attention to the determinants of why immigrants move to particular countries in the first place rather than on whether they migrate internally once they arrive and, if so, the types of places that they are most likely to leave. Although some scholars have looked at the internal migration of immigrants (Bartel and Koch 1991, Gurak and Kritz 2000, Hempstead 2007, Kritz and Nogle 1994), most of that literature examines interstate migration. States, however, are large heterogeneous units that make it difficult to determine how labor market conditions and social structures in smaller geographic areas affect out-migration decisions. There is an economic literature that emphasizes the importance of labor market

conditions for migration decisions. Neoclassical Theory holds that people weigh the costs and benefits of staying versus leaving and respond to weak labor market conditions by migrating to other areas that offer better economic opportunity (Greenwood 1985). Spatial differences in economic conditions and growth, in turn, have been shown to be correlated with broad geographic shifts of population (Brown et al. 1999, Pandit and Withers 1999) and out-migration of immigrants and natives (Frey 2004). Massey and Capoferro (2008) argue that economic restructuring in the 1990s, the passage of IRCA, and deteriorating socio-economic economic conditions for immigrants in California encouraged immigrants to look for settlement opportunities beyond California and the Southwest border states. However, empirical findings are inconsistent as to the mechanisms linking labor market dynamics and internal migration. While some scholars have found that weak economic conditions encourage out-migration (Frey and Liaw 2005, Gurak and Kritz 2004), others have found opposite effects (2007).

Several studies document the importance of nativity concentration and the role of migrant social networks in channeling immigrants to initial settlements (Gurak and Caces 1992, Gurak and Kritz 2004, Massey 1990, Massey and Garcia-España 1987). Social networks, however, can only be measured indirectly with Census data, usually by a measure of the absolute or relative number of foreign born in different locations. While the resulting nativity or co-ethnic concentration measure documents the availability of compatriots in different places, it tells us little about the nature of immigrants' social ties that actually shape migration decisions. Indeed, network analysts argue that the size of an ethnic community and its abundance of strong ties may be less important for spatial mobility than the number of weak ties that potential migrants have to people in different places (Gurak and Caces 1992, Wellman 1979). Nevertheless, concentration measures do represent the potential for more or less developed network ties between potential

migrants and compatriots in origin and potential destination places. Empirical work consistently finds strong relationships between measures of compatriot population size and both the tendency to remain where such populations are large (Bartel and Koch 1991, Gurak and Kritz 2000, Nogle 1997) or move to places where the numbers are sufficient (our own unpublished research). Such findings are consistent with expectations derived from network theory, but we should keep in mind that such results could reflect aspects of ethnic communities distinct from family or friendship networks.

We draw on neoclassical and social network theories in our analysis of the determinants of outmigration from different growth and composition contexts. We view these two frameworks as complimentary approaches. While neoclassical theory calls attention to the socio-economic context and holds that people migrate to maximize their economic returns and living standards, social network theory focuses on the micro decision making process and assumes that immigrants draw on social ties to relatives and other compatriots as they seek opportunities to improve their security, housing, schooling, and employment situations. Prior efforts to assess the roles of economic and network factors on migration decisions have focused on places with large immigrant populations. Our analysis will evaluate the relative importance of economic and network/group size factors in shaping outmigration from new destinations where few compatriots reside.

Defining and Measuring New Destinations

Suro and Singer (2002) proposed a typology for Hispanic settlement that classified the 100 largest metropolitan areas into four categories based on whether Hispanic growth and composition in each metro area was higher or lower than national levels. Metropolitan areas that

had high Hispanic growth and low Hispanic composition were classified as new destinations. Our paper builds on Suro and Singer's typology but, in recognition of foreign-born origin diversity in settlement and composition trends, we have developed a set of refined growth and composition categories for 24 foreign-born groups. Our approach differs from that of Suro and Singer is several ways. First, we focus on a range of Hispanic, Asian and other new immigrant groups rather than solely on Hispanics. Second, because large groups such as Mexicans exert a disproportionate influence on the specification of whether areas have high or low growth and composition rates, we develop group-specific criteria for classifying areas. Third, we do not rule out low-growth and low-composition areas from the "new destination" category. Finally we use a larger and different set of geographic areas. While Suro and Singer focused on the largest 100 metropolitan areas, our analysis examines growth and composition patterns in 741 labor markets that span the entire country. We developed these labor markets by building on a set of commuting zones developed by Tolbert (2006, 1996) based on 1990 data. In contrast to public use microdata areas (PUMAs), which span vast territories in order to satisfy privacy rules requiring a minimum population of 100,000 persons in geographic areas, the labor markets used here are relatively small homogeneous units that use counties or county-equivalents as building blocks based on commuting and other economic linkages between them. While the largest labor markets are metropolitan area equivalents, others are non-metropolitan areas that have not been examined with PUMS data because of insufficient number of cases.

To obtain the necessary geographic detail and number of foreign-born cases required to classify foreign-born from different origins into the labor market categories, we use long-form data from the 1990 and 2000 censuses. In contrast to PUMS files, the largest of which is a 5% sample of the population, the Confidential-Use Microdata Sample (CUMS) is a 16% sample.

The availability of geographic detail in CUMS files allow the specification of labor markets for 1990 and 2000 that have identical boundaries. There are advantages and disadvantages involved in using CUMS data, as Donato and colleagues (2007) argue, based on their analysis of nonmetropolitan counties that experienced foreign-born gains but native-born loses. CUMS files can only be analyzed at one of the nine Census Bureau secure Research Data Centers (RDC) and require approval from the Bureau's Disclosure Review Board before statistics can be released in reports and publications. We have already obtained Census Bureau disclosure for about half of the statistical output that we plan to use in our 2010 PAA paper.

The sample includes non-institutionalized foreign-born adults aged 25-59 in 2000 from 24 "new" national origin groups - 11 from Latin America (Mexicans, Cubans, Salvadorans, Dominicans, Colombians, Guatemalans, Ecuadorans, Hondurans, Peruvians, Nicaraguans, and Brazilians), 9 from Asia (Filipinos, Chinese, Indians, Vietnamese, Koreans, Taiwanese, Iranians, Pakistanis, and Laotians), and 3 from the non-Hispanic Caribbean (Jamaica, Haiti, and Guyana). Canadians are included for comparative purposes and used as the referent population based on the assumption that their dispersion and composition characteristics approximate those of native-born non-Hispanic Whites. In 2000, each of the 24 groups had at least 200,000 persons and together they constituted 72 percent of the total foreign-born population. While several European and other senders met the size criterion for inclusion, including the former USSR, Germany, the United Kingdom, Italy, Poland and Japan, they were not included because they are traditional senders. Since most of the discussion about immigrants in new destinations focuses on the settlement of Asians and Latin Americans in those places, for the sake of parsimony, the sample includes immigrants from those regions.

Four composition and growth measures specific to each origin are the main independent variables. To develop these measures national population composition and growth cut points were determined for each group. First, each of the 741 labor markets was classified as having high or low group-specific composition based on whether its origin population was above or below each group's 1990 national population composition. Second, each labor market was classified as having high or low group-specific growth based on whether the average growth was higher or lower than the group's national average growth from 1990 to 1995. Then, the 741 labor markets were aggregated into four settlement categories based on each group's national composition and growth cut points: high composition and high growth (HiC_HiG); high composition and low growth (HiC_LoG); low composition and high growth (LoC_HiG); and low composition and low growth (LoC_LoG).[ii] While the resulting composition and growth categories differ by national origin, given that most groups remained concentrated in 2000 in a small set of large metropolitan areas, New York and Los Angeles are in the HiC_LoG category for most groups. The LoC_HiG category, in contrast, includes areas usually considered as new destinations and thus has a much larger number of labor markets. The LoC_LoG category is of interest because it includes "pioneer" areas that may already have been on the new destination trajectory in the 1990s. The HiC_HiG areas are also of interest because, they include many of the metropolitan areas identified as new destinations in some studies. Table 1 shows each group's distribution across the 4 categories and illustrates the dominance of Mexican immigrants in all types of contexts except the LoC_LoG context where less than one percent of Mexican immigrants resided. The percent in that context for other groups ranged from 1.7 percent for Salvadorans and Dominicans to 15.7 percent of Laotians. While Asian groups have higher

percentages in the LoC_LoG contexts, a number of Hispanic groups also have strong tendencies to reside in such contexts (especially Colombians and Cubans).

Out-migration from one of 741 labor markets that involved a move of at least 50 miles in the 1995 to 2000 period is the dependent variable. The analysis focuses on explaining differences in out-migration from the 4 composition and growth categories specified above. The initial analytic strategy will be to include three sets of aggregate variables, a set of individual demographic and human capital measures, and a set of origin group indicators in a nested series of logistic regression models predicting out-migration. This will permit us to both assess the relative importance of these sets of covariates and to estimate the extent to which different covariate sets impact the relationship between residence in different composition-growth contexts and out-migration.

In addition to the composition-growth measures, several other aggregate measures are used, including the mean 1990 wage and rent of an area, and a measure of origin group size in 1995. We have been exploring alternative aggregate measures of economic conditions but have found that wages and housing rent are more robust than other measures. They capture economic dimensions salient to quality of life for a broad range of individuals living in a range of places better than do, for example, indicators of the predominance of different industrial sectors. Furthermore, many of the aggregate measures of industrial and other economic conditions are highly correlated making the inclusion of additional indicators inefficient. The individual demographic and human capital measures include educational attainment, English proficiency, age at entry to the United States, duration of U.S. residence, citizenship status, and sex. Where

appropriate, the log of continuous measures such as the mean wage and group size will be utilized.

Preliminary Findings

We have prepared preliminary estimates using logistic regression that specify the odds of CZ out-migration from LoC_LoG, LoC_HiG, and HiC_HiG labor markets relative to out-migration from HiC_LoG contexts. Figure 1 shows the percentage of the foreign born in our analytic sample that moved to another labor market area between 1995 and 2000 for each composition-growth context in 1995. The figure indicates that the foreign born were almost 3 times more likely to leave low composition areas, regardless of growth trends in those markets, as they were to leave high composition areas. The full logistic model indicates that, as expected, 1990 CZ wages had a major negative effect on outmigration. The effect of mean housing rent was also negative, but not significant. Individual covariates have strong effects consistent with well established findings in earlier studies. Figure 2 summarizes the effects of the addition of sets of covariates on the Composition-Growth odds ratios. While origin, human capital, and economic contexts are each associated with slight declines in the odds ratios, group size (grey bar) clearly has the largest impact. These preliminary results suggest that the marked tendency for immigrants residing in low concentration areas in 1995 to move to other areas is mainly a function of the small size of compatriot populations in those places and only marginally related to economic conditions of places and to individual characteristics. This suggests that residential instability will continue to be the norm in low composition areas until some yet unspecified changes lead to sustained growth for particular groups in particular places.

Ongoing Analysis for the Proposed Paper

We will estimate a range of additional models in order to determine whether the story is as simple and direct as the preliminary findings suggest. We suspect that the overall pattern holds more for some origin groups than others. We also need to explore interactions between several sets of covariates (composition/growth and economic contexts, composition/growth and group size, and composition/growth and key individual characteristics. We will also consider alternative model specifications in an effort to provide a richer description of what else there is about low composition places that leads to high turnover. We know that the low composition-low growth context has a higher percent of professional workers and a lower percent of agricultural workers than other contexts (see Appendix). They also have relatively more students and military workers and immigrants who lived in these LoC_LoG contexts had a markedly different origin profile than other areas. Alternative model specifications and additional descriptive work will help clarify the sources of some of these differences.

Table 1: Percent of Origin Group in Each Growth-Composition Context, Non-Group Quartered Persons Aged 25-59 *

	LoG_LoC	HiG_LoC	LoG_HiC	HiG_HiC	Population N
Mexico	0.6	13.3	54.4	31.7	4,995,294
Cuba	12.0	6.5	10.5	71.1	426,001
Salvador	1.7	9.4	47.4	41.5	526,205
Dominican Rep.	1.7	8.2	63.0	27.1	404,304
Colombia	13.3	9.7	32.2	44.7	265,316
Guatemala	2.1	11.0	62.6	24.3	278,880
Ecuador	6.1	6.3	11.1	76.4	172,706
Honduras	4.1	15.4	57.1	23.4	150,978
Peru	8.6	12.1	36.1	43.2	158,437
Nicaragua	2.9	12.2	40.0	44.9	132,759
Brazil	13.2	9.0	36.6	41.1	88,222
Philippines	6.2	13.8	58.5	21.5	825,828
China	5.3	23.3	30.3	41.0	612,276
India	12.3	14.5	51.2	22.0	530,888
Vietnam	7.1	16.0	50.4	26.5	648,548
Korea	7.3	16.9	58.0	17.8	472,777
Taiwan	12.7	12.7	18.9	55.7	207,161
Iran	15.2	12.0	21.3	51.5	178,164
Pakistan	10.2	10.7	22.3	56.8	120,594
Laos	15.7	11.0	31.2	42.2	143,166
Jamaica	9.1	4.5	10.5	76.0	333,462
Haiti	4.1	5.5	67.7	22.7	252,339
Guyana	8.0	5.9	6.6	79.5	132,183
Canada	14.0	23.7	41.2	21.1	357,421

* The percentages residing in each type of composition-growth context sum to 100 for each group.

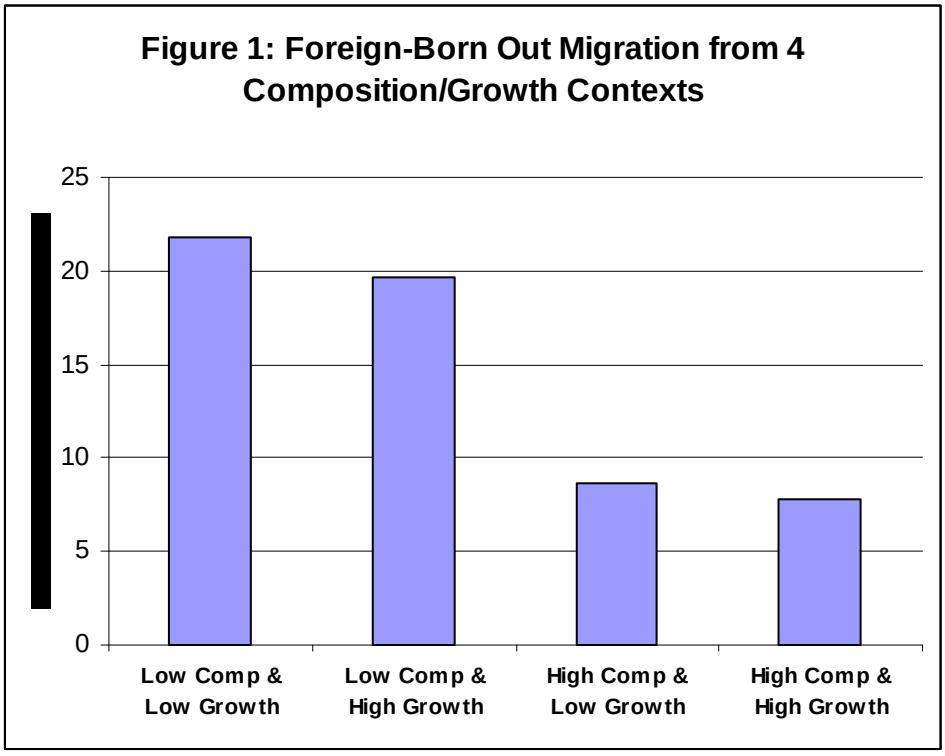
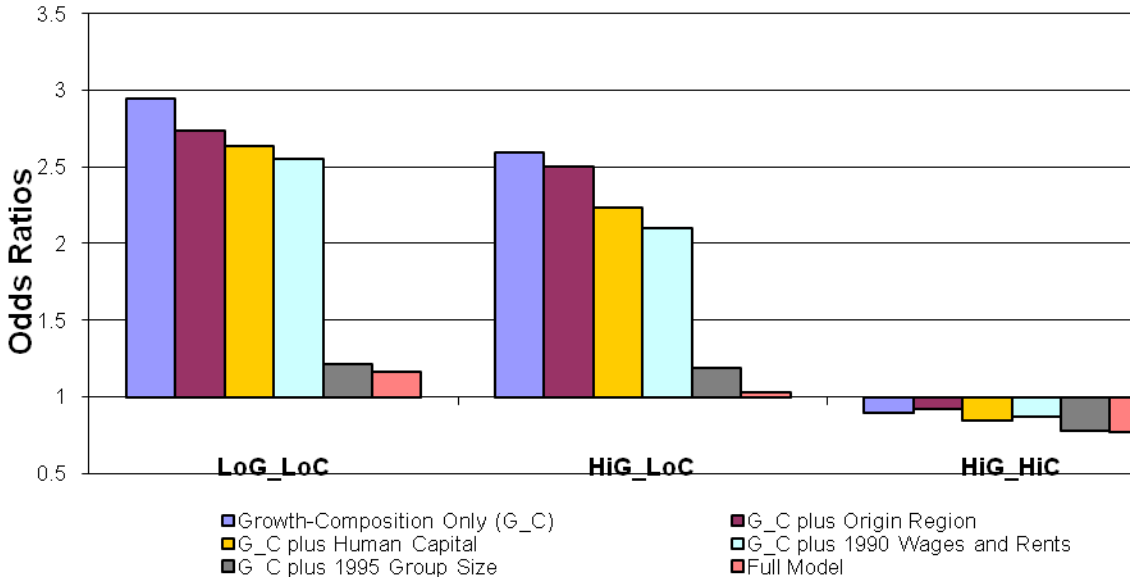


Figure 1: Foreign-Born Out Migration from 4 Composition/Growth Contexts
25
20
15
10
5
0
Low Comp & Low Growth
Low Comp & High Growth
High Comp & Low Growth
High Comp & High Growth

Figure 2: Growth-Composition Odds Ratios Contrasted to Low Growth & High Composition CZ for Various Models



Appendix: Means for Total U.S. and by Growth-Composition Context, Non-group quarter persons aged 25-59 from 24 origin groups

	U.S. Total	LoG_LoC	HiG_LoC	HiG_HiC	LoG_HiC
Out Migration & 50 miles+ (%)	10.44	21.79	19.71	7.79	8.65
CZ Aggregate Measures:					
Wages (annual)	38,742	36,236	34,692	39,372	39,748
Housing Rent (monthly)	635	534	498	619	705
Group Size (log)	60,726	1,579	2,699	64,945	200,749
% Agicultural Workers	1.77	0.84	2.36	1.57	1.84
% Professional Workers	16.52	25.55	17.66	15.98	15.67
Individual Measures:					
College (%)	20.33	42.21	26.33	18.59	17.69
Some College (HsCol) (%)	36.05	39.28	34.14	37.35	35.27
Less than College (lesshs) (%)	43.62	18.5	39.52	44.06	47.04
English only/very well (%)	42.3	66.04	46.73	42.35	38.58
English well (%)	24.83	21.43	24.19	24.33	25.73
Poor or no English (%)	32.87	12.53	29.08	33.32	35.69
Age at Entry	22.09	21.64	22.49	22.58	21.66
Years since Arrival	17.38	19.5	15.9	16.76	18.05
Citizen (%)	44.76	59.87	42.61	44.22	44.21
Male (%)	50.5	48.07	53.64	51.58	49.07
Attending School (%)	7.56	9.5	7.22	6.86	7.99
In Military (%)	0.15	0.39	0.33	0.07	0.14
Origin Country (% of 24 groups):					
Mexico	40.24	4.91	40.94	36.31	46.64
Cuba	3.43	8.46	1.7	6.94	0.77
El Salvador	4.24	1.5	3.05	5.01	4.28
Dominican Republic	3.26	1.15	2.03	2.51	4.37
Colombia	2.14	5.87	1.59	2.72	1.47
Guatemala	2.25	0.96	1.89	1.56	2.99
Ecuador	1.39	1.76	0.67	3.03	0.33
Honduras	1.22	1.02	1.43	0.81	1.48
Peru	1.28	2.25	1.18	1.57	0.98
Nicaragua	1.07	0.65	1	1.37	0.91
Brazil	0.71	1.93	0.49	0.83	0.55
Philippines	6.65	8.52	7.03	4.06	8.29
China	4.93	5.43	8.8	5.76	3.18
India	4.28	10.82	4.72	2.68	4.67
Vietnam	5.22	7.6	6.38	3.94	5.62
Korea	3.81	5.76	4.92	1.93	4.7
Taiwan	1.67	4.36	1.62	2.65	0.67
Iran	1.44	4.48	1.32	2.1	0.65
Pakistan	0.97	2.03	0.8	1.57	0.46
Laos	1.15	3.72	0.97	1.38	0.76
Jamaica	2.69	5.03	0.91	5.81	0.6
Haiti	2.03	1.72	0.85	1.31	2.93
Guyana	1.06	1.76	0.48	2.41	0.15
Canada	2.88	8.29	5.22	1.73	2.52

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[i] The research in this paper was conducted while the authors were Special Sworn Status researchers of the U.S. Census Bureau at the New York Census Research Data Center at Cornell University. Research results and conclusions expressed are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Census Bureau. The paper has been screened to insure that no confidential data are revealed. A research grant from the Russell Sage Foundation (RSF #88-07-03) supported the analysis. We also acknowledge support from the Polson Institute for Global Development.

[ii] Given that there are 741 labor markets and 24 origin groups, there are 17,784 possible labor markets where foreign born could live. Because many labor markets contained no members of specific groups, the actual number of group-specific occupied areas in 2000 was 10,788. The categories are not mutually exclusive in that More than one origin group could reside in the same labor market areas.