Native Out-Migration and Neighborhood Immigration in New Destinations[1]

Matthew Hall
Department of Policy Analysis and Management and Cornell Population Center
Cornell University

Kyle Crowder
Department of Sociology and Center for Studies in Demography and Ecology
University of Washington

December 10, 2013

Word count: 7,984 (text, abstract and notes)

[1] Direct correspondence to Matthew Hall, Department of Policy Analysis and Management, Cornell University, 295 MVR Hall, Ithaca NY 14853; email: mhall@cornell.edu. We are grateful to Sam Friedman, Maria Krysan, Barry Lee, Dan Lichter, Emily Rosenbaum, Jeff Timberlake, and Stew Tolnay for comments on earlier versions of this paper and to Brian Stults for support with the Longitudinal Tract Data Base. This research was supported by infrastructure grants to Cornell University's Cornell Population Center (R24 HD058488) and to the University of Washington's Center for Studies in Demography and Ecology (R24 HD042828) by the *Eunice Kennedy Shriver* National Institute of Child Health and Human Development.

Native Out-Migration and Neighborhood Immigration in New Destinations

Abstract

Using longitudinal data from the Panel Study of Income Dynamics linked to three decades of census data on immigrant settlement patterns, this study examines how local immigrant concentrations shape the migration behaviors of native-born whites and blacks, and how this relationship varies across traditional and non-traditional metropolitan gateways. Our results indicate that, regardless of gateway type, the likelihood of neighborhood out-migration among natives increases as the local immigrant population grows; an association that is not explained by sociodemographic characteristics of householders or by features of the neighborhoods and metropolitan areas in which they reside. Most importantly, we find that this tendency to move away from immigrants is pronounced for natives living in metropolitan areas that are developing into a major gateway; i.e., communities that have experienced rapid recent growth in foreign-born populations. We also demonstrate that among mobile natives, the neighborhoods that they move to have substantially smaller immigrant concentrations than the ones they left, a finding that is especially evident in new gateway areas. Overall, our analysis indicates that migration responses to immigrants vary depending on local histories of immigration, playing a potentially important role in generating differences in segregation across traditional and non-traditional gateways.

Native Out-Migration and Neighborhood Immigration in New Destinations

Introduction

The past four decades have been an extraordinary period of immigration to the U.S. While the growth in the foreign-born population has had profound economic, social, and political consequences, the redistribution of America's immigrants away from a handful of long-standing ports of entry and into communities across the landscape has arguably been the most important demographic trend of the last twenty years. The dispersion of immigrants into a wider mix of communities means that a large and diverse set of towns and cities are experiencing the benefits and challenges of immigration. The spatial diffusion of immigrants has also contributed to unmatched levels of racial/ethnic diversity (Lee et al. 2012; Fasenfest et al. 2006; Frey 2003, 2005, 2006; Singer 2005; Wen et al. 2009) and increased exposure between majority and minority group members (Timberlake and Iceland 2007).

While mounting contact between racial/ethnic groups portends the possibility of a more racially-inclusive society, there are signs that the growth in immigration and their spread through the American settlement system has led to the emergence of new forms of social stratification. While black-white residential segregation has declined considerably in recent decades, residential segregation of Latinos and Asians – groups composing a bulk of new immigrants – from non-Latino whites has remained virtually unchanged (Logan and Stults 2011). One explanation for the stall in Latino and Asian segregation is that these groups tend to be more segregated in non-traditional areas where they are increasingly settling (Fischer and Tienda 2006; Hall 2013; Lichter et al. 2010).

While the heightened segregation of Asians and Hispanics in non-traditional areas is likely partially due to a tendency of newly-arrived immigrants to band together to ease the

transition into community life (Iceland and Scopilliti 2008; Iceland and Nelson 2008; Iceland 2009; Massey 1985), segregation is also created by the migration behaviors of native-born residents and their decisions to remain in diversifying neighborhoods or flee in the face of swelling immigrant populations. Thus, variations across gateways in natives' migration behaviors may be just as crucial as variations in immigrant self-segregation in determining differences in residential incorporation across metropolitan areas. In fact, although there is considerable heterogeneity in local responses to immigrants, the political and social backlash to the entrance of immigrants has been cited as one potential explanation for why residential and other forms of social inequality are intensified in non-traditional areas (see Gożdziak and Martin 2005; Marrow 2011; Massey 2008; Singer et al. 2008; Zúñiga and Hernández-León 2005). However, while survey research has examined how immigrant concentrations influence the stereotypes and attitudes natives hold toward immigrants (Hopkins 2010; O'Neil and Tienda 2006; Timberlake and Williams 2012), it is unknown whether natives' migration behaviors vary across old and new immigrant gateways.

Our goal in this paper is to provide evidence on this issue by evaluating variation across established, new, and developing gateways in the relationship between neighborhood immigrant concentration and native residential mobility. We focus on three main research questions: 1) Are native whites and blacks living in non-traditional gateways more likely to change neighborhoods in the face of growing immigrant concentrations than are their counterparts in more-traditional gateways?; 2) Can observed variations in mobility reactions to immigrants be explained by characteristics of householders or by features of the tracts and metropolitan areas where they reside?; and 3) Does the association between immigrant concentration in origin and destination neighborhoods differ for native movers living in traditional and non-traditional areas? To answer

these questions we link longitudinal, individual-level data from the Panel Study of Income Dynamics (PSID) to three decades of census data describing neighborhood and metropolitan immigrant populations, and use cross-classified multilevel models to predict native out-migration and the concentration of immigrants in mobile natives' neighborhoods of destination.

New Destinations and Residential Incorporation

Residential segregation of immigrants from the native-born has long been seen as a temporary phenomenon, progressing from the isolation of immigrants in dense central-city enclaves of major gateways to 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 this and related theoretical arguments for processes of neighborhood attainment and segregation (see Charles 2006; Iceland 2009; Rosenbaum and Friedman 2007). More recently, interest in immigrant settlement patterns has shifted toward understanding their dispersion out of traditional gateways and into non-traditional communities, and the corresponding rise of 'new destination' areas (Gożdziak and Martin 2005; Lichter and Johnson 2008; Marrow 2011; Massey 2008; Singer 2005; Zúñiga and Hernández-León 2005). As residential context is often seen as an important marker of ethnic incorporation (e.g., Iceland 2009; White and Glick 2009), it is of particular importance to describe both the patterns and processes of residential separation between natives and immigrants emerging in new destinations.

Despite earlier speculation that divergent migration patterns of immigrant and native populations will lead to "regional balkanization" (Frey 1995, 1996; Frey and Liaw 1998), Frey and Liaw (2005: 212) argue that the geographic diffusion of the foreign born is symbolic of their

successful spatial incorporation, and predict that "minorities undergoing spatially-assimilating long-distance migration will be residing in more integrated neighborhoods locally." Empirical support for this hypothesis is mixed. On the one hand, Park and Iceland (2011) find that immigrant dissimilarity from native whites is lower in metropolitan areas that have recently emerged as immigrant destinations than in more traditional ones. On the other hand, the same authors find that immigrant-native dissimilarity increased in newer destination areas during the 1990s while remaining largely unchanged in traditional ones. More concerning, Lichter et al. (2010) use an expanded set of communities and find that segregation between Latinos and whites is higher in new destinations than in established areas, and that the difference cannot be explained by structural or demographic characteristics of communities (also Parisi and Lichter 2007). Likewise, Fischer and Tienda (2006) find that Latino immigrants are more segregated from other groups in new Latino destinations than in traditional ones. Examining ten specific immigrant groups, Hall (2013) also finds evidence that immigrants tend to be more segregated from native whites in non-traditional destinations, even after accounting for group differences in acculturation and socioeconomic status across areas.

Thus, there is mounting evidence that residential integration is strained in the emergent communities in which immigrants are increasingly settling. What drives uneven levels of segregation across different types of areas, however, remains unclear. According to the classic model of spatial assimilation, residential separation between immigrant and native populations materializes as a result of immigrants' initial need to live near other co-ethnics. This own-group preference is not simply due to ethnocentric attraction (Clark 1992; Clark and Blue 2004), but to the social and economic benefits of enclave residence (Edin et al. 2003; Portes and Jensen 1987, 1989; but see Chiswick and Miller 2005; Xie and Gough 2011). While it may seem logically

inconsistent that these self-segregating forces would operate more strongly in new areas where opportunities for enclave residence are reduced, limited access to ethnic goods and services or a desire to improve well-being in unfamiliar territories may prompt immigrants in new destinations to congregate in a handful of neighborhoods. Indeed, patterns of "heterolocalism" whereby the existence of strong ethnic communities actually facilitate the settlement of immigrants in non-enclaves have been observed in several traditional gateways (see Hall 2013). Thus, one possibility for heightened segregation in new destinations is an increased propensity among immigrants to self-segregate in these areas.

Tendencies to self-segregate may be particularly acute if the reception climate is unwelcoming. In fact, it is in these emerging destinations where some of the more hostile policies toward immigrants have been proposed (Broder 2007; Hopkins 2010; O'Neil 2012; Varsanyi 2010) and a growing body of work details how social and political backlash in these areas stalls integration (Carr et al. 2012; Fennelly 2008; Johnson, et al. 1999; Kirk et al. 2012; Marrow 2008, 2009, 2011; Winders 2008). By comparison, natives in established destinations are well-accustomed to the diversity of faces and cultures that immigration brings (Massey 2008).

Importantly, however, variation in local contexts of reception highlights the importance of considering how native-born persons' may respond differently to immigrants across areas. Decades of scholarship have documented how majority group members' migration behaviors fuel residential separation between groups (Crowder 2000; Crowder and South 2008; Duncan and Duncan 1957; Krysan 2002a; Lee and Wood 1991; Schelling 1971). And given the long history in the U.S. of neighborhood retreat in the face of 'foreign invasion' (e.g., Northern whites fleeing from the influx of Southern blacks [Boustan 2010]), it is plausible not only that native

populations are resistant to immigrant neighbors, but also that their reactions are shaped by the broader, historical context of foreign encroachment into their neighborhoods.

Theoretical Explanations

Previous related research has observed a tendency for natives to out-migrate as immigrant populations expand and has explored several arguments for the existence of this relationship (Crowder et al. 2011), but has not considered if and how natives' migration responses vary across types of settlement areas. One possibility for any link between immigrant concentration and native out-migration is that the relationship is spurious to characteristics of natives that predict migration. In other words, if natives residing in immigrant-rich neighborhoods possess traits – such as being young, childless, or renters – conducive to migration, then areas with large immigrant shares would exhibit relatively high levels of native out-migration. Crowder et al. (2011) found some support for this argument which may suggest that any differences in migration across gateway types simply reflect compositional variation in the native populations located in different gateway areas.

Other arguments suggest that immigrant concentration sparks out-migration but does so through mediating characteristics of neighborhoods. The neighborhood-socioeconomic thesis holds that large concentrations of immigrants encourage native out-mobility by lowering the socioeconomic quality of the neighborhood. Because immigrants have, on average, lower levels of education and higher poverty rates than the native born (Grieco et al. 2012), high immigrant concentrations are likely to reduce neighborhood income levels. If neighborhood income is also linked to physical surroundings, exposure to crime, and the quality of local amenities and services (Logan and Alba 1993), natives may be especially prone to migrate from lower-income areas.

Another possibility is that large immigrant concentrations reshape local housing markets in ways that influence the mobility behavior of native residents (Ley 2007; Ley and Tutchener 2001). Local immigration may, for example, reduce the stock of vacant housing available in an area and increase local housing costs which, in turn may push some native residents out of their neighborhoods. Previous work on this neighborhood-housing hypothesis has found that housing competition generated as a result of growing immigrant populations is an important mediating factor in the relationship between neighborhood immigrant and native out-migration, especially among African Americans (Crowder et al. 2011; Wilson and Taub 2006).

To the extent that native-born householders prefer relatively homogenous neighborhoods, local immigration may spur out-migration by altering the ethnic makeup and social fabric of the neighborhood. While the foreign-born population is globally diverse, more than 8 in10 immigrants hail from Asia or Latin America and one-third are born in Mexico (Grieco et al. 2012). While research on natives' preferences for foreign-born neighbors is limited, survey research shows that whites rate neighborhoods with relatively few members of other groups as the most desirable (Charles 2006; Krysan 2002b; Krysan and Bader 2007) and those neighborhoods with large black or Latino populations as least desirable (Charles 2001; Clark 2009; Emerson et al. 2001). Black survey respondents, by contrast, tend to be more open to racially-mixed neighborhoods (Krysan and Bader 2007; Krysan and Farlay 2002) but there is some evidence that blacks harbor negative sentiments toward immigrants settling in their neighborhoods (Johnson et al. 1999; McClain et al. 2007; Marrow 2011; Wilson and Taub 2006; but see Taylor and Schroeder 2010). This neighborhood-ethnic-context thesis is especially salient for this study as immigrant groups are distributed unevenly across metropolitan areas. Due largely to the clustering of immigrants groups in particular industries, foreign-born populations

in newer-destination areas tend to be composed heavily of Mexicans, whereas established gateways contain more diverse immigrant populations (Singer 2005). Thus any differential responses to local immigration on the part of natives could reflect differences in the characteristics of immigrant populations to which natives are being exposed in their neighborhoods.

A final possibility for understanding variations in the relationship between immigrant concentration and out-migration is prompted by research documenting how variations in metropolitan structure and form affect residential mobility (Crowder et al. 2012; Pais et al 2012). In particular, two arguments are relevant to this analysis. First, work by Frey and others suggests that the in-migration of immigrants triggers native out-migration because of the economic dislocations that are created by increased job competition (Frey 1995, 1996; Frey and Liaw 1998). While this labor-market-competition hypothesis has been criticized for being confined to large cities and to not considering confounding factors (Card 2001; Card and DiNardo 2000; Kritz and Gurak 2001; Wright et al. 1997), it highlights the need to consider characteristics describing local labor market conditions. Second, across metropolitan areas natives have different opportunities to locate into neighborhoods with different concentrations of immigrants. This is especially important in understanding differences across metropolitan gateways as natives dissatisfied with the presence of immigrants in their neighborhoods may be less likely to out-migrate if the relative number of neighborhoods lacking immigrants is minimal. Thus, natives in established gateways seeking to escape immigrants may be constrained to do so if there are relatively few potential neighborhood destinations without concentrations of immigrants. By contrast, natives in developing gateways who find themselves living in neighborhoods with too many immigrants may be better able to actuate their desires to move because there are many

opportunities within the broader constellation of neighborhoods to find an area with small concentrations of foreign-born residents. Thus, this neighborhood-opportunity thesis suggests that variation across metropolitan gateways in natives responses to local immigration can be explained by metropolitan differences in the stock of non-immigrant neighborhoods.

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 longitudinal survey of U.S. residents and their families that began in 1968 with approximately 5,000 families. Members of panel families were interviewed annually between 1968 and 1997 and every two years thereafter, and new families have been added to the panel as children and other members of original panel families form their own households. The PSID is well-suited for our analysis because its longitudinal nature makes it possible to track the migration behavior of individual householders over time and the data contain rich information on characteristics known to influence geographic mobility. Because many residential moves are undertaken by families, a move by one household member often means a move by other family members. Our focus on household heads allows us to avoid counting as unique 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 a divorcee establishing a new residence) are included in our effective sample. Since rapid immigrant dispersion was not underway until the 1980s (Singer 2005), we limit our analysis to householders in PSID panels between 1980 and 2009.

The availability of restricted-access Geocode Match Files, which link individual respondents to census codes indicating their place of residence at each interview allows us to

identify PSID respondents' metropolitan and neighborhood location, trace their migration across neighborhoods between successive interviews, and to attach detailed census data about their current and previous neighborhoods. We follow much of the prior work in this area (e.g., Crowder et al. 2012; Massey et al. 1994; Quillian 2002) by using census tracts to represent neighborhoods. Although census tracts are imperfect operationalizations of, they provide near-comprehensive coverage of the entire nation during our study period, are summarized for a variety of theoretically-relevant measures, and generally approximate the usual conception of a neighborhood (Jargowsky 1997; White 1987). Potential problems associated with changes in tract boundaries across decennial censuses are overcome by our use of the Longitudinal Tract Data Base (Logan et al. forthcoming), which normalizes census tract data between 1970 and 2000 to 2010 boundaries. We utilize the LTDB's data on tracts from the 1980, 1990, and 2000 censuses, and the 2006-2010 American Community Survey, and use linear interpolation/extrapolation to estimate values for non-census years.

Our effective sample for this analysis consists of 9,693 native-born non-Latino white and 6,830 native-born non-Latino black heads of PSID households. Consistent with most existing research on the topic, our typology of immigrant gateways focuses on the categorization of metropolitan areas, so we include only those PSID observations in which the householder originated in one of the 366 metropolitan areas (defined consistently during the study period using boundaries set by the Office of Management and Budget in 2010).

We take advantage of the longitudinal nature of the PSID by segmenting each respondent's data record into a series of person-period observations, with each observation referring to the one- or two-year period between PSID interviews. On average, the individual

householders in the sample contribute 6.3 person-periods for a total sample of 104,787 person-periods, after observations with missing data are deleted listwise.

Outcome variables

Our analysis focuses on two migration behaviors: the likelihood of neighborhood out-migration and the immigrant concentration of movers' destination neighborhoods. Neighborhood out-migration is a binary indicator of whether a householder moved out of the tract of origin during the interval between interviews, 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. The vast majority of migration events among PSID householders is within metropolitan areas (74.0%) although our measure includes those moving to different metropolitan areas (26.0%).[2] Among those who moved, we assess the concentration of immigrants in their new neighborhoods by examining the percentage of the population that is foreign-born in the tract to which the householder moved.

Explanatory variables

Our primary independent variables refer to the concentration of immigrants in native householders' tracts of residence and the history of immigrant settlement in the metropolitan area in which the householders lives. Local immigrant concentration is gauged by the percentage of the tract population made up of individuals born outside of the U.S.[3] Our measure of metropolitan gateway type uses data on immigrant settlement between 1970 and 2008 (the midpoint of the 2006-2010 ACS). Given that our three-decade observation window, our typology is sensitive not only to geographic variation in immigrant settlement but to temporal dynamics of

[2] Models restricted to households remaining in the same metro between interviews yield results that are substantively and statistically similar to those presented here.

[3] We also tested for effects of recent changes in local immigrant populations and found that, in our full models, percent change in tract immigrant populations over the last five years had a very small and statistically-nonsignificant effect on native out-migration.

immigration within metropolitan areas. In other words, while previous work has classified metropolitan areas into gateway types at a single point in time (Lichter and Johnson 2009; Hall 2013; McConnell 2008; Singer 2005), our measure recognizes that metro areas' status as a particular type can change over time (e.g., from new gateway to established gateway). Specifically, we categorize metropolitan areas separately in 1980, 1990, 2000, and 2008 into one of four types. *Established* gateways refer to metropolitan areas that, in a given year, met one of three criteria: had a total immigrant population of 200,000 or more; had an immigrant population share that was twice as large as the national share; or had at least 100,000 immigrants and an immigrant share that was larger than the nation. *New* gateways are areas with at least 50,000 immigrants that either experienced 10-year growth in immigrant populations that was at least twice as fast as the national average or had both above-average growth and above-average immigrant shares. *Developing* gateways are metros with at least 1,000 immigrants and ten-year growth rates twice as fast as the nation. All remaining metropolitan areas, in a given year, are considered *nongateways*.[4] As shown in Table 1, 26 metro areas were defined as established immigrant gateways in 1980, including New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles. During the same time, 5 areas were considered new gateways (e.g., Dallas, Phoenix), 28 were developing gateways (e.g., Atlanta, Charlotte). By 2008, nearly twice as many metro areas were considered established gateways, including Atlanta and Dallas, 20 were new gateways (e.g., Cape Coral, Nashville), and 69 were developing (e.g., Boise, Reading). A complete list of the metropolitan

[4] We considered several alternative ways of defining gateways, including approaches that relax or stiffen requirements to be considered an established, new, or developing gateway. The results from these specifications are substantively consistent with those shown here. Our employed typology has the added benefit of approximating the midpoints of the range of coefficients on key variables and produces a classification of metropolitan areas that is consistent with Singer's (2005) widely-used typology.

areas that compose each type is shown in Appendix Table A1. These metropolitan gateway types are linked to PSID data with non-census years inferred based on the nearest census year.

We consider a variety of other characteristics of native-born PSID respondents and their households, neighborhoods, and metropolitan areas in order to test theoretical arguments related to the relationship between local immigrant concentrations and native out-mobility. Descriptive statistics for all variables in the analysis, as well as their correlations, are shown in Appendix Table A2. Key demographic predictors of residential mobility include age (in years) and marital status (taking a value of 1 for respondents who were married or permanently cohabiting at the beginning of the interval). The effect of children is tapped with an indicator variable for individuals living in a family with members under 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 assessed by the number of persons per room, and length of residence takes a value of 1 for those respondents living in their home for three or more years. In all models we also include an indicator for the year of observation in order to account for trends in inter-neighborhood migration and the length of the migration interval to control for the switch to a biennial survey.

We present models with controls for several characteristics of origin tracts to test theoretically-implicated mechanisms through which local immigrant concentrations may prompt native out-migration, and to assess whether these neighborhood characteristics help to explain variations in mobility responses across destinations. To test the argument that mobility away from immigrant populations reflects a reaction to socioeconomic change we consider the tract poverty rate. We include controls for the housing vacancy rate and the median housing value (in

$10,000s) to test whether local housing conditions associated with immigrant concentrations influence mobility decisions. To explore the possibility that variations across metropolitan destination types in reactions to immigrants reflect differential exposure to specific ethnic groups, we control for the percentage of the tract population that is of Mexican ethnicity.[5]

To explore arguments that variation in mobility responses to immigrants across gateway types reflects differences in labor market conditions, we include job growth over the preceding calendar year and the average wage of salaried jobs (in $1000s). The possibility that metropolitan areas differ in opportunities for native-born householders to escape immigrants is assessed by a measure of the percentage of all tracts in the metropolitan area with immigrant concentration of less than 5 percent. We additionally include the percentage of all tracts in the metro area in which 10% or more of all housing units were built in the last ten years to account for differences across metropolitan areas in the availability of newly-developed neighborhoods, a contextual characteristic that tends to increase mobility in general and differs across gateways.

Analytic Strategy

Given the hierarchical nature of the data and interest in how metropolitan settlement histories influence migration behaviors, we use a multilevel modeling design in which observations (migration intervals) are nested within individual householders and householders are nested within metropolitan areas. For the first part of our analysis we estimate a three-level cross-classified random-coefficients logistic model predicting the log-odds of neighborhood out-

[5] Unfortunately, tract data on the racial composition or birth country of immigrant populations are not available for our entire study period. We did, however, consider the percent of the tract with limited English proficiency to test the possibility that natives' mobility behaviors are influenced by shifts in the linguistic context of their neighborhoods, but excluded it from final models because of high multicollinearity with tract percent immigrant (r = .83). Nonetheless, its presence does not alter the substantive conclusions offered here.

migration as a function of individual, tract, and metropolitan characteristics.[6] In these models, out-migration is allowed to vary across respondents and metropolitan areas, and the effect of immigrant concentration on out-mobility is set to differ across metros. Our primary interest in these models is in the differential effect of neighborhood immigrant concentration across metropolitan gateway types (i.e., the interaction between gateway type and tract percent immigrant). In the second stage of our analysis, we predict the immigrant concentration of movers' destination neighborhoods as a function of individual, tract, and metropolitan characteristics using a three-level random-intercepts model. Similar to our first set of analyses, our central interest lies in differential destinations across gateway types, assessed via the interaction between metropolitan gateway types and percent immigrant in the tract of origin.

Results

Native Exposure to Immigrants

We begin our analysis with a descriptive account of native respondents' exposure to immigrant populations across gateway types and over time. Figure 1 shows average neighborhood immigrant concentrations (dark grey bars) and metropolitan immigrant concentrations (the sum of the light and dark grey bars) for sample members living in established, new, and developing gateways, and nongateways in 1980, 1990, 2001, and 2007. The temporal trend in immigration into metropolitan areas and into the neighborhoods where native whites and blacks reside is clear: in 1980, the typical native PSID householder in an established gateway lived in a tract that was 9.0% immigrant and in a metropolitan area that was 11.3% immigrant. By 2007, these numbers had grown to 13.7% and 17.6%, respectively. Similar upward trends are observed for the other gateway types. Also visible in Figure 1 are the differences in immigrant population

[6] Characteristics of householders' tracts of residence are treated as a level-1 characteristic since there is too little clustering of PSID respondents within census tracts to warrant an additional level.

shares across gateway types. As expected, native respondents in established gateways have the highest exposure to immigrants, both at the metropolitan and neighborhood levels, followed by those in newly-emerged gateways. Natives in developing gateways and nongateways had similarly low levels of exposure to immigrants during the early part of the observation period, but as immigrant dispersion gained steam, larger differences in immigrant exposure emerged.

That in each type of area, metropolitan immigrant concentration is higher, and has generally grown at a faster pace than neighborhood immigrant concentration, serves as a reminder that native householders in our sample are somewhat shielded from the more general residential repercussions of increasing immigrant concentrations, finding themselves in neighborhoods in which immigrants are underrepresented relative to overall metropolitan concentrations. This does not diminish the increases in overall native exposure to immigrants occurring over the past three decades, nor does it lessen the importance of foreign-born deconcentration, but it does highlight the fact that natives have maintained some residential distance from immigrant populations even as their metropolitan areas have diversified.

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 established, new, and developing gateways is maintained through natives' mobility responses to local immigration. In this stage of the analysis, we set out to address the issue by exploring the impact of neighborhood immigrant concentration on the likelihood that native white and black PSID householders will change neighborhoods, whether this relationship varies by metropolitan gateway type, and if observed associations can be attenuated by theoretically-informed covariates.

The multilevel logistic coefficients shown in Table 2 provide a basic answer to these questions, indicating how the log-odds of natives' neighborhood out-migration vary according to tract immigrant concentration and gateway type. The first model includes the measure of immigrant concentration in the tract of residence at the beginning of the observation interval, and reveals a tendency for natives to out-migrate as the concentration of foreign-born residents in their neighborhoods grows. Specifically, the coefficient (b = .039) indicates that the odds of out-migration increase by nearly 50% with a ten-percentage point increase in neighborhood immigrant concentration ($e^{(.039*10)} = 1.477$).

The second model incorporates product terms to assess whether natives' mobility responses to local immigration vary across metropolitan gateway types. The results indicate that indeed, they do. The main effect – referring to the migration behavior of natives in established gateways – shows a smaller, but still positive and statistically-significant relationship between neighborhood percent immigrant and out-migration. The coefficient shows that a ten-point increase in tract immigrant concentration increases the odds of out-migration for natives in established gateways by 19.7% ($e^{(.018*10)} = 1.197$). The small and statistically non-significant coefficient for the interaction between tract immigrant concentration and new gateway implies that natives' mobility responses to foreign-born neighbors in established and new gateways are statistically-indistinguishable. In contrast, natives in developing gateways and nongateways are much more likely than their counterparts in established gateways to out-migrate in the face of large immigrant concentrations in the neighborhood. Specifically, a ten-point increase in tract percent immigrant nearly doubles the odds of out-migration for natives in developing gateways ($e^{(.018+.048)(10)} = 1.935$) and increases the odds of out migration by 50.7% for natives in nongateways ($e^{(.018+.023)(10)} = 1.507$). Thus, while consistent with previous work (Crowder et al.

2011) showing a tendency for natives to out-migrate as neighborhood immigrant populations increase, we find that natives in developing gateways and nongateways are much more sensitive to local immigrant concentrations than their counterparts in established or newly-emerged gateways, a result that sheds light on the heightened patterns of segregation in nontraditional areas (Hall 2013; Lichter et al. 2011).

Demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of householders are included in the third model to examine whether the observed differentials in the effects of immigrant concentration on native mobility reflect compositional differences in the native-born persons populating immigrant-rich neighborhoods. The results provide some support for this argument. While micro-level characteristics of householders such as race, age, family structure, income, and tenure shape natives' mobility patterns in expected ways, they only partially attenuate the effect of immigrant concentration. More specifically, the addition of the individual-level characteristics reduces the main effect of tract percent immigrant by about half (from .018 to .009) and the total effect of tract immigrant concentration in developing gateways by about 40% (from .066 [.018+.048] to .040 [.009+.031]). Nevertheless, the effect of neighborhood immigrant concentration and its interaction with developing gateways and nongateways remains positive and statistically significant, suggesting that mobility reactions to immigrant neighbors, and the differentials in this reaction across gateway types, cannot be explained by variation in characteristics of the householders occupying these areas.

The fourth and fifth models in Table 2 incorporate features of native householders' tracts of residence. Neighborhood housing values, vacancy rates, and poverty rates are included in Model 4 and are significant predictors of out-migration. Yet, their inclusion does not alter the size or significance of the immigrant concentration effect in established gateways or the

significantly stronger reactions in developing gateways and non-gateways. In Model 5, the percentage of the neighborhood residents of Mexican ethnicity is added to test for the possibility that natives are more sensitive to the concentration of Mexicans in their neighborhood than specifically to the nativity of its residents, and to account for differences across gateway types in the settlement of particular groups. Results indicate that Mexican concentrations have little effect – above and beyond the effects of other variables in our model – on native out-migration and do not alter the more-general impact of neighborhood immigrant concentration on native out-migration.

The final model for the racially-pooled sample includes variables assessing labor market conditions and the distribution of non-immigrant and newly-developed neighborhoods within metropolitan areas. The neighborhood-opportunity variables operate in expected directions, with native householders being more likely to out-migrate when there is an abundance of newly-developed and non-immigrant neighborhoods in the metropolitan area. The economic context variables indicate that mobility is lower in areas with higher wages but not significantly associated with job growth. Most importantly, the addition of these variables does not alter the effect of immigrant concentration or its interaction with gateway type in any meaningful way. With the full set of individual, tract, and metropolitan controls, the results indicate that a ten-point increase in tract percent immigrant is associated with a 13% increase in the odds of migration for native householders in established gateways ($e^{(.012*10)} = 1.127$), and the effect for those living in newly-emerged gateways is not significantly different. However, for natives living in metropolitan areas without a significant history of immigration, the mobility response to the presence of foreign-born populations is much steeper; for native householders in developing gateways, a ten-point increase in neighborhood immigrant concentration corresponds with a

nearly 50% increase in the odds that natives will change neighborhoods ($e^{(.012+.027)(10)} = 1.477$), and for those in nongateways, a 27.1% increase in the odds of out-migration ($e^{(.012+.012)(10)} = 1.271$).

Given the historical preponderance of white flight from minority communities, as well as the possibility of tensions between immigrant groups and African Americans (Johnson et al. 1999; McClain et al. 2007, 2011; McDermott 2011; Marrow 2011; Vaca 2004), there are compelling reasons to expect the effects of immigrant concentration on native mobility to vary by household race/ethnicity. To evaluate this possibility we present the same multilevel logit models separately for native-born white and black householders and report results from the final set of models in Table 2. For the most part, the predictors of out-migration operate similarly for native white and native black householders, with a few exceptions – family structure and socioeconomic status – revealed in previous research (e.g., Crowder et al. 2011; Crowder and South 2005). Most importantly, however, is that the effects of neighborhood immigrant concentration differ for whites and blacks.[7] For blacks, the main effect of tract percent immigrant is small and non-significant, indicating that with controls for individual, tract, and metro characteristics, neighborhood immigrant concentrations are not significantly associated with out-migration for black natives in established gateways.[8] By contrast, for native whites, the main effect of neighborhood immigrant concentration is modest in size and statistically significant, indicating that a ten-point increase in tract percent immigrant increases the odds of out migration for whites in established gateways by 13.9% ($e^{(.013*10)} = 1.139$). For both blacks and whites, the

[7] Pooled models including the interaction between immigrant concentration and householder race indicate that this racial difference is statistically significant.

[8] In race-specific models including only percent immigrant, gateway type, and their interactions, the main effect of immigrant concentration on black householders' mobility is non-significant (b=.007, se=.005), but its interaction with developing gateways is (b=.032; se=.013). For whites, the respective coefficients are both significant.

interactions between tract percent immigrant and both new gateways and nongateways are statistically non-significant, indicating that native householders in those areas do not significantly differ in their migration response to local immigration from natives in established gateways. However, both black and white householders in developing gateways exhibit heightened mobility responses to neighborhood immigrant concentrations. Yet here too, native whites appear to be considerably more sensitive to local immigration than blacks.[9] In particular, a ten-point increase in tract percent immigrant increases the odds of out-migration by one-third for native blacks ($e^{(.005+.022)(10)} = 1.310$) but by 58.4% for native whites ($e^{(.013+.033)(10)}=1.584$) in developing gateways.

Destination Immigrant Concentration

The findings up to now point to heightened odds of out-migration for natives living in neighborhoods with large immigrant concentrations, especially for those in metro at an early stage of developing into an immigrant gateway. Thus, the results imply that part of the explanation for heightened segregation of immigrants in emerging destinations is that natives leave neighborhoods as the immigrant population swells. But, the ultimate impact of these mobility behaviors on segregation would be offset if native migrants moved to neighborhoods with similar immigrant concentrations as the neighborhoods they left. In the final stage of our analysis, we offer a simple, descriptive, assessment of the destinations native movers settle in.

Table 3 shows results from three-level random-intercepts models describing the association between the immigrant concentration of native migrants' origin and destination tracts and whether this relationship varies across gateway types. The coefficient for tract percent immigrant in the first model indicates that the concentration of immigrants in destination tracts is

[9] In racially-pooled models, the three-way interaction between black, tract percent immigrant, and developing gateway is negative (b= -.019) but not significant (p=0.194).

positively associated with the immigrant concentration in the tract of origin, indicating that householders originating in immigrant-rich neighborhoods are more likely to settle in neighborhoods with larger immigrant populations than are movers leaving neighborhoods with few immigrants. However, that the coefficient is less than 1 indicates that, in comparison to the tracts they are leaving, native migrants tend to move to neighborhoods with smaller immigrant concentrations. Specifically, native householders move, on average, to neighborhoods in which the concentration of immigrants is about 33% of the concentration in the tracts they vacated.

The second model in Table 3 introduces metropolitan gateway types and their interactions with origin-tract immigrant concentration. The main effect of origin tract percent immigrant indicates that in established areas, mobile native-born householders are likely to move into neighborhoods with smaller immigrant shares than the ones they left. The interactions with gateway type indicate that this tendency is observed across in all types of areas but is especially prominent in new gateway areas. Mobile natives in these new gateways tend to move into tracts with immigrant concentrations that are only about one-fifth (.314 - .107 = .207) as large as the concentrations in the tracts from which they moved. The comparable figures are 31.4% for mobile natives in established gateways, 33.6% (.314 + .022 = .336) for those in developing gateways, and 33.2% (.314 + .018 = .332) for those in non-gateway metros.

Also shown in Table 3 are models predicting destination-tract immigrant concentration for white and black householders separately. In general, the racially-specific results indicate that the association between immigrant concentrations in origin and destination tracts works similarly for black and white movers. More specifically, both black and white mobile householders tend to move to neighborhoods with fewer immigrants than the ones they originated in, and this

tendency is particularly strong in new gateway areas (albeit not significantly so for native blacks [p = .06]). [10]

To show this relationship in another way, Figure 2 converts the coefficients in Table 3 to predicted association between percent immigrant at origin and destination. Given the similarity of the relationship for native-born blacks and whites, the graph is based on the pooled-group sample (Model 2). The dotted diagonal line represents the hypothetical scenario in which native migrants move to tracts with the same percent immigrant as in their origin tracts. Given the overall larger immigrant populations in established areas, it is no surprise that both the origin and destination neighborhoods of native movers in established gateways have higher immigrant shares. Most important from our standpoint is that, while the lines are upward sloping – indicating a positive association between immigrant concentrations in origins and destinations – native movers' destination tracts contain substantially smaller immigrant shares than the neighborhoods they exited, at least among those originating in neighborhoods with more than a modest threshold of immigrant presence. In established metros this threshold is about 11%, meaning that natives leaving neighborhoods that are more than about 11% immigrant move, on average, to neighborhoods that have smaller immigrant concentrations than those they left. This same general story pattern exists for natives in other gateway types, but the intersection is even lower; for natives in new gateways, it is about 8%; for those in developing gateways and nongateways, it is closer to 6%. Perhaps more important is the fact that in all gateway types, the gap between immigrant concentrations in origins and immigrant concentration in destinations is greatest for natives leaving areas with the highest immigrant percentages. However, it is also

[10] Racially-pooled models with two- and three-way interactions indicate that the link between immigrant concentrations in origin and destinations tracts varies significantly by race (p=0.005), and differences in the association across different gateway types also varies significantly by race.

noteworthy that the line for natives in new gateways is significantly flatter than the lines for those in other gateways. The upshot is that not only do natives show a heightened tendency to move from neighborhoods with large immigrant concentrations, but they also tend to migrate to neighborhoods with far fewer immigrants when they do move, and this tendency is especially pronounced in new gateways.

Conclusion

Over the past several decades, immigration has brought millions of new faces to the U.S. and transformed the demographic fabric of the country. But unlike previous waves, today's immigrants are not strictly concentrated in a handful of coastal cities. Rather, the impacts of immigration are being felt across a diverse mix of U.S. communities – big and small, from coast to coast. Yet, as immigrants disperse from traditional gateways to other communities, there are concerns about how they are being integrated into their new homes and ultimately about the implications for immigrant incorporation into the mainstream.

The findings of this paper provide some empirical basis for these anxieties. Our analysis indicates that regardless of the type of metropolitan gateway, local immigrant concentrations are associated with an enhanced tendency for native whites and blacks to change neighborhoods. However, this propensity to out-migrate is especially pronounced in developing metropolitan gateways, where immigrant populations have grown very recently and very rapidly. Even accounting for compositional differences in the natives that occupy these different types of areas, differences in socioeconomic and housing market features of neighborhoods, economic conditions of labor markets, and opportunities within the broader metropolitan area to escape immigrants, we find that in developing gateways native householders in a neighborhood in which

one-in-five residents is foreign born have odds of out-migration that are more than twice as high as those of their counterparts in a non-immigrant neighborhood.

While we find that this sensitivity to local immigration is evident for both whites and blacks in developing gateways, it is stronger among native white householders. This observation is consistent with related work finding that changes in local immigrant concentrations have stronger effects for white than black natives (Crowder et al. 2011) and with scholarship documenting the tendency of whites to leave neighborhoods undergoing ethnic change (Boustan 2010; Crowder 2000; Crowder and South 2008). Our analyses also indicate that native migrants leaving tracts with more than small immigrant populations move to neighborhoods with substantially lower immigrant shares. This inclination is especially acute in newly-emerged immigrant gateways, where native migrants leaving neighborhoods with modestly-sized immigrant populations locate, on average, to neighborhoods where immigrants compose considerably smaller portions of the population.

Overall, these two findings – that local immigration prompts out-migration of native residents and that mobile natives move to neighborhoods with substantially fewer immigrants than the ones the left – provide an important piece to the puzzle regarding the heightened levels of immigrant segregation in the newest metropolitan destinations observed by others (Fischer and Tienda 2006; Hall 2013; Lichter et al. 2010), by identifying the migration behaviors of native residents as a key mechanism maintaining the residential separation between immigrants and natives.

While we were unable to uncover the specific mechanisms that drive natives' mobility away from immigrant concentrations in developing areas, it is consistent with sociological arguments regarding racial threat, which hold that dominant groups' position in society is

threatened by the encroachment of new, minority group members (Blalock 1967; Bobo 1999). The accelerated contact with immigrants that natives residing in developing destinations experience in their day-to-day lives may make them especially prone to attribute personal and social misfortunes to the recent influx of foreign persons. This may be especially true in the context of neighborhood settings where resources are limited and the tendency to blame immigrants for neighborhood transformations (e.g., on school quality, civic/neighborly relations, or crime/safety concerns) may be magnified. This contrasts with more-established gateways where, despite being the sites for expansive ethnic enclaves, natives are likely more accustomed to, or even embrace, the diversity associated with the historical settlement of immigrants (Massey 2008). Native populations in these areas also tend to be more tolerant and view pro-immigrant policies more favorably (De Jong and Tran 2001; Graefe et al. 2008; Haubert and Fussell 2006). Similarly, although many newly-emerged metro areas, such as Nashville and Salt Lake, do not have the long histories of sustained immigration seen in areas consistently categorized as established gateways, they have transitioned into full-fledged gateways and have large immigrant populations that play vital economic and political roles. Thus, while further research is needed on the precise mechanisms that trigger heightened mobility responses in developing gateways, our results indicate that one of the consequences of the spatial diffusion of the foreign-born populations is that natives living in the neighborhoods where immigrants may flee to neighborhoods with fewer immigrants.

A greater understanding of the emerging forms of residential stratification hinted at in this paper will require greater attention to the mechanisms shaping natives' reactions to immigrant neighbors. Especially useful in this regard would be a better understanding of how immigrants' race/ethnicity and country-of-origin influence natives' mobility decisions. Given the

vast heterogeneity in appearances and differences in the social, economic, and cultural resources immigrant groups arrive with, it is likely that natives react differently to, for example, Canadian than Jamaican immigrants. Similarly, unpacking whether natives' responses to immigration are conditional on other characteristics of local foreign-born populations – e.g., recency of arrival, language spoken, or legal status – would increase understanding of who natives are seeking to escape from. Additionally, insights into the formation of natives' attitudes toward immigrants, patterns of social interaction in changing neighborhoods, how 'threat' from immigrant materializes, and how these vary across broader contexts would likely prove valuable.

References

Boustan, Leah Platt. 2010. “Was Postwar Suburbanization ‘White Flight’? Evidence from the Black Migration.” *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 125: 417-43.

Broder, Tanya. 2007. *State and Local Policies on Immigrant Access to Services: Promoting Integration of Isolation?* Los Angeles: National Immigration Law Center.

Card David. 2001. “Immigrant Inflows, Native Outflows, and the Local Labor Market Impacts of Higher Immigration.” *Journal of Labor Economics* 19: 22-64.

Card, David and John DiNardo. 2000. “Do Immigrant Inflows lead to Native Outflows?” *American Economic Review* 90: 360-367.

Charles, Camille Zubrinsky. 2006. *Won’t You Be My Neighbor? Race, Class, and Residence in Los Angeles*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Chiswick, Barry R. and PaulW. Miller. 2005. “Do Enclaves Matter in Immigrant Adjustment?” *City and Community* 4:5-35.

Clark, William A.V. 1992. "Residential Preferences and Residential Choices in a Multiethnic Context." *Demography* 29: 451-466.

Clark, William A. V. 1998. "Mass Migration and Local Outcomes: Is International Migration to the United States Creating a New Urban Underclass?" *Urban Studies* 35: 371-383.

Clark, William A. V. 2009. "Changing Residential Preferences across Income, Education, and Age: Findings from the Multi-City Study of Urban Inequality." *Urban Affairs Review* 44:334-355.

Clark, William A. V. and Sarah A. Blue. 2004. "Race, Class, and Segregation Patterns in U.S. Immigrant Gateway Cities." *Urban Affairs Review* 39(6):667-688.

Crowder, Kyle. 2000. “The Racial Context of White Mobility: An Individual-Level Assessment of the White Flight Hypothesis.” *Social Science Research* 29: 223-57.

Crowder, Kyle, Matthew Hall, and Stewart Tolnay. 2011. “Neighborhood Immigration and Native Out-Mobility.” *American Sociological Review* 76: 25-47.

Crowder, Kyle, Jeremy Pais, and Scott J. South. 2012. “Neighborhood Diversity, Metropolitan Constraints, and Household Migration” *American Sociological Review* 77: 325-53.

Crowder, Kyle and Scott J. South. 2005. “Race, Class, and Changing Patterns of Migration Between Poor and Nonpoor Neighborhoods.” *American Journal of Sociology* 110: 1715-63.

Crowder, Kyle and Scott J. South. 2008. "Spatial Dynamics of White Flight: The Effects of Local and Extralocal Racial Conditions on Neighborhood Out-Migration." *American Sociological Review* 73: 792-812.

De Jong, Gordon F., and Quynh-Giang Tran. 2001. “Warm Welcome, Cool Welcome: Mapping Receptivity Immigrants in the U.S.” *Population Today* 29: 1-4.

Duncan, Otis Dudley, and Beverly Duncan. 1957. *The Negro Population of Chicago: A Study of Residential Succession*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Edin, Per-Anders, Peter Fredriksson, and Olof Åslund. 2003. “Ethnic Enclaves and the Economic Success of Immigrants – Evidence from a Natural Experiment.” *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 118: 329-57.

Fasenfest, David, Jason Booza, and Kurt Metzger. 2006. “Living Together: A New Look at Racial and Ethnic Integration in Metropolitan Neighborhoods, 1900-2000.” Pp. 93-188 in Alan Berube, Bruce Katz, and Robert E. Lang (Eds.), *Redefining Urban and Suburban America: Evidence from Census 2000, Vol. III*. Washington DC: Brookings.

Fennelly, Katherine. 2008. “Prejudice toward Immigrants in the Midwest.” Pp. 151-78 in Douglas Massey (ed.), *New Faces in New Places: The Changing Geography of American Immigration*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Fischer, Mary J. and Marta Tienda. 2006. “Redrawing Spatial Color Lines: Hispanic Metropolitan Dispersal, Segregation, and Economic Opportunity.” Pp. 100-38 in Marta Tienda and Faith Mitchell (Eds.), *Hispanic and the Future of America*. Washington DC: National Academies Press.

Frey, William. 1995. “Immigration and Internal Migration Flight from US Metropolitan Areas: Toward a New Demographic Balkanization.” *Urban Studies*. 32: 733-757.

Frey, William H. 1996. "Immigration, Domestic Migration, and Demographic Balkanization in America: New Evidence for the 1990s." *Population and Development Review* 22(4):741-763.

Frey, William H. 2003. “Melting Pot Suburbs: A Study of Suburban Diversity.” Pp. 155-79 in Bruce Katz and Robert E. Lang (eds.), *Redefining Urban and Suburban America: Evidence from Census 2000, Vol. 1*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution.

Frey, William H. 2005. “Metropolitan Magnets for International and Domestic Migrants.” Pp. 13-40 in Alan Berube, Bruce Katz, and Robert E. Lang (eds.), *Redefining Urban and Suburban America: Evidence from Census 2000, Vol. 2*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution.

Frey, William H. 2006. “Diversity Spreads Out: Metropolitan Shifts in Hispanic, Asian, and Black Populations Since 2000.” Living Cities Census Series. Washington, DC: Metropolitan Policy Program, Brookings Institution.

Frey, William and Kao-Lee Liaw. 1998. “Immigrant Concentration and Domestic Migration Dispersal: Is Movement to Non-Metropolitan Areas ‘White Flight’?” *Professional Geographer* 50: 215-31

Frey, William and Kao-Lee Liaw. 2005. “Migration within the United States: Role of Race-Ethnicity.” *Brookings-Wharton Papers of Urban Affairs* 2005: 207-62.

Graefe, Deborah Roempke., Gordon F. De Jong, Matthew Hall, Samuel Sturgeon, and Julie VanEerden. 2008. “Immigrants’ TANF Eligibility, 1996-2003: What Explains the New Across-State Inequalities.” *International Migration Review* 42: 89-133.

Grieco, Elizabeth M., Yesenia D. Acosta, G. Patricia da la Cruz, Christine Gambino, Thomas Gryn, Luke Larsen, Edward Trevelyan, and Nathan P. Walters. 2012. “The Foreign-Born Population the United States: 2010.” American Community Survey Reports. Washington: Census Bureau.

Hall, Matthew. 2013. “Residential Integration on the New Frontier: Immigrant Segregation in Established and New Destinations.” *Demography* (forthcoming).

Haubert, Jeannie and Elizabeth Fussell. 2006. “Explaining Pro-Immigrant Sentiment in the U.S.: Social Class, Cosmopolitanism, and Perceptions of Immigrants.” *International Migration Review* 40: 489-507.

Iceland, John. 2009. *Where We Live Now: Immigration and Race in the United States*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Iceland, John and Kyle A. Nelson. 2008. "Hispanic Segregation in Metropolitan America: Exploring the Multiple Forms of Spatial Assimilation." *American Sociological Review* 73:741-65.

Iceland, John and Melissa Scopilliti. 2008. "Immigrant Residential Segregation in U.S. Metropolitan Areas, 1990-2000." *Demography* 45:79-94.

Jargowsky, Paul A. 1997. *Poverty and Place: Ghettos, Barrios, and the American City*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Johnson, James H., Walter C. Farrell Jr., Chandra Guinn. 1999. "Immigration Reform and the Browning of America: Tensions, Conflicts, and Community Instability in Metropolitan Los Angeles." Pp. 390-411 in Charles Hirschman, Philip Kasinitz, and Josh DeWind (eds.) *The Handbook of International Migration*. New York: Russell Sage.

Kritz, Mary M., and Douglas T. Gurak. 2001. "The Impact of Immigration on the Internal Migration of Natives and Immigrants." *Demography* 38: 133-145.

Krysan, Maria. 2002a. "Whites Who Say They'd Flee: Who Are They, and Why Would They Leave?" *Demography* 39:675-96.

Krysan, Maria. 2002b. "Community Undesirability in Black and White: Examining Racial Residential Preferences through Community Perceptions." *Social Problems* 49: 521-43.

Krysan, Maria and Michael Bader. 2007. "Perceiving the Metropolis: Seeing the City Through a Prism of Race." *Social Forces* 86:699-727.

Krysan, Maria and Reynolds Farley. 2002. "The Residential Preferences of Blacks: Do They Explain Persistent Segregation?" *Social Forces* 80:937-80.

Lee, Barrett A., Chad R. Farrell, and Gregory K. Sharp. 2012. "Racial and Ethnic Diversity Goes Local: Charting Change in American Communities Over Three Decades." US2010 Project Report Series. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Lee, Barrett A., and Peter B. Wood. 1991. "Is Neighborhood Racial Succession Place-Specific?" *Demography* 28: 21-40.

Ley, David. 2007. "Countervailing Immigration and Domestic Migration in Gateway Cities: Australian and Canadian Variations on an American Theme." *Economic Geography* 83: 231-254.

Ley D. and J. Tutchener. 2001. "Immigration, Globalisation and House Price Movements in Canada's Gateway Cities." *Housing Studies* 16: 199-223.

Lichter, Daniel T., and Kenneth Johnson. 2009. "Immigrant Gateways and Hispanic Migration to New Destinations." *International Migration Review* 43:496-518.

Lichter, Daniel T., Domenico Parisi, Michael C. Taquino, and Steven Michael Grice. 2010. "Residential Segregation in New Hispanics Destinations: Cities, Suburbs, and Rural Communities Compared." *Social Science Research* 39: 215-30.

Lieberson, Stanley. 1963. *Ethnic Patterns in American Cities*. New York: The Free Press of Glencoe.

Logan, John R., and Brian Stults. 2011. "The Persistence of Segregation in the Metropolis: New Findings from the 2010 Census." US2010 Project Report Series. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Logan, John R., Zengwang Xu, and Brian Stults. Forthcoming. "Interpolating US Decennial Census Tract Data from as Early as 1970 to 2010: A Longitudinal Tract Database." *Professional Geographer.*

McClain, Paula, Monique L. Lyle, Niambi M. Cartera, Victoria M. DeFrancesco Sotoa, Gerald F. Lackey, Kendra Davenport Cottona, Shayla C. Nunnallya, Thomas J. Scottoa, Jeffrey D. Grynaviskia, and J. Alan Kendricka. 2007. "Black American and Latino Immigrants in a Southern City: Friendly Neighbors or Economic Competitors?" *Du Bois Review* 4: 97-117.

McClain, Paula, Gerald F. Lackey, Efrén O. Pérez, Niambi M. Cartera, Jessica Johnson Carew, Eugene Walton Jr., Candis Watts Smith, Monique L. Lyle, and Shayla C. Nunnallya. 2011. "Intergroup Relations in Three Southern Cities" Pp. 201-41 in Edward Telles, Mark Q.

Sayer, Gaspar Rivera-Salgado (eds.), *Just Neighbors? Research on African American and Latino Relations in the United States*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

McConnell, Eileen Diaz. 2008. "The U.S. Destinations of Contemporary Mexican Immigrants." *International Migration Review* 42: 767-802.

McDermott, Monica. 2011. "Black Attitudes and Hispanic Immigrants in South Carolina." Pp. 242-63 in in Edward Telles, Mark Q. Sayer, Gaspar Rivera-Salgado (eds.), *Just Neighbors? Research on African American and Latino Relations in the United States*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Marrow, Helen. 2008. "Hispanic Immigration, Black Population Size, and Intergroup Relations in the Rural and Small-Town South" Pp. 211-248 in Douglas Massey (ed.), *New Faces in New Places: The Changing Geography of American Immigration*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Marrow, Helen. 2009. "New Immigrant Destinations and the American Color Line." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 32: 1037-57.

Marrow, Helen. 2011. *New Destinations Dreaming: Immigration, Race, and Legal Status in the Rural American South*. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press.

Massey, Douglas S. 1985. "Ethnic Residential Segregation: A Theoretical Synthesis and Empirical Review." Sociology and Social Research 69: 315-50.

Massey, Douglas S. 2008. "Assimilation in a New Geography." Pp. 343-53 in Douglas S. Massey (ed.), *New Faces in New Places: The Changing Geography of American Immigration*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Massey, Douglas S., Andrew B. Gross, and Kumiko Shibuya. 1994. "Migration, Segregation, and the Geographic Concentration of Poverty." *American Sociological Review* 59:425-45.

Pais, Jeremy, Scott J. South, and Kyle Crowder. 2009. "White Flight Revisited: A Multiethnic Perspective on Neighborhood Out-Migration." *Population Research and Policy Review* 8:321–346.

Pais, Jeremy, Scott J. South, and Kyle Crowder. 2012. "Metropolitan Heterogeneity and Minority Neighborhood Attainment." *Social problems* 59: 258-281.

Parisi, Domenico, and Daniel Lichter. 2007. "Hispanic Segregation in America's New Rural Boomtowns." Washington: Population Reference Bureau.

Park, Julie and John Iceland. 2009. "Residential Segregation in Established Immigrant Gateways and New Destinations, 1990-2000." Paper presented at the 2009 annual meeting of the Population Association of America, Detroit, MI.

Park, Robert E., Ernest W. Burgess, and Roderick E. McKenzie. 1969 [1925]. *The City*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Quillian, Lincoln. 2002. "Why is Black-White Segregation So Persistent? Evidence on Three Theories from Migration Data." *Social Science Research* 31:197-2002.

Portes, Alejandro and Leif Jensen. 1987. "What's an Ethnic Enclave? The Case for Conceptual Clarity." *American Sociological Review* 52: 768-71.

Portes, Alejandro and Leif Jensen. 1989. "The Enclave and the Entrants: Patterns of Ethnic Enterprise in Miami Before and After Mariel." *American Sociology Review* 54: 929-49.

Rosenbaum, Emily and Samantha Friedman. 2007. *The Housing Divide: How Generations of Immigrants Fare in New York's Housing Market.* New York: New York University Press.

Singer, Audrey. 2005. "The Rise of New Immigrant Gateways: Historical Flows, Recent Settlement Trends." Pp. 41-86 in Bruce Katz and Robert E. Lang (eds.), *Redefining Urban*

and Suburban America: Evidence from Census 2000, Vol. 1. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution.

Schelling, Thomas C. 1971. "Dynamic Models of Segregation." *Journal of Mathematical Sociology* 1: 143-186.

Taylor, Marylee C., and Matthew B. Schroeder. 2010. "The Impact of Hispanic Population Growth on the Outlook of African Americans." *Social Science Research* 39:491-505.

Timberlake, Jeffrey and John Iceland. 2007. "Change in Racial and Ethnic Residential Inequality in American Cities, 1970-2000." *City and Community* 6(4): 335-36

Vaca, Nicolás. 2004. *The Presumed Alliance: The Unspoken Conflict between Latinos and Blacks and What It Means for America*. New York: Harper Collins.

Wen, Ming, Diane S. Lauderdale, and Namratha R. Kandula. 2009. "Ethnic Neighborhoods in Multi-Ethnic America, 1990-2000: Resurgent Ethnicity in the Ethnoburbs?" *Social Forces* 88: 425-60.

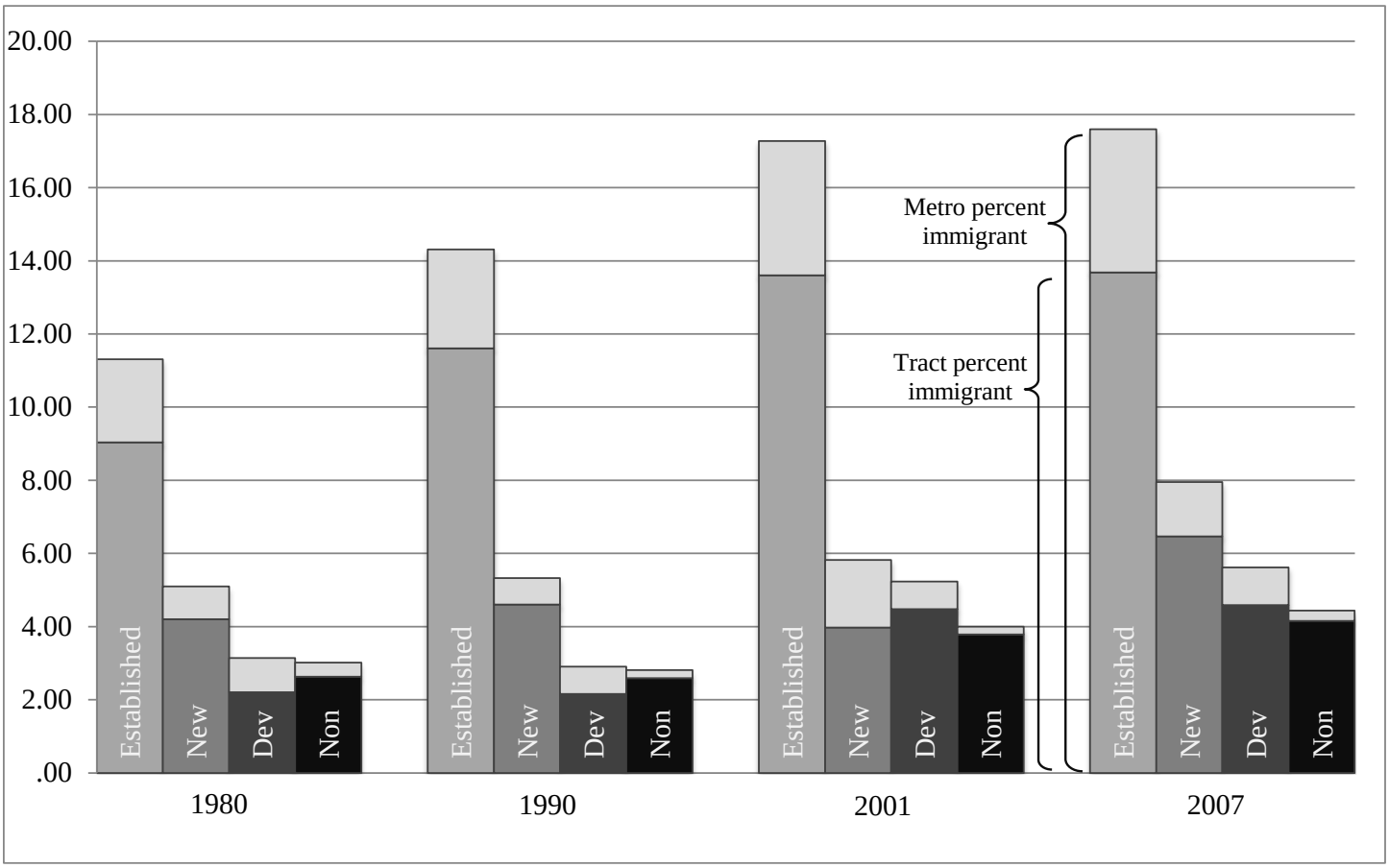
White, Michael J. 1987. *American Neighborhoods and Residential Differentiation*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Wilson, William Julius and Richard P. Taub. 2006. *There Goes the Neighborhood: Racial, Ethnic, and Class Tensions in Four Chicago Neighborhoods and Their Meaning for America.* New York: Knopf.

Winders, Jamie. 2008. "Nashville's New "Sonido": Latino Migration and the Changing Politics of Race." Pp. 249-73 in Douglas Massey (ed.), *New Faces in New Places: The Changing Geography of American Immigration*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

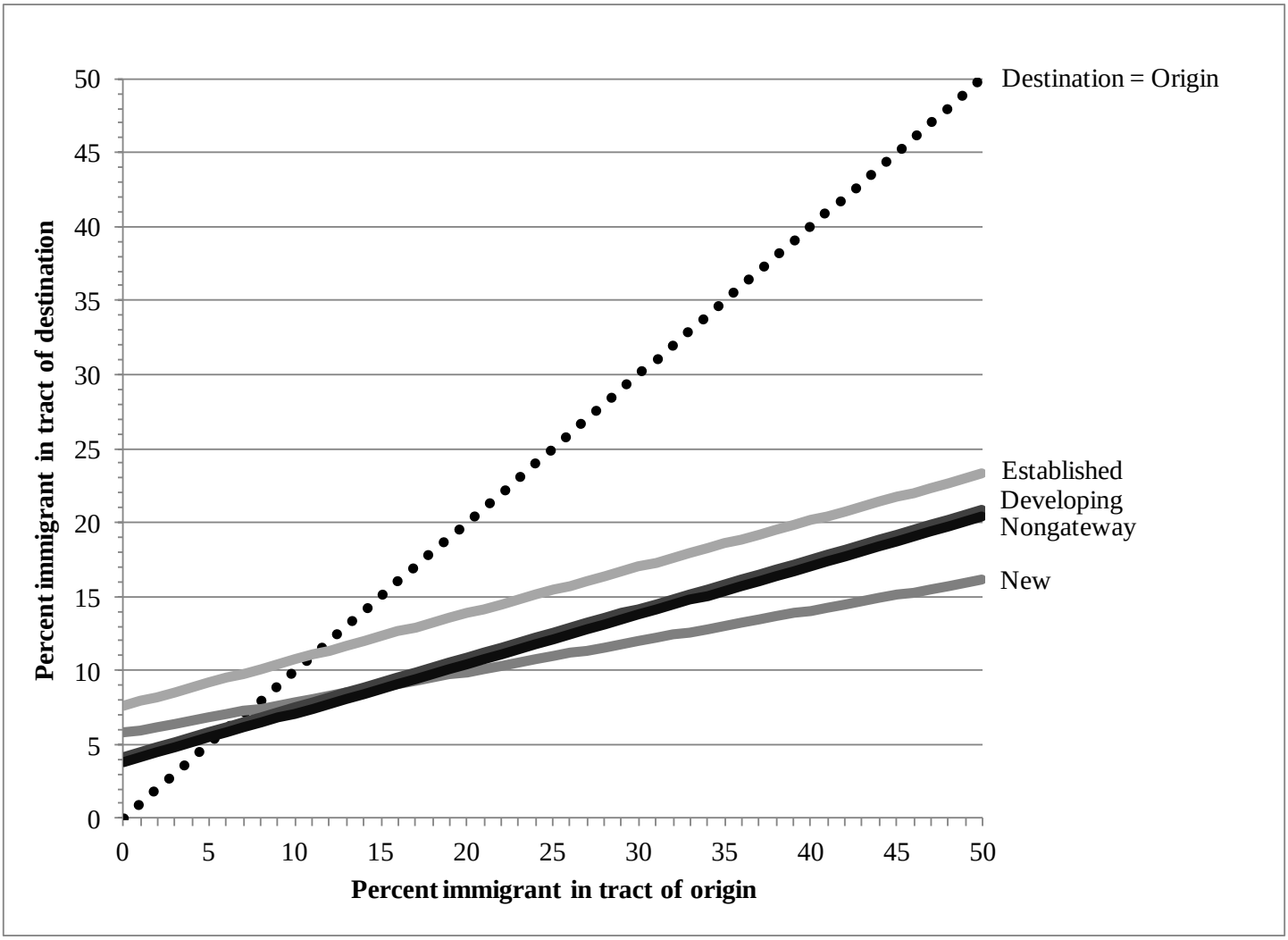
Wright, Richard, Mark Ellis and Michael Reibel. 1997. "The Linkage between Immigration and Internal Migration in Large Metropolitan Areas in the United States." *Economic Geography* 73:234-254.

Figure 1: Percent immigrant in neighborhoods and metropolitan areas of native-born PSID householders, by metropolitan gateway type and year



Notes: "Established" refers to established gateway, "New" to new gateways, "Dev" to developing gateways; and "Non" to nongateways

Figure 2: Destination tract percent immigrant by origin tract percent immigrant for native-born PSID mobile householders, by metropolitan gateway type



Note: Prediction equation is based on racially-pooled Model 2 in Table 3.

Table 1: Metropolitan gateway types, 1980-2008

	1980		1990		2000		2008	
	N	Example	N	Example	N	Example	N	Example
Established gateways	26	New York, NY	33	Dallas, TX	43	Atlanta, GA	46	San Antonio, TX
New gateways	5	Dallas, TX	9	Atlanta, GA	9	Raleigh, NC	20	Cape Coral, FL
Developing gateways	28	Atlanta, GA	28	Raleigh, NC	58	Cape Coral, FL	69	Reading, PA
Nongateways	307	Raleigh, NC	296	Cape Coral, FL	256	Reading, PA	231	Rochester, NY

Note: Full list of metropolitan areas in each gateway type is shown in Appendix Table A1

Table 2: Multilevel logit coefficients of tract out-migration for native-born PSID householders, 1980-2009

	Pooled Whites and Blacks						Blacks	Whites
	1	2	3	4	5	6		
Tract percent immigrant	.039 (.006) ***	.018 (.004) ***	.009 (.002) ***	.010 (.002) ***	.010 (.003) ***	.012 (.003) ***	.005 (.004)	.013 (.004) **
Metro gateway type (ref=Established)								
New		-.024 (.087)	-.049 (.072)	-.061 (.072)	-.063 (.072)	-.130 (.078)	-.143 (.105)	-.153 (.114)
Developing		-.055 (.091)	-.050 (.072)	-.053 (.072)	-.055 (.072)	-.151 (.083)	-.281 (.118) *	-.105 (.111)
Nongateway		.069 (.082)	-.002 (.059)	-.009 (.060)	-.011 (.060)	-.132 (.076)	-.247 (.112) *	-.087 (.096)
Tract % immigrant X gateway type								
Tract % immigrant X new		-.001 (.009)	-.005 (.007)	-.005 (.007)	-.005 (.007)	-.005 (.007)	-.008 (.010)	-.003 (.011)
Tract % immigrant X developing		.048 (.009) ***	.031 (.008) ***	.030 (.008) ***	.030 (.008) ***	.027 (.008) **	.022 (.011) *	.033 (.012) **
Tract % immigrant X nongateway		.023 (.007) **	.014 (.005) *	.013 (.005) *	.013 (.005) *	.012 (.006) *	.011 (.008)	.009 (.008)
Black			-.273 (.029) ***	-.245 (.031) ***	-.245 (.031) ***	-.233 (.031) ***		
Age			-.047 (.001) ***	-.047 (.001) ***	-.047 (.001) ***	-.047 (.001) ***	-.054 (.001) ***	-.044 (.001) ***
Married			-.362 (.023) ***	-.367 (.023) ***	-.367 (.023) ***	-.369 (.023) ***	-.259 (.037) ***	-.492 (.031) ***
Children present			-.248 (.023) ***	-.247 (.023) ***	-.247 (.023) ***	-.249 (.023) ***	-.181 (.034) ***	-.305 (.032) ***
Education (in years)			-.013 (.004) **	-.013 (.004) **	-.013 (.004) **	-.014 (.004) **	-.048 (.007) ***	.001 (.005)
Family income (in $1000s)			.001 (.000) ***	.001 (.000) ***	.001 (.000) ***	.001 (.000) ***	.005 (.001) ***	.001 (.000) ***
Homeowner			-1.124 (.025) ***	-1.132 (.025) ***	-1.132 (.025) ***	-1.132 (.025) ***	-1.166 (.041) ***	-1.122 (.033) ***
People per room			.378 (.027) ***	.382 (.027) ***	.382 (.027) ***	.390 (.027) ***	.304 (.034) ***	.496 (.043) ***
Lived in house for 3+ years			-.127 (.022) ***	-.123 (.022) ***	-.123 (.022) ***	-.125 (.022) ***	-.180 (.032) ***	-.081 (.031) **
Tract median housing value (in $10,000s)				-.005 (.002) *	-.005 (.002) *	-.002 (.002)	.012 (.004) **	-.005 (.002)
Tract vacancy rate				.011 (.002) ***	.011 (.002) ***	.010 (.002) ***	.017 (.003) ***	.002 (.003)
Tract poverty rate				-.006 (.001) ***	-.006 (.001) ***	-.005 (.001) ***	-.006 (.001) ***	.000 (.002)
Tract percent Mexican					-.001 (.002)	.000 (.002)	.003 (.003)	-.001 (.003)
Metro % new tracts						.008 (.001) ***	.005 (.002) *	.010 (.001) ***
Metro % non-immigrant tracts						.003 (.001) ***	.005 (.001) **	.001 (.001)
Metro annual job growth rate						.007 (.004)	.003 (.006)	.010 (.005)
Metro mean job wage (in $1000s)						-.008 (.004) *	-.022 (.007) **	-.003 (.005)
Year	-.019 (.002) ***	-.018 (.002) ***	.016 (.002) ***	.017 (.002) ***	.017 (.002) ***	.029 (.004) ***	.045 (.007) ***	.020 (.005) ***
Observation length	.678 (.036) ***	.687 (.037) ***	.667 (.035) ***	.672 (.035) ***	.672 (.035) ***	.802 (.038) ***	.766 (.059) ***	.820 (.050) ***
Intercept	35.67 (4.40) ***	33.64 (4.44) ***	-32.06 (4.20) ***	-32.84 (4.52) ***	-32.97 (4.52) ***	-58.64 (8.47) ***	-89.63 (13.80) ***	-41.25 (10.42) ***
Person-level variance component	2.058	2.062	.532	.524	.524	.527	.525	.519
MSA-level variance component	.234	.228	.089	.086	.086	.092	.095	.087
N of person periods	104,787	104,787	104,787	104,787	104,787	104,787	44,058	60,729
N of persons	16,523	16,523	16,523	16,523	16,523	16,523	6,830	9,693
N of MSAs	345	345	345	345	345	345	208	340

Notes: standard errors in parentheses; * p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001

Table 3: Multilevel coefficients of destination tract percent immigrant for native-born PSID mobile householders, 1980-2009

	Pooled Whites and Blacks			
	1	2	**Blacks**	**Whites**
Origin tract percent immigrant	.327 (.007) ***	.314 (.008) ***	.277 (.011) ***	.318 (.011) ***
Metro gateway type (ref=Established)				
New		-1.814 (.368) ***	-3.345 (.506) ***	-.986 (.536)
Developing		-3.471 (.374) ***	-5.362 (.551) ***	-2.552 (.478) ***
Nongateway		-3.802 (.302) ***	-5.658 (.110) ***	-3.197 (.352) ***
Tract % immigrant X gateway type				
Tract % immigrant X new		-.107 (.036) **	-.095 (.050)	-.105 (.052) *
Tract % immigrant X developing		.022 (.036)	.079 (.054)	-.041 (.048)
Tract % immigrant X nongateway		.018 (.026)	-.039 (.041)	.068 (.033) *
Intercept	4.46 (.18) ***	7.59 (.28) ***	9.63 (.45) ***	6.80 (.31) ***
Person-level variance component	3.356	3.641	4.083	3.253
MSA-level variance component	6.072	3.675	7.875	2.731
N of person periods	21,389	21,389	10,489	10,900
N of persons	10,977	10,977	4,618	6,359
N of MSAs	332	332	192	323

Notes: standard errors in parentheses; * p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001

Appendix Table A1: Metropolitan Gateway Types, 1980-2008

Metropolitan Area	1980	1990	2000	2008
Abilene, TX	Non	Non	Non	Non
Akron, OH	Non	Non	Non	Non
Albany, GA	Non	Non	Non	Non
Albany-Schenectady-Troy, NY	Non	Non	Non	Non
Albuquerque, NM	Dev	Dev	Dev	Dev
Alexandria, LA	Non	Non	Non	Non
Allentown-Bethlehem-Easton, PA-NJ	Non	Non	Non	New
Altoona, PA	Non	Non	Non	Non
Amarillo, TX	Non	Non	Non	Non
Ames, IA	Non	Non	Non	Non
Anchorage, AK	Non	Non	Non	Non
Anderson, IN	Non	Non	Non	Non
Anderson, SC	Non	Non	Non	Non
Ann Arbor, MI	Non	Non	Non	Non
Anniston-Oxford, AL	Non	Non	Non	Non
Appleton, WI	Non	Non	Non	Non
Asheville, NC	Non	Non	Dev	Dev
Athens-Clarke County, GA	Non	Non	Dev	Dev
Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA	Dev	New	Estab	Estab
Atlantic City-Hammonton, NJ	Non	Non	Dev	Dev
Auburn-Opelika, AL	Non	Non	Non	Non
Augusta-Richmond County, GA-SC	Non	Non	Non	Non
Austin-Round Rock, TX	Dev	New	Estab	Estab
Bakersfield, CA	Dev	New	Estab	Estab
Baltimore-Towson, MD	Non	Non	Non	Estab
Bangor, ME	Non	Non	Non	Non
Barnstable Town, MA	Non	Non	Non	Non
Baton Rouge, LA	Dev	Dev	Dev	Dev
Battle Creek, MI	Non	Non	Non	Non
Bay City, MI	Non	Non	Non	Non
Beaumont-Port Arthur, TX	Non	Non	Non	Non
Bellingham, WA	Non	Non	Non	Non
Bend, OR	Non	Non	Non	Non
Billings, MT	Non	Non	Non	Non
Binghamton, NY	Non	Non	Non	Non
Birmingham-Hoover, AL	Non	Non	Dev	Dev
Bismarck, ND	Non	Non	Non	Non
Blacksburg-Christiansburg-Radford, VA	Non	Non	Non	Non
Bloomington, IN	Non	Non	Non	Non
Bloomington-Normal, IL	Non	Non	Non	Non
Boise City-Nampa, ID	Non	Non	Dev	Dev
Boston-Cambridge-Quincy, MA-NH	Estab	Estab	Estab	Estab
Boulder, CO	Non	Non	Dev	Dev
Bowling Green, KY	Non	Non	Non	Non
Bradenton-Sarasota-Venice, FL	Non	Non	Non	New
Bremerton-Silverdale, WA	Non	Non	Non	Non
Bridgeport-Stamford-Norwalk, CT	Non	Estab	Estab	Estab
Brownsville-Harlingen, TX	Estab	Estab	Estab	Estab
Brunswick, GA	Non	Non	Non	Non
Buffalo-Niagara Falls, NY	Non	Non	Non	Non
Burlington, NC	Non	Non	Non	Non
Burlington-South Burlington, VT	Non	Non	Non	Non
Canton-Massillon, OH	Non	Non	Non	Non
Cape Coral-Fort Myers, FL	Non	Non	Dev	New
Cape Girardeau-Jackson, MO-IL	Non	Non	Non	Non
Carson City, NV	Non	Non	Non	Non
Casper, WY	Non	Non	Non	Non
Cedar Rapids, IA	Non	Non	Non	Non
Champaign-Urbana, IL	Non	Non	Non	Non
Charleston, WV	Non	Non	Non	Non
Charleston-North Charleston, SC*	Dev	Dev	Dev	Dev
Charlotte-Gastonia-Concord, NC-SC	Dev	Dev	New	New
Charlottesville, VA	Non	Non	Non	Non
Chattanooga, TN-GA	Non	Non	Dev	Dev
Cheyenne, WY	Non	Non	Non	Non
Chicago-Naperville-Joliet, IL-IN-WI	Estab	Estab	Estab	Estab
Chico, CA	Non	Non	Non	Non
Cincinnati-Middletown, OH-KY-IN	Non	Non	Non	New
Clarksville, TN-KY	Non	Non	Non	Non
Cleveland, TN	Non	Non	Non	Non
Cleveland-Elyria-Mentor, OH	Non	Non	Non	Non
Coeur dAlene, ID	Non	Non	Non	Non
College Station-Bryan, TX	Non	Non	Non	Non

Metropolitan Area	1980	1990	2000	2008
Colorado Springs, CO	Dev	Dev	Dev	Dev
Columbia, MO	Non	Non	Non	Non
Columbia, SC	Non	Non	Non	Dev
Columbus, GA-AL	Non	Non	Non	Non
Columbus, IN	Non	Non	Non	Non
Columbus, OH	Non	Non	Non	New
Corpus Christi, TX	Non	Non	Non	Non
Corvallis, OR	Non	Non	Non	Non
Fort Walton Beach-Crestview, FL*	Non	Non	Non	Non
Cumberland, MD-WV	Non	Non	Non	Non
Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	New	Estab	Estab	Estab
Dalton, GA	Non	Non	Dev	Dev
Danville, IL	Non	Non	Non	Non
Danville, VA	Non	Non	Non	Non
Davenport-Moline-Rock Island, IA-IL	Non	Non	Non	Non
Dayton, OH	Non	Non	Non	Non
Decatur, AL	Non	Non	Non	Non
Decatur, IL	Non	Non	Non	Non
Deltona-Daytona Beach, FL*	Non	Non	Non	Non
Denver-Aurora-Broomfield, CO	Non	Non	Estab	Estab
Des Moines-West Des Moines, IA	Non	Non	Dev	Dev
Detroit-Warren-Livonia, MI	Estab	Estab	Estab	Estab
Dothan, AL	Non	Non	Non	Non
Dover, DE	Non	Non	Non	Non
Dubuque, IA	Non	Non	Non	Non
Duluth, MN-WI	Non	Non	Non	Non
Durham-Chapel Hill, NC	Non	Dev	Dev	Dev
Eau Claire, WI	Non	Non	Non	Non
El Centro, CA	Estab	Estab	Estab	Estab
Elizabethtown, KY	Non	Non	Non	Non
Elkhart-Goshen, IN	Non	Non	Dev	Dev
Elmira, NY	Non	Non	Non	Non
El Paso, TX	Estab	Estab	Estab	Estab
Erie, PA	Non	Non	Non	Non
Eugene-Springfield, OR	Non	Non	Non	Non
Evansville, IN-KY	Non	Non	Non	Non
Fairbanks, AK	Non	Non	Non	Non
Fargo, ND-MN	Non	Non	Non	Non
Farmington, NM	Non	Non	Non	Non
Fayetteville, NC	Dev	Dev	Dev	Dev
Fayetteville-Springdale-Rogers, AR-MO	Non	Non	Dev	Dev
Flagstaff, AZ	Non	Non	Non	Non
Flint, MI	Non	Non	Non	Non
Florence, SC	Non	Non	Non	Non
Florence-Muscle Shoals, AL	Non	Non	Non	Non
Fond du Lac, WI	Non	Non	Non	Non
Fort Collins-Loveland, CO	Non	Non	Non	Non
Fort Smith, AR-OK	Non	Non	Dev	Dev
Fort Wayne, IN	Non	Non	Dev	Dev
Fresno, CA	New	Estab	Estab	Estab
Gadsden, AL	Non	Non	Non	Non
Gainesville, FL	Non	Non	Non	Dev
Gainesville, GA	Non	Non	Dev	Dev
Glens Falls, NY	Non	Non	Non	Non
Goldsboro, NC	Non	Non	Non	Non
Grand Forks, ND-MN	Non	Non	Non	Non
Grand Junction, CO	Non	Non	Non	Non
Grand Rapids-Wyoming, MI	Non	Non	Dev	Dev
Great Falls, MT	Non	Non	Non	Non
Greeley, CO	Non	Non	Dev	Dev
Green Bay, WI	Non	Non	Non	Non
Greensboro-High Point, NC	Non	Non	Dev	Dev
Greenville, NC	Non	Non	Non	Non
Greenville-Mauldin-Easley, SC	Non	Non	Dev	Dev
Gulfport-Biloxi, MS	Non	Non	Non	Non
Hagerstown-Martinsburg, MD-WV	Non	Non	Non	Non
Hanford-Corcoran, CA	Non	Dev	Dev	Dev
Harrisburg-Carlisle, PA	Non	Non	Non	Non
Harrisonburg, VA	Non	Non	Non	Non
Hartford-West Hartford, CT*	Non	Non	Non	Non
Hattiesburg, MS	Non	Non	Non	Non
Hickory-Lenoir-Morganton, NC	Non	Non	Dev	Dev
Hinesville-Fort Stewart, GA	Non	Non	Non	Non

Metropolitan Area	1980	1990	2000	2008	Metropolitan Area	1980	1990	2000	2008
Holland-Grand Haven, MI	Non	Non	Non	Non	Missoula, MT	Non	Non	Non	Non
Honolulu, HI	Estab	Estab	Estab	Estab	Mobile, AL	Non	Non	Non	Non
Hot Springs, AR	Non	Non	Non	Non	Modesto, CA	Dev	New	New	Estab
Houma-Bayou Cane-Thibodaux, LA	Non	Non	Non	Non	Monroe, LA	Non	Non	Non	Non
Houston-Sugar Land-Baytown, TX	Estab	Estab	Estab	Estab	Monroe, MI	Non	Non	Non	Non
Huntington-Ashland, WV-KY-OH	Non	Non	Non	Non	Montgomery, AL	Non	Non	Non	Non
Huntsville, AL	Non	Non	Non	Non	Morgantown, WV	Non	Non	Non	Non
Idaho Falls, ID	Non	Non	Non	Non	Morristown, TN	Non	Non	Non	Non
Indianapolis-Carmel, IN	Non	Non	New	New	Mount Vernon-Anacortes, WA	Non	Non	Non	Non
Iowa City, IA	Non	Non	Non	Non	Muncie, IN	Non	Non	Non	Non
Ithaca, NY	Non	Non	Non	Non	Muskegon-Norton Shores, MI	Non	Non	Non	Non
Jackson, MI	Non	Non	Non	Non	Myrtle Beach-North Myrtle Beach, SC*	Non	Non	Non	Dev
Jackson, MS	Non	Non	Non	Non	Napa, CA	Non	Non	Non	Non
Jackson, TN	Non	Non	Non	Non	Naples-Marco Island, FL	Non	Dev	Dev	New
Jacksonville, FL	Dev	Dev	Dev	New	Nashville-Davidson--Murfreesboro, TN*	Dev	Dev	New	New
Jacksonville, NC	Non	Non	Non	Non	New Haven-Milford, CT	Non	Non	Non	Non
Janesville, WI	Non	Non	Non	Non	New Orleans-Metairie-Kenner, LA	Non	Non	Non	Non
Jefferson City, MO	Non	Non	Non	Non	New York-N. New Jersey, NY-NJ-PA*	Estab	Estab	Estab	Estab
Johnson City, TN	Non	Non	Non	Non	Niles-Benton Harbor, MI	Non	Non	Non	Non
Johnstown, PA	Non	Non	Non	Non	Norwich-New London, CT	Non	Non	Non	Non
Jonesboro, AR	Non	Non	Non	Non	Ocala, FL	Non	Non	Non	Dev
Joplin, MO	Non	Non	Non	Non	Ocean City, NJ	Non	Non	Non	Non
Kalamazoo-Portage, MI	Non	Non	Non	Non	Odessa, TX	Non	Non	Non	Non
Kankakee-Bradley, IL	Non	Non	Non	Non	Ogden-Clearfield, UT	Non	Non	Dev	Dev
Kansas City, MO-KS	Non	Non	New	New	Oklahoma City, OK	Dev	Dev	Dev	Dev
Kennewick-Pasco-Richland, WA	Non	Non	Non	Non	Olympia, WA	Non	Non	Non	Non
Killeen-Temple-Fort Hood, TX	Non	Non	Non	Non	Omaha-Council Bluffs, NE-IA	Non	Non	Dev	Dev
Kingsport-Bristol-Bristol, TN-VA	Non	Non	Non	Non	Orlando-Kissimmee, FL	Dev	New	Estab	Estab
Kingston, NY	Non	Non	Non	Non	Oshkosh-Neenah, WI	Non	Non	Non	Non
Knoxville, TN	Non	Non	Non	Dev	Owensboro, KY	Non	Non	Non	Non
Kokomo, IN	Non	Non	Non	Non	Oxnard-Thousand Oaks-Ventura, CA	Estab	Estab	Estab	Estab
La Crosse, WI-MN	Non	Non	Non	Non	Palm Bay-Melbourne-Titusville, FL	Dev	Dev	Dev	Dev
Lafayette, IN	Non	Non	Non	Non	Palm Coast, FL	Non	Non	Non	Dev
Lafayette, LA	Non	Non	Non	Non	Panama City-Lynn Haven, FL*	Non	Non	Non	Non
Lake Charles, LA	Non	Non	Non	Non	Parkersburg-Marietta-Vienna, WV-OH	Non	Non	Non	Non
Lake Havasu City-Kingman, AZ	Non	Non	Non	Non	Pascagoula, MS	Non	Non	Non	Non
Lakeland-Winter Haven, FL	Dev	Dev	Dev	New	Pensacola-Ferry Pass-Brent, FL	Non	Non	Non	Dev
Lancaster, PA	Non	Non	Non	Non	Peoria, IL	Non	Non	Non	Non
Lansing-East Lansing, MI	Non	Non	Non	Non	Philadelphia-Camden, PA-NJ-DE-MD*	Estab	Estab	Estab	Estab
Laredo, TX	Estab	Estab	Estab	Estab	Phoenix-Mesa-Scottsdale, AZ	New	New	Estab	Estab
Las Cruces, NM	Dev	Dev	Dev	Dev	Pine Bluff, AR	Non	Non	Non	Non
Las Vegas-Paradise, NV	Dev	New	Estab	Estab	Pittsburgh, PA	Non	Non	Non	Non
Lawrence, KS	Non	Non	Non	Non	Pittsfield, MA	Non	Non	Non	Non
Lawton, OK	Non	Non	Non	Non	Pocatello, ID	Non	Non	Non	Non
Lebanon, PA	Non	Non	Non	Non	Portland-South Portland-Biddeford, ME	Dev	Dev	Dev	Dev
Lewiston, ID-WA	Non	Non	Non	Non	Portland-Vancouver, OR-WA *	Non	Non	Estab	Estab
Lewiston-Auburn, ME	Non	Non	Non	Non	Port St. Lucie, FL	Non	Dev	Dev	New
Lexington-Fayette, KY	Non	Non	Dev	Dev	Poughkeepsie-Newburgh, NY*	Dev	Dev	Dev	Dev
Lima, OH	Non	Non	Non	Non	Prescott, AZ	Non	Non	Non	Dev
Lincoln, NE	Non	Non	Dev	Dev	Providence-New Bedford, RI-MA*	Estab	Estab	Estab	Estab
Little Rock-North Little Rock, AR*	Non	Non	Non	Dev	Provo-Orem, UT	Non	Non	Dev	Dev
Logan, UT-ID	Non	Non	Non	Non	Pueblo, CO	Non	Non	Non	Non
Longview, TX	Non	Non	Non	Non	Punta Gorda, FL	Non	Non	Non	Non
Longview, WA	Non	Non	Non	Non	Racine, WI	Non	Non	Non	Non
Los Angeles-Long Beach, CA*	Estab	Estab	Estab	Estab	Raleigh-Cary, NC	Non	Dev	New	New
Louisville/Jefferson County, KY-IN	Non	Non	Dev	Dev	Rapid City, SD	Non	Non	Non	Non
Lubbock, TX	Non	Non	Non	Dev	Reading, PA	Non	Non	Non	Dev
Lynchburg, VA	Non	Non	Non	Non	Redding, CA	Non	Non	Non	Non
Macon, GA	Non	Non	Non	Non	Reno-Sparks, NV	Dev	Dev	Dev	New
Madera-Chowchilla, CA	Non	Dev	Dev	Dev	Richmond, VA	Dev	Dev	Dev	New
Madison, WI	Non	Non	Non	Non	Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	Estab	Estab	Estab	Estab
Manchester-Nashua, NH	Non	Non	Non	Non	Roanoke, VA	Non	Non	Non	Dev
Manhattan, KS	Non	Non	Non	Non	Rochester, MN	Non	Non	Dev	Dev
Mankato-North Mankato, MN	Non	Non	Non	Non	Rochester, NY	Non	Non	Non	Non
Mansfield, OH	Non	Non	Non	Non	Rockford, IL	Non	Non	Non	Non
McAllen-Edinburg-Mission, TX	Estab	Estab	Estab	Estab	Rocky Mount, NC	Non	Non	Non	Non
Medford, OR	Non	Non	Non	Non	Rome, GA	Non	Non	Non	Non
Memphis, TN-MS-AR	Dev	Dev	Dev	New	Sacramento--Arden-Arcade, CA*	New	Estab	Estab	Estab
Merced, CA	Estab	Estab	Estab	Estab	Saginaw-Saginaw Township North, MI	Non	Non	Non	Non
Miami-Fort Lauderdale, FL*	Estab	Estab	Estab	Estab	St. Cloud, MN	Non	Non	Non	Non
Michigan City-La Porte, IN	Non	Non	Non	Non	St. George, UT	Non	Non	Non	Non
Midland, TX	Non	Non	Non	Non	St. Joseph, MO-KS	Non	Non	Non	Non
Milwaukee-Waukesha-West Allis, WI	Non	Non	Non	Non	St. Louis, MO-IL	Non	Non	Non	Non
Minneapolis-St. Paul, MN-WI*	Non	Non	Estab	Estab	Salem, OR	Non	Non	Dev	Dev

Metropolitan Area	1980	1990	2000	2008	Metropolitan Area	1980	1990	2000	2008
Salinas, CA	Estab	Estab	Estab	Estab	Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	Estab	Estab	Estab	Estab
Salisbury, MD	Non	Non	Non	Non	Terre Haute, IN	Non	Non	Non	Non
Salt Lake City, UT	Non	Non	New	New	Texarkana, TX-Texarkana, AR	Non	Non	Non	Non
San Angelo, TX	Non	Non	Non	Non	Toledo, OH	Non	Non	Non	Non
San Antonio, TX	New	New	New	Estab	Topeka, KS	Non	Non	Non	Non
San Diego-Carlsbad-San Marcos, CA	Estab	Estab	Estab	Estab	Trenton-Ewing, NJ	Non	Non	Non	New
Sandusky, OH	Non	Non	Non	Non	Tucson, AZ	Non	New	Estab	Estab
San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont, CA	Estab	Estab	Estab	Estab	Tulsa, OK	Dev	Dev	Dev	Dev
San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA	Estab	Estab	Estab	Estab	Tuscaloosa, AL	Non	Non	Non	Non
San Luis Obispo-Paso Robles, CA	Non	Non	Non	Non	Tyler, TX	Non	Non	Non	Non
Santa Barbara-Santa Maria-Goleta, CA	Non	Estab	Estab	Estab	Utica-Rome, NY	Non	Non	Non	Non
Santa Cruz-Watsonville, CA	Non	Non	Non	Non	Valdosta, GA	Non	Non	Non	Non
Santa Fe, NM	Non	Non	Dev	Dev	Vallejo-Fairfield, CA	Dev	Dev	Dev	Dev
Santa Rosa-Petaluma, CA	Non	Non	New	New	Victoria, TX	Non	Non	Non	Non
Savannah, GA	Non	Non	Dev	Dev	Vineland-Millville-Bridgeton, NJ	Non	Non	Non	Dev
Scranton--Wilkes-Barre, PA	Non	Non	Non	Dev	Virginia Beach-Norfolk, VA-NC*	Dev	Dev	Dev	Dev
Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	Estab	Estab	Estab	Estab	Visalia-Porterville, CA	Dev	Estab	Estab	Estab
Sebastian-Vero Beach, FL	Non	Non	Non	Dev	Waco, TX	Non	Non	Non	Non
Sheboygan, WI	Non	Non	Non	Non	Warner Robins, GA	Non	Non	Non	Non
Sherman-Denison, TX	Non	Non	Non	Non	Washington-Arlington, DC-VA-MD-WV*	Estab	Estab	Estab	Estab
Shreveport-Bossier City, LA	Non	Non	Non	Non	Waterloo-Cedar Falls, IA	Non	Non	Non	Non
Sioux City, IA-NE-SD	Non	Non	Dev	Dev	Wausau, WI	Non	Non	Non	Non
Sioux Falls, SD	Non	Non	Non	Non	Wenatchee-East Wenatchee, WA	Non	Non	Dev	Dev
South Bend-Mishawaka, IN-MI	Non	Non	Non	Non	Wheeling, WV-OH	Non	Non	Non	Non
Spartanburg, SC	Non	Non	Non	Dev	Wichita, KS	Dev	Dev	Dev	Dev
Spokane, WA	Non	Non	Non	Non	Wichita Falls, TX	Non	Non	Non	Non
Springfield, IL	Non	Non	Non	Non	Williamsport, PA	Non	Non	Non	Non
Springfield, MA	Non	Non	Non	Non	Wilmington, NC	Non	Non	Non	Dev
Springfield, MO	Non	Non	Non	Non	Winchester, VA-WV	Non	Non	Non	Non
Springfield, OH	Non	Non	Non	Non	Winston-Salem, NC	Non	Non	Dev	Dev
State College, PA	Non	Non	Non	Non	Worcester, MA	Non	Non	Non	Non
Weirton-Steubenville, WV-OH	Non	Non	Non	Non	Yakima, WA	Non	Dev	Dev	Dev
Stockton, CA	Non	Estab	Estab	Estab	York-Hanover, PA	Non	Non	Non	Dev
Sumter, SC	Non	Non	Non	Non	Youngstown-Warren-Boardman, OH-PA	Non	Non	Non	Non
Syracuse, NY	Non	Non	Non	Non	Yuba City, CA	Non	Non	Non	Non
Tallahassee, FL	Non	Non	Non	Dev	Yuma, AZ	Estab	Estab	Estab	Estab

Appendix Table A2: Descriptives for variables used in analysis, PSID householders, 1980-2009

	Mean	Sx	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)	(19)	(20)	(21)	(22)	(23)	(24)	(25)
(1) Tract out-migration	.22	(.41)	1.00																								
(2) Tract percent immigrant	6.58	(8.62)	.05	1.00																							
(3) Established gateway	.39	(.49)	.00	.48	1.00																						
(4) New gateway	.06	(.23)	.03	-.03	-.20	1.00																					
(5) Developing gateway	.12	(.32)	.01	-.15	-.29	-.09	1.00																				
(6) Nongateway	.44	(.50)	-.02	-.36	-.70	-.22	-.32	1.00																			
(7) Black	.42	(.49)	.06	-.06	-.05	.02	.10	-.12	1.00																		
(8) Age	42.97	(16.37)	-.27	.03	.01	.00	-.02	.00	-.12	1.00																	
(9) Married	.53	(.50)	-.15	-.02	-.03	-.02	.01	.03	-.26	.02	1.00																
(10) Children present	.47	(.50)	.01	-.08	-.02	-.01	.03	.00	.15	-.35	.24	1.00															
(11) Educational attainment	12.64	(3.32)	.02	.14	.09	-.01	-.08	-.04	-.30	-.19	.16	.02	1.00														
(12) Family income (in $1000s)	51.74	(61.25)	-.07	.09	.11	-.01	-.04	-.07	-.26	.02	.33	.05	.34	1.00													
(13) Homeowner	.55	(.50)	-.29	-.07	-.05	-.01	.01	.04	-.31	.28	.39	.02	.15	.32	1.00												
(14) People per room	.56	(.37)	.11	-.02	.00	-.01	.03	-.02	.23	-.26	.10	.46	-.14	-.10	-.22	1.00											
(15) Lived in house for 3+ years	.56	(.50)	-.24	-.02	.01	-.03	-.01	.01	-.08	.41	.14	-.05	-.05	.12	.39	-.12	1.00										
(16) Tract housing value (in $10,000s)	10.07	(8.62)	.01	.41	.35	-.02	-.08	-.29	-.29	.08	.10	-.09	.35	.35	.12	-.15	.03	1.00									
(17) Tract vacancy rate	8.16	(6.40)	.06	-.13	-.08	.08	.07	-.01	.29	.01	-.16	.00	-.16	-.16	-.16	.07	-.05	-.20	1.00								
(18) Tract poverty rate	15.64	(13.28)	.05	-.08	-.02	.00	.03	.00	.57	-.05	-.27	.06	-.33	-.30	-.33	.19	-.05	-.39	.49	1.00							
(19) Tract percent Mexican	3.40	(8.14)	.05	.53	.24	.06	-.07	-.22	.04	.01	-.04	-.01	-.01	-.04	-.07	.03	-.05	.07	.01	.10	1.00						
(20) Metro % new tracts	63.63	(19.73)	-.02	-.23	-.36	.15	.19	.15	.04	-.03	.02	.03	-.13	-.12	.02	.04	-.04	-.38	.10	.06	.04	1.00					
(21) Metro % non-immigrant tracts	55.04	(31.48)	-.02	-.63	-.74	-.02	.23	.59	.07	-.05	.00	.06	-.16	-.15	.03	.03	.00	-.50	.09	.12	-.38	.29	1.00				
(22) Metro annual job growth rate	1.48	(2.41)	.01	-.01	-.05	.15	.07	-.07	.00	.00	.01	.00	.00	-.01	.00	-.01	-.02	-.06	.02	-.01	.05	.30	-.03	1.00			
(23) Metro mean job wage (in $1000s)	26.24	(9.30)	.08	.29	.33	.06	-.09	-.30	-.02	.07	-.01	-.03	.19	.15	.06	-.10	.02	.57	.01	-.10	.10	-.60	-.37	-.11	1.00		
(24) Year	1991.77	(7.62)	.09	.11	.02	.08	.03	-.08	-.04	.08	.00	-.03	.17	.10	.10	-.12	.02	.41	.08	-.09	.08	-.39	-.10	-.05	.87	1.00	
(25) Observation length	1.26	(.44)	.11	.09	.03	.07	.04	-.09	-.03	.05	.00	-.02	.14	.09	.08	-.07	.00	.33	.05	-.08	.06	-.43	-.11	-.08	.73	.81	1.00