Migration and Dispersal of Hispanic and Asian Groups: An Analysis of the 2006-2008 Multiyear American Community Survey

Julie Park
University of Maryland, College Park

William H. Frey
University of Michigan and The Brookings Institution

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ABSTRACT (up to 150 words)

This paper evaluates the selective migration processes of Hispanics (Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Cubans, Salvadorans, and Dominicans) and Asians (Chinese, Indians, Filipinos, Vietnamese, and Koreans). We employ restricted migration data from the 2006-08 American Community Survey (ACS) at the US Census Bureau's Research Data Centers.

In this paper we examine the intermetropolitan destinations of each group's out migrants from the group's primary settlement areas. We test two hypotheses based on the perspectives of co-ethnic community attraction (out-migration is lower and destinations have high co-ethnic population shares) and of spatial assimilation (those with higher human capital or native borns are most likely to out-migrate and destinations have lower co-ethnic population shares). The results confirm that co-ethnic community attraction positively influences their destination selections. In contrast, spatial assimilation influences are almost nonexistent. For some Asian groups, it is the most educated and native-born migrants who select destinations with greater co-ethnic population shares.

Introduction

This paper examines the intermetropolitan destination selections of Hispanic and Asian nationality groups from established settlement areas, using recent migration data from the American Community Survey. The underlying goal is to detect migration tendencies leading toward the increased dispersion of these groups. The last two decades have shown a dramatic rise in the size and diversity of the nation's race and ethnic minority populations, but they have also shown these populations to be quite unevenly distributed across metropolitan areas (Frey, 2010).

The traditional concentration of Hispanic and Asian populations in New York, Los Angeles, and a few other large metropolitan areas is related to their longstanding immigrant status and attachments to co-ethnic communities in those areas (Waldinger, 2001). Yet, recent census estimates suggest their greater geographic dispersal (Frey, 2006; Massey and Capoferro, 2008). While these redistribution patterns, observed from census snapshots over time, provide some sense that dispersal is occurring, a more rigorous analysis of the *migration processes* is necessary to understand these redistribution shifts. Using descriptive statistics, maps, and migration models, we will assess how migration processes in the 2006-08 period are leading to the dispersal of new immigrant Hispanic and Asian national groups across metropolitan areas, with special attention to the roles of co-ethnic communities and spatial assimilation.

We examine migration from these groups' major settlement areas to other metropolitan area destinations as they are affected by the attraction of co-ethnic communities and by a migrant selectivity pattern consistent with the perspective of spatial assimilation. The migration processes themselves were evaluated in terms of two components: the out--migration rates of residents, and the destination selection of movers.

Attraction of Co-Ethnic Communities. The roles of co-ethnic communities have long been seen as attractions for minority groups with substantial numbers of recent immigrants. Previous research has shown that even native-born and longer-settled immigrants follow "channelized" migration patterns, shaped by racial and ethnic attachments and well-worn migration networks. These "traditional" group migration patterns are motivated by employment information and social support provided by social networks as these groups were assimilating and faced new destinations (Farley and Allen, 1987; Bean and Tienda, 1987; Barringer, Gardner, and Levin, 1993).

Research in the 1980s and 1990s found that a few port-of-entry areas which attracted most initial immigrants of a given Hispanic group (Los Angeles for Mexicans; New York for Puerto Ricans; Miami for Cubans) also served as "spatial redistributors" of longer-settled immigrants and the native-born population over time (McHugh, 1989; McHugh et al., 1997; Bean and Tienda, 1987). There is similar evidence of a dispersal of Puerto Ricans from New York to other parts of the Northeast region. Still, the migration streams away from these core areas follow fairly channelized paths (for example, between New York and Florida for Puerto Ricans and Cubans, and between Chicago and Texas for Mexicans) to and from areas with relatively large Hispanic populations.

Saenz and his collaborators (Saenz, 1991; Saenz and Davila, 1992; Saenz and Cready, 1997) identify five core states that represent the homeland for Mexican Americans, these findings for Mexican Americans are consistent with Tienda and Wilson's (1992) finding that living in an ethnically concentrated metropolitan area significantly inhibits the out-migration of Mexican, Puerto Rican, and Cuban men after taking into account other relevant attributes.

In examining 2005-2006 migration patterns of Hispanics, Lichter and Johnson (2009) confirm the tendency for Hispanic immigrants to continue to concentrate in traditional settlement areas, but they also show that they also contribute to the secondary migration patterns of Hispanics to other more dispersed parts of the country.

Spatial Assimilation. The dispersal of longer-settled immigrants and the native-born of a particular ethnic group away from highly concentrated ethnic locations can be understood under the general theoretical framework of spatial assimilation. It stems from Gordon's (1964) assimilation theory as it is applied to a spatial context (Massey, 1985). As such, spatial assimilation envisions a minority member's move to a new destination as an outcome of individual assimilation involving relocation to a higher status or economically more advantaged area, and also to an area that is removed from the residential concentration of his/her minority group. Spatial assimilation has two components: *structural assimilation* measured by socioeconomic attributes such as education; and *cultural assimilation* using indicators such as English language proficiency and nativity/length of residence in the US (for immigrants). Spatial assimilation was first used primarily as a framework for examining local movement or population shifts away from concentrated race-ethnic ethnic enclaves within a single metropolitan area (Alba and Logan, 1991).

As in earlier work (Frey and Liaw, 2005), this research utilizes the concept of spatial assimilation as a framework for examining inter-metropolitan migration of race-ethnic groups in their dispersal from major metropolitan area settlements. In so doing, we assume that structural assimilation will be achieved with a move out of a metropolitan area that has a large same-minority concentration and into a metropolitan area with a lesser minority concentration with better prospects for economic or quality of life improvement.

For inter-metropolitan migration, education represents a dimension of human capital. Persons with higher education, especially college graduates are more responsive to migration "pulls" in other metropolitan areas, irrespective of co-ethnic attractions. Similarly, cultural assimilation is attributed to moves in similar directions that are associated with indicators such as English language ability, or greater length of residency in the US (for foreign born). In this context, movement away from a metropolitan area with a large co-ethnic population again reflects less reliance on the social and economic support or the more general social capital that a large co-ethnic community may provide.

We conduct analyses based on recent migration data available with the 3-year 2006-08 American Community Survey using restricted data from the US Census Bureau (discussed below). We examine the migration of Hispanics and Asians, as identified by respondents of the race-ethnic questions of the American Community Survey as well as the largest detailed groups within each category. For Hispanics, these include Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Cubans, Salvadorans, and

Dominicans. For Asians, these include Chinese (except Taiwanese), Indians, Filipinos, Vietnamese, and Koreans.

Hypotheses

The migration processes that we examine are those that have a direct impact on dispersal of Hispanic and Asian nationality groups: the metropolitan destination selections of migrants from the group's major settlement areas. The hypotheses presented below are predicated on the co-ethnic community attraction and spatial assimilation perspectives, discussed above. Using the percentage of residents which are of the same race-ethnicity as an indicator of co-ethnic community attraction, educational attainment as an indicator of structural assimilation which also reflects the human capital potential of the migrants, and English language proficiency and nativity/duration of residence (for immigrants) as indicators of cultural assimilation, the hypotheses are:

Hypothesis 1: *A race-ethnic group's selection of a destination metropolitan area is positively related to that group's share of the metropolitan area population.*

Hypothesis 2: *Hypothesis 1 is most likely to hold for minority members who are less well educated, and those who do not speak English well and immigrants, especially those who recently arrived.*

We will examine these hypotheses separately for all Hispanics and all Asians as well as for the five largest nationality groups shown in Table 1. Each of these groups differ with respect to the aforementioned indicators of structural and cultural assimilation and, should the hypotheses hold true, will impact the degree to which migration processes affect their overall dispersal.

Analysis Strategy and Data

The 2006-8 ACS multiyear sample permits measurement of out-migration rates and migration destination selections required for the migration models. This full unweighted multiyear sample represents approximately 4.5% of US households. In all parts of this study, we restrict migrants to persons age 20-59 to include members of the adult labor force, as consistent with earlier work (Liaw and Frey, 2008).

The analyses here focus on the inter-metropolitan migration destinations of these groups with specific attention to each group's "**major settlement area**." These are defined separately for all Hispanics and all Asians as well as for each detailed group. Following the metropolitan CBSAs (Core Based Statistical Areas) utilized by the Census Bureau in 2008, a race ethnic group's major settlement area is defined as one or more metropolitan areas that hold the largest populations of a race-ethnic group in the US and where the race-ethnic group's share of each metropolitan area is higher than the total race ethnic group's share of the U.S. population. A list of these major settlement areas is shown in Table 1a for Hispanic groups and Table 1b for Asian groups.

Tables1a and 1b show, for each group, how its adult labor force population (ages 20-59) is distributed across major settlement, high concentration, and low concentration metropolitan

areas. These tables also show the number of metropolitan areas which are associated with each classification. Among Hispanic groups there is variation in how much of the metropolitan population is located in the major settlement area(s). Only 17 percent of the Mexican population in these metro areas resides in its major settlement area (Los Angeles) whereas more than half of the populations of Cubans, Salvadorans and Dominicans reside in their major settlements. Among Asians, their major settlement area population shares range from 35 percent for Indians to 49 percent for Filipinos. For most groups the share residing in low concentration metro areas is in the neighborhood of 20 percent or less.

[insert Tables 1a and 1b here]

Mapping Out-Migrant Destinations

A series of maps allows us to examine the greatest destination locations for each group (e.g. those receiving more than 250 migrants). Maps 1a and 1b provide for a comparison of all Hispanic out movers and all Asian out movers from their respective major settlement areas.

[insert Maps 1a-b, 2a-e and 3a-e here]

Map 1a clearly shows that the primary destinations for all Hispanic out-migrants from the major settlement area, Los Angeles, are in close proximity. The largest metropolitan destinations, in the following order, are: Riverside, Bakersfield, Las Vegas, Phoenix, and San Diego; though farther afield metros, Dallas and Houston, are among the top ten. The remaining metros depicted in Map 1a include a larger number of high-concentration than low-concentration metros. Among the latter are Atlanta, Portland, OR and Seattle.

Map 1b shows the primary destinations for all Asian out-migrants from the major settlement areas, Los Angeles, New York, and San Francisco. Again, the largest destinations are in close proximity to one of these: Riverside, San Jose, San Diego, Philadelphia, and Sacramento. Among the top ten are a few metro areas that are less proximate including Washington DC, Dallas, and Boston, often with substantial knowledge-based industries. More so than with Hispanics, the remaining destinations reflect a mix of high and low concentration metros. The latter include Phoenix, Allentown PA, Baltimore, and Miami.

The remaining Maps 2a-e and Maps 3a-e display the primary destinations of major settlement out-movers for individual Hispanic and Asian groups, respectively. These maps make plain that the out-migrant destinations differ sharply by group, often related to proximity from major settlements. The primary Mexican destinations from Los Angeles mirror those for all Hispanics. However, for Salvadorans whose major settlement areas are Los Angeles, Washington DC, and New York, the top seven destinations include Riverside, Houston, Dallas, and Atlanta. Major out-migrant destinations for two groups with major settlements in New York, Puerto Ricans, and Dominicans, tend to envelop Florida and other northeast locations. Primary destinations for Cuban out-migrants from Miami are primarily in Florida and the rest of the South.

There is a similar divergence of destinations among Asian groups' major settlement out-migrants. Primary destinations for Indians and Koreans tend to overlap somewhat including high tech or "eds and meds" centers like Seattle, Atlanta and Boston. While Riverside is a top

destination for all groups with Los Angeles as one of the major settlements (including Koreans, Chinese, Filipino, and Vietnamese), each of these groups' major destinations reflect proximity to other of their major settlements.

Modeling Mover Destination Selections

This section will present multivariate models which are designed to examine the roles of co-ethnic community attraction and spatial assimilation in the destination selections of out-migrants for each group from their major settlement areas.

Our multivariate statistical model is a conditional logit model specified as follows. For a migrant with personal attributes *s* who resided in major settlement area *i*, we specify that the migration behaviour depends on a set of destination choice probabilities, $P(j \mid s, i)$ for all potential destinations *j*. These probabilities are specified to be functions of observable explanatory variables in the following form

$$P(j \mid s,i) = \frac{\exp(b' x[j,s,i])}{\sum_k \exp(b' x[k,s,i])}$$

Where $x[j, s, i]$ is a column-vector of observable explanatory variables; b' is a row-vector of unknown coefficients and the summation in the denominator is across all potential destinations. In applying this model, we assume that the choices of destinations made by the migrants were affected by both the personal attributes of the migrants and the place attributes of the alternatives in the choice set.

Destination and Personal Attributes

The models for each group incorporate a set of place attributes, associated with potential destinations, and personal variables ascribed to the mover. Destination place attributes for each model include those associated with the place's economic attractiveness (employment growth, per capita income), a measure of the place's co-ethnic similarity to the potential mover (ethnic similarity). Their measurements, data sources, and rationale are as follows:

Employment Growth is measured as the rate of increase in the metropolitan area's total employment over the period 2003-6 using data from the Bureau of Economic Analysis REIS (Regional Economic Information System) (http://www.bea.gov/bea/regional/reis/). It is expected that a metropolitan area's employment growth will positively affect its selection as a destination for potential movers.

Per Capita Income is the 2006 per capita income of a metropolitan area using data from the Bureau of Economic Analysis REIS (http://www.bea.gov/bea/regional/reis/). http://www.bea.gov/bea/regional/reis/). It is expected that a metropolitan area's per capita income will positively affect its selection as a destination for potential movers.

Ethnic Similarity is calculated separately for each Hispanic and Asian group. It is that group's percent of the metropolitan area's total population the year before the move. Drawing from hypothesis 1, and the perspective of co-ethnic community attraction, it is expected that the ethnic similarity of a metropolitan area's population (to the mover's ethnic group) will positively affect its selection as a destination.

Two additional destination related attributes are included as properties of demographic and geographic structure. The **Population Size at Destination (ln)** is the natural log of the size of the metropolitan area's population the year before the mover. The **Distance to Destination (ln)** is the natural log of the distance from the mover group's major settlement (origin) metropolitan area and the destination metropolitan area using information from the Missouri Census Data Center http://mcdc2.missouri.edu/websas/geocorr2k.html. Both of these factors are included to account for "gravity model" effects on destination selections (Speare, Goldstein and Frey, 1975, Chapter 5) such that the population size at destination is expected to positively affect potential mover's selection of a destination metropolitan area, and the distance to destination should negatively affect its selection.

A unique part of these models is the incorporation of personal characteristics of movers, available in these data. As indicated above, these personal attributes will appear in the model as dummy variables to interact with the place attribute, Ethnic Similarity, in order to assess the spatial assimilation hypotheses regarding the expected influence a mover's education, English language ability and immigration status in directing them to more ethnically similar destinations.

More specifically, models for each Hispanic group will interact the mover characteristic, **Less than High School Graduate** with the destination attribute Ethnic Similarity. Models for each Asian group will interact the mover characteristic, **Less than Bachelor's Degree** with the destination attribute, Ethnic Similarity. In each case hypothesis 2 will be supported by a positive effect on destination selection, consistent with the spatial assimilation perspective.

With regard to English language ability, most models for Hispanic and Asian groups will interact the mover characteristic, **English Not Well** (persons who do not speak English well or at all) with the destination attribute Ethnic Similarity. A positive effect on destination selection for this term would also support the spatial assimilation perspective and hypothesis 2 (Note: this term is not included in models for Puerto Ricans, Indians and Filipinos due to their general fluency in English)

The third personal characteristic to be interacted with the destination attribute, Ethnic Similarity is **Recent Immigration** (persons who are foreign born and arrived since 2000). It will be included in the models for all groups except Puerto Ricans, who are mostly US citizens. Hypothesis 2 and the spatial assimilation perspective would be supported if this term exhibits a positive effect on mover destination selection

Multivariate Results

Hispanic Destination Selectivity. Results for the analysis of all Hispanics appear on the left hand two columns of Table 4a. These models examine the destination selections of Hispanic out-migrants from the major settlement area for Hispanics, Los Angeles. The first model only includes the economic, demographic and geographic structural factors. All factors are significant. The "gravity model" factors, destination population size (ln) and distance (ln) to destination show expected relationships to destination selections. Destination employment growth, as expected, is positively related to destination selection. Only destination per capita income behaves in a manner contrary to expectations, exhibiting a negative relationship to destination selection. This might be explained by the tendency for many Hispanics to locate in lower income areas, where employment is more available.

[insert Table 2a here]

The second model adds the destination attributes, ethnic similarity, as well as interactions between ethnic similarity and the personal characteristics discussed above. It is clear that destination ethnic similarity exerts an important positive draw for Hispanic out-migrants, even when the other economic and demographic and geographic structural attributes are taken into account. This provides strong support for hypothesis 1 and the importance of co-ethnic community attraction. Moreover, when destination ethnic similarity is entered into the model, the unexpected negative effect of destination per capita income becomes reduced, although remaining significant. This suggests that movers select some destinations to the draw of co-ethnics, even if per capita incomes are lower than in other places.

With respect to the interaction of destination ethnic similarity and personal attributes, the results show little support for the hypotheses 2 expectations. There is the expected positive effect associated with the interaction of destination ethnic similarity and movers with less than high school education. However this effect is not significant at the .05 level. The interaction term between ethnic similarity and movers who speak English less than well has an anticipated negative value, is also not significant. The only significant interaction term is also in an unexpected direction: a negative toward the selection of co-ethnic destinations for Hispanic mover who recently arrived in the US.

These interaction effects generally did not support the spatial assimilation perspective. Thus while Hispanic out-migrants from Los Angeles are strongly attracted by a destination' co-ethnic composition, this draw is not significantly stronger for migrants with less than a high school education and, in fact, tends to be weaker for migrants who are recent arrivals to the US.

Hispanic Ethnic Groups. The full model just discussed has also been estimated for each Hispanic nationality group with results shown in Table 4b. These models estimate the destination selections of each group' out-migrants from their respective major settlement areas (listed in Table 2a). Each of these models shares some common features. One is that the demographic and geographic structure attributes follow expected directions and are statistically significant for four of the five groups. Salvadoran's distance effect is in the expected direction but not significant. (In a model not shown, distance is significant for Salvadorans before destination ethnic similarity was added- suggesting that the availability of ethnic attachments in a

destination, reduces the role of distance.) Each group's model also shows a positive and significant relationship for destination employment growth.

[insert Table 2b here]

There are mixed results for destination per capita income, however. The models for Mexicans and Salvadorans, follow the model for all Hispanics by showing a significant negative relationship for destination per capita income. Both of these groups have large low skilled populations and may be attracted to places with available jobs but relatively low incomes. The models for the remaining Hispanic groups show positive but insignificant relationships with destination per capita income.

Turning to the effect of destination ethnic similarity, there is again fairly strong evidence supporting the influence of co-ethnic community attraction across Hispanic groups. For each group, destination ethnic similarity exerts a positive effect on mover destination selection and with the exception of one group (Dominicans) is statistically significant. Thus, hypothesis 1 receives support for individual Hispanic nationality groups, as well as all Hispanics.

The interaction terms in for different Hispanic nationality groups show either tepid or no support for the spatial assimilation hypothesis. The expected positive relationship for movers with less than high school education and the selection of an ethnically similar destination occurs but not at statistical significance for Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Cubans and Salvadorans. Dominicans display a negative but also insignificant relationship

There are only two significant interaction terms with destination ethnic similarity among the different group models. Salvadorans movers who are recent arrivals are significantly more likely to select an ethnically similar destination than longer term or native born residents. However, as with the total Hispanic population, Mexican recent movers are significantly less likely to select ethnically similar destinations. Dominicans and Cubans show respectively, positive and negative insignificant values for the interaction between recent immigrant status and destination ethnic similarity.

Finally none of the groups show significant effects when interacting destination ethnic similarity with the mover's inability to speak English well, though the insignificant effects are in the expected positive direction for Cubans, Salvadorans and Dominicans. A nearly significant negative effect is shown Mexicans on this interaction.

Overall these Hispanic nationality groups tend to mirror the overall Hispanic model that supports the power of co-ethnic communities in attracting migrants, but gives little support to the spatial assimilation hypothesis.

Asian Destination Selectivity. Results for the analysis of all Asians appear on the right hand two columns of Table 4a. These models examine the destination selections of Hispanic out-migrants from the major Asian settlement areas. As with our Hispanic analyses, the first model only includes the economic, demographic and geographic structural factors and all are significant in expected directions. This includes a positive effect for destination per capita income.

The full model shows strong affects for destination ethnic similarity, thereby supporting hypothesis 1 for Asians. Yet the interactions between ethnic similarity and each of the personal attributes show opposite, what is expected by hypothesis 2 and the spatial assimilation model. That is movers with less than a bachelors degree, who speak do not speak English well and who are recent migrants are less likely to select co-ethnic destinations. These findings were suggested in the descriptive results presented earlier which showed a tendency for more educated, fluent in English, native born Asian migrants to locate to more highly Asian concentrated areas than Asian movers with other attributes. This is confirmed in this model, which controls for other economic and demographic/features of the migration process.

Asian Ethnic Groups. Table 4c presents the full model for each Asian nationality group's out-movers from their respective major settlement areas. Some interesting findings can be seen by viewing only the demographic and geographic structure attributes. While each group's model shows destination population size with significant expected effects, only two groups (Indians and Filipinos) show significant and expected effects for distance.

[insert Table 2c here]

Four of the five groups of movers (all but Indians) respond positively and significantly to destination employment growth, and three groups (Chinese, Indians and Koreans) respond similarly to destination per capita income. Indians are the only group to respond more strongly to a destination area's per capita income than its employment growth. For Filipinos and Vietnamese, the effect of destination per capita income on migrants' destination selection is negative but only significantly so for the former group. For both of these groups, destination employment growth is positive and significant.

It is clear that with most Hispanic groups, all Asian groups of movers respond strongly and positively to a destination's ethnic similarity. This supports hypothesis 1 and the role of co-ethnic community attractions almost unanimous among the groups examined in this study.

However, Asian groups largely differ from Hispanics in how destination ethnic similarity interacts with their personal attributes. For most groups, these interactions either counter the expectation of the spatial assimilation perspective (hypothesis 2) or are insignificant. Chinese out –movers with less than a bachelors degree are significantly less likely to select co-ethnic destinations than those with higher education. Although not significant, similar interaction effects are shown for Indians, Vietnamese, or Koreans. Only Filipinos, of the Asian groups show the expected positive relationship between lower education and ethnic similarity at destinations.

Most of the other destination ethnic similarity interactions with personal attributes, speak English less than well, and recent immigrants, are not significant, though largely in the opposite direction expected in hypotheses. The one significant interaction among these is the tendency for Chinese recent immigrant arrival migrants to locate in similar ethnic destinations.

Overall the analysis of Asian out movers from major settlement areas conforms to the expectations of hypothesis 1, and the view that these movers will be attracted to destinations with co-ethnic populations when other factors are taken into account. However for Asians as a whole

and some Asian ethnic groups, there is a tendency to counter the spatial assimilation perspective put forth in hypothesis 2 That is, for these groups, movers with lower educations, poorer English facility and recent arrivals are *least* likely to select co-ethnic destinations.

Discussion and Conclusion

The purpose of this paper was to assess the nature of migration dispersal of Hispanic and Asian nationality groups of adults (working ages 20-59) away from their major settlement areas using recent data. This use of the restricted ACS files permitted a first post-2000 analysis of inter-metropolitan migration for these Hispanic and Asian groups along with detailed demographic and geographic attributes available with these files. The maps and models regarding these mover groups, presented here, provide a benchmark for further analyses of this kind with the American Community Survey in light of the fact that migration data will no longer be available from the US decennial census.

Our findings from the analysis of out-migration rates of residents gave strong support for the hypotheses associated with co-ethnic community attraction. For all Hispanics, all Asians and each detailed group, we found lower out-migration rates from major settlement metropolitan areas than for other areas with high concentrations of the group. Out-migration rates from both of these area types were also lower than each group's out migration from areas we classified as low concentration areas. With regard to destination selections, our conditional logit models of migrant destination selections (among out-migrants from a group's major settlement area) showed for all Hispanics, all Asians and all individual groups except one, that a destination's co-ethnic similarity (with the group) had a positive, significant effect on selecting that destination.

Findings regarding the spatial assimilation hypotheses are not generally supported in our analyses of movers' destination selections. Among Asian groups, native born movers are most likely to select the more ethnically concentrated destinations while recent immigrants move to the least concentrated areas. The distinctions are not sharp enough to show up significantly in each group's multivariate models but they are apparent in the model for all Asians and for Chinese. At a minimum, there is no support that the least educated, least facile in English and most recently arrived out movers from major settlement areas will select the most ethnically concentrated destinations. The evidence suggests almost the opposite.

For Hispanic movers, the support is at best spotty for the spatial assimilation hypothesis as they apply to destination selection. The destination selection models show that employment growth, of the economic factors, provides a consistently strong pull across each Hispanic group, often to destinations that have relatively low per capita income. This suggests that low skilled and recently arrived Hispanic movers away from major settlement areas are not more heavily reliant on co-ethnic connections than more well educated or native born members of their nationality group, in their quest for employment opportunities elsewhere.

This analysis represents a snapshot of the migration processes during a single period – one where the forces affecting migration, both long and short distance, shifted fairly dramatically (Frey, 2009). We acknowledge that our assessment of spatial assimilation, while grounded in measures

of the assimilation literature (Gordon, 1964), lifts to the inter-metropolitan scale a concept that was most proven in the analysis of local intra-urban residential shifts (Alba and Logan, 1991). While our spatial measures are not as nuanced as they might be for the context of long distance migration, they are the best we could apply, given the nature of available data.[1] Having said that, we have shown that the migration processes leading to the dispersal of Hispanic and Asian nationality groups from their major settlement areas in the 2006-8 period continue to respond strongly to co-ethnic attractions in other metropolitan areas, irrespective of other economic and demographic structural factors. However the selective nature of this attraction according to attributes such as education, English proficiency and nativity and immigration status differs across groups and does not, in the main, conform to the spatial assimilation perspective.

[1] For example, migrants to low concentration metropolitan destinations by our measures, may still wind up living in neighborhood within that area that has a high concentration of their national group. And unlike the case with more conventional long distance migration models which focus on metropolitan wide labor market variables (Long, 1988: Speare Goldstein and Frey, 1975), long distance migration decisions for many of these race ethnic groups, rely on informal networks to obtain information about the existence local neighborhood communities and support mechanisms that exist within these metropolitan areas.

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Table 1a: Shares of Hispanic Nationality Groups in Major Settlement Areas, Other High Concentration and Low Concentration Metros*

Nationality Group	Major Settlement Metros	Share of Group's population in: Major Settlement Metros	High Concentration Metros	Low Concentration Metros
All Hispanics	Los Angeles	13.6% (1 metro)	65.3% (71 metros)	21.1% (291 metros)
Mexican	Los Angeles	17.0% (1 metro)	65.3% (73 metros)	17.8% (289 metros)
Puerto Rican	New York	31.4% (1 metro)	49.4% (51 metros)	19.1% (311 metros)
Cuban	Miami	57.2% (1 metro)	21.6% (18 metros)	21.2% (301 metros)
Salvadoran	Los Angeles, New York, Washington, D.C.	52.1% (3 metros)	32.2% (36 metros)	15.7% (241 metros)
Dominican	New York	65.2% (1 metros)	23.9% (23 metros)	10.9% (191 metros)

* All residents age 20-59 in location one year prior to survey
Source: American Community Survey 2006-2008 3-year estimates

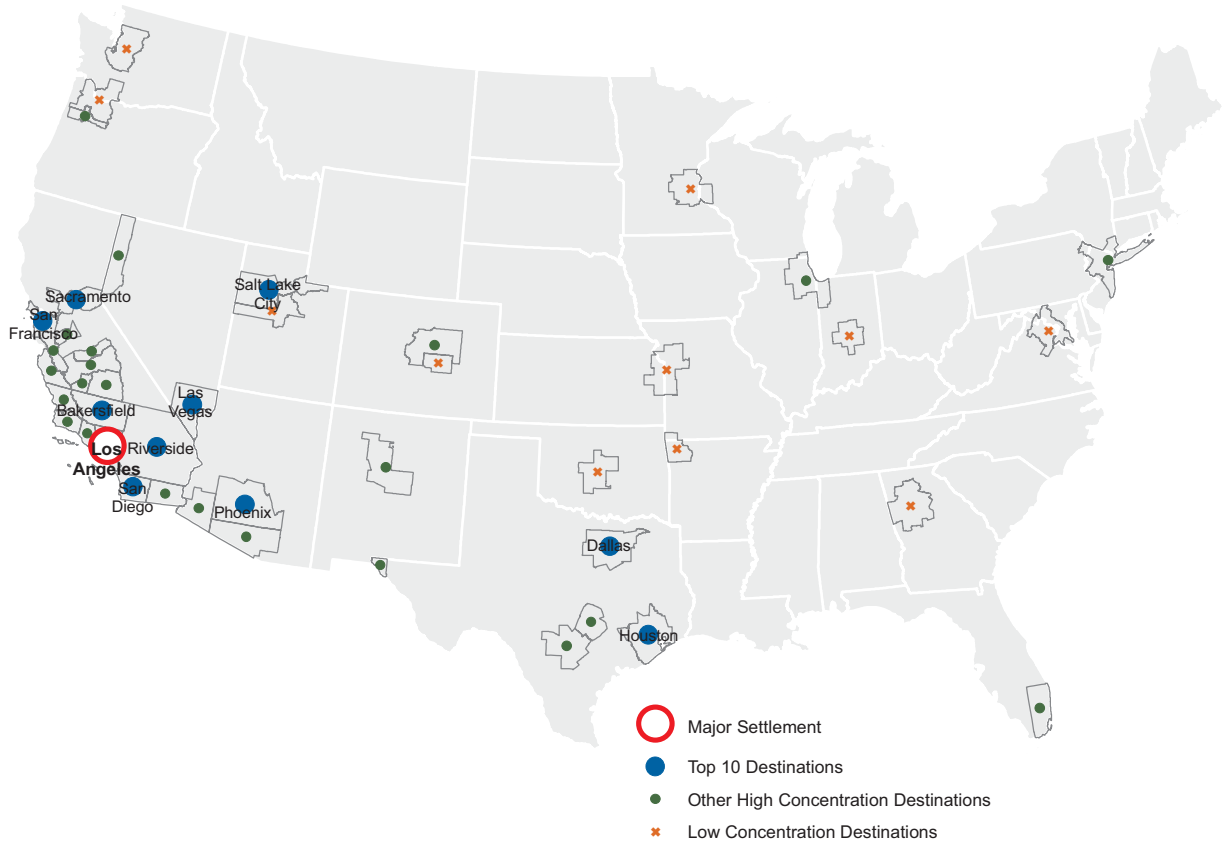
Table 1b: Shares of Asian Nationality Groups in Major Settlement Areas, Other High Concentration and Low Concentration Metros*

Nationality Group	Major Settlement Metros	Share of Group's population in: Major Settlement Metros	High Concentration Metros	Low Concentration Metros
All Asians	Los Angeles, New York, San Francisco	35.5% (3 metros)	42.3% (48 metros)	22.2% (312 metros)
Chinese,	Los Angeles, New York, San Francisco	36.2% (3 metros)	45.3% (39 metros)	18.5% (307 metros)
Asian Indian	Chicago, San Jose, New York, San Francisco	35.5% (4 metros)	42.3% (59 metros)	22.2% (289 metros)
Filipino	Los Angeles, New York, Chicago, San Diego	48.8% (3 metros)	30.8% (40 metros)	20.4% (319 metros)
Vietnamese	Los Angeles, Washington, D.C., San Jose, Houston, Dallas	46.7% (5 metros)	34.4% (54 metros)	18.9% (282 metros)
Korean	Los Angeles, New York, Chicago, Washington, D.C.	41.8% (4 metros)	38.3% (58 metros)	19.9% (278 metros)

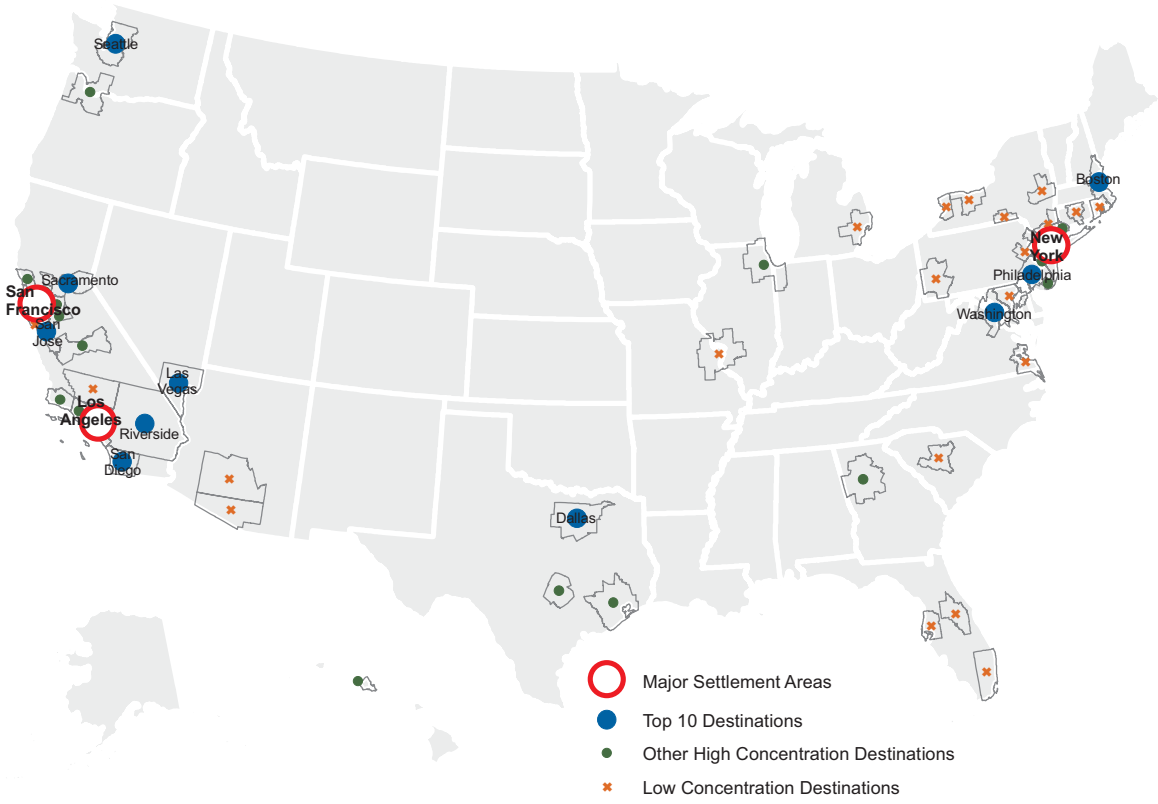
* All residents age 20-59 in location one year prior to survey
Source: American Community Survey 2006-2008 3-year estimates

Map 1: Migration Destinations from Major Settlement Areas: Hispanics and Asians

A. Hispanics

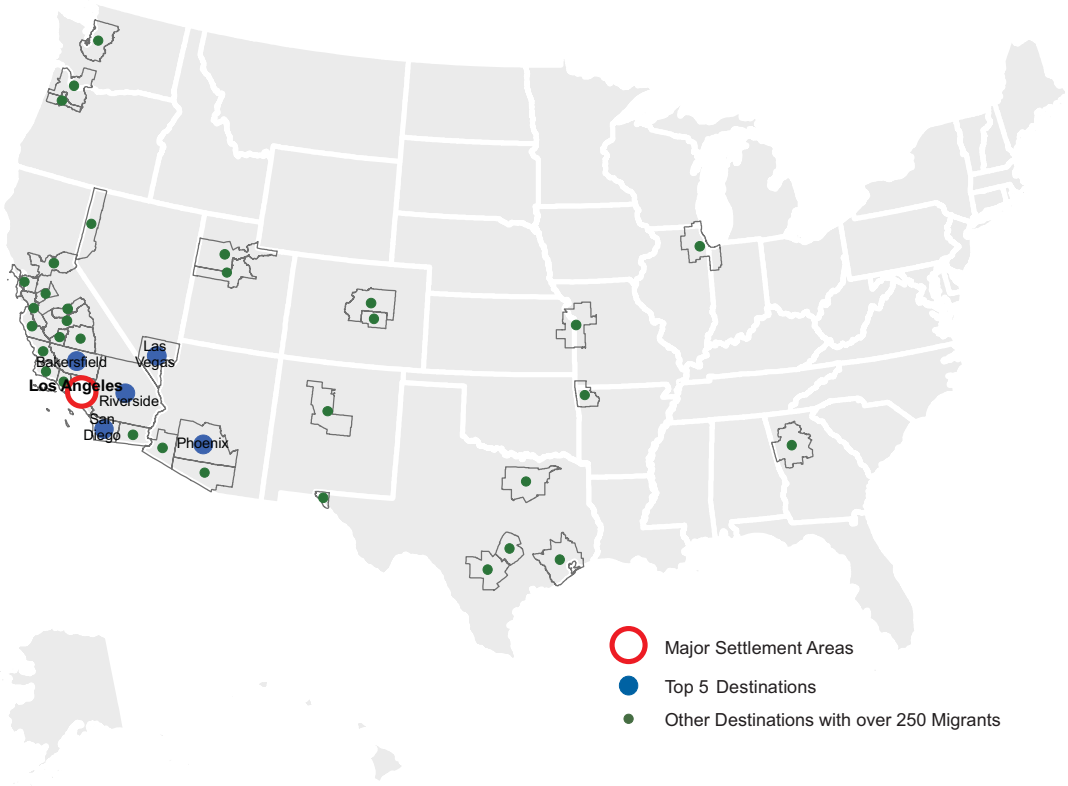


B. Asians

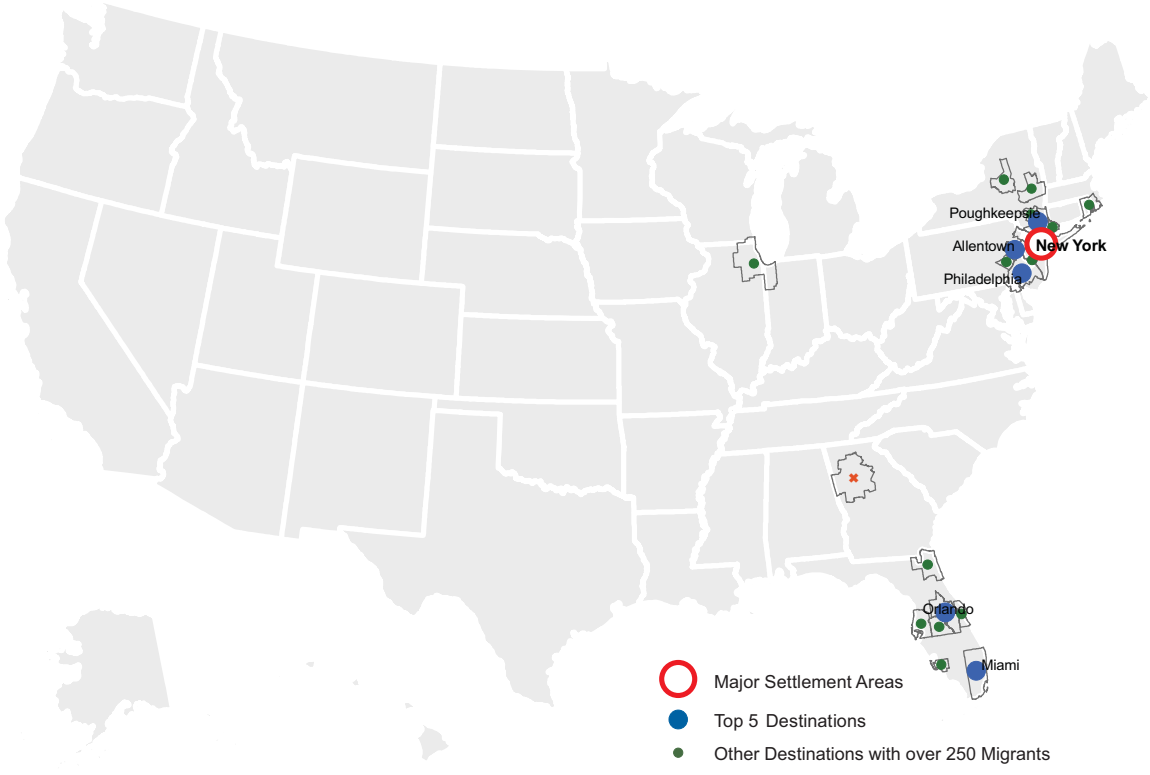


Map 2: Migration Destinations from Major Settlement Areas: Hispanic Nationality Groups

A. Mexicans

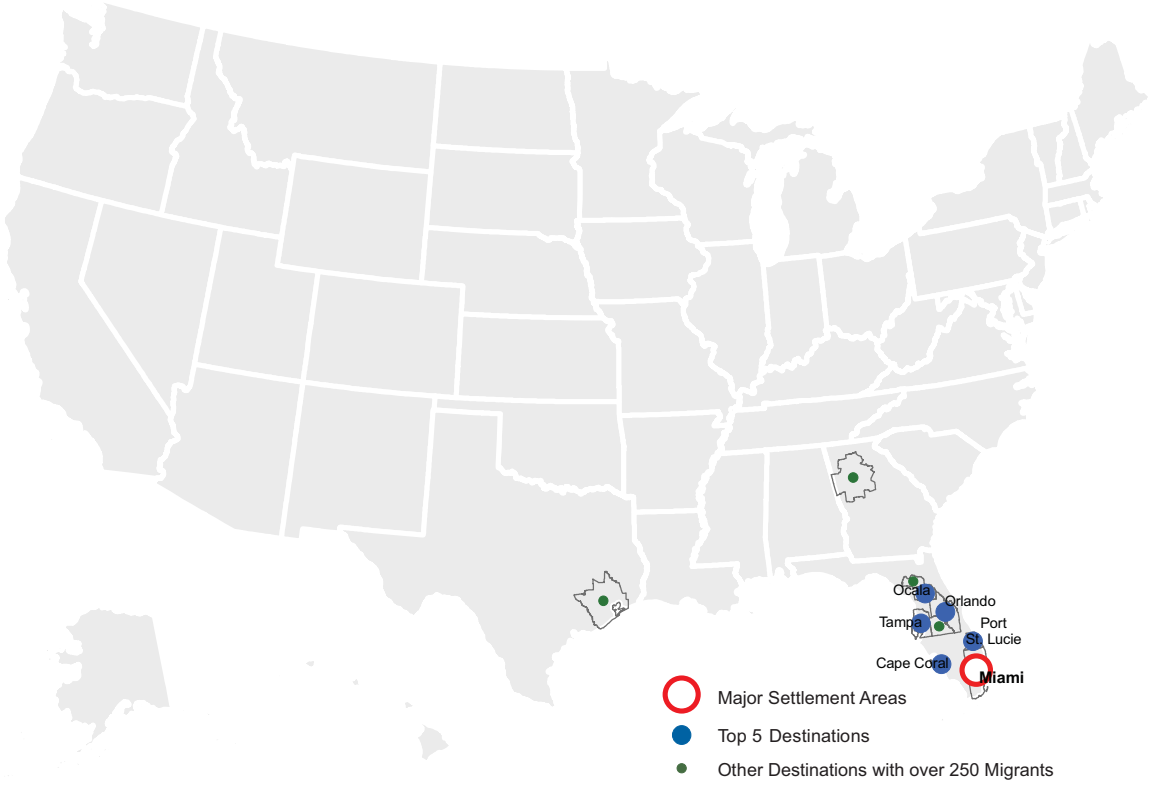


B. Puerto Ricans

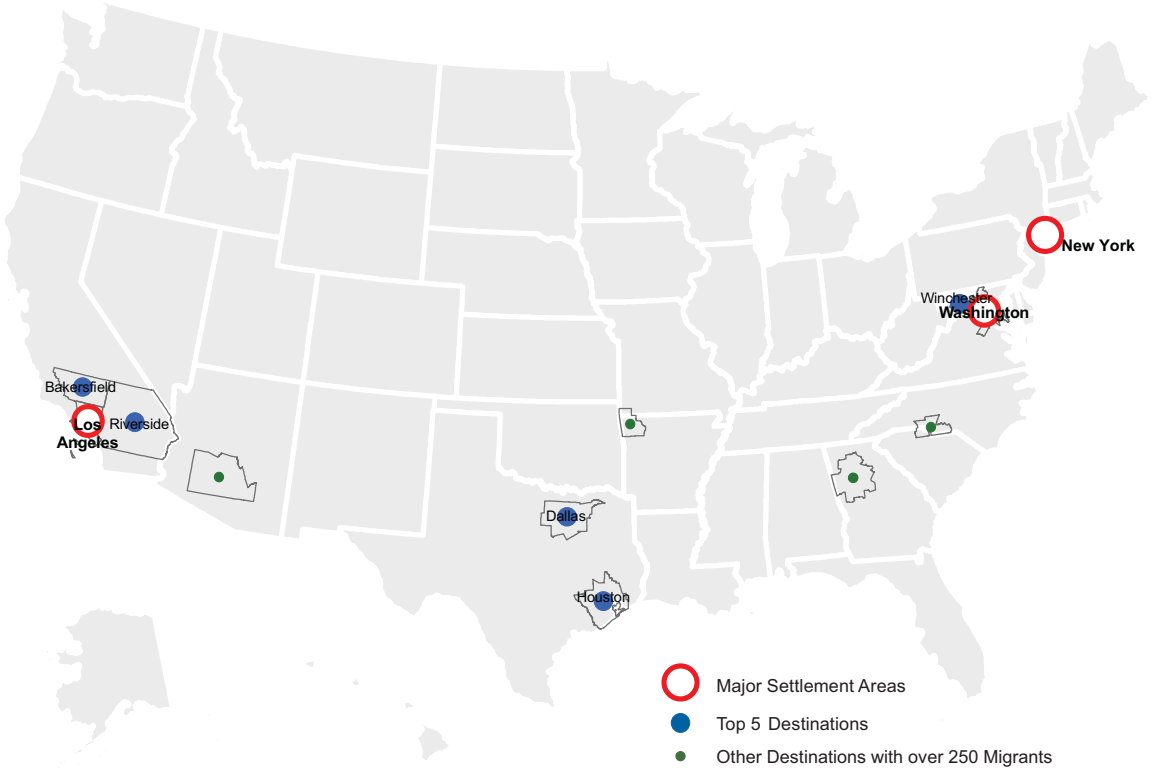


Map 2: Migration Destinations from Major Settlement Areas: Hispanic Nationality Groups

C. Cubans

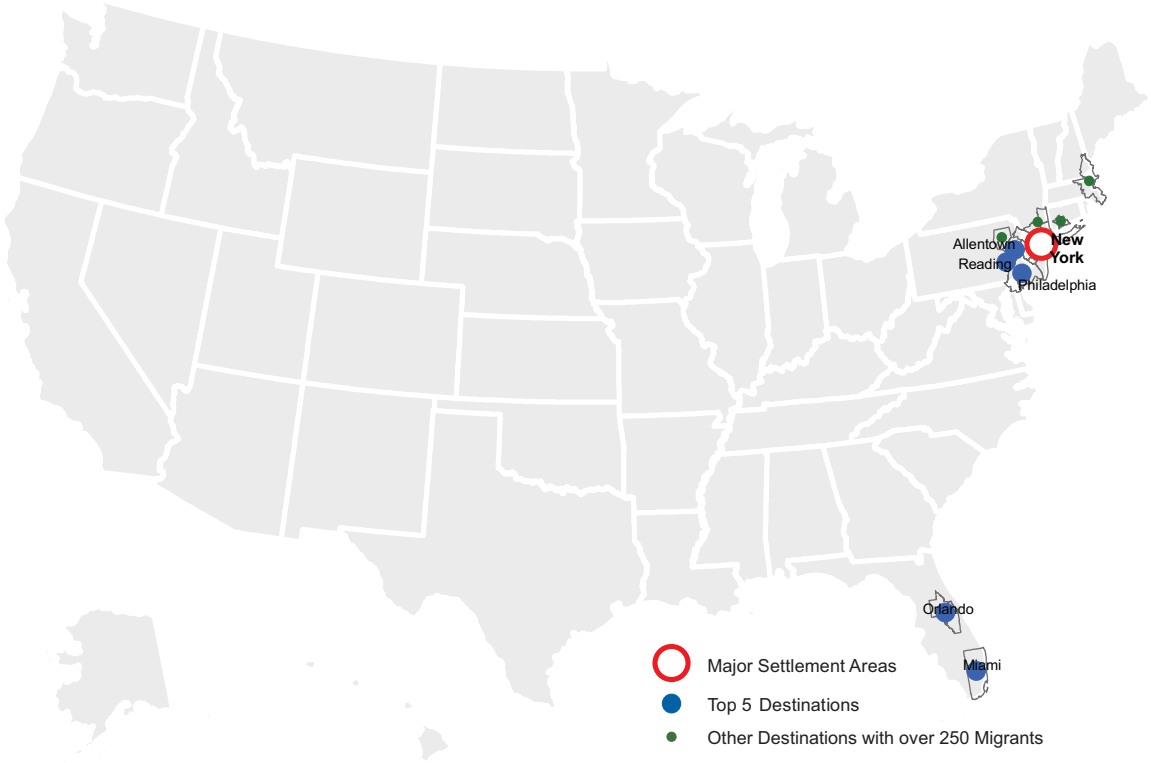


D. Salvadorans



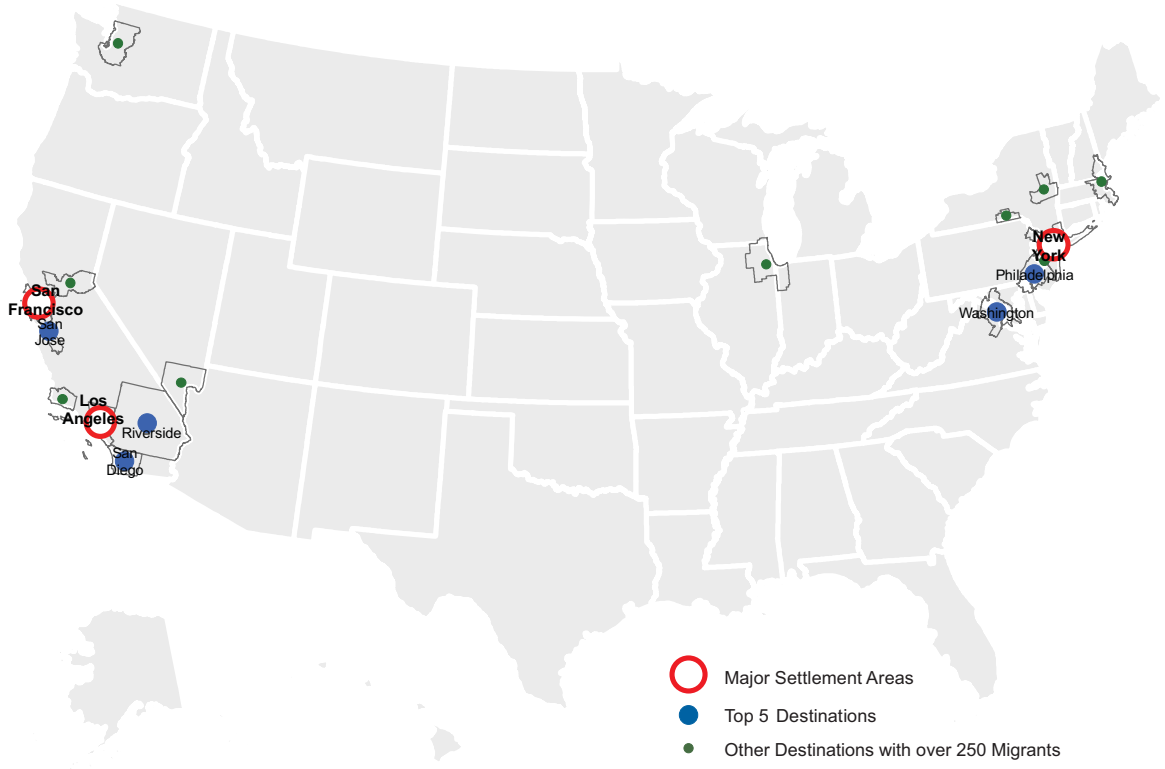
Map 2: Migration Destinations from Major Settlement Areas: Hispanic Nationality Groups

E. Dominicans

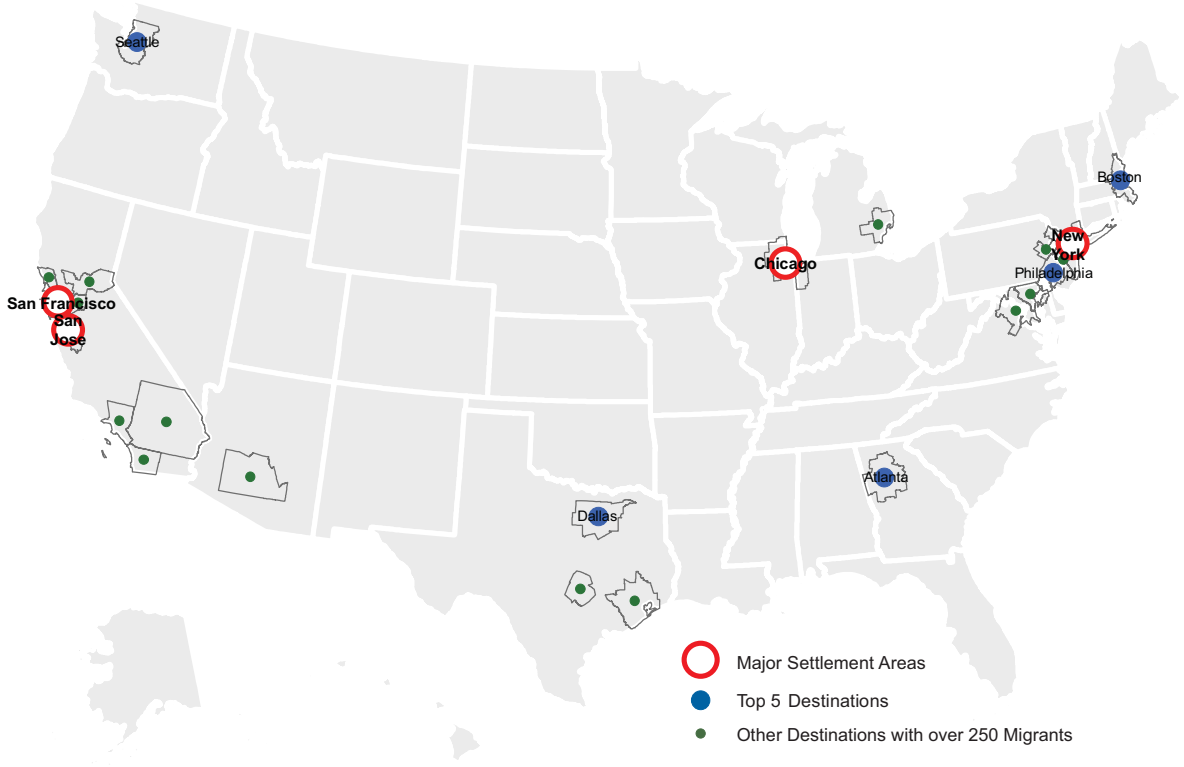


Map 3: Migration Destinations from Major Settlement Areas: Asian Nationality Groups

A. Chinese

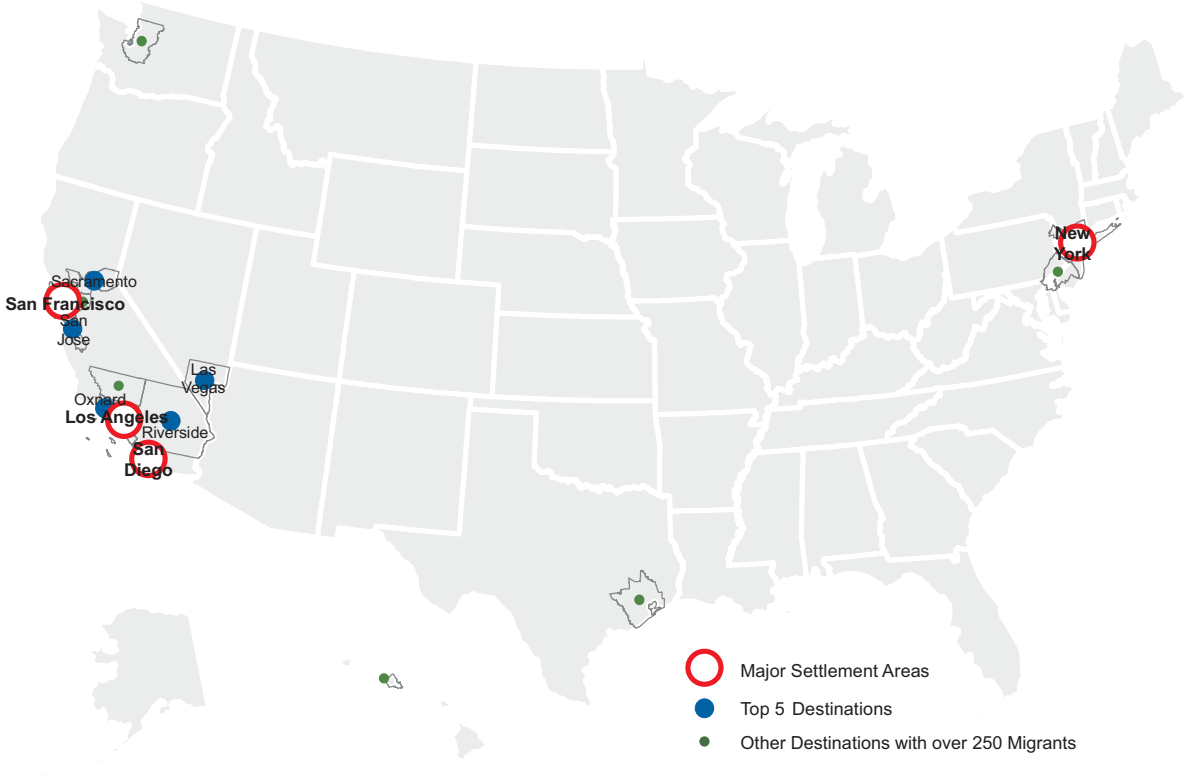


B. Asian Indians

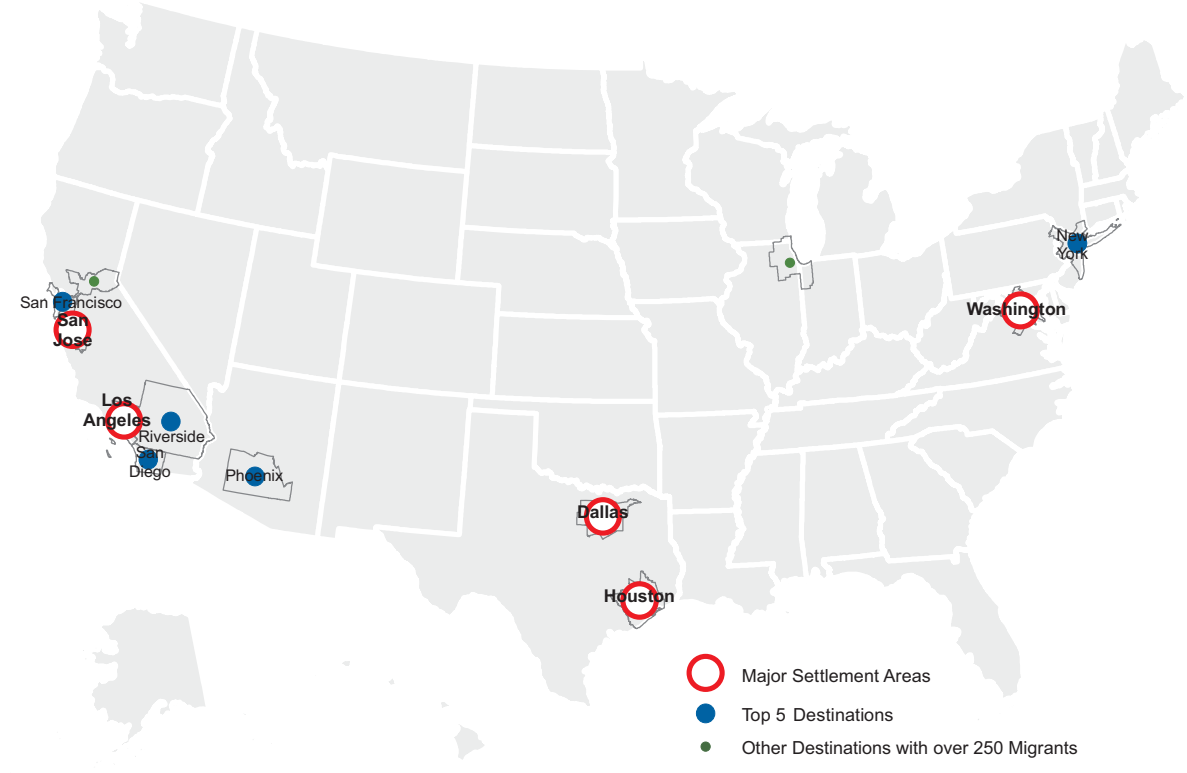


Map 3: Migration Destinations from Major Settlement Areas: Asian Nationality Groups

C. Filipinos



D. Vietnamese



Map 3: Migration Destinations from Major Settlement Areas: Asian Nationality Groups

E. Koreans

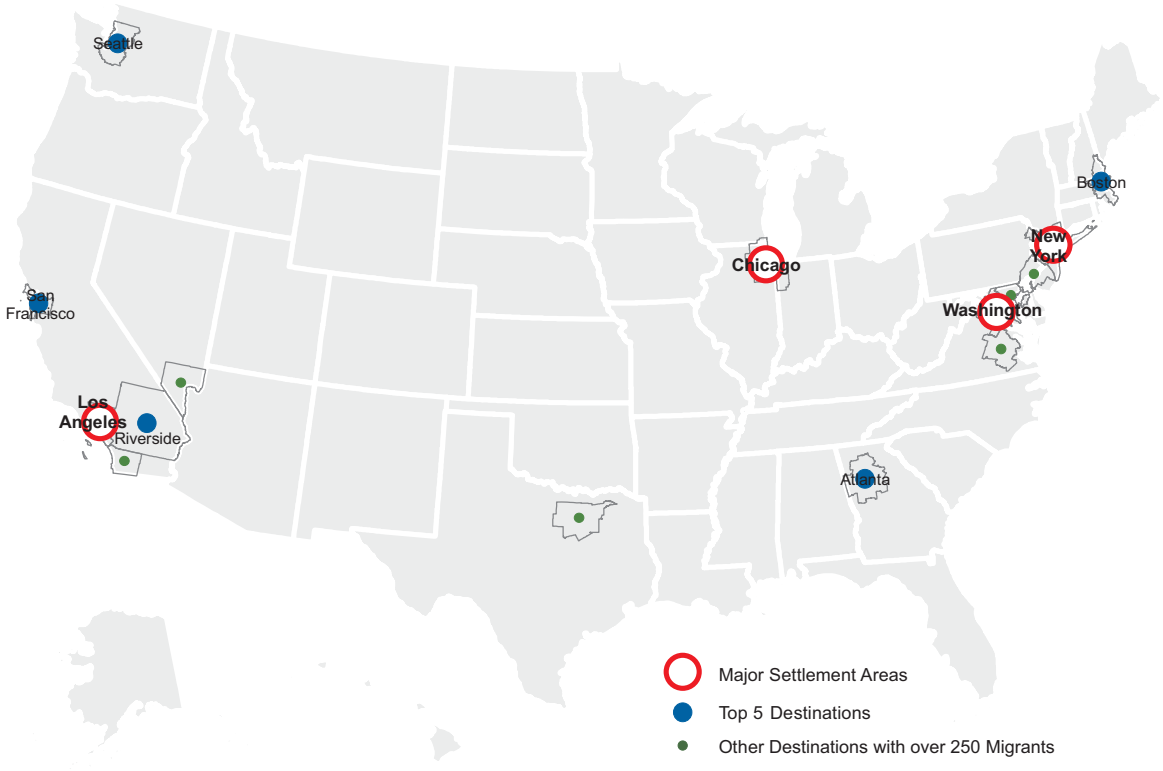


Table 2a Models - Metro Destination Selections for Migrants from Major Settlement Area Origins: Hispanics and Asians, 2006-2008

Explanatory Factors	All Hispanics				All Asians			
	w/o Ethnic Similarity		w Ethnic Similarity		w/o Ethnic Similarity		w Ethnic Similarity	
	Coef.	t-ratio	Coef.	t-ratio	Coef.	t-ratio	Coef.	t-ratio
Demographic/Geographic Structure								
Population Size of Destination (Ln)	1.2793	52.76 ***	1.0940	42.47 ***	0.8069	43.71 ***	0.8160	40.89 ***
Distance to Destination (Ln)	-0.0548	-11.36 ***	-0.0336	-6.91 ***	-0.0678	-12.28 ***	-0.0440	-7.98 ***
Economic Attributes of Destination								
Employment Growth	0.1338	34.31 ***	0.1303	33.45 ***	0.0528	12.10 ***	0.0631	13.74 ***
Per capita Income	-0.1114	-31.86 ***	-0.0553	-12.66 ***	0.0473	20.39 ***	0.0221	7.84 ***
Ethnic Similarity of Destination Metro and Interaction with Personal Characteristics								
Ethnic Similarity	xx	xx	2.2196	16.81 ***	xx	xx	7.9354	31.33 ***
Ethnic Similarity with Less than HS graduate (Hispanic)/less than Bachelor's (Asian)	xx	xx	0.2290	1.43	xx	xx	-1.0594	-2.56 *
Ethnic Similarity with English Not Well	xx	xx	-0.3396	-1.77	xx	xx	-1.7198	-2.10 *
Ethnic Similarity with Recent Immigration	xx	xx	-1.1009	-4.15 ***	xx	xx	-1.6275	-3.48 ***
Goodness of Fit								
McFadden's LRI	0.2222		0.2340		0.1352		0.1659	
Observations	3,032		3,032		2,725		2,725	

Note: The choice set includes 150 largest metropolitan areas as potential destinations.
Significance Levels: *** p < .001, ** p < .01, * p < .05

Source: American Community Survey 2006-2008 3 Year Estimates

Table 2b Models - Metro Destination Selections for Migrants from Major Settlement Area Origins: Hispanic Nationality Groups, 2006-2008

Explanatory Factors	Mexican		Puerto Rican		Cuban		Salvadoran		Dominican	
	Coef.	t-ratio	Coef.	t-ratio	Coef.	t-ratio	Coef.	t-ratio	Coef.	t-ratio
Demographic/Geographic Structure										
Population Size of Destination (Ln)	1.1408	38.39 ***	0.3597	7.91 ***	0.9034	11.39 ***	0.8614	11.37 ***	0.2304	2.91 **
Distance to Destination (Ln)	-0.0365	-6.38 ***	-0.0753	-2.43 *	-1.0792	-9.89 ***	-0.0014	-0.07	-0.1832	-2.27 *
Economic Attributes of Destination										
Employment Growth	0.1370	30.45 ***	0.0429	4.53 ***	0.1334	9.12 ***	0.1134	8.92 ***	0.0548	3.60 ***
Per capita Income	-0.0557	-10.16 ***	0.0065	1.03	0.0046	0.41	-0.0388	-3.38 ***	0.0112	1.21
Ethnic Similarity of Destination Metro and Interaction with Personal Characteristics										
Ethnic Similarity	2.5142	15.75 ***	25.4984	17.70 ***	-49.3891	-7.99 ***	37.9729	3.45 ***	28.8532	1.92
Ethnic Similarity with Less than HS graduate	0.2085	1.23	1.9377	0.74	6.4736	1.01	16.0720	1.37	-6.4131	-0.57
Ethnic Similarity with English Not Well	-0.3835	-1.89	x	x	6.0756	0.93	9.1416	0.73	12.4064	1.13
Ethnic Similarity with Recent Immigration	-0.8889	-2.97 **	x	x	-3.8846	-0.50	31.7086	2.34 *	0.6367	0.05
Goodness of Fit										
McFadden's LRI	0.2583		0.1168		0.1692		0.1722		0.0726	
Observations	2311		554		238		259		234	

Note: The choice set includes 150 largest metropolitan areas as potential destinations.
Significance Levels: *** p < .001, ** p < .01, * p < .05

Source: American Community Survey 2006-2008 3 Year Estimates

Table 2c Models - Metro Destination Selections for Migrants from Major Settlement Area Origins: Asian Nationality Groups, 2006-2008

Explanatory Factors	Chinese		Asian Indian		Filipino		Vietnamese		Korean	
	Coef.	t-ratio	Coef.	t-ratio	Coef.	t-ratio	Coef.	t-ratio	Coef.	t-ratio
Demographic/Geographic Structure										
Population Size of Destination (Ln)	0.7711	19.74 ***	0.7014	19.87 ***	1.0806	22.34 ***	1.1545	15.22 ***	0.8943	16.52 ***
Distance to Destination (Ln)	-0.0002	-0.02	-0.0854	-4.77 ***	-0.0317	-2.44 *	-0.0088	-0.47	0.0183	1.13
Economic Attributes of Destination										
Employment Growth	0.0324	3.30 **	0.0111	1.14	0.1052	12.78 ***	0.0575	3.59 ***	0.0514	4.03 ***
Per capita Income	0.0244	3.66 ***	0.0272	4.75 ***	-0.0252	-3.38 ***	-0.0209	-1.56	0.0324	4.34 ***
Ethnic Similarity of Destination Metro and Interaction with Personal Characteristics										
Ethnic Similarity	30.8070	14.58 ***	38.1578	8.02 ***	28.5949	15.78 ***	48.3402	6.01 ***	70.5437	6.21 ***
Ethnic Similarity with Less than Bachelor's degree	-7.8239	-2.74 **	-10.7371	-1.32	5.8540	2.65 **	-8.9892	-0.84	-28.0440	-1.62
Ethnic Similarity with English Not Well	-11.6335	-2.29 *	x	x	x	x	-5.6218	-0.30	22.1535	1.00
Ethnic Similarity with Recent Immigration	-4.5494	-1.39	2.2461	0.40	-6.1183	-1.82	-15.5103	-0.59	-17.0482	-0.89
Goodness of Fit										
McFadden's LRI	0.1925		0.1556		0.2022		0.1777		0.1761	
Observations	708		691		606		220		373	

Note: The choice set includes 150 largest metropolitan areas as potential destinations.
Significance Levels: *** p < .001, ** p < .01, * p < .05

Source: American Community Survey 2006-2008 3 Year Estimates