The Brookings Institution
Washington, DC

METROPOLITAN POLICY PROGRAM

From 'There' to 'Here': Refugee Resettlement in Metropolitan America

Audrey Singer and Jill H. Wilson

"Metropolitan areas are the critical context for refugees as they settle into communities and become active members of their neighborhoods, schools, and workplaces."

Findings

Although refugees only comprise approximately 10 percent of annual immigration to the United States, they are a distinct part of the foreign-born population in many metropolitan areas. Using data from the Office of Refugee Resettlement (ORR) on the location of initial settlement of refugees arriving between 1983 and 2004, this paper finds that:

- **More than 2 million refugees have arrived in the United States since the Refugee Act of 1980 was established, driven from their homelands by war, political change, and social, religious, and ethnic oppression.** These flows were marked first by refugees primarily from Southeast Asia and the Soviet Union in the 1970s and 1980s during the *Cold War period,* followed by Europe in the 1990s during *the Balkans period,* and now a growing number from Africa in the 2000s during the *civil conflict period.*

- **Refugees have overwhelmingly been resettled in metropolitan areas with large foreign-born populations.** Between 1983 and 2004, refugees have been resettled across many metropolitan areas in the United States, with 30 areas receiving 72 percent of the total. The largest resettlement areas have been in established immigrant gateways in California (Los Angeles, Orange County, San Jose, Sacramento), the Mid-Atlantic region (New York) and the Midwest (Chicago, Minneapolis-St. Paul), as well as newer gateways including Washington, DC; Seattle, WA; and Atlanta, GA.

- **In medium-sized and smaller metropolitan areas, refugees can have considerable impact on the local population, especially if the total foreign-born population is small.** Refugees dominate the overall foreign-born population in smaller places such as Utica, NY; Fargo, ND; Erie, PA; Sioux Falls, SD; and Binghamton, NY helping to stem overall population decline or stagnation. Medium-sized metropolitan areas like Fresno, CA; Des Moines, IA; Springfield, MA; and Spokane, WA also have a strong refugee presence.

- **The leading refugee destination metro areas have shifted away from traditional immigrant gateways over the past two decades, while newer gateways are resettling proportionally more refugees.** While New York, Los Angeles, and Chicago still accommodated large numbers of refugees in the 1990s, other metropolitan areas such as Seattle, Atlanta, and Portland (OR) have taken in increasing numbers. Furthermore, different groups of refugees have become associated with different metropolitan areas: Nearly half of Iranian refugees were resettled in metropolitan Los Angeles, one in five Iraqi refugees arrived in Detroit, and nearly one-third of refugees from the former Soviet Union were resettled in New York.

Unlike other immigrants, refugees have access to considerable federal, state, and local support to help them succeed economically and socially. Affordable housing, health care access, job training and placement, and language learning dominate the local service needs that need to be built and maintained. Ultimately though, metropolitan areas are the critical context for refugees as they settle into communities and become active members of their neighborhoods, schools, and workplaces.

LivingCities CensusSeries

Introduction

Most immigrants arrive in the United States having planned their journey. Often they know in advance where they will initially live and work when they arrive, and many can rely on family, friends, and compatriots to cushion their transition. In short, most immigrants have made choices about their future.

Refugees arrive under very different circumstances. Forced out of their home countries, often living in transitional quarters like temporary camps or housing in foreign countries, they often experience fear and uncertainty as they make their way to a safe place. Some refugees are uprooted from their home communities due to war, violence, and political conflict, as in Vietnam, Somalia, and Ethiopia. Others have experienced ethnic strife or religious persecution like the Albanians and Sudanese. The nature of their departure is unlike the path taken by the majority of contemporary immigrants to the United States and holds broad implications for their economic and social integration.

Similar to other immigrants in the United States, refugees possess a wide range of experiences and skills, and some are more accustomed to American life than others. Some refugees have work or language experience applicable to the U.S. labor market, but many do not. Some refugees are admitted to the United States because they have relatives already present, but many have no social ties nor any experience with U.S. institutions before they arrive.

The United States has a long history of providing safe haven for those escaping oppression and war. U.S. refugee policy has always been interconnected with foreign policy, most explicitly during the Cold War. Public opinion, pressure from congressional advocates, and media exposure to refugee situations can also influence who the United States admits through the program.[1]

Currently, the maximum number of refugee entries is set every year by the president after consultation with Congress, based on humanitarian crises and U.S. foreign policies and relations with other countries. During the 1980s and 1990s, the United States accepted an average of 100,000 refugees for resettlement annually. After the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, however, levels were curtailed as security and background checks were enhanced.

Refugees are admitted to the United States via the Refugee Act of 1980, separate from the immigrant admissions program that allows families and workers to immigrate for legal permanent residency. Potential refugees are screened outside of the United States and must be determined by an officer of the Department of Homeland Security or by the United Nations High Commission for Refugees as meeting official refugee criteria.[2] They must not be firmly settled in another country, yet they must be living in a country not their own.[3] Another important difference between those who enter as legal permanent residents (LPRs) and refugees is that once in the United States, refugees have a legal status that is immediately tied to public assistance programs, whereas legal permanent residents are restricted from using federal public assistance for their first five years in the United States. Perhaps more so than immigrants admitted as LPRs, refugees' experiences are shaped by the conditions of their departure as well as their reception in the United States.

For the first time, this paper reports the *metropolitan* settlement patterns of the approximately 1.6 million refugees resettled by the U.S. government between 1983 and 2004.[4] The majority of refugees are resettled in large and medium-sized metropolitan areas, both in cities and suburbs. Although they often move after initial resettlement, where they land first has important implications for those places as well as for the refugees themselves.

Metropolitan areas, where refugees have their first brush with America, serve as the immediate context for their initial encounters with the culture, lifestyle, and U.S. institutions and bureaucracies. But metropolitan areas are not monolithic, representing diverse settings where the social, cultural, and economic incorporation of refugees unfolds. In major immigrant gateways such as New York, Los Angeles, and Chicago, where immigrants are plentiful and dispersed around the metropolitan area, refugees comprise a small proportion of the larger foreign-born mix. These kinds of places have experience in incorporating large and steady streams of the foreign born, especially in schools and the labor force. Refugees may benefit from the broader immigration dynamic, and their integration in these contexts may be quite different from those areas with low levels of immigration.

In other metropolitan areas, including those with few recent immigrants such as St. Louis and Baltimore, or smaller places like Utica, Des Moines, and Spokane, refugees have a potentially larger impact on local economies and neighborhoods. Because refugees begin their new lives in the United States relying upon organizations to assist them with basic needs such as housing, workforce readiness, and English language learning, in smaller metropolitan areas, they are often more visible and represent the public's primary encounter with immigration in these communities.

Often, comparative research on immigration to U.S. metropolitan areas does not distinguish between immigrants and refugees. However, the circumstances of refugee migration are distinct from other immigration. The refugee experience reflects the interplay between international, national, and local actors and institu-

tions. However, the refugee resettlement experience in practice is very much influenced by the availability and efforts of distinctly local resources and institutions. Refugees comprise but a small component of the overall flow of immigrants into the United States. During the past 20 years, refugees made up approximately 10 percent of all persons receiving legal permanent residency annually (DHS, 2004 Yearbook of Immigration Statistics). It is estimated that together, persons admitted to the United States as refugees and asylees comprise about 7 percent of the foreign-born stock currently living in the United States.[5]

This paper begins with an overview of how the U.S. refugee program works, including how refugees are placed in U.S. communities. Following this discussion is an analysis of refugee resettlement trends by decade, region and country of origin, and U.S. metropolitan destination. The paper then examines the role of refugees in the growth and change of the foreign-born population. Finally, several communities are examined in brief to provide a comparative study of how the context of refugee resettlement differs across metropolitan areas and what this means for their incorporation into the United States. By linking refugee resettlement to metropolitan areas we hope to highlight differences across places, and also address the implications for service provision and demographic change within receiving areas.

Background

Historical Flows and the Emergence of U.S. Refugee Policy

There are an estimated 12 million refugees in the world today. Defined in the 1951 U.N. Refugee Convention as people who are outside their homeland and are unwilling to return because of "a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion," refugees face an uncertain future. The U.N. recognizes three "durable solutions" for refugees, in order of preference: voluntary repatriation to their homeland, integration into the host society (known as the "country of first asylum"), or resettlement to a third country. This last option is pursued when the first two are not feasible, and less than one percent of the world's refugees are referred for resettlement.

Reflecting its humanitarian values and tradition of being a safe haven, the U.S. maintains a policy of refugee acceptance. Of the ten countries that carry out resettlement programs, the U.S. accepts more than double the number of refugees accepted by the other nine countries combined. Factors influencing the U.S. government's decisions to resettle particular refugees are a mixture of humanitarian and utilitarian: kinship, religious, and ethnic ties, a sense of guilt or obligation (especially following military involvement in another country), urgent human rights violations, and the desire to encourage 'burden sharing' whereby countries of first asylum allow refugees to remain within their borders.[6]

The first refugee legislation enacted in the U.S. was the Displaced Persons Act of 1948, which followed the admission of 250,000 Europeans displaced after World War II, and provided for an additional 400,000 admissions. Subsequent legislation focused on persons fleeing Communist regimes (mainly in Hungary, then-Yugoslavia, Korea, China, and Cuba). When Hungary was overtaken by the Soviet military in 1956, the United States began a series of refugee programs that relied on the attorney general's "parole" authority to provide special permission to allow entry of refugees into the country due to urgent humanitarian reasons. In most cases parolees were admitted temporarily and later were granted permanent residence status. Thus, hundreds of thousands of Cubans who sought asylum in the United States in the 1960s and 1970s were paroled into the United States, as were hundreds of thousands of Southeast Asians following the fall of Saigon to the North Vietnamese in 1975.[7]

In 1975, the U.S. created the Indochinese Refugee Task Force to begin to resettle hundreds of thousands of Indochinese displaced by the Vietnam War. Since that time, over 1.4 million Indochinese have been resettled in the U.S., and together with those from the former Soviet Union, they make up nearly 77 percent of the 2.4 million refugees who have been resettled in the U.S. since 1975.[8]

Realizing the ongoing need for the resettlement of refugees, Congress passed the **Refugee Act of 1980** to systematize entry into the United States and to standardize the domestic services provided to all refugees admitted to the U.S. This act statutorily defines refugees admitted to the United States as provided by the U.N. Refugee Convention. It also authorizes Congress to set annual ceilings for regular and emergency admissions and allows for federal funding to support refugee resettlement. Furthermore, it provides for the adjustment to permanent residence status for refugees who have been present in the country for at least one year.

Between April and October of 1980, 125,000 Cubans arrived by boat in Southern Florida in what became known as the Mariel boatlift. These

arrivals immediately challenged the just-enacted refugee system allowing for the entry of refugees from abroad. In addition, Haitians fleeing their country's deteriorating economic and political conditions began arriving by boat in the 1980s. By arriving directly to U.S. waters, Cubans and Haitians were not considered to be refugees under the provision of the Refugee Act, which stipulated that refugees were to be processed outside the United States. In 1994, another wave of Cubans and Haitians began arriving by boat to the United States. More than 30,000 Cubans and more than 20,000 Haitians were interdicted at sea and sent to camps in Guantanamo Bay, Cuba. Most of the Cubans were eventually admitted to the United States after several agreements were made between the United States and Cuba. About half of the Haitians were paroled into the U.S. after being pre-screened at Guantanamo and determined to have a credible fear of persecution if returned to Haiti. The current "wet foot-dry foot" policy allows Cubans who reach U.S. soil to stay, but turns those caught at sea back to Cuba unless they can demonstrate a well-founded fear of persecution. Haitians—like all other nationalities seeking asylum—are not accorded the same exception to the rule, and must demonstrate a fear of persecution no matter where they are intercepted.

In 1989, the Lautenberg Amendment was enacted, easing the admission criteria for Jews and Evangelical Christians from the former Soviet Union, Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam. Under this law, now called the Specter Amendment and expanded to include religious minorities from Iran, persons are required to provide evidence of the possibility of persecution, rather than its actual occurrence. This legislation has boosted the number of refugees from these countries.

From "There" to "Here:" The U.S. Refugee Program

How refugees wind up living in U.S. communities is a multi-layered process that involves U.S. and international public and private entities. First, an international priority system is used to identify those most in need of resettlement. Priority One (P1) are those people (usually individuals but recently groups have been identified) that are referred by the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) or U.S. embassies and are usually in imminent danger. The U.S. has committed to accepting half of such referrals, and P1 refugees make up about one-third of those admitted to this country. The State Department's Bureau for Population, Refugees, and Migration (PRM) identifies groups "of special humanitarian concern" as Priority Two (P2). Examples include the Somali Bantu, Baku Armenians, Cubans, and Iranian religious minorities. P2s make up about half of refugees. Priority Three (P3) are close family members of refugees already resettled in the U.S. from a handful of eligible countries (currently Burma, Burundi, Colombia, Republic of Congo, Democratic Republic of Congo, Iran, Liberia, Somalia, and Sudan). P3s make up about 20 percent of refugees.

Unlike asylum seekers who apply for protection after arriving on U.S. soil, refugees receive permission to immigrate to the U.S. while they are still abroad. Overseas Processing Entities (OPEs) such as the International Organization for Migration (IOM) are contracted by the PRM to prepare cases for submission to the Department of Homeland Security (DHS). DHS reviews refugee applications, runs background checks, interviews individuals, and makes the legal determination of refugee admission. The State Department manages cultural orientation and, through the IOM, transportation to the U.S. (as a loan to be repaid by the refugee).

Voluntary agencies ("volags" in the vernacular) based in New York and Washington meet with PRM staff on a weekly basis to determine which refugees will go to which states. PRM provides reception and placement (R&P) services to refugees for their first 30 days in the country. The Office of Refugee Resettlement in the Department of Health and Human Services provides funds to participating states and volags (and their local partners) to provide assistance with housing, employment, language learning, and other services for four to eight months after arrival. Longer term assistance is available through state social service programs as well as private, non-profit refugee organizations known as Mutual Assistance Associations (MAAs), which also provide a way for refugees to connect with their compatriots in the U.S.

U.S. refugee policy is made at the federal level, but local actors—particularly the volags and state refugee coordinators—play important roles in determining where refugees settle. In this public-private partnership, there are ten national volags, each of which maintains a network of local partners. The U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops is the largest volag with about 300 local affiliates.[10] The weekly placement decisions made by the national volags and PRM are, when possible, based on the location of refugees' family members or pre-existing ethnic communities. About two-thirds of refugee cases are "tied" or "family" cases, where refugees are joining families or friends, and placement must be made within one hundred miles of a local volag affiliate office. The other one-third are "free" cases, where the refugee has no contacts in the U.S. These placements must be made within 50 miles of a local volag office. In the case of no pre-existing ethnic community or family ties, placement decisions are based on the availability of jobs, affordable housing, receptivity of the local community, specialized services (such as trauma centers for

post-traumatic stress disorder), and the strength of the local volag affiliate.[11]

With the exception of Wyoming, which opted out of the refugee program, each state has a refugee coordinator, who usually works in the department of health or social services. The state refugee coordinator is responsible for submitting the annual state plan for refugee assistance to ORR, which is used for allocating federal funds for cash and medical assistance to refugees, and overseeing the administration of federal and state funds for refugees. The coordinator also keeps statistics on immigrants, refugees, asylees, and secondary migrants in their state, and is aware of projections of arriving refugees. The coordinator serves as a liaison between local jurisdictions and volags and is the main point of contact for local government officials regarding refugee issues.

The U.S. refugee resettlement program aims to promote early economic self-sufficiency among refugees. Many local organizations and volunteers work with refugees to assist in getting them acclimated. Refugees resettled in the U.S. are automatically granted employment authorization, and after one year may apply for legal permanent residence. In its annual report for 2002, the Office of Refugee Resettlement reported that a survey of refugees residing in the United States for less than five years had labor force participation rates similar to the total U.S. population and that 69 percent were entirely self-sufficient and did not need cash assistance.[12] Refugees are eligible for Refugee Cash Assistance (RCA) and Refugee Medical Assistance (RMA) for no longer than eight months after their arrival, and volags typically provide assistance for the first four to eight months that a refugee is in the country.

Data and Methodology

The primary data source for this study comes from a special data tabulation of the Worldwide Refugee Application Processing System (WRAPS), obtained from the U.S. Office of Refugee Resettlement (ORR). These records include all refugees who were granted refugee status and admitted to the United States for the 1983–2004 period. It does not include various classes of entrants under ORR's purview, including asylees, Amerasians, and Cuban and Haitian entrants. It excludes refugees who arrived prior to FY1983 because the data are unavailable from ORR. Data on age and sex composition are not provided.

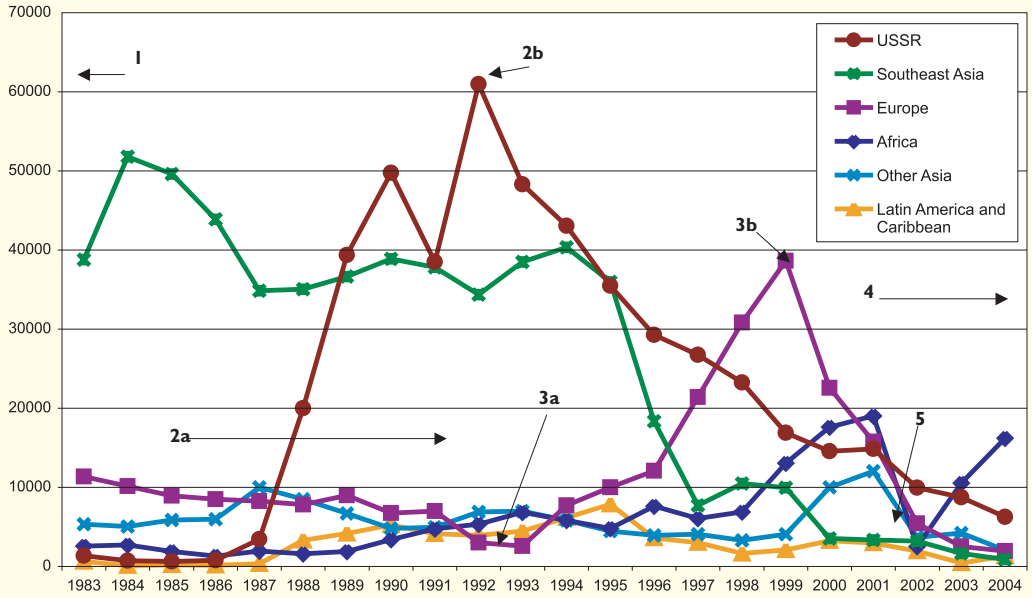
The data include the refugee's year of entry, country of origin, and place resettled (city, county, and state) in the United States. Year of entry refers to the U.S. government's fiscal year (October 1 through September 30) during which the refugee entered the U.S. All years refer to federal fiscal years (for example 1983 is October 1982-September 1983), with the exception of 2004, which runs through June of that year. Although the U.S. refugee program predates this period, records that include metropolitan area data are only available for the 1983–2004 period.

Country of origin refers to the country from which the refugee originally fled. Thus, a Somali in a refugee camp in Kenya who was resettled in the U.S. would be counted under "Somalia." Over time, some national boundaries have changed, and new countries have formed. For the purposes of this analysis, the former Soviet republics are counted as "USSR" throughout the time period. Former USSR includes the following present-day nations: Azerbaijan, Armenia, Belarus, Estonia, Georgia, Latvia, Lithuania, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Russia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and Ukraine. Refugees from Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Serbia and Montenegro, Kosovo, and Slovenia are all included in "Yugoslavia." After 1993, when Eritrea became a separate nation, Eritrean refugees are counted separately from Ethiopians. In total, more than 125 countries are represented in the data.

In this dataset, "place resettled" refers to the location of the local voluntary agency responsible for the initial placement of the refugee. Therefore, the data are presented for the metropolitan area where refugees are first resettled, not necessarily where they reside at the present time. Resettlement policy requires the placement of refugees within 100 miles (50 miles in the case of "free cases") of the local voluntary agency responsible for their resettlement. Data on the place of resettlement (city, state) were aggregated to metropolitan areas, by overlaying the metropolitan area boundaries (using 1999 OMB MSA/PMSA definitions) on the point location of the cities using GIS. Some records were missing city data, in which case we used county data to determine the metropolitan area. All points that did not fall within a metropolitan area were coded "nonmetropolitan" (accounting for 33,255 refugees or 2 percent of the total). Records with neither city nor county data (24,022 refugees or less than 2 percent of the total) were coded "unknown" for metropolitan status, as were a small number of records with place names that could not be identified. All but two of the 331 metropolitan areas in the U.S. received at least one refugee during the time period; 168 metros received 500 or more.[13]

For comparative purposes, this study also uses Census 2000 Summary Files for the metropolitan area of residence of the foreign-born population residing in the U.S. on April 1, 2000. As measured by the Census Bureau, the foreign-born population includes

Figure 1. Major Refugee Flows by Region of Origin, 1983–2004



1. *Large Cuban and Indochinese waves of refugees, prior to 1983*
2a. ***Cold War Period:*** *Glastnost/Perestroika, 1985–1991*
2b. *Soviet Union dismantled, Dec.1991*
3a. ***Balkans Period****: Break-up of Yugoslavia, 1992*
3b. *Expulsions of ethnic Albanians in Kosovo, 1998*
4. ***Civil Conflict Period****: Somalia, Sudan, Liberia, Ethiopia, late1990s-present*
5. *Terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001*

anyone not a U.S. citizen at birth, and data are not differentiated by legal status. These data therefore include refugees resettled prior to April, 2000 who were residing in the United States at the time of the census. But they also include other statuses of immigrants such as LPRs, naturalized citizens, temporary immigrants, and the undocumented. Refugees cannot be isolated and identified among the foreign-born in census data. These census data are used to compare the overall foreign-born directly with the refugee population in metropolitan areas.

Country-level data are not always directly comparable between Census and ORR since the Census Summary Files do not disaggregate data into the smaller country-of-origin populations. Thus, data on some major refugee source countries are not explicitly available from Census. Somalia, for example, would be included under the broader category of "Other East Africa" in Census data. Likewise, many of the refugees counted under "Yugoslavia" in the ORR dataset would be counted under "Bosnia and Herzegovina," "Serbia and Montenegro," etc. in the Census data.

Findings

A. More than 2 million refugees have arrived in the United States since the Refugee Act of 1980 was established, driven from their homelands by war, political change, and social and ethnic oppression. Figure 1 shows the major refugee entries to the United States during the 1983 to 2004 period by region of origin. These twenty years can be broken into three distinct periods, characterized by the origins of the refugees admitted to the United States. [14]

Several origin countries dominate *the Cold War period,* beginning prior to the start of the Refugee Act in 1980 and extending to the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991. During this time, large numbers of refugees fleeing communism were welcomed, and the largest source of refugees was from the USSR (154,630). After the Soviet Union was dismantled in late-1991, refugee admissions from this region continued but began to decline and by the mid-1990s they were half the number of their 60,000 peak in 1992. During the long-running Vietnamese War, several waves of refugees from Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos were admitted to the United States. They are grouped together in the Southeast Asian category in Figure 1, and between 1983 and 1991 the United States admitted between 35,000 to 52,000 each year, for a total

Table 1. Largest Refugee Sending Countries, 1983–2004^

Rank	Country	Total Refugees, 1983–2004
1	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics*	493,040
2	Vietnam	387,741
3	Yugoslavia**	168,644
4	Laos	113,504
5	Cambodia	71,433
6	Iran	61,349
7	Cuba	51,787
8	Somalia	47,753
9	Iraq	35,252
10	Ethiopia	35,144
11	Romania	34,665
12	Afghanistan	31,180
13	Poland	28,809
14	Sudan	22,647
15	Liberia	20,925
16	Czech Republic	7,535
17	Haiti	6,815
18	Sierra Leone	6,028
19	Hungary	5,124
20	Albania	3,660
21	Democratic Republic of Congo	3,191
22	Burma	2,714
23	Bulgaria	1,971
24	Austria	1,541
25	Nicaragua	1,536
26	Nigeria	1,249
27	Rwanda	1,238
28	Togo	1,038
29	Burundi	908
30	Colombia	504

^ Refers to fiscal years with the exception of 2004, for which data ends in June

** This category includes all the newly formed countries of the Former Soviet Union after 1992.*

*** This category includes all the newly formed countries of the former Yugoslavia after 1992.*

Source: Authors' tabulation of ORR data

of 367,174. Their entry into the United States also preceded the U.S. Refugee Act, as mentioned above.

Two events punctuated *the Balkans period* between 1992 and 2000. Yugoslavia began to break up in 1992, and the United States commenced admitting refugees from the successor states of Yugoslavia: primarily Bosnia and Herzegovina, but also Serbia and Montenegro (including Kosovo), Croatia, Macedonia, and Slovenia. In 1998, Kosovar Albanians rebelled against Serbian rule and many fled, eventually becoming refugees entering the United States. Altogether in this second period 146,534 refugees were admitted from the Balkans.

The third period from the late 1990s to the present includes refugees from more diverse origins. The *civil conflict period* is characterized largely by the many refugees fleeing conflict in Africa during the late-1990s to the present. Due to political and civil clashes on the African continent, Somali, Sudanese, Liberian, and Ethiopian refugees make up the majority of admissions. But another important source is refugees from the category "other Asia," mainly Iran, Iraq, and Afghanistan.

This period is also marked by the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, which temporarily halted the flow of all refugees into the United States. The number of refugee approvals was curtailed, and admissions currently remain well below levels prior to the attacks.[15] Refugee admissions from most regions other than Africa were already on the decline by the late-1990s. The ceiling for FY 2006 has been set at 70,000 for refugees from all regions, with 30,000 allotted to Africa.

Refugees have come from more than 125 countries during the period under study and number 1,655,406 in total. Despite this number, flows are dominated by the nearly half a million refugees from the former Soviet Union arriving during the 1983–2004 period. (See Table 1 for the largest refugee sending countries.) The second largest group, the Vietnamese, total nearly 400,000. Following these two groups, refugees from other countries register much lower overall numbers. The next two largest groups, the former Yugoslavia and Laos are nearly 169,000 and 114,000 respectively. These countries are followed by Cambodia (61,000), Iran (52,000), Cuba (48,000), Somalia (35,000), Iraq (35,000), and Ethiopia (35,000). Romania, Afghanistan, Poland, Sudan, and Liberia have between 20,000 and 35,000 refugee arrivals for the period. Fifteen countries—primarily from Africa and Eastern Europe—each sent between 1,000 and 7,500 refugees to the United States.

Nationality often masks the persecuted ethnic or religious minority groups to which a refugee belongs. For example, the Hmong are largely from

Laos but also from Vietnam, and both countries have a number of other distinct ethnic and linguistic groups that also are refugees. Another example is that of the successor states of the Soviet Union, which are grouped together in this dataset but they actually represent various religious and ethnic groups. These sub- or supranational identities have important implications for integration into U.S. communities. Furthermore, religion is a factor for many refugees' decisions to relocate once in the United States. Cambodian and Laotian Buddhists, for example, have migrated from initial settlement areas to the Piedmont Triad area in North Carolina because of a temple that was established in Greensboro. Refugees originally were attracted to the area due to factory jobs. The economic stability of the region inspired many to put down roots and the temple, its services, and monk became well-known, which served to draw a wider group to the area.[16] Because many of the voluntary agencies are associated with a particular origin or religious group, some may "specialize" in resettling particular refugee groups, resulting in concentrations of particular groups in specific areas.

B. Refugees have overwhelmingly been resettled in metropolitan areas with large foreign-born populations. Refugees have been resettled across all U.S. states and the District of Columbia. California and New York have absorbed the most refugees during the past twenty years with 405,806 and 235,325 respectively. Texas, Washington state, Florida, Illinois, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and Minnesota follow, each with between 48,000 and nearly 86,000 refugees resettled. Together 67 percent of all refugees were resettled in these nine states. Fifteen other states have resettled between 15,000 and 43,000 refugees, and the remaining 27 states have resettled fewer than 15,000 (See Figure 2 and Table 2).

Table 2 provides a side-by-side comparison of the ten states with the largest number of refugees resettled and the largest foreign-born resident population. The appearance of Washington in the fourth spot on the refugee side is significant, as metropolitan Seattle's refugee population is making an impact on that state's ranking. The appearance of Pennsylvania and Minnesota on the list of top ten receiving states is also salient, as these two states are less likely overall to receive other foreign-born residents.

More than 95 percent of all refugees admitted have been resettled in cities and suburbs of metropolitan areas, or 1,575,925 refugees in total during the period of study. The U.S. refugee program aims to disperse refugees throughout communities so as not to place a burden on specific localities or agencies. But the program works first to reunite refugees with relatives and others with ties to anchor them in their new communities and to ease the incorporation process.[17]

Refugees are free to move after their initial placement. Often they move to areas where there are established communities of others from the same part of the world or with the same ethnic or religious identity. An ORR survey reports that much of the secondary migration among refugees

Table 2. Ten States with Largest Number of Refugees Resettled and Largest Number of Foreign-Born Residents

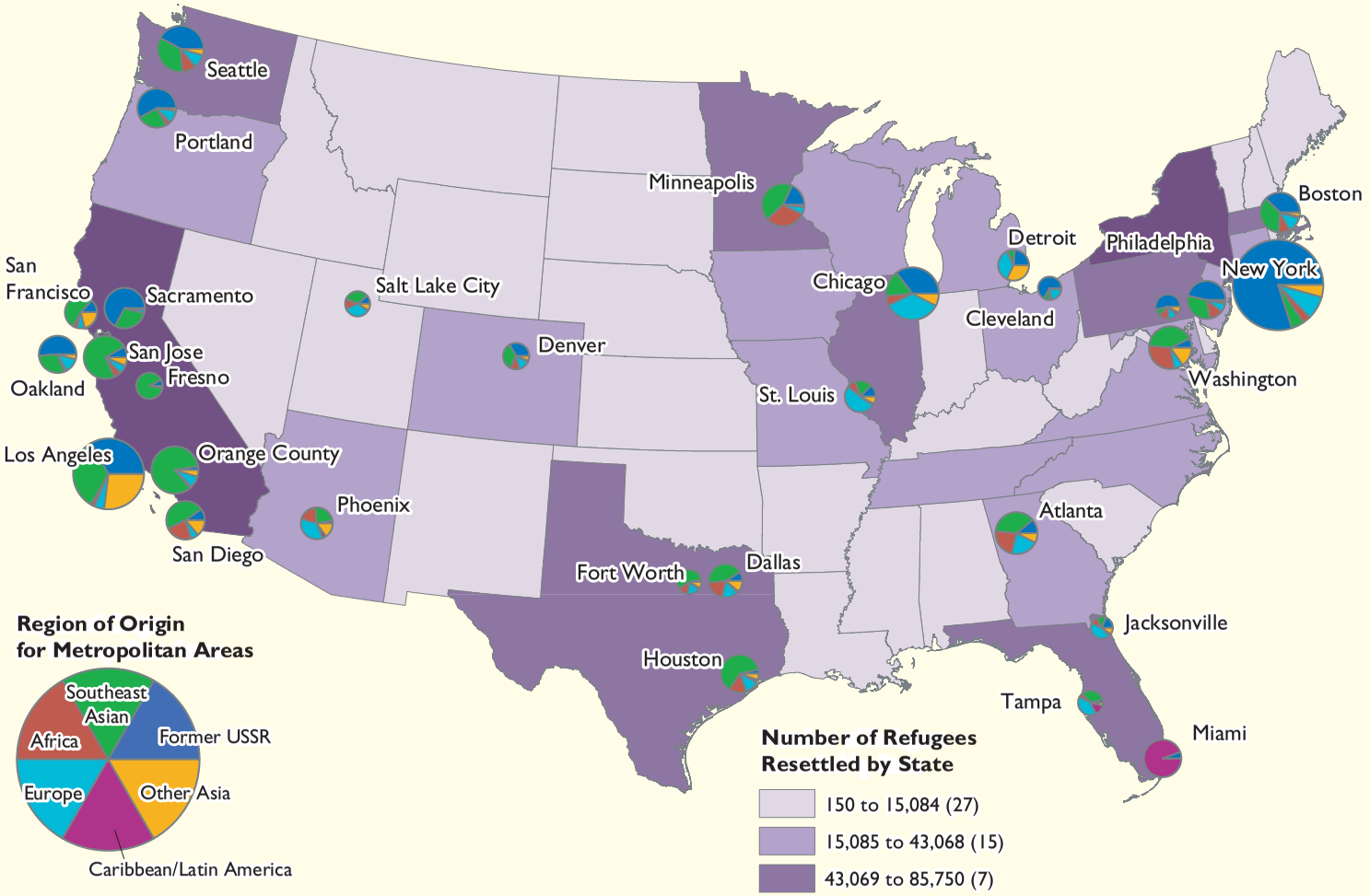
State	Number of Refugees*	Percent of All U.S. Refugees	State	Number of Foreign Born**	Percent of All U.S. Foreign Born
California	405,806	24.5	California	8,864,255	28.5
New York	235,325	14.2	New York	3,868,133	12.4
Texas	85,750	5.2	Texas	2,899,642	9.3
Washington	81,857	4.9	Florida	2,670,828	8.6
Florida	73,211	4.4	Illinois	1,529,058	4.9
Illinois	70,248	4.2	New Jersey	1,476,327	4.7
Massachusetts	54,000	3.3	Massachusetts	772,983	2.5
Pennsylvania	52,095	3.1	Arizona	656,183	2.1
Minnesota	48,820	2.9	Washington	614,457	2.0
Georgia	43,068	2.6	Georgia	577,273	1.9
Totals	1,655,406	69.5		31,107,889	76.9

**Number of refugees initially resetted in that state during the 1983-2004 period.*

***Total number of foreign-born residents, 2000.*

Source: Authors' tabulation of ORR and Census 2000 data

Figure 2. Metropolitan Areas with Largest Refugee Populations Resettled, 1983–2004



Note: Size of circle is proportional to number of refugees resettled. See Table 3 for numerical data.

Source: Authors' tabulations of ORR data

occurs during their first few years in the United States.[18] Refugees generally report that they move for better employment opportunities, to join family members, to live with others in established ethnic communities, to obtain better welfare benefits or training opportunities, or to live in a better climate. In its 2002 report to Congress, ORR showed that nearly every state experienced both in- and out-migration of refugees and that twenty states had a net gain during that year. California, Florida, Ohio, and Minnesota each had a net increase of approximately between 1,000 and 2,000 refugees, while New York and Texas had the largest net out-migration. Ohio, Minnesota, and Washington were also top states for in-migration while New Jersey and Virginia saw movements out among refugees.

With these secondary migration considerations in mind, it is still useful to examine where refugees land because of the outreach needed and the impact on those metropolitan areas. Figure 2 shows the 30 metropolitan areas that have received the largest number of refugees. They represent 73 percent of the total flow of refugees—at the time of their initial settlement, not necessarily where they live now. It is not surprising that the two places that are the largest contemporary immigrant gateways, New York and Los Angeles-Long Beach, have also resettled the greatest number of refugees. However, the refugee source country composition is quite different in each. Among the 186,522 refugees who were placed in New York during the 1983–2004 period, the vast majority were from the former Soviet Union. Los Angeles' 114,605 refugees comprise a different distribution: Nearly one-third each are from Southeast Asia (lead by those from Vietnam), the former USSR, and "Other Asia" (the majority coming from Iran). These refugees provide a striking contrast to the overall foreign-born population in greater Los Angeles, led by Mexican and Central American immigrants.

Following the two largest gateways is Chicago. While Chicago's refugees are weighted toward Europe, there is also a mixture of people who fled oppression from various parts of Asia and the Middle East. Also notable on this map are the many metropolitan areas in California with large numbers of refugees coming from Southeast Asia. In contrast to New York, Northeastern cities from Boston to Washington are comprised of a more diverse mix of refugee source countries. Washington stands out with one of the largest proportions of African refugees. Minneapolis shares that attribute, and also has a sizable Southeast Asian population.

The refugee population generally mirrors the immigrant population in terms of its geography of settlement; however, Table 3 also reveals differences between a metropolitan area's

Table 3. Top Metropolitan Areas of Refugee Resettlement (1983–2004)^ with Foreign-born Population Rank, 2000

Refugee Rank	Foreign-born Rank	Metropolitan Area	Refugees Resettled
1	2	New York	186,522
2	1	Los Angeles	114,606
3	3	Chicago	63,322
4	6	Orange County	50,714
5	23	Seattle	48,573
6	12	San Jose	42,565
7	7	Washington	41,795
8	30	Minneapolis-St. Paul	41,239
9	16	Atlanta	40,149
10	29	Sacramento	37,436
11	14	Boston	36,232
12	31	Portland	34,292
13	13	San Diego	33,976
14	20	Philadelphia	32,981
15	15	Houston	32,869
16	4	Miami	31,965
17	13	San Francisco	31,879
18	10	Dallas	25,867
19	11	Oakland	23,558
20	15	Phoenix	23,072
21	60	St. Louis	22,046
22	22	Detroit	21,562
23	35	Fresno	16,020
24	28	Denver	15,848
25	47	Salt Lake City	14,308
26	27	Tampa	14,079
27	42	Baltimore	13,648
28	34	Fort Worth	13,561
29	46	Cleveland	12,494
30	71	Jacksonville	11,156

^ Refers to fiscal years with the exception of 2004, for which data ends in June
Source: Authors' tabulation of ORR and Census 2000 data

foreign-born stock and its flow of refugees.[20] The top three immigrant receiving metros are also the most common places where refugees are resettled, totaling 23 percent of all refugees.

Below this rank, the refugee-receiving metro areas do not conveniently fall into the expected order based on their total foreign-born populations. The next two metropolitan areas on the refugee scale are Orange County, CA and Seattle, each with approximately 50,000 refugees resettled during the period under study. While Orange County is the sixth-ranked metro area in terms of total foreign born, it ranks a comparable fourth on the refugee scale. Contrast this with Seattle, ranked as receiving the fifth largest number of refugees during the period, but ranking only 23rd in the total number of foreign-born residents.

Washington, Boston, San Diego, and Houston host large foreign-born populations and rank high on the refugee list. By comparison, a number of metropolitan areas that took in between 33,000 and 43,000 refugees over the twenty-year period "jump rank" when compared to their foreign-born ranking of metropolitan areas. Five of these places (Seattle, San Jose, Minneapolis-St. Paul, Sacramento, and Portland, OR) have been identified in an earlier Brookings report as *re-emerging* immigrant gateways. These are places that saw a resurgence in their foreign-born population in the 1990s, which can partly be explained by the arrival of refugees.[21]

Continuing down the list reveals that many places receiving a sizeable number of refugees were not necessarily ranked near the top for foreign-born population. For instance, St. Louis was ranked only 60 on the list of metropolitan area foreign-born population, but 21st on the refugee list, owing largely to the influx of Bosnian refugees. Similarly, Portland is the 12th largest receiver of refugees, but in 2000, was ranked only 31st among all metropolitan areas for its foreign-born population.

Table 4. Top Medium-sized Metropolitan Areas* and Refugees Resettled, 1990–1999

Metro Name	Total Population, 2000	Refugees Resettled, 1990–1999	Refugees Resettled 1983–2004
Fresno, CA	922,516	9,240	16,020
Utica-Rome, NY	299,896	6,084	9,148
Des Moines, IA	456,022	5,540	9,635
Springfield, MA	591,932	4,802	7,826
Spokane, WA	417,939	4,466	6,802
Stockton-Lodi, CA	563,598	4,199	9,633
Tacoma, WA	700,820	4,188	8,132
Lincoln, NE	250,291	4,131	5,939
Richmond-Petersburg, VA	996,512	3,803	7,956
Lansing-East Lansing, MI	447,728	3,350	5,369

**Metropolitan areas with less than one million population but more than 250,000, with at least 3,000 refugees resettled.*

Source: Authors' tabulation of ORR and Census 2000 data

C. In medium-sized and smaller metropolitan areas, refugees can have considerable impact on the local population, especially if the total foreign-born population is small.

Large metropolitan areas with many immigrants are not the only places that have received refugees. Refugees have been transplanted from abroad to a surprising number of smaller locations throughout the United States. Among metropolitan areas with fewer than 1 million inhabitants and greater than 3,000 resettled refugees in the 1990s, Fresno stands at the top with more than 16,000 refugees resettled during the 20 year period of study, and 9,000 refugees resettled in the 1990s alone (Table 4). Along with Fresno, Stockton is another mid-sized California metro area that resettled many refugees. Both metro areas have sizable nonrefugee immigrant residents, providing a precedent for hosting the foreign-born.

Most of the metropolitan areas on the rest of the list—Utica, NY; Des Moines, IA; Springfield, MA; Spokane, WA; Tacoma, WA; and Lincoln, NE—do not readily spring to mind as the typical immigration magnet area. Yet each of these six metropolitan areas had more than 4,000 refugees resettled in the 1990s alone, on par with larger metropolitan areas like Riverside-San Bernardino, CA; Milwaukee, WI; St. Louis, MO; and Nashville, TN (see Appendix B for number of refugees resettled by metropolitan area, by decade).

To get a better idea of local impact on the population we calculate the ratio of refugees resettled in the 1990s to all foreign-born newcomers in the decade. As previously mentioned, the U.S. Census does not identify refugees separately (all foreign-born are grouped together). Therefore this measure uses two separate data sources to aid in understanding the size of a local refugee population relative to its total foreign-born population. We use Census 2000 data to identify the number of foreign-born residents present in a metropolitan area who entered the United States between 1990 and 2000. We then calculate the ratio of refugees resettled

Table 5. Total Population Change and Ratio of Refugees Resettled to Recently Arrived Foreign-Born, 1990–2000

Metropolitan Area	Total Refugees Resettled, 1990–1999	Foreign Born Present in 2000 Who Entered 1990–2000	Refugees as Percent of Recently Arrived Foreign Born
Utica-Rome NY	6,084	7,013	86.6
Fargo-Moorhead ND-MN	2,718	3,572	76.1
Erie PA	2,969	3,992	74.4
Sioux Falls SD	2,684	4,391	61.1
Binghamton NY	2,601	4,760	54.6
Spokane WA	4,466	9,131	48.9
Portland ME	1,871	3,888	48.1
Lincoln NE	4,131	9,398	44.0
Waterloo-Cedar Falls IA	1,397	3,307	42.2
Burlington VT	1,803	4,559	39.5
Manchester NH	2,325	6,096	38.1
Des Moines IA	5,540	14,722	37.6
Louisville KY-IN	5,483	16,556	33.1
St. Louis MO-IL	13,188	41,073	32.1
Harrisburg-Lebanon-Carlisle PA	2,937	9,294	31.6
Jacksonville FL	6,991	23,388	29.9
Springfield MA	4,802	16,266	29.5
Lansing-East Lansing MI	3,350	11,823	28.3
Buffalo-Niagara Falls NY	4,112	16,322	25.2
Appleton-Oshkosh-Neenah WI	1,173	4,673	25.1

Source: Authors' tabulations of ORR and Census 2000 data

from 1990 to 1999 (obtained from the ORR data) to the foreign-born, yielding a rough measure of the proportion of newcomers likely to be refugees. This ratio, while revealing, should be interpreted cautiously because it does not represent a one-to-one correspondence between refugees and all foreign born. Specifically, the ORR refugee data correspond to refugees resettled in a metro area over the 1990s, but do not account for subsequent moves into and out of the metropolitan areas. Likewise, the Census data represent the entire foreign-born stock residing within a metropolitan area in 2000 without regard to legal status.[22]

Examining this ratio in Appendix A shows that refugees dominate the foreign-born population in many small- and medium-sized metropolitan areas. In Utica-Rome, NY; Fargo-Moorhead, SD; Erie, PA; Sioux Falls, SD; and Binghamton, NY most of the recent foreign-born appear to be refugees (either from the former Soviet Union or the Balkans), as approximated by the refugee-to-foreign-born ratio, which is higher than 50 percent in these places (See Table 5). It is likely that in these places and others with ratios higher than 25 percent the refugee population has fairly high visibility, in part due to the relative racial homogeneity of the resident population. This ratio was calculated for all metropolitan areas and shown in Appendix A.

Notably, there are a few places with relatively high ratios (between 17 and 25), where there exist both large numbers of newcomer refugees and large foreign-born populations. Sacramento, CA; Portland, OR: Seattle, WA; and Minneapolis-St. Paul, MN all received large numbers of refugees in the 1990s contributing to a re-emergence of these places as immigrant gateways.[23] These places have a large foreign-born base population and an identity as destination areas, and over time have attracted others through secondary and tertiary migration.

This trend stands in marked contrast to many larger metropolitan areas which tend to have far greater numbers of other immigrants relative to those entering as refugees. For example, many immigrant-rich large metropolitan areas such as Oakland, Houston, Dallas, TX and Los Angeles-Long Beach, CA had more than 12,000 refugees resettled during the 1990s. However, because of the size of their non-refugee immigrant population (each metro area had more than half a million foreign-born in 2000), their ratios registered very low.

While Appendix A does not show the numbers, a review of total population growth during the 1990s reveals that many places with high refugee-to-foreign-born ratios such as Utica, NY; Erie, PA; Binghamton, NY; Waterloo, IA; Louisville, KY; St. Louis, MO; Springfield, MA: Lansing, MI; and Buffalo, NY had negative or stagnant population growth. This suggests that refugees played an important role in helping to staunch further population decline in these metropolitan areas.

In addition, there is a mechanism by which ORR assesses that ability of local areas to welcome refugees, the Preferred Communities Program. Grants are given to voluntary agencies to resettle refugees in places where there is relatively low unemployment, a history of low welfare utilization, and a favorable cost of living relative to earning potential. To the extent that local leaders made a conscious choice in recruiting refugees to their localities through this program, they need to demonstrate the ability of the community to come up with jobs and housing.

Several of these metropolitan areas have benefited from this program.

Relatively large refugee populations can have a high impact in smaller metropolitan areas. The reality of providing services and preparing refugees for the workplace means that smaller metropolitan areas with few other immigrants must be proactive in moving refugees toward economic independence. But a more isolated refugee population can also have a transformative effect. Some cities and metropolitan areas have seen refugees revitalize distressed neighborhoods by starting business and restoring houses, and this has prompted some cities to actively recruit refugees and other immigrants as a way to induce growth in their population.

Another impact is that even a small number of refugees can change the race and ethnic composition of a homogenous resident population. In some of these former industrial centers, where population has been on the decline, refugees have served to diversify the population unexpectedly.

D. The leading refugee destination metro areas have shifted away from traditional immigrant gateways over the past two decades, while newer gateways are resettling proportionally more refugees.

This section explores the differences in the spatial distribution of refugees across areas, with particular attention to concentration of groups in metropolitan areas. The implications of such clustering and the timing of arrival has important implications for the refugees as well as the communities that take them in.

Appendix B shows the sequencing of settlement within metropolitan areas grouped by the "decade" in which they arrived in the United States. The data are truncated in both the 1980s (due to data limitations) and the 2000s (since we are only midway through the decade). However, these decadal periods roughly correspond to the three periods of refugee flows outlined in Finding A above, i.e., the *Cold War period,* the *Balkans period,* and the *civil conflict period.*

The patterns observed in Appendix B show the waxing and waning of metropolitan areas as recipients of refugees over the past 20 years. New York and Los Angeles clearly dominate during the *Cold War and Balkans periods* during the 1980s and 1990s, followed by a smaller proportion of refugees going to Chicago.

However, the 2000s portend a more dispersed trend. Large metropolitan areas such as Seattle, Minneapolis-St. Paul, Atlanta, Sacramento, and Portland are taking in an increasing number of refugees in the current period. One in five refugees resettled since 2000, have gone to one of these five areas. In the *Cold War and Balkans periods,* these five metropolitan areas garnered only 9 percent and 13 percent, respectively. During the same time, the top four receivers (Los Angeles, New York, Chicago, and Orange County collectively dropped from resettling 30 percent of all refugees in the first and the second period, to only 14 percent during the current period, the 2000s (the *civil conflict period*).

This is relevant for a host of integration issues, as the periods of refugee resettlement roughly correspond to the regional origins of the refugees themselves, their specialized needs, and the context of reception in the communities that host them.

Overall, however, New York and Los Angeles have garnered more refugees than any other place during the entire period, with 12 percent and 7 percent, respectively. These two metropolitan areas—although they switch places at the top—are clearly dominant among all metropolitan areas in the 1980s and 1990s. Chicago's refugees make up only 4 percent of all refugees resettled in the United States for the entire period, but that metro area has maintained the same proportion of the total in each decade.

In the 1980s—at least according to the data available—Los Angeles' share of all newly arriving refugees at 13 percent exceeded New York's 9 percent. In the 1990s, New York resettled more than three times the number of refugees of any other metropolitan area (15 percent of the total), but by the 2000s, the proportion had dropped to 5 percent of the total (although this was still a larger share than any other metro area). Altogether in the 1990s, one-in-seven refugees landed in the New York metropolitan area.[24]

Below these top three metropolitan areas, there is substantial variation in the metropolitan share of incoming refugees by decade. For example, fourth-ranked Orange County—contiguous with Los Angeles—starts off the 1980s with 4.1 percent of all refugees, drops to 3.4 percent in the 1990s, finally decreasing to less than 1 percent of all refugees resettled in the current decade. Seattle—fifth on the list overall—gains over time, with 2.6 percent of all refugees in the 1980s, 3.1 percent in the 1990s, and 4 percent in the 2000s. Other metropolitan areas that follow a similar pattern of resettling an increasing percentage of the U.S. total over time are Minneapolis-St. Paul, Atlanta, Sacramento, Portland (OR), Phoenix and St. Louis. Again, many of these metro areas registered rapid foreign-born growth in the 1990s according to Census data and fit into the classification of "emerging" or "re-emerging" gateways, in part due to the settlement of refugees."[25] Among those decreasing their proportion of the total are San Jose, Boston, San Diego, and San Francisco, all fairly established immigrant gateways. Fresno and Stockton, both on the list of medium-sized metropolitan areas with a large number of refugee newcomers in the 1990s, have reduced their number of in-coming refugees considerably in the 2000s thus far.[26]

The changes in the number by decade are particularly meaningful when we remember the changes in the origin patterns by decade. Whereas Orange County for many years resettled large numbers of Southeast Asian refugees, there are fewer refugees arriving in the current decade, the one marked by new arrivals fleeing conflict from Africa. Portland, OR by contrast, has seen an upswing in the 1990s and 2000s, as refugees from the Balkans and Africa arrive.

Refugees from similar origins often concentrate in certain metropolitan areas. This is partly by design: To ease their incorporation, refugees are placed with family members or in areas with established communities of compatriots. Voluntary agencies often specialize in placing refugees from specific backgrounds, thus many areas experience a kind of chain migration with immigrants arriving to join others already in place. Even when there is no pre-existing community, local areas receiving refugees during discrete periods of time tend to host specific groups. Sometimes the placement of too many refugees in one area has overwhelmed local communities or stirred tension.[27] Other areas feel unprepared for additional refugees, lacking either the political or public backing, or the capacity to provide services.[28]

If we consider the distribution of refugees by origin type across metropolitan areas, there are some places that stand out as particular destinations for specific groups (Table 6). More than one-half of all refugees from the former USSR, the largest group, were resettled in 5 metropolitan areas, with New York absorbing nearly one-third of the total and three West Coast metro areas and Chicago receiving another 22 percent.

Refugees from Iran and Cuba also were highly concentrated. Iranians in the Los Angeles metropolitan area made up almost half of all refugees during the period being resettled

Table 6. Top Five Metropolitan Areas of Resettlement for Top Ten Countries of Refugee Origin, 1983–2004^

	Total Number Resettled	Percent of Total
Former USSR	**472,993**	
New York NY	148,329	31.4
Los Angeles-Long Beach CA	37,689	8.0
Sacramento CA	25,006	5.3
Chicago IL	22,268	4.7
Seattle-Bellevue-Everett WA	20,405	4.3
Top 5 metro areas	253,697	53.6
Vietnam	**368,646**	
Orange County CA	39,043	10.6
Los Angeles-Long Beach CA	30,718	8.3
San Jose CA	28,933	7.8
Houston TX	17,791	4.8
Washington DC-MD-VA-WV	14,269	3.9
Top 5 metro areas	130,754	35.5
Yugoslavia	**160,951**	
Chicago IL	13,843	8.6
St. Louis MO-IL	9,816	6.1
Atlanta GA	7,708	4.8
Phoenix-Mesa AZ	6,616	4.1
Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater FL	4,947	3.1
Top 5 metro areas	42,930	26.7
Laos	**105,168**	
Fresno CA	13,306	12.7
Minneapolis-St. Paul MN-WI	12,286	11.7
Sacramento CA	5,744	5.5
Merced CA	4,651	4.4
Stockton-Lodi CA	4,088	3.9
Top 5 metro areas	40,075	38.1
Cambodia	**67,043**	
Los Angeles-Long Beach CA	6,140	9.2
Boston MA-NH	3,520	5.3
Chicago IL	2,692	4.0
Seattle-Bellevue-Everett WA	2,643	3.9
Philadelphia PA-NJ	2,476	3.7
Top 5 metro areas	17,471	26.1

^ Refers to fiscal years with the exception of 2004, for which data ends in June
Note: Totals reflect only those settled in metropolitan areas

Table 6. Top Five Metropolitan Areas of Resettlement for Top Ten Countries of Refugee Origin, 1983–2004^ (continued)

	Total Number Resettled	Percent of Total
Iran	**58,710**	
Los Angeles-Long Beach CA	28,009	47.7
New York NY	4,554	7.8
San Jose CA	1,943	3.3
Washington DC-MD-VA-WV	1,755	3.0
Modesto CA	1,374	2.3
Top 5 metro areas	37,635	64.1
Cuba	**49,770**	
Miami FL	28,168	56.6
Jersey City NJ	2,273	4.6
Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater FL	1,789	3.6
Albuquerque NM	1,320	2.7
Las Vegas NV-AZ	1,267	2.5
Top 5 metro areas	34,817	70.0
Somalia	**46,859**	
Minneapolis-St. Paul MN-WI	6,507	13.9
Washington DC-MD-VA-WV	4,868	10.4
Atlanta GA	4,313	9.2
San Diego CA	4,201	9.0
Seattle-Bellevue-Everett WA	2,004	4.3
Top 5 metro areas	21,893	46.7
Iraq	**34,288**	
Detroit MI	6,684	19.5
Chicago IL	2,898	8.5
San Diego CA	2,687	7.8
Phoenix-Mesa AZ	1,692	4.9
Dallas TX	1,448	4.2
Top 5 metro areas	15,409	44.9
Ethiopia	**33,864**	
Washington DC-MD-VA-WV	3,257	9.6
Minneapolis-St. Paul MN-WI	3,213	9.5
San Diego CA	2,272	6.7
Atlanta GA	2,175	6.4
Dallas TX	1,881	5.6
Top 5 metro areas	12,798	37.8

^ Refers to fiscal years with the exception of 2004, for which data ends in June
Note: Totals reflect only those settled in metropolitan areas

Source: Authors' tabulation of ORR data

there, followed by smaller proportions going to New York and Washington on the East Coast and San Jose and Modesto on the West Coast. Those five metropolitan areas absorbed nearly two-thirds of all Iranian refugees. Similarly, more than half of all Cubans were resettled in Miami, joining a large existing Cuban community, and fully 70 percent landed in just five metropolitan areas.

Refugees from other sending nations were more geographically dispersed in their initial settlement. The second-largest refugee group, from Vietnam, was more widely distributed upon initial settlement in the United States. While more than 39,000 or nearly 11 percent were resettled in Orange County CA, both Los Angeles and San Jose also received about 8 percent of the total, and Houston and Washington, DC received nearly 5 percent and 4 percent, respectively. Laotian and Cambodian refugees were similarly dispersed; however, Laotian refugees were most likely to go to Fresno or Minneapolis-St Paul, and Los Angeles topped the list for Cambodians. These groups had virtually no communities in the United States prior to the late 1970s, so the distribution that we see is a result of fewer ties to relatives in the United States at the time of arrival.

Five metropolitan areas received approximately 27 percent of all refugees from the former Yugoslavia, with Midwestern Chicago and St. Louis accepting more than 23,000 or 15 percent of the total. Notably nearly one-in-five Iraqi refugees arrived in Detroit, and another 9 percent of all Iraqi refugees went to Chicago. Among refugees from the African continent, refugees from Somalia stand out with almost 50 percent resettled in just 5 metropolitan areas: Minneapolis-St. Paul (14 percent), Washington, DC (10 percent), Atlanta and Chicago (9 percent each) and Seattle (4 percent). Ethiopians were more spread out upon arrival, but have since reset-

tled in many of the same places.[29] Nearly 10 percent of all Ethiopians were resettled in Washington and Minneapolis-St. Paul, and San Diego, Atlanta, and Dallas receiving another 6 percent each.

Incorporating Refugees: Varying Local Contexts

Even though refugees are placed in communities upon arrival, many move after their initial settlement. In some cases, communities develop capacity for service provision over time, and in other cases, refugees move to be with others from the same countries of origin. We present four brief descriptions of Los Angeles, CA; St. Louis, MO; Utica, NY; and Wausau, WI to illustrate how different metropolitan areas—each with their own history of immigration, their own economic opportunity structures, and community organizations—have accommodated refugees in recent decades.

Greater Los Angeles, CA.

Southern California receives more than its fair share of immigrants. In 2000, nearly 5 million foreign-born—14 percent of the entire US immigrant population—were residing in the Los Angeles and Orange County metropolitan areas. In total, thirty-six percent of the Los Angeles metro area is foreign-born (42 percent in the city of Los Angeles), while one in three Orange County residents are foreign-born.

Second only to New York (12 percent), Los Angeles resettled 7 percent of incoming refugees during the 1983–2004 period and Orange County 3 percent. During this period (preceded by other programs that brought in Vietnamese refugees), nearly one in five Vietnamese refugees were resettled in the Los Angeles or Orange County metropolitan areas, along with over 10 percent of Cambodian refugees and 8 percent of refugees from the Former Soviet Union. In addition, nearly one-half of all Iranian refugees were initially placed in metropolitan Los Angeles.

One advantage to resettling refugees in these places in southern California is that, to a certain extent, the basic infrastructure to provide services to refugees is already in place. A network of nonprofit and community organizations that focus on various immigrant, refugee, and linguistic groups exists, providing a strong base for service provision. Socially, this region has a long history of receiving immigrants of all kinds.

In addition, the state of California has a strong refugee program and coordinates services and program development with the nonprofit agencies. California county governments each have a refugee forum that meets monthly to confer on refugee issues and to work together with volags and mutual assistance associations to develop solutions for implementing services for successful resettlement.[30] One voluntary agency with a long presence in Southern California is Catholic Charities. Their refugee case management services include: airport reception; orientation; financial assistance; assessments; referrals; home visits; tutoring; employment preparation and placement. Many staff members are former refugees themselves.

One effect of the resettlement of Vietnamese and Cambodian refugees of Chinese ethnic origins is that they have been credited with revitalizing Los Angeles' Chinatown. Coincident with the movement of previous Chinese immigrants to suburban areas (particularly the San Gabriel Valley) during the 1980s and 1990s, refugee newcomers began moving into the central city enclave and now run the majority of the business establishments there once owned by their predecessors.[31]

St. Louis, MO.

Ranking 60th in the number of total foreign-born among all metropolitan areas, St. Louis ranks much higher among all metropolitan areas for its refugee population, primarily arriving during the *Balkans period.* Its 22,000 resettled refugees include a notable number of Bosnian refugees (nearly 10,000), or 45 percent of all refugees that have been resettled in the metropolitan area. In addition, approximately 3,000 refugees from both Vietnam and the former Soviet Union have also been resettled in St. Louis.

Refugees who are placed in St. Louis are entering a city marked by a slow-growing overall immigrant population relative to many large metropolitan areas. In fact, St. Louis was one of the few metropolitan areas that experienced a decrease in the number of foreign born during the 1980s, followed by an increase in the 1990s. Part of the increase was due to refugee resettlement in the region and subsequent secondary migration.

St. Louis has a long history of providing aid to refugees, dating back to earlier waves of European refugees during the first few decades of the 20th century. St. Louis has subsequently become well known among Bosnians for its reasonable cost of housing and availability of employment, particularly in manufacturing. This has led to a considerable flow of secondary migration among Bosnians within the United States. It is likely that secondary migration has boosted the number of Bosnians to more than twice the number originally resettled.[32]

Many local organizations in St. Louis have worked together on resettling refugees, including Catholic Refugee Services and Jewish Family and Children Services. The International Institute is another of the primary agency, providing services to refugees in St. Louis since 1919.

Utica, NY.

The Utica-Rome metropolitan area ranks 35th in the total number of refugees resettled during the 1983-2004 period, well above its 131st rank for the number of foreign-born residents in 2000.[33] Half of Utica's 9,100 refugees during this period have arrived from the former Yugoslavia (mainly Bosnians), with another one-quarter from the former Soviet Union and eleven percent from Vietnam. Following those groups are much smaller numbers of Cambodian, Iraqi, Burmese, Polish, and Sudanese refugees. Utica is currently resettling Somali Bantu.

This metropolitan area of 300,000 is characterized by population decline and an aging resident population. Once a vibrant industrial city, populated by immigrants from Germany, Poland, Italy, and the Arab world, Utica became part of the "Rust Belt" during the last few decades as factories closed and people migrated away from the Midwest and Northeast. Refugees are currently turning things around in some parts of Utica, taking advantage of the lower cost of housing in the city. Although still characterized by total population loss, Utica's foreign-born population almost doubled in the 1990s as a result of refugee resettlement, helping to stem the tide of overall population decline. As Mayor Tim Julian explains, "The town had been hemorrhaging for years. The arrival of so many refugees has put a tourniquet around that hemorrhaging."[34]

Refugees have brought new entrepreneurial activity to Utica by opening restaurants, hair salons, grocery stores, coffee shops, and places of worship. ConMed, a medical equipment manufacturer and one of the largest employers in the region, has a workforce that is about half refugees. The newcomers have also revitalized declining neighborhoods, buying and renovating vacant housing, an affordable option thanks in part to the city's economic decline and poor housing market.

The Mohawk Valley Resource Center for Refugees (MVRCR), with funding from the Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service, has been the agency responsible for resettling refugees in Utica since 1979. At the center—housed in a former Catholic high school and employing several former refugees on the staff—new refugees receive job and English training, interpretation services, and advice on everything from finding a home to becoming an American citizen. The center also advises schools, hospitals, employers, and city officials on how to accommodate and help integrate refugees.

Wausau, WI.

Wausau is a one-county metropolitan area with a population of about 125,000 that was less than 4 percent foreign born in 2000. Wausau has resettled more than 1,600 refugees during the 1983 to 2004 period, most of whom live in the city of Wausau. The vast majority of refugees are Hmong, either resettled directly from Laos or from refugee camps in Thailand.

Wausau used to be one of the most racially homogenous places in the United States, and the city was still 86 percent white in 2000, while Asians made up 11 percent of the total population.[35] In the late 1970s, local church groups volunteered to help Hmong refugees make Wausau their home through the U.S. refugee program. The Hmong, an ethnic group who had provided help to the CIA during the Vietnam War, were persecuted by the North Vietnamese Army after the United States retreated, and the United States has since resettled several hundred thousand. The nearly 2,000 Hmong that have been resettled in Wausau during the period of analysis (and many more had been resettled there between 1975 and 1983) have attracted Hmong from other parts of the United States, increasing the population.

Native-born, white Wausauns had had little exposure to racial minorities, let alone those with a very different language, religion, and culture from their own. Likewise, the Hmong, many of whom had been farmers living in small mountainous villages without electricity, faced significant culture shock upon moving to Wausau. Not surprisingly, the adjustment proved difficult for both sides. Property taxes increased to support the high proportion of Hmong on welfare programs. Schools were unprepared to accommodate so many non-English speakers (as high as 60 percent in some schools). Health care providers—when they had the benefit of interpreters—clashed with Hmong patients who viewed Western medicine as invasive and disrespectful of their religious beliefs.

Although Hmong refugee resettlement in Wausau began as a gesture of goodwill, over time the burgeoning population strained the resources of the local government and public service provision. After a very rough period of adjustment for local residents and institutions, as well as for the refugees, today, the Hmong in Wausau are considered a success story. In general, participation in welfare programs for refugees is high during their first years in the United States. However, thirty years after the arrival of the first Hmong to this metropolitan area, the Wisconsin Department of Workforce Development reports that 95 percent of Hmong in Wausau are employed and 60 percent own homes.[36] A new wave of Hmong (about 500) were resettled in mid-2004, and they are expected to integrate more quickly and easily, given the well-established Hmong community in Wausau.

Currently, a nonprofit organization, Lutheran Social Services, works with refugee newcomers to provide basic necessities and support to promote self-sufficiency. The Wausau Area Hmong Mutual Association was established in 1983 to provide services to Hmong refugees to aid in their transi-

tion to life in the United States, and more specifically, life in Wausau.

These brief case studies illustrate that local communities are a critical context in the successful adaptation of refugees to U.S. society and to the U.S. labor market. These areas are the initial entry point into the United States, rendering local nonprofits and government institutions paramount in creating a welcoming environment, facilitating the acquisition of first jobs, and integrating youth into schools and social life. However, local contexts are varied, and the relative impact of refugee migration and the implications for their integration are mixed.

Discussion and Policy Implications

Twenty-five years after the passage of the Refugee Act of 1980, America has accepted more than 2 million refugees for resettlement. Many have been absorbed into neighborhoods, schools, and labor markets in large immigrant gateways and in disparate places around the country. Other refugees continue to struggle to adapt to U.S. institutions and customs. And more refugees arrive on a daily basis.

In recent decades, the complexities of international relations and U.S. foreign policy have produced particular waves of incoming refugees. This paper has described the process by which refugees are relocated from abroad to communities in the United States. Indeed, the U.S. experience of integrating refugees over the last twenty years raises some interesting observations about the process by which these newcomers are absorbed into society. As such it offers some possible policy implications for local leaders who are seeking ways to meet the needs of refugees for the first time or to improve their practices for future refugees to come.

The federal government, in partnership with states, local nonprofit organizations, and voluntary agencies, spends more effort and resources integrating refugees than other immigrant groups.

Through the U.S. Refugee Program, several federal agencies, along with state and local partners, provide a number of services to assist refugees to get on their feet after arrival in the United States. Even before they arrive, refugees usually receive some information on what to expect on a range of topics, including negotiating travel, aspects of U.S. culture and civic life, and service and benefit eligibility. And once they arrive, several agencies and organizations are responsible for their immediate well-being.

Three agencies provide the federal framework within which the U.S. refugee resettlement program operates. The Department of Homeland Security determines who is eligible to be admitted to the United States. The Department of State manages the overseas processing, transportation, and the funds for initial reception and placement. The State Department's Reception and Placement Program—through contracts with voluntary agencies—provides immediate services to refugees during their first month. They are then eligible for longer-term services through the Office of Refugee Resettlement within the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services which handles all domestic programs. These programs include cash and medical assistance and other social service programs which are administered by states or NGOs.

In 2004, the budget for refugee assistance through ORR's programs was $395 million for almost 53,000 incoming refugees. Qualifying refugees–families with children under 18, and those who are elderly or disabled—are entitled to Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF), Social Security Insurance (SSI), food stamps, state child health insurance (SCHIP), and Medicaid benefits for their first seven years. These funds are paid by the state and are not reimbursed by ORR. For those refugees who are ineligible for those programs, (single individuals, childless couples and two-parent families who meet the income eligibility standards), cash and medical benefits are available for the first eight months through ORR grants to states and nonprofit agencies.

ORR funds are also used by states and private agencies to provide a broad range of social services aimed at helping refugees become economically self-sufficient and socially adjusted. These funds are available during the first five years of a refugee's stay in this country. In addition, discretionary grants are awarded on a competitive basis to individuals and communities for a variety of programs, including preventive health, micro-enterprise development, individual development, and special employment services. These funds may be used for refugees who have been in the U.S. for longer than five years.

This safety net is important, though limited, particularly for those possessing few transferable skills to the U.S. labor market.

In contrast, the federal government has little direct funding to assist non-refugee immigrant's integration. It is largely up to local and state governments to initiate and maintain their own programs, policies, and practices to reach out to immigrants, which refugees often benefit from too.

The U.S. refugee program recognizes that metropolitan areas differ in their capacity to absorb refugees, particularly with regard to the labor market, housing, and the supply of immigrant and refugee-oriented organizations and services. Given the local variation, many nongovernmental organizations, including voluntary agencies, community-based organizations, and individuals, play leading roles in the process of incorporating

refugees into U.S. communities. In partnering with federal and state agencies, voluntary agencies are key in coordinating services to refugees. They raise their own funding and are responsible for locating volunteers and partners on the ground who provide local services, including helping refugees find housing, learn English, develop their U.S. labor market skills, and find jobs.

ORR tracks the progress of refugee newcomers into economic self-sufficiency through the voluntary agencies. It also makes grants to voluntary agencies to increase the number of placements of newly arriving refugees in "Preferred Communities," places with "a history of low welfare utilization and a favorable earned income potential relative to the cost of living" (ORR Report to Congress, 2003:33). For example, in 2002 ORR awarded the volag Immigration and Refugee Services of America $1.6 million to assist in the resettlement of refugees in the following "Preferred Community" sites: Bowling Green, KY; Bridgeport, CT; Buffalo, NY; Colchester, VT; Erie, PA; Manchester, NH; Milwaukee, WI; and Twin FallsID. Likewise, the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops received $1.1 million for resettlement in the Preferred Community sites of Baton Rouge, LA; Cleveland, OH; Indianapolis, IN; Salt lake City, UT; and San Diego, CA. Many of the metropolitan areas on this list are not the most attractive destinations for other immigrants. However, the refugee program considers these choices carefully, and they have become more important as expensive housing markets in traditional and new immigrant gateways like Washington, DC and San Francisco are pushing immigrants to more affordable metropolitan areas.

Thus, for newly arriving refugees who are not being reunited with family members, local nonprofit organizations and a host of individuals on the ground are the most important integrating features of life in the United States.

Several factors, including local labor market conditions and quality of local schools and neighborhoods, can affect the extent to which a metropolitan area or local community can successfully integrate refugee families.

Several factors affect a local community's prospects for successfully integrating refugees. First, size matters–that is city size, size of the resident foreign-born population, and size of the refugee population. On the one hand, there are advantages to placing refugees in a large metropolitan area with many immigrants. Refugees join a diverse population and there is an existing service infrastructure that can help. However, refugees, particularly those who have suffered war and other traumas, are likely to need services targeted directly toward them. In these places, they may be swept up in the immigrant mix without regard to their unique and often vulnerable position.

Smaller metropolitan areas or those with few immigrants may offer some advantages. It is likely that refugees will get more attention in the media raising public awareness of their presence and needs. It may be easier for voluntary agencies to find employers willing to hire refugees and for schools to provide a supportive environment for students. And smaller metropolitan areas, particularly those with declining populations, seem to desire the kind of residents that refugees represent: long-term residents who, once they are on their feet, will become full members of the community.

A second factor affecting integration is local labor markets. As noted above, places with lower overall unemployment and with a demand for workers enable refugees to more easily find stable jobs. In some areas, the demand for workers reflects the declining native-born population and the inability to both attract newcomers and to retain a more youthful population. Some refugees, although they come from dire circumstances and have little in the way of material resources, may have human capital or entrepreneurial skills. But others have low skills, low literacy, no work experience applicable to the U.S., or cultural barriers to work. This is often especially true for refugee women.

Pennsylvania's refugee resettlement program, for example, aims to facilitate refugees' economic adjustment by providing services such as vocational English training, professional recertification assistance, job counseling, and other employment supports. Like other states and localities, Pennsylvania works with a network of employers to make the transition to the labor force easier for refugees. Employers value refugee employees because they find they are motivated to learn new skills to get on the path to economic stability.[37]

Third, fundamentals such as health care access, housing, neighborhoods, and schools play a significant role in refugees' transition to life in the United States.

Many refugees have immediate and long-term health needs, including mental health care. Some have endured physical hardships or have been victims of torture or trafficking, and once in the United States, are faced with long-term psychological and social adjustments.[38] Delivering linguistically and culturally competent health care to refugees can be a challenge to local providers.[39]

Affordable housing in many urban areas can be in short supply, especially given the economic circumstances of many refugees and their income trajectories. Thus they often end up in neighborhoods that run along ethnic/racial fault lines, have high crime, or poorly performing schools. These conditions can make adaptation more difficult, especially for children

in refugee families. Racial tension is not uncommon, particularly in areas with struggling African American communities who may feel strong competition for limited public resources.

There are a number of steps that local leaders can take to ensure that refugee newcomers succeed in their new home community.

In general, the successful incorporation of refugees into the economic, financial, and social mainstream requires local leaders to create an environment both informative to the receiving community and also culturally sensitive to the refugees. But there are specific actions that they can take, based on lessons and observations from other local and regional programs.

Given the propensity of immigrants to follow family members and compatriots, refugee policy implicitly promotes a kind of chain migration. Just as other immigrants rely on kin and countrymen to find job and housing opportunities, refugees often have or develop ties to others in the United States. Therefore, local leaders and organizations that assist in the resettlement of refugees, in some cases may anticipate receiving subsequent refugee and immigrant settlers. It is not always clear how to prepare for this, but when refugees feel welcome and economic opportunities exist, they are likely to stay.

This paper illustrates that among the immigrant populations in U.S. metropolitan areas, there are many refugees who arrive facing a steep uphill trajectory to economic self-sufficiency and social incorporation. Many local areas have their own programs in place that other metropolitan areas—large, medium and small—can replicate or join together to make the process easier for everyone involved.

All localities should maintain and build further partnerships with local foundations, business leaders, and employers to foster support of the refugee population. For areas that are interested in bringing in new refugees but with little experience in doing so, learning from other programs is one way to shore up resources, knowledge, and local capacity. Even places that have engaged in the resettlement process before often have to demonstrate their ability to continue to do so. After refugee admissions decreased following the terrorist attacks in 2001, local officials in Erie, PA, for example, lobbied the State Department to prioritize Erie as a resettlement location based on their track record of successful resettlement.[40]

One way to build capacity is for local resettlement agencies to partner with other institutions such as universities and high schools to develop programs that pair students with refugees. The resettlement agency in Utica, NY has such a program that utilizes college students involved in volunteer programs and service learning courses from neighboring colleges and universities. They teach refugees "the basics" such as financial literacy, language skills, and technical skills.

Local resettlement agencies should also coordinate access to services into single centers. The Baltimore Resettlement Center is a model for refugee resettlement that could be adapted in other places. The center is the result of an initiative of the Maryland Office for New Americans (MONA), in cooperation with the Baltimore City Department of Social Services and four national voluntary agencies: International Rescue Committee, Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service, Church World Service, and Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society. It also houses three local service providers: Lutheran Social Services of the National Capitol Area, Baltimore Medical System, and Baltimore City Community College. Consolidating these functions can make the array of services available to refugees more easily accessible and negotiable.

Ultimately, communities in metropolitan areas are the critical context for the experience of refugees as they go through the resettlement process and become active members of their neighborhoods, schools, and workplaces. In light of the current acrimonious debate surrounding illegal immigration to the United States, this analysis should serve as a reminder that immigration is a more nuanced experience than what may be presently on the public and political mind. The willingness of many U.S. communities to participate, and enthusiastically, in the U.S. refugee program reflects the humanitarian and inclusive principles long cherished in this nation.

Appendix A. Total Population Change and Ratio of Refugees Resettled to Recently Arrived Foreign-Born, 1990–2000

Metro Name	Total Refugees Resettled, 1990–1999	Total Foreign Born in 2000	Foreign Born Present in 2000 Who Entered 1990–2000	Percent Recent Foreign Born	Refugees as Percent of Recently Arrived Foreign Born
Utica-Rome NY	6,084	13,644	7,013	51.4	86.6
Fargo-Moorhead ND-MN	2,718	5,268	3,572	67.8	76.1
Erie PA	2,969	7,706	3,992	51.8	74.4
Sioux Falls SD	2,684	6,299	4,391	69.7	61.1
Binghamton NY	2,601	11,408	4,760	41.7	54.6
Spokane WA	4,466	18,711	9,131	48.8	48.9
Portland ME	1,871	9,356	3,888	41.6	48.1
Lincoln NE	4,131	13,570	9,398	69.3	44.0
Waterloo-Cedar Falls IA	1,397	4,779	3,307	69.2	42.2
Burlington VT	1,803	9,585	4,559	47.6	39.5
Manchester NH	2,325	13,067	6,096	46.7	38.1
Des Moines IA	5,540	24,251	14,722	60.7	37.6
Louisville KY-IN	5,483	27,933	16,556	59.3	33.1
St. Louis MO-IL	13,188	80,945	41,073	50.7	32.1
Harrisburg-Lebanon-Carlisle PA	2,937	20,449	9,294	45.4	31.6
Jacksonville FL	6,991	59,586	23,388	39.3	29.9
Springfield MA	4,802	42,988	16,266	37.8	29.5
Lansing-East Lansing MI	3,350	20,512	11,823	57.6	28.3
Buffalo-Niagara Falls NY	4,112	51,381	16,322	31.8	25.2
Appleton-Oshkosh-Neenah WI	1,173	10,262	4,673	45.5	25.1
Sacramento CA	23,719	225,940	96,960	42.9	24.5
Rochester NY	5,209	62,794	21,820	34.7	23.9
Rochester MN	1,358	9,758	5,989	61.4	22.7
Cleveland-Lorain-Elyria OH	8,766	114,625	40,630	35.4	21.6
Syracuse NY	2,726	31,301	12,640	40.4	21.6
Baton Rouge LA	1,831	17,771	8,845	49.8	20.7
Amarillo TX	1,125	13,441	5,611	41.7	20.0
Boise City ID	2,354	24,224	12,135	50.1	19.4
Tacoma WA	4,188	56,525	21,641	38.3	19.4
Akron OH	1,513	20,772	8,012	38.6	18.9
Portland-Vancouver OR-WA	20,891	208,075	110,753	53.2	18.9
Mobile AL	1,111	12,090	5,935	49.1	18.7
Richmond-Petersburg VA	3,803	44,899	20,322	45.3	18.7
Davenport-Moline-Rock Island IA-IL	1,049	12,628	5,859	46.4	17.9
Seattle-Bellevue-Everett WA	28,129	331,912	159,217	48.0	17.7
Minneapolis-St. Paul MN-WI	19,980	210,344	116,717	55.5	17.1
Chico-Paradise CA	1,017	15,668	6,088	38.9	16.7
Richland-Kennewick-Pasco WA	2,022	24,482	12,528	51.2	16.1
Fort Wayne IN	1,194	14,886	7,828	52.6	15.3
Nashville TN	5,361	57,614	35,737	62.0	15.0
Grand Rapids-Muskegon-Holland MI	4,283	56,066	29,258	52.2	14.6
Baltimore MD	8,486	146,128	61,275	41.9	13.8
Rockford IL	1,456	22,254	10,767	48.4	13.5
Yolo CA	2,155	34,171	16,485	48.2	13.1
Pittsburgh PA	3,223	62,286	24,938	40.0	12.9
Merced CA	2,421	52,184	18,828	36.1	12.9
Kansas City MO-KS	5,584	80,539	44,083	54.7	12.7
Philadelphia PA	18,100	357,421	145,971	40.8	12.4
Memphis TN-AR-MS	2,765	37,670	22,446	59.6	12.3
Milwaukee-Waukesha WI	4,505	81,574	37,044	45.4	12.2
Fresno CA	9,240	193,470	77,852	40.2	11.9
Wichita KS	1,912	32,085	17,086	53.3	11.2

Appendix A. Total Population Change and Ratio of Refugees Resettled to Recently Arrived Foreign-Born, 1990–2000 (continued)

Metro Name	Total Refugees Resettled, 1990–1999	Total Foreign Born in 2000	Foreign Born Present in 2000 Who Entered 1990–2000	Percent Recent Foreign Born	Refugees as Percent of Recently Arrived Foreign Born
Salt Lake City-Ogden UT	7,159	114,508	65,609	57.3	10.9
Stockton-Lodi CA	4,199	109,812	40,725	37.1	10.3
New York NY	134,130	3,139,647	1,325,196	42.2	10.1
Albuquerque NM	2,349	56,180	23,604	42.0	10.0
Atlanta GA	25,119	423,105	256,563	60.6	9.8
Hartford CT	4,102	120,355	41,936	34.8	9.8
Detroit MI	14,091	335,107	145,532	43.4	9.7
Albany-Schenectady-Troy NY	1,379	41,259	14,559	35.3	9.5
San Jose CA	24,471	573,130	265,212	46.3	9.2
Orange County CA	30,138	849,899	331,802	39.0	9.1
Boston MA	19,957	508,279	222,535	43.8	9.0
Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater FL	7,945	233,907	89,972	38.5	8.8
San Francisco CA	18,164	554,819	205,728	37.1	8.8
San Diego CA	18,373	606,254	215,502	35.5	8.5
Bridgeport CT	1,756	57,165	21,771	38.1	8.1
Cincinnati OH-KY-IN	1,690	42,089	21,150	50.3	8.0
Tucson AZ	2,973	100,050	38,847	38.8	7.7
Fort Worth-Arlington TX	7,588	193,473	99,576	51.5	7.6
Greensboro-Winston-Salem NC	3,435	71,565	47,890	66.9	7.2
New Orleans LA	1,438	64,169	20,531	32.0	7.0
Denver CO	9,140	233,096	131,491	56.4	7.0
Columbus OH	2,727	71,417	41,227	57.7	6.6
Modesto CA	1,831	81,615	27,701	33.9	6.6
Worcester MA-CT	1,302	42,196	19,779	46.9	6.6
Salem OR	1,327	39,993	20,970	52.4	6.3
Indianapolis IN	1,839	54,343	30,837	56.7	6.0
Oklahoma City OK	1,958	61,810	33,335	53.9	5.9
Providence-Fall River-Warwick RI-MA	2,558	142,784	43,942	30.8	5.8
Chicago IL	37,131	1,425,978	639,887	44.9	5.8
Washington DC-MD-VA-WV	22,860	832,016	394,859	47.5	5.8
Charlotte-Gastonia-Rock Hill NC-SC	3,280	99,760	63,334	63.5	5.2
Miami FL	20,936	1,147,765	416,059	36.2	5.0
Phoenix-Mesa AZ	12,273	457,483	245,003	53.6	5.0
Oakland CA	10,828	573,144	232,245	40.5	4.7
Houston TX	17,665	854,669	414,936	48.5	4.3
Visalia-Tulare-Porterville CA	1,348	83,124	31,667	38.1	4.3
Dallas TX	13,639	591,169	331,312	56.0	4.1
Los Angeles-Long Beach CA	44,966	3,449,444	1,201,034	34.8	3.7
Newark NJ	5,820	385,807	158,838	41.2	3.7
Orlando FL	2,871	197,119	86,009	43.6	3.3
Jersey City NJ	2,953	234,597	102,582	43.7	2.9
Riverside-San Bernardino CA	4,731	612,359	190,130	31.0	2.5
Las Vegas NV-AZ	2,762	258,494	113,697	44.0	2.4
Bergen-Passaic NJ	3,339	352,592	139,036	39.4	2.4
Honolulu HI	1,334	168,246	57,228	34.0	2.3
Nassau-Suffolk NY	2,582	396,939	120,992	30.5	2.1
San Antonio TX	1,143	161,924	56,010	34.6	2.0
Austin-San Marcos TX	1,642	152,834	85,097	55.7	1.9
West Palm Beach-Boca Raton FL	1,329	196,852	81,788	41.5	1.6
Middlesex-Somerset-Hunterdon NJ	1,604	243,406	112,333	46.2	1.4
Fort Lauderdale FL	2,022	410,387	167,860	40.9	1.2

Source: Authors' tabulation of ORR and Census 2000 data

Appendix B. Refugees Resettled by Metropolitan Area and Decade, by Total Number of Refugees Resettled in Metropolitan Areas 1983–1989, 1990–1999, 2000–2004^

Metro Name	1980s	Percent of all Refugees in 1980s	1990s	Percent of all Refugees in 1990s	2000s	Percent of all Refugees in 2000s	1983–2004	Percent of all Refugees 1983–2004
New York NY	41,532	9.0	134,130	14.9	10,860	5.0	186,522	11.8
Los Angeles-Long Beach CA	60,305	13.1	44,966	5.0	9,335	4.3	114,606	7.3
Chicago IL	18,666	4.0	37,131	4.1	7,525	3.5	63,322	4.0
Orange County CA	18,710	4.1	30,138	3.4	1,866	0.9	50,714	3.2
Seattle-Bellevue-Everett WA	11,889	2.6	28,129	3.1	8,555	4.0	48,573	3.1
San Jose CA	15,407	3.3	24,471	2.7	2,687	1.2	42,565	2.7
Washington DC-MD-VA-WV	13,398	2.9	22,860	2.5	5,537	2.6	41,795	2.7
Minneapolis-St. Paul MN-WI	11,061	2.4	19,980	2.2	10,198	4.7	41,239	2.6
Atlanta GA	6,392	1.4	25,119	2.8	8,638	4.0	40,149	2.5
Sacramento CA	5,383	1.2	23,719	2.6	8,334	3.9	37,436	2.4
Boston MA-NH	12,571	2.7	19,957	2.2	3,704	1.7	36,232	2.3
Portland-Vancouver OR-WA	6,066	1.3	20,891	2.3	7,335	3.4	34,292	2.2
San Diego CA	12,001	2.6	18,373	2.0	3,602	1.7	33,976	2.2
Philadelphia PA-NJ	10,650	2.3	18,100	2.0	4,231	2.0	32,981	2.1
Houston TX	10,671	2.3	17,665	2.0	4,533	2.1	32,869	2.1
Miami FL	6,598	1.4	20,936	2.3	4,431	2.1	31,965	2.0
San Francisco CA	12,605	2.7	18,164	2.0	1,110	0.5	31,879	2.0
Dallas TX	8,839	1.9	13,639	1.5	3,389	1.6	25,867	1.6
Oakland CA	11,206	2.4	10,828	1.2	1,524	0.7	23,558	1.5
Phoenix-Mesa AZ	4,835	1.0	12,273	1.4	5,964	2.8	23,072	1.5
St. Louis MO-IL	3,853	0.8	13,188	1.5	5,005	2.3	22,046	1.4
Detroit MI	4,850	1.1	14,091	1.6	2,621	1.2	21,562	1.4
Fresno CA	6,443	1.4	9,240	1.0	337	0.2	16,020	1.0
Denver CO	3,718	0.8	9,140	1.0	2,990	1.4	15,848	1.0
Salt Lake City-Ogden UT	4,006	0.9	7,159	0.8	3,143	1.5	14,308	0.9
Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater FL	3,082	0.7	7,945	0.9	3,052	1.4	14,079	0.9
Baltimore MD	3,132	0.7	8,486	0.9	2,030	0.9	13,648	0.9
Fort Worth-Arlington TX	3,909	0.8	7,588	0.8	2,064	1.0	13,561	0.9
Cleveland-Lorain-Elyria OH	1,901	0.4	8,766	1.0	1,827	0.8	12,494	0.8
Jacksonville FL	1,591	0.3	6,991	0.8	2,574	1.2	11,156	0.7
Des Moines IA	1,863	0.4	5,540	0.6	2,232	1.0	9,635	0.6
Stockton-Lodi CA	5,384	1.2	4,199	0.5	50	0.0	9,633	0.6
Nashville TN	2,136	0.5	5,361	0.6	1,921	0.9	9,418	0.6
Newark NJ	2,614	0.6	5,820	0.6	970	0.4	9,404	0.6
Utica-Rome NY	1,040	0.2	6,084	0.7	2,024	0.9	9,148	0.6
Kansas City MO-KS	1,733	0.4	5,584	0.6	1,605	0.7	8,922	0.6
Rochester NY	1,986	0.4	5,209	0.6	1,425	0.7	8,620	0.5
Louisville KY-IN	1,148	0.2	5,483	0.6	1,859	0.9	8,490	0.5
Riverside-San Bernardino CA	3,151	0.7	4,731	0.5	432	0.2	8,314	0.5
Hartford CT	2,426	0.5	4,102	0.5	1,762	0.8	8,290	0.5
Tacoma WA	2,378	0.5	4,188	0.5	1,566	0.7	8,132	0.5
Grand Rapids-Muskegon-Holland MI	1,589	0.3	4,283	0.5	2,107	1.0	7,979	0.5
Richmond-Petersburg VA	2,746	0.6	3,803	0.4	1,407	0.7	7,956	0.5
Milwaukee-Waukesha WI	2,095	0.5	4,505	0.5	1,250	0.6	7,850	0.5
Springfield MA	1,440	0.3	4,802	0.5	1,584	0.7	7,826	0.5
Buffalo-Niagara Falls NY	992	0.2	4,112	0.5	1,916	0.9	7,020	0.4
Spokane WA	656	0.1	4,466	0.5	1,680	0.8	6,802	0.4
Columbus OH	2,063	0.4	2,727	0.3	1,978	0.9	6,768	0.4
Charlotte-Gastonia-Rock Hill NC-SC	1,717	0.4	3,280	0.4	1,656	0.8	6,653	0.4
Providence-Fall River-Warwick RI-MA	3,205	0.7	2,558	0.3	881	0.4	6,644	0.4

Appendix B. Refugees Resettled by Metropolitan Area and Decade, by Total Number of Refugees Resettled in Metropolitan Areas 1983–1989, 1990–1999, 2000–2004^(continued)

Metro Name	1980s	Percent of all Refugees in 1980s	1990s	Percent of all Refugees in 1990s	2000s	Percent of all Refugees in 2000s	1983–2004	Percent of all Refugees 1983–2004
Greensboro—Winston-Salem—High Point NC	1,043	0.2	3,435	0.4	1,579	0.7	6,057	0.4
Lincoln NE	674	0.1	4,131	0.5	1,134	0.5	5,939	0.4
Tucson AZ	1,336	0.3	2,973	0.3	1,572	0.7	5,881	0.4
Las Vegas NV-AZ	1,654	0.4	2,762	0.3	1,328	0.6	5,744	0.4
Syracuse NY	1,132	0.2	2,726	0.3	1,744	0.8	5,602	0.4
Lansing-East Lansing MI	804	0.2	3,350	0.4	1,215	0.6	5,369	0.3
Boise City-Nampa ID	1,267	0.3	2,354	0.3	1,543	0.7	5,164	0.3
Bergen-Passaic NJ	1,249	0.3	3,339	0.4	545	0.3	5,133	0.3
Harrisburg-Lebanon-Carlisle PA	1,188	0.3	2,937	0.3	870	0.4	4,995	0.3
Memphis TN-AR-MS	1,497	0.3	2,765	0.3	691	0.3	4,953	0.3
Merced CA	2,300	0.5	2421	0.3	26	0.0	4,747	0.3
Orlando FL	995	0.2	2,871	0.3	873	0.4	4,739	0.3
Pittsburgh PA	606	0.1	3,223	0.4	885	0.4	4,714	0.3
Modesto CA	2,043	0.4	1,831	0.2	791	0.4	4,665	0.3
Nassau-Suffolk NY	1,660	0.4	2,582	0.3	389	0.2	4,631	0.3
Erie PA	325	0.1	2,969	0.3	1,251	0.6	4,545	0.3
Jersey City NJ	1,204	0.3	2,953	0.3	321	0.1	4,478	0.3
Fargo-Moorhead ND-MN	465	0.1	2,718	0.3	1,165	0.5	4,348	0.3
Sioux Falls SD	517	0.1	2,684	0.3	1,144	0.5	4,345	0.3
Wichita KS	2,066	0.4	1,912	0.2	62	0.0	4,040	0.3
Albuquerque NM	1,070	0.2	2,349	0.3	513	0.2	3,932	0.2
Manchester NH	417	0.1	2,325	0.3	1,166	0.5	3,908	0.2
New Orleans LA	2,265	0.5	1,438	0.2	200	0.1	3,903	0.2
Oklahoma City OK	1,703	0.4	1,958	0.2	216	0.1	3,877	0.2
Rochester MN	1,752	0.4	1,358	0.2	719	0.3	3,829	0.2
Portland ME	1,194	0.3	1,871	0.2	720	0.3	3,785	0.2
Bridgeport CT	1,434	0.3	1,756	0.2	420	0.2	3,610	0.2
Binghamton NY	322	0.1	2,601	0.3	357	0.2	3,280	0.2
Honolulu HI	1,867	0.4	1,334	0.1	68	0.0	3,269	0.2
Richland-Kennewick-Pasco WA	400	0.1	2,022	0.2	788	0.4	3,210	0.2
Austin-San Marcos TX	827	0.2	1,642	0.2	688	0.3	3,157	0.2
Burlington VT	512	0.1	1,803	0.2	741	0.3	3,056	0.2
Fort Lauderdale FL	693	0.2	2,022	0.2	326	0.2	3,041	0.2
Indianapolis IN	571	0.1	1,839	0.2	602	0.3	3,012	0.2
Middlesex-Somerset-Hunterdon NJ	715	0.2	1,604	0.2	602	0.3	2,921	0.2
Baton Rouge LA	549	0.1	1,831	0.2	497	0.2	2,877	0.2
Yolo CA	62	0.0	2,155	0.2	648	0.3	2,865	0.2
Cincinnati OH-KY-IN	739	0.2	1,690	0.2	424	0.2	2,853	0.2
Amarillo TX	1,001	0.2	1,125	0.1	719	0.3	2,845	0.2
Akron OH	595	0.1	1,513	0.2	686	0.3	2,794	0.2
Salem OR	890	0.2	1,327	0.1	529	0.2	2,746	0.2
San Antonio TX	1,072	0.2	1,143	0.1	447	0.2	2,662	0.2
Albany-Schenectady-Troy NY	855	0.2	1,379	0.2	271	0.1	2,505	0.2
Rockford IL	402	0.1	1,456	0.2	618	0.3	2,476	0.2
Worcester MA-CT	732	0.2	1,302	0.1	435	0.2	2,469	0.2
Visalia-Tulare-Porterville CA	997	0.2	1,348	0.2	-	0.0	2,347	0.1
Mobile AL	926	0.2	1,111	0.1	301	0.1	2,338	0.1
Davenport-Moline-Rock Island IA-IL	618	0.1	1,049	0.1	442	0.2	2,109	0.1
Fort Wayne IN	239	0.1	1,194	0.1	666	0.3	2,099	0.1
Appleton-Oshkosh-Neenah WI	769	0.2	1,173	0.1	129	0.1	2,071	0.1

Appendix B. Refugees Resettled by Metropolitan Area and Decade, by Total Number of Refugees Resettled in Metropolitan Areas 1983–1989, 1990–1999, 2000–2004^(continued)

Metro Name	1980s	Percent of all Refugees in 1980s	1990s	Percent of all Refugees in 1990s	2000s	Percent of all Refugees in 2000s	1983–2004	Percent of all Refugees 1983–2004
Omaha NE-IA	483	0.1	909	0.1	658	0.3	2,050	0.1
Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News VA-NC	758	0.2	940	0.1	271	0.1	1,969	0.1
West Palm Beach-Boca Raton FL	363	0.1	1,329	0.1	274	0.1	1,966	0.1
Waterloo-Cedar Falls IA	69	0.0	1,397	0.2	500	0.2	1,966	0.1
Lowell MA-NH	1,398	0.3	458	0.1	79	0.0	1,935	0.1
Raleigh-Durham-Chapel Hill NC	495	0.1	875	0.1	547	0.3	1,917	0.1
New Haven-Meriden CT	405	0.1	994	0.1	417	0.2	1,816	0.1
Lancaster PA	661	0.1	821	0.1	316	0.1	1,798	0.1
Wausau WI	659	0.1	995	0.1	29	0.0	1,683	0.1
Santa Rosa CA	1,226	0.3	368	0.0	15	0.0	1,609	0.1
Bellingham WA	187	0.0	959	0.1	401	0.2	1,547	0.1
La Crosse WI-MN	915	0.2	630	0.1	0	0.0	1,545	0.1
Yuba City CA	631	0.1	878	0.1	-	0.0	1,510	0.1
Lafayette LA	321	0.1	925	0.1	256	0.1	1,502	0.1
Sioux City IA-NE	477	0.1	916	0.1	87	0.0	1,480	0.1
Trenton NJ	312	0.1	600	0.1	523	0.2	1,435	0.1
Green Bay WI	449	0.1	835	0.1	132	0.1	1,416	0.1
Chico-Paradise CA	343	0.1	1,017	0.1	-	0.0	1,363	0.1
Madison WI	428	0.1	867	0.1	58	0.0	1,353	0.1
Sheboygan WI	407	0.1	786	0.1	84	0.0	1,277	0.1
Tulsa OK	504	0.1	639	0.1	130	0.1	1,273	0.1
Boulder-Longmont CO	471	0.1	636	0.1	111	0.1	1,218	0.1
Knoxville TN	258	0.1	665	0.1	247	0.1	1,170	0.1
Sarasota-Bradenton FL	188	0.0	615	0.1	353	0.2	1,156	0.1
Dayton-Springfield OH	337	0.1	624	0.1	153	0.1	1,114	0.1
Olympia WA	530	0.1	573	0.1	10	0.0	1,113	0.1
Roanoke VA	134	0.0	555	0.1	412	0.2	1,101	0.1
Allentown-Bethlehem-Easton PA	333	0.1	547	0.1	218	0.1	1,098	0.1
Santa Barbara-Santa Maria-Lompoc CA	547	0.1	525	0.1	24	0.0	1,096	0.1
Stamford-Norwalk CT	236	0.1	743	0.1	36	0.0	1,015	0.1
Ventura CA	390	0.1	555	0.1	48	0.0	993	0.1
Chattanooga TN-GA	164	0.0	620	0.1	204	0.1	988	0.1
Alexandria LA	280	0.1	563	0.1	142	0.1	985	0.1
Greenville-Spartanburg-Anderson SC	281	0.1	433	0.0	270	0.1	984	0.1
Salinas CA	556	0.1	371	0.0	-	0.0	936	0.1
Cedar Rapids IA	148	0.0	696	0.1	85	0.0	929	0.1
Fort Smith AR-OK	577	0.1	299	0.0	11	0.0	887	0.1
Scranton—Wilkes-Barre—Hazleton PA	114	0.0	556	0.1	211	0.1	881	0.1
Monmouth-Ocean NJ	261	0.1	553	0.1	58	0.0	872	0.1
Beaumont-Port Arthur TX	535	0.1	336	0.0	0	0.0	871	0.1
Eau Claire WI	577	0.1	284	0.0	-	0.0	863	0.1
Toledo OH	294	0.1	519	0.1	46	0.0	859	0.1
Colorado Springs CO	230	0.0	366	0.0	260	0.1	856	0.1
Charlottesville VA	57	0.0	221	0.0	573	0.3	851	0.1
Bismarck ND	104	0.0	642	0.1	77	0.0	823	0.1
Lawrence MA-NH	292	0.1	506	0.1	22	0.0	820	0.1
Lexington-Fayette KY	46	0.0	486	0.1	270	0.1	802	0.1
Ann Arbor MI	231	0.1	451	0.1	103	0.0	785	0.0
Peoria-Pekin IL	608	0.1	127	0.0	-	0.0	740	0.0
Asheville NC	51	0.0	306	0.0	358	0.2	715	0.0

Appendix B. Refugees Resettled by Metropolitan Area and Decade, by Total Number of Refugees Resettled in Metropolitan Areas 1983–1989, 1990–1999, 2000–2004^(continued)

Metro Name	1980s	Percent of all Refugees in 1980s	1990s	Percent of all Refugees in 1990s	2000s	Percent of all Refugees in 2000s	1983–2004	Percent of all Refugees 1983–2004
Vallejo-Fairfield-Napa CA	264	0.1	402	0.0	31	0.0	697	0.0
Savannah GA	226	0.0	459	0.1	-	0.0	691	0.0
Pensacola FL	377	0.1	296	0.0	13	0.0	686	0.0
South Bend IN	187	0.0	330	0.0	149	0.1	666	0.0
Biloxi-Gulfport-Pascagoula MS	406	0.1	226	0.0	15	0.0	647	0.0
Gary IN	141	0.0	312	0.0	166	0.1	619	0.0
Missoula MT	183	0.0	377	0.0	48	0.0	608	0.0
Youngstown-Warren OH	179	0.0	407	0.0	18	0.0	604	0.0
Danbury CT	408	0.1	154	0.0	31	0.0	593	0.0
Wilmington-Newark DE-MD	144	0.0	297	0.0	149	0.1	590	0.0
Waterbury CT	126	0.0	401	0.0	44	0.0	571	0.0
Atlantic-Cape May NJ	95	0.0	380	0.0	74	0.0	549	0.0
Reading PA	241	0.1	272	0.0	12	0.0	525	0.0
State College PA	62	0.0	396	0.0	63	0.0	521	0.0
Lawton OK	492	0.1	12	0.0	0	0.0	504	0.0
Columbia SC	111	0.0	234	0.0	139	0.1	484	0.0
Johnson City-Kingsport-Bristol TN-VA	27	0.0	338	0.0	119	0.1	484	0.0
Flint MI	50	0.0	415	0.0	18	0.0	483	0.0
York PA	185	0.0	180	0.0	104	0.0	469	0.0
Bakersfield CA	272	0.1	168	0.0	28	0.0	468	0.0
Jackson MS	184	0.0	143	0.0	135	0.1	462	0.0
Little Rock-North Little Rock AR	246	0.1	207	0.0	-	0.0	455	0.0
Hickory-Morganton-Lenoir NC	243	0.1	197	0.0	13	0.0	453	0.0
Redding CA	210	0.0	205	0.0	20	0.0	435	0.0
Champaign-Urbana IL	174	0.0	209	0.0	46	0.0	429	0.0
Reno NV	328	0.1	90	0.0	-	0.0	424	0.0
Athens GA	54	0.0	279	0.0	83	0.0	416	0.0
Portsmouth-Rochester NH-ME	148	0.0	224	0.0	35	0.0	407	0.0
Fitchburg-Leominster MA	209	0.0	167	0.0	11	0.0	387	0.0
Vineland-Millville-Bridgeton NJ	69	0.0	242	0.0	75	0.0	386	0.0
Springfield MO	300	0.1	81	0.0	0	0.0	381	0.0
Columbia MO	132	0.0	128	0.0	118	0.1	378	0.0
Birmingham AL	93	0.0	260	0.0	23	0.0	376	0.0
Anchorage AK	121	0.0	224	0.0	23	0.0	368	0.0
Lakeland-Winter Haven FL	179	0.0	183	0.0	-	0.0	367	0.0
St. Cloud MN	127	0.0	124	0.0	97	0.0	348	0.0
Duluth-Superior MN-WI	152	0.0	194	0.0	0	0.0	346	0.0
Bremerton WA	144	0.0	171	0.0	10	0.0	325	0.0
Galveston-Texas City TX	191	0.0	118	0.0	10	0.0	319	0.0
Evansville-Henderson IN-KY	72	0.0	178	0.0	65	0.0	315	0.0
New London-Norwich CT-RI	80	0.0	209	0.0	17	0.0	306	0.0
Charleston-North Charleston SC	78	0.0	217	0.0	-	0.0	300	0.0
Elkhart-Goshen IN	79	0.0	69	0.0	151	0.1	299	0.0
Brockton MA	161	0.0	108	0.0	25	0.0	294	0.0
Canton-Massillon OH	56	0.0	174	0.0	51	0.0	281	0.0
Naples FL	22	0.0	153	0.0	104	0.0	279	0.0
Springfield IL	140	0.0	127	0.0	11	0.0	278	0.0
Daytona Beach FL	89	0.0	112	0.0	61	0.0	262	0.0
Newburgh NY-PA	83	0.0	173	0.0	-	0.0	262	0.0
El Paso TX	151	0.0	98	0.0	-	0.0	257	0.0

Appendix B. Refugees Resettled by Metropolitan Area and Decade, by Total Number of Refugees Resettled in Metropolitan Areas 1983–1989, 1990–1999, 2000–2004^(continued)

Metro Name	1980s	Percent of all Refugees in 1980s	1990s	Percent of all Refugees in 1990s	2000s	Percent of all Refugees in 2000s	1983–2004	Percent of all Refugees 1983–2004
Wichita Falls TX	127	0.0	120	0.0	0	0.0	247	0.0
Fort Collins-Loveland CO	130	0.0	114	0.0	0	0.0	244	0.0
Kalamazoo-Battle Creek MI	88	0.0	103	0.0	45	0.0	236	0.0
Grand Forks ND-MN	69	0.0	115	0.0	47	0.0	231	0.0
Iowa City IA	57	0.0	127	0.0	45	0.0	229	0.0
Corpus Christi TX	182	0.0	37	0.0	-	0.0	225	0.0
Dutchess County NY	59	0.0	142	0.0	-	0.0	210	0.0
Santa Cruz-Watsonville CA	107	0.0	96	0.0	-	0.0	206	0.0
Fort Myers-Cape Coral FL	71	0.0	114	0.0	17	0.0	202	0.0
Eugene-Springfield OR	122	0.0	69	0.0	-	0.0	196	0.0
Provo-Orem UT	161	0.0	23	0.0	-	0.0	189	0.0
Panama City FL	128	0.0	59	0.0	-	0.0	189	0.0
Odessa-Midland TX	139	0.0	47	0.0	0	0.0	186	0.0
Gainesville FL	102	0.0	83	0.0	-	0.0	186	0.0
Saginaw-Bay City-Midland MI	113	0.0	64	0.0	-	0.0	178	0.0
Yakima WA	102	0.0	76	0.0	0	0.0	178	0.0
Shreveport-Bossier City LA	109	0.0	59	0.0	-	0.0	174	0.0
Melbourne-Titusville-Palm Bay FL	82	0.0	74	0.0	13	0.0	169	0.0
Nashua NH	46	0.0	102	0.0	19	0.0	167	0.0
Brazoria TX	65	0.0	99	0.0	0	0.0	164	0.0
Billings MT	88	0.0	75	0.0	0	0.0	163	0.0
Hagerstown MD	69	0.0	53	0.0	40	0.0	162	0.0
Pittsfield MA	31	0.0	124	0.0	-	0.0	158	0.0
Augusta-Aiken GA-SC	58	0.0	94	0.0	-	0.0	157	0.0
Rapid City SD	91	0.0	61	0.0	0	0.0	152	0.0
Fayetteville NC	62	0.0	77	0.0	-	0.0	146	0.0
Montgomery AL	128	0.0	12	0.0	-	0.0	144	0.0
Houma LA	78	0.0	66	0.0	0	0.0	144	0.0
Huntsville AL	90	0.0	38	0.0	-	0.0	137	0.0
Elmira NY	57	0.0	79	0.0	0	0.0	136	0.0
Waco TX	86	0.0	35	0.0	11	0.0	132	0.0
Lubbock TX	93	0.0	34	0.0	0	0.0	127	0.0
Lafayette IN	65	0.0	51	0.0	-	0.0	125	0.0
Joplin MO	58	0.0	65	0.0	0	0.0	123	0.0
Lynchburg VA	68	0.0	51	0.0	0	0.0	119	0.0
Abilene TX	44	0.0	23	0.0	49	0.0	116	0.0
Lawrence KS	17	0.0	88	0.0	11	0.0	116	0.0
Fort Walton Beach FL	81	0.0	34	0.0	0	0.0	115	0.0
Bryan-College Station TX	34	0.0	75	0.0	-	0.0	113	0.0
Dubuque IA	71	0.0	23	0.0	17	0.0	111	0.0
Tallahassee FL	75	0.0	26	0.0	-	0.0	109	0.0
Punta Gorda FL	17	0.0	80	0.0	11	0.0	108	0.0
Hamilton-Middletown OH	49	0.0	45	0.0	13	0.0	107	0.0
Charleston WV	47	0.0	43	0.0	17	0.0	107	0.0
Corvallis OR	62	0.0	34	0.0	10	0.0	106	0.0
Fayetteville-Springdale-Rogers AR	54	0.0	38	0.0	-	0.0	99	0.0
San Angelo TX	71	0.0	23	0.0	0	0.0	94	0.0
Bloomington-Normal IL	51	0.0	37	0.0	-	0.0	91	0.0
Macon GA	46	0.0	38	0.0	-	0.0	87	0.0
Bloomington IN	13	0.0	57	0.0	17	0.0	87	0.0

Appendix B. Refugees Resettled by Metropolitan Area and Decade, by Total Number of Refugees Resettled in Metropolitan Areas 1983–1989, 1990–1999, 2000–2004^ (continued)

Metro Name	1980s	Percent of all Refugees in 1980s	1990s	Percent of all Refugees in 1990s	2000s	Percent of all Refugees in 2000s	1983–2004	Percent of all Refugees 1983–2004
Janesville-Beloit WI	58	0.0	24	0.0	0	0.0	82	0.0
Benton Harbor MI	52	0.0	20	0.0	-	0.0	76	0.0
Casper WY	50	0.0	23	0.0	-	0.0	76	0.0
Fort Pierce-Port St. Lucie FL	15	0.0	37	0.0	21	0.0	73	0.0
Columbus GA-AL	47	0.0	15	0.0	10	0.0	72	0.0
Greenville NC	-	0.0	51	0.0	15	0.0	68	0.0
Kenosha WI	-	0.0	41	0.0	13	0.0	63	0.0
Dover DE	17	0.0	-	0.0	34	0.0	60	0.0
Goldsboro NC	-	0.0	43	0.0	15	0.0	59	0.0
Myrtle Beach SC	24	0.0	27	0.0	-	0.0	58	0.0
Wilmington NC	12	0.0	33	0.0	13	0.0	58	0.0
Jamestown NY	33	0.0	21	0.0	-	0.0	57	0.0
Williamsport PA	29	0.0	13	0.0	12	0.0	54	0.0
Enid OK	48	0.0	-	0.0	0	0.0	52	0.0
New Bedford MA	-	0.0	42	0.0	0	0.0	50	0.0
Great Falls MT	-	0.0	44	0.0	0	0.0	49	0.0
Longview-Marshall TX	39	0.0	-	0.0	0	0.0	48	0.0
Santa Fe NM	29	0.0	18	0.0	0	0.0	47	0.0
Medford-Ashland OR	13	0.0	23	0.0	10	0.0	46	0.0
Decatur IL	-	0.0	36	0.0	0	0.0	45	0.0
Racine WI	24	0.0	14	0.0	-	0.0	44	0.0
Muncie IN	16	0.0	14	0.0	14	0.0	44	0.0
Grand Junction CO	32	0.0	-	0.0	-	0.0	43	0.0
Auburn-Opelika AL	37	0.0	-	0.0	0	0.0	42	0.0
Greeley CO	29	0.0	11	0.0	-	0.0	42	0.0
Mansfield OH	19	0.0	23	0.0	0	0.0	42	0.0
Kokomo IN	19	0.0	22	0.0	0	0.0	41	0.0
San Luis Obispo-Atascadero- Paso Robles CA	31	0.0	-	0.0	-	0.0	40	0.0
Tyler TX	22	0.0	16	0.0	-	0.0	40	0.0
Jacksonville NC	-	0.0	30	0.0	-	0.0	39	0.0
Killeen-Temple TX	18	0.0	20	0.0	0	0.0	38	0.0
Owensboro KY	20	0.0	-	0.0	-	0.0	37	0.0
Victoria TX	13	0.0	22	0.0	0	0.0	35	0.0
Altoona PA	-	0.0	32	0.0	0	0.0	35	0.0
Dothan AL	20	0.0	13	0.0	0	0.0	33	0.0
Pocatello ID	32	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	32	0.0
Kankakee IL	31	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	31	0.0
Barnstable-Yarmouth MA	11	0.0	19	0.0	0	0.0	30	0.0
Terre Haute IN	-	0.0	24	0.0	0	0.0	30	0.0
Lewiston-Auburn ME	10	0.0	0	0.0	18	0.0	28	0.0
Topeka KS	-	0.0	23	0.0	0	0.0	28	0.0
Monroe LA	18	0.0	-	0.0	0	0.0	27	0.0
Tuscaloosa AL	12	0.0	15	0.0	0	0.0	27	0.0
Flagstaff AZ-UT	21	0.0	-	0.0	0	0.0	26	0.0
Lake Charles LA	18	0.0	-	0.0	0	0.0	25	0.0
Ocala FL	-	0.0	19	0.0	-	0.0	25	0.0
Lima OH	14	0.0	-	0.0	0	0.0	23	0.0
Pueblo CO	-	0.0	15	0.0	0	0.0	23	0.0
Texarkana TX-Texarkana AR	13	0.0	-	0.0	0	0.0	22	0.0
Albany GA	-	0.0	-	0.0	-	0.0	20	0.0

Appendix B. Refugees Resettled by Metropolitan Area and Decade, by Total Number of Refugees Resettled in Metropolitan Areas 1983–1989, 1990–1999, 2000–2004^ (continued)

Metro Name	1980s	Percent of all Refugees in 1980s	1990s	Percent of all Refugees in 1990s	2000s	Percent of all Refugees in 2000s	1983–2004	Percent of all Refugees 1983–2004
Sharon PA	18	0.0	0	0.0	-	0.0	19	0.0
Huntington-Ashland WV-KY-OH	18	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	18	0.0
Cheyenne WY	12	0.0	-	0.0	0	0.0	18	0.0
Clarksville-Hopkinsville TN-KY	12	0.0	0	0.0	-	0.0	17	0.0
Bangor ME	10	0.0	-	0.0	0	0.0	17	0.0
Mcallen-Edinburg-Mission TX	-	0.0	-	0.0	-	0.0	17	0.0
Las Cruces NM	14	0.0	-	0.0	0	0.0	16	0.0
Johnstown PA	14	0.0	0	0.0	-	0.0	16	0.0
Jackson MI	-	0.0	11	0.0	0	0.0	16	0.0
Hattiesburg MS	-	0.0	-	0.0	-	0.0	15	0.0
Parkersburg-Marietta WV-OH	-	0.0	0	0.0	-	0.0	12	0.0
Sherman-Denison TX	-	0.0	-	0.0	0	0.0	11	0.0
Wheeling WV-OH	-	0.0	-	0.0	0	0.0	10	0.0
	461,770	100.0	898,506	100.0	215,649	100.0	1,575,925	100.0

^ Refers to fiscal years with the exception of 2004, for which data ends in June

"-" *represents values below disclosure standards*
Source: Authors' tabulation of ORR data

Endnotes

1. Kathleen Newland, "Impact of U.S. Refugee Policies on U.S. Foreign Policy: A Case of the Tail Wagging the Dog?" in Michael S. Teitelbaum, and Myron Weiner, eds, *Threatened Peoples, Threatened Borders: World Migration and U.S. Policy,* .(New York: The American Assembly, 1995)..

2. Persons who are outside their homeland and are unwilling to return because of "a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion".

3. Those applying for asylum are channeled through a different application process. They are physically present in the United States or at a port of entry when they apply for asylum.

4. The period corresponds to records available from the Office of Refugee Resettlement. All years refer to federal fiscal years (for example 1983 is October 1982-September 1983), with the exception of 2004, which runs through June of that year. Although the U.S. refugee program predates this period, records that include detailed geographic data are only available for the 1983–2004 period.

5. Jeffrey S. Passel, "Unauthorized Migrants: Numbers and Characteristics" (Washington,: Pew Hispanic Center, 2005)..

6. Gregor Noll and Joanne van Selm, "Rediscovering Resettlement" (Washington: Migration Policy Institute, 2003)..

7. The 45 years of political migration out of Cuba has resulted in nearly one million Cubans arriving in the United States. Their entry to the United States has been governed by various provisions over time, and the majority did not enter as refugees under the current provisions of the law (and therefore are not included in this analysis). Most (677,611) have been admitted as legal permanent residents under the Cuban Adjustment Act of 1966.

8. Note that refugees from these two origin groups make up 64 percent of the refugees analyzed in this paper. The difference is that the ORR was established after the U.S. began resettling Vietnamese refugees. In addition, the records we obtained from ORR begin in 1983, and the settlement of Vietnamese refugees preceded this date.

9. Cubans and Haitians seeking asylum in the United States during this period prompted the passage of the Refugee Education and Assistance Act in October 1980 which established a program of formula grants to State education agencies for basic education of refugee children and also provided for services to Cuban and Haitian entrants identical to those for refugees under the Refugee Act. The Immigration Control and Reform Act of 1986 permitted these Cuban and Haitian entrants to adjust to permanent residence status.

10. Others include Church World Service, Episcopal Migration Ministries, Ethiopian Community Development Council, Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society, , International Rescue Committee, Iowa Bureau of Refugee Services, Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service, U.S. Committee for Refugees and Immigration, and World Relief Refugee Services.

11. Conversation with Amy Slaughter, Episcopal Migration Ministries, September 24, 2004.

12. ORR, 2003. *Report to the Congress FY 2002.*

13. The two metro areas with no refugees resettled are Florence, SC and Yuma, AZ.

14. The United States enacted its first official refugee program following World War II when 400,000 Eastern Europeans came in as a result of the Displaced Persons Act of 1948. Since that legislation and prior to the enactment of the Refugee Act in 1980, the United States had several high-profile refugee flows that have altered the international flows of U.S. foreign-born arrivals. See Background Box.

15. New security procedures in overseas locations delayed travel of already approved refugee applicants. Safety concerns prevented U.S. adjudicators from visiting processing centers overseas.

16. See Raleigh Bailey in "New Immigrant Communities in the North Carolina Piedmont Triad: Integration Issues and Challenges," pp. 57–86 in Elzbieta Gozdziak, and Susan F. Martin (eds.), 2005. *Beyond the Gateway: Immigrants in a Changing America,* Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

17. About two-thirds of refugees admitted are "tied cases," while the remainder are "free cases."

18. While ORR monitors state-to-state movement, no comprehensive metropolitan-level data on secondary migration exists. However, various accounts of secondary migration show significant movements of people after initial resettlement. For example, after initial placements, the Hmong have relocated to communities in California, Minnesota and North Carolina, Cubans have migrated to S. Florida, Somali and Sudanese refugees to Nebraska (Abraham, 2003 Accessed on line January 3, 2005 **http://www.churchworldservice.org/Immigration/archives/2003/10/43.html**)

19. ORR Report to Congress, p. 45.

20. The two population universes are not strictly comparable. The foreign born rank refers to stock and includes some refugees and the refugee rank refers to "flow" and does not account for secondary migration.

21. Audrey Singer, "The Rise of New Immigrant Gateways," (Washington: Brookings Institution, 2004)..

22. Refugees are eligible to adjust their status to permanent residency after one year.

23. Singer, "Immigrant Gateways."

24. This study uses the 1999 OMB MSA and PMSA definitions of metropolitan areas. The New York PMSA consists of the following 8 counties: Bronx, Kings, New York, Putnam, Queens, Richmond, Rockland, and Westchester.

25. Singer 2004 identified six types of metropolitan immigrant gateways among large metropolitan areas. "Former gateways," are places such as Buffalo and Pittsburgh, which attracted immigrants in the early 1900s but no longer do. "Continuous gateways," such as New York and Chicago, are long-established destinations for immigrants and continue to receive large numbers of the foreign-born. "Post-World War II gateways" like Los Angeles, Miami, and Houston began attracting immigrants in large numbers only during the past 50 years. Places with very fast immigrant growth in the past 20 years alone, such as Atlanta, Dallas and Washington, DC, stand out as "emerging gateways." Other areas such as Minneapolis and Seattle, began the 20th century with a strong attraction for immigrants, waned as destinations during the middle of the century, but are now "re-emerging gateways." Finally, there are places with the newest fast-growing immigrant populations as of the 1990s, such as Raleigh-Durham and

Austin, that may continue to grow as destinations. They are designated "pre-emerging gateways."

26. However, according to the Hmong Resettlement Task Force, many communities in the Central Valley such as Fresno, Sacramento, Stockton, and Merced were poised to receive Hmong refugees after June 2004 (which is beyond the time period covered by the ORR data).

27. See Wausau case in ***Varying Local Contexts section*** below.

28. Recently, Senator Brownback of Kansas prevented Kansas from resettling the recent wave of Somali Bantu. The first wave of Vietnamese overwhelmed some California cities and they decided to curtail further resettlement until they were more prepared. The Mayor of Lewiston Maine notoriously wrote a letter to the Somali elders, part of a larger refugee group, asking them to cease moving to his town. Although this was a case of secondary migration, the Somalis were motivated to move there by a small group of refugees who had been resettled in the region who felt the area was a very desirable place to live.

29. Jill Wilson, and Shelly Habecker, "The Lure of the Capital City: An Anthro-Geographic Analysis of Recent African Immigration to Washington, D.C.," presented at the annual meetings of the Association of American Geographers, Chicago (2006).

30. Available at **http://www.dss.cahwnet.gov/refugeeprogram/Res/pdf/Lists/refugeeforums.pdf** , (September, 2005).

31. See John Horton and Jose Calderon, *The Politics of Diversity: Immigration, Resistance, and Change in Monterey Park, California.* (Philadelphia: Temple University, 1995)..

32. Patrick McCarthy, *After the Fall: Srebrenica Survivors in St. Louis* (St. Louis: University of Missouri, 2000).

33. The majority live in the city of Utica. See Kraly, Ellen Percy, Lorraine Coulter, and Theresa Murray. 2003. "Refugee Resettlement and City Revitalization: Prospects for Change in Utica, New York." Unpublished paper, Colgate University.

34. Mayor Tim Julian quoted in Wilkinson, Ray. 2005 "A Marriage 'Made in Heaven,'" *Refugees*, Volume 1, Number 138, Geneva: UNHCR.

35. Metropolitan Wausau (Marathon County) was 93 percent white and 4 percent Asian in 2000.

36. Rick LaFrombois, "County well-prepared for refugees," *Wausau Daily Herald,* July 11, 2004, p. A1.

37. More on the Pennsylvania Refugee Resettlement Program available at **http://www.refugeesinpa.org/program/default.asp**, (January 2006).

38. The Torture Victims Relief Act of 1998 was established to provide a comprehensive program of support for victims of torture. This ORR program includes treatment and rehabilitation, social and legal services, and research and training for health care providers to enable them to treat the physical and psychological effects of torture. Currently the ORR is funding 17 separate programs for victims of torture in the U.S. ORR website, Accessed July 24, 2006, **http://www.acf.hhs.gov/programs/orr/programs/torturep.htm**

39. For an exceptional case study of how refugee communities and the American medical system can clash see Fadiman, Anne. 1997. *The Spirit Catches You and You Fall Down: A Hmong Child, her American Doctors, and the Collision of Two Cultures,* New York: Farrar, Strauss and Giroux.

40. Speech by J. Kelly Ryan, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Population, Refugees, and Migration, U.S. Department of State, Tenth Regional Conference on Migration, Vancouver, Canada March 11, 2005. Accessed November 21, 2005, **www.state.gov/g/prm/rls/44154.htm**

Acknowledgments

We would like to acknowledge the contributions and advice of many individuals and institutions during the course of this project. We thank Gayle Smith and her staff at the Office of Refugee Resettlement for making the ORR data available to us. Ann Morse, Ellen Percy Kraly, Elzbieta Gozdziak, and Shelly Habecker shared their insights and provided valuable advice on various drafts of the paper. We sought the guidance of many people working at a range of agencies and organizations across the country. We extend our gratitude to all of them for providing us with a vision of their particular piece of the vast resettlement process. Finally, we are indebted to the staff at the Brookings Institution for their contributions, including Amy Liu and Alan Berube, and especially those who offered assistance in preparing the data for analysis.

For More Information:

Audrey Singer
Immigration Fellow
The Brookings Institution Metropolitan Policy Program
(202) 797-6241
asinger@brookings.edu

For General Information:

The Brookings Institution Metropolitan Policy Program
(202) 797-6139
www.brookings.edu/metro

About the Living Cities Census Series

Sweeping U.S. demographic changes alter the context in which urban and metropolitan policies take shape. With support from ***Living Cities: The National Community Development Initiative,*** the Brookings Institution's Metropolitan Policy Program continues the ***Living Cities Census Series,*** a major effort to illustrate how recent demographic, social, and economic trends affect the vitality of cities and metropolitan areas. Building upon prior work focused on the results of Census 2000, the series is paying special attention to changes occurring during the current decade.

Living Cities: The National Community Development Initiative is a partnership of leading foundations, financial institutions, nonprofit organizations, and the federal government that is committed to improving the vitality of cities and urban communities. Living Cities supports the work of community development organizations in 23 cities and uses the lessons of that work to engage in national research and policy development. Visit Living Cities on the web at **www.livingcities.org.**

55 West 125th Street, 11th floor • New York, New York 10027
Tel: 646-442-2200 • Fax: 646-442-2239
www.livingcities.org

The Brookings Institution

1775 Massachusetts Avenue, NW • Washington D.C. 20036-2188
Tel: 202-797-6000 • Fax: 202-797-6004
www.brookings.edu

Metropolitan Policy Program

Direct: 202-797-6139 • Fax/direct: 202-797-2965
www.brookings.edu/metro