METROPOLITAN POLICY PROGRAM THE BROOKINGS INSTITUTION

Audrey Singer, Immigration Fellow

Twenty-first Century Gateways: Immigrant Incorporation in Suburban America

Annual meeting of the Association of American Geographers April 18, 2007

New metropolitan geography of immigrant settlement

The 1990s was a time of extraordinary growth of the U.S. immigrant population

Many new areas of settlement outside the traditional Southwestern states and large metropolitan areas

Following opportunities, more immigrants are locating in suburban areas

New Metros: changing destinations in the 1990s

More immigrants live in Atlanta than Long Island, Philadelphia, or Detroit (612,000)

The same number of immigrants currently live in Salt Lake City as Cleveland (115,000)

Washington, DC and Dallas-Ft. Worth have nearly as many immigrants as Houston or San Francisco (greater than 1 million)

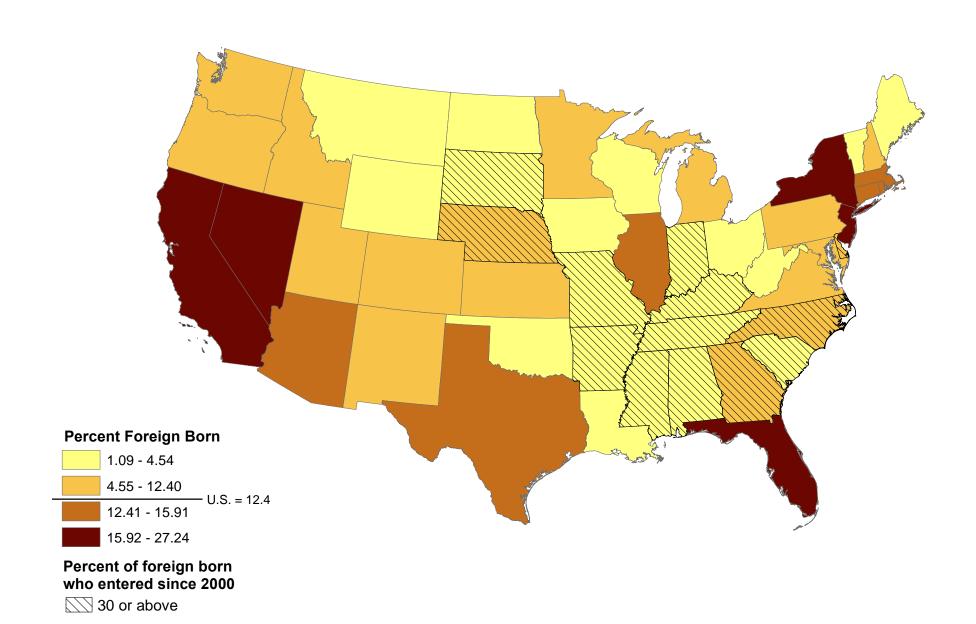
New Contexts: suburbia is the dominant landscape

More immigrants now live in suburbia than in central cities (52% vs. 48% nationwide)

Most of the foreign-born in Atlanta and Washington, DC live in the suburbs (94 & 91 percent), but the same is true for only 56 percent of Chicago's and 49 percent of San Francisco's

The fastest growing immigrant populations are in 21st Century Gateways which are largely sprawling, lower density, and suburban in form

States with the most recent growth are in the Southeast

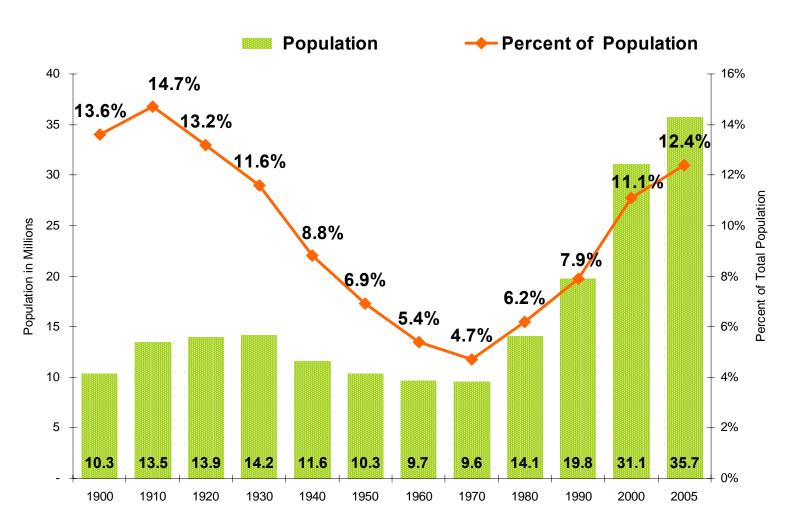


Top 10 metropolitan areas, 2005

	<u>%FB</u>	<u>Millions</u>
New York	27.9	5,117,290
Los Angeles	34.7	4,407,353
Miami-Fort Lauderdale	36.5	1,949,629
Chicago	17.5	1,625,649
San Francisco-Oakland	29.5	1,201,209
Houston	21.4	1,113,875
Washington	19.9	1,017,432
Dallas-Fort Worth	17.7	1,016,221
Riverside-San Bernardino	21.6	827,584
Boston	16.0	684,165

Immigration is at an all time high

Total Foreign Born and Share Foreign Born in the United States, 1900-2005

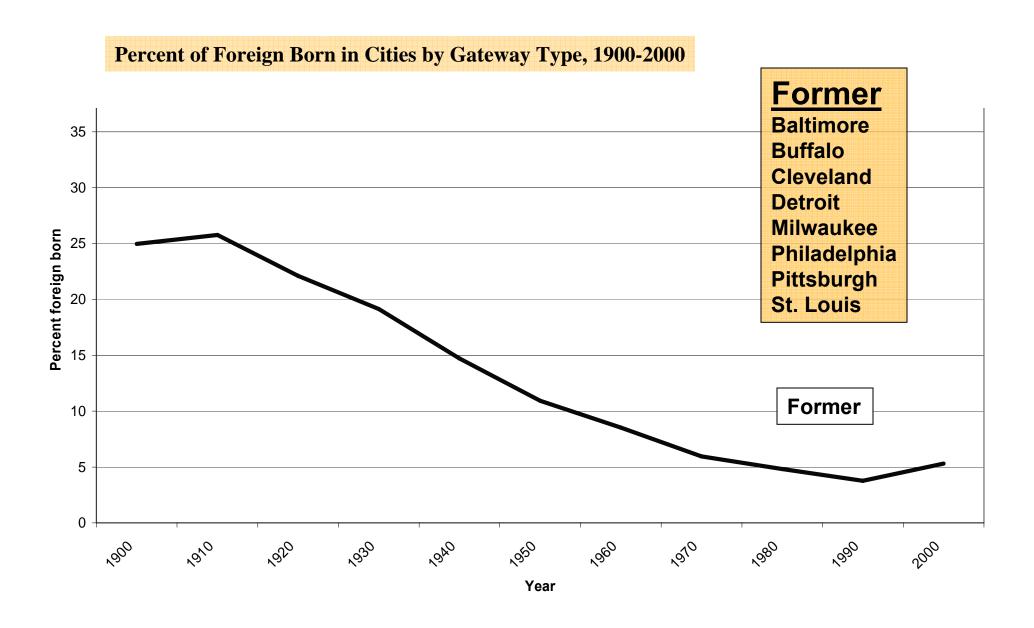


Source: U.S. Census Bureau

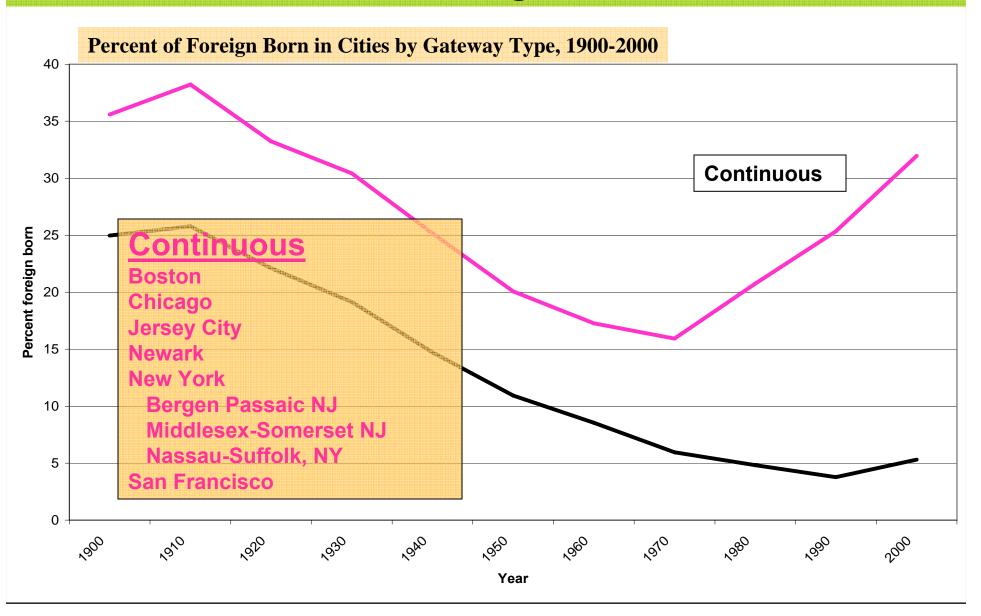
Few cities have maintained their status as gateways throughout the 20th century

19	900		2	000	
New York Chicago	1,270,080 587,112	37.0 34.6	New York Los Angeles	2,871,032 <i>1,512,720</i>	35.9 <i>40.9</i>
Philadelphia Boston Cleveland	295,340 197,129 124,631	22.8 35.1 32.6	Chicago Houston San Jose	628,903 516,105 329,757	21.7 26.4 36.8
San Francisco St. Louis	116,885 <i>111,356</i>	34.1 <i>19.4</i>	San Diego Dallas	314,227 290,436	25.7 24.4
Buffalo Detroit Milwaukee	104,252 96,503 88,991	29.6 33.8 31.2	San Francisco Phoenix Miami	285,541 257,325	36.8 <i>19.5</i>
	•		IVIIdIIII	215,739	59.5

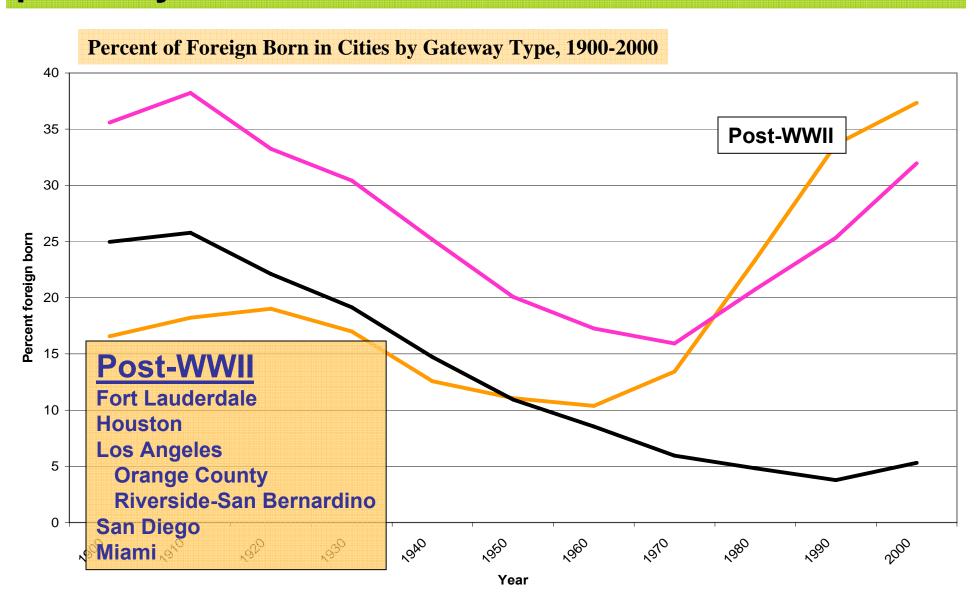
Former gateways are no longer major destinations



Continuous gateways have always attracted more than their fair share of immigrants

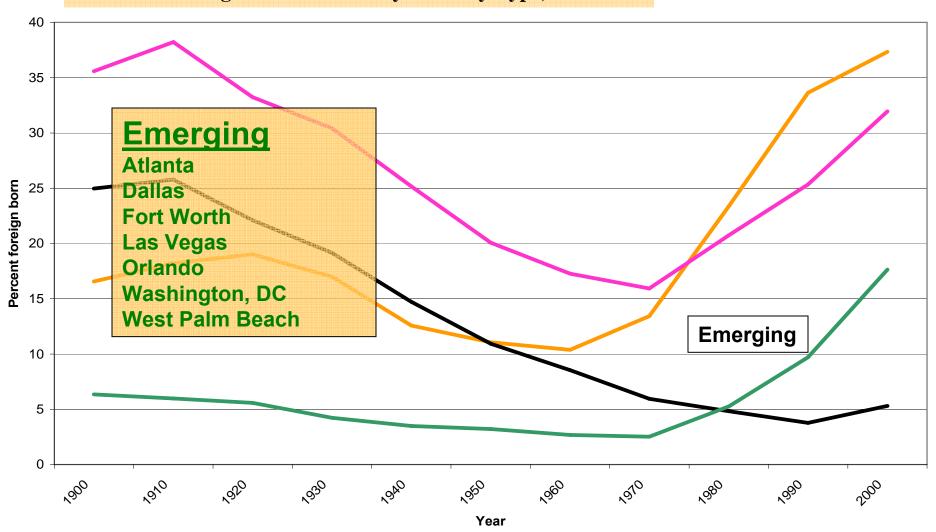


Post-WWII gateways became destinations during the past 50 years

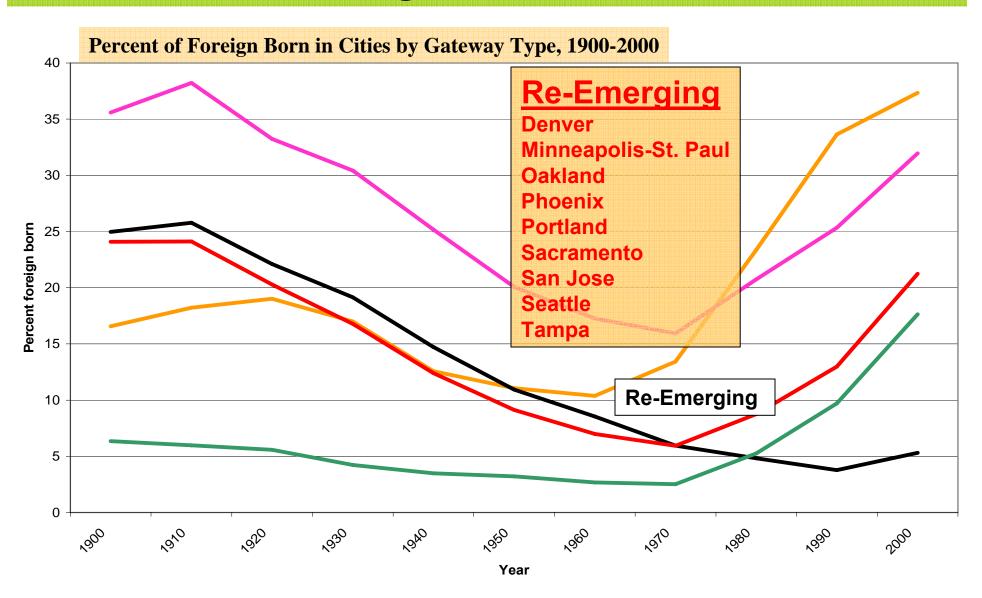


Emerging gateways experienced very recent and rapid growth in their foreign-born population

Percent of Foreign Born in Cities by Gateway Type, 1900-2000

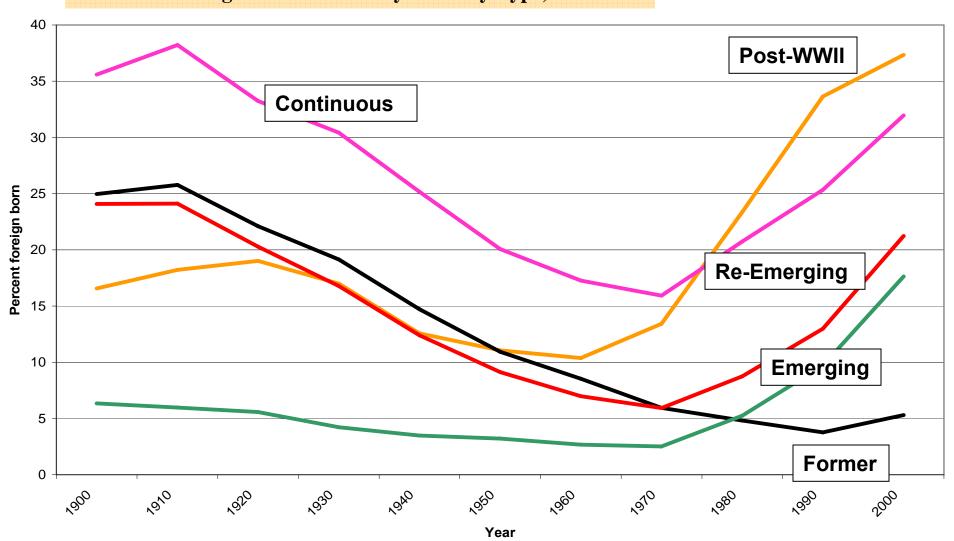


Re-Emerging gateways are once again major destinations for immigrants



Emerging gateways represent a new context for immigrant integration

Percent of Foreign Born in Cities by Gateway Type, 1900-2000



Six types of metropolitan immigrant gateways in 2000

Former

Baltimore

Buffalo

Cleveland

Detroit

Milwaukee

Philadelphia

Pittsburgh

St. Louis

Continuous

Boston

Chicago

Jersey City

Newark

New York

Bergen Passaic NJ

Middlesex-Somerset NJ

Nassau-Suffolk, NY

San Francisco

Post-WWII

Fort Lauderdale

Houston

Los Angeles

Orange County

Riverside-San Bernardino

San Diego

Miami

Emerging

Atlanta

Dallas

Fort Worth

Las Vegas

Orlando

Washington, DC

West Palm Beach

Re-Emerging

Denver

Minneapolis-St. Paul

Oakland

Phoenix

Portland

Sacramento

San Jose

Seattle

Tampa

Pre-Emerging

Austin

Charlotte

Greensboro-Winston Salem

Raleigh-Durham

Salt Lake City

The social science literature shows a surprising lack of comparative metropolitan studies

Roger Waldinger wrote in 1989 that in the past, the study of cities was largely the study of immigrants, however now much research on immigrants is about

"...people who just happen to live in cities; but how the particular characteristics of the immigrant-receiving areas impinge on the newcomers is a question immigration researchers rarely raise" (Waldinger 1989: 211).

A new wave of immigration studies is illuminating the fact that immigrants are in new destination areas

PLACE-FOCUSED

rural areas, "the South," "the Suburbs"

INDUSTRY-FOCUSED

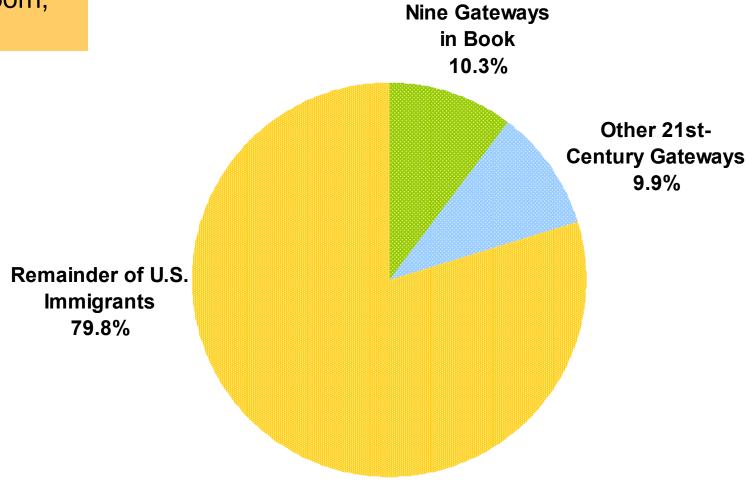
Carpets, poultry, meatpacking, mushrooms, technology

ORIGIN COUNTRY-FOCUSED

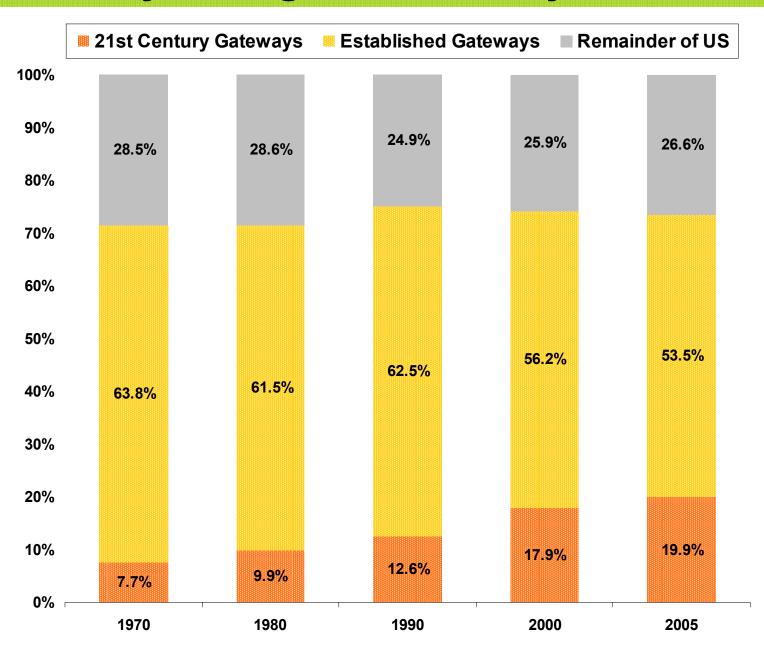
 Mexicans in New York, Salvadorans on Long Island, Chinese in Monterey Park

21st Century Immigrant Gateways: Why we are doing the book

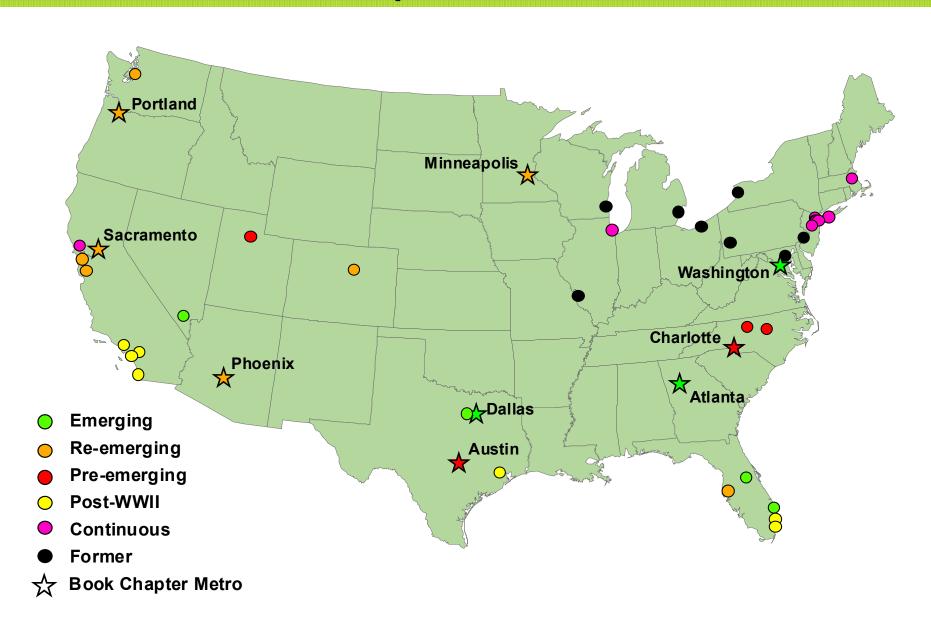
Percent of U.S. foreign-born, 2000



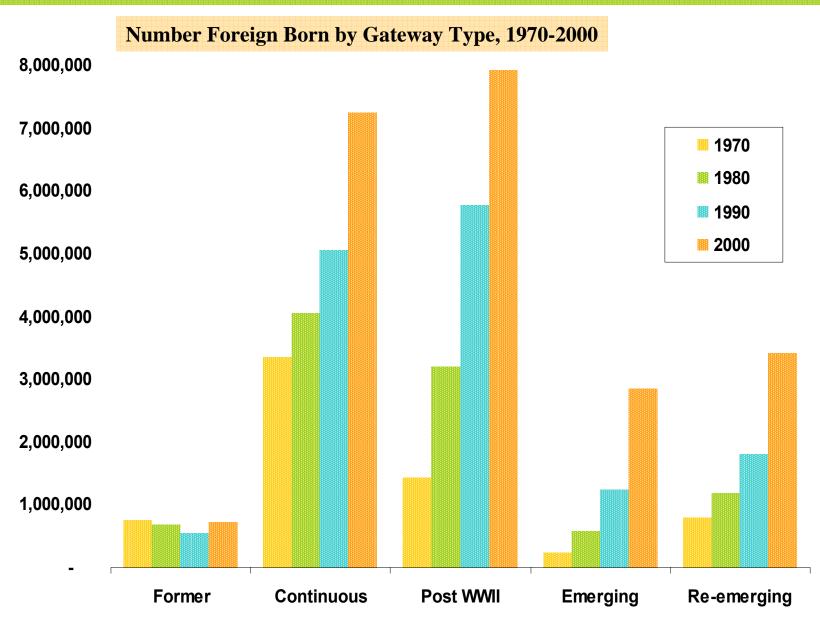
21st Century Immigrant Gateways



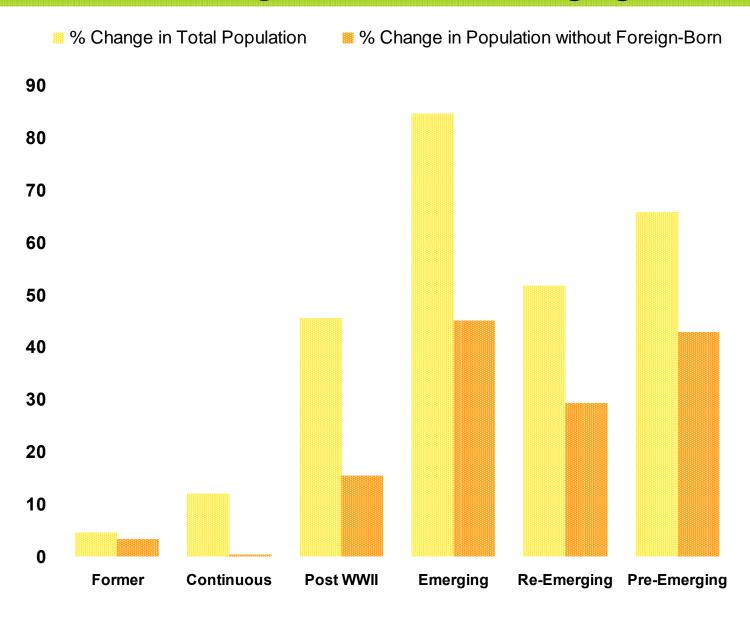
The 9 metropolitan areas featured in the book are located in states on the perimeter of the United States



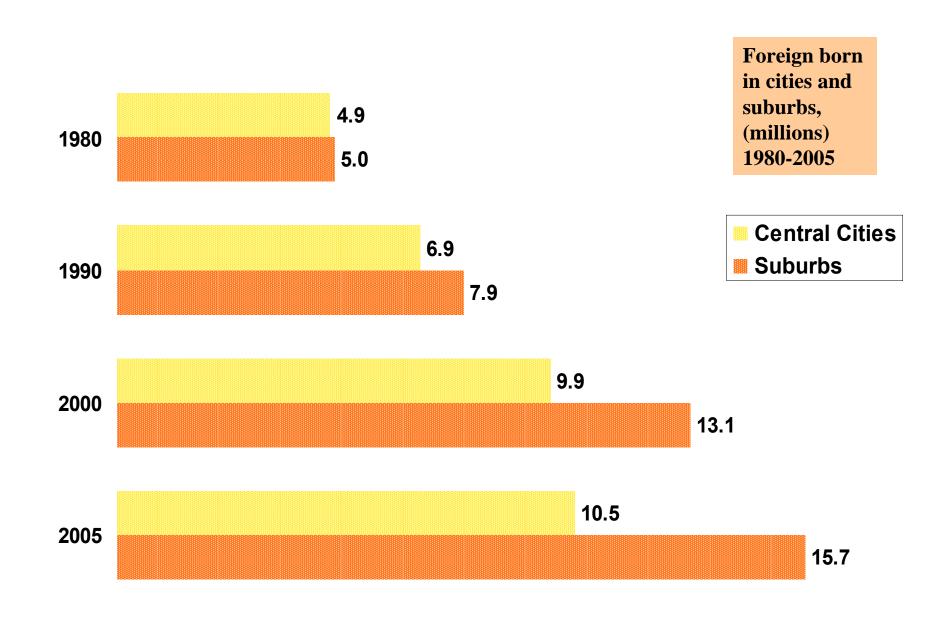
Continuous and Post-WWII Gateways still dominate, but Emerging and Re-Emerging are growing faster



Population growth in *Continuous* and *Post-WWII* Gateways depends more on immigration than in *Emerging* Gateways



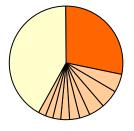
Growth rates are greater in suburban areas, yielding more immigrants in absolute terms



All but one metro has Mexican immigrants at the top of the list, but after that they vary in origin countries

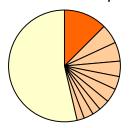
Atlanta

Mexico: 28% Top Ten: 58%



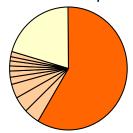
Washington

El Salvador: 13% Top Ten: 46%



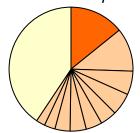
Dallas

Mexico 59% Top Ten 79%



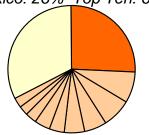
Minneapolis

Mexico: 14% Top Ten: 60%



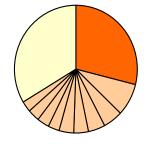
Sacramento

Mexico: 26% Top Ten: 67%



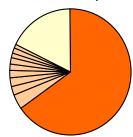
Portland

Mexico: 29% Top Ten: 67%



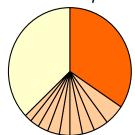
Phoenix

Mexico: 65% Top Ten: 82%



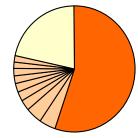
Charlotte

Mexico: 34% Top Ten: 63%



Austin

Mexico: 55% Top Ten: 78%

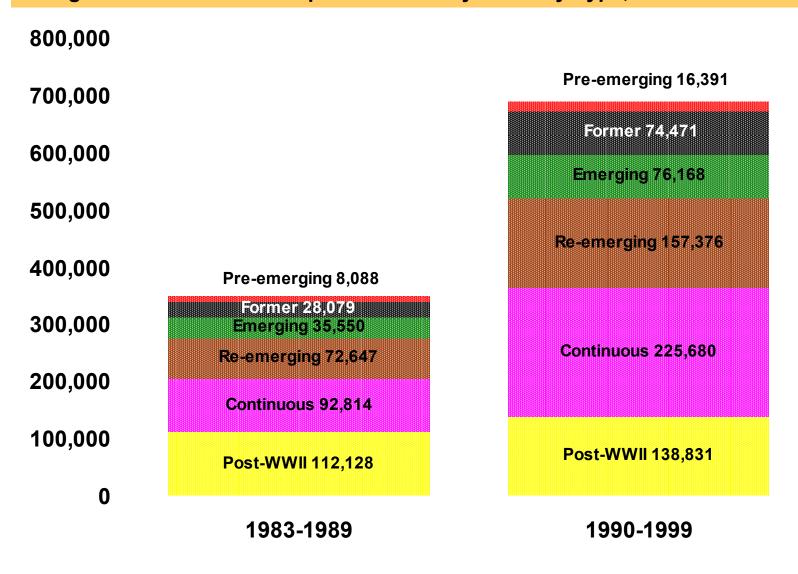


7 of the metros in the book were top refugee resettlement areas, differing from the top foreign-born destinations

<u>Refugee</u>			<u>Refugees</u>
<u>Rank</u>	FB Rank	<u>Metropolitan Area</u>	Resettled, 83-04
	_		
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	Twin Cities	41,239
9	16	Atlanta	40,149
10	29	Sacramento	37,436
12	31	Portland	34,292
18	10	▲ Dallas	25,867
20	15	Phoenix	23,072

All gateway types doubled the number of refugees resettled in the 1990s, except for Post-World War II gateways

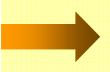
Refugees Resettled in Metropolitan Areas by Gateway Type, 1980s and 1990s



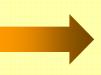
THE INTEGRATION OF IMMIGRANTS: The Policy Context



No uniform set of policies and programs to aid in the social, economic, and political incorporation of immigrants



The "grey zone": local responses to federal failures, i.e., day labor, language policies, occupancy policies, local police enforcement



Local efforts may be compounded by the large number of recent arrivals and local governance



Social networks will ensure further immigration

Goals of the project

Provide in-depth, comparative, interdisciplinary analysis of 21st century gateways

Explore the underlying dimensions of foreign-born growth in 21st century gateways

Generate new knowledge about suburbs as the current context for immigrant incorporation

Help local leaders understand their area's transformations in a broader context