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Twenty-First-Century Gateways

An Introduction

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Straddling two centuries, the ten-year period between 1995 and 2005 came to mean dramatically different circumstances for immigrants residing in the United States. Immigrants arriving in the late 1990s were drawn to a soaring economy bolstered by growth in "new economy" jobs, especially in the information technology sector. This in turn spurred population growth in many urban and suburban communities. Attracted by the demand for workers in construction, manufacturing, and service sectors, immigrants began to locate in areas with little or no history of immigration. Although older industrial areas—the Detroits, Pittsburghs, and Clevelands of this country—have suffered job and population loss, metropolitan areas such as Phoenix, Washington, and Austin saw their new economy sectors boom, and their immigrant population along with them.

Thus, as the twentieth century came to a close, the United States experienced an extraordinary transformation of its population. More immigrants, legal and illegal combined, arrived during the decade of the 1990s than in any other decade on record. By 2000 the number of immigrants living in the United States was estimated to be 31 million.

In large part because of the strong economy of the 1990s, immigrants, legal and illegal, were, if not welcomed, at least tolerated in their new homes. This scenario abruptly changed, however, as the nation crossed over into the twenty-first century. The technology bubble burst, followed by a mild recession, resulting in a rise in unemployment from the historic lows of the late 1990s. Although employment levels are back up, other

global and domestic events of the first years of the twenty-first century have fundamentally changed public attitudes toward immigrants.

First came the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks. Because the attacks were undertaken by foreign nationals from various Middle Eastern countries, immigrants are now, more than ever, considered a security risk. Since March 2003 the United States has been engaged in a war in Iraq with no end in sight. Finally, the public's approval of the Bush administration is at a low point.[1] The uncertainty of the war, uneasiness over the economy, and the public's loss of confidence in the federal government have produced an insecure populace.

As the public deals with this diffuse set of fears, immigrants have been simultaneously cast under a more watchful eye. As this book goes to press, a national debate over reforming immigration policy, currently stalled in Congress—and stoked by talk radio and national anti-immigrant groups—has raised anxieties over the levels of unauthorized migration and the economic and social consequences of continued immigration.[2]

The result of these changing processes is that many new local areas of immigrant settlement are grappling with the fiscal costs of new streams of immigrants and the social costs of integrating them. Immigration debates—in recent decades limited to certain states such as California and New York—have spread along with the residential redistribution of immigrants. Local officials in many new settlement areas, in Georgia, North Carolina, Virginia and elsewhere, are under pressure to "do something" about immigration. In the absence of federal reform, state and local governments are facing an overwhelming sense of loss of control, and many are proposing (and sometimes passing) laws and ordinances that are designed to control immigrants. Often these policies are in the guise of local law enforcement, housing regulations, or employment policies. While most of the proposals and new policies are directed at undocumented immigrants, the public debates surrounding them are socially divisive and contribute to an unwelcome environment for all immigrants. Not all of the new local proposals are punitive, of course; some areas have longer-term goals of integrating immigrants and their children into communities. The backlash is the most intense, however, in many of the areas with the freshest and fastest-paced immigration.

The story of the United States, as it has been told many times over, is a story of immigration. That story typically begins on Ellis Island or the ports of California, with arriving immigrants heading immediately to ethnic enclaves in cities such as New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, or San

Francisco—to the Little Italys, Chinatowns, or Lower East Sides. There they set up businesses, build churches or synagogues, and send their children to the local public schools. The neighborhoods quickly become destination points for future waves of family and friends, as the newcomers relay their good fortune to friends and family in their home country. Eventually, following the American Dream, the first generation moves up and out to the suburbs, leaving room for the next wave.

Historically, these neighborhoods were primarily European in origin. Toward the end of the twentieth century, newer waves of immigrants from Latin America, the Caribbean, and Asia would locate in many of the same neighborhoods once occupied by the Slavs, Germans, Italians, and others in a process of ethnic succession. In more established immigrant cities, foreign-born newcomers simply settled in existing neighborhoods on the wane, transforming classic European enclaves such as Chicago's Bavarian Little Village into La Villita, a Mexican barrio, and New York's Lower East Side *shtetl* into the renamed Dominican and Puerto Rican Loisida neighborhood.

These areas—called in turn ghettos, barrios, or enclaves—have both negative and positive connotations. On the negative side, they are often viewed today as isolated areas with low-quality housing and services that restrict the incorporation of immigrants into the mainstream. They are seen as a defensive ethnic survival strategy and a destination of last resort for people with limited means. On the positive side, they offer new arrivals support, familiarity, and linguistic and cultural ease into a new society. Enclave neighborhoods represent both *stability* (that is, a constant presence that "institutionalizes" the immigrant experience) and *flux* as continuous waves of newcomers enter the neighborhood and use its services and structures at the same time that others are moving out to better opportunities elsewhere.

This story of ethnic enclaves in the heart of major gateway cities has been fundamentally altered with the restructuring of the U.S. economy, the decentralization of cities, and the growth of the suburbs as major employment centers. As industrial cities in the Northeast and Midwest began to lose population at mid-century, the lure of the suburbs enticed upwardly mobile, largely white families to relocate.[3] Thus, cities such as Buffalo, Cleveland, Detroit, and Pittsburgh have suffered continuous population and economic decline since 1950.[4] Other metropolitan areas with strong economic performance have grown during the same period, including the Sun Belt cities of Dallas, Fort Worth, Phoenix, Austin, and Charlotte. A third set of cities once in decline were revived during the 1980s and 1990s, due to strong metropolitan-wide economic growth. This group includes

Boston, Chicago, New York, and San Francisco, as well as Atlanta, Minneapolis, and Portland, Oregon.[5]

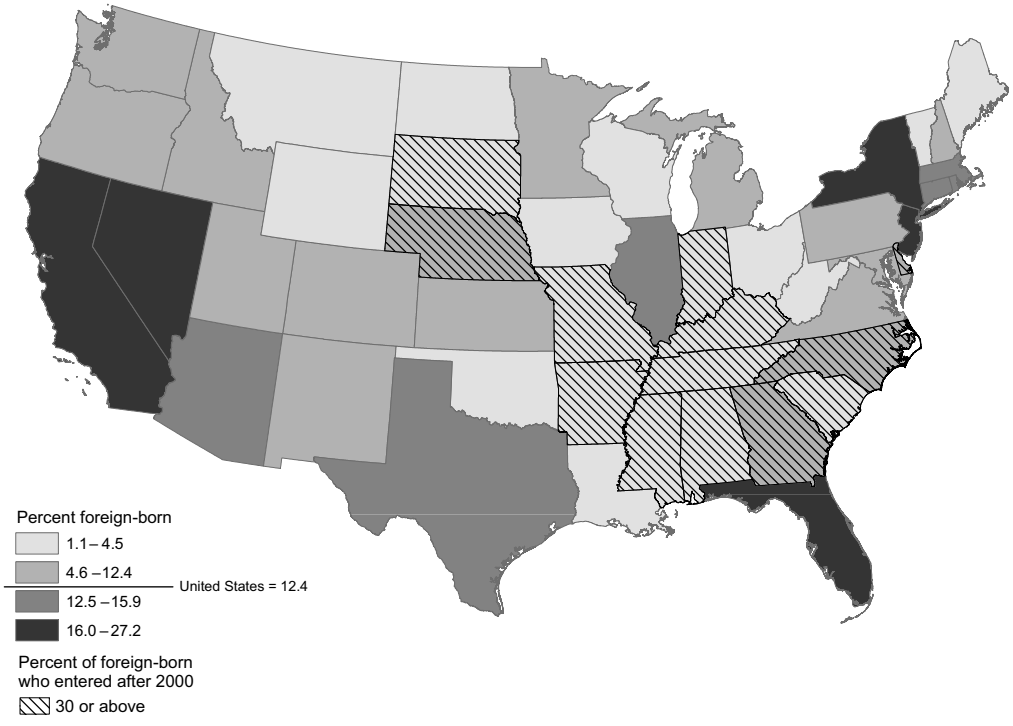
Therefore the economic fortunes of metropolitan areas are tied to population growth, and by the end of the century, local economies that were more diverse and included knowledge-based industries tended to attract the most migrants, both those who moved from within the United States and those who came from abroad.[6] Economic growth in certain sectors, and decline in others, has had an impact on where immigrants have located. Thus, while older industrial areas have suffered population loss related to the decline in manufacturing jobs (and no new jobs to replace them), metro areas like Phoenix and Austin saw their "new economy" sectors grow, and their immigrant populations along with it.

The patterns of economic growth of the 1990s are partly responsible for the shift in settlement patterns of immigrants. Another source of growth and change in the foreign-born population in recent decades is refugee resettlement. Since 1980, when the U.S. refugee resettlement program began, the leading refugee destinations have shifted away from traditional immigrant gateways to new areas. Although New York, Los Angeles, and Chicago still accommodate the most refugees among metropolitan areas, Seattle, San Jose, Washington, Minneapolis-St. Paul, Atlanta, Sacramento, and Portland resettled large numbers, fundamentally shifting their positions as immigrant gateways.[7]

The Rise of New Immigrant Gateways

As of March 2005 an estimated 35.7 million immigrants (legal and unauthorized) were living in the United States.[8] Map 1-1 shows the states with the highest immigrant shares and the most recent foreign-born growth across states for 2005. Most of the states with the highest proportion of immigrants also have the largest absolute numbers of immigrants. California has close to 10 million immigrants, the greatest number among all states, and it also has the highest percentage of immigrants, at 27 percent. New York, Florida, Illinois, and New Jersey follow, each with well over 1.5 million, and topped by New York with almost 4 million. Although Nevada ranks high on the proportion of its population that is foreign-born (17 percent), it is home to fewer than a half-million immigrants. Among states with a high percentage of immigrants arriving since 2000, there is a decidedly southeastern pull: Georgia and North Carolina each have well over a half-million immigrant residents, more than 30 percent of whom arrived between 2000 and 2005. In many southeastern states, agricultural jobs, as

Map 1-1. The Foreign-Born Population in the United States, 2005



Source: U.S. Census Bureau, *2005 American Community Survey.*

well as those in construction and meat and poultry processing and packing plants, attract immigrants, who are changing the face of rural communities.[9]

State trends are revealing and have relevance for policymaking; however, immigration is chiefly an urban phenomenon. In 2005 nearly 96 percent of all immigrants lived in a city or suburb within a metropolitan area. In that year 37 percent of America's immigrants were living in metropolitan New York, Los Angeles, Miami, and Chicago alone. However, these same four metro areas housed nearly half of all immigrants (46 percent) as recently as the 1990s.

As a consequence of historical patterns of immigrant settlement in a limited number of cities, social science immigration research has overwhelmingly been concerned with the economic and social impact of immigrants either at the national level or within the major cities of settlement. Thus, there is a large body of research on New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles,

yet comparatively little is known about places like metropolitan Atlanta, Dallas, Fort Worth, and Las Vegas, all of which quintupled their foreign-born populations during the past twenty years.[10] As Roger Waldinger states, historically the study of cities was largely the study of immigrants; however, he notes, "how the particular characteristics of the immigrant-receiving areas impinge on the newcomers is a question immigration researchers rarely raise."[11]

A new wave of research has begun to focus on the patterns and related processes of immigrants in new destination areas.[12] Many of these studies tend to focus on recent dramatic change in rural areas or small towns, however, or on a specific immigrant origin group.[13] Moreover, *comparative* metropolitan studies are in short supply.[14] Several important works based on older census data describe trends during the 1980s, when the focus was still on just a limited list of cities and suburbs. These studies include Richard Alba and John Logan's explorations of metropolitan immigrant settlement in New York and Los Angeles and Waldinger and colleagues' comparative examination of immigrants in five cities.[15] Other in-depth studies of the suburbanization of immigrants tend to focus on a single place, such as John Horton's study of Monterey Park, a suburb of Los Angeles with a majority Chinese population, or Sarah Mahler's study of Salvadorans on suburban Long Island.[16]

This book contributes to this body of research by focusing on a new class of immigrant gateways that have changed—startlingly so—because of very recent immigration. These gateways have only recently emerged or re-emerged as major immigrant destinations. Many have seen their immigrant population triple or quadruple in size in recent decades. We name these metropolitan areas the *twenty-first-century gateways*. They are likely to be viewed as second-tier, since the size of their immigrant population is smaller than well-established gateways such as New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles. In the chapters that follow, we focus on nine new immigrant gateways: Atlanta, Austin, Charlotte, Dallas, Minneapolis-St. Paul, Phoenix, Portland, Sacramento, and Washington, D.C. Each of these places was nearly entirely native-born in 1970. Now, these nine metropolitan areas, along with 11 others, have emerged as some of the fastest-growing immigrant destinations among large metropolitan areas (map 1-2).

Our identification of twenty-first-century gateways for this book is based on a historical typology of urban immigrant settlement in the United States.[17] Based on trends in the size and growth of the immigrant population over the course of the twentieth century, this typology includes six immigrant gateway types.[18]

Map 1-2. Immigrant Gateway Metropolitan Areas

Source: Author.

—*Former gateways,* such as Buffalo and Pittsburgh, attracted considerable numbers of 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.

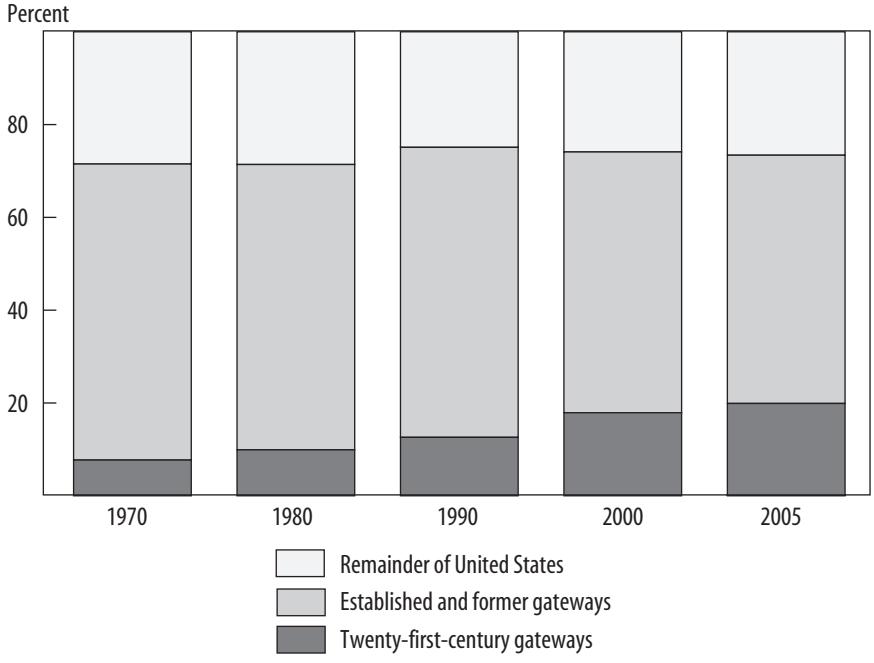
—*Post–World War II gateways,* such as Houston, Los Angeles, and Miami, began attracting immigrants in large numbers only during the past fifty years or less.

Together, the continuous and the post–World War II gateways will be referred to as *established immigrant gateways* here (map 1-2).

—*Emerging gateways* are those places that have had rapidly growing immigrant populations during the past twenty-five years alone. Atlanta, Dallas-Fort Worth, and Washington are prime examples.

—*Re-emerging gateways,* such as Minneapolis-St. Paul and Seattle, began the twentieth century with a strong attraction for immigrants, waned as destinations during the middle of the century, but are now re-emerging as immigrant gateways.

Figure 1-1. Distribution of the Foreign-Born, by Gateway Type, 1970–2005



Source: Author's calculations based on data from the U.S. Census Bureau.

—*Pre-emerging gateways* are those places, such as Raleigh, Durham, and Austin, where immigrant populations have grown very rapidly starting in the 1990s and are likely to continue to grow as immigrant destinations.

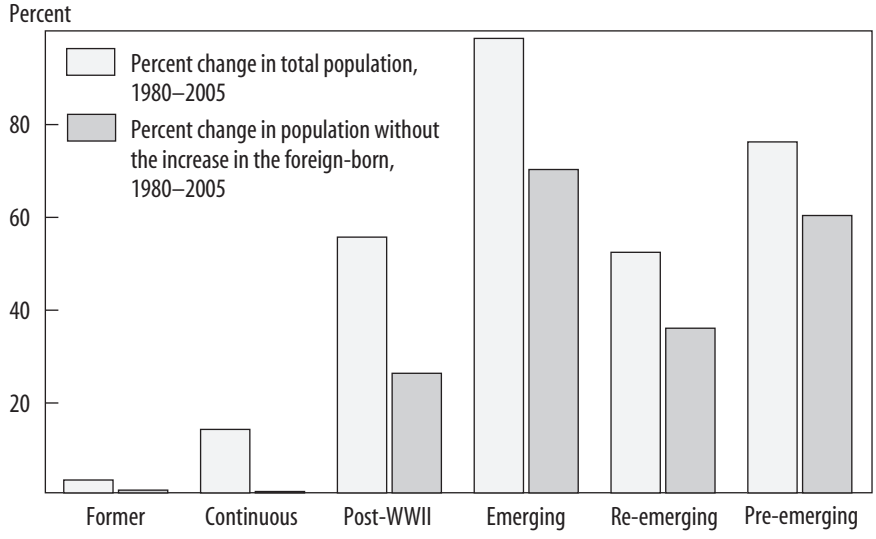
The latter three categories make up the twenty-first-century gateways discussed in this volume (map 1-2).

In 2005 one-fifth of the U.S. foreign-born population—more than 7 million people—lived in a twenty-first-century gateway, up from less than 8 percent of the total in 1970, and ten times the number in 1970 in absolute terms (figure 1-1).[19] Meanwhile, even though the number of immigrants living in more established gateways tripled to 19 million, their share of the national total diminished throughout the period, falling ten percentage points from 64 to 54 percent of the total.

Immigrant Growth in New Gateways

Some of the most rapid rates of foreign-born population growth in metropolitan areas occurred in places with a very small base population of

Figure 1-2. Population Growth in Metropolitan Areas, by Gateway Type, 1980–2005



Source: Author's calculations based on data from the U.S. Census Bureau.

immigrants. At the same time, many large metropolitan areas saw a doubling or more of their foreign-born populations in the 1990s alone. The causes of shifting trends in settlement appear to be mixed. In the latter half of the 1990s, some metropolitan areas experienced economic growth, creating new job opportunities for immigrant newcomers that induced rapid change. In other places, refugee resettlement has contributed to an increase in the foreign-born population, spurring subsequent migration. Underlying this varied growth are social networks of information about jobs and housing that shape the decisions immigrants and refugees make on where to reside.

Despite total population decline or slow growth in metropolitan areas designated as former immigrant gateways, immigrants and refugees were sometimes the only source of growth in the population during the 1980s and 1990s. Figure 1-2 shows how each of the gateway types would have fared without the influx of immigrants they experienced between 1980 and 2005. (Appendix A provides metropolitan area statistics on the number and percentage growth in the foreign-born, 1980–2005.)

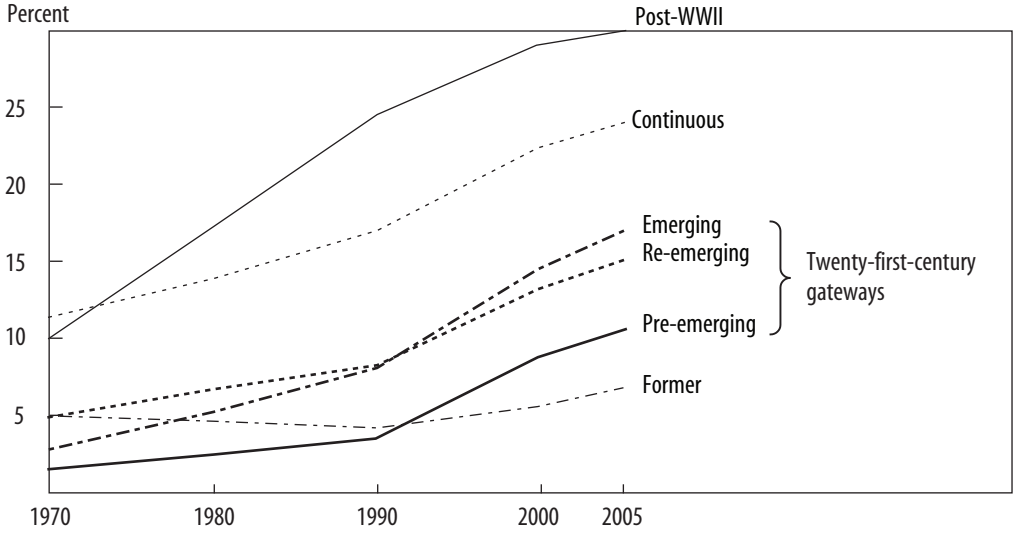
Overall, the continuous gateways grew modestly, on average by only 12 percent during that twenty-five-year period. The immigrant population nearly doubled, however, offsetting native-born loss in some metropolitan

areas. Without the immigrant influx, these metropolitan areas would have experienced minuscule population growth, or even loss, as happened in New York. Although the total population in post–World War II gateways grew by 55 percent during the period, this growth too was largely driven by the movement of immigrants into those metropolitan areas, which otherwise would have grown only by 36 percent.

By contrast, all the twenty-first-century gateways—emerging, re-emerging, and pre-emerging—experienced rapid native-born population growth in addition to high inflows of immigrants, reflecting the strength of their economies. The emerging gateways together doubled their total populations. However, even without the rapid increase in immigrants, they still would have experienced a 70 percent growth in the total population. Several metropolitan areas that are classified as emerging are in fact fast becoming significant gateways on a grand scale. Metropolitan Washington and the Dallas-Fort Worth metroplex were estimated to have more than 1 million foreign-born residents each in 2005, on a par with metropolitan Houston and the Bay Area. Atlanta and Phoenix are each estimated to have reached more than 600,000 foreign-born, numbers that approach the levels of the more established Boston and San Diego metropolitan areas. In addition, the nascent metropolitan areas categorized as pre-emerging continue to register some of the fastest growth rates, especially since 2000.

The overall effect of immigration on the population in the metropolitan gateways is reflected in the growth of the share of the population that is foreign-born (see figure 1-3 and Appendix B for metro area statistics on the percentage of foreign-born in metropolitan areas, 1980–2005). In the 1970s, when the United States was at its lowest point of immigration in the century, the majority of large metropolitan areas were less than 10 percent foreign-born. There were some exceptions, for example, metropolitan Miami's population was 18 percent foreign-born, owing to the large wave of Cuban refugees who began arriving in the 1960s. Immigrant settlement peaked first in the post–World War II gateways, led by Miami, and followed closely by Los Angeles; the population of that group of gateways changed from 10 percent foreign-born in 1970 to 30 percent in 2005. The growth of the immigrant population was more subtle in the other gateways until the 1990s. During that decade, the emerging gateways collectively increased from only 8 percent to 14 percent foreign-born, with Washington on the leading edge. The re-emerging gateways experience a similar trend, with San Jose leading the pack in both absolute terms and share of foreign-born. The pre-emerging gateways witnessed an aggregate increase from 3.5 percent foreign-born to nearly 9 percent.

Figure 1-3. Percent Foreign-Born in Metropolitan Areas, by Gateway Type, 1970–2005

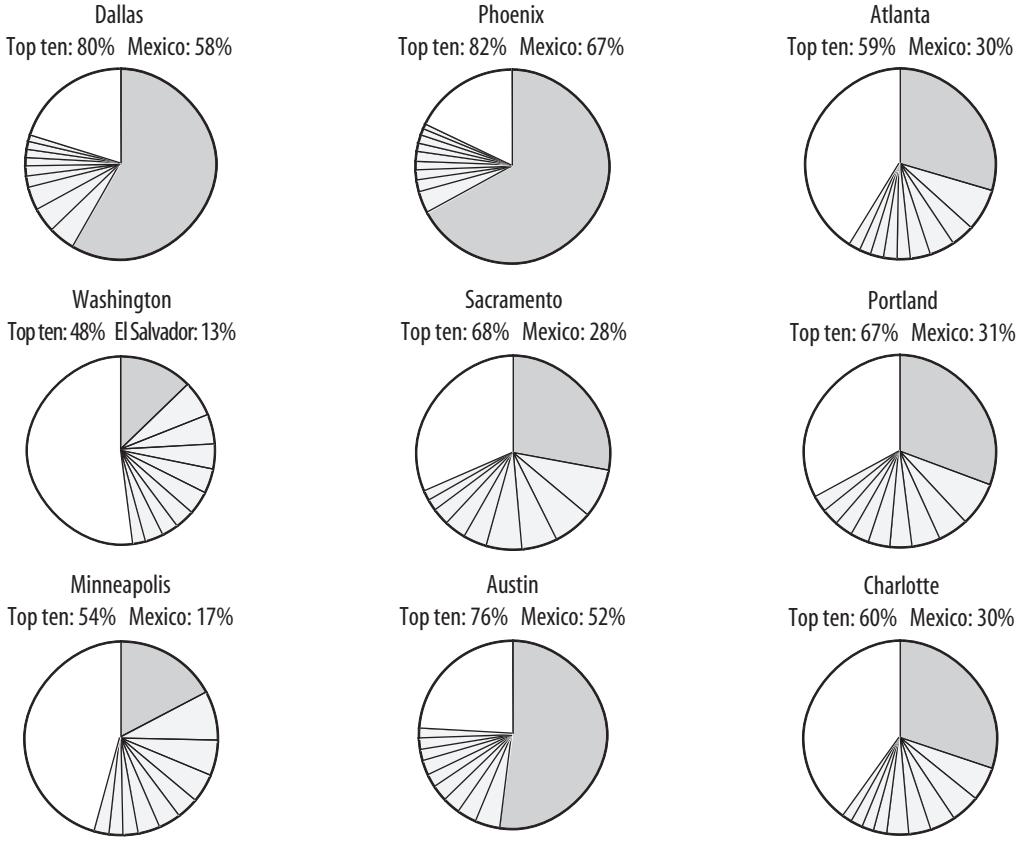


Source: Author's calculations based on data from the U.S. Census Bureau.

In the near term, the continuous and post–World War II gateways will maintain their large immigrant populations as well as the ability to attract newcomers through mature social networks. However, the pace of job creation and the expansion of newer metropolitan areas, particularly the emerging and pre-emerging gateways, are yielding rapid and simultaneous native- and foreign-born growth.

The growth of immigrants in new gateways has produced a mix of country origins among metropolitan areas that is more variable than it is uniform. In most of the twenty-first-century gateways featured in this book, the Mexican immigrant population is the largest origin group among the foreign-born population. (See figure 1-4 and appendix C for data on the top ten countries of origin for nine gateways.) In Austin, Dallas, and Phoenix, the Mexican-origin population constitutes more than half of the total foreign-born. However, in the Twin Cities and the nation's capital, the Mexican population is a much smaller share of the total. These places along with Atlanta, Portland, and Sacramento have a more diverse mix of national origins both because of refugee resettlement and because of their distance from the U.S.-Mexican border. In fact, all of the metropolitan areas located outside the Southwest have a greater mix of immigrant groups in their top ten because Mexico is not the dominant origin country.

Figure 1-4. Top Ten Countries of Origin for the Foreign-Born Population in Nine Twenty-First-Century Gateways, 2005[a]



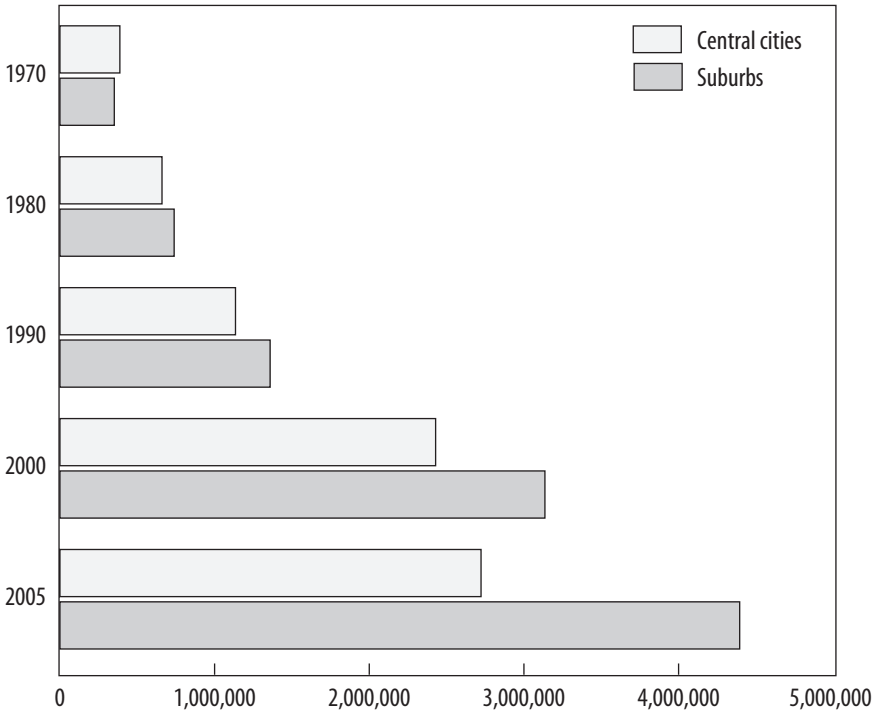
Source: Author's calculations based on data from the U.S. Census Bureau.
a. See appendix C for numeric data.

But the growing presence of the Mexican population in those places, for the most part very recent, also represents the leading edge of change. Recent Mexican immigrants represent one of the most flexible segments of the U.S. labor market, often the first to move to opportunities as they arise.

The Significance of Suburban Settlement

In addition to bolstering the populations in new and old gateways, immigrants are altering the urban landscape in other ways. As the chapters in this book show, they are often bypassing the inner city and moving directly

Figure 1-5. Number of Foreign-Born Settling in Central Cities and Suburbs in Twenty-First-Century Gateways



Source: Author's calculations based on data from the U.S. Census Bureau.

to the suburbs, and now more immigrants are living in the suburbs than in central cities (figure 1-5). Part of this relatively new trend is driven by the nature of the places themselves, particularly in the twenty-first-century gateways.[20]

These gateways are principally suburban metropolises—decidedly not cities, but for the most part large, loosely bounded, lower density, sprawling, auto-dependent metropolitan areas. Because these metropolitan areas developed largely after World War II, their growth patterns differ from those of the older cities where immigrants landed during earlier waves of immigration. Their suburban form is influenced by two distinctive development processes. In some cases, such as Atlanta and Washington, large suburban areas have developed while the central city has remained comparatively small. In other cases, such as Austin, Charlotte, and Phoenix, very large central cities are the result of annexation, which creates a

sprawling suburban morphology.[21] (For more on suburban development, see chapter 2.)

Suburban settlement patterns among immigrants are also a cause and result of other common processes of growth and change. Among these is the role of new high-tech, knowledge-based industries that have drawn particularly Asian immigrants with high human capital (education, training, skills) to places such as Atlanta, Austin, Charlotte, Dallas, Phoenix, Portland, and Washington. These high-tech corporations, as well as other firms, have frequently established their headquarters not in central cities but in the suburbs, and their employees, many of them foreign-born, have chosen to settle near their places of work and in newer communities with good schools and affordable housing. Further, the economic and infrastructure growth in these suburbs, and in these twenty-first-century gateway metropolitan areas more generally, have also attracted immigrants with less human capital, many of them Mexican and Central American, to work in construction and landscaping. These job sites are often located in high-growth suburban areas.

In addition, the once-traditional ports of call have been transplanted by airports of call. Many of today's immigrants, in fact, fly directly from their place of origin to their new place of residence in the United States. The rise of global airports links cities in the United States with other places in the world to a degree unknown in the past, and these airports also provide local employment options for incoming groups. Two of our emerging twenty-first-century gateways (Atlanta and Dallas) have airports that are among the top ten busiest in the world (measured by volume of passengers). And Phoenix and Minneapolis are major domestic hubs.[22] Not only do these rankings say something about matters of scale and the positioning of these metropolitan areas in the global economy, but they also point attention to the kind of urban growth that necessarily occurs around transportation hubs and along transportation corridors.[23]

Finally, in some newer suburban destinations, immigrants are not necessarily self-segregating by language or national origin. As immigrants settle and sort out, many newer areas—admittedly not fully developed ethnic enclaves yet—are housing and catering to a multiethnic population. Yet in many ways the suburban destinations serve the same functions as did the early enclaves. In these more decentralized metropolitan areas, these suburbs are becoming identifiable places where goods and services catering to immigrants can be found in varying degrees, and perhaps more important, are places where housing, transportation, and jobs are available. Many

suburban communities are just possibly forming as immigrant enclaves, and it is unclear how their role will play out over time and whether they will become identified with single origin groups or multiethnic groups.

What effect is immigration having on suburban infrastructure such as housing, transportation, schools, health care, economic development, and public safety? Conversely, what effect does the fragmented governance structure in suburban areas have on immigrant settlement and integration? The changes brought on by this new suburban settlement story remain largely unexamined. In contrast to more established central city destinations and patterns of settlement, these new trends constitute a new context for the social, economic, and political incorporation of immigrants. These are the central questions undertaken in this book.

Settling into the Twenty-First-Century Gateways

The chapters that follow provide case studies of these processes in gateways across the United States where immigrants have arrived in increasing numbers during the final decades of the twentieth century and the first decade of the twenty-first century. Although no overall, uniform framework of inquiry was applied to these case studies, several major themes surface that are important for understanding how immigration is playing out on the ground in the twenty-first-century gateways.

Among these are:

—the patterns of residence of the foreign-born in these new gateways, and the growing number of immigrants and refugees who are living in the suburbs

—the mixed attitudes and perceptions of receiving communities to immigrant and refugee newcomers

—the official response to new immigrant flows and attempts to "manage" immigration locally

—the role of social, political, and ethnic networks in migrant decision-making as shown in patterns of settlement, identity retention, and processes of adjustment.

The case studies that follow, beginning with the emerging immigrant gateways, take up many of these questions. Although many might consider Dallas and Phoenix, at first glance, to be historic gateways with large and historically significant Hispanic populations, the number of Mexicans, now the largest foreign-born population in both of these places, remained small throughout much of the twentieth century. These are cities that grew

rapidly after World War II, and have become important centers of business and commerce. They grew up with the automobile, and expanded with the growth of the service and high-tech economies.

Caroline Brettell's chapter on Dallas, an emerging gateway in the Sun Belt, explores the rapidly changing composition of urban and suburban populations by focusing on four central counties in the Dallas-Fort Worth metroplex. Brettell addresses differences in immigration status and reasons for moving to the area among five distinct immigrant groups and thereby emphasizes how economic factors influence suburban settlement. Brettell directly takes up the question of how local suburban governments and other metropolitan institutions have responded to the fast growth in immigrant-led diversity. She contrasts the inclusionist approach of the Dallas suburb of Plano with the more exclusionist approach of Farmers Branch, a suburb that has been in the national news for its approval of harsh city ordinances directed at undocumented immigrants.

Alex Oberle and Wei Li compare the spatial and economic ramifications of the recently arrived Latino and Asian populations in Phoenix.[24] Although Mexicans and Chinese arrived in Phoenix early on, their presence was greatly diminished by the postwar influx of whites as part of the Sun Belt migration phenomenon. Oberle and Li focus on the differences in human capital among present-day immigrant populations, which result in different forms of economic integration. The authors address how these new immigrant populations are establishing their political and cultural identities, as well as their entrepreneurial impact, through stores that become community hubs; media outlets; and festivals, associations, and other cultural centers.

The third emerging gateway in the Sun Belt is heavily suburban Atlanta. In April 2006 many cities were sites for massive rallies in favor of immigrant rights, and those demonstrations in Atlanta, Dallas, and other unlikely locations took many by surprise. In her chapter on Atlanta, Mary Odem focuses on the Latin American presence in a metropolitan area that until quite recently was primarily composed of African Americans and whites. The legacy of segregation has played out in the residential choices that immigrant newcomers have made in Atlanta. Immigrants appear to be making inroads in the northern part of the metro area, which has traditionally been the whiter part of the racially divided region, and are less established in historically African American neighborhoods.

Closing the section on emerging gateways is the case of metropolitan Washington. Heading into the twenty-first century, it is fair to say that the nation's capital region has already emerged as a gateway, with more than

1 million foreign-born residents composing 20 percent of the total population. To capture the rapid transformation of native-born white suburbs surrounding Washington, Marie Price and Audrey Singer introduce the concept of *edge gateways* as identifiable local places where the foreign-born population has grown quickly in recent decades and where a diverse mix of immigrant groups cluster. Unlike Dallas, Phoenix, and Atlanta, no single immigrant population dominates in the region as a whole or in the edge gateways. Price and Singer explain the rapid suburban settlement of the foreign-born by pointing to housing affordability, access to major transportation corridors, social networks, and, as in Atlanta, a seeming avoidance of black neighborhoods. As do other authors in the volume, these authors find it useful to contrast differences in the local responses to immigrants. They describe suburban communities that either "accommodate" or "deflect" diversity and show that even in the very same metropolitan area, both tactics coexist, rooted in local governance structures.

Three metropolitan areas are examined in the section on re-emerging gateways: Sacramento, Minneapolis-St. Paul, and Portland. They have one major trend in common—a large portion of the foreign-born are refugees. In their chapter on Sacramento, long a place for refugee resettlement, Robin Datel and Dennis Dingemans explore the historical geography of immigrant and racial settlement, the region's role as a magnet for refugee resettlement, the availability of inexpensive suburban housing, and the demand for both high-tech workers and lower-skilled agricultural and construction immigrant workers. Rather than focusing on how suburbs are responding to newcomers (as in the chapters on Atlanta, Dallas, and Washington), this chapter examines how newcomers have changed the visual landscape of the suburbs through the rejuvenation of commercial strips, the composition of suburban schools, and the formation of institutions such as religious congregations. Datel and Dingemans also describe the virtual and temporary immigrant spaces that have developed and raise questions about when and how political incorporation will proceed. "Can the suburbs," they ask, "with all their diversity, be genuine incubators for new leaders and new programs to further enhance the life chances of immigrants to America?"

Katherine Fennelly and Myron Orfield's chapter on Minneapolis-St. Paul draws attention to the fact that its refugees—in this case largely from Africa, Southeast Asia, and the former Soviet Union—have been settled in fiscally stressed areas that cannot easily facilitate economic integration and upward mobility but that do offer affordable housing, accessible transportation corridors, lower crime rates, and relatively more peaceful neighborhoods. This

analysis addresses the housing and school segregation experienced by the foreign-born in the Twin Cities suburban context, although segregation is much less pronounced for Asian immigrants than for their Latino and black counterparts. Further, through the voices of U.S.-born Minnesotans, the authors address discrimination as an additional impediment to suburban integration. They reveal important differences in attitudes between urban, suburban, and rural residents, with suburban residents falling between the more liberal urban residents and the more conservative rural residents. Their findings focus on negative attitudes concerning language issues and the expenditures necessary to accommodate immigrants' needs.

In their chapter on Portland, Susan Hardwick and James Meacham offer a view of refugee and immigrant settlement in the context of a metropolitan area that makes conscious development decisions to level the socioeconomic playing field in outlying areas. Local housing and development policies stemming from the 1970s have encouraged Portland's foreign-born population to suburbanize along with other more modest-income U.S.-born families. As do other authors, Hardwick and Meacham note the significance of housing stock and income as broader contexts in explaining settlement patterns in the eastern and western parts of the larger metropolitan area. These authors emphasize that although economic and political processes have channeled immigrants to the suburbs, these are coincidental with personal preferences and choices and that some of the latter are influenced by the placemaking (including nodes of ethnic activity located around businesses) that has occurred in the suburbs.

The third set of case studies focuses on two pre-emerging gateways, Austin and Charlotte. Although these are both metropolitan areas composed of multiple counties, most of the immigrant settlement is taking place within the central county, in suburban-like settings. Austin's growth, like that of many of the other gateways discussed in this book, has been fueled by a technology boom that has attracted those with significant education and income, largely Asian, immigrants. At the same time, the growth in the Mexican population has been dramatic. Emily Skop and Tara Buentello address the bifurcation of experiences on the basis of national origins and education. The authors also point to some discriminatory local public policies that make incorporation difficult for nonwhite migrants. Finally, they address the displacement of Hispanics from very old neighborhoods, which has resulted from downtown gentrification.

The book's final case study presents a city of the "New South" that until recently had very little experience with immigrants. Against a backdrop of economic and metropolitan transformation, Charlotte's attraction for both

domestic and international migrants has never been stronger. Similar to Odem's analysis of Atlanta, Heather Smith and Owen Furuseth focus their attention on the impact of Latinos on this North Carolina city by analyzing their patterns of settlement in three middle-ring suburban clusters. The authors identify housing stock as an important factor shaping patterns of settlement, but they also draw attention to the revitalization of neighborhoods by Latino-oriented businesses and entrepreneurs. These authors and the others in this volume illustrate that immigrant settlement in suburban areas across the country takes place on a variety of scales and local experiences. The outcomes are as diverse and varied as are the suburban settings.

As a corpus, these chapters explore the causes and consequences of the next tier of immigrant gateways, the twenty-first-century gateways. The ongoing spatial deconcentration and dispersal of residential and commercial land use and economic activities in metropolitan areas in the United States continue to reshape metropolitan America during the first decade of the twenty-first century. In almost every part of the country, the impacts and imprints of improved transportation and communication technologies, higher rents in gentrified parts of the downtown, intensified economic activities away from the central city, and the construction of new housing in both inner and outer suburbs are contributing to the ongoing expansion of the "outer city," home to diverse foreign-born groups and their children from many parts of the world. Unlike more traditional ethnic enclaves of the past that were located downtown, the majority of these newcomers are building their new lives in the suburbs even during their earliest years of settlement in the United States, and they are constructing their communities in different ways.

Many questions remain about the impact of suburban settlement on immigrant integration. Will the suburbs offer newcomers more opportunities for becoming part of the larger fabric of American life? Or might they develop into (more dispersed) zones of isolation and segregation? Do the suburbs of twenty-first-century gateways promise more multiethnic and multiracial neighborhoods and better access to jobs, and thus more rapid adjustment economically, socially, and linguistically? Or will the rates and pace of incorporation be slowed by dispersal in suburban areas? How will the reception of immigrants be influenced by how well equipped institutionally places are?

The chapters that follow provide answers to these and other questions on the dual processes of immigration and suburbanization in the United States during the past two decades. However, before moving into the case

studies of these emerging gateways, chapter 2 explores the history of suburban evolution, focusing on economic and political changes that precipitated the emergence of the outer city, especially after 1945. Following the case studies, we propose some directions that federal, state, and local governments and community organizations might take to ensure that immigrants are successfully integrated into U.S. communities. It is clear that the future of these rapidly changing metropolitan areas, like the lives and livelihoods of the people who reside in them, will offer both challenges and opportunities in the coming years.

Notes

1. Megan Thee, "The Polls," *New York Times,* July 10, 2007.

2. Comprehensive immigration reform is stalled in Congress as of this writing in autumn of 2007. An overhaul of the way U.S. immigration laws function, including increasing border and interior enforcement, a legalization program, a temporary worker program, and visa reforms, was vigorously debated before being defeated.

3. Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (Oxford University Press, 1985); Dolores Hayden, *Building Suburbia: Green Fields and Urban Growth 1820–2000* (New York: Vintage Books, 2004).

4. Jennifer S. Vey, *Restoring Prosperity: The State Role in Revitalizing America's Older Industrial Cities* (Brookings, 2007); Myron Orfield, *American Metropolitics: The New Suburban Reality* (Brookings, 2007).

5. Jordan Rappaport, "U.S. Urban Decline and Growth, 1950 to 2000," *Economic Review,* Federal Reserve Bank of Kansas City (Third Quarter, 2003).

6. William H. Frey, "Metro America in the New Century: Metropolitan and Central City Demographic Shifts since 2000," Brookings Institution, 2005.

7. Refugee resettlement trends do not necessarily mirror other immigrant streams. With the exception of Washington, each of these metro areas placed higher in rank for refugee resettlement than for total foreign-born stock, indicating that refugees played a significant role in increased immigration. As discussed in several of the chapters that follow, the arrival of relatively large numbers of refugees in metropolitan areas with a small foreign-born population may prove challenging for both refugee newcomers and their new places of residence. See Audrey Singer and Jill H. Wilson, "From There to Here: Refugee Resettlement in Metropolitan America" (Brookings, 2006).

8. Demographer Jeffrey Passel has published the most widely respected and cited estimates of immigrant legal status. He notes that in March 2005, the U.S. foreign-born population fell into the following four categories: 35 percent naturalized U.S. citizens, 32 percent permanent legal status, 30 percent unauthorized to be in the United States, and 3 percent temporary legal residents. See Jeffrey S. Passel, *The Size and Characteristics of the Unauthorized Migrant Population in the U.S.* (Washington: Pew Hispanic Center, 2006).

9. William Kandel and John Cromartie, *New Patterns of Hispanic Settlement in Rural America* (U.S. Department of Agriculture, 2004); William Kandel and Emilio Parrado, "Industrial Transformation and Hispanic Migration to the American

South: The Case of the Poultry Industry," in *Hispanic Spaces, Latino Places: A Geography of Regional and Cultural Diversity,* edited by Daniel D. Arreola (University of Texas Press, 2004); Heather A. Smith and Owen J. Furuseth, eds., *Latinos in the New South: Transformations of Place* (Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate Publishing, 2006); and Greg Anrig Jr. and Tova Andrea Wang, eds., *Immigration's New Frontiers: Experiences from the Emerging Gateway States* (New York: Century Foundation, 2006).

10. Conditions in more traditional immigrant gateways are well represented, including the classic work of William I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1927), along with more contemporary works such as Roger Waldinger and Mehdi Bozorgmehr, eds., *Ethnic Los Angeles* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation Press, 1996); Alejandro Portes and Alex Stepick, *City on the Edge: The Transformation of Miami* (University of California Press, 1993); Roger Waldinger, *Strangers at the Gates: New Immigrants in Urban America* (University of California Press, 2001); Nancy Foner, *From Ellis Island to JFK: New York's Two Great Waves of Immigration* (Yale University Press and New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2000); Silvia Pedraza and Rubén G. Rumbaut, eds., *Origins and Destinies: Immigration, Race, and Ethnicity in America* (Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1996).

11. Roger Waldinger, "Immigration and Urban Change," *Annual Review of Sociology* 15 (1989): 211–32.

12. Elzbieta M. Gozdziak and Susan F. Martin, eds., *Beyond the Gateway: Immigrants in a Changing America* (Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books, 2005); Víctor Zúñiga and Rubén Hernández-León, eds., *New Destinations: Mexican Immigration in the United States* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2005); Smith and Furuseth, *Latinos in the New South;* Anrig and Wang, *Immigration's New Frontiers: Experiences from the Emerging Gateway States.*

13. See, for example, Katharine M. Donato, Melissa Stainback, and Carl L. Bankston III, "The Economic Incorporation of Mexican Immigrants in Southern Louisiana: A Tale of Two Cities," in *New Destinations of Mexican Immigration in the United States,* edited by Zúñiga and Hernández-León, pp. 76–99; and Rubén Hernández-León and Víctor Zúñiga, "Making Carpet by the Mile: The Emergence of a Mexican Immigrant Community in an Industrial Region of the U.S. Historic South," *Social Science Quarterly* 81, no. 1 (2002): 49–66.

14. For international comparisons, see Takeyuki Tsuda, ed., *Local Citizenship in Recent Countries of Immigration* (Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books, 2006); Jeffrey Reitz, ed., *Host Societies and the Reception of Immigrants* (University of California, Center for Comparative Immigration Research, 2003); Blair Ruble, *Creating Diversity Capital: Transnational Migrants in Montreal, Washington, and Kyiv* (Washington: Woodrow Wilson Center Press and Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005).

15. Richard D. Alba and others, "Strangers Next Door: Immigrant Groups and Suburbs in Los Angeles and New York," in *A Nation Divided: Diversity, Inequality, and Community in American Society,* edited by Phyllis Moen, Henry Walker, and Donna Dempster-McClain (Cornell University Press, 1999); and Richard D. Alba and others, "Immigrant Groups in the Suburbs: A Reexamination of Suburbanization and Spatial Assimilation," *American Sociological Review* 64 (1999): 446–60; Waldinger, *Strangers at the Gates.*

16. Sarah J. Mahler, *Salvadorans in Suburbia: Symbiosis and Conflict* (Boston: Allyn & Bacon: 1996); John Horton, *The Politics of Diversity: Immigration, Resistance, and Change in Monterey Park, California* (Temple University Press, 1995).

17. In general, gateways are defined as metropolitan areas with Census 2000 populations over one million. The typology includes six immigrant gateway types (see Audrey Singer, *The Rise of New Immigrant Gateways* [Brookings, 2004]): *Former* gateways have a higher proportion of population foreign-born between 1900 and 1930 than the national average, followed by below-average foreign-born percentages in every decade through 2000. *Continuous* gateways have above-average foreign-born percentages for every decade, 1900–2000. *Post–World War II* gateways have low foreign-born percentages until after 1950, followed by higher-than-national-average foreign-born percentages in every decade through 2000. *Emerging* gateways have very low foreign-born percentages until 1970, followed by higher proportions from 1980 onward. *Re-emerging* gateways have foreign-born percentages exceeding the national average from 1900 to 1930, followed by below-average percentages until 1980, after which they experienced rapid increases. *Pre-emerging* gateways have very low foreign-born population percentages for most of the twentieth century, with rapid growth after 1990.

In addition, continuous, post–World War II, emerging, and re-emerging gateways must meet the following criteria: foreign-born populations greater than 200,000, and either foreign-born percentages higher than the 2000 national average (11.1 percent) or foreign-born growth rates higher than the 1990–2000 national average (57.4 percent), or both.

18. Since the original immigrant gateways analysis was conducted, metropolitan area definitions were overhauled by the Office of Management and Budget. Under the new classification system, adopted in 2003, many metropolitan areas have undergone changes in territory and population. The most common changes involved the addition of new counties to an existing metropolitan area, and the combination of two or more metro areas to form a new, larger metropolis, such as Dallas-Fort Worth. Other metropolitan areas were split, such as Raleigh and Durham, North Carolina. See William H. Frey and others, "Tracking Metropolitan America into the Twenty-First Century: A Field Guide to the New Metropolitan and Micropolitan Definitions," Brookings, 2004. Many of the forty-five metropolitan areas included in Singer, "The Rise of New Immigrant Gateways," have a new metropolitan definition. For the comparative metropolitan analyses in this chapter, the new definitions were used for a total of thirty-seven metropolitan areas.

19. The twenty-first-century gateways are metropolitan Atlanta, Dallas-Fort Worth, Las Vegas, Orlando, Phoenix, Washington, Denver, Minneapolis, Portland, Sacramento, San Jose, Seattle, Tampa, Austin, Charlotte, Greensboro, Winston-Salem, Raleigh, Durham, and Salt Lake City. See the appendixes for a full list of metropolitan areas considered in this study.

20. To be sure, suburban settlement is also rising in the more established gateways. Many continuous and post–WWII gateways have seen challenging inflows into their suburbs as well as into their central cities.

21. Thus the statistics on these places are not as cleanly defined as we would like, that is, suburban, and in some cases rural, areas are located inside the city limits (see the Austin, Charlotte, and Phoenix chapters).

22. Airports Council International (www.airports.org/cda/aci_common/display/main/aci_content07_c.jsp?zn=aci&cp=1-5-54-55_666_2__ [September 5, 2007]).

23. The highly diverse suburb of Herndon, discussed by Price and Singer in their chapter on Washington, is adjacent to Dulles Airport, for example, while the suburban community of Irving, discussed by Brettell, is near the Dallas-Fort Worth International Airport. It is no accident that the Dallas-Fort Worth Hindu temple is located in Irving, while a major Hindu temple, the Rajdhani Mandir, is located in Chantilly, another diverse suburban community adjacent to Dulles airport and just south of Herndon. Similarly, Portland's multicultural Gateway district is only two short freeway exits away from the busy Portland International Airport. This suburban node is home to a large and diverse population of new immigrants and refugees; it also houses the largest refugee resettlement agency in the state.

24. In the original framework that laid out the immigrant gateway typology (Singer, "The Rise of New Immigrant Gateways"), Phoenix was classified as a re-emerging immigrant gateway. However, subsequent analysis makes us confident that it resembles an emerging gateway more than a re-emerging gateway. Although the trends in the percentage of the population that is foreign-born follow the typical re-emerging gateway pattern, the absolute number of immigrants in the early part of the twentieth century was quite low.

Appendix A. Foreign-Born Population, by Gateway Type, 1980–2005[a]

	Foreign-born population				Percent change in foreign-born population			
Gateway type	*1980*	*1990*	*2000*	*2005*	*1980–1990*	*1990–2000*	*2000–2005*	*1980–2005*
Emerging								
Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA	47,815	117,253	424,519	612,759	145.2	262.1	44.3	1,181.5
Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	125,157	317,977	782,995	1,016,221	154.1	146.2	29.8	712.0
Las Vegas-Paradise, NV	35,064	70,333	247,751	334,087	100.6	252.3	34.8	852.8
Orlando, FL	37,267	82,042	197,119	302,323	120.1	140.3	53.4	711.2
Phoenix-Mesa-Scottsdale, AZ	86,593	161,830	457,483	612,850	86.9	182.7	34.0	607.7
Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD	255,439	488,283	829,310	1,017,432	91.2	69.8	22.7	298.3
Total	587,335	1,237,718	2,939,177	3,895,672	110.7	137.5	32.5	563.3
Re-Emerging								
Denver-Aurora, CO	65,363	81,769	234,121	290,765	25.1	186.3	24.2	344.8
Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI	71,697	88,093	210,344	267,368	22.9	138.8	27.1	272.9
Portland-Vancouver-Beaverton, OR-WA	66,627	88,217	208,422	250,955	32.4	136.3	20.4	276.7
Sacramento--Arden-Arcade--Roseville, CA	79,689	140,465	260,111	353,592	76.3	85.2	35.9	343.7
San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA	179,833	353,468	583,156	614,304	96.6	65.0	5.3	241.6
Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	150,152	201,982	383,824	479,913	34.5	90.0	25.0	219.6
Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	108,059	146,003	233,907	294,848	35.1	60.2	26.1	172.9
Total	721,420	1,099,997	2,113,885	2,551,745	52.5	92.2	20.7	253.7
Pre-Emerging								
Austin-Round Rock, TX	24,220	56,154	152,834	192,738	131.8	172.2	26.1	695.8
Charlotte-Gastonia-Concord, NC-SC	13,830	22,677	91,990	134,749	64.0	305.7	46.5	874.3
Greensboro-High Point, NC	5,341	8,418	37,205	52,506	57.6	342.0	41.1	883.1
Winston-Salem, NC	3,783	5,257	23,296	29,501	39.0	343.1	26.6	679.8
Raleigh-Cary, NC	8,323	17,538	69,530	95,415	110.7	296.5	37.2	1,046.4
Durham, NC	5,394	11,949	39,721	52,706	121.5	232.4	32.7	877.1
Salt Lake City, UT	28,639	34,244	97,079	112,628	19.6	183.5	16.0	293.3
Total	89,530	156,237	511,655	670,243	74.5	227.5	31.0	648.6
Total 21st-century gateways	1,398,285	2,493,952	5,564,717	7,117,660	78.4	123.1	27.9	409.0
Former								
Baltimore-Towson, MD	74,225	87,653	146,128	184,439	18.1	66.7	26.2	148.5
Buffalo-Niagara Falls, NY	69,356	52,220	51,381	52,343	–24.7	–1.6	1.9	–24.5
Cleveland-Elyria-Mentor, OH	126,864	98,369	113,006	115,897	–22.5	14.9	2.6	–8.6
Detroit-Warren-Livonia, MI	282,766	235,285	337,059	387,027	–16.8	43.3	14.8	36.9
Milwaukee-Waukesha-West Allis, WI	58,422	54,043	81,574	93,562	–7.5	50.9	14.7	60.1
Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE	259,814	270,817	391,829	485,800	4.2	44.7	24.0	87.0
Pittsburgh, PA	84,829	58,248	62,778	65,933	–31.3	7.8	5.0	–22.3
St. Louis, MO-IL	53,978	49,631	81,546	108,621	–8.1	64.3	33.2	101.2
Total	1,010,254	906,266	1,265,301	1,493,622	–10.3	39.6	18.0	47.8
Continuous								
Boston-Cambridge-Quincy, MA-NH	349,335	427,524	602,062	684,165	22.4	40.8	13.6	95.8
Chicago-Naperville-Joliet, IL-IN-WI	786,683	913,508	1,464,121	1,625,649	16.1	60.3	11.0	106.6
New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-PA	2,729,216	3,424,413	4,846,322	5,117,290	25.5	41.5	5.6	87.5
San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont, CA	509,352	778,725	1,127,963	1,201,209	52.9	44.8	6.5	135.8
Total	4,374,586	5,544,170	8,040,468	8,628,313	26.7	45.0	7.3	97.2
Post-WWII								
Houston-Baytown-Sugar Land, TX	229,799	461,488	898,221	1,113,875	100.8	94.6	24.0	384.7
Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA	1,921,987	3,470,174	4,299,343	4,407,353	80.6	23.9	2.5	129.3
Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Miami Beach, FL	749,401	1,178,146	1,755,004	1,949,629	57.2	49.0	11.1	160.2
Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	134,998	360,650	612,359	827,584	167.2	69.8	35.1	513.0
San Diego-Carlsbad-San Marcos, CA	235,593	428,810	606,254	659,731	82.0	41.4	8.8	180.0
Total	3,271,778	5,899,268	8,171,181	8,958,172	80.3	38.5	9.6	173.8
Total established and former gateways	8,656,618	12,349,704	17,476,950	19,080,107	42.7	41.5	9.2	120.4
Total all gateway types	10,054,903	14,843,656	23,041,667	26,197,767	47.6	55.2	13.7	160.5

Source: 1980, 1990, and 2000 decennial censuses; *American Community Survey 2005*.

a. 2003 metropolitan area definitions used for all years.

Appendix B. Percent Foreign-Born in Metropolitan Areas, Cities, and Suburbs, 1970–2005

	Foreign-born in metropolitan area									
	1970		*1980*		*1990*		*2000*		*2005*	
Metro area	*Total*	*Percent*	*Total*	*Percent*	*Total*	*Percent*	*Total*	*Percent*	*Total*	*Percent*
Emerging										
Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA	17,889	1.0	47,815	2.1	117,253	3.8	424,519	10.0	612,759	12.7
Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	38,897	1.6	125,157	4.1	317,977	8.0	782,995	15.2	1,016,221	17.7
Las Vegas-Paradise, NV	12,267	4.6	35,064	7.6	70,333	9.5	247,751	18.0	334,087	19.8
Orlando, FL	15,052	3.0	37,267	4.6	82,042	6.7	197,119	12.0	302,323	15.9
Phoenix-Mesa-Scottsdale, AZ	40,007	4.0	86,593	5.4	161,830	7.2	457,483	14.1	612,850	16.1
Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD	132,551	4.3	255,439	7.5	488,283	11.8	829,310	17.3	1,017,432	19.9
Total	256,663	2.8	587,335	5.1	1,237,718	8.0	2,939,177	14.4	3,895,672	16.9
Re-Emerging										
Denver-Aurora, CO	35,735	3.3	65,363	4.5	81,769	4.9	234,121	10.7	290,765	12.5
Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI	55,506	2.8	71,697	3.3	88,093	3.5	210,344	7.1	267,368	8.7
Portland-Vancouver-Beaverton, OR-WA	41,634	3.9	66,627	5.0	88,217	5.8	208,422	10.8	250,955	12.2
Sacramento--Arden-Arcade--Roseville, CA	44,405	5.4	79,689	7.2	140,465	9.5	260,111	14.5	353,592	17.6
San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA	86,449	8.1	179,833	13.6	353,468	23.0	583,156	33.6	614,304	35.6
Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	106,711	5.9	150,152	7.2	201,982	7.9	383,824	12.6	479,913	15.3
Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	69,292	6.5	108,059	6.7	146,003	7.1	233,907	9.8	294,848	11.4
Total	439,732	4.9	721,420	6.5	1,099,997	8.2	2,113,885	13.2	2,551,745	15.1
Pre-Emerging										
Austin-Round Rock, TX	8,330	2.2	24,220	4.1	56,154	6.6	152,834	12.2	192,738	13.7
Charlotte-Gastonia-Concord, NC-SC	5,743	0.8	13,830	1.6	22,677	2.2	91,990	6.9	134,749	9.0
Greensboro-High Point, NC	2,185	0.5	5,341	1.1	8,418	1.6	37,205	5.8	52,506	8.0
Winston-Salem, NC	1,429	0.5	3,783	1.1	5,257	1.5	23,296	5.5	29,501	6.7
Raleigh-Cary, NC	3,117	1.0	8,323	2.1	17,538	3.2	69,530	8.7	95,415	10.3
Durham, NC	2,200	0.9	5,394	1.8	11,949	3.5	39,721	9.3	52,706	12.1
Salt Lake City, UT	19,573	4.1	28,639	4.4	34,244	4.5	97,079	10.0	112,628	11.1
Total	42,577	1.5	89,530	2.5	156,237	3.5	511,655	8.8	670,243	10.5
Total 21st-century gateways	738,972	3.6	1,398,285	5.3	2,493,952	7.5	5,564,717	13.1	7,117,660	15.3
Former										
Baltimore-Towson, MD	58,894	2.9	74,225	3.4	87,653	3.7	146,128	5.7	184,439	7.1
Buffalo-Niagara Falls, NY	82,090	6.2	69,356	5.6	52,220	4.4	51,381	4.4	52,343	4.7
Cleveland-Elyria-Mentor, OH	147,318	6.5	126,864	5.8	98,369	4.7	113,006	5.3	115,897	5.6
Detroit-Warren-Livonia, MI	308,016	7.1	282,766	6.5	235,285	5.5	337,059	7.6	387,027	8.7
Milwaukee-Waukesha-West Allis, WI	62,528	4.5	58,422	4.2	54,043	3.8	81,574	5.4	93,562	6.3
Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE	257,824	5.0	259,814	5.0	270,817	5.0	391,829	6.9	485,800	8.6
Pittsburgh, PA	111,989	4.1	84,829	3.2	58,248	2.4	62,778	2.6	65,933	2.8
St. Louis, MO-IL	49,393	2.0	53,978	2.2	49,631	1.9	81,546	3.0	108,621	4.0
Total	1,078,052	5.0	1,010,254	4.6	906,266	4.1	1,265,301	5.6	1,493,622	6.7
Continuous										
Boston-Cambridge-Quincy, MA-NH	344,134	9.0	349,335	8.9	427,524	10.3	602,062	13.7	684,165	16.0
Chicago-Naperville-Joliet, IL-IN-WI	604,073	7.8	786,683	9.8	913,508	11.2	1,464,121	16.1	1,625,649	17.5
New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-PA	2,285,773	13.7	2,729,216	16.7	3,424,413	20.3	4,846,322	26.4	5,117,290	27.9
San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont, CA	339,314	11.2	509,352	15.7	778,725	21.1	1,127,963	27.4	1,201,209	29.5
Total	3,573,294	11.4	4,374,586	13.8	5,544,170	16.9	8,040,468	22.4	8,628,313	24.0
Post-WWII										
Houston-Baytown-Sugar Land, TX	57,255	2.7	229,799	7.3	461,488	12.2	898,221	19.0	1,113,875	21.4
Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA	876,612	10.6	1,921,987	20.4	3,470,174	30.8	4,299,343	34.8	4,407,353	34.7
Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Miami Beach, FL	384,539	17.7	749,401	23.3	1,178,146	29.0	1,755,004	35.0	1,949,629	36.5
Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	73,035	6.5	134,998	8.7	360,650	13.9	612,359	18.8	827,584	21.6
San Diego-Carlsbad-San Marcos, CA	96,444	7.3	235,593	12.7	428,810	17.2	606,254	21.5	659,731	23.4
Total	1,487,885	9.9	3,271,778	17.0	5,899,268	24.4	8,171,181	29.0	8,958,172	30.0
Total established and former gateways	6,139,231	9.0	8,656,618	11.9	12,349,704	15.7	17,476,950	20.1	19,080,107	21.6
Total all gateway types	6,878,203	7.7	10,054,903	10.2	14,843,656	13.2	23,041,667	17.9	26,197,767	19.5

(continued)

Appendix B (*continued*)

	Foreign-born in central city									
	1970		1980		1990		2000		2005	
City	Total	Percent	Total	Percent	Total	Percent	Total	Percent	Total	Percent
Emerging										
Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA	6,393	1.3	9,777	2.3	13,354	3.4	27,352	6.6	26,413	6.7
Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	26,083	2.0	79,515	5.5	186,168	10.8	428,467	20.8	479,189	22.8
Las Vegas-Paradise, NV	6,811	4.5	21,617	8.7	40,917	10.7	132,706	20.0	153,216	20.0
Orlando, FL	3,735	3.8	6,641	5.2	11,436	6.9	26,741	14.4	38,989	17.6
Phoenix-Mesa-Scottsdale, AZ	26,834	3.8	55,570	5.4	106,860	7.6	321,173	16.7	395,938	19.4
Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD	51,812	5.0	73,764	8.2	113,401	12.8	158,854	17.9	149,955	17.8
Total	121,668	3.2	246,884	5.9	472,136	9.5	1,095,293	17.9	1,243,700	19.6
Re-Emerging										
Denver-Aurora, CO	24,322	4.1	39,064	6.0	47,234	6.8	141,293	17.0	161,155	19.3
Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI	31,269	4.2	31,395	4.9	42,517	6.6	96,613	14.4	95,627	15.6
Portland-Vancouver-Beaverton, OR-WA	20,589	4.9	27,848	6.8	35,813	7.4	86,482	12.9	86,519	12.9
Sacramento--Arden-Arcade--Roseville, CA	18,217	7.2	27,708	10.0	50,569	13.7	82,616	20.3	99,162	22.3
San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA	47,922	7.6	119,928	14.6	254,936	25.7	417,441	37.0	434,475	38.7
Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	58,606	7.8	73,676	10.1	92,905	11.9	144,781	16.7	161,578	19.2
Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	38,892	7.1	43,467	7.3	47,477	7.7	73,942	11.2	84,706	12.9
Total	239,817	6.1	363,086	8.8	571,451	12.5	1,043,168	19.9	1,123,222	21.7
Pre-Emerging										
Austin-Round Rock, TX	5,255	2.1	16,704	4.8	39,626	8.5	109,006	16.6	123,382	18.2
Charlotte-Gastonia-Concord, NC-SC	3,751	1.6	8,742	2.8	15,119	3.8	59,849	11.0	79,600	13.2
Greensboro-High Point, NC	1,190	0.8	2,712	1.7	4,839	2.6	18,146	8.1	24,491	11.7
Winston-Salem, NC	951	0.7	2,121	1.6	3,014	2.1	15,335	8.3	21,034	11.5
Raleigh-Cary, NC	2,550	2.1	5,321	3.5	10,434	5.0	32,410	11.7	42,050	13.3
Durham, NC	772	0.8	1,889	1.9	5,205	3.8	22,544	12.0	33,178	17.3
Salt Lake City, UT	11,546	6.6	12,473	7.7	13,258	8.3	33,252	18.3	32,019	17.5
Total	26,015	2.2	49,962	3.7	91,495	5.4	290,542	12.9	355,754	15.1
Total 21st-century gateways	387,500	4.3	659,932	6.8	1,135,082	10.1	2,429,003	17.8	2,722,676	19.6
Former										
Baltimore-Towson, MD	30,056	3.3	24,667	3.1	23,467	3.2	29,638	4.6	34,225	5.6
Buffalo-Niagara Falls, NY	33,940	7.3	22,025	6.2	14,741	4.5	12,856	4.4	13,990	5.5
Cleveland-Elyria-Mentor, OH	54,859	7.3	33,347	5.8	20,975	4.1	21,372	4.5	18,004	4.3
Detroit-Warren-Livonia, MI	141,292	7.8	90,887	6.2	53,141	4.2	66,408	5.6	74,001	6.9
Milwaukee-Waukesha-West Allis, WI	39,823	5.6	31,718	5.0	29,667	4.7	46,122	7.7	53,147	9.5
Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE	129,109	6.6	107,951	6.4	104,814	6.6	137,205	9.0	155,961	11.1
Pittsburgh, PA	29,885	5.7	22,195	5.2	16,946	4.6	18,874	5.6	21,220	7.5
St. Louis, MO-IL	15,337	2.5	11,878	2.6	10,034	2.5	19,542	5.6	22,286	6.7
Total	474,301	6.1	344,668	5.4	273,785	4.7	352,017	6.5	392,834	8.0
Continuous										
Boston-Cambridge-Quincy, MA-NH	97,189	13.1	104,619	15.9	135,947	20.3	178,054	25.8	167,901	27.9
Chicago-Naperville-Joliet, IL-IN-WI	376,677	10.9	442,199	14.1	480,192	16.3	655,432	20.9	633,167	21.3
New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-PA	1,457,394	17.6	1,717,938	23.2	2,134,354	28.1	2,937,089	35.5	2,991,395	36.4
San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont, CA	189,413	16.1	247,993	21.6	354,322	27.9	467,151	33.9	458,290	35.2
Total	2,120,673	15.5	2,512,749	20.4	3,104,815	24.9	4,237,726	31.4	4,250,753	32.5
Post-WWII										
Houston-Baytown-Sugar Land, TX	39,693	3.2	155,577	9.8	290,374	17.8	516,105	26.4	564,175	29.1
Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA	446,659	13.4	918,388	26.0	1,590,260	37.8	1,824,821	40.6	1,801,618	40.1
Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Miami Beach, FL	153,945	32.4	201,508	40.3	240,091	47.3	248,677	48.3	236,277	47.0
Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	17,456	5.7	32,906	8.7	90,779	17.3	137,845	23.1	173,508	26.5
San Diego-Carlsbad-San Marcos, CA	53,336	7.7	130,906	15.0	232,138	20.9	314,227	25.7	319,142	26.4
Total	711,089	11.8	1,439,285	20.9	2,443,642	30.6	3,041,675	34.6	3,094,720	35.1
Total established and former gateways	3,306,063	12.1	4,296,702	16.8	5,822,242	22.1	7,631,418	27.6	7,738,307	28.8
Total all gateway types	3,693,563	10.2	4,956,634	14.1	6,957,324	18.6	10,060,421	24.4	10,460,983	25.7

	Foreign-born in suburbs									
	1970		1980		1990		2000		2005	
Suburb	Total	Percent	Total	Percent	Total	Percent	Total	Percent	Total	Percent
Emerging										
Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA	11,496	0.9	38,038	2.0	103,899	3.9	397,167	10.4	586,346	13.2
Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	12,814	1.2	45,642	2.9	131,809	5.8	354,528	11.4	537,032	14.8
Las Vegas-Paradise, NV	5,456	4.8	13,447	6.3	29,416	8.2	115,045	16.2	180,871	19.2
Orlando, FL	11,317	2.8	30,626	4.5	70,606	6.7	170,378	11.7	263,334	15.7
Phoenix-Mesa-Scottsdale, AZ	13,173	4.4	31,023	5.4	54,970	6.6	136,310	10.2	216,912	12.3
Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD	80,739	4.0	181,675	7.3	374,882	11.6	670,456	17.2	867,477	20.3
Total	134,995	2.6	340,451	4.6	765,582	7.3	1,843,884	12.9	2,651,972	15.8
Re-Emerging										
Denver-Aurora, CO	11,413	2.2	26,299	3.3	34,535	3.5	92,828	6.9	129,610	8.7
Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI	24,237	1.9	40,302	2.6	45,576	2.4	113,731	4.9	171,741	7.0
Portland-Vancouver-Beaverton, OR-WA	21,045	3.3	38,779	4.2	52,404	5.0	121,940	9.7	164,436	11.8
Sacramento--Arden-Arcade--Roseville, CA	26,188	4.6	51,981	6.3	89,896	8.1	177,495	12.8	254,430	16.3
San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA	38,527	8.9	59,905	12.1	98,532	18.2	165,715	27.3	179,829	29.8
Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	48,105	4.6	76,476	5.6	109,077	6.1	239,043	11.0	318,335	13.9
Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	30,400	5.8	64,592	6.3	98,526	6.8	159,965	9.2	210,142	10.8
Total	199,915	4.0	358,334	5.1	528,546	6.0	1,070,717	9.9	1,428,523	12.2
Pre-Emerging										
Austin-Round Rock, TX	3,075	2.3	7,516	3.1	16,528	4.3	43,828	7.4	69,356	9.5
Charlotte-Gastonia-Concord, NC-SC	1,992	0.4	5,088	0.9	7,558	1.2	32,141	4.1	55,149	6.2
Greensboro-High Point, NC	995	0.4	2,629	0.8	3,579	1.0	19,059	4.5	28,015	6.2
Winston-Salem, NC	478	0.3	1,662	0.8	2,243	1.0	7,961	3.4	8,467	3.3
Raleigh-Cary, NC	567	0.3	3,002	1.2	7,104	2.1	37,120	7.1	53,365	8.8
Durham, NC	1,428	1.0	3,505	1.8	6,744	3.2	17,177	7.2	19,528	8.0
Salt Lake City, UT	8,027	2.7	16,166	3.3	20,986	3.5	63,827	8.1	80,609	9.7
Total	16,562	1.0	39,568	1.8	64,742	2.4	221,113	6.2	314,489	7.8
Total 21st-century gateways	351,472	3.0	738,353	4.4	1,358,870	6.2	3,135,714	10.9	4,394,984	13.5
Former										
Baltimore-Towson, MD	28,838	2.5	49,558	3.5	64,186	3.9	116,490	6.1	150,214	7.6
Buffalo-Niagara Falls, NY	48,150	5.6	47,331	5.3	37,479	4.4	38,525	4.4	38,353	4.5
Cleveland-Elyria-Mentor, OH	92,459	6.1	93,517	5.8	77,394	4.8	91,634	5.5	97,893	5.9
Detroit-Warren-Livonia, MI	166,724	6.6	191,879	6.7	182,144	6.1	270,651	8.3	313,026	9.3
Milwaukee-Waukesha-West Allis, WI	22,705	3.4	26,704	3.5	24,376	3.0	35,452	3.9	40,415	4.4
Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE	128,715	3.9	151,863	4.3	166,003	4.3	254,624	6.1	329,839	7.8
Pittsburgh, PA	82,104	3.7	62,634	2.8	41,302	2.0	43,904	2.1	44,713	2.2
St. Louis, MO-IL	34,056	1.8	42,100	2.1	39,597	1.8	62,004	2.6	86,335	3.6
Total	603,751	4.3	665,586	4.3	632,481	3.9	913,284	5.3	1,100,788	6.3
Continuous										
Boston-Cambridge-Quincy, MA-NH	246,945	8.0	244,716	7.5	291,577	8.4	424,008	11.5	516,264	14.1
Chicago-Naperville-Joliet, IL-IN-WI	227,396	5.3	344,484	7.0	433,316	8.3	808,689	13.6	992,482	15.8
New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-PA	828,379	9.8	1,011,278	11.3	1,290,059	13.9	1,909,233	19.0	2,125,895	21.0
San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont, CA	149,901	8.1	261,359	12.4	424,403	17.6	660,812	24.1	742,919	26.8
Total	1,452,621	8.2	1,861,837	9.7	2,439,355	12.0	3,802,742	16.9	4,377,560	19.1
Post-WWII										
Houston-Baytown-Sugar Land, TX	17,562	1.9	74,222	4.8	171,114	8.0	382,116	13.8	549,700	16.9
Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA	429,953	8.7	1,003,599	17.1	1,879,914	26.6	2,474,522	31.4	2,605,735	31.8
Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Miami Beach, FL	230,594	13.5	547,893	20.1	938,055	26.4	1,506,327	33.5	1,713,352	35.5
Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	55,579	6.9	102,092	8.6	269,871	13.1	474,514	17.9	654,076	20.6
San Diego-Carlsbad-San Marcos, CA	43,108	6.8	104,687	10.6	196,672	14.2	292,027	18.4	340,589	21.1
Total	776,796	8.6	1,832,493	14.9	3,455,626	21.3	5,129,506	26.5	5,863,452	27.8
Total established and former gateways	2,833,168	7.0	4,359,916	9.3	6,527,462	12.4	9,845,532	16.7	11,341,800	18.5
Total all gateway types	3,184,640	6.1	5,098,269	8.0	7,886,332	10.6	12,981,246	14.8	15,736,784	16.8

Source: 1980, 1990 and 2000 decennial censuses; *American Community Survey 2005.*

Note: 2003 metropolitan area definitions used for all years.

Appendix C. Top Ten Countries of Origin for the Foreign-Born Population in Nine Twenty-First-Century Gateways, 2005

Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX		
1	Mexico	591,399
2	El Salvador	46,674
3	India	40,996
4	Vietnam	40,221
5	Korea	20,154
6	China*	18,135
7	Philippines	15,371
8	Pakistan	14,375
9	Guatemala	13,281
10	Honduras	12,242
Total foreign-born population		1,016,221

Phoenix-Mesa-Scottsdale, AZ		
1	Mexico	409,928
2	Canada	21,787
3	India	12,245
4	Philippines	11,262
5	China*	9,889
6	Vietnam	9,486
7	Germany	9,311
8	United Kingdom	8,002
9	El Salvador	6,558
10	Korea	6,081
Total foreign-born population		612,850

Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA		
1	Mexico	182,116
2	India	41,914
3	Korea	25,105
4	Jamaica	24,137
5	Vietnam	21,343
6	Colombia	14,773
7	China*	13,687
8	Brazil	13,414
9	El Salvador	12,563
10	United Kingdom	12,042
Total foreign-born population		612,759

Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD		
1	El Salvador	128,798
2	India	62,588
3	Korea	52,388
4	Mexico	45,049
5	Vietnam	42,758
6	Philippines	38,336
7	China*	33,740
8	Peru	30,085
9	Guatemala	29,238
10	Honduras	22,348
Total foreign-born population		1,017,432

Sacramento-Arden-Arcade-Roseville, CA		
1	Mexico	99,307
2	Philippines	28,857
3	Vietnam	22,122
4	India	21,106
5	Ukraine	20,911
6	China*	13,604
7	Russia	12,978
8	Laos	10,412
9	Thailand	6,352
10	United Kingdom	6,286
Total foreign-born population		353,592

Portland-Vancouver-Beaverton, OR-WA		
1	Mexico	77,634
2	Vietnam	17,644
3	Ukraine	12,679
4	Korea	11,968
5	China*	9,701
6	Canada	9,184
7	India	7,902
8	Russia	7,348
9	United Kingdom	7,316
10	Philippines	6,917
Total foreign-born population		250,955

Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI		
1	Mexico	45,793
2	Laos	22,533
3	India	15,895
4	Vietnam	12,464
5	Korea	9,736
6	China*	9,721
7	Thailand	9,635
8	Canada	6,695
9	United Kingdom	6,544
10	Philippines	6,403
Total foreign-born population		267,368

Austin-Round Rock, TX		
1	Mexico	100,768
2	India	8,082
3	Vietnam	6,338
4	Korea	6,023
5	China*	4,913
6	El Salvador	4,586
7	Philippines	4,562
8	Canada	3,907
9	United Kingdom	3,834
10	Honduras	3,505
Total foreign-born population		192,738

Charlotte-Gastonia-Concord, NC-SC		
1	Mexico	40,740
2	India	7,500
3	El Salvador	6,407
4	Vietnam	5,607
5	Canada	5,021
6	Honduras	4,994
7	Guatemala	2,976
8	United Kingdom	2,666
9	China*	2,545
10	Korea	2,314
Total foreign-born population		134,749

*Excluding Hong Kong and Taiwan.