Changes in the Age Structure and Occupation Distribution of New Immigrant Destinations:

1990-2000

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INTRODUCTION:

Patterns of immigrant settlement in the United States are currently experiencing substantial transformations in which immigrant populations are emerging in atypical areas throughout the South and the Heartland of the US. (Singer 2004, Pitts 2003) A number of studies have discussed community-level impacts of Latino immigration to rural towns in the South and Midwest, which are some of the least diverse regions in the country (e.g. Gunthey 2001), yet the lack of available of data coupled with the speed and recent timing of this phenomenon have left many fundamental avenues unexplored.

The recent release of the Census 2000 PUMS files has allowed for further examination of this phenomenon on both an aggregate and a local level. The following analysis thus takes a cohort perspective to examine the changing geographic distribution of immigrants in the United States. It additionally investigates both the age and the occupational structure of new destination communities to probe the causes and consequences of these new immigration patterns. This study compares Census public use files from 2000 with those from 1990, and additionally utilizes a number of the Censuses' prefabricated tables from 1990 and 2000. The analysis looks at three aspects: 1) it compares of the geographic destinations of immigrants who entered from 1985 to 1990 with their counterparts who entered from 1995 to 2000 2) it examines the age structure of new destination communities both before and after becoming new destinations and 3) lastly, it investigates the degree of industrial clustering of immigrants in new destination areas compared to their counterparts in traditional destinations.

The flow of immigrants, or foreign-born persons, recorded in the Census increased substantially between 1990 and the 2000. The 1990 Census reports that 4.8 million foreign born-persons entered the US over the period 1985-1990. Census 2000 reveals a figure of 7.6 million foreign-born persons entering the US from 1995-2000. A brief comparison of the 1990 and 2000 geographic distributions of the immigrant population reveals some notable differences even at the state level. For instance, the

1990 Census estimates that 37.7% of immigrants who entered from 1985-1990 resided in California in 1990. For Census 2000, the comparable figure for 1995-2000 is 22.2%. Thus, as destination for the immigrant cohort '1995-2000' compared to the cohort from '1985-1990', California experience a relative decline of 15.5%.

The geographic distributions of these two cohorts reveal that California's percentage decline of 15.5% also corresponds with a percentage increase in 39 of the 50 states as a migrant destination. In percentage terms, these figures are fairly small. Yet the impact on communities can be fairly large especially in light of the increases in overall migration between these two cohorts. For instance, North Carolina received .7%, of the 1985-1990 immigrant cohort and 2.5% of the 1995-2000 immigrant cohort, which was 58% larger. The comparable figures for Georgia are 1.1% and 3.0%. It is also noteworthy that New York experienced a relative decline of 3.1% between these two cohorts and Texas had a 3.3% increase. Another issue is whether there has there been a change in the distribution of migrant origin countries. Of the top five migrant receiving states: California, Texas, New York, Florida and Illinois, the foreign-born numbers reveal that New York has the most diverse immigrant population. The origins and destinations of these immigrant groups are comparatively straightforward to define. On the other hand, the impact and impetus of these changes is a more difficult issue to tackle.

The following study examines whether new destination communities had comparatively older age structures prior to the migration flows, which would suggest that migrants were drawn in by a void in the working age population. The new destination communities include a total of 128 counties throughout the South and Midwest that meet three criteria: 1) extremely high foreign born growth rates 2) lower than average proportions foreign born in 1990 and 3) higher than average proportions by the year 2000.

I hypothesize that: 1) prior to becoming new destinations these communities had smaller than average proportions of individuals of working ages, particularly of males, and 2) that, of immigrants who entered from 1995-2000, those in new immigrant communities in 2000 were more concentrated in a few occupations than their counterparts in traditional destinations.

The industrial concentration of immigrants in new destinations could tie into current theories of economic restructuring from unionized high-wage manufacturing to low-wage high technology manufacturing (Pitts 2003), as new destination areas are likely to be those undergoing rapid economic transformations. The age component could either complement or substitute this effect. Communities with little economic opportunity are likely to lose their young populations to neighboring areas, but the

out-migration of the native born could also result in in-migration of the immigrant population. The out-migration could create an absence of working age individuals and thus a demand for workers, potentially in low skilled jobs.

LITERATURE REVIEW:

A number of studies have discussed economic transformations within the United States, such as Saskia Sassen's The Global City (1991), which presents a theoretical framework of globalization and its effects on the economic function of cities. She argues that technological improvements facilitated a centralization of management in a few 'global' cities, yet these changes also allowed for a decentralization of production. In a similar vein, other studies note the increased polarization of labor into high wage and low wage jobs (e.g. Pitts 2003, Griffith 1995). Pitts notes an increased flexibility of employers in low-paying industries, whose needs can be served by low-skilled immigrant labor. Many recent examples center around transformations in poultry, meat and fish industries. Broadway (1995) notes that poultry production rose with declines in beef consumption, due to health concerns and that historically, poultry production has been a predominant industry throughout rural areas in the South, with concentrations in: Arkansas, North Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama. There have additionally been recent transformations in these industries that include: 1) the development of larger modern plants, and 2) relocations of plants as urban areas expand into previously rural territory housing poultry plant, for example around Atlanta. Griffith (1995) provides an individual-level example of how immigrants begin to flow into these primarily white rural communities by quoting a poultry plant personnel manager in Maryland, October 11, 1993:

> We were having a difficult time finding labor four, four-and-a-half years ago. We had to get innovative. We sent screeners down to Indiantown, Florida, and began recruiting Guatemalans. They all worked in Agriculture. At first we housed them in the old motels along Route 13, but after awhile they matriculated into the community. They help each other out.[1]

The above example suggests that a typical network process led to the emergence of immigrant communities throughout the South. Similar transformations have also occurred throughout small towns in the Midwest, in the traditional 'cattle country', Gouveia and Stull (1995) note transformations in which packers have moved to the cattle to reduce transportation costs, rather than shipping the cattle

[1] Griffith, David "Hay Trabajo: Poultry Processing, Rural Industrialization, and the Latinization of Low-Wage Labor" in Any Way You Cut it: Meat Processing and Small-Town America, ed by Donald D. Stull, Michael J. Broadway, and David Griffith (p 128)

to slaughterhouses within large cities. The authors also note that while new plants led to growth in other industries this growth was in primarily low-skilled labor, they cite the opening of a Walmart and a J.C. Pennys in Garden City Kansas. These industries have also created an influx of immigrant labor.

These immigrant influxes into the new areas is certainly not limited to poultry or meat processing, but these pervasive examples illustrate these new trends. The evidence suggests that the urban expansion in Northern Georgia has also employed a number of immigrant workers in fields such as construction and service, and carpeting (Hernandez-Leon 2000). Since much of this immigrant growth has occurred in non metro areas with previous immigrant populations close to zero, the potential for social and economic consequences is greater.

These examples paint a micro-level picture of a macro-level phenomena, of which Census data can measure the prevalence. A number of studies have measured geographic changes of immigrant destinations across the entire country, both historically and regarding the recent growth of immigrants in the South and Midwest. In a classic study, Anne Bartel (1989), looks at the determinates of recent immigrant's destinations, by examining 25 SMSAs. She finds that most recent immigrants reside in metropolitan areas (75%), and the ethnic enclaves are key determinants of where immigrants settle. While network theory would explain migrants destination choices to both the rural and urban areas, the recent immigrant patterns to rural areas require a further level of detail to describe and begin to explain the phenomena. Recent macro-level studies of new destinations, include Singer (2004) which reveals a number of interesting findings within states and metropolitan areas that include unprecedented immigrant growth rates in states like North Carolina, Georgia and Nevada, due to economic transformations.

The following study build on many elements of the previously described studies, yet it differs in that it delves into county-level changes between 1990 and 2000 to evaluate community changes in both rural and urban counties. These elements include an evaluation of age structure changes due to immigrant influxes and a comparison of the occupations of immigrants in the new areas with those in the traditional areas. The individual examples of transformations of meat processing factories within small towns present a familiar face on a large scale phenomena, yet the evaluation of Census data is able to fully illustrate the full extent of these changes throughout the country.

METHODOLOGY:

Data and Sample Definition:

This study compares data from the newly released Census 2000 PUMS files with the 1990 PUMS files. For county-level analysis, I also use data available directly from the Census Bureau's website Summary Tape 3 files for both 1990 and 2000. Using the Census' question on year of entry of the foreign-born, immigrants are assigned to two immigrant cohorts: 1985 to 1990 or 1995-2000, with the first group measured in 1990 and the second in 2000. I choose to examine a five year period rather than the entire inter-censual period because of the increased likelihood that immigrants who entered early in the decade would have returned to their country of origin. Additionally, the Census' Summary Tape 3 files have published data on these five-year cohort perspectives, which serves as a benchmark against the PUMS data.

This study defines new destination communities as counties that meet three criteria: 1) having foreign-born growth rates between 1990 and 2000 that were greater than 13% a year, which is one standard deviation above the county-level mean 2) having lower than average proportions of immigrants in 1990 and 3) having higher than average proportions of immigrants in 2000. The average proportion of the foreign born in the sample of counties was 2.25% in 1990 and 3.47% in 2000. Thus the counties at risk of becoming new destinations are those with smaller proportions of foreign-born individuals than the average county. The figures are somewhat different from the nationwide averages, as counties within Metropolitan areas typically have larger populations and often have higher concentrations of immigrants. The sample consists of a total of 128 counties scattered across the South and Midwest with the largest clusters in North Carolina and Georgia. Of these counties 32 are within metropolitan areas, while 96 are not. Table 3 provides background information on these counties, and the appendix includes both a map and a list of these counties by name.

Age Structure Comparison:

Utilizing the Summary Tape File 3 information, I examine the age and sex structure of these 128 counties in both 1990 and 2000. These two maps represent, by definition, the age structure before and after these counties became immigrant destinations. While we do not know the age distribution of immigrants within each county, we can trace the changes to these communities over the ten year period. Thus by tracking the cohorts over time and comparing to regional control, we can infer changes due to immigrant influxes.

This examination serves to gauge the degree of a void in the working ages before the counties became immigrant destinations and to assess the impact of these migration flows on the age structure and the sex ratios. As a first step I compiled these 128 counties into a single unit and mapped their overall age structure and superimposed this graph on the age structure for the entire nation. These graphs, plotted both before and after these communities became immigrant destinations, serve to assess differences between these communities and the nationwide average. Next, I broke the sample into three additionally categories: 1) communities in the South (N=82); 2) communities in the Heartland (N=35) and; 3) communities that are outside Metropolitan Areas (N=96), and I map their age structure on their regional counterparts in both 1990 and 2000.

I additionally examined the age-structure of the immigrant population, using PUMS data, to assess the degree to which it differed from the national population, and thus had the potential to impact the age structure of the new destination communities. These age structures had large proportions of working ages individuals, with a tendency to be male dominated.

Occupation and Industry:

This section compares the industrial makeup of immigrant populations in new destinations and traditional destinations by looking at individuals who entered the US from 1995 to 2000. For the data on occupation and industry, I switch from county-level to PUMA-level geography[2], since the PUMS files do not have county-level information. I investigate whether recent immigrants in new destinations are more occupationally clustered than their counterparts in traditional destinations. First, I examine state-level differences in occupational characteristics of the immigrant cohort 1995-2000 in new destination and traditional destination states. This comparison focuses on immigrants from the Americas, who appear to be driving this new wave of immigration into the South and Midwest (Pitts 2003). I look at the Census' industry variable, standardized to 1950, to assess: 1) whether immigrants in new destination states engage in the same types of occupations as in traditional states, and 2) whether these new destination immigrants have less diversity in their industrial composition by measuring the proportion of individuals employed in the top industrial categories.

Next, I perform an identical analysis on a smaller areas of geography by defining 'new destination PUMA' as those in nontraditional states with high proportions of individuals who entered from 1995-2000, greater than 5.9% -one standard deviation above the mean- with their counterparts in

[2] These PUMAs, Public Use Microdata Area, are the smallest geographic unit provided by the Public use census files, and consist of county groups, or county sub-sections that have populations greater than 100,000.

the traditional states[3]. While a greater level of detail is available by PUMAs than by county, the PUMA boundaries did not stay consistent across time, and thus this construction is somewhat limited by a lack of prior information on these regions. The availability of data, however, does allow for further comparisons of immigrant labor in New Destinations and Traditional Destinations. While many regional differences may be smoothed over on the state-level, the PUMA-level comparison of new and traditional areas concentration of immigrants zooms a relatively small geographic unit. My sample of PUMAs consists of 27 in New Destination states and 125 in traditional destination states. I look at both the types of industries within each PUMA, and the proportion of the immigrant population employed in the largest 5 immigrant industries, which vary by PUMA. I also the degree of industrial clustering of the native born population in both the new and traditional destination PUMAs.

Lastly, I take a cursory glance at county-level changes between 1990 and 2000 of the overall population within these 128 counties.

RESULTS:

Geography:

The non-traditional geography of recent immigrants is documented in table 1, which compares the state-level distribution of the two immigrant cohorts. Most notably, California received 38% of the 1985-1990 immigrant cohort, but only 22% of the 1995-2000 cohort. Los Angeles county alone received 18% of the first cohort, and only 8% of the second. The declining proportion of immigrants who choose California as a destination also corresponds with a proportionate increase in 39 of the 50 states. According to these tables, California was the only state in the nation that actually experienced a numerical decline in the number of immigrants between these two cohorts. Although the state received by far the large number of immigrants in both time periods, these numbers declined from 1.84 million immigrants entering between 1985 and 1990 to 1.68 million entering between 1995 and 2000.

The states that experienced the largest proportionate increases included: Texas, Georgia, North Carolina, Florida, Arkansas and Colorado. New York also experienced a substantial proportionate decrease. The numbers in table 2, which examines the changing geography of Mexican immigrants, suggest that many of these changes were driven by Mexican immigrants. Mexican immigrants represented 26% of the 1985 to 1990 immigrant cohort and 34% of the 1995 to 2000 cohort. Coupled with an increase in the overall cohort size from 4.9 million immigrants to 7.6 million, these numbers

[3] Traditional states include: California, Texas, Illinois, New York, New Jersey and Arizona; all other states are considered 'non-traditional'.

translate into a doubling of the number of Mexican immigrants from one cohort to the next. Additionally, the more recent cohort revealed new patterns of settlement throughout the U.S.; California received 61% of Mexican immigrants in the first cohort, yet only 31% of those in the second. The Census data suggest that the destinations of these recent Mexican immigrants are spread throughout the United States. Outside of California, there were large gains in certain traditional states, Texas in particular, and startlingly gains throughout the South and the Heartland. The non traditional states that were the most popular choices of Mexican immigrants entering from 1995 to 2000 included: Georgia, North Carolina and Colorado.

From another angle, a map of growth rates of the foreign born population between 1990 and 2000 –provided in figure 1- reveals large gains throughout the South and Midwest, even in areas that were not 'popular' destinations of recent immigrants. Some of these gains are the result of small changes in areas that had extremely small immigrant populations, since a change from 2 to 10 individual would be a high growth rate, yet the numbers reveal dramatic compositional changes in areas that do not show up a key immigrant destinations. For example, table 2 reports that of Kentucky's immigrant population .3% originated in Mexico in the first cohort, yet this number surged to 24% in the second. In spite of this increase, Kentucky would not be seen as a popular destination for Mexican immigrants in either cohort. This dramatic compositional shift of the foreign-born population occurred throughout the Southern states, both in areas that registered as popular new destinations and those that did not. Figure 2 looks at the proportion of the foreign-born in southern states from Mexico in the two cohorts and reveals startling increases in the composition of the foreign-born population across states in the South. For instance, Arkansas' foreign-born population in the 1985 to 1990 immigrant cohort was 15.8% Mexican and for the 1995 to 2000 cohort it was 57.4% Mexican. Figure 3 reveals similar, although slightly smaller, trends throughout the Heartland.

Figures 4A and 4B map of the top destination choices of the foreign-born, the first figure is for immigrants who entered from 1985 to 1990 and the second is for 1995 to 2000. These figures reveal that, most immigrants went to the 'usual suspects' in both cohorts: California, Illinois, New York, New Jersey Texas and Arizona. On a nationwide scale, these maps do not suggest dramatic transformations in the top destination choices of recent immigrants, however North Carolina and Georgia appear to be notable exceptions. A comparison of immigrants into counties in North Carolina in both time periods reveals that while a visible proportion of immigrants choose to settle there between 1985 and 1990, this proportion had surged by the years 1995 to 2000. Additionally these immigrants had spread throughout the state. Northern Georgia reveals much the same pattern; areas around Atlanta received

a visible share of the first cohort, yet this proportion both increased and expanded throughout the area by the second cohort. Other changes in the South and Heartland are visible although not predominate.

The overall trends reveal two findings: 1) Looking at the universe of individual states, the composition and levels of the foreign-born population changed dramatically in the South and Heartland between these two cohorts 2) Looking at the universe of the foreign born population, changes across cohorts were tangible, although smaller. The maps reveal that both North Carolina and Georgia solidified their roles as popular destination states between these two cohorts.

While a few migrants into a new area can be a shock for the area in question, it may not represent a significant change for the sending region. Yet the numbers indicate that substantial changes took place in both the sending and receiving regions between these two cohorts.

Age Structure:

The following section begins to assess the impact, and possibility the impetus, of immigrant flows by looking at the age structure of new destination communities both before and after becoming a new destinations. The age structure comparisons reveal tangible age structure shifts in communities that became new destinations between 1990 and 2000, yet it is difficult to discern the degree to which these age structure patterns were the cause or the result of the migrant flows. Figures 6A and 6B compare the age structure of these 128 counties before and after they became migrant destinations. Figure 6A demonstrates that in 1990 these counties had substantially smaller proportions of individuals of young working age individuals -those aged 20 to 40- than the nationwide average. Additionally the lack of working age males was slightly larger than for females. Yet, figure 6B reveals that by 2000 the age structure in these communities was virtually indistinguishable from the age structure of the entire nation. Thus on an aggregate level, these graphs support the hypotheses that new destination immigrants entered communities with a void of working age individuals and restored the balance, rather than offsetting a 'typical' age and sex structure. A more in-depth investigation complicates the picture.

The population in these new destinations communities was more heavily concentrated outside of Metropolitan areas (MSAs) than was the nation's population as a whole. While 19% of the nations population lived outside MSAs in 2000 43% of individuals in these new destinations lived outside MSAs in 2000. Thus figures 7A and 7B compare the age structure of the nation's population outside Metropolitan areas with the non Metropolitan area new destinations, which consisted of 96 counties. These graphs also suggest that immigrant influxes substantially influenced the age structure of the new destination communities, yet it appears to be in the reverse direction. Figure 7A illustrates that new

destination counties and their comparison group were fairly comparable in 1990, yet figure 7B reveals substantial age structure shifts by the year 2000. In 2000, these communities are quite distinct from their comparison group; they have higher proportions of individuals 20 to 40, with major differences for the ages 25 to 35. Thus the immigrant influx appears to have entered communities with 'typical' age structures and altered the distribution. However, the population residing outside of Metropolitan areas had substantial 'voids' in their working age population relative to the nationwide average; aging the population from these two graphs suggests that these voids are driven by out migration.

If we assume that these two graphs loosely follow a cohort across two points in time, a comparison of individuals aged 10 to 20 in 1990 with those 20 to 30 in 2000 reveals declines throughout the non metropolitan areas. While the proportions declined even in the communities that became new immigrant destinations, the decline was approximately twice as large in the comparison group. The differences are likely a combination of these communities retaining their native born population at higher rates, and additionally attracting immigrants from abroad. Potentially, the economic opportunities that drew immigrants from abroad may also have provided an incentive for the native-born community to remain. Yet further investigation could further delve into this point.

Examinations on a regional level reveal a few other distinctions. Figures 8A and 8B look at the Southern new destinations (n=82) in 1990 and 2000, compared to other areas in the South. The first figure indicates that the new destinations in the Southern communities had only slight age voids in the working age population in 1990. By 2000, however, the impact associated with becoming a new destination actually resulted in an age flip for ages 25 to 40. The age 'void' prior to be becoming a new destination transformed into an age 'excess', relative to the region as a whole, of working age males after the migrant flows. The result for women was less noticeable. The story in the Heartland was quite different. Figures 9A and 9B reveal large age voids in these communities prior to becoming immigrant destinations – these voids greatly exceeded those in any of the preceding graphs, with striking absences of individuals age 20 to 24. By 2000, these large voids for males had closed almost completely, in that there was virtually no difference between these communities and their regional controls. The gap for women had shrunk substantially, although had not completely closed.

New immigrant destinations were more common in the South than in the Heartland, and this fact could influence the importance of demographic characteristics as a factor for selecting new communities for immigrant settlement. The surge of immigration into the South included large proportions of entire states, notably Georgia and North Carolina. While there appears to be some degree of an age effect associated with the immigrant flows in the South, the larger the geographic area

the smaller the possibility of significant voids in the working age population. While it would be difficult to argue that the entire state of North Carolina had a void of working age individuals in 1990, this possibility is more plausible for the communities scattered through the South and Heartland of the United States. Thus the extreme age voids in these communities, relative to their regional counterparts, may well have induced small waves of migration into these areas.

In conclusion, age affects associated with these migrant flows are apparent in all four sets of graphs: the entire sample, those outside MSAs, those in the South and those in the Heartland. Further investigation would be necessary to discern the degree to which these age effects are causal factors leading to migration flows, yet these age effects clearly differ across regions. On an aggregate level, there appears to be an age 'void' before the migrant flow rather than an age 'excess' after the migrant flow, if we compare new destination communities to the national average. This observation would suggest that migrants are drawn in by an absence of workers. However, this observation may be the result of compositional factors in that new destination communities were heavily located outside Metropolitan areas, and thus the comparison to the nation as a whole may not be a valid control group. The examination of non-Metropolitan areas communities suggests that the majority of the age effect in these communities was the result of the migrant flow rather than a cause, as there were few age differences before the migrant flow yet vast differences afterwards. However, the migrant flows in non Metropolitan areas still normalized the age distribution in these communities relative to typical age structures and the national average. The largest differences were those between the South and the Heartland communities in which the age voids, relative to regional controls, were larger in the communities scattered throughout the Heartland than those concentrated in the South.

Occupation and Industry:

This section poses the question of whether immigrants in new destinations were more concentrated in particular industries than their counterparts in traditional destinations. This section focuses on immigrants from the Americas, and particularly from Mexico, as they appear to be driving these new immigrant flows. This focus additionally serves to control for the regional composition of the immigrant population within a particular area, as occupations vary by world region of origin. The results suggest two things: 1) that immigrants in new destinations were more concentrated in a few industries than their traditional destination counterparts and that 2) the types of industry varied between new destinations and traditional destinations.

Table 3 looks at the Industrial composition of Mexican males who entered the United States from 1995 to 2000 in the new destination states that experienced the largest gains of Mexican immigrants: Georgia, North Carolina and Colorado. Table 4 looks at the Industrial composition in the traditional destination[4] states for Mexican immigrants: California, Texas, Illinois and Arizona. These tables look at the proportions of Mexican immigrants employed in the top 10 industries, and additionally calculate what proportion of this immigrant population was employed in the top 5 and top 10 industries. The numbers suggest that the new destination Mexican immigrant were more industrially concentrated than their traditional destination counterparts.

For Georgia, North Carolina and Colorado, the top five industries employed 68%, 63% and 68% of the male Mexican immigrant population, respectively. In contrast, the traditional destination states revealed the following numbers: 46%, 51%, 55%, and 60% for Illinois, California, Texas and Arizona, respectively. The patterns for the top ten industries demonstrate the same trends.

The top three industries in all states were: Construction, Agriculture and Eating and Drinking places, although the order and proportions employed in each varied substantially. The new destination states tended to have higher proportions of Mexican males employed in Construction than the traditional destination states. Additionally, beyond the top three industries, the new destination states revealed substantial proportions of individuals employed in industries not on the radar screen in the traditional states. These industries included: 1) Meat Products and Wood Products in both Georgia and North Carolina. In Georgia, Carpets and rugs, and Yarn and fabric products made the top 10 list, whereas Chemical and allied products made the list in North Carolina. Colorado's industrial composition was more similar to that of the traditional states, possibly related to the fact that of the three states it had the highest concentration of the 1985-1990 Mexican immigrant cohort. Additionally, the new destination states had smaller proportions of Mexican males aged 15 to 65 that showed up in the not applicable category. Georgia and North Carolina had 5.1% and 5.9% not applicable, respectively, whereas California, Texas, Illinois and Arizona had 9.6% to 11.4% not applicable; Colorado had 8.9%. These figures suggest either that unemployment of this population was higher in the traditional areas, or that these individuals were more likely to be pursuing other activities that were not captured by these categories. Further investigation would look at other employment variables.

As a second step, I conducted a PUMA-level analysis of industrial composition within traditional destination and new destination states. This analysis selected PUMAs that had high concentrations of immigrants enter between 1995 and 2000, defined as one standard deviation above

[4] Those with greater than 3% of the Mexican Immigrants in the earliest cohort.

the mean. I look at the industries that employed the highest proportion of Mexican immigrants in the new destination PUMAs states compared to those in traditional destination states. I calculate what proportion of this immigrant population was employed in the top 5 and top 10 industries. Table 5 reveals that the averages across PUMAs were much higher in North Carolina and Georgia than in the traditional destination states. The types of industries varied across PUMAs, with many new destination PUMAs were heavily dominated by construction jobs with proportions reaching 60%. Two PUMAs in particular in Georgia and Kansas were dominated by meat processing factories with proportions greater than 30%. Yet the trends reveal that, by PUMA, this immigrant population was more industrially concentrated in North Carolina and Georgia than in the traditional destinations. The average across PUMAs for proportion of the immigrant population proportion employed in a PUMAs top 5 industries was 73% in North Carolina, and 76% in Georgia. In contrast, the comparable figures in traditional destinations were: 53% in California, 48% in Illinois, 59% in Texas, and 64% in Arizona. Colorado's figure fell between the new destination and traditional destination states at 66%. Of the other New Destination PUMAs throughout the Heartland, the top five industries employed an average of 58% of the male working age immigrant population from the Americas who entered between 1995 and 2000.

These trends reveal that the immigrant population from the Americas that entered between 1995 to 2000 consistently had a higher degree of industrial clustering in Georgia and North Carolina than their counterparts who went to traditional destinations. While the types of industries varied across PUMAs, in both new and traditional destinations, the percentage of the immigrant population employed in top industries was consistently considerably higher in Georgia and North Carolina than in any of the traditional states. The degree of industrial clustering in new immigrant destinations in Colorado appears to be somewhat higher than in the traditional states, although not to the same extreme. The PUMAs in the Heartland do not reveal the same pattern of industrial clustering. Thus the states that were most appealing for the recent cohort of immigrants from the Americas -Georgia and North Carolina- clearly reveal higher levels of industrial clustering than in the traditional states. The story behind the PUMAs scattered throughout the Heartland is not as easy to interpret, which yields support to the hypothesis that age patterns were more important than industrial patterns in Heartland than in the South for drawing in new immigrants.

CONCLUSION:

The numbers suggest that the new crop of immigrant destinations were tied to the following three factors: 1) immigrants choosing nontraditional destinations at higher rates, 2) compositional changes of the overall foreign-born population, and 3) a growth in the overall number of immigrants entering the United States. The overall size of the immigrant cohort that entered from 1995 to 2000 was 58% larger than the 1985 to 1990 immigrant cohort. Additionally, the immigrant population from Mexico increased by 101%. Thus, even if the geographic distribution remained unchanged, the number of Mexicans entering the South and the Heartland would have doubled between these two cohorts. Yet there were startling changes in the geographic distribution as well. The 1990 Census reports that 61% of Mexicans who entered the U.S. between 1985 and 1990 resided in California in 1990; the comparable figure in the 2000 Census was 31%. Thus this proportionate decline of 30%, was spread throughout other regions of the United States. Texas received a proportionate increase greater than 5%, Georgia and North Carolina received increases of approximately 3% each and other increases were spread throughout the nation. As Georgia and North Carolina had each received much smaller proportion of the much smaller previous cohort, the numeric changes were extremely large. The graphs even note substantial compositional changes in areas that received 'trivial' proportions of this migrant cohort.

Yet these state-level figures surely smooth over many of the changes occurring within communities. This study thus examined the age structure of a selected group of new destination communities, both before and after they became new destinations. Age effects associated with these migrant flows appeared in all four sub samples: for the entire sample, communities outside MSAs, communities in the South and communities in the Heartland. On an aggregate level, migrants appear to restore the balance of an irregular age structure, yet there were substantial regional differences. The evidence suggests that voids in the working age population were more likely to be a factor for becoming a new immigrant destination in the Heartland than in the South. These differences were most likely tied to the fact that new destination communities were fairly clustered in the South, and more scattered throughout the Heartland. While the selected communities outside Metropolitan areas did not reveal age voids -relative to the non-MSA population- prior to becoming new destinations, the overall non-MSA population displayed fewer than average of working age individuals and thus the immigrant influx into non these communities tended to restore a sense of normalcy to their age structures relative to that of the nation.

Lastly, new destinations in the South tended to have a higher concentrations of immigrant labor in a few industries whereas the more traditional destinations had a wider diversity of industries, yet this

pattern was less clear for the communities in the Heartland. While the types of industries varied across PUMAs, in both new and traditional destinations, the percentage of the immigrant population from the Americas employed in top industries was considerably higher, approximately 20%, in Georgia and North Carolina than in any of the traditional states. The new destination PUMAs in the Heartland, on the other hand, did not reveal the same pattern of industrial clustering of immigrants.

These patterns provide descriptive support to the hypothesis that industrial changes and economic incentives were a larger factor for the establishment of new destination communities in the South than in Heartland. Whereas the descriptive trends suggest that age patterns, particularly a lack of working age individuals, would have had greater potential to influence the development of new destinations in the Heartland than the South. While the causal factors leading to the development of these new destinations is virtually impossible to discern, the descriptive evidence shows that there undoubtedly were regional differences in the impact associated with the migrant influxes.

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Table 1 –Geographic Distribution of the Immigrant Cohorts 1985-1990 and 1995-2000, Sorted by Percentage Change

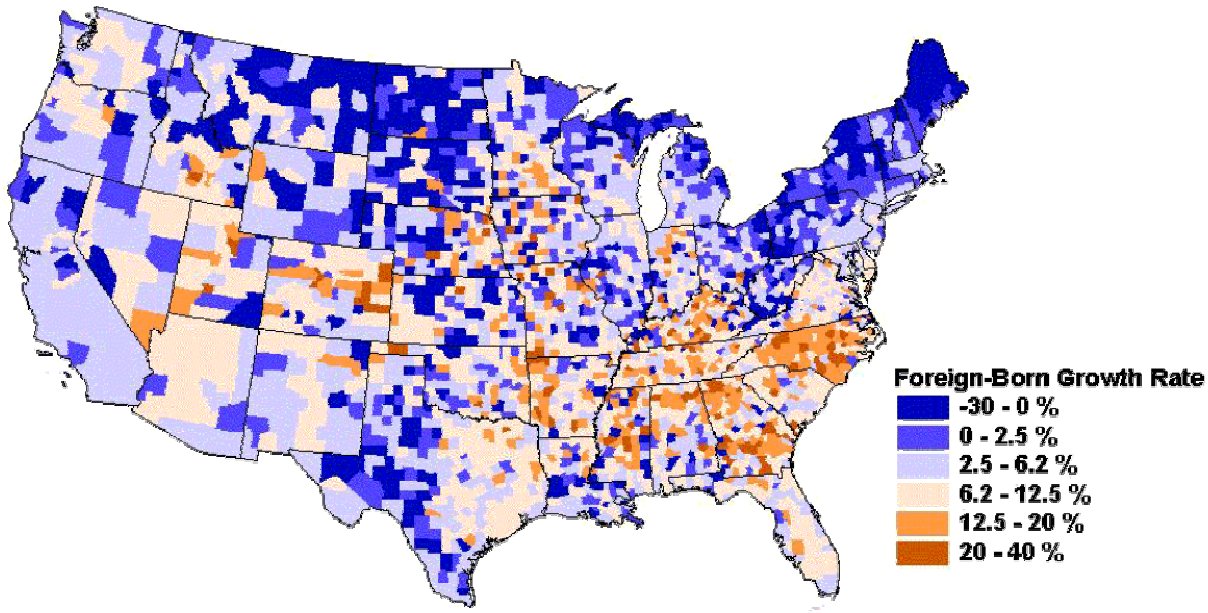
	Total who entered 1985-1990	Proportion who entered 1985-1990	Total who entered 1995-2000	Proportion who entered 1995-2000	Proportionate Difference
Nation	4,875,508	100.00	7,581,941	100.00	0.00
California	1,836,375	37.67	1,683,400	22.20	-15.46
Texas	346,024	7.10	791,434	10.44	3.34
New York	669,738	13.74	807,596	10.65	-3.09
Georgia	54,149	1.11	228,337	3.01	1.90
North Carolina	31,761	0.65	185,903	2.45	1.80
Florida	338,333	6.94	615,475	8.12	1.18
Arkansas	71,875	1.47	198,402	2.62	1.14
Colorado	33,332	0.68	133,066	1.76	1.07
Michigan	58,225	1.19	152,282	2.01	0.81
Illinois	213,642	4.38	391,875	5.17	0.79
Washington	75,686	1.55	162,042	2.14	0.58
Minnesota	30,150	0.62	88,355	1.17	0.55
Nevada	27,077	0.56	80,414	1.06	0.51
Tennessee	15,345	0.31	61,356	0.81	0.49
Utah	15,429	0.32	60,200	0.79	0.48
Indiana	20,397	0.42	67,472	0.89	0.47
Oregon	38,409	0.79	86,158	1.14	0.35
South Carolina	10,978	0.23	43,140	0.57	0.34
Missouri	18,777	0.39	53,509	0.71	0.32
Ohio	45,314	0.93	93,704	1.24	0.31
Pennsylvania	67,640	1.39	126,577	1.67	0.28
Massachusetts	135,850	2.79	191,416	2.52	-0.26
Hawaii	9,395	0.19	33,890	0.45	0.25
Kentucky	16,788	0.34	45,343	0.60	0.25
Oklahoma	37,111	0.76	38,638	0.51	-0.25
Virginia	95,083	1.95	165,932	2.19	0.24
Arizona	6,317	0.13	27,516	0.36	0.23
Kansas	18,795	0.39	46,827	0.62	0.23
Nebraska	25,325	0.52	56,729	0.75	0.23
Wisconsin	6,030	0.12	26,471	0.35	0.23
Iowa	13,144	0.27	35,941	0.47	0.20
Alabama	11,374	0.23	31,872	0.42	0.19
DC	20,658	0.42	22,348	0.29	-0.13
Rhode Island	21,763	0.45	24,195	0.32	-0.13
New Mexico	16,183	0.33	33,660	0.44	0.11
Connecticut	52,178	1.07	88,858	1.17	0.10
Delaware	4,435	0.09	13,309	0.18	0.08
New Jersey	218,167	4.47	345,031	4.55	0.08
Mississippi	5,101	0.10	13,243	0.17	0.07
Idaho	8,558	0.18	17,628	0.23	0.06
New Hampshire	6,295	0.13	13,769	0.18	0.05
Maryland	87,899	1.80	133,286	1.76	-0.04
South Dakota	1,611	0.03	5,083	0.07	0.03
Vermont	2,255	0.05	5,679	0.07	0.03
Alaska	6,160	0.13	7,754	0.10	-0.02
Louisiana	17,254	0.35	25,303	0.33	-0.02
North Dakota	2,006	0.04	4,553	0.06	0.02
Maine	2,328	0.05	3,033	0.04	-0.01
Montana	4,579	0.09	6,550	0.09	-0.01
Wyoming	1,498	0.03	2,831	0.04	0.01
West Virginia	2,712	0.06	4,556	0.06	0.00

Source: Census 2000, STF 3

Table 2. Changes in the Geography of the Mexican Population across two Immigrant Cohorts				
	Distribution of the Mexican Population, by State and Immigrant Cohort		Proportion of a State's Foreign-Born Population from Mexico, by Cohort	
	1985-1990	1995-2000	1985-1990	1995-2000
Nation	100%	100%	25.93%	33.50%
Traditional States:				
Arizona	3.6	5.6	62.4	72.4
California	61.4	31.1	42.1	46.0
Florida	1.8	2.8	5.9	11.8
Illinois	6.1	6.8	34.9	43.0
New Jersey	0.6	1.2	2.9	8.5
New York	1.8	2.4	3.1	7.1
Texas	14.9	20.4	53.2	64.7
South:				
Alabama	0.0	0.4	2.5	35.2
Arkansas	0.1	0.5	15.8	57.4
Georgia	0.8	3.7	17.5	44.3
Kentucky	0.0	0.3	0.3	24.0
Louisiana	0.1	0.1	3.3	14.1
Mississippi	0.0	0.2	2.5	31.9
Missouri	0.1	0.4	5.5	17.9
North Carolina	0.4	3.7	13.2	53.1
South Carolina	0.1	0.7	7.4	44.1
Tennessee	0.1	0.8	4.0	35.6
Virginia	0.3	0.6	3.8	9.6
Heartland:				
Colorado	0.8	3.0	27.1	61.2
Indiana	0.1	1.0	7.5	41.3
Iowa	0.1	0.4	7.7	31.9
Kansas	0.4	0.9	24.4	51.5
Michigan	0.3	1.0	5.7	16.0
Minnesota	0.1	0.7	4.4	19.7
Nebraska	0.1	0.4	16.8	39.6
Ohio	0.1	0.3	1.5	7.8
Oklahoma	0.3	0.9	23.8	51.4
Wisconsin	0.22	0.91	9.99	41.56

Source: Census PUMS files 1990 & 2000
Note: The above tables exclude individuals who were US citizens at birth. The information is based on the question asking for year of entry for Foreign-Born individuals. The 1985-1990 information comes from the 1990 files, while the 1995-2000 information is from the 2000 files.

Figure 1. County-Level Growth Rates of the Foreign-Born Population: 1990-2000



Source: U.S. Censuses 1990 & 2000, STF 3

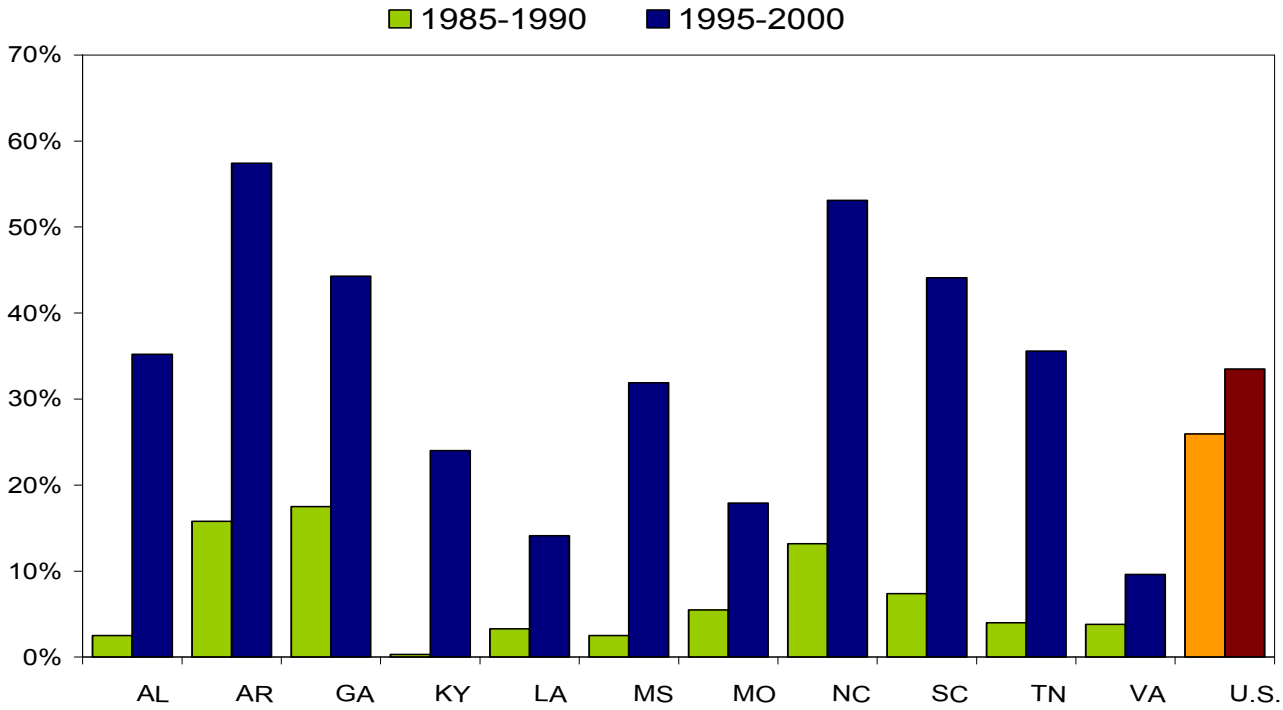
6.2% represents the mean growth within all counties, 12.9% is one standard deviation above the mean.

Table 3.
Descriptive Background on the New Destination Communities, Broken into Categories

	1990 Sex Ratio	2000 Sex Ratio	Annual Growth Rate
Nation	**0.9511**	**0.9629**	**1.24%**
All New Destinations (N=128)	0.9356	0.9687	2.17%
South (N=82)	0.9304	0.9653	2.41%
Heartland (N=35)	0.9571	0.9942	1.33%
Outside MSAs (N=96)	0.9328	0.9791	1.96%

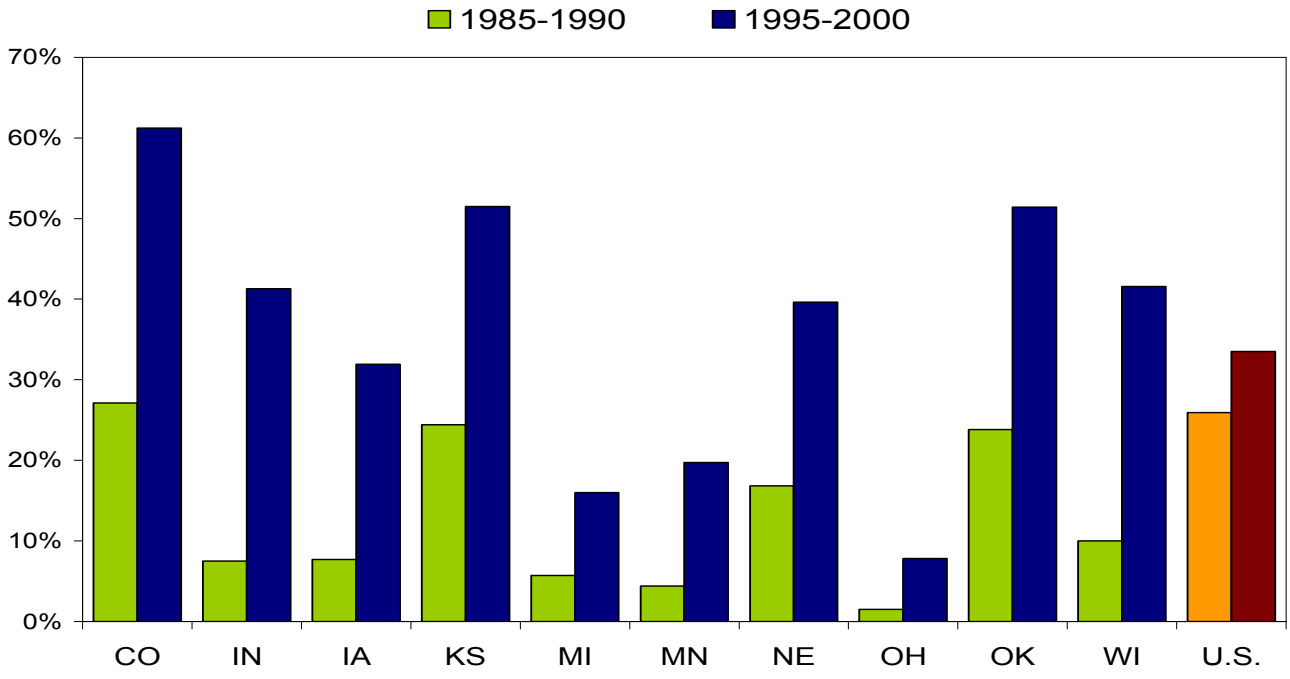
Source: Census Summary Tape 3 files from 1990 and 2000.

Figure 3.
Southern States Proportion of the Foreign-Born Population from Mexico, By Immigrant Cohort



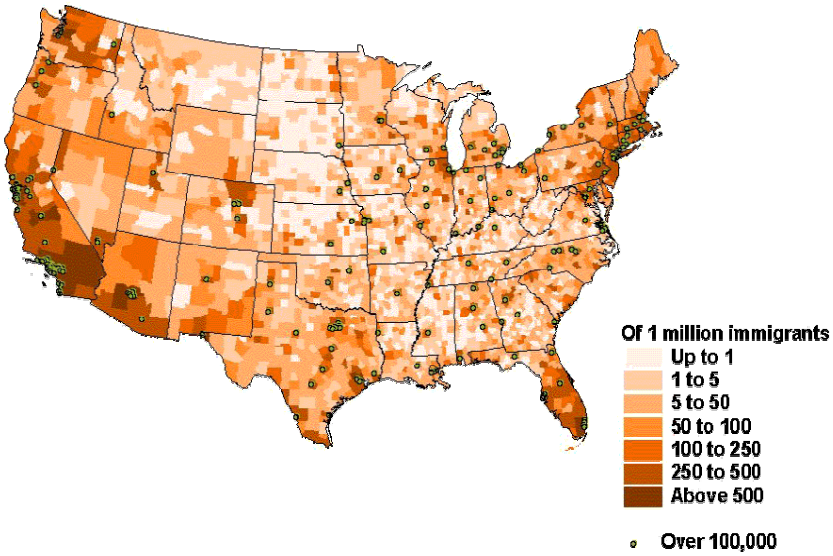
Source: Census PUMS files

Figure 3.
Heartland States Proportion of the Foreign-Born Population from Mexico, By Immigrant Cohort



Source: Census PUMS files

Figure 4A
Immigration Rates to Individual Counties: 1985-1990



Close Up of the South: 1985-1990

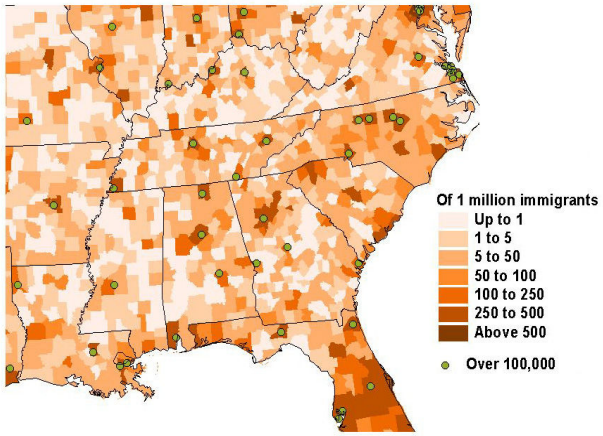
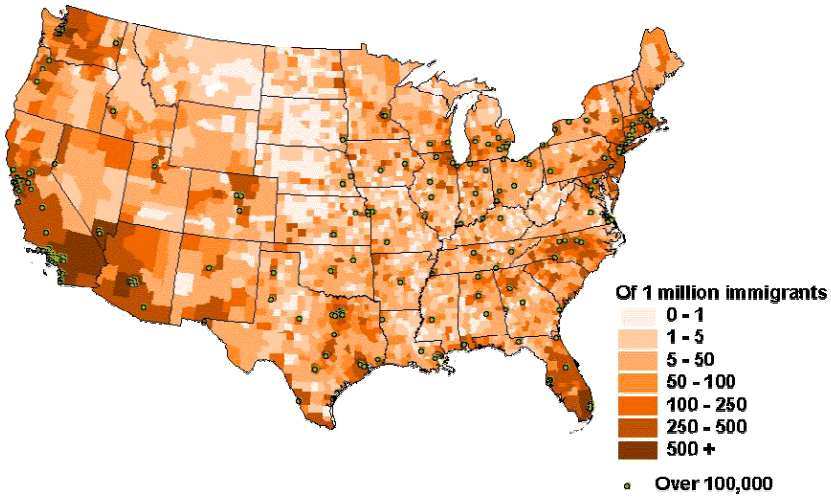


Figure 4B
Immigration Rates to Individual Counties: 1995-2000



Close Up of the South: 1995-2000

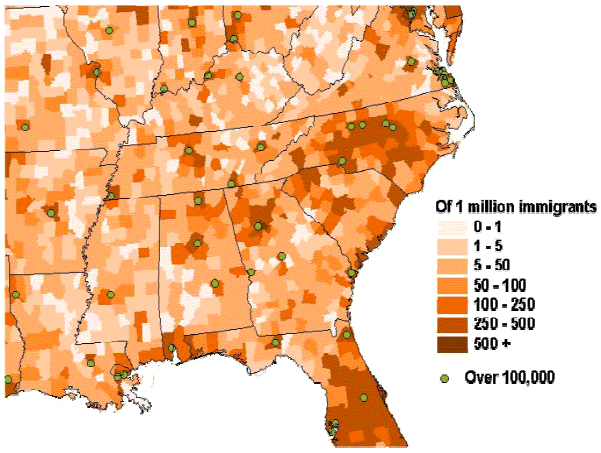
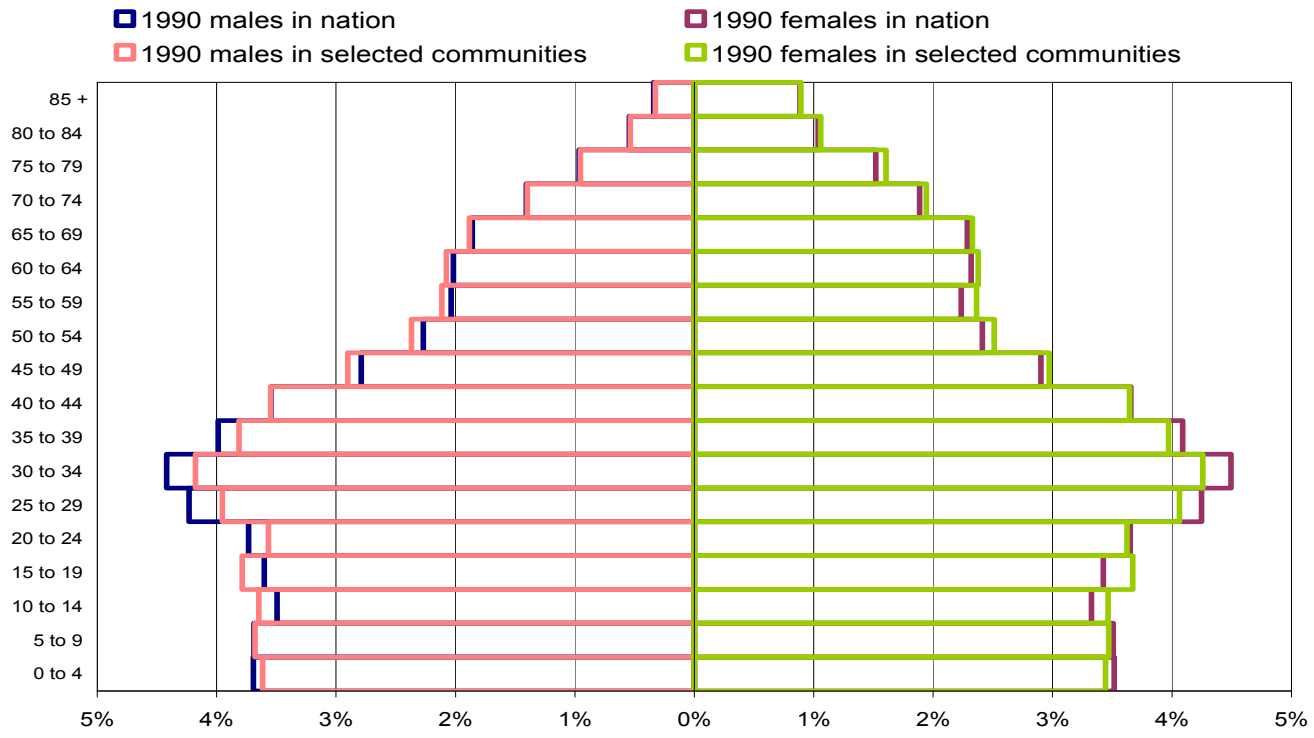
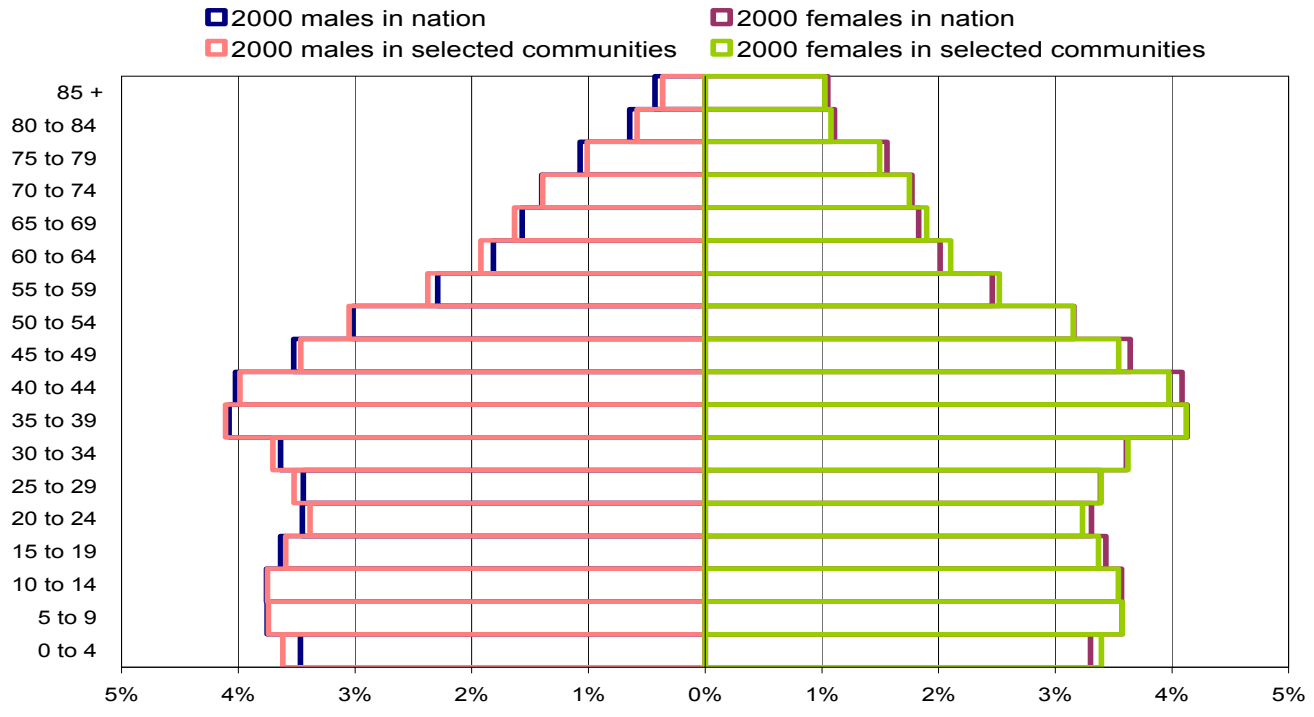


Figure 5A.
Age Structure in 1990 of selected communities, prior to becoming a New Destination, compared to the Nation



Source: Data from Census STF 3.
Note: The above is the age structure of 128 counties, prior to their becoming new destinations in 2000.

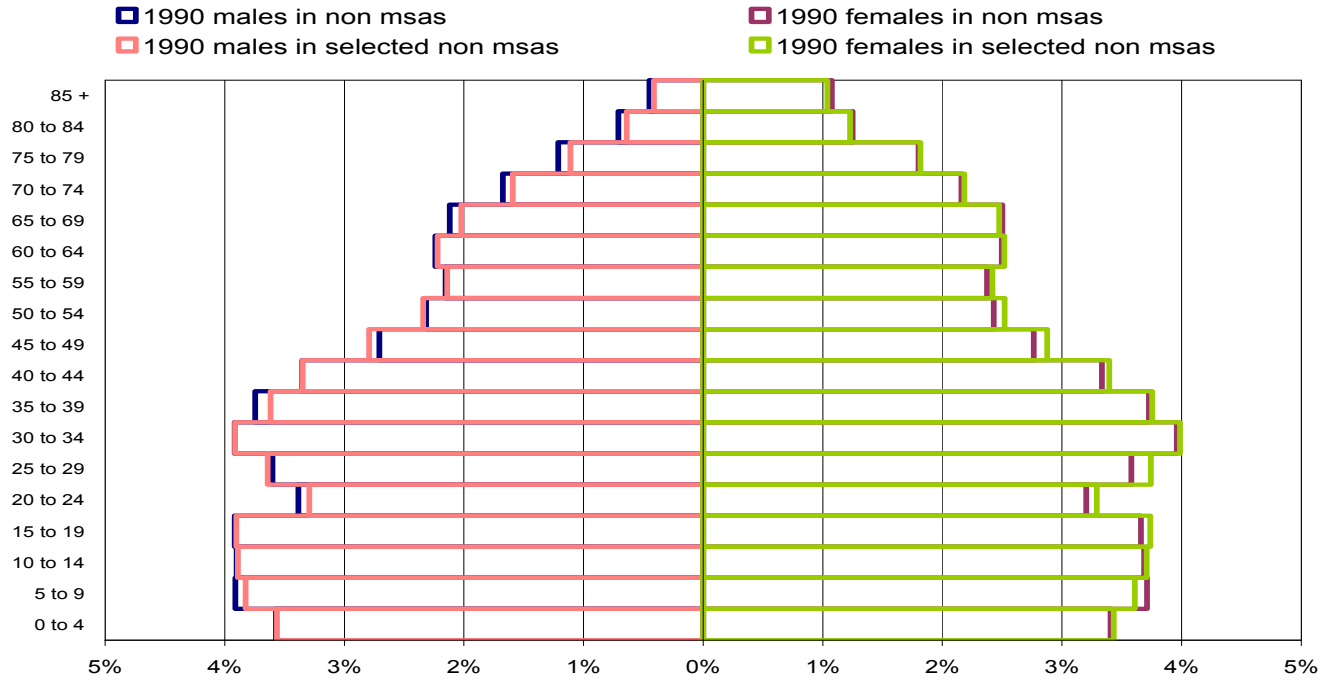
Figure 5B.
Age Structure in 2000 of selected communities, after becoming a New Destination, compared to the Nation



Source: Data from Census STF 3.
Note: The above is the age structure of 128 counties after they became new destinations.

Figure 6A.

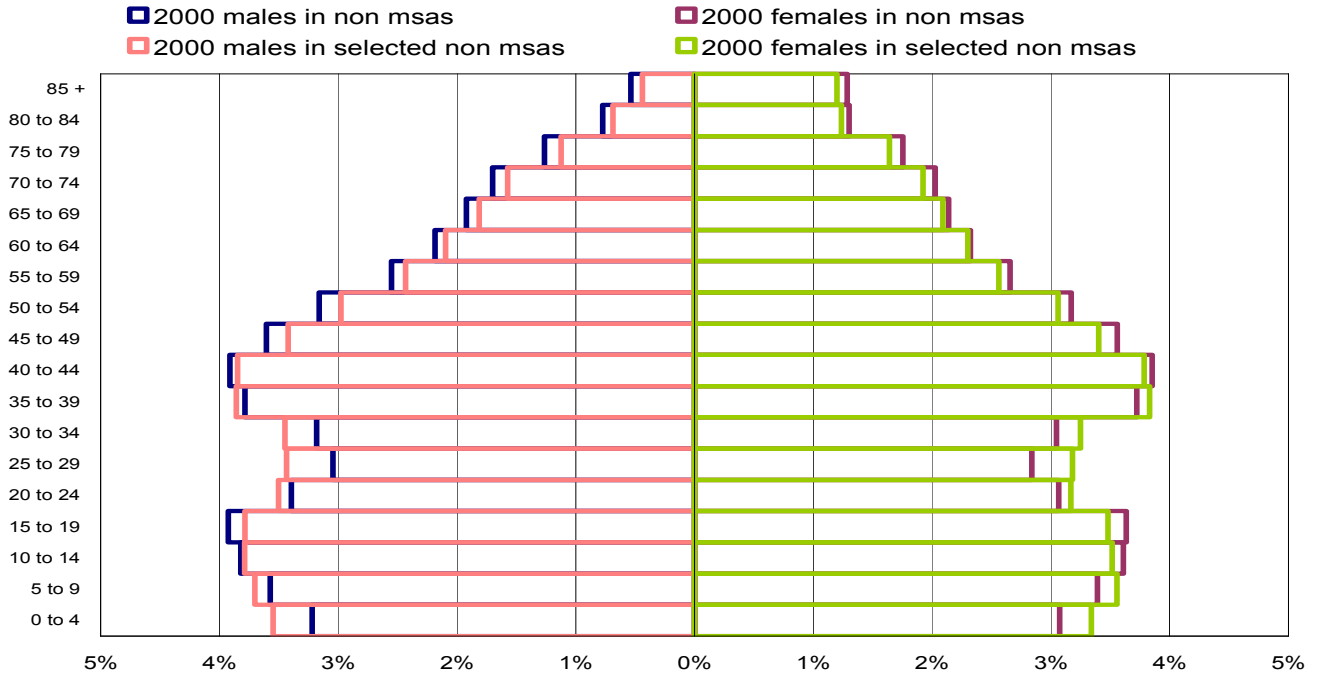
Age Structure in 1990 of non MSAs communities, prior to becoming a new destination, compared to the Non MSA Population



Source: Data from Census STF 3.
Note: The above is the age structure of 96 non MSA counties, prior to their becoming new destinations in 2000.

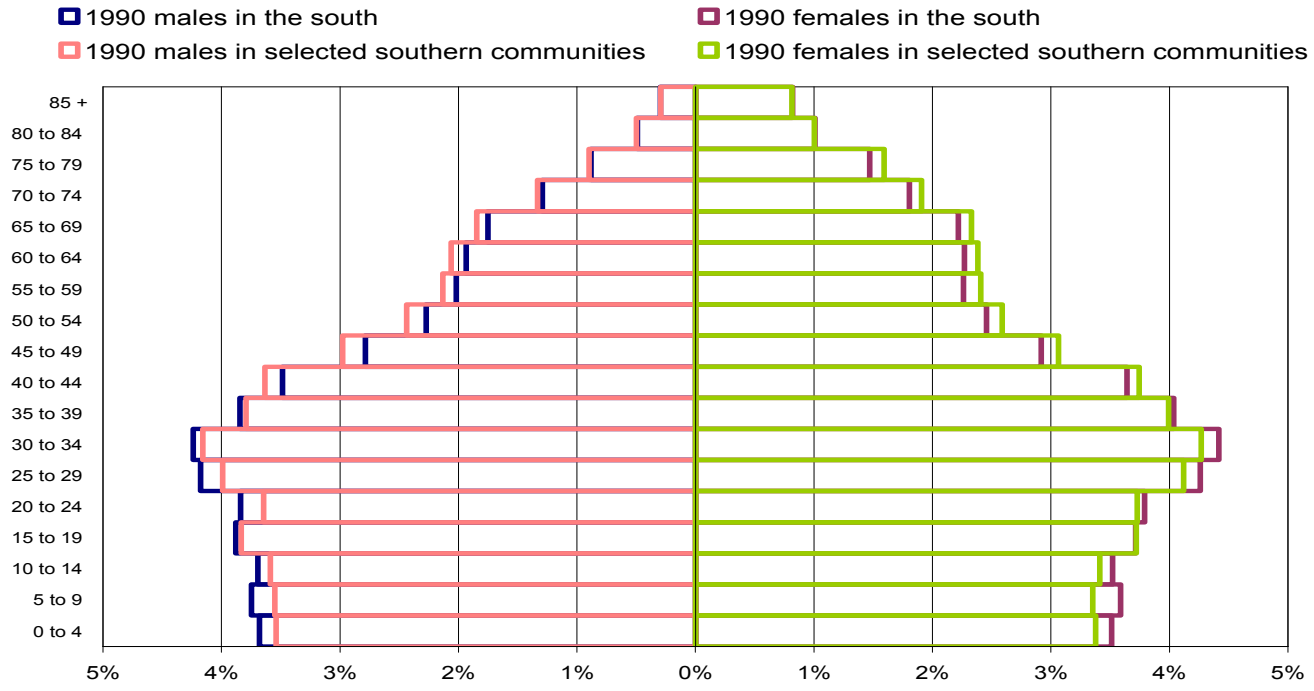
Figure 6B.

Age Structure in 2000 of non MSAs communities, after becoming a new destination, compared to the Non MSA Population



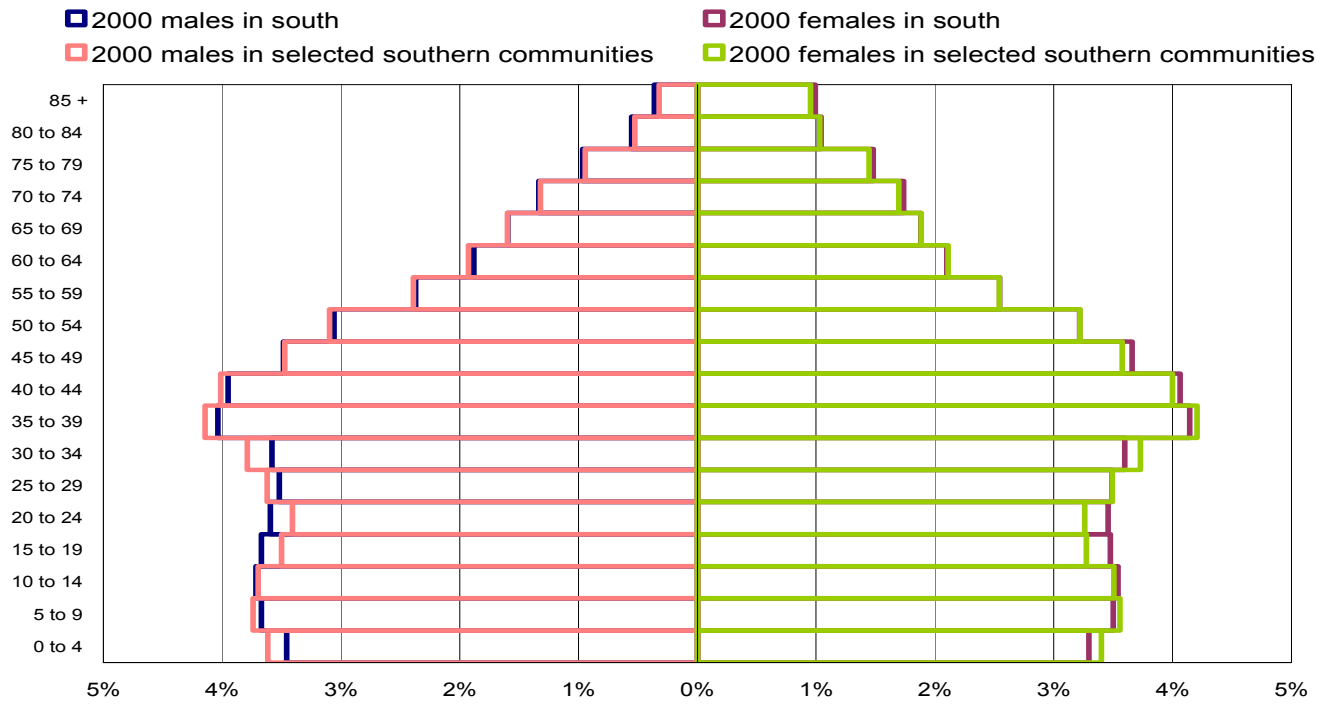
Source: Data from Census STF 3.
Note: The above is the age structure of 96 non MSA counties after they became new destinations.

Figure 7A.
Age Structure in 1990 of Southern communities, prior to becoming a new destination, compared to the South



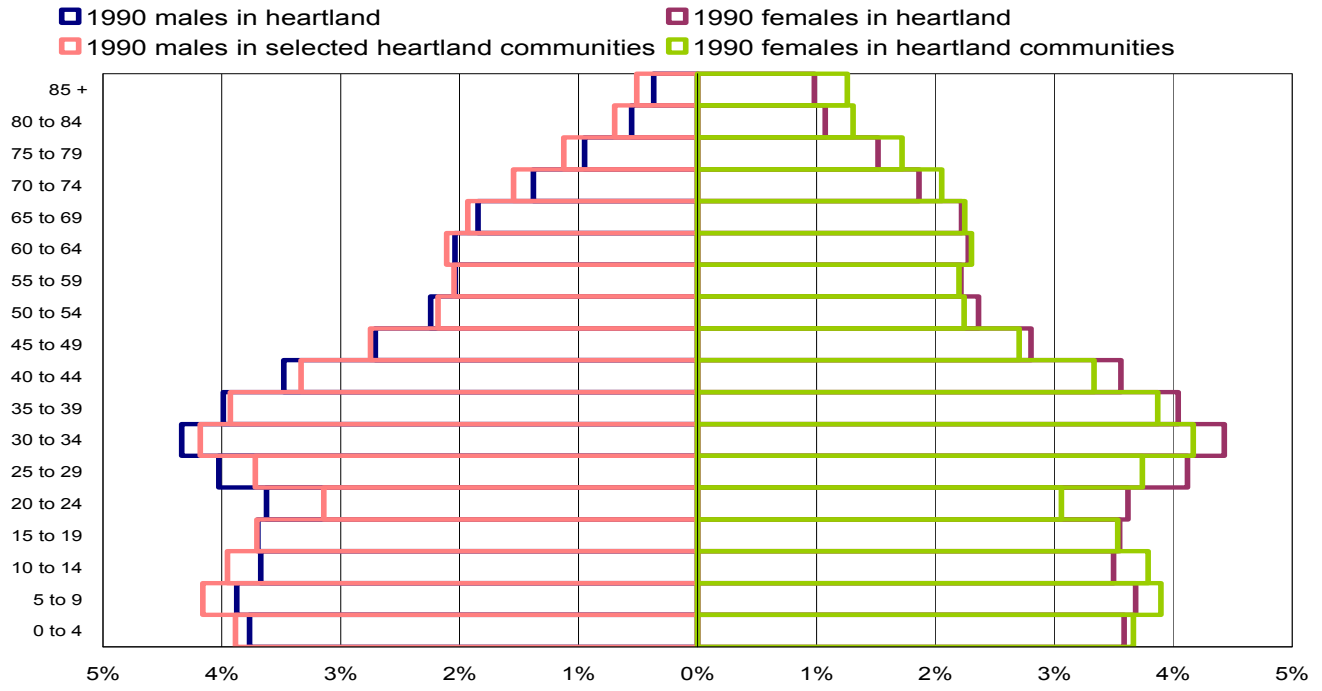
Source: Data from Census STF 3.
Note: The above is the age structure of 86 Southern counties prior to their becoming new destinations in 2000. The South Includes: Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia

Figure 7B.
Age Structure in 2000 of Southern communities, after becoming a new destination, compared to the South



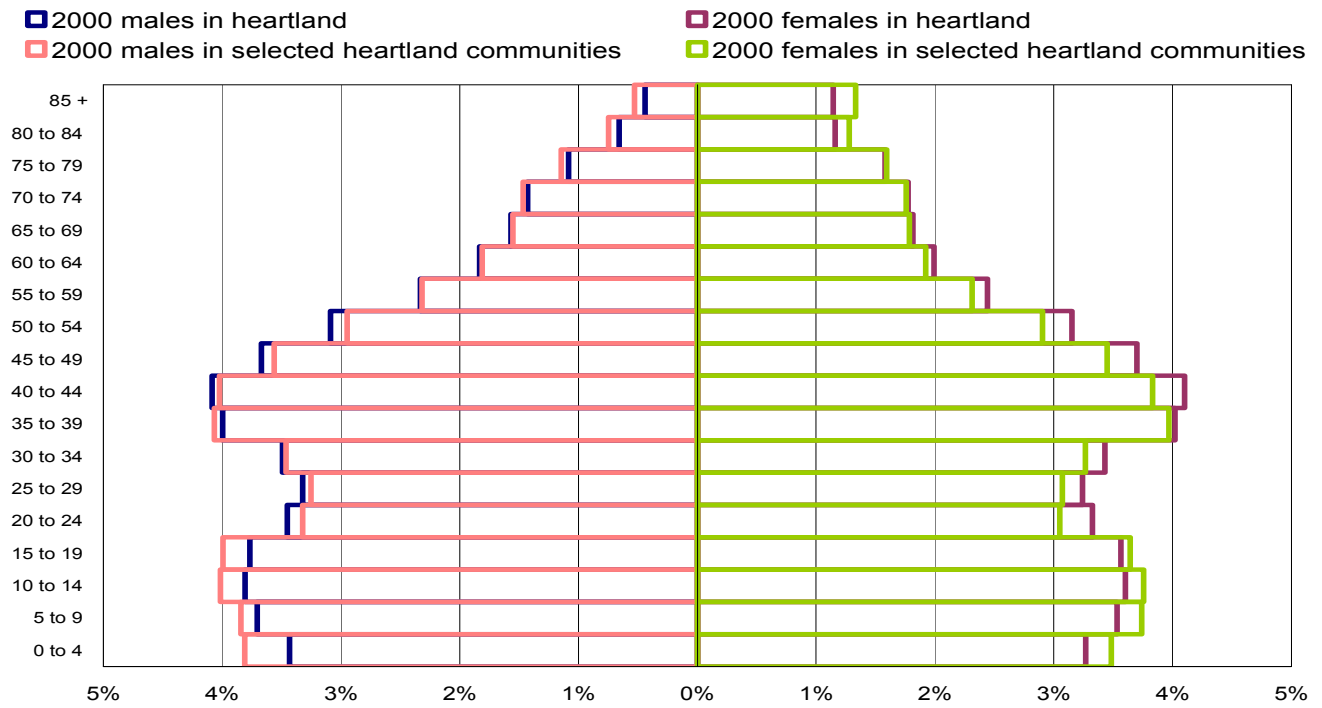
Source: Data from Census STF 3.
Note: The above is the age structure of 86 Southern counties prior to their becoming new destinations in 2000. The South Includes: Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia

Figure 8A.
Age Structure in 1990 of Heartland communities, prior to becoming a new destination, compared to the Heartland



Source: Data from Census STF 3.
Note: The above is the age structure of 35 Heartland counties prior to their becoming new destinations in 2000.
The Heartland Includes: Colorado, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, Ohio, Oklahoma, and Wisconsin

Figure 8B.
Age Structure in 2000 of Heartland communities, after becoming a new destination, compared to the Heartland



Source: Data from Census STF 3.
Note: The above is the age structure of 35 Heartland counties after they become new destinations by 2000.
The Heartland Includes: Colorado, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, Ohio, Oklahoma, and Wisconsin

Table 3.
New Destination States: Industrial Composition (%) of Mexican Males aged 15-65 who entered between 1995-2000

Georgia		North Carolina		Colorado	
Construction	40.54	Construction	35.98	Construction	38.41
Agriculture	10.72	Agriculture	10.74	Eating and Drinking Places	14.79
Eating and Drinking Places	9.45	Eating and Drinking Places	6.46	Agriculture	9.19
Meat Products	5.12	Furniture and fixtures	5.61	Misc. business services	3.95
Misc. business services	2.07	Meat Products	4.00	Auto Repair Services and Garages	1.56
Carpets, rugs and other floor coverings	1.70	Misc. wood products	1.62	Food Stores, except dairy	1.40
Auto Repair Services and Garages	1.60	Printing Publishing and Allied Industries	1.47	Printing Publishing and Allied Industries	1.39
Yarn Thread and Fabric	1.35	Hotels and lodging places	1.34	Hotels and lodging places	1.15
Misc. wood products	1.11	Misc. professional and related	1.29	Educational Services	0.87
Hotels and lodging places	1.08	Misc. Chemicals and allied products	1.27	Misc. professional and related	0.85
N/A	5.12	N/A	5.93	N/A	8.94
Top 5: 67.89		Top 5: 62.79		Top 5: 67.90	
Top 10: 74.73		Top 10: 69.78		Top 10: 73.55	
Source:					

Table 4.
Traditional Destination States: Industrial Composition (%) of Mexican Males aged 15-65 who entered between 1995-2000

California		Texas	
Agriculture	18.04	Construction	33.32
Construction	15.40	Eating and Drinking Places	10.04
Eating and Drinking Places	11.57	Agriculture	6.59
Auto Repair Services and Garages	3.33	Auto Repair Services and Garages	3.35
Printing Publishing and Allied Industries	2.48	Food Stores, except dairy	1.94
Misc. business services	2.40	Misc. business services	1.81
Food Stores, except dairy	2.23	Fabricated Steel Products	1.39
Apparel and accessories	1.85	Misc. professional and related	1.32
Furniture and fixtures	1.80	Motor vehicles and accessories retailing	1.27
Misc. professional and related	1.75	Misc. Wholesale trade	1.25
N/A	11.11	N/A	10.28
Top 5: 50.83		Top 5: 55.24	
Top 10: 60.85		Top 10: 62.27	
Illinois		**Arizona**	
Eating and Drinking Places	18.55	Construction	26.75
Construction	11.07	Agriculture	14.76
Agriculture	6.88	Eating and Drinking Places	13.80
Printing Publishing and Allied Industries	5.05	Auto Repair Services and Garages	4.33
Misc. professional and related	4.36	Misc. business services	2.51
Food Stores, except dairy	2.85	Misc. entertainment and recreation services	1.65
Auto Repair Services and Garages	2.79	Printing Publishing and Allied Industries	1.37
Fabricated Steel Products	2.46	Misc. Wholesale trade	1.31
Misc. Chemicals and allied products	2.35	Misc. professional and related	1.28
Misc. business services	2.04	Hotels and lodging places	1.17
N/A	9.62	N/A	11.42
Top 5: 45.91		Top 5: 59.64	
Top 10: 58.40		Top 10: 67.77	
Source:			

Table 5.
Average Proportion of Males age 15-65 from the Americas concentrated in the Top 5 and Top 10 Industries Within High-Immigrant PUMAs

	Top 5	Top 10
California (N=68)	53.38	68.27
Texas (N=33)	59.59	71.28
Illinois (N=16)	48.41	65.10
Arizona (N=8)	64.35	75.25
North Carolina (N=5)	73.21	85.83
Georgia (N=10)	76.23	88.26
Colorado (N=6)	66.44	77.10
Other Heartland (N=6)	57.65	72.50

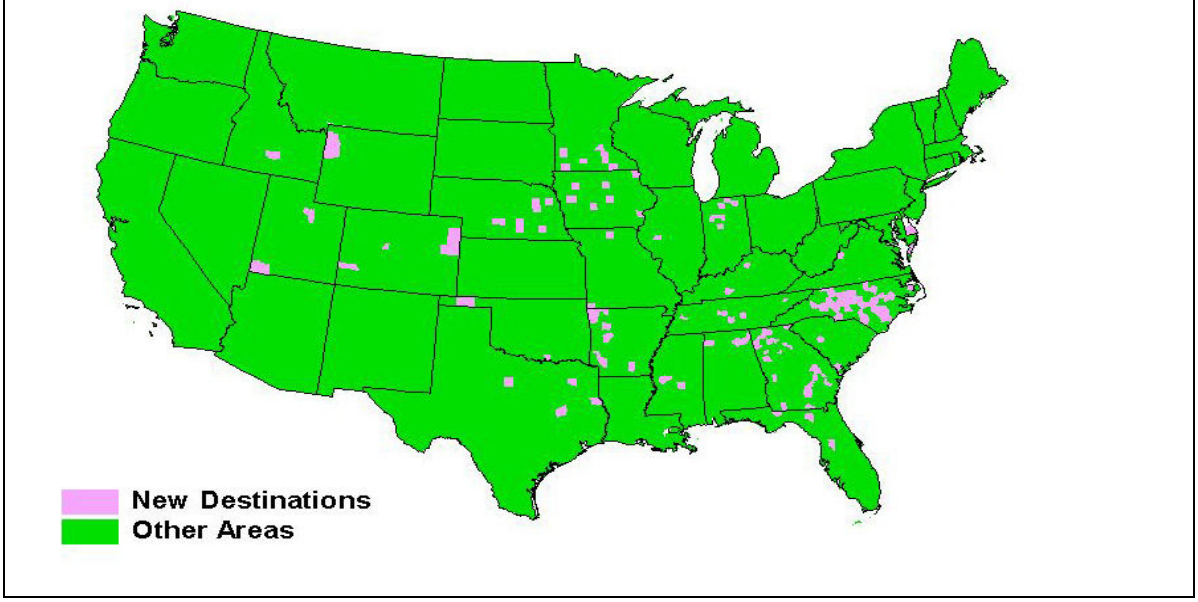
Source: Census 2000 PUMS files
Note: This sample contains PUMAs, Public Use Microdata Area, in the above areas that had high concentrations of immigrants entering from 1995 to 2000 (proportions greater than 1 standard deviation above the mean); The analysis looks at the industries employing male immigrants from the Americas aged 15-65 who entered between 1995 and 2000, and takes the average across PUMAs.

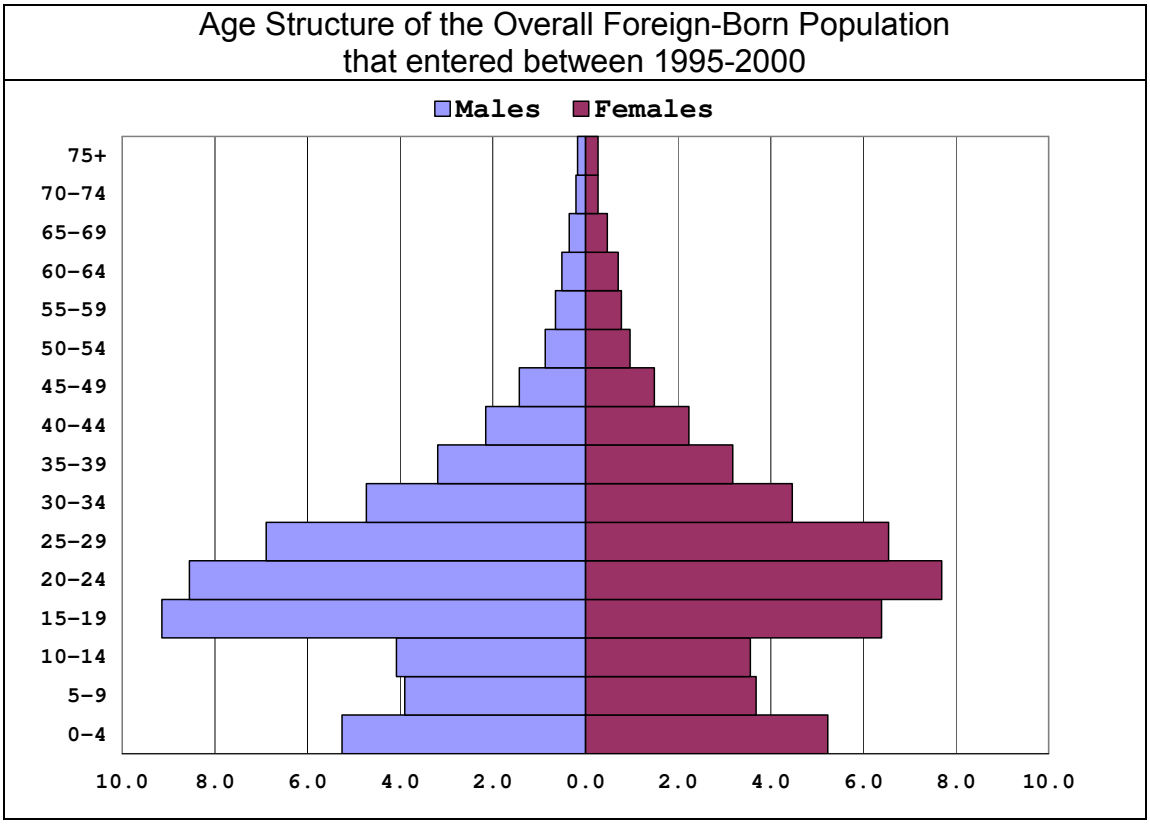
APPENDIX:

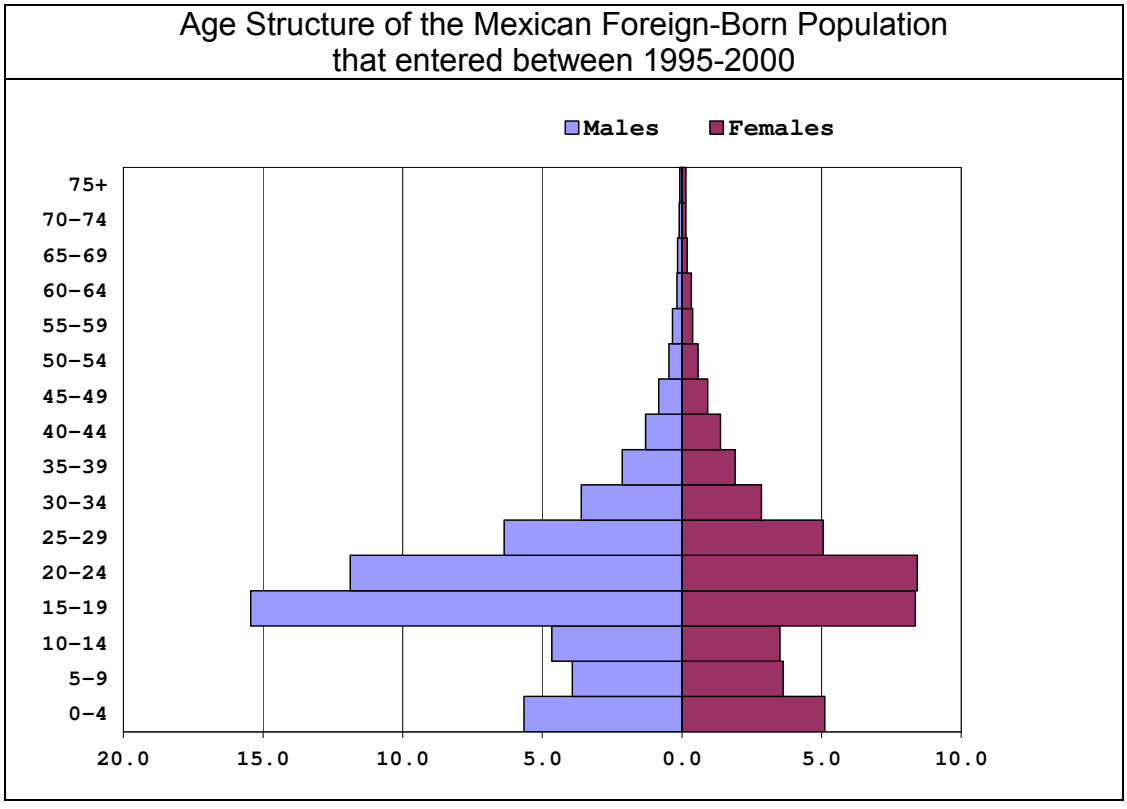
List of Counties Defined as New Destinations:

Alabama: DeKalb County, Franklin County, Marshall County; **Arkansas:** Benton County, Bradley County, Carroll County, Hempstead County, Howard County, Johnson County, Washington County, Yell County; **Georgia:** Atkinson County, Barrow County, Candler County, Cherokee County, Coffee County, Coweta County, Douglas County, Echols County, Emanuel County, Evans County, Floyd County, Forsyth County, Gilmer County, Gordon County, Grady County, Jeff Davis County, Long County, Marion County, Murray County, Oconee County, Polk County, Rabun County, Rockdale County, Toombs County, **Kentucky:** Shelby County, Warren County, **Mississippi**: Scott County, Yazoo County; **Missouri:** McDonald County, Sullivan County; **North Carolina:** Alamance County, Alleghany County, Burke County, Cabarrus County, Catawba County, Chatham County, Davidson County, Duplin County, Forsyth County, Franklin County, Granville County, Greene County, Guilford County, Harnett County, Hoke County, Iredell County, Johnston County, Lee County, Lincoln County, Montgomery County, Pender County, Pitt County, Randolph County, Robeson County, Rowan County, Sampson County, Surry County, Tyrrell County, Union County, Wilson County, Yadkin County; **South Carolina:** Jasper County, Saluda County; **Tennessee:** Bedford County, Crockett County, Hamblen County, Warren County, Williamson County; **Virginia**: Accomack County, Bath County, Galax city; **Idaho:** Lincoln County, **Oklahoma:** Marshall County, Texas County, **Illinois:** Cass County, **Indiana:** Clinton County, Elkhart County, Marshall County, Noble County, White County; **Iowa** Allamakee County, Buena Vista County, Crawford County, Dallas County, Franklin County, Louisa County, Marshall County, **Minnesota:** Lyon County, Mower County, Nobles County, Rice County, Scott County, Steele County, Watonwan County, **Nebraska:** Adams County, Cuming County, Dawson County, Hall County, Madison County, Platte County, Saline County, **Colorado:** Kit Carson County, Lake County, San Miguel County, Yuma County, **Delaware:** New Castle County, **Florida:** Gadsden County, Sumter County, Suwannee County, **Texas:** Leon County, Shelby County, Stephens County, Wood County, **Utah:** Wasatch County, Washington County

Map of Selected New Destinations (N=128)




Age Structure of the Overall Foreign-Born Population
that entered between 1995-2000
Males
Females
75+
70–74
65–69
60–64
55–59
50–54
45–49
40–44
35–39
30–34
25–29
20–24
15–19
10–14
5–9
0–4
10.0
8.0
6.0
4.0
2.0
0.0
2.0
4.0
6.0
8.0
10.0


Age Structure of the Mexican Foreign-Born Population
that entered between 1995-2000
Males
Females
75+
70–74
65–69
60–64
55–59
50–54
45–49
40–44
35–39
30–34
25–29
20–24
15–19
10–14
5–9
0–4
20.0
15.0
10.0
5.0
0.0
5.0
10.0