"Cities of Immigrants: Intraurban Mobility Patterns of Mexican Immigrants in Gateway Cities"*

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The 2000 U.S. Census identified the impact of immigration upon a number of emerging gateway cities. Little is known, however, about the spatial mobility and work-seeking experiences of recent migrants and immigrants in these metropolitan centers. Specifically, where they live at the outset, what governs their search behavior for employment, how far they mobilize social capital in the first few months, and about their medium- to long-term employment trajectories. Similarly little is known about their parallel residential trajectories, as they move from being sharers or renters upon arrival to later tenure housing arrangements as they become settled in the medium- to long-term. Whereas considerable information is available about immigrants arriving to the United States and then traveling to and from Illinois or California, or between metropolitan cities such as Chicago and Los Angeles, little is known about the intraurban migratory patterns of immigrants in Texas. This study addresses these remaining questions about how

immigrants settle and adjust within metropolitan areas in terms of spatial mobility at different stages in their lives.

Introduction

During the 1990s more than 1.3 million immigrants settled in the United States each year. By 2000 the U.S. Census estimated that over 31 million immigrants lived in the United States, an estimated 11.1 percent of the total population. The dramatic increase in immigration during the 1990s surpassed earlier immigration waves and continues to grow. Between January 2000 and March 2002, 3.3 million additional immigrants arrived. In 2004, the March CPS showed 10.6 million people born in Mexico. Data from the Pew Hispanic Center estimate that this figure represents more than a 13-fold increase over the 1970 census. These newly arrived immigrants are primarily Hispanic in origin and to a lesser extent Asian. The majority of the increase has been attributed to Mexican foreign-born immigrants, who make up more than one-third of the total foreign-born population.[1] All together Latin American immigrants, including Central American, Caribbean and South American immigrants, account for 52.2 percent of the total foreign-born population, estimated at 32.4 million in March 2002 and 31 million in 2000. Among other groups, Asian immigrants were the second largest majority and made up 25.5 percent of the foreign-born population; European immigrants, 14 percent; and the remaining 8.3 were from Africa and other regions.[2]

Despite the sheer number of immigrants, the increase in immigration during the 1990s is most remarkable because it has dramatically changed the demographic make-up of the U.S. population and its metropolitan areas. With the growth in Latin American

immigration, the 2000 census showed that Hispanics are now the largest minority group in the United States. In twenty years, the Latino population doubled in size between 1980 and 2000. In 1980 about 14.6 million people were identified as "Hispanic" [3] (6.4 percent of the total population); by 1990 this number had grown by 53 percent to 22.4 million people (9.0 percent of the total population); and by 2000 the Hispanic population totaled 35.3 million people, or 12.5 percent of the total U.S. population.[4] By March 2002 the Current Population Survey (CPS) estimated that one in eight people in the United States were of Hispanic origin, totaling 37.4 million Latinos in the civilian noninstitutionalized population.[5] This dramatic increase in the Hispanic population has been attributed to both high levels of immigration from Latin America and relatively high fertility levels of foreign-born immigrants. As the proportion of the Hispanic population increased by nearly twice its size in twenty years, these significant demographic trends have changed the racial and ethnic composition of the United States. By the end of the 1990s not only did the Hispanic population become the largest minority group in the United States, it surpassed all other minority groups, such as African Americans, which made up 12.3 percent of the total population. At the same time, the Hispanic population overcame the White non-Hispanic population, which grew by only 12.3 percent between 1980 and 2000.[6]

The demographic shift in the numbers of Hispanics and foreign-born immigrants is most visible in U.S. metropolitan areas. Whereas the vast majority of newly arrived immigrants still continue to settle in urban areas in the West and South such as the more traditional gateway cities of Los Angeles or San Francisco, an unprecedented number has begun settling in what has been called "emerging" gateway cities such as Las Vegas, Atlanta, Austin, Dallas, and Raleigh. Some of these places were previously unaccustomed

to high levels of immigration. For example, in Atlanta the foreign-born population increased by over 200 percent. In Austin, the foreign-born population increased by over 175 percent and continues to grow. In both Raleigh and Austin immigrants were attracted to a strong growth economy during the 1990s based on established information technology firms, services and construction industries, and major state universities. In larger cities such as Dallas, the foreign-born population increased by over 130 percent during the 1990s, attracted to a strong regional economy based on a wide range of industries, such as distribution, financial services, and construction sectors.

Generally speaking, gateway cities are those places where immigrants work and reside in the host country. Immigrants are attracted to them because of their resources and location, social networks, ethnic enclaves, industry mix, labor markets, and opportunities. Historically, the traditional gateway cities of the United States--New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, San Francisco, Washington, and Miami--are large metropolitan areas of 1 million or more in population. These large metropolitan areas attracted the majority of foreign-born immigrants to the United States, and still do. Since the 1950s, half of all Hispanic immigrants continue to be located in sixteen established Latino metros, including Chicago, Los Angeles, Miami, and New York. During the period 1980-2000, the population of these established metros continued to account for over 50 percent of foreign-born Hispanics although the rate of population increase grew at a slower rate--from 20 percent in 1980 to 32 percent by 2000—compared to other areas.[7] New York, Chicago, Philadelphia and Los Angeles increased their foreign-born population between 13 percent and 38 percent only. In fact, cities such as Los Angeles (13 percent) and Miami (0.80 percent) registered slower growth in the 1990s than in the 1980s. Moreover,

researcher William Frey estimates that whereas the nation's largest metropolitan areas gained the greatest number of immigrants, they also lost the largest number of domestic migrants. One-fifth of the leading U.S. metropolitan areas, such as Dallas, Texas, recorded an overall population decline in the Anglo population. In this area and others, the influx of Latino immigrants has served to revitalize areas that were experiencing slow growth or population flight, boosting the population of these areas.[8]

The immigration history of the United States reflects the changing nature of immigration waves and their settlement patterns. During the early twentieth century Jews and Germans, and then Italians and Jews, tended to settle in the northeastern United States because of established communities and transportation networks. With the changes in the immigration quotas and immigration law, promoting family reunification, the 1970s saw an influx of Latin American and Asian immigrants. Because of the proximity to Latin America, a select number of states, California, New York and Florida, have attracted the majority of foreign-born immigrants to the United States since the 1970s. Since its earliest beginnings in the nineteenth century, the regional distribution of the Hispanic population and foreign-born Mexican immigrants has remained relatively stable. Since the 1950s, half of all Hispanic immigrants continue to be located in sixteen established Latino metros, including Los Angeles, Miami, and New York. The vast majority of Hispanics and foreign-born Mexicans continued to reside primarily in the western and southern regions, with the exception of Puerto Ricans in New York and Cubans in Florida. In 2000 immigration trends started to change as states with the highest number of foreign-born Mexicans in 2000 were California (3,928,701), Texas (1,879,369), Illinois (617,828), Arizona (617,828), and Georgia (190,621). During the 1990s the increase in the Mexican foreign-born

population in California (59 %), Texas (107 %), and Illinois (119 %) was not the highest that occurred in the United States. The most remarkable increases occurred in other areas, such as North Carolina (1865%), Georgia (839%), and Colorado (430%). In contrast, other regions, such as the Northeast and the Midwest continued to register the lowest share of Hispanics. The decade also saw the increase in a more diverse immigration to the United States of other Hispanic population groups from the Dominican Republic and Central and South America.[9] Individuals from El Salvador arrived in the United States during the 1980sas political refugees. By the 1990s El Salvadorians were the second largest Hispanic immigrant group in the United States.

The growth of the Mexican foreign-born population in these "emerging" gateway cities and states presents ample opportunities for new areas of urban research on immigrants. In the last thirty years considerable attention on traditional gateway cities has concentrated on assimilation, social networks, socioeconomic characteristics, labor markets and wage trends, ethnic entrepreneurship, residential segregation, health care, and education. However, a considerable gap in the immigration literature still exists regarding the residential and mobility patterns of immigrants. What are the patterns of settlement within urban areas (renters vs. homeowners, central city vs. suburb, ethnic enclave vs. non spatial communities) of Mexican immigrants in emerging gateway cities? And are these similar to those in traditional gateway cities? What socioeconomic characteristics or experiences allow immigrants to enjoy a certain level of upper mobility in terms of homeownership? Do those immigrants who arrived during the 1990s have more or less opportunities than previous generations? With the continued growth of immigration in "emerging" gateway cities, these new metropolitan areas of research may provide a more

aggressive opportunity to study these questions than ever before. Yet they also raise additional questions. With this in mind, the key issues addressed here are: 1) What have been the patterns and experiences of immigrants in traditional gateway cities; 2) What are the patterns of "emerging" gateway cities?; and 3) What similarities or differences are revealed? Within this framework key research questions will also examine the relationships between the search for work behavior and the translation into spatial patterns of mobility and residence.

Settlement and Intrurban Mobility

The structure of settlement is important to our understanding of the assimilation patterns of immigrants in metropolitan areas over time as well as the racial and ethnic relations such patterns foster. Geographic boundaries organize relations among the native born and immigrants, shape their respective communities, [10] and influence the balance between race and ethnic relations, the attainment of social status, and the hierarchical subordination communities. As assimilation theorists note, residential mobility sorts and separates individuals into distinguishable subareas where neighborhoods can thus be ranked in terms of a congruent urban hierarchical system often characterized by a vertical structure of social stratification.[11] Whereas this study researches the intrauban mobility patterns of immigrants within metropolitan areas, it applies basic fundamental sociological approaches to the study of immigrant settlement. and will involve concepts such as social stratification and residential segregation. Current research overwhelmingly studies the settlement patterns of immigrants as connected to forms of residential segregation by examining the characteristics and statistics of immigrants through careful and painstaking analysis.

Another promising avenue to study settlement patterns is to apply basic methods to study communities as organizations, using traditional contextual and ethnographic techniques. This study will attempt to provide ample data on the characteristics of immigrants and statistics on current intraurban mobility patterns, however, the final analysis will extend the research into the complex physical and social components of communities through interviews to draw its final conclusions.

The settlement of immigrants in emerging gateway cities also presents ample opportunities for new research on the urban mobility patterns of immigrants and their impact upon space. Since the earliest immigrant waves, the foreign-born regardless of socioeconomic status have tended to settle in central city neighborhoods in largely urban areas because of the obvious availability of jobs, available housing, social networks, proximity to transportation facilities, and so on. Scholars have shown that the geographic propensity of immigrants has largely been determined by earlier immigrant settlers and factors such as social networks and the absolute size and establishment of communities (Lieberson and Waters 1988). Thus the demographic landscape of these "cities of immigrants" has been permanently changed by not only the absolute number of newcomers but by the social impact and residential restructuring that has taken place. Yet while some observers view the positive side of immigration and the assimilation of immigrants as a giant melting pot of societal contributions and economic gains, others observe a "balkanization" of cities taking place as established residents continue to move out of aging central cities to more prosperous areas. Thus research into the intraurban mobility patterns of immigrants in emerging gateway cities presents an avenue to further our understanding of the immigrant experience and to contribute to this ongoing debate.

The majority of immigration studies to date have drawn our attention toward select metropolitan areas, such as Los Angeles or Chicago, leaving the experiences of other metropolitan areas open for speculation. Much research has already been devoted to several of the largest metropolitan areas with the greatest number of foreign-born immigrants, namely, New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, San Francisco, and Miami. Yet the other large metropolitan areas with competing numbers of immigrants such as Houston, San Jose, San Diego, Phoenix, and Dallas have been left understudied. Houston, Texas, for example, has the third largest Hispanic community in the United States yet few scholars have documented the immigrant experience there.[12] The Dallas-Fort Worth metropolitan area with its adjoining cities of Irving, Arlington, Grand Prairie, Farmer's Branch, Carrollton, and Richardson among others is fast approaching the size of Los Angeles yet research is only now beginning to emerge.[13]

Despite the wealth of immigration studies that do exist across the discipline, few address the movement of immigrants within metropolitan areas in the United States. Generally speaking, assimilation perspectives--whether classical assimilation theory, cultural pluralism, segmented assimilation, or ethnic stratification—tend to focus on the significant characteristics of the adjustment and adaptation of immigrants to U.S. culture and society. In general it is assumed that immigrants settle in central city areas and in time either move outward toward more prosperous areas or remain subjected to prejudice and discrimination. And despite the primary differences between these approaches, as noted by Redstone and Massey, all of these approaches study the nature and pace of that adjustment assuming that over time all immigrants will assimilate in some fashion or another.

Considerable literature exists on the mobility patterns of migrants to Latin American cities and their settlement patterns (Ward 1998). However the recent change in population distribution patterns of immigrants in the United States, however, has started to draw more attention to this area of study. Previous research has focused on the residential segregation of immigrants and to a lesser extent homeownership and suburbanization patterns, although recently this trend has started to change with the research by Dowell Myers, Bruce Newbold, Xao Ling, Peter Ward, and other housing specialists. Nevertheless the concept of residential segregation has made important contributions not only to traditional assimilation and neighborhood studies in sociology but to other disciplines such as geography and planning.

The mobility patterns of urban populations are based on economic and demographic processes (Farley 1996). Young people tend to move more than older individuals since the costs of relocating, selling your home, and starting a new life are costly. Studies have shown that the push to move for most U.S. citizens since after World War II has been to acquire larger and newer homes (Farley 1996). Most migration experts note that there are both "push" and "pull" factors that motivate people to move. Jobs may be scarce in the point of departure, the home may be expensive, a child may have been recently born, or the neighborhood may be on the downside. At the same time a job offer, a newer and less expensive home, family and friends, or better school districts may pull an individual to a new location. Single individuals without children will opt to live closer to central city areas where there are more conveniences for single adults. In contrast, married households with children are more likely to live in more established

neighborhoods or in the suburbs with less traffic, better schools, less crime, and larger homes.

The intraurban mobility patterns of the foreign-born differ from those of the native born as immigrants face unique cultural, economic, and social challenges influenced by the ability or inability to speak English, varying educational skill levels and socioeconomic resources, and embedded, often limited mobility in ethnic enclave or entrepreneurial employment. Considering that the "foreign born" are a highly diverse and heterogeneous group, overwhelming evidence shows that for recent Mexican-born arrivals with low educational levels established social networks affect the mobility patterns of these immigrants. Immigrants with few language skills tend to settle in ethnic neighborhoods which are found in central cities. Other individuals with greater language skills, education, and earning capacity are more likely to settle in peripheral areas or in the suburbs. Nevertheless, the context of the metropolitan area, the quality of the school systems, the transportation networks and services also influence the spatial mobility of the both the foreign-born and native-born populations.

Data and Methods

The study is based on metropolitan data from the U.S. Census 5% Public-Use Microdata Sample (PUMS) of the 2000 decennial census to analyze the residential mobility patterns of Mexican foreign-born immigrants in four major gateways in Texas: Dallas-Fort Worth CMSA, Houston-Galveston-Brazoria CMSA, Austin MSA and San Antonio MSA. The goal is to expand the research agenda of established segregation and immigrant studies into the intraurban mobility patterns of Mexican foreign-born immigrants in Texas

metropolitan areas. Evidence from the study will show that Texas metropolitan areas show the same tendencies as other gateway cities toward residential segregation, the overall concentration and clustering of ethnic minorities, and the geographic dispersal of other groups. In addition it will show that demographic trends have transitioned cities such as Dallas from being secondary ports of entry to primary gateway cities. This study contributes both empirically and theoretically to our understanding of immigrant populations and will serve as a resource for academicians and policymakers. The research presented here is part of a larger study that measures the concentration and centralization of immigrants in ethnic enclaves located in PUMAS. The second part of the study researches the homeownership patterns of immigrants in central cities an suburbs at the census tract level; and the third and final sections draws conclusions based on the results of quantitative as well as qualitative in-person interviews.

The four metropolitan areas were chosen because together they comprise 60 percent of Texas's population as well as 60 percent of its immigrant population. With an overall state population of 20,848,171 reported in the 2000 census, the areas of Dallas-Fort Worth CMSA (24%), Houston CMSA (22.4%), San Antonio MSA (7.4%), and Austin-San Marcos MSA (5.6%) are also known for their large immigrant populations. All Texas metropolitan statistical areas comprise several counties; for example, the Houston-Galveston-Brazoria CMSA contains 34 PUMAS, 8 counties; and 649 census tracts in the core county, Harris County. Harris County is the third most populated county and the third largest Hispanic population in the United States. The total population (4,663,267) is 47.9 percent non-Hispanic white, 28.9 percent Hispanic origin, 16.64 percent African American origin, and the largest Asian population, 4.75 percent. The median household income is $44,418 and the median household income for Hispanics is $35,543. In a comparison of the Austin and San Antonio MSAs, the Austin-San Marcos MSA ranks the

highest in the state in median household income, both for the native born and Hispanics. In the San Antonio MSA there are 12 PUMAS, 278 census tracts. The total population includes (1,551,396) is 51.24 percent white origin, 39.32 percent Hispanic origin, 6.24 percent African American origin, and 1.46 percent Asian origin. The median household income is $39,140 and the median household income for Hispanics is $31,357.

The study population is based on residence in the United States in 1995 and 2000 and age for all native born and immigrants residing in the metropolitan areas of Dallas-Fort Worth, Houston, Austin, and San Antonio. The weighted sample includes 8,645,660 individuals, including 5,665,288 native born, and 2,980,372 immigrants. The analysis primarily focuses on the residential patterns of Mexican foreign-born immigrants (1,509,198) and their socioeconomic characteristics compared to the native-born. However, for comparison purposes, members of six other major immigrant origin groups, Central American (250,198), Vietnamese (157,320), Asian Indian (115,948), Chinese (53,566), Filipino (54,530), Korean (37,770), and other foreign born (801,842) are included. All individuals chosen are between the ages of 20 and 64, considered potentially part of the active labor-force. The elimination of younger and older groups avoids the effects of any chain migration of children or related family members. Children under the age of 18 and the elderly make up 39 percent of the original sample yet have been excluded here. In addition individuals residing in group quarters or occupying units without payment have also been excluded.[14]

The population has been further selected based on residence in the United States and years of experience in the United States derived from the "come to stay" question in the decennial census. Six cohorts were identified for the study: *1*) immigrants who arrived in the United States between 1995 and 2000 and who resided outside of the United States in 1995 (19.1%), *2*) immigrants who arrived in the United States between 1990 and 1994 and who resided in the United States in both 1995 and 2000 (19.7%), *3*) immigrants who arrived in the United States in

between 1980 and 1989 and who resided in the United States in both 1995 and 2000 (32.2%), *4*) immigrants who arrived in the United States between 1970 and 1979 and who resided in the United States in both 1995 and 2000 (19.8%), *5)* immigrants who arrived in the United States between 1960 and 1969 and who resided in the United States in both 1995 and 2000 (6.5%), and *6*) all other immigrants who arrived in the United States prior to the 1960s and who resided in the United States in both 1995 and 2000 (2.7%). The native-born cohort includes all individuals who were born in the United States or who may have been born in a foreign country, but who had at least one parent who was an American citizen. This cohort also only includes those individuals who resided in the United States in both 1995 and 2000.

Distinguishing the majority of cohorts by those who resided only in the United States and those who arrived five years previously who resided outside of the United States attempts to address the "come to stay/live" conundrum noted by several researchers (Redstone and Massey 2004; Allen and Turner 1996; Ellis and Wright 1998; Newbold and Spindler 2001). Previous studies have used this approach in analyzing immigrant settlement patterns in metropolitan Los Angeles and Chicago, using the 1990 PUMS (Ellis and Wright 1998; Newbold and Spindler 2001; Allen and Turner 1996;).[15] These authors followed a convention established by Ellis and Wright (1998) to address the "come to stay" question in the 1990 census and eliminates individuals who reported as having lived outside of the United States; in the 2000 census the question was reworded to "come to live." Eliminating individuals who reported a residence outside of the United States, except for new arrivals, ensures that immigrants who reported that they had come to stay in the United States before 1995 did and reduces potential error in the sample. At the same time by eliminating new arrivals who reported a residence in the United States in 1995 attempts to single out recent arrivals. Because the census does not record multiple moves of the population, except for 1995 or the number of times an individual have traveled to the United States to work or visit, it is difficult to tell if an individual living in a particular area originally settled there or moved

to the area recently. Redstone and Massey's recent research on the "come to stay" conundrum notes that the census either underestimates or overestimates the number of immigrants because of the inherent ambiguities in a highly subjective question that may not record a specific event.[16]

Census data on the mobility patterns of the population provide information on the location of immigrants and the general population at three points of time: place of birth, residence five years previously (in 1995), and present residence during the census (2000). Included on the long form, the census collected the information on all residents five years and over. Data was collected on the residence of all individuals five years previous to the census on April 1, 1995, for those people who reported that on that date they lived in a different house than their current residence. The data collected information on the resident's previous state (in the U.S. or foreign county), county, city or town, and zip code of residence on April 1, 1995, Residence 5 years earlier is used in conjunction with location of current residence to determine the extent of residential mobility of the population and the resulting redistribution of the population across the various states, metropolitan areas, and regions of the country.

The larger study addresses a set of questions largely contextual, based on demographic data from the 2000 census summary files of the top 100 metropolitan cities that have become emerging gateway cities. By examining place-level data and employing geographic information mapping techniques in addition to tabular data, the research identifies the concentration of the Mexican foreign-born, period of residency in the United States of the foreign-born, neighborhood transitional patterns, demographic information (age, gender, household composition, etc.), as well as socioeconomic characteristics

(median household income, households on public assistance, language acquisition, education, owner-occupied households), and other relevant demographic data.

Results

The last twenty years have brought tremendous population growth to metropolitan areas in Texas and elsewhere. In 2000, the total population of Texas increased by 22.76 percent to 20, 851, 820 million, 19.38 percent in 1990, and by 27.08 percent in 1980. Between 1980 and 2000, the U.S. population grew by 11.43 percent in 1980, 9.78 in 1990, and 13.15 in 2000. In Texas between 1980 and 2000, the Hispanic population increased by 45.3 percent in 1980, 53.68 percent in 1990, and 123.38 percent between 1980 thru 2000. By 2000, the Hispanic or Latino population was estimated at 6, 669, 666 million. The Mexican-origin population is the largest Hispanic population in Texas, increasing by 30 percent from 3,899,518 million in 1990 to 5,071,963 million in 2000.

With the almost doubling of the population during the 1990s, compared to other periods dating as far back as 1965, the majority of metropolitan population growth in Texas has been fueled by immigration, primarily Mexican, and births to recently arrived immigrants. The increase in Latino immigrants has had a significant effect on other minority populations and the non-Hispanic white population. In 1990 non-Hispanic whites represented 60.6 percent of the population yet by 2000 they represented only 53.1 percent. Concentrated primarily in urban areas such as Dallas and Houston, the African American proportion of the population remained steady throughout the period between 1980 and 2000 at roughly 11.6 percent of the population. In contrast, the absolute share of Hispanics in the total population has increased by 11 percent since the 1980s and

represented 32 percent of the total population in 2000 versus 21 percent of the total population in 1980. However, although the actual numbers are still small in comparison to Hispanic populations, the most dramatic increase among all racial and ethnic categories has been the Asian population. In the 1980s the Asian population increased by 88.78 percent in the 1980s; 81.15 percent , 1990s; and by almost 242 percent between 1980 and 2000.[17]

Geographic Distribution

Only second to California and New York, more than a million Mexican foreign-born immigrants live in Texas with over 56 percent located in the state's largest metropolitan areas, Dallas-Fort Worth (DFW) and Houston. The population of Mexican foreign-born immigrants in both metropolitan areas approximates 1,680,586, including all ages and household members. As indicated in Table 1 the largest concentration of foreign-born immigrants statewide are in the

TABLE 1. Distribution of Immigrant Population in Major Texas Immigrant Gateways

	Austin-San Marcos MSA	%	Dallas-Ft Worth CMSA	%	Houston-Galveston-Brazoria CMSA	%	San Antonio MSA	%
Total Pop.	1,249,763		5,221,801		4,669,571		1,592,383	
Foreign-born	152,834	12%	784,642	15%	895,944	19%	161,924	10%
Asia:	35,724	**23%**	164,969	**21%**	188,703	**21%**	20,318	**13%**
Vietnam	6,790	19%	36,767	22%	51,803	27%	2,770	14%
India	6,408	18%	30,561	19%	31,696	17%	2,402	12%
China	7,380	21%	22,565	14%	30,785	16%	2,487	12%
Philippines	2,185	6%	10,268	6%	17,532	9%	4,023	20%
Korea	3,865	11%	14,242	9%	8,317	4%	2,163	11%
Japan	1,383	4%	3,954	2%	3,108	2%	1,424	7%
Iran	1,138	3%	6,376	4%	6,287	3%	713	4%
Pakistan	1,394	4%	9,048	5%	14,309	8%	536	3%
Americas:	100,637	**66%**	543,808	**69%**	630,607	**70%**	127,288	**79%**
Mexico	84,213	84%	456,962	84%	455,854	72%	113,089	89%
Other Central America	7,202	7%	47,574	9%	109,077	17%	5,454	4%

Source: U.S. Census 2000, SF3.

major metropolitan areas of Houston (19%), Dallas-Fort Worth (15%), and Austin (12%), El Paso, and San Antonio (13%). As indicated by the ranking among the top 100 metropolitan cities in the United States, four of the *fastest-growing* foreign-born populations are located in Austin or in the Dallas-Fort Worth metroplex. Cities with the highest number of immigrant populations as a percentage of total populations are in order: Irving (27 percent), Houston (26 percent), Dallas (24 percent), Garland, Austin, Ft. Worth, and Arlington (see table 8). At the same time four of the top five cities for Mexican foreign-born have consistently been located in Texas--El Paso, Houston, Dallas, and San Antonio.

As a background to study the intraurban mobility patterns of immigrants in Texas, one must metropolitan areas has only evolved since the 1970s, similar to other areas such as Los Angeles, with considerable political, economic, and social impact. Although Texas has historically been an important gateway for Mexican immigrants since its earliest beginnings in the 1800s because of its long history of cross-border relationships, history, and proximity, the urban presence of immigrants both Mexican foreign-born and others is a recent development tied to the globalization of the economy as well as the development of communities and networks.[18] Historically the long established Mexican communities San Antonio, El Paso, and other border cities and rural areas go as far back as the Mexican Revolution in the 1920s and even before the state's independence in the 1830s. At the turn of the twentieth century when Texas was primarily an agricultural state, farm and ranch agents recruited Mexican immigrants along the border and inside Mexico to work primarily in crop and ranch production. With the establishment of a literacy requirement for immigrants in 1917 and the U.S. Border Patrol in 1924, the discrimination against Mexicans grew rampant, and Mexican immigration declined until after World War II in Texas and elsewhere. During the 1950s and 1960s Mexican immigrants entered the state under work visas, or the *bracero* program, which continued protected under the "Texas proviso" as the primary workforce for agricultural production and manual labor in rural areas until the mid-1980s. Today

Mexican foreign-born workers are more likely to work in service and construction in metropolitan areas than in agricultural production.

Prior to the 1960s, 76 percent of all Mexican foreign-born immigrants resided along the Texas-Mexico border or in San Antonio. In contrast the larger metropolitan areas of Houston and Dallas had a more checkered history of Mexican immigration. Similar to Los Angeles, these large metropolitan areas were more accustomed to biracial relationships between African Americans and Whites prior to the 1970s; those pockets of Mexican ethnic communities that existed were made up of a "hidden minority." In contrast communities of German, English and Scottish immigrants dominated the racial and ethnic geography of urban Texas as well as its political and cultural institutions. Nevertheless, the size of the Mexican foreign-born population in Dallas (15.1% of total Mexican immigrant householders) was similar to that of San Antonio (11.6%) yet spread out. Although Houston has often been referred to as a post-World War II gateway city, only 7.4

TABLE 2 Population Distribution of Mexican Immigrants in Texas, Aged 20-64

Period of Arrival	Houston CMSA	DFW CMSA	San Antonio MSA	Austin MSA	Other Texas	Total
Pre-1960	2,743	5,566	4,275	710	23,628	36,922
% period	7.4	**15.1**	**11.6**	1.9	**64.0**	100
1960-69	10,548	14,436	9,690	2,386	53,567	90,627
% period	**11.6**	**15.9**	**10.7**	2.6	59.1	100
1970-79	51,984	68,956	20,242	7,766	137,899	286,847
% period	**18.1**	**24.0**	7.1	2.7	48.1	100
1980-89	99,619	104,003	25,437	16,436	176,105	421,600
% period	**23.6**	**24.7**	6.0	3.9	41.8	100
1990-94	70,684	67,978	11,324	12,204	81,728	243,918
% period	**29.0**	**27.9**	4.6	5.0	33.5	100
1995-2000	72,432	52,402	8,528	14,250	47,985	195,597
% period	**37.0**	**26.8**	4.4	7.3	24.5	100
N	308,010	313,341	79,496	53,752	520,912	1,275,511
% period	24.1	24.6	6.2	4.2	40.8	100

Source: US PUMS. All values significant <.05 unless noted.
Note: Sample includes all individuals, male and female, except for those in group quarters or institutionalized.

percent of the total number of Mexican foreign-born immigrant householders arrived prior to 1960. Changes in immigration law and the economic growth during the 1960s which affected metropolitan areas in Texas and elsewhere began a trend to pull many Mexican immigrants toward large metropolitan areas. Large-scale immigration of Mexican foreign-born to large Texas metropolitan areas began in the 1970s as in Los Angeles and other established immigrant gateways. During the 1990s 41.1 percent of all Mexican foreign-born immigrants between the ages of 20 and 64 arrived between 1990 and March 2000. At the same time, the size of the Central American population has grown as waves of immigrants settled during the 1980s and in the later portion of the 1990s. To a lesser extent, the 1970s also saw considerable immigration of groups from

Table 3. Year of Arrival of 2000 Immigrant Cohorts, Aged 20-64

	Year of Arrival							
Origin	Pre-1960	1960-69	1970-79	1980-89	1990-94	1995-3/2000	1990s	Total
Mexico	26,588	74,120	297,896	490,990	324,380	295,224	619,604	1,509,198
%	1.8	4.9	19.7	32.5	21.5	19.6	41.1	100
Ctrl Am.	2,342	5,980	22,420	119,320	57,174	42,962	100,136	250,198
%	0.9	2.4	9.0	47.7	22.9	17.2	40.0	100
Vietnam	144	1,054	44,382	54,860	42,532	14,348	56,880	157,320
%	0.1	0.7	28.2	34.9	27.0	9.1	36.2	100
India	164	3,898	22,112	34,078	20,714	34,982	55,696	115,948
%	0.1	3.4	19.1	29.4	17.9	30.2	48.0	100
Philippines	1,042	3,582	15,940	18,662	10,860	4,444	15,304	54,530
%	1.9	6.6	29.2	34.2	19.9	8.1	28.1	100
China	492	1,864	5,056	13,830	15,316	17,008	32,324	53,566
%	0.9	3.5	9.4	25.8	28.6	31.8	60.3	100
Korea	186	1,778	11,666	11,702	5,998	6,440	12,438	37,770
%	0.5	4.7	30.9	31.0	15.9	17.1	32.9	100
Other	49,438	100,468	171,354	217,530	109,722	153,330	263,052	801,842
%	6.2	12.5	21.4	27.1	13.7	19.1	32.8	100
Total	80,396	192,744	590,826	960,972	586,696	568,738		2,980,372
	2.7	6.5	19.8	32.2	19.7	19.1	38.8	100

Source: U.S. PUMS, 2000. Sample includes all individuals, male and female, in the rental or homeownership markets, except for those in group quarters or institutionalized; cohorts prior to 1995 do not include individuals living outside of the United States, and the1995-2000 cohort does not include those living in the United States. Other includes foreign born from US islands, Canada, Europe and the rest of the world.

Vietnam, the Philippines, and Korea. Asian Indian immigrants also immigrated during the 1980s and during the second half of the 1990s.

Since the 1970s large metropolitan areas of both Dallas-Fort Worth and Houston have experienced higher rates of immigrant arrivals than other areas in the state, making these two primary gateway cities in the United States today. Settlement patterns of immigrants to these areas are indicative of the globalization of the economies and housing markets. In contrast to the continued growth in the immigrant populations in Dallas-Fort Worth and Houston metropolitan areas, the number of immigrants destined for the Austin-San Marcos metropolitan area was relatively small prior to 2000, in which 14 percent of all Mexican foreign-born householders settled there.

Socioeconomic characteristics

Sharp contrasts and considerable diversity are apparent in the demography of the groups studied. Whereas the majority of Latin American and Asian immigrant householders arrived in the United States during the 1980s and 1990s, Mexican immigrants show the lowest levels of educational attainment, English ability, citizenship, and homeownership, followed by the Central Americans. The Mexican-origin population is younger (mean age is 35) than the native-born or Asian groups, only 25 percent have obtained citizenship, 54 percent reported poor English skills, and 71 percent have less than a high school education. Results from both the Mexican- and Central-American foreign-born (not shown here) indicate these groups have the lowest levels of English ability attainment. The Vietnamese (65.8%), Filipino (66.3%), and Korean (52%) showed the highest citizenship levels, not a surprising finding since many Vietnamese and Filipino residents are political exiles and many Korean residents were formerly students or visitors.

Nevertheless, Mexican immigrants who arrived during the 1990s are a more diverse and polarized group than earlier ones. Bean, Leach, and Lowell have emphasized that contemporary

immigration is characterized by the bimodal educational characteristics of immigrants, part the result of economic downturn in Mexico and part the result of the restructuring of the U.S. economy. In the Texas PUMS Mexican foreign-born immigrants have represented both ends of the educational spectrum since the 1960s. Between 1995 and 2000, 71.5 percent of all Mexican foreign-born immigrants had less than twelve years of school, compared to 14.2 percent of the native born. At the same time only 13.7 percent of immigrants had some college compared to 58.8 percent of the native-born. However, the number of immigrants holding a high school or college degree has steadily declined with a slight exception in recent arrivals.

A few parallels existed among the native born and Asian immigrants in terms of education and ages, with immigrants surpassing the native born in educational achievement. Asian Indian (84.5%), Filipino (83.9%), and Chinese (83.8%) immigrants had higher levels of educational preparation than the native born (64%). The educational levels of Koreans (66.4%) were the most similar yet slightly higher than those of the native born. The high levels of educational attainment of these four groups and the dispersed patterns of settlement in middle-class neighborhoods provide support for the theories of spatial assimilation in that these groups not only have the socioeconomic capital but are able to translate these attributes into residential mobility. The importance of education for Asian families is clear from the data as Asian Indians (8.8%), Filipinos (4.4%), Chinese (7.9%) and Koreans (10.4%) also had the lowest level of high-school dropouts alongside the native born (12%). However, the Vietnamese displayed the third lowest level of educational achievement, similar to those of the Mexican and Central American immigrant groups, with 31.9 percent of the population not completing high school. The low educational levels of the Mexican, Central American, and Vietnamese will foreshadow the educational achievement of second generations. The mean ages of Filipino, Chinese, and Korean immigrants were identical to those of the native born (40 years) showing an older population. The Asian population also showed the highest ability to speak English. Over 98% of Filipinos and 94% of Asian Indians

reported speaking English very well or well. In contrast over 53% of Mexican-origin and 47% of Central Americans reported not being able to speak English at all or very little.

The Korean (61.5%) Filipino (61.1%), and Chinese (51%) groups were also predominately female similar to the native-born population (51.7%). At the same time Filipino immigrants (37.9%) had a slightly higher number of female-headed households than the native born (32.7%) or the Korean (32.7%). The Central American-origin population (27.1%) also surprisingly showed a higher portion of female-headed households than the Mexico-origin group (17.9%). In general, the data reflected the importance of family life for Central Americans and Asians in that the percentage of married individuals in the sample was higher for all immigrant populations compared to the native born, and by the fact that the number of divorced or never married was considerably lower. For example, the percentage of married native born residents was 59.9 percent however immigrants' marital status ranged from 62.7% (Central American), 68% (Vietnamese), 70.3% (Mexican), 73.7% (Korean), 74.1% (Filipino), 79.2% (Asian Indian), and 83.3% (Chinese).

A comparison of marital status supports previous research that the majority of male Mexican foreign-born householders are married. However, the marital status of female Mexican foreign-born householders is almost equally distributed between the number of women who are married and who have never been married. In fact between 1995 and March 2000, female Mexican-born householders were less likely to have never been married than earlier decades. They were also more likely to be college educated than in earlier decades. The steady decline of educational attainment, however, may have more to do with the lack of economic mobility in Mexico.

Aggregate results in tables 5 and 6 show that the general trends in socioeconomic characteristics and the residential mobility of immigrants vary greatly depending upon cohort and length in the United States. Several researchers have noted that immigrants

over time reach similar levels of income and socioeconomic characteristics as the native born in terms of homeownership, education, and other factors (Portes and Rumbaut 2000). Here, in the Dallas-Fort Worth CMSA, despite the sharp gap in the median income of recent arrivals compared to 1980s and 1990s arrivals, only those immigrants who have been in the United States for decades achieve the same medium income and homeownership levels.

TABLE 1 Household Income Statistics for Mexican Foreign-Born in DFW CMSA, Aged 20-64

						Percentiles			
Time in US	Mean	Median	Std. Dev.	Min.	Max.	25	50	75	*N*
<5 years	19,673	16,600	18,961	0	152,800	330	16,600	30,000	13,203
5-10 years	28,097	22,900	32,402	-3,800	479,800	12,000	22,900	37,000	24,631
10-20 years	33,415	27,000	39,445	-10,000	670,700	15,000	27,000	42,000	50,507
20-30 years	42,510	34,000	49,171	-4,000	717,600	18,500	34,000	53,200	37,136
30-40 years	44,890	37,620	39,612	0	321,000	21,100	37,620	61,500	7,919
40 years+	50,406	48,500	40,312	0	184,940	17,800	48,500	77,160	2,626
U.S.-born	54,524	39,500	69,321	-20,000	759,000	0	39,500	78,130	1,043,379

Source: US PUMS 2000; weighted by household weight. <5 years (1995-2000 cohort); 5-10 years (1990-94); 10-20 (1980-89); 20-30 (1970-79: 30-40 (1960-69); 40 years+ (<1960).

TABLE 2 Socioeconomic Characteristics of Mexican Foreign-Born Immigrants in DFW CMSA, Aged 20-64 (in percentages)

Group	Same House	Diff. House	Married	No high school degree	High school degree	Some college	College graduate	Owner	Renter	*N*
Pre-1960	80.29	19.71	77.15	47.5	24.6	18.9	8.9	80.6	19.4	5,566
1960-69	66.82	33.18	74.21	62.7	16.5	15.4	5.4	75.6	24.4	14,436
1970-79	60.84	39.16	76.56	70.2	15.3	11.9	2.6	69.2	30.8	68,956
1980-89	44.36	55.64	75.01	72.1	15.7	8.6	3.5	53.7	46.3	104,003
1990-94	32.59	67.41	69.06	73.5	15.5	6.8	4.2	37.6	62.4	67,978
1995-2000	0.00	0.00	62.16	69.7	16.9	7.6	5.9	19.9	80.1	52,402
U.S. born	49.1	50.9	60.6	13.2	25.3	33.7	27.8	68.5	31.4	1,989,587

Source: US PUMS 2000; weighted by person weight.
All values significant at $p<0.01$.

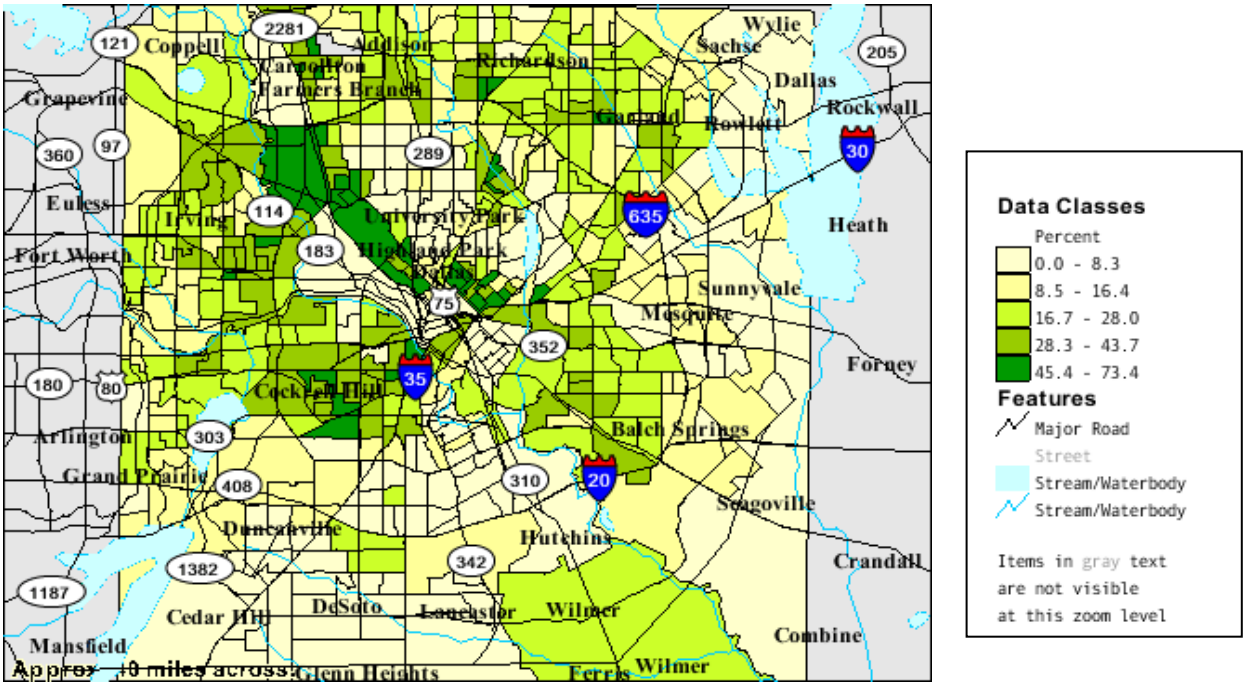
Intraurban Mobility in Dallas-Fort Worth CMSA

The results reported here are for the Dallas-Fort Worth CMSA, which contains 35 PUMAS, 10 counties, and 488 census tracts in its core county, Dallas. The 2000 total population (5,043,876) includes a large majority of non-Hispanic whites (59.31 percent), a large Hispanic population (21.44 percent), a sizeable African-American population (13.51 percent), and the second largest Asian population (3.67 percent) in the state. A great disparity in wealth exists between Anglos and minority. For example, the median household income is $47,418 and the median household income for Hispanics is $35,543. Since the 1970s the Dallas has experienced a downturn in its core central city areas due to its aging housing stock, deteriorating downtown, and general economic trends. In the last twenty years several central city districts have been revived such as Dallas's West End Warehouse District and Deep Ellum but the long-term pattern of moving away from the urban core continues in the twenty-first century.[19] With the development of the region's international Dallas-Fort Worth airport towards what is commonly called the mid-cities area, the subsequent growth in large industrial complexes (warehouses, offices, etc), and financial and services section has closed the geographic space between the two cities and altered patterns of settlement and development. A major distribution center for many industries, locations surrounding the airport have become a major source of employment as well as the location of rich suburbs. The numerous modern shopping centers throughout the Dallas-Fort Worth metroplex also highlight the importance of retail trade. Richardson, one of Dallas's suburbs, has been called Texas's "Silicon Valley" because 44 percent of the state's technology jobs in computers, biotechnology, and other computer-related industries are located there.[20]

Observers have noted the sharp increase in the number of Mexico foreign-born and other international immigrants and the impact upon the area's demographic landscape.[21] Indeed, critical observers have noted the "white flight" or balkanization of not only the Dallas-Fort Worth area

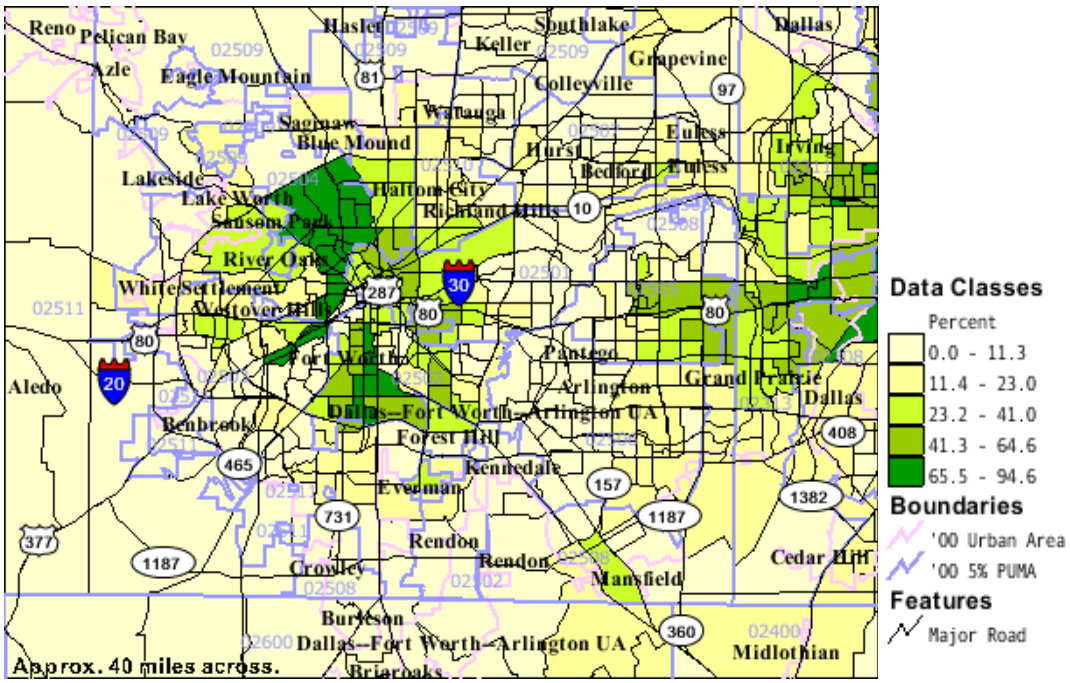
but of cities such as Washington, D.C. and others. Such observers speculate that while the influx of immigrants has stopped the population decline in these cities, it has also caused considerable movement of the native-born population outwards towards more prosperous areas. Indeed, the increase in immigration to the Dallas-Fort Worth area has strained racial and ethnic boundaries and heightened those already in place. The process of migration over the last thirty years has permanently altered Dallas, and three separate and visible Mexican communities can be observed. The once Anglo-dominated Knox-Henderson area with homes dating back to the 1930s is but a short distance from downtown. The "Little Mexico" section of near northwest Dallas commonly known as the Bachman Lake-Walnut Hill neighborhood is close to the old city airport along Northwest Highway, 183, and the inner-city waterway, the Bachman Lake area. Homes in the area were built during the 1940s and 1950s, and Mexican restaurants, pawn shops, convenience stores,

MAP 1. Percent of Foreign-Born in Dallas PMSA: 2000



Source: US PUMS 2000; TM-P031.

MAP 2. Percent of Foreign Born, Fort Worth-Arlington PMSA



Source: US PUMS 2000; TM-P031.

grocers, money changes, arts and crafts shops cater primarily to adjacent working-class neighborhoods. Third, the even largest concentration of Hispanics in Oak Cliff in the Cockrell Hill area continues to attract recent arrivals. In addition to the predominately Mexican foreign-born population, Dallas's immigrant community includes a large Asian Indian population employed in medical and information technology industries, a large Korean population and the second largest Korean church in the United States, and a large Chinese population primarily located in the old downtown area of Richardson called "China Town" because of its numerous ethnic restaurants and stores.

The study measures the concentration of immigrants based on the proportion of the foreign-born to the total population, in essence an isolation index. Similar to Allen and

Turner's results, a range of concentration between 4.9 and 9.1 percent of the immigrant population to the total population in each of the thirty-five PUMAs identified the most important immigrant concentrations for both the Mexican foreign-born and other groups within the ten-county metropolitan area studied. A second threshold between 1.9 and 4.2 identified more dispersed yet growing communities within and outside of the central city. Overall, 58 percent of the Mexican foreign-born population was concentrated in Cockrell Hill (9.1%), the Bachmann Lake/Northwest Highway/Walnut Hill area (8.4%), the Lakewood and Knox-Henderson areas (7.8%), White Settlement (west of Fort Worth; 6.2%), South Buckner Boulevard (6.1%), Carrollton (6.1%), Irving (5.0%), and Fort Worth (4.9%). Among these areas over 35.7 percent of immigrants was concentrated in Dallas's central city, and only 12 percent in the Fort Worth area (White Settlement and Fort Worth). A second threshold identified more dispersed communities of Mexican foreign-born immigrants (16.3%) located in Arlington (4.2), Mockingbird St. (4.0), West Dallas (Duncanville and Cedar Hill) (3.0), Grand Prairie (2.6), East (2.4) and West Garland (2.1), and Richardson (1.9). The cut-off points of the two tiers consider the proportion of Mexican foreign-born to the total population of foreign-born (59%) in the CMSA, the proportion of the origin group (61.5%) living in both areas described, and generally recognized communities. The analysis of residence and origin group with year of arrival as an interval variable was statistically significant at <.05 level with such a large sample size, however, surprisingly the strength of the association between residence and year of arrival was not very strong. Controlling for the native born and other immigrant groups, the Phi value (.308), the contingency coefficient (.295), and Cramer's V (.138) showed only a moderate association at best among place of residence, origin group, and year of arrival.

Today, as indicated by the data Mexican foreign-born concentrations in the Dallas-Fort Worth area are located near or close to major growth areas and key transportation arteries. In the last twenty years the growth in the construction of industrial clusters (warehouses, offices, industrial parks) near the Dallas-Fort Worth International Airport has attracted industrial growth and immigration of both the native born and immigrants towards the northwest Dallas County and northeast Tarrant county. As noted by Berry and Kasarda almost all metropolitan growth in the United States during the 1960s and 1970s occurred in the suburban rings of the metropolitan areas, and many central cities have grown little and experienced an absolute population loss.[22] This has certainly been the pattern experienced in the Dallas-Fort Worth area. The adaptation of the highway system to the growth patterns has both influenced the intraurban mobility patterns of established residents as well as immigrants as well as the location of jobs and services. One of the largest ethnic enclaves in Bachmann Lake is close to Northwest Highway , one of Dallas's main arteries to the mid-cities area and Fort Worth. Data analysis of the concentration of immigrants across microdata areas shows that older ethnic communities located in East Dallas toward Balch Springs or Mesquite have been replaced by areas closer to jobs, interconnected to highways, and that offer more affordable housing such as Arlington, Grand Prairie, Irving, Farmer's Branch, Richardson, Garland, and Cockrell Hill. Once suburbs back in the 1960s, these areas are now cities with sizeable immigrant as well as native-born populations.

An analysis of migration PUMS data also shows that DFW has become a secondary gateway city for many immigrants already in the United States. The origin of immigrants who migrated to the area in 2000 and reported a different residence in 1995 was primarily from within Texas (36.8%) and secondly from Mexico (12.5%). Other regions within the United States also contributed to the growth such as California (2.4%), India (1.4%), El Salvador (0.7%), and Canada (0.6%), Florida (0.6%), and Illinois (0.5%)

(these results are not reported here in a table but are available). Viewing the data by origin group shows that approximately 62.6 percent of all Mexican foreign-born persons migrated to the area from within Texas (39.2%) or directly from Mexico (23.4%). County data files show that the Dallas-Fort Worth area experienced some migration (6.5%) from other gateway states and regions, namely California (2.2%), Florida (0.4%), Illinois (0.3%), Arizona (0.2%), New Mexico (0.1), Georgia (0.1%) and Colorado (0.1%). Over 47.9 percent of all individuals who migrated to the Dallas-Fort Worth CMSA from California were Mexican foreign-born. The data also show that over 41 percent of the Central American immigrant population that migrated to the area, moved from somewhere in Texas and secondly from El Salvador or Honduras. The Other foreign-born category shows the tremendous mix of international migration from Canada, Nigeria, Pakistan, and unspecified countries in Africa.

The influx of immigrants into DFW underscores the dynamic settlement patterns of Mexican foreign-born immigrants in the Dallas-Fort Worth area, indicating a continued and growing importance of the central city for initial residential location, the growth westward toward the economic corridor, the large Latino foreign population in the periphery, and the displacement of older communities in the east for more central locations. During the 1960s and 1970s ethnic communities in the periphery of the central cities of Dallas and Fort Worth—Cedar Hill, Balch Springs, and Mesquite--attracted the majority of immigrants. By the 1980s the situation had been reversed as inner city communities grew in the Knox-Henderson and Walnut Hill areas, attracting over 11 percent of immigrants and Plano attracted 10.5 percent. The trend continued during the 1990s as over 20 percent of Mexican foreign-born immigrants who arrived between 1995

and 2000 resided in the Lakewood, Northwest Highway, and Cockrell Hill areas. Older communities continue to attract immigrants yet over time, newer areas have both attracted recent arrivals and residents from communities in South and East Dallas as the economy and jobs move westward towards the mid-cities corridor.

Because the census data do not record the different moves of an individual (native born or immigrant), except for 1995, much must be inferred from the data regarding original settlement patterns. The data do show that newly arrived immigrants between 1995 and 2000 were more likely to be located in central city areas such as Northwest Highway and Bachman Lake or the Knox-Henderson neighborhoods, or in areas closer to

TABLE 4 Year of Arrival of Mexican Foreign-born Immigrants in Major Ethnic Enclaves in Dallas PMSA

	Cockrell Hill Oak Cliff	Bachmann Lake Walnut Hill	Lakewood Knox-Henderson
<1940	45	33	54
%	0.1	0.1	0.2
1940-49	129	31	0
%	0.3	0.1	0
1950-59	345	84	271
%	0.8	0.2	0.8
1960-69	1,212	793	939
%	2.9	2	2.6
1970-79	6,759	2,756	3,807
%	16.2	7.1	10.7
1980-89	10,080	7,281	7,229
%	24.1	18.8	20.3
1990-99	21,594	25,239	22,012
%	51.7	65.1	61.7
2000	1,607	2,568	1,385
%	3.8	6.6	3.9
Total	41,771	38,785	35,697

Source: US PUMS 2000. Weighted sample including all ages and individuals.

major growth areas such as Irving, Arlington, and Garland. Although Cockrell Hill has the largest number of Mexico foreign-born immigrants, 45 percent of its immigrant population arrived during prior to the 1990s. In contrast more central neighborhoods of Bachmann Lake and Walnut Hill show that over 65 percent of immigrants arrived during the 1990s and has rapidly become a popular destination for immigrants.

Conclusion

The proximity of Texas to Mexico underscores the importance of this research. Texas has the longest border with Mexico than any of the other three U.S. states bordering Mexico, California, Arizona, or New Mexico. As one of the most dynamic regions in the world, the U.S.-Mexico border region extends 2,000 miles from the Gulf of Mexico to the Pacific Ocean, 1,254 miles of which are along the Texas border. Decades before the passage of the North American Free-Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in 1994, Mexican immigrants journeyed to Texas to work as temporary migrant agricultural laborers.[23] However, since the late 1970s the international trade flows between the United States and Mexico have increased not only the truck traffic at all ports of entry but the entry of Mexican immigrants following the trail of commerce along Texas's primary interstate highway, IH-35. The large metropolitan areas of Texas and other urban centers in the United States have become the new agricultural fields of immigrants.

This research extends naturally from existing work on remittances and migration behavior among Central and North Texas Mexican residents, and upon colonia-type housing developments both in the Texas-Mexico border and, more recently recognized, in the hinterland of emerging gateway cities (Ward 2000). Peter Ward's work on the

development of colonias in Texas has been centered in the Central Texas area. That research has proven expertise in the methods proposed here and will also build upon existing survey materials that are being gathered by several universities. To date this work has been carried out at the Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs, the University of Texas at Austin, and embraces a consortium of universities within the University of Texas System and Texas A&M System as well as several other government and non-governmental organizations. During 2001-04 Southern Methodist University (SMU) and the University of Texas at Arlington received a National Science Foundation grant to conduct a study of four foreign-born ethnic communities in the emerging gateway area of Dallas-Fort Worth.

The settlement of immigrants in emerging gateway cities presents ample opportunities for new research on the urban mobility patterns of immigrants and their impact upon space. Since the earliest immigrant waves, the foreign-born regardless of socioeconomic status have tended to settle in urban areas because of the obvious availability of jobs, available housing, social networks, proximity to transportation facilities, and so on. Scholars have shown that the geographic propensity of immigrants has largely been determined by earlier immigrant settlers and factors such as social networks and the absolute size and establishment of communities (Lieberson and Waters 1988). Thus the demographic landscape of these "cities of immigrants" has been permanently changed by not only the absolute number of newcomers but by the social impact and residential restructuring that has taken place. In Texas the growth of immigrant communities since the 1970s has affected the demographic changes taking place in its metropolitan areas. The case study of Dallas-Fort Worth provides support for the assimilation model in that

the majority of Mexican foreign-born immigrants reside in central city areas while other immigrants are more dispersed. It has also shown here that ethnic neighborhoods are not static but change over time as immigrants seek out new opportunities and new residential areas. While some observers view the positive side of immigration and the assimilation of immigrants as a giant melting pot of societal contributions and economic gains, others observe a "balkanization" of cities taking place as established residents continue to move out of aging central cities to more prosperous areas. With the immigration of many uneducated and poor immigrants and the decline in wages of many native born, such pessimistic observers note that our society does not have the capacity to absorb more immigrants. Thus research into the intraurban mobility patterns of immigrants in emerging gateway cities presents an avenue to further our understanding of immigrant assimilation , the mobility of the immigrant population, and to contribute to this ongoing debate.

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[3] *Hispanic* is an ethnic category, which includes Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, South or Central American, or other Hispanic/Latin, regardless of race. The 2000 census counts have been estimated as seriously undercounting the minority, elderly, and homeless populations of the United States. Using data from the Current Population Survey, John Logan determined that certain states and metropolitan areas where New Latinos are concentrated were dramatically affected by a severe underestimation of the numbers of Hispanic groups in 2000 because of the poor estimates of Origin on the questionnaire. The Mumford Center estimates that the Mexican group was by far the largest and increased by 70 percent

between 1980 and 2000, not the 54 percent indicated by the U.S. Census. At the same time, the New Latino groups grew by 104 percent as opposed to 32 percent. For more information about the undercounting of the 2000 Census, see Barry Edmonston, "The Case For Modernizing The U.S. Census," *Society* 39, no. 1 (November 2001), pp. 42-53.

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[12] See research by Nestor Rodriguez, University of Houston, on social networks and immigrant communities.

[13] See the work by anthropologist Caroline Brettel, Southern Methodist University.

[14] The percent of individuals residing in group quarters (2.7%) or occupying units without responsibility of payment (2.3%) is 5%; these individuals were deselected from the housing tenure variable.

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[20] "State Functions at the Texas-Mexico Border and Cross-border Transportation," Texas Comptrollers' Office, January 2001.

[21] See the work of historian Roger V. Kemper, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas.

[22] Brian J. L. Berry and John D. Kasarda, Chapter 10 "Metropolitan Expansion and Central-city Organization: A Test of the Theory of Ecological Expansion," in *Contemporary Urban Ecology*, New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., Inc., 1977, 195.

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