Ecological Contexts of Reception:
The Segregation of Hispanics and Asians in New Destination Areas

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Abstract

This paper explores trends in residential segregation, spatial isolation, and poverty concentration for Hispanics and Asians in new, traditional, and low immigration areas. The analysis uses a typology of destination areas derived from an earlier classification scheme developed by Singer (2004). It uses the index of dissimilarity to measure segregation from whites and the P* isolation index to measure both racial isolation and the degree of class isolation experienced by the poor of each group. Trends in segregation and spatial isolation do not differ much between new, traditional, and low immigration areas, though variation in the size and rate of growth of the Hispanic population in different areas does produce differences in the spatial isolation of Hispanics. In general, Hispanic display higher levels of segregation and isolation than Asians, and these conditions combine with elevated Hispanic poverty rates to produce relatively high concentrations of poverty. Although Asian poverty is also spatially concentrated, it is not produced by the interplay of segregation and poverty in the same way as among Hispanics. Given their lower levels of segregation, isolation, and poverty Asians generally experience more favorable contexts of reception than do Latinos in the spatial ecology of metropolitan America.

During the 1990s a new geography of immigration and settlement emerged in the United States. Prior to that time, immigration was heavily focused on just six states: California, Florida, Illinois, New Jersey, New York, and Texas. The degree of geographic concentration was especially marked for Hispanics. Among Mexican immigrants who arrived between 1985 and 1990, for example, 87% settled in one of these states, and the figure was 80% for other Latin Americans. In contrast, among those who arrived between 2000 and 2005, only 61% of Mexicans and 58% of Other Latin Americans settled in the same six states. Among Asians who arrived in each period, however, the shift was only from 65% to 53% (Massey and Capoferro 2008).

Among Latino immigrants, the biggest shift was away from the state of California. Whereas 63% of Mexicans and 25% of Other Latinos who arrived in 1985-90 went to the Golden State, among those arriving in 2000-05 the respective shares were only 33% and 9%. Although the share of Asians going to California also declined, the drop was not as sharp, only falling from 35% to 24%. The principal reason for the dramatic shift of Hispanic immigration away from California was the massive militarization of that state's southern border, which diverted flows of undocumented Mexicans and Central Americans eastward through the Sonoran Desert, into Arizona, and onward to new destinations throughout the nation (Massey, Durand, and Pren 2016).

The presence of Latino and Asian immigrants in new destination has attracted considerable attention (cf. Zúñiga and Hernández-León 2005; Massey 2008; Singer, Hardwick, and Bretell 2009; Marrow 2011; Frey 2014; Chambers et al 2017). Based on data from the 2000 Census, Singer (2004) generated a typology of immigrant destinations, classifying U.S. metropolitan areas into seven categories: Former Gateways, Continuous Gateways, Post-World War II Gateways, Emerging Gateways, Re-Emerging Gateways, and Low Migration Areas, a classification scheme she recently updated for 2014 (Singer 2015). Drawing on a modified version of this classification scheme, in the present analysis I consider the ecological context of reception for Hispanic and Asian immigrants by assessing trends in the residential segregation, spatial isolation, and the concentration of poverty for Hispanics and Asians in new and traditional destination areas.

DATA AND METHODS

Data come from the Decennial Census of Housing and Population for 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000, and 2010 and the 2008-2010 American Community Survey. Measures of residential segregation and spatial isolation for 1980-2010 were taken from Logan and Stults (2011) and measures of segregation and isolation for 1970 were computed from data extracted from the professional version of Social Explorer (www.socialexplorer.com). All metropolitan areas and census tract grids were standardized to definitions used in 2009. Residential segregation and spatial isolation were measured using the index of dissimilarity (D) and the P* isolation index (Massey and Denton 1988). For any two groups X and Y, D gives the relative share of X and Y members who would have to exchange tracts to achieve an even residential distribution—one in which each census tract replicates the percentage of X and Y members in the metropolitan area as a whole. For any group X, the P* isolation index gives the proportion of X members living in the census tract occupied by the average group X member .Whereas D varies from 0 (complete integration) to 100 (complete segregation), the P* isolation index varies from the percentage of X members in the metropolitan population (minimal isolation) to 100 (total isolation).

Singer's classification scheme for 2010 is presented in Appendix A. It includes *former gateways,* metropolitan areas that were once major immigrant ports of entry but no longer receive many immigrants. They consist largely of older manufacturing areas in the Northeast and Midwest, such as Buffalo and Cleveland. *Continuous gateways* are longstanding immigrant destinations that have experienced sustained entry from abroad since the early 20th century, including major gateways such as Chicago and New York but also minor gateways such as Fresno and San Antonio. *Post-World War Two* gateways include metropolitan areas that began receiving significant numbers of immigrants in the mid-20th Century such as Dallas and Miami. *Emerging gateways* only began receiving immigrants in the late 20th Century, including major new gateways such as Atlanta and Las Vegas as well as minor gateways such as Nashville and Salt Lake City. *Reemerging gateways* experienced significant immigration early in the 20th Century and then after a long hiatus once again began receiving immigrants at century's end, including

areas such as Philadelphia and Seattle. Finally, *low immigration areas* have foreign born percentages below the national average and experience only modest immigration from abroad.

Preliminary work using these categories revealed that segregation levels and trends were quite similar for low immigration areas and former gateways, so I combined these rubrics into a single category labeled "low immigration" (which includes 54 metropolitan areas). Trends in emerging and reemerging gateway areas were also quite similar, so these two classifications were combined to create a new category labeled "new destinations" (26 areas) Finally, since the Post World War Two gateways included major targets of Latin American immigration such as Los Angeles and Houston that have long served as traditional destinations for Mexicans, this category was combined with the continuous gateway category to create a new category here labeled "traditional" (41 areas).

HISPANIC SEGREGATION, ISOLATION, AND POVERTY CONCENTRATION

Figure 1 shows trends in Hispanic-white segregation in traditional, new, and low immigration metropolitan areas. Dissimilarity index values over 60 are conventionally considered to be high, while those between 30 and 60 are moderate, and those below 30 are low. By these criteria, levels of Hispanic segregation have consistently been in the moderate range. In 1970 average values were clustered tightly between 44 and 49 across the different destination types. Thereafter the dissimilarity index dropped to around 35 in 1980 in new and low destination areas, where it basically remained through 1990 before rising again in 2000 and ending up with values of around 40 in low destination areas and 43 in new destination areas in 2010. In contrast, Hispanic segregation in traditional areas remained elevated throughout the four decades, with the dissimilarity index rising slowly from around 47 in 1970 to reach 50 in 2000 before dropping slightly to 49 in 2010. As a point of comparison, black-white segregation in 2010 averaged around 60 (Rugh and Massey 2014).

FIGURE 1 ABOUT HERE

Thus Hispanics are not as segregated as African Americans irrespective of destination type, at least on average; and within new destination areas the average level of Hispanic-white segregation is lower than in traditional areas. However, from 1970 to 2010 the number of Hispanics rose quite sharply in

in most metropolitan areas, and as can be seen in Figure 2 this growth was associated with a significant increase in the degree to which Hispanics were spatially isolated within neighborhoods. In traditional areas of Hispanic settlement, the average P* isolation stood at around 22 in 1970 but rose steady over the ensuing decades to reach 42 in 2010, meaning that the average Latino in that year inhabited a census tract that was 42% Hispanic. Levels of isolation were much lower in new and low immigration areas through 1990 but thereafter moved up sharply. Whereas the isolation index rose slowly from around 10 to 12 between 1970 and 1990 in new immigration areas and from 5 to 8 in low immigration areas, after 1990 the increase accelerated in both types of metropolitan areas, reaching a value of 24 in new immigration areas and 16 in low immigration areas.

FIGURE 2 ABOUT HERE

Segregation has consequences for socioeconomic wellbeing because high levels of segregation imply restrictions on residential mobility; and because opportunities and resources are unevenly distributed in urban space, limits on residential mobility necessarily place limits on socioeconomic mobility (Massey and Denton 1985). In addition, segregation is directly connected to the geographic concentration of poverty (Quillian 2012) and exposure to concentrated disadvantage is increasingly recognized as a critical mechanism by which poverty is perpetuated over time and across the generations (Sampson 2013; Sharkey 2014). Figure 3 therefore plots trends in the concentration of Hispanic poverty from 1970 to 2010, with poverty concentration being measured using the P* isolation index for poor Hispanics relative to poor people of any origin. In essence, the index gives the percentage poor in the neighborhood of the average poor Hispanic.

FIGURE 3 ABOUT HERE

Whereas the degree of racial isolation varied considerably by destination type, we observe much less variation in the degree of class isolation experienced by poor Hispanics. All three destination types display the same time trend and very similar absolute levels of isolation. In 1970s the P* index of poverty concentration varied narrowly from 18 to 21, meaning that the average poor Latino lived in a neighborhood that was 18% to 21% poor and as of 1980 it stood at 18 across all destination types. In

general neighborhood poverty rates over 20 are considered to be high and those above 40 are viewed as extreme. By these standards, therefore, the concentration of Hispanic was on the margins of the high range but not extreme, certainly lower than that experienced by blacks.

Although little change occurred through the 1970s, after 1980 poverty concentration rose across all destination types and the range of index values increased. As of 2000, the average poor Latino lived in a neighborhood that was 31% or 32% poor in low immigration and traditional immigration areas and 28% poor in new destination areas. By 2010, however, the range had constricted and the averages had fallen a bit, with index values ranging from 25 or 26 in new and traditional areas to 28% in low immigration areas. Since 1990, therefore, poor Hispanics have generally experienced rather high concentrations of poverty regardless of destination.

Although average levels of Hispanic residential segregation may generally fall into the moderate range, in some metropolitan areas they can be quite high. Figure 4 shows levels of segregation, isolation, and poverty concentration for the five most segregated metropolitan areas in each destination category (ranked according to the index of Hispanic-white dissimilarity). Among both low and traditional immigration areas, locations in the northeast dominate. These are places in which Caribbean origins dominate, where groups such as Puerto Ricans, Cubans, and Dominicans contain significant numbers of persons of African descent. Prior research indicates that larger shares of darker-skinned, nonwhite Hispanics in this region historically have been associated higher levels of segregation than in other regions (Massey and Bitterman 1985; Denton and Massey 1989). Thus indices of Hispanic-white dissimilarity are above 60 in Springfield (MA), Providence, Peabody (MA), New York, Newark, and Boston; and indices are in the upper portion of the moderate range in Allentown and Lancaster (PA) as well.

FIGURE 4 ABOUT HERE

Among the most segregated low and traditional immigration areas, only Milwaukee and Los Angeles lie outside the northeast. In many ways Los Angeles stands out as the most segregated metropolitan area for Hispanics, with indices of segregation and isolation both above 60. Indeed,

according to Wilkes and Iceland (2004), by 2000 the Los Angeles metropolitan area had come to satisfy the criteria for hypersegregation, along with New York. Although the P* index for racial isolation never exceeds 50 in any other metropolitan area, Springfield stands out for its extreme level poverty concentration, with an isolation index value of 43.4. The degree of poverty concentration is also quite high (above 30) in Providence, Milwaukee, and Boston, implying rather unfavorable contexts of reception for Hispanics in those metropolitan areas.

Turning to new immigration areas, we see that the highest levels of segregation there do not reach those displayed in traditional and low immigration areas. In no metropolitan areas does the dissimilarity index exceed 60 and with the exception of Phoenix indices of racial isolation are all below 30, though Philadelphia does stand out for its relatively high concentration of Hispanic poverty. In that metropolitan area, the average Latino in 2010 lived in a tract that was almost 41% poor, certainly an inauspicious context for adaptation, assimilation, and socioeconomic advancement.

ASIAN SEGREGATION, ISOLATION, AND POVERTY CONCENTRATION

Unlike Hispanic-white segregation that between Asians and whites is much lower, has varied little over time, and has never varied much by destination type. As shown in Figure 5, in 1970 Asian-white segregation stood at roughly 35 in all destination categories, and in 2010 the range only went from 36 to 38 (in contrast to 40-49 among Hispanics). Given these modest levels of dissimilarity and the lower relative share of Asians compared to Hispanics in most metropolitan areas, levels of Asian spatial isolation have remained quite low, as indicated in Figure 6. From 1980 to 2010 the average P* isolation index rose only from 7 to 15 in traditional immigration areas, form 4 to 11 in new destination areas, and from 3 to 5 in low immigration areas.

FIGURES 5 AND 6 ABOUT HERE

Despite moderate levels of segregation and low levels of spatial isolation, the concentration of Asian poverty is quite high, only a little below that of Hispanics, and it follows the same trend as Hispanic poverty concentration over time (see Figure 7). From values of around 12 for traditional areas and 15 for new and low immigration areas in 1980, the class isolation index for poor Asians rose sharply

during the 1980s and then slowed down during the 1990s to peak at 29 in low immigration areas and around 26 in new and traditional immigration areas in 2000 before falling back to respective values of 26 and 22 in 2010.

FIGURE 7 ABOUT HERE

A quick glance at Figure 8, which shows measures of segregation, isolation, and poverty concentration for the five most segregated metropolitan areas in each destination category, reveals that levels of Asian white-segregation never reach the high levels observed for Hispanics. There are no Asian-white dissimilarity indices above 60 and few above 50. Indeed, among low immigration areas, only Buffalo displays an index value above 50 and among traditional immigration areas, only Edison (NJ) displays an index above that threshold. Among new immigration areas, no metropolitan displayed an Asian-white dissimilarity above 50. The highest dissimilarity values are generally in the 40s and indices of racial isolation rarely exceed 30.

FIGURE 8 ABOUT HERE

Among low immigration areas, racial isolation indices range from 8 to 14 and among new and traditional areas they range from 7 to 30. In just two metropolitan areas do we observe isolation indices above 30: Los Angeles (around 32) and San Jose (around 44). As already noted, the class isolation of poor Asians is surprisingly high given their modest degree of residential segregation and spatial isolation (more on this below). The highest concentrations of poverty are 40 in Syracuse (a traditional immigration area), 36 in Detroit (a low immigration area), and 33 in Baton Rouge (another low immigration area). In most of the remaining areas, poverty concentration indices vary between 20 and 30 (in Buffalo, Pittsburgh, Warren (MI) among low immigration areas; in New York, Houston, and Los Angeles among traditional areas; and in Sacramento and Greensboro (NC) among new destination areas). Levels of concentrated poverty are low in Edison (NJ), Atlanta, Raleigh, and San Jose.

DETERMINANTS OF SEGREGATION, ISOLATION, AND POVERTY CONCENTRATION

In their analysis of data from 287 metropolitan areas Rugh and Massey (2014) found that nationwide, residential segregation and spatial isolation were determined by a small set of group

characteristics (the minority percentage, the percentage foreign born, levels of income and education relative to non-Hispanic whites, and the degree of anti-black and anti-Latino sentiment) and a few metropolitan characteristics (the restrictiveness of density zoning in suburbs, the size of the metropolitan population, the percent of workers in unions, the percent aged 65 and over, the median year of home construction, the share employed in finance, insurance, and real estate (the FIRE sector), and the relative size of the military population. Preliminary analyses uncovered no evidence that the relative size of the military population had any effect on Hispanic or Asian segregation (given high proportions of foreign born in these populations few are in the military). Early estimates also detected no significant effect of anti-Latino sentiment on Hispanic segregation in the metropolitan areas under study, so we dropped these two variables from further considerations. However, preliminary estimates did detect significant effects of the estimated share of undocumented migrants among Hispanics (computed from data obtained from the Center for Migration Studies (2017) as well as the share of Hispanics who self-identified as nonwhite (computed from census data).

The left-hand columns of Table 1 show a parsimonious model that explains 82% of the 2010 variance in Hispanic-white segregation using just six group characteristics and six metropolitan characteristics (full information on the independent variables is available from Rugh and Massey (2014). Dummy variables indicating type of destination revealed no significant differences between low immigration, new immigration and traditional immigration areas in the degree of Latino segregation, reinforcing the overall impression derived from the descriptive figures.

TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE

With respect to group characteristics, Hispanic segregation is found to increase with the metropolitan percentage of Hispanics, the share of foreign born Hispanics, and the percentage of nonwhite Hispanics and to fall as household income and the percent college educated rises among Hispanics relative to whites. Contrary to expectations, the share of Hispanics estimated to be undocumented was negatively related to the degree of Hispanic-white segregation. In terms of metropolitan characteristic, Hispanic segregation was found to be positively predicted by the

restrictiveness of suburban density zoning, the size of the metropolitan population, the share aged 65 or older, and the share of workers in the FIRE sector and negatively predicted by the percent unionized and the median year of home construction.

However, the same set of independent variables explains only half as much of the variation in Asian-white segregation, with only four variables attaining statistical significance and no detectable effects associated with socioeconomic status indicators. As in the Hispanic model, destination type had no effect on the degree of segregation experienced by Asians. Their segregation was positively associated with the metropolitan percentage Asian, restrictive suburban density zoning, and large metropolitan population size. However, whereas the share of persons aged 65 or older positively predicted Hispanic segregation, it was negatively associated with Asian segregation. In general, the residential segregation of Asians was far less systematic than that of Hispanics.

Given a predetermined level of dissimilarity from whites and the percentage minority, the degree of spatial isolation generally follows axiomatically with little additional influence from group or metropolitan characteristics. Such an axiomatic determination of spatial isolation is certainly the case for Hispanics, as shown in left-hand columns of the top panel of Table 2, wherein these two variables explain 96% of the variance in Hispanic spatial isolation. Type of destination had no significant bearing on the degree of spatial isolation experienced by Hispanics. Much the same is true of the Asian model shown in the right-hand columns of the top panel, where in the model explains 88% of the variation in Asian spatial isolation. However estimates indicate that Asian isolation levels are systematically lower in low immigration areas compared to new or traditional immigration areas.

TABLE 2 ABOUT HERE

Finally, the spatial concentration of poverty has been shown to stem in large part from an interaction between segregation and the poverty rate, such that when a poor population is highly segregated, concentrated poverty inevitably results. The bottom panel of Table 2 regresses the class isolation index for poor Hispanics and Asians on the poverty rate for each group and an interaction term, which multiplies the observed level of dissimilarity from whites by the poverty rate. Among Hispanics,

the degree of poverty concentration does not vary by type of destination and together the poverty rate and the interaction term explain 77% of the variation in poverty concentration, though the interaction term is only significant at the 10% level. Among Asians, however, poverty concentration tends to be greater in low immigration areas, and whereas the poverty-by-segregation interaction is highly significant, the poverty rate itself fails to achieve statistical significance, and only 39% of the variation in Asian poverty concentration is explained by the model. Thus compared with Hispanics, the concentration of Asian poverty is determined by other factors besides poverty and segregation.

CONCLUSION

In this paper I have analyzed trends and patterns of residential segregation, spatial isolation, and poverty concentration for Hispanics in new, traditional, and low immigration metropolitan areas. In general, segregation levels and patterns do not vary sharply by type of destination, especially for Asians. However, levels of Hispanic-white dissimilarity are greater than levels of Asian-white dissimilarity; and compared with Asian segregation, Hispanic segregation is more systematically related to group and metropolitan characteristics. The profile of a metropolitan area in which Hispanics experience relatively low levels of segregation is one with a small total population, a newer housing stock, a less restrictive suburban density zoning regime, a small elderly population, a high rate of unionization, and a labor market in which the FIRE sector employs few workers, and one in which Hispanics themselves constitute a small percentage of the metropolitan population, are relatively affluent and well-educated relative to whites, and are generally native born and self-identify as whites. In contrast, the profile of a metropolitan area where Asians are less segregated is much simpler: a small metropolitan population with a small percentage of Asians, a large share of elderly residents, and less restrictive density zoning in suburbs.

The degree of Asian and Hispanic spatial isolation is largely determined by each group's percentage of the population and the level of segregation it experiences, and given lower levels of Asian-white segregation and relatively small Asian populations in most metropolitan areas, the degree of spatial isolation experienced by Asians is considerably lower than that experienced by Hispanics, especially in

traditional immigrant destinations. Although levels of isolation have increased for both groups, the rate of increase has been much more rapid for Hispanics than Asians.

Although segregation and poverty are known to interact such that the segregation of a high poverty group tends to concentrate poverty spatially, this dynamic plays out much more forcefully for Hispanics than Asians across U.S. metropolitan areas. Although Asians do display relatively high concentrations of poverty, their lower levels of segregation, isolation, and poverty mean that the concentration of Asian poverty is not produced so much by the interplay of segregation and poverty, but is attributable to other processes that remain unidentified. Whereas poverty and the segregation-poverty interaction account for only 39% of the inter-metropolitan variation in Asian poverty concentration, they account for 77% of the variation in Hispanic poverty concentration.

In the end, when it comes to the spatial ecology of U.S. metropolitan areas, the analyses presented here do not reveal substantially different contexts of reception in new versus traditional areas of destination, but they do suggest difference ecological contexts for Hispanics and Asians. Gven the lower levels of segregation and spatial isolation observed for Asians and the weaker connection of Asian segregation to the concentration of Asian poverty, the ecological context of reception for Asians appears to be more favorable than that for Hispanics irrespective of the type of destination. Hispanics face higher levels of segregation, higher and more rapidly rising levels of isolation, and owing the dynamic interaction between Hispanic segregation and Hispanic poverty they a rather high concentration of poverty in many metropolitan areas.

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Table 1. OLS regression models predicting residential segregation from whites in 2010.

	Hispanics		Asians	
Independent Variables	B	SE	B	SE
Destination Type				
Low Immigration	-1.21	1.21	-1.09	1.52
New Destination	-0.76	1.31	-2.30	1.65
Group Characteristics				
Percent of Metro Population	0.16***	0.05	0.32***	0.09
Percent Foreign Born	0.10*	0.05	0.12	0.12
Minority-White Income Ratio	-18.22***	4.84	1.35	4.67
Minority-White College Educated	-23.41***	3.38	1.80	2.05
Percent Undocumented	-0.12**	0.04	---	---
Percent Nonwhite	19.85***	5.65	---	---
Metropolitan Characteristics				
Density Zoning Restrictiveness	4.31***	1.12	5.26***	1.24
Ln of Population	2.61***	0.65	3.34***	0.87
Percent Unionized	-0.28***	0.08	0.01	0.12
Percent Aged 65+	0.64***	0.17	-0.70**	0.22
Median Year of Home Construction	-0.27***	0.07	-0.01	0.09
Percent in Fire Sector	0.56*	0.23	-0.31	0.30
Intercept	531.62***	135.47	-11.99	175.30
Adjusted R-Squared	0.82***		0.41***	
N	121		121	

*p<0.05; p<0.01; ***p<0.001

Table 2. Effect of residential segregation in producing racial isolation and concentration of poverty.

	Hispanics		Asians	
Independent Variables	B	SE	B	SE
RACIAL ISOLATION				
Low Immigration Area	-0.23	0.97	-2.96***	0.68
New Destination Area	-0.45	1.00	-1.24	0.77
Segregation from Whites	0.59***	0.04	0.36***	0.04
Percent of Metro Population	1.01***	0.03	0.86***	0.04
Intercept	-15.38***	2.03	-7.11***	1.52
Adjusted R-Squared	0.96***		0.88***	
N	121		121	
POVERTY CONCENTRATION				
Low Immigration Areas	-0.42	0.69	2.08*	0.99
New Destination Areas	-0.82	0.75	0.63	1.14
Group Poverty Rate	0.66***	0.09	0.22	0.14
Segregation x Poverty Interaction	0.002+	0.001	0.01***	0.003
Intercept	10.06***	1.00	13.5***	1.30
R-Squared	0.77***		0.39***	
N	121		121	

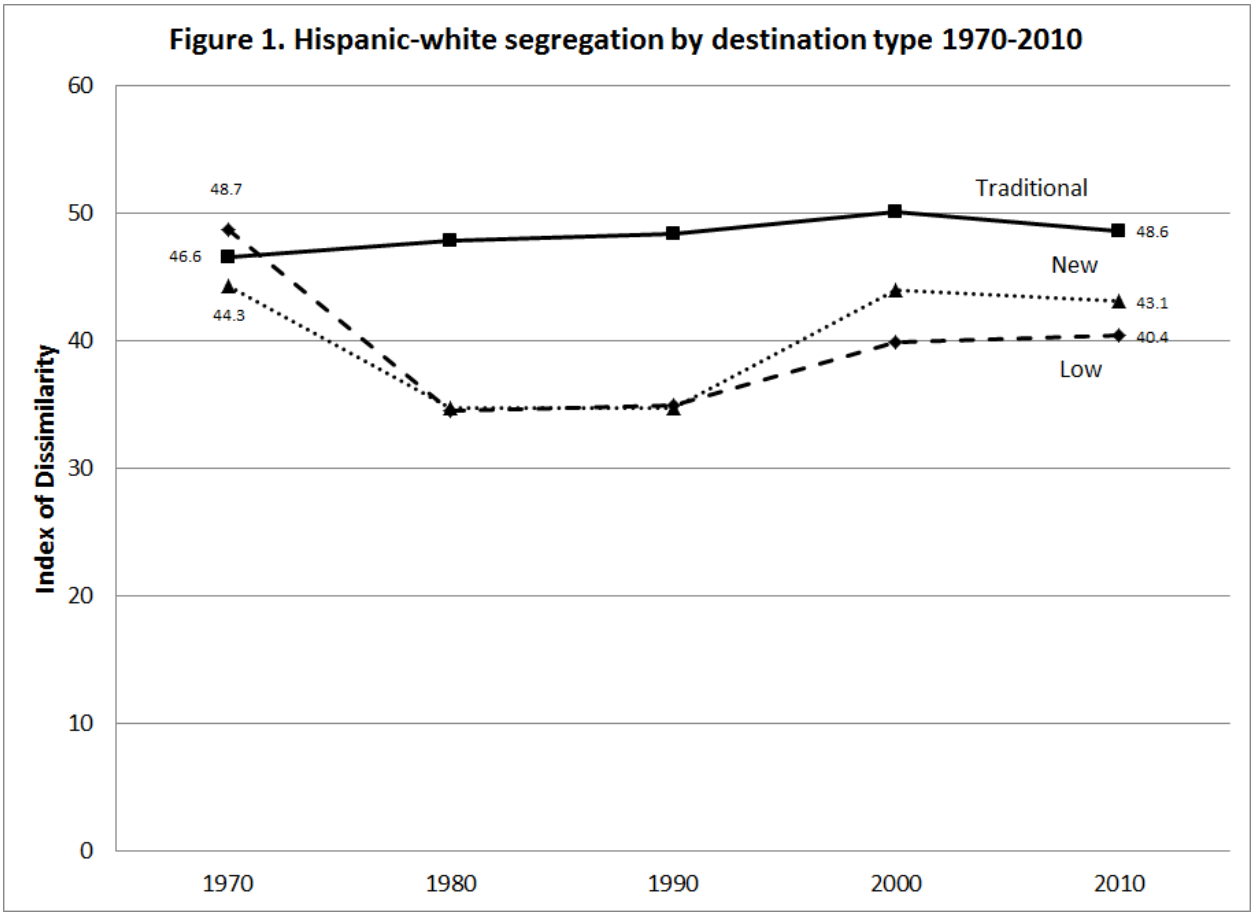


Figure 1. Hispanic-white segregation by destination type 1970-2010
Index of Dissimilarity
60
50
40
30
20
10
0
1970
1980
1990
2000
2010
48.7
46.6
44.3
Traditional
New
Low
48.6
43.1
40.4

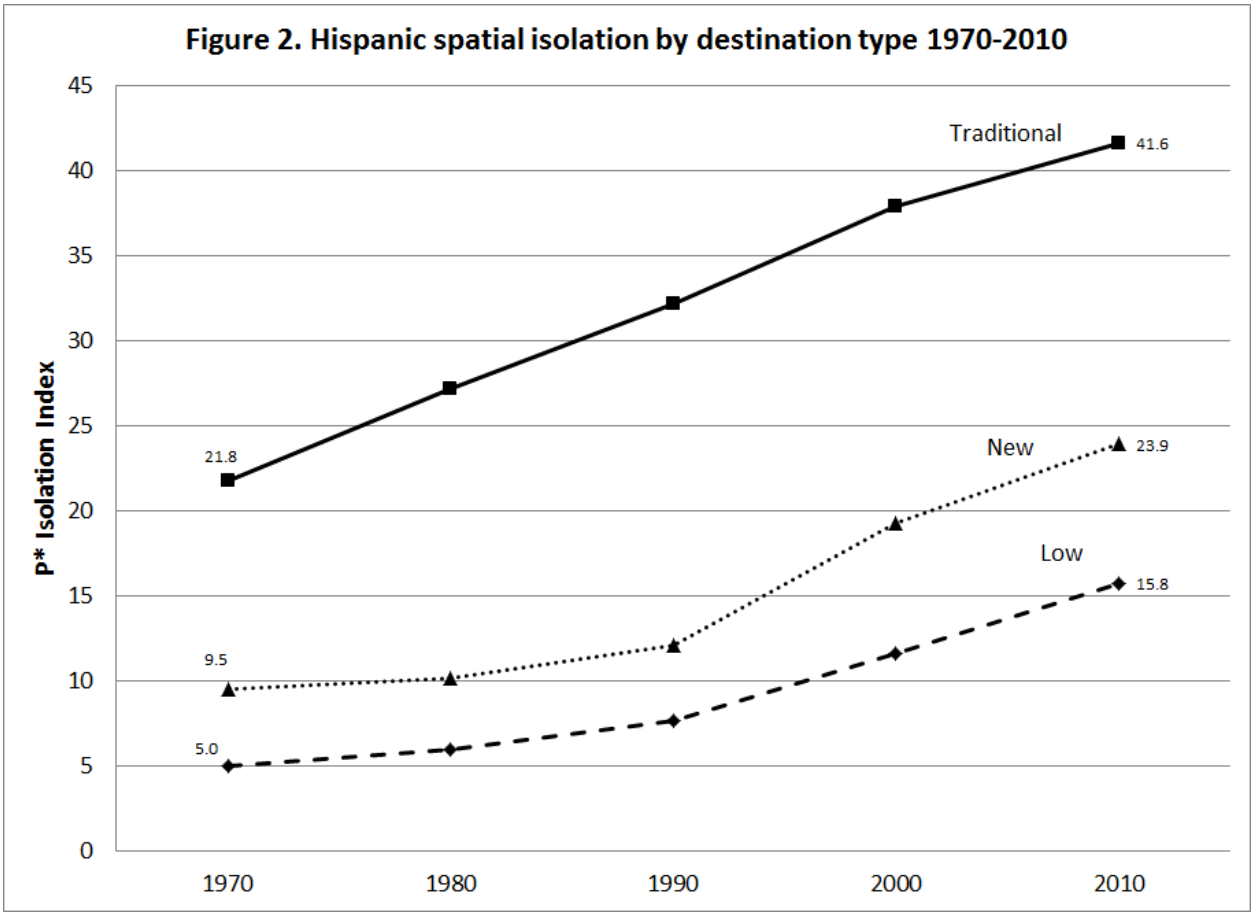


Figure 2. Hispanic spatial isolation by destination type 1970-2010
P* Isolation Index
45
40
35
30
25
20
15
10
5
0
1970
1980
1990
2000
2010
Traditional
41.6
21.8
New
23.9
9.5
Low
15.8
5.0

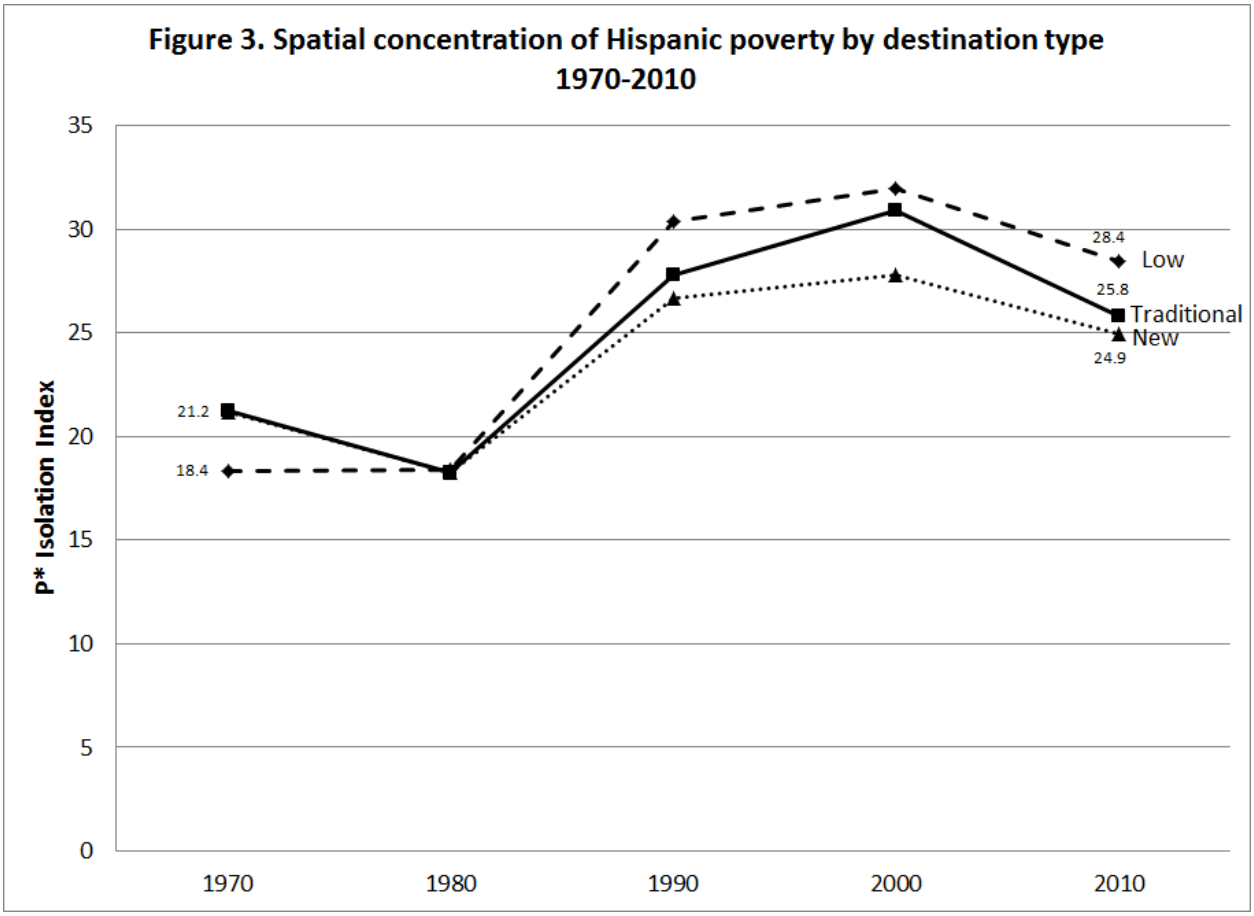
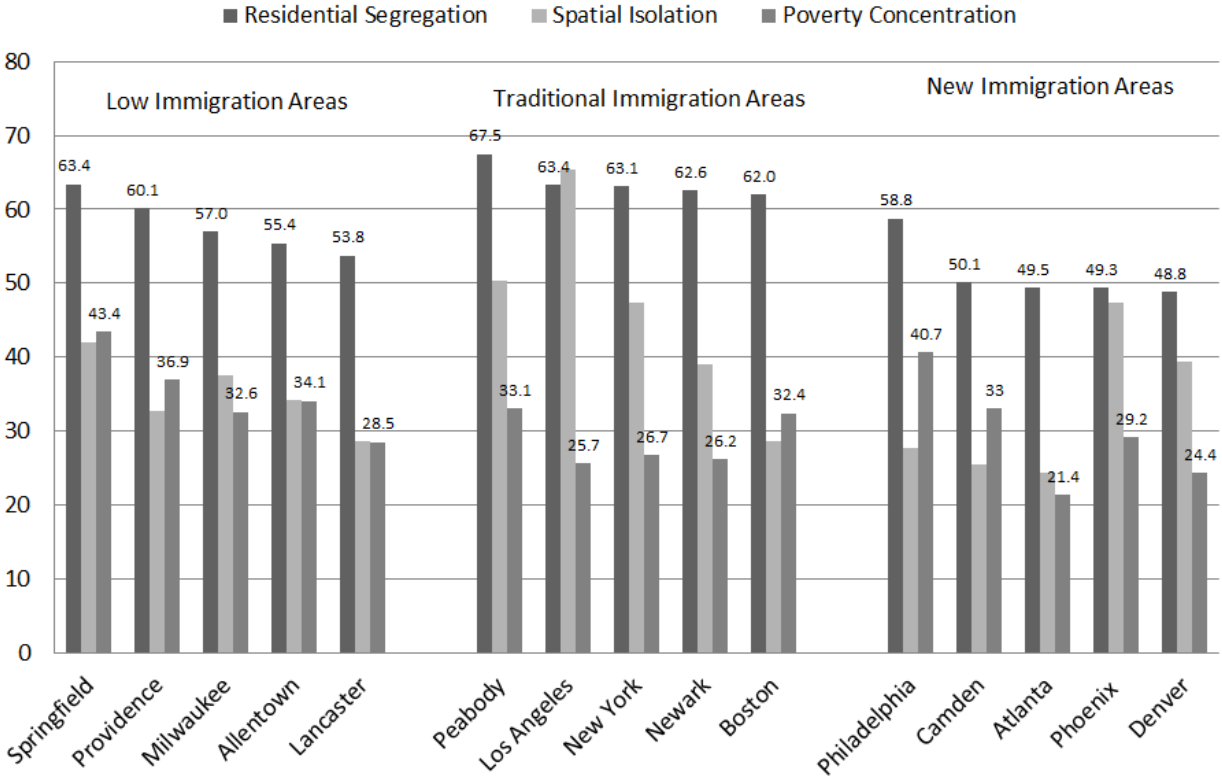


Figure 3. Spatial concentration of Hispanic poverty by destination type
1970-2010
P* Isolation Index
35
30
25
20
15
10
5
0
1970
1980
1990
2000
2010
21.2
18.4
28.4
25.8
24.9
Low
Traditional
New

Figure 4. Indicators of segregation, isolation, and poverty concentration for the most segregated areas within each destination type in 2010



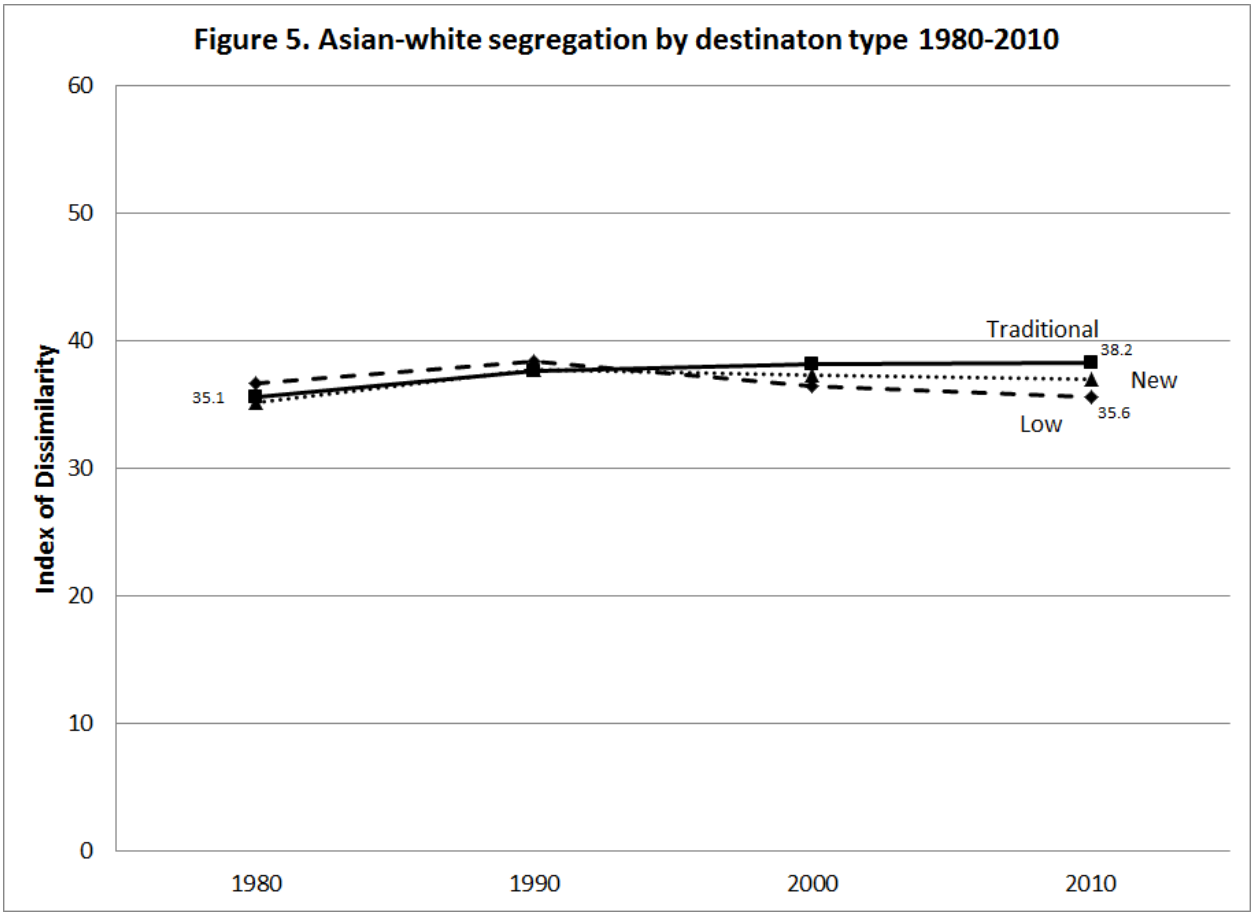


Figure 5. Asian-white segregation by destinaton type 1980-2010
Index of Dissimilarity
60
50
40
30
20
10
0
1980
1990
2000
2010
Traditional
New
Low
35.1
38.2
35.6

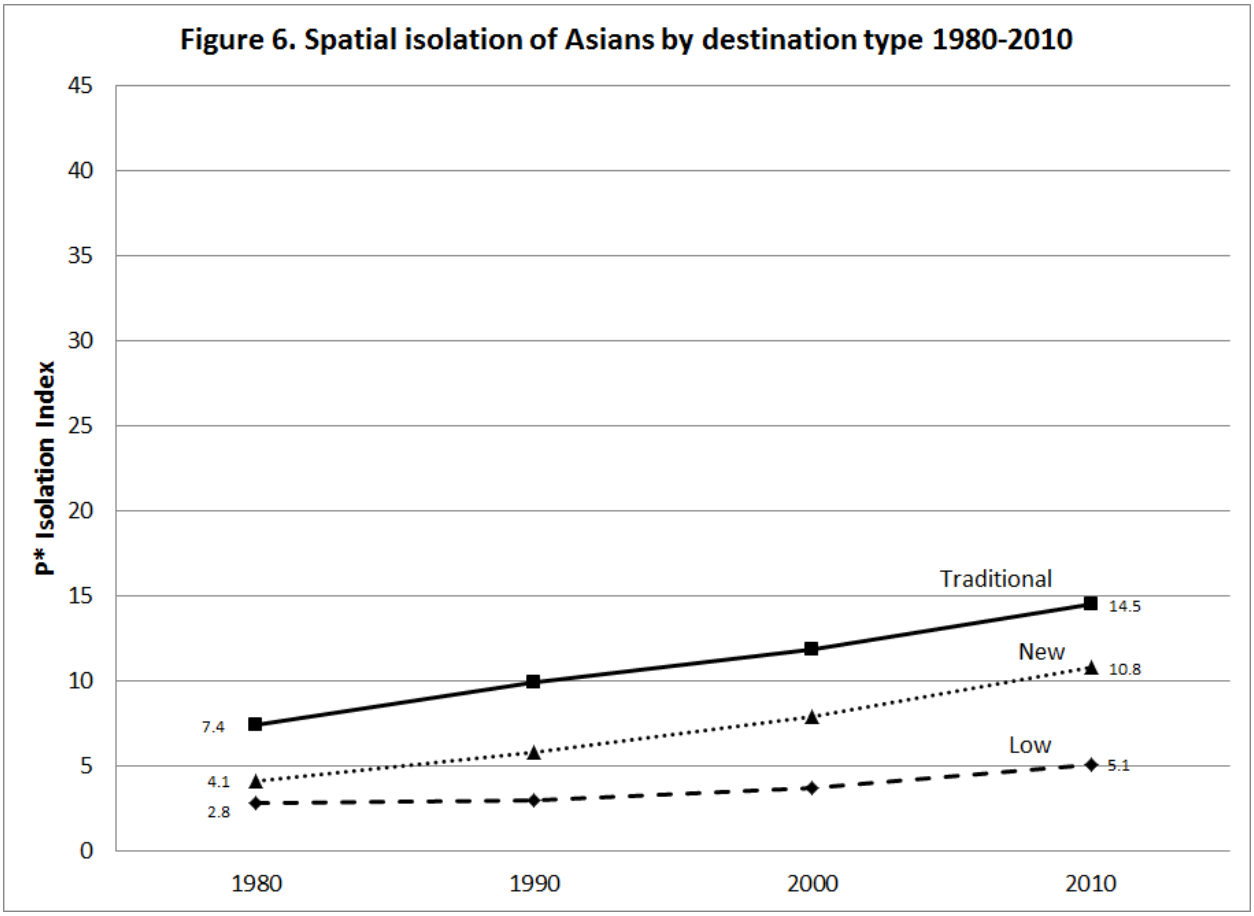


Figure 6. Spatial isolation of Asians by destination type 1980-2010
P* Isolation Index
45
40
35
30
25
20
15
10
5
0
1980
1990
2000
2010
Traditional
14.5
7.4
New
10.8
4.1
Low
5.1
2.8

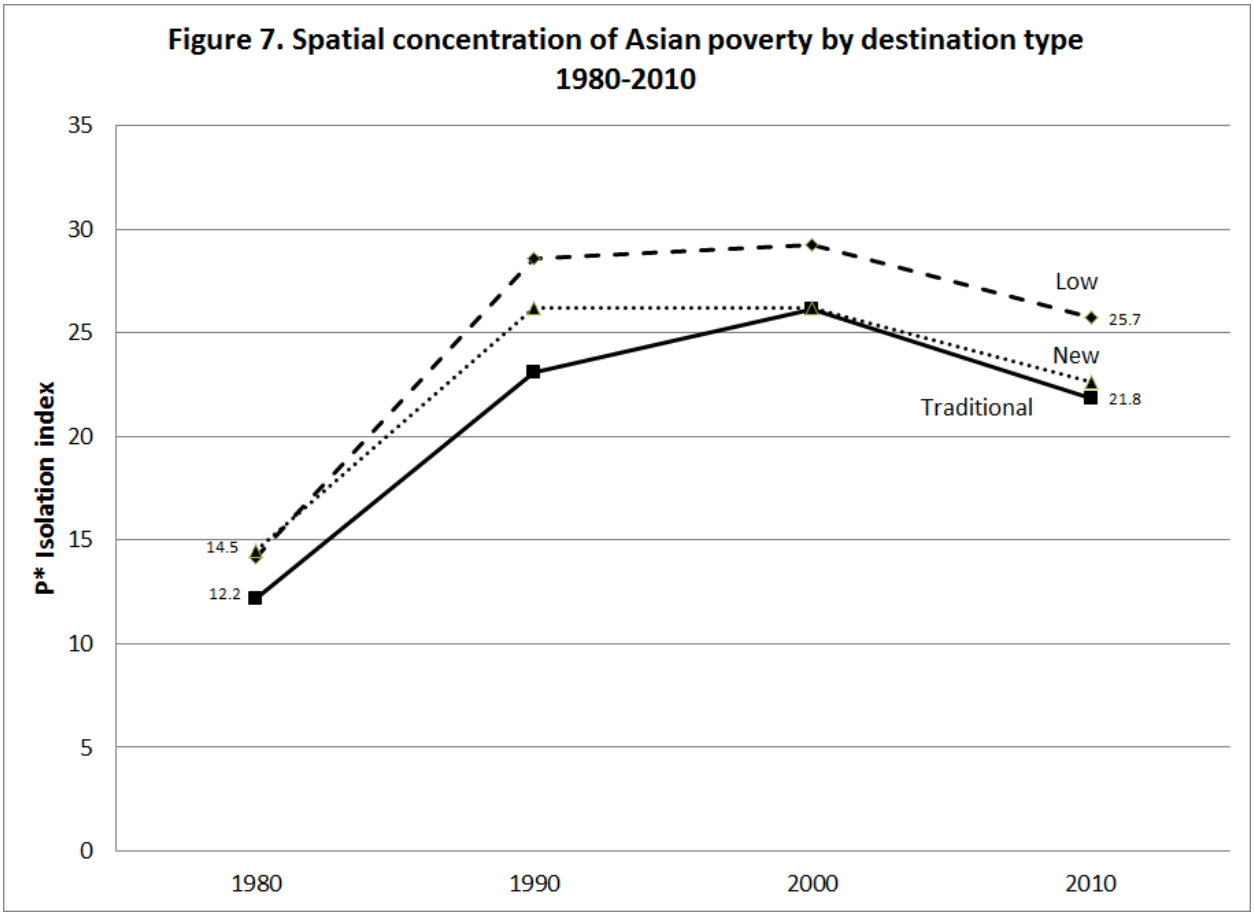
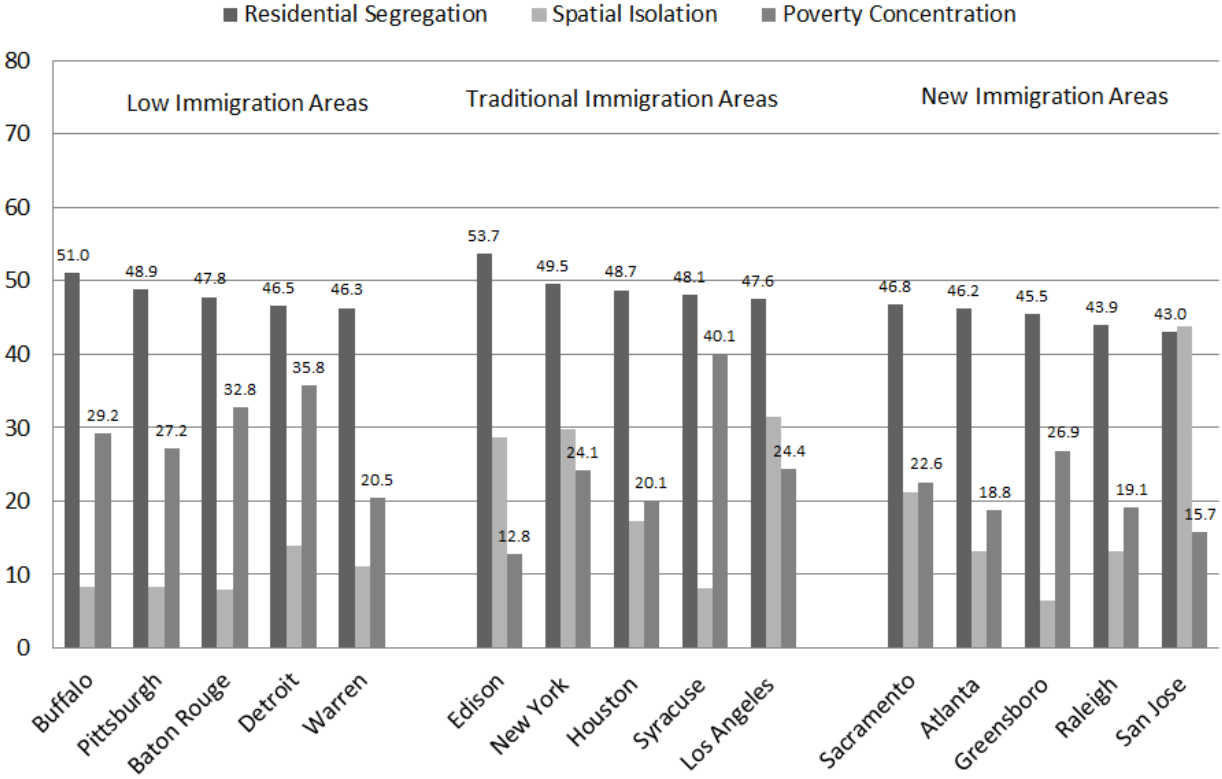


Figure 7. Spatial concentration of Asian poverty by destination type
1980-2010
P* Isolation index
35
30
25
20
15
10
5
0
1980
1990
2000
2010
Low
New
Traditional
25.7
21.8
14.5
12.2

Figure 8. Indicators of segregation, isolation, and poverty concentration for the most segregated areas within each destination type in 2010



Appendix A. Singer's (2014) classification of U.S. metropolitan areas into destination categories.

Low Immigration Areas

Akron, OH MSA
Albany-Schenectady-Troy, NY MSA
Albuquerque, NM MSA
Allentown-Bethlehem-Easton, PA-NJ MSA
Augusta-Richmond County, GA-SC MSA
Baton Rouge, LA MSA
Birmingham-Hoover, AL MSA
Boise City-Nampa, ID MSA
Charleston-North Charleston-Summerville, SC MSA
Chattanooga, TN-GA MSA
Cincinnati-Middletown, OH-KY-IN MSA
Colorado Springs, CO MSA
Columbia, SC MSA
Dayton, OH MSA
Deltona-Daytona Beach-Ormond Beach, FL MSA
Des Moines-West Des Moines, IA MSA
Grand Rapids-Wyoming, MI MSA
Greenville-Mauldin-Easley, SC MSA
Harrisburg-Carlisle, PA MSA
Jackson, MS MSA
Jacksonville, FL MSA
Kansas City, MO-KS MSA
Knoxville, TN MSA
Lancaster, PA MSA
Little Rock-North Little Rock-Conway, AR MSA
Louisville/Jefferson County, KY-IN MSA
Madison, WI MSA
Memphis, TN-MS-AR MSA
New Orleans-Metairie-Kenner, LA MSA
North Port-Bradenton-Sarasota, FL MSA
Ogden-Clearfield, UT MSA
Oklahoma City, OK MSA
Omaha-Council Bluffs, NE-IA MSA
Palm Bay-Melbourne-Titusville, FL MSA
Portland-South Portland-Biddeford, ME MSA
Provo-Orem, UT MSA
Richmond, VA MSA
Scranton--Wilkes-Barre, PA MSA
Spokane, WA MSA
Springfield, MA MSA
Toledo, OH MSA
Tulsa, OK MSA
Virginia Beach-Norfolk-Newport News, VA-NC MSA
Wichita, KS MSA
Winston-Salem, NC MSA
Youngstown-Warren-Boardman, OH-PA MSA

Emerging Immigrant Areas
Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA MSA
Austin-Round Rock-San Marcos, TX MSA
Charlotte-Gastonia-Rock Hill, NC-SC MSA
Columbus, OH MSA
Durham-Chapel Hill, NC MSA
Greensboro-High Point, NC MSA
Indianapolis-Carmel, IN MSA
Lakeland-Winter Haven, FL MSA
Las Vegas-Paradise, NV MSA
Nashville-Davidson--Murfreesboro--Franklin, TN MSA
Orlando-Kissimmee-Sanford, FL MSA
Phoenix-Mesa-Glendale, AZ MSA
Raleigh-Cary, NC MSA
Salt Lake City, UT MSA

Continuous Immigration Areas
Bakersfield-Delano, CA MSA
Boston-Quincy, MA MDIV
Peabody, MA MDIV
Bridgeport-Stamford-Norwalk, CT MSA
Cambridge-Newton-Framingham, MA MDIV
Chicago-Joliet-Naperville, IL MDIV
Gary, IN MDIV
Lake County-Kenosha County, IL-WI MDIV
El Paso, TX MSA
Fresno, CA MSA
Hartford-West Hartford-East Hartford, CT MSA
McAllen-Edinburg-Mission, TX MSA
Modesto, CA MSA
Nassau-Suffolk, NY MDIV
Newark-Union, NJ-PA MDIV
New Haven-Milford, CT MSA
New York-White Plains-Wayne, NY-NJ MDIV
Edison-New Brunswick, NJ MDIV
Oakland-Fremont-Hayward, CA MDIV
Oxnard-Thousand Oaks-Ventura, CA MSA
Rochester, NY MSA
Rockingham County-Strafford County, NH MDIV
San Antonio-New Braunfels, TX MSA
San Francisco-San Mateo-Redwood City, CA MDIV
Stockton, CA MSA
Syracuse, NY MSA
Tucson, AZ MSA
Honolulu, HI MSA
Worcester, MA MSA

Reemerging Immigrant Areas
Baltimore-Towson, MD MSA
Camden, NJ MDIV
Denver-Aurora-Broomfield, CO MSA
Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI MSA
Philadelphia, PA MDIV
Portland-Vancouver-Hillsboro, OR-WA MSA
Sacramento--Arden-Arcade--Roseville, CA MSA
San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA MSA
Seattle-Bellevue-Everett, WA MDIV
Tacoma, WA MDIV
Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL MSA
Wilmington, DE-MD-NJ MDIV

Former Immigration Areas
Buffalo-Niagara Falls, NY MSA
Cleveland-Elyria-Mentor, OH MSA
Detroit-Livonia-Dearborn, MI MDIV
Warren-Troy-Farmington Hills, MI MDIV
Milwaukee-Waukesha-West Allis, WI MSA
Pittsburgh, PA MSA
Providence-New Bedford-Fall River, RI-MA MSA
St. Louis, MO-IL MSA

Postwar Immigration Areas
Bethesda-Rockville-Frederick, MD MDIV
Dallas-Plano-Irving, TX MDIV
Fort Worth-Arlington, TX MDIV
Houston-Sugar Land-Baytown, TX MSA
Los Angeles-Long Beach-Glendale, CA MDIV
Santa Ana-Anaheim-Irvine, CA MDIV
Miami-Miami Beach-Kendall, FL MDIV
Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach-Deerfield Beach, FL MDIV
West Palm Beach-Boca Raton-Boynton Beach, FL MDIV
Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA MSA
San Diego-Carlsbad-San Marcos, CA MSA
Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV MDIV
