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A Multi-Measure Approach: Latino Immigrant Economic Well-Being by Destination Type

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A Multi-Measure Approach:

Latino Immigrant Economic Well-Being by Destination Type

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by

Flavia Maria Lourenco Lake

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ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

A Multi-Measure Approach:

Latino Immigrant Economic Well-Being by Destination Type

by

Flavia Maria Lourenco Lake

Master of Arts in Geography

University of California, Los Angeles, 2019

Professor Jamie M. Goodwin-White, Chair

The geography of immigrant settlement has shifted dramatically over the last 30 years, with immigrants increasingly migrating to a number of "new destinations". Latino immigrants are the largest immigrant group in the United States and their economic outcomes in these new destinations have been a topic of particular scholarly concern. Past studies at the Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA) level have largely focused on measures of poverty and employment to find that Latino immigrants generally fare worse in new destinations relative to "traditional destinations" like Los Angeles, New York, and Miami. Unexplored in the current literature is whether the use of different outcome variables like homeownership, rent-burden, and nominal

income would yield a different story of the economic well-being of Latino immigrants in new destinations. In this study, I explore Latino immigrant economic well-being across five dimensions. While my results support previous findings regarding poverty, I find that Latino immigrants have better employment outcomes, higher nominal income, less rent-burden, and higher rates of homeownership. The results point to the need to consider a variety of outcomes in assessing Latino immigrant economic well-being.

The thesis of Flavia Maria Lourenco Lake is approved.

Michael C. Storper

Roger Waldinger

Jamie M. Goodwin-White, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2019

For Matthew, who taught me everything I know.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

True wealth is not measured in money or status or power. It is measured in the legacy we leave behind for those we love and those we inspire.

Cesar Chavez

As I write this section I can't help but feel wealthier than ever. I am beyond grateful for the community I have gained at UCLA and am reminded of the lasting impact that my larger community has had on my trajectory.

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Vamos lá gente!

1. Introduction

The post-1965 wave of immigration has left scholars across various disciplines concerned with the integration of Latino immigrants. We saw classical theories of assimilation reworked and new approaches emerge as academics grappled with the question: will this new wave of immigrants become 'American' by following a path similar to their Irish, German, and Italian predecessors? Additionally, existing theories that appeared to have strong predictive power of immigrant settlement patterns (e.g. cumulative causation) have been challenged by a new geography of settlement. Within this new settlement context, both foreign- and native-born workers have faced a rapidly changing economy in addition to the longest and deepest economic recession in U.S. history, both of which pose unique challenges to workers' economic well-being. In the last few decades, *the people coming to the U.S.* have largely been different than before, *where they are settling* has been different than expected, and *the economic and spatiotemporal context* in which they have found themselves has changed dramatically.

Migration scholars have waded through all of this difference, providing the academic community with new tools and frameworks for thinking about immigrant integration. Of particular prominence has been the concept of "new destinations" which refers to the aforementioned new geography of settlement where immigrants have settled outside the "traditional gateway" cities like New York and Los Angeles, instead settling in cities that have not historically had large immigrant populations like Atlanta and Las Vegas. Understanding this new geography is critical, as immigrants' locational decisions can often be understood to reflect some sort of relatively advantageous characteristics of the places in which they locate. To better conceptualize this new geography, various typologies of "destination types" have been created. Most notably, Audrey Singer (2004) identified six immigrant gateway types – Former,

Continuous, Post-WWII, Emerging, Re-emerging and Pre-emerging – by sorting metropolitan areas depending on their absolute foreign-born population, foreign-born shares, or foreign-born growth rate (highlighted in Table 1). Generally, the Continuous and Post-WWII categories can be classified as traditional destinations, given their sustained and sharp growth in the 20th century.

Table 1: Immigrant Destination Type Classifications, Metropolitan Areas

	Former: Above national average in percentage foreign-born 1900-1930, followed by percentages below the national average in every decade through 2000
Traditional Destinations	***Continuous:*** Above-average percentage foreign-born for every decade, 1900-2000
	Post-WWII: Low percentage foreign-born until after 1950, followed by percentages higher than the national average for remainder of century
New Destinations	***Emerging:*** Very low percentage foreign-born until 197,0, followed by high proportions in the post-1980 period
	Re-Emerging: Similar pattern to continuous gateways: Foreign-born percentage exceeds national average 1900-1930, lags it after 1930, then increases rapidly after 1980
	Pre-Emerging: Very low percentages of foreign-born for the entire 20th century
Non-Destinations	***No Type:*** Metropolitan areas that do not fall into any of the above categories

Source: Table 1 "Six Immigrant Gateway Types, Metropolitan Areas, 2000"of Singer, 2004

On the other hand, Emerging, Re-emerging, and Pre-emerging categories can be thought of as new destinations given their more recent influx of immigrants despite relatively low immigrant populations for much of the 20th century. Various iterations of destination typologies followed, each attempting to tease out the role that these different types of places played in immigrant outcomes and many incorporating non-metropolitan areas into categories (see Kandel & Cromartie, 2004; Hall, 2013 for some alternatives). In this study I will focus on the broader categories of former, traditional, and new destinations as well as "non-destinations" (see Appendix A for a list of all cities sorted by destination type). Non-destinations are cities which do not fall into the former, traditional, or new destination categories outlined above.[1]

[1] "Non-destinations" and "No Type" are used interchangeably in tables and figures.

Following the work documenting this new geography of settlement has been another body of research seeking to explain its causes and consequences. Much has been written on the implications of border policy, as well as industrial and labor market changes in shaping the current geography of settlement (Zuniga & Hernandez-Leon, 2005; Light, 2006; Capoferro & Massey, 2008; Goodwin-White, 2009). Furthermore, various qualitative case studies explored the social and economic integration of immigrants in this new context, finding a variety of outcomes depending on differences in social and institutional environments (Donato et al., 2005; Shutika, 2005; Jones-Correa, 2008; Marrow, 2009).

Overall however, the narrative surrounding the economic integration of immigrants in new destinations was initially largely positive, with a hint of suspicion on how long this advantage would last given the absence of social networks or institutions targeted towards immigrants (Kandel & Cromartie, 2004; Gouveia et al., 2005; Crowley, Lichter, & Qian, 2006). Today, nearly 30 years after the start of this shift in immigrant settlement, consensus is largely that despite an initial economic advantage provided by these new destinations, relative to traditional gateways, by the early 2000s that advantage declined. However, a limitation of the work focusing on metropolitan statistical areas (MSAs) which supports these findings is that it has largely focused on measuring economic well-being in terms of poverty or employment. With this in mind, the question remains: how does the measure used in our analysis shape the narrative one tells? In other words, if we were to analyze other measures of economic well-being, how might the narrative surrounding the geography of Latino immigrant[2] economic outcomes change?

[2] I define Latino immigrants as individuals who reported being born outside of the U.S., not to U.S.-born parents, and in a Latin American or Caribbean country.

Borrowing from the literatures on rural destinations and rent-burden, I analyze five economic outcomes at the MSA level to better understand how each varies across destination types. I am analyzing five different measures of economic well-being (see Table 2 for details on economic outcome variable construction) because, as one would expect, these measures do not substitute perfectly for one another. Table 3 further illustrates this point, by listing the Pearson's correlations for employed Latino immigrants, aged 18 and older, with average values for each variable aggregated at the city level across the 100 largest MSAs in my sample from 2012-2017.

Table 2: Dependent Variable Construction

Poverty: Continuous variable representing family-size adjusted income as a percent of the federal poverty line.
Employment: Categorical variable with employed coded as 1 and unemployed coded as 0.
Income: Continuous variable representing nominal income coming from wages and salary, not adjusted for family-size.
Rent-Burden: Continuous variable representing the percent of an individual's nominal income that is spent on individual rent each month.
Homeownership: Categorical variable with those who own a home or are paying off a home coded as 1 and renters coded as 0.

Note: All variables taken directly from or constructed using American Community Survey (ACS) data.

Table 3: Pearson's Correlations Chart for Latino Immigrant Economic Outcomes

	Income	Rent-Burden	Employment	Homeownership	Poverty
Income	1				
Rent-Burden	0.005	1			
Employment	0.168*	0.011	1		
Home Ownership	-0.115	-0.534***	0.015	1	
Poverty	0.843***	0.300***	0.235**	-0.198**	1

*Note: Generated from economic outcomes of Latino immigrants, aged 18 years and older. The median income by MSAs was used to avoid biasing results. Values are aggregated at the MSA from 2012-2017. Signif. Codes: ***p<0.01, **p<0.05, *p<0.10*

The only particularly strong and statistically significant relationship amongst these five measures of economic well-being is income and percent of federal poverty level. Unsurprisingly, as one approaches median income the likelihood of having an income that is higher than the federal poverty level increases. However, only looking at nominal income or income relative to the federal poverty line might ignore other important components of economic well-being.

Considering these measures together, allows one to gain a more complete picture of how Latino immigrants are faring economically by asking: Do you own a home; if you rent, what is your ability to pay that rent; are you employed; if you are employed how well are you being paid; and finally what is your risk of poverty?

I focus on Latino immigrants in this study because they currently constitute the largest immigrant group in the U.S. and because they are often racialized in a way that makes them a vulnerable population. This study builds on previous empirical and theoretical work which similarly focuses on this population. Grouping together Latino immigrants inevitably hides a great amount of variation by national origin and looking across large MSAs ignores some of the idiosyncrasies that a case study approach could provide. Nonetheless, this study gives an updated overview of various economic outcomes of Latino immigrants, in the places that the majority of them live despite the recent shift in settlement.

The objective of this paper is to improve our understanding of how the narrative surrounding Latino immigrant economic well-being changes as one interrogates different economic outcomes. In other words, how are Latino immigrants faring in U.S. cities, be they traditional or new destinations, if we consider not only income as a percentage of the federal poverty line and employment, but also nominal income unadjusted for family-size, rent-burden, and homeownership? I examine this question by conducting OLS and logistic regressions of Latino immigrants individuals across different destination types using data from the American Community Survey (Ruggles et al., 2019).

In the next section I provide an overview of extant work on economic outcomes by destination type, and the potential for a multi-dimensional narrative through the use of a wider range of outcome variables. I develop hypotheses regarding each of these outcomes for each

destination type in Section 3. Section 4 describes the data and methodological approach of the paper. Section 5 presents the results and in the final section I discuss the implications of these results for our understanding of Latino immigrant economic outcomes across U.S. cities, as well as some limitations of the approach employed in this paper.

2. New Destinations and the Role of Place in Shaping Economic Outcomes

In framing this investigation I will first review the general findings on Latino immigrant economic integration and well-being. Then I will review recent studies which have specifically interrogated economic well-being in the new geography of settlement in both urban areas and rural areas, highlighting the importance of considering more than one measure in our analyses of MSAs before coming to conclusions about the costs or benefits of locational choices. Finally, I will discuss the merits of considering nominal income, rent-burden, and homeownership in my analysis of well-being in addition to income as a percent of poverty level and employment.

2.1 Latino Immigrant Integration vs. Outcomes

Much of the literature on how immigrants are faring economically is engaged with assimilation or integration. Broadly speaking immigrant integration is a gradual process of social, cultural, and economic change that takes place across generations, and across populations. More specifically, I borrow from the conceptualization outlined by Ellis and Almgren (2009), arguing that integration is "the processes by which immigrants and their descendants adjust to their surroundings on multiple cultural, social, economic and political dimensions, and how the host society accommodates or changes in response to immigrants" (p. 1064). While this study does not assess economic integration per se, it does interrogate the economic outcomes of Latino

immigrants, providing context for how immigrants are faring economically, and thus indirectly contributes to conversations about economic integration.

Experience has shown however that the integration process can be shaped by both place and person level determinants. Grounded by theoretical understandings of the importance of reception context in shaping immigrant integration trajectories (Portes & Zhou, 1993; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001), the traditional versus new destination typology aims to capture some of the discrepancies that exist across different geographic contexts. For example, work which has focused on broader questions of immigrant segregation, enclaves, internal migration, or the second and 1.5 generations across destination types have teased out some of the ways immigrants experience new and traditional destinations (see Goodwin-White, 2007; Goodwin-White, 2009; Hall 2013; Kritz, Gurak & Lee, 2013; Ellis, Wright & Townley, 2014). Of those who settled in new destinations, there has also been a fair amount of return migration both back to traditional immigrant cities (Ellis et al., 2014) and to their country of origin (Van Hook & Zhang, 2011) suggesting that these new places may not be providing immigrants with the desired integration experience.

Immigrants' selection of particular destinations has also played a major role in shaping their economic outcomes. It is well established that age, gender, race, education, type of work, and for immigrants, time in the U.S. as well as legal status, shape individuals' economic outcomes. It is also known that immigrants with the most advantageous characteristics are sorting into the locations that best match and provide opportunity for their characteristics—suggesting a double advantage (Hall, 2009; Ellis et al., 2013) and highlighting the importance of controlling for selection when assessing economic outcomes. For example, the migrants sorting into new destination states in the 1990s were increasingly non-citizens (Leach & Bean, 2008;

Kritz et al., 2013; Lichter & Johnson, 2009), many of whom were recruited to new destination states for employment through the H2-B (temporary) visa program (Zuniga & Hernandez-Leon, 2005). However, the majority of undocumented immigrants still settle in traditional destination states (Passel & Cohn, 2009; Hall, 2014). Despite these observed trends, Kritz et al. (2013) also discovered that immigrants with similar social and economic characteristics, but who come from different national origins, sort into destination types differently—further illustrating the complexity of immigrant sorting. This makes controlling for individual characteristics, and thinking through how immigrants select destinations, critical to understanding the ways in which urban contexts shape economic outcomes.

2.2 Urban-Level Analyses: Narrative and Measures

While the above studies speak to the ways immigrant economic integration can differ depending on geographic context and human capital, I will now discuss work which has focused specifically on the economic outcomes of Latino immigrants in the context of new and traditional destinations. The importance of "place" is an inherent feature of the typologizing of destinations, as the features that characterize different destination types (e.g. size, growth, and duration of immigrant populations – similar to networks and institutions) are also important in shaping immigrants' economic outcomes. That being said, only a handful of quantitative studies have specifically set out to assess the spatial variation in economic outcomes of first-generation Latino immigrants. While research does exist on variables like educational attainment or housing segregation that are inextricably linked to economic outcomes, they are not economic outcomes themselves. I thus limited the studies included in Table 4, which I will review here, to those that

have a research question that explicitly assess an economic outcome of Latino immigrants with attention to spatial variation across metropolitan areas.

Early examinations of Latino immigrant outcomes in new destination cities found an economic advantage. Crowley et al. (2006) studied the ways in which poverty of Mexican immigrants changed between 1990 and 2000 in metropolitan areas. They found that new destination cities served as a unique opportunity for Mexican immigrants to access low wage employment in construction and manufacturing and found strong employment continuity. A subsequent reassessment of poverty in the new geography of settlement, using data from 2000 and 2007-2009, found that the initial economic advantage provided by new destination cities had largely deteriorated in the early 2000s (Ellis et al., 2013).

The overall narrative that new destination cities—which once created opportunity for Latino immigrant economic gain when compared to traditional destinations—had largely lost their advantage was reinforced by work which emerged using even more recent data. Ludwig-Dehn & Iceland (2017) examined concentrated poverty and overall poverty rates across destination types from 2010-2014. While they found less concentrated poverty in new, relative to traditional, destination cities their results still pointed to higher overall poverty rates in new destinations. Sisk & Donato (2016) looked at employment continuity and involuntary part-time employment from 2005-2011, comparing across regions. They found that Mexican immigrant men were most likely to maintain employment during the Great Recession when compared to other immigrants and the native-born. However, immigrants who were highly susceptible to involuntary part-time employment were those that lived in the Midwest, worked in construction, or had less than a high school education. Considering that many Latino immigrants in new destination cities were recruited to work in construction, and that the majority of traditional

destination cities are coastal, it is possible that despite Latino immigrants largely maintaining employment throughout the Great Recession, many who lived outside of traditional destination cities experienced involuntary part-time employment. Finally, Sanchez (2019) investigated Latino immigrant homeownership across metropolitan destination types using data from 2009-2011. He found that after controlling for person and city-level effects like human capital, affordability, and segregation Latino immigrants had lower rates of homeownership in new, relative to traditional destinations. These studies on the economic outcomes of Latino immigrants across metropolitan destination types support the narrative that despite an initial advantage in new destination cities, traditional destination cities provide lower overall poverty and higher rates of homeownership.

Table 4: Recent Literature on Latino Immigrant Economic Outcomes in Urban Areas

Citation	Research Question	Scale & Data	Measure(s)	Main Finding	Determinants
			Urban, Single Measure Studies		
Crowley et al. (2006)	How has the recent shift in settlement shaped poverty patterns for Mexican Immigrants?	**Data Years:** 1990 and 2000 **Geographic Scale:** MSA's	Poverty	Mexican immigrants in new destinations had lower poverty rates than their counterparts in traditional destinations of the Southwest US.	**Person:** age, education, gender, household type, industry, language, time in US **City/region:** 5 region factor variable, rural dummy
Ellis et al. (2013)	Does the pattern of lower poverty rates in NIDs last into the 2000s and what affects immigrant poverty to vary geographically?	**Data Years:** 2000 and 2007-2009 **Geographic Scale:** MSAs	Poverty	Original economic advantage of the 1990s deteriorates in the 2000s and immigrants with more favorable characteristics tend to cluster in more favorable places.	**Person:** demographic-structure effect term **City/region:** metro-context effect term
Sisk & Donato (2016)	How did the Great Recession affect the economic well-being of low-skilled, male	**Data Years:** 2005-2011 (Longitudinal) **Geographic Scale:** National	Employment	Mexican immigrant men were most likely to remain employed during the Great Recession relative to other immigrants and the native-born.	**Person:** age, birthplace, household type, industry, inner-city, race/ethnicity, skill level **City/region:**

	immigrant workers?				4 region factor variable, state unemployment rate
Ludwig-Dehn & Iceland (2017)	How do patterns of concentrated poverty differ in new and traditional destinations, and what factors explain the differences?	**Data Years:** 2010-2014 **Geographic Scale:** census tract	Concentrated Poverty	Hispanics in new destinations experienced less concentrated poverty relative to traditional gateways despite the fact that overall poverty rates in new destinations are higher.	**Person: n/a** **City/region:** residential segregation, hispanic poverty rates, hispanic immigrant concentration, total population, total size of hispanic population, share of population without HS degree, hispanic unemployment rate, percentage of people under age of 35, region, established-new-minor hispanic destinations
Sanchez (2019)	How do homeownership rates differ for Mexican, Salvadoran, and Guatemalan immigrants in new and established destinations?	**Data Years:** 2009-2011 **Geographic Scale:** MSAs	Homeowner-ship	Latino immigrants have lower rates of homeownership in new destination cities than in traditional destination cities and homeownership rates vary by national origin group.	**Person:** Time in US, language, citizenship, Industry, occupation, income, education **City/region:** destination type factor variable, population growth, housing affordability, dissimilarity index

2.3 Rural-Level Analysis: Narratives and Measures

While much of the new geography of immigrant settlement is characterized by the influx of immigrants into MSAs that traditionally did not have large immigrant populations, there has also been substantial growth of immigrant populations in rural areas. Similar to Table 4, Table 5 lists studies which have a research question directly assessing the economic outcomes of Latino immigrants in rural areas of this new geography of settlement. Rural destination types are generally classified by the state's history of immigrant concentration. For example, traditional rural destinations are those rural areas in states like California, Arizona, Texas, and Nevada since

the West and Southwest have traditionally had large immigrant populations. On the other hand, new rural destinations are those which have not traditionally had large immigrant populations, but experienced rapid growth in immigrant population during the 1990s—rural areas in states like Florida, Georgia, North Carolina, and Washington.

As shown in Table 5, each study on rural destination types used various measures to assess their research question. These studies looked across outcomes like employment, poverty, homeownership, and income in the same study. In turn, they highlight how complicated and varied the economic integration process is for Latino immigrants and present more nuanced findings. For example, Koball, Capps, Kandel, J. Henderson, & E. Henderson (2008a) found that while Latino immigrants in new rural destinations experienced higher employment and lower poverty rates than their counterparts in traditional rural destinations, residents of urban traditional destinations fared the best in terms of poverty rates and wages—regardless of destination type. Similarly, Kandel, Henderson, Koball, Capps (2011) also analyzed various measures of economic well-being (employment, poverty, homeownership, and income), comparing rural and urban destinations at two time periods. Their analysis found that employment remained stable across rural and urban destination types, but that immigrants in rural destinations were more likely to fall into poverty and have less than median income, despite having higher rates of homeownership. This is likely tied to high rates of working poverty amongst Latino immigrants in new rural destinations, as outlined by Crowley et al. (2015) and Koball et al.'s (2008b) work on the relationship between sustained employment and lagging wages. Using multiple measures to assess economic outcomes of Latino immigrants allowed these authors to demonstrate a complicated geography of integration that likely mirrors the

complexity we know exists across space; people may be homeowners while still being in poverty or be willing to accept worse housing options where nominal wages are higher.

While the objective of this paper is to reassess the narrative surrounding the economic outcomes of Latino immigrants across metropolitan destination types, the literature on rural destinations provides a useful model for interrogating economic well-being through multiple measures. Given that the vast majority of Latino immigrants still settle in medium to large sized metropolitan areas, I intend to borrow from the multi-dimensional approach found in the papers on rural areas and apply it to my analysis of MSAs.

Table 5: Recent Literature on Latino Immigrant Economic Outcomes in Rural Areas

Citation	Research Question	Scale & Data	Measure(s)	Main Finding	Determinants
			Rural, Multiple Measure Studies		
Koball et al. (2008a)	How are Latino immigrants in new rural destinations integrating economically and socially?	**Data Years:** 2005-2006 **Geographic Scale:** rural counties	Employment; Poverty; Homeowner-ship; Income & Wages	Latino immigrants in new rural destinations have lower poverty and higher employment rates compared to their counterparts in rural traditional destinations. However, urban destinations have even lower poverty and higher wages.	**Person:** age, birthplace, education, gender, household type, time in US **City/region:** new rural, traditional rural and metropolitan factor variable
Koball et al. (2008b)	How has the economic integration of Latino immigrants unfolded since 1990?	**Data Years:** 1990 and 2005-2006 **Geographic Scale:** rural counties	Employment; Poverty; Homeowner-ship; Income & Wages	Latino immigrants in new rural destinations experienced a substantial improvement in employment, but only modest improvements in poverty and wages between 1990 and 2005.	Same as above (Koball et al. 2008a)
Kandel et al. (2011)	What are the prospects for economic attainment of rural Latino immigrants in new and traditional destinations?	**Data Years:** 2000 and 2006-2007 **Geographic Scale:** rural PUMAs	Employment; Poverty; Homeowner-ship; Median Income	Latino immigrants in new rural destinations have a higher likelihood of falling into poverty and not meeting US median income levels, but they also have higher rates of homeownership.	**Person:** age, birthplace, education, gender, household type, industry, language, time in US **City/region:** New rural, traditional rural, other rural, and

					metropolitan factor variable
Crowley et al. (2015)	How are Latino immigrants faring economically in rural new destinations and are they replacing black native-born workers?	**Data Years:** 1990, 2000 and 2006-2010 **Geographic Scale:** rural counties	Labor Force Participation; Unemploy-ment; Poverty; Income & Wealth; Housing; Amenities	Latino immigrants experienced working poverty in new rural destinations by 2010 due to sustained employment and low wages, but any economic advantage for Latino immigrants is not at the expense of black workers.	**Person:** n/a **City/region:** Control for county sectoral change, county commuting status, retirement destination status, percent institutionalized, county-level Latino population share and educational attainment

2.4 The Merits of a Multi-Measure Approach and the Inclusion of Rent-Burden

As evidenced in the literature reviewed above, the early economic advantage of new destination cities was short-lived, and metropolitan traditional destinations have been shown to be associated with less poverty, higher income, more consistent employment, and higher homeownership for Latino immigrants. Less is known however about how Latino immigrants are being rent-burdened by destination type. Rent-burden is typically measured by assessing the percentage of one's income that is spent on rent. Broad consensus has been that a household should spend less than 30% of their income on rent, with those spending more than 30% identified as experiencing rent-burden. While Light (2006) utilized high levels of rent-burden as evidence for a push factor leading to internal migration of immigrants away from traditional destinations towards new destinations, to the best of my knowledge it has not been systematically used as a measure of economic well-being in studies looking at Latino immigrants by destination type.

This is surprising considering that rent-burden has become increasingly severe over the last thirty years. Looking to the urban housing literature one finds that today, more than half of low-income renters are experiencing extreme rent-burden—meaning more than half of their

income is spent on rent (Desmond, 2018). Rent-burden disproportionately affects Black and Hispanic renters (Desmond, 2018) with immigrants bearing even more of a burden than the native-born (McConnell, 2013). Furthermore, undocumented Latino immigrants seem to fare significantly worse, having 41% higher odds of experiencing rent-burden than authorized Latino immigrants, even when accounting for time in the U.S. (McConnell, 2013, p. 13). While rent-burden has been increasing over the last 30 years, it reached record highs following the Great Recession (Colburn, 2018). Given my focus on Latino immigrant economic outcomes in the years directly following the Great Recession (2012-2017) I would be remiss not to include rent-burden as a measure of well-being.

Additionally, compared to the other four economic measures discussed above, rent-burden is closer to a measure of real-wages since it accounts for housing costs. While housing costs are by no means households' only expenditure, it is on average the largest (McConnell, 2013). Therefore, borrowing from the multi-measure approach found in the literature on rural destinations, I will analyze how Latino immigrants experience employment, homeownership, rent-burden, and income measured both nominally, as well as a percentage of the federal poverty line by destination type. This approach does not allow me to speak to differences within particular cities or neighborhoods, nor does it uncover detailed mechanisms shaping Latino immigrant outcomes, but my results will provide an updated assessment of Latino immigrant economic well-being that includes rent-burden.

3. Hypothesis Development

To this point I have argued that a different narrative of Latino immigrant economic outcomes across metropolitan destination types may emerge when a broader number of

economic outcomes are considered. With the literature cited in the previous subsections, my 5 outcome variables and my 4 destination types with traditional destinations being the reference category in mind, I hypothesize that:

- Hypothesis 1: New destinations will be associated with worse economic outcomes related to wages and employment when compared to traditional destinations; meaning I expect Latino immigrants in new destinations to be poorer, both when adjusting for family-size and without adjustment, as well as have lower odds of being employed than their counterparts in traditional destinations.
- Hypothesis 2: New destinations will be associated with better economic outcomes related to housing when compared to traditional destinations; meaning I expect Latino immigrants in new destinations to be less rent-burdened and have higher odds of homeownership than their counterparts in traditional destinations.
- Hypothesis 3: Former and non-destinations will be associated with fewer housing challenges as well as fewer labor market benefits; meaning I expect Latino immigrants in former and non-destinations to be poorer, both when adjusting for family-size and without adjustment, as well as have lower odds of being employed, but also be less rent-burdened and have higher odds of owning a home.

The first proposition finds clear support in the literature, with a number of studies using recent data supporting the conjecture that poverty will be lower, employment more likely and wages higher, in traditional destinations than new destinations (Ellis et al., 2013; Sisk & Donato, 2016; Ludwig-Dehn & Iceland, 2017).

By contrast, while Sanchez (2019) does indeed find that Latino immigrants have higher rates of homeownership in traditional rather than new destinations, he critically controls for

housing affordability whereas I do not as I am also interested in how the generally higher cost of living in traditional destinations shapes economic outcomes. Moreover, given that rents are also higher in the biggest metropolitan areas which tend to be traditional destinations, undocumented Latino immigrants are the most rent burdened demographic group, and they mostly live in traditional destinations[3], I expect Latino immigrants to face challenges related to housing in traditional destinations.

Finally, former immigrant destinations are overwhelmingly in the industrial Midwest, constituting cities which have gradually declined over the last 40 years and may provide low cost of living and less opportunity for upward mobility than traditional destinations. Non-destinations by contrast are a heterogeneous group, but one common feature inherent to my use of Singer's classification is that they tend to be smaller than the traditional destinations, suggesting they could have lower wages, more families with incomes closer to poverty, and fewer employment opportunities, but also lower cost of living.

4. Data and Methods

This study utilizes a pooled sample of six American Community Survey (ACS) one-year microdata samples from 2012 to 2017 (Ruggles et al., 2019). The ACS provides demographic and economic information of the U.S. population and it is possible to link respondents to MSAs. My final sample consists of working-aged individuals in the labor force from 260 medium and large sized MSAs (with populations of at least 90,000). Working-aged individuals are those identified as 18 years and up who reported being employed or unemployed. All individuals identified as not in the labor force or who had not reported any employment status were

[3] I cannot control for legal status as there is no legal status variable in my data.

removed. Latino immigrants were defined as individuals who reported being born outside of the U.S., not to U.S.-born parents, and in a Latin American or Caribbean country, with the final sample consisting of 280,091 Latino immigrants.[4]

4.1 Dependent Variables

This study utilizes five different dependent variables. First, *poverty* is measured with a federal poverty threshold based on family size to produce a value representing an individual's income as a percentage of their respective poverty threshold (ranging from 0 – 500). So for example, in 2015 the federal poverty threshold for a family of 3 was approximately $20,000. If a family of 3 earned $60,000 in 2015, their value for the poverty variable would be 300, because their income is three times higher than the poverty line. Therefore, it is a measure of income, adjusted for family size, relative to the federal poverty line.

Employment is a categorical variable with individuals being either employed (coded as 1) or unemployed (coded as 0).

Nominal income is an individual's reported income from wages and salary from the previous calendar year. Individuals who reported zero nominal income were removed from the sample for this variable. (Approximately 12% of the Latino immigrant population reported zero nominal income.) I took the natural log of nominal income to promote a standard distribution.

Rent-burden was constructed through the approximation of individual-level rent to wage ratios. Renters were isolated in order to avoid counting homeowners in the sample. While homeowners undoubtedly experience burden when paying mortgages, for the purposes of this paper I am focusing on renters, since they do not own any capital in their housing unit and thus

[4] Latino immigrants were defined in this way in order to capture Latin American immigrants who might not identify as Hispanic; for example immigrants from Brazil or the Caribbean.

face additional precarity. This created a sample size of 167,940 observations. Since monthly rent is provided at the household level in the ACS, I identified individuals living within the same household and divided their reported household monthly rent by the number of working-age individuals in the home. This process assumes that each individual in a household is contributing equal amounts towards rent. With a monthly rental amount at the individual level I was able to divide it by each individuals' respective monthly nominal income to construct the proportion of their income they spend on rent (i.e. their rent-burden).

Homeownership is a categorical variable with individuals being classified as a homeowner (coded as 1) if they already own a home or are in the process of owning a home via a loan, or as a renter (coded as 0).

4.2 Independent Variables: Controls and Destination Type Factor

The following individual level controls were incorporated in my analysis because of their proven effects on economic outcomes, especially considering individuals with certain observable characteristics tend to sort into certain destination types: *Time in the U.S.* is a categorical variable broken down into five categories with 0-5 years being the reference (0-5 years, 6-10 years, 11-15 years, 16-20 years, and 21+ years). With no observations reporting 21+ years in the U.S. it drops out of the model (it is likely people in this category are no longer working or looking for work and thus would be excluded from my sample).

Race is a categorical variable broken down into seven categories with Hispanic being the reference (Hispanic, White, Black, Asian, American Indian, Mixed, and other). This study's broad focus on Latino immigrants, defined as immigrants from a Latin American country, encompasses individuals from a range of Latin American countries, each with different racial

structures and histories. Considering the overwhelming majority of my observations (85%) identify as Hispanic, they were made the reference category. However, I have included the race variable here to capture a diversity of racial identities and its relationship with economic outcomes.

Education is a categorical variable broken down into four categories with no high school diploma being the reference (no high school diploma, high school diploma or equivalent, some college, BA degree or more).

Occupation type is a categorical variable broken down into 9 broad categories based on the types of occupations reported through the ACS with construction and local mechanics being the reference (construction and local mechanics, manufacturing and agricultural extraction, local services without college degree, local services with college degree, public sector and transportation, health, arts and media, management and business, and STEM). Construction and local mechanics was made the reference category because it was one of the key types of employment drawing Latino immigrants to new destinations. It is also the second most common occupational category in my data (17%), with local services without a degree being the most common (40%).

I also included a continuous variable for *age* and a categorical variable for *sex* with male coded as 0, female coded as 1.

Destination Type is a factor variable broken down into 4 categories (Traditional, New, Former, and No Type) based on Singer's (2004) classification of six categories: Former, Continuous, Post-WWII, Emerging, Re-Emerging, and Pre-Emerging (see Table 1 for additional details). Cities which Singer classified as continuous and Post-WWII destinations were collapsed and coded as Traditional Destinations in my study and made the reference category. Singer's

Emerging, Re-Emerging, and Pre-Emerging destinations were collapsed and coded as New Destinations and the Former category was kept intact. All remaining MSAs which did not fit into one of the aforementioned categories were coded as No Type, also referred to as non-destinations throughout. Table 6 lists the MSAs that were coded as Traditional, New, and Former Destinations. The full list of metropolitan areas—including non-destinations—provided in the Appendix (Appendix Table A.1).

Table 6: Metropolitan Statistical Areas Classified by Immigrant Destination Type

Traditional Destinations	
Boston-Cambridge-Newton, MA-NH	New York-Newark-Jersey City, NY-NJ-PA
Chicago-Naperville-Elgin, IL-IN-WI	Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA
Houston-The Woodlands-Sugar Land, TX	San Diego-Carlsbad, CA
Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim, CA	San Francisco-Oakland-Hayward, CA
Miami-Fort Lauderdale-West Palm Beach, FL	
New Destinations	
Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Roswell, GA	Phoenix-Mesa-Scottsdale, AZ
Austin-Round Rock, TX	Portland-Vancouver-Hillsboro, OR-WA
Charlotte-Concord-Gastonia, NC-SC	Raleigh, NC
Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	Sacramento--Roseville--Arden-Arcade, CA
Denver-Aurora-Lakewood, CO	Salt Lake City, UT
Greensboro-High Point, NC	San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA
Las Vegas-Henderson-Paradise, NV	Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA
Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI	Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL
Orlando-Kissimmee-Sanford, FL	Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV
Former Destinations	
Baltimore-Columbia-Towson, MD	Milwaukee-Waukesha-West Allis, WI
Buffalo-Cheektowaga-Niagara Falls, NY	Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD
Cleveland, TN	Pittsburgh, PA
Detroit-Warren-Dearborn, MI	St. Louis, MO-IL

Note: Full list of MSAs by destination type classification, including No Type Destinations are included in Appendix.

4.3 Analyses

I clustered standard errors at the MSA level running five regressions, one for each dependent variable, using OLS for income as a percent of the federal poverty line, nominal income unadjusted for family-size, and rent-burden and logistic for employment and homeownership. Due to the nested nature of my data I attempted to run multi-level models with random slopes and intercepts, however my model would not converge – likely because of the incorporation of too many random variables. Therefore, clustering standard errors at the MSA level serves as an alternative to controlling for hierarchy in my data. I first ran the models with just the person-level controls, then added in the destination type factor variable which demonstrated improved fit through increasing adjusted and pseudo r-squared values.

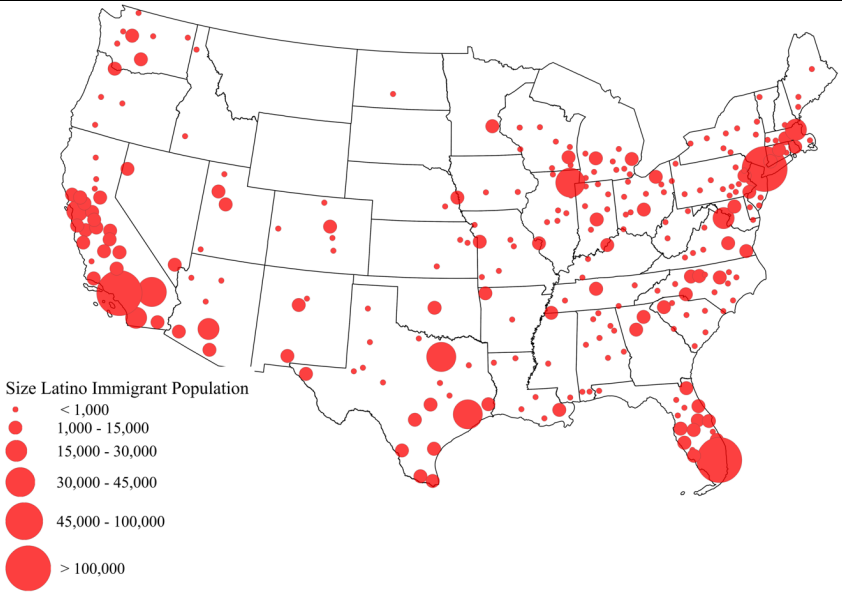
5. Results

5.1 Descriptive Statistics

Looking at Figures 1 and 2, as well as Table A.3 in the Appendix, one clear picture that emerges from the descriptive statistics is that despite the movement of Latino immigrants to new destinations, they overwhelmingly still live in traditional destinations. The average Latino immigrant population size amongst traditional destinations is 98,746 compared to 17,558 in new destinations. Former and non-destinations are even smaller with average Latino immigrant population sizes of 4,579 and 3,650 respectively. That being said, they do represent a substantial share of the population in some non-traditional cities which is not the case for former destinations. Many new or non-destinations in the West and Southwest have very large Latino shares for example (see Figure 2). By contrast, while Latino immigrants have relatively large

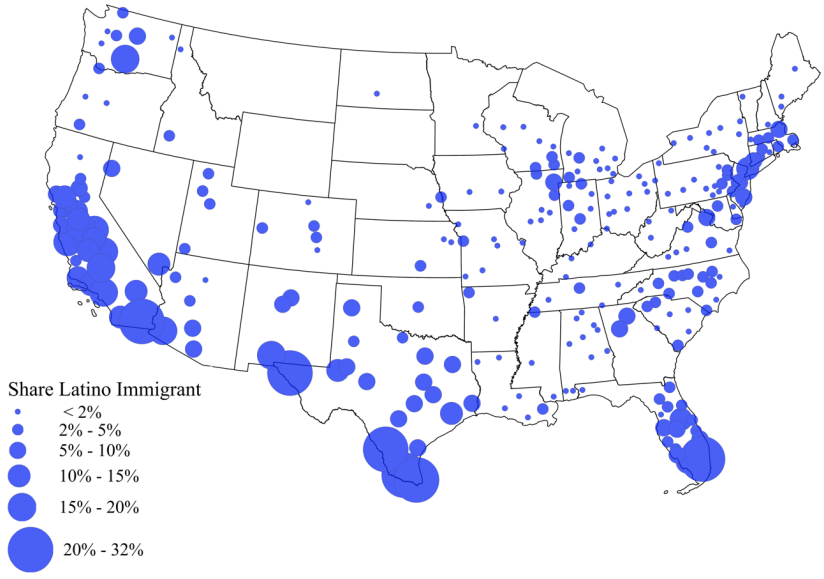
absolute population numbers in much of the industrial Midwest and Northeast, their relative shares in these locations tend to be quite small (see Figure 2).

Figure 1: Latino Immigrant Population Size



Note: Not representative of entire Latino immigrant population. Figures created with ACS 1% samples from 2012-2017.

Figure 2: Latino Immigrant Population Share



Note: Not representative of entire Latino immigrant population. Figures created with ACS 1% samples from 2012-2017.

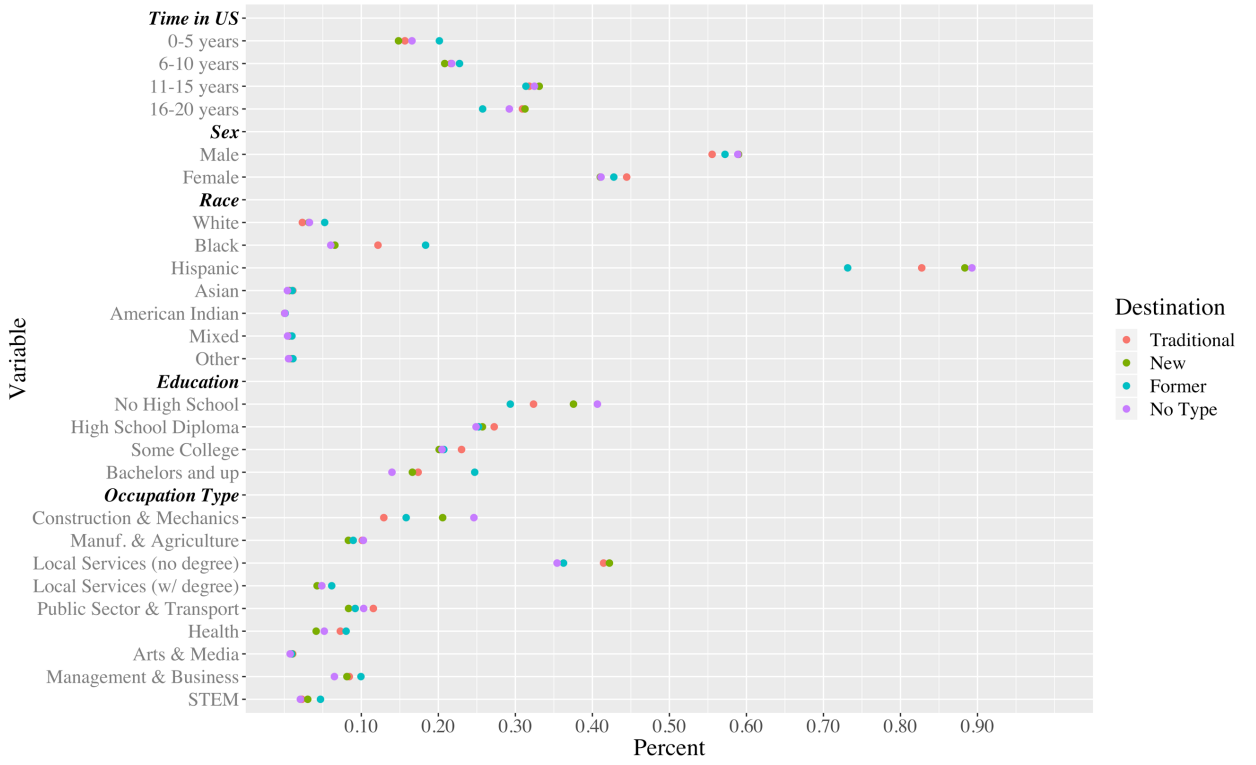
With respect to the distribution of individual-level characteristics, I now turn to Figure 3, where all dots highlight the percentage of Latino immigrants with certain characteristics by destination type. Variables with greater distances between the dots are those where there are substantial differences across destination types. For the most part, there are not striking differences though there are a few interesting variations. For one, former destinations tend to have the most different values from the other destination types. Twenty percent of Latino immigrants in former destinations are, for example, more recent arrivals to the U.S. (arriving within the last 0 to 5 years), whereas only about fifteen percent of Latino immigrants are recent arrivals in new, traditional, and non-destinations. Additionally, higher percentages of Latino immigrants in former destinations racially identify as either Black (18%), or White (5%), placing them above average when looking at the overall sample (10% identifying as Black and 3% identifying as White). These differences are not surprising, given that former destinations by definition have not had continuous inflows of migrants and therefore likely do not have high percentages of immigrants with over a decade of residence. Also because of their location predominantly in the Midwest and Northeast, they could be receiving Latino immigrants from Brazil or the Caribbean who might not identify as Hispanic.

Along most dimensions examined here, Latino immigrants in traditional versus new destinations are remarkably similar, indicating that comparison of these two groups with regression will provide useful estimates of the effect of location in different city types on the five outcomes of interest.[5] Some important differences do exist however, notably that new destinations are relatively more male (with 59% of the new destination population being male compared to approximately 56% in traditional destinations). Latino immigrants in new

[5] Recognizing limitations given the omission of additional key variables like legal status and cost of living.

destinations are nearly 100% employed, relative to approximately 97% in traditional destinations (see Table A.3). Additionally, Latino immigrants in traditional destinations appear to be slightly more educated (only 32% of the population has less than a high school education, relative to 38% in new destinations) and less likely to work in occupations related to construction and mechanics (only 13% work in construction and mechanics in traditional destinations compared to 21% in new destinations).

Figure 3: Individual-Level Descriptive Statistics (Averages Across Destination Types)



Note: Data created with ACS 1% samples from 2012-2017. Exact percentages included in Appendix Table A.2

5.2 Individual-level Controls

Turning to the regression results reported in Table 7, the coefficients generally reflect what extant theory would predict. Across the board with increased time in the U.S., age, and

education[6] Latino immigrants experienced improved economic outcomes. With the exception of rent-burden, Latino immigrants who had been in the U.S. for 16 to 20 years, relative to 0 to 5 years, demonstrated the highest economic return. In the case of rent-burden, Latino immigrants experienced the highest gains relative to the base category of 0 to 5 years on average if they had been in the U.S. 6 to 10 years (spending approximately 20% less of their income on rent) whereas those who have been in the U.S. for 11 to 15 or 16 to 20 years only spent 16% less of their income on rent. This could reflect differences in family structure, with Latino immigrants who have longer established residence in the U.S. having larger family sizes or structures and requiring larger living conditions, therefore likely paying higher rents.

Similarly, female Latino immigrants unsurprisingly have worse economic outcomes than men across the board, with lower income, lower odds of employment, and higher rent-burden. However, female Latino immigrants on average have lower income as a percentage of the federal poverty line and have slightly higher odds (1.11 to 1) of owning a home than their male counterparts—again this could reflect differences in household structures, perhaps with women being less likely than men to have only temporary stays in the US.

In terms of differences in economic outcomes across racial identities the results are quite mixed. Identifying as white, black, Asian, mixed, or other relative to Hispanic on average reflected either no significant difference or higher nominal income, family size adjusted income (with the important exception of this being lower for black Latino immigrants), and higher odds of homeownership. This difference could speak to the racialized structure of occupations or wages, and potentially differences by nationality. On the other hand, Latino immigrants who identify as white, black, or mixed experience higher rent-burden than those who identify as

[6] In regard to education, the only exceptions being no significant difference between having some college and less than a high school education on Latino immigrants' odds of employment or their rent-burden.

Hispanic, again potentially reflecting differences that could revolve around nationality, legality, or household structure. Further, those who identified as black, Asian, or mixed have lower odds of being employed relative to Latino immigrants that identify as Hispanic. The relative employment and rent-burden advantage for Latino immigrants who identify as Hispanic could relate to findings that Mexican immigrants were most likely to maintain employment of all immigrant groups and the native-born (Sisk & Donato, 2016), and possibly that those who identify as Hispanic tend to live in lower cost housing or in households with more adults.

Regarding occupation types, Latino immigrant economic outcomes were largely what one would expect, with occupations typically considered higher skilled and higher paying (for example, the health industry, management and business, or STEM) reflecting more positive economic outcomes when compared to construction and mechanics than occupations typically characterized as low skilled and low paying (manufacturing and agriculture, local services, or public sector and transportation work). Considering that forty percent of my sample reported working in local services that do not require a college degree, like food and retail services, and another seventeen percent in construction and mechanics I will focus my attention on reviewing these results in more detail. In general, working in local services that do not require a college degree, relative to construction and mechanics, is associated with higher income as a percentage of the federal poverty line, higher odds of employment (1.48 to 1 odds) and higher odds of homeownership (1.13 to 1 odds). When looking at nominal wages that do not account for family size and rent-burden, Latino immigrants employed in food or retail service on average earn 18% less in wages and spend 20% more of their income on rent than their counterparts in construction and mechanics. Once one accounts for family size however, as evident in the distance from federal poverty line measure Latino immigrants working in construction and mechanics fare

worse economically. Overall, my findings align with the established literature on which individual-level characteristics typically reflect favorably on the economic well-being of Latino immigrants, especially taking into consideration that I did not account for family size or household structure in each of my models.

Table 7: Regression Results for 5 Economic Outcomes of Latino Immigrants 2012-2017

	Poverty	Employed	(ln)income	Rent-Burden	Homeownership
Intercept	202.774***	3.145***	9.830***	0.874***	-2.547***
	(2.944)	(0.143)	(0.020)	(0.127)	(0.137)
Individual-Level Controls					
Time in US					
6-10 years	6.705***	0.176***	0.202***	-0.196***	0.229***
	(1.141)	(0.024)	(0.008)	(0.033)	(0.035)
11-15 years	9.428***	0.181***	0.252***	-0.162***	0.530***
	(1.072)	(0.036)	(0.007)	(0.031)	(0.050)
16-20 years	16.485***	0.218***	0.309***	-0.163***	0.849***
	(1.098)	(0.042)	(0.007)	(0.031)	(0.062)
Age	1.205***	0.013***	0.013***	-0.011***	0.020***
	(0.032)	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Sex (female)	-14.541***	-0.556***	-0.411***	0.436***	0.104 ***
	(0.757)	(0.074)	(0.005)	(0.024)	(0.023)
Race					
White	51.475***	0.094	0.185***	0.227*	0.103^
	(2.317)	(0.078)	(0.016)	(0.109)	(0.059)
Black	-20.648***	-0.357***	0.023*	0.131**	0.109
	(1.380)	(0.051)	(0.009)	(0.049)	(0.090)
Asian	61.292***	-0.346***	0.101**	0.123	1.010***
	(4.374)	(0.104)	(0.030)	(0.150)	(0.142)
American Indian	21.519	-0.628	0.141	-0.080	0.380^
	(18.195)	(0.522)	(0.113)	(0.246)	(0.228)
Mixed	40.400***	-0.365**	0.007	0.387*	0.460*
	(5.315)	(0.127)	(0.036)	(0.184)	(0.194)
Other	42.278***	-0.033	0.081**	0.125	0.319
	(4.166)	(0.114)	(0.027)	(0.093)	(0.213)
Education					
High School Diploma	34.522***	0.083**	0.124***	-0.043^	0.311***
	(0.816)	(0.029)	(0.005)	(0.023)	(0.036)
Some College	57.881***	0.060	0.133***	0.054	0.610***
	(1.005)	(0.049)	(0.006)	(0.035)	(0.042)
Bachelors and up	110.387***	0.209***	0.517***	-0.057^	0.716***
	(1.304)	(0.055)	(0.008)	(0.034)	(0.062)
Occupation Type					
Manuf. & Agriculture	8.334***	0.371***	0.010	-0.058*	0.245**

	(1.271)	(0.087)	(0.007)	(0.025)	(0.084)
Local Services (no degree)	1.318	0.391***	-0.202***	0.198***	0.125***
	(0.949)	(0.093)	(0.006)	(0.024)	(0.034)
Local Services (w/ degree)	34.713***	0.777***	-0.034*	0.194*	0.476***
	(2.342)	(0.099)	(0.016)	(0.091)	(0.042)
Public Sector & Transport	8.819***	0.073	-0.081***	0.089**	0.265***
	(1.298)	(0.057)	(0.008)	(0.030)	(0.059)
Health	45.033***	0.956***	0.268***	-0.223***	0.358***
	(1.942)	(0.115)	(0.012)	(0.052)	(0.100)
Arts & Media	46.552***	0.126	-0.016	0.575*	0.291***
	(44.063)	(0.138)	(0.030)	(0.240)	(0.061)
Management & Business	91.368***	0.860***	0.536***	-0.224***	0.623***
	(1.740)	(0.071)	(0.011)	(0.035)	(0.036)
STEM	108.468***	0.862***	0.564***	-0.160**	0.561***
	(2.618)	(0.129)	(0.017)	(0.055)	(0.046)
Destination Type					
New	-1.422^	0.197**	0.027***	-0.103***	0.438*
	(0.848)	(0.073)	(0.005)	(0.025)	(0.176)
Former	5.241*	0.078	0.020	-0.082	0.453*
	(2.364)	(0.071)	(0.016)	(0.055)	(0.182)
No Type	-18.729***	-0.198**	-0.084***	-0.105***	0.507**
	(0.833)	(0.065)	(0.005)	(0.025)	(0.173)
Adj./Pseudo R^2	0.200	0.018	0.201	0.009	0.061
Regression Type	OLS	Logistic	OLS	OLS	Logistic
Observations	280,091	280,091	280,091	167,931	280,091

Note: Clustered standard errors at the MSA level for each regression.
*Signif codes: *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, ^ p<0.10*

5.3 Destination Type Factor Variable

I now turn to the coefficients for the destination type variables and interpret them in light of the hypotheses put forward in section 3. I find partial support for hypothesis 1 in that Latino immigrants in new destinations are in fact slightly poorer in terms of their income as a percent of the poverty line than their counterparts in traditional destinations. On the other hand, contrary to what I expected, they have slightly higher odds (1.22 to 1 odds) of being employed and nominal incomes that are on average about 3% higher in new relative to traditional destinations. While this seems to point to a new destination advantage in terms of employment and nominal income, the difference is quite small. Additionally, my model for nominal income does not account for

family size, whereas family size is endogenous to the percent of poverty variable. Therefore, what at first glance may seem like contradictory results of Latino immigrants being poorer in terms of family-size adjusted income while having higher nominal income in new destinations, is likely due to my model specifications or the difference in range of these two income variables.

I find strong support for hypothesis 2, that new destinations will be associated with better economic outcomes related to housing. My results demonstrate that Latino immigrants in new destinations spend approximately 10% less of their income on rent than their counterparts in traditional destinations and have higher odds (1.55 to 1 odds) of homeownership.

Finally, my results are mixed for hypothesis 3 that former *and* non-destinations will be associated with less housing challenges and less labor market benefits. Despite being such a heterogenous category, I found strong support for my hypothesis on non-destinations. They are associated with approximately 11% less rent-burden and higher odds (1.66 to 1 odds) of homeownership for Latino immigrants than in traditional destinations. Furthermore, Latino immigrants in non-destinations are poorer in terms of income as a percent of the poverty line, have lower odds of employment (0.82 to 1 odds), and approximately 8% lower nominal wages than their counterparts in traditional destinations.

On the other hand, the economic outcomes of Latino immigrants in former destinations were not all significantly different from traditional destinations. While Latino immigrants in former destinations similarly have higher odds of homeownership (1.57 to 1 odds) relative to traditional destinations, I found no significant difference between traditional and former destinations when examining rent-burden. Additionally, I found no significant difference between former and traditional destinations in terms of employment odds and nominal income but did find that Latino immigrants in former destinations on average have higher income as a

percentage of the federal poverty line than their counterparts in traditional destinations. According to the data, there is no significant advantage or disadvantage to former destinations, relative to traditional destinations, in terms of employment, nominal income, or rent-burden. The fact that my results demonstrate less barriers to housing in former destinations, via higher rates of homeownership, suggests that this lower cost of living could be why Latino immigrants in former destinations are associated with higher income as a percentage of the federal poverty line than those in traditional destinations. For example, cost of living in former metropolitan destinations like Detroit or Milwaukee is significantly lower than Los Angeles or New York, and therefore even if there is no significant employment or nominal income advantage this low cost of living could be serving as an opportunity for Latino immigrants to avoid being as poor on average as their counterparts in traditional destinations. Moreover, former destinations had one of the highest percentages of recent arrivals across destination types. It is possible that because of these immigrants having spent less time in the U.S. they have yet to capture wage and employment benefits that come with time. It is also possible that no significant relationships emerged because my sample had significantly less observations that fell into the former destination type category than any other destination type.[7]

Finally, I have reported an adjusted r-squared for each OLS regression, and a pseudo r-squared for the logistic regressions. Each regression was run first with a base model of just the individual-level controls, and then again with the destination type factor variable. In each instance, the adjusted and pseudo r-squared increased when destination type was incorporated.

[7] See Table A.3 in the Appendix for observations broken down by destination type

6. Discussion and Conclusion

In analyzing five economic outcomes at the MSA level, I have provided an updated assessment of how Latino immigrants are faring economically across destination types in this new geography of settlement. My research confirms previous findings that in new destinations mean household income, adjusted for household size (i.e. percent of poverty line), is lower than in traditional gateways. That being said, an important contribution of this paper is the finding that without adjusting for household size, nominal wages are actually higher in new destinations. Moreover, once we account for one major cost, through the incorporation of housing, real-wages also appear to be higher in new destinations for Latino immigrants as evidenced by my coefficients for rent-burden. These findings could be related to differences in cost of living, as well as immigrant selection. While rent in Dallas is undoubtedly cheaper than in San Francisco, Latino immigrant households in new destinations like Dallas might be larger and therefore nominal wages unadjusted for household size appears higher. Finally, my findings also contribute to extant work which discusses employment and homeownership in the new geography of settlement. Crowley et al.'s (2006) analysis of Mexican immigrants find an employment advantage in traditional destinations. While I find an employment advantage in *new* destinations my study looks across Latino immigrants and uses more recent data, likely contributing to differences in findings. Additionally, Sanchez's (2019) recent study on Mexican, Salvadoran, and Guatemalan immigrants found higher rates of homeownership in traditional destinations after accounting for housing affordability. My study does not account for affordability when estimating homeownership and it incorporates immigrants from a variety of Latin American countries which could reflect differences in individual-level characteristics like

legal status that likely affect homeownership and contribute to my finding of higher odds of homeownership in new destinations.

A key contribution of this paper is its use of a multi-measure approach at the MSA level. In interrogating five different economic outcomes my findings complicate the largely optimistic narrative surrounding traditional destinations, particularly, through the introduction of rent-burden as a measure of economic well-being. Had I only conducted my analysis with the poverty measure, my results would have supported the narrative that Latino immigrants in new destinations are poorer than their counterparts in traditional destinations. By also incorporating rent-burden I found that Latino immigrants in new destinations actually fared 10% better in terms of rent-burden when compared to traditional destinations. While my findings do not disprove the general narrative, they serve to problematize how we grapple with economic well-being through the analysis of a single economic outcome.

That being said, moving forward I would have altered some of the model specifications. For one, rather than utilize the poverty measure as a continuous variable I would have constructed it as categorical so that I could identify odds of being in poverty rather than the relative discussion used here of one's percentage of poverty level. Second, classifying destination types differently could have altered the results and perhaps comparing across different classifications would have provided even more insight. Third, including a control for cost of living could have helped in teasing out some of the geographical differences hinted at through my introduction of rent-burden. Additionally, I would have included family size and structure into my model so as to reduce any generalizations related to household types. A major limitation related to variables not included in my analysis is that legal status has largely been ignored. While I have controlled for various individual-level characteristics (age, gender, race,

education levels, time in the U.S., and occupation type) it is probable that other characteristics like legal status, national-origin, or immigrant type (economic migrants, refugees, or temporary migrants) could be affecting the results.

An important question that emerges with these findings in mind is if employment, nominal wages, and real-wages (as proxied for here by rent-burden) are higher in new destinations, then why do the majority of immigrants continue to sort into traditional destinations? While much has already been done on exploring the mechanisms driving settlement choices in this new geography of settlement (Capoferro & Massey, 2008; Zuniga & Hernandez-Leon, 2005; Light, 2006; Goodwin-White, 2009) less is known about Latino immigrant perceptions of their economic well-being and how that factors into their decision-making calculus. While unexplored in this paper, in future work I hope to tease out some of the frequently unobserved and difficult to measure variables that contribute to Latino immigrant settlement decisions and perceptions of their economic well-being.

APPENDIX

Table A.1: Metropolitan Statistical Areas Classified by Immigrant Destination Type

Traditional Destinations	
Boston-Cambridge-Newton, MA-NH	New York-Newark-Jersey City, NY-NJ-PA
Chicago-Naperville-Elgin, IL-IN-WI	Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA
Houston-The Woodlands-Sugar Land, TX	San Diego-Carlsbad, CA
Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim, CA	San Francisco-Oakland-Hayward, CA
Miami-Fort Lauderdale-West Palm Beach, FL	
New Destinations	
Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Roswell, GA	Phoenix-Mesa-Scottsdale, AZ
Austin-Round Rock, TX	Portland-Vancouver-Hillsboro, OR-WA
Charlotte-Concord-Gastonia, NC-SC	Raleigh, NC
Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	Sacramento--Roseville--Arden-Arcade, CA
Denver-Aurora-Lakewood, CO	Salt Lake City, UT
Greensboro-High Point, NC	San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA
Las Vegas-Henderson-Paradise, NV	Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA
Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI	Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL
Orlando-Kissimmee-Sanford, FL	Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV
Former Destinations	
Baltimore-Columbia-Towson, MD	Milwaukee-Waukesha-West Allis, WI
Buffalo-Cheektowaga-Niagara Falls, NY	Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD
Cleveland, TN	Pittsburgh, PA
Detroit-Warren-Dearborn, MI	St. Louis, MO-IL
No Destination Type	
Akron, OH	Lewiston-Auburn, ME
Albany-Schenectady-Troy, NY	Lima, OH
Albuquerque, NM	Lincoln, NE
Allentown-Bethlehem-Easton, PA-NJ	Little Rock-North Little Rock-Conway, AR
Amarillo, TX	Louisville/Jefferson County, KY-IN
Anchorage, AK	Lubbock, TX
Ann Arbor, MI	Lynchburg, VA
Anniston-Oxford-Jacksonville, AL	Madera, CA
Asheville, NC	Manchester-Nashua, NH
Atlantic City-Hammonton, NJ	Mansfield, OH
Auburn-Opelika, AL Metro Area	McAllen-Edinburg-Mission, TX
Augusta-Richmond County, GA-SC	Medford, OR

Bakersfield, CA
Bangor, ME
Barnstable Town, MA
Baton Rouge, LA
Beaumont-Port Arthur, TX
Bellingham, WA
Bend-Redmond, OR
Binghamton, NY
Birmingham-Hoover, AL
Bismarck, ND
Blacksburg-Christiansburg-Radford, VA
Bloomington, IL
Bloomington, IN
Boise City, ID
Bremerton-Silverdale, WA
Bridgeport-Stamford-Norwalk, CT
Brownsville-Harlingen, TX
Burlington, NC
Burlington-South Burlington, VT
Canton-Massillon, OH
Cape Coral-Fort Myers, FL
Champaign-Urbana, IL
Charleston, WV
Charleston-North Charleston, SC
Chattanooga, TN-GA
Chico, CA
Cincinnati, OH-KY-IN
Clarksville, TN-KY
Coeur d'Alene, ID
College Station-Bryan, TX
Colorado Springs, CO
Columbia, MO
Columbia, SC
Columbus, OH
Corpus Christi, TX
Daphne-Fairhope-Foley, AL
Dayton, OH
Decatur, AL
Memphis, TN-MS-AR
Merced, CA
Michigan City-La Porte, IN
Midland, TX
Mobile, AL
Modesto, CA
Monroe, LA
Monroe, MI
Montgomery, AL
Morgantown, WV
Muncie, IN
Muskegon, MI
Myrtle Beach-Conway-North Myrtle Beach, SC-NC
Napa, CA
Naples-Immokalee-Marco Island, FL
Nashville-Davidson-Murfreesboro-Franklin, TN
New Haven-Milford, CT
New Orleans-Metairie, LA
Niles-Benton Harbor, MI Are
North Port-Sarasota-Bradenton, FL
Norwich-New London, CT
Ocala, FL
Ocean City, NJ
Odessa, TX
Ogden-Clearfield, UT
Oklahoma City, OK
Olympia-Tumwater, WA
Omaha-Council Bluffs, NE-IA
Oshkosh-Neenah, WI
Owensboro, KY
Oxnard-Thousand Oaks-Ventura, CA
Palm Bay-Melbourne-Titusville, FL
Parkersburg-Vienna, WV
Pensacola-Ferry Pass-Brent, FL
Pittsfield, MA
Portland-Vancouver-Hillsboro, OR-WA
Port St. Lucie, FL
Prescott, AZ

Decatur, IL
Deltona-Daytona Beach-Ormond Beach, FL
Des Moines-West Des Moines, IA
Dover, DE
East Stroudsburg, PA
Eau Claire, WI
El Centro, CA
Elkhart-Goshen, IN
El Paso, TX
Erie, PA
Eugene, OR
Fayetteville, NC
Fayetteville-Springdale-Rogers, AR-MO
Flagstaff, AZ
Florence, SC
Fort Collins, CO
Fort Wayne, IN
Fresno, CA
Gadsden, AL
Gainesville, FL
Gainesville, GA
Glens Falls, NY
Goldsboro, NC
Grand Junction, CO
Grand Rapids-Wyoming, MI
Greenville, NC
Greenville-Anderson-Mauldin, SC
Gulfport-Biloxi-Pascagoula, MS
Hanford-Corcoran, CA
Harrisburg-Carlisle, PA
Harrisonburg, VA
Hartford-West Hartford-East Hartford, CT
Hickory-Lenoir-Morganton, NC
Hilton Head Island-Bluffton-Beaufort, SC
Homosassa Springs, FL
Houma-Thibodaux, LA
Huntsville, AL
Indianapolis-Carmel-Anderson, IN
Providence-Warwick, RI-MA
Provo-Orem, UT
Pueblo, CO
Punta Gorda, FL
Racine, WI
Reading, PA
Redding, CA
Reno, NV
Richmond, VA
Roanoke, VA
Rochester, NY
Rockford, IL
Rocky Mount, NC
Saginaw, MI
St. George, UT
St. Joseph, MO-KS
Salinas, CA
Salisbury, MD-DE
San Angelo, TX
San Antonio-New Braunfels, TX
San Luis Obispo-Paso Robles-Arroyo Grande, CA
Santa Cruz-Watsonville, CA
Santa Fe, NM
Santa Maria-Santa Barbara, CA
Santa Rosa, CA
Scranton--Wilkes-Barre--Hazleton, PA
Sebastian-Vero Beach, FL
Sheboygan, WI
Shreveport-Bossier City, LA
Spartanburg, SC
Spokane-Spokane Valley, WA
Springfield, IL
Springfield, MA
Springfield, MO
Springfield, OH
State College, PA
Stockton-Lodi, CA
Syracuse, NY

Iowa City, IA
Ithaca, NY
Jackson, MI
Jackson, MS
Jackson, TN
Jacksonville, FL
Janesville-Beloit, WI
Jefferson City, MO
Johnstown, PA
Joplin, MO
Kalamazoo-Portage, MI
Kankakee, IL
Kansas City, MO-KS
Knoxville, TN
La Crosse-Onalaska, WI-MN
Lafayette, LA
Lafayette-West Lafayette, IN
Lake Havasu City-Kingman, AZ
Lakeland-Winter Haven, FL
Lancaster, PA
Lansing-East Lansing, MI
Laredo, TX
Las Cruces, NM
Lawrence, KS
Lebanon, PA
Toledo, OH
Topeka, KS
Trenton, NJ
Tucson, AZ
Tuscaloosa, AL
Tyler, TX
Urban Honolulu, HI
Utica-Rome, NY
Vallejo-Fairfield, CA
Virginia Beach-Norfolk-Newport News, VA-NC
Visalia-Porterville, CA
Waco, TX
Wausau, WI
Wenatchee, WA
Wichita, KS
Wichita Falls, TX
Wilmington, NC
Winston-Salem, NC
Worcester, MA-CT
Yakima, WA
York-Hanover, PA
Youngstown-Warren-Boardman, OH-PA
Yuba City, CA
Yuma, AZ

Table A.2: Complete Individual-Level Descriptive Statistics by Destination Type

	Traditional	New	Former	No Type	Overall
Time in U.S.					
0-5 years	15.7%	14.8%	20.1%	16.6%	15.8%
6-10 years	21.6%	20.8%	22.7%	21.7%	21.5%
11-15 years	31.8%	33.1%	31.4%	32.5%	32.2%
16-20 years	30.9%	31.2%	25.8%	29.2%	30.5%
Age	43	41	40	42	43
Sex					
Male	55.5%	59.0%	57.2%	58.9%	57.0%
Female	44.5%	41.0%	42.8%	41.1%	43.0%
Race					
White	2.3%	3.2%	5.2%	3.3%	2.8%
Black	12.2%	6.6%	18.3%	6.0%	9.7%
Hispanic	82.8%	88.4%	73.1%	89.3%	85.2%
Asian	1.1%	0.6%	1.0%	0.4%	0.8%
American Indian	0.0%	0.0%	0.1%	0.1%	0.0%
Mixed	0.7%	0.6%	1.0%	0.4%	0.6%
Other	0.9%	0.6%	1.1%	0.5%	0.8%
Education					
No High School	32.4%	37.5%	29.3%	40.6%	35.3%
High School	27.3%	25.7%	25.2%	24.9%	26.4%
Some College	23.0%	20.1%	20.7%	20.5%	21.8%
BA and Up	17.4%	16.6%	24.7%	14.0%	16.6%
Occupation					
Construction & Mech.	12.9%	20.6%	15.8%	24.6%	17.2%
Manuf. & Agriculture	10.1%	8.3%	8.9%	10.3%	9.8%
Local Services (no degree)	41.5%	42.2%	36.3%	35.4%	40.1%
Local Services (w/ degree)	4.9%	4.3%	6.2%	4.9%	4.8%
Public Sector & Transport	11.6%	8.3%	9.2%	10.3%	10.6%
Health	7.3%	4.1%	8.0%	5.2%	6.2%
Arts & Media	1.1%	1.0%	0.9%	0.8%	1.0%
Management & Business	8.4%	8.1%	9.9%	6.5%	8.0%
STEM	2.3%	3.0%	4.7%	2.1%	2.4%
Observations:	300,554	110,558	10,493	125,997	547,602

Table A.3: Latino Immigrant Population and Economic Outcomes by Destination Type

		Traditional	New	Former	No Type	Overall
Population Size						
	Mean	98,746	17,558	4,579	3,650	58,670
	Median	134,598	14,817	3,555	2,455	33,333
	Max	140,620	36,173	7,481	11,645	140,620
	Min	15,454	1,348	594	15	15
	Standard Dev	47,330	11,014	2,675	3,273	56,850
Latino Share						
	Mean	0.91%	0.38%	0.10%	0.53%	0.70%
	Median	0.66%	0.38%	0.12%	0.44%	0.59%
	Max	1.71%	0.57%	0.13%	1.76%	1.76%
	Min	0.32%	0.07%	0.03%	0.01%	0.01%
	Standard Dev	0.44%	0.12%	0.03%	0.44%	0.46%
Poverty (% income from Poverty)						
	Mean	280.48	264.70	288.40	244.53	243
	Standard Dev	148.41	145.36	156.58	143.26	147.53
Employment						
	Employed	96.8%	99.8%	96.8%	95.5%	97.4%
	Unemployed	3.2%	0.2%	3.2%	4.5%	3.5%
Nominal Income						
	Mean	35,825.50	34,204.29	39,586.53	30,809.60	34,416.15
	Standard Dev	40,167.92	37,934.19	47,967.87	35,838.53	38,990.94
Rent-Burden						
	Mean	80.2%	68.5%	68.8%	68.5%	69.7%
	Standard Dev	8.52	5.63	2.49	6.04	3.27
Homeownership						
	Homeowner	49.0%	53.8%	92.6%	55.6%	48.4%
	Renter	51.0%	46.2%	7.4%	44.4%	51.6%
Total No. of Observations:		300,554	110,558	10,493	125,997	547,602

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