Mexican Occupational Attainment in Old and New Immigrant Destinations

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Increasingly immigrants are eschewing traditional destinations such as Los Angeles and New York City for new destinations in Atlanta, Nashville, Las Vegas, and elsewhere. Metropolitan areas with fewer than 50,000 foreign-born residents in 1980 now have half a million. In Atlanta, Dallas, Las Vegas, Austin, Charlotte, Greensboro and Raleigh-Durham, immigrant populations increased more than 500 percent between 1980 and 2000 (Singer 2004).

What is remarkable about so many new immigration flows is that Latinos, especially Mexicans, comprise the majority of immigrants following these flows into new gateway cities. Given the long history of Mexican migration to only a handful of fixed sites across the United States, the diffusion of streams seen among this group is particularly interesting. It has been attributed to economic prosperity in the nineties that increased the availability of jobs in new destinations as native workers found jobs with better pay or better working conditions, creating a demand for unskilled workers in the Southeast and Midwest (Atiles and Bohon 2002; 2003). There has also been some suggestion that push factors in traditional gateways such as crowding, pollution, and crime also contributed to the shift (Hernández-León and Zuniga 2000; DeWind and Cassanova 2003), or that migration to new destinations is an inevitable outcomes of secondary migration as innovative immigrants "seek out better opportunities in new places and occupations" (Massey, Goldring, and Durand, 1994: 1501). .

We wonder if the "opportunities in new places" are actually better than in traditional gateways. Are some Mexican immigrants choosing new destinations because they find better job prospects in these places, as Massey and his colleagues (1994) suggest, or are they responding to specific historical processes and circumstances that have created unique push and pull factors, as

Hernández-León and Zuniga (2000) contend? Although emerging gateways remain understudied, there is some evidence to suggest the former. Stamps and Bohon (2006) show that Latino immigrants in emerging gateways are better educated, on average, than those in traditional gateways, but this finding is driven by secondary migration from traditional destinations. This suggests that a selection effect for innovators in new destinations is occurring, in accordance with Massey, Goldring, and Durand's (1994) theory. Bohon, Massengale, and Jordan (2006) find that, net of other factors, Mexican immmigrants are less likely to be self-employed in new gateways and that they do not use self-employment as a way of overcoming English and educational deficiencies like they do in traditional places. This also suggests that the opportunities for good jobs working for others is greater in new places, and some Mexicans immigrants are responding to these opportunities.

Despite this tangential evidence, there have been no studies, to date, that examine the quality of jobs across types of immigrant gateways. This study seeks to remedy this. Here, we compare the occupational attainment of Mexican immigrants in four types of metropolitan gateways. Specifically, we determine whether or not occupational attainment differs across gateways and whether or not differences (if they exist) are the result of *selectivity* in which different types of immigrants choose different destinations. We also examine whether or not gateways reward human capital and other factors similarly with regard to occupational attainment. Finally, we examine the extent to which existing gateway typologies usefully classify Mexican immigrants with regard to occupational attainment and the factors that predict it.

Data and Methods

Data for this study are taken from the 2000 five-percent Integrated Public Use Microdata

Sample (IPUMS; Ruggles, et al. 2004). Specifically, we used a five-percent sample of the 2000 Census long forms using the person-level data. Respondents were included if they were between the ages of 18 and 64, in the labor force and not in school. The sample was limited to immigrants who were born in Mexico and reported "Mexican" as their Hispanic/Latino ethnicity.

Our dependent variable is occupational attainment operationalized using the Nam-Powers-Boyd (NPB) occupational scores for the 2000 U.S. Census three-digit occupational classifications (Nam and Boyd 2004). NPB scores are calculated based on median education and earnings within occupations, weighted by the number of persons in each occupation. The scale ranges from 1 to 100, and occupations in which workers have the same average income and level of education have the same occupational attainment. As a general rule, high-ranked jobs are well-paying and scarce, while low-ranked jobs are dirty, dangerous, common and, often, poorly paid.

Although occupational attainment among immigrants has recieved less attention than other outcomes (see Bohon 2005), it is a useful indicator of occupational opportunities since it is less sensitive to differences that occur across labor markets than other factors like income (Ellis 2001). A job that pays $40,000 a year is clearly a much better job in Atlanta than it is in Los Angeles, for example. The NPB scores not only capture the quality of jobs across places, but they are superior to other measures of occupational attainment because they do not include measures of job prestige, which may be different for immigrants than for natives.

The variable of interest is gateway type. We employ Suro and Singer's (2002) Latino gateway typology. This typology is a classification of the 100 largest metropolitan areas in the United States based on the growth of the Latino population between 1980 and 2000.

Established Latino metropolitan areas are the places that have traditionally been the destination choice for Latino immigrants and continue to house half of this country's Latino population. *Fast-growing Latino hubs* are place like Houston that are traditional destinations for Latino immigrants but became even more popular between 1980 and 2000. The eleven metropolitan areas that fall into this category experienced an average of 235 percent growth in their Latino population over the twenty-year period. *New Latino destinations* are those places that had few Latinos in 1980, but experienced rapid growth in the Latino population in the twenty years following. Raleigh-Durhan, for example, experienced an 1180 percent growth during this period. *Small Latino places* are those places that continue to attract only a few Latino immigrants. Only four percent of all U.S. Latinos (immigrants and non-immigrants) are found in these places. For simplicity, we can think of established and fast-growing Latino metropolitan areas as *traditional destinations*, and new and small Latino destinations are *non-traditional.*

Suro and Singer's typology is useful for our purposes, but it is not ideal. First, using the IPUMS does not allow us to classify all metropolitan areas as specifically as Suro and Singer do. For example, we do not have access to separate person-level information for New York City (an established Latino metropolitan area) and Bergen-Passaic (a new Latino destination). Instead, we are forced to classify together all Mexican immigrants working in the New York-Northeastern New Jersey metropolitan area. In such situations, we classified the nine metropolitan areas in which we encountered this problem based on the gateway type of the largest primary metropolitan area. Mexican immigrants working in Bergen-Passaic, therefore, are classified as working in an established Latino metro. Immigrants in Riverside-San Bernardino (a fast-growing hub) are likewise classified as working in Los Angeles.

A second difficulty with Suro and Singer's typology is that it is based on the growth of the Latino population, rather than specifically on the Mexican immigrant population. This is less of a problem for new Latino destinations, since much of their Latino population change can be attributed to Mexican immigrants. It is more problematic for places like New York City and Miami that are traditional destinations for Latinos, including Latino immigrants, but have had little previous experience with Mexican immigration.

There are other typologies that can and have been employed for other types of analyses. Kritz and Gurak (2006) use a typology based on labor market regions. These regions–based on aggregated public use microdata areas–represent the general places where U.S. residents work and includes non-metropolitan as well as metropolitan destinations. Their classification scheme is based on the size of these regions, with those regions with the largest immigrant populations classified as traditional gateways. Although Kritz and Gurak's typology is useful for some purposes, it is less so here, because we argue that the speed of change may have more impact on the infrastructure for absorbing immigrants than the overall size of the immigrant population. However, because of the less than ideal nature of the existing typologies for our purposes, we conclude our results section with a cluster analysis that estimates the usefulness of Suro and Singer's (2002) model for differentiating places based on Mexican immigrant occupational attainment and the factors that predict it.

To answer most of our research questions we employ a method of ordinary least squares regression that estimates robust standard errors that adjust for the heteroskedasticity of the data due to clustering within metropolitan areas. Included in our regression models are controls for those factors that commonly predict occupational status attainment (see Bohon 2005). Among

these are demographic characteristics including age, marital status, household headship, and educational attainment. Also included are immigrant characteristics including citizenship status, year of immigration, and ability to speak English.

To answer our final research question (to what extent does Singer and Suro's typology usefully classify Mexican immigrants with regard to occupational attainment and the factors that predict it?), we employ both hierarchical and non-hierarchical cluster analysis to proportionate data that are aggregated across metropolitan areas and range-standardized. First, we employ Ward's method of hierarchical cluster analysis to determine the likely number of real clusters (i.e., types of gateways) that result. Second, we employ a k-means non-hierarchical clustering procedure to determine which metropolitan areas meaningfully cluster together on our specified factors.

Findings

To examine the question of whether or not occupational attainment varies across gateways, we examined the mean Nam-Powers-Boyd scores of Mexican immigrant workers in the four gateway types. The results are shown in Figure 1.

[Figure 1 about here]

The mean scores (shown on the right side of the figure) range from about 26 in new Latino destinations to over 30 in established Latino metropolitan areas. Results of a difference of means test (not shown) reveals that differences between mean NPB scores in new Latino destinations are significantly different from those in other metropolitan areas ($p<.001$) except small Latino places. The box plots (shown on the left) reveal further that the standard deviations are also greater in the established and fast-growing places, indicating greater variability in the types of

jobs in traditional (established and fast-growing) destinations.

These findings suggest that two possibilities. One is that migration to new destinations is not in response to good opportunities, as Massey, Goldring, and Durand (1994) suggest. Clearly, Mexican immigrants in traditional gateways have better jobs (as indicated by their NPB scores) than those in non-traditional places. A second possibility is that jobs in new Latino destinations are actually better given the types of immigrants competing for them. In other words, new Latino destinations may have immigrants with poorer English-language skills or other factors that predict occupational attainment may be congregating in new destinations because the opportunities for immigrants with their characteristics might actually be better. Table 1 shows the descriptive statistics of the characteristics of immigrants across places.

[Table 1 about here]

The findings in Table 1 give mixed support for the selection hypothesis. Mexican immigrants in non-traditional destinations are younger, newer immigrants who are less likely to be citizens, and who are less fluent in English than those in traditional destinations. They are also less likely to be self-employed, married, or heading their households. These factors all suggest lower occupational attainment; however, Mexican immigrants in non-traditional destinations are also more likely to be male and are generally better educated. These factors suggest higher occupational attainment. To examine this further, we conducted regression analysis. The results of these analyses are presented in Table 2.

[Table 2 about here]

Model 1 essentially replicates the findings shown in Figure 1. Mexican immigrants in established and fast-growing gateways have occupational attainment 5.33 and 4.05 points higher

than those in new Latino destinations, on average ($p<.001$ for both), respectively. There is no significant difference in the occupational attainment of Mexican immigrants in small and new places. Controlling for demographic characteristics (see Model 2) reduces the impact of gateway type slightly, but does not fully explain the place differences. Taking age, sex, self-employment status, marital status, household headship, and education into account, differences in NPB scores between traditional and new destinations is reduced, but remains highly significant ($p<.001$). Adding controls for immigrant characteristics (see Model 3) also reduce the impact of gateway type, but place still matters. Mexican immigrants in established Latino metropolitan areas and those in fast-growing hubs have occupational attainment 2.2 and 1.8 points higher, on average, than those in new Latino destinations, respectively ($p<.05$ for both), even when the factors that generally predict occupational attainment are held constant. These findings offer some evidence for Hernández-León and Zuniga's (2000) assertion that migration to new destinations is not in response to good opportunities but is, instead, a result of unique historical factors. Work by the first author and her colleagues (see, for example, Atiles and Bohon 2002) shows that many Latino immigrants now living in Georgia arrived in response to labor recruiting in Mexico, particularly by the poultry, textile, and construction industries.

Our third research question addresses whether or not gateway types reward human capital and other factors similarly across gateways. To examine this, we replicated the findings shown in Table 2 separately for each gateway type. A few modifications of the model were necessary to do this. First, we wanted to report standardized regression coefficients in this model; consequently, we could no longer obtain robust standard errors. This was not especially problematic, because the within gateway samples are more homoskedastic. We wanted to report

standardized coefficients to make differences across models more clear, as we test for (but do not show) coefficient differences across models.

Second, we removed the gender and self-employment variables from the model and added a four-category dummy variable that examines the interaction of sex and self-employment. We used this strategy as the result of the puzzling finding in Table 2 that shows no impact of self-employment on occupational attainment. We say puzzling because self-employment is a primary route to economic self-sufficiency for immigrants, and although Mexicans are not as likely to be self-employed as some other immigrant groups, they are still self-employed at a rate that is more than twice that of Mexican-Americans (Razin and Light 1998). The results of previous studies on traditional gateways shows that self-employed Latino immigrants have significantly higher levels of occupational attainment than those who work for others (Bohon 2005), but some studies have shown that self-employment results in higher levels of occupational attainment only for men (Raijman and Semyonov 1997) because women have fewer good self-employment opportunities (Pedraza 1991). Self-employed Mexican immigrant women tend to be concentrated in jobs such as house cleaning and child care. These jobs are low paying, low skilled, and offer irregular hours. We suspect that this does not vary across places. We wonder, however, whether the gap in occupational attainment between self-employed men and women will be narrower in new destinations, since self-employment opportunities for men may be more limited there than in traditional gateways.

[Table 3 about here]

The findings in Table 3 show that, generally, the patterns in the ways that immigrant

characteristics are rewarded in the same direction with regard to occupational attainment across place. Some of the factors that are significant in established, fast-growing, and new places show no or marginal significance in small Latino destinations, but this is likely to be a factor of sample size, since there are far fewer respondents in the latter category. Furthermore, and examination of the standardized regression coefficients show that year of immigration and having attended (and/or graduated) college are two of the most important predictors of occupational attainment in all four gateway types. Interestingly, having less than a high school education (relative to having a diploma) and being a woman who works for others (relative to being a self-employed man) also make a relatively large contribution to explaining the differences in occupational attainment among Mexican immigrants in traditional places, but the impact within the models is less strong in non-traditional places. In the non-traditional gateways, speaking English very well (relative to not at all) and being a man working for others (relative to being a self-employed man) had relatively large predictive power.

We had assumed that the difference between being a self-employed women versus a self-employed man would matter less in new Latino destinations than in traditional destinations. To determine this, we tested for differences in regression coefficients across identical models with different samples by calculating t-tests using a method specified by Cohen (1983). The results of

these tests (not shown), confirm that the coefficients associated with being female and self-employed are not significantly different in the new Latino destinations model from those in the established and fast-growing destination models. The coefficient in the new destinations model are significantly different from those in small Latino places. That information, combined with the findings in Table 3 demonstrates that the gap is not narrower between self-employed men and women in new versus traditional places. It is interesting to note that self-employed women appear to have occupational attainment as high as men in small Latino places. Perhaps the few Mexican immigrant women who live in these places are choosing them because they have good (albeit few) opportunities for female self-employment.

These findings are more readily understood when graphed. Figure 2 shows occupational attainment for Mexican immigrants by gender and class of worker across the gateway types. Self-employed men and women have higher occupational attainment (net of other factors) in small Latino places, probably because entrepreneurial Mexican immigrants are responding to opportunities in these least traditional gateways. Occupational attainment for self-employed men is about the same across places, but it is considerably lower for self-employed women. Furthermore, men who work for others have significantly lower self-employment in new Latino destinations (as determined by a t-test; $p<.01$ for all) than elsewhere. These findings reiterate the

findings shown in Table 2. Mexicans are not immigrating to new destinations in response to better job opportunities, at least as it is determined by occupational attainment.

[Figure 2 about here]

Finally, we contend with the possibility that differences among gateway types are the result of poor classification. As previously mentioned, there are some drawbacks to using Singer and Suro's (2002) classification scheme, and these difficulties may affect our finding that traditional gateways offer better job opportunities than new Latino destinations. To examine this, we tested to see how metropolitan areas clustered on the factors that predict occupational attainment among Mexican immigrants using a two-step agglomerative clustering procedure.

Clustering analysis offers a way of combining cases (for our purposes, metropolitan areas) taking into account characteristics of place. Specifically, we looked at mean NPB scores, proportion U.S. citizen, mean year of immigration, proportion not speaking English at all, mean age, and the proportion male, self-employed, married, head of household and at least graduating high school. After range-standardizing our data to adjust for differences in standard deviations, we eliminated outliers identified through a simple linkage clustering procedure. Specifically, we eliminated Springfield, Cincinnati, and Youngstown, Ohio. Beyond their likely undue influence on our subsequent analyses, we feel justified in eliminating these metropolitan areas because they

are home to relatively few Mexican immigrants.

After testing several alternative clustering algorithms, we determined that we achieved the best results using Ward's linkage. Taking squared Euclidean distance as our dissimilarity measure, we identified three clusters from our solution. These can be seen easily on the dendogram in Figure 3. It is interesting to note that, despite Suro and Singer's (2002) four-category typology, we could not reach a four cluster solution. In short, with regard to our study, there are only three types of gateways. This is not surprising, since cluster analysis yields a data-driven solution, while Suro and Singer's typology is conceptual. Nonetheless, our findings beg the question of whether or not our three gateway types overlap meaningfully with any of Singer and Suro's types.

Following the example of Roberts and Leonard (1998), who argue that hierarchical clustering is effective in identifying the number of clusters but less than optimal for identifying which cases cluster together, we used a non-hierarchical cluster method to sort metropolitan areas into gateways . Specifically, we used a k-means proportioning procedure. The resulting clusters are shown in Figure 4.

[Figure 4 about here]

First, the results from Table 4 show that established Latino destinations cluster together

fairly consistently. Two-thirds are found in Group 2 with only three appearing in Group 3. Interestingly, the two gateways that concerned us the most, New York and Miami, do not cluster in Group 2. We argued previously that, although these are traditional immigrant destinations, they are not traditional Mexican immigrant destinations. The cluster analysis shows us that, indeed, New York and Miami are not like the other established gateways in this regard. Denver and San Jose are the other two "outliers."

Second, the new Latino destinations are split almost equally between Groups 1 and 3. Two factors are particularly noticeable about this. First, only three of the 53 new Latino destinations cluster with the established Latino destinations in Group 2. Second, the split between Groups 1 and 3 appears most strongly along geographic lines. Thirteen of the 20 new gateways in the Southeast appear in Group 1. Of the remaining seven, five are cities in Florida (Jacksonville, Fort Lauderdale, Orlando, Sarasota, and Tampa) and one (Knoxville) barely made the Suro and Singer's cut-off in distinguishing new destinations from small Latino places. This leaves only Norfolk as the remaining Southeastern city not clustering in Group 1. The implications for this split is that among new gateways, geographic location (and the corresponding economic structure that goes with it) are as important as its gateway status with regard to infrastructure for absorbing migrants.

Third, there is a nearly even distribution of the fast-growing hubs between Groups 2 and 3, but no hubs appear in Group 1. That is, none of the fast-growing hubs cluster with the new Latino gateways that are majority Southeastern. This suggests that the rapid growth affecting the new gateway in the Southeast is different from the rapid growth affecting some traditional gateways, at least with regard to Mexican immigrant occupational attainment.

Fourth, there is no readily observable pattern in the distribution of small Latino places across the three groups. Without overstating the case, we suggest that this fact lends support to Hernández-León and Zuniga's (2000) contention that the migration of Mexicans to non-traditional destinations is driven by unique historical circumstances. One example of this can be seen in New Orleans. Labeled a small Latino place, New Orleans' Latino population grew only 14% between 1990 and 2000 (Suro and Singer 2002), and Louisiana was one of only two Southeastern states–the other was West Virginia–that did not see sizeable increases in the Latino population in the nineties. By 2006, the story is much different. Although official counts in the hurricane-ravaged city are likely to be subject to severe undercount, best estimates suggest that the Latino population in New Orleans has at least tripled in response to post-Katrina clean-up efforts that have relied heavily on Mexican immigrant labor (Fussell 2006).

Overall, the results of the cluster analysis taken in conjunction with the regression results

already presented suggest that Singer and Suro's typology can be usefully applied to an examination of occupational attainment outcomes among Mexican immigrants. Certainly, there is a good case to be made for classifying the established Latino destinations together, although it might be prudent to include New York and Miami with the emerging gateways. Furthermore, it might be prudent to separate new Latino destinations along geographic lines, with metropolitan areas in the deep South classified separately from others.

Conclusions

The findings presented here call into question the notion that new immigrant gateways have spawned as the result of better job opportunities. In fact, Mexican immigrant workers have worse jobs, on average, in new Latino destinations than in traditional gateways. Furthermore, we cannot attribute the finding that Mexican immigrants are working in poorer jobs in non-traditional destinations to the fact that these immigrants are younger and newer. Mexican immigrants have poorer jobs in new Latino destinations relative to equal status immigrants in traditional places. These findings, therefore, underscore Hernández-León and Zuniga's (2000) assertion that migration to new destinations must be understood within the historical and geographic context in which it occurs rather than merely explaining it away by the secondary migration of more assimilated immigrants seeking better opportunities.

Indeed, the cluster analyses presented here also support this. These findings show that new Latino destinations split along geographic lines. Cities in the deep South cluster together. This is understandable. The social, cultural, and economic processes by which Latino immigrants arrived in the Midwest in the eighties is different from what occurred in the Southeast in the nineties. The rapid growth of "metropolitan magnets" in the South as the result of internal migration (Frey 2002) created huge demands for labor in the construction of housing, roads, and infrastructure. This growth did not occur in the Midwest. However, labor recruiters in the Midwest did seek out immigrant workers for jobs in meat processing (Parrado and Kandel 2006). It is a mistake, however, to assume that because job opportunities are new or abundant, they are superior to the opportunities that already exist in traditional gateways.

Overall, Mexican immigrants who are college educated and who have been in the U.S. for a considerable period held the best jobs, regardless of where they settle. These findings are not surprising. In non-traditional destinations, however, the ability to speak English well is also a very important predictor of occupational attainment, and it is more important in those destinations than in traditional gateways. This is hardly surprising, since the relatively smaller size of the Latino immigrant population in non-traditional places probably necessitates English fluency to a greater degree than in established gateways. It is easy to imagine that a very good

job in Atlanta would require English competency, while a similarly good job in Miami would not.

The one group that is benefitting from migration to non-traditional destinations are self-employed women. Those settling in metropolitan destinations outside of gateways (new, established, or fast-growing) are the only ones who demonstrate occupational attainment equal to men. Furthermore, both self-employed women and men have higher occupational attainment in small Latino places than elsewhere. This suggests that either entrepreneurially-minded immigrants who find opportunities in small places are very successful or that job opportunities for Mexican women are so limited in gateway cities that these women must resort to the lowest status "self-employed" jobs such as cleaning houses and tending children. Both are likely.

Finally, our findings suggest that the designation of "new gateways cities" should be more nuanced. New Latino destinations in the deep South are different from those outside of the Southeast and in Florida. It is likely that those differences are the result of labor recruiting in a few key industries, particularly construction, poultry, and textiles, and the rapid demand for labor as a result of internal population shifts to metropolitan centers in the South.

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Figure 1. Mean Nam-Powers-Boyd Scores by Gateway

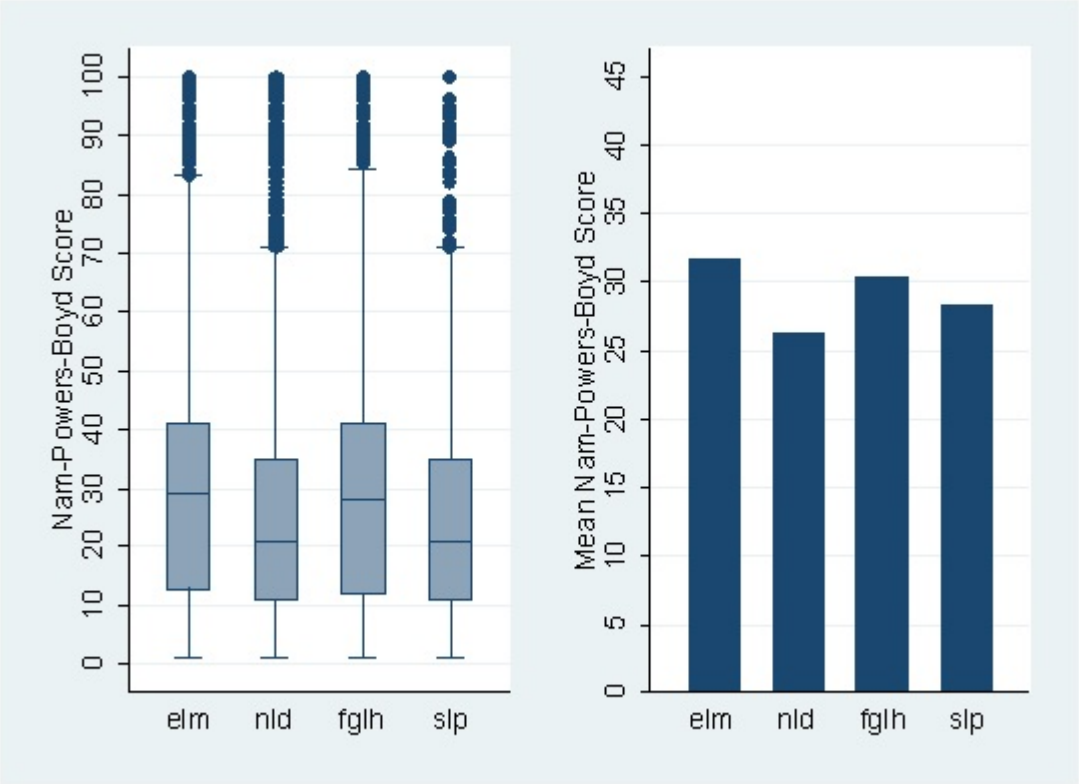

Figure 2.

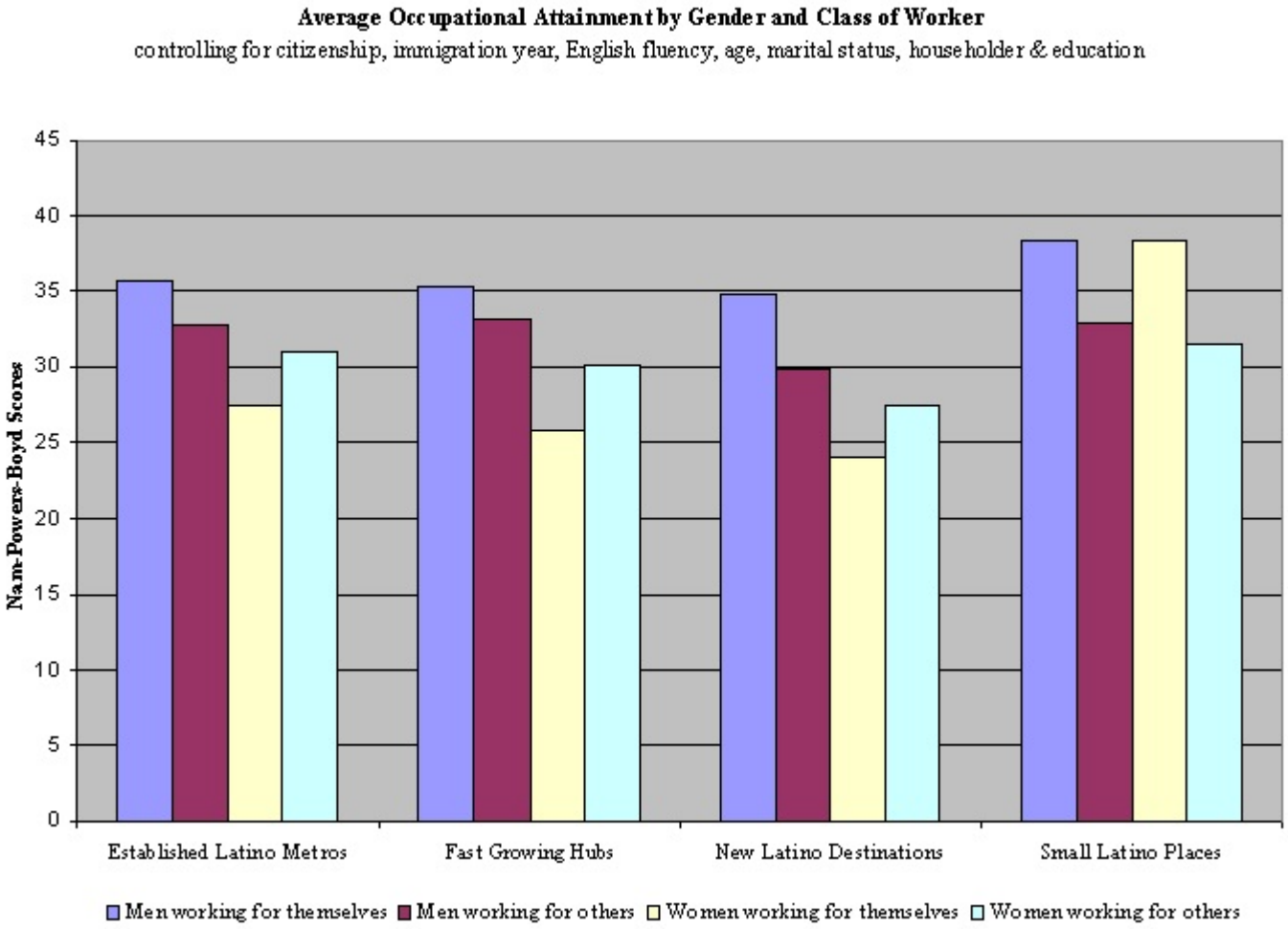
Average Occupational Attainment by Gender and Class of Worker
controlling for citizenship, immigration year, English fluency, age, marital status, householder & education
Nam-Powers-Boyd Scores
45
40
35
30
25
20
15
10
5
0
Established Latino Metros
Fast Growing Hubs
New Latino Destinations
Small Latino Places
Men working for themselves
Men working for others
Women working for themselves
Women working for others

Figure 3.

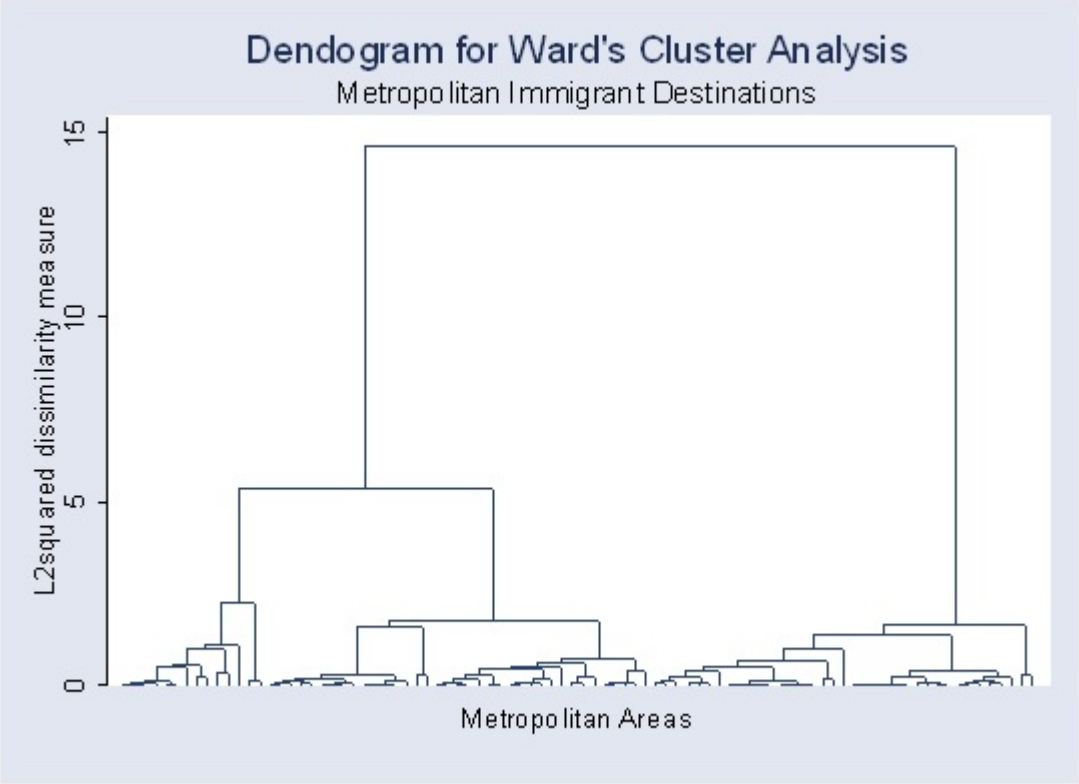
Dendogram for Ward's Cluster Analysis
Metropolitan Immigrant Destinations
L2squared dissimilarity measure
0
5
10
15
Metropolitan Areas

Figure 4.

Results of K-Means Cluster Analysis

Largest MSAs and PMSAs as Mexican Immigrant Destinations*

Group 1	Group 2	Group 3
Atlanta	Akron	Allentown
Baltimore	Albany	Ann Arbor
Birmingham	Albuquerque	Austin
Charleston	Bakersfield	Baton Rouge
Charlotte	Buffalo	Boston
Columbia	Chicago	Cleveland
Columbus	El Paso	Dallas
Dayton	Fresno	Denver
Grand Rapids	Honolulu	Detroit
Greensboro	Houston	Fort Lauderdale
Greenville	Jacksonville	Harrisburg
Hartford	Los Angeles	Kansas City
Indianapolis	McAllen	Knoxville
Little Rock	Mobile	Las Vegas
Louisville	Norfolk	Miami
Memphis	Riverside	Milwaukee
Minneapolis	Rochester	New Orleans
Monmouth	Sacramento	Oklahoma City
Nashville	San Antonio	Omaha
New Haven	San Diego	Orange County
New York	San Francisco	Orlando
Philadelphia	Syracuse	Phoenix
Portland	Toledo	Pittsburgh
Raleigh	Tucson	Providence
Richmond	Ventura	Salt Lake City
Washington		San Jose
West Palm Beach		Sarasota
Wilmington		Scranton
		Seattle
		St. Louis
		Stockton
		Tacoma
		Tampa
		Tulsa
		Wichita

Classified by Suro and Singer (2002) as a New Latino Destination

Classified by Suro and Singer (2002) as Established Latino Metros

*Springfield, Cincinnati, and Youngstown, OH were excluded as outliers

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics

	Type of Metropolitan Area				
	All	Established	Fast Growing	New	Small
Nam-Powers-Boyd scores	30.33	31.57	30.28	26.24	28.19
% U.S. citizen	24.47	28.02	23.39	15.15	19.96
Mean year of immigration	985.57	984.02	985.58	990.65	989.51
(standard deviation)	(10.33)	(10.44)	(10.09)	(8.73)	(10.62)
Ability to speak English					
% Not at all	18.61	17.35	19.23	21.22	21.25
% Not well	30.25	29.11	29.52	35.89	34.04
% Well	22.95	24.01	22.71	20.29	18.09
% Very well	28.18	29.53	28.54	22.59	26.61
Mean age	34.38	35.44	32.23	31.22	32.26
(standard deviation)	(10.54)	(10.74)	(10.35)	(9.57)	(10.57)
% Male	68.49	66.04	68.80	75.48	78.23
% Self-employed	6.99	7.74	7.17	4.04	5.23
% Married, spouse present	51.21	53.56	52.38	40.78	39.73
% Head of household	43.76	44.91	44.61	37.85	39.60
Educational attainment					
% Less than high school	39.87	39.26	40.69	39.91	39.86
% Some high school, no diploma	24.98	24.14	25.53	26.75	22.48
% High school diploma	18.43	18.71	17.58	19.73	18.60
% Some college	12.12	13.18	11.96	8.92	10.92
% College graduate	4.58	4.7	4.25	4.69	8.14
n	133,673	65,221	48,408	18,496	1,548

Table 2. Effects of Metropolitan Destination on Occupational Attainment

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Metro type (REF=emerging)			
Established	5.33***	3.80***	2.20*
	(0.84)	(0.91)	(0.85)
Fast growing	4.05***	3.07***	1.80*
	(0.71)	(0.60)	(0.76)
Small	1.96	0.42	0.06
	(1.38)	(1.22)	(1.23)
Age		0.10***	-0.07***
		(0.01)	(0.01)
Male		1.86***	2.81***
		(0.37)	(0.38)
Self-employed		0.68	0.59
		(0.72)	(0.65)
Married, spouse present		3.05***	2.17***
		(0.15)	(0.15)
Head of household		3.28**	2.18***
		(0.15)	(0.13)
Educational attainment (REF=high school graduate)			
Less than high school		-8.27***	-5.29***
		(0.46)	(0.28)
Some high school		-4.56***	-3.30***
		(0.28)	(0.21)
Some college		10.73***	8.79***
		(0.22)	(0.25)
College degree		27.13***	25.75***
		(0.93)	(0.90)
U.S. citizen			3.25***
			(0.13)
Year of immigration			-0.27***
			(0.02)
Ability to speak English (REF=Not at all)			
Not well			0.30
			(0.24)
Well			2.95***
			(0.35)
Very well			6.70***
			(0.29)
R-squared	.0071	.1316	.2474

n=133,673; †p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001. Regression coefficients shown (robust standard errors in parentheses).

Table 3. Predictors of Occupational Attainment by Metropolitan Type

	Established	Fast Growing	New Destinations	Small Places
U.S. citizen	3.49***	2.98***	2.41***	1.95
	0.07	0.06	0.04	0.03
	(0.19)	(0.22)	(0.40)	(1.29)
Year of immigration	-0.27***	-0.29***	-2.05***	-0.19**
	-0.13	-0.14	-0.09	-0.09
	(.0.01)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.06)
Speaks English: Not well	0.50*	0.59*	-0.65†	-0.11
	0.01	0.01	-0.02	-0.00
	(.022)	(0.25)	(0.36)	(1.26)
Speaks English: Well	3.12***	3.19***	1.88***	4.07**
	0.06	0.06	0.04	0.07
	(0.25)	(0.28)	(0.43)	(1.55)
Speaks English: Very well	7.00	6.63***	5.64***	6.84***
	0.15	0.14	0.12	0.13
	(0.25)	(0.28)	(0.44)	(1.57)
Age	-0.07***	-0.09***	-0.05**	-0.11*
	-0.04	-0.04	-0.03	-0.05
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.05)
Married, spouse present	2.22***	2.07***	2.13***	2.14*
	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.05
	(0.16)	(0.00)	(0.29)	(1.03)
Head of household	2.06***	2.36***	2.07***	2.25*
	0.05	0.06	0.05	0.05
	(0.17)	(0.19)	(0.30)	(1.03)
Less than high school	-5.69***	-5.89***	-2.77***	-3.37*
	-0.13	-0.14	-0.07	-0.07
	(0.22)	(0.25)	(0.36)	(1.32)
Some high school	-3.36***	-3.98***	-1.57***	-2.42†
	-0.07	-0.08	-0.04	-0.05
	(0.22)	(0.26)	(0.38)	(1.40)
Some college	8.95***	8.67***	7.01***	11.98***
	0.14	0.14	0.10	0.17
	(0.26)	(0.31)	(0.52)	(1.72)
College degree	25.79***	25.00***	25.53***	38.57***
	0.26	0.24	0.28	0.47
	(0.38)	(0.45)	(0.67)	(1.93)
Male, not self-employed	-2.94***	-2.01***	-4.82***	-5.37*
	-0.07	-0.05	-0.11	-0.10
	(0.33)	(0.40)	(0.76)	(2.32)
Female, self-employed	-8.30***	-9.43***	-10.68***	0.53
	-0.06	-0.07	-0.06	0.00
	(0.56)	(0.65)	(1.45)	(4.65)
Female, not self-employed	-4.74***	-5.05***	-7.30***	-6.92**
	-0.10	-0.11	-0.16	-0.12
	(0.35)	(0.42)	(0.80)	(2.49)
Adjusted R-squared	.2512	.2480	.1926	.3948
n	65,221	48,408	18496	1548

Regression and standardized coefficients shown (std. errors in parentheses). *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001