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Industrial change, Hispanic immigration, and the internal migration of low-skilled native male workers in the United States, 1995–2000

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ABSTRACT

Debates over immigration's impact on less advantaged native workers often ignore industrial structure for creating segregated labor markets and demand for immigrant workers. We analyze population movements of less-educated foreign-born Hispanic, native-born Hispanic, White, and Black men between 1995 and 2000 using MIGPUMA-level 2000 PUMS data. We model in-migration, out-migration, and net migration for each group controlling for demographic composition, employment structure, change in employment structure, labor market indicators, and macro contextual measures. Results indicate positive significant relationships between migration patterns of all groups and support labor demand explanations of internal low-skilled migration emphasizing industrial change rather than labor competition.

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1. Introduction

Internal migration has long been a major force in shaping the distribution of the US population and affecting regional demographic and economic change (Taylor et al., 2008). Because of its overlap with rising international migration, understanding its determinants has gained relevance in recent years. Researchers argue that studies of economic impacts of immigrants show negligible effects on wages partly because native workers exit labor markets receiving high numbers of immigrants to avoid competition (Borjas, 2003, 2006). Other studies, by contrast, stress the considerable heterogeneity across local areas of internal and international migration flows and factors other than labor market competition, such as labor demand and industrial structure to explain internal migration (Wright et al., 1997). In spite of its importance, correspondence of native and immigrant flows remains an open question and underlying mechanisms structuring the two flows remain unclear. Moreover, there has been relatively little explicit consideration of how these processes vary across racial and ethnic groups. Some studies suggest that low-skilled immigration is particularly disadvantageous for Blacks and native Hispanics who tend to be over-represented among the low-skilled population (see Friedberg and Hunt (1995) and Smith and Edmonston (1997) for reviews of the literature). There is also little elaboration on the extent to which in-flows of particular racial and ethnic groups alter movements of other groups or how non-economic considerations, such as co-ethnic community size, affect migration trends.

This study examines determinants of internal migration flows between 1995 and 2000 among the low-skilled native male population by race and ethnicity. We focus on low skilled workers because many argue that they compete directly with Hispanic immigrants. We restrict the analysis to men in part because they tend to be over-represented in immigration flows

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from Latin America and also because the labor market impact of female immigration, especially from Latin America, is complicated by migration undertaken due to family considerations without necessarily resulting in labor force participation (Cerrutti and Massey, 2001). Our analysis disentangles the influence of Hispanic immigrant in-flows, industrial structure and change, and minority composition on native population migration flows. Comparisons across ethno-racial groups allow us to assess how migration patterns and their determinants differ by group. Incorporating the migration flows of particular groups as predictors of the movement of other groups allow us to measure the extent to which groups move in similar or opposing directions. We consider ethnic representation and industrial composition of place of origin and destination in 1990 as well as their change over the decade to assess the role of demographic and employment context on racial and ethnic group mobility.

Our results contradict the expectation of direct competition between immigrants and natives. We find that immigrant and native male flows actually move in confluence regardless of race and ethnicity. Rather than a response to immigration, native internal migration is systematically affected by industrial characteristics of the local labor markets, and industrial structure differentially affects racial/ethnic group mobility. We also find that co-ethnic community size appears as a salient factor shaping native Black internal mobility. Overall, our results highlight the importance of industrial structure and minority composition over supply side considerations for explaining heterogeneity in native and international migration flows among low skilled male workers.

2. Background and theoretical considerations

Internal migration affects a substantial proportion of the US population. According to the US Census Bureau (Schachter, 2003) over 22 million people – one in 13 residents – migrated out of state between 1995 and 2000. In recent years, substantial internal flows have also coincided with a period of heightened international migration. Between 1995 and 2000, for instance, immigration flows reached their highest historic levels, averaging 1.5 million persons annually for instance between 1999 and 2000 (Pew Hispanic Center, 2005). Three salient internal migration trends coincided with heightened immigration over the past two decades. First, the long term trend of population movement from Northern states, such as New York, Illinois, and Pennsylvania, and California towards Southern states, such as Florida, Georgia, Arizona, and North Carolina continued unabated (Cromartie and Wardwell, 1999; Frey, 2005; Hobbs and Stoops, 2000). Second, many urban and rural Southeastern areas experienced considerable Black return migration in what has been labeled the "new great migration" (Adelman et al., 2000; Frey, 2004; Fuguitt et al., 2001; Falk et al., 2004; Hunt et al., 2008). Third, native and foreign-born Hispanics dispersed across the US with significant gains in non-traditional receiving areas throughout the Midwest and Southeast (Suro and Singer, 2002; Kandel and Cromartie, 2004; Zúñiga and Hernández-León, 2005; Massey, 2008).

The confluence of these trends has stirred considerable debate about their relationship, especially their association with immigration. Much of this emphasis comes from the large body of research focusing on labor market impacts of immigration and expected negative effects on native wages. Local area studies comparing employment opportunities for natives in cities receiving large immigrant in-flows to those in cities with lower levels of immigration generally find no negative labor market effects of immigration (Card's (1990) study of the effect of the Mariel Boatlift on Miami's labor market is a classic example). These findings contradict expectations from neoclassical economic assumptions of perfect competition between immigrants and natives, within particular skill categories. Some scholars have responded by arguing that lack of negative effects is an artifact of natives responding to immigrant induced labor-supply shocks in local labor markets by avoiding competition and "voting with their feet" (Borjas, 1995, 2003, 2006). Because the coincidence between native out-flows and immigrant in-flows dilutes the labor market impact of immigration, local areas studies fail to capture the negative labor market effects of immigration (Borjas, 2006).

Empirical studies evaluating the coincidence of native and immigrant flows, however, have found disparate results. Consistent with the competition argument, Frey (1996) argued that immigration had fostered a "demographic balkanization" of the US population by which natives, especially low-skilled Whites, leave metropolitan areas that received influxes of immigrants. He contended that the process of balkanization of immigrant and native populations accelerated between 1995 and 2000 and concluded that migration flows during the period continued separating metropolitan areas into high-immigration, high-domestic-in-migration, and high-out-migration areas (Frey, 2005). The large out-migration from high-immigration areas appeared to be dominated by those with less than college education. Similarly, Borjas (2006) finds that an area's immigrant share of the total population relates in opposing directions to natives' in-, out-, and net migration flows. The effect is stronger the smaller the geographic unit under consideration, with an estimated three to six native residents moving out of a particular metropolitan area for every 10 new immigrants who arrive (Borjas, 2006: p. 255).

Other scholars posit that such findings are at odds with observed population trends, particularly the growing dispersion of immigrant Hispanics, to areas in the Southeast and Midwest that have also experienced dramatic increases in their native populations (Kritz and Gurak, 2001). Their analyses suggest that processes other than immigration-induced labor-supply shocks drive the internal migration decisions of the native population. Card and DiNardo (2000), for instance, find considerable heterogeneity in the relative contribution of immigrants and natives to population growth across metropolitan areas,

¹ Frey subsequently attenuated his position on "white flight" (see Frey, 2003, 2005).

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