IMMIGRANTS AND OPPORTUNITY IN AMERICA'S CITIES

Blueprint for Opportunity Series
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J.H. Cullum Clark

Director, George W. Bush Institute-SMU Economic Growth Initiative

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About the George W. Bush Institute

The George W. Bush Institute is a solution-oriented nonpartisan policy organization focused on ensuring opportunity for all, strengthening democracy, and advancing free societies. Housed within the George W. Bush Presidential Center, the Bush Institute is rooted in compassionate conservative values and committed to creating positive, meaningful, and lasting change at home and abroad. We utilize our unique platform and convening power to advance solutions to national and global issues of the day. Learn more at www.BushCenter.org.

George W. Bush Institute-SMU Economic Growth Initiative

The Bush Institute-SMU Economic Growth Initiative combines the public policy expertise of the George W. Bush Institute and the academic expertise of SMU. The joint initiative draws from economic policy-making experience at the highest levels and from cutting edge academic research to identify ideas for promoting innovation, entrepreneurship, and faster, more inclusive growth through global competitiveness and sound immigration policy.

Blueprint for Opportunity Series

The Blueprint for Opportunity series advances a policy agenda for improving economic mobility to help Americans flourish. It focuses on strengthening America's cities in their vital role as engines of upward mobility. Cities and neighborhoods make a powerful difference to people's opportunities, and the local level is where most of the policy energy is in the United States today. America has numerous metro areas that score relatively high as cities of opportunity, but the Nation needs more.

Acknowledgments

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Some metropolitan areas far outperform others for immigrant well-being. Places where immigrants are thriving include centers for technology and other knowledge-centric industries, college towns, and metros that have been intentional in helping immigrants succeed. Within large metro areas, fast-growing suburban counties mostly perform well ahead of core urban counties for immigrant well-being.

Topping the rankings are technology centers like San Jose, San Francisco, Seattle, Boston, and Washington and tech and finance centers like Austin, Texas; Raleigh, North Carolina; Madison, Wisconsin; Colorado Springs, Colorado; and Bridgeport-Stamford-Norwalk, Connecticut.

Several mid-Atlantic and Midwestern metros like Baltimore; Pittsburgh; Cincinnati; Detroit; Dayton, Ohio; Akron, Ohio; St. Louis; Cedar Rapids, Iowa; and Sioux Falls, South Dakota, stand out for their immigrant-welcoming initiatives. Unique economic positions elevate a handful of smaller metros like Rochester, Minnesota; Midland, Texas; and Fayetteville-Springdale-Rogers, Arkansas.

Newly arriving immigrants are disproportionately choosing traditional "gateway" metros, though they increasingly settle in suburban rather than core areas within these metros. But immigrants making secondary moves within the United States are disproportionately choosing the same places as native-born people – metros with relatively affordable housing and growth-friendly business and tax policies. Once there, they gravitate toward fast-growing suburban counties.

Metros and counties with relatively large immigrant population shares perform better than other places in the following ways:
- Household incomes.
- Innovation.
- Universities with large innovation impact.
- Productivity, both overall and in the technology sector.
- Startup businesses.
- Staffing in essential occupations like nursing.
- Construction costs and thus housing prices.
- Foodie culture and other measures of cultural appeal.

Cities can and should use the following tools to become high-opportunity places for immigrants:
- Opportunity-oriented policies.
- Explicit welcoming policies for immigrants.
- Proven high-impact policies, help English language learners, create pathways to transfer foreign training and credentials, and provide good refugee resettlement assistance.

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I. INTRODUCTION

Newcomers, including immigrants, play a vital role in creating prosperity and opportunity in cities. Immigrants make America's cities more innovative and enterprising, fill essential jobs, and enrich local communities, increasing opportunity for other people living there.

History teaches that most great commercial cities have benefited from inflows of skilled people from elsewhere, including other countries. Skilled immigrants such as textile craftsmen and financiers made pivotal contributions to leading cities of early modern Europe like Venice, Amsterdam, and London, according to the French urban historian Fernand Braudel. Immigrants were so ubiquitous in these cities that one observer referred to each of them as "a Noah's Ark," "a fair of masks," and "a Tower of Babel."[1] Immigrant communities like the French Protestant Huguenots in the Netherlands and the Chinese in Southeast Asia figured prominently in the modern industrialization of their adoptive countries.[2]

In America, too, welcoming attitudes to immigrants have been a hallmark of fast-growing, prosperous cities throughout history, as we show in our report "[The Evolving Geography of Opportunity: Leading Cities of the Past, Present, and Future](#)." In the 19th and early 20th centuries, all the booming industrial cities of the Northeast and Midwest attracted large inflows of immigrants and benefited greatly from their many contributions.[3] The term "melting pot," borrowed from the metallurgy industry to describe the demographic transformation of American cities, arose in the iron and steel belt of the Upper Midwest.[4]

Immigrants have likewise played central roles in the growth of America's most successful cities in more recent periods – from Los Angeles and other West Coast cities in the early 20th century to Sun Belt boomtowns like Atlanta, Dallas, and Houston in the decades after World War II.[5]

This report, third in the George W. Bush Institute-SMU Economic Growth Initiative's Blueprint for Opportunity series, addresses four questions:
- Where are immigrants thriving best in America today?
- Where are immigrants choosing to live and work?
- How do immigrants promote prosperity and opportunity for everyone in America's cities?
- How can cities attract enterprising immigrants and help them learn, earn, belong, and contribute?

Where immigrants are thriving best today

Cities should focus on how their immigrant populations are faring for at least three reasons:
- **Immigrant populations in U.S. cities are large.** More than 45 million foreign-born people live in America today, with 42 million in the Nation's metropolitan areas.[6] Immigrants constitute 14% of the Nation's population and 17% of the people in America's 100 largest metros. Just under half the immigrants in the country are naturalized citizens, and millions more will become citizens in coming years. Focusing on the well-being of these large populations is the right thing to do.
- **Immigrant populations make outsized contributions to local economies.** Native-born as well as foreign-born people benefit when their city has a substantial immigrant population, as Section IV of this report shows. Localities should concern themselves with the well-being of their immigrant communities in part because they should hope these communities stay in town and grow.
- **Immigrant well-being signals whether cities are high-opportunity places.** Cities must attract newcomers as well as retain homegrown people to succeed in the long run. If immigrants are doing well in a city, it's probably a high-opportunity place for newcomers in general. If they're not, the city is on a troubling path.

Section II of this report presents new rankings of America's metro areas and of more than 100 select counties to assess where immigrant populations are thriving best. We base our rankings on a range of indicators measuring education levels, income, and living standards adjusted for local costs of living.*

Among America's 100 largest metropolitan areas, two groups dominate the top quarter of the ranking:
- Ten of the top 25 performers are leading technology centers,** including the five leading technology metros – San Jose, California; San Francisco; Seattle; Boston; and Washington – plus five rising second-tier tech and finance centers: Atlanta; Raleigh, North Carolina; Madison, Wisconsin; Bridgeport-Stamford-Norwalk, Connecticut; and Colorado Springs, Colorado.
- Most other Top 25 performers, perhaps surprisingly, are mid-Atlantic and Midwest metros that have experienced economic distress and demographic stagnation in recent decades. These include No. 2 ranked Baltimore as well as St. Louis, Pittsburgh, Detroit, and Dayton, Ohio.

Notably, seven of America's 10 largest metros – New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, Dallas-Fort Worth, Houston, Miami, and Phoenix – rank in the middle of the pack or toward the bottom of the ranking.

As for our ranking of 106 select counties, many suburban counties perform far better than core urban counties. Five suburban counties – Delaware County, Ohio; Loudoun County, Virginia; Douglas County, Colorado; Williamson County, Tennessee; and Hamilton County, Indiana – top the rankings, outperforming sixth-ranked Santa Clara County, California, the core of Silicon Valley. By contrast, the core urban counties of most large metro areas perform near the bottom of our ranking.

Where immigrants are choosing to live and work

Immigrants first arriving in America over the last decade have disproportionately chosen large metro areas with substantial foreign-born populations, consistent with historical patterns. However, metros that have outperformed in attracting secondary migration by immigrants are generally rather inland metros that also rank highly for attracting in-migration by native-born people in recent years – not traditional gateway cities. **Once immigrants have been in the United States for a time, their migration patterns become more closely resemble those of native-born people.**

Section III presents up-to-date data on where foreign-born people are going when they initially arrive in the United States. It also includes new estimates of which metros and counties foreign-born residents are choosing when they make secondary moves from one U.S. location to another.

Consider this contrast:
- **Immigration rates:** Among America's 100 largest metros, the top quarter for 2010–2020 immigration rates, defined as net inflows from abroad as a percentage of total 2010 population, include traditional gateways like No. 1 ranked Miami, New York, Houston, and the five first-tier tech centers.
- **Domestic secondary migration rates: Among the 100 largest metros, 15 of the top 25 for domestic in-migration rates by immigrants – estimated net in-migration as a percentage of 2010 population – are fast-growing Sun Belt metros.** Eight are in Florida, South Carolina, or Georgia. The top 25 also include Pittsburgh; Dayton, Ohio; Kansas City, Missouri; and Scranton, Pennsylvania. None of America's 10 largest metros make the top 25. In contrast, **New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, Miami, and all five first-tier tech centers except Seattle rank in the bottom quarter of the list, with significant net out-migration by foreign-born people since 2010.**

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* See Section II and Appendix 1 for detailed explanations for the methodology behind our rankings
** We define "technology" broadly to include not only information technology but e-commerce, biotechnology, financial technology, and other relatively new, knowledge-intensive industries.

Migration patterns at the county level present a similar contrast:
- Of the 106 counties we consider in this report, the top 25 for 2010–2020 immigration rates include the urban core counties of the New York, Houston, Miami, Washington, Boston, San Francisco, San Jose, and Seattle metro areas.
- But all these except King County, Washington (which contains Seattle), rank in the bottom 25 for domestic in-migration by immigrants, as do the core counties of the Los Angeles and Chicago metros. Seven of the top 10 destinations are suburban counties in the Texas Triangle metros of Dallas-Fort Worth, Houston, San Antonio, and Austin (led by Fort Bend County in the Houston metro). The top 13 also include Delaware, Loudoun, Williamson, and Hamilton Counties – all fast-growing suburban counties that lead the rankings for immigrant well-being.

All the trends highlighted here continued or even accelerated in some places from 2020 to 2021, as the COVID-19 pandemic reinforced demographic trends that had been underway for many years.

How immigrants promote prosperity and opportunity in America's cities

Section IV documents a wide variety of contributions immigrants make to America's cities. It shows that metro areas with high foreign-born population shares tend to perform better than most other places in the following ways:
- Household incomes, in both native-born and foreign-born populations.
- Innovation.
- Universities with large innovation impact.
- Productivity, both overall and in the technology sector.
- Startup businesses.
- Staffing in essential occupations like nursing.
- Construction costs and thus housing prices.
- Foodie culture and other measures of cultural appeal.

All these benefits contribute to making cities successful – which is why attracting and retaining immigrants and other newcomers play a vital role in building prosperous cities in 21st century America.

How cities can attract enterprising immigrants and help them learn, earn, belong, and contribute

Cities, like nations, are engaged in a ferocious competition for talent, whether they recognize it or not. City governments and local communities can pursue – and in many cases are pursuing – a variety of strategies to attract newcomers and help them thrive.

As Section V explores, smart strategies for promoting immigrant success and thereby enhancing opportunity for both native-born and foreign-born people include the following:
- **Policies that expand opportunity for everyone:** Quality schools and universities; a great environment for starting and building businesses; and housing supply growth and affordability.
- **Welcoming policies:** Clear messaging from local leaders, dedicated information resources for immigrants, welcoming approaches in schools, support for foreign-born job seekers and entrepreneurs, clear pathways to naturalization and voting, and legal assistance.
- **High-impact policies to help immigrants thrive:** English language programs, pathways to transfer foreign training and credentials, and refugee resettlement assistance.

Cities like Baltimore, Pittsburgh, St. Louis, and Dayton – which have performed better than most others in attracting in-migration by immigrants and helping them thrive despite challenging circumstances overall – owe their success in part to intentional, comprehensive efforts in each of these areas.

A note on federal immigration policy

While federal immigration policy is mostly beyond the scope of this report, Section V suggests several federal policy initiatives that would help America's cities promote well-being in their local immigrant communities. **Most importantly: Congress should pass legislation easing the path for highly skilled foreign-born workers and other workers sponsored by employers, including graduates of U.S. universities, to work in the United States.**

More generally, the Bush Institute believes that Congress should pursue immigration reform based on the following principles:

- Dreamers – young people brought to the United States as children but lacking legal status – should be able to gain permanent residence and apply for citizenship.
- America should uphold our longstanding tradition of welcoming refugees and asylum seekers.
- We should manage our borders through investment, innovation, and by helping our neighbors.
- Our immigration systems should meet the needs of our 21st century economy.
- We should create a more efficient temporary foreign worker entry program.
- The United States needs a rigorous, fair process for undocumented immigrants to get right with the law.

For more immigration policy resources, go to the Bush Institute's Immigration Policy Hub.

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II. WHERE IMMIGRANTS ARE THRIVING BEST IN AMERICA TODAY

A MIXED PICTURE

Immigrants are generally thriving ...

Immigrant workers in America's cities earn almost as much as native-born workers, despite lower educational attainment levels plus language barriers for many immigrants. The $65,000 median income for foreign-born households in the Nation's 100 largest metros in 2019 was just 11% below that of native-born households.[7]

Upward mobility: Immigrants achieve high degrees of upward mobility in U.S. cities, consistent with patterns that have held steady over at least the past 150 years.

- Immigrants roughly double their average incomes by moving to America, based on a massive dataset compiled by researchers Ran Abramitzky of Stanford University and Leah Boustan of Princeton University and confirmed by other studies. The average first-generation immigrant experiences only slow convergence towards native-born income levels over a lifetime, but the children of immigrants earn more than the median American worker. They also achieve higher income gains relative to their parents than children of similar native-born parents.[8]
- This pattern of superior upward mobility for second-generation immigrants holds true for people from nearly every origin country. Children of immigrants from China, Taiwan, South Korea, Vietnam, India, Nigeria, Mexico, Guatemala, Honduras, and El Salvador whose parents were at the 25th percentile of U.S. household income – that is, they earned less than 75% of the population – make more on average than the children of similar native-born families.*
- Refugee families achieve intergenerational upward mobility comparable to that of other immigrants, despite the additional barriers they typically face.[9]

Scholars point to many factors that help explain the remarkable intergenerational upward mobility of immigrant families in U.S. cities:

- People who choose to emigrate seem to be risk takers with a strong work ethic.[10]
- Tight social networks within immigrant communities sometimes give second-generation community members a leg up in finding good jobs and starting businesses.[11]
- Second-generation immigrants on average achieve higher education levels than children of native-born parents: 38% had a bachelor's degree or higher as of 2020, compared with 33% for children of native-born people.[12]
- Immigrant parents have higher average education levels than native-born parents earning the same income, since many immigrant parents are unable to translate degrees and credentials earned in their country of origin.[13] Higher parental education levels likely predict greater upward mobility for the next generation.

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* Sons of immigrants from China, Taiwan, South Korea, Vietnam, and India whose parents were at the 25th percentile of U.S. household earnings earn more than the median household on average, reaching income levels ranging from the 56th to the 64th percentile of the Nation's income distribution, depending on origin country. Sons of Nigerian immigrant parents who were at the 25th percentile earn exactly the national median, on average, while second-generation male immigrants from Mexico, Guatemala, Honduras, and El Salvador reach income levels between the 47th and 52nd percentile of the national distribution. By contrast, sons of native-born Americans at the 25th percentile reach the 46th percentile, on average. Daughters of immigrants from these countries reach income levels ranging from the 42nd to 63rd percentile of the national income distribution, while daughters of native-born Americans are at the 39th percentile, on average. The only origin countries for which second-generation immigrants experience less upward mobility than children of native-born families are Haiti, Jamaica, and Trinidad and Tobago in the case of second-generation men and Germany, the United Kingdom, and Hungary in the case of second-generation women. See Ran Abramitzky and Leah Boustan, Streets of Gold: America's Untold Story of Immigrant Success (New York: PublicAffairs, 2022), 10, 16, 84, 90, 93.

America's pattern of second-generation upward mobility is very similar to patterns experienced in other countries like Canada, Australia, Germany, France, and the United Kingdom.[14]

Immigrant families are assimilating into American life as successfully and quickly as they have throughout America's history, based on indicators like becoming fluent in English, moving from immigrant enclaves to more integrated neighborhoods, and marrying children of native-born families.[15]

Immigrants also express more optimistic attitudes than native-born Americans on opportunity in the United States. 92% of immigrants surveyed in a 2019 Houston study agreed with the idea that one can succeed here if one works hard, as did seven of 10 Muslim immigrants in another survey. In both cases, these percentages exceeded the shares of native-born people who agreed.[16] More immigrants than native-born people express confidence in U.S. political institutions and say they're "proud to be an American."[17]

Recent immigrants are especially thriving. Almost 46% of immigrants over age 24 who arrived between 2010 and 2019 have a bachelor's degree or higher, far above comparable arrivals in earlier decades.*

Recent immigrants are earning more as well. About 24% of immigrant workers who arrived between 2010 and 2019 earned more than $75,000 in 2020. In comparison, 20% of those who arrived between 2000 and 2009 had income above $75,000 in inflation-adjusted terms in 2010.[18] Foreign-born people of very high and very low education levels are also disproportionately represented in the population which came to the United States between 2010 and 2019, forming a "barbell" pattern: 27% of America's recently arrived adult foreign-born population has not completed high school and generally has low earnings.[19]

... but there are large differences across America's cities.

Immigrant incomes differ tremendously across metro areas. Median immigrant household incomes in 2020 ranged from $136,000 in the San Jose area (America's top-ranking metro on this measure) to $31,000 in McAllen-Edinburg, Texas (the lowest ranked of America's 100 largest metros). This range is considerably wider than the income differences across metros for native-born households.**

Some of the gap between high- and low-income metros for immigrants simply reflects overall earnings gaps across the country. But vast geographic disparities in immigrant incomes persist even after adjusting for overall earnings levels. For instance, foreign-born people earn considerably more than native-born people in Jackson, Mississippi, but only three-quarters as much in El Paso, Texas.***

Immigrant education levels differ across cities as well. The share of adult immigrants with a bachelor's degree or higher varies from 59% in Pittsburgh (highest of the 100 largest metros) to 12% in Bakersfield, California (lowest of the top 100) – a far wider span than that separating the most and least educated metros for native-born people.

Housing costs are a challenge for Americans everywhere, but the severity of the barriers facing immigrant families also depends on location. Among the 100 largest metros, the share of immigrant renter households who are housing cost burdened based on federal standards varies from 27% in the Little Rock, Arkansas metro to

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* 31% of 2000-2009 arrivals had earned a bachelor's or higher by 2010. Less than 28% of pre-2000 arrivals had these degrees as of 2000.
** For each of the variables discussed in this section, the coefficient of variation – the standard deviation divided by the mean of the distribution – is larger for the foreign-born population in metro areas than for the native-born population, ruling out the possibility that the wider ranges we see for the foreign-born population in each case are due to a handful of outliers.
*** Median foreign-born household income in 2020 was 135% of the median for native-born people in Jackson but 75% of the median for native-born people in El Paso.

62% in the Miami metro. The levels are even higher in certain smaller metros – like Punta Gorda, Florida, where 71% of immigrant renters are cost burdened. Again, this gap is much higher for immigrants than for native-born people.[20]

The rest of this section shows which metros are performing best on a variety of measures and explores factors accounting for these gaps.

> **Immigrants are generally doing well in American cities today. They achieve higher levels of upward mobility than comparable native-born people, they're assimilating into American life as quickly as past generations of immigrants did, and they're optimistic about opportunities in America. Recent immigrants are thriving especially well. But immigrant well-being differs tremendously from one city to the next, with much greater geographic variance than native-born people experience.**

WHERE IMMIGRANTS ARE THRIVING BEST: METROPOLITAN AREAS

Overall rankings

The 25 best-performing metro areas out of America's 100 largest metros on our composite measure* of where immigrants are thriving best include America's five first-tier technology** centers: San Jose (top-ranked by far), San Francisco, Seattle, Washington, and Boston, as Table 1 shows. They also include five metros we characterize as rising second-tier tech or finance centers: Raleigh, Madison, Bridgeport-Stamford-Norwalk, Colorado Springs, and Atlanta.

Perhaps more surprising are second-ranked Baltimore, sixth-ranked Pittsburgh, seventh-ranked St. Louis, plus other metros that have experienced economic and demographic distress in recent decades, including Jackson, Detroit, and Dayton.

The Top 25 list notably excludes seven of America's 10 largest metros. New York, Chicago, and Dallas-Fort Worth rank in the middle third of the list, while Los Angeles, Houston, Miami, and Phoenix are in the bottom third.

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* Our composite scores combine 12 measures focused on educational attainment, income, financial well-being, and living standards adjusted for local costs of living:
  - Share of foreign-born people aged 25 and over with a bachelor's degree or higher ("Bachelor's+").
  - Actual Bachelor's+ less Bachelor's+ predicted by a simple model based on immigration rates and whether the metro is a "college town" (see discussion in education section below).
  - Share of foreign-born adults proficient in English.
  - Share of foreign-born workers in "creative" sectors (see definition in Appendix 1).
  - Median foreign-born household income.
  - Actual median household income divided by median household income predicted by a model based on metro-area population, foreign-born population share, and foreign-born Bachelor's+ (see Appendix 1).
  - Actual median household income divided by predicted median household income, based on a different model (see Appendix 1).
  - Share of foreign-born households earning more than 200% of the federal poverty threshold.
  - Share of foreign-born workers earning more than $75,000.
  - Foreign-born homeownership rate.
  - Share of foreign-born renter households paying less than 30% of income on rent – i.e., not cost-burdened.
  - Foreign-born standard of living, defined as median foreign-born household income adjusted by local costs of living, including local costs of homeownership (see Appendix 1 for discussion).

    For each metro area, we calculate z-scores for each measure based on the distribution of the measure across America's 100 largest metros. We calculate composite scores as the unweighted mean of the 12 z-scores. We include full rankings for the 100 largest metros in Appendix 2, Table C, as well as full rankings for median household income, educational attainment, productivity (defined as median household income adjusted for immigrant education levels and other demographic factors), and standard of living adjusted for local living costs. Our online data appendix provides related data for all of America's 385 metropolitan areas.
** We define "technology" broadly here, to include not only information technology but e-commerce, biotechnology, financial technology, and other relatively young, knowledge-intensive industries.

Table 1

Where Immigrants are Thriving Best: Top 25 Large Metros

(out of America's 100 largest metro areas)

	Metro Area	Avg z-score
1	San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA	2.23
2	Baltimore-Columbia-Towson, MD	1.21
3	San Francisco-Oakland-Berkeley, CA	1.18
4	Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	1.11
5	Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	1.08
6	St. Louis, MO-IL	1.02
7	Pittsburgh, PA	1.01
8	Raleigh-Cary, NC	0.84
9	Jackson, MS	0.80
10	Cincinnati, OH-KY-IN	0.71
11	Hartford-East Hartford-Middletown, CT	0.67
12	Detroit-Warren-Dearborn, MI	0.67
13	Albany-Schenectady-Troy, NY	0.58
14	Madison, WI	0.56
15	Worcester, MA-CT	0.56
16	Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD	0.52
17	Bridgeport-Stamford-Norwalk, CT	0.51
18	Boston-Cambridge-Newton, MA-NH	0.51
19	Harrisburg-Carlisle, PA	0.50
20	Richmond, VA	0.48
21	Colorado Springs, CO	0.40
22	Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Alpharetta, GA	0.35
23	Dayton-Kettering, OH	0.33
24	Virginia Beach-Norfolk-Newport News, VA-NC	0.32
25	Jacksonville, FL	0.28
	Population-Weighted Average, Top 100 Metros	**0.00**

Source: Author's calculations based on U.S. Census Bureau data. See full ranking of America's 100 largest metros in Appendix 2, Table C, and all underlying data in the online data appendix to this report.

In general, Midwestern metros perform relatively well, Southeastern and Mountain State metros perform in the middle of the pack, and metros in the Rio Grande Valley, Desert States, and Southern and Inland California perform relatively poorly.

Figure 1 illustrates the performance of America's 250 largest metros graphically. The size of each circle reflects metro-area size, while color conveys how each metro performs for immigrant well-being: Top performers are blue, while low-ranking metros are orange.

Figure 1

Where immigrants are thriving best: America's 100 largest metros
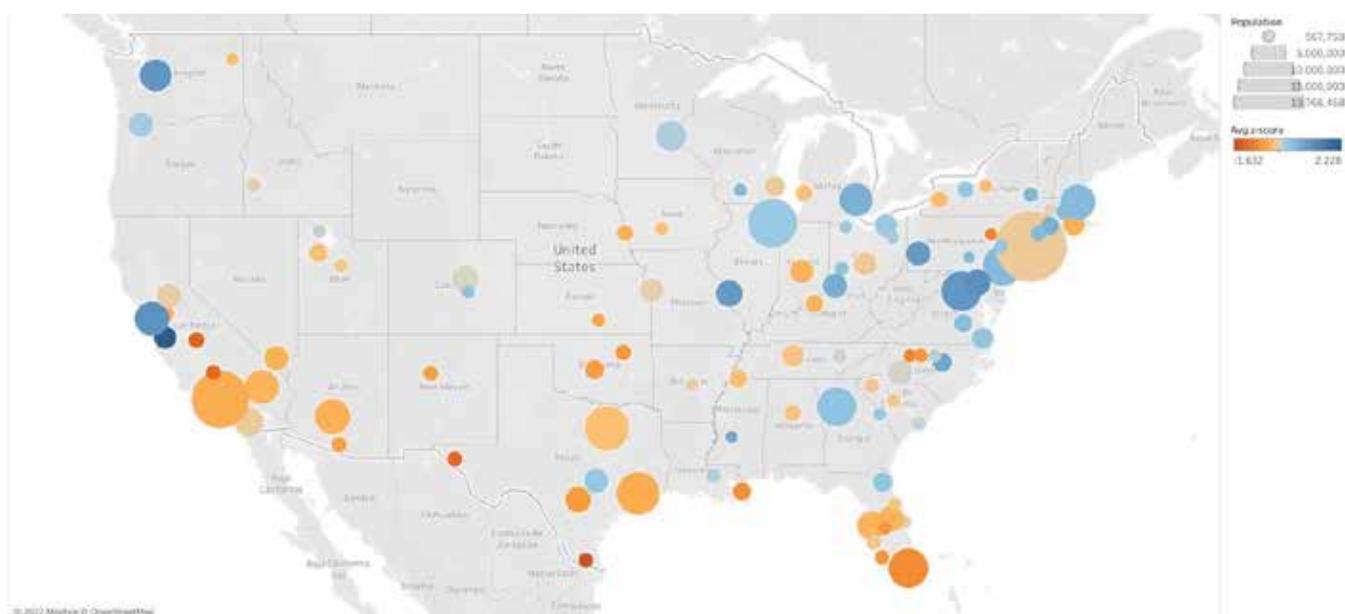
- **Other indicators:** Our scores necessarily leave out other measures we would have liked to include, such as measures of health, happiness, and feeling welcomed in one's community. But these are not available for foreign-born populations across metros in nationally consistent ways.

- **Undocumented immigrants:** We cannot distinguish between the well-being of foreign-born people who are legally resident in the United States and that of undocumented immigrants, amounting to about 23% of the immigrant population residing in the country,[21] as none of our sources make this distinction. We believe it is safe to assume undocumented immigrants are less likely to fill out the surveys on which we base our research, implying that they are underrepresented in the data we present here.

- **Relationships among our 12 indicators:** Our 12 indicators are mostly positively correlated with one another. This implies that metros where immigrants are thriving best in some respects are probably ones where immigrants are thriving in other respects as well. One exception: Homeownership rates are negatively correlated with certain indicators, since several metros where immigrant incomes are highest also have very high housing prices, holding down homeownership rates.*

The following pages show Top 25 rankings for four of the indicators we include in the composite scores: median household income, adult population share with a bachelor's degree or higher, productivity adjusted for education levels and other demographic factors, and standard of living adjusted for local living costs. (We explain what we mean by these terms in a moment.)

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*   Of the 66 pairwise correlations among our 12 indicators, 54 are positive, and 12 are negative. Eleven of the 12 negative correlations are between homeownership rate and other variables. If all the indicators were very highly correlated with one another, one might suppose that they are essentially measuring the same thing – for instance, they might all be proxies for income. But the average pairwise correlation is 0.50, meaning they capture different, imperfectly correlated aspects of immigrant thriving. See correlation table in Appendix 1, Table A.

Household income

The list of 25 top performing metros for median foreign-born household income, not adjusted for local living costs, looks similar to our composite ranking for where immigrants are thriving most overall, but with differences, Table 2 shows. (We consider living standards after cost-of-living adjustments in a moment.)

The five first-tier tech centers dominate the rankings to a greater degree, taking five of the top six places. A handful of generally high-income metros that don't make the previous list rank in the top 25 for immigrant incomes, including New York, San Diego, and Portland, Oregon. Conversely, mid-Atlantic and Midwestern metros like Baltimore, St. Louis, and Detroit rank somewhat lower for immigrant incomes.

What accounts for the vast variation in immigrant incomes across metro areas?

We've run a series of simple regressions to help explain the outcomes we report in this report. These are the main factors that influence median immigrant incomes at the metro-area level:
- **Share of the foreign-born adults 25 and over with a bachelor's degree or higher** – Higher educational attainment levels among immigrants strongly predict higher immigrant incomes.
- **Share of overall adults 25 and over with a bachelor's degree or higher** – Higher adult education levels in general predict higher immigrant (as well as native-born) incomes.*
- **Population of the metro area** – Larger size is associated with higher immigrant incomes.
- **Population density of the metro area in people per square mile** – Higher density is associated with higher immigrant incomes (and predicts them somewhat better than population overall).**
- **Foreign-born share of the metro-area population** – Higher foreign-born population shares predict higher immigrant incomes.

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  * Once we control for overall population share with a bachelor's degree or higher, the additional effect of variation in foreign-born edu-
     cational attainment levels is small. Perhaps surprisingly, population-wide education levels predict immigrant incomes better than the
     education level of the foreign-born population as such. See all regression results in the <u>online data appendix</u>.
 ** Population density is a modestly better predictor of immigrant incomes at the metro-area level than overall population. See full explana-
     tion of our regression analysis in Appendix 1 and all regression results in the <u>online data appendix</u>.

Table 2

Median Foreign-Born Household Income: Top 25 Metros

(out of America's 100 largest metro areas)

	Metro Area	Median Household Income
1	San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA	$136,154
2	San Francisco-Oakland-Berkeley, CA	$102,953
3	Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	$90,811
4	Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	$90,787
5	Baltimore-Columbia-Towson, MD	$81,348
6	Boston-Cambridge-Newton, MA-NH	$77,142
7	Oxnard-Thousand Oaks-Ventura, CA	$76,340
8	Bridgeport-Stamford-Norwalk, CT	$76,108
9	Poughkeepsie-Newburgh-Middletown, NY	$75,915
10	Urban Honolulu, HI	$75,790
11	Raleigh-Cary, NC	$74,746
12	Worcester, MA-CT	$71,506
13	Hartford-East Hartford-Middletown, CT	$71,205
14	Austin-Round Rock-Georgetown, TX	$71,014
15	Albany-Schenectady-Troy, NY	$70,119
16	Jackson, MS	$70,000
17	St. Louis, MO-IL	$69,907
18	New York-Newark-Jersey City, NY-NJ-PA	$69,568
19	Portland-Vancouver-Hillsboro, OR-WA	$69,386
20	Detroit-Warren-Dearborn, MI	$68,996
21	Harrisburg-Carlisle, PA	$68,855
22	Cincinnati, OH-KY-IN	$68,690
23	Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Alpharetta, GA	$68,636
24	Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD	$68,532
25	San Diego-Chula Vista-Carlsbad, CA	$68,412
	Population-Weighted Average, Top 100 Metros	**$65,275**

Source: U.S. Census Bureau data, American Community Survey, 5-year estimates, 2020. See full ranking of America's 100 largest metros in Appendix 2, Table D.

Immigrants as well as native-born people enjoy higher-than-average earnings in metros with high education levels, high foreign-born population shares, and relatively large population size and density.

In the next two tables, we break down our analysis of immigrant incomes into two parts.

First, we show Top 25 metro-area rankings for immigrant education levels, measured by adult population shares with a bachelor's degree or higher, since the most powerful predictor of income – for individuals and for populations – is educational attainment levels.

Then, we show Top 25 rankings for how well metros perform for delivering immigrant incomes given their education levels and other demographic characteristics. We can think of the latter as a "productivity" score, measuring how successful metro-area economies are in converting a given endowment of demographic and educational conditions into economic output and thus immigrant incomes.

Educational attainment

Ten of the top 25 metros of America's 100 largest for percentage of adults aged 25 and over with a bachelor's degree or higher – a common proxy for overall education levels in populations – are mid-Atlantic and Midwestern metros, most of which rank high on our "most thriving" list: top-ranked Pittsburgh plus Baltimore; St. Louis; Cincinnati; Detroit; Dayton; Cleveland; Toledo, Ohio; Columbus; and Akron, Ohio. (See Table 3.)

The five first-tier tech centers make the list, as they have benefited more than anyplace else from immigration of highly skilled STEM professionals from abroad. The second-tier tech centers Atlanta, Raleigh, and Madison rank in the Top 25, as does Durham-Chapel Hill, North Carolina – a higher education-centric metro like Madison.

New York, Chicago, Dallas-Fort Worth, and Houston rank in the middle third of the 100 largest metros, while Los Angeles, Miami, and Phoenix rank in the bottom third.

College towns: Among smaller places, almost all metros with immigrant education levels comparable to the Top 25 large metros are college towns, as we define them.*

Good for everyone: High educational attainment levels in a city are good news for everyone living there, not just highly educated people. Workers with a high school diploma or an associate degree earn more in metro areas with higher overall education levels than similar workers in metros with lower education levels. Likewise, immigrants with lower educational attainment benefit from living in cities in which overall education levels are relatively high, in both foreign-born and native-born populations.[22]

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* We define "college towns" as metros in which college and graduate students make up 42% or more of all full-time students, which is the case for 30 U.S. metros. Among metros below the largest 100, 14 of the 15 highest-ranking metros for immigrant education levels are college towns: State College, Pennsylvania; Ann Arbor, Michigan; Ithaca, New York; Champaign-Urbana, Illinois; Lawrence, Kansas; Bloomington, Indiana; Blacksburg, Virginia; Bloomington, Illinois; Columbia, Missouri; Gainesville, Florida; Lafayette, Indiana; Auburn, Alabama; and Tallahassee, Florida.

Table 3

Foreign-born adult population share with a bachelor's degree or higher: Top 25 metros
(of America's 100 largest metro areas)

	Metro Area	% Bach+
1	Pittsburgh, PA	58.6%
2	San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA	54.5%
3	Madison, WI	54.0%
4	Baltimore-Columbia-Towson, MD	50.4%
5	St. Louis, MO-IL	49.4%
6	Cincinnati, OH-KY-IN	48.4%
7	Raleigh-Cary, NC	47.8%
8	Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	46.0%
9	Albany-Schenectady-Troy, NY	45.4%
10	Toledo, OH	45.4%
11	Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	44.9%
12	San Francisco-Oakland-Berkeley, CA	44.6%
13	Durham-Chapel Hill, NC	44.3%
14	Detroit-Warren-Dearborn, MI	43.6%
15	Dayton-Kettering, OH	43.4%
16	Columbus, OH	43.1%
17	Jackson, MS	42.5%
18	Boston-Cambridge-Newton, MA-NH	42.3%
19	Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD	41.5%
20	Cleveland-Elyria, OH	41.3%
21	Richmond, VA	41.1%
22	Knoxville, TN	40.6%
23	Harrisburg-Carlisle, PA	40.5%
24	Akron, OH	40.4%
25	Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Alpharetta, GA	39.6%
	Population-Weighted Average, Top 100 Metros	**34.6%**

Source: U.S. Census Bureau data, American Community Survey, 5-year estimates, 2020. See full ranking of America's 100 largest metros in Appendix 2, Table E.

Based on our regression analysis, these are the chief factors associated with high educational attainment levels in immigrant populations:*

- **Net inbound migration rates of immigrants, both from abroad and from elsewhere in the United States** – High immigration rates into a metro area raise the educational attainment level of its foreign-born population, since newly arriving immigrants over the last decade have on average had higher education levels than preexisting foreign-born populations.** High net inbound domestic migration by foreign-born people also boosts overall education levels, as highly educated immigrants are more likely to move from

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* See all regression results in the online data appendix.

** Immigrant education levels in the first-tier technology centers and a handful of other metros have benefited not just from high immigration rates but also from exceptionally high educational attainment levels among the people arriving there relative to new immigrant arrivals in other metros. For instance, the share of immigrants arriving between 2010 and 2019 who had a bachelor's degree or higher as of 2020 was 75% in the San Jose metro, 61% in the Seattle metro, 60% in the San Francisco metro, 53% in the Boston metro, and 51% in the Washington metro – well above metropolitan America as a whole at 46%.

one state or metro area to another than immigrants with lower education levels.[23]

- **Local research-oriented universities** – The quality of local higher education institutions in metro areas, as measured by a [Bush Institute index scoring the "innovation impact" of universities](#), is positively associated with immigrant education levels. This relationship reflects both the outsized role immigrants play as faculty in research institutions and the spillover effects from universities to nearby innovation ecosystems.[24] **Anchor institutions in the higher education sector have played an especially large role in supporting immigrant well-being in the mid-Atlantic and Midwestern metros highlighted in this report.**[25]
- **Local social capital** – Strong social capital, meaning high degrees of trust, connectedness, and civic engagement in a community, predicts higher immigrant education levels. Communities with strong social capital support effective schools, universities, and other institutions that promote upward mobility, benefiting immigrants and native-born people alike.[26]

Some cities have achieved high immigrant education levels without high rates of in-migration by immigrants and without being college towns – which means they got there through better-than-average education for the immigrants who have been there a relatively long time. Metros with below average recent arrivals as a share of their foreign-born population but top-quartile immigrant education levels include Atlanta; Portland, Oregon; Worcester, Massachusetts; Rochester, New York; Austin, Texas; and Raleigh, North Carolina.

Welcoming initiatives: Strong immigrant educational outcomes in some places reflect intentional efforts on the part of local governments and communities.

- The Atlanta city government has been a national leader in establishing formal institutions to promote immigrant integration, including in schools. Just east of the city of Atlanta, DeKalb County* – which proudly declares itself "Georgia's most culturally diverse county" – has pursued wide-ranging initiatives to raise immigrant education outcomes, including an International Community School offering International Baccalaureate programming to a student body intentionally set at one half immigrant and refugee children.[27]
- Akron, Ohio, recognized for its comprehensive welcoming initiatives, has programs supporting literacy and computer skills for immigrant children, providing cultural competency training for teachers, overcoming unique barriers to university and community college attendance for immigrant women, and helping immigrants who have earned high school diplomas in their native country access college and career training opportunities.[28]
- Detroit has been more successful than most other cities in creating pathways for adult immigrants to enter university and community college programs.[29]
- Pittsburgh, the top metro in our ranking for foreign-born educational attainment, has been successful in attracting highly educated immigrants as part of its reinvention as an economy centered on knowledge-generating institutions instead of heavy industry. Fully 37% of the Pittsburgh metro's immigrant population arrived in the United States since 2010, compared with 23% for the Nation as a whole. Of these recent arrivals, 67% have a bachelor's degree or higher – well above even San Francisco, Seattle, Boston, or Washington.[30]
- In Boston, Mayor Michelle Wu launched an initiative in early 2022 in partnership with local schools and nonprofits to expand education and job training for Dreamers – young people brought to the United States as children but lacking legal status.[31]

> **Strong pre-K-12 schools, research-oriented universities, local social capital, immigrant in-migration rates, and targeted welcoming initiatives for immigrants help explain why some metros see far higher educational attainment levels in their foreign-born population than others do.**

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* A small portion of the city of Atlanta is in DeKalb County.

Productivity

Cities that score high as productive places for immigrants are ones that enable foreign-born workers to earn relatively high incomes given their education levels and other demographic characteristics. We calculate "productivity" by comparing actual median foreign-born household income to the median income predicted by a simple model based on immigrant education levels, metro-area populations, and foreign-born population shares.*

Table 4 shows the top 25 of America's 100 largest metros on our productivity measure.

Metro areas that rank high for immigrant productivity in our list also tend to rank high on other productivity measures. For instance, metro-area performance on our productivity measure is strongly correlated with local compensation levels in the technology sector (correlation coefficient: 0.51), based on data compiled by the research organization Carta.[32] It's also highly correlated with metro-area productivity for native-born people, calculated in the same way we calculate immigrant productivity (correlation coefficient: 0.79).[33]

The Top 25 performers for enabling immigrant productivity among America's 100 largest metros include the five first-tier technology centers plus five second-tier tech and finance centers: Colorado Springs, Bridgeport-Stamford-Norwalk, Raleigh, Austin, and Portland, Oregon. Baltimore, St. Louis, and Cincinnati make the list, but most Midwestern metros are middle-of-the-pack performers on this measure.

Table 4

Foreign-born productivity: Top 25 metros

(out of America's 100 largest metro areas – actual divided by predicted median household income)

	Metro Area	Actual as % of Predicted
1	San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA	1.68
2	San Francisco-Oakland-Berkeley, CA	1.37
3	Poughkeepsie-Newburgh-Middletown, NY	1.32
4	Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	1.31
5	Oxnard-Thousand Oaks-Ventura, CA	1.27
6	Ogden-Clearfield, UT	1.25
7	Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	1.25
8	Baltimore-Columbia-Towson, MD	1.25
9	Urban Honolulu, HI	1.25
10	Jackson, MS	1.24
11	Colorado Springs, CO	1.23
12	Worcester, MA-CT	1.19
13	Harrisburg-Carlisle, PA	1.19
14	Bridgeport-Stamford-Norwalk, CT	1.17
15	Raleigh-Cary, NC	1.17
16	Hartford-East Hartford-Middletown, CT	1.16
17	Charleston-North Charleston, SC	1.15
18	Albany-Schenectady-Troy, NY	1.15
19	Allentown-Bethlehem-Easton, PA-NJ	1.14
20	Baton Rouge, LA	1.14
21	Portland-Vancouver-Hillsboro, OR-WA	1.14
22	Boston-Cambridge-Newton, MA-NH	1.13
23	St. Louis, MO-IL	1.13
24	Austin-Round Rock-Georgetown, TX	1.13
25	Cincinnati, OH-KY-IN	1.12
	Population-Weighted Average, Top 100 Metros	**1.00**

Source: Author's calculations based on U.S. Census Bureau data. See full ranking of America's 100 largest metros in Appendix 2, Table F, and all underlying data in the online data appendix to this report.

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* See discussion of sources and methods in Appendix 1.

The lowest performing third of America's 100 largest metros in our productivity ranking includes New York, Los Angeles, Houston, Miami, Phoenix, and San Antonio, plus six additional metros in Florida and seven more metros in the Rio Grande Valley, the Desert States, or Inland California. To be clear: New York, Los Angeles, and other very large but low-performing metros are highly productive economies, benefiting from their size and diversity, but they underperform relative to what one would predict based on these attributes.

Smaller metros: Among smaller metros, defined as metros that aren't among America's 100 largest, the most productive local economies for immigrants include some (but not all) college towns – Boulder, Colorado; Fort Collins, Colorado; Charlotteville, Virginia; and Trenton-Princeton, New Jersey – and a handful of metros with one high value-added, dominant employer or industry: Fayetteville-Springdale-Rogers, Arkansas, home to Walmart; Rochester, Minnesota, headquarters of the Mayo Clinic; and Midland, Texas, center of the West Texas oil and gas industry.

Productivity drivers: Several factors help to explain why immigrant workers earn so much more in some metro areas than in other metros with comparable immigrant education levels:

- **Immigrant population shares** – Metros with relatively high foreign-born population shares achieve better-than-average productivity, holding education levels constant. This reflects the outsized entrepreneurship of immigrants as well as the benefits immigrants gain from tight social networks in local economies with substantial foreign-born communities, as Section III explores.
- **Population size** – Foreign and native-born people alike benefit from the innovation and productivity effects arising in large cities with a diverse range of talented people interacting and exchanging ideas. Population density is also associated with productivity in our analysis, but the direction of causality is unclear. Proximity among people may promote productivity, or high productivity may create conditions in which it's profitable to build densely in valuable locations.*
- **Knowledge-centric industries** – Having a large concentration of fast-growing knowledge-centric employers in fields like information technology, e-commerce, biotechnology, and finance has made some 10 to 15 metros into unusually productive places in recent years, boosting the productivity and income of foreign-born workers at all education levels.

Initiatives: Some cities have pursued intentional welcoming strategies that have likely helped immigrants become more productive and earn more than immigrants with similar education levels in other cities.

- The city of Baltimore launched a sweeping initiative in 2013 to attract immigrants and help them thrive, including broad support for job seekers and entrepreneurs. While immigrants are more likely to start businesses than native-born people in most cities, immigrant-owned businesses in Baltimore outnumber native-owned businesses more than three to one on a per capita basis. The advocacy organization the American Immigration Council has recognized Baltimore as a national leader in promoting economic opportunity for immigrants.[34]
- The St. Louis area's regional economic development organization has a permanent unit, the St. Louis Mosaic Project, offering small business support and job connections to immigrant communities.[35]

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* **We lean toward the hypothesis that high education and productivity levels promote the development of relatively dense places, outweighing any reverse effects.** Metros that enjoyed high education and income levels in past decades are not only denser than average today but have experienced above average increases in population density over the past decade. The age of cities, as defined by the number of years since they reached 500,000 people, is the most powerful predictor of contemporary population density we can find, but it doesn't predict current productivity or income levels well (author calculations based on U.S. Census Bureau data, available upon request). Antonio Ciccone and Robert Hall presented evidence in the 1990s supporting the hypothesis that close proximity enhances the "agglomeration" effects experienced in large cities. (See Ciccone and Hall, "Productivity and the Density of Economic Activity," NBER Working Paper no. 4313, April 1993). However, more recent studies have pointed out that causality could run in either direction in the Ciccone and Hall results and that if one controls for local amenities and other attributes of cities, higher density may cause lower productivity and wages, all else equal. See Edward L. Glaeser and Joshua D. Gottlieb, "The Wealth of Cities: Agglomeration Economies and Spatial Equilibrium in the U.S.," *Journal of Economic Literature* 47, no. 4 (2009): 983–1028.

- Sioux Falls, South Dakota, launched an initiative in the early 2000s, far ahead of most other such efforts, to help local companies recruit and train recently arrived refugees, mostly people from Somalia, Ethiopia, Eritrea, and Afghanistan.[36]
- Cedar Rapids, Iowa, launched a comprehensive welcoming program including a range of resources to support immigrant entrepreneurs.[37]

Sioux Falls and Cedar Rapids are among the best performing smaller metros for immigrant productivity in our analysis.

> **Immigrants tend to be more productive – defined in this report as earning more given their education levels – in metros with relatively large foreign-born population shares, concentrations of knowledge-centric employers, and targeted initiatives to help immigrant job seekers and aspiring entrepreneurs.**

Living standards

Table 5 shows the 25 top performing of America's 100 largest metros for immigrant living standards, defined as median immigrant household income adjusted for local housing prices and other living costs.*

Just three of the first-tier technology centers – San Jose, Washington, and Seattle – make this list, and their performance stands out less than in the other rankings we include in this report due to their extraordinarily expensive housing costs. Boston and San Francisco rank just 31st and 33rd. Atlanta, Raleigh, Madison, and Colorado Springs, which we characterize as second-tier tech centers in this report, are Top 25 performers, as are Cincinnati, St. Louis, Baltimore, Detroit, Pittsburgh, and Dayton.

Also included are seven southeastern metros that score well because of middle-of-the-pack immigrant incomes and lower-than-average living costs: Jackson, Little Rock; Baton Rouge, Louisiana; Richmond, Virginia; Augusta, Georgia; Virginia Beach-Norfolk, Virginia; and Charlotte, North Carolina.

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* Author's calculations, based on median household income data from the U.S. Census Bureau's 2020 American Community Survey (ACS) and 2020 regional price parity data from the U.S. Bureau of Economic Analysis and further adjustments to living costs based on home-price values from the 2020 ACS. We base our method on an approach developed by Wendell Cox, which he lays out in his Urban Reform Institute report "2020 Standard of Living Index" (available at: https://urbanreforminstitute.org/2020/05/2020-standard-of-living-index/); we use only ACS data for housing values, while Cox's method includes other sources, and we extend the method to cover all 385 U.S. metros.

Table 5

Foreign-born living standards: Top 25 large metros
(of America's 100 largest metro areas)

	Metro Area	Std of Living
1	San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA	1.31
2	Cincinnati, OH-KY-IN	1.24
3	St. Louis, MO-IL	1.23
4	Jackson, MS	1.23
5	Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	1.23
6	Baltimore-Columbia-Towson, MD	1.22
7	Raleigh-Cary, NC	1.18
8	Baton Rouge, LA	1.16
9	Detroit-Warren-Dearborn, MI	1.16
10	Harrisburg-Carlisle, PA	1.15
11	Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	1.15
12	Pittsburgh, PA	1.13
13	Richmond, VA	1.10
14	Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Alpharetta, GA	1.09
15	Hartford-East Hartford-Middletown, CT	1.09
16	Worcester, MA-CT	1.08
17	Little Rock-North Little Rock-Conway, AR	1.08
18	Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD	1.07
19	Madison, WI	1.07
20	Augusta-Richmond County, GA-SC	1.07
21	Colorado Springs, CO	1.06
22	Virginia Beach-Norfolk-Newport News, VA-NC	1.06
23	Allentown-Bethlehem-Easton, PA-NJ	1.05
24	Dayton-Kettering, OH	1.04
25	Charlotte-Concord-Gastonia, NC-SC	1.04
	Population-Weighted Average, Top 100 Metros	**0.95**

Source: Author's calculations based on U.S. Census Bureau data. See full ranking of America's 100 largest metros in Appendix 2, Table G, and all underlying data in the online data appendix to this report.

Chicago, Dallas-Fort Worth, and Houston rank in the middle third, while New York, Los Angeles, Miami, Phoenix, San Diego, and Portland, Oregon, rank in the bottom third. The lowest performing third also includes seven Florida metros besides Miami, each of which have middle-of-the-pack immigrant incomes but worse-than-average housing costs.

Smaller metros: Among smaller places, these metro areas have immigrant living standards comparable with those of the Top 25 large metros:
- Several college towns – Trenton-Princeton, Charlottesville, Ann Arbor, Boulder, and Columbia, Missouri.
- Two metros that stand out for unique positions in specific sectors – Rochester, Minnesota, and Midland, Texas.
- Two Great Plains metros recognized for their intentional immigrant welcoming initiatives – Sioux Falls and Cedar Rapids.

- Several small southeastern metros – Clarksville, Tennessee; Savannah, Georgia; Montgomery, Alabama; Mobile, Alabama; and Huntsville, Alabama.

Our standard of living measure is positively correlated with another measure we incorporate in our composite "thriving" scores – the percentage of immigrant renter households spending less than 30% of their income on housing (correlation coefficient: 0.47).

Housing policy: The most important factor influencing the relationship between local housing costs and income levels is land use and housing policies. Cities with more growth friendly policies offer lower housing costs, all else equal.

But some municipalities – for instance, Baltimore, Dallas, Minneapolis, and St. Paul – have performed better than most others for connecting refugees and other low-income immigrants to affordable housing and promoting paths to homeownership.[38]

WHERE IMMIGRANTS ARE THRIVING BEST: COUNTIES

We also aim to identify patterns regarding where immigrants are thriving best and where they're settling *within* metro areas, comparing core urban to suburban counties. This section presents rankings for 106 mostly large or fast-growing counties.

We've selected counties within just 48 mostly large metros, as analyzing all the counties in the country is beyond the scope of this report. These counties are collectively home to 27 million of the 42 million immigrants living in metropolitan America.

Table 6 shows the Top 25 performing of our 106 select counties on our composite score for where immigrants are thriving best. It also shows county-level data for median foreign-born household income, educational attainment, productivity, and living standards.*

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* We calculate composite scores for counties with the same 12 indicators and same method as we use in our metro-area level rankings. Appendix 1, Table B, shows all pairwise correlations among the 12 indicators at the county level. Table H in Appendix 2 contains the full ranking and associated data for all 106 counties. For all data underlying our ranking, see the online data appendix.

Table 6

Where immigrants are thriving best: Select counties

	County	Avg z-score	Median Houshold Income	% Bachelors+	MHHI: Actual / Predicted	Std of Living	% Foreign Born Pop Share
1	Delaware County, Ohio	3.74	$131,973	71.3%	1.90	2.25	7.9%
2	Loudoun County, Virginia	2.75	$138,221	57.5%	1.88	1.82	25.2%
3	Douglas County, Colorado	2.70	$112,204	62.2%	1.70	1.73	7.6%
4	Williamson County, Tennessee	2.54	$110,194	65.6%	1.64	1.73	7.6%
5	Hamilton County, Indiana	2.26	$101,216	62.9%	1.51	1.73	8.7%
6	Santa Clara County, California	1.86	$137,601	55.3%	1.69	1.29	39.7%
7	Collin County, Texas	1.64	$100,171	58.2%	1.39	1.54	21.3%
8	Fort Bend County, Texas	1.55	$101,575	51.4%	1.38	1.60	28.6%
9	St. Louis County, Missouri	1.54	$79,949	56.5%	1.24	1.38	7.6%
10	King County, Washington	1.52	$99,861	51.9%	1.38	1.23	23.7%
11	Williamson County, Texas	1.41	$91,152	45.1%	1.45	1.29	13.0%
12	Nassau County, New York	1.30	$107,900	38.3%	1.64	1.24	22.4%
13	Norfolk County, Massachusetts	1.29	$95,598	51.9%	1.40	1.21	18.5%
14	Bucks County, Pennsylvania	1.28	$87,810	49.0%	1.40	1.34	9.7%
15	Brazoria County, Texas	1.27	$78,750	37.5%	1.31	1.24	13.0%
16	Alameda County, California	1.25	$108,517	46.7%	1.45	1.02	32.8%
17	Anne Arundel County, Maryland	1.19	$87,233	43.9%	1.45	1.28	8.6%
18	Denton County, Texas	1.18	$85,366	46.5%	1.31	1.31	15.6%
19	Fulton County, Georgia	1.18	$83,464	60.7%	1.21	1.29	13.4%
20	Boulder County, Colorado	1.17	$81,588	52.3%	1.28	1.08	10.1%
21	Middlesex County, Massachusetts	1.15	$96,281	53.9%	1.35	1.22	21.3%
22	DuPage County, Illinois	1.13	$86,855	46.4%	1.30	1.23	19.4%
23	Suffolk County, New York	1.13	$93,966	28.5%	1.60	1.08	15.3%
24	Clackamas County, Oregon	1.12	$83,830	38.3%	1.45	0.97	8.4%
25	Fairfax County, Virginia	1.09	$99,585	49.6%	1.34	1.31	30.9%
	Pop-Weighted Average, All Included Counties	**-0.02**	**$68,886**	**35.1%**	**1.04**	**0.93**	**22.6%**

Source: Author's calculations based on U.S. Census Bureau data. Appendix 2, Table H, contains the complete ranking of our 106 select counties. All underlying data is available in the online data appendix to this report.

Takeaways

- Twenty-one of the 25 top performers are large, mostly fast-growing suburban counties. All 21 are what we have previously characterized as urbanizing suburban places – suburban areas that increasingly perform all the functions of traditional core cities rather than acting only as bedroom communities.*

- The top five on the list are urbanizing suburban counties in the Columbus, Washington, Denver, Nashville, and Indianapolis metro areas. The Top 25 performers also include urbanizing suburban counties in the New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Chicago, St. Louis, Dallas-Fort Worth, Houston, Austin, San Francisco, and Portland, Oregon, metros.

- Only four are core counties within their metros: uniquely positioned Santa Clara County, California, which is the core of Silicon Valley and has a largely suburban physical form; much smaller Boulder County, Colorado; and King County, Washington, and Fulton County, Georgia, which atypically contain some of the largest and fastest growing suburban municipalities in their metro areas as well as the core cities of Seattle and Atlanta, respectively.

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* See our report "The New Geography of Opportunity: Case Studies from a Changing Economic Landscape" (report, George W. Bush Institute-SMU Economic Growth Initiative, February 2022).

Thriving suburbs: County-level data make clear that immigrant populations in most metro areas are thriving far better in suburban counties than neighboring core counties.

- In the Columbus metro, for instance, suburban Delaware County ranks first, but its corresponding core county, Franklin County, ranks 76th out of our 106 counties. In the Dallas-Fort Worth metro, suburban Collin County ranks seventh, while the core Dallas County ranks 100th.
- Only 11 of our 44 core counties even make the ranking's upper half.* The core counties of the Boston, Philadelphia, Miami, Nashville, St. Louis, San Antonio, Denver, Phoenix, Los Angeles, San Diego, and Portland, Oregon, metros all rank in the bottom third of the list.

If the highly ranked suburban counties in this list were luxurious bedroom communities from which well-off immigrants as well as native-born people commuted to core cities each day, this ranking wouldn't tell us much about where immigrants are best finding economic opportunity. But this isn't the case. **In all these metros, the principal cities of high-performing suburban counties are major job centers, mostly with larger daytime working populations than nighttime adult populations who live there.**

The main factors accounting for why some counties outperform others for immigrant well-being are largely the same as the factors explaining immigrant success at the metro-area level: foreign-born as well as native-born education levels, research-oriented universities, social capital, knowledge-centric employers and industries, and immigrant population shares.**

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* These include the four special cases in the Top 25, plus the core counties of the Washington; San Francisco; Austin; Raleigh; Worcester, Massachusetts; Albany, New York; and Boise, Idaho metros.

** One interesting note: county-level immigrant education levels are unsurprisingly a more powerful predictor of immigrant incomes at the county level than education levels at the overall metro-area level; but when it comes to foreign-born population shares, metro-area percentages seem to make more difference to incomes than county-level percentages.

The city of Dublin and Delaware County, Ohio
Dublin, Ohio, and the surrounding Delaware County (top ranked on our county-level list) offer a case study on immigrant prosperity in American cities.*

Foreign-born people made up 19.5% of Dublin's 2020 population of just under 50,000 and 7.9% of Delaware County's total population of 221,000.

Delaware County experienced only modest growth until 1979, when the arrival of a Honda Motor Company plant in Marysville, part of nearby Union County, led to an influx of Japanese expatriate executives. Dublin, a relatively wealthy but homogeneous bedroom suburb at the time, decided to welcome Japanese expats with open arms. Dublin schools introduced quality English-language programs and celebrations of Japanese culture, the city launched a Japan festival, and the community rallied around its new arrivals with a new Japanese American Society of Central Ohio and other welcoming initiatives.

Over time, the city's welcoming approach broadened to encompass immigrants from throughout the world. Today, Dublin's schools host more than 1,400 students speaking more than 60 native languages in their highly regarded English Language Learner (ELL) programs. Dublin now ranks 63rd among all U.S. cities for its population of sub-Saharan African immigrants. As for Delaware County, Asian Americans make up 60% of the foreign-born population, but Black and Hispanic immigrant communities have grown rapidly over the last decade to become a combined 18% of the county's immigrant population.[39]

Diverse opportunities: While Honda's investment kickstarted the movement of immigrants into Dublin and Delaware County, immigrants now benefit from diverse economic opportunities. Dublin hosts the corporate headquarters of Cardinal Health Inc., The Wendy's Company, and Stanley Steemer International. The Ohio State University is nearby in Columbus. Intel announced a new $20 billion semiconductor facility in adjacent Licking County in early 2022. Dublin's ratio of daytime working adult population to nighttime resident adult population is a very robust 1.47 – more than most core U.S. cities – while its average commuting time is slightly lower than that of Columbus or the metro as a whole, meaning it's a commuting destination rather than a bedroom community.

Delaware County ranks above all other counties in our dataset for the share of immigrants who work in "creative" sectors, as urbanist Richard Florida defines them. The county ranks second in the dataset, trailing only New York County, New York, for its percentage of immigrants working in finance.

Delaware County also ranks first of all counties in our dataset for the share of its immigrant adult population with a bachelor's degree or higher and also for productivity for its immigrant population, as we define it in this report. It ranks first by far for living standards due to its high incomes and its healthy pace of new home development and relatively manageable housing costs.

The county scores very high for social capital, based on an index developed by the U.S. Congress Joint Economic Committee. Dublin also ranks in the top 20 cities over 10,000 people for its investment in parks and recreation, according to data aggregator City-Data.com.[40]

Dublin and Delaware County score high for immigrant well-being because they offer great opportunity to immigrants and native-born people alike, because they deliver reasonable affordability and good quality of life, and because they've been intentional in helping immigrants learn, earn, belong, and contribute.

★

* Note that part of Dublin is in Delaware County and part is in Franklin County, home to Columbus.

III. WHERE IMMIGRANTS ARE CHOOSING TO LIVE AND WORK

METRO AREAS

Immigration rates

Table 7

Immigration rates, 2010–2020: Top 25 metros
(of America's 100 largest metro areas)

	Metro Area	% Immig Rate	Absolute Net Immigration	
			Rank	Absolute Number
1	Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach, FL	12.1%	2	678,385
2	Orlando-Kissimmee-Sanford, FL	9.5%	11	203,049
3	San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA	8.6%	14	157,896
4	Boston-Cambridge-Newton, MA-NH	7.0%	6	320,383
5	Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	6.7%	3	378,696
6	Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	6.4%	9	221,774
7	Houston-The Woodlands-Sugar Land, TX	6.2%	4	369,811
8	Bridgeport-Stamford-Norwalk, CT	5.6%	29	51,164
9	San Francisco-Oakland-Berkeley, CA	5.5%	8	237,403
10	Cape Coral-Fort Myers, FL	4.9%	48	30,517
11	Urban Honolulu, HI	4.9%	32	46,772
12	New York-Newark-Jersey City, NY-NJ-PA	4.8%	1	910,113
13	Springfield, MA	4.7%	46	32,428
14	Worcester, MA-CT	4.3%	39	39,538
15	Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	4.3%	16	119,843
16	Hartford-East Hartford-Middletown, CT	4.2%	28	51,371
17	Lakeland-Winter Haven, FL	4.2%	55	25,422
18	Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	4.1%	7	265,113
19	New Haven-Milford, CT	4.1%	42	35,231
20	Austin-Round Rock-Georgetown, TX	4.1%	21	70,042
21	Durham-Chapel Hill, NC	4.0%	58	22,452
22	Columbus, OH	3.7%	22	69,678
23	Raleigh-Cary, NC	3.5%	36	40,111
24	Allentown-Bethlehem-Easton, PA-NJ	3.3%	50	27,334
25	San Diego-Chula Vista-Carlsbad, CA	3.3%	18	102,942
	Population-Weighted Average, Top 100 Metros	**3.6%**		

Source: Author's calculations based on U.S. Census Bureau data. See Appendix 2, Table I, for the full ranking of America's 100 largest metros and the online data appendix to this report for all underlying data, including for all 385 metro areas.

The Top 25 metros for immigration rates between 2010 and 2020, defined as net immigration as a percentage of overall 2010 population, include the following:

- Nine that have long histories as America's leading "gateways" for newly arriving immigrants – the five first-tier technology centers of San Jose, San Francisco, Seattle, Boston, and Washington, plus top-ranked Miami, New York, San Diego, and Honolulu

- Houston and Dallas-Fort Worth, which emerged as major gateway metros in the late 20th century
- Three second-tier tech and finance centers – Austin, Raleigh, and Bridgeport-Stamford-Norwalk
- Four fast-growing Florida metros – Orlando, Tampa, Cape Coral-Fort Myers, and Lakeland-Winter Haven
- Four Northeastern metros – Springfield, Massachusetts; Worcester, Massachusetts; Hartford, Connecticut; and New Haven, Connecticut
- Columbus

Table 7 also shows figures for absolute levels of immigration. Just 13 large metros accounted for fully half of net immigration into the United States from 2010 to 2020. These include nine of America's 10 largest metros (all but Phoenix) plus Boston, San Francisco, Seattle, and Orlando.

College towns: Of America's smaller metros, only a small fraction experienced net immigration rates comparable to those of the Top 25 large metros. (Thirty-six had rates at or above the immigration rate of 25th-ranked San Diego.) Over half these smaller metros are college towns, as we define them in this report.*

Two additional patterns:
- **Large differences:** Immigration rates have varied tremendously across metro areas. Twenty-four metros experienced immigration rates at or above 5% of 2010 population between 2010 and 2020, while 129 mostly smaller metros saw net immigration rates below 1% of 2010 population, or even negative in seven metros.**
- **The pandemic year, 2020–2021:** The patterns highlighted here remained almost entirely unchanged during the pandemic year from early 2020 to early 2021, though immigration decelerated in all of America's 100 largest metros due to immigration restrictions early in the COVID-19 pandemic. Miami and Orlando ranked first and second, and the composition of the Top 25 metros for immigration rates changed very little.***

Figure 2 shows net immigration rates for America's 250 largest metros graphically.****

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* These include Champaign-Urbana, Illinois; Lafayette, Indiana; Ithaca, New York; Iowa City, Iowa; State College, Pennsylvania; Manhattan, Kansas; Bloomington, Indiana; Ames, Iowa; College Station, Texas; Ann Arbor, Michigan; Lawrence, Kansas; Harrisonburg, Virginia; Gainesville, Florida; Lansing, Michigan; Charlottesville, Virginia; Auburn, Alabama; Bloomington, Illinois; Blacksburg, Virginia; and Columbia, Missouri. For further evidence on the outsized role of college towns in attracting recent immigration, see Henry Way, "The Perils of 'In-Betweenness,'" in James J. Connolly, Dagney G. Faulk, and Emily J. Wornell, eds., *Vulnerable Communities: Research, Policy, and Practice in Small Cities* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2022), 26–7.

** Metros experiencing negative net immigration from 2010 to 2021 – that is, greater outflows to other countries than inflows from abroad – are Bend, Oregon; Merced, California; Carson City, Nevada; Coeur d'Alene, Idaho; Lake Havasu, Arizona; Visalia, California; and Madera, California.

*** We refer to a "pandemic year" because we only have relevant census data through 2021, which means we can only describe one year's changes since the start of the pandemic. We measure the deceleration in immigration rates by comparing net immigration between 2020 and 2021 as a percentage of 2020 metro-area population to average annual net immigration between 2010 and 2020 as a percentage of 2010 population. See the online data appendix for full 2020–21 data for all 385 metros.

**** Again, circle size represents metro-area population size and color represents immigration rates: Metros with high immigration rates appear in blue, while those with relatively low immigration rates appear in orange.

Figure 2

Immigration Rates, 2010–2021: 250 Largest Metros
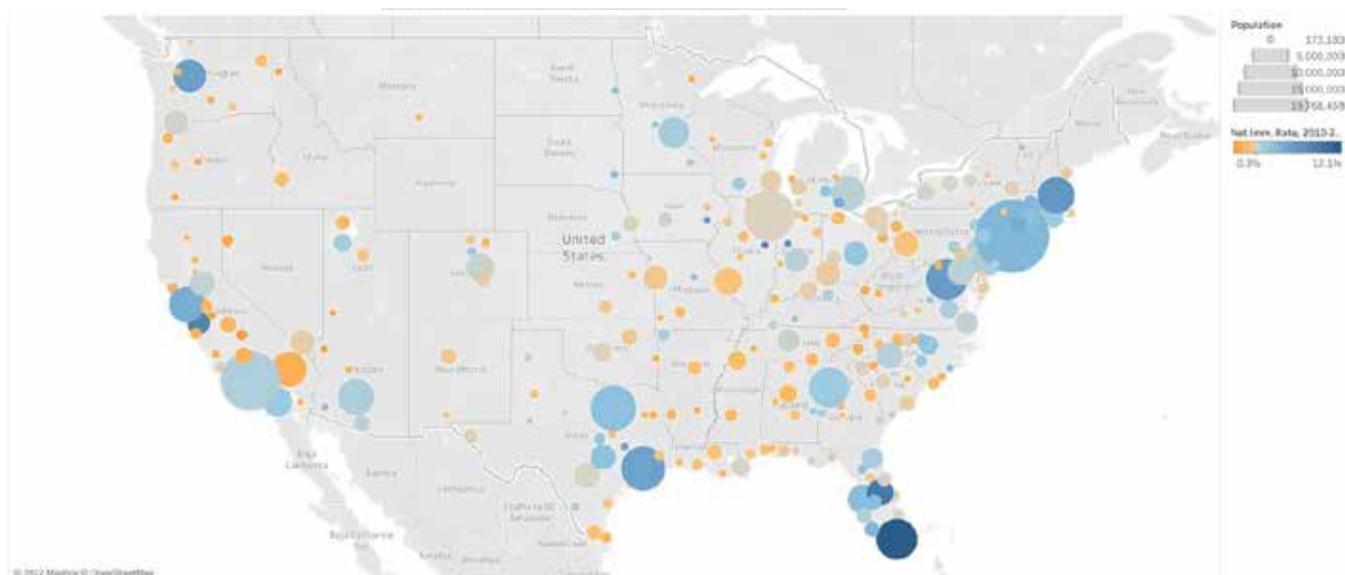
Based on our regression analysis, these are the main factors influencing why some metro areas have so outperformed others as magnets for immigration:

- **Population** – Large metro-area population as of 2010 predicts higher immigration rates in the years since then.
- **Foreign-born population share** – Metros which already had relatively large immigrant populations as a percentage of their total population in 2010 experienced higher immigration rates over the subsequent decade, all else equal.
- **Overall education levels** – Metros with large shares of adult residents holding a bachelor's degree or higher as of 2010 saw higher immigration rates, all else equal.
- **Research-oriented universities** – The quality and scale of local knowledge-generating anchor institutions has been positively correlated with immigration rates, reflecting the outsized role of universities in attracting immigrants and helping them thrive.
- **Economic freedom and housing prices** – Local government business regulation, taxes, and land-use policies – and resulting business environments and housing affordability levels – have influenced immigration rates over the last decade, though not as much as they've influenced net domestic secondary migration patterns, as we show in a moment.*

Historical patterns persist: Immigration trends over the last decade closely match patterns that have persisted since the great wave of immigration in the late 19th century and even earlier, as Audrey Singer of the Brookings Institution and Urban Institute has shown.

- **Large gateway cities:** Immigrants have long migrated disproportionately to large gateway cities with substantial preexisting immigrant populations, at least as their initial destination. A handful of gateways still dominate, though America's list of gateways has broadened in recent decades to encompass large metros like Dallas-Fort Worth, Orlando, and Columbus. New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, and Miami, the four largest gateway metros, are now home to 31% of the Nation's immigrant population, down from almost half as recently as 1990. The next 20 metros ranked by absolute foreign-born populations account for 35%.[41]

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* See the online data appendix for all regression results.

- **Immigrant enclaves: Immigrants have always gravitated initially to geographically concentrated enclaves with significant populations of people from the same origin countries, like "Little Italys" and "Chinatowns."** Settling in immigrant enclaves has long made sense for newly arriving immigrants, not only because it helps them connect with extended family and find familiar cultural amenities but also because it allows them to tap into tight-knit job and lending networks. For instance, immigrants from China, Korea, and Mexico have historically settled in immigrant enclaves mostly based on their own preferences, not because of landlord discrimination, and they've benefited considerably from the informal networks they have found there.[42]

  Newly arriving immigrants still tend to choose ethnic enclaves, giving rise in recent years to tight-knit communities like the Indians in the Flushing, Queens, neighborhood of New York; Turkish minority groups in North Dayton; Mexican and Asian neighborhoods in DeKalb and Gwinnett counties east and northeast of Atlanta; and the sprawling suburban Chinatown along the Bellaire Strip in Houston.[43]

- **Spreading out over time:** Immigrants have also long tended to spread out beyond traditional enclaves after they've been in America for a while. When immigrants have made "secondary moves" over the last decade – from one place to another within the United States – they've typically moved from ethnic enclaves to more integrated places, as we show in this report.

> Traditional "gateway" metros continue to perform ahead of most other metros as initial destinations for immigrants arriving in the United States. Metros with large size and large foreign-born population shares have tended to see relatively high immigration rates over the last decade, as have metros that score well for education levels, local knowledge-generating institutions, and favorable business and housing environments, consistent with historical patterns. Within cities and metro areas, immigrants disproportionately choose enclaves with large concentrations of people from the same origin country, also consistent with history.

> **Monterey Park, California**
>
> The city of Monterey Park, California, an inner suburb of Los Angeles, exemplifies why new immigrants often settle in concentrated communities of immigrants from their origin country.
>
> Sometimes dubbed America's first and preeminent suburban Chinatown, Monterey Park ranks above all U.S. cities for the highest share of residents born in China. About 55% of the city's population is foreign born. Two of every three residents are Asian American, while 29% are Hispanic. Monterey Park has been home to significant Chinese American populations since the arrival of the first Chinese agricultural and railroad workers in the mid-19th century. Starting in the 1970s, the city experienced large inflows of Chinese and other Asian immigrants, coupled with White flight from the area in the late 20th century.
>
> Monterey Park is a relatively attractive place for newly arriving Asian or Hispanic immigrants to settle. It offers ample job opportunities, reflected in average commuting times lower than in the city of Los Angeles and a daytime working population roughly equal to its nighttime adult resident population. Its median household income of $66,000 matches that of Los Angeles, even though it has lower educational attainment levels – 32% with a bachelor's degree or higher, compared with 36% in Los Angeles. Its average home values and rents are moderately lower than in LA. Crime rates are much lower than in LA, while health statistics are considerably better.
>
> **Perhaps most important to many immigrants, Monterey Park performs very well as an engine for upward mobility for young people growing up there**, based on a measure developed by Harvard University economist Raj Chetty and his colleagues. Young adults who grew up in Monterey Park earn more than otherwise similar people who grew up in most other parts of the Los Angeles metro area, Chetty's "Opportunity Atlas" website shows. The city's upward mobility edge is especially pronounced among Asian American people growing up there.[44]

Net domestic inbound migration rates

Table 8

Estimated Net Inbound Domestic Migration Rates by Immigrants, 2010–2020: Top 25 Metros

(of America's 100 largest metro areas)

	Metro Area	Estimated % Net Dom Mig Rate	Absolute Net In-Migration Rank	Absolute Number
1	Cape Coral-Fort Myers, FL	2.9%	25	17,831
2	Las Vegas-Henderson-Paradise, NV	2.8%	4	55,070
3	North Port-Sarasota-Bradenton, FL	2.8%	24	19,601
4	Jacksonville, FL	2.1%	18	28,758
5	Louisville/Jefferson County, KY-IN	2.0%	23	23,845
6	Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	2.0%	5	54,396
7	Knoxville, TN	1.9%	29	15,713
8	Sacramento-Roseville-Folsom, CA	1.9%	6	40,617
9	Austin-Round Rock-Georgetown, TX	1.9%	12	32,448
10	Tulsa, OK	1.9%	26	17,397
11	Nashville-Davidson--Murfreesboro--Franklin, TN	1.7%	20	27,299
12	Scranton--Wilkes-Barre, PA	1.6%	43	9,283
13	Charleston-North Charleston, SC	1.6%	38	10,977
14	Albany-Schenectady-Troy, NY	1.6%	32	14,171
15	Pittsburgh, PA	1.6%	7	36,937
16	San Antonio-New Braunfels, TX	1.6%	11	33,515
17	Boise City, ID	1.5%	42	9,510
18	Deltona-Daytona Beach-Ormond Beach, FL	1.5%	45	9,062
19	Charlotte-Concord-Gastonia, NC-SC	1.5%	10	33,858
20	Palm Bay-Melbourne-Titusville, FL	1.5%	52	8,132
21	Spokane-Spokane Valley, WA	1.5%	53	7,680
22	Omaha-Council Bluffs, NE-IA	1.5%	34	12,900
23	Kansas City, MO-KS	1.5%	15	29,608
24	Dayton-Kettering, OH	1.5%	36	11,681
25	Augusta-Richmond County, GA-SC	1.4%	51	8,138
	Population-Weighted Average, Top 100 Metros	**-0.1%**		

Source: Author's calculations based on U.S. Census Bureau data. See Appendix 2, Table J, for the full ranking of America's 100 largest metros and the online data appendix to this report for all underlying data, including for all 385 metro areas.

The top 25 metros for net inbound migration rates by foreign-born people from elsewhere in the United States between 2010 and 202 include 15 fast-growing Sun Belt metros,* one fast-growing Mountain State metro, and four Midwestern metros, based on Bush Institute estimates:**

- Six in Florida: top-ranked Cape Coral-Fort Myers, North Port-Sarasota-Bradenton, Jacksonville, Tampa, Deltona-Daytona Beach, and Palm Bay-Melbourne.

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* We define the Sun Belt as the 14 states stretching westward from North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida through Texas and Oklahoma to New Mexico, Arizona, and Nevada.

** The U.S. Census Bureau doesn't provide data on the cumulative migration of foreign-born people across metro areas over the last decade. We've calculated estimates based on 2010 foreign-born population, 2020 foreign-born population, and cumulative net immigration from other countries for each of America's 385 metros, together with simplifying assumptions about the rate of natural increase (births minus deaths), to back in to our estimates. See Appendix 1 for a full explanation of our method, Appendix 2 for a full ranking of America's 100 largest metros, and the online data appendix for complete data on all metros.

- Two in Texas: Austin and San Antonio.
- Five in the Southeast (other than Florida): Nashville; Knoxville, Tennessee; Augusta, Georgia-South Carolina; Charleston, South Carolina; and Charlotte.
- Tulsa, Oklahoma.
- Las Vegas.
- One in the Mountain States: Boise, Idaho.
- Four in the Midwest: Pittsburgh, Dayton, Kansas City, and Louisville, Kentucky-Indiana

We define net in-migration rates as net inbound domestic migration as a percentage of overall 2010 population.

Among America's largest metros, Dallas-Fort Worth, Atlanta, Seattle, Philadelphia, Phoenix, and Houston fall in the middle half of the rankings. Phoenix and Houston rank relatively low, at 73rd and 74th. Net in-migration to these metros by immigrants was barely positive over the last decade, we estimate.

New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, Washington, Boston, San Francisco, San Jose, San Diego, Orlando, and Miami rank in the bottom quarter of America's 100 largest metro areas, with substantial net outbound domestic migration by immigrants.

In absolute numbers, the top-ranking metros for net in-migration were Dallas-Fort Worth (net in-migration of 89,000, based on our estimates); Philadelphia (59,000); Riverside-San Bernardino, California (56,000); Las Vegas (55,000); and Tampa (54,000). Meanwhile, eight metros lost more than 50,000 people to net out-migration: Los Angeles (499,000); New York (431,000); Miami (176,000); Chicago (104,000); Washington (90,000); San Jose (67,000); San Francisco (57,000); and Boston (55,000).

Smaller metros: Among smaller places, these metros experienced net domestic in-migration rates by foreign-born people comparable to the Top 25 of America's 100 largest metro areas:
- Numerous fast-growing metros in Florida, the Carolinas, and Tennessee, in some cases known as tourism and retirement destinations.*
- Six fast-growing metros in the mountain or Pacific Northwest states – Bend, Oregon; Medford, Oregon; Olympia, Washington; St. George, Utah; Fort Collins, Colorado; and Greeley, Colorado.
- Three with unique positions in particular industries – Midland and Odessa (in the West Texas oil and gas industry) and Fayetteville-Springdale-Rogers (in retail).
- Two Great Plains metros recognized for their intentional welcoming policies toward refugees and other immigrants – Cedar Rapids, Iowa and Sioux Falls, South Dakota.

Figure 3 shows net foreign-born domestic migration trends for America's 250 largest metros graphically.**

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* These include Punta Gorda, Florida; Port St. Lucie, Florida; Sebastian-Vero Beach, Florida; Naples, Florida; Crestview-Fort Walton Beach, Florida; Spartanburg, South Carolina; Myrtle Beach, South Carolina; Asheville, North Carolina; Burlington, North Carolina; and Chattanooga, Tennessee.

** Circle size represents metro-area population size and color represents net domestic in-migration rates: Metros with high in-migration rates appear in blue, while those with relatively low in-migration rates appear in orange.

Figure 3

Net Inbound Domestic Migration Rates for Foreign-Born People, 2010–2020: 250 Largest Metros
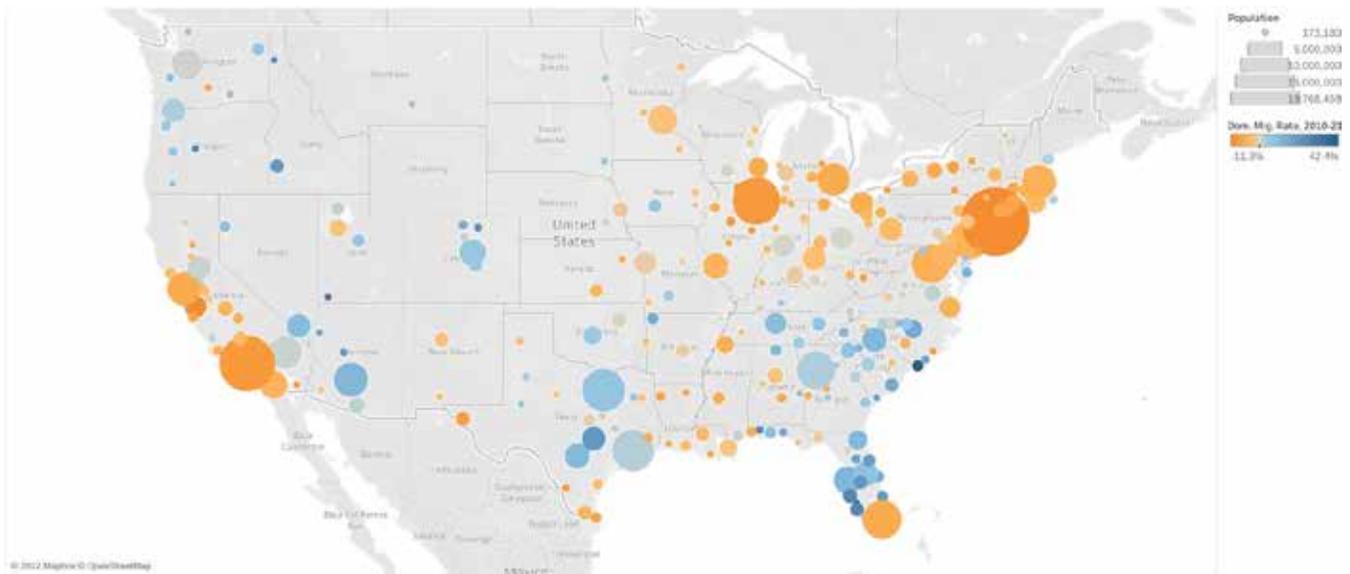
Different from immigration patterns: The net domestic migration trends of foreign-born people in the United States show several distinct patterns:

- **Metros' rankings for gaining or losing foreign-born people from domestic migration are extremely different from their rankings for immigration rates.**[*]
  - **Metros ranking high for attracting newly arriving immigrants are in many cases experiencing large net *outbound* migration by immigrants who have been in the United States for a while.** Net foreign-born domestic in-migration rates are negatively correlated with immigration rates among America's 100 largest metros (correlation coefficient: -0.47). Miami and Orlando, ranked first and second on immigration rates, rank 95th and 81st among America's 100 largest metros for domestic migration by foreign-born people.
  - **Net foreign-born domestic in-migration rates are also negatively correlated with population size and foreign-born population share – opposite the relationship between immigration rates and these two demographic measures** (correlation coefficients: -0.35 for population size and -0.67 for foreign-born population share).[**]
  - **When immigrants make secondary moves within the United States, they tend to move to and from the same metro areas as native-born people.** Net foreign-born domestic in-migration rates are *positively* correlated with domestic in-migration rates among native-born people across the 100 largest metros (correlation coefficient: 0.43).[***]
- Net foreign-born domestic in-migration rates differ enormously across metros.
  - Among the Nation's 100 largest metros, net in-migration to top-ranked Cape Coral-Fort Myers added 2.9% to the metro's 2010 total population. In bottom-ranked Los Angeles, by contrast, net outbound migration by immigrants took away 4.3% of the metro's overall 2010 population.
  - Variation across metros looks more dramatic if one looks at net domestic in-migration as a percentage of each metro's 2010 immigrant population rather than total population. In Knoxville, Pittsburgh, and

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[*] Net foreign-born domestic in-migration rates and immigration rates are also negatively correlated among all 385 metros, but with a less pronounced correlation coefficient (-0.30).

[**] These correlation figures are for 2010–20 net migration rates and 2010 population and foreign-born population share. We use 2010 rather than 2020 figures for population and foreign-born share to avoid the problem that 2010–20 migration necessarily affected the 2020 population and foreign-born share of U.S. metro areas.

[***] Domestic in-migration rates for foreign-born and domestic people are also positively correlated among all 385 metros (correlation coefficient: 0.41).

Dayton, ranked first, second, and third on this measure, net in-migration amounted to fully to 52%, 51%, and 47% of the three metros' immigrant populations as of 2010, respectively. By contrast, net out-migration removed more than 10% of the 2010 immigrant population of Los Angeles, San Jose, El Paso, and Honolulu.

One broad takeaway: Immigrants already in the United States are spreading out, away from the largest traditional gateways to metros of various sizes across the Sun Belt, Midwest, and Mountain States. And their migration patterns look similar to those of native-born people.*

Based on our regression analysis, these are the main factors accounting for differences across metros in net domestic in-migration rates by immigrants:

- **Housing supply, affordability, and opportunities for homeownershi**p – New homebuilding permits, housing affordability measures, and homeownership rates predict higher domestic in-migration rates by immigrants. These variables influence domestic migration by immigrants much more than they influence immigration rates.
- **Population size and density** – Large population size and high urban density per square mile as of 2010 are associated with *lower* net in-migration (or higher out-migration) rates.
- **Foreign-born population share** – Higher immigrant population shares in 2010 are also associated with *lower* net in-migration rates, opposite the pattern for immigration rates.

Moving to opportunity: Other studies shed additional light on why immigrants are choosing some cities over others when they make secondary moves. Highly skilled immigrants are more likely than comparable native-born people to move because of career opportunities or differences in state and local tax rates, economists have shown. In-depth studies have demonstrated that most Indian immigrants in the Dallas-Fort Worth area moved there from elsewhere in the United States because of work opportunities. A substantial Somali community in Lewiston, Maine, arrived mostly from Boston and other large metros seeking jobs, more affordable housing, and safer, better schools.[45]

The greater-than-average tendency of immigrants to move within the United States for work opportunities explains much of the edge immigrants have in intergenerational upward mobility, according to economists Abramitzky and Boustan. Children of immigrants have typically experienced significant income gains by moving across state or metro-area lines, both recently and throughout America's history. But second-generation immigrants who live in the same city where they grew up experience upward mobility equivalent to children of native-born people who make the same choice.[46]

> **When immigrants move within the United States, they are disproportionately moving away from the large gateway metros on the coasts and into metros in the Sun Belt, Plains, and Mountain States – patterns similar to those among native-born people. Housing supply growth, affordability, and good homeownership opportunities plus quality-of-life factors powerfully predict domestic migration patterns among immigrants.**

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* While foreign-born and native-born domestic patterns have been very similar over the past decade, several metros have notably attracted significant net in-migration by immigrants even while experiencing considerable net outbound migration by native-born people. These include Pittsburgh; Scranton-Wiles-Barre; Dayton; St. Louis; Sioux City, Iowa; and Waterloo–Cedar Falls, Iowa.

Overall immigrant population growth

Table 9 shows the top 25 of America's 100 largest metros for percentage growth in the foreign-born population between 2010 and 2020. Immigrant population growth in cities reflects immigration rates, net foreign-born domestic in-migration rates, and natural increase among the foreign-born population (births minus deaths).

Table 9

Percentage Growth in the Foreign-Born Population, 2010–2020: Top 25 Metros

(of America's 100 largest metro areas)

	Metro Area	% Growth in Foreign Born Pop	Absol Numerical Growth	
			Rank	Absolute Number
1	Scranton--Wilkes-Barre, PA	56.1%	54	12,333
2	Dayton-Kettering, OH	48.0%	55	11,899
3	Louisville/Jefferson County, KY-IN	47.3%	37	24,478
4	Harrisburg-Carlisle, PA	46.4%	53	12,510
5	Jacksonville, FL	44.4%	26	46,115
6	Orlando-Kissimmee-Sanford, FL	43.1%	8	149,471
7	Columbus, OH	42.2%	23	53,039
8	Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	39.0%	6	216,412
9	Cape Coral-Fort Myers, FL	38.6%	32	36,641
10	Indianapolis-Carmel-Anderson, IN	38.1%	30	41,096
11	Austin-Round Rock-Georgetown, TX	36.0%	14	90,287
12	Nashville-Davidson--Murfreesboro--Franklin, TN	35.0%	29	41,583
13	Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	34.0%	12	116,465
14	Des Moines-West Des Moines, IA	33.3%	50	13,788
15	Omaha-Council Bluffs, NE-IA	32.7%	44	17,893
16	Cincinnati, OH-KY-IN	32.6%	34	27,195
17	Tulsa, OK	31.7%	47	16,104
18	Richmond, VA	31.0%	36	24,683
19	Raleigh-Cary, NC	30.8%	31	40,285
20	Charleston-North Charleston, SC	30.4%	59	10,764
21	Allentown-Bethlehem-Easton, PA-NJ	30.1%	43	18,578
22	Akron, OH	29.1%	68	7,771
23	Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	28.5%	4	315,025
24	Pittsburgh, PA	27.7%	42	20,252
25	Houston-The Woodlands-Sugar Land, TX	27.2%	3	355,526
	Population-Weighted Average, Top 100 Metros	**17.1%**		

Source: Author's calculations based on U.S. Census Bureau data. See Appendix 2, Table K, for the full ranking of America's 100 largest metros and the online data appendix to this report for all underlying data, including for all 385 metro areas.

The 25 top-performing metros saw remarkable growth in their immigrant population, ranging from 27% to 56% over the decade. Among them are metros in the Midwest, Pennsylvania, the Southeast, Texas, and the Pacific Northwest:

- Seven Midwestern metros – Dayton, Columbus, Cincinnati, Akron, Indianapolis, Pittsburgh, and Louisville.
- Three midsized metros in eastern Pennsylvania: top-ranked Scranton-Wilkes Barre, Harrisburg-Carlisle, and Allentown-Bethlehem.
- Seven fast-growing Southeastern metros – Jacksonville, Orlando, Tampa, Cape Coral-Fort Myers, Charleston, Raleigh, and Nashville.
- Three fast-growing Texas metros – Austin, Dallas-Fort Worth, and Houston.
- Seattle.

The four other first-tier technology centers – San Jose, San Francisco, Boston, and Washington – are in the middle half of the ranking, as are Miami, Atlanta, Baltimore, Detroit, and St. Louis. New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, and San Diego are in the bottom quarter of the list.

In absolute terms, nine large metros accounted for half the growth of the total foreign-born population in metropolitan America: Miami (with growth of 412,000), New York (370,000), Houston (355,000), Dallas-Fort Worth (315,000), Washington (250,000), Seattle (216,000), Boston (178,000), Orlando (149,000), and San Francisco (146,000).

Smaller metros: Among America's smaller metros, seven experienced immigrant population growth above 50% from 2010 to 2020: Midland (115%); Fargo, North Dakota (96%); St. Cloud, Minnesota (85%); Sioux Falls (84%); Cedar Rapids (66%); Iowa City, Iowa (65%); and Waterloo-Cedar Falls, Iowa (51%).

Immigrant population shares

Traditional gateway metros still dominate the rankings for foreign-born population share as of 2020, unlike the rankings for growth in the immigrant population, as Table 10 shows. Miami, New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, San Francisco, San Jose, Seattle, Boston, Washington, San Diego, Honolulu, Houston, and Dallas-Fort Worth all make the list of Top 25 metros on this measure. Two Texas border metros – McAllen-Edinburg and El Paso – also rank high.

> **America's immigrant population is spreading out, but newly arriving immigrants continue to choose the traditional gateways. The result: 57% of the 42 million immigrants in metropolitan America still live in the 15 gateway metros listed in the previous paragraph.**

Table 10

Foreign-Born Share of Metro-Area Population, 2020: Top 25 Metros

(out of America's 100 largest metro areas)

	Metro Area	% Foreign Born Pop Share	Absolute Foreign Born Population	
			Rank	Foreign Born Population
1	Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach, FL	40.9%	3	2,522,297
2	San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA	39.1%	13	770,175
3	Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim, CA	32.7%	2	4,292,549
4	San Francisco-Oakland-Berkeley, CA	30.7%	7	1,440,130
5	New York-Newark-Jersey City, NY-NJ-PA	29.3%	1	5,611,866
6	McAllen-Edinburg-Mission, TX	26.3%	29	230,501
7	El Paso, TX	24.0%	33	202,941
8	Houston-The Woodlands-Sugar Land, TX	23.3%	4	1,663,907
9	Stockton, CA	23.0%	38	176,744
10	San Diego-Chula Vista-Carlsbad, CA	22.9%	14	764,199
11	Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	22.8%	6	1,442,859
12	Las Vegas-Henderson-Paradise, NV	22.1%	17	511,867
13	Bridgeport-Stamford-Norwalk, CT	21.9%	31	206,480
14	Oxnard-Thousand Oaks-Ventura, CA	21.3%	35	179,044
15	Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	21.1%	9	986,925
16	Fresno, CA	20.4%	32	203,989
17	Bakersfield, CA	19.8%	37	178,224
18	Urban Honolulu, HI	19.5%	34	187,898
19	Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	19.2%	12	771,758
20	Boston-Cambridge-Newton, MA-NH	18.9%	10	922,623
21	Orlando-Kissimmee-Sanford, FL	18.8%	18	496,026
22	Sacramento-Roseville-Folsom, CA	18.5%	20	439,478
23	Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	18.5%	8	1,420,858
24	Chicago-Naperville-Elgin, IL-IN-WI	17.6%	5	1,652,991
25	Cape Coral-Fort Myers, FL	16.6%	48	131,575
	Population-Weighted Average, Top 100 Metros	**17.2%**		

Source: Author's calculations based on U.S. Census Bureau data. See Appendix 2, Table L, for the full ranking of America's 100 largest metros and the online data appendix to this report for all underlying data, including for all 385 metro areas.

Racial composition of immigrant populations

Hispanic immigrants constitute 38% of the total immigrant population within metropolitan America as a whole, while Asian immigrants make up 27%, Black immigrants make up 9%, and White immigrants constitute 19%.*

The racial and ethnic composition is modestly different among immigrants who arrived in the United States between 2010 and 2020: 36% Hispanic, 33% Asian, 12% Black, and 17% White.

But U.S. metros differ considerably in the racial makeup of their foreign-born communities.**

- **Hispanic immigrants** – 28% of Miami's total metro-area population consists of foreign-born Hispanic immigrants, making it the top-ranked metro on this metric. Almost all of the top 20 largest metros for Hispanic immigrant population shares are in Texas, Florida, California, or Nevada.*** However, the top quarter of America's 100 largest metros for Hispanic population growth includes Akron, Dayton, Pittsburgh, Scranton-Wilkes Barre, Allentown-Bethlehem, and Harrisburg-Carlisle – all of which had relatively low Hispanic immigrant population shares in 2010.

- **Asian immigrants** – The top-ranked metro for Asian immigrant population share is San Jose, where one in four residents is foreign-born Asian or Pacific Islander. The other four first-tier tech centers plus New York, Los Angeles, Dallas-Fort Worth, Houston, and Honolulu all make the Top 15 as well. Eleven of the Top 20 for this metric are in California, Hawaii, Oregon, or Washington state. But, again, the ranking of metros experiencing the fastest Asian population growth looks very different. The Sun Belt, Midwest, and Plains states dominate the top quarter of America's 100 largest metros for Asian growth.****

- **Black immigrants** – The Top 10 metros for Black immigrant population shares include top-ranked Miami, New York, Washington, Orlando, Bridgeport-Stamford-Norwalk, Boston, Atlanta, Minneapolis-St. Paul, Hartford, and Baltimore. The states experiencing the fastest growth in Black immigrant populations are Texas, Colorado, Ohio, Indiana, and Washington.[47]

- **White immigrants** – Metros with high White immigrant population shares tend to be significant financial centers, including top-ranked Bridgeport-Stamford-Norwalk; second-ranked New York; Boston; Chicago; Los Angeles; Providence, Rhode Island; and Hartford, Connecticut.

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* These percentages do not add to 100% because our list excludes Native Americans and mixed-race people.
** See Tables M, N, O, and P in Appendix 2 for complete rankings of America's 100 largest metros for Hispanic, Asian, Black, and White immigrant population shares and the online data appendix contains relevant data for all 385 metros.
***   Exceptions: New York (ranked 13th) and Bridgeport-Stamford-Norwalk (18th).
**** The top quartile for Asian immigrant growth among America's 100 largest metros includes 12 Sun Belt metros (Phoenix, Austin, San Antonio, Dallas-Fort Worth, Tulsa, Nashville, North Port-Sarasota-Bradenton, Cape Coral–Fort Myers, Charlotte, Raleigh, Charleston, and Columbia, South Carolina); eight metros in the Midwest or eastern Pennsylvania (Akron, Dayton, Columbus, Cincinnati, Indianap-olis, Grand Rapids, Scranton–Wilkes Barre, and Harrisburg-Carlisle); and two in Plains states (top-ranked Omaha, Nebraska, and Des Moines, Iowa).

Counties

Immigration rates

Immigration Rates, 2010–2020: Select Counties

	County	% Immig Rate	Absolute Net Immigration	
			Rank	Absolute Number
1	Osceola County, Florida	17.6%	37	45,620
2	Miami-Dade County, Florida	17.0%	1	416,785
3	Suffolk County, Massachusetts	13.6%	17	95,580
4	Hudson County, New Jersey	11.5%	24	71,368
5	Orange County, Florida	11.4%	9	127,473
6	Arlington County, Virginia	10.1%	64	19,908
7	King County, Washington	9.2%	4	172,340
8	Bronx County, New York	9.0%	10	123,144
9	Santa Clara County, Cal	8.9%	6	154,331
10	Fairfax County, Virginia	8.8%	18	91,867
11	Fort Bend County, Texas	8.6%	34	46,451
12	Montgomery County, Maryland	8.3%	23	79,066
13	Middlesex County, Massachusetts	7.9%	12	117,223
14	Collier County, Florida	7.3%	59	23,035
15	Harris County, Texas	7.2%	2	284,154
16	Queens County, New York	7.0%	5	154,610
17	Hillsborough County, Florida	7.0%	20	84,332
18	San Francisco County, California	7.0%	27	55,128
19	Palm Beach County, Florida	7.0%	19	90,372
20	DeKalb County, Georgia	6.7%	35	46,205
21	New York County, New York	6.7%	14	106,155
22	Loudoun County, Virginia	6.7%	65	19,544
23	Alameda County, California	6.6%	16	97,657
24	District of Columbia, District of Columbia	6.5%	40	38,143
25	Collin County, Texas	6.4%	33	47,511
	Pop-Weighted Average, All Included Counties	**4.9%**		

Source: Author's calculations based on U.S. Census Bureau data. See Appendix 2, Table Q, for the full ranking of our 106 select counties and the online data appendix to this report for all underlying data.

The Top 25 ranked counties for immigration rates between 2010 and 2020 from our select list of 106 counties include a mix of core urban counties and large suburban counties. The core counties of the New York, Miami, Houston, San Francisco, San Jose, Seattle, Boston, and Washington metros all make the Top 25. So do Arlington County, Virginia; Fairfax County, Virginia; and Montgomery County, Maryland – inner-ring suburbs that are closely linked to D.C.'s federal government ecosystem, very wealthy, and slow-growing. These counties constitute traditional gateways for newly arriving immigrants.

But the Top 25 counties also include several fast-growing suburban areas that have emerged only in recent years as gateways for arriving immigrants: top-ranked Osceola County, Florida (in the Orlando metro); DeKalb County, Georgia; Fort Bend County, Texas; and Collin County, Texas.

At the same time, some fast-growing counties we've highlighted for immigrant well-being in this report have experienced relatively modest immigration rates over the past decade. Counties ranking in the bottom 25 of our list include Delaware County, Ohio; Hamilton County, Indiana; Williamson County, Tennessee; Hays County, Texas; and Douglas County, Colorado.

Our interpretation: Unlike larger Fort Bend, Collin, and DeKalb counties, immigrant communities in the smaller counties have not yet reached sufficient critical mass to make them gateways for newly arriving immigrants, who still have good reason to prefer large concentrations of immigrants from their origin country when they first come to the United States.

Additional patterns:
- **High immigration rates:** Immigration rates have been extremely high in counties ranking among the Top 25 on our list. Immigration between 2010 and 2020, assessed as a percentage of 2010 population, ranged from 6% to 17% for these counties, higher than comparable rates for all but five metros.
- **The pandemic year:** The patterns highlighted here for 2010 to 2020 remained mostly unchanged during the pandemic year between 2020 and 2021 consistent with metro-area level patterns. One notable exception: Santa Clara County, core of Silicon Valley, saw a greater deceleration than other high-ranking counties, falling from ninth on the list for 2010 to 2020 to 23rd for 2020–2021.

Immigration drivers: The main factors that account for differences in immigration rates across counties are similar to the patterns highlighted for metro areas, based on our regression analysis.
- County-level foreign-born population share and overall metro-area education levels are the most powerful predictors of immigration rates. Newly arriving immigrants tend to settle in counties with concentrated populations of people from their origin country.
- At the county level, immigration rates are also positively associated with local economic freedom, as measured by an SMU Bridwell Institute for Economic Freedom index capturing business regulations and tax rates at the metro-area level.*

Just as the list of gateways has widened to include places like the Orlando and Columbus metros, it's also extending outward to encompass more large suburban cities, scholar Audrey Singer has shown. Starting in the 1970s, more newly arriving immigrants have settled in suburban areas than in core cities, and the gap has since steadily grown.[48]

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* These relationships hold for immigration rates over both the 2010–20 period and the year from 2020 to 2021. See the online data appendix for full regression results.

One major factor: Concentrated immigrant enclaves are emerging in suburban cities like Monterey Park, California. The growth of ethnic neighborhoods helps explain why so many Indian immigrants to the Dallas area choose Collin County localities like Plano and Frisco as their initial destination, and why so many Mexican and Guatemalan immigrants to the Atlanta metro opt for Gwinnett and Cobb Counties.[49]

Net domestic inbound migration rates

To the suburbs: Counties leading the rankings for net inbound migration by immigrants from elsewhere in the United States are overwhelmingly suburban, as Table 12 shows.

- Seven of the top 10 are large, fast-growing suburban counties in the Texas Triangle metro areas, including top-ranked Fort Bend County (Houston metro), second-ranked Williamson County (Austin metro), and third-ranked Collin County (Dallas-Fort Worth metro).
- The five top-ranked counties on our list for immigrant well-being – Delaware County, Ohio; Loudoun County, Virginia; Douglas County, Colorado; Williamson County, Tennessee; and Hamilton County, Indiana – all rank in the top 15 for net domestic in-migration.
- Only six core counties rank in the Top 25. Just one – Mecklenburg County, North Carolina (where Charlotte is located) – is in a metro that ranks among America's 50 largest. The other five are core counties of midsized to smaller metro areas: Deschutes County, Oregon (Bend metro); St. Lucie County, Florida (Port St. Lucie metro); Dutchess County, New York (Poughkeepsie metro); Utah County, Utah (Provo metro); and Sarasota County, Florida (North Port-Sarasota-Bradenton metro).
- All the counties making the Top 25 on this list are fast-growing places with large inbound migration by native-born people as well.[50]

Leaving the core: The core urban counties of virtually all traditional gateway cities rank in the bottom quarter of the rankings for foreign-born domestic in-migration. These include the core counties of the New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, Miami, San Francisco, San Jose, Boston, and Washington metros, plus three outer boroughs of New York City (Kings, Queens, and Bronx Counties) and the inner-ring D.C. suburbs of Arlington County, Virginia; Fairfax County, Virginia; and Montgomery County, Maryland. Each of these has seen a net exodus amounting to between 1% and 9% of its 2010 immigrant population.

Table 12

Estimated Net Inbound Domestic Migration Rates by Immigrants, 2010–2020: Select Counties

	County	Estimated % Net Dom Mig Rate	Absolute Net In-Migration	
			Rank	Absolute Number
1	Fort Bend County, Texas	7.2%	2	39,053
2	Williamson County, Texas	6.2%	8	24,275
3	Collin County, Texas	6.0%	1	44,108
4	Loudoun County, Virginia	5.8%	14	16,906
5	Hays County, Texas	5.5%	35	8,082
6	Denton County, Texas	5.1%	4	32,319
7	Benton County, Arkansas	4.6%	31	9,636
8	Montgomery County, Texas	4.5%	10	19,161
9	Delaware County, Ohio	4.1%	45	6,831
10	Brazoria County, Texas	3.8%	24	11,538
11	Hamilton County, Indiana	3.6%	32	9,524
12	Williamson County, Tennessee	3.6%	46	6,256
13	Douglas County, Colorado	3.6%	30	9,737
14	Rutherford County, Tennessee	3.3%	34	8,317
15	Dakota County, Minnesota	3.1%	22	12,315
16	Anoka County, Minnesota	3.1%	28	10,152
17	Deschutes County, Oregon	2.9%	52	4,554
18	St. Lucie County, Florida	2.8%	40	7,416
19	Dutchess County, New York	2.5%	41	7,403
20	Bucks County, Pennsylvania	2.4%	17	15,194
21	Utah County, Utah	2.3%	26	11,248
22	Anne Arundel County, Maryland	2.2%	23	11,672
23	Mecklenburg County, North Carolina	2.2%	9	19,332
24	Clackamas County, Oregon	2.1%	37	7,959
25	Sarasota County, Florida	2.1%	36	8,060
	Pop-Weighted Average, All Included Counties	**-0.6%**		

Source: Author's calculations based on U.S. Census Bureau data. See Appendix 2, Table R, for the full ranking of our 106 select counties and the online data appendix for all underlying data.

Again, different from immigration patterns: Differences between where immigrants are settling upon their initial arrival in the United States and where they tend to move after they've been in America for a while are even more pronounced at the county level than for metro areas.
- **Negative correlation:** Net foreign-born domestic in-migration rates for 2010–2020 are negatively correlated with immigration rates at the county level (correlation coefficient: -0.56).
- **Opposite relationships with well-being indicators:** Foreign-born domestic in-migration rates are positively correlated at the county level with the percentage of immigrants who are English-language proficient, median immigrant household income, both our measures of productivity, homeownership rates, the percentage of immigrants spending less than 30% of their income on housing, and our standard of living indicator. Immigration rates are negatively correlated with all seven measures of immigrant well-being.*

These are the main factors accounting for why some counties have seen such different secondary migration patterns among immigrants, based on our regression analysis:**
- **Housing indicators** – Strong housing supply growth, affordability, and overall homeownership rates predict high immigrant in-migration into counties, based on our 106-county dataset.
- **Regulations and taxes** – High scores on the SMU Bridwell Institute economic freedom index predict strong domestic in-migration by immigrants.
- **Immigrant living standards** – High immigrant living standards (median immigrant household income adjusted for local costs of living) predict strong immigrant in-migration.

This analysis is consistent with in-depth qualitative studies showing that immigrants have been moving from core cities to places like Collin County, Gwinnett County, and the Minneapolis-area suburbs of Anoka County and Dakota County because they're seeking good jobs, moderately priced housing, quality schools, and physical safety. They're also increasingly finding large concentrations of immigrants from their origin country there, increasing the draw of these suburban counties still further.[51]

Transformed suburban communities: The large migration of immigrants from core cities to fast-growing suburbs has transformed the demographics of many suburban counties and cities. Collin County has seen the foreign-born share of its population rise to 21% in 2020 from 3% in 1980, even as the county's overall population has soared. Gwinnett County's immigrant population share has grown to 26% from 2% over the same period. Suburban counties in large metros almost match their neighboring core urban counties for foreign-born population shares.[52]

The 49 suburban counties we highlight in this report are increasingly diverse places.*** In aggregate, people other than non-Hispanic Whites comprise 42% of the 36 million people living in these counties, up from 36% in 2010. Hispanic people constitute 19%, Black people make up 13%, and Asian American people make up 10%. The immigrant population of these counties has grown 26% since 2010 in absolute terms.[53]

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*   Correlation coefficients:
  - Net foreign-born domestic in-migration is positively correlated at the county level with the percentage who are English-language proficient (correlation coefficient: 0.34), median immigrant household income (0.27), our two productivity indicators (0.48 and 0.49), immigrant homeownership rate (0.64), share of immigrant households spending less than 30% of income on housing (0.35), and our standards of living indicator (0.44).
  - Immigration is negatively correlated at the county level with the percentage who are English language proficient (correlation coefficient: -0.10), median immigrant household income (-0.00), our two productivity indicators (-0.22 and -0.23), immigrant homeownership rate (-0.40), share of immigrant households spending less than 30% of income on housing (-0.28), and our standards of living indicator (-0.14).

** See online data appendix for all regression results.

***   See Appendix 2, Tables S and T, for overall population growth and foreign-born population shares for our 106 select counties.

> **Fast-growing suburban counties dominate the rankings for net domestic in-migration rates for immigrants at the county-level. Housing affordability, quality-of-life factors, and growth friendly tax and regulatory environments help explain why so many foreign-born people are moving from core to suburban counties.**

Conclusions

Together, Sections II and III of this report suggest several conclusions about immigrants in America's cities:

- **Immigrants are rationally choosing to live and work in metros and counties where foreign-born people are thriving, relative to other places. But immigrants who have already been in the United States for a time are making very different decisions than newly arriving immigrants.**

  - **Newly arriving immigrants:** New immigrants continue to gravitate to traditional gateway metro areas and counties, where extended family and other informal networks of people from their origin country help them settle in and get started. High overall productivity levels in the principal gateways help lower- and medium-skilled immigrant workers maximize their incomes in their early years in the country. As for highly educated immigrants, the five first-tier tech centers and a handful of second-tier tech and finance centers offer especially attractive opportunities to skilled foreign-born workers in technology, health care, and other knowledge-centric sectors.

  - **Secondary moves:** When immigrants move within the United States, they are disproportionately choosing fast-growing metros in the Sun Belt, Plains, or Mountain States. They're also opting for outlying suburbs over core cities in metro areas around the country. In most cases, the places they're choosing rank high for booming job markets, affordability, and living standards adjusted for local costs.

  - **Reconciling the two narratives:** Both the tendencies we identify in this report make intuitive sense if one thinks about the life cycle of immigrant families. For newly arriving immigrants, the chief priorities are often learning English and getting an initial job. For some refugees and other immigrants, immediate goals may be getting over past traumas or simply surviving. But the longer immigrants are in the country, the more space they have to think about the same considerations native-born people do: moving to better housing, becoming homeowners, sending their children to highly rated schools, and maximizing their quality of life. In both cases, they're choosing places that score high for some aspects of immigrant well-being, but they're prioritizing different aspects as time goes on.

  - **Best of both worlds:** People who have built up their "human capital" in highly productive places like the first-tier tech centers – immigrants and native-born people alike – can often achieve large step-ups in their living standards by moving away, earning "West Coast" salaries, and slashing their housing costs. Remote working during the pandemic has accelerated this trend.

- Metros that score below average for immigrant well-being generally rank low for both immigration rates and foreign-born domestic in-migration rates. These include most metros in the Rio Grande Valley, the Desert States, and inland California, plus numerous underperforming metros in the Southeast and Midwest. The New York, Los Angeles, and Chicago metros – each of which performs relatively poorly for immigrant well-being – punch below their weight for immigration rates, given their historic roles as leading gateways, and are experiencing large domestic outbound migration by immigrants. Core urban counties in metros that aren't traditional gateways mostly rank low for both immigration and domestic in-migration as well.

- **Two groups of metro areas deserve special mention:**
  - **Welcoming mid-Atlantic and Midwestern metros:** Several metros we highlight in this report for their purposeful initiatives to welcome and help immigrants – Baltimore, Pittsburgh, Columbus, Cincinnati, Akron, Dayton, Indianapolis, Detroit, and St. Louis – punch *above* their weight in attracting immigrants, in view of the economic challenges cities in these regions have faced. Each of these metros performs relatively well for immigrant well-being. Each ranks relatively high or at least middle-of-the-pack for both immigration rates and immigrant domestic migration, even though seven of these metros rank in the bottom third of America's 100 largest metros for in-migration by native-born people.* **The success of these metros underscores the case for intentional policies to attract and retain immigrant communities in America's cities.**
  - **Surprising strength in the Sun Belt:** A handful of Sun Belt metro areas have performed better in attracting immigrants than one might predict based on their below-average scores for immigrant well-being. These notably include Dallas-Fort Worth, Houston, San Antonio, Nashville, Tampa, Cape Coral-Fort Myers, and Lakeland-Winter Haven. Our analysis suggests three potential explanations for this puzzle. First, these metros mostly score relatively well for housing affordability and homeownership. These factors, plus quality-of-life issues we can't measure, may figure more prominently in secondary moves by immigrants than our simple equal-weighted well-being scores capture. Second, immigrants choosing these fast-growing metros may anticipate that rapid growth will bring future opportunities that our backward-looking indicators don't measure. And third, our county-level analysis shows it's mostly suburban counties in these metros that immigrants are choosing, and these suburban places generally score very well for immigrant well-being – far higher than neighboring core counties in these metros.

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* Exceptions: Columbus and Indianapolis rank 40th and 44th among America's 100 largest metros for net in-migration for native-born people, based on our estimates.

IV. HOW IMMIGRANTS PROMOTE PROSPERITY AND OPPORTUNITY IN AMERICA'S CITIES

General economic benefits

Cities with relatively large immigrant populations perform better than those with smaller immigrant population shares on many economic and quality-of-life measures.

First, **almost everyone's income levels are higher. Higher foreign-born population shares predict higher median household incomes at both the metro-area and county levels, holding education and other factors constant, based on our regression analysis.*** This effect is even stronger for the earnings of native-born workers than for foreign-born workers. People with an associate degree or some college earn more in metro areas with higher immigrant population shares than their peers in places with fewer immigrants. The same goes for people with a bachelor's degree.

These findings don't resolve which way causality runs, since it could be that places offering high incomes for other reasons attract immigrants and thus have high foreign-born population shares. But there are at least two reasons to believe the main direction of causality is from immigrant population shares to household incomes.

- High overall median household incomes don't predict higher immigration or domestic in-migration by immigrants into metro areas in our regression results. Higher median incomes predict *lower* immigration at the county level, presumably because they come with very high housing costs in many counties.
- Metros that have experienced relatively large increases in their immigrant population shares and in linguistic diversity have subsequently experienced better-than-average wage increases, according to studies by economists Gianmarco Ottaviano of Bocconi University and Giovanni Peri of the University of California at Davis.[54]

Several landmark studies have shown that higher immigration rates or immigrant population shares in U.S. cities lead to higher wages within most specific worker groups.

- Metros experiencing high immigration of lower-skilled foreign-born workers experience slight wage declines for native-born people without a high school diploma (amounting to 4.7% of the workforce), but wage increases for native-born workers at every subsequent education level, Ottaviano and Peri show (here and here).[55] Immigration of lower-skilled foreign-born workers does have pronounced negative effects on the wages of similarly skilled immigrants who arrived in the same city earlier, Ottaviano and Peri show.[56]
- Native-born Black workers earn more and experience lower poverty rates in metro areas with higher immigration rates, according to research by Jack Strauss of the University of Denver.[57]
- Metros with higher immigrant labor force shares have mostly experienced lower unemployment rates among less skilled native workers, as Madeline Zavodny of the University of North Florida documents.[58]
- Cities experiencing a large, sudden influx of immigrant workers generally do not see downdrafts in wages earned by lower-skilled native-born workers. For instance, the arrival of more than 100,000 Cuban refugees in the Miami area during the Mariel boatlift of 1980 had no lasting effect on native-born earnings, economist David Card of the University of California at Berkeley showed in a famous study.[59]

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* Our best-fitting model estimates median household income as a function of foreign-born population share, adult population share with a bachelor's degree or higher, metro-area population density, and metro-areas' scores on the U.S. Congress Joint Economic Committee social capital index. One standard deviation increase in foreign-born population share – equivalent to the difference between Raleigh at 12.0% and Dallas-Fort Worth at 18.5% – is associated with a $4,500 per year difference in median household income, holding the other variables constant. See regression results in the online data appendix.

- Conversely, cities experiencing disproportionate drops in immigrant populations because of new federal immigration restrictions – for instance, after the restrictive Immigrant Act of 1924 and the cancellation of the Bracero guest worker program with Mexico in 1964 – have seen no sustained increase in low-skilled native-born wages.[60]

Three simple facts explain why larger immigrant populations augment rather than detract from native-born incomes:
- **Lower-skilled immigrants who have recently arrived in the United States generally do very different jobs than most native-born workers.** The high degree of task specialization separating recent immigrant workers from native-born workers means the former mostly aren't competing with the latter, as Peri and Colgate University economist Chad Sparber have shown.[61] This also explains why the main negative wage effects of immigration by lower-skilled people are felt by similarly skilled immigrants already working in the same city.
- Immigrant inflows attract business investment, which increases demand for native-born workers as well, pushing their wages up.[62]
- Immigrants support local businesses as consumers in America's cities, not just as workers. They're also often innovators and business builders, creating jobs for local workers. **Immigrants generally add to the economic pie in U.S. cities rather than reallocate its pieces.**

And these economic benefits are long-lasting. Counties that experienced above-average immigration during the age of mass migration from 1850 to 1920 have higher education levels, higher incomes, and lower poverty rates today than other counties, due to persistent aftereffects from the supercharged innovation and industrialization they enjoyed decades ago, according to a detailed study.[63]

> **Cities and metros with relatively large immigrant foreign-born population shares generally enjoy higher-than-average wages for native-born as well as foreign-born workers.**

INNOVATION

Cities with large immigrant communities are more innovative than other cities.
- **Metros with high immigrant population shares tend to host universities with larger than average innovation impact**, based on a 2020 study by the George W. Bush Institute-SMU Economic Growth Initiative and the venture development firm Opus Faveo.[64]
- **Metros with high foreign-born population shares also enjoy higher technology worker productivity and incomes**, we show in our regression analysis using Carta's technology industry data.*
- **High foreign-born population shares predict better outcomes on a composite innovation ranking of metro areas we've compiled based on analysis by other organizations.****

Figure 4 breaks down the 122 metros in our innovation ranking into quintiles, from most to least innovative. The higher the immigrant population share, the more innovative the metro area.

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* See regression results in the online data appendix and underlying compensation data from Carta at Walker, "The State of Startup Compensation, H1 2022" (Carta research report, June 27, 2022).
** See explanation of our composite ranking in Appendix 1 and the full rankings in Appendix 2, Table U.

Figure 4

Foreign-Born Population Share by Innovation Quintile
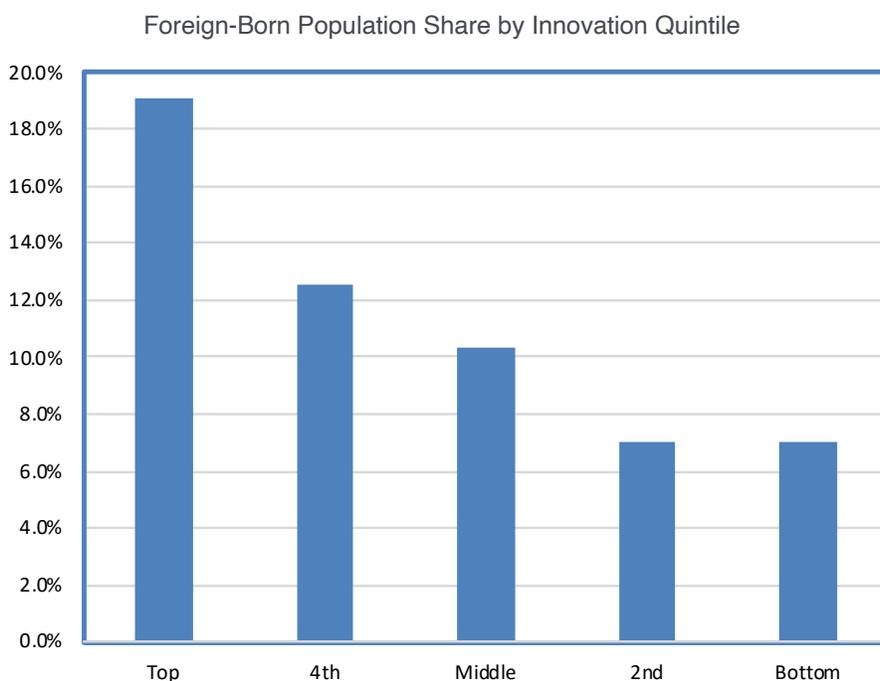
Source: Innovation quintiles are based on a composite ranking of 122 metros, drawing on five rankings developed by other organizations. See Appendix 1 for sources and methods and Appendix 2, Table U, for the full ranking. Foreign-born population shares are from U.S. Census Bureau, American Community Survey, 5-year estimates, 2020.

Many studies have highlighted how immigrant communities contribute to innovation in America's cities.

- **Immigrants invent new products and receive patents at higher rates than native-born people.**[65]
- Immigrants earn advanced degrees in STEM fields at much higher than average rates: 27% of STEM master's and doctoral students in U.S. universities are foreign-born people on temporary visas.[66]
- Immigrants represent 23% of the STEM workers in America's cities, even though they only make up 14% of metropolitan America's population. They constitute 39% of all software developers and 28% of life science workers in the United States.[67]
- Startup businesses fully or partially owned by immigrants are more likely than other businesses to do innovative research and development work. Immigrant-founded businesses constitute more than 40% of all startups in America's leading technology centers.[68]
- Human diversity and openness to newcomers in themselves promote creativity and innovation in organizations and cities, many studies have shown.[69]

Growing populations of foreign-born STEM workers have powerfully contributed to the rise of technology and life science ecosystems in numerous local economies. Raj Reddy, an Indian immigrant who came to Pittsburgh in 1969, became a leading player in the emergence of the region's advanced robotics industry near Carnegie Mellon University. Subsequent Indian immigrants have helped build the University of Pittsburgh into one of the Nation's premier medical research institutions.[70]

In Cedar Rapids, where immigrants constitute just 4% of the population but 15% of STEM workers, the fast-growing immigrant community has helped drive the success of home-grown technology companies like Geonetric, Genova Technologies, and Involta.[71]

ENTERPRISE

Cities with substantial foreign-born populations benefit from the outsized entrepreneurship of immigrants.

- **Immigrants represent 22% to 25% of all private business owners, though they only make up 14% of the population of metropolitan America**, according to the research and advocacy organization American Immigration Council.[72] Immigrants are 30% more likely to launch a business than native-born people, economist Robert Fairlie of the University of California at Santa Cruz has shown.[73]

- Immigrant-owned businesses are more likely to become exporters than other firms, economists Sari Pekkala Kerr of Wellesley College and William Kerr of Harvard University shows.[74]

- Immigrant-owned businesses play an increasingly vital role in America's cities. **The number of immigrant-led companies founded each year in America has grown more than 50% since the mid-1990s, while the number founded by native-born entrepreneurs has declined.** In the Columbus metro, for instance, total immigrant-led businesses rose by 42% during the five years after 2007, compared with a 1% decline in companies led by native-born people.[75]

- Immigrant entrepreneurs constitute a disproportionate share of venture capital-backed startup founders even outside the top-tier technology centers, where their outsized role is better known. **At least 25% of venture-backed startups in the Dallas-Fort Worth metro between 2016 and 2020 have had at least one immigrant founder, according to research by the Bush Institute-SMU Economic Growth Initiative with help from PitchBook and the National Venture Capital Association. The same is true of 27% of venture-backed startups in the Ann Arbor metro, 22% in the Atlanta metro, and 22% in the Tampa metro.** Across these four metros, 27% of all venture-backed software startups and 38% of all venture-backed cybersecurity startups have at least one foreign-born founder.[76]

- **Immigrant entrepreneurs feature especially prominently in certain industries:**
  - **Biotechnology:** COVID-19 vaccine innovator Moderna's leadership includes two immigrants: co-founder and chairman Noubar Afeyan of Lebanon and Chief Executive Officer Stephane Bancel of France. Almost 75% of the 200-plus biotech/life science companies incubated by Cambridge, Massachusetts-based LabCentral have an immigrant founder or co-founder – including two vaccine innovators, Hannu Rajaniemi of Finland, founder of mRNA company HelixNano, and Kamran Tavangar of Iran, founder of next-generation vaccine technology firm Affinivax.[77]
  - **Basic services in cities everywhere:** Businesses founded and led by immigrants make up 36% of all accommodation and food service businesses and 31% of all personal care services businesses in America's cities.[78]

- Immigrant entrepreneurs have contributed significantly to emerging turnarounds in many troubled urban places. In Detroit, immigrants from Middle Eastern countries have started more than 15,000 small "Main Street" businesses.[79] Immigrant entrepreneurs in businesses like nail salons, dry cleaners, grocery stores, and restaurants have revived previously distressed commercial areas in older inner-ring suburban neighborhoods, such as along the Buford Highway in DeKalb and Gwinnett Counties in the Atlanta metro and in Beaverton, Oregon, in the Portland area.[80]

High rates of entrepreneurship reflect greater-than-average willingness to take risks on the part of many immigrants, studies show.[81] They also reflect tight-knit ethnic networks that support immigrant startups in specific industries, like Korean dry cleaners and Punjabi Indian convenience stores.[82]

> **Immigrants increase opportunity and prosperity for everyone in U.S. cities in part through outsized contributions to local innovation and entrepreneurship. They disproportionately invent new products, earn patents, and start businesses, including innovative venture capital-backed companies.**

Filling workplace needs

Immigrants fill millions of essential jobs in America's cities that would likely go unfilled in the absence of large foreign-born workers.

- **Health care:** Immigrants account for approximately one in three hands-on health care workers in U.S. cities. Nigerian immigrants, for instance, fill a large share of home health care jobs in the Dallas-Fort Worth area. Foreign-born people constitute 19% of the health care workforce in Minneapolis-St. Paul and 27% of all doctors in the Great Lakes region as a whole, enabling several cities in the Upper Midwest to revitalize their economies around medical institutions.[83]

- **Manufacturing:** Immigrant workers have helped stabilize manufacturing industries in several Midwestern metro areas, in some cases because foreign-born engineers have addressed acute skills shortages that otherwise would have forced many plants to close. **New immigrant employees have helped preserve or create hundreds of thousands of manufacturing jobs** – mostly held by native-born workers – in the Pittsburgh, Akron, Dayton, Cincinnati, Indianapolis, Cedar Rapids, and other Midwestern metros, American Immigration Council research has shown.[84]

- **Technology:** Foreign-born workers play a vital role in the technology sector in U.S. cities. **Technology executives warn that they will increasingly have to turn to remote workers based abroad to fill key jobs if Congress doesn't allow more high-skilled STEM workers into the United States.**[85]

- **Construction:** Immigrant workers are essential to the construction industry in America's cities. They constitute more than 60% of construction workers in the Northern Virginia suburbs and more than 70% in the Dallas-Fort Worth area. **Declining immigration rates since the start of the COVID-19 pandemic have contributed significantly to labor shortfalls and soaring construction costs, fueling home affordability challenges and other rapid price increases in cities throughout the Nation.**[86]

We have created a composite ranking of 33 large metros for construction costs and broken the list into four quartile groups, from cheapest to most expensive construction costs. Figure 5 shows average foreign-born population growth from 2010 to 2020 for each group as well as Hispanic population growth in view of the outsized role Hispanic workers play in the U.S. construction industry. As the figure shows, higher immigrant population growth is associated with lower construction costs.

Immigrant construction workers in Sun Belt metros like Raleigh, Nashville, Houston, and San Antonio have helped these cities sustain their housing cost advantage over coastal cities despite rapid growth in housing demand in the Sun Belt.

Figure 5

Foreign-born and Hispanic population growth (2010–2020) by construction cost quartile
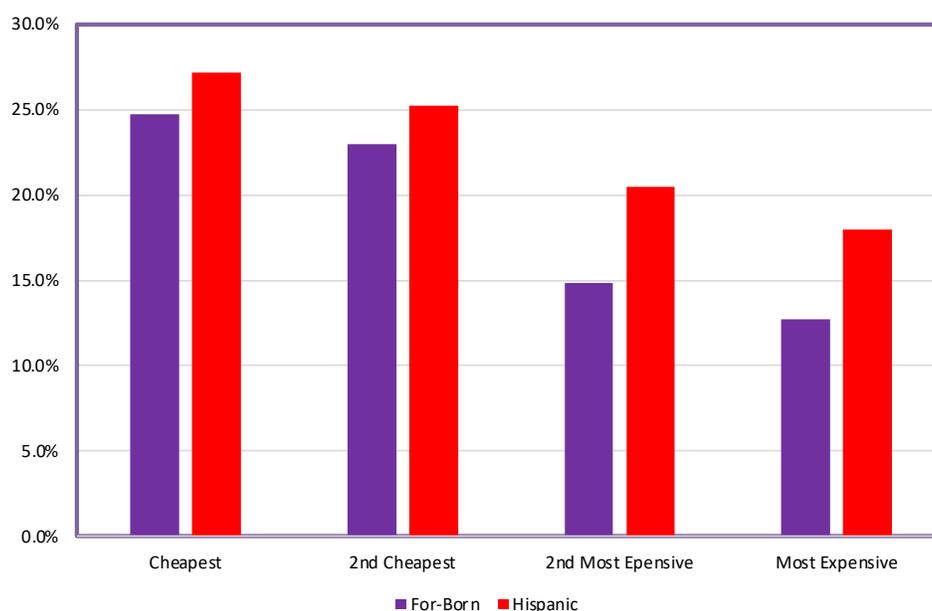
Source: Construction cost quintiles are based on a composite ranking of 33 metros, drawing on analysis by other organizations. See Appendix 1 for sources and methods and Appendix 2, Table V, for the full ranking. Foreign-born population shares are from U.S. Census Bureau, American Community Survey, 5-year estimates, 2020.

The role immigrants play in filling many essential jobs is becoming more important than ever, as demographic pressures give rise to labor shortages across America's cities. These shortages – a powerful driver of price inflation in the economy since 2021 – have recently grown more acute because pandemic-era immigration restrictions have reduced America's foreign-born population by more than 2 million, compared with projections based on pre-2020 trends.[87]

CREATING CULTURALLY APPEALING CITIES

In today's knowledge-centric economy, high-skilled workers increasingly choose where they want to live and businesses follow. Quality of life considerations therefore strongly influence productivity, economic growth, and worker incomes in 21st century cities.

Immigrants enrich cities partly by making them more culturally diverse and appealing places. Cities with high ethnic diversity and immigrant population shares score high for their perceived cultural appeal, "coolness" factor, and attractiveness to younger knowledge workers, urbanist Richard Florida shows in his book *Cities and the Creative Class*.[88] Moreover, a 2010 study by the Knight Foundation found that a community's openness to all kinds of people – including immigrants – is one of three key factors that determine how attached residents feel to their community, and that cities with high degrees of attachment have experienced higher economic growth rates.[89]

Food and restaurants: One obvious benefit cities derive from immigrant communities is a diverse and interesting food and restaurant scene. Cities with high immigration rates and foreign-born population shares have wider-than-average ranges of restaurants, studies show.[90]

Figure 6 illustrates the relationship between immigrant population shares and food scenes. We've created a composite ranking of 33 "best foodie cities," drawing on scores from three popular media organizations, and broken our list into four quartile groups from the highest ranked food scenes to the lowest. The figure shows the average foreign-born population share of each of the four groups, plus the average for all metros that don't make the ranking. **The clear takeaway: Higher immigrant population shares are associated with richer food offerings.**

Immigrant chefs and food service workers have helped metro areas like San Francisco, Portland, and Miami create food scenes that rank among the most attractive in the Nation, enhancing the appeal of these cities.

Figure 6

Foreign-born population share by "best foodie cities" quartiles
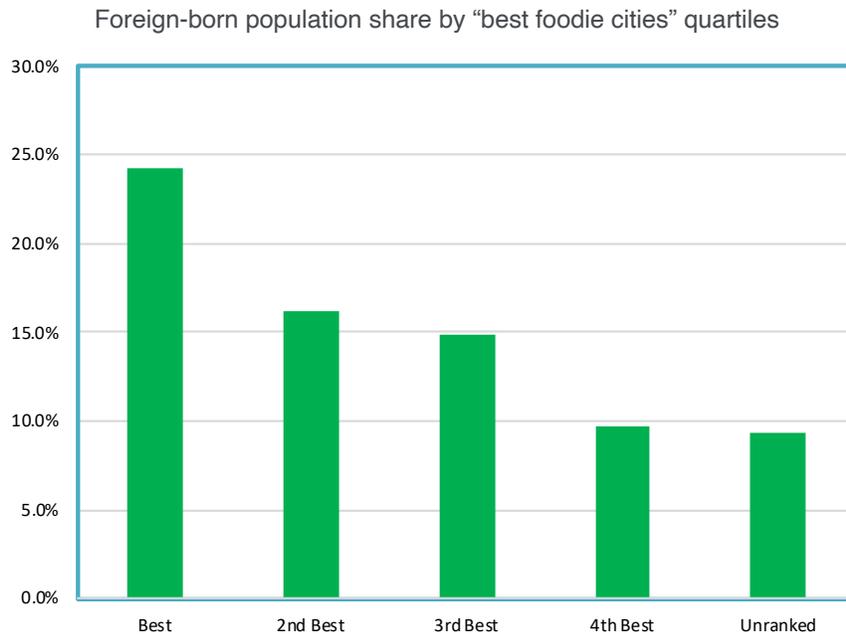
Source: Best-foodie quartiles are based on a composite ranking of 33 metros, drawing on three rankings developed by other organizations. See Appendix 1 for sources and methods and Appendix 2, Table W, for the full ranking. Foreign-born population shares are from U.S. Census Bureau, American Community Survey, 5-year estimates, 2020.

Other contributions to quality of life: Immigrants also improve the quality of life in cities through their arts, culture, and sports contributions. More than 400,000 immigrants work in artistic, creative, or sports jobs in U.S. cities, according to American Immigration Council data. These include such prominent figures as cellist Yo-Yo Ma (from China), singer Rihanna (Barbados), film director Ang Lee (Taiwan), author Chimamanda Adichie (Nigeria), basketball star Giannis Antetokounmpo (Greece), and tennis legend Martina Navratilova (Czech Republic). Immigrants comprise 23% of National Basketball Association players and 29% of Major League Baseball players.[91]

Higher immigrant population shares are also associated with lower crime rates in U.S. cities. A careful study of Texas data showed that undocumented immigrants are only half as likely to be arrested for violent crimes as native-born people.[92]

Sustaining populations and supporting local businesses in aging cities

Growing immigrant communities have kept many U.S. cities and metro areas from experiencing significant population shrinkage in recent decades. By stabilizing population numbers, immigrants have helped preserve and revitalize local businesses and downtowns.

Twenty-eight of America's 100 largest metros would have declined in population from 2010 to 2021 in the absence of immigration from abroad, as Table 13 shows. (Six declined anyway, though by considerably less than they would have without immigration.) These include seven of America's leading traditional gateway metros: New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, Miami, Boston, San Jose, and Honolulu. They also include five Midwestern metros highlighted in this report for their intentional welcoming policies and high scores for immigrant well-being: Pittsburgh, Akron, Dayton, Detroit, and St. Louis.

Smaller metros: More than 40 smaller metros would have seen population declines between 2010 and 2021 without immigration but grew because of it. This is also true of 17% of all U.S. counties.[93]

The city of Lewiston, Maine, started to grow again over the last two decades after shrinking 15% from 1970 to 2000, thanks to an influx of Somali immigrants from Boston and other larger metros attracted by the city's extraordinarily welcoming approach to both newcomers and new housing. The Lewiston-Auburn metro grew 3% between 2010 and 2021, instead of shrinking as it otherwise would have done.[94]

Bolstering college towns: Immigrants have played an especially large role in raising the fortunes of college towns around the United States. The 30 metros we characterize as college towns in this report grew 7% from 2010 to 2021, in line with the average for all U.S. metros. But immigration contributed more than half this growth, well above U.S. averages. This reflects the success of America's higher education industry, which is the Nation's fifth-largest service sector category.[95]

Immigrants made particularly large contributions to population growth in Midwestern and Plains state college towns, notably Manhattan, Kansas; Ames, Iowa; Iowa City, Iowa; Lafayette, Indiana; Bloomington, Indiana; and Champaign-Urbana, Illinois.*

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* Each of these metros saw immigration rates over 6% as a percentage of 2010 population, higher than all but seven of the 100 largest U.S. metros.

Table 13

Metros that would have seen population declines absent immigration, 2010–2021

	Metro Area	Pop. Change. ex-Immig	Actual Pop. Change
1	New Haven-Milford, CT	-5.3%	0.1%
2	New York-Newark-Jersey City, NY-NJ-PA	-5.3%	4.5%
3	Hartford-East Hartford-Middletown, CT	-5.1%	-0.1%
4	Syracuse, NY	-5.1%	-0.7%
5	Urban Honolulu, HI	-5.0%	4.6%
6	Springfield, MA	-4.7%	0.0%
7	Scranton--Wilkes-Barre, PA	-4.5%	0.7%
8	Cleveland-Elyria, OH	-4.0%	0.1%
9	Pittsburgh, PA	-3.9%	-0.1%
10	Rochester, NY	-3.7%	0.4%
11	Chicago-Naperville-Elgin, IL-IN-WI	-3.7%	0.4%
12	San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA	-3.5%	5.9%
13	Buffalo-Cheektowaga, NY	-3.5%	2.4%
14	Detroit-Warren-Dearborn, MI	-3.0%	1.7%
15	Toledo, OH	-2.9%	-1.1%
16	Akron, OH	-2.6%	-0.4%
17	Bridgeport-Stamford-Norwalk, CT	-2.4%	4.3%
18	Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim, CA	-2.0%	1.2%
19	Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach, FL	-1.9%	9.2%
20	Providence-Warwick, RI-MA	-1.7%	4.5%
21	Jackson, MS	-1.1%	-0.2%
22	St. Louis, MO-IL	-1.1%	0.7%
23	Albany-Schenectady-Troy, NY	-1.1%	3.3%
24	Worcester, MA-CT	-1.1%	6.5%
25	Milwaukee-Waukesha, WI	-0.9%	0.6%
26	Dayton-Kettering, OH	-0.8%	1.7%
27	Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD	-0.7%	4.3%
28	Boston-Cambridge-Newton, MA-NH	-0.6%	7.2%
	Pop-Weighted Average, Top 100 Metros	**5.6%**	**9.8%**

Source: Author's calculations based on U.S. Census Bureau data.

Renewing the housing stock: By stabilizing metro-area populations, immigrant consumers have also supported local housing industries. **Cities with shrinking population can experience a downward spiral in which declining population prevents the development of new housing and an aging housing stock makes the city less attractive to newcomers.**

Figure 7 compares the housing stock of 10 leading metros that have grown rapidly since the mid-20th century with that of 10 slow-growing or shrinking metros.* On the left side, the figure shows that per capita building permits between 2015 and 2019 were on average more than five times higher in the fast-growing metros than the slow-growing metros. The middle and right bars show that the fast-growing cities have a far newer housing stock.

Figure 7

Housing stock in fast and slow-growing metros
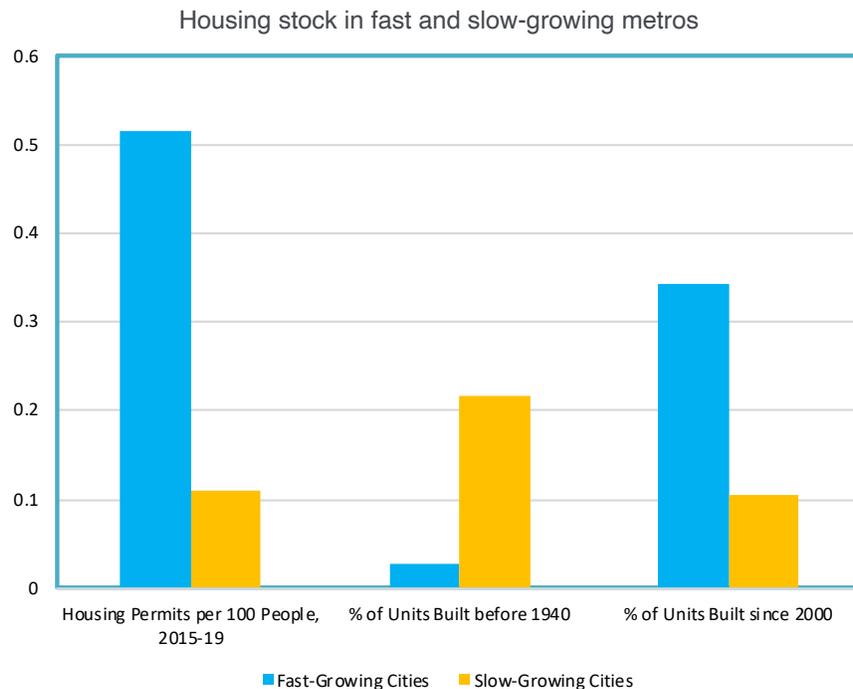
Source: Author's calculations based on U.S. Census Bureau data. See footnote and Appendix 1 for methods.

A NOTE ON THE FISCAL IMPACT OF IMMIGRANTS ON LOCAL AND STATE GOVERNMENTS

There is considerable ongoing debate about whether the presence of immigrants increases or decreases the net revenues – revenues less expenditures – of local and state governments relative to what they would be without their immigrant communities. Studies of this topic come to a variety of conclusions, reflecting wide disparities in the methods and assumptions researchers bring to bear. For instance, immigrant children, like native-born children, impose net fiscal costs on localities through schooling expenditures while they are young, but in most cases add to net revenues when they are working age, and may tilt the balance either way over a full lifetime. Forward-looking net revenue estimates also depend heavily on specific assumptions about future tax and spending policies.

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* To define "fast-growing" and "slow-growing," we rely partly on long-term population changes – namely, population change of the core city from 1950 to 2020 – to identify metros where long-term population decline likely caused low levels of new housing development, rather than the other way around. Our aim is to avoid the problem that some cities may have seen low population growth in recent years because restrictive land-use policies and resulting low levels of housing development caused high housing prices and poor housing stock, making the city less attractive. We rely on core cities because metro-area population data is not as reliable going back to 1950. For fast-growing cities, we identify the 10 largest metro areas that rank in the top quartile of 62 large metros for (1) growth in the core city from 1950 to 2020, (2) growth in the core city from 2000 to 2020, and (3) metro-area growth from 2010 to 2020. For slow-growing cities, we identify the 10 largest that rank in the bottom quartile on all three measures. The 10 fast-growing metros are Austin, Raleigh, Orlando, North Port-Sarasota-Bradenton, San Antonio, Charlotte, Phoenix, Las Vegas, Denver, and Charleston, South Carolina. The 10 slow-growing metros are Akron, Hartford, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, St. Louis, Detroit, Dayton, Buffalo, Syracuse, and Rochester, New York.

Based on a thorough 2014 review of these studies by policy analyst Alex Nowrasteh of the Cato Institute, our conclusion is that immigrant communities may impose slight net fiscal costs on state and local governments, but they likely increase net revenues of the federal government by a more-than-offsetting amount, and the net effects are almost surely very small overall, relative to the large economic benefits immigrants bring to local communities and to the national economy as a whole.[96] A 2017 review by Kim Rueben and Sarah Gault of the Urban Institute reached similar conclusions.[97]

> **Immigrants contribute to innovation and entrepreneurship, fill essential jobs, enrich cultural life, and support local industries in America's cities. All these contributions make cities with relatively high immigrant population shares into exceptionally productive, high-income places for native-born and foreign-born people alike.**

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V. HOW CITIES CAN ATTRACT IMMIGRANTS AND HELP THEM LEARN, EARN, BELONG, AND CONTRIBUTE

Cities are engaged in a ferocious competition for talent, immigrant as well as native-born, whether they recognize it or not. City governments and local communities can pursue – and in many cases are pursuing – a variety of strategies to attract newcomers and help them learn, earn, belong, and contribute.

POLICIES TO EXPAND OPPORTUNITY FOR EVERYONE

Key principles

- Invest in schools, universities, and other anchor institutions.
- Ensure affordability and quality of life.
- Be a great city to start and build a business.

Discussion

Perhaps the most impactful thing cities can do to help immigrants thrive is to pursue policies that expand opportunity for everyone, native-born and foreign-born people alike. Immigrants benefit from and value quality schools and universities, affordable quality of life, and growth friendly tax and regulatory policies, just as native-born people do. This explains why domestic migration patterns among immigrants closely resemble those of native-born Americans, as Section III shows.

Schools, universities, and other anchor institutions: The most effective step that cities as well as states can take to expand opportunity for all residents and attract newcomers from elsewhere is to strengthen local schools, community colleges, universities, and other knowledge-generating anchor institutions. Describing how to do so is beyond the scope of this report,* but these are some of the key principles:
- Insist on excellence and accountability in public schools: Measure student academic outcomes with comparable high-quality assessments, disaggregate outcome data to understand which groups of students are being well served (or not), and require accountability in public schools.
- Strengthen governance and school leadership in local school districts.
- Create innovative schools and programs of choice both within and outside school districts.
- Expand overall student numbers and pathways to the workplace in public community colleges and universities.
- Step up public-sector support for research at universities and medical research institutions.
- Promote the role of anchor institutions in technology commercialization and local economic development.

Educational attainment levels are the single most powerful determinant of how cities perform as engines of opportunity. Metros and counties with high education levels see better-than-average incomes for all residents, both native-born and foreign-born, and for people with lower education levels as well as highly educated people. High-attainment metros and counties also attract more immigrants from elsewhere, enhancing opportunities for other residents and for immigrants who arrive later.

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* The Bush Institute website contains substantial research and policy materials on strengthening schools and anchor institutions. See online data appendix.

Safe, quality schools are a key priority for immigrants when they choose where to live, numerous studies show. Indian and Nigerian immigrants in the Dallas-Fort Worth area, for instance, indicate that great schools are one of the most powerful factors drawing them to suburban cities like Frisco and Allen.[98] Somali immigrants in Lewiston, Maine, cite the city's safe, high-quality schools as a major reason they moved there from Boston and other large cities.[99] Even recent refugees generally indicate that what they want most in America is good schools for their children, along with jobs.[100]

Anchor institutions in the higher education and health care sectors play a particularly large role in creating opportunity for both immigrants and native-born people. They do so partly by attracting talented students and faculty from around the world who are drawn to America's historically dominant higher education and medical sectors. They also drive local prosperity and opportunity through their research activities, promoting innovation and entrepreneurship that in turn create good jobs for local workers and attract talent from elsewhere. The standout performance of many college towns in our rankings for immigrant well-being confirms the central role of knowledge-generating institutions.[101]

U.S. universities should focus on regaining their edge in attracting students from outside the United States. America's share of all college and graduate students studying abroad declined to 21% in 2019 from 28% in 2001, while Canada, Australia, and northern European countries enjoyed large market share gains, according to a report by the organization NAFSA: Association of International Educators.

The main reasons for America's declining share in this critically important industry are visa problems, obstacles to working after graduation, physical safety worries, and growing fears of not feeling welcome, university administrators indicate.[102] About 87% had less desire to study in the United States than in prior years, a 2019 survey of current and potential international students found, citing their perception that the United States has become less welcoming as their top reason.[103]

Sustaining America's premier position as a magnet for student talent from throughout the world is vital for ensuring the Nation's leadership in science and technology. Attracting talent to local universities and research institutions also contributes tremendously to city economies, since graduates disproportionately stay in or near metro areas where they've studied after graduation.

Affordable quality of life: Cities throughout the United States should focus on increasing housing production and affordability through more growth-oriented land-use policies, streamlined development processes, and wider reliance on public-private partnerships in the development of subsidized housing.

Affordability is one of the most powerful factors influencing secondary moves by immigrants as well as domestic migration patterns among native-born people, our research shows. Affordable rents and housing prices have played a pivotal role in attracting immigrant populations to suburban places like DeKalb and Gwinnett County, Georgia; Loudoun County, Virginia; and Fort Bend County, Texas.[104] Conversely, extreme shortages of affordable housing have proven to be a key obstacle to successful resettlement of refugees from Afghanistan and Ukraine, especially in core cities.

Cities with relatively good housing affordability also see higher homeownership rates among native-born and foreign-born families alike. Homeownership is the chief engine of intergenerational wealth accumulation, which helps put second-generation immigrants on a path to upward mobility.

Ensuring quality of life also means delivering effective policing practices, good public safety, and low crime rates.

Hamilton County, Indiana epitomizes the benefits of offering high quality of life at relatively affordable cost. One of the five best-performing of the 106 counties in our dataset for immigrant well-being, Hamilton County and the surrounding Indianapolis area rank high among their peers for growth-oriented land-use policies, housing supply growth, and affordability. The county's living costs are more than 10% below averages for metropolitan America as a whole, even though household incomes are considerably higher than average. The result: Hamilton County enjoyed living standards 69% above the average for metropolitan America for its overall population and 73% above average among its immigrant population in 2020.[105] Carmel, the county's largest city, consistently ranks among the best cities in the United States for affordable quality of life.[106] Hamilton County ranks in the top 10% of the counties in our dataset for net in-migration rates among immigrants. The overall foreign-born population grew 69% from 2010 to 2020, with exceptionally high growth rates in its Black, Hispanic, and Asian immigrant populations.*

Business environment: Cities should aim to be great places to start and build a business. This means reforming excessive permitting processes, labor regulations, and occupational licensing rules and maintaining competitive local tax rates.

Commerce friendly regulatory and tax policies play a central role in promoting prosperity and opportunity for all residents in U.S. cities. The economic freedom index developed by SMU's Bridwell Institute for Economic Freedom is closely associated with net domestic in-migration rates into U.S. metro areas among both native and foreign-born people, this report shows. An Arizona State University index for ease of doing business at the local level is also positively correlated with net in-migration by immigrants (correlation coefficient: 0.29) as well as native-born people (0.49).[107]

Attracting prospective entrepreneurs is becoming increasingly vital for local economies as overall rates of business startup activity have declined.[108]

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* Growth rates from 2010 to 2020 were 47% in Hamilton County's foreign-born Black population, 47% in its foreign-born Hispanic population, and 68% in its foreign-born Asian population (U.S. Census Bureau data).

Food trucks

The food truck industry offers a compelling case study on the benefits of being a great city to start and build a business. The industry is substantial and growing, with 35,000 active businesses in America's cities and growth of more than 20% since 2019, due partly to pandemic-related restrictions on indoor dining. Food trucks also play to the strengths of many foreign-born entrepreneurs, since immigrants often have a comparative advantage in culinary traditions from their origin country but lack the startup capital to open a full indoor restaurant. Immigrants own 30% of America's food truck businesses, which frequently represent a first step toward launching a restaurant.[109]

But regulations governing food trucks vary widely across U.S. cities. Annual compliance costs range from $5,000 in relatively permissive cities to $38,000 in cities with more onerous rules, according to a 2019 U.S. Chamber of Commerce Foundation study. Cities ranking low on the study's index of local regulatory environments – like Washington, Boston, Seattle, Minneapolis, and Chicago – go far beyond food safety rules to limit proximity to local restaurants and parks, require easy access to public restrooms, and even, in Washington's case, impose specific rules on meatless burritos.[110] Denver banned food trucks in a popular night-life district in 2022 as a poorly thought through crime-fighting measure.[111]

Comparing low-ranked Chicago to Portland, Oregon, which ranks first in the study for its food truck friendly rules, illustrates the effects of growth friendly versus excessively restrictive local rules.

- Chicago prohibits food trucks from remaining in one location for more than two hours and restricts proximity even to vending machines. The number of food trucks operating in the city fell by half by 2019 from 2012.
- Portland, by contrast, decided that food trucks would add vibrancy to the city's lively street life and introduced one of the most industry friendly regulatory frameworks in the Nation, including dedicated parking spaces around the city.
- Multnomah County, home to Portland, now has more than 1,000 licensed food truck businesses. **The city of Portland has more than 25 times as many food trucks per capita as Chicago.** Even though Chicago's rules are presumably intended in part to protect incumbent restaurant owners, Portland has twice as many indoor restaurants per capita as Chicago and ranks well ahead of far-larger Chicago in two of three rankings of "best foodie cities" that we cite in this report.
- **Immigrants own 51% of the food trucks operating in Multnomah County.** Several immigrants, such as Nong Ponsukwattana of the popular local Thai restaurant chain Nong's Khao Man Gai, have built large businesses that started as food carts.[112]

Liberalizing food truck rules is a win-win for cities – good for immigrant and native-born entrepreneurs and good for consumers who enjoy the resulting culinary diversity and lively street life. **The food truck case points to a larger takeaway: Reforming unnecessary regulations can provide a surprisingly large stimulus to local entrepreneurship, with benefits for immigrants and native-born people alike.**

Policies to welcome immigrants

Key principles

- Broadcast a clear, welcoming message from local leaders.
- Offer dedicated, high-quality, multilingual information resources for immigrants.
- Ensure a warm welcome in local schools.
- Support immigrant job seekers and entrepreneurs.
- Provide clear pathways to naturalization, voting, and civic participation.
- Offer quality legal assistance.

Discussion

There are many ways cities can infuse a welcoming message into all their interactions with immigrants and other newcomers, mostly at little cost.

Welcoming messages from local leaders and communities: Cities should express that they are a welcoming place at every turn. This starts with community-wide engagement in envisioning what it means to be a city that genuinely welcomes newcomers, including immigrants, and intentional culture-building throughout the community. City governments and local communities have adopted numerous ways of expressing a welcoming attitude in recent years, including the following:

- **Explicit messaging:** Explicit welcoming initiatives in some cities have been associated with individual mayors, including Atlanta Mayor Kasim Reed, Baltimore Mayor Stephanie Rawlings-Blake, Dayton Mayor Gary Leitzell, and Plano, Texas, Mayor Pat Evans. Houston's city government has maintained consistently welcoming messaging ever since Houston threw open its doors to Vietnamese refugees after the Vietnam War in the 1970s. The community of Harrisonburg, Virginia, features ubiquitous yard signs with the message "No matter where you are from, we're glad you're our neighbor."[113]
- **Celebrate immigrants and their contributions:** More and more cities are launching successful programs to celebrate what immigrants bring to their communities.
  - Pittsburgh established its "City of Asylum" residency program for writers and artists in 2003.
  - Dayton offers a "Voices of the Immigrant Experience" speaker series.
  - Lowell, Massachusetts, holds a popular Southeast Asian Water Festival each year.[114]
  - Dublin, Ohio, runs its own annual Asian Festival.
  - San Antonio holds the Nation's largest annual city-supported Indian Diwali festival.[115]
  - Phoenix hosts events for affinity groups like the Guanajuato Club, which brings together immigrants from the Mexican state of Guanajuato.[116]
  - Hundreds of cities and towns now participate in "Welcoming Week," an initiative led by the organization Welcoming America to promote coordinated welcoming messages from city governments, libraries, museums, and other local institutions.
- **Welcome refugees and recognize their unique experiences:** St. Petersburg, Florida, and Columbus were among the first city governments to announce their commitment to successful resettlement of Afghan refugees in 2021.[117]
- **Engage local business communities in recruiting and welcoming immigrants:** Columbus, Indiana, has partnered closely with Cummins Inc., which is based there, to recruit immigrants who are today bolstering the company's workforce and helping revitalize the local economy.[118] The business community in Longview, Texas, has taken the lead in intentional efforts to recruit high-skilled immigrant professionals from California as well as new college graduates from abroad.[119]

- **Avoid nonwelcoming messages:** City and community leaders should avoid and oppose politically motivated measures like urging landlords to refuse undocumented applicants and closing sites where immigrant day laborers gather, or even urging immigrants to leave, as numerous city leaders have done in recent decades.[120]

Good information resources: Cities should have immigrant welcoming offices and related infrastructure, either within or associated with local government, offering well-organized, comprehensive information resources in relevant languages. Seattle, Akron, and Cedar Rapids are among the numerous cities with high-quality, easy-to-navigate, multilingual websites for recent immigrants.[121] Localities should consider creating information-rich maps of their whole metropolitan area showing job centers, affordable housing, transit infrastructure, and culturally relevant amenities to help immigrants make thoughtful location decisions.

Welcoming schools: School districts should run intentional welcoming programs for immigrant students within existing schools and through specialized programs. School districts in Atlanta, DeKalb County, Akron, and Montgomery County, Maryland, have received accolades for their welcoming programs. Sacramento schools launched a gardening program celebrating Hmong culture and welcoming Hmong refugee children to the community. The Fort Worth school district launched a respected International Newcomers Academy for English language learners in 1993, serving students from sixth to 12th grades.[122]

Schools and colleges should make targeted efforts to support foreign-born girls and women, in view of the distinctive obstacles they often face in accessing education opportunities after arriving in the United States.

Resources for job seekers and aspiring entrepreneurs: Cities should help connect job seekers to local employers and aspiring immigrant entrepreneurs to resources like microlending, mentoring, incubator, and site-selection programs.
- Baltimore, Cedar Rapids, and the St. Louis area's economic development authority have launched successful initiatives to help immigrant job seekers connect with employers and help aspiring entrepreneurs connect with potential capital and service providers.
- DeKalb County rezoned a distressed commercial area to support creation of a mixed-use "International Village" which has helped revive vibrancy in the area.
- Dayton's 2011 immigrant welcoming initiative identified a specific neighborhood, East Third Street, as a hub for immigrant-owned consumer-facing businesses.[123]
- Sioux Falls has a longstanding program helping local employers recruit workers in refugee communities.
- Walmart has been a leader in recruiting refugee workers in Northwest Arkansas.[124]

Support naturalization, voting, and civic participation: Baltimore, Seattle, Houston, and numerous other cities now offer programs helping to streamline the pathway for immigrants legally resident in the United States to become naturalized citizens and active participants in public life. Amazon announced an initiative to help refugee employees become U.S. citizens in cities throughout the United States.[125]

Citizenship helps immigrants to become more productive in the workplace as well as building engagement in American life. Becoming a citizen increases an immigrant's income by 9%, all else equal, according to an Urban Institute study.[126]

Promoting civic participation means going beyond helping immigrants to become voters and extends to creating cultures in which local institutions invite immigrants to join boards, commissions, and other leadership groups.

Legal assistance: Boston, Baltimore, Seattle, Houston, and many other cities offer legal assistance programs to help immigrants navigate immigration law issues.[127]

Welcoming America and American Immigration Council initiatives

The organizations Welcoming America and American Immigration Council offer extensive resources to help cities become more welcoming to immigrants. Welcoming America runs a program called the "Welcoming Network" to provide technical assistance in developing local welcoming policies and an initiative to designate localities as "Certified Welcoming" if they satisfy a set of strict standards in their policies. Sixteen cities have received the certification as of mid-2022.[128]The American Immigration Council scores America's 100 largest metro areas for their immigrant integration policies. The two organizations jointly offer tailored support through their "Gateways for Growth" initiative.[129]

A global network, the Mayors Migration Council, also provides useful welcoming and integration tools for cities.[130]

Table 14 shows cities that have received Welcoming America's certification, launched a Gateways for Growth initiative, earned an American Immigration Council index score of 3.4 or higher out of 5, or received frequent mention in the literature we've reviewed for this report.[131]

Fifty-three mostly large cities make the list in Table 14. These include most of the metros highlighted in this report for immigrant well-being and domestic in-migration rates, such as Akron, Baltimore, Cedar Rapids, Cincinnati, Columbus, Dayton, Detroit, Pittsburgh, Sioux Falls, and St. Louis, plus the five first-tier technology centers: Boston, San Francisco, San Jose, Seattle, and Washington.

Do welcoming policies make a difference? The evidence is mixed on how welcoming policies influence location choices and well-being in immigrant communities.

- **Immigration rates:** Immigration rates into metro areas are positively correlated with the American Immigration Council's scores for core cities within each metro (coefficient: 0.41). However, traditional gateway cities mostly earn high scores, perhaps unsurprising in view of their long experience welcoming newly arriving immigrants. When we remove nine traditional gateway cities from the calculation,* the correlation between immigration rates and the Council's scores becomes smaller (0.13). Also, once one controls for other factors that predict immigration rates in our regression analysis, scores have no quantifiable effect.
- **Domestic migration by immigrants:** Welcoming policies seem to attract domestic migration by immigrants. Removing the same nine gateways, the correlation between net domestic in-migration rates and American Immigration Council scores is 0.23.** Other evidence also suggests that certain policies influence secondary moves by immigrants. For instance, college-educated immigrants are more likely to move away from cities with an agreement between local law enforcement authorities and the federal government known as a 287(g) aimed at deporting undocumented immigrants, Williams College economist Tara Watson found in a 2013 study.[132]
- **Immigrant well-being:** The evidence for a relationship between cities' welcoming policies and the well-being of immigrants living there is stronger than the connection between welcoming policies and migration patterns. American Immigration Council scores are positively correlated with our score for immigrant thriving (coefficient: 0.34) and with 10 of the 12 well-being indicators we include in our composite scores.***

Our tentative conclusion: Welcoming policies as measured by American Immigration Council scores positively influence immigrant well-being and domestic migration decisions by foreign-born people but have less effect on initial immigration decisions.

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* We remove New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, Miami, Washington, Boston, San Francisco, Seattle, and San Jose in this calculation.
** Net domestic in-migration rates have little relationship with American Immigration Council scores in our overall dataset (correlation coefficient: -0.07), but traditional gateways generally have high scores and have seen significant outbound migration over the last decade, tilting the numbers.
*** American Immigration Council scores are positively correlated with all of our indicators except homeownership rates and the share of immigrant renters spending less than 30% of income on housing. For the other 10, correlation coefficients range from 0.14 to 0.40. Coefficients for homeownership and percentage spending below 30% on housing are -0.25 and -0.04, respectively. Full data available upon request.

Table 14

Some municipalities pursuing intentional welcoming policies

	Welcoming America Certified?	Gateways for Growth Plan?	American Immig Council Score > 3.4	Frequent Mention in Literature
Akron, OH		✓		✓
Albuquerque, NM			4.33	
Anchorage, AK		✓		
Atlanta, GA			3.67	✓
Baltimore, MD	✓		4.00	✓
Boise, ID	✓			
Boston, MA			4.17	✓
Bowling Green, KY		✓		
Buffalo, NY			4.83	
Cedar Rapids, IA		✓		✓
Charlotte, NC	✓		3.50	
Chicago, IL			5.00	
Cincinnati, OH			4.50	
Cleveland, OH			3.83	✓
Columbus, OH			4.33	✓
Dallas, TX	✓	✓	4.33	✓
Dayton, OH	✓	✓		✓
Denver, CO			4.17	
Des Moines, IA		✓		
Detroit, MI	✓		4.17	
Erie, PA	✓			
Fayetteville, NC		✓		
Fresno, CA			3.67	
Grand Forks, ND		✓		
Grand Rapids, MI		✓		
Houston, TX		✓	4.33	✓
Indianapolis, IN		✓		✓
Lancaster, PA	✓	✓		
Los Angeles, CA			5.00	
Louisville, KY	✓			
Madison, WI			3.50	
Minneapolis-St. Paul, MN			3.83	✓
Nashville, TN		✓		✓
New York, NY			4.83	✓
Orlando, FL			3.50	✓
Philadelphia, PA			4.33	✓
Pittsburgh, PA	✓		4.00	✓
Portland, OR		✓		
Richmond, VA			4.00	
Roanoke, VA		✓		
Sacramento, CA			3.83	✓
Salt Lake City, UT	✓	✓		
San Antonio, TX		✓	4.00	
San Diego, CA		✓	3.50	
San Francisco, CA			5.00	
San Jose, CA	✓	✓	5.00	✓
Seattle, WA			5.00	✓
Sioux City, IA		✓		
Sioux Falls, SD				✓
St. Louis, MI				✓
Toledo, OH	✓		3.83	
Tulsa, OK		✓		
Washington, DC			4.33	✓

Sources: American Immigration Council and Welcoming America websites.

High-impact policies to help immigrants thrive

Key principles

- Support English language learning.
- Promote pathways to transfer foreign training and credentials.
- Provide quality refugee resettlement assistance.

Discussion

Cities that excel in supporting English language learners, promoting pathways to transfer credentials, and resettling refugees typically have dedicated local government offices focused on coordinating the variety of institutions and efforts typically available in each area.

Helping English language learners: One of the most impactful measures cities can pursue is to help immigrants who've arrived without strong English language skills learn the language: 87% of immigrants arriving between 2010 and 2019 speak another language at home, and only 49% spoke English "very well" as of 2020, according to U.S. Census Bureau surveys.[133] Among immigrants who have been in the United States 20 years or longer, 57% speak English "very well."[134]

Speaking English well is the best predictor of immigrants' engagement in the labor market, even stronger than legal status.[135] It's also the most powerful predictor of "skills success," or whether immigrants are fully using skills and credentials they earned before coming to the United States in their adoptive city and earning commensurate income. About one in three immigrants who speak English very well have achieved skills success, compared with 8% of those who don't speak the language well, a 2015 study of six large metro areas found.[136]

Cities should make a wide variety of high-quality English language classes available and raise awareness of them in immigrant communities. The largest obstacle to learning English is the availability of classes at manageable times and places, an Indianapolis survey found.[137] Cities should also make targeted efforts to support English language learning for immigrant girls and women, addressing the additional obstacles they sometimes face in learning English.

Transferring foreign training and credentials: Cities and states should also create more streamlined pathways for immigrants to transfer degrees, licenses, and other credentials they've earned in their origin country and put their skills to work in the United States.

Just 36% of immigrants who earned a bachelor's degree or higher in their origin country and have been in America six years or longer have achieved skills success.[138] Fully 25% are working in jobs that don't use their skills at all or are unemployed, according to a study by the Migration Policy Institute, the American Immigration Council, and other partners.[139] America's cities have more than 165,000 immigrants with degrees in health care-related fields who are not using these skills.[140] Women are more likely to suffer from this "brain waste" than men, and Hispanic immigrants are more likely than immigrants of other ethnicities, based on Washington State data.[141]

Immigrants who succeed in transferring their credentials and getting an appropriate job earn approximately $27,000 more than they earned previously on average, based on data from the organization Upwardly Global, which helps foreign-born professionals make these switches. **These high-skilled immigrants also help**

address severe skills shortages in health care, technology, manufacturing, and other vital sectors, and they add to the tax base of their cities.[142]

Cities and states can address this challenge by reforming excessive occupational licensing rules and creating well designed pathways in community colleges and other higher education institutions.[143]

- Boston has recently launched an initiative to take down excessive regulatory and degree validation barriers blocking foreign-trained doctors, nurses, and other health care professionals from putting their skills to work, drawing on a study that found these hurdles are even higher than in most other cities. A follow-up report by the Massachusetts state government found that 22% of foreign-trained doctors and 18% of foreign-trained nurses are not fully employed in their fields today and that many immigrant doctors and nurses are leaving the state as a result. One early step to address the challenge: Boston's Bunker Hill Community College has initiated a program to help some 50 foreign-educated nurses gain Massachusetts licensure each year.[144]
- Washington State passed legislation in 2021 creating an expedited pathway for foreign-trained physicians to become licensed to practice medicine in the state. The legislation imposes strict requirements but allows immigrant doctors to forego residencies, shortening the process by two or more years.[145] Colorado passed a similar bill in 2022.[146]
- Seattle's Northwest Area Foundation partnered with the organization One America and local community colleges on a plan to ease the path for transferring foreign technology credentials in ways local tech sector employers will be able to use.[147]
- Detroit has been more successful than most other large cities in helping immigrants transfer foreign-earned credentials.[148]
- Akron named degree and credential streamlining as a key focus of its 2017 comprehensive strategic welcoming plan.[149]

Refugee resettlement assistance: Cities and local communities should also invest in robust refugee resettlement programs, particularly in view of the large numbers of refugees and asylum-seekers arriving from Afghanistan, Ukraine, and other countries. While a full discussion of refugee resettlement issues is beyond the scope of this report, a few conclusions are clear:

- **States and localities, with federal help, need to devote more funding to resettlement programs.** Existing resettlement efforts, which are mostly carried out by nonprofit agencies with public-sector funding, are stretched very thin today. They generally do not have adequate resources to address challenges facing newly arriving refugees in their first 90 days in the United States, much less to help refugee families settle into their adoptive city for the long term.[150]
- Resettlement efforts need to address the unique mental health issues that many refugees face as a result of traumatic experiences they had before leaving their origin countries.[151]
- Resettlement programs should aim to place refugee families in relatively high-opportunity, affordable locations to maximize their ability to thrive over the long term. This often means settling in fast-growing, increasingly diverse suburban localities rather than core cities. The Office of Refugee Resettlement in Portland, Oregon, has increasingly encouraged refugees to choose suburban locations because of job availability and housing affordability.[152]

The new initiative Welcome.US provides resources to help communities welcome refugees from Afghanistan, Ukraine, and other countries.

Federal policies to help cities welcome immigrants

Key principles

- Ease the path for foreign-born STEM workers and other high-skilled workers sponsored by employers to work and remain in the United States.
- Extend federal education programs to Dreamers, adults who were brought to the United States illegally as children.
- Modernize temporary worker visa programs to address the needs of 21st century localities.
- Create programs to let cities and states sponsor foreign-national workers.

Discussion

Our analysis points to four common-sense policy principles that would help immigrants already living in the United States learn, earn, belong, and contribute and help local economies address large and growing skills shortages.*

Better paths for immigrant STEM workers to put their skills to use in America: Congress should allow more foreign-born STEM graduates to work in America's cities by making it easier for foreign-national STEM students studying at U.S. universities to stay in the United States after graduation and expanding the number of H-1B temporary work visas for skilled people to meet demand.

A bipartisan group of 49 former high-ranking federal officials wrote a public letter in May 2022 urging Congress to exempt foreign-born holders of U.S. graduate and professional STEM degrees from current green card caps.
- They pointed to growing skills shortages across America's technology sectors and noted that Taiwan Semiconductor Manufacturing Company, the world's largest computer chip maker, has delayed breaking ground on an Arizona wafer facility it had announced due to STEM staffing shortfalls.
- More than half of graduates earning advanced degrees in artificial intelligence-related fields who leave the United States after graduation do so because of immigration law issues, the letter writers said.[153]

"Stapling a green card" to advanced degrees earned at U.S. universities is an obvious way for America to strengthen its position in the worldwide competition for STEM talent. Canada offers an equivalent pathway to working after graduation. Graduates who are allowed to work in the United States after graduating, moreover, tend to stay. Almost half of foreign-national STEM graduate and professional degree-holders who graduated before 2004 had become U.S. citizens by 2017, the Center for Security and Emerging Technology found.[154]

A 2022 Biden Administration measure to expand the STEM Optional Practice Training program to more fields is a useful first step, but this program only allows degree holders to remain in the country for three years and restricts what they can do in the workforce.[155]

Another partial solution is to expand the Conrad-30 program, which incentivizes qualified foreign doctors to practice in underserved communities. Each year, each state may obtain up to 30 waivers to recruit foreign medical graduates who were trained in the United States under a visa program to work in medically underserved, often rural, areas. Without the waiver, these doctors would be forced to leave the United

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* Most aspects of federal immigration law are beyond the scope of this report. For more immigration policy resources, go to the Bush Institute's Immigration Policy Hub (https://www.bushcenter.org/immigration/policy-hub.html).

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States. In 2021, a [bill](#) was introduced in Congress to expand the program to 35 waivers per year. Congress should expand the program even further to encompass more medical graduates and cover other underserved health care professions including nursing, and even other types of workers, such as teachers and engineers.

Congress should offer green cards to all advanced STEM graduates from America's universities. This would strengthen local economies throughout America – especially in metro areas with research-oriented universities, since graduates tend to get jobs near where they went to school if they can.

Congress should also modernize the H-1B visa program, allowing more foreign-national professionals to work in the United States and reducing the burdens on employer applicants.
- The number of H-1B visas issued each year is capped at 65,000 private-sector employees, with 20,000 set aside for applicants with advanced degrees from U.S. universities. Congress temporarily raised the cap in the late 1990s and early 2000s but reverted back to the lower levels in 2004. Demand for these visas is so high that U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services runs a lottery system. The number of applications frequently outstrips supply, with all visas accounted for in the few days after the lottery is conducted.
- Congress should scrap onerous rules requiring employers to show hiring an H-1B worker won't adversely affect wages of comparable native-born workers. This requirement is outdated in view of growing STEM worker shortages, very high wages of existing STEM workers, and overwhelming evidence that skilled immigrant workers tend to *raise* native-born wages in America's cities.[156]
- Congress might consider a special allocation of H-1B visas to small and medium-sized employers, which are currently at a disadvantage because of the application process's complexity. On the other hand, Congress could probably best address the labor needs of smaller employers with a sufficiently large expansion of the overall annual cap.

Temporary visa programs to address 21st century workplace needs: Congress should liberalize and expand the H-2B visa programs for lower-skilled nonagricultural workers. These programs also rely on outdated labor market assumptions and face excessively tight caps. The current cap of 66,000 H-2B visas per year contributes to growing labor shortages in fields like construction and landscaping.[157] While the executive branch can provide additional H-2B visas in years of high demand, there are proposals in Congress to expand the H-2B program or exempt certain visa holders from the annual cap. These could provide some relief and expand the availability of these temporary workers for U.S. businesses.

Allow immigrant dependents to work: Most spouses of temporary foreign workers are currently not allowed to work while on the H-4 dependent visa. The Obama Administration allowed spouses of H-1B visa holders to work while on a dependent visa but didn't expand the program beyond that group. Granting H-4 spouses work authorization, whether through executive action or congressional action, grows the pie of eligible workers without impacting future flows.

Local sponsorship for skilled immigrants: Congress should create a program allowing cities, counties, or other local government entities to sponsor temporary visas for skilled immigrants, as Canada does. Local officials know their particular workplace needs best. **Congress might allow local sponsorship as a means of managing a [“Heartland Visa”](#) program, giving skilled workers a green card conditioned on working for a period of years in the sponsoring locality.**[158]

Path to citizenship and education opportunities for Dreamers: The Bush Institute believes that Congress should allow Dreamers – young people brought to the United States as children but lacking legal status – to apply for citizenship. The 1 million-plus Dreamers in the United States are already in the country, American communities educate them through high school, they are part of the existing workforce, and there is broad bipartisan support for normalizing their legal status. Citizenship would make them eligible for federal student financial aid programs. Legal status and associated educational opportunities would help them work in jobs that match their skills and abilities and help local economies address skills shortages.[159]

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VI. CONCLUSION

Immigrants have contributed tremendously to prosperity and opportunity in U.S. cities. Cities that succeed best in attracting newcomers – immigrant and native-born alike – and creating conditions for them to thrive will likely achieve outsized prosperity in coming decades, as they have always done.

Immigrants moving within the United States over the past decade are making very different choices regarding where to live and work than newly arriving immigrants. Local governments and local communities have the opportunity to make their cities more prosperous, innovative, and enterprising by pursuing a range of initiatives to help immigrants learn, earn, belong, and contribute.

Newly arriving immigrants tend to choose metros mostly on the East and West coasts and urban enclaves with large concentrations of people from the same origin country – consistent with more than a century of history. But immigrants making secondary moves within the United States are disproportionately moving away from traditional gateways into metros in the Sun Belt, Great Plains, and Mountain States – and to suburban counties. These domestic migration choices by immigrants mirror those of native-born people, except that immigrants are more likely to choose metros focused on welcoming them.

Localities have a number of tools they can and should use to attract immigrants. Along the way, they can fill their cities' essential jobs, enrich their communities, and promote prosperity and opportunity for all residents:

- **Policies to expand opportunity for everyone:** Quality schools and universities, a great environment for starting and building businesses, and housing affordability.
- **Welcoming policies:** Clear messaging, dedicated information resources, welcoming approaches in schools, support for job seekers and entrepreneurs, pathways to naturalization, voting, civic engagement, and legal assistance.
- **High-impact policies to help immigrants thrive:** English language programs, pathways to transfer foreign training and credentials, and refugee resettlement assistance.

Congress should help cities promote immigrant well-being and address pressing labor market needs by easing the path for highly skilled foreign-born workers, including graduates of U.S. universities, to work and remain in the United States.

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APPENDIX 1
SOURCES AND METHODS

WHERE IMMIGRANTS ARE THRIVING BEST

Data in this report comes from the U.S. Census Bureau's American Community Survey (ACS) and Population Estimates Program (PEP), except where we specify otherwise.

We construct our composite rankings from 12 measures of immigrant well-being, all drawn from the 2020 five-year estimates in the ACS, based on surveys taken each year from 2015 to 2019. We rank only the 100 largest metro areas as of 2021. We separately rank all 106 counties in our dataset of selected counties. These are the 12 measures:

- Share of foreign-born people aged 25 and over with a bachelor's degree or higher ("Bachelor's+").
- Actual Bachelors+ less Bachelors+ predicted by a simple model based on immigration rates and whether the metro is a "college town": We use estimated coefficients from regressing foreign-born Bachelor's+ on immigration rates and whether a metro area is a college town to calculate predicted Bachelor's+ population shares for each metro and county, then subtract the predicted value for each metro or county from actual values.
  - **Immigration rates:** We define the immigration rate of each metro area and county as the cumulative net inflow from abroad from 2010 to 2020 as a percentage of total 2010 population.
  - **College towns:** We categorize a metro area as a college town if students engaged in post-secondary education constitute more than 42% of the metro's total population of full-time students. This method categorizes 30 metro areas as college towns (see online data appendix to see this categorization). We select 42% as the cutoff point based on our judgment that all metros above this cutoff are widely viewed as college towns, while some metros modestly below the cutoff are not.
- Share of foreign-born adults proficient in English.
- Share of foreign-born workers in "creative" sectors, defined as the census categories Information; Finance; Professional, Scientific, and Management; Education and Health; and Recreation and Entertainment. We borrow the term "creative" from urban scholar Richard Florida. See *Cities and the Creative Class* (New York: Routledge, 2004) and *The Rise of the Creative Class* (New York: Basic Books, 2014).
- Median household income for households headed by foreign-born people.
- Actual median household income divided by median household income predicted by a model based on metro area or county population, foreign-born population share, and foreign-born Bachelors+: We derive estimated coefficients from regressing median household income on metro area or county population, metro or county foreign-born population share, and metro or county Bachelor's+ to calculate predicted median foreign-born household income for each metro and county, then divide actual by predicted median household income.
- Actual median household income divided by predicted median household income, based on a second model: To address potential nonlinearity in the effect of population size on median household income, we derive estimated coefficients for a second regression model including all the right-side variables from the first model plus the square and cube of population size. We include cubes as well as squares because a model including only population size and its square generates unreasonably low predicted income levels for the largest metro areas.
- Share of foreign-born households earning more than 200% of the federal poverty threshold: We include this variable to capture information from the distribution of foreign-born household incomes that the median alone doesn't capture.

- Share of foreign-born workers earning more than $75,000: This variable also captures information from the distribution of foreign-born household incomes.
- Homeownership rate for households headed by foreign-born people.
- Share of foreign-born renter households paying less than 30% of income on rent.
- Standard of living, defined as median foreign-born household income adjusted by local costs of living, including local costs of homeownership: We generate estimated cost-of-living factors for each metro following a method developed by demographer Wendell Cox, which he lays out in his Urban Reform Institute report "2020 Standard of Living Index" (available at: https://urbanreforminstitute.org/2020/05/2020-standard-of-living-index/). We use only ACS data for housing values, while Cox's method includes other sources, and we extend the method to cover all 385 U.S. metros. We adjust 2020 "regional price parity" indices from the U.S. Bureau of Economic Analysis (BEA) to incorporate estimated costs of owning a home purchased at 2020 prices, as BEA estimates only incorporate rental costs, by replacing BEA's shelter cost component with a weighted average of the BEA's rental cost index score and an index score for ownership costs based on median home values from the 2020 ACS, weighted by own versus rent percentages for metropolitan America as a whole.

We convert each of the 12 values for each metro area to a z-score, defined as the given metro's value less the mean value of that variable across all Top 100 metros, divided by the standard deviation of the variable's distribution across the Top 100 metros. For our county dataset, we calculate z-scores using the mean and standard deviation for the Top 100 metros, to make county z-scores comparable to those for metro areas. We rank the 100 largest metros according to equally weighted averages of each metro's 12 z-scores, and we likewise rank our 106 selected counties according to equally weighted averages of each county's 12 z-scores.

Table A shows all pairwise correlations among the 12 variables for America's 100 largest metros.

Table A

Pairwise correlations among indicators of immigrant thriving: Metro areas

Correlation Table	% Bach+	Bach+ (Adj)	Eng Profic	% in Creatv	MHHI	MHHI (Adj1)	MHHI (Adj2)	>200% Povty	% >$75k	Home Own	<30% of Inc	Std of Living	Avg Z Score
% Bach+	1												
% Bach+ (Adj)	0.87	1											
% Eng Profic	0.44	0.43	1										
% in Creatv	0.65	0.43	0.40	1									
MHHI	0.59	0.37	0.35	0.37	1								
MHHI (Adj1)	0.49	0.40	0.45	0.19	0.88	1							
MHHI (Adj2)	0.46	0.35	0.42	0.19	0.89	0.95	1						
% >200% Povty	0.66	0.46	0.55	0.52	0.84	0.81	0.82	1					
% >$75k	0.82	0.62	0.34	0.57	0.80	0.61	0.61	0.74	1				
% Home Own	-0.28	-0.18	0.31	-0.10	-0.19	-0.07	-0.13	-0.07	-0.24	1			
% R <30% of Inc	0.40	0.55	0.03	-0.03	0.03	0.21	0.15	0.08	0.13	-0.12	1		
Std of Living	0.59	0.50	0.15	0.18	0.47	0.46	0.41	0.46	0.48	-0.15	0.47	1	
Avg Z Score	0.85	0.70	0.55	0.57	0.86	0.82	0.79	0.89	0.86	-0.06	0.29	0.66	1

54 of the 66 pairwise correlations are positive, while 12 are negative. The average pairwise correlation is 0.50. Our interpretation of this table: The 12 indicators of immigrant well-being aren't measuring the same thing – for instance, they're not simply proxies for income – since the average correlation is well below 1.0. At the same time, the relatively high average correlation suggests our 12 indicators aren't unrelated to one another. They are all dimensions of immigrant well-being.

Eleven of the 12 negative correlations are between homeownership rate and other variables, reflecting that metro areas with relatively high education and income levels for immigrants also tend to have high home prices, constraining homeownership.

We base our rankings for foreign-born Bachelor's+, median foreign-born household income, productivity (actual divided by predicted median foreign-born household income), and foreign-born standard of living on the first, fifth, sixth, and 12th variables above, respectively.

Table B shows all pairwise correlations among the 12 indicators at the county level. 59 of the 66 pairwise correlations are positive, while the average pairwise correlation is 0.57.

All regression results we report in the first section are based on models we estimate by ordinary least squares. In all cases, we run numerous models and identify the best-fitting model as the one generating the highest adjusted R-squared statistic of all estimated models for which all right-side variables have estimated coefficients significant at the 0.05 level.

Pairwise correlations among indicators of immigrant thriving: Counties

Correlation Table	% Bach+	% Bach+ (Adj)	% Eng Profic	% in Creatv	MHHI	MHHI (Adj1)	MHHI (Adj2)	% >200% Povty	% >$75k	% Home Own	% R <30% of Inc	Std of Living	Avg Z Score
% Bach+	1												
% Bach+ (Adj)	-0.05	1											
% Eng Profic	0.79	-0.06	1										
% in Creatv	0.67	0.03	0.57	1									
MHHI	0.77	0.01	0.60	0.41	1								
MHHI (Adj1)	0.65	0.01	0.63	0.23	0.93	1							
MHHI (Adj2)	0.66	0.01	0.64	0.23	0.92	0.99	1						
% >200% Povty	0.78	0.02	0.75	0.43	0.91	0.90	0.89	1					
% >$75k	0.91	-0.04	0.67	0.62	0.89	0.77	0.76	0.85	1				
% Home Own	0.07	0.02	0.23	-0.19	0.35	0.50	0.51	0.37	0.12	1			
% R <30% of Inc	0.37	-0.07	0.24	-0.09	0.28	0.38	0.40	0.28	0.30	0.13	1		
Std of Living	0.74	-0.03	0.58	0.28	0.80	0.79	0.79	0.75	0.72	0.49	0.47	1	
Avg Z Score	0.84	0.08	0.76	0.42	0.93	0.93	0.94	0.93	0.87	0.45	0.47	0.88	1

Age and density of cities: We note in the footnote on p. 21 that the age of cities is the best predictor of population density we can find. Method: We take population for the core city in each of America's 100 largest metros from each decadal Census starting in 1850 and determine how many years prior to 2020, to the nearest 10 years, each city reached total populations of 100,000, 250,000, and 500,000. We regress 2020 metro-area population density on each of these three figures. Years since reaching 500,000 is the best predictor of contemporary density we can find, although years since reaching 100,000 and 250,000 are also strongly predictive. See online data appendix for regression results.

WHERE IMMIGRANTS ARE CHOOSING TO LIVE AND WORK

Immigration rates

We define the immigration rate of each metro area and county as the cumulative net inflow from abroad from 2010 to 2020 as a percentage of total 2010 population.

Net domestic inbound migration rates

We estimate net domestic inbound migration by immigrants for each metro area and county using 2010 and 2020 foreign-born population shares from the ACS (five-year estimates) and cumulative population changes from 2010 to 2020 from the PEP. We define net domestic inbound migration rates by immigrants as cumulative net domestic in-migration by immigrants from 2010 to 2020 divided by total 2010 population.

Since 2020 population equals 2010 population plus natural increase (births less deaths) plus net immigration plus net domestic in-migration from 2010 to 2020, it follows that:

$$\frac{FBPop_{i,2020}}{TotPop_{i,2010}} = \frac{FBPop_{i,2010}}{TotPop_{i,2010}} + \frac{FBNI_{i,2010\text{-}20}}{TotPop_{i,2010}} + \frac{Imm_{i,2010\text{-}20}}{TotPop_{i,2010}} + \frac{FBDomMig_{i,2010\text{-}20}}{TotPop_{i,2010}} ,$$

where

$$FBPop_{i,2020} = \text{foreign-born population of metro or county i in 2020}$$
$$FBPop_{i,2010} = \text{foreign-born population of metro or county i in 2010}$$
$$TotPop_{i,2010} = \text{total population of metro or county i in 2010}$$
$$FBNI_{i,2010\text{-}20} = \text{foreign-born natural increase of metro or county i, 2010–2020}$$
$$Imm_{i,2010\text{-}20} = \text{foreign-born net immigration of metro or county i, 2010–2020}$$
$$FBDomMig_{i,2010\text{-}20} = \text{net domestic inbound migration by foreign-born people, 2010–2020}$$

We make two simplifying assumptions. First, we assume that the rate of natural increase for the foreign-born population in each metro area and county is equal to the overall natural rate of increase for metropolitan America from 2010 to 2020, at 3.9% (natural increase of 10,262,594 divided by total 2010 population of 263,665,529). This assumption means we likely *underestimate* natural increase among foreign-born populations in most metros and counties, since birth rates are moderately higher among foreign-born people than native-born people, and foreign-born adult populations are typically younger than native-born populations and thus have lower annual death rates.

Second, we assume that net immigration by native-born people is zero, so overall net immigration into each metro area and county is equal to net immigration by foreign-born people. We judge this assumption is close to accurate and thus introduces little bias into our estimates.

Also,

$$TotPop_{i,2020} = TotPop_{i,2010} * (1 + GR_{i,2010\text{-}20}),$$

where

$$GR_{i,2010\text{-}20} = \text{overall population growth rate of metro or county i, 2010–2020}$$

It follows that:

$$FBDomMigR_{i,2010\text{-}20} = [FBShr_{i,2020} * (1 + GR_{i,2010\text{-}20})] - FBShr_{i,2010} - NIR_{2010\text{-}20} - ImmR_{i,2010\text{-}20},$$

where

$$FBDomMigR_{i,2010\text{-}2} = \text{net domestic in-migration rate, metro or county i,2010–2020}$$
$$FBShr_{i,2020} = \text{foreign-born share of the total pop. in metro/county i in 2020}$$
$$FBShr_{i,2010} = \text{foreign-born share of the total pop. in metro/county i in 2010}$$
$$NIR_{2010\text{-}20} = \text{natural increase rate for metropolitan America, 2020–2020}$$
$$ImmR_{i,2010\text{-}20} = \text{immigration rate, 2010–2020}$$

And:

$$FBDomMig_{i,2010\text{-}20} = TotPop_{i,2010} * FBDomMigR_{i,2010\text{-}20}$$

This method generates raw estimates of net domestic in-migration by immigrants for each metro area and county.

We make an adjustment to these raw estimates, as follows: The raw estimates for all metros for which we have data sum to -4,985,500. We make the simplifying assumption that there was zero net migration of foreign-born people between metropolitan America and nonmetropolitan (small town and rural) America between 2010 and 2020, which means our estimates for net in-migration across all metros must sum to zero. We believe the gap of almost 5 million mostly reflects underestimation of natural increase among foreign-born people, although it may also reflect underestimation of immigration rates.

In any case, we adjust our raw estimates by adding an amount equal to 4,985,500 times each metro's share of aggregate 2010 population for metropolitan America as a whole to each metro's raw estimate to arrive at an adjusted estimate. This method clearly oversimplifies, but we believe it's reasonable in the absence of further information about natural increase rates among foreign-born people in each metro, and it has the convenience that net domestic in-migration estimates for all metros sum to zero by construction.

In the case of our county dataset, our raw estimates for our 106 selected counties sum to -3,306,346. In this case, we assume (based on a variety of evidence, some of which we discuss in this report) that there was some degree of net outflow of foreign-born people from these large counties to smaller suburban counties between 2010 and 2020, though we have no way of knowing how large this outflow was. So, we make a simplifying assumption that 806,346 foreign-born people moved out of our 106 counties to other places in the United States, and we adjust each raw estimate by an amount equal to 2,500,000 times each county's share of aggregate 2010 population for our 106 selected counties.

Finally, we divide these adjusted estimates by 2010 population to arrive at estimated net domestic in-migration rates by immigrants for each metro area and county in our dataset.

Immigrant population growth rates

We estimate foreign-born population for each metro area and county for 2010 and 2020 as total population, drawn from the PEP, times foreign-born population share, drawn from the ACS. We compute population growth for each metro area and county as 2020 foreign-born population less 2010 foreign-born population, and growth rate as population growth divided by 2010 foreign-born population.

Foreign-born population shares

We draw foreign-born population shares from the 2020 ACS.

In this section too, all regression results we report are based on models estimated by ordinary least squares. In all cases, we run numerous models and identify the best-fitting model as the one generating the highest adjusted R-squared statistic of all estimated models for which all right-side variables have estimated coefficients significant at the 0.05 level.

How immigrants promote prosperity and opportunity for everyone in America's cities

Most innovative metros

We generate a composite ranking of America's 122 most innovative metros by combining five rankings from external media and research organizations:

- 2ThinkNow "Innovation Cities Index" 2021
- Inc. "Most Innovative Cities in America" index, 2014
- Qad "What are America's Most Inventive Cities?" 2020
- 24/7WallSt "America's Most Innovative Cities" 2018
- Forbes' "America's Most Innovative Cities" 2010

Each of these organizations base their rankings on composite scores incorporating various quantitative indicators related to patents and innovative companies. The first three primarily use aggregate measures of innovation, which means it helps a metro area to be large, while the last two primarily rely on per capita measures. Our interest is only in relating innovation rankings to foreign-born population shares, so we are comfortable disregarding this distinction and combining all five rankings into a Bush Institute composite ranking.

We combine the five rankings as follows: We start with all metros that appear on all five lists, compute each metro's average rank across the five rankings, assign the top rank in our composite list to the metro with the best average rank, and rank the remaining metros that make all five lists accordingly. Then we take up all metros that appear on four of the five lists, calculate each of these metros' average rank, and add these to our composite ranking accordingly. Then we add metros that appear on three lists, then metros that appear on two lists, and finally metros that appear on just one list.

Metros ranked by construction costs, cheapest to most expensive

We construct our composite ranking of 33 large metros by construction costs, with the first-ranked being the cheapest, from three rankings published by external media and research organizations:

- Construction Dive "The 12 Most Expensive U.S. Cities for Construction" 2021
- Arcadis "International Construction Costs" 2022
- BuildZoom "U.S. Cities with the Highest Construction Costs" 2018

Note that the three external rankings include 19, 15, and 25 metros, respectively, so a given numerical rank in any one of the lists positions a metro in a roughly similar place between cheapest and most expensive as the same numerical rank in the other two lists.

Best "foodie" metros

We generate our composite ranking of America's 27 best "foodie" metros using exactly the same method we use for "most innovative metros," drawing on three rankings from external popular media groups:

- U.S. News and World Report "Best Foodie Cities in the U.S." 2022
- Far & Wide, "20 Best Food Cities in the U.S., Ranked" 2021
- Insider "The 25 Best U.S. Cities for Foodies" 2019

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APPENDIX 2
DETAILED TABLES

Table C

Where immigrants are thriving best: 100 largest metros

	Metro Area	Avg z-score		Metro Area	Avg z score
1	San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA	2.23	51	Sacramento-Roseville-Folsom, CA	-0.09
2	Baltimore-Columbia-Towson, MD	1.21	52	Little Rock-North Little Rock-Conway, AR	-0.10
3	San Francisco-Oakland-Berkeley, CA	1.18	53	Milwaukee-Waukesha, WI	-0.12
4	Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	1.11	54	San Diego-Chula Vista-Carlsbad, CA	-0.12
5	Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	1.08	55	Columbus, OH	-0.12
6	St. Louis, MO-IL	1.02	56	New York-Newark-Jersey City, NY-NJ-PA	-0.13
7	Pittsburgh, PA	1.01	57	Greenville-Anderson, SC	-0.14
8	Raleigh-Cary, NC	0.84	58	North Port-Sarasota-Bradenton, FL	-0.15
9	Jackson, MS	0.80	59	Provo-Orem, UT	-0.16
10	Cincinnati, OH-KY-IN	0.71	60	Columbia, SC	-0.17
11	Hartford-East Hartford-Middletown, CT	0.67	61	Birmingham-Hoover, AL	-0.18
12	Detroit-Warren-Dearborn, MI	0.67	62	Nashville-Davidson--Murfreesboro--Franklin, TN	-0.18
13	Albany-Schenectady-Troy, NY	0.58	63	Deltona-Daytona Beach-Ormond Beach, FL	-0.18
14	Madison, WI	0.56	64	Grand Rapids-Kentwood, MI	-0.21
15	Worcester, MA-CT	0.56	65	Des Moines-West Des Moines, IA	-0.21
16	Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD	0.52	66	Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	-0.22
17	Bridgeport-Stamford-Norwalk, CT	0.51	67	Salt Lake City, UT	-0.22
18	Boston-Cambridge-Newton, MA-NH	0.51	68	Memphis, TN-MS-AR	-0.22
19	Harrisburg-Carlisle, PA	0.50	69	Buffalo-Cheektowaga, NY	-0.26
20	Richmond, VA	0.48	70	Spokane-Spokane Valley, WA	-0.26
21	Colorado Springs, CO	0.40	71	Syracuse, NY	-0.27
22	Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Alpharetta, GA	0.35	72	Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	-0.35
23	Dayton-Kettering, OH	0.33	73	Louisville/Jefferson County, KY-IN	-0.36
24	Virginia Beach-Norfolk-Newport News, VA-NC	0.32	74	Indianapolis-Carmel-Anderson, IN	-0.36
25	Jacksonville, FL	0.28	75	Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	-0.37
26	Allentown-Bethlehem-Easton, PA-NJ	0.27	76	Orlando-Kissimmee-Sanford, FL	-0.37
27	Urban Honolulu, HI	0.26	77	Providence-Warwick, RI-MA	-0.39
28	Austin-Round Rock-Georgetown, TX	0.26	78	Phoenix-Mesa-Chandler, AZ	-0.39
29	Cleveland-Elyria, OH	0.26	79	Las Vegas-Henderson-Paradise, NV	-0.39
30	Augusta-Richmond County, GA-SC	0.26	80	Omaha-Council Bluffs, NE-IA	-0.41
31	Rochester, NY	0.25	81	Stockton, CA	-0.43
32	Oxnard-Thousand Oaks-Ventura, CA	0.24	82	Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim, CA	-0.43
33	Chicago-Naperville-Elgin, IL-IN-WI	0.23	83	Houston-The Woodlands-Sugar Land, TX	-0.45
34	Toledo, OH	0.19	84	Wichita, KS	-0.54
35	Portland-Vancouver-Hillsboro, OR-WA	0.17	85	Tucson, AZ	-0.58
36	Akron, OH	0.15	86	Oklahoma City, OK	-0.61
37	New Haven-Milford, CT	0.15	87	Albuquerque, NM	-0.61
38	Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI	0.13	88	San Antonio-New Braunfels, TX	-0.64
39	Baton Rouge, LA	0.12	89	Greensboro-High Point, NC	-0.65
40	Durham-Chapel Hill, NC	0.10	90	Tulsa, OK	-0.68
41	Ogden-Clearfield, UT	0.06	91	Lakeland-Winter Haven, FL	-0.69
42	Poughkeepsie-Newburgh-Middletown, NY	0.05	92	Cape Coral-Fort Myers, FL	-0.72
43	Charleston-North Charleston, SC	0.04	93	New Orleans-Metairie, LA	-0.78
44	Knoxville, TN	0.02	94	Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach, FL	-0.80
45	Charlotte-Concord-Gastonia, NC-SC	0.01	95	Winston-Salem, NC	-0.87
46	Denver-Aurora-Lakewood, CO	-0.02	96	Scranton--Wilkes-Barre, PA	-0.90
47	Springfield, MA	-0.03	97	Bakersfield, CA	-1.23
48	Palm Bay-Melbourne-Titusville, FL	-0.05	98	El Paso, TX	-1.24
49	Kansas City, MO-KS	-0.07	99	Fresno, CA	-1.30
50	Boise City, ID	-0.08	100	McAllen-Edinburg-Mission, TX	-1.63
	Pop-Weighted Average, Top 100 Metros	**0.00**			

Table D

Median foreign-born household income: 100 largest metros

	Metro Area	Med Household Income		Metro Area	Med Household Income
1	San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA	$136,154	51	Greenville-Anderson, SC	$58,588
2	San Francisco-Oakland-Berkeley, CA	$102,953	52	Houston-The Woodlands-Sugar Land, TX	$58,576
3	Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	$90,811	53	Augusta-Richmond County, GA-SC	$58,274
4	Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	$90,787	54	Rochester, NY	$58,233
5	Baltimore-Columbia-Towson, MD	$81,348	55	Des Moines-West Des Moines, IA	$58,222
6	Boston-Cambridge-Newton, MA-NH	$77,142	56	Boise City, ID	$58,216
7	Oxnard-Thousand Oaks-Ventura, CA	$76,340	57	Durham-Chapel Hill, NC	$58,115
8	Bridgeport-Stamford-Norwalk, CT	$76,108	58	Milwaukee-Waukesha, WI	$57,504
9	Poughkeepsie-Newburgh-Middletown, NY	$75,915	59	Kansas City, MO-KS	$57,221
10	Urban Honolulu, HI	$75,790	60	Providence-Warwick, RI-MA	$57,108
11	Raleigh-Cary, NC	$74,746	61	Springfield, MA	$56,786
12	Worcester, MA-CT	$71,506	62	Little Rock-North Little Rock-Conway, AR	$56,591
13	Hartford-East Hartford-Middletown, CT	$71,205	63	Columbus, OH	$56,465
14	Austin-Round Rock-Georgetown, TX	$71,014	64	Knoxville, TN	$56,464
15	Albany-Schenectady-Troy, NY	$70,119	65	Cleveland-Elyria, OH	$56,376
16	Jackson, MS	$70,000	66	Phoenix-Mesa-Chandler, AZ	$56,362
17	St. Louis, MO-IL	$69,907	67	Akron, OH	$56,060
18	New York-Newark-Jersey City, NY-NJ-PA	$69,568	68	Omaha-Council Bluffs, NE-IA	$55,926
19	Portland-Vancouver-Hillsboro, OR-WA	$69,386	69	Las Vegas-Henderson-Paradise, NV	$55,793
20	Detroit-Warren-Dearborn, MI	$68,996	70	Orlando-Kissimmee-Sanford, FL	$55,330
21	Harrisburg-Carlisle, PA	$68,855	71	Memphis, TN-MS-AR	$55,095
22	Cincinnati, OH-KY-IN	$68,690	72	North Port-Sarasota-Bradenton, FL	$55,005
23	Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Alpharetta, GA	$68,636	73	Louisville/Jefferson County, KY-IN	$54,887
24	Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD	$68,532	74	Indianapolis-Carmel-Anderson, IN	$54,208
25	San Diego-Chula Vista-Carlsbad, CA	$68,412	75	Toledo, OH	$53,243
26	Colorado Springs, CO	$67,229	76	Spokane-Spokane Valley, WA	$52,560
27	Chicago-Naperville-Elgin, IL-IN-WI	$67,107	77	Wichita, KS	$52,455
28	Madison, WI	$66,204	78	Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	$52,270
29	Richmond, VA	$65,710	79	Birmingham-Hoover, AL	$52,265
30	Pittsburgh, PA	$65,245	80	Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach, FL	$51,989
31	Allentown-Bethlehem-Easton, PA-NJ	$65,236	81	Columbia, SC	$51,403
32	Denver-Aurora-Lakewood, CO	$64,845	82	Cape Coral-Fort Myers, FL	$50,611
33	Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI	$64,812	83	Oklahoma City, OK	$50,371
34	Virginia Beach-Norfolk-Newport News, VA-NC	$64,516	84	Greensboro-High Point, NC	$50,324
35	Jacksonville, FL	$64,190	85	Tulsa, OK	$50,292
36	Sacramento-Roseville-Folsom, CA	$64,146	86	San Antonio-New Braunfels, TX	$49,623
37	Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim, CA	$64,048	87	Deltona-Daytona Beach-Ormond Beach, FL	$49,587
38	New Haven-Milford, CT	$64,043	88	Scranton--Wilkes-Barre, PA	$49,505
39	Charleston-North Charleston, SC	$63,997	89	Palm Bay-Melbourne-Titusville, FL	$49,410
40	Stockton, CA	$63,788	90	Lakeland-Winter Haven, FL	$48,821
41	Ogden-Clearfield, UT	$63,056	91	Syracuse, NY	$48,694
42	Baton Rouge, LA	$62,770	92	New Orleans-Metairie, LA	$48,145
43	Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	$62,465	93	Buffalo-Cheektowaga, NY	$47,740
44	Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	$61,539	94	Tucson, AZ	$47,215
45	Salt Lake City, UT	$61,450	95	Bakersfield, CA	$46,296
46	Dayton-Kettering, OH	$61,216	96	Fresno, CA	$45,168
47	Charlotte-Concord-Gastonia, NC-SC	$61,172	97	Winston-Salem, NC	$44,064
48	Nashville-Davidson--Murfreesboro--Franklin, TN	$60,913	98	Albuquerque, NM	$44,024
49	Grand Rapids-Kentwood, MI	$59,763	99	El Paso, TX	$36,054
50	Provo-Orem, UT	$59,679	100	McAllen-Edinburg-Mission, TX	$31,361
	Pop-Weighted Average, Top 100 Metros	**$65,275**			

Source: U.S. Census Bureau data, American Community Survey, 5-year estimates, 2020

Table E

Foreign-born adult population share with a bachelor's degree or higher: 100 largest metros

	Metro Area	% Bach+		Metro Area	% Bach+
1	Pittsburgh, PA	58.6%	51	Milwaukee-Waukesha, WI	33.8%
2	San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA	54.5%	52	Chicago-Naperville-Elgin, IL-IN-WI	33.1%
3	Madison, WI	54.0%	53	Allentown-Bethlehem-Easton, PA-NJ	33.1%
4	Baltimore-Columbia-Towson, MD	50.4%	54	Springfield, MA	33.0%
5	St. Louis, MO-IL	49.4%	55	Little Rock-North Little Rock-Conway, AR	32.8%
6	Cincinnati, OH-KY-IN	48.4%	56	Orlando-Kissimmee-Sanford, FL	32.6%
7	Raleigh-Cary, NC	47.8%	57	Palm Bay-Melbourne-Titusville, FL	32.2%
8	Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	46.0%	58	San Diego-Chula Vista-Carlsbad, CA	32.1%
9	Albany-Schenectady-Troy, NY	45.4%	59	Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	31.8%
10	Toledo, OH	45.4%	60	Poughkeepsie-Newburgh-Middletown, NY	31.4%
11	Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	44.9%	61	Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	31.2%
12	San Francisco-Oakland-Berkeley, CA	44.6%	62	Colorado Springs, CO	31.2%
13	Durham-Chapel Hill, NC	44.3%	63	Sacramento-Roseville-Folsom, CA	30.8%
14	Detroit-Warren-Dearborn, MI	43.6%	64	Denver-Aurora-Lakewood, CO	30.7%
15	Dayton-Kettering, OH	43.4%	65	North Port-Sarasota-Bradenton, FL	30.7%
16	Columbus, OH	43.1%	66	Houston-The Woodlands-Sugar Land, TX	29.6%
17	Jackson, MS	42.5%	67	Greensboro-High Point, NC	29.6%
18	Boston-Cambridge-Newton, MA-NH	42.3%	68	Spokane-Spokane Valley, WA	29.5%
19	Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD	41.5%	69	Deltona-Daytona Beach-Ormond Beach, FL	29.2%
20	Cleveland-Elyria, OH	41.3%	70	Urban Honolulu, HI	28.9%
21	Richmond, VA	41.1%	71	Provo-Orem, UT	28.9%
22	Knoxville, TN	40.6%	72	Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach, FL	28.8%
23	Harrisburg-Carlisle, PA	40.5%	73	Salt Lake City, UT	28.6%
24	Akron, OH	40.4%	74	Omaha-Council Bluffs, NE-IA	28.4%
25	Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Alpharetta, GA	39.6%	75	Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim, CA	28.2%
26	Buffalo-Cheektowaga, NY	39.6%	76	New Orleans-Metairie, LA	26.8%
27	Austin-Round Rock-Georgetown, TX	39.2%	77	Grand Rapids-Kentwood, MI	26.7%
28	Worcester, MA-CT	39.0%	78	Des Moines-West Des Moines, IA	26.5%
29	Hartford-East Hartford-Middletown, CT	38.7%	79	Albuquerque, NM	26.4%
30	Rochester, NY	38.7%	80	Tucson, AZ	26.3%
31	Indianapolis-Carmel-Anderson, IN	37.3%	81	Phoenix-Mesa-Chandler, AZ	25.7%
32	Columbia, SC	37.3%	82	Boise City, ID	25.7%
33	Virginia Beach-Norfolk-Newport News, VA-NC	37.0%	83	Scranton--Wilkes-Barre, PA	25.7%
34	Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI	36.8%	84	Oxnard-Thousand Oaks-Ventura, CA	25.0%
35	Jacksonville, FL	36.8%	85	Winston-Salem, NC	24.7%
36	Bridgeport-Stamford-Norwalk, CT	36.8%	86	Oklahoma City, OK	24.4%
37	Syracuse, NY	36.6%	87	Providence-Warwick, RI-MA	24.2%
38	Charlotte-Concord-Gastonia, NC-SC	36.2%	88	Wichita, KS	23.9%
39	Portland-Vancouver-Hillsboro, OR-WA	35.9%	89	San Antonio-New Braunfels, TX	23.0%
40	Baton Rouge, LA	35.9%	90	Las Vegas-Henderson-Paradise, NV	22.3%
41	Augusta-Richmond County, GA-SC	35.4%	91	Tulsa, OK	22.0%
42	Memphis, TN-MS-AR	35.2%	92	Cape Coral-Fort Myers, FL	21.8%
43	New Haven-Milford, CT	34.9%	93	Lakeland-Winter Haven, FL	20.4%
44	Kansas City, MO-KS	34.8%	94	Ogden-Clearfield, UT	20.4%
45	New York-Newark-Jersey City, NY-NJ-PA	34.6%	95	Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	19.1%
46	Louisville/Jefferson County, KY-IN	34.6%	96	Stockton, CA	18.1%
47	Charleston-North Charleston, SC	34.5%	97	El Paso, TX	16.3%
48	Greenville-Anderson, SC	34.3%	98	Fresno, CA	15.3%
49	Nashville-Davidson--Murfreesboro--Franklin, TN	34.1%	99	McAllen-Edinburg-Mission, TX	13.8%
50	Birmingham-Hoover, AL	33.9%	100	Bakersfield, CA	12.1%
	Pop-Weighted Average, Top 100 Metros	**34.6%**			

Source: U.S. Census Bureau data, American Community Survey, 5-year estimates, 2020

Table F

Foreign-born productivity, actual divided by predicted med household inc: 100 largest metros

	Metro Area	Actual as % of Pred		Metro Area	Actual as % of Pred
1	San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA	1.68	51	Milwaukee-Waukesha, WI	1.01
2	San Francisco-Oakland-Berkeley, CA	1.37	52	Pittsburgh, PA	1.01
3	Poughkeepsie-Newburgh-Middletown, NY	1.32	53	Providence-Warwick, RI-MA	1.01
4	Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	1.31	54	Springfield, MA	1.01
5	Oxnard-Thousand Oaks-Ventura, CA	1.27	55	Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	1.01
6	Ogden-Clearfield, UT	1.25	56	Rochester, NY	1.01
7	Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	1.25	57	Wichita, KS	1.00
8	Baltimore-Columbia-Towson, MD	1.25	58	Kansas City, MO-KS	1.00
9	Urban Honolulu, HI	1.25	59	Knoxville, TN	0.99
10	Jackson, MS	1.24	60	Chicago-Naperville-Elgin, IL-IN-WI	0.99
11	Colorado Springs, CO	1.23	61	Spokane-Spokane Valley, WA	0.99
12	Worcester, MA-CT	1.19	62	Memphis, TN-MS-AR	0.98
13	Harrisburg-Carlisle, PA	1.19	63	Akron, OH	0.98
14	Bridgeport-Stamford-Norwalk, CT	1.17	64	Louisville/Jefferson County, KY-IN	0.98
15	Raleigh-Cary, NC	1.17	65	Tulsa, OK	0.97
16	Hartford-East Hartford-Middletown, CT	1.16	66	Birmingham-Hoover, AL	0.96
17	Charleston-North Charleston, SC	1.15	67	Cleveland-Elyria, OH	0.95
18	Albany-Schenectady-Troy, NY	1.15	68	North Port-Sarasota-Bradenton, FL	0.95
19	Allentown-Bethlehem-Easton, PA-NJ	1.14	69	Scranton--Wilkes-Barre, PA	0.94
20	Baton Rouge, LA	1.14	70	Oklahoma City, OK	0.94
21	Portland-Vancouver-Hillsboro, OR-WA	1.14	71	Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	0.94
22	Boston-Cambridge-Newton, MA-NH	1.13	72	Phoenix-Mesa-Chandler, AZ	0.94
23	St. Louis, MO-IL	1.13	73	Durham-Chapel Hill, NC	0.94
24	Austin-Round Rock-Georgetown, TX	1.13	74	Indianapolis-Carmel-Anderson, IN	0.93
25	Cincinnati, OH-KY-IN	1.12	75	Columbus, OH	0.93
26	Grand Rapids-Kentwood, MI	1.12	76	Lakeland-Winter Haven, FL	0.92
27	Virginia Beach-Norfolk-Newport News, VA-NC	1.12	77	Toledo, OH	0.92
28	Boise City, ID	1.11	78	Las Vegas-Henderson-Paradise, NV	0.92
29	Richmond, VA	1.11	79	Columbia, SC	0.91
30	Provo-Orem, UT	1.10	80	Greensboro-High Point, NC	0.91
31	Denver-Aurora-Lakewood, CO	1.10	81	Deltona-Daytona Beach-Ormond Beach, FL	0.90
32	Jacksonville, FL	1.09	82	Cape Coral-Fort Myers, FL	0.89
33	Stockton, CA	1.09	83	New Orleans-Metairie, LA	0.89
34	Des Moines-West Des Moines, IA	1.09	84	San Antonio-New Braunfels, TX	0.89
35	Detroit-Warren-Dearborn, MI	1.08	85	Palm Bay-Melbourne-Titusville, FL	0.88
36	New Haven-Milford, CT	1.08	86	Orlando-Kissimmee-Sanford, FL	0.88
37	Salt Lake City, UT	1.08	87	Houston-The Woodlands-Sugar Land, TX	0.86
38	Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI	1.06	88	Syracuse, NY	0.86
39	Augusta-Richmond County, GA-SC	1.06	89	Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	0.86
40	Nashville-Davidson--Murfreesboro--Franklin, TN	1.06	90	New York-Newark-Jersey City, NY-NJ-PA	0.85
41	Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD	1.05	91	Bakersfield, CA	0.84
42	Dayton-Kettering, OH	1.05	92	Winston-Salem, NC	0.84
43	Greenville-Anderson, SC	1.05	93	Tucson, AZ	0.84
44	Little Rock-North Little Rock-Conway, AR	1.05	94	Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim, CA	0.83
45	Madison, WI	1.05	95	Buffalo-Cheektowaga, NY	0.82
46	Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Alpharetta, GA	1.04	96	Albuquerque, NM	0.81
47	San Diego-Chula Vista-Carlsbad, CA	1.04	97	Fresno, CA	0.80
48	Sacramento-Roseville-Folsom, CA	1.03	98	Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach, FL	0.69
49	Omaha-Council Bluffs, NE-IA	1.03	99	El Paso, TX	0.62
50	Charlotte-Concord-Gastonia, NC-SC	1.02	100	McAllen-Edinburg-Mission, TX	0.53
	Pop-Weighted Average, Top 100 Metros	**1.00**			

Source: Author's calculations based on U.S. Census Bureau data. All underlying data is available in the online data appendix to this report.

Table G

Foreign-born living standards, 100 largest metros

	Metro Area	Std of Living		Metro Area	Std of Living
1	San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA	1.31	51	Houston-The Woodlands-Sugar Land, TX	0.95
2	Cincinnati, OH-KY-IN	1.24	52	Denver-Aurora-Lakewood, CO	0.94
3	St. Louis, MO-IL	1.23	53	Durham-Chapel Hill, NC	0.94
4	Jackson, MS	1.23	54	Rochester, NY	0.93
5	Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	1.23	55	Stockton, CA	0.93
6	Baltimore-Columbia-Towson, MD	1.22	56	Cleveland-Elyria, OH	0.93
7	Raleigh-Cary, NC	1.18	57	New Haven-Milford, CT	0.93
8	Baton Rouge, LA	1.16	58	Salt Lake City, UT	0.93
9	Detroit-Warren-Dearborn, MI	1.16	59	Oklahoma City, OK	0.91
10	Harrisburg-Carlisle, PA	1.15	60	Urban Honolulu, HI	0.91
11	Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	1.15	61	Tulsa, OK	0.91
12	Pittsburgh, PA	1.13	62	Springfield, MA	0.91
13	Richmond, VA	1.10	63	Boise City, ID	0.90
14	Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Alpharetta, GA	1.09	64	Greensboro-High Point, NC	0.90
15	Hartford-East Hartford-Middletown, CT	1.09	65	Provo-Orem, UT	0.88
16	Worcester, MA-CT	1.08	66	Las Vegas-Henderson-Paradise, NV	0.88
17	Little Rock-North Little Rock-Conway, AR	1.08	67	New Orleans-Metairie, LA	0.88
18	Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD	1.07	68	Orlando-Kissimmee-Sanford, FL	0.87
19	Madison, WI	1.07	69	Providence-Warwick, RI-MA	0.87
20	Augusta-Richmond County, GA-SC	1.07	70	Phoenix-Mesa-Chandler, AZ	0.87
21	Colorado Springs, CO	1.06	71	Sacramento-Roseville-Folsom, CA	0.86
22	Virginia Beach-Norfolk-Newport News, VA-NC	1.06	72	San Antonio-New Braunfels, TX	0.86
23	Allentown-Bethlehem-Easton, PA-NJ	1.05	73	Greenville-Anderson, SC	0.86
24	Dayton-Kettering, OH	1.04	74	Charleston-North Charleston, SC	0.85
25	Charlotte-Concord-Gastonia, NC-SC	1.04	75	Albany-Schenectady-Troy, NY	0.85
26	Grand Rapids-Kentwood, MI	1.03	76	Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	0.85
27	Memphis, TN-MS-AR	1.03	77	Scranton--Wilkes-Barre, PA	0.85
28	Austin-Round Rock-Georgetown, TX	1.03	78	Wichita, KS	0.85
29	Bridgeport-Stamford-Norwalk, CT	1.02	79	Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	0.85
30	Jacksonville, FL	1.01	80	San Diego-Chula Vista-Carlsbad, CA	0.84
31	Boston-Cambridge-Newton, MA-NH	1.01	81	Syracuse, NY	0.84
32	Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI	0.99	82	North Port-Sarasota-Bradenton, FL	0.84
33	San Francisco-Oakland-Berkeley, CA	0.99	83	Cape Coral-Fort Myers, FL	0.83
34	Knoxville, TN	0.99	84	El Paso, TX	0.83
35	Louisville/Jefferson County, KY-IN	0.99	85	Portland-Vancouver-Hillsboro, OR-WA	0.83
36	Toledo, OH	0.99	86	New York-Newark-Jersey City, NY-NJ-PA	0.82
37	Columbus, OH	0.99	87	Lakeland-Winter Haven, FL	0.81
38	Des Moines-West Des Moines, IA	0.99	88	Winston-Salem, NC	0.81
39	Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	0.99	89	Buffalo-Cheektowaga, NY	0.81
40	Oxnard-Thousand Oaks-Ventura, CA	0.98	90	Palm Bay-Melbourne-Titusville, FL	0.80
41	Nashville-Davidson--Murfreesboro--Franklin, TN	0.98	91	Bakersfield, CA	0.80
42	Chicago-Naperville-Elgin, IL-IN-WI	0.98	92	Deltona-Daytona Beach-Ormond Beach, FL	0.80
43	Kansas City, MO-KS	0.98	93	Spokane-Spokane Valley, WA	0.79
44	Milwaukee-Waukesha, WI	0.97	94	Albuquerque, NM	0.79
45	Akron, OH	0.97	95	Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim, CA	0.78
46	Omaha-Council Bluffs, NE-IA	0.97	96	Tucson, AZ	0.75
47	Columbia, SC	0.96	97	Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach, FL	0.74
48	Ogden-Clearfield, UT	0.96	98	Fresno, CA	0.73
49	Indianapolis-Carmel-Anderson, IN	0.95	99	McAllen-Edinburg-Mission, TX	0.61
50	Birmingham-Hoover, AL	0.95			
	Pop-Weighted Average, Top 100 Metros	**0.95**		**Pop-Weighted Average, Top 100 Metros**	**0.95**

Table H

Where immigrants are thriving best: Select counties

	County	Avg z-score	Median Houshold Inc	% Bachelors+	MHHI: Actual - Pred	Std of Living	% Foreign Born Pop Share
1	Delaware County, Ohio	3.74	$131,973	71.3%	1.90	2.25	7.9%
2	Loudoun County, Virginia	2.75	$138,221	57.5%	1.88	1.82	25.2%
3	Douglas County, Colorado	2.70	$112,204	62.2%	1.70	1.73	7.6%
4	Williamson County, Tennessee	2.54	$110,194	65.6%	1.64	1.73	7.6%
5	Hamilton County, Indiana	2.26	$101,216	62.9%	1.51	1.73	8.7%
6	Santa Clara County, Cal	1.86	$137,601	55.3%	1.69	1.29	39.7%
7	Collin County, Texas	1.64	$100,171	58.2%	1.39	1.54	21.3%
8	Fort Bend County, Texas	1.55	$101,575	51.4%	1.38	1.60	28.6%
9	St. Louis County, Missouri	1.54	$79,949	56.5%	1.24	1.38	7.6%
10	King County, Washington	1.52	$99,861	51.9%	1.38	1.23	23.7%
11	Williamson County, Texas	1.41	$91,152	45.1%	1.45	1.29	13.0%
12	Nassau County, New York	1.30	$107,900	38.3%	1.64	1.24	22.4%
13	Norfolk County, Massachusetts	1.29	$95,598	51.9%	1.40	1.21	18.5%
14	Bucks County, Pennsylvania	1.28	$87,810	49.0%	1.40	1.34	9.7%
15	Brazoria County, Texas	1.27	$78,750	37.5%	1.31	1.24	13.0%
16	Alameda County, California	1.25	$108,517	46.7%	1.45	1.02	32.8%
17	Anne Arundel County, Maryland	1.19	$87,233	43.9%	1.45	1.28	8.6%
18	Denton County, Texas	1.18	$85,366	46.5%	1.31	1.31	15.6%
19	Fulton County, Georgia	1.18	$83,464	60.7%	1.21	1.29	13.4%
20	Boulder County, Colorado	1.17	$81,588	52.3%	1.28	1.08	10.1%
21	Middlesex County, Massachusetts	1.15	$96,281	53.9%	1.35	1.22	21.3%
22	DuPage County, Illinois	1.13	$86,855	46.4%	1.30	1.23	19.4%
23	Suffolk County, New York	1.13	$93,966	28.5%	1.60	1.08	15.3%
24	Clackamas County, Oregon	1.12	$83,830	38.3%	1.45	0.97	8.4%
25	Fairfax County, Virginia	1.09	$99,585	49.6%	1.34	1.31	30.9%
26	Wake County, North Carolina	1.07	$81,548	51.8%	1.24	1.25	13.3%
27	Bergen County, New Jersey	1.00	$95,707	48.5%	1.30	1.10	30.8%
28	Benton County, Arkansas	0.93	$77,079	34.5%	1.32	1.10	12.2%
29	Montgomery County, Maryland	0.90	$94,232	49.1%	1.26	1.24	32.2%
30	Orange County, North Carolina	0.85	$72,961	61.0%	1.07	1.14	12.7%
31	Lake County, Illinois	0.80	$86,117	39.2%	1.35	1.22	18.7%
32	District of Columbia, District of Columbia	0.79	$84,049	55.9%	1.25	1.11	13.4%
33	Delaware County, Pennsylvania	0.78	$71,348	44.3%	1.16	1.09	10.6%
34	Anoka County, Minnesota	0.77	$72,379	29.3%	1.32	1.08	8.7%
35	Cobb County, Georgia	0.76	$75,568	44.4%	1.18	1.17	15.6%
36	Washington County, Oregon	0.73	$84,147	45.4%	1.28	0.98	17.9%
37	Dakota County, Minnesota	0.70	$74,151	38.4%	1.26	1.11	9.9%
38	Rockwall County, Texas	0.69	$71,826	35.7%	1.27	1.11	8.2%
39	Westchester County, New York	0.65	$82,351	36.9%	1.23	0.95	25.4%
40	Worcester County, Massachusetts	0.64	$72,940	39.5%	1.20	1.07	12.4%
41	Baltimore County, Maryland	0.63	$72,827	48.0%	1.14	1.07	12.3%
42	San Francisco County, California	0.59	$88,238	42.9%	1.20	0.83	34.2%
43	Galveston County, Texas	0.57	$70,655	31.4%	1.26	1.11	9.6%
44	Montgomery County, Texas	0.47	$68,898	34.6%	1.16	1.09	13.5%
45	Ada County, Idaho	0.36	$61,815	38.8%	1.09	0.93	5.7%
46	Prince George's County, Maryland	0.32	$79,354	29.0%	1.27	1.05	23.0%
47	Arlington County, Virginia	0.32	$76,082	55.6%	1.07	1.00	22.6%
48	Camden County, New Jersey	0.29	$70,478	34.7%	1.21	1.08	11.2%
49	Fairfield County, Connecticut	0.22	$76,108	36.8%	1.17	1.00	21.9%
50	Albany County, New York	0.22	$63,449	47.5%	1.01	0.75	11.6%
	Pop-Weighted Average, All Included Counties	**-0.02**	**$68,886**	**35.1%**	**1.04**	**0.93**	**22.6%**

Source: Author's calculations based on U.S. Census Bureau data. All underlying data is available in the online data appendix to this report.

Where immigrants are thriving Best: Select counties

	County	Avg z-score	Median Houshold Inc	% Bachelors+	MHHI: Actual - Pred	Std of Living	% Foreign Born Pop Share
51	Comal County, Texas	0.21	$58,676	30.5%	1.09	0.99	5.9%
52	Travis County, Texas	0.21	$67,569	40.5%	1.06	0.96	17.0%
53	Dutchess County, New York	0.15	$78,418	33.5%	1.35		11.7%
54	Sarasota County, Florida	0.13	$58,491	33.8%	1.00	0.87	12.2%
55	Hennepin County, Minnesota	0.10	$65,063	40.0%	1.05	0.97	13.8%
56	Deschutes County, Oregon	0.03	$60,541	28.0%	1.16	0.83	4.3%
57	Baltimore city, Maryland	0.00	$56,913	44.6%	0.95	0.83	8.1%
58	Arapahoe County, Colorado	-0.05	$65,776	33.0%	1.10	0.93	15.3%
59	New York County, New York	-0.10	$68,028	49.3%	0.93	0.78	28.3%
60	Mecklenburg County, North Carolina	-0.14	$59,225	37.6%	0.95	0.98	15.8%
61	Cook County, Illinois	-0.16	$62,289	31.8%	0.95	0.88	20.9%
62	Waller County, Texas	-0.16	$63,364	13.3%	1.24	1.00	13.3%
63	Hudson County, New Jersey	-0.17	$68,498	40.2%	0.89	0.79	43.6%
64	Orange County, California	-0.18	$78,919	35.4%	1.13	0.93	29.6%
65	Pinellas County, Florida	-0.19	$51,844	31.9%	0.89	0.82	12.1%
66	Hillsborough County, Florida	-0.20	$52,878	32.6%	0.86	0.83	17.9%
67	Duval County, Florida	-0.22	$59,195	36.1%	1.00	0.91	11.4%
68	Salt Lake County, Utah	-0.22	$61,479	28.7%	1.07	0.90	12.8%
69	Utah County, Utah	-0.23	$59,773	29.1%	1.10	0.86	7.3%
70	Durham County, North Carolina	-0.28	$54,466	42.0%	0.88	0.85	14.0%
71	San Diego County, California	-0.32	$68,412	32.1%	1.04	0.82	22.9%
72	Gwinnett County, Georgia	-0.34	$62,819	30.2%	0.98	0.97	25.3%
73	Hays County, Texas	-0.38	$55,472	26.1%	1.03	0.78	9.1%
74	Queens County, New York	-0.39	$67,021	28.3%	0.88	0.77	46.9%
75	Osceola County, Florida	-0.42	$52,902	23.3%	0.90	0.82	20.8%
76	Franklin County, Ohio	-0.46	$50,807	40.1%	0.84	0.87	11.0%
77	St. Louis city, Missouri	-0.46	$45,825	42.1%	0.78	0.79	6.9%
78	Orange County, Florida	-0.47	$54,062	33.1%	0.84	0.83	22.2%
79	DeKalb County, Georgia	-0.47	$55,604	37.9%	0.90	0.86	16.0%
80	Essex County, Massachusetts	-0.48	$62,139	26.5%	1.06	0.79	17.5%
81	Maricopa County, Arizona	-0.51	$56,459	26.2%	0.94	0.85	14.7%
82	Sacramento County, California	-0.53	$60,308	27.6%	0.98	0.79	20.9%
83	Suffolk County, Massachusetts	-0.55	$54,073	32.6%	0.80	0.69	29.7%
84	Ramsey County, Minnesota	-0.55	$50,996	30.9%	0.86	0.76	15.7%
85	Rutherford County, Tennessee	-0.56	$56,272	25.7%	1.06	0.88	7.5%
86	Multnomah County, Oregon	-0.56	$56,364	31.8%	0.96	0.65	13.8%
87	St. Lucie County, Florida	-0.57	$48,504	21.3%	0.87	0.88	16.1%
88	Canyon County, Idaho	-0.57	$54,358	8.6%	1.16	0.82	7.9%
89	Palm Beach County, Florida	-0.62	$56,481	28.9%	0.88	0.79	25.5%
90	Collier County, Florida	-0.65	$55,167	20.3%	0.91	0.78	25.5%
91	Denver County, Colorado	-0.65	$55,806	27.0%	0.98	0.79	14.0%
92	Tarrant County, Texas	-0.67	$57,760	25.1%	0.99	0.89	16.0%
93	Bexar County, Texas	-0.67	$48,463	23.4%	0.86	0.82	13.0%
94	Washington County, Arkansas	-0.78	$50,043	15.8+	0.98	0.71	10.8%
95	Los Angeles County, California	-0.83	$60,933	26.3%	0.82	0.72	33.7%
96	Davidson County, Tennessee	-0.84	$56,467	31.8%	0.97	0.89	12.9%
97	Kings County, New York	-0.86	$55,498	31.2%	0.78	0.64	35.6%
98	Philadelphia County, Pennsylvania	-0.87	$46,295	31.5%	0.78	0.71	14.3%
99	Harris County, Texas	-0.88	$52,765	25.1%	0.80	0.83	26.0%
100	Dallas County, Texas	-0.93	$54,471	23.1%	0.87	0.84	24.3%
101	Marion County, Indiana	-1.02	$43,363	27.7%	0.79	0.74	9.6%
102	Miami-Dade County, Florida	-1.25	$50,040	27.5%	0.63	0.70	54.0%
103	El Paso County, Texas	-1.42	$36,155	16.5%	0.62	0.81	23.9%
104	Bronx County, New York	-1.59	$43,045	17.6%	0.66	0.49	34.6%
105	Cameron County, Texas	-1.74	$31,394	12.3%	0.56	0.60	22.6%
106	Hidalgo County, Texas	-1.82	$31,361	13.8%	0.53	0.59	26.3%
	Pop-Weighted Average, All Included Counties	**-0.02**	**$68,886**	**35.1%**	**1.04**	**0.93**	**22.6%**

Source: Author's calculations based on U.S. Census Bureau data. All underlying data is available in the online data appendix to this report.

I M M I G R A N T S   A N D   O P P O R T U N I T Y   ·   G E O R G E   W.   B U S H   I N S T I T U T E - S M U   E C O N O M I C   G R O W T H   I N I T I A T I V E

8 5

Table I

Immigration rates: 100 largest metros

	Metro Area	% Immig Rate	Absol Net Immigration	
			Rank	Abs Number
1	Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach, FL	12.1%	2	678,385
2	Orlando-Kissimmee-Sanford, FL	9.5%	11	203,049
3	San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA	8.6%	14	157,896
4	Boston-Cambridge-Newton, MA-NH	7.0%	6	320,383
5	Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	6.7%	3	378,696
6	Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	6.4%	9	221,774
7	Houston-The Woodlands-Sugar Land, TX	6.2%	4	369,811
8	Bridgeport-Stamford-Norwalk, CT	5.6%	29	51,164
9	San Francisco-Oakland-Berkeley, CA	5.5%	8	237,403
10	Cape Coral-Fort Myers, FL	4.9%	48	30,517
11	Urban Honolulu, HI	4.9%	32	46,772
12	New York-Newark-Jersey City, NY-NJ-PA	4.8%	1	910,113
13	Springfield, MA	4.7%	46	32,428
14	Worcester, MA-CT	4.3%	39	39,538
15	Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	4.3%	16	119,843
16	Hartford-East Hartford-Middletown, CT	4.2%	28	51,371
17	Lakeland-Winter Haven, FL	4.2%	55	25,422
18	Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	4.1%	7	265,113
19	New Haven-Milford, CT	4.1%	42	35,231
20	Austin-Round Rock-Georgetown, TX	4.1%	21	70,042
21	Durham-Chapel Hill, NC	4.0%	58	22,452
22	Columbus, OH	3.7%	22	69,678
23	Raleigh-Cary, NC	3.5%	36	40,111
24	Allentown-Bethlehem-Easton, PA-NJ	3.3%	50	27,334
25	San Diego-Chula Vista-Carlsbad, CA	3.3%	18	102,942
26	Providence-Warwick, RI-MA	3.2%	27	51,495
27	Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Alpharetta, GA	3.1%	13	166,732
28	Madison, WI	3.1%	62	18,537
29	Salt Lake City, UT	3.0%	47	32,392
30	Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI	3.0%	19	98,651
31	Jacksonville, FL	3.0%	37	39,834
32	Harrisburg-Carlisle, PA	2.9%	69	16,050
33	Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD	2.9%	12	172,006
34	Richmond, VA	2.9%	43	34,200
35	Phoenix-Mesa-Chandler, AZ	2.9%	15	120,898
36	Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim, CA	2.8%	5	364,181
37	Scranton--Wilkes-Barre, PA	2.8%	70	15,950
38	North Port-Sarasota-Bradenton, FL	2.7%	60	19,302
39	Charlotte-Concord-Gastonia, NC-SC	2.7%	24	61,158
40	Detroit-Warren-Dearborn, MI	2.7%	17	116,245
41	Tucson, AZ	2.7%	54	26,121
42	Indianapolis-Carmel-Anderson, IN	2.7%	30	50,231
43	Baltimore-Columbia-Towson, MD	2.6%	20	71,449
44	Virginia Beach-Norfolk-Newport News, VA-NC	2.6%	33	44,596
45	Sacramento-Roseville-Folsom, CA	2.5%	25	54,892
46	Des Moines-West Des Moines, IA	2.5%	74	15,116
47	Nashville-Davidson--Murfreesboro--Franklin, TN	2.5%	35	40,969
48	Denver-Aurora-Lakewood, CO	2.4%	23	62,464
49	Portland-Vancouver-Hillsboro, OR-WA	2.4%	26	53,000
50	Deltona-Daytona Beach-Ormond Beach, FL	2.4%	78	14,008
	Pop-Weighted Average, Top 100 Metros	**3.6%**		

Source: Author's calculations based on U.S. Census Bureau data. All underlying data is available in the online data appendix to this report.

Table I (cont.)

Immigration rates: 100 largest metros

	Metro Area	% Immig Rate	Absol Net Immigration	
			Rank	Abs Number
51	Buffalo-Cheektowaga, NY	2.3%	52	26,457
52	New Orleans-Metairie, LA	2.3%	51	27,209
53	Rochester, NY	2.2%	56	24,097
54	San Antonio-New Braunfels, TX	2.2%	31	47,528
55	Syracuse, NY	2.2%	76	14,530
56	Akron, OH	2.2%	73	15,249
57	Greenville-Anderson, SC	2.2%	65	17,901
58	Chicago-Naperville-Elgin, IL-IN-WI	2.2%	10	204,884
59	Columbia, SC	2.1%	68	16,297
60	Omaha-Council Bluffs, NE-IA	2.1%	63	18,321
61	Greensboro-High Point, NC	2.1%	72	15,306
62	Oklahoma City, OK	2.1%	53	26,258
63	Albany-Schenectady-Troy, NY	2.1%	64	18,115
64	Dayton-Kettering, OH	2.1%	67	16,580
65	El Paso, TX	2.1%	66	16,672
66	Cleveland-Elyria, OH	2.0%	34	41,041
67	Louisville/Jefferson County, KY-IN	2.0%	57	23,687
68	Grand Rapids-Kentwood, MI	1.9%	59	19,365
69	Palm Bay-Melbourne-Titusville, FL	1.9%	82	10,526
70	Milwaukee-Waukesha, WI	1.9%	49	30,005
71	Las Vegas-Henderson-Paradise, NV	1.9%	41	37,138
72	Colorado Springs, CO	1.8%	79	11,960
73	Cincinnati, OH-KY-IN	1.8%	40	39,177
74	Charleston-North Charleston, SC	1.8%	80	11,913
75	Tulsa, OK	1.7%	71	15,706
76	Wichita, KS	1.7%	83	10,297
77	Kansas City, MO-KS	1.6%	45	33,050
78	Provo-Orem, UT	1.6%	88	8,697
79	Albuquerque, NM	1.6%	77	14,297
80	Stockton, CA	1.5%	85	10,248
81	St. Louis, MO-IL	1.4%	38	39,760
82	Pittsburgh, PA	1.4%	44	33,273
83	Baton Rouge, LA	1.3%	81	11,028
84	McAllen-Edinburg-Mission, TX	1.3%	84	10,276
85	Little Rock-North Little Rock-Conway, AR	1.3%	87	9,248
86	Augusta-Richmond County, GA-SC	1.3%	94	7,130
87	Poughkeepsie-Newburgh-Middletown, NY	1.2%	90	8,216
88	Spokane-Spokane Valley, WA	1.2%	96	6,065
89	Boise City, ID	1.2%	93	7,229
90	Toledo, OH	1.1%	92	7,391
91	Memphis, TN-MS-AR	1.1%	75	14,836
92	Winston-Salem, NC	1.0%	95	6,111
93	Knoxville, TN	1.0%	91	7,758
94	Fresno, CA	0.9%	89	8,667
95	Birmingham-Hoover, AL	0.9%	86	9,591
96	Jackson, MS	0.9%	97	5,160
97	Ogden-Clearfield, UT	0.8%	100	4,540
98	Oxnard-Thousand Oaks-Ventura, CA	0.6%	98	5,090
99	Bakersfield, CA	0.6%	99	5,080
100	Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	0.4%	61	18,970
	Pop-Weighted Average, Top 100 Metros	**3.6%**		

Source: Author's calculations based on U.S. Census Bureau data. All underlying data is available in the online data appendix to this report.

Table J

Estimated net inbound domestic migration rates by immigrants, 2010–2020: 100 largest metros

	Metro Area	Est % Net Dom Mig Rate	Absol Net In-Migration Rank	Abs Number
1	Cape Coral-Fort Myers, FL	2.9%	25	17,831
2	Las Vegas-Henderson-Paradise, NV	2.8%	4	55,070
3	North Port-Sarasota-Bradenton, FL	2.8%	24	19,601
4	Jacksonville, FL	2.1%	18	28,758
5	Louisville/Jefferson County, KY-IN	2.0%	23	23,845
6	Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	2.0%	5	54,396
7	Knoxville, TN	1.9%	29	15,713
8	Sacramento-Roseville-Folsom, CA	1.9%	6	40,617
9	Austin-Round Rock-Georgetown, TX	1.9%	12	32,448
10	Tulsa, OK	1.9%	26	17,397
11	Nashville-Davidson--Murfreesboro--Franklin, TN	1.7%	20	27,299
12	Scranton--Wilkes-Barre, PA	1.6%	43	9,283
13	Charleston-North Charleston, SC	1.6%	38	10,977
14	Albany-Schenectady-Troy, NY	1.6%	32	14,171
15	Pittsburgh, PA	1.6%	7	36,937
16	San Antonio-New Braunfels, TX	1.6%	11	33,515
17	Boise City, ID	1.5%	42	9,510
18	Deltona-Daytona Beach-Ormond Beach, FL	1.5%	45	9,062
19	Charlotte-Concord-Gastonia, NC-SC	1.5%	10	33,858
20	Palm Bay-Melbourne-Titusville, FL	1.5%	52	8,132
21	Spokane-Spokane Valley, WA	1.5%	53	7,680
22	Omaha-Council Bluffs, NE-IA	1.5%	34	12,900
23	Kansas City, MO-KS	1.5%	15	29,608
24	Dayton-Kettering, OH	1.5%	36	11,681
25	Augusta-Richmond County, GA-SC	1.4%	51	8,138
26	Des Moines-West Des Moines, IA	1.4%	48	8,568
27	Greensboro-High Point, NC	1.4%	39	10,199
28	Stockton, CA	1.4%	40	9,615
29	Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	1.4%	1	89,048
30	Raleigh-Cary, NC	1.4%	30	15,520
31	Cincinnati, OH-KY-IN	1.4%	17	29,084
32	Harrisburg-Carlisle, PA	1.3%	54	7,351
33	Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	1.3%	3	56,205
34	Indianapolis-Carmel-Anderson, IN	1.3%	22	24,739
35	St. Louis, MO-IL	1.3%	9	34,886
36	Ogden-Clearfield, UT	1.2%	55	7,230
37	Portland-Vancouver-Hillsboro, OR-WA	1.2%	21	26,239
38	Baton Rouge, LA	1.2%	41	9,590
39	Memphis, TN-MS-AR	1.2%	31	15,222
40	Richmond, VA	1.1%	33	13,231
41	Baltimore-Columbia-Towson, MD	1.1%	14	30,164
42	Wichita, KS	1.1%	58	6,752
43	Allentown-Bethlehem-Easton, PA-NJ	1.1%	46	8,668
44	Provo-Orem, UT	1.0%	63	5,552
45	Greenville-Anderson, SC	1.0%	47	8,643
46	Birmingham-Hoover, AL	1.0%	37	10,998
47	Jackson, MS	1.0%	60	6,033
48	Akron, OH	1.0%	57	7,141
49	Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	1.0%	8	34,979
50	Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD	1.0%	2	59,409
	Pop-Weighted Average, Top 100 Metros	**-0.1%**		

Source: Author's calculations based on U.S. Census Bureau data. The online data appendix to this report contains all underlying data, including for all 385 metro areas.

Estimated net inbound domestic migration rates by immigrants, 2010–2020: 100 largest metros

	Metro Area	Est % Net Dom Mig Rate	Rank	Absol Net In-Migration — Abs Number
51	Oklahoma City, OK	1.0%	35	12,196
52	Little Rock-North Little Rock-Conway, AR	0.9%	59	6,453
53	Columbus, OH	0.9%	28	16,463
54	Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI	0.8%	19	28,049
55	Grand Rapids-Kentwood, MI	0.8%	50	8,268
56	Winston-Salem, NC	0.8%	64	5,033
57	Columbia, SC	0.8%	61	5,867
58	Detroit-Warren-Dearborn, MI	0.7%	13	31,884
59	Toledo, OH	0.7%	65	4,696
60	New Orleans-Metairie, LA	0.7%	49	8,301
61	Denver-Aurora-Lakewood, CO	0.7%	27	17,250
62	Colorado Springs, CO	0.6%	67	4,222
63	Buffalo-Cheektowaga, NY	0.6%	56	7,152
64	Milwaukee-Waukesha, WI	0.6%	44	9,173
65	Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Alpharetta, GA	0.5%	16	29,127
66	Madison, WI	0.4%	70	2,553
67	Syracuse, NY	0.4%	71	2,425
68	Lakeland-Winter Haven, FL	0.3%	72	2,098
69	Salt Lake City, UT	0.3%	68	3,517
70	Cleveland-Elyria, OH	0.2%	66	4,537
71	Bakersfield, CA	0.2%	73	1,665
72	Providence-Warwick, RI-MA	0.2%	69	3,010
73	Phoenix-Mesa-Chandler, AZ	0.1%	62	5,704
74	Houston-The Woodlands-Sugar Land, TX	0.0%	74	-1,674
75	Virginia Beach-Norfolk-Newport News, VA-NC	-0.2%	76	-3,233
76	Rochester, NY	-0.3%	75	-2,752
77	Tucson, AZ	-0.4%	77	-3,959
78	Albuquerque, NM	-0.5%	78	-4,072
79	New Haven-Milford, CT	-0.6%	79	-5,505
80	Fresno, CA	-0.6%	80	-5,951
81	Orlando-Kissimmee-Sanford, FL	-0.7%	84	-14,706
82	Oxnard-Thousand Oaks-Ventura, CA	-1.0%	82	-8,136
83	Durham-Chapel Hill, NC	-1.1%	81	-5,958
84	Chicago-Naperville-Elgin, IL-IN-WI	-1.1%	96	-104,312
85	Worcester, MA-CT	-1.2%	83	-11,002
86	Boston-Cambridge-Newton, MA-NH	-1.2%	92	-55,142
87	San Diego-Chula Vista-Carlsbad, CA	-1.2%	91	-38,576
88	San Francisco-Oakland-Berkeley, CA	-1.3%	93	-56,670
89	Hartford-East Hartford-Middletown, CT	-1.4%	87	-17,337
90	Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	-1.6%	95	-90,047
91	Bridgeport-Stamford-Norwalk, CT	-1.7%	85	-15,346
92	Springfield, MA	-2.3%	86	-15,730
93	New York-Newark-Jersey City, NY-NJ-PA	-2.3%	98	-431,375
94	McAllen-Edinburg-Mission, TX	-2.8%	88	-21,890
95	Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach, FL	-3.2%	97	-176,395
96	San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA	-3.7%	94	-67,466
97	Urban Honolulu, HI	-3.8%	90	-36,564
98	Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim, CA	-3.9%	99	-499,169
99	El Paso, TX	-4.3%	89	-35,095
	Pop-Weighted Average, Top 100 Metros	**-0.1%**		

Source: Author's calculations based on U.S. Census Bureau data. The online data appendix to this report contains all underlying data, including for all 385 metro areas.

Table K

Percentage growth in the foreign-born population, 2010–2020: 100 largest metros

	Metro Area	% Growth in Foreign Born Pop	Absol Numerical Growth	
			Rank	Abs Number
1	Scranton--Wilkes-Barre, PA	56.1%	54	12,333
2	Dayton-Kettering, OH	48.0%	55	11,899
3	Louisville/Jefferson County, KY-IN	47.3%	37	24,478
4	Harrisburg-Carlisle, PA	46.4%	53	12,510
5	Jacksonville, FL	44.4%	26	46,115
6	Orlando-Kissimmee-Sanford, FL	43.1%	8	149,471
7	Columbus, OH	42.2%	23	53,039
8	Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	39.0%	6	216,412
9	Cape Coral-Fort Myers, FL	38.6%	32	36,641
10	Indianapolis-Carmel-Anderson, IN	38.1%	30	41,096
11	Austin-Round Rock-Georgetown, TX	36.0%	14	90,287
12	Nashville-Davidson--Murfreesboro--Franklin, TN	35.0%	29	41,583
13	Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	34.0%	12	116,465
14	Des Moines-West Des Moines, IA	33.3%	50	13,788
15	Omaha-Council Bluffs, NE-IA	32.7%	44	17,893
16	Cincinnati, OH-KY-IN	32.6%	34	27,195
17	Tulsa, OK	31.7%	47	16,104
18	Richmond, VA	31.0%	36	24,683
19	Raleigh-Cary, NC	30.8%	31	40,285
20	Charleston-North Charleston, SC	30.4%	59	10,764
21	Allentown-Bethlehem-Easton, PA-NJ	30.1%	43	18,578
22	Akron, OH	29.1%	68	7,771
23	Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	28.5%	4	315,025
24	Pittsburgh, PA	27.7%	42	20,252
25	Houston-The Woodlands-Sugar Land, TX	27.2%	3	355,526
26	North Port-Sarasota-Bradenton, FL	27.0%	38	22,560
27	Charlotte-Concord-Gastonia, NC-SC	26.6%	20	58,642
28	Provo-Orem, UT	26.3%	61	9,913
29	Albany-Schenectady-Troy, NY	25.7%	48	14,982
30	Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI	25.1%	16	78,096
31	Madison, WI	24.4%	63	9,763
32	Boston-Cambridge-Newton, MA-NH	24.0%	7	178,292
33	Knoxville, TN	23.4%	70	7,057
34	Kansas City, MO-KS	23.0%	33	27,757
35	Baltimore-Columbia-Towson, MD	22.4%	24	53,021
36	San Antonio-New Braunfels, TX	22.1%	21	54,277
37	Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD	22.1%	11	122,470
38	Lakeland-Winter Haven, FL	21.7%	49	13,973
39	Salt Lake City, UT	21.1%	35	26,470
40	Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	21.0%	5	250,325
41	Greenville-Anderson, SC	20.3%	66	9,576
42	Augusta-Richmond County, GA-SC	20.0%	79	4,544
43	Greensboro-High Point, NC	20.0%	57	11,614
44	Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach, FL	19.5%	1	411,749
45	Detroit-Warren-Dearborn, MI	18.8%	18	68,661
46	Sacramento-Roseville-Folsom, CA	18.6%	17	69,057
47	Las Vegas-Henderson-Paradise, NV	18.6%	15	80,333
48	St. Louis, MO-IL	18.1%	41	20,732
49	Oklahoma City, OK	18.1%	45	17,048
50	Columbia, SC	17.9%	71	6,745
	Pop-Weighted Average, Top 100 Metros	**17.1%**		

Source: Author's calculations based on U.S. Census Bureau data. The online data appendix to this report contains all underlying data, including for all 385 metro areas.

Table K (cont.)

Percentage growth in the foreign-born population, 2010–2020: 100 largest metros

	Metro Area	% Growth in Foreign Born Pop	Absol Numerical Growth	
			Rank	Abs Number
51	Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Alpharetta, GA	17.8%	10	127,671
52	Grand Rapids-Kentwood, MI	17.6%	60	10,680
53	Baton Rouge, LA	17.5%	78	5,067
54	Deltona-Daytona Beach-Ormond Beach, FL	17.2%	67	8,523
55	Portland-Vancouver-Hillsboro, OR-WA	16.3%	27	44,689
56	Wichita, KS	15.9%	73	6,460
57	Boise City, ID	15.5%	72	6,592
58	New Orleans-Metairie, LA	15.4%	51	12,906
59	Buffalo-Cheektowaga, NY	15.2%	62	9,871
60	Spokane-Spokane Valley, WA	15.2%	82	3,910
61	San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA	14.6%	13	98,011
62	Denver-Aurora-Lakewood, CO	14.4%	28	44,635
63	New Haven-Milford, CT	12.8%	52	12,597
64	Colorado Springs, CO	12.5%	76	5,686
65	Palm Bay-Melbourne-Titusville, FL	12.2%	75	5,728
66	Syracuse, NY	11.7%	80	4,204
67	Bridgeport-Stamford-Norwalk, CT	11.7%	40	21,687
68	San Francisco-Oakland-Berkeley, CA	11.3%	9	145,652
69	Milwaukee-Waukesha, WI	11.2%	56	11,830
70	Memphis, TN-MS-AR	11.2%	69	7,210
71	Providence-Warwick, RI-MA	11.0%	39	21,876
72	Stockton, CA	10.4%	46	16,647
73	Phoenix-Mesa-Chandler, AZ	10.3%	19	67,072
74	Virginia Beach-Norfolk-Newport News, VA-NC	10.1%	58	10,978
75	Worcester, MA-CT	9.8%	65	9,630
76	Ogden-Clearfield, UT	9.3%	83	3,240
77	Little Rock-North Little Rock-Conway, AR	8.3%	85	2,400
78	Durham-Chapel Hill, NC	7.8%	77	5,474
79	New York-Newark-Jersey City, NY-NJ-PA	7.1%	2	370,074
80	San Diego-Chula Vista-Carlsbad, CA	6.6%	25	47,346
81	Hartford-East Hartford-Middletown, CT	6.4%	64	9,650
82	Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	5.7%	22	53,605
83	Bakersfield, CA	3.3%	74	5,744
84	Cleveland-Elyria, OH	3.3%	81	3,931
85	Springfield, MA	3.2%	87	1,800
86	Tucson, AZ	2.1%	84	2,722
87	McAllen-Edinburg-Mission, TX	1.0%	86	2,227
88	Fresno, CA	0.9%	88	1,742
89	Urban Honolulu, HI	0.8%	89	1,415
90	Rochester, NY	0.6%	90	457
91	Jackson, MS	0.3%	92	36
92	Birmingham-Hoover, AL	0.2%	91	100
93	Chicago-Naperville-Elgin, IL-IN-WI	-0.3%	95	-4,375
94	Toledo, OH	-2.8%	93	-599
95	Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim, CA	-2.8%	99	-123,731
96	Winston-Salem, NC	-3.3%	94	-1,574
97	Oxnard-Thousand Oaks-Ventura, CA	-5.2%	97	-9,914
98	El Paso, TX	-6.5%	98	-14,148
99	Albuquerque, NM	-7.1%	96	-6,219
	Pop-Weighted Average, Top 100 Metros	**17.1%**		

Source: Author's calculations based on U.S. Census Bureau data. The online data appendix to this report contains all underlying data, including for all 385 metro areas.

Table L

Foreign-born share of metro-area population, 2020: 100 largest metros

	Metro Area	% Foreign Born Pop Share	Absol For Born Pop Rank	Abs Number
1	Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach, FL	40.9%	3	2,522,297
2	San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA	39.1%	13	770,175
3	Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim, CA	32.7%	2	4,292,549
4	San Francisco-Oakland-Berkeley, CA	30.7%	7	1,440,130
5	New York-Newark-Jersey City, NY-NJ-PA	29.3%	1	5,611,866
6	McAllen-Edinburg-Mission, TX	26.3%	29	230,501
7	El Paso, TX	24.0%	33	202,941
8	Houston-The Woodlands-Sugar Land, TX	23.3%	4	1,663,907
9	Stockton, CA	23.0%	38	176,744
10	San Diego-Chula Vista-Carlsbad, CA	22.9%	14	764,199
11	Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	22.8%	6	1,442,859
12	Las Vegas-Henderson-Paradise, NV	22.1%	17	511,867
13	Bridgeport-Stamford-Norwalk, CT	21.9%	31	206,480
14	Oxnard-Thousand Oaks-Ventura, CA	21.3%	35	179,044
15	Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	21.1%	9	986,925
16	Fresno, CA	20.4%	32	203,989
17	Bakersfield, CA	19.8%	37	178,224
18	Urban Honolulu, HI	19.5%	34	187,898
19	Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	19.2%	12	771,758
20	Boston-Cambridge-Newton, MA-NH	18.9%	10	922,623
21	Orlando-Kissimmee-Sanford, FL	18.8%	18	496,026
22	Sacramento-Roseville-Folsom, CA	18.5%	20	439,478
23	Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	18.5%	8	1,420,858
24	Chicago-Naperville-Elgin, IL-IN-WI	17.6%	5	1,652,991
25	Cape Coral-Fort Myers, FL	16.6%	48	131,575
26	Austin-Round Rock-Georgetown, TX	14.8%	24	340,777
27	Phoenix-Mesa-Chandler, AZ	14.2%	15	718,737
28	Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	14.2%	19	459,442
29	Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Alpharetta, GA	13.9%	11	843,540
30	Providence-Warwick, RI-MA	13.6%	30	220,669
31	Hartford-East Hartford-Middletown, CT	13.3%	41	160,196
32	New Haven-Milford, CT	13.0%	53	111,025
33	Portland-Vancouver-Hillsboro, OR-WA	12.7%	25	319,258
34	Tucson, AZ	12.5%	47	132,300
35	North Port-Sarasota-Bradenton, FL	12.4%	56	106,263
36	Salt Lake City, UT	12.3%	42	151,993
37	Raleigh-Cary, NC	12.0%	39	171,084
38	Denver-Aurora-Lakewood, CO	11.8%	23	353,740
39	Poughkeepsie-Newburgh-Middletown, NY	11.6%	62	78,864
40	Durham-Chapel Hill, NC	11.6%	65	75,694
41	San Antonio-New Braunfels, TX	11.6%	26	299,721
42	Worcester, MA-CT	11.4%	55	107,958
43	Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD	11.1%	16	677,791
44	Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI	10.6%	22	388,723
45	Lakeland-Winter Haven, FL	10.5%	63	78,507
46	Charlotte-Concord-Gastonia, NC-SC	10.4%	28	279,161
47	Baltimore-Columbia-Towson, MD	10.3%	27	289,295
48	Detroit-Warren-Dearborn, MI	10.1%	21	433,420
49	Allentown-Bethlehem-Easton, PA-NJ	9.5%	61	80,211
50	Jacksonville, FL	9.4%	43	149,986
	Pop-Weighted Average, Top 100 Metros	**17.2%**		

Source: Author's calculations based on U.S. Census Bureau data. The online data appendix to this report contains all underlying data, including for all 385 metro areas.

Table L (cont.)

Foreign-born share of metro-area population, 2020: 100 largest metros

	Metro Area	% Foreign Born Pop Share	Absol For Born Pop	
			Rank	Abs Number
51	Greensboro-High Point, NC	9.0%	72	69,637
52	Albuquerque, NM	8.9%	60	81,849
53	Palm Bay-Melbourne-Titusville, FL	8.6%	78	52,512
54	Deltona-Daytona Beach-Ormond Beach, FL	8.5%	74	58,127
55	Columbus, OH	8.4%	36	178,862
56	Springfield, MA	8.4%	75	58,091
57	Albany-Schenectady-Troy, NY	8.3%	67	73,346
58	Nashville-Davidson--Murfreesboro--Franklin, TN	8.2%	40	160,447
59	Richmond, VA	8.0%	57	104,308
60	Oklahoma City, OK	7.8%	52	111,383
61	Des Moines-West Des Moines, IA	7.8%	77	55,196
62	Omaha-Council Bluffs, NE-IA	7.6%	69	72,559
63	New Orleans-Metairie, LA	7.6%	58	96,582
64	Milwaukee-Waukesha, WI	7.5%	51	117,686
65	Madison, WI	7.4%	80	49,802
66	Wichita, KS	7.3%	83	47,013
67	Provo-Orem, UT	7.2%	82	47,564
68	Indianapolis-Carmel-Anderson, IN	7.1%	44	148,978
69	Winston-Salem, NC	6.8%	84	46,519
70	Kansas City, MO-KS	6.8%	45	148,562
71	Rochester, NY	6.8%	68	72,816
72	Colorado Springs, CO	6.8%	79	51,226
73	Harrisburg-Carlisle, PA	6.8%	89	39,466
74	Virginia Beach-Norfolk-Newport News, VA-NC	6.7%	50	119,156
75	Tulsa, OK	6.6%	73	66,857
76	Buffalo-Cheektowaga, NY	6.6%	66	74,602
77	Grand Rapids-Kentwood, MI	6.6%	71	71,330
78	Boise City, ID	6.4%	81	49,227
79	Scranton--Wilkes-Barre, PA	6.2%	94	34,321
80	Syracuse, NY	6.2%	88	40,014
81	Greenville-Anderson, SC	6.1%	76	56,638
82	Louisville/Jefferson County, KY-IN	6.0%	64	76,279
83	Cleveland-Elyria, OH	6.0%	49	122,233
84	Charleston-North Charleston, SC	5.6%	85	46,141
85	Ogden-Clearfield, UT	5.5%	90	38,026
86	Memphis, TN-MS-AR	5.3%	70	71,769
87	Columbia, SC	5.2%	86	44,459
88	Spokane-Spokane Valley, WA	5.2%	97	29,689
89	Cincinnati, OH-KY-IN	5.0%	54	110,692
90	Akron, OH	4.9%	93	34,487
91	St. Louis, MO-IL	4.8%	46	135,126
92	Dayton-Kettering, OH	4.5%	92	36,689
93	Augusta-Richmond County, GA-SC	4.4%	98	27,212
94	Knoxville, TN	4.2%	91	37,249
95	Little Rock-North Little Rock-Conway, AR	4.2%	96	31,195
96	Pittsburgh, PA	4.0%	59	93,323
97	Baton Rouge, LA	4.0%	95	34,036
98	Birmingham-Hoover, AL	3.9%	87	42,569
99	Toledo, OH	3.3%	99	20,897
100	Jackson, MS	2.3%	100	13,566
	Pop-Weighted Average, Top 100 Metros	**17.2%**		

Source: Author's calculations based on U.S. Census Bureau data. The online data appendix to this report contains all underlying data, including for all 385 metro areas.

Hispanic foreign-born share of metro-area population, 2020: 100 largest metros

	Metro Area	% Hisp Foreign Born Pop Share	Abs Hisp For-Born Pop Rank	Abs Number
1	Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach, FL	27.7%	3	1,712,640
2	McAllen-Edinburg-Mission, TX	25.2%	16	220,820
3	El Paso, TX	22.2%	19	187,720
4	Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim, CA	16.8%	1	2,206,370
5	Bakersfield, CA	15.4%	24	138,658
6	Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	14.3%	7	669,135
7	Houston-The Woodlands-Sugar Land, TX	14.0%	4	1,000,008
8	Oxnard-Thousand Oaks-Ventura, CA	13.7%	29	115,483
9	Fresno, CA	13.4%	26	134,020
10	Stockton, CA	11.7%	31	89,963
11	Las Vegas-Henderson-Paradise, NV	11.6%	13	268,730
12	San Diego-Chula Vista-Carlsbad, CA	10.9%	11	362,231
13	New York-Newark-Jersey City, NY-NJ-PA	10.2%	2	1,952,929
14	Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	10.1%	5	780,051
15	Cape Coral-Fort Myers, FL	9.6%	35	75,919
16	Orlando-Kissimmee-Sanford, FL	8.8%	14	232,636
17	San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA	8.4%	22	166,358
18	Bridgeport-Stamford-Norwalk, CT	8.4%	33	79,288
19	San Antonio-New Braunfels, TX	8.2%	17	212,802
20	Phoenix-Mesa-Chandler, AZ	8.0%	9	406,086
21	San Francisco-Oakland-Berkeley, CA	8.0%	10	374,434
22	Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	7.9%	8	499,229
23	Austin-Round Rock-Georgetown, TX	7.9%	20	180,952
24	Tucson, AZ	7.8%	32	82,687
25	Chicago-Naperville-Elgin, IL-IN-WI	7.5%	6	709,133
26	Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	6.6%	18	212,722
27	Salt Lake City, UT	6.3%	34	78,732
28	Denver-Aurora-Lakewood, CO	5.7%	21	169,795
29	Albuquerque, NM	5.6%	44	51,729
30	Lakeland-Winter Haven, FL	5.4%	50	40,353
31	Sacramento-Roseville-Folsom, CA	5.3%	27	125,691
32	North Port-Sarasota-Bradenton, FL	5.2%	48	44,099
33	Durham-Chapel Hill, NC	5.0%	55	32,776
34	Boston-Cambridge-Newton, MA-NH	4.7%	15	226,965
35	Charlotte-Concord-Gastonia, NC-SC	4.6%	28	123,389
36	Provo-Orem, UT	4.5%	58	29,537
37	Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Alpharetta, GA	4.4%	12	269,933
38	Poughkeepsie-Newburgh-Middletown, NY	4.3%	59	29,495
39	Providence-Warwick, RI-MA	4.3%	37	70,173
40	Winston-Salem, NC	4.3%	63	29,167
41	Oklahoma City, OK	4.2%	40	60,147
42	Raleigh-Cary, NC	4.2%	41	59,195
43	New Orleans-Metairie, LA	4.0%	45	51,285
44	New Haven-Milford, CT	4.0%	53	33,752
45	Portland-Vancouver-Hillsboro, OR-WA	3.8%	30	95,778
46	Allentown-Bethlehem-Easton, PA-NJ	3.8%	56	32,164
47	Tulsa, OK	3.6%	51	36,036
48	Wichita, KS	3.6%	71	22,943
49	Omaha-Council Bluffs, NE-IA	3.5%	54	33,159
50	Greensboro-High Point, NC	3.4%	67	26,323
	Pop-Weighted Average, Top 100 Metros	**7.3%**		

Source: Author's calculations based on U.S. Census Bureau data. The online data appendix to this report contains all underlying data, including for all 385 metro areas.

Hispanic foreign-born share of metro-area population, 2020: 100 largest metros

	Metro Area	% Hisp Foreign Born Pop Share	Abs Hisp For-Born Pop	
			Rank	Abs Number
51	Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	3.4%	25	135,058
52	Ogden-Clearfield, UT	3.3%	72	22,625
53	Scranton--Wilkes-Barre, PA	3.2%	77	17,744
54	Nashville-Davidson--Murfreesboro--Franklin, TN	3.2%	38	62,574
55	Greenville-Anderson, SC	3.1%	65	28,715
56	Boise City, ID	3.0%	69	23,383
57	Kansas City, MO-KS	2.8%	39	61,356
58	Jacksonville, FL	2.8%	47	44,546
59	Deltona-Daytona Beach-Ormond Beach, FL	2.8%	76	18,775
60	Milwaukee-Waukesha, WI	2.7%	49	43,073
61	Richmond, VA	2.7%	52	34,630
62	Grand Rapids-Kentwood, MI	2.6%	66	28,033
63	Colorado Springs, CO	2.6%	75	19,261
64	Indianapolis-Carmel-Anderson, IN	2.5%	43	52,738
65	Palm Bay-Melbourne-Titusville, FL	2.5%	83	14,913
66	Hartford-East Hartford-Middletown, CT	2.4%	60	29,316
67	Memphis, TN-MS-AR	2.4%	57	31,722
68	Louisville/Jefferson County, KY-IN	2.3%	61	29,291
69	Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD	2.3%	23	140,303
70	Worcester, MA-CT	2.3%	73	21,699
71	Des Moines-West Des Moines, IA	2.2%	81	15,786
72	Charleston-North Charleston, SC	2.2%	78	17,672
73	Baltimore-Columbia-Towson, MD	2.1%	42	58,148
74	Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI	2.1%	36	75,801
75	Madison, WI	2.0%	86	13,198
76	Birmingham-Hoover, AL	1.9%	74	20,901
77	Little Rock-North Little Rock-Conway, AR	1.9%	84	14,007
78	Columbia, SC	1.9%	80	15,872
79	Baton Rouge, LA	1.8%	82	15,180
80	Virginia Beach-Norfolk-Newport News, VA-NC	1.6%	62	29,193
81	Knoxville, TN	1.6%	85	13,820
82	Springfield, MA	1.6%	87	10,863
83	Augusta-Richmond County, GA-SC	1.5%	90	9,252
84	Columbus, OH	1.3%	64	28,797
85	Detroit-Warren-Dearborn, MI	1.2%	46	50,277
86	Harrisburg-Carlisle, PA	1.2%	92	6,749
87	Cincinnati, OH-KY-IN	1.1%	68	24,352
88	Albany-Schenectady-Troy, NY	1.0%	91	8,655
89	Rochester, NY	0.9%	88	9,830
90	Spokane-Spokane Valley, WA	0.9%	96	5,077
91	Jackson, MS	0.9%	97	5,074
92	St. Louis, MO-IL	0.8%	70	23,377
93	Dayton-Kettering, OH	0.8%	95	6,421
94	Cleveland-Elyria, OH	0.8%	79	16,135
95	Syracuse, NY	0.7%	98	4,722
96	Urban Honolulu, HI	0.7%	94	6,576
97	Toledo, OH	0.6%	99	4,033
98	Buffalo-Cheektowaga, NY	0.6%	93	6,640
99	Akron, OH	0.5%	100	3,242
100	Pittsburgh, PA	0.4%	89	9,706
	Pop-Weighted Average, Top 100 Metros	**7.3%**		

Source: Author's calculations based on U.S. Census Bureau data. The online data appendix to this report contains all underlying data, including for all 385 metro areas.

Table N

Asian foreign-born share of metro-area population, 2020: 100 largest metros

	Metro Area	% Asian Foreign Born Pop Share	Rank	Abs Number
			Abs Asian For-Born Pop	
1	San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA	24.5%	4	482,899
2	San Francisco-Oakland-Berkeley, CA	16.7%	3	784,871
3	Urban Honolulu, HI	15.4%	17	148,627
4	Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim, CA	10.5%	2	1,373,616
5	Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	9.4%	8	378,162
6	Stockton, CA	8.9%	30	68,400
7	Sacramento-Roseville-Folsom, CA	7.9%	15	188,536
8	New York-Newark-Jersey City, NY-NJ-PA	7.9%	1	1,509,592
9	San Diego-Chula Vista-Carlsbad, CA	7.3%	13	243,015
10	Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	7.1%	5	450,172
11	Las Vegas-Henderson-Paradise, NV	6.5%	16	149,465
12	Boston-Cambridge-Newton, MA-NH	5.6%	10	272,174
13	Houston-The Woodlands-Sugar Land, TX	5.4%	7	384,363
14	Fresno, CA	5.3%	33	52,629
15	Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	4.9%	9	377,948
16	Chicago-Naperville-Elgin, IL-IN-WI	4.5%	6	426,472
17	Oxnard-Thousand Oaks-Ventura, CA	4.4%	44	37,420
18	Portland-Vancouver-Hillsboro, OR-WA	4.4%	22	110,144
19	Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	4.4%	14	204,294
20	Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Alpharetta, GA	4.3%	11	261,498
21	Raleigh-Cary, NC	4.2%	31	59,195
22	Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD	4.1%	12	252,138
23	Austin-Round Rock-Georgetown, TX	4.0%	24	91,669
24	Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI	3.9%	18	143,050
25	Bridgeport-Stamford-Norwalk, CT	3.7%	46	35,308
26	Baltimore-Columbia-Towson, MD	3.7%	23	103,857
27	Hartford-East Hartford-Middletown, CT	3.7%	37	43,894
28	Madison, WI	3.3%	58	22,013
29	Albany-Schenectady-Troy, NY	3.2%	52	28,458
30	Detroit-Warren-Dearborn, MI	3.2%	19	138,261
31	Columbus, OH	3.2%	29	68,504
32	Durham-Chapel Hill, NC	3.2%	61	20,816
33	Worcester, MA-CT	3.2%	50	29,904
34	Harrisburg-Carlisle, PA	3.1%	67	18,273
35	Bakersfield, CA	3.0%	53	27,446
36	Orlando-Kissimmee-Sanford, FL	2.9%	27	75,892
37	Denver-Aurora-Lakewood, CO	2.8%	25	84,190
38	Richmond, VA	2.8%	45	36,195
39	Charlotte-Concord-Gastonia, NC-SC	2.7%	28	73,698
40	Des Moines-West Des Moines, IA	2.7%	65	19,429
41	New Haven-Milford, CT	2.7%	55	23,093
42	Greensboro-High Point, NC	2.7%	60	20,891
43	Phoenix-Mesa-Chandler, AZ	2.7%	20	135,841
44	Salt Lake City, UT	2.6%	48	32,830
45	Virginia Beach-Norfolk-Newport News, VA-NC	2.6%	35	46,828
46	Jacksonville, FL	2.6%	40	41,096
47	Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	2.5%	26	79,484
48	Milwaukee-Waukesha, WI	2.4%	43	37,777
49	Indianapolis-Carmel-Anderson, IN	2.4%	34	50,057
50	Wichita, KS	2.4%	71	15,279
	Pop-Weighted Average, Top 100 Metros	**4.9%**		

Source: Author's calculations based on U.S. Census Bureau data. The online data appendix to this report contains all underlying data, including for all 385 metro areas.

Asian foreign-born share of metro-area population, 2020: 100 largest metros

	Metro Area	% Asian Foreign Born Pop Share	Abs Asian For-Born Pop	
			Rank	Abs Number
51	Akron, OH	2.4%	70	16,623
52	Buffalo-Cheektowaga, NY	2.4%	54	26,484
53	Omaha-Council Bluffs, NE-IA	2.2%	59	21,260
54	Poughkeepsie-Newburgh-Middletown, NY	2.1%	72	14,432
55	Rochester, NY	2.1%	57	22,209
56	Oklahoma City, OK	2.1%	51	29,405
57	Allentown-Bethlehem-Easton, PA-NJ	2.1%	68	17,406
58	Springfield, MA	2.0%	74	14,116
59	Kansas City, MO-KS	2.0%	38	43,677
60	Nashville-Davidson--Murfreesboro--Franklin, TN	2.0%	42	39,149
61	Syracuse, NY	2.0%	78	12,644
62	Providence-Warwick, RI-MA	1.9%	49	31,556
63	Cincinnati, OH-KY-IN	1.9%	39	42,395
64	St. Louis, MO-IL	1.9%	32	53,104
65	Tucson, AZ	1.9%	63	19,845
66	Grand Rapids-Kentwood, MI	1.8%	64	19,758
67	New Orleans-Metairie, LA	1.8%	56	23,083
68	Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach, FL	1.8%	21	110,981
69	Pittsburgh, PA	1.8%	41	40,875
70	San Antonio-New Braunfels, TX	1.8%	36	45,857
71	Dayton-Kettering, OH	1.7%	75	14,052
72	Tulsa, OK	1.7%	69	17,115
73	Palm Bay-Melbourne-Titusville, FL	1.7%	84	10,135
74	Cleveland-Elyria, OH	1.7%	47	33,859
75	Colorado Springs, CO	1.6%	80	12,294
76	Columbia, SC	1.6%	76	13,160
77	Albuquerque, NM	1.5%	73	14,160
78	Louisville/Jefferson County, KY-IN	1.5%	66	19,299
79	Memphis, TN-MS-AR	1.5%	62	20,095
80	North Port-Sarasota-Bradenton, FL	1.5%	79	12,433
81	Greenville-Anderson, SC	1.4%	77	13,083
82	Augusta-Richmond County, GA-SC	1.4%	91	8,463
83	Scranton--Wilkes-Barre, PA	1.4%	93	7,482
84	Deltona-Daytona Beach-Ormond Beach, FL	1.4%	88	9,184
85	Spokane-Spokane Valley, WA	1.3%	94	7,422
86	Winston-Salem, NC	1.3%	89	8,746
87	Charleston-North Charleston, SC	1.3%	83	10,428
88	Baton Rouge, LA	1.2%	82	10,653
89	Boise City, ID	1.2%	86	9,255
90	Cape Coral-Fort Myers, FL	1.2%	87	9,210
91	Lakeland-Winter Haven, FL	1.2%	90	8,636
92	Knoxville, TN	1.1%	85	9,946
93	Little Rock-North Little Rock-Conway, AR	1.1%	92	8,298
94	Toledo, OH	1.1%	95	7,001
95	Birmingham-Hoover, AL	1.0%	81	11,409
96	Provo-Orem, UT	0.9%	98	6,183
97	Ogden-Clearfield, UT	0.8%	99	5,476
98	El Paso, TX	0.8%	96	6,697
99	Jackson, MS	0.8%	100	4,463
100	McAllen-Edinburg-Mission, TX	0.7%	97	6,224
	Pop-Weighted Average, Top 100 Metros	**4.9%**		

Source: Author's calculations based on U.S. Census Bureau data. The online data appendix to this report contains all underlying data, including for all 385 metro areas.

Table O

Black foreign-born share of metro-area population, 2020: 100 largest metros

	Metro Area	% Black Foreign Born Pop Share	Abs Black For-Born Pop	
			Rank	Abs Number
1	Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach, FL	7.2%	2	441,402
2	New York-Newark-Jersey City, NY-NJ-PA	4.9%	1	942,793
3	Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	4.1%	3	259,715
4	Orlando-Kissimmee-Sanford, FL	3.6%	10	96,229
5	Bridgeport-Stamford-Norwalk, CT	3.2%	20	30,353
6	Boston-Cambridge-Newton, MA-NH	3.0%	5	148,542
7	Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Alpharetta, GA	2.9%	4	175,456
8	Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI	2.8%	9	104,178
9	Hartford-East Hartford-Middletown, CT	2.7%	18	31,879
10	Baltimore-Columbia-Towson, MD	2.4%	12	66,538
11	Columbus, OH	2.3%	15	48,650
12	Lakeland-Winter Haven, FL	2.0%	39	14,838
13	New Haven-Milford, CT	2.0%	32	16,654
14	Poughkeepsie-Newburgh-Middletown, NY	1.9%	41	13,091
15	Cape Coral-Fort Myers, FL	1.9%	38	15,000
16	Worcester, MA-CT	1.8%	29	17,489
17	Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD	1.8%	8	111,158
18	Providence-Warwick, RI-MA	1.8%	23	29,128
19	Palm Bay-Melbourne-Titusville, FL	1.8%	46	10,870
20	Houston-The Woodlands-Sugar Land, TX	1.7%	6	119,801
21	Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	1.6%	14	63,284
22	Greensboro-High Point, NC	1.6%	42	12,186
23	Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	1.5%	7	116,510
24	Raleigh-Cary, NC	1.4%	27	19,504
25	Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	1.4%	16	44,106
26	Des Moines-West Des Moines, IA	1.3%	52	9,439
27	Jacksonville, FL	1.2%	28	19,198
28	Charlotte-Concord-Gastonia, NC-SC	1.2%	19	31,266
29	Syracuse, NY	1.2%	61	7,483
30	Allentown-Bethlehem-Easton, PA-NJ	1.1%	51	9,705
31	Albany-Schenectady-Troy, NY	1.1%	50	9,755
32	Durham-Chapel Hill, NC	1.1%	63	7,040
33	Springfield, MA	1.1%	62	7,436
34	Indianapolis-Carmel-Anderson, IN	1.0%	25	21,602
35	Las Vegas-Henderson-Paradise, NV	1.0%	24	23,546
36	Rochester, NY	1.0%	48	10,631
37	Denver-Aurora-Lakewood, CO	1.0%	21	29,714
38	Harrisburg-Carlisle, PA	1.0%	70	5,723
39	Buffalo-Cheektowaga, NY	1.0%	47	10,817
40	Deltona-Daytona Beach-Ormond Beach, FL	0.9%	68	6,394
41	Louisville/Jefferson County, KY-IN	0.9%	44	11,671
42	Omaha-Council Bluffs, NE-IA	0.9%	54	8,562
43	Virginia Beach-Norfolk-Newport News, VA-NC	0.9%	35	15,729
44	Richmond, VA	0.9%	45	11,370
45	Nashville-Davidson--Murfreesboro--Franklin, TN	0.8%	36	15,724
46	North Port-Sarasota-Bradenton, FL	0.8%	67	6,482
47	Kansas City, MO-KS	0.8%	33	16,342
48	Austin-Round Rock-Georgetown, TX	0.7%	31	16,698
49	Grand Rapids-Kentwood, MI	0.7%	59	7,846
50	Cincinnati, OH-KY-IN	0.7%	34	15,829
	Pop-Weighted Average, Top 100 Metros	**1.7%**		

Source: Author's calculations based on U.S. Census Bureau data. The online data appendix to this report contains all underlying data, including for all 385 metro areas.

Black foreign-born share of metro-area population, 2020: 100 largest metros

	Metro Area	% Black Foreign Born Pop Share	Abs Black For-Born Pop Rank	Abs Number
51	San Francisco-Oakland-Berkeley, CA	0.7%	17	33,123
52	Chicago-Naperville-Elgin, IL-IN-WI	0.7%	13	64,467
53	Columbia, SC	0.7%	71	5,557
54	Dayton-Kettering, OH	0.6%	72	5,026
55	Memphis, TN-MS-AR	0.6%	56	8,325
56	New Orleans-Metairie, LA	0.6%	60	7,727
57	Phoenix-Mesa-Chandler, AZ	0.6%	22	29,468
58	Tucson, AZ	0.6%	69	6,086
59	Portland-Vancouver-Hillsboro, OR-WA	0.6%	40	14,047
60	Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim, CA	0.6%	11	72,973
61	Salt Lake City, UT	0.6%	64	6,840
62	Scranton--Wilkes-Barre, PA	0.5%	79	2,952
63	Madison, WI	0.5%	74	3,536
64	San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA	0.5%	49	10,012
65	San Diego-Chula Vista-Carlsbad, CA	0.5%	30	16,812
66	Colorado Springs, CO	0.5%	73	3,791
67	Augusta-Richmond County, GA-SC	0.5%	80	2,939
68	Oklahoma City, OK	0.5%	66	6,572
69	St. Louis, MO-IL	0.4%	43	12,161
70	Milwaukee-Waukesha, WI	0.4%	65	6,708
71	Winston-Salem, NC	0.4%	81	2,884
72	Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	0.4%	26	19,739
73	Stockton, CA	0.4%	77	3,181
74	Akron, OH	0.4%	82	2,828
75	Cleveland-Elyria, OH	0.4%	57	8,190
76	Sacramento-Roseville-Folsom, CA	0.4%	53	9,229
77	Wichita, KS	0.4%	88	2,398
78	Albuquerque, NM	0.4%	76	3,438
79	El Paso, TX	0.4%	78	3,044
80	Detroit-Warren-Dearborn, MI	0.4%	37	15,170
81	Pittsburgh, PA	0.3%	58	8,026
82	Tulsa, OK	0.3%	75	3,477
83	Little Rock-North Little Rock-Conway, AR	0.3%	85	2,527
84	San Antonio-New Braunfels, TX	0.3%	55	8,392
85	Charleston-North Charleston, SC	0.3%	83	2,584
86	Spokane-Spokane Valley, WA	0.3%	92	1,811
87	Baton Rouge, LA	0.3%	87	2,417
88	Knoxville, TN	0.3%	86	2,421
89	Boise City, ID	0.3%	89	2,117
90	Birmingham-Hoover, AL	0.2%	84	2,554
91	Toledo, OH	0.2%	95	1,358
92	Greenville-Anderson, SC	0.2%	91	1,926
93	Fresno, CA	0.2%	90	2,040
94	Bakersfield, CA	0.2%	94	1,604
95	Urban Honolulu, HI	0.2%	93	1,691
96	Jackson, MS	0.2%	98	990
97	Provo-Orem, UT	0.2%	97	1,094
98	Oxnard-Thousand Oaks-Ventura, CA	0.1%	96	1,253
99	Ogden-Clearfield, UT	0.1%	99	761
100	McAllen-Edinburg-Mission, TX	0.1%	100	692
	Pop-Weighted Average, Top 100 Metros	**1.7%**		

Source: Author's calculations based on U.S. Census Bureau data. The online data appendix to this report contains all underlying data, including for all 385 metro areas.

Table P

White foreign-born share of metro-area population, 2020: 100 largest metros

	Metro Area	% White Foreign Born Pop Share	Abs White For-Born Pop	
			Rank	Abs Number
1	Bridgeport-Stamford-Norwalk, CT	6.1%	27	57,195
2	New York-Newark-Jersey City, NY-NJ-PA	6.0%	1	1,139,209
3	Boston-Cambridge-Newton, MA-NH	5.1%	5	250,031
4	Providence-Warwick, RI-MA	5.1%	21	82,530
5	San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA	5.1%	17	100,123
6	Detroit-Warren-Dearborn, MI	5.1%	6	218,010
7	North Port-Sarasota-Bradenton, FL	5.0%	33	42,505
8	Chicago-Naperville-Elgin, IL-IN-WI	4.6%	3	434,737
9	Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim, CA	4.5%	2	592,372
10	San Francisco-Oakland-Berkeley, CA	4.5%	8	211,699
11	Hartford-East Hartford-Middletown, CT	4.3%	29	51,903
12	Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	4.2%	9	169,787
13	New Haven-Milford, CT	4.2%	37	35,528
14	Sacramento-Roseville-Folsom, CA	4.1%	18	97,564
15	Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach, FL	4.1%	4	252,230
16	San Diego-Chula Vista-Carlsbad, CA	3.9%	13	131,442
17	Worcester, MA-CT	3.8%	36	35,734
18	Cape Coral-Fort Myers, FL	3.8%	40	29,736
19	Springfield, MA	3.6%	49	24,921
20	Portland-Vancouver-Hillsboro, OR-WA	3.5%	19	89,073
21	Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	3.5%	16	114,861
22	Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	3.4%	7	212,100
23	Deltona-Daytona Beach-Ormond Beach, FL	3.3%	52	22,146
24	Poughkeepsie-Newburgh-Middletown, NY	3.1%	57	21,136
25	Orlando-Kissimmee-Sanford, FL	3.0%	22	79,860
26	Cleveland-Elyria, OH	2.9%	25	60,261
27	Oxnard-Thousand Oaks-Ventura, CA	2.8%	51	23,276
28	Las Vegas-Henderson-Paradise, NV	2.7%	24	63,471
29	Rochester, NY	2.7%	43	28,981
30	Phoenix-Mesa-Chandler, AZ	2.7%	12	136,560
31	Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD	2.6%	10	161,314
32	Jacksonville, FL	2.6%	34	40,946
33	Buffalo-Cheektowaga, NY	2.6%	44	28,796
34	Palm Bay-Melbourne-Titusville, FL	2.5%	60	15,386
35	Albany-Schenectady-Troy, NY	2.5%	54	21,637
36	Allentown-Bethlehem-Easton, PA-NJ	2.5%	58	20,775
37	Spokane-Spokane Valley, WA	2.4%	68	13,598
38	Raleigh-Cary, NC	2.3%	38	32,164
39	Syracuse, NY	2.2%	64	14,365
40	Denver-Aurora-Lakewood, CO	2.2%	23	64,381
41	Durham-Chapel Hill, NC	2.1%	65	13,852
42	Austin-Round Rock-Georgetown, TX	2.1%	30	48,049
43	Salt Lake City, UT	2.1%	46	25,687
44	Houston-The Woodlands-Sugar Land, TX	2.0%	11	146,424
45	Tucson, AZ	2.0%	55	21,565
46	Nashville-Davidson--Murfreesboro--Franklin, TN	2.0%	35	39,309
47	Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Alpharetta, GA	2.0%	15	118,939
48	Baltimore-Columbia-Towson, MD	2.0%	28	54,677
49	Colorado Springs, CO	1.9%	63	14,651
50	Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	1.8%	20	84,876
	Pop-Weighted Average, Top 100 Metros	**3.0%**		

Source: Author's calculations based on U.S. Census Bureau data. The online data appendix to this report contains all underlying data, including for all 385 metro areas.

White foreign-born share of metro-area population, 2020: 100 largest metros

	Metro Area	% White Foreign Born Pop Share	Abs White For-Born Pop	
			Rank	Abs Number
51	Boise City, ID	1.8%	66	13,734
52	Lakeland-Winter Haven, FL	1.8%	69	13,268
53	Milwaukee-Waukesha, WI	1.8%	45	27,774
54	Charlotte-Concord-Gastonia, NC-SC	1.7%	31	46,899
55	Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	1.7%	14	129,298
56	Richmond, VA	1.6%	56	21,174
57	Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI	1.6%	26	59,086
58	Charleston-North Charleston, SC	1.6%	70	13,150
59	St. Louis, MO-IL	1.6%	32	43,781
60	Madison, WI	1.5%	79	10,209
61	Akron, OH	1.5%	75	10,553
62	Des Moines-West Des Moines, IA	1.4%	80	9,991
63	Virginia Beach-Norfolk-Newport News, VA-NC	1.4%	48	25,023
64	Grand Rapids-Kentwood, MI	1.4%	61	15,193
65	Harrisburg-Carlisle, PA	1.4%	88	8,169
66	Columbus, OH	1.4%	42	29,333
67	Fresno, CA	1.4%	67	13,667
68	Stockton, CA	1.3%	78	10,251
69	Pittsburgh, PA	1.3%	39	30,610
70	Greenville-Anderson, SC	1.3%	72	12,347
71	Dayton-Kettering, OH	1.3%	77	10,346
72	Scranton--Wilkes-Barre, PA	1.3%	91	7,001
73	Greensboro-High Point, NC	1.3%	82	9,749
74	Provo-Orem, UT	1.2%	87	8,181
75	Toledo, OH	1.2%	89	7,878
76	Louisville/Jefferson County, KY-IN	1.2%	59	15,408
77	Albuquerque, NM	1.2%	73	11,050
78	Knoxville, TN	1.2%	76	10,467
79	New Orleans-Metairie, LA	1.2%	62	14,970
80	San Antonio-New Braunfels, TX	1.1%	41	29,672
81	Cincinnati, OH-KY-IN	1.1%	47	25,127
82	Ogden-Clearfield, UT	1.1%	90	7,529
83	Kansas City, MO-KS	1.1%	50	23,473
84	Indianapolis-Carmel-Anderson, IN	1.0%	53	21,900
85	Urban Honolulu, HI	1.0%	81	9,959
86	Columbia, SC	1.0%	85	8,714
87	Bakersfield, CA	1.0%	83	9,089
88	Augusta-Richmond County, GA-SC	1.0%	94	5,959
89	Winston-Salem, NC	0.9%	93	6,327
90	Omaha-Council Bluffs, NE-IA	0.9%	86	8,707
91	Tulsa, OK	0.9%	84	9,026
92	Wichita, KS	0.9%	96	5,642
93	Oklahoma City, OK	0.9%	71	12,364
94	Memphis, TN-MS-AR	0.8%	74	10,909
95	Little Rock-North Little Rock-Conway, AR	0.7%	97	5,522
96	Baton Rouge, LA	0.7%	95	5,820
97	Birmingham-Hoover, AL	0.6%	92	6,598
98	El Paso, TX	0.6%	98	4,871
99	Jackson, MS	0.4%	100	2,455
100	McAllen-Edinburg-Mission, TX	0.3%	99	2,536
	Pop-Weighted Average, Top 100 Metros	**3.0%**		

Source: Author's calculations based on U.S. Census Bureau data. The online data appendix to this report contains all underlying data, including for all 385 metro areas.

Table Q

Immigration rates, 2010–2020: Select counties

	County	% Immig Rate	Absol Net Immigration — Rank	Absol Net Immigration — Abs Number
1	Osceola County, Florida	17.6%	37	45,620
2	Miami-Dade County, Florida	17.0%	1	416,785
3	Suffolk County, Massachusetts	13.6%	17	95,580
4	Hudson County, New Jersey	11.5%	24	71,368
5	Orange County, Florida	11.4%	9	127,473
6	Arlington County, Virginia	10.1%	64	19,908
7	King County, Washington	9.2%	4	172,340
8	Bronx County, New York	9.0%	10	123,144
9	Santa Clara County, Cal	8.9%	6	154,331
10	Fairfax County, Virginia	8.8%	18	91,867
11	Fort Bend County, Texas	8.6%	34	46,451
12	Montgomery County, Maryland	8.3%	23	79,066
13	Middlesex County, Massachusetts	7.9%	12	117,223
14	Collier County, Florida	7.3%	59	23,035
15	Harris County, Texas	7.2%	2	284,154
16	Queens County, New York	7.0%	5	154,610
17	Hillsborough County, Florida	7.0%	20	84,332
18	San Francisco County, California	7.0%	27	55,128
19	Palm Beach County, Florida	7.0%	19	90,372
20	DeKalb County, Georgia	6.7%	35	46,205
21	New York County, New York	6.7%	14	106,155
22	Loudoun County, Virginia	6.7%	65	19,544
23	Alameda County, California	6.6%	16	97,657
24	District of Columbia, District of Columbia	6.5%	40	38,143
25	Collin County, Texas	6.4%	33	47,511
26	Prince George's County, Maryland	6.3%	28	53,842
27	Essex County, Massachusetts	6.2%	36	45,756
28	Durham County, North Carolina	6.0%	69	15,423
29	Mecklenburg County, North Carolina	5.6%	32	49,393
30	Fairfield County, Connecticut	5.6%	30	50,602
31	Philadelphia County, Pennsylvania	5.5%	21	83,267
32	Ramsey County, Minnesota	5.5%	52	27,664
33	Kings County, New York	5.4%	8	133,877
34	Travis County, Texas	5.4%	29	52,929
35	Franklin County, Ohio	5.3%	26	60,326
36	Dallas County, Texas	5.2%	11	120,690
37	Norfolk County, Massachusetts	5.1%	45	33,970
38	Orange County, North Carolina	4.6%	89	5,995
39	Davidson County, Tennessee	4.4%	53	27,260
40	Hennepin County, Minnesota	4.4%	31	50,346
41	Worcester County, Massachusetts	4.4%	44	34,851
42	Wake County, North Carolina	4.2%	42	35,837
43	Fulton County, Georgia	4.2%	41	36,988
44	Gwinnett County, Georgia	4.1%	48	31,990
45	Arapahoe County, Colorado	4.0%	62	22,193
46	Marion County, Indiana	4.0%	43	35,639
47	Duval County, Florida	3.9%	46	33,216
48	Bergen County, New Jersey	3.6%	47	32,534
49	Multnomah County, Oregon	3.6%	57	25,388
50	Denton County, Texas	3.5%	61	22,217
	Pop-Weighted Average, All Included Counties	**4.9%**		

Immigration rates, 2010–2020: Select counties

	County	% Immig Rate	Absol Net Immigration	
			Rank	Abs Number
51	Tarrant County, Texas	3.5%	25	60,914
52	Cobb County, Georgia	3.4%	58	23,161
53	Baltimore County, Maryland	3.4%	54	27,066
54	San Diego County, California	3.3%	15	100,169
55	Westchester County, New York	3.3%	50	30,847
56	Albany County, New York	3.1%	77	9,567
57	Salt Lake County, Utah	3.1%	49	30,951
58	Denver County, Colorado	3.1%	67	17,881
59	Boulder County, Colorado	3.1%	80	8,853
60	Benton County, Arkansas	3.0%	88	6,362
61	Baltimore city, Maryland	3.0%	66	18,765
62	Washington County, Arkansas	3.0%	90	5,852
63	Montgomery County, Texas	3.0%	73	12,645
64	Maricopa County, Arizona	2.9%	13	109,624
65	St. Lucie County, Florida	2.9%	83	7,797
66	Cook County, Illinois	2.9%	7	149,167
67	Sacramento County, California	2.9%	39	39,911
68	Los Angeles County, California	2.9%	3	279,126
69	DuPage County, Illinois	2.9%	56	26,005
70	Delaware County, Pennsylvania	2.8%	68	15,828
71	St. Louis city, Missouri	2.8%	79	8,995
72	Washington County, Oregon	2.7%	72	14,178
73	Orange County, California	2.7%	22	81,360
74	Williamson County, Texas	2.7%	75	10,397
75	Bexar County, Texas	2.6%	38	42,961
76	Hamilton County, Indiana	2.5%	86	6,590
77	Pinellas County, Florida	2.4%	60	22,346
78	Sarasota County, Florida	2.4%	78	9,080
79	Williamson County, Tennessee	2.4%	96	4,131
80	Camden County, New Jersey	2.2%	74	11,330
81	St. Louis County, Missouri	2.2%	63	21,570
82	Delaware County, Ohio	2.1%	97	3,528
83	Lake County, Illinois	2.1%	71	14,373
84	Hays County, Texas	2.0%	99	2,953
85	Nassau County, New York	2.0%	55	26,655
86	El Paso County, Texas	2.0%	70	15,422
87	Douglas County, Colorado	1.9%	91	5,306
88	Suffolk County, New York	1.9%	51	27,725
89	Rutherford County, Tennessee	1.8%	94	4,501
90	Galveston County, Texas	1.8%	92	5,109
91	Ada County, Idaho	1.7%	87	6,498
92	Dakota County, Minnesota	1.7%	85	6,655
93	Anne Arundel County, Maryland	1.7%	81	8,766
94	Utah County, Utah	1.7%	82	8,073
95	Brazoria County, Texas	1.5%	95	4,479
96	Anoka County, Minnesota	1.4%	93	4,725
97	Hidalgo County, Texas	1.3%	76	9,641
98	Bucks County, Pennsylvania	1.2%	84	7,551
99	Cameron County, Texas	0.8%	98	3,143
100	Clackamas County, Oregon	0.8%	100	2,822
101	Canyon County, Idaho	0.5%	101	910
102	Dutchess County, New York	0.0%	102	130
103	Deschutes County, Oregon	-0.1%	103	-119
	Pop-Weighted Average, All Included Counties	**4.9%**		

Source: Author's calculations based on U.S. Census Bureau data. The online data appendix to this report contains all underlying data.

Table R

Estimated Net Inbound Domestic Migration Rates by Immigrants, 2010–2020: Select Counties

	County	Est % Net Dom Mig Rate	Absol Net In-Migration	
			Rank	Abs Number
1	Fort Bend County, Texas	7.2%	2	39,053
2	Williamson County, Texas	6.2%	8	24,275
3	Collin County, Texas	6.0%	1	44,108
4	Loudoun County, Virginia	5.8%	14	16,906
5	Hays County, Texas	5.5%	35	8,082
6	Denton County, Texas	5.1%	4	32,319
7	Benton County, Arkansas	4.6%	31	9,636
8	Montgomery County, Texas	4.5%	10	19,161
9	Delaware County, Ohio	4.1%	45	6,831
10	Brazoria County, Texas	3.8%	24	11,538
11	Hamilton County, Indiana	3.6%	32	9,524
12	Williamson County, Tennessee	3.6%	46	6,256
13	Douglas County, Colorado	3.6%	30	9,737
14	Rutherford County, Tennessee	3.3%	34	8,317
15	Dakota County, Minnesota	3.1%	22	12,315
16	Anoka County, Minnesota	3.1%	28	10,152
17	Deschutes County, Oregon	2.9%	52	4,554
18	St. Lucie County, Florida	2.8%	40	7,416
19	Dutchess County, New York	2.5%	41	7,403
20	Bucks County, Pennsylvania	2.4%	17	15,194
21	Utah County, Utah	2.3%	26	11,248
22	Anne Arundel County, Maryland	2.2%	23	11,672
23	Mecklenburg County, North Carolina	2.2%	9	19,332
24	Clackamas County, Oregon	2.1%	37	7,959
25	Sarasota County, Florida	2.1%	36	8,060
26	Sacramento County, California	2.0%	6	28,238
27	Bexar County, Texas	2.0%	3	32,976
28	Canyon County, Idaho	2.0%	55	3,626
29	Duval County, Florida	1.9%	15	16,336
30	Ada County, Idaho	1.9%	43	7,223
31	Wake County, North Carolina	1.8%	16	15,551
32	Collier County, Florida	1.7%	48	5,523
33	Galveston County, Texas	1.7%	50	4,943
34	Hillsborough County, Florida	1.6%	11	19,128
35	Tarrant County, Texas	1.5%	7	26,645
36	Albany County, New York	1.5%	51	4,575
37	Palm Beach County, Florida	1.5%	12	19,125
38	Delaware County, Pennsylvania	1.4%	38	7,958
39	Gwinnett County, Georgia	1.4%	27	10,665
40	Nassau County, New York	1.3%	13	17,555
41	St. Louis County, Missouri	1.3%	20	12,934
42	Salt Lake County, Utah	1.3%	21	12,785
43	Norfolk County, Massachusetts	1.3%	33	8,331
44	Pinellas County, Florida	1.2%	25	11,278
45	Washington County, Arkansas	1.1%	61	2,220
46	Suffolk County, New York	1.0%	18	14,884
47	Baltimore County, Maryland	0.9%	42	7,297
48	Maricopa County, Arizona	0.8%	5	29,931
49	Bergen County, New Jersey	0.8%	44	6,925
50	King County, Washington	0.8%	19	14,360
	Pop-Weighted Average, All Included Counties	**-0.6%**		

Source: Author's calculations based on U.S. Census Bureau data. The online data appendix to this report contains all underlying data.

Estimated net inbound domestic migration rates by immigrants, 2010–2020: Select counties

	County	Est % Net Dom Mig Rate	Absol Net In-Migration	
			Rank	Abs Number
51	Camden County, New Jersey	0.7%	56	3,388
52	Franklin County, Ohio	0.7%	39	7,503
53	Fulton County, Georgia	0.6%	47	5,662
54	Arapahoe County, Colorado	0.6%	57	3,328
55	Marion County, Indiana	0.6%	49	5,285
56	Cobb County, Georgia	0.6%	54	3,911
57	Dallas County, Texas	0.4%	29	9,981
58	Ramsey County, Minnesota	0.4%	62	2,076
59	Travis County, Texas	0.4%	53	3,969
60	Davidson County, Tennessee	0.4%	60	2,471
61	Hidalgo County, Texas	0.4%	59	2,879
62	Hennepin County, Minnesota	0.3%	58	2,883
63	Prince George's County, Maryland	0.2%	63	1,591
64	Washington County, Oregon	0.0%	64	-35
65	Multnomah County, Oregon	-0.1%	65	-466
66	Essex County, Massachusetts	-0.1%	67	-1,014
67	Lake County, Illinois	-0.1%	66	-998
68	Alameda County, California	-0.2%	73	-2,520
69	Philadelphia County, Pennsylvania	-0.2%	76	-3,693
70	DuPage County, Illinois	-0.3%	72	-2,390
71	San Diego County, California	-0.3%	81	-8,204
72	Harris County, Texas	-0.4%	86	-15,098
73	Worcester County, Massachusetts	-0.4%	74	-3,030
74	Denver County, Colorado	-0.4%	71	-2,256
75	Westchester County, New York	-0.4%	78	-4,151
76	Durham County, North Carolina	-0.5%	68	-1,172
77	Baltimore city, Maryland	-0.5%	75	-3,084
78	Boulder County, Colorado	-0.8%	70	-2,199
79	Orange County, California	-0.9%	90	-26,981
80	Orange County, Florida	-1.0%	84	-11,711
81	Cameron County, Texas	-1.1%	79	-4,315
82	St. Louis city, Missouri	-1.2%	77	-3,821
83	District of Columbia, District of Columbia	-1.2%	80	-7,043
84	Orange County, North Carolina	-1.5%	69	-1,954
85	Fairfield County, Connecticut	-1.6%	85	-14,154
86	Middlesex County, Massachusetts	-1.7%	89	-24,476
87	Cook County, Illinois	-2.1%	99	-106,505
88	Santa Clara County, Cal	-2.3%	95	-40,617
89	El Paso County, Texas	-2.5%	87	-19,302
90	Montgomery County, Maryland	-2.9%	91	-27,711
91	Fairfax County, Virginia	-3.1%	93	-32,477
92	DeKalb County, Georgia	-3.2%	88	-21,838
93	Osceola County, Florida	-3.5%	82	-9,027
94	Los Angeles County, California	-3.6%	103	-348,822
95	San Francisco County, California	-4.6%	94	-35,962
96	Arlington County, Virginia	-4.6%	83	-9,034
97	Hudson County, New Jersey	-4.9%	92	-30,623
98	New York County, New York	-5.3%	98	-84,384
99	Bronx County, New York	-5.5%	97	-74,526
100	Kings County, New York	-5.9%	100	-146,709
101	Suffolk County, Massachusetts	-6.1%	96	-43,244
102	Queens County, New York	-8.2%	101	-179,489
103	Miami-Dade County, Florida	-8.5%	102	-208,296
	Pop-Weighted Average, All Included Counties	**-0.6%**		

Source: Author's calculations based on U.S. Census Bureau data. The online data appendix to this report contains all underlying data.

Table S

Percentage growth in the foreign-born population, 2010–2020: Select counties

	County	% Growth in Foreign Born Pop	Rank	Abs Number
			Absol Numerical Growth	
1	Hays County, Texas	102.0%	69	10,262
2	Delaware County, Ohio	86.2%	83	7,558
3	Williamson County, Texas	84.2%	33	33,939
4	Williamson County, Tennessee	72.2%	84	7,404
5	Fort Bend County, Texas	70.6%	6	93,766
6	Collin County, Texas	69.4%	10	87,921
7	Hamilton County, Indiana	69.0%	65	11,717
8	Benton County, Arkansas	66.5%	61	13,288
9	Douglas County, Colorado	62.3%	70	10,078
10	Loudoun County, Virginia	61.1%	28	38,743
11	Denton County, Texas	56.9%	21	48,706
12	Montgomery County, Texas	53.5%	40	27,765
13	Rutherford County, Tennessee	52.5%	80	8,330
14	Osceola County, Florida	48.3%	43	24,609
15	Mecklenburg County, North Carolina	45.0%	16	53,684
16	Hillsborough County, Florida	43.3%	11	78,473
17	Orange County, Florida	42.5%	7	90,744
18	Franklin County, Ohio	41.6%	26	42,270
19	King County, Washington	41.5%	3	154,813
20	Duval County, Florida	40.4%	35	31,107
21	Dakota County, Minnesota	35.8%	67	11,087
22	Anoka County, Minnesota	35.2%	81	7,995
23	Wake County, North Carolina	34.9%	30	37,633
24	Brazoria County, Texas	33.3%	64	11,914
25	Ramsey County, Minnesota	31.3%	47	20,531
26	Philadelphia County, Pennsylvania	31.0%	17	53,466
27	Albany County, New York	31.0%	79	8,385
28	Norfolk County, Massachusetts	30.9%	36	30,798
29	Palm Beach County, Florida	30.7%	9	88,809
30	Marion County, Indiana	30.1%	46	21,275
31	Collier County, Florida	29.2%	45	21,836
32	Essex County, Massachusetts	28.8%	37	30,747
33	Utah County, Utah	28.1%	72	9,884
34	Delaware County, Pennsylvania	26.7%	62	12,663
35	Davidson County, Tennessee	26.5%	51	18,646
36	Prince George's County, Maryland	26.2%	24	43,414
37	Middlesex County, Massachusetts	25.3%	12	68,982
38	Anne Arundel County, Maryland	25.2%	71	10,020
39	District of Columbia, District of Columbia	23.8%	53	18,135
40	Baltimore County, Maryland	23.8%	50	19,516
41	Durham County, North Carolina	23.7%	77	8,543
42	Bexar County, Texas	23.6%	20	49,205
43	St. Lucie County, Florida	23.3%	73	9,791
44	Harris County, Texas	23.1%	1	228,305
45	Washington County, Oregon	23.1%	48	19,999
46	Tarrant County, Texas	22.5%	14	61,151
47	Fulton County, Georgia	22.4%	42	25,771
48	Suffolk County, Massachusetts	21.9%	25	42,720
49	St. Louis County, Missouri	21.6%	60	13,425
50	Travis County, Texas	21.5%	29	37,724
	Pop-Weighted Average, All Included Counties	**18.8%**		

Source: Author's calculations based on U.S. Census Bureau data

Percentage growth in the foreign-born population, 2010–2020: Select counties

	County	% Growth in Foreign Born Pop	Absol Numerical Growth	
			Rank	Abs Number
51	Salt Lake County, Utah	21.4%	41	25,782
52	Hennepin County, Minnesota	21.4%	38	30,577
53	Ada County, Idaho	21.3%	88	4,739
54	Arapahoe County, Colorado	20.8%	56	17,172
55	Bucks County, Pennsylvania	20.6%	68	10,459
56	Worcester County, Massachusetts	20.4%	55	17,351
57	Sarasota County, Florida	19.6%	78	8,536
58	Alameda County, California	19.5%	8	88,835
59	Dallas County, Texas	19.2%	5	102,724
60	Santa Clara County, Cal	18.8%	4	121,007
61	Washington County, Arkansas	18.0%	91	3,882
62	Fairfax County, Virginia	17.9%	15	54,046
63	Gwinnett County, Georgia	17.9%	32	35,491
64	Sacramento County, California	17.5%	22	47,856
65	Arlington County, Virginia	17.1%	82	7,791
66	Miami-Dade County, Florida	16.9%	2	211,516
67	Hudson County, New Jersey	15.9%	27	40,084
68	Deschutes County, Oregon	15.3%	95	1,100
69	Montgomery County, Maryland	15.2%	23	44,655
70	Pinellas County, Florida	14.5%	57	14,891
71	Cobb County, Georgia	14.4%	58	14,863
72	Galveston County, Texas	14.3%	90	4,062
73	Multnomah County, Oregon	14.0%	59	13,653
74	Fairfield County, Connecticut	13.5%	44	24,565
75	Bergen County, New Jersey	12.6%	34	32,189
76	Baltimore city, Maryland	11.5%	86	5,009
77	Bronx County, New York	11.3%	19	50,381
78	Clackamas County, Oregon	10.5%	92	3,284
79	Nassau County, New York	10.4%	39	28,527
80	Camden County, New Jersey	9.6%	87	4,948
81	Suffolk County, New York	9.5%	49	19,783
82	San Diego County, California	9.1%	13	63,774
83	Maricopa County, Arizona	8.9%	18	53,180
84	DeKalb County, Georgia	7.9%	74	8,859
85	Orange County, North Carolina	7.9%	94	1,362
86	Westchester County, New York	7.7%	54	17,631
87	DuPage County, Illinois	7.4%	63	12,320
88	San Francisco County, California	6.6%	52	18,448
89	Canyon County, Idaho	6.0%	96	1,005
90	Hidalgo County, Texas	5.1%	66	11,088
91	Dutchess County, New York	5.1%	93	1,684
92	Denver County, Colorado	4.4%	89	4,239
93	Lake County, Illinois	4.2%	85	5,331
94	Orange County, California	4.0%	31	35,992
95	New York County, New York	1.9%	75	8,708
96	Boulder County, Colorado	1.5%	97	499
97	Queens County, New York	0.8%	76	8,602
98	Kings County, New York	-0.4%	100	-4,113
99	Cook County, Illinois	-0.8%	102	-8,406
100	St. Louis city, Missouri	-1.7%	98	-367
101	Los Angeles County, California	-2.6%	103	-91,192
102	El Paso County, Texas	-3.7%	101	-7,665
103	Cameron County, Texas	-3.9%	99	-3,831
	Pop-Weighted Average, All Included Counties	**18.8%**		

Source: Author's calculations based on U.S. Census Bureau data

Table T

Foreign-born share of county population, 2020: Select counties

	County	% Foreign Born Pop Share	Absol For Born Pop	
			Rank	Abs Number
1	Miami-Dade County, Florida	54.0%	2	1,460,319
2	Queens County, New York	46.9%	5	1,065,898
3	Hudson County, New Jersey	43.6%	25	292,751
4	Santa Clara County, Cal	39.7%	8	764,415
5	Kings County, New York	35.6%	7	917,406
6	Bronx County, New York	34.6%	14	494,349
7	San Francisco County, California	34.2%	24	299,510
8	Los Angeles County, California	33.7%	1	3,386,631
9	Alameda County, California	32.8%	12	544,274
10	Montgomery County, Maryland	32.2%	19	337,726
11	Fairfax County, Virginia	30.9%	17	355,640
12	Bergen County, New Jersey	30.8%	26	286,648
13	Suffolk County, Massachusetts	29.7%	30	237,555
14	Orange County, California	29.6%	6	939,029
15	Fort Bend County, Texas	28.6%	34	226,540
16	New York County, New York	28.3%	15	460,810
17	Hidalgo County, Texas	26.3%	33	226,797
18	Harris County, Texas	26.0%	3	1,216,002
19	Palm Beach County, Florida	25.5%	16	377,927
20	Collier County, Florida	25.5%	63	96,708
21	Westchester County, New York	25.4%	29	246,002
22	Gwinnett County, Georgia	25.3%	31	234,113
23	Loudoun County, Virginia	25.2%	59	102,169
24	Dallas County, Texas	24.3%	11	636,541
25	El Paso County, Texas	23.9%	40	200,081
26	King County, Washington	23.7%	13	527,658
27	Prince George's County, Maryland	23.0%	38	209,258
28	San Diego County, California	22.9%	9	762,260
29	Cameron County, Texas	22.6%	64	95,536
30	Arlington County, Virginia	22.6%	76	53,445
31	Nassau County, New York	22.4%	23	303,618
32	Orange County, Florida	22.2%	22	304,388
33	Fairfield County, Connecticut	21.9%	39	206,892
34	Collin County, Texas	21.3%	36	214,660
35	Middlesex County, Massachusetts	21.3%	18	341,278
36	Sacramento County, California	20.9%	21	321,626
37	Cook County, Illinois	20.9%	4	1,078,475
38	Osceola County, Florida	20.8%	70	75,606
39	DuPage County, Illinois	19.4%	41	179,392
40	Lake County, Illinois	18.7%	50	130,880
41	Norfolk County, Massachusetts	18.5%	51	130,352
42	Washington County, Oregon	17.9%	57	106,612
43	Hillsborough County, Florida	17.9%	27	259,581
44	Essex County, Massachusetts	17.5%	48	137,665
45	Travis County, Texas	17.0%	37	213,173
46	St. Lucie County, Florida	16.1%	78	51,788
47	Tarrant County, Texas	16.0%	20	332,389
48	DeKalb County, Georgia	16.0%	52	120,499
49	Mecklenburg County, North Carolina	15.8%	43	173,093
50	Ramsey County, Minnesota	15.7%	68	86,080
	Pop-Weighted Average, All Included Counties	**22.6%**		

Source: Author's calculations based on U.S. Census Bureau data

Foreign-born share of county population, 2020: Select counties

	County	% Foreign Born Pop Share	Absol For Born Pop	
			Rank	Abs Number
51	Denton County, Texas	15.6%	49	134,362
52	Cobb County, Georgia	15.6%	53	117,879
53	Suffolk County, New York	15.3%	32	227,360
54	Arapahoe County, Colorado	15.3%	62	99,586
55	Maricopa County, Arizona	14.7%	10	649,982
56	Philadelphia County, Pennsylvania	14.3%	35	225,881
57	Denver County, Colorado	14.0%	61	100,469
58	Durham County, North Carolina	14.0%	83	44,522
59	Hennepin County, Minnesota	13.8%	42	173,760
60	Multnomah County, Oregon	13.8%	55	111,453
61	Montgomery County, Texas	13.5%	69	79,665
62	District of Columbia, District of Columbia	13.4%	65	94,193
63	Fulton County, Georgia	13.4%	47	140,737
64	Wake County, North Carolina	13.3%	45	145,326
65	Waller County, Texas	13.3%	106	7,120
66	Bexar County, Texas	13.0%	28	257,716
67	Williamson County, Texas	13.0%	72	74,250
68	Brazoria County, Texas	13.0%	81	47,668
69	Davidson County, Tennessee	12.9%	67	88,964
70	Salt Lake County, Utah	12.8%	44	146,196
71	Orange County, North Carolina	12.7%	99	18,579
72	Worcester County, Massachusetts	12.4%	58	102,232
73	Baltimore County, Maryland	12.3%	60	101,619
74	Sarasota County, Florida	12.2%	77	52,018
75	Benton County, Arkansas	12.2%	88	33,258
76	Pinellas County, Florida	12.1%	54	117,413
77	Dutchess County, New York	11.7%	87	34,553
78	Albany County, New York	11.6%	85	35,469
79	Duval County, Florida	11.4%	56	108,012
80	Camden County, New Jersey	11.2%	75	56,641
81	Franklin County, Ohio	11.0%	46	143,781
82	Washington County, Arkansas	10.8%	95	25,395
83	Delaware County, Pennsylvania	10.6%	74	60,021
84	Boulder County, Colorado	10.1%	89	32,912
85	Dakota County, Minnesota	9.9%	84	42,045
86	Bucks County, Pennsylvania	9.7%	73	61,112
87	Galveston County, Texas	9.6%	90	32,504
88	Marion County, Indiana	9.6%	66	91,997
89	Hays County, Texas	9.1%	98	20,319
90	Hamilton County, Indiana	8.7%	92	28,700
91	Anoka County, Minnesota	8.7%	91	30,722
92	Anne Arundel County, Maryland	8.6%	79	49,757
93	Clackamas County, Oregon	8.4%	86	34,666
94	Rockwall County, Texas	8.2%	104	8,325
95	Baltimore city, Maryland	8.1%	80	48,580
96	Delaware County, Ohio	7.9%	102	16,321
97	Canyon County, Idaho	7.9%	101	17,625
98	Douglas County, Colorado	7.6%	94	26,262
99	Williamson County, Tennessee	7.6%	100	17,656
100	St. Louis County, Missouri	7.6%	71	75,539
101	Rutherford County, Tennessee	7.5%	96	24,199
102	Utah County, Utah	7.3%	82	45,074
103	St. Louis city, Missouri	6.9%	97	20,889
104	Comal County, Texas	5.9%	103	8,752
105	Ada County, Idaho	5.7%	93	26,942
106	Deschutes County, Oregon	4.3%	105	8,295
	Pop-Weighted Average, All Included Counties	**22.6%**		

Source: Author's calculations based on U.S. Census Bureau data.

Table U

Most innovative metros, Bush institute composite ranking

	Metro Area	% Foreign Born Pop Share
1	San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA	39.1%
2	New York-Newark-Jersey City, NY-NJ-PA	29.3%
3	San Francisco-Oakland-Berkeley, CA	30.7%
4	Boston-Cambridge-Newton, MA-NH	18.9%
5	Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	19.2%
6	Chicago-Naperville-Elgin, IL-IN-WI	17.6%
7	Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	18.5%
8	Houston-The Woodlands-Sugar Land, TX	23.3%
9	Austin-Round Rock-Georgetown, TX	14.8%
10	San Diego-Chula Vista-Carlsbad, CA	22.9%
11	Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim, CA	32.7%
12	Portland-Vancouver-Hillsboro, OR-WA	12.7%
13	Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	22.8%
14	Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI	10.6%
15	Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD	11.1%
16	Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Alpharetta, GA	13.9%
17	Denver-Aurora-Lakewood, CO	11.8%
18	Detroit-Warren-Dearborn, MI	10.1%
19	Phoenix-Mesa-Chandler, AZ	14.2%
20	Boise City, ID	6.4%
21	Rochester, NY	6.8%
22	Albany-Schenectady-Troy, NY	8.3%
23	Boulder, CO	10.1%
24	Pittsburgh, PA	4.0%
25	Baltimore-Columbia-Towson, MD	10.3%
26	St. Louis, MO-IL	4.8%
27	Milwaukee-Waukesha, WI	7.5%
28	Raleigh-Cary, NC	12.0%
29	Tucson, AZ	12.5%
30	Ann Arbor, MI	12.6%
31	Bridgeport-Stamford-Norwalk, CT	21.9%
32	Cincinnati, OH-KY-IN	5.0%
33	Madison, WI	7.4%
34	Durham-Chapel Hill, NC	11.6%
35	Oxnard-Thousand Oaks-Ventura, CA	21.3%
36	Bremerton-Silverdale-Port Orchard, WA	6.7%
37	Santa Cruz-Watsonville, CA	17.5%
38	Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach, FL	40.9%
39	Provo-Orem, UT	7.2%
40	Trenton-Princeton, NJ	23.0%
41	Palm Bay-Melbourne-Titusville, FL	8.6%
42	Las Vegas-Henderson-Paradise, NV	22.1%
43	Nashville-Davidson--Murfreesboro--Franklin, TN	8.2%
44	Fort Collins, CO	5.7%
45	Charlotte-Concord-Gastonia, NC-SC	10.4%
46	Kansas City, MO-KS	6.8%
47	Peoria, IL	3.4%
48	San Antonio-New Braunfels, TX	11.6%
49	Santa Maria-Santa Barbara, CA	22.7%
50	Greeley, CO	8.9%
	Pop-Weighted Average, Top 100 Metros	**17.2%**

Source: Composite ranking compiled by the author, drawing on five rankings developed by external media and research organizations. See Appendix 1 for sources and methods.

Table U (cont.)

Most innovative metros, Bush Institute composite ranking

	Metro Area	% Foreign Born Pop Share
51	Des Moines-West Des Moines, IA	7.8%
52	Lexington-Fayette, KY	7.7%
53	Charleston-North Charleston, SC	5.6%
54	Springfield, MA	8.4%
55	Orlando-Kissimmee-Sanford, FL	18.8%
56	Salt Lake City, UT	12.3%
57	Indianapolis-Carmel-Anderson, IN	7.1%
58	Albuquerque, NM	8.9%
59	Providence-Warwick, RI-MA	13.6%
60	Oklahoma City, OK	7.8%
61	Flint, MI	2.7%
62	Richmond, VA	8.0%
63	Urban Honolulu, HI	19.5%
64	Tulsa, OK	6.6%
65	Louisville/Jefferson County, KY-IN	6.0%
66	Augusta-Richmond County, GA-SC	4.4%
67	Omaha-Council Bluffs, NE-IA	7.6%
68	Virginia Beach-Norfolk-Newport News, VA-NC	6.7%
69	Chattanooga, TN-GA	4.1%
70	Anchorage, AK	8.8%
71	Rochester, MN	8.3%
72	Tallahassee, FL	6.0%
73	Cedar Rapids, IA	3.9%
74	Jacksonville, FL	9.4%
75	New Orleans-Metairie, LA	7.6%
76	Burlington-South Burlington, VT	7.2%
77	Cleveland-Elyria, OH	6.0%
78	Birmingham-Hoover, AL	3.9%
79	Greensboro-High Point, NC	9.0%
80	Columbia, SC	5.2%
81	Little Rock-North Little Rock-Conway, AR	4.2%
82	Knoxville, TN	4.2%
83	Portland-South Portland, ME	4.9%
84	Montgomery, AL	3.7%
85	Jackson, MS	2.3%
86	Winston-Salem, NC	6.8%
87	Memphis, TN-MS-AR	5.3%
88	Baton Rouge, LA	4.0%
89	Columbus, OH	8.4%
90	Colorado Springs, CO	6.8%
91	Corpus Christi, TX	8.2%
92	Dayton-Kettering, OH	4.5%
93	Grand Rapids-Kentwood, MI	6.6%
94	Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	14.2%
95	Wichita, KS	7.3%
96	Toledo, OH	3.3%
97	Akron, OH	4.9%
98	Reno, NV	14.3%
99	Sacramento-Roseville-Folsom, CA	18.5%
100	Lincoln, NE	7.9%
	Pop-Weighted Average, Top 100 Metros	**17.2%**

Source: Composite ranking compiled by the author, drawing on five rankings developed by external media and research organizations. See Appendix 1 for sources and methods.

Most Innovative Metros, Bush Institute Composite Ranking

	Metro Area	% Foreign Born Pop Share
101	El Paso, TX	24.0%
102	Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	21.1%
103	Buffalo-Cheektowaga, NY	6.6%
104	Allentown-Bethlehem-Easton, PA-NJ	9.5%
105	Manchester-Nashua, NH	9.9%
106	Spokane-Spokane Valley, WA	5.2%
107	Green Bay, WI	5.0%
108	Greenville-Anderson, SC	6.1%
109	Springfield, MO	2.6%
110	Charlottesville, VA	8.6%
111	Fargo, ND-MN	6.9%
112	Sioux Falls, SD	6.8%
113	Roanoke, VA	4.8%
114	Hartford-East Hartford-Middletown, CT	13.3%
115	Syracuse, NY	6.2%
116	Lancaster, PA	5.2%
117	Billings, MT	na
118	Springfield, IL	na
119	Fresno, CA	20.4%
120	Bakersfield, CA	19.8%
121	Modesto, CA	20.2%
122	Stockton, CA	23.0%
	Pop-Weighted Average, Top 100 Metros	**17.2%**

Source: Composite ranking compiled by the author, drawing on five rankings developed by external media and research organizations. See Appendix 1 for sources and methods.

Table V

Metros ranked by construction costs, cheapest to most expensive: Bush Institute ranking

	Metro Area	% Foreign Born Pop Share	% Growth in For-Born Pop	% Growth in Hispanic Pop
1	Raleigh-Cary, NC	12.0%	30.8%	29.8%
2	San Antonio-New Braunfels, TX	11.6%	22.1%	23.4%
3	Houston-The Woodlands-Sugar Land, TX	23.3%	27.2%	27.1%
4	Orlando-Kissimmee-Sanford, FL	18.8%	43.1%	51.6%
5	Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	18.5%	28.5%	26.5%
6	Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach, FL	40.9%	19.5%	19.6%
7	New Orleans-Metairie, LA	7.6%	15.4%	19.9%
8	Memphis, TN-MS-AR	5.3%	11.2%	19.4%
9	Detroit-Warren-Dearborn, MI	10.1%	18.8%	18.3%
10	Nashville-Davidson--Murfreesboro--Franklin, TN	8.2%	35.0%	33.2%
11	Denver-Aurora-Lakewood, CO	11.8%	14.4%	20.2%
12	Phoenix-Mesa-Chandler, AZ	14.2%	10.3%	26.4%
13	Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Alpharetta, GA	13.9%	17.8%	18.1%
14	Cincinnati, OH-KY-IN	5.0%	32.6%	32.4%
15	Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	22.8%	21.0%	28.3%
16	Las Vegas-Henderson-Paradise, NV	22.1%	18.6%	27.1%
17	Indianapolis-Carmel-Anderson, IN	7.1%	38.1%	23.0%
18	Portland-Vancouver-Hillsboro, OR-WA	12.7%	16.3%	25.9%
19	Cleveland-Elyria, OH	6.0%	3.3%	25.7%
20	Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	19.2%	39.0%	33.3%
21	Kansas City, MO-KS	6.8%	23.0%	19.6%
22	Milwaukee-Waukesha, WI	7.5%	11.2%	17.3%
23	Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim, CA	32.7%	-2.8%	2.8%
24	San Diego-Chula Vista-Carlsbad, CA	22.9%	6.6%	13.4%
25	Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD	11.1%	22.1%	25.6%
26	Buffalo-Cheektowaga, NY	6.6%	15.2%	25.7%
27	Chicago-Naperville-Elgin, IL-IN-WI	17.6%	-0.3%	6.0%
28	Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI	10.6%	25.1%	19.6%
29	Boston-Cambridge-Newton, MA-NH	18.9%	24.0%	32.7%
30	San Francisco-Oakland-Berkeley, CA	30.7%	11.3%	8.6%
31	Sacramento-Roseville-Folsom, CA	18.5%	18.6%	18.4%
32	Urban Honolulu, HI	19.5%	0.8%	24.4%
33	New York-Newark-Jersey City, NY-NJ-PA	29.3%	7.1%	8.5%
	Pop-Weighted Average, Top 100 Metros	**17.2%**		**22.2%**

Source: Composite ranking compiled by the author, drawing on three rankings developed by external media and research organizations. See Appendix 1 for sources and methods.

Table W

Metros ranked for being "best foodie cities": Bush Institute composite ranking

	Metro Area	% Foreign Born Pop Share
1	San Francisco-Oakland-Berkeley, CA	30.7%
2	New Orleans-Metairie, LA	7.6%
3	Portland-Vancouver-Hillsboro, OR-WA	12.7%
4	Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim, CA	32.7%
5	Las Vegas-Henderson-Paradise, NV	22.1%
6	Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach, FL	40.9%
7	New York-Newark-Jersey City, NY-NJ-PA	29.3%
8	Chicago-Naperville-Elgin, IL-IN-WI	17.6%
9	Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	19.2%
10	Orlando-Kissimmee-Sanford, FL	18.8%
11	San Diego-Chula Vista-Carlsbad, CA	22.9%
12	Nashville-Davidson--Murfreesboro--Franklin, TN	8.2%
13	Austin-Round Rock-Georgetown, TX	14.8%
14	Denver-Aurora-Lakewood, CO	11.8%
15	Sacramento-Roseville-Folsom, CA	18.5%
16	Charleston-North Charleston, SC	5.6%
17	Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Alpharetta, GA	13.9%
18	Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	22.8%
19	Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	14.2%
20	Houston-The Woodlands-Sugar Land, TX	23.3%
21	Savannah, GA	6.0%
22	Urban Honolulu, HI	19.5%
23	Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD	11.1%
24	Richmond, VA	8.0%
25	San Antonio-New Braunfels, TX	11.6%
26	Cincinnati, OH-KY-IN	5.0%
27	Grand Rapids-Kentwood, MI	6.6%
	Pop-Weighted Average, Top 100 Metros	**17.2%**

Source: Composite ranking compiled by the author, drawing on three rankings developed by external media organizations. See Appendix 1 for sources and methods.

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