HISPANIC MIGRATION AND POPULATION REDISTRIBUTION IN THE UNITED STATES

The US Hispanic population has grown rapidly over the last two decades and remains geographically concentrated in nine states. Redistribution away from core states through internal migration has been largely offset by heavy immigration to traditional areas of Hispanic concentration. Geographical patterns of Hispanic migration show broad similarities to overall patterns of population redistribution in the United States. New York and California serve as key spatial redistributors or pivots in the Hispanic migration system. **Key Words: Hispanic concentration, Hispanic migration, population gateway, spatial redistributor.**

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The Hispanic population in the United States has grown rapidly over the last two decades, increasing from 9.1 million in 1970 to an estimated 18.8 million in 1987 (US Bureau of the Census 1988). Hispanics now represent the fastest growing minority in the nation. Between 1980 and 1987, the Hispanic population increased 30% while the non-Hispanic population grew less than 6%. Projections of the Hispanic population for the year 2000 range from 23 to 31 million (US Bureau of the Census 1986). According to the middle series projections, Hispanics will account for one-fourth of total US population growth between 1983 and 2000.

"Hispanic" is an umbrella term that refers to US residents whose cultural heritage traces back to a Spanish-speaking country (Valdivieso and Davis 1988). Other than having common ancestral ties to Latin America or Spain, peoples of Spanish origin in the US are highly diverse (Bean and Tienda 1988). Mexican-Americans, the largest group, account for 63% of US Hispanics in 1987; Puerto Ricans account for 12% and Cuban-Americans 5%. Hispanics with origins in Central America (excluding Mexico) and South America comprise 11%, and the residual category "other Hispanics" makeup the remaining 8% of US Hispanics (US Bureau of the Census 1988).

Hispanic immigration has received considerable scholarly attention, but Hispanic migration and population redistribution *within* the United States is seldom investigated (Garcia 1981). Some recent studies examine the geographical distribution of particular Hispanic groups, such as Boswell's (1984, 1985a, 1985b) work on Cuban-Americans and Puerto Ricans, Arreola's (1985) examination of Mexican-Americans, and Portes and Bach's (1985) longitudinal study of Cuban and Mexican immigrants in the United States. Bean et al. (1988) recently reviewed the geographical distribution and interregional migration of Hispanic groups. There has not been a comprehensive examination of place-to-place migration flows of Hispanics in the United States, partly due to the historical lack of information on Hispanic migration within the United States. Hispanic interstate migration for the period 1975–80 are the first place-to-place Hispanic migration data published by the Bureau of the Census (1985).

The purpose of this paper is to identify patterns of Hispanic migration and population redistribution within the United States. The paper focuses on whether Hispanics are becoming more or less geographically concentrated in the United States and on identifying recent migration patterns that are contributing to Hispanic population redistribution.

Hispanic population redistribution is examined in two ways. First, changes in the geographical distribution of Hispanics over recent decades are examined through state percentage shares of the total Hispanic population and state percentage shares of four major Hispanic groups: Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans, Cuban-Americans, and Central/South Americans. Shifts in the state shares over time indicate trends in the geographical concentration and deconcentration of Hispanic groups in the United States.

Second, I examine the role of immigration from abroad and internal migration within the United States in contributing to Hispanic population redistribution. These analyses provide insights into the relative importance of immigration versus internal migration in contributing to Hispanic population change at the state level. I also identify large net interstate migration streams within the US and compute the effectiveness of these streams in redistributing the Hispanic population. This shows the interstate connections most instrumental in redistributing Hispanics within the United States.

The paper draws upon the concept of spatial redistributors in contributing to a geographical understanding of the US Hispanic migration system. Spatial redistributors are places that exhibit asymmetry between patterns of in- and out-migration and thus serve as pivots in systems of population redistribution (Roseman 1977; Morrison 1977; Roseman and McHugh 1982). Key states should

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TABLE 1
TOP NINE STATES IN HISPANIC POPULATION

State	1970 Population	% Dist.	1980 Population	% Dist.	1987[a] Population	% Dist.
California	2,369,292	26.1	4,544,331	31.1	6,249,000	33.3
Texas	1,840,648	20.3	2,985,824	20.4	4,207,000	22.4
New York	1,351,982	14.9	1,659,300	11.4	2,182,000	11.6
Florida	405,036	4.5	858,158	5.9	1,256,000	6.7
New Jersey	288,488	3.2	491,883	3.4	737,000	3.9
Illinois	393,204	4.3	635,602	4.4	692,000	3.7
Arizona	264,770	2.9	440,701	3.0	664,000	3.5
New Mexico	308,340	3.4	477,222	3.3	535,000	2.9
Colorado	225,506	2.5	339,717	2.3	347,000	1.9
Total for nine states	7,447,266	82.1	12,432,738	85.1	16,869,000	89.9
United States	9,072,602	100.0	14,608,673	100.0	18,790,000	100.0

[a] 1987 figures are estimates of the civilian, noninstitutional Hispanic population from the March Current Population Survey. They are not directly comparable to the 1970 and 1980 census populations.
Sources. US Bureau of the Census, 1982; US Bureau of the Census, Current Population Survey, March 1987, Public Use File.

serve as Hispanic spatial redistributors at the international and national scales. International redistributors are states that attract large numbers of Hispanics from abroad and redistribute Hispanics within the United States, thus serving as population gateways. Key states should also serve as internal redistributors of Hispanics, as indicated by large net interstate migration streams. The redistributor concept is particularly relevant to the geographic concentration and deconcentration of Hispanics in the United States.

I first summarize shifts in the geographical distribution of Hispanic groups in the United States. The second section examines Hispanic immigration from abroad and internal migration within the United States, emphasizing the role of key states as Hispanic population gateways. Geographical patterns of migration that contribute to Hispanic population redistribution within the United States are identified in the third section. The final section is a discussion of three key issues: (1) whether Hispanic groups are becoming more or less geographically concentrated, (2) determinants of Hispanic migration within the United States, and (3) linkages between Hispanic immigration from abroad and internal migration within the United States.

Geographical Distribution of Hispanics

The US Hispanic population is concentrated geographically. Nine states accounted for 82% of the total Hispanic population in 1970 (Table 1). This percentage rose to 85% in 1980 and an estimated 90% in 1987. The following states had 1987 Hispanic populations greater than 300,000: New York and New Jersey in the Northeast, Illinois in the Midwest, Florida in the Southeast, and California, Texas, Arizona, New Mexico, and Colorado in the Southwest.

There has been some redistribution between these nine states as measured by their share of the total US Hispanic population, most notably a seven-point rise in California's share, so that California now accounts for one-third of all Hispanics in the country. Texas, Florida, and Arizona have also increased their share of the Hispanic population over the last two decades. New York's declining share between 1970 and 1980 is noteworthy. Illinois, New Mexico, and Colorado also posted small declines in their share of the Hispanic population.

The US Hispanic population is diverse in nationality and cultural heritage. Disaggregating Hispanics by national origin and showing state percentage shares in 1960 and 1980 indicate trends in the geographic concentration and deconcentration of individual Hispanic groups (Table 2).

Hispanics of Mexican origin dominate in the southwestern states of California, Texas, Arizona, New Mexico, and Colorado, and also in Illinois. California and Texas in 1980 accounted for three-fourths of the Mexican-origin population in the United States. The most important shifts in the distribution of Mexican-Americans are the increase in California's share coupled with a declining share for Texas. This long-term trend began early in the twentieth century. In 1910, 60% of persons of Mexican stock in the United States resided in Texas, and California accounted for only 13% (Grebler et al. 1970). At that time, Texas had greater employment opportunities for the Mexican population, particularly in agriculture. Throughout the twentieth century, California's share of the Mexican-origin population steadily increased as job opportunities shifted to California, initially in agriculture and later through urban expansion (Jaffee et al. 1980).

Illinois is the only state outside the southwest with a large Mexican-American population. The Mexican-origin population in Illinois grew from less than 2% of the national total in 1960 to nearly 5% in 1980. The development of the Mexican-origin population in Illinois resulted from their "settling out" from midwestern migratory labor streams as well as from rect migration to Chicago in response employment opportunities in railroad maintenance, steelmaking, meatpacking, and other manufacturing sectors (Grebler et al. 1970). In 1980, Chicago ranked third among metropolitan areas in Mexican origin population, behind Los Angeles and Houston (Bean et al. 1988).

Puerto Ricans are the largest Hispanic group in New York and New Jersey. The most important redistribution of Puerto Ricans has been away from New York to nearby states in the Northeast, in addition to Florida and California. New York's share of the Puerto Rican population dropped from 72% in 1960 to 49% in 1980. Conversely, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Florida, and California increased their share of Puerto Ricans. The deconcentration of Puerto Ricans away from New York resulted from declining employment opportunities, poor housing, and crime problems in New York City (Boswell 1984).

Cuban-Americans represent the largest Hispanic group in Florida, where they have become increasingly concentrated in south Florida, partly in response to the Cuban Refugee Resettlement Progra (Boswell and Curtis 1984). Cuban-Ame icans resettled outside south Florida under this government-sponsored program began returning to Miami in the late 1960s. By the mid-1970s this return flow increased to a major migration stream. A survey commissioned by *The Miami Herald* in 1978 found that 40% of the population of Cuban origin in Dade County were returnees to Miami from elsewhere in the United States (Boswell and Curtis 1984).

The increased concentration of the Cuban-origin population in south Florida continues in the 1980s. The 1980 census figures do not include the estimated 125,000 Cuban "Marielito" refugees who arrived in Miami shortly after the 1980 enumeration. In addition, Cuban return movement to south Florida has continued in the 1980s. Boswell and Curtis (1984) cite estimates prepared by the Cuban National Planning Council that between 65 and 70% of Cuban-Americans reside in Florida.

Outside Florida, sizable numbers of Cuban-Americans reside in New York, New Jersey, and California. Before the Castro revolution in 1959, New York City was the primary destination of Cuban immigrants. New York's share of Cuban-Americans declined from 45% in 1950 to 10% in 1980. Cuban-Americans in New Jersey are highly concentrated in the area of Union City-West New York, across the

Hudson River from New York City. This concentration of Cuban-Americans is the largest outside Miami. California accounts for 8% of the 1980 Cuban-origin population. Los Angeles ranks fourth among urban areas in Cuban-American population (Boswell and Curtis 1984).

Hispanics with origins in Central America (excluding Mexico) and South America are concentrated in New York and California, with smaller concentrations in Florida and New Jersey. New York has a greater number of Hispanics with origins in South America and the Dominican Republic, while California has larger numbers of Central Americans (Allen and Turner 1988). Although fewer in number than Hispanics of Mexican and Puerto Rican origin, persons with origins in Central and South America represent the fastest growing Hispanic group in the United States, increasing an estimated 40% between 1980 and 1987 (US Bureau of the Census 1988). Much of the recent influx of Central Americans is a response to political turmoil in El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Guatemala (Allen and Turner 1988).

Hispanics are a highly urban population. In 1980, 81% of Mexican-Americans resided in metropolitan areas. Other Hispanic groups show greater levels of metropolitan concentration: 96% for Puerto Ricans, 94% for Cuban-Americans, and 96% for Central/South Americans. In comparison, 73% of non-Hispanic whites resided in metropolitan areas in 1980 (Bean et al. 1988). Twenty-nine metropolitan areas in 1980 had more than 100,000 Hispanics. Los Angeles and New York alone accounted for nearly one-quarter of the US Hispanic population (Davis et al. 1983).

Hispanics also show a propensity to concentrate in central cities within metropolitan areas. In 1980, 65% of Mexican-Americans, 81% of Puerto Ricans, 45% of Cuban-Americans, and 67% of Central/South Americans living in metropolitan areas were in central cities. The comparable figure for non-Hispanic whites is only 35%. Cuban-Americans have shown the greatest suburbanization, indicating their higher socioeconomic status relative to other Hispanic groups (Bean et al. 1988).

TABLE 2
GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF HISPANICS BY NATIONAL ORIGIN, 1960 AND 1980[a]

State	Percent of US total							
	Mexican		Puerto Rican		Cuban		Central/South American	
	1960	1980	1960	1980	1960	1980	1960	1980
Massachusetts	—	0.1	0.3	3.8	0.7	0.8	1.6	1.8
Connecticut	—	—	1.6	4.5	2.1	0.7	1.9	1.1
New York	0.1	0.4	72.2	49.2	31.9	10.1	29.5	34.9
New Jersey	0.1	0.1	6.5	12.2	6.9	10.7	5.1	8.4
Pennyslvania	0.1	0.2	2.1	4.4	1.5	0.6	1.9	0.8
Ohio	0.2	0.5	1.3	1.7	0.8	0.4	1.7	0.5
Illinois	1.7	4.7	3.9	6.7	1.9	2.3	3.7	3.2
Michigan	0.6	1.2	0.3	0.5	0.2	0.4	1.7	0.6
Florida	0.1	0.7	2.1	4.8	43.0	58.4	5.2	9.1
Texas	38.7	32.4	0.7	1.0	1.1	1.7	3.3	2.8
Colorado	4.2	2.4	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.7	0.4
New Mexico	7.1	2.7	—	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2
Arizona	5.7	4.7	0.2	0.2	—	0.1	0.6	0.3
Washington	0.4	0.9	0.1	0.2	0.7	0.2	0.8	0.4
California	38.7	42.1	3.1	4.4	3.2	8.0	24.9	25.4
Total for 15 states	97.7	93.1	94.5	93.9	94.2	94.7	82.7	89.9

[a] States listed have 100,000 or more persons of Hispanic origin, 1980.
Source: Bean et al. 1988

TABLE 3
INTERNAL HISPANIC MIGRATION AND HISPANIC MOVERS FROM ABROAD, 1975–80[a]

State	Internal migration			Number from abroad
	Inmigration	Outmigration	Net migration	
Massachusetts	13,848	12,619	1229	20,118
Connecticut	11,148	10,005	1179	15,937
New York	27,552	133,061	−105,509	139,961
New Jersey	41,478	43,917	−2439	51,198
Pennyslvania	14,118	13,739	379	16,279
Ohio	9928	14,571	−4643	6355
Illinois	25,882	48,105	−22,133	66,124
Michigan	10,595	15,582	−4987	5958
Florida[b]	106,042	40,406	65,636	96,273
Texas	120,749	97,702	23,047	155,851
Colorado	28,578	27,137	1441	8596
New Mexico	32,485	31,036	1449	7535
Arizona	30,567	29,440	1127	15,229
Washington	24,051	11,826	12,225	8890
California	132,948	139,357	−6409	412,958

[a] States listed are those with 100,000 or more persons of Hispanic origin, 1980.
[b] Number of Hispanic movers to Florida from abroad, 1975–80, does not include the estimated 125,000 Cuban "Marielito" refugees who arrived shortly after the 1980 census enumeration.
Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1985.

Hispanic Population Gateways

Immigration from abroad has contributed greatly to Hispanic population growth in the United States. Data on Hispanic immigration from abroad coupled with internal migration within the United States show that key states serve as Hispanic population gateways (Table 3). These data include immigration from abroad and internal migration within the United States, 1975–80, for 15 states with Hispanic populations over 100,000 in 1980. These migration data are not available for Hispanic groups defined by national origin and are based on Hispanics enumerated in the 1980 Census of Population. The actual number of Hispanic migrants, particularly from abroad, is greater because a significant share of undocumented immigrants were not enumerated in the 1980 census (Warren and Passel 1987; Bean and Tienda 1988). Migrants from abroad refer to persons of Hispanic origin residing outside the United States in 1975 and in the designated state in 1980. This calculation includes foreign immigrants as well as US citizens returning from abroad. The vast majority of Hispanic movers from abroad are immigrants.

As expected, California, Texas, and New York attract very large numbers of Hispanics from abroad; Florida, Illinois, and New Jersey also receive sizable numbers of Hispanic immigrants. These six states are the primary Hispanic gateways to the United States. Immigration from abroad more than offsets internal net migration losses for four of these states: New York, New Jersey, Illinois, and California. Despite internal migration away from these core states, they maintain or strengthen their Hispanic population concentrations through immigration. Florida and Texas, on the other hand, experienced both substantial immigration as well as net gains from elsewhere in the United States for the period 1975–80.

Geographical Patterns of Hispanic Migration

Geographical patterns of Hispanic migration within the United States can be seen by mapping the 25 largest net inter-

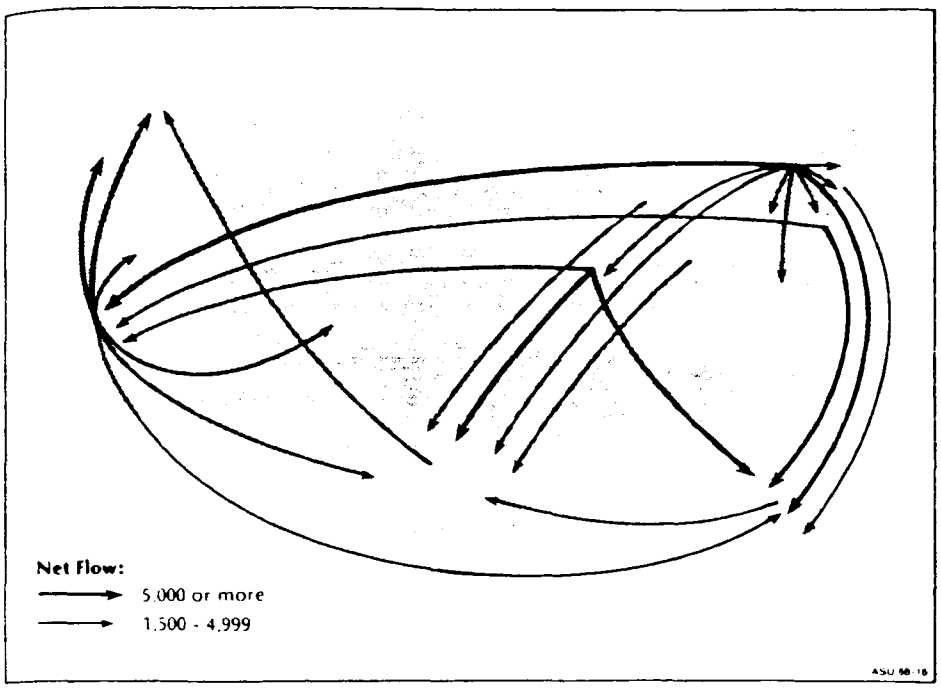

Figure 1. Large hispanic net interstate migration streams, 1975–80

state migration streams for 1975–80, the most recent internal Hispanic migration data available (Fig. 1). In addition to the 25 net migration streams, the underlying gross migration flows and a percent effectiveness value for each interstate connection are reported (Table 4).

Percent effectiveness (Eij) indicates the level of net migration exchange between a pair of states relative to the size of the underlying gross migration flows. It is computed by dividing net migration by the sum of the gross migration flows in both directions, and multiplying the resulting ratio by 100:

$$Eij = [Nij/Mij + Mji] \times 100 \quad (1)$$

where

- Eij = percent effectiveness of migration from state i to state j
- Nij = net migration exchange between state i and state j (Mij − Mji)
- Mij = gross migration flow from state i to state j
- Mji = gross migration flow from state j to state i.

In absolute terms, Eij varies from 0 to 100%. A 0% effectiveness indicates that equal numbers of migrants are moving in both directions resulting in no population redistribution between the pair of states. Conversely, an effectiveness value of 100% would mean that *all* movement is unidirectional (either Mij or Mji = 0). Thus, effectiveness values indicate strong currents in a migration system (Plane 1984).

Several patterns of Hispanic migration are evident (Fig. 1). Net movement from northeastern and midwestern states to the three large Sunbelt states—Florida, Texas, and California—is conspicuous. Northeastern states are linked most strongly with Florida. Net flows from New York and New Jersey to Florida are very large and highly effective in redistributing Hispanics (Eij = 83.6% and 75.6%).

New York stands out for registering highly effective Hispanic migration losses to Florida, Texas, and California (Table 4). This result parallels the overall trend of large migration losses for New York during the 1970s. In fact, currents of migration from New York to Florida and California, as measured by percent effectiveness values, were stronger among Hispanics than non-Hispanics.

Bean et al's. (1988) breakdown of Hispanic migration by national origin between New York and Florida, 1975–80, indicates why this stream is highly effective. Cuban-Americans constitute the greatest number of Hispanics in the New York-to-Florida stream. More than ten times as many Cuban-Americans migrated from New York to Florida as moved in the opposite direction. Many Cuban immigrants had been resettled from Miami to New York in the Cuban Refugee Resettlement Program (Boswell and Curtis 1984), so it is very likely that a substantial share of Florida-bound Cuban-Americans were returning to south Florida. Most Cuban-Americans returning to Dade County from outside Florida cite climate and a desire to be near family and friends as reasons for their return (Boswell and Curtis 1984). Net movement of people of Puerto Rican and Central/South American origin from New York to Florida is also significant, although these streams are not as effective as Cuban-origin movement to Florida (Bean et al. 1988).

The midwestern states of Illinois, Michigan, and Ohio are linked most strongly with Texas (Fig. 1). These Hispanic migration streams are overwhelmingly Mexican-American, and are moderately effective in redistributing Mexican-Americans from the Midwest to Texas, with effectiveness values of 38.8% for Illinois, 25.2% for Michigan, and 39.1% for Ohio (Table 4). Significant numbers of Hispanics from Illinois move to Texas, Florida, and California, although the connection to Florida is most effective.

New York and California serve as spatial redistributors of the Hispanic population within the United States (Fig. 1). In addition to sending large numbers of Hispanics to Florida and California, New York is a redistributor of Hispanics within the Northeast. Large numbers of Hispanics move from New York to nearby states, including New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, and Massachusetts. These four net migration streams from New York have moderately high effectiveness values (Table 4). Puerto Ricans are the dominant group in these streams, although Cuban-Americans and Central/South Americans are also likely to be present, especially in the stream to New Jersey. Puerto Rican migration away from New York relates to declining manufacturing employment, particularly in the textile and garment industries (Bean and Tienda 1988). Boswell (1984) also cites poor housing and crime as additional push factors in Puerto Rican migration from New York.

California is also a spatial redistributor of the Hispanic population. California gains Hispanics from New York, New Jersey, and Illinois, but loses Hispanics to western states, including Washington, Oregon, Nevada, and Colorado (Fig. 1). Thus, California is emerging as an interregional Hispanic redistributor, just as it has served as an interregional redistributor among Anglos since the late 1960s (US Bureau of the Census 1973). Overall, California recorded modest net out-migration of Hispanics within the United States, 1975–80, as losses to western states more than offset gains from northeastern and midwestern states.

Examining place of birth for Hispanics in western states also provides evidence that California is a Hispanic redistributor. In 1980, 50% of Hispanics in California were native to the state and 40% were foreign born. Only 12% of California His-

panics were born elsewhere in the United States. On the other hand, 40 to 50% of Hispanics in Washington, Oregon, and Nevada were born elsewhere in the United States, most likely California (US Bureau of the Census 1985).

For 1975–80, Texas gained Hispanics from northern states as well as from Florida and California (Fig. 1). Net flows to Texas from California and Florida, however, are small relative to large gross migration exchanges. Effectiveness values for the net streams to Texas are only 7.9% for California, and 18.0% for Florida (Table 4). In fact, Texas may be losing Hispanics to Florida and California since the recent decline in the energy-based Texas economy.

TABLE 4
LARGE HISPANIC NET INTERSTATE MIGRATION STREAMS AND PERCENT EFFECTIVENESS OF STREAMS, 1975–80

State i	State j	Gross flow i to j	Gross flow j to i	Net gain state j	Percent effect.
New York	Florida	38,398	3431	34,967	83.6
New York	New Jersey	28,080	7098	20,982	59.7
New Jersey	Florida	18,071	2515	15,556	75.6
New York	California	16,960	3369	13,591	66.9
Illinois	Texas	12,949	5710	7239	38.8
Illinois	Florida	7806	1754	6052	63.3
California	Oregon	8344	2459	5885	54.5
California	Washington	10,005	4178	5827	41.1
California	Texas	32,234	27,494	4740	7.9
California	Nevada	6916	2234	4682	51.2
New York	Texas	5702	1187	4515	65.5
New York	Pennsylvania	5626	1141	4485	66.3
New York	Connecticut	5644	1617	4027	55.5
New York	Massachusetts	5701	1833	3868	51.3
Illinois	California	9387	5707	3680	24.4
Florida	Texas	8499	5910	2589	18.0
California	Colorado	7888	5476	2412	18.0
New Jersey	California	3906	1510	2396	44.2
Michigan	Texas	4925	2942	1983	25.2
Ohio	Texas	3411	1492	1919	39.1
Connecticut	Florida	2385	635	1750	57.9
New York	Virginia	2288	539	1749	61.9
New York	Illinois	2664	1009	1655	45.1
California	Florida	7160	5531	1629	12.8
Texas	Washington	3037	1512	1525	33.5

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1985.

Discussion

Are Hispanics becoming more or less geographically concentrated in the United States? There has been some redistribution of the Hispanic population through internal migration as a result of (1) movement from northeastern and midwestern states to Florida, Texas, and California; (2) net movement from New York to nearby states in the Northeast; and (3) net migration from California to other western states. Immigration from abroad, however, continues to traditional areas of Hispanic concentration. For several states, heavy immigration among Hispanics has more than offset migration losses to other places within the country. A complete understanding of Hispanic population redistribution will require examination of both immigration and internal migration, as well as consideration of differentials in natural population increase among Hispanic groups.

The Hispanic population remains geographically concentrated in nine states, but this overall view masks differences among individual Hispanic groups. Cuban-Americans and Hispanics of Central/South American origin are becoming more concentrated, the former in Florida and the latter in California and New York. The increasing concentration of Cuban-Americans in south Florida is partly attributable to return migration following the Cuban Refugee Resettlement Program and to the strength of the Cuban-American community in Dade County. It is not surprising that most Central/South Americans concentrate in California and New York, given their recent arrival in the United States.

Hispanics of Mexican origin show some deconcentration away from core states. Bean et al. (1988) reached similar conclusions through their analysis of dissimilarity indexes that compared the geographic distribution of Hispanic groups and the overall US population. They found that the concentration of the Mexican-origin population has become less pronounced from 1960 to 1980. Bean et al. (1988) also found that Puerto Ricans exhibit some deconcentration away from core states, especially New York, over the 20-year period. Recent interstate migration has played the dominant role in the deconcentration of Puerto Ricans away from their New York core.

Hispanic migration patterns are broadly similar to overall patterns of migration within the United States. Hispanic migration from northern states to Florida, California, and Texas is part of the larger population redistribution to the Sunbelt (Biggar 1979; Long 1988). Currents of migration to Florida, California, and Texas tend to be stronger among Hispanics than non-Hispanics, perhaps because of the greater concentration of the Hispanic population and opportunities in the three large Sunbelt states. Social networks defined on the basis of ethnicity probably serve to channelize Hispanic migration flows to Florida, California, and Texas.

New York and California have emerged as spatial redistributors of Hispanics, just as they have redistributed the Anglo population. California's emergence as an interregional redistributor in the late 1970s—attracting Hispanics from states in the Northeast/Midwest and losing Hispanics to states in the West—follows a similar trend among Anglos. New York and California are likely to continue as central pivots in the Hispanic migration system: both have large Hispanic populations and serve as gateways for large numbers of new immigrants to the United States.

Comparisons of immigration from abroad and internal migration of Hispanics within the United States should show that Hispanics born in the United States, or those residing in the United States for a number of years, are more likely to migrate than are recent immigrants. Recent immigrants are typically less familiar with the United States, know less English, and tend to be of lower socioeconomic status than longer-term residents. Recent immigrants tend to concentrate in ethnic enclaves for social and economic support. Grebler et al. (1970) found that Hispanics of Mexican origin showed greater rates of intercounty migration, 1955–60, the further they were removed from the immigrant generation.

Portes and Bach (1985) studied the link between immigration and internal migration through a six-year residential history of a sample of Mexican and Cuban immigrants who entered the United States in 1973. They found that Mexican immigrants were more likely to change residences after living in the United States for three years, and that less than 25% remained at the same residence over the six-year period, 1973–79. Slightly more than one-half of the Mexican immigrants remained in Texas (state of entry), one-fourth moved to other states in the Southwest, and 16% moved northward to Chicago. Return immigrants (those who had been to the United States previously) were more likely to move and showed a more

dispersed pattern of settlement than first-time Mexican immigrants. This study demonstrates that experience in the United States as well as social and economic ties can be developed through circular migration between Mexico and the United States (Massey 1985). In contrast to the rather dispersed settlement pattern of Mexican immigrants, Portes and Bach (1985) found that the Cubans concentrated in Miami and remained there over the six-year period.

As the US Hispanic population grows, questions and issues relating to migration and population redistribution will be of increasing concern to social scientists and policy-makers at local, state, and federal levels. At the microlevel, there is a need for household level research that examines linkages between migration and socioeconomic and demographic status of Hispanics. Relationships between immigrant generation/length of residence in the United States, internal migration, and socioeconomic and demographic status will contribute to a broader theory of migration, adjustment, and assimilation.

At the aggregate level, Hispanic migration and population redistribution impacts labor markets and has important implications for the provision of educational and social services. The issue of geographic impacts is particularly important given the growth of the Hispanic population and uncertainties surrounding consequences of the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986.

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