



**Immigration Task Force**

# Immigration and Housing:

Supply, Demand, and Characteristics

September 2014



BIPARTISAN POLICY CENTER



# Immigration Task Force

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# Introduction

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Immigrants play a significant role on both the supply and demand sides of the housing sector, which is a major component of the U.S. economy. On the demand side, immigrants are an increasingly important source of new household formation in the United States, thereby increasing the demand for new housing units. Immigrants currently drive more than one-third of the growth in housing demand in the United States. Within a few decades, immigrants are expected to be responsible for the bulk of the net growth in households in the United States, which will make immigration an even more important source of demand for new housing construction.

Immigration's growing importance to housing demand means that over the coming decades, immigrants will take on a more prominent role in shaping the nation's housing stock. Today, immigrant-headed households are more likely than households with a U.S.-born head to rent their homes (49 percent versus 33 percent), and are more likely to live in apartment buildings and smaller housing units. The fact that immigrants are more likely to live in urban areas explains about one-third of the homeownership gap and likely contributes to immigrants' tendency to live in smaller housing units.

On the supply side of the housing market, immigrant labor is essential to the construction workforce, the industry category most closely associated with homebuilding. Today, immigrants make up nearly 25 percent of all construction workers, up from about 16 percent in 2000. Trends over time suggest that immigrants help the housing industry respond more flexibly to changes in market demand. Immigrants more quickly entered the housing workforce than U.S.-born workers in boom years, but also lost jobs faster during the recent recession.

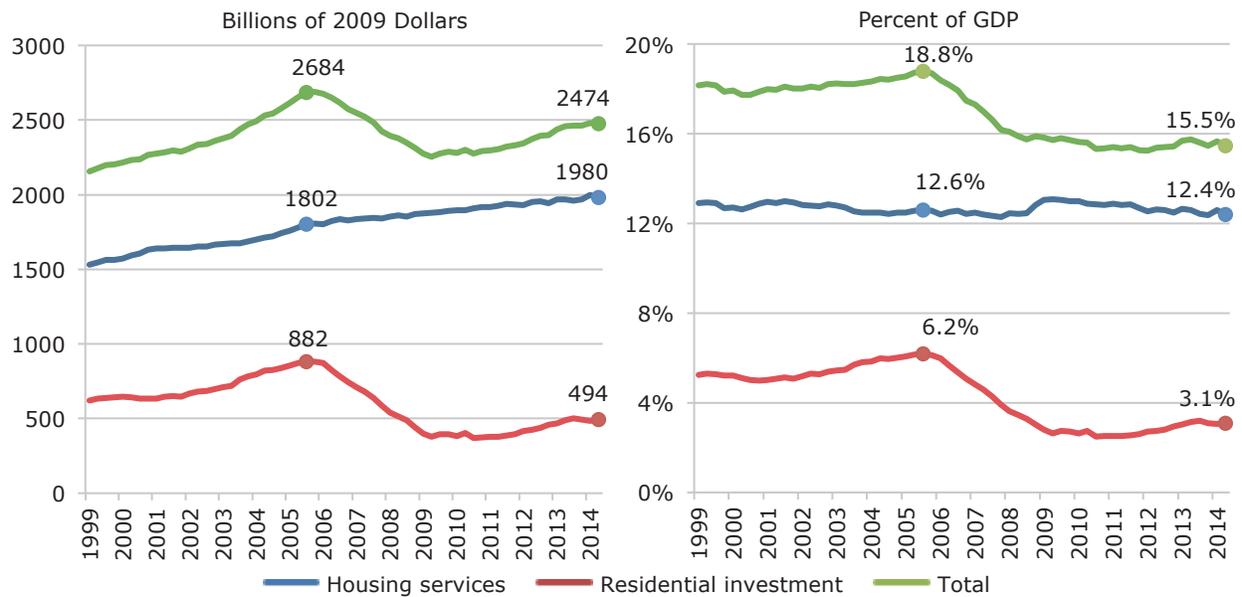
Immigrants' growing role in supplying construction labor and driving demand for new housing units make immigration an important contributor to U.S. economic prosperity. Looking ahead, these contributions will be critical to the housing industry's future.

# Housing in the Economy

The housing sector is a major part of the U.S. economy. Government statistics break housing’s contribution to the size of the economy (measured by gross domestic product, or GDP) into two categories: housing services and residential investment. Housing services captures the cost of rent and utilities, including owners’ imputed rent. Residential investment includes the construction of new housing units and the cost of upkeep on existing units.

Beginning in late 2005, residential investment entered a precipitous decline in terms of both dollar value and its share of GDP. Residential investment’s contribution to GDP fell by about half from its peak in the third quarter of 2005 to the second quarter of 2014, from 6.2 to 3.1 percent (Figure 1). Since the overall economy’s pre-recession peak in the fourth quarter of 2007, residential investment has fallen about \$92 billion, while the rest of the economy grew about \$1.1 trillion.<sup>1</sup> In dollar terms, this represents a larger decline than any other component of GDP. Housing services remained relatively steady, growing in absolute terms but constituting about the same share of overall economic activity.

**Figure 1. Quarterly economic value of housing sector, 1999-2014.**

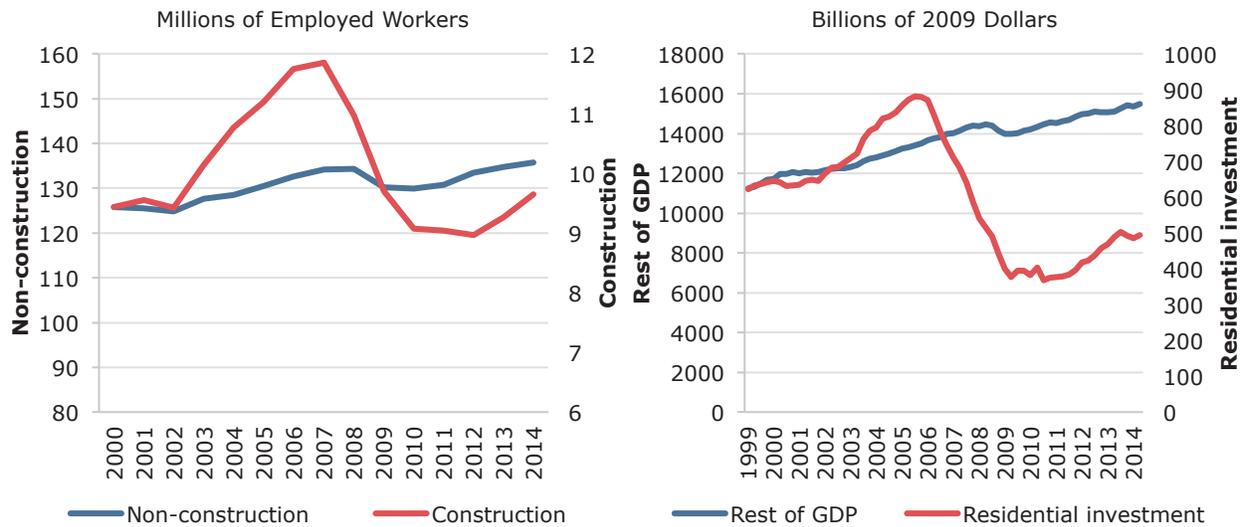


Source: Bureau of Economic Analysis, U.S. Department of Commerce.<sup>2</sup>

The decline in residential investment has also manifested itself in the labor market. Although the construction industry does not exclusively reflect housing-related employment, it is the industry most closely associated with residential investment. Figure 2 compares trends in residential investment and construction employment since 2000 with all other sectors of the economy during the same time. Since 2007, the construction industry has shed 2.2 million jobs, while all other sectors of the economy added 1.6 million jobs. Over

the longer term, the number of employed construction workers increased by about 200,000 since 2000, representing a 2.3 percent increase. However, over the same period, employment in all other industries grew more than three times faster (by ten million workers, or 8.0 percent).

**Figure 2. Construction employment and residential investment, 2000-2014.**



Source: Current Population Survey (left),<sup>3</sup> Bureau of Economic Analysis (right).<sup>4</sup>

These data illustrate that residential investment is among the economy’s most significant lingering post-recession weaknesses. A wide variety of factors affect demand for residential investment at any given period of time, from mortgage interest rates to lending standards to the weather. As policy levers, some factors that influence demand for residential construction are easier or more desirable to control than others. For example, looser lending standards may increase housing demand but are also frequently cited as a cause of the recent housing crash and associated recession.

Perhaps the simplest way to accelerate the housing recovery would be to increase the number of people who want to buy homes. Basic principles of economics hold that, all else being equal, when the demand for a good exceeds supply, production of that good will increase. Immigration can help to provide this additional demand. As the following section describes, immigrants play an increasingly important role in sustaining healthy demographics in the United States, which in turn makes immigration an increasingly important component of housing demand.

# Immigrants in the Housing Market

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## Demand for Residential Construction

New homeowners and renters are essential drivers of residential construction demand. The sector's health depends in large part upon the balance between the number of housing units that are "released," or vacated, and the number that are "absorbed," or occupied by a new owner or renter. The sector is at its healthiest when new households enter the market in sufficient numbers to (1) absorb housing units that others are releasing and (2) drive additional demand for new construction. In simpler terms, when there are enough people to fill all the existing homes and buy new ones, the residential construction sector is in a good position to thrive. By contrast, when the number of households is shrinking or stagnant, there is unlikely to be much demand for new construction, and the sector may suffer as a result.<sup>i</sup>

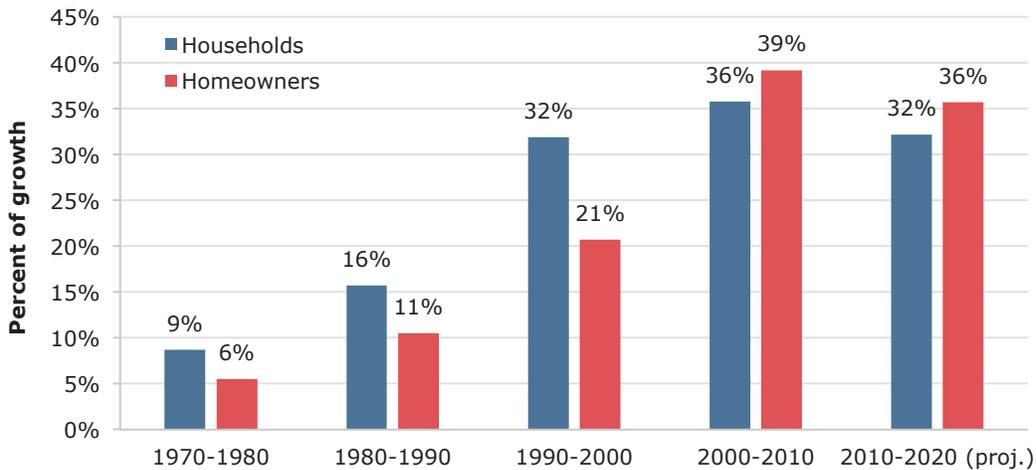
The housing market is healthiest when the number of households is growing—in more technical terms, when household formation is strong. Demographic trends are a strong indicator of household formation. A city, state, or country whose population is shrinking is unlikely to see growth in the overall number of households. Further, because elderly people tend to release many more housing units than they absorb, places with aging populations are likely to see more housing units released and less demand for new construction.<sup>5</sup> By contrast, an area with a growing population and fewer retirees is likely to sustain a healthy level of demand for new residential construction.

Immigration is an increasingly important component of housing demand. According to Harvard's Joint Center for Housing Studies, immigrants have constituted about 40 percent of housing demand since 2010.<sup>6</sup> A 2013 analysis by Dowell Meyers and John Pitkin, commissioned by the Research Institute for Housing America, found that immigrants constituted 39 percent of the 2000 to 2010 growth in homeowners and projected that immigrants will constitute 36 percent of that growth between 2010 and 2020 (Figure 3).

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<sup>i</sup> Even in markets without an increasing number of households, some demand for new residential construction is created when existing homes are lost due to demolition, natural disasters, or abandonment.

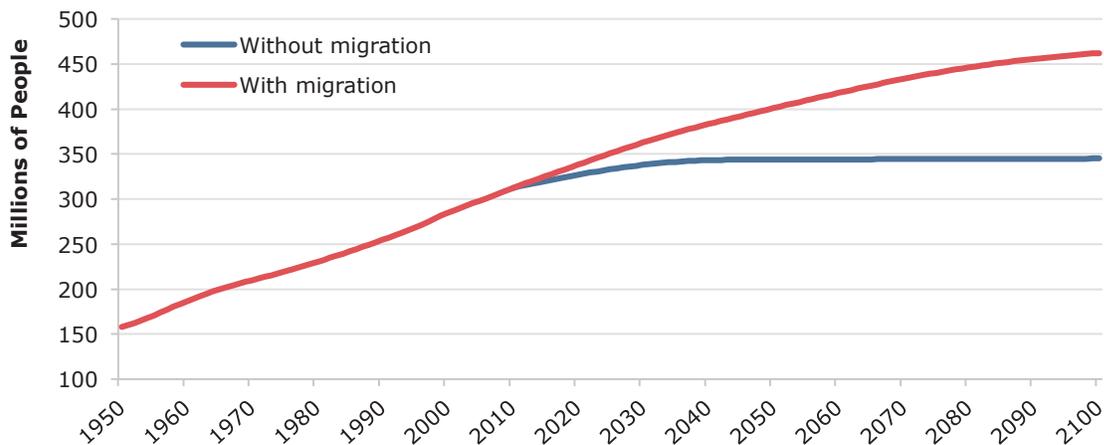
**Figure 3. Immigrant contributions to household and homeowner growth, 1970-2020.**



Source: Meyers and Pitkin (2013).<sup>7</sup>

As fertility rates have dropped over time, the United States and other developed nations have become more dependent on immigrants to sustain population growth. Between 2000 and 2013, immigrants or the first-generation children of immigrants accounted for 57 percent of the population growth that took place in the United States.<sup>8</sup> Looking further into the future, immigrants will be essential to sustaining the type of demographic outlook that a thriving residential construction sector requires. In fact, without immigration, the U.S. population would stop growing in the 2040s (Figure 4). This means that if current birthrate trends continue, immigrants and their children will be the source of almost all U.S. population growth and, by extension, the primary driver of demand for new residential construction.

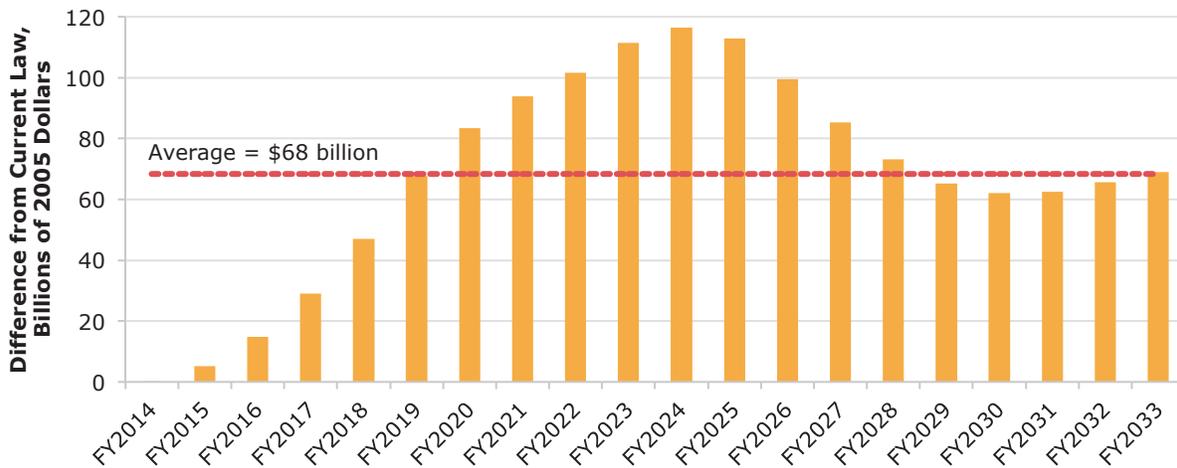
**Figure 4. Population projections for the United States.**



Source: Bipartisan Policy Center.<sup>9</sup>

Immigration reform that increases the number of new immigrants has the potential to restore population growth to rates closer to historical levels, which would increase the number of households and stimulate the residential construction sector. Between 1990 and 2010, the U.S. population grew at about 1.1 percent per year; by contrast, between 2015 and 2035, the Census Bureau projects 0.7 percent annual population growth.<sup>10</sup> The Bipartisan Policy Center (BPC)'s October 2013 study estimated that the immigration reforms in the Senate's June 2013 bill would increase population growth by about 0.2 percent per year above the Census-projected rate in the 20 years following enactment. In turn, this growth would increase demand for new housing units.<sup>11</sup> As a result, demand for residential construction would increase by an average of \$68 billion per year between FY2014 and FY2033 (Figure 5).

**Figure 5. Projected impact of immigration reform on housing demand.**



Source: Bipartisan Policy Center.<sup>12</sup>

Local housing markets vary widely, with strong demand for housing in growing areas and generally weak demand in areas with shrinking, stagnant, or aging populations. In areas with aging populations and weak population growth—namely, the Northeastern and Midwestern United States—few new households are entering the market. For these areas, the challenge is not just to create demand for new housing units, but to absorb existing housing units being released into the market. As BPC's March 2012 report on housing demographics observed:

If regional trends of relatively low net increases in homeowners continue, the combination of weak in-migration by younger groups and houses released by increasing numbers of older households may result in a long period of slack housing demand in the Northeast and Midwest, beginning just in time for the recovery of national housing markets in the mid-2010s. Myers and Ryu (2008) term this the "generational housing bubble." It may be better to call it a prospective generational housing surplus: an incipient excess of housing offered for sale by Baby Boomers and their heirs, appearing first in the Northeast and Midwest, and eventually (in the late 2020s to the mid-2030s) in all but fast-growing states and metropolitan areas.

Some states already struggle to fill the existing units that older householders are vacating. BPC’s March 2012 report measured housing absorption by comparing the number of housing units absorbed by younger homeowners with the number of units released by older homeowners. The “very strong” states—Nevada, Utah, Arizona, Idaho, Alaska, and Texas—saw 3.2 young-owner households enter the market for every home released by older owners between 2000 and 2010, thanks to their higher rates of population growth (Table 1). By contrast, the “very weak” states—Louisiana, Mississippi, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Ohio, West Virginia, and Michigan—had a ratio of just 1.1, due largely to their low population growth rates.<sup>ii</sup>

**Table 1. Housing absorption and population growth, 2000-2010.**

	ABSORPTION RATIO	ANNUAL POPULATION GROWTH
Very Strong	3.2	2.0%
Strong	2.3	1.5%
Average	1.6	0.9%
Weak	1.4	0.4%
Very Weak	1.1	0.2%
Overall	1.7	0.9%

Source: Bipartisan Policy Center; U.S. Census Bureau.<sup>13</sup>

Note: Housing absorption ratios are the same as the March 2012 report, but were inverted to show the number of younger households entering per older household leaving.

These results illustrate immigration’s importance for housing markets all over the nation. Areas with a higher rate of population growth have an easier time absorbing vacated housing units, with enough new households left over to drive demand for new housing units. By contrast, areas with a lower rate of population growth barely have enough new homeowners to absorb vacated units. As immigration becomes ever-more important to sustaining a modest level of population growth, immigrants and their descendants will play a more prominent role in helping their cities and states maintain healthy housing absorption rates.

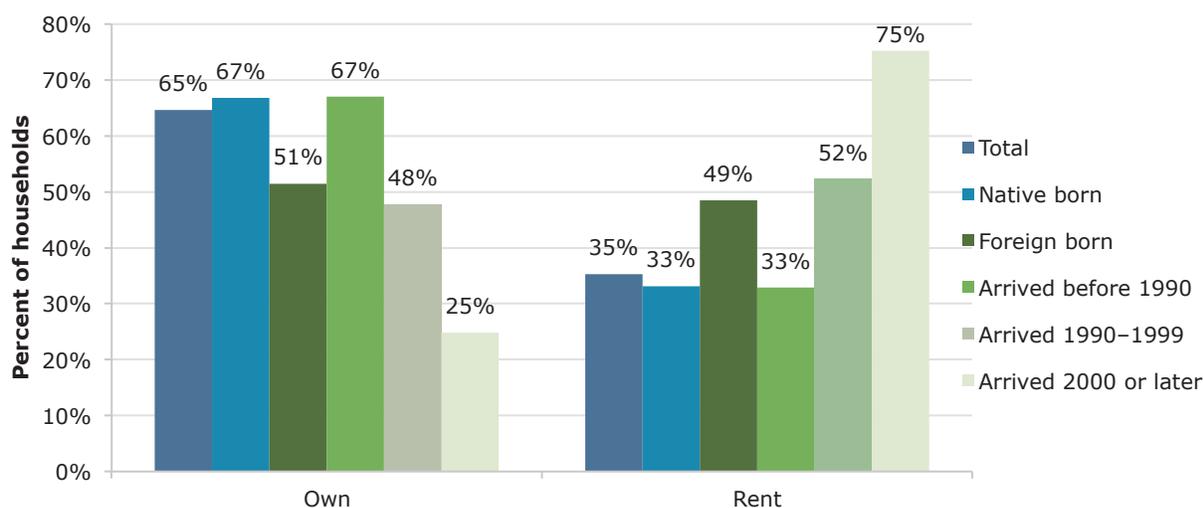
## Housing Characteristics

Immigration appears poised to take on an increasingly prominent role in creating demand for housing. This means that if current patterns hold, immigrants’ housing needs and preferences could play a larger role in the composition of the nation’s housing stock. Compared with the U.S.-born population, immigrants are less likely to own their home, have homes with fewer rooms, and are more likely to live in apartment buildings. These differences appear to be partly explained by immigrants’ tendency to live in urban areas. However, immigrants who have been in the country for longer periods of time have housing characteristics more similar to the population at large.

<sup>ii</sup> For a state-by-state map of housing absorption results, please see the Bipartisan Policy Center’s March 2012 report, “Demographic Challenges for U.S. Housing Markets,” at <http://bipartisanpolicy.org/library/report/demographic-challenges-and-opportunities-us-housing-markets>.

About 65 percent of U.S. households owned their homes in 2011 (Figure 6). Sixty-seven percent of households headed by a U.S.-born person owned their home, compared with a 51 percent homeownership rate for immigrant-headed households. This means that the “homeownership gap,” or difference between the two groups’ homeownership rate, was 16 percent. Recently arrived immigrants are much more likely to rent than own, while immigrants who arrived before 1990 have the same homeownership rate as the U.S.-born population. In part, this reflects the fact that immigrants who have been in the country longer also tend to be older than their more recently arrived counterparts. Overall, about 11 percent of the households in the United States were headed by an immigrant in 2011.

**Figure 6. Homeownership rates, 2011.**



Source: Pew Research Center.<sup>14</sup>

The homeownership gap between immigrant and U.S.-born households fell slightly over the past decade, from 18 percent in 2000 to 16 percent in 2011.<sup>15</sup> This reflects a one percent decline in the U.S.-born homeownership rate and a one percent increase in the immigrant homeownership rate. Much of this convergence took place during the recession. Between 2006 and 2009, the immigrant homeownership rate declined 0.7 percent, while the U.S.-born homeownership rate declined 1.9 percent.<sup>16</sup>

Historically, immigrants have been more likely to live in urban areas than people who were born in the United States. Though immigrants today are more geographically dispersed than in the recent past, cities and urban areas’ immigrant representation is about twice that of suburban and rural areas (Table 2). Table 2 suggests that immigrants’ tendency to settle in urban areas contributes to their relatively lower rate of homeownership. The overall difference in homeownership rates for 2007 to 2011 was 16 percent, but the difference in each of four types of geographic areas (city, urban, suburban, and rural) falls between 9 and 11 percent. These data suggest that location choices may explain about one-third of the difference in homeownership rates between immigrant and U.S.-born households. For a breakdown using Abel, Gabe, and Stolarick’s (2012) full urban/rural classification, please see Table A-1.

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**Table 2. Homeownership rate by location type, 2007-2011.**

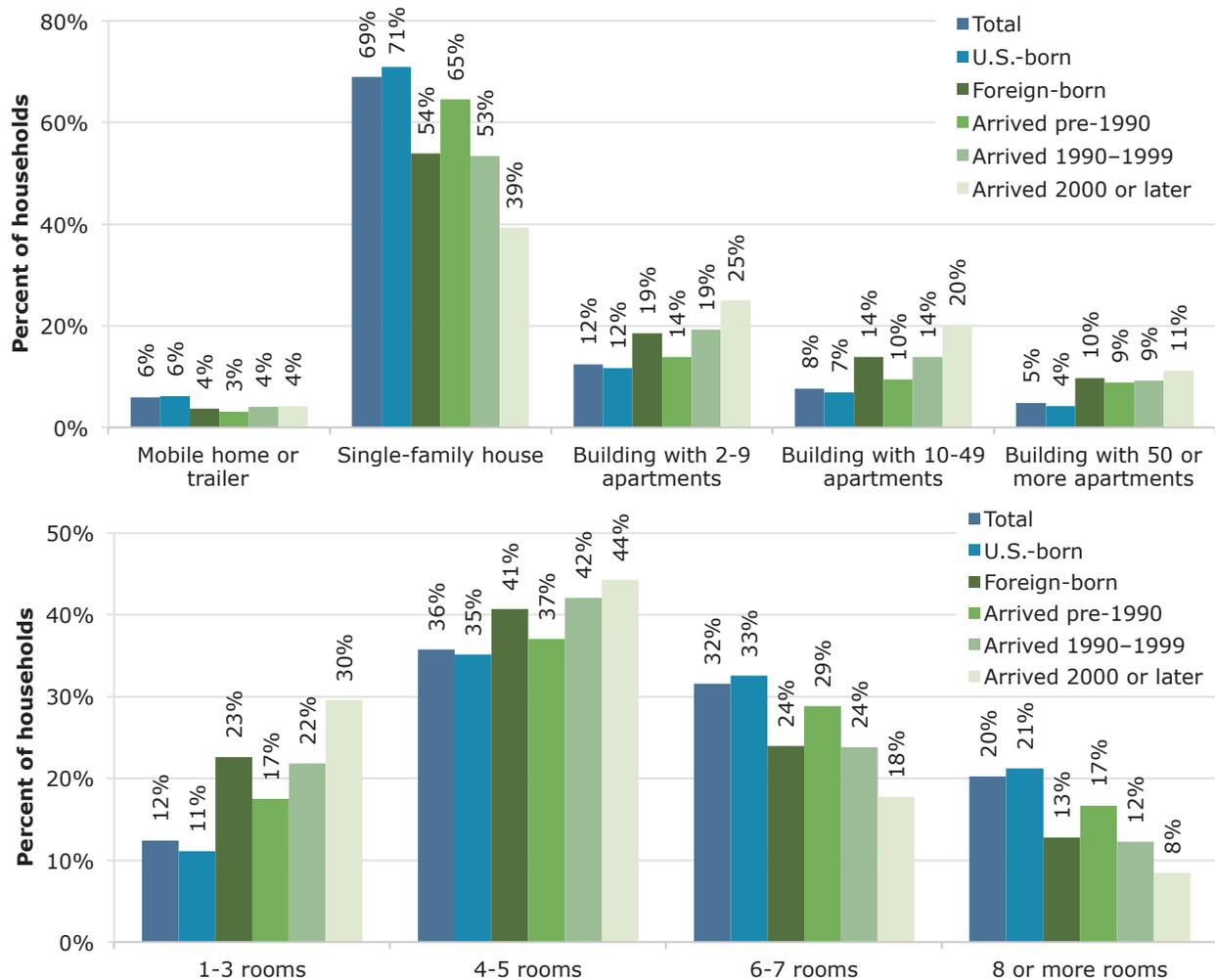
	HOMEOWNERSHIP RATE			IMMIGRANT REPRESENTATION*
	U.S.-born	Foreign-born	Difference	
City	48%	37%	11%	23%
Urban	63%	52%	11%	15%
Suburban	72%	63%	9%	11%
Rural	75%	64%	10%	5%
Overall	68%	52%	16%	11%

\* The percentage of households headed by a foreign-born person.  
Source: American Community Survey; Abel, Gabe, and Stolarick (2012).<sup>17</sup>

Although the literature on the immigrant homeownership gap is sparse, other possible reasons for the difference exist as well. Wealth and income may play a role, particularly for recently arrived immigrants who are less established in the United States. In a 2002 paper, George Borjas found that socioeconomic status explained about one-sixth of the homeownership gap that existed in 2000.<sup>18</sup> Similar to the finding in Table 2, Borjas also found that location choices explain about one-third of the gap. In addition to the factors described above, a 2004 study by the Migration Policy Institute suggested that English-language skills, access to information, the strength of local migrant networks, education levels, and cultural attitudes toward homeownership could contribute to the differences in homeownership patterns between U.S.-born and immigrant households.<sup>19</sup>

Immigrants' dwelling types reflect their tendency to live in more densely populated and urban areas. Immigrants are less likely than the U.S.-born population to live in a single-family home, including mobile homes and trailers, and more likely to live in apartment buildings (Figure 7). About 24 percent of immigrant-headed households live in a building with ten or more apartments, compared with about 11 percent of U.S.-born households. Immigrants also tend to live in smaller housing units with fewer rooms. As with ownership rates, the immigrant population that has lived in the United States since 1990 has housing patterns closer to the U.S.-born population. However, consistent with immigrants' tendency to live in more urban areas, even this more-settled group tends to live in smaller dwellings.

**Figure 7. Housing characteristics by year of entry, 2010-2012.**



Source: American Community Survey.<sup>20</sup>

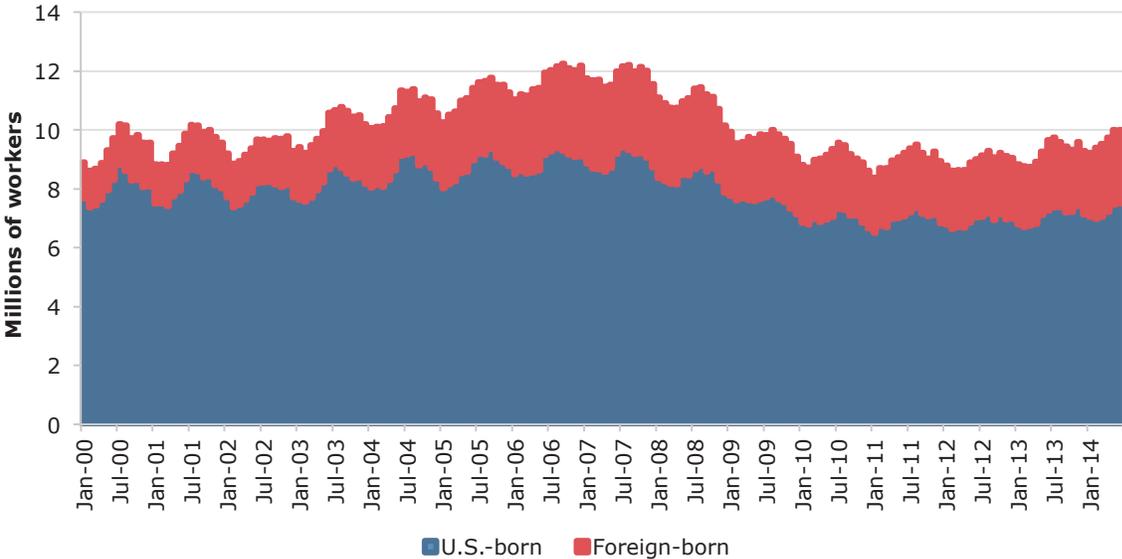
Current housing patterns suggest that as immigration becomes an ever-larger part of U.S. household growth, housing construction could shift toward urban areas and correspondingly smaller housing units. However, because many of the differences between immigrant and U.S.-born housing characteristics appear to be explained by location choices, it is not clear whether immigrants will have a significant influence on the type of housing units that are built in individual markets. Ultimately, population trends in individual cities and states, and the corresponding development needs in those areas, will likely be a greater determinant of housing characteristics than the share of people who are immigrants or who were born in the United States.

# Immigrants and the Housing Supply

Immigration is a critical driver of housing demand, but immigrants also constitute a significant share of the construction labor force, the industry most closely associated with residential construction. Since 2000, immigrants’ share of the construction labor force climbed significantly, with the bulk of the increase occurring between 2000 and 2007. Today, about one-quarter of construction workers are immigrants. Immigrant construction workers tend to be less educated than their U.S.-born counterparts and tend to have greater representation in entry-level and lower-paying construction jobs. Additionally, immigrant employment in construction is more highly variable than employment of U.S.-born workers, increasing more quickly during boom years and declining more rapidly when demand falls. This suggests that immigrants help construction firms respond flexibly to market demand, providing additional labor when times are good but losing their jobs before U.S.-born workers when demand is slack.

According to Current Population Survey (CPS) data, total employment in the construction industry was about ten million in June 2014, with 7.5 million U.S.-born workers and 2.5 million foreign-born workers (Figure 8). Total employment in the construction industry fell by 2.2 million workers between 2007 and 2014, but rose by 1.6 million in all other sectors of the economy.<sup>21</sup> After peaking at more than 12 million workers before the recession, total construction employment topped ten million again in June 2014, its highest level since August 2009.

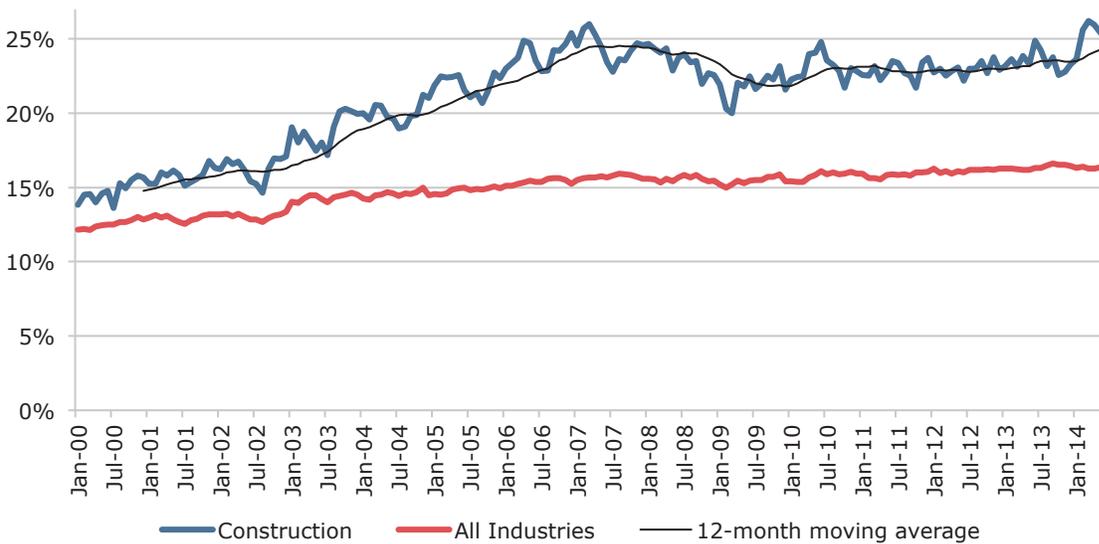
**Figure 8. Construction employment by nativity, 2000-2014.**



Source: Current Population Survey.<sup>22</sup>

Over the first six months of 2014, immigrants made up about 25 percent of construction employment, compared with 16 percent of total employment in all industries (Figure 9). Between 2000 and 2007, annual average foreign-born representation in the construction workforce grew nearly three times as quickly as foreign-born representation in the workforce as a whole—from 15 percent to 24 percent in the construction industry, compared with 13 percent to 16 percent for overall employment. By contrast, between 2007 and 2014, foreign-born representation in the construction and overall labor workforces both remained relatively stable.

**Figure 9. Foreign-born share of employment, 2000-2014.**



Source: Current Population Survey.<sup>23</sup>

Based on American Community Survey (ACS) data, Table 3 shows U.S.-born and foreign-born employment in the ten largest construction occupations in 2012; because the ACS has larger samples than the CPS, it is better suited to occupation-level analysis. Among these top ten occupations, immigrants were disproportionately represented in lower-paying, less-educated occupations such as construction laborers, carpenters, and painters and paperhangers. Immigrants in these occupations tend to speak English less well than their counterparts in higher-paying jobs with higher education levels. By contrast, immigrant representation in higher-paying occupations is closer to their representation in the overall population.

**Table 3. Employment and wages for top ten construction occupations, 2012.**

Occupation	ALL WORKERS			IMMIGRANT WORKERS	
	Thousands of workers	Wage/salary, previous 12 months	Education beyond high school	Percent of occupation	Speak English well*
All industries	143,027	42,500	65%	17%	75%
Construction industry	8,825	36,800	41%	23%	59%
Construction laborers	1,489	24,400	27%	37%	47%
Carpenters	997	23,100	32%	29%	55%
First-line supervisors	652	49,400	43%	14%	84%
Construction managers	603	59,200	64%	11%	85%
Electricians	503	39,400	52%	13%	79%
Painters and paperhangers	477	19,200	27%	43%	51%
Pipe-layers, plumbers, pipefitters, and steamfitters	387	36,700	36%	17%	59%
Miscellaneous managers	281	61,100	64%	11%	89%
Construction equipment operators, except paving, surfacing, and tamping	253	40,000	25%	11%	68%
Heating, air-conditioning, and refrigeration mechanics and installers	253	37,200	46%	14%	77%

\* Percent self-reporting that they speak English well or very well, or speak only-English at home. For U.S.-born workers, the rate is at least 99 percent for every occupation reported here. Source: American Community Survey.<sup>24</sup>

Table 4 presents more detailed educational attainment data for workers in the construction industry. About three-quarters of immigrant construction workers have no education beyond high school, compared with about one-half of U.S.-born construction workers.

**Table 4. Educational attainment of construction workers, 2012.**

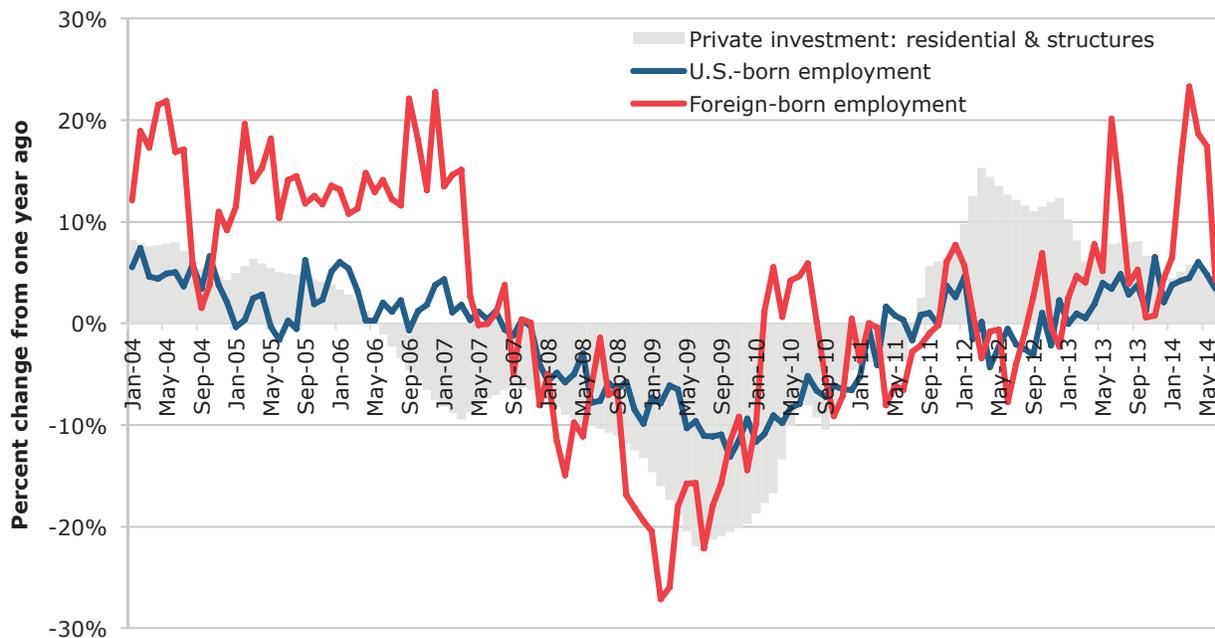
	THOUSANDS OF WORKERS			PERCENT OF GROUP	
	Total	U.S.-born	Foreign-born	U.S.-born	Foreign-born
<b>High school or less</b>	<b>5,176</b>	<b>3,597</b>	<b>1,578</b>	<b>53%</b>	<b>78%</b>
Did not finish high school	1,768	790	978	12%	49%
High school diploma	2,940	2,387	552	35%	27%
GED or alternative credential	468	420	48	6%	2%
<b>Education beyond high school</b>	<b>3,649</b>	<b>3,212</b>	<b>437</b>	<b>47%</b>	<b>22%</b>
Some college or associate's	2,571	2,305	266	34%	13%
Bachelor's degree	895	764	131	11%	7%
Advanced	183	143	40	2%	2%
<b>Total</b>	<b>8,825</b>	<b>6,809</b>	<b>2,015</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>

Source: American Community Survey.<sup>25</sup>

In addition, it appears that immigrant workers enter and leave the construction industry at higher rates than U.S.-born workers. Although some of the observed variability could be caused by statistical noise,<sup>26</sup> Figure 9 suggests that compared with other industries, immigrant employment in the construction industry is quite variable. This pattern also

appears when comparing U.S.-born construction workers with foreign-born construction workers (Figure 10). Compared with the U.S.-born construction workforce, total employment for foreign-born construction workers was significantly more variable over the past ten years. Foreign-born employment in construction increased faster than U.S.-born employment in the years leading up to the recession, but fell more quickly during the recession. Between February 2008 and February 2009, for example, foreign-born construction employment fell 27 percent, while U.S.-born employment fell only 8 percent.

**Figure 10. Percent change from one year ago, construction employment versus investment in residential and nonresidential structures, 2004-2014.**



Source: Current Population Survey; Bureau of Economic Analysis.<sup>27</sup>

Immigrants' higher degree of employment variability suggest that immigrants help firms respond flexibly to fluctuations in housing demand. The gray bars in Figure 10 represent the year-to-year change in (1) residential investment and (2) private investment in nonresidential structures, another key GDP component that contributes to demand for construction labor. When demand is falling, immigrants lose jobs more quickly than U.S.-born workers, but when demand is increasing, immigrants gain jobs more quickly. Immigrant workers' role as a flexible pool of labor helps explain why patterns in their representation in the construction labor force have changed over time. During the first part of the last decade, when the residential construction industry was thriving (Figure 1), immigrants expanded their representation in the construction labor force more rapidly than their representation in other industries (Figure 9). When the housing industry (and other construction-related industries) entered a bust cycle, immigrant representation declined, then crept back up to its 2007 level during the ongoing recovery.

# Conclusion

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On both the supply and demand sides, immigrants are increasingly essential to the housing industry, which makes up about one-sixth of all economic activity in the United States. New households formed by immigrants and their children are an increasingly important component of housing demand, and within the next few decades, changing U.S. demographics will make immigrants the dominant driver of demand for new residential construction. Many of these new housing units will be constructed by immigrant workers, who constitute about 25 percent of the nation's construction labor force.

Immigrants' growing contributions to housing demand and the construction workforce help make immigration an important contributor to U.S. economic prosperity. As demographic trends continue to shift, immigrant households and workers are likely to become even more important to the health of the housing market.

# Appendix A. Full Urban/Rural Analysis

As part of a 2012 study for the New York Federal Reserve, Abel, Gabe, and Stolarick (2012) broke the ACS Public Use Microdata Areas (PUMA) into a ten-category urban/rural classification based on (1) proximity to a central city and (2) population density. Using American Community Survey data, PUMA-specific homeownership rates were calculated for the U.S.-born and foreign-born populations, and were separated into the ten categories. To summarize the results, the ten categories were then collapsed into four categories.

Table A-1 below presents homeownership rates for all ten of the 2012 study's ten categories and shows how they were aggregated into the four categories presented in the paper. The "description" shows how the authors described the geographic areas in each of the ten original categories.

**Table A-1. Full urban/rural analysis, 2007-2011.**

	HOMEOWNERSHIP			PERCENT OF HOUSEHOLDS FOREIGN-BORN	DESCRIPTION
	U.S.-born	Foreign-born	Difference		
<b>City</b>	<b>48%</b>	<b>37%</b>	<b>11%</b>	<b>23%</b>	
City Center	41%	30%	12%	26%	>90% in central city
City Ring	51%	42%	9%	22%	<13.8 km and >290 pop/km <sup>2</sup>
<b>Urban</b>	<b>63%</b>	<b>52%</b>	<b>11%</b>	<b>15%</b>	
Urban	59%	50%	9%	16%	Close and dense
Urban Fringe	69%	58%	12%	13%	Close or dense
<b>Suburban</b>	<b>72%</b>	<b>63%</b>	<b>9%</b>	<b>11%</b>	
Semi-Urban	70%	62%	8%	11%	Close, dense, or moderate
Suburban	72%	63%	10%	11%	Accessible and moderate
Semi-Rural	76%	67%	9%	8%	Isolated or sparse
<b>Rural</b>	<b>75%</b>	<b>64%</b>	<b>10%</b>	<b>5%</b>	
Rural Fringe	76%	68%	8%	7%	Far and low-density
Rural	76%	66%	9%	6%	Isolated and sparse
Rural Outpost	74%	60%	14%	4%	>59 km and <22.2 pop/km <sup>2</sup>
<b>Overall</b>	<b>68%</b>	<b>52%</b>	<b>16%</b>	<b>11%</b>	

Source: American Community Survey; Abel, Gabe, and Stolarick (2012).<sup>28</sup>

Note: Aggregate figures are weighted averages of unrounded percentages and therefore do not always equal the simple average of the subcategories.

# Endnotes

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- <sup>1</sup> Bureau of Economic Analysis (BEA), U.S. Department of Commerce (2014) "National Income and Product Accounts Tables," Table 1.5.6. Real Gross Domestic Product, Expanded Detail, Chained Dollars, July 30, 2014, revision. Accessed August 6, 2014. Available at: <http://www.bea.gov/iTable/iTable.cfm?ReqID=9&step=1#reqid=9&step=3&isuri=1&910=X&911=0&903=36&904=2000&905=2013&906=Q>.
- <sup>2</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>3</sup> BPC analysis of Current Population Survey microdata, January 2000-June 2014. Accessed August 10, 2014.
- <sup>4</sup> BEA (2014), at supra note 1.
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<sup>24</sup> BPC analysis of American Community Survey microdata, 2012 Public Use Microdata Sample.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

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