Convergence or Divergence in Los Angeles: Three Distinctive Ethnic Patterns of Immigrant Residential Assimilation

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Abstract

This paper addresses five indicators of residential assimilation among three distinctive immigrant groups in the greater Los Angeles area, focusing on a single arrival cohort that came in 1970-79, and analyzing the pace and determinants of their assimilation between 1990 and 2000. Indicators addressed include residence in Los Angeles city versus the suburbs, the percentage of co-ethnics residing in a residential district, the percentage of whites residing in a residential district, the mean household income of the district, and the individual household's attainment of homeownership. Groups compared are Mexican, Korean and Chinese immigrants, along with a common reference group of native-born, non-Hispanic whites. We find that Mexicans' longitudinal changes in residential patterns resemble those expected by theories of residential assimilation while those for Chinese and Koreans do not. Koreans exhibit an unusually strong preference for remaining in Los Angeles city, often renting and living in districts with whites and Latinos. The Chinese are especially unusual, locating in the suburbs instead of the city, exhibiting very high homeownership soon after arrival, and moving into areas with increasingly higher concentrations of co-ethnics. Homeownership appears to shape relatively little the other aspects of residential assimilation, with the exception of mobility out of Los Angeles city.

INTRODUCTION

Our understanding of the assimilation process continues to evolve as we gain new experience from the life progress of post-1965 immigrants. One of the most visible changes has been with regard to the residential patterns in major immigrant metropolises. Newly arrived and more established immigrants are integrated throughout the metropolis, lessening the prior patterns of concentration and segregation. But not all ethnic groups follow the same patterns.

The contrast between Asians and Latinos is especially great in the housing market. Poorly educated Mexican immigrants with larger household sizes face a difficult time in high costs housing markets such as Los Angeles. In contrast, several of the Asian immigrant groups are very highly educated, and the assimilation patterns of these "human capital" immigrants are very different from those of the low-skilled "labor" immigrants (Sanders and Nee 1996). Based on achievement of homeownership, Asian immigrants (particularly Chinese) appear to engage in instant assimilation (Myers and Lee 1998; Painter, Yang, and Yu 2003). In contrast, Mexican immigrants work their way up slowly and steadily in the housing market, more closely resembling the pattern of European immigrants from the past (Myers and Lee 1998).

On the other hand, there are significant differences even within Asian immigrants. Although Korean and Chinese immigrants came from geographically approximate areas and share some common heritage, they have followed rather different paths of assimilation. While many new Korean immigrant households settled in inner city neighborhoods, many Chinese immigrants have bypassed the stage of ethnic enclaves and

directly settled in the suburban ethnic communities (Alba et al. 1999). Due to different homeownership rates and traditional settlement, they have different location patterns.

The present paper addresses residential assimilation for three ethnic groups in the greater Los Angeles area, treating it as a process of spatial dispersion and incorporation that is aided by homeownership attainment. The theory and method employed seeks to extend the recent literature on locational attainments by bringing to bear the cohort methods used in analysis of immigrant homeownership trajectories (Myers and Lee 1998). The cohort approach may shed greater light on dynamics of mobility processes that underly locational attainments observed as outcomes.

This paper attempts to address three questions. First, how has growing duration in the U.S. influenced the pace of locational and homeownership attainment by immigrants in the Los Angeles region? Second, to what extent is locational attainment aided by homeownership attainment? Third, are there distinct differences between the patterns of residential assimilation exhibited by Mexican-origin, Chinese, and Korean immigrants?

BACKGROUND

Residential Assimilation

In a major review and reformulation of theory, Alba and Nee (2003) defend and reposition the overall concept of assimilation as a process or direction, less as an end state achievement. Overall, they define assimilation as the attenuation of ethnic differences, entailing some transformation of the mainstream, not just of the newcomer groups. They define four key dimensions: acculturation (often proxied by English use), socioeconomic achievement (such as earnings, occupational parity, or homeownership attainment),

residential integration (such as access to suburbs or to neighborhoods with white majorities or higher incomes), and social integration (social participation and ultimately intermarriage).

Residential assimilation includes this dimension of spatial integration, as identified by Alba and Nee (Alba and Nee 2003). However, housing factors play two different roles in assimilation. On the one hand, homeownership reflects socioeconomic achievement, while on the other hand housing also is integral to residential (or spatial) integration. The two aspects are often entwined, such as in the analysis of "locational attainment" in the work of John Logan and Richard Alba (e.g., Logan, Alba, and Leung 1996; Logan, Alba, and Zhang 2002). The differential housing attainments of various ethnic groups likely impact the locational attainments of those groups as well, because home purchase may provide access to better neighborhoods. Taken together we call these factors residential assimilation.

Contemporary research on residential assimilation is rooted in Massey's (1985) model of "spatial assimilation." Strongly resemblant of earlier models of Burgess and Park that were formulated for immigrants in Chicago early in the 20th century, the model of ecological succession or the spatial assimilation model assumes new immigrants initially settle in ethnic communities where housing is cheap and ethnic support strong. Over time, with increasing upward socioeconomic mobility and adaptation to life in the new country, they move up the ladder toward better housing and outward toward better neighborhoods. In these "zones of emergence" occupied by established immigrants and the second generation, homeownership is more common. Massey's formulation

elaborates on the basic concepts of mobility and ethnic succession in neighborhoods but focuses on segregation outcomes.

A Focus on Segregation Reduction or Mobility Process?

Residential assimilation is conceived as a process but is measured as an outcome. The choice of outcomes and measurement procedures provide different insights on the processes that are theoretically grounded. Two distinct research traditions overlap in practice: one uses locational attainments to measure *segregation reduction*; the other uses locational attainments to measure *processes of mobility*. The two overlap because mobility variables may be used in models that explain segregation, and locational attainments may be used as outcomes of longitudinal mobility models.

Residential Assimilation as Segregation Reduction

If we conceive of assimilation as the attenuation of differences between immigrants and other groups, then the measurement of spatial separation (or, conversely, integration) is an appropriate aggregate indicator. Most formally this distance might be measured via dissimilarity indices, but it also can be measured via examination of the composition of neighborhoods occupied by immigrants. The locational attainment tradition established by Alba and Logan follows this basic logic to explore residential patterns.

Process is inferred by the use of explanatory variables consistent with underlying theory. In their comprehensive study of five major immigrant metropolises in the 1980 and 1990, Alba, Logan and Stults (2000) use median household income and percent non-Hispanic white to indicate the neighborhood contexts in which people live. Those

locational attainments are explained as a positive effect of households' education, income, and homeowner status. They are also generally explained as a negative result of poor English proficiency and recent immigrant arrival status. The latter two variables are said to measure "assimilation," but this is apart from its economic or spatial dimensions. In what is undoubtedly a shorthand notation, residents who speak English well and who have resided longer than five years in the U.S. are described as "assimilated." This simplification may result from reliance on census tract data which offer much less flexibility and precision of measurement.

A form of "longitudinal" analysis is offered by Alba et al. (2000) by comparing their cross-sectional analysis in 1990 with that in 1980. Basically, the two aggregate patterns are simply juxtaposed. In a separate paper, Alba et al. (1999) focus on suburbanization of immigrants, comparing the effect of determinants in 1980 and 1990. That analysis shows that for some ethnic groups, English speaking proficiency and recency of immigration have moderated as factors influencing suburban residence, but different groups reveal different patterns of change.

Residential Assimilation as Processes of Cohort Mobility

The preceding section has described spatial assimilation research that measures the shrinking aggregate effects of separation between groups. The strength of that approach is its focus on the overall residential pattern and its detailed spatial scale (using census tracts). The weakness of the approach is that it cannot offer more refined insights into the mobility processes that generate the observed patterns.

An alternative approach to residential assimilation tracks the net progress of specific cohorts toward preferred housing and locational attainments. Rooted in the

cohort-life course theory that infuses the research tradition of housing demography (Myers 1990), this method has been applied to immigrant assimilation most commonly in the analysis of homeownership attainment (Myers and Lee 1998; Painter, Yang, and Yu 2003).

The distinction of the cohort approach is that it estimates the average amount of change in homeownership attainment that accrues over 10 years time for each specific immigrant cohort, expressing that change relative to synchronic changes for a native-born reference group passing through the same age range and historical interval. Thus, this measurement of the average residential experience of a cohort represents the pace of convergence with the native-born trajectory. As such, the measurement is consistent with Alba and Nee's (2003) formulation of assimilation as a direction of change, not an end state or static picture.

A major advantage of the cohort method is that it can distinguish between the experiences over time of longer and more recently settled immigrants, separating their status at one point in time from their subsequent rates of change over the next decade. Cross-sectional analysis is notorious for confusing the pattern at one point in time with longitudinal change over time. Even comparisons between cross-sectional patterns at two points in time are not adequate (as in Alba et al. (2000)), because it is impossible to discern how much of the overall change is due to decisions of new arrivals, how much is due to changes in behavior by previous arrivals, and how much is due to the growing numbers of newcomers relative to longer settled immigrants.

This paper makes an original contribution by applying the cohort approach to a set of outcome indicators used in locational attainment analysis. It should be

acknowledged that, although this application may yield some insights, it is not without its own drawbacks. The principal weakness is a relative lack of spatial detail. Cohort analysis has generally been carried out with PUMS data because of the need to specify cohort memberships in more precise ways than permitted by summary files for census tracts. Thus, the locational attainments in the present paper pertain to large residential districts of 100,000 or more population (PUMAs) that can be identified in the PUMS files. In a metropolitan area as large as the Los Angeles PMSA, there are 67 such zones identified by which we can grade immigrants locational attainment in 2000 and 58 in 1990. These data are described more fully below.

Research Questions

The present paper focuses on the assimilation experience of a single arrival cohort, namely those who came to the U.S. to stay in the decade of 1970-79. Focusing on this group, we can observe net changes in locational and residential attainments over the decade of the 1990s, i.e., after they have lived in the U.S. for an average of 15 years and while their duration grows up to an average of 25 years. This interval reflects their residential assimilation behavior after their initial period of adjustment.

Three broad questions are addressed. First, as measured on several different residential indicators, what is the initial difference between immigrants and a native-born reference group and how much has the difference been closed over the decade? Second, to what extent is locational attainment aided by homeownership attainment? Third, are there distinct differences between the patterns of residential assimilations exhibited by different immigrant ethnic groups?

DATA AND METHODS

Three Ethnic Groups

Three distinct immigrant ethnic groups are selected for analysis. Mexican-origin immigrants have a very long history in Los Angeles and they represent by far the largest group of immigrants. Mexican immigrants also are notable for their very low education and income levels on average.

In contrast, Asian-origin immigrants have much higher education levels and exhibit more rapid economic advancement. Chinese and Korean immigrants are selected as two distinct ethnic groups from among the set of Asian immigrants. Although they share some attributes, such as racial phenotype as perceived by non-Asians, and generally high educational levels, they have different histories of migration and of occupational pursuits. What has not been examined to date are the differences in their residential behavior.

The three immigrant ethnic groups will be compared to a common reference group, namely native-born, non-Hispanic whites. Insufficient native-born residents are available in the data to represent groups other than the Mexican origin. There are also advantages to having a common reference group shared for comparison across the three ethnic groups.

Five Indicators of Residential Assimilation

Four outcome variables have been selected to represent locational attainment. Residence outside the central city is a longstanding measure of access to better residential environments, although Alba et al. (1999) show that by 1990 this factor has weakened as

a measure of spatial assimilation. Residence in a residential district characterized by higher percentage white, non-Hispanic residents has been assumed to represent access to better residential environments, as well as to represent closer integration with the majority white population. Conversely, residence in a residential district characterized by a higher percentage of co-ethnics represents an enclave or community dependence that reflects a lack of social integration (Allen and Turner 1996; Logan, Alba, and Zhang 2002). In addition, residence in a residential district characterized by a higher median household income represents a higher-status and better quality residential environment.

Finally, a fifth residential outcome, homeownership attainment, is also analyzed, both as an outcome variable and as a determinant of the four locational attainments. Homeownership represents assimilation into the housing market but without any necessary spatial consequences. Nonetheless, access to homeownership may create the opportunity to live in a wider array of neighborhoods.

For three indicators we have re-scaled the data to account for the substantial economic and demographic changes in the region over the 1990s. While the number of native-born, non-Hispanic, whites experienced a decline, the total number of Chinese, Korean, and Mexican immigrants increased significantly over the period, and so the average concentration of these groups in each district shifted substantially. Meanwhile, the areas' income level has also increased over time. For immigrants, even if they did not move in the last 10 years, it would appear that they became more likely to live in ethnic communities and moved apart from whites. This is not simply because they have moved toward ethnic concentrated areas, but because of a sheer growth in the number of immigrants and a decline in whites.

Therefore, instead of using the raw data directly, we *center coded* three dependent variables to make them more comparable over time. These three dependent variables are relative percent coethnics, relative percent whites, and relative income of the districts. More specifically, we calculate each observation based on the difference from the county mean of the decade. In this case, research findings will not be dependent upon the shift in demographic compositions and income level of the area. Instead, we are measuring movement toward *relatively* greater concentrations or higher levels of the chosen outcome.

Geographic Definitions

This analysis is conducted in Los Angeles County, a region of nearly 10 million population. The Los Angeles region is considered as a "Post –World War II" immigrant gateway, which attracts a large number of immigrants from both Asia and Latin America (Singer 2004). In this analysis, the smallest geographic unit observable is the PUMA, a large residential district with at least 100,000 residents, and this has been shown to be highly usable in the greater Los Angeles area despite its coarse spatial scale (Allen and Turner 1996). There are 58 PUMAs identified in 1990 data and 67 in 2000 in Los Angeles County.

Although census tract level data are commonly used to measure detailed spatial patterns of segregation, those data have certain limitations relative to the individual or household-level data of PUMS. First, PUMS provides micro level data which makes it possible to investigate the relative importance of specific factors in individuals' residential assimilation. Second, the PUMS data is more flexible in defining categories, making it possible to jointly define birth and arrival cohorts for specific ethnic groups and

to track cohort progress over the decade. Third, the inclusion of the multiracial option in the 2000 census made it more difficult, if not impossible, to use census tract level data to examine residential attainments of Chinese and Korean immigrants. In many cases, their population was not reported at the census tract level in the 2000 census summary files.

Cohort Longitudinal Analysis

For each outcome, we will fit double cohort longitudinal models that test the effect of growing duration (from 1990 to 2000 with the census PUMS). Modeling procedures follow those described in Myers and Cranford (Myers and Cranford 1998). The models estimated for this paper can be described as:

$$(O) = Year + BC + (Year * BC) + MC + (Year * MC) + (BC * MC) + \mathbf{X}$$

where:

(O)	=	outcome variable of interest,
Year	=	census year (1990 = 0 and 2000 = 1),
BC	=	age, or birth cohort, coded in 1990 as 15-24, 25-34, 35-44, 45-54, 55-64, or 65-74, and with each cohort 10 years older in 2000 (reference group = 25-34 in 1990, 35-44 in 2000),
MC	=	immigration duration or year of arrival, coded as 1970s arrivals (reference group = native-born),
(Year * BC)	=	aging effect as each birth cohort grows 10 years older,
(Year * MC)	=	duration effect as each arrival cohort resides 10 years longer,
(BC * MC)	=	differences in age effects between the immigrant arrival cohorts and the native-born reference group, and
X	=	a vector of covariates (income, education, English, or other).

Sample and Data

The analysis will be carried out with Public Use Microdata Sample (PUMS) data for the Los Angeles county area in 1990, and 2000. We will compare the evidence for

three groups of immigrant households: Mexican-origin, Chinese ethnic foreign-born, and Korean foreign born. Not only do the Mexicans exhibit very different behaviors and outcomes from the Asian groups, but the two Asian groups are distinct from each other.

As described below, under Duration, a single arrival cohort is studied across time, namely those who arrived to stay in the U.S. in 1970-79. Principal focus will be given the degree of assimilation achieved between 1990 and 2000, i.e., between completion of their first and second decades (or, more precisely, on average between 15 and 25 years of U.S. residence).

Duration of U.S. Residence and Year of Arrival

The central variable for measuring the assimilation process of the foreign born has been length of time since immigration (derived from census year and reported year of immigrant arrival). Although this variable has drawn some criticism for its measurement accuracy, we believe it continues to provide useful measurements. Despite claims of Massey and Redstone (2003) in a recent paper, their own analysis did not yield a statistically significant difference between their preferred measure (total years of U.S. experience) and length of time since U.S. settlement. Moreover, criticism of Ellis and Wright (1998) regarding inconsistencies between place of residence 5 years ago and years since immigration was focused mainly on short duration immigrants who may be involved in circular migration patterns. Longer-term, settled immigrants appear to have much less measurement error, and our own investigations show great stability of marked cohort differences when the same arrival cohort is surveyed repeatedly at multiple censuses (Myers 2004).

For the present analysis, we will be focusing primarily on a single arrival cohort composed of those arrived 1970-79 and observed in 1990 and 2000. Principal focus will be given the degree of assimilation achieved between 1990 and 2000, thus measuring movement toward assimilation after behaviors have stabilized following the first, disruptive decade after immigration. All studies show that the greatest changes occur in the first decade, but these adjustments may be due to more factors than assimilation alone. Respondent error is greatest in the first few years, as is economic and residential dislocation. Accordingly, the sustained process of assimilation may be measured more reliably beginning at the end of the first decade.

Age

Age is an especially critical dimension of residential assimilation, because residential mobility varies so sharply by age (falling markedly after age 30), because homeownership depends greatly on age, and because homeownership and age are so correlated. To better focus this analysis, most of the interpretations of the model estimations are directed to a single cohort, namely those age 25-34 in 1990 and 35-44 in 2000. That age group is mature enough to have made its own location decisions (i.e., not following parents) and it is young enough to reflect recent conditions for those decisions.

English proficiency and use at home

Economic incorporation of immigrants is aided by English proficiency, and this also impacts their willingness to locate away from ethnic enclaves. Moreover, English use in the home is a measure of acculturation, which might additionally enhance prospects of dispersal and integration. Our Asian groups generally show much greater

reliance on English than do the Mexican immigrants, and that may help to explain differences in residential assimilation.

Human capital differences

Educational attainment is the principal measure of human capital, and there are pronounced differences between Mexican and Asian immigrants. Better educated households have greater chances for homeownership, even after controlling for income differences. This can be interpreted as measuring an additional human capital effect (including parental resources that supported that education and may also be supporting present home purchase). Once human capital, income, and homeownership are controlled, it is not clear how much locational difference will remain between Mexican and Asian immigrants.

DESCRIPTIVE FINDINGS

Findings are presented first for the descriptive analysis. The five residential indicators are directly compared for all three immigrant ethnic groups. We begin with an overall assessment and then delve into differences between arrivals in different decades.

Overall Locational Attainment in 2000

A "snapshot" of residential attainments observed in Los Angeles in 2000 is displayed in Exhibit 1. This reflects the net result of past mobility among those currently age 25-74 and who immigrated since 1960. Also shown for reference is the residential attainments of native-born, non-Hispanic whites.

The probability of residing in Los Angeles City is similar for whites and Mexican immigrants (near 40%). Korean immigrants are substantially more likely to reside in the city (51%), while Chinese are far less likely (18%). This reflects the far greater propensity of the Chinese to reside in suburban enclaves, such as personified by Monterey Park.

A measurement of enclave propensity is the percentage of population in the residential district (PUMA-based) that is comprised of co-ethnics. Mexicans and whites have the greatest share of co-ethnics in their districts (approaching 50%) in part because these are the two largest groups in the region's population (Exhibit 1). Similarly, Koreans comprise the smallest share and have the fewest co-ethnic district neighbors. This measure of co-ethnic residents only measures current status, but it can be made more informative by tracking movements toward or away from districts of higher proportions co-ethnics (as shown below).

An opposite measure to co-ethnicity is the mean percent whites living in the residential district. Among the immigrant groups, Koreans have the highest ratio of district neighbors who are white, followed by Chinese.

A key indicator of locational attainment has been the mean household income of the district. The white native-borns live in areas averaging over $50,000 in 2000, while Mexican immigrants live in areas averaging about $36,000 (Exhibit 1). Of the immigrant groups, Chinese, who are also most suburbanized, live in areas with income levels closest to whites.

The final residential indicator is the homeownership rates achieved by the households. (This measures the households' individual status, not the average for their

residential district.) Homeownership may well represent the passkey to living in more desirable neighborhoods, although multivariate analysis conducted later will assess the importance of homeownership independent of income and other aspects of human capital. Surprisingly, Chinese immigrants exhibit a level of homeownership (63%) that exceeds even that of native-born whites (Exhibit 1). Koreans and Mexicans have similar, much lower levels of homeownership, barely half that of Chinese. It remains to be seen how much these differences in homeownership may influence differences in locational attainment.

Cross-Sectional Comparisons Across Arrival Cohorts in 2000

The preceding discussion of indicators aggregated foreign born from recent and earlier arrival waves, and it aggregated adults from many different age groups. If we wish to discern any changes in location behavior, it is necessary to be more temporally specific. As a first approximation, let us focus on adults age 35-44, i.e., those who are well-established in their adult careers and whose current location likely reflects decisions of the last decade. In addition, we compare residential outcomes across successive waves of immigrants, as shown in Exhibit 2.

Residence in Los Angeles city is very low for all waves of arrivals, save those who came in the period 1960-69 (but that is a far smaller group than later arrivals). Among Mexicans and Koreans, residence in the city is virtually identical for all arrivals after 1970. The newest arrivals are more prevalent in the city, with lower prevalence among successively earlier arrival waves. From these data we cannot tell if the new arrivals have made different choices, or it previous waves made the same choice and then moved out of the city. A later section will make that distinction.

Residing in districts with more co-ethnics also appears more common among recently arrived Koreans and Chinese than among longer settled immigrants (Exhibit 2). However, the differences are fairly small. Among Mexicans, differences across arrival groups are also small, and they tend in the opposite direction from those of Chinese and Koreans. Residence with whites in the same residential district also varies little across arrival waves (Exhibit 2). Only among Koreans is there any indication of progressive differences for longer settled immigrants.

Immigrants who arrived in different periods appear to reside in similar income districts as their co-ethnics. Only among Koreans is there indication than longer settled immigrants reside in areas with appreciably higher incomes. Again, from these data we cannot tell if they moved to those areas recently or whether they may have long resided there.

In the case of homeownership, very pronounced differences are in fact observed across arrival waves. Observed in 2000, adults who are more recent arrivals have much lower homeownership rates among all ethnic groups (Exhibit 2). In fact, the progressive differences across arrival groups appear roughly the same for all three ethnic groups. And, in all arrival groups, the Chinese appear to have the same approximate advantage, possessing homeownership rates 20 points or higher than Koreans and Mexicans.

From these data it would appear that locational patterns are relatively stagnant across successive arrival waves, whereas homeownership is highly dynamics. The contrast of the two sets of indicators is such that one might assume that the sharp increases in homeownership must have scant effect on locational patterns. This relationship is investigated directly in a later section.

MODELS OF LONGITUDINAL ASSIMILATION

To better assess the dynamics of residential assimilation we need to trace cohorts over time. Only in this way can we separate their initial status from the net changes achieved over the last decade by specific groups of people. Specifically, for this analysis we have focused on members of the 1970-79 arrival cohort. Following methods described above, we have estimated models, first, comprised only of temporal factors and, second, with additional variables representing human capital factors and homeownership. We address the findings from these two sets of models in separate sections. The presentation focuses on the estimates generated for the cohort that was age 25-34 in 1990 and 35-44 in 2000.

Temporal Models of Cohort Longitudinal Assimilation

The full sets of model estimations with temporal factors are presented in Appendix A, while Exhibit 3 reports summary statistics of the variables used in the subsequent multivariate estimations. Extracting from those estimations, here we summarize the effects that two factors have on our five indicators of residential assimilation. The status of immigrants after one decade of U.S. residence relative to white native-borns is given by the coefficient for Immig34 (1970s' arrivals only). This signifies the effect of being an immigrant and not in the native-born reference group, as measured in 1990. The amount of change in the particular outcome status (from 1990 to 2000) is given by the interaction term Year_Immig34. This is expressed relative to the Year term which represents change for the native-born group. Thus, the interaction term measures the degree of convergence, or divergence, between immigrants and the native-

born reference group. As stated above, the reasons we employ white, non-Hispanic, native-borns as the reference are two fold: first, there are insufficient numbers of native-borns among Chinese and Koreans to adequately estimate models; and, second, using a common reference group facilitates comparisons across the three ethnic groups.

Findings from the 15 separate estimations (three ethnic groups and five outcome indicators) are neatly summarized in Exhibit 4. Each subplot displays the residential status of the native-born reference group on the left, contrasting on the right the differences estimated for each immigrant ethnic group.

The log odds of native-borns residing within Los Angeles city are substantially negative in 1990, and there was no appreciable change from 1990 to 2000. Among Mexican immigrants, we see they were relatively more likely to live in the city in 1990, but their log odds of city residence declined relative to the native-born change over the decade. Koreans followed a similar, albeit weaker, pattern of change. This reflects a pattern of residential assimilation that is consistent with most expectations. The findings for Chinese are somewhat divergent. Not only were they already far less likely to live in Los Angeles city than white native-borns in 1990, but the cohort moved out of the city at a much greater rate.

Movement away from districts with high concentrations of co-ethnics is also shown in Exhibit 4. However, the estimated behavior of residential assimilation in this regard is more surprising. Mexican immigrants in 1990 had co-ethnic district neighbors that far exceeded the regional average of Mexican residents, and their relative exposure to co-ethnics changed little over the decade. Whereas, that finding was to be expected, the evidence for Koreans and Chinese is divergent from most expectations. Over the decade,

Koreans and, especially, Chinese *increased* their likelihood of living with co-ethnics in their residential districts. Thus, on this indicator, none of the groups achieved any degree of residential assimilation and in fact it was the reverse. It should be recalled that this assessment may even be understated, because the center coding of the outcome variable measures concentrations relative to the region's overall ethnic shares, all of which have been rising between 1990 and 2000. Thus, a cohort with no relative shift toward higher residence with co-ethnics was merely keeping pace with the rising regional average.

Movement toward districts with white residents is also of mixed result. The white native-born reference group already lived in districts with above average levels of white population and it shifted slightly more that direction over the decade. Mexicans again follow the expected pattern: under-exposed to white residents in 1990, they increased their exposure over the decade. Koreans, however, were under-exposed to whites and over the decade became even less likely to reside among whites. (More formally, the increase in white percentage experienced by the average Korean immigrant in his/her residential district was less than that experienced by the average white native-born resident.) Among Chinese, the large underexposure to whites was unchanged relative to that experienced by whites. On this indicator, only Mexicans achieved residential assimilation, and that effect was small.

Movement toward districts with higher income is our fourth indicator of residential assimilation. Whereas white native-borns began the decade residing in above average income areas, they increased their advantage slightly over the decade. In contrast, Mexican immigrants began far behind and achieved no catch-up relative to white native-borns. Koreans were living in below average districts and failed to keep

pace with white native-borns. Chinese were living in districts even more below average (despite living in the suburbs) and they made slight increases in excess of whites, although the change is not statistically significant. In sum, on this indicator, none of the three groups achieve residential assimilation.

Finally, with regard to homeownership, upward trajectories are commonly quite steep as cohorts age from 25-34 to 35-44, and the white native-born reference group achieved this expected large increase. Mexican immigrants began from a less advantaged status but achieved even greater increases in homeownership than did the native-born reference group. Koreans, however, fell the opposite direction. Beginning from a more advantaged status than whites, they achieved far less gains over the decade. Chinese began from an even more advantaged status, but they also failed to keep pace with the increases for whites or Mexicans. Thus, on this indicator, it would appear that Koreans and Chinese lost ground, but they were already highly advantaged in 1990, making this difficult to interpret.

Overall, what is the assessment of these temporal patterns of residential assimilation? Clearly, the Mexican immigrants follow fairly closely the expectations of theories about residential assimilation. They begin from a disadvantaged position of living disproportionately in Los Angeles city, with high proportions of co-ethnics, with low exposure to whites, in districts of lower income, and possessing lower rates of homeownership. Over the decade they leave Los Angeles city and gain more homeownership, all clear gains relative to the white native-born group. Other changes are very modest.

Chinese immigrants act least in accord with the precepts of residential assimilation theory. Living outside Los Angles city more than whites, they diverge even farther from whites over the decade. Chinese also live in districts with higher than average ratios of co-ethnics, and they even increase that likelihood substantially over the decade. At the same time they show no movement toward white districts and little increase in average area income. Even their homeownership rate is unusual, being highly advantaged at the beginning of the decade and failing to increase as much as whites.

Koreans exhibit many of the same tendencies as Chinese but to a more modest degree. The one major distinction of the Koreans is that they are so much more likely to remain living in Los Angeles city. Although both Koreans and Chinese have their "towns" in the city, only Korean immigrants exhibit strong affinity with city residence. Yet that residence is hardly one of ethnic enclaves; they are less likely than others to live with co-ethnics and more likely than other immigrant groups to live in districts with whites.

Impact of Homeownership on Residential Assimilation

The temporal effects estimated above may be at least partially the result of human capital differences between immigrants and native-borns or over time for immigrants. Certainly, the ability to buy a house or move to the suburbs may depend on household income, or it may depend on educational and linguistic attributes. For this reason, we have added measures of human capital to the model, along with an indicator for the household's tenure status (owner or renter). The full set of model estimations including both temporal factors and covariates are presented in Appendix B.

Our attention is focused now on ascertaining what is the role of homeownership in determining each of the other measures of residential assimilation. The effect of homeownership for the white native-born reference group is given by the coefficient for Own. The differential effect of homeownership for the immigrant cohorts is given by the interaction term Own_Immig34. Thus, the interaction term measures the degree of convergence, or divergence, between immigrants and the native-born reference group.

Findings from the 12 separate estimations (three ethnic groups and four outcome indicators) are compressed into Exhibit 5. Each subplot displays, on the left, the effect of homeownership on the given residential outcome for the native-born reference group, contrasting on the right the differential homeownership effect estimated for each immigrant ethnic group.

The log odds of native-borns residing within Los Angeles city are substantially impacted by homeownership (–0.56). In addition to this effect, each of the immigrant ethnic groups is impacted by a further negative effect: –0.24 for Mexicans, –0.55 for Koreans, and –0.29 for Chinese. Thus homeownership has even greater importance for the odds of immigrant groups moving to the suburbs than it does for white native-borns.

Homeownership also impacts the ratios of co-ethnic group members living in districts. Among Mexicans, homeownership increases the percentage of co-ethnics in a district, while among Koreans and Chinese homeownership decreases the level of co-ethnics.

Conversely, homeownership also impacts the percent whites in a residential district, lowering it slightly for the white native-born, lowering it 1.6 percentage points for Mexican immigrants, and raising it 4.7 percentage points for Korean immigrants.

There is no significant effect for Chinese. Mexican homeownership leads to fewer white neighbors likely because the low-valued homes Mexicans purchase are less likely to be in white neighborhoods. In contrast, among Koreans purchased homes are apparently much more likely to be in white areas.

Finally, we address the effect of homeownership on the relative income levels in residential districts inhabited by immigrants. Among the native-born, homeownership elevates the district income by an average of $2,400, and among Koreans it elevates district income by $5,750. Homeownership has no effect on the district income in areas occupied by Mexican or Chinese immigrants.

Overall, two conclusions emerge from this assessment of the role of homeownership in shaping other forms of residential assimilation. First, it is clear that homeownership facilitates movement out of Los Angeles city for all groups, immigrants more than the native-born. Second, only Korean residential patterns respond consistently to homeownership in ways consistent with prior expectations. Korean immigrants who are homeowners are less likely to reside in districts with many co-ethnics, they are more likely to have greater numbers of white co-residents, and they are more likely to have higher household incomes in the area. This reflects the contrast between urban lifestyles of the numerous Korean renters and their counterparts who are homeowners.

DISCUSSION

Three ethnic groups exhibit three distinctive patterns of residential assimilation. Residential patterns of immigrants of Mexican origin seem to be more resemblant of those expected by assimilation theory. After arrival the Mexicans had a low level of

residential attainment. In the first decade of their U.S. settlement, they had a very low level of homeownership, were very likely to live in the city, live with their own countrymen (and women), and live apart from native-born whites. Over time, Mexican immigrants became more upwardly mobile and progressively improved their residential attainments. Following the expectations of assimilation theory, they moved toward the suburbs, into greater homeownership, and away from coethnic concentrations.

In stark contrast, Chinese immigrants seem to contradict the traditional wisdom on residential assimilation. From the beginning of their U.S. residence, they revealed a surprisingly strong propensity for homeownership and living in the suburbs, as found also by Painter et al. (2003) and Alba et al. (1999). Over time, Chinese immigrants also are moving toward higher income residential districts. To a certain extent, they appear to have achieved the status of native-born whites soon after arrival and without much acculturation.

On the other hand, as time passes, Chinese immigrants do not appear to pursue further residential assimilation. They move increasingly to Chinese concentrated areas and away from white dominated residential districts. Therefore, Chinese immigrants may be economically upward mobile, but they maintain a strong cultural affinity with their own ethnic districts, and such cultural preferences seem to increase over time. It may be the case that economically well-prepared immigrant groups, such as the Chinese, are more competitive than other immigrant groups in choosing where to live. They may choose to exercise their own residential preferences to reside in communities of choice, as noted by Logan et al. (2002). It is not clear *to what* the Chinese are assimilating, and it is not apparent that there is any one direction for guiding the Chinese assimilation.

Between the case of Chinese immigrants and the case of Mexican immigrants lies the Koreans. They do not have quite as high a level of human capital as the Chinese. (College completion rate of 52% versus 56% for Chinese.) But Korean immigrants tend to fare much better than the Mexicans, and they reveal a pattern of choice that is distinct from both Mexicans and Chinese. Foremost, the Koreans do not exhibit as high homeownership as do Chinese, and their movement toward homeownership over time is slower than both Chinese and Mexican immigrants. The Koreans are also much more concentrated in Los Angeles city than are the Chinese, and at least as concentrated as are Mexicans (despite the Korean's higher income and education). Moreover, over time they exhibit much less departure from the city to the suburbs than either Mexicans or Chinese. Unlike the others, the Koreans even exhibit movement away from higher income or white concentrated residential districts. Yet they also show very little movement toward residential districts with higher concentrations of coethnics.

Complicating this portrait of Korean residential assimilation is the differential effect that homeownership has for this group. Although Koreans are less likely to be homeowners than are Chinese, when they do become homeowners they are relatively more likely than Chinese or Mexicans to leave the city for the suburbs, to move away from coethnic concentrations, and to move toward higher income and white districts. Thus the Korean pattern is formed disproportionately by renters, many of whom live by choice in a high-density corridor extending westward from downtown Los Angeles. This area of high rent housing affords a very urban lifestyle and brings the Korean immigrants in contact with a more diverse (white and Latino) set of residents.

The Korean's urban lifestyle choice is extremely different from that selected by the Chinese who more frequently prefer suburban homeownership, despite the fact that both Chinese and Koreans have established ethnic communities in Los Angeles city. The Korean apartment dwellers lead a lifestyle that is relatively foreign to Los Angeles (seeking a little of Seoul that is familiar to them), while the Chinese homeowners occupy a suburban landscape that is physically familiar to most Americans but which is concentrated with other Chinese. Meanwhile, the Mexican immigrants follow a much more conventional assimilation model of slowing rising the housing ladder and moving outward to the suburbs and into greater contact with whites.

The foregoing analysis and discussion also calls into question the meaning of the central city vs. suburbs dichotomy in assimilation. Certainly this spatial reference is not as strongly defining as it may have once been (Alba et al. 1999). The case of Chinese in Los Angeles highlights the new immigrant access to the suburbs, while the case of Koreans in Los Angeles highlights the new desirability of the city. Increasingly, the decision to live in the city or suburbs is simply a lifestyle choice for new immigrants, not a marker of segregation and confinement, and not a measure of growing adaptation to the host culture.

CONCLUSION

This analysis of Los Angeles has uncovered three distinct assimilation lifestyles for the three immigrant ethnic groups. While the findings for Chinese have been preceded by other scholars (Alba et al. 1999, Logan et al. 2002, Painter et al. 2003), our discovery of the Korean urban assimilation pattern deserves to be noted.

Moreover, we have experimented with a new approach to investigating locational attainment outcomes. Rather than estimate spatial patterns, or differences in determinants over time in shaping those patterns, we have traced an immigrant cohort as it assimilates over time. Focusing on this mobility process has allowed us to discern dynamics of change that are not possible with s spatially focused locational attainment model.

One finding that stands out is the difference the cohort model detects between the relative location of immigrants one decade after arrival (in 1990) and their relative movement over the ensuing decade (i.e., between 1990 and 2000). For example, Mexican immigrants are more likely to be in the city at first, but they leave the city more rapidly than do native-born whites. Conversely, Chinese are both more likely to live in the suburbs and also more likely to leave the city for the suburbs. The dynamics of change over time may be more appropriate for measuring assimilation than simply the static pattern observed at a snapshot in time.

Similarly, comparisons across arrival cohorts at a moment in time (as in Exhibit 2) lead to very different pictures of dynamics than linking cohorts between two different points in time (as in Exhibit 4). For example, it would appear that Chinese immigrants have approximately equal likelihood of living in the city when they are newly arrived (1990-99) and longer settled (1980-89 or 1970-79), or that Mexicans and Koreans have strongly decreasing likelihood of living in the city (Exhibit 2). However, that cross-sectional comparison is deceiving, because our analysis that traces cohorts over time shows that Chinese are moving out much more steeply than are Koreans or Mexicans. The discrepancy arises from the fact that successive arrival cohorts of Chinese have been much less likely to choose residence in the city to begin with, driving down the city

residence of newcomers to match the pattern of previous arrivals who have now exited. Among Koreans, in contrast, newcomers may be *more* likely than previous arrivals to choose city residence than was true of earlier arrivals, driving up the city residence of newcomers far above the pattern of previous arrivals who have only slowly exited.

Much more work deserves to be done on the dynamics of assimilation behavior in cities. The large body of existing research on segregation patterns and aggregate patterns of residential outcomes can be usefully complemented by this new mode of analysis used to detect changes over time that are achieved by specific cohorts.

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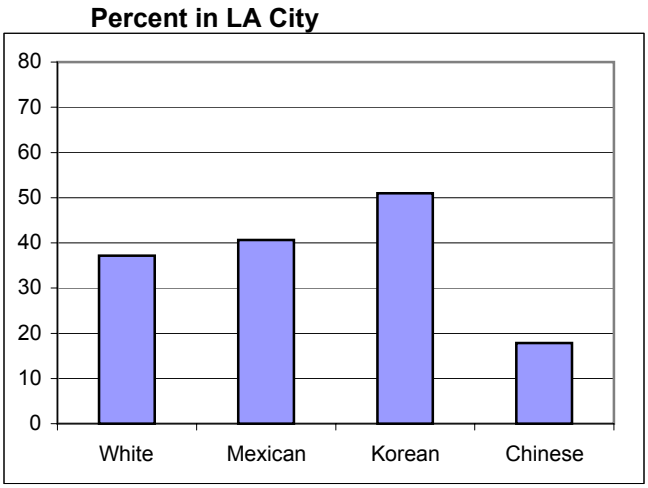
EXHIBITS

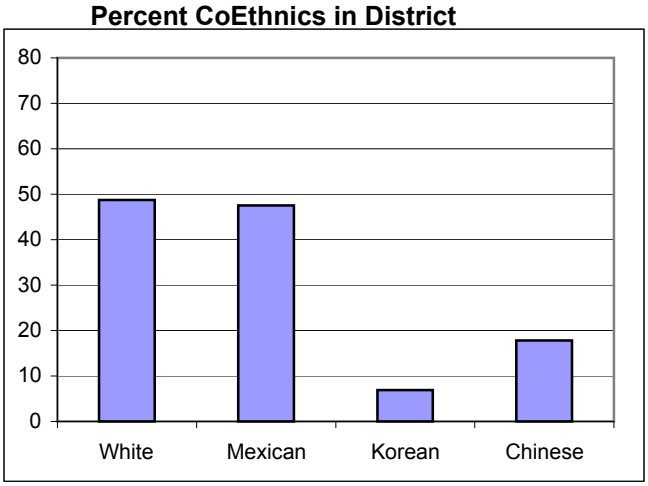
Ex. 1—Residential Attainments of Immigrants and Native-born Non-Hispanic Whites in 2000
Ex. 2—Residential Attainments by Ethnicity and Year of Arrival (Observed at age 35-44 in 2000)
Ex. 3—Variable Summary Statistics
Ex. 4—Impact of Homeownership on Locational Attainments: Comparison of Ethnic Foreign-Born to White Native-Born
Ex. 5—Indicators of Residential Assimilation: Status in 1990 and Change from 1990 to 2000

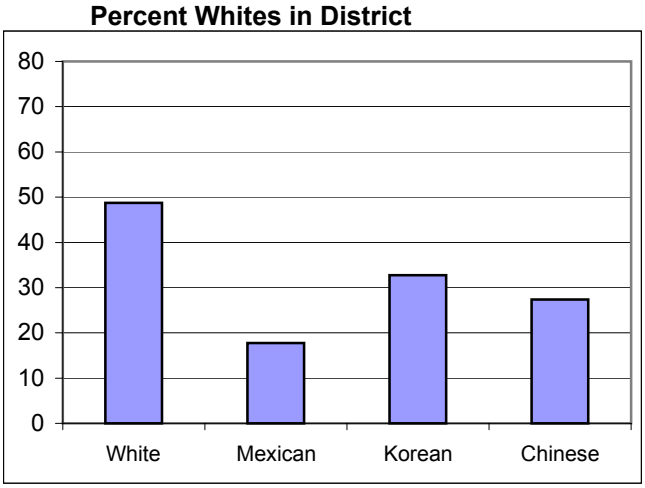
APPENDIX

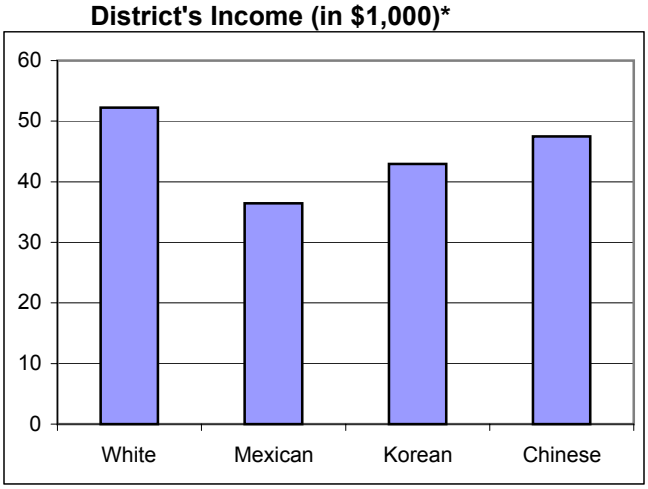
Appendix A—Estimation Results for Temporal Models
Appendix B—Estimation Results for Models with Human Capital and Homeownership

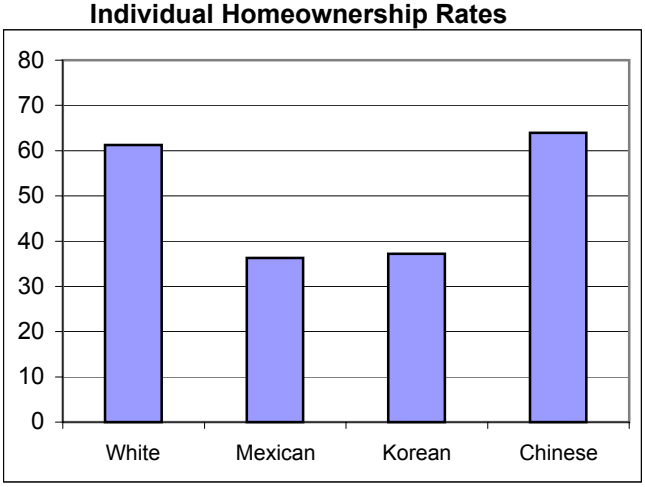
Exhibit 1. Residential Attainments of Immigrants and Native-born Non-Hispanic Whites in 2000







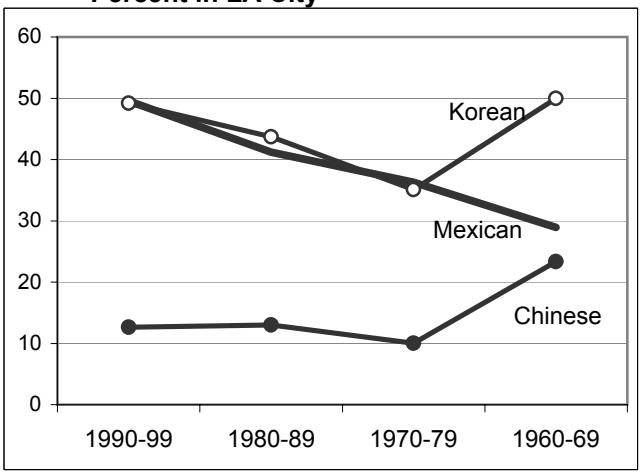




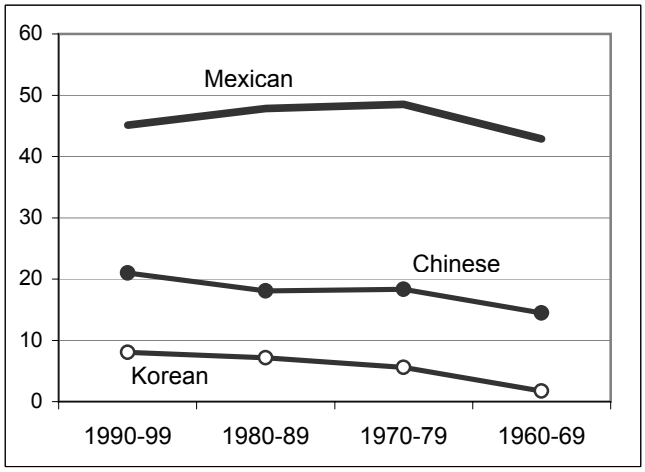
* Median household income

Exhibit 2. Residential Attainments by Ethnicity and Year of Arrival (Observed at age 35-44 in 2000)

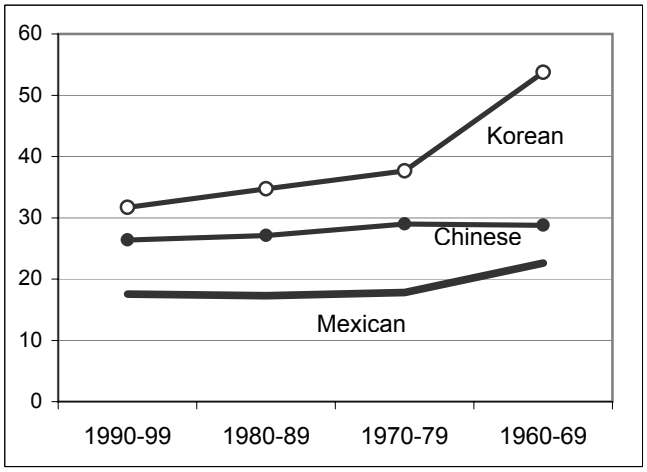
Percent in LA City



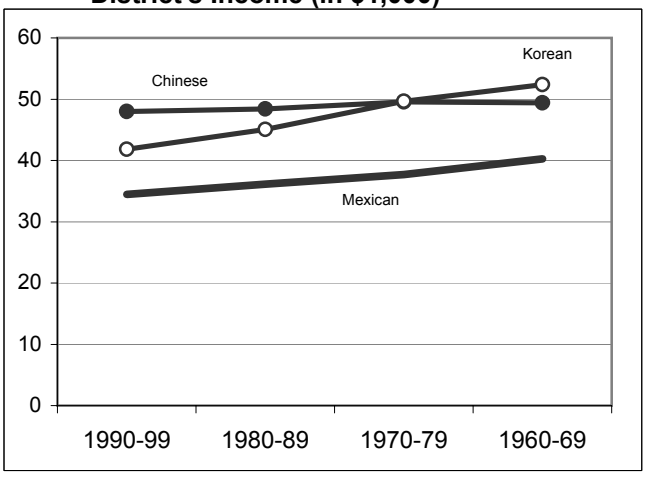
Percent CoEthnics in District



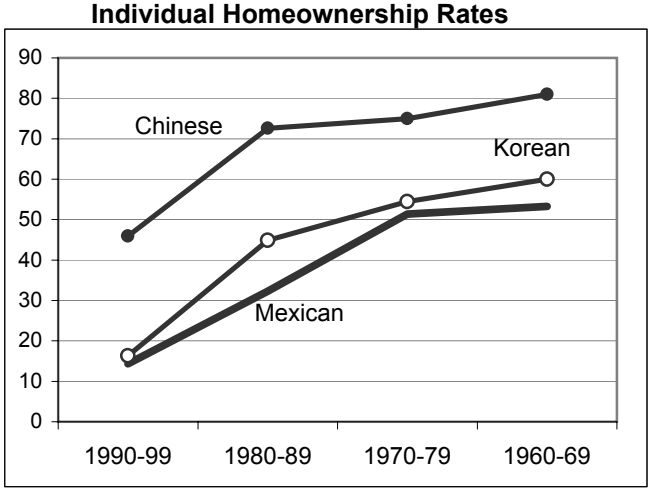
Percent Whites in District



District's Income (in $1,000)*



Individual Homeownership Rates

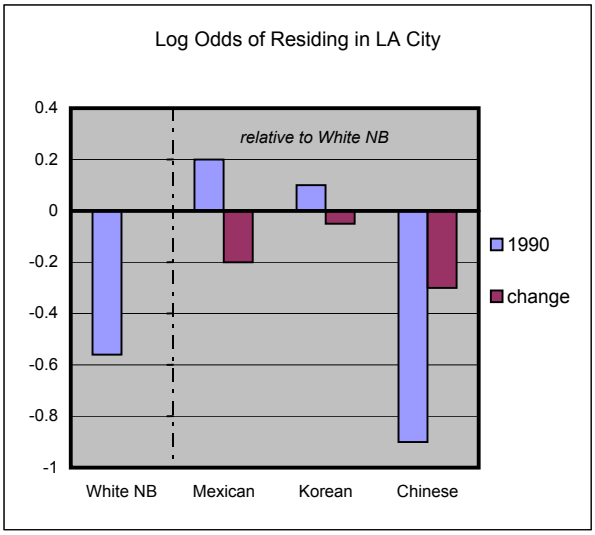


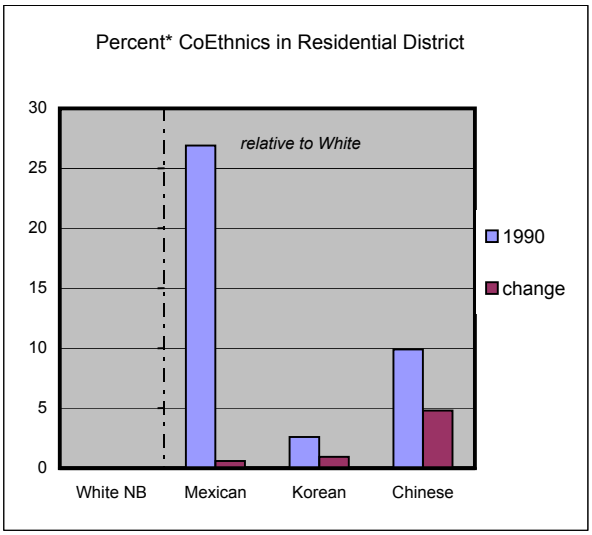
* Median household income

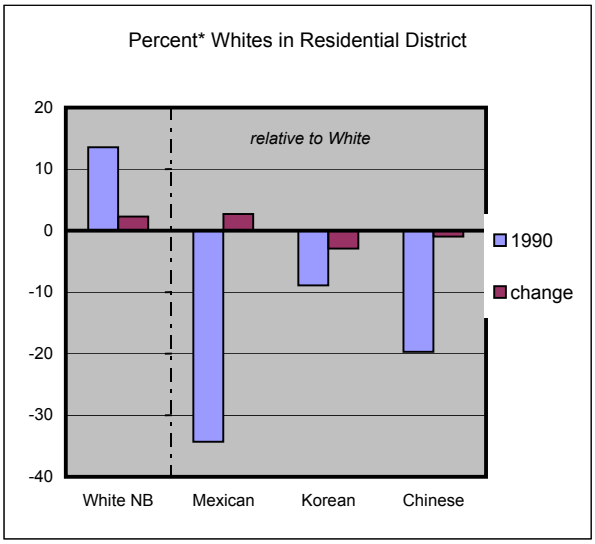
Exhibit 3. Variable Summary Statistics

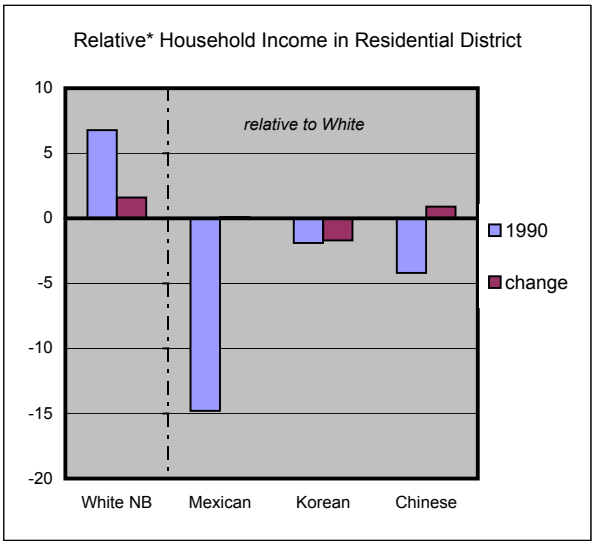
		Mexican Immigrants		Korean Immigrants		Chinese Immigrants		Native-born Non Hispanic Whites	
Variables		Mean	Std Dev.	Mean	Std Dev.	Mean	Std Dev.	Mean	Std Dev.
la_cty	Percent in City	39.572	48.902	43.896	49.643	20.756	40.567	36.326	48.094
minus_mexican	Percent Mexicans in District Relative to the County Mean	18.686	21.483					-0.297	4.850
minus_korean	Percent Koreans in District Relative to the County Mean			2.744	4.483			0.019	2.211
minus_chinese	Percent Chinese in District Relative to the County Mean					10.710	12.076	-8.286	14.318
minus_white	Percent Whites in District Relative to the County Mean	-18.921	19.582	2.638	19.527	-4.880	19.950	13.699	19.786
minus_income	Income in District (in $1,000) Relative to the County Mean	-7.543	11.089	2.995	14.025	3.575	11.912	7.842	13.383
own	Individual Homeownership Rates (Percent)	41.157	49.213	56.810	49.552	75.886	42.789	59.206	49.145
year	Year (1990 = 0; 2000 = 1)	0.494	0.500	0.548	0.498	0.525	0.500	0.474	0.499
bc1	Birth Cohort 1 (age 15-24 in 1990 and 25-34 in 2000)	0.095	0.293	0.115	0.319	0.083	0.276	0.109	0.312
bc2	Birth Cohort 2 (age 25-34 in 1990 and 35-44 in 2000)	0.394	0.489	0.161	0.368	0.225	0.418	0.260	0.439
bc3	Birth Cohort 3 (age 35-44 in 1990 and 45-54 in 2000)	0.367	0.482	0.292	0.455	0.426	0.495	0.263	0.440
bc4	Birth Cohort 4 (age 45-54 in 1990 and 55-64 in 2000)	0.115	0.319	0.292	0.455	0.167	0.373	0.198	0.398
bc5	Birth Cohort 5 (age 55-64 in 1990 and 65-74 in 2000)	0.029	0.168	0.140	0.347	0.099	0.299	0.170	0.375
yr_bc1	Birth Cohort 1 in 2000	0.073	0.259	0.102	0.303	0.074	0.261	0.084	0.277
yr_bc2	Birth Cohort 2 in 2000	0.191	0.393	0.095	0.293	0.116	0.321	0.121	0.326
yr_bc3	Birth Cohort 3 in 2000	0.170	0.375	0.145	0.353	0.208	0.406	0.117	0.321
yr_bc4	Birth Cohort 4 in 2000	0.048	0.214	0.140	0.348	0.077	0.267	0.084	0.278
yr_bc5	Birth Cohort 5 in 2000	0.013	0.112	0.066	0.248	0.049	0.216	0.067	0.251
bc1_immig34	Immigrants Arrived 1970-79 -- Birth Cohort 1	0.095	0.293	0.115	0.319	0.083	0.276		
bc2_immig34	Immigrants Arrived 1970-79 -- Birth Cohort 2	0.394	0.489	0.161	0.368	0.225	0.418		
bc3_immig34	Immigrants Arrived 1970-79 -- Birth Cohort 3	0.367	0.482	0.292	0.455	0.426	0.495		
bc4_immig34	Immigrants Arrived 1970-79 -- Birth Cohort 4	0.115	0.319	0.292	0.455	0.167	0.373		
bc5_immig34	Immigrants Arrived 1970-79 -- Birth Cohort 5	0.029	0.168	0.140	0.347	0.099	0.299		
immig34	Immigrants Arrived 1970-79	1	0	1	0	1	0		
yr_immig34	Immigrants Arrived 1970-79 in 2000	0.494	0.500	0.548	0.498	0.525	0.500		
hinc	Household Income (in $1,000)	42.381	34.506	70.414	67.747	78.385	68.808	82.962	78.153
educ1	No High School Diploma	0.767	0.423	0.087	0.282	0.180	0.384	0.068	0.252
educ2	High School Dip. W/ College	0.210	0.408	0.402	0.491	0.313	0.464	0.516	0.500
educ3	College Degree or Better	0.022	0.148	0.511	0.500	0.507	0.500	0.416	0.493
engwell	Speark English Well or Speaking English Only	0.573	0.495	0.731	0.444	0.788	0.409	0.997	0.057
engnotwell	Speark English Not Well or Not at All	0.427	0.495	0.269	0.444	0.212	0.409	0.003	0.057
Number of Observations		14,989		1,417		1,891		96,745	

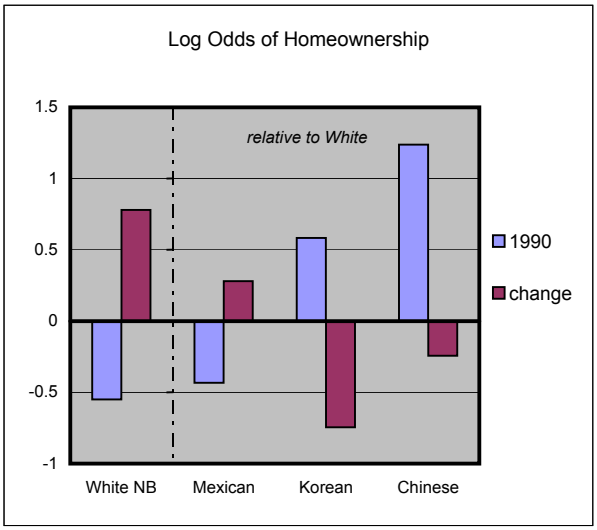
Exhibit 4
Indicators of Residential Assimilation:
Status in 1990 and Change from 1990 to 2000











Notes:

Sample is the cohort age 25-34 in 1990 and 35-44 in 2000. Ethnic groups are foreign born who arrived 1970-79.

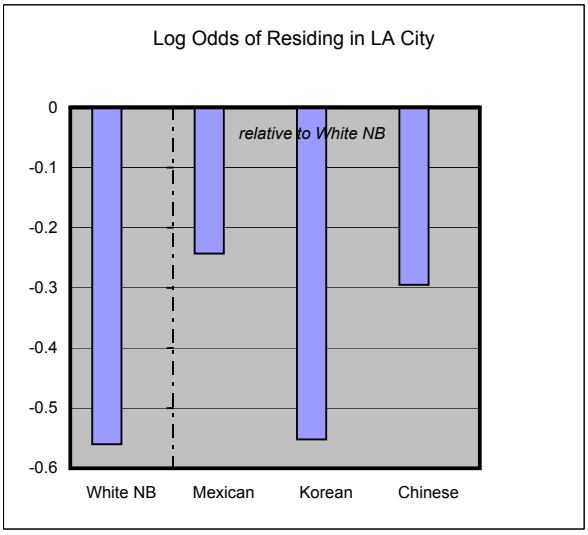
Values for Mexican, Korean and Chinese are expressed relative to those for White, non-Hispanic, native-borns. Actual status in 1990 or change 1990 to 2000 for ethnic groups is the sum of their values and those of the White reference group.

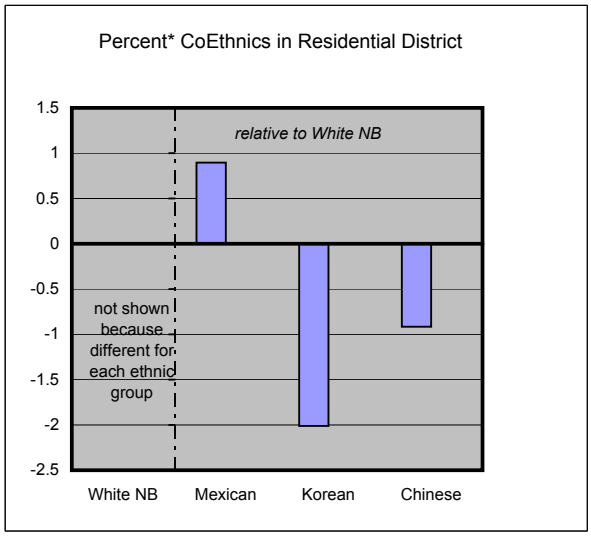
* Percentage values are "center coded," i.e., the value for the metro area average is subtracted from that of each residential district. Thus each area is expressed relative to the average prevailing in each decade.

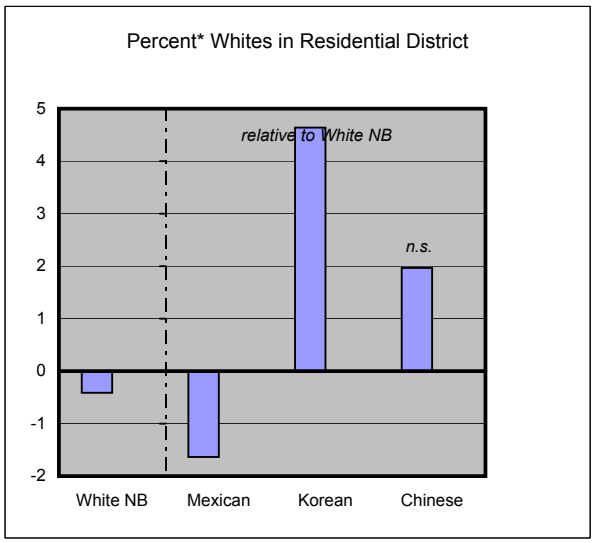
Median area income is center coded in a similar fashion.

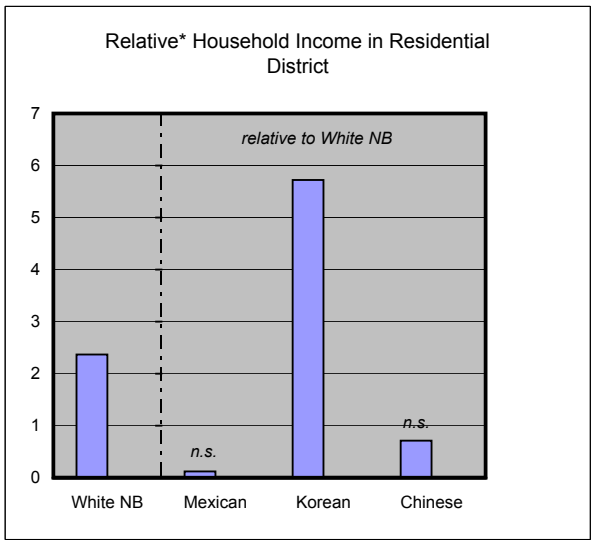
Values are extracted from models without adjustment for human capital in Appendix A.

Exhibit 5
Impact of Homeownership on Locational Attainments: Comparison of Ethnic Foreign-Born to White Native-Born









Notes:

Sample is the cohort age 25-34 in 1990 and 35-44 in 2000. Ethnic groups are foreign born who arrived 1970-79.

Values for Mexican, Korean and Chinese are expressed relative to those for White, non-Hispanic, native-borns. Actual status in 1990 or change 1990 to 2000 for ethnic groups is the sum of their values and those of the White reference group.

Appendix A—Estimation Results for Temporal Models

Appendix A1. Location in City

Percent in the City of Los Angeles	Mexican		Korean		Chinese	
	Coef.	Std. Err.	Coef.	Std. Err.	Coef.	Std. Err.
_cons	-0.562 ***	0.017	-0.566 ***	0.018	-0.564 ***	0.018
year	0.001	0.025	0.011	0.026	0.006	0.026
bc1	0.303 ***	0.043	0.316 ***	0.044	0.306 ***	0.044
bc3	-0.035	0.024	-0.030	0.025	-0.032	0.025
bc4	-0.074 **	0.026	-0.072 **	0.027	-0.074 **	0.027
bc5	-0.117 ***	0.027	-0.107 ***	0.028	-0.109 ***	0.028
yr_bc1	0.041	0.050	0.020	0.053	0.035	0.053
yr_bc3	0.000	0.034	-0.012	0.037	-0.006	0.037
yr_bc4	0.019	0.038	0.016	0.040	0.020	0.040
yr_bc5	0.059	0.041	0.035	0.042	0.039	0.042
bc1_immig34	-0.379 ***	0.066	0.371	0.213	0.494 *	0.227
bc3_immig34	0.054	0.043	0.113	0.171	0.074	0.162
bc4_immig34	0.138 *	0.059	0.290	0.170	0.639 **	0.185
bc5_immig34	0.335 **	0.102	0.548 **	0.199	0.876 ***	0.208
immig34	0.211 ***	0.035	0.109	0.152	-0.920 ***	0.143
yr_immig34	-0.187 ***	0.037	-0.054	0.113	-0.291 *	0.120
Number of obs	111,734		98,172		98,634	
Pseudo-R^2	0.003		0.003		0.005	
Log likelihood	-73,269		-64,189		-64,166	

Appendix A2. Percent Coethnics in Residential District

Percent Coethnics in District	Mexican		Korean		Chinese	
	Coef.	Std. Err.	Coef.	Std. Err.	Coef.	Std. Err.
_cons	-8.189 ***	0.129	0.011	0.019	-0.470 ***	0.043
year	-1.650 ***	0.183	-0.090 **	0.028	-0.202 **	0.064
bc1	0.322	0.324	0.006	0.050	0.040	0.111
bc3	0.166	0.177	-0.021	0.027	0.146 *	0.061
bc4	0.946 ***	0.193	0.030	0.029	0.298 ***	0.065
bc5	2.387 ***	0.201	0.004	0.030	0.369 ***	0.067
yr_bc1	-1.872 ***	0.378	0.221 ***	0.059	-0.209	0.133
yr_bc3	0.592 *	0.248	0.069	0.040	0.240 **	0.089
yr_bc4	0.908 **	0.280	0.138 **	0.043	0.590 ***	0.097
yr_bc5	0.377	0.303	0.157 **	0.046	0.661 ***	0.102
bc1_immig34	-1.312 **	0.495	-1.231 ***	0.236	-4.394 ***	0.485
bc3_immig34	0.782 *	0.320	0.057	0.188	-0.975 **	0.307
bc4_immig34	-0.198	0.448	-0.663 ***	0.188	-2.509 ***	0.379
bc5_immig34	2.163 **	0.779	-0.431	0.221	-1.773 ***	0.447
immig34	26.908 ***	0.260	2.577 ***	0.167	9.878 ***	0.277
yr_immig34	0.601 *	0.280	0.945 ***	0.126	4.801 ***	0.242
Number of obs	111,734		98,162		98,636	
Adjusted R^2	0.267		0.022		0.089	

Appendix A3. Percent Whites in Residential District

Percent Whites in District	Mexican		Korean		Chinese	
	Coef.	Std. Err.	Coef.	Std. Err.	Coef.	Std. Err.
_cons	13.560 ***	0.165	13.469 ***	0.170	13.469 ***	0.169
year	2.120 ***	0.234	2.316 ***	0.248	2.315 ***	0.248
bc1	-1.555 ***	0.414	-1.856 ***	0.434	-1.829 ***	0.434
bc3	0.177	0.227	0.299	0.237	0.333	0.236
bc4	-0.517 *	0.246	-0.324	0.253	-0.361	0.253
bc5	-2.200 ***	0.256	-2.044 ***	0.261	-2.060 ***	0.260
yr_bc1	1.981 ***	0.483	2.295 ***	0.518	2.260 ***	0.517
yr_bc3	-1.092 **	0.318	-1.358 ***	0.350	-1.434 ***	0.348
yr_bc4	-2.158 ***	0.357	-2.593 ***	0.378	-2.505 ***	0.378
yr_bc5	-1.818 ***	0.387	-2.176 ***	0.399	-2.137 ***	0.399
bc1_immig34	1.879 **	0.633	0.761	2.064	4.974 **	1.890
bc3_immig34	-1.094 **	0.408	-2.078	1.640	1.993	1.196
bc4_immig34	0.433	0.572	0.776	1.642	0.602	1.478
bc5_immig34	-0.378	0.996	-2.837	1.931	-0.270	1.743
immig34	-34.285 ***	0.333	-8.873 ***	1.462	-19.685 ***	1.080
yr_immig34	2.660 ***	0.358	-2.850 *	1.099	-0.969	0.942
Number of obs	111,734		98,162		98,636	
Adjusted R^2	0.246		0.010		0.022	

Appendix A4. Median Household Income in Residential District

Income in District (in $1,000) Relative to the County Mean	Mexican		Korean		Chinese	
	Coef.	Std. Err.	Coef.	Std. Err.	Coef.	Std. Err.
_cons	6.794 ***	0.109	6.778 ***	0.115	6.779 ***	0.114
year	1.571 ***	0.155	1.605 ***	0.168	1.603 ***	0.167
bc1	-1.828 ***	0.275	-1.884 ***	0.294	-1.852 ***	0.293
bc3	1.048 ***	0.151	1.041 ***	0.160	1.068 ***	0.160
bc4	1.489 ***	0.163	1.562 ***	0.171	1.527 ***	0.171
bc5	0.768 ***	0.170	0.792 ***	0.177	0.780 ***	0.176
yr_bc1	0.129	0.320	0.188	0.351	0.147	0.349
yr_bc3	-0.513 *	0.211	-0.497 *	0.237	-0.558 *	0.235
yr_bc4	-1.092 ***	0.237	-1.260 ***	0.256	-1.176 ***	0.255
yr_bc5	-0.826 **	0.257	-0.881 **	0.270	-0.851 **	0.269
bc1_immig34	2.326 ***	0.420	-3.110 *	1.398	0.697	1.276
bc3_immig34	-1.639 ***	0.271	-1.609	1.111	0.148	0.807
bc4_immig34	-1.876 ***	0.380	-2.007	1.113	-2.296 *	0.998
bc5_immig34	-2.627 ***	0.661	-5.302 ***	1.308	-4.014 **	1.177
immig34	-14.773 ***	0.221	-1.935	0.991	-4.247 ***	0.729
yr_immig34	0.139	0.237	-1.716 *	0.744	0.889	0.636
Number of obs	111,734		98,162		98,636	
Adjusted R^2	0.142		0.006		0.006	

Appendix A5. Homeownership Attainment

Individual Homeownership Rates	Mexican		Korean		Chinese	
	Coef.	Std. Err.	Coef.	Std. Err.	Coef.	Std. Err.
_cons	-0.551 ***	0.017	-0.556 ***	0.018	-0.553 ***	0.018
year	0.777 ***	0.024	0.788 ***	0.026	0.782 ***	0.026
bc1	-1.507 ***	0.063	-1.499 ***	0.066	-1.488 ***	0.066
bc3	0.927 ***	0.024	0.935 ***	0.025	0.933 ***	0.025
bc4	1.526 ***	0.027	1.535 ***	0.028	1.528 ***	0.028
bc5	1.768 ***	0.029	1.774 ***	0.030	1.767 ***	0.030
yr_bc1	0.383 ***	0.068	0.369 ***	0.073	0.359 ***	0.072
yr_bc3	-0.360 ***	0.033	-0.376 ***	0.037	-0.372 ***	0.037
yr_bc4	-0.590 ***	0.040	-0.609 ***	0.042	-0.595 ***	0.042
yr_bc5	-0.615 ***	0.045	-0.627 ***	0.046	-0.610 ***	0.047
bc1_immig34	0.460 ***	0.072	0.344	0.219	0.357	0.204
bc3_immig34	-0.459 ***	0.043	-0.290	0.168	-0.207	0.143
bc4_immig34	-0.944 ***	0.060	-0.539 **	0.171	-0.931 ***	0.175
bc5_immig34	-1.493 ***	0.106	-1.548 ***	0.197	-1.516 ***	0.196
immig34	-0.433 ***	0.037	0.583 ***	0.150	1.238 ***	0.121
yr_immig34	0.280 ***	0.038	-0.745 ***	0.116	-0.243 *	0.114
Number of obs	111,734		98,162		98,636	
Pseudo-R^2	0.104		0.102		0.103	
Log likelihood	-68,479		-59,637		-59,739	

Appendix B—Estimation Results for Models with Human Capital and Homeownership

Appendix B1. Location in City

Percent in LA City	Mexican		Korean		Chinese	
	Coef.	Std. Err.	Coef.	Std. Err.	Coef.	Std. Err.
_cons	-0.474 ***	0.040	-0.343 ***	0.090	-0.227 *	0.094
year	0.043	0.026	0.054 *	0.027	0.050	0.027
bc1	0.277 ***	0.044	0.294 ***	0.046	0.282 ***	0.046
bc3	0.027	0.029	0.010	0.031	0.002	0.031
bc4	0.006	0.036	-0.007	0.037	-0.011	0.037
bc5	0.018	0.041	0.015	0.042	0.002	0.042
yr_bc1	-0.034	0.051	-0.062	0.055	-0.049	0.055
yr_bc3	-0.051	0.034	-0.068	0.038	-0.063	0.038
yr_bc4	-0.047	0.039	-0.051	0.041	-0.046	0.041
yr_bc5	0.015	0.042	-0.013	0.043	-0.006	0.043
bc1_immig34	-0.395 ***	0.069	0.313	0.221	0.557 *	0.233
bc3_immig34	0.035	0.044	0.129	0.178	0.065	0.165
bc4_immig34	0.061	0.062	0.271	0.179	0.555 **	0.189
bc5_immig34	0.136	0.105	0.361	0.210	0.711 **	0.216
immig34	0.426 ***	0.042	0.415 *	0.168	-0.658 ***	0.165
yr_immig34	-0.071	0.038	-0.146	0.117	-0.324 **	0.122
hinc	0.000 ***	0.000	0.000 ***	0.000	0.000 ***	0.000
educ1	-0.090 ***	0.024	-0.190 ***	0.029	-0.178 ***	0.029
educ3	0.377 ***	0.014	0.360 ***	0.014	0.363 ***	0.014
engwell	-0.113 **	0.035	-0.229 **	0.088	-0.343 ***	0.092
own	-0.537 ***	0.026	-0.566 ***	0.028	-0.573 ***	0.028
own_immig34	-0.243 ***	0.040	-0.552 ***	0.116	-0.295 *	0.129
own_bc1	-0.136 **	0.052	-0.148 **	0.055	-0.140 *	0.055
own_bc3	0.060	0.035	0.106 **	0.038	0.118 **	0.038
own_bc4	0.145 ***	0.041	0.178 ***	0.044	0.184 ***	0.044
own_bc5	0.151 **	0.046	0.190 ***	0.048	0.206 ***	0.048
Number of obs	111,734		98,172		98,634	
Pseudo-R^2	0.019		0.019		0.020	
Log likelihood	-72,118		-63,194		-63,186	

Appendix B2. Percent Coethnics in Residential District

Percent Coethnics in District	Mexican		Korean		Chinese	
	Coef.	Std. Err.	Coef.	Std. Err.	Coef.	Std. Err.
_cons	-3.121 ***	0.294	0.373 ***	0.099	0.373 ***	0.099
year	-1.266 ***	0.182	-0.039	0.029	-0.039	0.029
bc1	-0.545	0.324	-0.024	0.051	-0.024	0.051
bc3	0.543 *	0.212	-0.011	0.034	-0.011	0.034
bc4	1.287 ***	0.261	0.080 *	0.041	0.080 *	0.041
bc5	2.188 ***	0.299	0.081	0.046	0.081	0.046
yr_bc1	-0.592	0.376	0.203 **	0.060	0.203 **	0.060
yr_bc3	0.602 *	0.246	0.030	0.040	0.030	0.040
yr_bc4	0.615 *	0.275	0.089 *	0.044	0.089 *	0.044
yr_bc5	-0.246	0.298	0.109 *	0.046	0.109 *	0.046
bc1_immig34	1.116 *	0.492	-1.554 ***	0.236	-1.554 ***	0.236
bc3_immig34	-0.125	0.316	0.189	0.189	0.189	0.189
bc4_immig34	-1.376 **	0.449	-0.481 *	0.191	-0.481 *	0.191
bc5_immig34	1.764 *	0.775	-0.711 **	0.226	-0.711 **	0.226
immig34	20.575 ***	0.306	3.719 ***	0.181	3.719 ***	0.181
yr_immig34	-0.020	0.278	0.734 ***	0.126	0.734 ***	0.126
hinc	-0.026 ***	0.001	0.001 ***	0.000	0.001 ***	0.000
educ1	3.935 ***	0.168	-0.127 ***	0.029	-0.127 ***	0.029
educ3	-4.057 ***	0.104	0.158 ***	0.016	0.158 ***	0.016
engwell	-2.855 ***	0.252	-0.321 **	0.096	-0.321 **	0.096
own	2.628 ***	0.185	-0.365 ***	0.029	-0.365 ***	0.029
own_immig34	0.896 **	0.281	-2.011 ***	0.126	-2.011 ***	0.126
own_bc1	-0.005	0.366	-0.176 **	0.059	-0.176 **	0.059
own_bc3	-0.525 *	0.250	0.096 *	0.041	0.096 *	0.041
own_bc4	-0.999 **	0.294	0.103 *	0.047	0.103 *	0.047
own_bc5	-1.502 ***	0.333	0.118 *	0.051	0.118 *	0.051
Number of obs	111,734		98,162		98,636	
Adjusted R^2	0.303		0.031		0.090	

Appendix B3. Percent Whites in Residential District

Percent Whites in District	Mexican		Korean		Chinese	
	Coef.	Std. Err.	Coef.	Std. Err.	Coef.	Std. Err.
_cons	6.669 ***	0.377	8.778 ***	0.845	6.453 ***	0.826
year	1.013 ***	0.233	1.108 ***	0.247	1.106 ***	0.246
bc1	0.111	0.415	-0.089	0.436	-0.046	0.435
bc3	-0.774 **	0.271	-0.569 *	0.289	-0.512	0.288
bc4	-1.873 ***	0.335	-1.740 ***	0.349	-1.792 ***	0.349
bc5	-3.113 ***	0.383	-3.017 ***	0.389	-3.006 ***	0.389
yr_bc1	0.543	0.481	0.926	0.514	0.870	0.513
yr_bc3	-0.770 *	0.314	-0.899 **	0.345	-0.947 **	0.344
yr_bc4	-1.232 ***	0.352	-1.507 ***	0.372	-1.433 ***	0.372
yr_bc5	-0.396	0.381	-0.609	0.393	-0.597	0.392
bc1_immig34	-1.324 *	0.630	0.616	2.022	4.196 *	1.857
bc3_immig34	0.257	0.405	-1.744	1.613	2.445 *	1.172
bc4_immig34	2.343 ***	0.574	0.495	1.630	2.895 *	1.456
bc5_immig34	0.815	0.992	-0.803	1.930	3.898 *	1.740
immig34	-26.812 ***	0.392	-11.930 ***	1.547	-20.932 ***	1.295
yr_immig34	3.409 ***	0.356	-1.377	1.077	-0.679	0.920
hinc	0.039 ***	0.001	0.039 ***	0.001	0.039 ***	0.001
educ1	-4.261 ***	0.215	-4.665 ***	0.252	-4.780 ***	0.249
educ3	3.967 ***	0.133	3.884 ***	0.133	3.962 ***	0.133
engwell	3.096 ***	0.323	0.934	0.824	3.243 ***	0.805
own	-0.514 *	0.237	-0.412	0.250	-0.410	0.250
own_immig34	-1.635 ***	0.360	4.640 ***	1.077	1.966	1.062
own_bc1	0.776	0.468	0.379	0.501	0.374	0.500
own_bc3	0.306	0.320	0.037	0.351	-0.026	0.350
own_bc4	0.902 *	0.377	0.847 *	0.400	0.879 *	0.400
own_bc5	1.640 ***	0.426	1.619 ***	0.437	1.618 ***	0.438
Number of obs	111,734		98,162		98,162	
Adjusted R^2	0.280		0.059		0.059	

Appendix B4. Median Household Income in Residential District

Income in District (in $1,000) Relative to the County Mean	Mexican		Korean		Chinese	
	Coef.	Std. Err.	Coef.	Std. Err.	Coef.	Std. Err.
_cons	1.901 ***	0.249	2.897 ***	0.570	1.738 **	0.557
year	0.367 *	0.154	0.336 *	0.167	0.346 *	0.166
bc1	-0.324	0.274	-0.368	0.294	-0.334	0.293
bc3	-0.226	0.179	-0.228	0.195	-0.187	0.194
bc4	-0.801 ***	0.221	-0.847 ***	0.235	-0.889 ***	0.235
bc5	-1.688 ***	0.253	-1.740 ***	0.263	-1.739 ***	0.262
yr_bc1	-0.527	0.318	-0.418	0.347	-0.464	0.346
yr_bc3	-0.055	0.208	0.049	0.233	-0.003	0.231
yr_bc4	-0.083	0.233	-0.145	0.251	-0.092	0.251
yr_bc5	0.529 *	0.252	0.573 *	0.265	0.553 *	0.264
bc1_immig34	0.436	0.416	-2.832 *	1.365	-0.242	1.251
bc3_immig34	-0.617 *	0.267	-1.521	1.089	0.588	0.790
bc4_immig34	-0.073	0.380	-2.130	1.100	-0.518	0.980
bc5_immig34	-0.616	0.655	-2.798 *	1.303	-0.956	1.172
immig34	-11.118 ***	0.259	-5.662 ***	1.044	-5.347 ***	0.872
yr_immig34	0.180	0.235	-0.084	0.727	1.299 *	0.619
hinc	0.027 ***	0.001	0.027 ***	0.001	0.027 ***	0.001
educ1	-1.925 ***	0.142	-1.981 ***	0.170	-2.065 ***	0.168
educ3	1.287 ***	0.088	1.277 ***	0.090	1.326 ***	0.090
engwell	1.832 ***	0.213	0.854	0.556	2.007 ***	0.542
own	2.354 ***	0.157	2.368 ***	0.169	2.366 ***	0.168
own_immig34	0.121	0.238	5.722 ***	0.727	0.712	0.716
own_bc1	1.004 **	0.309	0.885 **	0.338	0.867 *	0.337
own_bc3	0.329	0.211	0.254	0.237	0.225	0.236
own_bc4	1.099 ***	0.249	1.192 ***	0.270	1.225 ***	0.270
own_bc5	1.814 ***	0.281	1.855 ***	0.295	1.878 ***	0.295
Number of obs	111,734		98,162		98,636	
Adjusted R^2	0.189		0.062		0.062	

Appendix B5. Homeownership Attainment

Individual Homeownership Rates	Mexican		Korean		Chinese	
	Coef.	Std. Err.	Coef.	Std. Err.	Coef.	Std. Err.
_cons	-1.941 ***	0.043	-1.984 ***	0.099	-1.940 ***	0.099
year	0.620 ***	0.026	0.610 ***	0.028	0.604 ***	0.028
bc1	-1.191 ***	0.065	-1.173 ***	0.068	-1.163 ***	0.068
bc3	0.811 ***	0.025	0.800 ***	0.026	0.797 ***	0.026
bc4	1.384 ***	0.029	1.381 ***	0.029	1.375 ***	0.029
bc5	1.843 ***	0.031	1.838 ***	0.031	1.833 ***	0.031
yr_bc1	0.161 *	0.071	0.144	0.076	0.135	0.075
yr_bc3	-0.242 ***	0.036	-0.220 ***	0.039	-0.214 ***	0.039
yr_bc4	-0.301 ***	0.042	-0.297 ***	0.045	-0.283 ***	0.045
yr_bc5	-0.243 ***	0.047	-0.241 ***	0.049	-0.227 ***	0.049
bc1_immig34	0.179 *	0.075	0.281	0.233	0.173	0.214
bc3_immig34	-0.369 ***	0.045	-0.122	0.181	-0.156	0.151
bc4_immig34	-0.861 ***	0.063	-0.385 *	0.186	-0.730 ***	0.186
bc5_immig34	-1.633 ***	0.111	-1.341 ***	0.217	-1.291 ***	0.211
immig34	0.336 ***	0.043	0.695 ***	0.159	1.447 ***	0.129
yr_immig34	0.283 ***	0.040	-0.641 ***	0.124	-0.203	0.120
hinc	0.016 ***	0.000	0.015 ***	0.000	0.015 ***	0.000
educ1	-0.245 ***	0.025	-0.309 ***	0.029	-0.318 ***	0.029
educ3	-0.086 ***	0.016	-0.068 ***	0.016	-0.072 ***	0.016
engwell	0.341 ***	0.036	0.436 ***	0.096	0.395 ***	0.096
Number of obs	111,734		98,162		98,636	
Pseudo-R^2	0.193		0.192		0.193	
Log likelihood	-53,709		-53,623		-51,466	