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

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Abstract

This paper uses census microdata to examine five aspects of residential assimilation in the greater Los Angeles area. A double cohort method is used to separate the effect of duration in the U.S. from the effect of aging. We track a single arrival cohort that came in 1970-79, and analyze the processes and determinants of their residential assimilation between 1990 and 2000. Groups compared are Mexican, Korean and Chinese immigrants, along with a common reference group of native-born, non-Hispanic whites. We find that while the Mexicans follow the traditional path of residential assimilation, they are more likely to reside in ethnic districts once they become homeowners. The Chinese are most unusual, locating in the suburbs and attaining very high homeownership soon after arrival, but moving into areas of co-ethnics over time. The Koreans exhibit a strong preference for urban lifestyle, often remaining in the city and renting in districts with whites and Latinos. Residential assimilation is a multifaceted process and the dynamics of residential adjustment are much more complex than previously revealed.

Key Words: residential assimilation, immigrants, cohort, Los Angeles, homeownership, Mexican, Chinese, Korean, ethnic enclave, census.

As a result of large immigration in recent decades, immigrant gateways have experienced tremendous changes in the residential patterns. Our understanding of the assimilation process also evolves as we gain new experiences from the life progress of post-1965 immigrants. Newly arrived and more established immigrants are integrated throughout the metropolis, changing the 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. Mexican immigrants, who generally have less education and larger household sizes, face a difficult time in high cost housing markets such as Los Angeles. In contrast, several of the Asian immigrant groups are highly educated, and the assimilation patterns of these "human capital" immigrants are quite different from those of the unskilled "labor" immigrants (Nee, Sanders, and Sernau, 1994; Sanders and Nee, 1996). Based on the 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 early European immigrants (Myers and Lee, 1998).

On the other hand, there are significant differences even within Asian immigrants (Painter, Yang, and Yu, 2003; Yu, forthcoming). Although Korean and Chinese immigrants came from geographically close areas and share some common heritage, they seem to have followed rather different paths of residential assimilation. While many new Korean immigrant households settled in inner city neighborhoods, many Chinese immigrants have bypassed inner-city ethnic enclaves and directly settled in suburban

ethnic communities (Alba, et al., 1999). Due to different homeownership rates and settlement history, they have different location patterns.

The present paper uses decennial census Public Use Microdata Samples (PUMS) to examine the residential assimilation of three immigrant groups, Mexican, Chinese, and Korean immigrants, in the greater Los Angeles area, treating it as a process of spatial dispersion and incorporation that is aided by homeownership attainment. It seeks to extend the recent literature on locational attainments by bringing to bear the cohort methods used in the analysis of immigrant housing trajectories (Myers and Lee, 1996, , 1998). The cohort approach may shed greater light on the dynamics of mobility processes that underlie locational attainments. In addition, the paper has the broad objectives of studying the role of homeownership attainment in residential assimilation and understanding the extent to which immigrants' growing duration in the U.S. influenced their pace of locational and homeownership attainment.

1. Background

1.1. Residential assimilation

Contemporary research on residential assimilation is rooted in Massey's (1985) model of "spatial assimilation." Strongly resembling earlier models of Burgess and Park (1925), the model of ecological succession and spatial assimilation assumes that new immigrants initially settled in inner-city ethnic enclaves where housing was cheap and ethnic support strong. In the "zone in transition" (Park, Burgess, and McKenzie, 1925) which used to be the slum area of the city, recent arrivals draw upon established ethnic networks in their adjustment to the new society.

Acculturation and upward socioeconomic mobility are key to spatial assimilation: "Acculturation implies an achievement-oriented outlook that reinforces the link between social and spatial mobility. Upwardly mobile immigrants seek out neighborhoods with better schools, more prestige, and richer amenities, places where natives tend to predominate" (Massey, 1985: 330). The dispersion of minorities and immigrants increases the opportunities of contact with the majority group. Therefore, residential assimilation is a critical intermediate step toward structural assimilation. In addition, the process of residential turnover and ethnic succession can be particularly rapid in immigrant gateways, "as socially mobile classes vacate their neighborhoods to arriving immigrants"(Massey, 1985: 319). Massey's formulation elaborates on the basic concepts of mobility and ethnic succession in neighborhoods but focuses on segregation outcomes.

In a major review and reformulation of theory, Alba and Nee (1997; 2003) defend a multidimensional conception of assimilation, such as proposed by Gordon (1964), and reposition the overall concept of assimilation as a process or direction, instead of 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 identify 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 levels of amenity), and social integration (social participation and ultimately intermarriage).

Housing is directly linked to residential assimilation, as identified by Alba and Nee (2003). However, housing factors play two different roles in assimilation. On the one

hand, homeownership is a milestone of assimilation, reflective of significant socioeconomic achievement. On the other hand, housing also is integral to residential (or spatial) integration because home purchase may provide access to better neighborhoods. The two aspects are often entwined, such as in the analysis of "locational attainment" in the work of John Logan, Richard Alba, and their associates (e.g., Logan, Alba, and Leung, 1996; Logan, Alba, and Zhang, 2002). Taken together we call these factors residential assimilation.

1.2. The cohort mobility process

Residential assimilation is conceived as a process but has been measured as an outcome (e.g., Alba and Logan, 1991; White, Biddlecom, and Guo, 1993; Pamuk, 2004; Wright, Ellis, and Parks, 2005). If we regard 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.

An alternative approach to residential assimilation tracks the net progress of specific cohorts toward preferred housing and locational attainments. This method is rooted in the cohort-life course theory which infuses the research tradition of housing demography (Myers, 1990). More recently it has been applied to the study of immigrant assimilation and 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 a 10 year period 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, rather than an end state or a static picture.

A major advantage of the cohort method is that it can distinguish between the experiences over time of both 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 always 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[1].

[1] Large differences exist between arrival cohorts, because of the significant changes in both U.S. immigration policy and the conditions of the immigrant sending countries. For instance, due to mainland China's stringent restriction on migration prior to 1980, almost no Chinese immigrants came to the U.S. directly from mainland China. Most of the ethnic Chinese immigrated from Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Southeast Asia. After opening to the outside world in 1980, mainland China has become the main source of ethnic Chinese immigrants in the U.S. The makeup of the ethnic Chinese immigrants has changed greatly. Another example is Mexican immigrants. The passage of the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 legalized many undocumented immigrants and has significantly changed the socioeconomic composition of Mexican immigrants. Therefore, it is difficult to look at cross-sectional patterns to discern the extent to which the current residential pattern is a result of historical events or residential adjustment over time.

This paper makes an original contribution by applying the cohort approach to a set of outcome indicators used in locational attainment analysis. The insights gained stress the temporal dynamics of assimilation. However, those gains come at the expense of less spatial detail, due to limitations in the data required for cohort analysis. Thus the contributions in this paper may not supplant the findings of more detailed spatial investigations, except where those studies have drawn unwarranted temporal conclusions.

1.3. 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 their duration increases to an average of 25 years. This interval reflects their residential assimilation behavior after their initial period of adjustment. Moreover, much of the analysis focuses on the cohort that was age 15-24 in 1980, tracing their entry as adults into the housing market at age 25-34 in 1990 and continuing to 35-44 in 2000. This age range is regarded as pivotal for establishing the residential trajectory of households in the U.S.

Five specific questions are addressed. First, using five different indicators, what is the overall residential attainment of the three immigrant groups observed in 2000? Second, how much has this attainment increased since 1990 relative to changes for native-born whites passing through the same age range? Third, after controlling for human capital and other factors, how much does homeownership attainment facilitate the other dimensions of residential assimilation? The fourth question is the extent to which

the residential shifts of the three immigrant groups are in accord with the precepts of residential assimilation theory. The fifth question is whether the five indicators yield a similar conclusion on residential assimilation across the three immigrant groups.

2. Data and methods

2.1. Five indicators of residential assimilation

First, homeownership attainment is analyzed, both as an outcome variable of assimilation and as a mediating factor of locational attainments. While homeownership is hardly an exogenous factor in locational attainment, it facilitates residential assimilation of immigrants. 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 (Logan, Alba, and Zhang, 2002).

In addition, 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(e.g., Massey and Denton, 1988; Alba and Logan, 1991), although Alba *et al.* (1999) show that by 1990 this factor has been weakened as a measure of spatial assimilation. Residence in a residential district characterized by higher percentage non-Hispanic white residents[2] 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

[2] Non-Hispanic white and white are used interchangeably in this paper.

reflects a lack of social integration (Allen and Turner, 1996; Logan, Alba, and Zhang, 2002). Moreover, residence in a residential district characterized by a higher median household income represents a higher-status and better quality residential environment.

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 whites experienced a decline, the total number of Chinese, Korean, and Mexican immigrants increased significantly over the period. Therefore, the average concentration of these groups in each district shifted substantially. Meanwhile, the area's income level has also increased over time. Even if people did not move between 1990 and 2000, it would appear that they became more likely to live in ethnic communities and moved apart from white neighborhoods. This is not simply because they have moved toward ethnically 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[3]. 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.

[3] To calculate the relative income of the districts, for example, we first identify the county means of median income in residential districts (PUMA) in both 1990 and 2000. Then we calculate the differences in respective residential district relative to the county mean. The value is assigned to the observations of that district.

All five indicators of residential assimilation are analyzed relative to the behavior of a native-born reference group. The concept of assimilation is distinct from simple status attainment in that the latter can be measured in absolute terms (e.g., the increase in percent homeowners), while the former requires analysis of those attainments relative to the gains achieved by the reference group. If both groups change at the same rate, without convergence, we do not consider it assimilation. Thus, the models to be estimated measure the relative change over time in residential status attainment.

2.2. Geographic definitions

This analysis is conducted in Los Angeles County, a region of nearly 10 million residents. 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 (Public Use Micro Area). In a metropolitan area as large as the Los Angeles PMSA (the same geographical area of Los Angeles County), there are 67 such zones identified by which we can grade immigrants locational attainment in 2000 and 58 in 1990[4]. PUMA is 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).

Previous studies have largely used census tract level data to measure detailed spatial patterns of segregation. However, those data have certain limitations relative to the individual or household-level data of PUMS (Public Use Microdata Sample). First,

[4] The boundary of Los Angeles County remains consistent between the 1990 and 2000 censuses. Because of the population growth in the county, the 2000 census identifies more PUMAs than the 1990 census in Los Angeles County.

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 assimilation of Chinese and Korean immigrants. That is, in many census tracts, their population was not large enough to be reported in the 2000 Census Summary Files.

2.3. Three ethnic groups and a white, non-Hispanic reference group

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 (Krivo, 1995; Ortiz, 1996). Most of them immigrated to the United States via family reunion and amnesty programs (Martin and Midgely, 2003).

In contrast, Asian-origin immigrants have much higher education levels and exhibit more rapid economic advancement, since most of them came to the U.S. as skilled workers or investors (Hirschman and Wong, 1981; Martin and Midgely, 2003). 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 (Barringer, Gardner, and Levin, 1993; Hing, 1993). What has not been examined to date are the differences in their residential behavior.

To facilitate comparisons across the three immigrant ethnic groups, a common reference group is desired. For this purpose we select native-born, non-Hispanic whites. Such selection of the reference group does not imply that the three ethnic groups should aspire to residential patterns of the white majority. However, the white group is generally believed to hold a privileged position that has been long dominant in Los Angeles. The theory of residential assimilation has hypothesized a narrowing of the wide differences in residential attainment between immigrants and native-born white majorities, which is the long-term outcome in a modern society (Massey, 1985). Accordingly, the selection of this group is most appropriate when seeking a native-born reference group against which to compare residential behavior of the three different groups. In fact, insufficient native-born residents are available in the data to represent groups other than those who are white or of Mexican origin. In addition, the ancestors of U.S.-born Chinese and Korean ethnics came to the U.S. in substantially different circumstances from current Chinese and Korean immigrants[5]. Further, using a common reference group facilitates comparisons across the three ethnic groups. So, of necessity, we must select native-born whites as the reference group.

2.4. Cohort longitudinal analysis

The central variable for measuring the assimilation process of the foreign born has been the length of time since immigration (derived from census year and reported year of immigrant arrival). This variable has drawn some criticism in recent years for potential

[5] In contrast to early waves of Chinese and Korean ethnics who were mostly laborers, contemporary Chinese and Korean immigrants are mostly "human capital" immigrants and small business owners. Many Chinese and Korean immigrants have a higher socioeconomic status than their native-born counterparts upon arrival. Therefore, reaching parity with U.S.-born Chinese and Korean ethnics may not necessarily suggest a high level of assimilation.

biases in its measurement of behavior that increases with duration, but those concerns are greatly reduced when data are structured in cohorts instead of cross-sections[6]. However, cohort analysis could potentially be biased by out-migration from the region, whether through emigration or secondary migration to another U.S. destination. If more (or less) successful immigrants are the ones to depart, that would bias upward (or downward) the effect of duration on our residential outcome variables. The best defense against such bias is to control for differences in human capital that proxy the notion of "successful" that is feared as a basis of bias.

For the present analysis, we will be focusing primarily on a single arrival cohort composed of those who arrived in the 1970s and were observed in 1990 and 2000. Our focus is on 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. The selection of this arrival cohort could also mitigate the problems over the relative value of foreign educational credentials,

[6] Census reports of year of arrival are potentially confused by multiple trips of immigrants to the U.S. Despite claims of Redstone and Massey (2004), that 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).

especially those earned in non-English speaking countries as the case of all three study groups[7].

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

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

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).

2.5. 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 drawn from the IPUMS data base (Ruggles and Sobek, 2003). 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

[7] The immigrant cohort selected in this study arrived mainly as children, termed the 1.5 generation, who were likely to finish their education in the U.S. As one reviewer appropriately points out, foreign educational credentials may not be fully transferable to the host society and are likely to put a downward pressure on the residential mobility of first generation adult immigrants. Thus the present sample reduces that bias.

focus will be given to 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). All dollar levels in this analysis are converted to 1999 dollars[8]. Table 1 reports summary statistics of the variables used in the subsequent multivariate estimations.

Table 1 about here

Age. Age is an especially critical dimension of residential assimilation, because residential mobility varies so sharply by age (falling markedly after age 30). This is also because homeownership depends greatly on age, and correlates with age. A series of birth cohorts are specified and their residential outcomes traced as they grow 10 years older. The reference group for the age analysis is the cohort 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. The behavior of other birth cohorts in the sample is expressed as a deviation from this reference cohort.

English proficiency and use at home. Economic incorporation of immigrants is aided by English proficiency, which is also pertinent to the willingness of immigrants to locate away from ethnic enclaves. Moreover, English use in the home is the foundation of acculturation, which might additionally enhance prospects of dispersal and integration. Although very few of the immigrants in our sample speak only English at home, our Asian groups generally show greater proficiency in English than do Mexican immigrants,

[8] The household income in the decennial census refers to the total money income of all age 15+ household members during the previous year.

and that may help to explain differences in residential patterns. (See Table 1). In general, immigrants improve their English proficiency as their duration in the U.S. extends. As expected, almost of all native-born non-Hispanic whites speak English well or speak English only.

Human capital differences. Educational attainment is the principal measure of human capital, and there are extreme differences between Mexican and Asian immigrants. (See Table 1.) Asian immigrants in general have higher educational attainment than Mexican immigrants, while native-born, non-Hispanic whites have the highest educational attainment of all groups. Table 1 shows that all groups had a slightly higher level of educational attainment over time. Better educated households have more choices in the housing market, 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.

3. Descriptive findings

Findings are presented first for the descriptive analysis. The five residential indicators are directly compared for all three immigrant ethnic groups. A simple summary of indicators of residential assimilation might aggregate foreign born from both recent and earlier arrival waves and combine 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. Figure 1 provides a cross-sectional comparison of residential outcomes across successive waves of immigrants.

Figure 1 about here

There are very pronounced differences in homeownership across arrival waves. Observed in 2000, adults who are more recent arrivals have much lower homeownership rates among all ethnic groups (Figure 1). In fact, the progressive differences across arrival groups appear roughly the same for all three ethnic groups. In addition, Chinese immigrants appear to have a similar advantage in all arrival groups, possessing homeownership rates 20 points or higher than Korean and Mexican immigrants.

Residence in Los Angeles city is very low for all waves of arrivals, except 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. Meanwhile, Chinese immigrants are far less likely to live in the city which reflects the far greater propensity of the Chinese to reside in suburban enclaves, such as personified by Monterey Park. 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 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 (Figure 1). 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

Korean immigrants. Residence with whites in the same residential district also varies little across arrival waves (Figure 1). 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.

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

4. Cohort longitudinal estimation of residential 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. As described above, for this analysis we have focused on members of the 1970-79 arrival cohort. Estimation results are presented in Tables 2 through 6, one for each of the five residential outcome variables. Two sets of estimates are presented for each ethnic group; one includes demographic variables only, the other one includes additional covariates to represent human capital factors and homeownership. The two sets of results are listed in the tables side by side.

4.1. Temporal models of cohort longitudinal assimilation

The full sets of model estimations with temporal factors are presented in Tables 2 to 6. How to understand the coefficient estimates in the cohort longitudinal framework? First, the status of immigrants observed in 1990 after one decade of U.S. residence, relative to native-born white, is given by the coefficient for immigrant cohort (MC). This signifies the effect of being an immigrant who arrived in the 1970s and not in the native-born reference group, as measured in 1990. The subsequent amount of change from 1990 to 2000 (i.e., assimilation) in the particular outcome status is given by the interaction term of Year and immigrant cohort (Year*MC). This is expressed relative to the Year term which represents change for the native-born non-Hispanic whites. Thus, this interaction term measures the degree of convergence, or divergence, between immigrants and the native-born reference group.

Tables 2 to 6 about here

Instead of discussing the five sets of temporal models in detail, the following section focuses on homeownership attainment only. Homeownership is important both in its own right and as a proximate cause or facilitating mechanism of spatial assimilation. Homeownership increases markedly over the life course, and thus requires careful modeling of temporal dynamics of birth cohort, aging, and time. (Table 2) The higher homeownership of older adults is indicated by the large positive logit coefficients for older birth cohorts (BC). At the same time, the regressively negative coefficients for the interaction of Year and birth cohort (Year*BC) indicate that increases over 10 years time lessen for older cohorts relative to increases for the reference cohort (age 25-34 in 1990, 35-44 in 2000) registered by the Year coefficient. The specific birth cohort effects for

each ethnic group are estimated by the interaction of birth cohort and immigrant cohort (MC*BC). Regarding homeownership attainment, the negative coefficients for older cohorts suggest that immigrants who came to the U.S. at an older age are going to be penalized in their subsequent residential attainment. In other words, residential attainment is negatively associated with immigrants' age at arrival, because older people usually have harder time to adapt to the host society.

Key coefficients estimated by the model are for immigrant cohort (MC) and the interaction of Year with immigrant cohort (Year*MC). The negative coefficient for Mexican immigrants indicates they have lower homeownership than the native-born reference group; however, the positive coefficients for Koreans and Chinese indicate the opposite, namely higher homeownership than young native-born white residents. The interaction with Year then indicates that homeownership increases more rapidly for Mexicans than for white native-borns as they age between 1990 and 2000, while homeownership increases more slowly for Koreans and Chinese. The effects of adjusting for human capital differences are fairly modest and we leave detailed discussion of those effects for the next section.

4.2. Impact of key explanatory factors

The temporal effects may be at least partially the result of human capital differences between immigrants and native-borns. The ability to buy a house or move to the suburbs may depend on factors such as household income, 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). Here we evaluate the pattern of coefficients estimated in the full models of Tables 2 to 6.

Homeownership. Homeownership may be a key variable facilitating residential assimilation. This is indicated by two coefficients in the model. 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 with Immigrant Status. Thus, the interaction term measures the degree of convergence, or divergence, between immigrants and the native-born reference group.

The log odds of native-borns residing within Los Angeles city are substantially impacted by homeownership (–0.49). In addition to this effect, two of the immigrant ethnic groups are impacted by an additional negative effect: –0.172 for Mexicans and –0.293 for Koreans. Thus Mexicans and Koreans are even less likely to reside in the city than whites once they become homeowners. There is no statistically significant effect for Chinese (see Table 3). As discussed above, the Chinese in general are far less likely to live in Los Angeles city, and we find here that homeownership is less of a factor explaining their suburban location than it is for Mexicans and Koreans.

Homeownership also impacts the ethnic make-up of the districts in which different ethnic groups live. For Koreans (–1.905) and Chinese (–0.583), attainment of homeownership is tied to lowered ratios of co-ethnic group members living nearby. Among Mexicans (0.686), however, homeownership *increases* the percentage of co-ethnics in a district (see Table 4). This could reflect the fact that house values are lower and homeownership more affordable in districts with high concentrations of Mexicans.

The effect of homeownership on the proportion of white residents in a district is even more uneven. Only Korean immigrants (4.430) experience increasing exposure to whites when they become homeowners (see Table 5). There is no statistically significant effect for Chinese and a negative effect for Mexicans (–1.722), again reflecting the possible association of more affordable housing in heavily Mexican districts.

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 $2,999, and among Koreans it elevates district income by $5,340 (Table 6). Homeownership has no significant additional effect on the district income in areas selected by Mexican or Chinese immigrants.

English Proficiency. English language ability[9], the foundation for economic integration and acculturation, is an important factor in the residential assimilation of immigrants. The effect of English is given by the coefficients for speaking English only at home or speaking English well. The differential effect of English for the immigrant cohorts is given by the interaction terms between English proficiency and immigrant status (relative to the English effect for the native-born white reference group).

Consistent with the literature, English proficiency is a significant determinant of residential assimilation (e.g., Alba, et al., 1999; Logan, Alba, and Zhang, 2002). Speaking English well in general encourages spatial assimilation of immigrants. In comparison with the native-born reference group, immigrants who speak English well are less likely to live in the city and in areas dominated by their compatriots (see Tables 3 and 4); they

[9] As suggested by one reviewer, an alternative to English proficiency variable is the Linguistic Isolation variable, which measures the level of English use at the household level. That yields comparable results, although fewer coefficient estimates are statistically significant.

also tend to have a greater propensity to reside in areas of high housing price and in place where native-born whites tend to predominate (see Tables 5 and 6). However, speaking English well does not give immigrants any additional advantages in homeownership attainment (see Table 2).

In contrast, the effect of speaking English at home is mixed. In most cases, speaking English only would put immigrants on par with native-born whites. There are exceptions. Koreans and Chinese who speak only English at home are more likely to reside in ethnic white areas (see Table 5). It also accelerates residential assimilation of the Chinese into higher income areas (see Table 6). Compared with native-born whites, however, Mexican and Chinese immigrants would have lower homeownership probabilities if they speak English only at home (see Table 2). In other words, acculturation alone may prove insufficient to elevate the homeownership attainment of Chinese and Mexican immigrants to the same level as native-born whites.

In addition, English proficiency is a positive facilitating factor in residential assimilation except for homeownership attainment. The positive effect seems to be most apparent for Chinese immigrants.

Income and Education. Income and education are important determinants in residential attainment. As expected, people with higher income and higher level of education are more likely to own homes, live outside Los Angeles city, and reside in areas of higher income and more whites (see Tables 2-6). The effect is even greater among immigrants, which is measured by the interaction term between income and immigrant status. There are some interesting exceptions, however. Mexicans tend to live with their coethnics if they have higher income (see Table 4). The result is reversed for

the Chinese. Meanwhile, Koreans are more likely to live with their coethnics if they do not have a high school diploma. This is in contrast to negative effects observed among Mexicans and Chinese. In general, higher level of income and education facilitate immigrants in their residential assimilation process.

Comparing the models with and without the covariates (Tables 2 to 6), the inclusion of income and education increases the predicting power of the models and changes the magnitude of the estimates. But it does not fundamentally alter the parameter estimates of the temporal variables.

4.3. Residential attainments

The full sets of model estimations of residential attainments follow the format described for homeownership and include homeownership and human capital as covariates (Tables 3 to 6). To facilitate presentation of those estimations, we focus on the model with covariates, comparing those coefficients across ethnic groups and across outcome measures.

Extracting from those estimations, here we summarize five indicators of residential assimilation, including homeownership and four locational attainments. Findings from the 15 separate estimations (three ethnic groups and five outcome indicators) are summarized in Figure 2. We use coefficients in the full model that adjusts for both homeownership and human capital differences to simulate the attainments for the cohort age 25-34 in 1990 and 35-44 in 2000. Each subplot displays the residential status and changes of the native-born reference group on the left (derived from the constant

term and Year coefficient of the model), contrasting on the right the differential status and changes estimated by coefficients for each immigrant ethnic group.

Figure 2 about here

Figure 2 shows that native-born, non Hispanic whites had a relatively low level of homeownership attainment in 1990. But they achieved a large increase in homeownership in the 1990s as the cohort advanced to age 35-44. In contrast, Mexican immigrants had a lower level of homeownership[10], while they experienced the largest improvement in the 1990s. The two groups of Asian immigrants are quite different. The Chinese had the highest level of homeownership of all, while their increase was smaller than both Mexicans and native-born whites. Koreans had a level of homeownership higher than both native-born whites and Mexicans in 1990. However, they had the smallest increase in the 1990s. The Korean rate of change is represented by a large negative bar (–0.7) of a similar size to the positive bar for native-born whites (0.7). Therefore, the absolute homeownership probabilities of Koreans remained almost stagnant between 1990 and 2000.

The log odds of native-born, non-Hispanic whites residing within Los Angeles city were substantially negative in 1990, and there was no appreciable change from 1990 to 2000. Meanwhile, Mexican immigrants were relatively more likely to live in the city in 1990, and they also experienced little appreciable change over the decade. Koreans were far more likely to reside in the city in 1990 than either Mexicans or native-born, non-Hispanic whites, but their departure from the city was not statistically significant over the decade. The findings for Chinese are somewhat divergent. Not only were they already far

[10] The values of other ethnic groups presented in Figure 2 are all relative to those of native-born, non-Hispanic whites.

less likely to live in Los Angeles city than either Korean or Mexican immigrants in 1990 (in fact, not significantly different from the native-born reference group), but the cohort also continued to move out of the city at a much greater rate than all other groups. This is in stark contrast to the cross-sectional observation of Chinese residential location[11] shown in Figure 1.

Movement away from districts with high concentrations of co-ethnics is also shown in Figure 2. 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. While this finding was to be expected, the evidence for Korean and Chinese immigrants is divergent from most expectations. Over the decade, Koreans and especially the 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. It should be recalled that this assessment is conservatively stated, 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. Again, the changes in residential location for Koreans and Chinese are in contrast to that suggested by the cross-sectional patterns in Figure 1.

[11] As suggested by one reviewer, among other factors the concern over the quality of the school district might have propelled many Chinese immigrants to leave the city and move to the suburbs. In this case, the moving away from the city might be a result of avoiding the school district in L.A. rather than shunning the city. In fact, two of the suburbs preferred by higher income Chinese (San Marino and Arcadia) have among the strongest schools in the region.

Movement toward districts with white residents also has mixed results. 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 there was little change. Among Chinese, the large underexposure to whites also 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 fifth indicator of residential assimilation. White native-borns began the decade residing in above average income areas and that advantage changed little over the decade. In contrast, Mexican immigrants began far behind and achieved no catch-up relative to native-born whites. Korean immigrants also were living in below average districts and experienced little change. Chinese were living in districts with even fewer white residents (despite living in the suburbs) and they achieved slight increases relative to white native-borns, unlike the Koreans and Mexicans.

5. Discussion

Overall, what is the assessment of these temporal patterns of residential assimilation? Clearly, the three ethnic groups exhibit three distinctive patterns of residential adjustment. The residential patterns of Mexican immigrants seem to be more resembling 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 Los Angeles city, live with their own compatriots, and have low exposure to 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 white neighborhoods and into greater homeownership.

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 Alba *et al.* (1999) and Painter *et al.* (2004). 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 upwardly mobile, but they maintain a strong affinity with their own ethnic community, and such preferences seem to have increased over time. It may be the case that economically well-prepared immigrant groups, such as the Chinese, have more freedom than other immigrant groups to choose where to live. For Chinese, living in ethnic enclaves may no longer be associated with economic constraints. Many new arrivals have directly settled in the suburbs instead of ethnic enclaves in the central cities, which mirrors the findings in the literature (e.g., Allen and Turner, 1996; e.g., Logan, Alba, and Zhang, 2002). Indeed, Monterey park and neighboring cities in the San

Gabriel Valley several miles east of Los Angeles may be the most famous example of Chinese suburbanization, being termed "the first suburban Chinatown" (Fong, 1994) and an "ethnoburb" (Li, 1998).

Although Chinese immigrants live in residential environments similar to those of native-born whites, their social distance remains quite large. In other words, Chinese may have achieved economic incorporation much quicker than their social adaptation. 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. This phenomenon is unlikely unique to the Los Angeles region and is reflective of the boarder trends in residential assimilation.

Koreans lie between the case of Chinese and the case of Mexicans. They are less bifurcated in educational attainment than the Chinese, revealing a pattern of choice that is distinct from both Mexicans and Chinese. Foremost, the Koreans do not exhibit as high homeownership as do the 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 Koreans' higher income and education). Further, over time they are not more likely to depart from the city to the suburbs than either Mexicans or Chinese. The Koreans 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 along Wilshire and Olympic Boulevards that extends westward from downtown Los Angeles. This area of high-rent and high-rise housing affords a very urban lifestyle, exceeding even that in downtown Los Angeles, and brings the Korean immigrants in contact with a more diverse (white and Latino) set of residents.

The Koreans' 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 or ethnic "towns" in Los Angeles city. The Korean apartment dwellers lead a lifestyle that is relatively foreign to Los Angeles (perhaps 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. Despite these differences, Korean and Chinese immigrants have followed a similar path in residential adjustment; that is, spatial assimilation is strongly determined by socioeconomic level, English proficiency, and human capital.

Although Mexican immigrants to a large extent have followed a much more conventional assimilation model of slowly climbing the housing ladder and moving outward to the suburbs and into greater contact with whites, their behavior does not always conform to the expectations of assimilation theory. For instance, the Mexicans do not venture out of ethnic districts to purchase homes. Instead of moving to white neighborhoods, they are more likely to reside in ethnic enclaves when they become

homebuyers. Their home purchases may be concentrated there because that is where home prices are lowest and homeownership is most accessible.

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 and Logan, 1991; 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, nor a measure of growing adaptation to the host culture.

6. Conclusions

There are two major contributions of the preceding analysis. The first contribution is substantive. This analysis of Los Angeles has uncovered distinct assimilation lifestyles for the three immigrant ethnic groups. Although the research findings generally support expected processes of residential assimilation, such support is weaker and more complex than that documented in the literature (e.g., Logan, Alba, and Zhang, 2002). While the findings for Chinese have been preceded by other scholars (Fang and Brown, 1999; Logan, Alba, and Zhang, 2002; Painter, Yang, and Yu, 2004; Pamuk, 2004), our discovery of the Korean urban assimilation pattern deserves to be noted.

The contribution is also methodological. 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 immigrant cohorts as they adapt to the U.S. Focusing on this mobility process has allowed us to discern dynamics of change that are not visible with a spatially focused locational attainment model.

One finding that stands out is the difference the cohort model detects between the relative location of immigrants as they adjust over time (tracing cohorts from 1990 to 2000) and what is implied by a cross-sectional view. Comparisons across arrival cohorts at a moment in time (as in Figure 1) lead to very different pictures of dynamics than linking cohorts between two different points in time (as in Figure 2). 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 (Figure 2). However, that cross-sectional comparison is deceiving. Our analysis 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.

These research findings reconfirm that the residential assimilation of immigrants is a multidimensional process (e.g., Hirschman, 1983; Alba and Nee, 1997; Gans, 2004). The three immigrant groups have different trajectories and paces of residential assimilation, highlighting the need for multiple measures in the study of residential assimilation.

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 we have used to detect changes over time by specific cohorts. However, it remains a topic for future research whether the same ethnic distinctions of residential adjustment can be observed in other metropolitan areas. Given the focus of this paper on immigrants, it is important for future research to investigate the second generation of immigrants and their residential assimilation.

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Tables

Figures

Table 1. Variable Summary Statistics, 1990 and 2000

Variable Description	Native-born non Hispanic Whites		Mexican Immigrants [a]		Korean Immigrants [a]		Chinese Immigrants [a]	
	1990	2000	1990	2000	1990	2000	1990	2000
Year (1990 = 0; 2000 = 1)	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1
Percent in City	35.6	37.2	42.3	40.7	50.5	51.0	25.2	17.8
Income (in $10,000) in district relative to the county mean	0.747	0.826	-0.830	-0.677	0.363	0.247	0.258	0.447
Percent Mexicans in district relative to the county mean			19.291	18.066				
Percent Koreans in district relative to the county mean					2.282	3.124		
Percent Chinese in district relative to the county mean							8.377	12.825
Percent Whites in district relative to the county mean	12.997	14.481	-21.163	-16.627	3.337	2.061	-5.287	-4.510
Homeownership rates (Percent)	57.3	61.3	32.4	50.1	63.6	51.2	75.1	76.6
Share by birth cohort (BC)								
BC1 (age 15-24 in 1990 and 25-34 in 2000)	0.048	0.178	0.044	0.147	0.028	0.187	0.020	0.140
BC2 (age 25-34 in 1990 and 35-44 in 2000)	0.265	0.255	0.401	0.387	0.147	0.172	0.229	0.222
BC3 (age 35-44 in 1990 and 45-54 in 2000)	0.278	0.246	0.390	0.343	0.325	0.265	0.457	0.397
BC4 (age 45-54 in 1990 and 55-64 in 2000)	0.215	0.178	0.132	0.097	0.336	0.256	0.189	0.147
BC5 (age 55-64 in 1990 and 65-74 in 2000)	0.194	0.143	0.032	0.026	0.164	0.120	0.105	0.094
Household income ($10,000)[++]	7.888	8.750	3.891	4.594	7.461	6.695	7.627	8.030
Share by educational attainment								
No high school diploma	0.076	0.060	0.802	0.732	0.083	0.090	0.185	0.175
High school dip. w/ college	0.535	0.494	0.183	0.239	0.417	0.390	0.356	0.274
College degree or better	0.389	0.446	0.015	0.030	0.500	0.520	0.459	0.550
Share by English proficiency								
Speak only English	0.955	0.947	0.026	0.049	0.020	0.086	0.036	0.052
Speak English well (but not speak English only)	0.042	0.049	0.510	0.562	0.722	0.636	0.758	0.732
Speak English not well or not at all	0.003	0.003	0.463	0.389	0.258	0.278	0.207	0.216
Number of Observations	50,935	45,810	7,581	7,408	640	777	899	992

Note:

[++] Household income is adjusted to the 1999 level.

[a]--Including only those immigrants who arrived in the United States between 1970 and 1979.

Table 2. Logit Coefficients of Homeownership Attainment (Individual Household Level)

Variable	Mexican[a]		Korean[a]		Chinese[a]	
Constant	-0.551 ***	-1.405 ***	-0.556 ***	-1.486 ***	-0.553 ***	-1.471 ***
Year (1990 = 0; 2000 = 1)[b]	0.777 ***	0.669 ***	0.788 ***	0.667 ***	0.782 ***	0.660 ***
Birth cohort in 1990						
(BC)						
15-24	-1.507 ***	-1.025 ***	-1.499 ***	-1.001 ***	-1.488 ***	-0.989 ***
35-44	0.927 ***	0.809 ***	0.935 ***	0.800 ***	0.933 ***	0.796 ***
45-54	1.526 ***	1.470 ***	1.535 ***	1.484 ***	1.528 ***	1.476 ***
55-64	1.768 ***	1.927 ***	1.774 ***	1.945 ***	1.767 ***	1.936 ***
Aging to 2000						
(Year * BC)						
15-24 / 25-34	0.383 ***	0.038	0.369 ***	0.015	0.359 ***	0.003
35-44 / 45-54	-0.360 ***	-0.167 ***	-0.376 ***	-0.139 **	-0.372 ***	-0.132 **
45-54 / 55-64	-0.590 ***	-0.276 ***	-0.609 ***	-0.280 ***	-0.595 ***	-0.267 ***
55-64 / 65-75	-0.615 ***	-0.231 ***	-0.627 ***	-0.230 ***	-0.610 ***	-0.213 ***
Age-at-arrival effects						
(MC * BC)						
15-24	0.460 ***	0.275 **	0.344	0.477	0.357	0.299
35-44	-0.459 ***	-0.407 ***	-0.290	-0.220	-0.207	-0.330 *
45-54	-0.944 ***	-0.872 ***	-0.539 **	-0.551 **	-0.931 ***	-0.902 ***
55-64	-1.493 ***	-1.544 ***	-1.548 ***	-1.402 ***	-1.516 ***	-1.410 ***
Immigrants in 1990	-0.433 ***	-0.881 ***	0.583 ***	-0.127	1.238 ***	1.019 ***
(MC)						
Immigrants added duration to 2000	0.280 ***	0.352 ***	-0.745 ***	-0.640 ***	-0.243 *	-0.249
(Year * MC)						
Household income ($10,000)		0.107 ***		0.106 ***		0.106 ***
Household income (Differential effects for immigrants)		0.115 ***		0.047 **		0.058 **
Educational attainment						
No high school diploma		-0.424 ***		-0.433 ***		-0.432 ***
College degree or better		0.086 ***		0.097 ***		0.096 ***
Educational attainment (Differential effects for immigrants)						
No high school diploma		0.195 **		0.212		-0.354
College degree or better		-0.023		0.211		0.197
English proficiency						
Speak only English		0.404 **		0.407 **		0.406 **
Speak English well		0.273		0.272		0.272
English Proficiency (Differential effects for immigrants)						
Speak only English		-0.421 *		0.333		-0.799 *
Speak English well		0.125		0.090		0.009
Number of obs	111,734		98,162		98,636	
Pseudo-R^2	0.104	0.241	0.102	0.243	0.103	0.244
Log likelihood	-68,479	-57,985	-59,637	-50,257	-59,739	-50,340

Note: The reference group for birth cohort in 1990 is "ages 25-34 in 1990"; for ageing, the reference group is "25-34 in 1990 and 35-44 in 2000"; for age-at-arrival effect, the reference group is "ages 25-34"; for immigrant cohort in 1990 the reference group is native-born whites of non-Hispanic origin; for educational attainment it is "High school dip. w/ college"; for English proficiency it is "speaks English not well or not at all."

[a]--Including U.S.-born whites.

[b]--Year denotes the time trend for the reference cohort.

*p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001 (two-tailed tests)

Table 3. Logit Coefficients of Location in the City (Individual Household Level)

Variable	Mexican[a]		Korean[a]		Chinese[a]	
Constant	-0.562 ***	-0.621 ***	-0.566 ***	-0.626 ***	-0.564 ***	-0.624 ***
Year (1990 = 0; 2000 = 1)[b]	0.001	0.026	0.011	0.037	0.006	0.031
Birth cohort in 1990 (BC)						
15-24	0.303 ***	0.271 ***	0.316 ***	0.294 ***	0.306 ***	0.284 ***
35-44	-0.035	0.046	-0.030	0.052 *	-0.032	0.049
45-54	-0.074 **	0.093 **	-0.072 **	0.094 **	-0.074 **	0.091 **
55-64	-0.117 ***	0.120 ***	-0.107 ***	0.130 ***	-0.109 ***	0.126 ***
Aging to 2000 (Year * BC)						
15-24 / 25-34	0.041	-0.051	0.020	-0.086	0.035	-0.071
35-44 / 45-54	0.000	-0.035	-0.012	-0.047	-0.006	-0.042
45-54 / 55-64	0.019	-0.030	0.016	-0.032	0.020	-0.025
55-64 / 65-75	0.059	0.031	0.035	0.007	0.039	0.015
Age-at-arrival effects (MC * BC)						
15-24	-0.379 ***	-0.334 ***	0.371	0.338	0.494 *	0.588 *
35-44	0.054	0.022	0.113	0.075	0.074	0.050
45-54	0.138 *	0.010	0.290	0.182	0.639 **	0.388 *
55-64	0.335 **	0.069	0.548 **	0.034	0.876 ***	0.332
Immigrants in 1990 (MC)	0.211 ***	0.433 **	0.109	0.917 ***	-0.920 ***	-0.313
Immigrants added duration to 2000 (Year * MC)	-0.187 ***	-0.024	-0.054	-0.157	-0.291 *	-0.294 *
Household income ($10,000)		0.000 ***		0.000 ***		0.000 ***
Household income (Differential effects for immigrants)		0.000 ***		0.000 *		0.000 *
Educational attainment						
No high school diploma		-0.217 ***		-0.218 ***		-0.218 ***
College degree or better		0.367 ***		0.367 ***		0.367 ***
Educational attainment (Differential effects for immigrants)						
No high school diploma		0.364 ***		0.932 ***		0.837 ***
College degree or better		-0.116		-0.386 **		-0.122
English proficiency						
Speak only English		0.018		0.018		0.018
Speak English well		0.236		0.236		0.236
English Proficiency (Differential effects for immigrants)						
Speak only English		0.097		-0.007		-0.157
Speak English well		-0.313 *		-0.562 **		-0.686 **
Homeownership						
Own		-0.492 ***		-0.492 ***		-0.492 ***
Homeownership (Differential effects for immigrants)						
Own		-0.172 ***		-0.293 *		-0.014
Number of obs	111,734		98,162		98,636	
Pseudo-R^2	0.003	0.020	0.003	0.019	0.005	0.020
Log likelihood	-73,269	-72,062	-64,189	-63,165	-64,166	-63,157

Note: The reference group for birth cohort in 1990 is "ages 25-34 in 1990"; for ageing, the reference group is "25-34 in 1990 and 35-44 in 2000"; for age-at-arrival effect, the reference group is "ages 25-34"; for immigrant cohort in 1990 the reference group is native-born whites of non-Hispanic origin; for educational attainment it is "High school dip. w/ college"; for English proficiency it is "speaks English not well or not at all"; for homeownership it is "rent."

[a]--Including U.S.-born whites.

[b]--Year denotes the time trend for the reference cohort.

*p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001 (two-tailed tests)

Table 4. Regression Coefficients of Percent Coethnics in Residential District (Relative to the County Mean)

Variable	Mexican[a]		Korean[a]		Chinese[a]	
Constant	-8.189 ***	-4.757 ***	0.011	-0.196	-0.470 ***	-0.676 *
Year (1990 = 0; 2000 = 1)[b]	-1.650 ***	-1.157 ***	-0.090 **	-0.048	-0.202 **	-0.197 **
Birth cohort in 1990						
(BC)						
15-24	0.322	-0.705 *	0.006	-0.030	0.040	0.065
35-44	0.166	0.382 *	-0.021	0.035	0.146 *	0.149 *
45-54	0.946 ***	0.768 ***	0.030	0.140 ***	0.298 ***	0.327 ***
55-64	2.387 ***	1.220 ***	0.004	0.156 ***	0.369 ***	0.423 ***
Aging to 2000						
(Year * BC)						
15-24 / 25-34	-1.872 ***	-0.611	0.221 ***	0.169 **	-0.209	-0.266 *
35-44 / 45-54	0.592 *	0.477 *	0.069	0.044	0.240 **	0.233 **
45-54 / 55-64	0.908 **	0.488	0.138 **	0.098 *	0.590 ***	0.577 ***
55-64 / 65-75	0.377	-0.383	0.157 **	0.120 **	0.661 ***	0.647 ***
Age-at-arrival effects						
(MC * BC)						
15-24	-1.312 **	1.083 *	-1.231 ***	-0.953 ***	-4.394 ***	-3.774 ***
35-44	0.782 *	-0.141	0.057	-0.046	-0.975 **	-0.951 **
45-54	-0.198	-1.321 **	-0.663 ***	-0.813 ***	-2.509 ***	-2.928 ***
55-64	2.163 **	2.074 **	-0.431	-1.229 ***	-1.773 ***	-2.680 ***
Immigrants in 1990	26.908 ***	23.229 ***	2.577 ***	4.739 ***	9.878 ***	12.823 ***
(MC)						
Immigrants added duration to 2000	0.601 *	-0.145	0.945 ***	0.706 ***	4.801 ***	4.970 ***
(Year * MC)						
Household income ($10,000)		-0.268 ***		0.005 ***		-0.003
Household income (Differential effects for immigrants)		0.169 ***		0.003		-0.055 **
Educational attainment						
No high school diploma		4.412 ***		-0.148 ***		-0.284 ***
College degree or better		-3.992 ***		0.161 ***		0.172 ***
Educational attainment (Differential effects for immigrants)						
No high school diploma		-1.848 ***		1.120 ***		-0.912 *
College degree or better		-2.618 **		0.053		-2.014 ***
English proficiency						
Speak only English		-1.141		0.231		0.176
Speak English well		0.581		0.274 *		0.290
English Proficiency (Differential effects for immigrants)						
Speak only English		-0.327		-3.229 ***		-5.418 ***
Speak English well		-4.049 ***		-1.099 ***		-0.886
Homeownership						
Own		2.132 ***		-0.321 ***		-0.031
Homeownership (Differential effects for immigrants)						
Own		0.686 *		-1.905 ***		-0.583 *
Number of obs	111,734		98,162		98,636	
Adjusted R^2	0.267	0.303	0.022	0.031	0.089	0.091

Note: The reference group for birth cohort in 1990 is "ages 25-34 in 1990"; for ageing, the reference group is "25-34 in 1990 and 35-44 in 2000"; for age-at-arrival effect, the reference group is "ages 25-34"; for immigrant cohort in 1990 the reference group is native-born whites of non-Hispanic origin; for educational attainment it is "High school dip. w/ college"; for English proficiency it is "speaks English not well or not at all"; for homeownership it is "rent."

[a]--Including U.S.-born whites.

[b]--Year denotes the time trend for the reference cohort.

*p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001 (two-tailed tests)

Table 5. Regression Coefficients of Percent Whites in Residential District (Relative to the County Mean)

Variable	Mexican[a]		Korean[a]		Chinese[a]	
Constant	13.560 ***	9.730 ***	13.469 ***	9.679 ***	13.469 ***	9.679 ***
Year (1990 = 0; 2000 = 1)[b]	2.120 ***	0.918 ***	2.316 ***	1.053 ***	2.315 ***	1.049 ***
Birth cohort in 1990						
(BC)						
15-24	-1.555 ***	0.366	-1.856 ***	0.101	-1.829 ***	0.127
35-44	0.177	-0.740 **	0.299	-0.652 **	0.333	-0.630 **
45-54	-0.517 *	-1.433 ***	-0.324	-1.292 ***	-0.361	-1.330 ***
55-64	-2.200 ***	-2.053 ***	-2.044 ***	-1.943 ***	-2.060 ***	-1.949 ***
Aging to 2000						
(Year * BC)						
15-24 / 25-34	1.981 ***	0.698	2.295 ***	0.985	2.260 ***	0.953
35-44 / 45-54	-1.092 **	-0.684 *	-1.358 ***	-0.871 *	-1.434 ***	-0.921 **
45-54 / 55-64	-2.158 ***	-1.117 **	-2.593 ***	-1.427 ***	-2.505 ***	-1.341 ***
55-64 / 65-75	-1.818 ***	-0.269	-2.176 ***	-0.517	-2.137 ***	-0.503
Age-at-arrival effects						
(MC * BC)						
15-24	1.879 **	-1.300	0.761	-0.326	4.974 **	2.815
35-44	-1.094 **	0.322	-2.078	-1.272	1.993	2.736 *
45-54	0.433	2.311 ***	0.776	1.055	0.602	4.425 **
55-64	-0.378	0.445	-2.837	-0.366	-0.270	6.542 ***
Immigrants in 1990	-34.285 ***	-31.191 ***	-8.873 ***	-14.559 ***	-19.685 ***	-27.840 ***
(MC)						
Immigrants added duration to 2000	2.660 ***	3.484 ***	-2.850 *	-1.420	-0.969	-0.835
(Year * MC)						
Household income ($10,000)		0.393 ***		0.393 ***		0.393 ***
Household income (Differential effects for immigrants)		-0.057 **		0.058		0.007
Educational attainment						
No high school diploma		-4.668 ***		-4.667 ***		-4.667 ***
College degree or better		3.921 ***		3.915 ***		3.915 ***
Educational attainment (Differential effects for immigrants)						
No high school diploma		1.702 ***		0.170		-0.465
College degree or better		2.451 *		-0.342		3.922 ***
English proficiency						
Speak only English		-0.007		-0.007		-0.007
Speak English well		-2.632 *		-2.634 *		-2.634 *
English Proficiency (Differential effects for immigrants)						
Speak only English		2.185		6.200 *		11.115 ***
Speak English well		6.376 ***		4.829 **		7.800 ***
Homeownership						
Own		0.009 ***		0.001		0.002
Homeownership (Differential effects for immigrants)						
Own		-1.722 ***		4.430 ***		1.027
Number of obs	111,734		98,162		98,636	
Adjusted R^2	0.246	0.281	0.010	0.060	0.022	0.072

Note: The reference group for birth cohort in 1990 is "ages 25-34 in 1990"; for ageing, the reference group is "25-34 in 1990 and 35-44 in 2000"; for age-at-arrival effect, the reference group is "ages 25-34"; for immigrant cohort in 1990 the reference group is native-born whites of non-Hispanic origin; for educational attainment it is "High school dip. w/ college"; for English proficiency it is "speaks English not well or not at all"; for homeownership it is "rent."

[a]--Including U.S.-born whites

[b]--Year denotes the time trend for the reference cohort.

*p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001 (two-tailed tests)

Table 6. Regression Coefficients of Median Household Income[a] in Residential District (Relative to the County Mean)

Income in District (in $10,000) Relative to the County Mean	Mexican[b]		Korean[b]		Chinese[b]	
Constant	0.679 ***	0.395 ***	0.678 ***	0.396 ***	0.678 ***	0.396 ***
Year (1990 = 0; 2000 = 1)[c]	0.157 ***	0.026	0.161 ***	0.024	0.160 ***	0.024
Birth cohort in 1990						
(BC)						
15-24	-0.183 ***	-0.003	-0.188 ***	-0.008	-0.185 ***	-0.005
35-44	0.105 ***	-0.018	0.104 ***	-0.023	0.107 ***	-0.020
45-54	0.149 ***	-0.025	0.156 ***	-0.022	0.153 ***	-0.025
55-64	0.077 ***	-0.055 **	0.079 ***	-0.057 **	0.078 ***	-0.056 **
Aging to 2000						
(Year * BC)						
15-24 / 25-34	0.013	-0.034	0.019	-0.026	0.015	-0.030
35-44 / 45-54	-0.051 *	0.003	-0.050 *	0.012	-0.056 *	0.007
45-54 / 55-64	-0.109 ***	0.005	-0.126 ***	-0.001	-0.118 ***	0.004
55-64 / 65-75	-0.083 **	0.067 **	-0.088 **	0.071 **	-0.085 **	0.069 **
Age-at-arrival effects						
(MC * BC)						
15-24	0.233 ***	0.028	-0.311 *	-0.326 *	0.070	-0.098
35-44	-0.164 ***	-0.054 *	-0.161	-0.111	0.015	0.091
45-54	-0.188 ***	-0.013	-0.201	-0.158	-0.230 *	0.074
55-64	-0.263 ***	-0.103	-0.530 ***	-0.195	-0.401 **	0.109
Immigrants in 1990	-1.477 ***	-1.377 ***	-0.193	-0.828 ***	-0.425 ***	-0.933 ***
(MC)						
Immigrants added duration to 2000	0.014	0.022	-0.172 *	-0.002	0.089	0.122 *
(Year * MC)						
Household income ($10,000)		0.027 ***		0.027 ***		0.027 ***
Household income (Differential effects for immigrants)		0.004		0.004		-0.006
Educational attainment						
No high school diploma		-0.194 ***		-0.194 ***		-0.194 ***
College degree or better		0.129 ***		0.129 ***		0.129 ***
Educational attainment (Differential effects for immigrants)						
No high school diploma		0.028		-0.256		-0.194
College degree or better		0.143		0.022		0.285 ***
English proficiency						
Speak only English		-0.036		-0.036		-0.036
Speak English well		-0.224 **		-0.224 **		-0.224 **
English Proficiency (Differential effects for immigrants)						
Speak only English		0.091		0.338		0.606 **
Speak English well		0.440 ***		0.432 ***		0.520 ***
Homeownership						
Own		0.299 ***		0.299 ***		0.299 ***
Homeownership (Differential effects for immigrants)						
Own		-0.025		0.534 ***		0.011
Number of obs	111,734		98,162		98,636	
Adjusted R^2	0.142	0.189	0.006	0.063	0.006	0.063

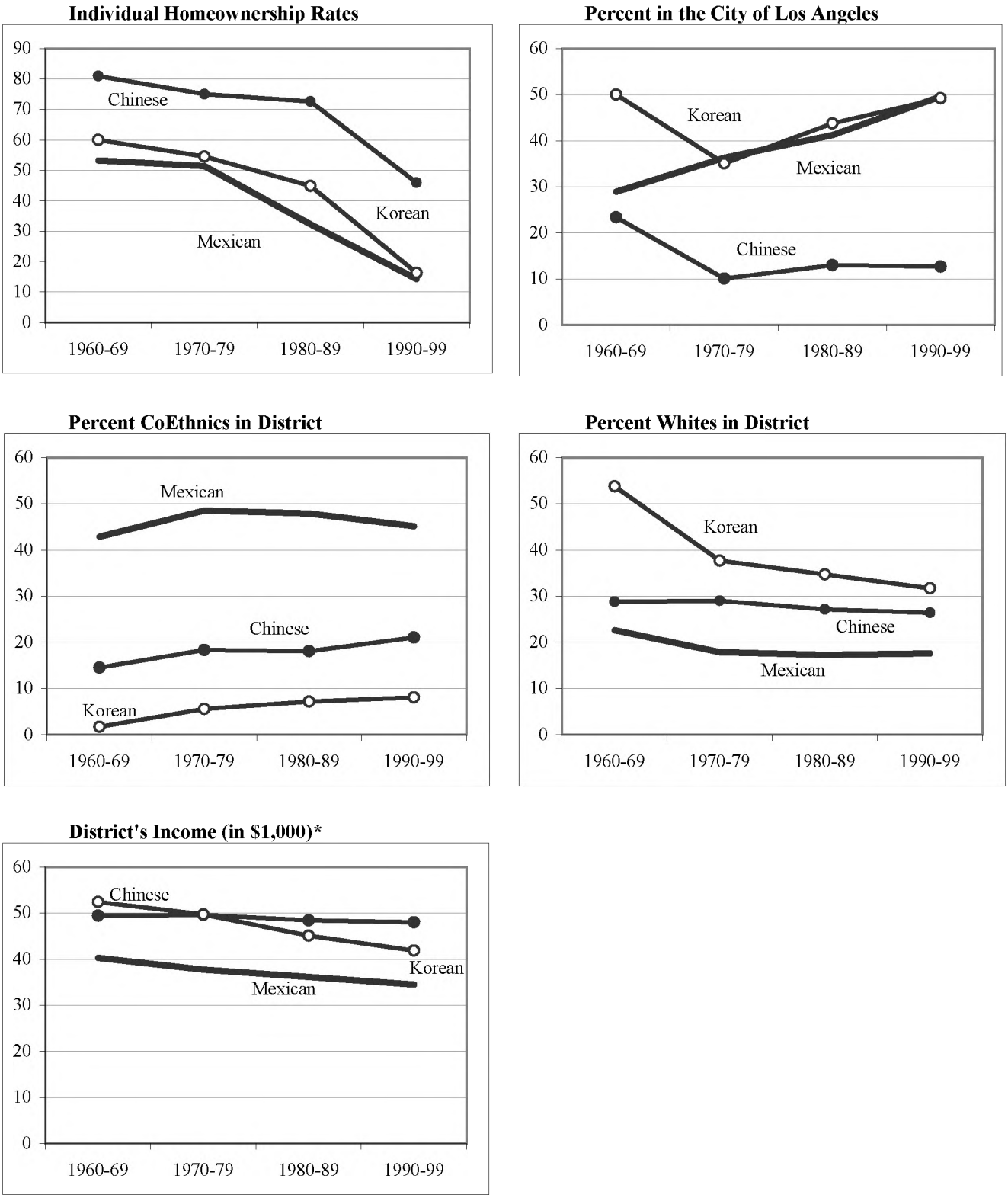
Note: The reference group for birth cohort in 1990 is "ages 25-34 in 1990"; for ageing, the reference group is "25-34 in 1990 and 35-44 in 2000"; for age-at-arrival effect, the reference group is "ages 25-34"; for immigrant cohort in 1990 the reference group is native-born whites of non-Hispanic origin; for educational attainment it is "High school dip. w/ college"; for English proficiency it is "speaks English not well or not at all"; for homeownership it is "rent."

[a]--in $10,000

[b]--Including U.S.-born whites

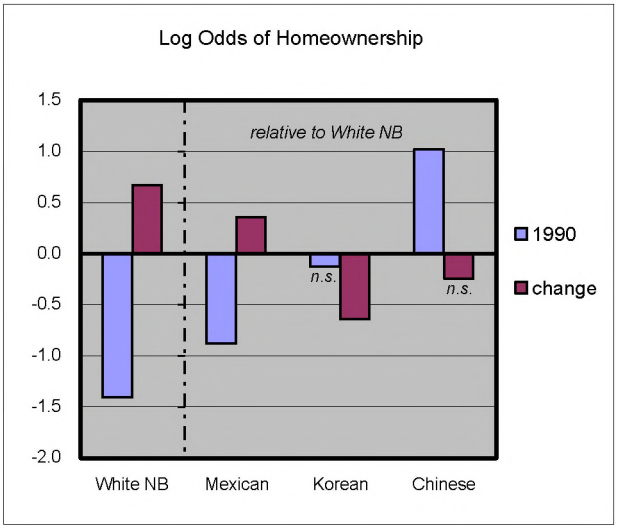
*$p < .05$; **$p < .01$; ***$p < .001$ (two-tailed tests)

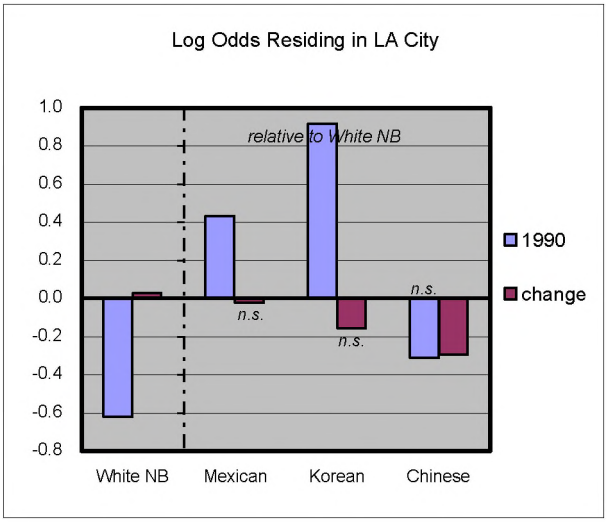
Figure 1. Residential Attainments by Ethnicity and Year of Arrival (Observed at age 35-44 in 2000)

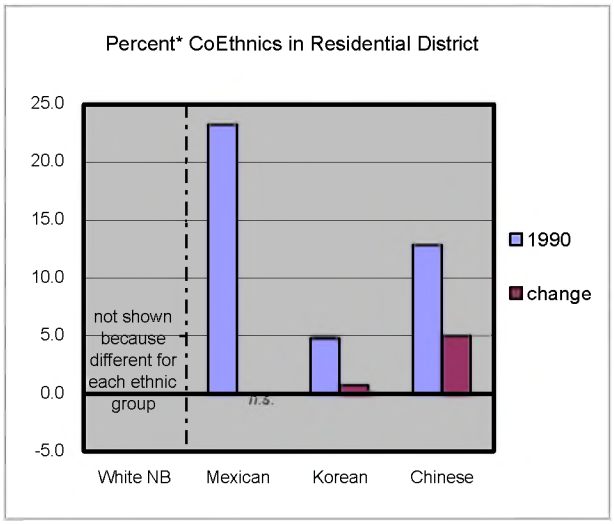


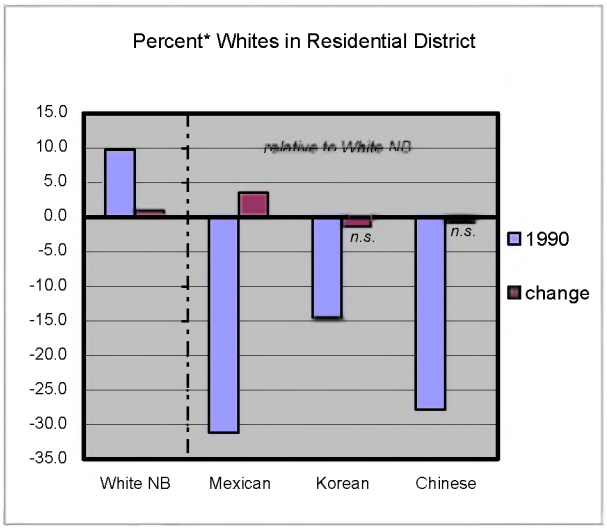
* Median household income

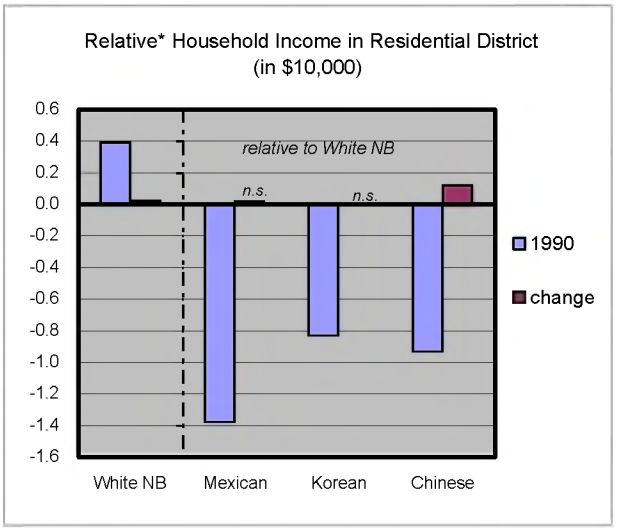
Figure 2. Indicators of Residential Assimilation: Status in 1990 and Change from 1990 to 2000











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 would equal the sum of their values and those of the White reference group.

Values are extracted from models adjusted for income, English proficiency and other human capital in Tables 2-6.

* Percentage values and median area income 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.

n.s. refers to not statistically significant at the 5% level.