

**Evaluating the Changes in the Inflow and Outflow of Immigrants  
in Los Angeles  
Between the 1980s and 1990s**

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## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Los Angeles and California in general, experienced tremendous growth in its immigrant population during the 1970s and 1980s. Many speculated that these growth trends would continue into the 1990s and in fact, the immigrant share of the total population continued to increase by 2000. However, there have been some major shifts in immigrant inflows and outflows during the 1990s that are changing the demographic landscape of Los Angeles, Southern California, and California as a whole.

This report uses the 1970, 1980, 1990 and 2000 census data to analyze the volume of newly arrived immigrants (those arriving in the past ten years) for each decade as well as the retention of longer settled immigrants. The analysis takes into account more specifically which groups are coming, remaining, or leaving Los Angeles with regard to race, age, and education levels. The findings suggest that the immigrant population has changed in important ways that alter the long running trends experienced in Los Angeles.

During the 1990s, there has been a slowdown in the volume of new immigrants to California while there has been an actual decline in new immigrants to Los Angeles. This is very different from the dramatic increases experienced in the 1970s and 1980s. The new immigrant share of the total foreign born population has decreased for the first time in decades to lower than that observed in 1970. Los Angeles' share of California's and the Southern California region's new immigrants has declined for the first time in decades.

The marked decrease in the volume of newcomers is actually only experienced in Los Angeles while the rest of the Southern California region and the rest of California actually experienced an increase in newcomers (see Exhibit 4). There is strong indication that there is a dispersal of California's new immigrants away from Southern California, Los Angeles in particular, to the rest of California. This is not to mention the increasing dispersal of newly arrived immigrants to other states outside of California (Myers, Pitkin, and Park 2004).

With these patterns for new immigrants, are the longer settled immigrants (those who have been here in the U.S. for more than 10 years) continuing to live in Los Angeles or are they moving to other parts of the country? The following highlights some of the key findings:

- Coupled with the slowdown of new immigrants, the longer settled immigrants rapidly left Los Angeles in the 1990s (for immigrants who arrived both during the 1970s and the 1980s as seen in Exhibit 7).
- From 1990 to 2000, Los Angeles experienced a rapid decline in its longer settled Latino immigrant population while the rest of the region and state experienced growth (see Exhibit 8). New Latino immigrants are entering Los Angeles and are then opting to relocate to other parts of the region and state as they become longer

settled. This pattern is not seen for longer settled Asians who are rapidly leaving Los Angeles and the state as a whole.

- With the loss of many longer settled immigrants, it is important to note that the overall net education levels have actually increased from 1990 to 2000 in Los Angeles. The 5-year migration analysis further shows that the number of educated in-migrants substantially outweighed the educated out-migrants. Therefore, there is a net increase in the overall education levels of Los Angeles during the 1990s (see Exhibit 21).
- Furthermore, the education levels of the 1970s immigrant arrival cohort have markedly increased by 2000, largely due to the coming into adulthood of its 1.5 generation (see Exhibit 18). (Those who are 25 to 34 years of age in 2000 were 5 to 14 years old when they first arrived in the U.S.)

With the increasing education levels of longer settled immigrants, the new immigrants in 2000 are also coming in with higher educational attainment than the new immigrants of the past. And again, the 5-year migration data show that the educational attainment of those immigrants who arrived in the U.S. from 1995 to 2000 is even higher than that observed for the total population.

Los Angeles has been a popular gateway for new immigrants during the 1970s and 1980s. However, a sizeable share of immigrants seems to opt for different locations as they become longer settled. The findings from this report show that the remarkable growth patterns observed for Los Angeles in the 1970s and 1980s were simply not detected for the 1990s. There has been a slowdown in newly arrived immigrant population growth in Los Angeles. Simultaneously, there has been rapid exodus of many longer settled immigrants. However, the loss of many of these immigrants has actually translated into overall higher education levels for the immigrant population who remained in Los Angeles.

The dynamics of demographic change in the Los Angeles immigrant population in relation to the rest of the Southern California region and California as a whole has helped to explain the encouraging progress of immigrants observed in Report 1. But certainly, the compositional shifts in the immigrant population do not fully explain the progress of immigrants in Los Angeles. The upward mobility of immigrants as they increase their length of U.S. residence is the focus of Report 3 of this project.

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## INTRODUCTION

How did the Los Angeles immigrant population fare during the 1990s? A deep and prolonged recession in the first half of the decade was followed by economic boom leading into 2000. In this context, new immigrants arrived to make their homes, while others left Los Angeles for other locales with cheaper housing and better job opportunities. With Los Angeles experiencing continued population growth in the 1990s, the ethnic and immigrant mix of the population could have easily shifted from previous decades. Therefore, the important questions that arise are, specifically, who has left and who has remained?

Report 1 (2004) of the project on “Dynamics of Immigrant Settlement in Los Angeles: Upward Mobility, Arrival, and Exodus” showed that immigrants are increasingly a larger share of Los Angeles County (rising from 11.4% in 1970 to 36.4% in 2000). However, the 1990s did not see as much growth in the number of immigrants as in the 1970s or 1980s. With this slowing down of the immigrant population growth, trends in socioeconomic status for immigrants illustrated some encouraging progress. Although some of the signs are decidedly mixed, an examination of multiple indicators, such as educational attainment, poverty and homeownership levels, generally proved that the foreign born are increasingly better off than in past decades.

This positive trend could be an indication that newly arrived immigrants are better off. On the other hand, it might indicate that less successful immigrants have departed from the region. Alternatively, the rising status could reflect the upward progress of the immigrants remaining in the region. While the foreign born in Los Angeles have traditionally been associated more closely with the newest arrivals, they may now be weighted more heavily towards the longer-term residents who are more fully assimilated and exhibit qualities closer to those of native born residents.

If we are to decipher these alternative underlying trends, a deeper analysis is required. The present report examines the changes in the inflow and outflow of immigrants through the 1980s and 1990s to better understand the underlying population changes that may have affected the findings of Report 1.

Several main questions are addressed:

- (1) Is there a declining volume of newly arrived immigrants relative to the number of all foreign born?
- (2) Are the longer settled immigrants (those who have been here in the U.S. for more than 10 years) continuing to live in Los Angeles or are they moving to other parts of the country? Exactly who is leaving and who has remained? Are the more educated longer settled immigrants staying? Or are they leaving for other locations while their less educated counterparts stay in the region?

(3) Are the immigrants who arrived in California during the 1990s better equipped for the economy, as measured by their educational attainment, than those newly arrived in previous decades?

(4) Ultimately, are the immigrants in Los Angeles permanent settlers or only passing through Los Angeles?

## **SECTION I: THE VOLUME OF NEWLY ARRIVED IMMIGRANTS**

### **A. Total Newly Arrived Immigrants**

The California population has radically shifted in the past 3 decades. As shown in Exhibit 1, immigrants are increasingly a larger part of the population<sup>1</sup>. In 1970, approximately 1 out of every 10 Californians was foreign born (9.2%) but by 1990, more than 1 out of every 5 Californians was foreign born (21.7%). By 1990, the shift towards immigrants was even more remarkable for Southern California (27.0%) and especially for Los Angeles (32.6%). The large increases in the foreign born was mostly due to new immigrants arriving to the U.S. through California borders. Because of this dramatic change in the 1970s and 1980s, many were up in arms about the large influx of new immigrants to California because they had great implications for public services and the economy. Because there had been a sharp but steady increase in the volume of new immigrants into California since 1960, most assumed that this trend would continue through the 1990s and beyond.

**Exhibit 1: Percent Foreign Born, 1970-2000**

	1970	1980	1990	2000
California	9.1	15.1	21.7	26.2
Southern California	9.9	18.4	27.0	31.0
Los Angeles County	11.4	22.1	32.6	36.4

As described in Report 1, the immigrant share of the total population did increase once again during the 1990s. By 2000, more than 1 out of every 4 Californians was foreign born. Southern California and Los Angeles experienced similar percentage point increases from 1990 to 2000. So, indeed, there has been a continued increase in the percent foreign born, but is it the same trend seen in the 1970s and 1980s that is being observed for the 1990s?

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<sup>1</sup> It is important to note that the observed volume of immigrants is actually the resulting net change of inflows and outflows. The gross movement is surely larger but it is impossible with these data to track these gross movements.

Exhibit 2 shows the volume of new immigrants, the percent increase each decade, and the new immigrant share of the total immigrant population from 1970 to 2000. In California, the volume of newly arrived immigrants increased dramatically by more than doubling from .7 million in 1970 to over 1.8 million in 1980. That is equivalent to over a 150% increase. What is more remarkable than that is the even larger growth experienced in Southern California (177.3%), particularly in Los Angeles (182.6%) during the same period.

**Exhibit 2: New Immigrants, 1970-2000**

<b>1. Volume of Newcomers in Preceding 10 Years</b>	1970	1980	1990	2000
California	715,831	1,809,840	3,355,194	3,390,057
Southern California	422,973	1,172,840	2,105,394	1,851,668
Los Angeles County	334,253	944,740	1,550,770	1,245,085
<b>2. Change in Volume</b>	1970-1980		1980-1990	1990-2000
California	152.8%		85.4%	1.0%
Southern California	177.3%		79.5%	-12.1%
Los Angeles County	182.6%		64.1%	-19.7%
<b>3. Newcomers' Share of All Foreign Born</b>	1970	1980	1990	2000
California	39.6%	50.7%	52.1%	38.2%
Southern California	42.7%	54.9%	53.3%	36.2%
Los Angeles County	41.8%	57.1%	53.8%	36.0%

By 1990, the volume of new immigrants increased another 85.4% (see exhibit 2.2) to 3.4 million in California. The larger increases observed for Southern California and Los Angeles in the 1970s no longer held true in the 1980s. The Southern California region now experienced a slightly slower increase (79.5%). And for Los Angeles, there was a markedly smaller increase in the volume of new immigrants (64.1%).

The reversal of trends for the three geography levels that occurred in the 1980s continued in the 1990s. The remarkable growth in the number of new immigrants from 1980 to 1990 drastically tapers off and even reverses during the 1990s. California maintains its attraction to new immigrants in 2000 but the volume of newcomers has only increased by approximately 35,000 from 1990. The same cannot be said of the Southern California region because the volume of new immigrants decreased by over a quarter of a million in the 1990s (-12.1%). And the decline in newcomer volume is even more striking for Los

Angeles as the volume of newcomers decreased by .3 million (-19.7%). After two decades of escalation, this reversal is especially noteworthy.

As discussed in Report 1, there has been a pronounced slowdown in the growth of the immigrant population. The leveling-off of new immigrants to California in 2000 is a clear indication that California and its sub-regions may be experiencing a different trend of new immigrant flows than they have in the past.

Further indication that new immigrant trends shifted in the 1990s is the new immigrant share of the total foreign-born population. From 1970 to 1990 the new immigrant share rose from 39.3% to over 50% of all foreign born, but by 2000 it fell back down to 38.2% (Exhibit 2.3). This general pattern is seen for all three geography levels. The leveling-off of the volume of newly arrived immigrants has changed the nature of population growth and the composition of the immigrant population, as it means more of the foreign born are now longer settled and better established.

## **B. Change in Los Angeles' Attraction to New Immigrants**

Even though California has maintained an equivalent number of new immigrants in 1990 and 2000, Los Angeles has experienced a noticeable decrease in the volume of new immigrants. Los Angeles has long been an immigrant gateway for the rest of the region, state, and country. The 1990s trend would suggest otherwise. Have new immigrants opted to make their new American homes elsewhere in the state outside of Los Angeles?

Exhibit 3 shows the volume of new immigrants in Los Angeles compared to the rest of the Southern California region and the rest of the state. While Los Angeles experienced the first decline in the number of new immigrants in 2000, the rest of the region and state continually experienced an increase in new immigrants (although the increase has slowed down considerably).

**Exhibit 3: New Immigrants to Los Angeles and Elsewhere in the State**

	1970	1980	1990	2000
Los Angeles County	334,253	944,740	1,550,770	1,245,085
Rest of Southern California <sup>1</sup>	88,720	228,100	554,624	606,583
Rest of California <sup>2</sup>	381,578	865,100	1,804,424	2,144,972
Total California Immigrants	715,831	1,809,840	3,355,194	3,390,057
LA Share of Southern California	79.0%	80.6%	73.7%	67.2%
LA Share of California	46.7%	52.2%	46.2%	36.7%

<sup>1</sup> The Southern California Region less Los Angeles

<sup>2</sup> California Less Los Angeles

The rest of California has become relatively more attractive for new immigrants than Los Angeles in recent decades. Los Angeles reached the height of its attraction to new immigrants with an overwhelming 80.6% share of the region and over half (52.2%) of the state's new immigrant population. By 1990, Los Angeles's share of the region and the state began to decrease and by 2000, Los Angeles's share of new immigrants is decisively lower. In fact, it is the first time in 30 years that Los Angeles's share of new immigrants most closely resembles Los Angeles's share of the total population (57.7% of the region and 28.1% of the state in 2000).

These findings show that there has been a shift of new immigrants away from Los Angeles to other parts of the state during the 1990s. Although the de-concentration of newly arrived immigrants has been thought to have only occurred in the 1990s but Exhibit 3 shows that this trend began after 1980. Furthermore, Exhibit 4 shows that Los Angeles began experiencing less increase in the volume of newcomers than the rest of the region or state beginning in the 1980s.

**Exhibit 4: Change in Volume of New Immigrants**

	1970-1980	1980-1990	1990-2000
Los Angeles County	182.6%	64.1%	-19.7%
Rest of Southern California <sup>1</sup>	157.1%	143.1%	9.4%
Rest of California <sup>2</sup>	126.7%	108.6%	18.9%

<sup>1</sup> The Southern California Region less Los Angeles

<sup>2</sup> California Less Los Angeles

Los Angeles underwent tremendous growth in the 1970s with a near tripling of new immigrants within a span of a decade. The rest of the region and state saw similar kinds of increases but not nearly to the magnitude of Los Angeles. Without Los Angeles, the rest of California continued to experience a doubling of new immigrants in the 1980s. The dispersal of newcomers is even more dramatic within Southern California. Los Angeles County experienced an even slower growth in the volume of new immigrants (64.1%) which means that the rest of the Southern California region's rate of growth in new immigrants was extremely high at 143.1%.

This continues and accentuates the dispersal of California's new immigrants away from Southern California, Los Angeles in particular, to the rest of California.

### **C. Newly Arrived Immigrants by Race**

Overall, there has been a slowdown in the number of new immigrants to California. Is this due more to the curtailing of Latino or Asian new immigrants, the two largest race groups among newcomers? Exhibit 5 graphs the volume of new immigrants by race from 1980 to 1990 to show if we saw faster declines in new immigrants among Latinos or Asians compared to total new immigrants.

[place Exhibit 5 about here]

The growth trends for Latino and Asian new immigrants seem to generally follow the increased volume in the 1980s and the decline in the 1990s that was found for all new immigrants.

The bottom panel of graphs shows a different picture that is more interesting. Without Los Angeles or the Southern California region, the total number of new immigrants to California continues to increase. The same pattern is seen for Latino newcomers which may be an indication that more new Latino immigrants are beginning to opt for the Central Valley or Northern California instead of Southern California as their initial place of residents. The same cannot be said of new Asian immigrants in 2000 who maintained roughly the same number as in 1990.

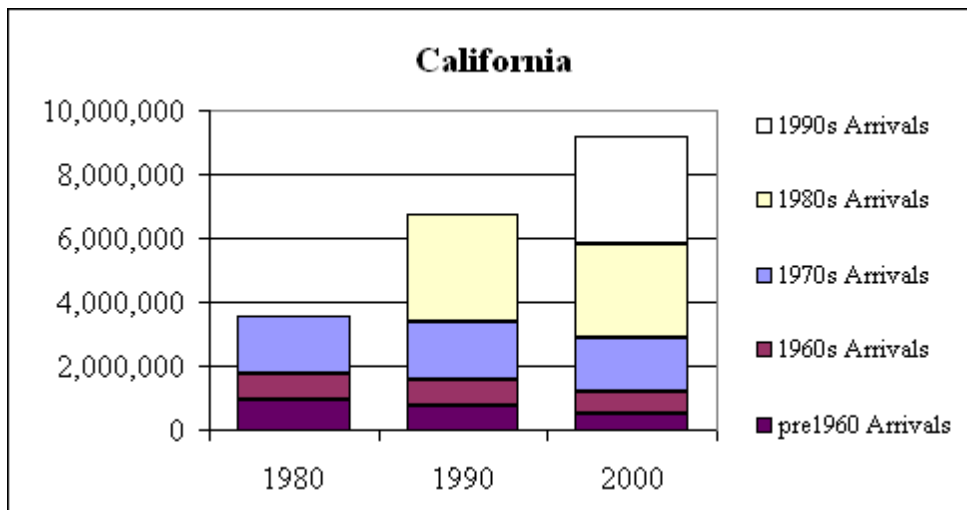
More interestingly, the increase in total new immigrants for the rest of the Southern California region can be mostly attributed to the increase in new Latino immigrants. Again, we see that the volume of new Asian immigrants remain relatively constant.

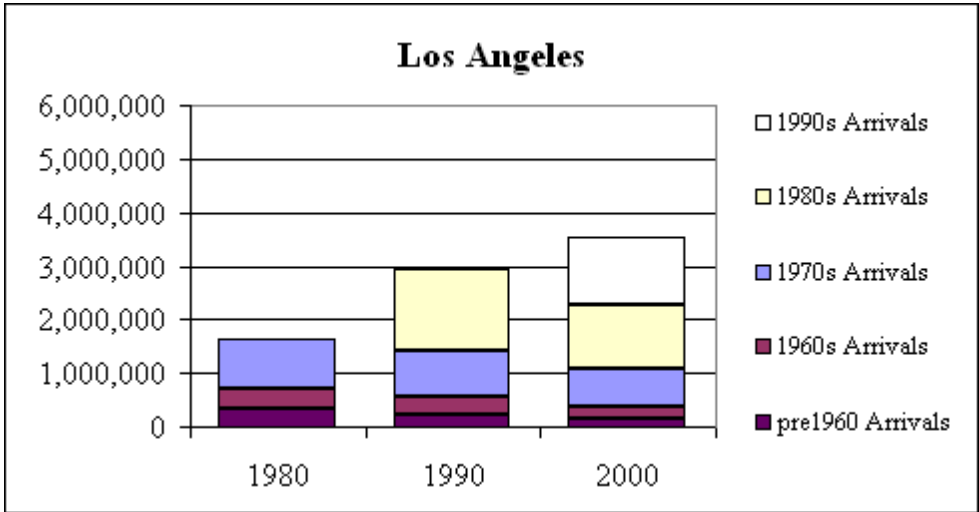
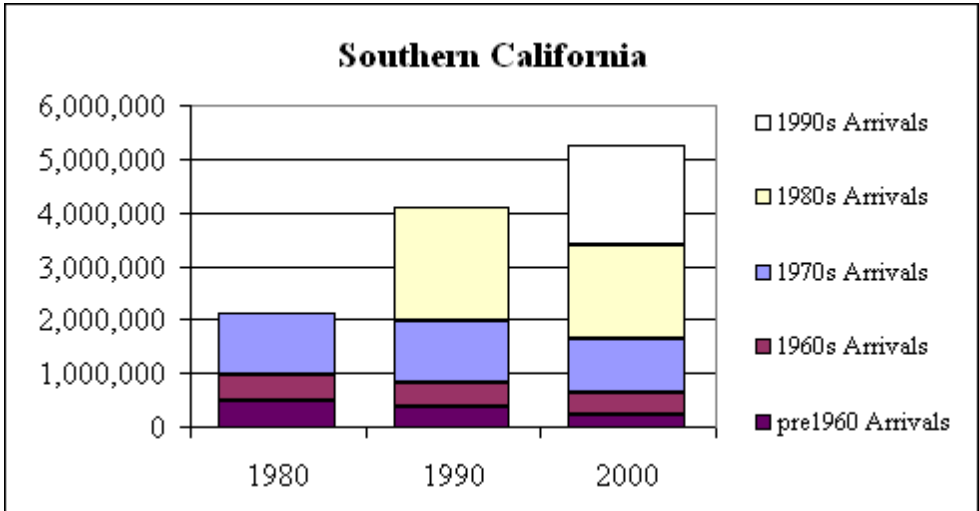
## SECTION II: VOLUME AND CHARACTERISTICS OF IMMIGRANT ARRIVALS SETTLED FROM PREVIOUS WAVES

### A. Total Accumulation of Immigrants who Arrived in Previous Decades

As shown above, new immigrants made up over half of the total California foreign born population in 1980 and 1990. This means that the rest of the foreign born population consists of immigrants who have resided in the U.S. for more than 10 years. Each new wave of arrivals is added on top of those who came before. Exhibit 6 shows stacked bar graphs of absolute numbers of immigrants by decade of arrival. In each decade, the top layer represents the new immigrants. As the immigrants have been here ten years longer, they become more settled immigrants as a new group of immigrants now take the place of newcomers. Over time, there is a “layering” of immigrants by how long they have been in the U.S. For instance, in 1980, immigrants who came during the 1970s are the newest arrivals. They can then be tracked by their “band” in 1990 and 2000 as their duration in the U.S. increases to determine whether their cohort is maintaining its size or shrinking over time (Exhibit 6).

**Exhibit 6: Volume of Immigrants by Decade of Arrival**





In California, the foreign born population is dramatically growing each decade due to the increasing volume of the newest immigrants and the subsequent layering of immigrant waves. However, these huge bands of newcomers quickly build a more established base of longer settled immigrants after ten years. In 1980, approximately half (49.3%) of the foreign-born population in California was longer settled immigrants. By 2000, the share of settled immigrants grew to 63.1%. This is the same general pattern seen for all three geography levels. However, Los Angeles saw the most striking shift towards settled immigrants from 42.9% in 1980 (which is lower than for the Southern California region and for California) to 64.7% in 2000.

The increased weighting of the foreign-born population towards longer settled immigrants has tremendous implications for the overall condition of not only the foreign-born population but also for the cities in which they live. Generally, the public's image of all immigrants is that of newly arrived immigrants struggling to "learn the ropes" (Portes and Rumbaut 1996). However, immigrants become more adapted and incorporated into American society as their duration in the U.S. increases. Overall, longer settled

immigrants increasingly become more like the native-born population in socioeconomic terms (Myers 1999). This generally means less reliance on public services and more positive contributions to the area in which they live.

## **B. Retention of Previous Arrival Waves**

This “stacking” of immigrant arrival waves has created a longer settled foreign-born population core. However, one of the most important questions is whether these previous arrivals are continuing to reside in Los Angeles or have they departed the region? Secondly, has there been a decisive shift away from Los Angeles into other parts of the region or state? Failure to retain the settled immigrants would rob Los Angeles of this important resource.

### ***B.1. How Well are Previous Immigrant Waves Retained in the Region?***

Exhibit 7 documents the retention of settled immigrants by tracking the size of an immigrant arrival cohort when newly arrived in the U.S. and in subsequent decades. Two cohorts are selected for detailed analysis, consisting of those arriving in the 1970s (new immigrants in 1980) and in the 1980s (new immigrants in 1990). The latter group is not observed over as long a time as the former.

**Exhibit 7: The Retention of Immigrants who Arrived in the 1970s and 1980s**

	1980	1990	2000
<b>California</b>			
1970s Arrivals	1,809,840	1,848,794	1,668,052
Change from Previous Decade		2.2%	-9.8%
1980s Arrivals		3,355,194	2,927,674
Change from Previous Decade			-12.7%
<b>Southern California</b>			
1970s Arrivals	1,172,840	1,166,834	1,018,986
Change from Previous Decade		-0.5%	-12.7%
1980s Arrivals		2,105,394	1,755,836
Change from Previous Decade			-16.6%
<b>Los Angeles County</b>			
1970s Arrivals	944,740	860,762	700,413
Change from Previous Decade		-8.9%	-18.6%

1980s Arrivals	1,550,770	1,198,207
Change from Previous Decade		-22.7%

For the 1970s immigrants statewide, there is a slight increase in the cohort from 1980 to 1990 (2.2%), but by 2000 there is a clear shrinking of the cohort from its initial size when it first arrived, a decline of 9.8%. Although the Southern California region also did not experience a sharp decrease from 1980 to 1990, Los Angeles County experienced an 8.9% decline in this period. Subsequently, from 1990 to 2000, all three geographic levels experienced a marked shrinking of this immigrant arrival cohort. The most dramatic decline for this cohort occurred in Los Angeles which experienced a 25.9% decrease from its initial size in 1980 to 2000, two-thirds of that loss occurring in the 1990s alone. This means that fully one-quarter of the immigrants from the 1970s wave have now departed Los Angeles for other locations.

What has been the retention of the 1980s immigrants? As stated in the previous section, the new immigrants who came to California during the 1980s (3.4 million) were 85.4% larger in number than the previous decade's new immigrants (1.8 million). The 1980s arrivals may have come in large numbers but they also left California at a much faster pace than the 1970s arrivals. They decreased in number by 12.7% from 1990 to 2000, while the previous arrivals decreased by 9.8% in this period. The faster rate of exodus may result from the less attached status of the more recent arrivals.

Exodus from Los Angeles was the steepest with a decrease of the 1980s arrival cohort by 22.7% in the past decade (closely mirroring the 18.6% decline of the 1970s arrival cohort). Again, the loss experienced in the Southern California region as a whole was largely due to the loss of 1980s arrivals in Los Angeles. Similar to the pattern seen with the 1970s arrivals, the rest of the Southern California region has performed better at retaining the 1980s arrival cohort (holding virtually constant from 1990 to 2000).

### ***B.2. A Shift Away from Los Angeles***

Los Angeles County experienced the most extreme loss of its 1970s and 1980s immigrants in comparison to the rest of the Southern California region and the state. This may be an indication that new immigrants enter through the gateway of Los Angeles County and once they are longer settled in the U.S, some move to other parts of the region or the state. Exhibit 8 tracks the volume of the previous immigrant arrival waves from 1980 to 1990, and from 1990 to 2000, showing the net relocation from Los Angeles relative to the rest of the region and the state.

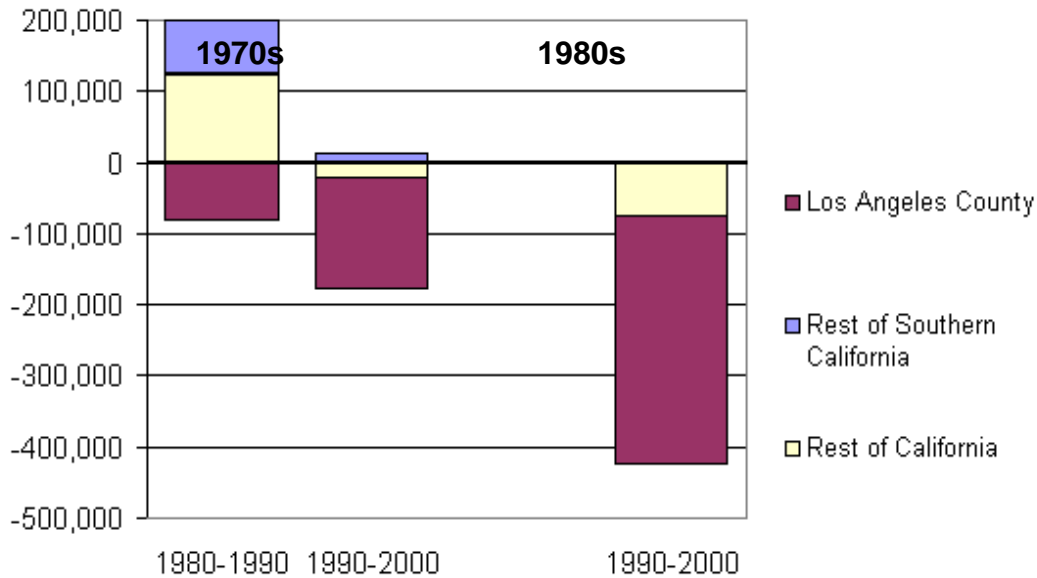
#### **Exhibit 8: Net Retention of 1970s and 1980s Immigrants From Los Angeles**

	1980	1990	2000
<b>Los Angeles County</b>			

1970s Arrivals	944,740	860,762	700,413
Change from Previous Decade		-8.9%	-18.6%
1980s Arrivals		1,550,770	1,198,207
Change from Previous Decade			-22.7%
<b>Rest of Southern California (Less Los Angeles)</b>			
1970s Arrivals	228,100	306,072	318,573
Change from Previous Decade		34.2%	4.1%
1980s Arrivals		554,624	557,629
Change from Previous Decade			0.5%
<b>Rest of California (Less Los Angeles)</b>			
1970s Arrivals	865,100	988,032	967,639
Change from Previous Decade		14.2%	-2.1%
1980s Arrivals		1,804,424	1,729,467
Change from Previous Decade			-4.2%

While Los Angeles lost 8.9% of the 1970s immigrants from 1980 to 1990 (loss of 84,000), the rest of the Southern California region gained almost exactly the same number Los Angeles lost (a gain of 78,000) as shown in Exhibit 9. Furthermore, the rest of California (without Los Angeles) gained almost 123,000 immigrants who arrived in the 1970s (a 14.2% increase). By 2000, Los Angeles saw an even greater loss of its 1970s arrivals while the rest of the region still experienced a growth of 4.1%. The rest of California then experienced a loss of approximately 20,000 from 1990 to 2000 which still brings the 1970s arrival wave 11.9% larger than its original size in 1980.

**Exhibit 9: Net Shift in Volume of 1970s and 1980s Immigrants**



For the immigrants who arrived in the 1980s, Los Angeles experienced a tremendous exodus from 1990 to 2000 while Southern California maintained its share (increase of only 0.5%). However, it is important to note that Los Angeles is still the home to the majority of the Southern California region's 1980s arrivals in 2000 (68.2%, down from 73.7% in 1990). More generally, the rest of the state also saw a loss of its 1980s arrivals (loss of 78,000 or -6.2%).

Measuring the retention of previous immigrant arrival waves leads to some conclusions about immigrant flows in Los Angeles. Los Angeles has been a popular gateway for new immigrants during the past two decades. However, a sizeable share of immigrants seems to opt for different locations as they become longer settled, a point observed in an earlier Haynes-supported study (Myers 1999). The Southern California region has been better at retaining these immigrant waves while the rest of the state also experiences a net loss of these immigrants.

### **C. Characteristics of the Departing Immigrants**

The previous sections make clear that a sizable share of previously arrived immigrants is eventually leaving Los Angeles or the state. For the overall effect of those departing to the area, it is important to ask exactly who is leaving. This section examines the net change in the racial/ethnic composition, age cohorts, and education levels of those who remained in the area and those who left. Are groups systematically leaving Los Angeles? Or are certain groups more prone to leave? If this is true, is Los Angeles better or worse off?

**C.1. Net Gains or Losses by Race/Ethnicity**

Exhibit 10 graphs the volume of Latino and Asian immigrants arriving in the 1970s and 1980s compared to the total immigrants arriving in the same period.

[place Exhibit 10 about here]

For the 1970s arrivals, the number of Latinos and Asians do not fluctuate greatly from 1980 to 1990 as seen in the top panel of graphs. This sustained pattern is very similar to that of total 1970s arrivals for all three geography levels. From 1990 to 2000, there was a more rapid loss of Latinos than the total 1970s immigrants or Asians. For instance, there was a loss of almost 120,000 Latinos in Los Angeles from 1990 to 2000 while Asians decreased by approximately 31,000. For percent change in the group size, there is a 21.7% (see Exhibit 11) loss of Latinos while there was a smaller loss of 16.2% for Asian immigrants from 1990 to 2000 (the overall loss for all 1970s arrivals was 18.6%). This suggests that longer settled Latino immigrants are leaving Los Angeles more rapidly while Asians are less likely to leave.

**Exhibit 11: Percent Change in Latino and Asian Immigrants who Arrived in the 1970s and 1980s**

<b>1970s Immigrant Arrivals</b>	<b>Latinos</b>		<b>Asians</b>	
	<u>1980-1990</u>	<u>1990-2000</u>	<u>1980-1990</u>	<u>1990-2000</u>
California	3.0%	-11.3%	3.1%	-9.7%
Southern California	-1.0%	-14.1%	3.9%	-12.6%
Los Angeles County	-7.5%	-21.7%	-7.5%	-16.2%

<b>1980s Immigrant Arrivals</b>	<b>Latinos</b>	<b>Asians</b>
	<u>1990-2000</u>	<u>1990-2000</u>
California	-11.2%	-16.3%
Southern California	-16.6%	-19.3%
Los Angeles County	-23.8%	-24.4%

For the 1980s arrivals, the story becomes a bit more complicated. Numerically, Latinos are leaving in larger numbers for all three geography levels. However, the percent change in the group size shows that Asians are leaving more rapidly than Latinos in all three geography levels. Los Angeles experienced the largest decrease in 1980s Asian immigrants (-24.4%). The Southern California region followed with a -19.3% change which was largely due to Los Angeles (the region without Los Angeles experienced a -

5.2% change). California experienced the lowest amount of decline with a -16.3% change. Also noteworthy is that Los Angeles is losing Asian and Latino 1980s immigrants at very similar rates while Asians are leaving much more quickly than Latinos from Southern California and even more so in California.

The most striking finding is that in absolute numbers, Los Angeles consistently lost more 1970s and 1980s Latino immigrants than California did as a whole (see Exhibit 12). In fact, the rest of the region and the rest of the state (without Los Angeles County) saw a growth in the number of previously arrived immigrants. Los Angeles is proving to be a true immigrant gateway for Latinos, one that receives a substantial new immigrant population and as these immigrants become more settled in the U.S., they move on to other locations.

**Exhibit 12: Net Retention of Asian And Latino Immigrants  
who Arrived in the 1970s and 1980s**

<b>1970s Immigrant Arrivals</b>	<b>Latinos</b>		<b>Asians</b>	
	<u>1980-1990</u>	<u>1990-2000</u>	<u>1980-1990</u>	<u>1990-2000</u>
Rest of California	73,626	5,034	32,419	-21,894
Rest of Southern California	37,300	18,066	26,366	-4,175
Los Angeles County	-44,526	-119,930	-15,715	-31,311

<b>1980s Immigrant Arrivals</b>	<b>Latinos</b>	<b>Asians</b>
	<u>1990-2000</u>	<u>1990-2000</u>
Rest of California	20,074	-78,468
Rest of Southern California	10,711	-7,556
Los Angeles County	-226,710	-96,848

However, the same does not hold true for Asian immigrants who pose a much more complicated picture. The number of Asian 1970s arrivals shrank in Los Angeles from 1980 to 1990 while it grew for Southern California and California as a whole. From 1990 to 2000, all three geography levels experienced loss of previously arrived Asian immigrants and Los Angeles experienced at least half of California's total loss of 1970s (58.8%) and 1980s (55.2%) arrivals.

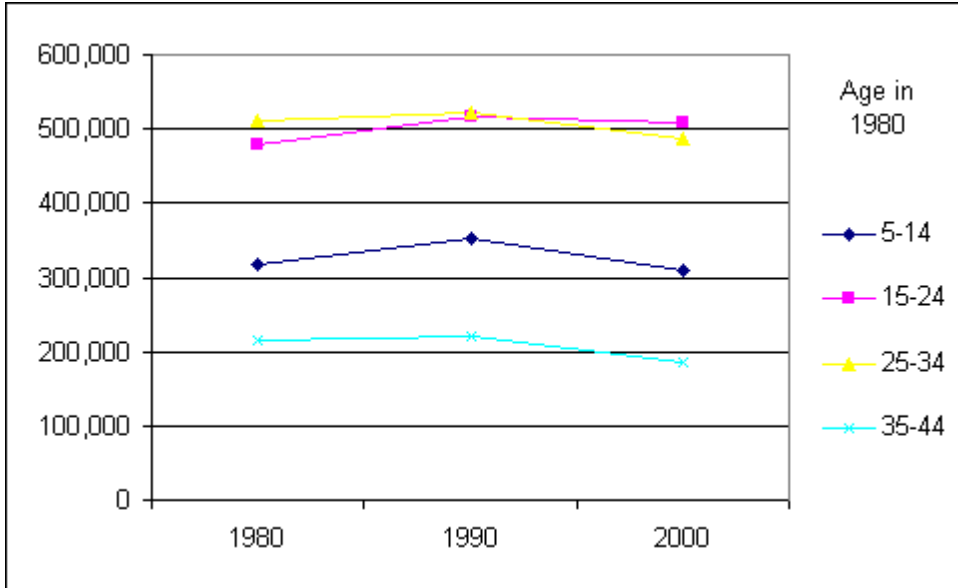
***C.2. Net Gains or Losses by Age Cohorts***

Exhibit 13 shows the number of 1970s immigrant arrivals that belong to a certain age group in 1980 and follows that cohort through to 1990 and 2000 (growing 10 years older each decade). As shown by the two largest age cohorts, most immigrants came as young adults (those in the 15 to 24 and the 25 to 34 age groups). For California and Southern

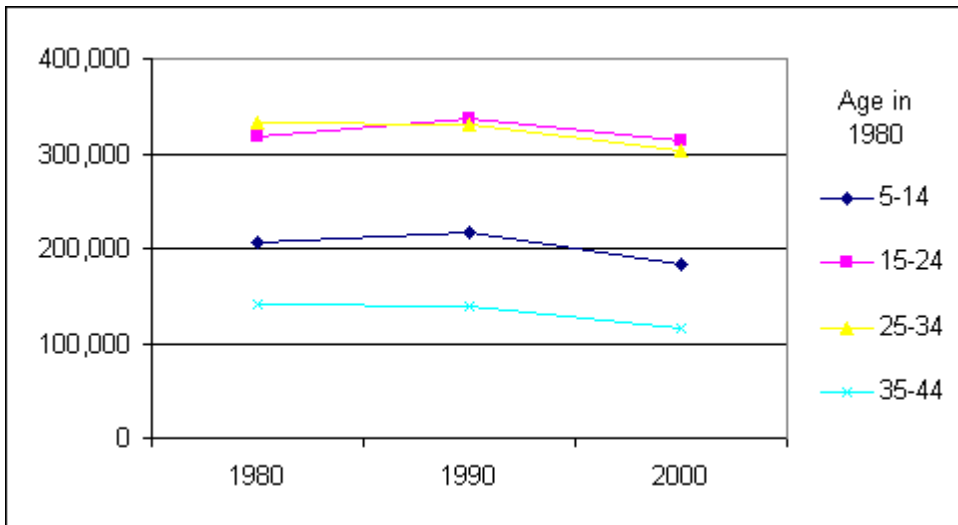
California, there are only slight changes in the size of these age cohorts in the past two decades.

**Exhibit 13: The Retention of Birth Cohorts of the 1970s Immigrant Arrivals**

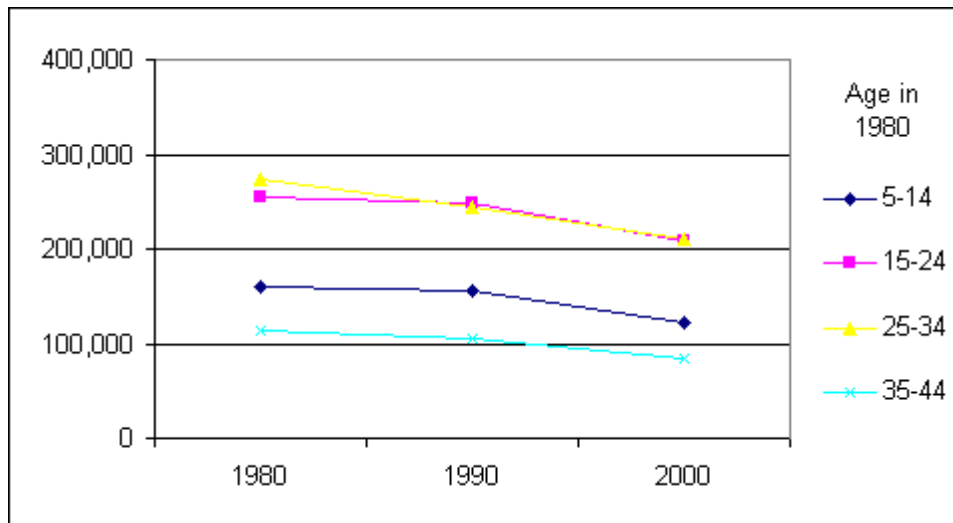
**California**



**Southern California**



## Los Angeles



However, Los Angeles experiences a marked decline in these age cohorts, particularly in the 25 to 34 age cohort which saw a -10.4% (see Exhibit 14) decrease from 1980 to 1990 and another -14.3% change from 1990 to 2000. This may be an indication that 1970s immigrants in their prime working years are moving out of Los Angeles to find better job opportunities or more affordable housing elsewhere. In fact, Los Angeles suffered the fastest rates of decline in every age cohort.

**Exhibit 14: Percent Change of Age Cohorts of the 1970s Immigrant Arrivals**

Age in 1980	California		Southern California		Los Angeles	
	1980-1990	1990-2000	1980-1990	1990-2000	1980-1990	1990-2000
5-14	10.8%	-12.3%	5.2%	-16.0%	-2.6%	-21.9%
15-24	8.4%	-2.0%	6.3%	-6.6%	-2.8%	-16.0%
25-34	2.1%	-6.6%	-0.9%	-8.3%	-10.4%	-14.3%
35-44	1.5%	-15.1%	-0.5%	-17.5%	-8.4%	-19.3%

Among all of the age cohorts, the smallest of the cohorts was those at 35 to 44 years of age in 1980 and that group shrank the most noticeably over time in all three geography levels. Again, Los Angeles experienced the most severe decrease of -27.7% while the Southern California region (-17.9%) and California (-13.6%) saw less dramatic change.

The second fastest shrinking age cohort in Los Angeles over the two decade period consisted of those who immigrated as children (between the ages of 5 to 14 in 1980).

From 1980 to 1990 (when the cohort was age 15 to 24), California actually experienced a 10.3% increase in this age group while Los Angeles experienced a slight decrease of -2.6%. From 1990 to 2000, Los Angeles lost 21.9% of the cohort as they matured into young adults (25 to 34 year olds by 2000). In fact, calculations for the rest of the Southern California region and the rest of California show that all of these cohorts grew everywhere else except in Los Angeles. As the 1970s immigrants increase their duration in the U.S. and become older, they are more likely to move out of Los Angeles to other locations. If the numbers for Los Angeles are taken out of the calculation, this phenomenon is not observed for the rest of the Southern California region or the rest of the state.

Exhibit 15 shows the percent change in age cohorts of the 1980s arrivals, and, again, Los Angeles experienced the largest declines in all cohorts. The largest decline is for youngest age cohort which was aged 5 to 14 in 1990 (-25.1%). Similar to that of the 1970s arrivals' age cohorts, most of the decline in the Southern California region and the state was largely due to the sharp decreases in Los Angeles.

**Exhibit 15: Percent Change of Birth Cohorts of the 1980s Immigrant Arrivals from 1990 to 2000**

<b>Age in 1980</b>	<b>California</b>	<b>Southern California</b>	<b>Los Angeles</b>
5-14	-13.6%	-17.6%	-25.1%
15-24	-6.6%	-11.5%	-17.8%
25-34	-7.3%	-12.1%	-19.4%
35-44	-15.2%	-18.1%	-22.9%

***C.3. Net Gains or Losses by Education Levels***

Exhibit 16 tracks the educational attainment of each arrival wave by measuring the percent high school completion and percent with a bachelor's degree. The 1970s immigrants in Los Angeles started with lower education levels than in the Southern California region and the state as a whole. In 1980, 45.8% had a high school degree amongst 1970s arrivals in Los Angeles and by 2000, that percent rose to 51.3% (with a slight decline in 1990). Similar patterns occur for the percent with a bachelor's degree.

**Exhibit 16: Educational Attainment of 1970s and 1980s Immigrant Arrivals (age 25 and older)**

	<b>High School Completion</b>			<b>Bachelors Degree</b>		
	1980	1990	2000	1980	1990	2000
<b>1970s Arrivals</b>						
California	50.1%	50.1%	56.4%	18.8%	18.4%	21.6%
Southern California	46.1%	46.4%	52.6%	16.7%	16.6%	19.2%
Los Angeles	45.8%	44.9%	51.3%	16.7%	15.9%	18.7%
<b>1980s Arrivals</b>						
California		52.5%	52.3%		19.4%	19.2%
Southern California		50.0%	49.7%		17.8%	17.2%
Los Angeles		49.6%	49.5%		17.9%	17.2%

How is it possible for education levels to rise over time? Educational attainment remains relatively constant for adults so the increase in the education levels of the 1970s arrivals can be explained in several ways. First, it may be a period effect by which overall education levels rose for population groups across the board. If there is a systematic increase for all population groups then there is a strong possibility of inconsistent measurement of education from one census year to the next. Second, an earlier section alluded to the more rapid exodus of 1970s Latino immigrants than Asian immigrants. And since Asians tend to have higher educational attainment, it may be that education levels rose because Asian immigrants made up a larger portion of the 1970s immigrants who remained.

Third, it may be that immigrants who arrived as children were able to receive an American education and they only begin to appear in the 2000 data because they are finally 25 years of age or older. (Those 5 to 14 years of age in 1980 are now matured.) However, there is not a clear connection here because the previous section on age cohorts showed this young cohort experienced the sharpest decrease in numbers from 1990 to 2000 (-21.9% in Los Angeles). Finally, the fourth possibility is that the more educated immigrants are remaining in the area while the less educated immigrants are leaving the area for better opportunities elsewhere (more suitable jobs or affordable housing).

The trends in education levels of the 1980s immigrant arrivals better situate the trends seen for the 1970s arrivals. The increase in education levels from 1990 to 2000 observed for the 1970s arrivals are not seen for the 1980s arrivals. This is an indication that the upward shift in the education levels of the 1970s arrivals are not necessarily due to economic trends in jobs or housing that are discouraging less educated immigrants from settling in Los Angeles. In other words, it is not a general or period trend seen for immigrants from 1990 to 2000. If this were the case, the 1980s arrivals would also experience similar trends. As seen in Exhibit 15, the 1980s arrivals are rapidly exiting

Los Angeles like the 1970s arrivals but not in the same way. Conceivably, the trend is more of an effect of increasing duration in the U.S. with the more settled, less educated immigrants having the strongest propensity to leave Los Angeles or the state for other areas.

### ***C.3. Dissecting the Education Trends***

The increase in educational attainment by immigrants who arrived in the 1970s (a trend not seen for the 1980s immigrant arrivals) warrants further investigation. Four explanations were offered for the rise in education levels from 1990 to 2000. First, the relatively stable trends observed for the 1980s immigrant arrivals has ruled out a period effect explanation for the rise in education levels. The education levels remain fairly constant from 1990 to 2000, much like it was for the 1970s immigrant arrivals from 1980 and 1990.

Secondly, a shift in the racial composition of the 1970s immigrant arrivals was offered as a contributing factor. However, the shifts within the Latino and Asian 1970s immigrant arrival groups (as discussed earlier in section C.1) create almost no shift in the racial composition of the total 1970s immigrant arrival group as seen in Exhibit 17. The racial composition of the 1970s immigrant arrivals stays surprisingly constant from 1980 to 2000. This is with the exception of Los Angeles which sees a slight decrease in the Latino share and a very small increase in the Asian share. Therefore, it is not a considerable shift in the racial composition of the 1970s immigrant arrivals that is responsible for the rise in educational attainment.

#### **Exhibit 17: Racial Composition of 1970s Immigrant Arrivals**

	<b>Latinos</b>			<b>Asians</b>		
	1980	1990	2000	1980	1990	2000
California	54.4%	54.9%	53.9%	29.4%	29.7%	29.7%
Southern California	62.3%	62.0%	61.0%	23.0%	24.1%	24.1%
Los Angeles County	63.1%	64.1%	61.6%	22.1%	22.4%	23.1%

The third possible explanation for the rise in educational attainment is the young 1970s immigrant arrivals who, in 2000, have reached the 25 years of age threshold for calculating educational attainment for the first time. For the young 1970s immigrant arrivals to have aged into the 25 years of age or older category in 2000, they would have arrived between the ages of 5 to 14 during the 1970s. Immigrants who arrived as children are often referred to as the 1.5 generation and they are the immigrants with the most exposure to the American educational system and the most likely to have the highest educational attainment within their immigrant arrival cohort. Exhibit 18 shows that it is indeed the youngest of the 1970s immigrant arrivals who are entering into adulthood and

elevating the educational attainment for the entire group<sup>2</sup>. Without the 25 to 34 year olds, the 2000 education levels only increase slightly from 1990.

**Exhibit 18: Education Attainment of 1970s Immigrant Arrivals, 1990 to 2000  
With or Without the 25 to 34 year olds in 2000**

	<b>High School Completion</b>		
	<i>Observed</i>	<i>Observed</i>	<i>Without</i>
			<i>25-34 year olds</i>
	1990	2000	2000
California	50.1%	56.4%	51.5%
Southern California	46.4%	52.6%	47.8%
Los Angeles	44.9%	51.3%	46.5%

	<b>Bachelors Degree</b>		
	<i>Observed</i>	<i>Observed</i>	<i>Without</i>
			<i>25-34 year olds</i>
	1990	2000	2000
California	18.4%	21.6%	20.3%
Southern California	16.6%	19.2%	18.1%
Los Angeles	15.9%	18.7%	17.5%

The last explanation for the rise in education levels is that the better educated people are more likely to stay in the region while the less educated people opt for other locations. Since the education levels reported above are only measuring the educational attainment for the 1970s immigrant arrivals who are in Los Angeles, the gross changes in the group cannot be tracked (tracking the migration flows in and out of the area). A better way to approach the movement of people in and out of the group is to look at the 5-year migration data. Exhibit 19 shows the total number of domestic in-migrants and out-migrants by educational attainment<sup>3</sup>. These data show that there are a higher proportion of less educated people leaving Los Angeles and the rest of the state while the in-migrants have a higher proportion of more highly educated people. Overall, it seems that Los Angeles and California more generally are able to maintain or attract those who have higher levels of education while the less educated are increasingly finding residence

<sup>2</sup> In order to rule out the possibility of inconsistent measurement from one census to the next, the same calculations in Exhibit 17 was performed for the 1970s immigrant arrivals in the entire U.S. A similar increase was found with high school completion rising from 57.1% in 1990 to 63.5% in 2000. Once the 25 to 34 year olds are taken out, the 2000 number comes back down to 58.8%.

<sup>3</sup> The number of domestic in-migrants does not include those coming directly from abroad. Immigrants may, however, be a part of the domestic in-migrants if they were living in another part of the U.S. prior to moving to California.

elsewhere (for educational attainment of the newest arrivals from abroad, see Section III-C).

**Exhibit 19: Educational Attainment of Total Domestic Migrants (In the 5 Years Prior to the 2000 Census)**

<b>California</b>	<b>In-Migrants</b>	<b>Out-Migrants</b>	<b>Net Migration</b>
Total	1,055,200	1,511,904	-456,704
Percent w/ < HS	9.5%	18.1%	-173,736
Percent w/ HS/some coll	43.5%	52.5%	-335,345
Percent w/ BA+	47.0%	29.3%	52,377
	100.0%	100.0%	
<b>Southern California</b>	<b>In-Migrants</b>	<b>Out-Migrants</b>	<b>Net Migration</b>
Total	640,108	981,142	-341,034
Percent w/ < HS	13.0%	21.3%	-125,018
Percent w/ HS/some coll	45.6%	50.0%	-198,946
Percent w/ BA+	41.3%	28.7%	-17,070
	100.0%	100.0%	
<b>Los Angeles</b>	<b>In-Migrants</b>	<b>Out-Migrants</b>	<b>Net Migration</b>
Total	434,997	805,252	-370,255
Percent w/ < HS	14.3%	23.1%	-123,733
Percent w/ HS/some coll	42.8%	46.8%	-191,091
Percent w/ BA+	42.9%	30.1%	-55,431
	100.0%	100.0%	

**SECTION III: EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF NEW IMMIGRANTS**

The educational attainment of Californians is important in gauging the qualifications of the workforce and contributes to the health of the State's economy. If the state and region attract increasingly poorly educated immigrants, this also bodes poorly for the growth of a more disadvantaged population. An even more discouraging finding would

be if the region initially attracts well educated immigrants who then depart for other locations, leaving the less educated behind. Thus we need to monitor the educational attainment of both newly arrived and longer settled immigrants.

### **A. Education Level of Newly Arrived Immigrants**

Exhibit 20 shows the educational attainment of new immigrant arrivals for 1980, 1990, and 2000. In California, the percent of new arrivals that had finished high school rose from 50.6% in 1980 to 52.5% in 1990 to 56.7% in 2000. The Southern California region and Los Angeles experience similar patterns of an increasingly better educated group of new immigrants arriving each decade but they also start at a lower base in 1980 (approximately 46% for those who completed high school for both geographies). This is within the context of a much higher high school completion rate for the total California population (76.2% in 1990 and 76.8% in 2000).

**Exhibit 20: Educational Attainment of New Immigrants  
(Those who Arrived in the U.S. in the Past Ten Years)**

	<b>High School Completion</b>			<b>Bachelors Degree</b>		
	1980	1990	2000	1980	1990	2000
California	50.1%	52.5%	56.7%	18.8%	19.4%	25.2%
Southern California	46.1%	50.0%	52.9%	16.7%	17.8%	20.9%
Los Angeles	45.8%	49.6%	53.9%	16.7%	17.9%	21.9%

Similar increases are also seen for the percent with a bachelor’s degree. The most striking finding in this section is that in 2000, newly arrived immigrants in California have almost the same percent with a bachelor’s degree as the total population (25.2% for newcomers compared to 26.6% for the total population). New immigrants in 2000, or those who have arrived in the 1990s, have closed the gap in educational attainment with the total population. This is a rather remarkable change from 1990 when 19.4% of new immigrants had a bachelor’s degree compared to 23.4% for the total population. The Southern California region and Los Angeles saw similar gains in the percent with a bachelor’s degree.

Another noteworthy discovery is that in 2000, the new immigrants in Los Angeles actually have a higher percent with a bachelor’s degree (21.9%) than the Southern California region as a whole (20.9%). (The same is also true for the percent with a high school degree.) This difference is even more pronounced when the percent with a bachelor’s degree is calculated for the Southern California region without Los Angeles (18.7%). This is particularly interesting when considering that the region and Los Angeles had very similar new immigrants in terms of education level in 1980 and 1990.

## B. Education Level by Race of New Immigrants

There is a significant difference in the educational attainment of Asians as compared to that of Latinos (as seen in Exhibit 21). This may be largely due to the differences in education systems in their countries of origin, and many of these newly arrived immigrants might have finished their education before arriving in the U.S. Setting the location of educational attainment aside, the new immigrants in 2000 are better educated than those of previous decades.

### Exhibit 21: Educational Attainment of Latino and Asian New Immigrants (Those who Arrived in the U.S. in the Past Ten Years)

#### High School Completion

	Latinos			Asians		
	1980	1990	2000	1980	1990	2000
California	24.6%	29.9%	30.7%	73.2%	70.1%	77.8%
Southern California	22.7%	28.3%	29.8%	77.5%	74.5%	79.0%
Los Angeles	22.8%	28.0%	29.8%	78.6%	74.4%	81.3%

#### Bachelors Degree

	Latinos			Asians		
	1980	1990	2000	1980	1990	2000
California	4.7%	5.6%	5.4%	33.7%	31.0%	42.6%
Southern California	3.9%	4.9%	5.0%	37.1%	33.9%	40.5%
Los Angeles	3.8%	4.8%	5.2%	38.9%	34.6%	43.3%

For Latinos, it looks like the sharper increase was from 1980 to 1990 with not as much change from 1990 to 2000. Overall, there has been a steady increase in the education levels of new immigrants for each decade. By in large, Los Angeles has the lowest educational attainment and California was the highest. Although the new Latino immigrants of 2000 are better educated than that of previous decades, it is important to note that new Latino immigrants have less than half the percent with high school completion for the total population and less than a quarter of the percent with a bachelor's degree for the total population.

The patterns for Asians do not follow the same clear pattern found for Latinos. In every instance (across all three geography levels and in both the percents with high school completion and bachelor's degree), the new immigrants in 1990 were not as educated as

the newcomers in the 1980. The new immigrants in 2000 then arrive with the highest education levels. The drop in education levels in 1990 is largely due to the sudden and considerable influx of Southeast Asians who have much lower levels of education compared to other Asian groups<sup>4</sup>.

Another pattern for new Asian immigrants, that differs from total or Latinos or new immigrants, is that Los Angeles consistently has higher education levels than the Southern California region as a whole or the state. This is taking into consideration that Los Angeles does not proportionally have more Asian immigrants than the other two geographies (as discussed in Section I) nor is its share of newcomers who are Asian rising over the decades. Furthermore, the San Francisco Bay Area has been historically viewed as a strong magnet for highly educated Asian immigrants looking for jobs in the high technology industry. However, Los Angeles actually has a higher percent with a bachelor's degree (43.3%) than the rest of California without Los Angeles (42.2%).

### C. Verifying Trends with the 5-Year Migration Data

The 5-year migration data can help to verify that there is an actual gross increase in the education levels of newly arrived immigrants rather than just the observed net number of newcomers. Exhibit 22 confirms the earlier findings that, indeed, newly arrived immigrants are arriving to Los Angeles, the Southern California region, and California with higher levels of education. In fact, immigrants who arrived to Los Angeles from 1995 to 2000 had even higher levels of education than for the newly arrived immigrant group as a whole. For all three geography levels, these immigrants had a higher proportion with a bachelor's degree than the total population<sup>5</sup>.

#### Exhibit 22: Educational Attainment of New Immigrants who Arrived in the 5 Years Prior to the Census Year

	High School Completion			Bachelors Degree		
	1980	1990	2000	1980	1990	2000
California	52.5%	53.1%	60.8%	19.9%	20.6%	30.5%
Southern California	49.3%	50.3%	56.4%	17.9%	18.5%	25.0%
Los Angeles	49.0%	50.5%	57.9%	18.1%	19.1%	26.0%

Furthermore, the rise in education levels of immigrants arriving from 1995 to 2000 is systematically observed for Latinos as well as for Asians as seen in Exhibit 23 And again,

<sup>4</sup> The Southeast Asian group in California grew from a little over 100,000 in 1980 to 453,363 in 1990 (Park 2003) with some of the lowest levels of education among Asians. From 1990 to 2000, the Asian Indian group was the fastest growing among Asians which has some of the highest levels of education.

<sup>5</sup> In 2000, the total population in California had 26.6% with a bachelor's degree while Los Angeles had 24.9%.

these immigrants have higher education levels than for the total new immigrants arriving in the past ten years.

**Exhibit 23 Educational Attainment of Latino and Asian New Immigrants  
(Those who Arrived in the U.S. in the 5 Years Prior to the Census)**

**High School Completion**

	<b>Latinos</b>			<b>Asians</b>		
	1980	1990	2000	1980	1990	2000
California	24.6%	30.3%	31.4%	69.5%	70.9%	81.9%
Southern California	22.1%	28.6%	30.3%	74.1%	74.9%	83.3%
Los Angeles	22.0%	28.3%	30.7%	75.3%	74.6%	84.6%

**Bachelors Degree**

	<b>Latinos</b>			<b>Asians</b>		
	1980	1990	2000	1980	1990	2000
California	5.5%	6.7%	7.0%	29.7%	32.7%	49.2%
Southern California	4.3%	5.9%	6.4%	32.3%	34.9%	46.0%
Los Angeles	4.0%	6.0%	6.9%	34.4%	35.7%	46.5%

Researchers like George Borjas (1995) have previously argued that each successive wave of new immigrants would be of lesser “quality” in terms of educational attainment and the like. And to a certain degree, this is an accurate assessment for immigrants arriving prior to 1990. However, the findings from this report show that there has been a decided shift for the newly arrived immigrants of the 1990s. The newest immigrants to Los Angeles and California seem to come with much higher levels of education, even surpassing that for the total population. Borjas and Friedberg (2004) have also noted this shift for the 1990s. This change challenges the conventional picture of immigrants coming to the U.S., and only qualifying for the lowest levels of jobs and earnings.

**SECTION IV: ARE IMMIGRANTS PASSING THROUGH OR  
SETTLING DOWN?**

The preceding sections above tell a very nuanced story of immigrants in Los Angeles compared to the Southern California region and California as a whole. Report 1 for this project showed that there has been a slow down of immigrant population growth and that ultimately, the foreign born are increasingly better off than in past decades (see also Myers, Pitkin, and Park 2004). The underlying trends that gird these general indicators of

well-being were analyzed to better understand the dynamics of change for the Los Angeles in comparison to the Southern California region and California as a whole.

Los Angeles and California in general, experienced tremendous growth in its immigrant population during the 1970s and 1980s. Many speculated that these growth trends would continue into the 1990s and in fact, the immigrant share of the total population continued to increase by 2000. During the 1990s, there has been a slowdown in the volume of new immigrants to California while there has been an actual decline in new immigrants to Los Angeles. There has been a leveling off of new immigrants which is very different from the dramatic increases experienced in the 1970s and 1980s.

The new immigrant share of the total foreign born population has decreased for the first time in decades to lower than that observed in 1970. Los Angeles' share of California's and the Southern California region's new immigrants has declined for the first time in decades. There is strong indication that there is a dispersal of California's new immigrants away from Southern California, Los Angeles in particular, to the rest of California. This is not to mention the increasing dispersal of newly arrived immigrants to other states outside of California (Myers, Pitkin, and Park 2004).

Given this leveling off of newly arrived immigrants, the more interesting question to be asked is whether immigrants are passing through or settling down. To better address this question, we looked at the net retention of immigrant who arrived in previous decades<sup>6</sup>. Exhibit 7 showed that from 1980 to 1990, California and the Southern California region were able to retain immigrants who arrived in the 1970s (while experienced an -8.9% loss). However, the big changes for the 1970s immigrant arrivals occurred between 1990 and 2000. California experienced a -9.8% loss, the Southern California region had a -12.7% loss, and Los Angeles faced the largest loss of -18.6%.

There were even bigger declines of 1980s immigrant arrivals with Los Angeles experiencing the largest decline (-22.7%). Exhibit 8 further clarifies that the rest of the Southern California region (less Los Angeles) is in fact retaining its longer settled immigrants and the loss experienced by the rest of California (less Los Angeles) is not as severe as it is for Los Angeles.

On the surface, it seems that the declines in the number of longer settled immigrants are similar to the declines in the volume of newcomers. (California saw an increase of 1.0% the Southern California region saw a decrease of -12.1% and Los Angeles a -19.7% decrease.) However, as shown for the longer settled 1970s and 1980s arrivals in Exhibit 8, the marked decrease in the volume of newcomers is actually only experienced in Los Angeles while the rest of the Southern California region and the rest of California actually experienced an increase in newcomers (see Exhibit 4).

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<sup>6</sup> For more detailed research on the net domestic migration for Los Angeles from 1970 to 2000, see John Pitkin's, "Three Demographic Waves: Exploring the Impacts on House Prices and Rents in Los Angeles" (2004).

These strong decreases in the volume of newly arrived immigrants and longer settled immigrants for Los Angeles beseeches the question of who is remaining in the area. Among the longer settled immigrants, Exhibit 11 shows that the loss of Latinos and Asians were relatively the same in each of the three geography levels from 1980 to 1990 and Latinos experienced slightly more decreases from 1990 to 2000. However, for the 1980s arrivals, Latinos and Asians were leaving Los Angeles at approximately similar rates but Asians were leaving the Southern California region and California at a much higher rate. Exhibit 12 further shows that, by in large, the rest of the Southern California region and the rest of California is better able to retain both Latino and Asian longer settled immigrants than Los Angeles.

Secondly, Exhibit 13 shows that the 1.5 generation<sup>7</sup> is leaving Los Angeles as they come of working age (for both the 1970s and 1980s immigrant arrivals). Unlike Los Angeles, the rest of Southern California and California as a whole is able to maintain these young workers who immigrated to the U.S. as children.

Lastly, the changes in the retention of longer settled immigrants and in the volume of newly arrived immigrants have yielded a rise in education levels. Exhibit 16 rules out the possible explanation of changing racial composition of the longer settled immigrants. As shown in Exhibit 17, it turns out that the education levels of the 1970s immigrant arrival cohort have markedly increased by 2000, largely due to the coming into adulthood of its 1.5 generation.

The findings from this report show that the remarkable growth patterns observed for Los Angeles in the 1970s and 1980s were simply not detected for the 1990s. There has been a slowdown in newly arrived immigrant population growth in Los Angeles. Simultaneously, there has been rapid exodus of many longer settled immigrants. However, the loss of many of these immigrants has actually translated into overall higher education levels for the immigrant population who remained in Los Angeles.

The dynamics of demographic change in the Los Angeles immigrant population in relation to the rest of the Southern California region and California as a whole has helped to explain the encouraging progress of immigrants observed in Report 1. But certainly, the compositional shifts in the immigrant population do not fully explain the progress of immigrants in Los Angeles. The upward mobility of immigrants as they increase their length of U.S. residence is the focus of Report 3 of this project.

The central question of Report 3 is to determine if immigrants continued to make as strong upward socioeconomic advancement in the 1990s as found previously for the 1980s. There will be an in-depth analysis of educational attainment, poverty, and homeownership for immigrants with varying lengths of U.S. residence. The first objective is to estimate the improvements in socioeconomic status of each arrival cohort that was resident in 1990, tracing the improvements registered by 2000. The second objective is to compare this rate of progress with that computed from 1980 to 1990 for arrival cohorts of equivalent duration in the U.S. at that time. Finally, we will strive to

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<sup>7</sup> Those who are 25 to 34 years of age in 2000 were 5 to 14 years old when they first arrived in the U.S.

estimate the effect of the out-movers on the locally observed upward mobility. This analysis will be especially important if patterns of out-movers' effects are found to be appreciably different in 200 than they were in 1990.

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