

PRISMATIC METROPOLIS

INEQUALITY IN LOS ANGELES

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A VOLUME IN THE MULTI-CITY STUDY OF
URBAN INEQUALITY

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ANALYZING INEQUALITY IN LOS ANGELES

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MANY scholars and policymakers are concerned that the nature and distribution of opportunity in our society is undergoing massive change. Owing in part to steady waves of immigration and differential rates of fertility, the United States is also rapidly becoming a more racially and ethnically diverse nation (McDaniel 1995; Bean and Bell-Rose 1999). At the same time, processes of technological innovation, intensified global integration, deindustrialization, and industrial deconcentration are transforming the world of work. One central impact of these changes is a widening gap in pay between high-skill and low-skill workers (Danziger and Gottschalk 1995; Wilson 1996). This development has worsened the inequality in overall income distribution (Levy 1995).

With Los Angeles often seen as the signal case, many social commentators are concerned that American society is fragmenting. In addition to feeling the effects of these national trends, Los Angeles's unique geographic expanse, concentration of immigrants, and highly diversified labor market create sharply uneven outcomes for different segments of the population. The combination provides ample grounds for concern that deep economic inequality, coupled with persistent racial and ethnic divisions, made more complex and potentially roilsome by rapid immigration, constitute serious challenges to our institutions and social policy. The confluence of these transformations in urban settings such as Los Angeles points to a need for focused social scientific analysis. To understand the import of current social trends for future opportunities, we believe it essential to look in detail at how labor market processes, residential sorting processes, individual and group processes of adaptation, and patterns of intergroup attitude and relations play out in a modern urban setting. Los Angeles, we believe, provides an important and

telling case of how these increasingly national challenges and transformations are unfolding.

With this volume, we aim to go further than most social science analysis, which is often constrained by reliance on the U.S. census and other highly standardized data sources. Like most major American metropolises, Los Angeles is ultimately defined by its people: where they live, how they make a living, whom they associate with in their daily lives, and how they make sense of the world in which they live. It is this story of neighborhoods, of work, of personal and social identity, and of patterns of interaction and meaning that we hope to tell here in new and revealing detail.

Contemporary analyses of the urban condition often focus on the processes and circumstances that have produced marginal and poor populations (Wilson 1987; Jencks and Peterson 1991; Massey and Denton 1993; Danziger, Sandefur, and Weinberg 1994; Holzer 1996; Jargowsky 1997). This research has examined the economic changes that result in divergent opportunities. Beginning with an emphasis on "Rustbelt" cities and the deindustrialization that accompanied changes in urban economics, analysts contended that economic opportunity for blue-collar workers declined as jobs with good pay and decent benefits in the manufacturing sector disappeared along with the factories (Harrison and Bluestone 1988). They investigated the divergent economic fortunes of the skilled and the unskilled. In the context of deindustrialization and the growth of jobs in the advanced service sector, skills (both "soft" and "hard") have become the differentiating marker of access to a comfortable place in the modern urban economy (Holzer 1996). Their research focused almost exclusively on deindustrializing, Rustbelt, urban centers of the Midwest and Northeast, thereby reinforcing an almost exclusively black-white lens on urban inequality and the notion that poverty and inequality are negligible in the West (Wilson 1987).

These explanations are not so much wrong as incomplete, lacking a fully developed perspective. Such a perspective would take into account not only the direct effects of each explanation separately, but their combined and interactive effects as well. By investigating mostly Rustbelt cities, the analysts missed a growing segment of urban America, where the racial dynamics were no longer simply black-white but increasingly multiracial and multiethnic. By focusing on skills, these explanations missed the fact that new immigrants with few skills were being absorbed economically in larger and larger numbers in the cities of the Sunbelt and elsewhere. By positing a set of structural forces ostensibly indifferent to race, these explanations were unable to provide compelling accounts for the resulting inequalities that were often strongly linked to race and ethnicity.

In addition, past studies rarely, if ever, took account of the social

processes and interactions among and between recent arrivals and more established ethnic and minority groups (Wilson 1996 and Waldinger 1996c, provide recent important exceptions). As a result, a slice of the complex dynamics necessary to understanding inequality in cities went unexplained. This important factor, when coupled with an altogether different economic restructuring process in Los Angeles (and other Sunbelt regions), leaves unexamined many significant aspects of inequality in major urban centers.

The individual chapters in this book share a concern with urban inequality and a reliance on data from the Los Angeles Study of Urban Inequality to understand the dynamics of opportunity in the modern urban metropolis. We do not advance, nor is our work organized around, a single theoretical model or perspective. Nonetheless, viewed in its totality, our collective research implies that urban inequality is still heavily racialized (Sanjek 1994; Bonilla-Silva 1996; Sears et al. 2000). By racialization we mean that social inequality and the dynamics that produce (and reproduce) it are clearly related to racial and ethnic group distinctions. To be sure, we recognize that outcomes such as employment probabilities or earnings or risk of poverty are complex and multiply determined. But the overarching thrust of our research reveals that members of different racial and ethnic groups often start out with different opportunities, resources, and obstacles, and end with unequal outcomes in the quest for social and economic well-being.

Enduring racial residential segregation is one of the main underpinnings of the racialization of inequality. For example, the form of concentrated ghetto poverty so often associated with Rustbelt central cities would not have emerged in the absence of persistent racial bias in the housing market (Massey and Denton 1993; Yinger 1995). Research reported in this volume strongly pinpoints a racial preference hierarchy that permeates how individuals think about and make neighborhood location choices in Los Angeles. The matter of where people live, or even consider living, as well as where they feel welcomed or threatened is still powerfully influenced by racial and ethnic considerations. Where individuals live often has a direct impact on employment opportunities, information networks, services and amenities, and a host of other quality-of-life indicators (such as school quality, exposure to poverty and neighborhood decay, exposure to hazardous waste, and risk of criminal victimization).

Another telling example is the role that immigrants play in understanding differential economic opportunities and other outcomes for native-born and other groups. The increasing importance of the role of nativity in better explaining inequality in cities like Los Angeles and other metropolises points to complex layers of interactions, labor market opportunities, housing patterns, and racial bias. In this volume, we explore

in several chapters how foreign-born status interacts with the native-born in different labor market contexts, racial bias in the housing market, travel patterns, and local economies. Clearly, the role of immigration takes on added significance in the interplay among race, opportunity structure, and inequality in immigrant-concentrated Los Angeles and, we argue, in other cities experiencing increasing rates of newcomers.

The Los Angeles Study of Urban Inequality

At the center of this project is a survey of adults living in households in Los Angeles County.¹ This survey is part of a larger multidisciplinary project known as the Multi-City Study of Urban Inequality. This study, of which LASUI is the largest and most complicated part, is the brainchild of an interdisciplinary team of researchers (see Johnson, Oliver, and Bobo 1994 and Oliver, Johnson, and Bobo 1994). The project is designed to broaden our knowledge and understanding of how three sets of forces—changing labor market dynamics, racial attitudes and relations, and residential segregation—interact to foster modern urban inequality.

Others provide detailed examinations of the historical emergence of Los Angeles as a major industrial center, cultural influence, and multiracial metropolis (Davis 1990; Dear 1996; Laslett 1996; Soja and Scott 1996). It is not our purpose to rehearse this history here. Instead, our aim is to take Los Angeles as an important case for examining the present-day features of economic and social inequality.

The LASUI survey instrument involved a long period of development. Prior to fielding the survey, we conducted a series of twelve focus groups: four involving Latinos (two of which were conducted in Spanish and two in English), two with Korean Americans (both of which were conducted in Korean), two with Chinese Americans (both of which were conducted in Mandarin Chinese), two with African Americans, and two with whites (see Bobo et al. 1994 and 1995 for fuller discussion). On the basis of these focus group discussions, input from a national advisory panel composed of distinguished social scientists,² and extensive literature search and instrument pretesting, we developed the final survey instrument.

The subject matter of the questionnaire was broad-ranging, reflecting serious investment in understanding labor market processes, residential segregation, and intergroup attitudes and relations. First and foremost, we obtained detailed information on the demographic background and labor market experiences of each respondent. The LASUI contained a full complement of the usual indicators of socioeconomic

status: measures of educational attainment, employment status, labor force participation, earnings, occupational status, and authority in the workplace. But a variety of more detailed measures were obtained to facilitate more fine-grained analysis of labor market circumstances and economic well-being, including:

- Assets and debts
- Mode of transportation to and from work
- Actual commute time
- Reservation commute (that is, maximum tolerable travel time)
- Reservation wage (that is, lowest acceptable wage)
- Job-training experiences
- Job-search behavior and locations for those having recently sought work.

The study also obtained detailed information on current place of employment, including size of firm, race of co-workers, race of supervisor, sex of supervisor, and information on benefits packages and promotion opportunities. Personal background information that might bear on labor market outcomes was also obtained. In this category were such factors as:

- Social network characteristics
- Welfare receipt while growing up
- Public housing residence while growing up
- Prison record.

Because a large fraction of the working-age population in Los Angeles is of immigrant background, we also obtained information on nativity status, citizenship or residency status, length of time in the United States, and mastery of English. On this basis, the LASUI is unusually well positioned to perform comparative analyses of the labor market experiences of the multiracial population.

Second, we obtained detailed information on how people think about issues of neighborhood and community. Respondents gave us information on their actual housing expenditures, as well as on their beliefs about the cost of housing in many different parts of the metropolitan area. They were asked about the desirability of different neighborhoods and about how residents in strategically selected communities would react to the prospect of greater racial and ethnic integration. An extensive battery of questions, modeled on the pioneering 1976 Detroit

Area Study and subsequent replications (Farley et al. 1978; Farley et al. 1993), examines preferences for residential integration. We also asked about the perceived consequences of integration. As a result, we can provide a broad-gauge assessment of the processes that serve to reinforce or to break down patterns of racial residential segregation.

Third, the survey contained a number of questions on racial attitudes. Among the central subjects were a basic sense of group affiliation and identity (Tate 1993; Dawson 1994). We examined a number of racial stereotypes using a bipolar trait-rating procedure developed in the 1990 General Social Survey (Bobo and Kluegel 1997; Smith 1991; T. C. Wilson 1996). There were also measures of perceived competition between groups (Bobo and Hutchings 1996) and measures of perceptions about the extent of racial discrimination and the causes of racial and ethnic inequality (Kluegel and Smith 1986; Sigelman and Welch 1991). In addition, the survey contained measures of attitudes on affirmative action and immigration.

The multiracial character of Los Angeles presented special opportunities and challenges. The survey was designed to exploit the multiracial character of Los Angeles in three significant ways. First, the sample was designed to include large numbers of respondents from each of the four major racial and ethnic groupings, with majority versus non-majority status in a census tract for white, black, Latino, and Asian respondents used as one of the basic stratifying criteria. Second, the questionnaire content reached well beyond the traditional black-white dichotomy. Many of the attitudinal questions were posed in separate and specific reference to whites, blacks, Latinos, and Asians. Third, where it would have been redundant or tedious to repeat the same set of questions for each different racial group, or in some cases in order to test specific hypotheses, survey-based experimental manipulations were employed (Schuman and Bobo 1988). For example, a randomly selected subset of respondents were asked questions on residential integration involving whites and Latinos, or whites and Asians, or whites and blacks, and so on. This made it possible to examine several different types of integrated living settings and permitted a direct experimental test of whether individuals react in a uniform or racially discriminatory manner.

As designed, we sampled non-Hispanic white, Hispanic, black, and Asian adults, twenty-one years of age or older, living in households.³ Due to the cost of multiple-language translation and interview staffing, we restricted the Asian sample to those of Japanese, Chinese, and Korean ancestry. Even with this restriction, the survey covers three of the four largest Asian ancestry groups in the Los Angeles area. These groups capture, furthermore, analytically important cases. Japanese-ancestry

TABLE 1.1 *Sample Characteristics by Race and Ethnicity*

	Whites	Blacks	Asians	Latinos
Total N	863	1118	1056	988
Sex				
Female	55%	57%	53%	52%
Male	45	43	47	48
Nativity				
Foreign-born	16%	8%	89%	74%
Native-born	84	92	12	26
Mean age	45.0	41.7	44.1	37.1
Mean years education	14.0	12.8	13.4	9.8
Mean family income	\$64,387	\$ 40,875	\$46,236	\$ 28,725
Employment status ^a				
Full- or part-time	68%	67%	65%	66%
Unemployed	10	15	7	16
Not in labor force	22	19	27	18
Neighborhood poverty				
Low poverty	96%	58%	77%	57%
Moderate poverty	4	36	22	38
High poverty	<1	6	<1	5

Source: Los Angeles Study of Urban Inequality 1994.

^aOnly for those age sixty-four or younger.

Asians are largely native-born and more affluent (see tables 1.1 and 1.2). Both the Korean- and Chinese-ancestry respondents are heavily composed of recent immigrants, but each has come to occupy a very different economic and cultural niche in the Los Angeles area. To accommodate the diversity of Los Angeles, the survey was fielded in five languages: English, Spanish, Mandarin, Cantonese, and Korean.

Since a core concern of the project is economic inequality, especially issues of poverty and joblessness, the sample design stratified on income levels in addition to race and ethnicity. Thus, census tracts were classified as to whether 40 percent or more of the residents were below the poverty level, from 20 to 39 percent below the poverty level, or 19 percent or fewer below the poverty level.

The field period for the 1993 to 1994 LASUI lasted nearly twelve months. We completed a total of 4,025 interviews. This reflects an overall response rate of 68 percent, a nonresponse adjusted rate of 71 percent, and an overall cooperation rate (ratio of completed interviews to interviews plus refusals) of 73 percent. Interviews averaged just under ninety minutes in length, and respondents were offered a ten-dollar in-

TABLE 1.2 *Sample Characteristics by National Ancestry for Asian and Latino Respondents*

	Asians			Latinos		
	China	Japan	Korea	Mexico	Central America	Other
Total N	415	207	403	728	169	91
Sex						
Female	51%	60%	55%	51%	56%	54%
Male	49	40	45	49	44	46
Nativity						
Foreign-born	95%	54%	99%	68%	98%	73%
Native-born	5	46	1	32	2	28
Mean age	45.5	40.8	44.3	37.0	35.9	40.3
Mean years education	13.0	14.9	12.7	9.6	9.3	13.0
Mean family income	\$41,321	\$74,061	\$35,663	\$29,999	\$20,771	\$33,314
Language of interview						
English	34%	100%	28%	40%	18%	55%
Other	66	—	72	60	82	45

Source: Los Angeles Study of Urban Inequality 1994.

centive for their participation. Table 1.1 provides descriptive information, within racial and ethnic group categories, for distributions by sex, nativity, age, education, family income, employment status, and neighborhood poverty status. Table 1.2 reports whether the interview was conducted in English or another language for our Asian and Latino respondents, broken down by national ancestry.

Since the questionnaire covered many sensitive racial and ethnic issues, we attempted to match the race of the respondent to that of the interviewer and did so in 78 percent of the cases. The appendix tables provide more complete details about the characteristics of communities mentioned in the questionnaire, the sample design, the subgroup response rates, and the comparison to census data for 1990.

Because of the uniqueness of several key variables, our sampling frame, and our ability to compare different racial-ethnic groups across Los Angeles's metropolitan expanse, LASUI allows us to undertake statistical analyses never before attempted. As a result, new insights and hypotheses are being explored that allow us to better understand the complex and deep contours of urban and economic inequality that not only affect Los Angeles, but other cities and regions throughout the United States.

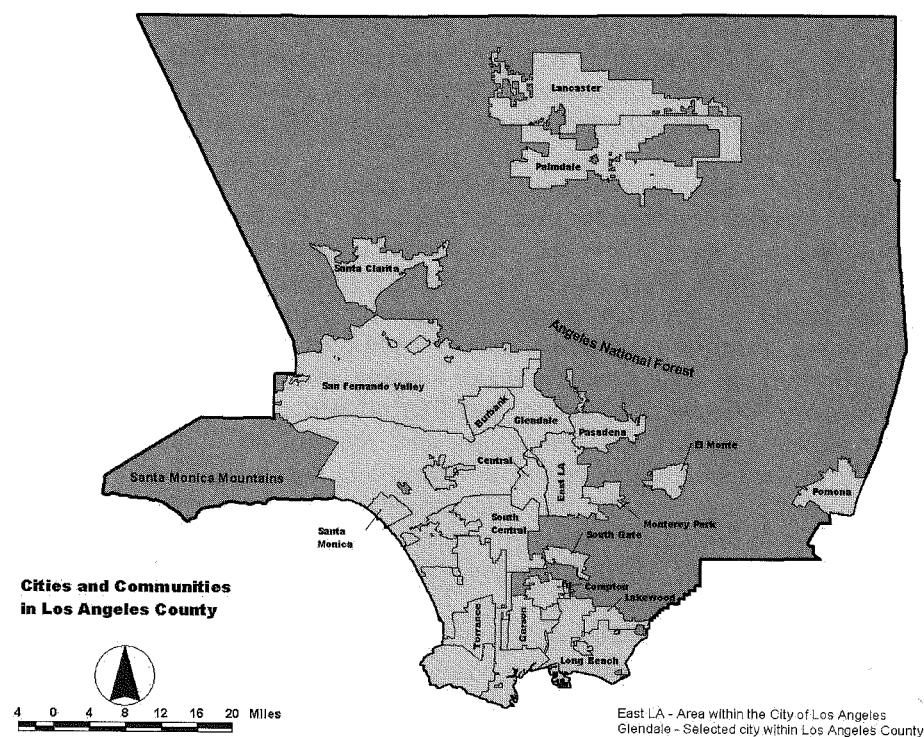
Race and Inequality in Los Angeles

Los Angeles, the "City of Angels," founded in 1781, has come of age in many respects and emerged as a mature economic center. Metropolitan Los Angeles is one of the largest industrial regions in the world.⁴ If it were a separate nation, it would rank seventh in economic output. Since the 1960s it has experienced large economic growth, including the expansion of industrial production, manufacturing, and international corporate finance.

Los Angeles covers a vast physical space. From the city's downtown hub, its northernmost region includes the San Fernando Valley over twenty-five miles away, and the boundaries of the county include a wider area still. To the west and south, where sun, surf, and palm trees are found in abundance, are the popular Santa Monica and Venice beaches leading southward to the Palos Verdes peninsula. Farther south is the city of Long Beach, a major seaport and home to recent arrivals from Southeast Asia, Mexico, and Central America, as well as to many working-class African Americans and middle- to upper-middle-class whites. Immediately south of downtown is the beginning of the city's historic black community, encompassing South Central, Compton, Watts, and Inglewood. Finally, immediately east of downtown and east beyond Montebello and into Pico Rivera is the largest barrio outside Mexico City (see map 1.1).

We call Los Angeles a "prismatic metropolis" because of its many colors, hues, and cultures. Los Angeles now reflects in substantial numbers an enormous range of racial and ethnic groups. As Roger Waldinger has put it: "Los Angeles is now profoundly, irremediably ethnic. The issue confronting the region is whether this newly polyglot metropolis can work. And that is not a question for the region alone. In Los Angeles, late twentieth century America finds a mirror to itself" (Waldinger 1996a, 447). It is also a social prism, capturing and refracting much of the diversity of the modern American experience. Generally, there has been a rapid increase in the number of truly multiethnic urban areas in the United States. According to William Frey and Reynolds Farley: "The combined minority populations—Latinos, Asians and blacks—increased nationally at seven times the rate of non-Latino whites" (1996, 35). Their analysis of 1990 U.S. census data identified thirty-seven "multiethnic metros," where at least two of three minority groups exceeded their percentage in the U.S. population as a whole. Another way of appreciating the rapidly changing racial and ethnic makeup of the population is to consider a "diversity index," which indicates the proportion of times two randomly selected individuals in the United States would differ by race and ethnicity. In 1970, that figure was .29. It

MAP 1.1 *Los Angeles County with Selected Communities Identified*



Source: 1990 U.S. Census STF3A.

rose to .35 in 1980 and to .40 in 1990. It is projected that this number will exceed .60 as early as 2020 and, furthermore, that by 2050 the U.S. population will be composed of roughly 50 percent those now classified as racial and ethnic minorities (all figures from Harrison and Bennett 1995, 142). Los Angeles is the quintessential multiethnic or prismatic metropolis. The diversification already accomplished there is spreading rapidly to other metropolitan areas and to other parts of the country.

Our account of the dynamics of inequality in Los Angeles focuses on four processes that prove to be important to the dynamics of social life in most large urban metropolitan areas: immigration and rapid population change; major economic transformations and widening inequality in life chances; persistent racial residential segregation; and persistent

negative intergroup attitudes and beliefs. Although Los Angeles faces special challenges in each of these areas, this special character is more that of a bellwether than an exception to common patterns.

Immigration and Rapid Population Change

After the turn of the twentieth century and prior to the 1960s, immigration to Los Angeles mimicked that of the rest of the country but at a much smaller scale, with Europeans comprising the largest group of arrivals. Though Los Angeles has experienced continuous immigration from Mexico since its founding, Mexican immigration picked up after the Mexican revolution of 1910. The migration of Mexicans to the area was followed by declines of all immigrants at the onset of the Great Depression, until approximately 1965, when the National Origins Act was amended, allowing for easier immigration based on family reunification and other less stringent requirements. Those taking most advantage of this liberal policy were Asians and Latinos, the former bringing their families to join them after years of servitude and labor as coolies and war escapees, the latter as braceros bringing their families to settle permanently.⁵ In 1970 there began a period of rapid immigration that continues today.

Indeed, a single year can do much to convey the scale of the changes being wrought by immigration. Table 1.3 shows immigration to California and Los Angeles during 1994. California was clearly the largest immigrant receiving state in the union with well over a quarter (26 percent) of all immigrants, followed by New York (18 percent) and Florida (7 percent). As a metropolitan area, Los Angeles ranks second to New York City in terms of the number of total immigrants who arrived in this region in 1994.⁶ Los Angeles received thirty-seven percent of California's immigrant newcomers in 1994. The "prismatic metropolis" receives an heterogeneous mix of immigrants from all over the world, however, a few key sending countries stand out. It is not surprising, for example, that immigrants from Mexico constitute the largest number of arrivals of all immigrants, comprising one-quarter at the state level and one-fifth of new arrivals for the year in Los Angeles. Immigrants from Russia (10 percent), the Philippines (9.6 percent), China (8 percent), and El Salvador (7.7 percent) are also significant as a percentage of all newcomers to Los Angeles. These data however do not fully capture the magnitude of Los Angeles's immigration population. To do so requires a look at the unauthorized (illegal) immigrant population.

Table 1.4 presents data released from the INS detailing estimates of

TABLE 1.3 *Immigration to Los Angeles, 1994, by Selected Country of Birth and Area of Intended Residence*

	California	Los Angeles
All countries (total)	208,498	77,112
Canada	1,922	535
China Mainland	17,447	6,183
Colombia	665	316
Cuba	411	281
Dominican Republic	120	41
El Salvador	8,082	5,963
Germany	1,030	331
Guatemala	3,628	2,752
Guyana	141	60
Haiti	78	27
Hong Kong	3,359	1,067
India	7,085	1,339
Iran	6,302	3,723
Ireland	2,338	463
Jamaica	257	139
Japan	1,917	782
Korea	4,965	3,070
Mexico	52,088	15,605
Pakistan	1,389	347
Peru	1,619	661
Philippines	23,942	7,476
Poland	598	191
Soviet Union	14,542	7,710
Taiwan	4,862	2,342
Trinidad	147	79
United Kingdom	3,216	1,077
Vietnam	14,162	3,118
Other	32,186	11,228

Source: U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service 1996, tables 17 and 19.

the undocumented immigrant population. According to the INS, about 3.4 million undocumented immigrants were residing in the United States in October 1992.⁷ Two types of unauthorized immigrants exist. The most typical way of joining the illegal population is to obtain visas for temporary visits and stay beyond the authorized period of admission. This segment of the population constitutes roughly half of the illegal immigrant population residing in the United States. The second half are those that enter the country surreptitiously across land borders; these are referred to as EWIs (Entry Without Inspection). EWIs include persons from nearly every country, but a large majority are from Mexico; most of

TABLE 1.4 *Estimated Illegal Immigrant Population for Top Ten Countries of Origin and Top Ten States of Residence, October 1992*

Country of Origin	Population	State of Residence	Population
All countries	3,379,000	All states	3,379,000
Mexico	1,321,000	California	1,441,000
El Salvador	327,000	New York	449,000
Guatemala	129,000	Texas	357,000
Canada	97,000	Florida	322,000
Poland	91,000	Illinois	176,000
Philippines	90,000	New Jersey	116,000
Haiti	88,000	Arizona	57,000
Bahamas	71,000	Massachusetts	45,000
Nicaragua	68,000	Virginia	35,000
Italy	67,000	Washington	30,000

Source: U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service 1996, table N.

the rest are from Central American countries (U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service 1996).

By far, California received the largest share of unauthorized immigrants in 1992—well over 40 percent (43 percent). New York City follows Los Angeles with slightly more than 13 percent. The top five states with the largest number of unauthorized immigrants are the same as the top five states with the largest number of legal immigrants. Almost 40 percent of all unauthorized immigrants come from Mexico—no other country comes close to this figure. Included in the mix of unauthorized immigration are significant numbers from El Salvador, Canada, Poland, Philippines, and Italy. Using the percentage (37 percent) of all immigrants in Los Angeles relative to the state of California as a proxy, we estimate the number of unauthorized immigrants in Los Angeles as 532,947.

Perhaps what stands out the most about Los Angeles's population changes are not so much the rapidity as the transformation from a predominantly white European base to a majority people-of-color base. Of course, the pace and transformative character of this population change in part explains some of the unique contours of inequality described in this volume. At the very least, it provides us with a benchmark for thinking about massive and profound urban change in the face of an older (at least in terms of recency of arrival) African American, Mexican American, and white ethnic base. The implications of these changes for population characteristics, and economic outcomes are discussed in greater detail in chapter 2. Map 1.2 shows the racial and ethnic popula-

TABLE 1.5 *Percentage of Total Immigration Admitted by Metropolitan Area of Intended Residence, 1984 to 1997*

Year of Arrival	L.A. Metro ^a	New York	Chicago	Houston	Miami	Total (Top five cities)	Total Immigration
1984	11.4	16.9	4.1	1.4	2.1	35.9	543,903
1985	12.8	3.9	3.9	1.3	2.4	24.3	570,009
1987	12.9	16.2	3.4	1.9	6.3	40.7	601,516
1988	15.9	14.5	3.3	1.7	6.0	41.4	643,025
1989 ^b	27.4	10.7	5.5	3.2	2.3	49.1	1,090,924
1990 ^b	28.7	10.7	4.8	3.8	2.5	50.4	1,536,483
1991	17.3	8.9	3.3	2.9	3.2	35.7	1,827,167
1992	16.9	13.1	3.8	2.8	3.3	39.9	973,977
1993	14.6	14.2	4.9	2.5	3.4	39.6	904,292
1994	11.5	15.5	5.0	2.2	3.6	37.8	804,416
1995	10.1	15.5	4.4	2.0	4.3	36.3	720,461
1996	8.9	14.5	4.4	2.3	4.5	34.6	915,900
1997	10.1	13.5	4.4	2.2	5.7	35.9	796,378

Source: U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service 1996.

^aL.A. Metro includes the Los Angeles–Long Beach SMSA and Orange County.

^bPart of what explains the large increase in immigration to Los Angeles in 1989 and 1990 is the large number of previously undocumented immigrants who became legalized through the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986. One of the act's provisions called for a general amnesty for those immigrants without documents who had been residing in the United States continuously prior to 1982.

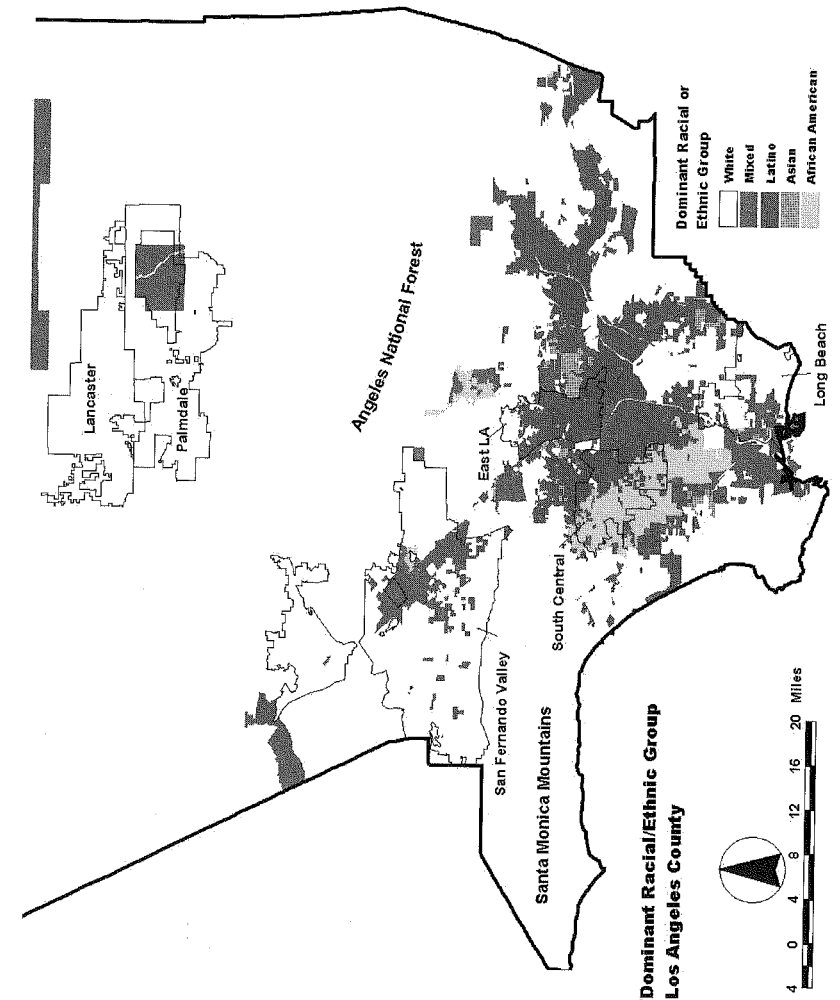
tion distribution of Los Angeles County in 1990. It vividly captures the dramatic population change and distribution throughout the county, especially the rapid growth and spread of the Latino and Asian populations.

Economic Restructuring and Persistent Inequality

Over the past two and half decades, the gap between the economic haves and the have-nots in urban America has widened substantially (Phillips 1990; Michel 1991; Levy 1987; Burtless 1990; Harrison and Bluestone 1988). Recent studies have shown increasing polarization, especially in terms of employment prospects, earnings, and accumulated wealth (Michel 1991; Levy 1995; Harrison and Bluestone 1988; Oliver and Shapiro 1995). Other studies have drawn attention to the persistence of poverty and the increasing geographic isolation of the ghetto poor from mainstream American society (Wilson 1987; Jargowsky and Bane 1991; Mincy and Ricketts 1990; Jargowsky 1997). Here we discuss several measures of inequality for Los Angeles County.

Poverty has been more prevalently distributed in Los Angeles than in the United States as a whole. Table 1.6 provides poverty figures for

MAP 1.2 *Distribution of Dominant Racial and Ethnic Groups in Los Angeles County*



Source: 1990 U.S. Census STF3A.

TABLE 1.6 *Poverty in Los Angeles County and the United States*

	Los Angeles County		
	Number of People in Poverty (All Ages)	Percentage	Percentage in the United States
1990	1,469,913	16.7	12.8
1993	2,164,629	23.8	15.1
1995	2,057,499	22.7	13.8

Source: United States Bureau of the Census, Current Population Survey.

the years prior to, during, and after the LASUI. During each year (1990, 1993, and 1995) the percentage figure that represents the total number of people in poverty relative to the nonpoor was significantly higher in Los Angeles than for the rest of the United States. This differential peaks in 1995, when the difference between the percent below poverty in Los Angeles and the rest of the United States is almost 9 points.

Table 1.7 provides perhaps the best-known measure of inequality: the gini coefficient or index. This widely used measure of income distribution—in which the larger the value, the greater the level of inequality (a value of 0 means no inequality and a value of 1 means extreme inequality)—shows that income inequality in Los Angeles increased between 1980 and 1990. This was especially true among Asians and Latinos and, to a lesser extent, African Americans. Whites also show greater inequality in Los Angeles County.

When analyzing salaried workers and incomes in Los Angeles County, we likewise see familiar patterns of growing inequality between different racial and ethnic groups. For example, Table 1.8 presents data on mean salary rates for workers during 1980 and 1990. Whites and Asians have higher mean salary rates than do African Americans and

TABLE 1.7 *Gini Index for Adults in Los Angeles County by Race (Income from All Sources)*

	1980	1990	Change
All	.544	.575	.031
White	.525	.536	.011
Black	.518	.524	.006
Latino	.541	.559	.017
Asian	.547	.573	.026

Source: 1980 and 1990 U.S. Census, 5 percent Public Use Microdata Samples.

TABLE 1.8 *Mean Salary for Workers in Los Angeles County by Year and Race*

	1980	1990	Change
All	21,857	24,258	2,401
White	24,822	31,017	6,195
Black	18,744	22,298	3,554
Latino	16,143	15,857	-286
Asian	20,549	23,354	2,805

Source: 1980 and 1990 U.S. Census, 5 percent Public Use Microdata Samples.

Latinos. Table 1.9 similarly presents data on mean income for adults in Los Angeles County. Once again, whites (not the case for Asians) have significantly higher mean income rates than do Asians, African Americans, and Latinos. Furthermore, the rate of change or growth between the two decennial periods (1980 and 1990) for Asians, African Americans, and Latinos is significantly lower than the rate of change for whites.

Two explanations of changing inequality highlight fundamental changes in the basic structure of the U.S. economy (Sassen 1990) and thus measures of inequality. These arguments hold that inequality is connected to the decline of central-city manufacturing employment and to the increasing polarization of the labor market into high-wage and low-wage sectors (Wilson 1987, 1996; Kasarda 1993). Accordingly, high rates of joblessness exist in central-city communities, especially among black males, in part as a consequence of the suburbanization of well-paying entry-level jobs (the spatial mismatch hypothesis) and in part due to the resulting gap between skills and types of employment opportunities available in central cities (on the skills mismatch hypothesis, see Kasarda 1989, 1992; Moore and Laramore 1990).

TABLE 1.9 *Mean Income from All Sources for Adults in Los Angeles County by Year and Race*

	1980	1990	Change
All	20,231	22,672	2,441
White	24,475	31,826	7,351
Black	15,607	18,576	2,969
Latino	13,174	13,126	-48
Asian	18,519	21,341	2,822

Source: 1980 and 1990 U.S. Census, 5 percent Public Use Microdata Samples.

The restructuring spin highlighted by Wilson (1987) and Kasarda (1993) is perhaps more readily applicable to Los Angeles than is the mismatch analysis. Goods-producing manufacturing in Los Angeles has been remarkably robust since World War II, and rivals historic growth periods in other regions of the United States (Scott 1996). At approximately the same time, Los Angeles began a downward spiral in the auto and auto-related branch plants and its aerospace and defense sectors, buffered to some extent by massive manufacturing growth. So, while the rest of the United States was reeling from manufacturing declines and horrendous Rustbelt-like economic conditions, Los Angeles was intensively manufacturing and only slightly headed toward becoming a Rustbelt.

The mismatch story also seems out of place in Los Angeles, where literally millions of low-skilled immigrants find jobs and consider the region a prime employment destination area. Roger Waldinger and Mehdi Bozorgmehr (1996) explain this theoretical contradiction by suggesting that "immigration is part of a fundamental process of urban economic restructuring, in which the growth of services breeds a demand for both high- and low-skilled labor while increasingly excluding workers with middle-level qualifications." (25) They further argue that by

creating jobs for people with low skills, it also creates the demand for workers willing to work at low-status, low-paying jobs. While such low-wage jobs are increasingly found in the advanced services, the simultaneous proliferation of high-paid service workers adds further to the demand for immigrant workers. Once in place, the immigrants provide a cheap, easily managed labor force that can bolster the declining goods-producing sector and help revive sagging urban economies. (26)

As a result, unlike the mismatch explanation, this "immigrant restructured hypothesis" suggests that Los Angeles and other immigrant-rich regions retain and create many easy-entry jobs at the expense of creating better-paying and middle-skilled jobs, or jobs with well-developed internal labor markets.

Besides the typical industrial, manufacturing, and service type jobs found in Los Angeles, the area also boasts highly developed ethnic and immigrant employment niches spanning different occupations (such as domestics, gardeners, janitors, and restaurant workers). The growth of Los Angeles's ethnic economies has been profound. However, not all groups share in this growth equally. Perhaps even more daunting than the uneven participation rates is that these jobs tend to offer low wages, poor benefits packages, and few opportunities for upward mobility.

Racial Residential Segregation

Names of communities such as Harlem, South Chicago, East St. Louis, North Philadelphia, South Central Los Angeles, East Los Angeles, and Simi Valley are immediately and widely understood to have a particular racial and ethnic makeup. Terms such as Chinatown, Koreatown, or even Little Saigon remain in everyday parlance. Given the common-sense recognition of "racialized space," it is surprising that so much of the literature on economic restructuring and the dynamics of inequality ignored or downplayed the fact of racial residential segregation (Fainstein 1993). Indeed, both the hypothesis of the structural transformation of the economy and that of the culture of poverty came under sharp criticism for ignoring a central factor in modern urban inequality: patterns of racial residential segregation (Galster and Keeney 1988; Fainstein and Fainstein 1989; Massey and Denton 1993). According to this view, whites' unwillingness to share residential space with blacks and, to a lesser degree, with other minorities locks minorities into inner-city communities that are isolated from mainstream avenues of social and economic mobility (Massey and Denton 1993; Bickford and Massey 1991).

Three facts about racial residential segregation stand out. First, it can be quite extreme, as has long been the case for African Americans. Nationally, the black-white index of dissimilarity or segregation score stood at .69 in 1990, down only slightly from the 1980 figure of .74. This means that more than two-thirds of African Americans would have to change their current place of residence to accomplish a random distribution without regard to race. The comparable figure for Los Angeles in 1990 was .73, slightly above the national average. There is considerable variability depending upon the groups compared. Thus, the Hispanic-non-Hispanic-white segregation score was .50 nationally in 1990, and .61 in Los Angeles. The Asian-white figures were .41 and .46 nationally and in Los Angeles, respectively. One recent assessment of segregation patterns in the Los Angeles metropolitan area noted three important patterns: segregation tended to be higher and change less in Los Angeles County compared to Riverside, San Bernardino, Orange, and Ventura counties; the number of diverse neighborhoods was increasing substantially, but much of this involved black, Latino, and Asian mixtures, as opposed to extensive mixing with whites; and the level of Hispanic segregation was rising and threatening to create a "mega-barrio" (Clark 1996).

Second, where people live can have important effects on economic opportunities and overall quality-of-life experience. Neighborhoods vary tremendously in quality of services, amenities, and level of exposure to

unwanted social conditions such as crime, severe unemployment and poverty, and failing schools (Bickford and Massey 1991; Massey, Condran, and Denton 1987; Massey and Fong 1990). Indeed, Douglas Massey and Nancy Denton (1993) make the powerful argument that economic restructuring and racial segregation interact in ways that can sharply increase the magnitude of economic dislocations and social ills associated with them. Furthermore, to the extent that minorities face racial discrimination and other constraints in the housing market, they are less likely to have ready access to areas rich in employment opportunities and less likely to form personal ties to individuals who can link them to important economic opportunities. Segregative processes in the housing market also lower the value of the homes minority individuals own, negatively affect the terms of mortgages and others loans they may obtain, and drive up the cost of insurance. All these factors play a part in undermining the accumulation of assets and wealth by African Americans and other racial minorities (Oliver and Shapiro 1995).

Third, although a complex array of factors, including economic resources and personal taste, seems to contribute to racial residential segregation, there is growing evidence that racial discrimination and prejudice are key elements in its perpetuation (Massey and Denton 1993; Yinger 1995). A number of auditing studies established that blacks and Latinos are likely to encounter considerably different treatment than whites in dealings with realtors, landlords, and homeowners (Yinger 1995). The forms of discrimination include: being shown fewer units; being lied to about the availability of units; being steered to particular neighborhoods or sites; being told discouraging things about a neighborhood, house, or apartment unit; and being offered less favorable terms. There is growing evidence of racial discrimination in access to home mortgage loans as well (Jackson 1995; Myers and Chan 1995).

Tension and Negative Intergroup Attitudes

Beneath the readily observable facts of changing demographic composition, economic restructuring, and residential segregation lie questions about the state of interethnic attitudes, identities, and tensions. It is one matter for a community to experience rapid immigration and economic dislocation in an environment of little or no segregation by race and ethnicity and a generally positive climate of interethnic attitudes. While there may be some friction and even conflict among groups, under such a scenario one should not see deep fissures of animosity and conflict emerge. It is an altogether different matter for a community to undergo major demographic and economic upheaval in a context of segregation,

well-defined racial and ethnic identities, and interethnic attitudes characterized by mutual suspicion and hostility. This scenario opens the door to intense and sustained conflict and tension. Many suspect that Los Angeles tends toward the latter end of the continuum.

There are five aspects of the dynamics of interethnic attitudes that have immediate bearing on the dynamics of modern urban inequality. First, there is accumulating evidence that negative stereotypes about racial minorities remain widespread, particularly with regard to African Americans and Latinos (Smith 1991). Evidence on the persistence of negative stereotypes about African Americans has been found in laboratory experiments and college student samples (Devine and Elliot 1995), in ethnographic community studies (Anderson 1990), as well as in traditional large-scale surveys (Smith 1991; Sniderman and Piazza 1993; Bobo and Kluegel 1997). For example, data from the 1990 General Social Survey showed that better than 70 percent of whites perceived both blacks and Hispanics as more likely to "prefer living on welfare," that well over 60 percent perceived blacks and Hispanics as "tending to be lazy," and better than 50 percent rated blacks and Hispanics as less intelligent than whites. Whites' perceptions of Asians, while closer to their ratings of whites as a group, also tended to be negative, though not by the margins observed for blacks and Hispanics. Concerning our broad themes of inequality, Lawrence Bobo and James Kluegel's analysis of the 1990 GSS data found that whites' "negative ratings are most evident in the cases of traits related to work and socioeconomic success" (1997, 101).

To be sure, whites' attitudes toward African Americans have improved, especially with regard to support for broad goals of equality and equal treatment (Schuman et al. 1997). There has, likewise, been an increase in whites' openness to residential integration with blacks (Farley et al. 1993; Schuman et al. 1997). It should also be noted that even though stereotypes remain widespread, they are typically expressed with greater qualification now than in the past and, furthermore, tend to reflect cultural rather than biological assumptions about the nature of group differences (Jackman 1994). In addition, a major survey conducted by the National Conference of Christians and Jews suggested that blacks, Latinos, and Asians often hold negative stereotypes of one another (Smith 1998).

Second, there are often sharp differences in how the problems of racial inequality and discrimination are perceived (Jaynes and Williams 1989; Sigelman and Welch 1991; Hochschild 1995). Partly as a consequence, there is often racial and ethnic polarization concerning the types of social policies that individuals perceive as most appropriate to combat inequality, discrimination, and segregation. For example, results from the 1992 Detroit Area Study show that blacks are consistently

more likely than whites to see racially discriminatory barriers in the housing market. In particular, African Americans were substantially more likely to see institutional actors, such as realtors and mortgage companies, as systematically discriminating (Farley et al. 1993). There is also evidence that Latinos and, to a lesser degree, Asians are inclined to understand racial and ethnic inequality in more structural terms than do whites (Hunt 1996).

Third, given the presence of well-rooted racial and ethnic identities (Dawson 1994; Espiritu 1992), negative stereotyping, and very different ways of understanding racial inequality, there is ample grounds to find that such attitudes influence broader community functioning and interaction (particularly under conditions of rapid social change). The clearest example involves the Los Angeles uprisings of 1992. Those riots were tied to tensions among racial minorities, tensions linked to a confluence of segregation, rapid population change, and economic restructuring (Johnson et al. 1992; Johnson and Farrell 1993). The deleterious effects of economic and demographic restructuring together with newly emerging housing market constraints have created a situation in which disadvantaged blacks and newly arrived immigrants are often forced to compete for scarce economic and social goods. The poorest of the newly arriving immigrant groups, particularly those entering the United States illegally, are affected by the same forces as blacks, but in different ways. Economic restructuring creates jobs for immigrant minorities, who become exploited workers in rapidly growing competitive sector industries. Working in unsafe and unregulated workplaces, making subminimum and minimum wages, these immigrants are forced to reside in some of the cheapest and most deteriorating sections of the Los Angeles metropolitan area—most of them formerly all-black communities. Since the late 1960s, for example, there has been a major influx of Spanish-speaking immigrants into the formerly all-black south central areas of Los Angeles (Oliver and Johnson 1984). Unable to find housing in the established East Los Angeles barrio, by 1970 approximately 50,000 Latinos had settled in the city's largest black ghetto, accounting for nearly 10 percent of the area's total population. During the 1970s, the number of Hispanics settling in the area doubled, totaling over 100,000, or nearly 21 percent of the population by decade's end (Johnson and Oliver 1989; see map 1.3).

At the same time that blacks have increasingly come to share residential space with newly arriving immigrants, they have also had to contend with the growth and spread of immigrant entrepreneurial activities. Rather than entering the primary or secondary labor markets, many newly arriving immigrants, particularly those from Korea, have elected to go into business for themselves.

These developments set the stage for considerable conflict and competition among people of color over jobs, housing, and such publicly provided resources as education, health, social welfare, and protective services (Johnson and Oliver 1989). Until recently, the occurrence of interethnic minority conflict had been limited to isolated incidents involving hostile verbal exchanges and group-based protests and boycotts against newly arriving Korean entrepreneurs. In the 1990s, however, interethnic minority conflict became more violent.

In addition to interethnic conflict, crimes of hate have also emerged as a major problem accompanying Los Angeles's transition to the status of prismatic metropolis. Hate crimes have been so prevalent in the Los Angeles metropolitan area that both the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department and the Los Angeles City Police Department now systematically record statistics on the incidence of racially, ethnically, or religiously motivated crimes. Between 1985 and 1987, according to the Los Angeles Commission on Human Relations, there were 431 documented cases of such crimes—a 13 percent increase over the 1980 to 1984 period. The 1996 report documented a figure more than double the 1987 rate, with 995 officially classified hate crimes in the Los Angeles County area. This number reflects a 50 percent rise in the number of hate crimes directed at African Americans in just one year, from 196 in 1995 to 295 in 1996. (It should be noted that these data probably do not reflect the actual magnitude of the problem in Los Angeles, as it is likely that many such crimes, especially those perpetrated against new and undocumented immigrants, go unreported.)

There is suggestive evidence that these trends are profoundly reshaping how blacks, Latinos, and whites orient themselves toward one another. Neighborhood change is one of the central areas of conflict. Reacting to the growing influx of Hispanic immigrants, the president of a black homeowners' association complained that: "it's a different culture, a different breed of people. They don't have the same values. You can't get together with them. It's like mixing oil and water" (Frank Clifford, "Tension Among Minorities Upsets Old Rules of Politics," *Los Angeles Times*, August 11, 1991, p. A1). After a fire apparently set by angry drug dealers killed five Latinos in a public housing project, some in the Latino community raised the possibility of separating blacks and Latinos into different areas. As one Latina resident of the complex put it: "They're [the blacks] going to think we're racists. But we never do anything to defend ourselves . . . there's so few of us here. Maybe we would be better apart" ("Segregated Housing Sought at Jordan Downs," *Los Angeles Times*, September 10, 1991, p. B1).

Economic competition is also a concern. For example, Latinos in the city of Compton complain that the black-controlled local govern-

MAP 1.3 Changing Dominant Ethnic Group in South Central Los Angeles



Source: U.S. Census 1970, 1980, 1990.

ment does nothing toward affirmative action for Latinos, despite tremendous growth in the proportion of Hispanics ("Latino Aspirations on Rise in Compton," *Los Angeles Times*, May 7, 1991, p. B1). There is also significant tension between blacks and Latinos over service delivery and especially employment at the Martin Luther King/Drew Medical Center

in South Central Los Angeles. In the wake of the uprisings in Los Angeles and the initial wave of rebuilding efforts, significant tension flared between black residents and activists in South Central and the often overwhelmingly Latino work crews brought in to do the work.

There are also instances of conflict within groups. For example, many established Latino and Asian residents are troubled by the steady inflow of new immigrants. This conflict is often most evident among youngsters. As one reporter saw it: "The U.S.-born Latinos call the Mexican kids 'quebradita people' because of their banda music and *quebradita* dances. They make fun of the immigrants' 'nerdy' Mickey Mouse-adorned backpacks and have even coined a term for them: 'Wetpacks'" ("The Great Divide," *Los Angeles Times*, November 11, 1995, p. E1). These types of underlying tensions no doubt played a part in the number of both Asians and Latinos who voted in favor of Proposition 187, which sought to make undocumented people ineligible for access to the public schools and to all but emergency medical care.

Fourth, interethnic attitudes and tensions influence the dynamics of both the labor market and the housing market. In-depth interviews with employers seeking to fill low-skill entry-level positions suggest that they often hold very negative stereotypical images of blacks, especially of young black men (Waldinger 1996b; W. J. Wilson 1996). In one early report, Joleen Kirschenman and Kathryn Neckerman (1990) conducted interviews with 185 employers representative of firms in Chicago and the surrounding Cook County area. Although their results were intermixed with ideas about the inner city versus the suburbs, and about class differences in values and behavior, they found powerful evidence that racial stereotyping informed employer preferences and decisions: "Chicago's employers did not hesitate to generalize about race or ethnic differences in the quality of the labor force. Most associated negative images with inner-city workers, and particularly with black men. 'Black' and 'inner city' were inextricably linked, and both were linked with 'lower class'" (230–31). These sorts of stereotypes do not merely operate at the low-skill end of the economic spectrum. Joe Feagin and Melvin Sikes (1994) conducted interviews with 209 middle-class African Americans. Their respondents reported frequent encounters with whites who held low expectations and/or behaved toward them in a discriminatory manner in the workplace, apparently, at least in part, as a result of negative stereotypes held about African Americans.

Stereotypes also matter for processes of racial residential segregation. Analyses of the 1992 DAS showed that whites' negative stereotypes about African Americans were strong predictors of willingness to live in integrated areas (Farley et al. 1994). Data from the 1992 Los Angeles County Social Survey, likewise, showed that negative stereotypes

tended to decrease whites' openness to residential integration not just in the case of potential black neighbors, but also in the case of potential Latino or Asian neighbors (Bobo and Zubrinsky 1996). Both the DAS and LACSS results underscore that perceptions of differences in class standing and resources were far less important than negative racial stereotypes themselves in predicting whites' willingness to live in integrated areas.

Overview of the Volume

We have organized the research reported in this volume into three major components. In the first substantive component we address the "Foundations of a Prismatic Metropolis." Chapters 2 and 3 map the basic contours of population composition, racial and ethnic inequality, and intergroup attitudes. Taken together, these chapters make it clear that basic chances in life still vary substantially according to one's race, nativity, gender, and residential location and that most people definitely possess clear cognitive and socioemotional maps of Los Angeles that attend to racial group distinctions.

The second substantive section examines in greater depth the processes whereby economic opportunity and other life circumstances are divided along lines of race, ethnicity, and gender. Among the major questions addressed are: Is racial residential segregation in the process of breaking down or is it a self-reproducing social phenomenon? Do prejudice and discrimination play a major role in sustaining segregation, or are economic factors more important? Do black, white, Latino, and Asian men obtain employment and earnings through the same mechanisms? What is the role of social networks in obtaining employment and wages? How consequential is immigrant status for economic outcomes? Does it really benefit immigrants to work in the ethnic economic enclave? Chapter 4 carefully examines costs, perceptions, preferences, and prejudice as possible factors in the process of racial residential segregation. The analysis shows the centrality of race and racial prejudice in keeping racial minorities, especially the African American community, in segregated living conditions.

Chapter 5 focuses on labor force participation and joblessness among poorly educated white, black, Latino, and Asian men. Holding constant an array of individual labor market characteristics and contextual factors such as neighborhood poverty, the authors find that black men are unusually vulnerable to long-term joblessness. Their results run strongly against the idea that all low-skilled workers suffer equally in the restructured economy.

Two of the chapters tackle labor market circumstances. Chapter 6

examines earnings for Latinos and Latinas, with special attention on length of time in the United States and native versus foreign-born status. Chapter 7 examines the widely discussed hypothesis that ethnic economies provide "protective niches" for newcomers. Although the author does find significant participation by Latinos and Asians in ethnic economic niches, she also finds that employment in the ethnic enclave consists heavily of menial jobs in food and personal services, retail trade, and nondurable manufacturing. These jobs tend to offer low wages, poor benefits packages (if any), and little opportunity for training and promotion.

Chapter 8 looks at the labor market experiences of African Americans. The results show that African American men encounter disproportionately large employment and earnings penalties for low educational attainment and for having a criminal record. Having a dense social network facilitates higher rates of labor force participation and earnings for black men.

The economic and labor market experiences of racial and ethnic groups intersect with at least two other considerations: the dynamics of gender and issues of transportation to and from work. One of the principal ways that the labor market experiences of women tend to differ from that of men is the traditionally greater obligation for child care that falls to women. In a rigorous analysis, chapter 9 examines the impact of child-care constraints on women's labor force participation and poverty status. The increase in poverty risk as a result of child-care constraints is greatest for African American and immigrant Latina mothers. Chapter 10 examines the impact of social networks among women on employment prospects. The authors show that among black, Latina, and white women, having "bridging social capital" is more important than various forms of cultural capital.

One of the key questions that LASUI was designed to address is whether the spatial distance from employment opportunities is an important element in modern urban inequality. The economist John Kain (1968) argued that job opportunities, especially for low-skill but well-paying work, were shifting from traditional city core to suburban (or even ex-urban) locations. As a consequence, there was a growing mismatch between the skill levels of many minority inner-city residents and the available mix of jobs. Indeed, Wilson (1987) traced the rising level of black male joblessness, in part, to just this sort of industrial deconcentration. Although the subject of controversy and dispute, reviews of a wide body of evidence provide reasonably consistent support for the spatial mismatch hypothesis (Kain 1992). For example, Kasarda and Ting (1996) analyzed data on sixty-seven large cities, showing that the distance from jobs does increase joblessness, especially for African American men, and for women generally.

Two chapters examine how issues of race and gender intersect with transportation to and from work. Chapter 11 examines racial and ethnic group differences in commuting times and distances. The results partly run counter to the expectations of the spatial mismatch argument: minority workers tend to have shorter or equivalent commute distance, though they may take more commute time due to mode of transportation and need to travel particularly congested routes. The author also finds some evidence that it is racial discrimination or concern over the possibility of it that constrains the radius of job search. Chapter 12 examines the relationship between commute time and earnings, focusing special attention on the issue of whether women of color face "multiple jeopardy" in their journey to work. The results suggest that low-skill women may pay a "commute penalty": the longer the commute, the less the payoff. The author also finds that regardless of gender, African Americans commute more for less.

The third and final section examines in detail the interplay of group identity, attitudes, and the dynamics of workplace interaction and broader social relations. Among the key questions addressed are: Will negative racial stereotypes be carried into the workplace? Do racial and ethnic minorities perceive that they encounter discrimination in the workplace? Do women of color report more discrimination on the basis of race and ethnicity or on the basis of gender? Chapter 13 examines the racial attitudes of those with power in the workplace and finds that those who own businesses or who exert supervisory power are no more (or less) likely to hold negative stereotypes of blacks than are those who lack ownership or supervisory status. Chapter 14 investigates the LASUI questions concerned with subjective reports of discrimination in the workplace. Chapter 15 focuses on the intersection of subjective reports of racial and sexual discrimination among women. The author finds that the extent of reporting of racial and gender discrimination depends on racial background, with African American women most likely to report facing discrimination based on their racial group and gender. Both chapters underscore the significance of race and the complexity of interpreting behavior.

Conclusion

Our assessment of the research presented in this book points to a powerful and complicated nexus among the forces of economic restructuring, residential segregation, group relations, population change, and patterns of community and individual adaptation. These findings reflect a racialization in the way social and economic inequality is experienced (Gans 1999). Low wages and poor employment prospects continue to exist for

those of limited skills and education, particularly immigrants and African Americans. Women, especially those from minority groups and with low skill levels, continue to confront barriers to the labor market, including the lack of affordable and dependable day care. Labor markets, despite the diversity of the workforce, remain profoundly segregated by race, gender, and immigration status.

The persistence of racial residential segregation deepens the overlap between economic disadvantage and race and ethnicity by serving to concentrate high rates of poverty and unemployment in communities of color. Racial residential segregation, in turn, is reinforced by group identities and negative racial attitudes—which are made harder to transform in a positive way while groups remain economically unequal and residentially separated. Such conditions provide both the kernel of truth and the motivation to sustain mutual suspicion and hostility.

Our first and more general conclusion is that despite the accomplishments of a variety of War on Poverty and Great Society programs and a generally expanding economy, both poverty in general and economic disadvantage in some segments of the population remain severe problems in Los Angeles. If we as a nation hope to ensure rising standards of living and greater equality, there is still enormous work that needs to be done.

To be sure, the percentage of residents in Los Angeles at or below the federally set poverty level of \$16,534 (family of four) has fallen from a high of 23 percent in 1995 to the current 19 percent. Even with this decline in poverty as the economy improved, nearly 2 million Angelenos lived below the poverty level, with another 1.5 million just above the line. Perhaps most daunting is that this figure remains higher than the 16.7 percent level in 1990 at the beginning of California's economic downturn. The poor, especially the working poor, have lost ground, both in relative terms to other income groups and in absolute terms because of faster rises in the cost of living. Minimum-wage workers have seen their income remain stagnant over the past two years. Meanwhile, rents have increased at an average 6 percent a year, and the supply of affordable units has virtually disappeared. Wages for the lowest 10 percent of California wage earners have fallen steadily over the last thirty years, down 35 percent in real terms. The gap between the top 10 percent and bottom 10 percent of California wage earners has widened: in 1967, the wage ratio was about 5 to 1, it's almost 10 to 1 today. The percentage of Los Angeles households paying more than 35 percent of their income for rent—the threshold for affordable housing—has risen from 28 percent in 1970 to 41 percent today.

Second, economic hardship clearly has a strong racial and ethnic dimension, with segments of the African American and Latino commu-

nities bearing a heavily disproportionate burden of labor force nonparticipation, unemployment, poverty, and restricted life chances. For many blacks, especially black men, the central problem is joblessness. There are strong reasons to believe that this is fundamentally a racialized process, not merely a story of skill levels, or of values and group culture, or of proximity to employment opportunities. For many Latinos, economic disadvantage takes the form of low wages and constrained mobility prospects. However, we would be remiss if we were not to acknowledge that for many Latinos, discrimination in schools, housing opportunities, and work prospects, while not as pernicious as for African Americans, continues to constrain life opportunities. Again, these are racially and ethnically channeled experiences, not merely functions of other individual or contextual processes.

Our research suggests that both deep structural conditions and cultural-social psychological factors play an important part in sustaining a highly racialized urban environment. The structural factors are principally labor market privilege, racial residential segregation, and vast inequalities in accumulated wealth. The cultural and social psychological factors include widespread negative stereotyping of racial minorities and the behaviors of avoidance and discrimination they encourage. Thus, decades after the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Voting Rights Act of 1965, the Immigration Act Amendments (Hart-Celler) of 1965, and the Fair Housing Act of 1968, our society continues to be riven by a historical legacy of deep racism, spasms of nativism, and the current condition of persistent racial and ethnic inequality in life chances.

Third, the economic fortunes of men continue to outstrip those of women. While we find women making inroads into all occupations, women of color remain primarily concentrated in poorly paid and low-skill work. This becomes even more profound among recent immigrant Latinas and Asians as they undertake roles as nannies, day care providers, housecleaners, manicurists and masseuses, and seamstresses.

Fourth, there is enormous variation in the conditions and trajectories facing members of different immigrant groups. For every high-skilled Iranian or Indian immigrant in Los Angeles, twenty-five Mexican, four Salvadorian, and three Filipino low-skill newcomers exist. Los Angeles businessmen seek out high-skill Asian immigrant engineers with zeal and then go home and hire, for mere pennies, low-skill immigrant Guatemalan or Oaxacan day laborers to work on a home repair or landscape project.

Los Angeles is a vast and complex megalopolis. For some, it can be a place of privilege and great opportunity. For others, it can be a place of disadvantage and constant struggle. Race continues to be an important

dividing line. "To address these fundamental issues," Melvin Oliver and Thomas Shapiro argue, "to rejuvenate America's commitment to racial justice, we must first acknowledge the real nature of racial inequality in this country" (1995, 193). Our goal is to bring the nature of modern urban inequality into crisp descriptive and analytical focus. We do so by examining the interplay of labor market conditions, neighborhood and community makeup, and intergroup attitudes and beliefs in the prismatic metropolis of Los Angeles. We hope that this deepening of our knowledge and broadening of perspective moves us, collectively, further along the road toward social justice.

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Appendix

TABLE 1A.1 *Final Disposition of Los Angeles Study of Urban Inequality Sample*

	JLo	KLo	KM	ChLo	ChM	BLo	BM
c NHW comp	46	29	7	141	1	27	7
c Hisp comp	28	1	48	60	17	34	43
c Black comp	2	1	54	3	2	285	300
c Asian comp	53	131	152	422	114	2	0
nr final refusal R	157	57	39	220	21	77	72
nr final refusal P	7	5	2	33	3	5	9
nr R not home	6	4	2	16	0	1	0
m not home	1	1	11	27	1	12	7
m no access	9	4	20	30	4	6	2
m screen refusal	8	11	8	66	12	44	24
ne R incapable	10	5	5	19	6	7	18
ne language barrier	1	3	5	6	2	0	0
ne vacant	39	82	107	104	21	34	42
ne not HU	42	3	6	8	12	0	6
ne n-elg all < twenty-one	0	0	1	9	1	1	1
nen-elg > twenty	639	404	507	1507	135	9	68
Total	1148	741	974	2671	352	544	599
Raw response rate	0.55	0.66	0.76	0.61	0.77	0.71	0.75
Adjusted response rate	0.56	0.70	0.82	0.67	0.81	0.71	0.77

J = Japanese K = Korean C = Chinese B = black H = Hispanic W = white
 HU = housing unit R = respondent P = proxy Lo = Census tract < 20 percent
 below poverty, M = Census tract ≥ 20 percent below poverty but ≤ 39 percent
 below poverty, Hi = Census tract ≥ 40 percent below poverty
 c = complete, nr = non-response, ne = not eligible, m = mixed nr and ne
 Raw Response Rate = $c/(c + nr + m)$
 Adjusted Response Rate = $c/(c + nr + m(1-ne/(c + nr + ne)))$

Source: Los Angeles Study of Urban Inequality 1994.

Note: The "adjusted response rate" assumes that some respondents in certain non-response categories (that is nobody home, no access, and screen refusal) would have been ineligible; appropriate adjustments are made based on stratum data.

TABLE 1A.1 *Continued*

BHi	HLo	HM	HHi	Wlo	WM	Mlo	MM	MHi	Total
9	23	9	15	346	52	69	65	14	860
9	72	223	252	58	7	101	35	7	995
180	0	6	47	27	12	29	83	86	1117
2	4	4	4	22	5	4	23	11	1053
22	25	26	21	137	17	43	35	8	977
0	1	7	4	5	0	3	3	1	88
0	1	0	0	9	1	0	0	0	40
5	1	0	2	19	2	1	1	0	91
5	1	1	10	27	11	3	18	0	151
13	34	32	23	97	24	76	31	9	513
4	5	6	7	26	7	5	6	4	140
0	5	3	0	13	18	1	25	0	82
43	13	33	77	99	23	65	60	10	852
1	0	4	15	5	7	1	6	11	127
4	0	1	5	2	0	0	0	0	25
108	15	19	10	60	32	41	223	50	3827
405	200	374	492	952	219	442	614	211	10938
0.82	0.61	0.79	0.84	0.61	0.58	0.62	0.70	0.87	0.68
0.85	0.64	0.80	0.86	0.63	0.66	0.67	0.77	0.89	0.73

TABLE 1A.2 *LASUI Sample and 1990 Census Data for Selected Demographic Characteristics*

	Race-Ethnicity			
	LASUI Unweighted	LASUI Weighted	L.A. County Eligibles	L.A. County
Group				
White	21.4%	43.2%	49.4%	47.0%
Black	27.8	11.0	10.9	10.3
Asian	26.2	7.7	6.5	6.2
Latino	24.5	38.1	33.2	31.5
Other	—	—	—	5.0
Total	4,025	3,133	5,787,991	6,090,712
Age Group				
Twenty-one to thirty	24.6	27.7	28.3	28.2
Thirty-one to forty	27.6	26.5	25.1	25.3
Forty-one to fifty	19.9	20.1	16.7	16.9
Fifty-one to sixty	10.9	12.2	11.5	11.5
Sixty-one to seventy	9.1	8.1	9.8	9.7
Seventy-one to eighty	6.0	4.5	5.9	5.8
Eighty-one and over	1.8	0.9	2.7	2.6
Total	4,020	3,131	5,787,991	6,090,712
Sex				
Men	43.9	46.1	49.1	49.0
Women	56.1	53.9	50.9	51.0
Total	4,025	3,133	5,787,991	6,090,712
Nativity				
Native-born	53.2	57.4	64.3	62.0
Foreign-born	46.8	42.6	35.7	38.0
Total	4,017	3,126	5,787,991	6,090,712
Educational attainment				
Less than high school	25.6	23.7	30.7	30.2
H.S. grad, GED	26.1	24.5	21.3	21.0
H.S. + some college	11.1	12.4	20.5	20.4

Source: Los Angeles Study of Urban Inequality.

TABLE 1A.2 *Continued*

Race-Ethnicity				
Assoc. degree	15.0	15.5	7.2	7.3
B.A.	16.5	17.0	13.2	13.9
Ph.D., M.A., Prof.	5.6	6.9	7.1	7.1
Total	4,022	3,133	5,787,991	6,090,712
Occupation				
Managerial, professional, specialist	25.8	29.9	27.4	27.4
Technical, sales, support	31.5	28.9	31.3	31.7
Service	17.7	15.2	12.4	12.3
Farm, forest, fish	0.9	0.9	1.3	1.2
Craft, repair	9.0	10.0	11.4	11.3
Operators, fabricators, laborers	15.2	15.1	16.2	15.9
Military	0	0	0.1	0.1
Total	2,990	2,569	4,563,593	4,806,492

TABLE 1A.3 Characteristics of Housing Market Areas

City	Total Population	Median Housing Value	Percentage Owner Occupied	Percentage White	Percentage Black	Percentage Latino	Percentage Asian-Pacific Islander
Alhambra	82,106	227,900	41	25	2	36	38
Baldwin Hills	15,254	224,600	59	21	59	12	8
Canoga Park	105,601	257,600	74	69	2	19	9
Culver City	38,793	329,400	56	58	10	19	12
Glendale	180,038	341,700	39	65	1	20	14
Palmdale	68,917	150,150	70	67	6	22	4
Pico Rivera	59,177	163,800	70	13	0.4	83	3
L.A. County	8,863,164	223,800	48	41	11	37	10

Source: 1990 U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population and Housing, file STF3A.

Note: The median housing value, based on table H61A, is reported for owner-occupied housing units in each of the seven areas listed above. Baldwin Hills and Canoga Park are not incorporated areas, but neighborhoods within the City of Los Angeles. The median housing value reported above for these areas is the weighted average of the median housing value for each census tract in that neighborhood (weighted by the number of owner-occupied housing units in the tract).

TABLE 1A.4 LASUI Sample and 1990 Census Data for Demographic Characteristics by Race

Panel A: Non-Hispanic Whites			
	LASUI Raw	LASUI Weighted	L.A. County Eligible
Age			
Twenty-one to thirty	18%	19%	21.4%
Thirty-one to forty	24.4	25.4	22.6
Forty-one to fifty	22	23.1	17.5
Fifty-one to sixty	13	13.4	13
Sixty-one to seventy	11.5	11.1	12.8
Seventy-one to eighty	9	7.2	8.6
Eighty-one plus	2.1	0.9	4.1
Total	863	1,352	2,861,173
Education			
< high school	7	4.9	14.2
High school	24.6	23.5	22.9
Some college	34.4	35.5	33.2
B.A.	23.9	25.6	19.1
M.A., Ph.D., Prof	10.2	10.5	10.6
Total	863	1,352	2,861,173
Occupation			
Managerial, professional, specialist	43.1	46.1	39
Technical, sales, support	33.1	32.6	35.6
Service	9.7	7.9	7.7
Farm, forest, fish	1.0	0.9	0.6
Craft, repair	7.9	7.6	9.8
Operators, fabricators, laborers	5.2	4.9	7.4
Total	673	1,114	2,252,866
Nativity			
Native-born	85.6	84	86.1
Foreign-born	14.4	16	13.9
Sex			
Men	46.3	45.1	48.8
Women	53.7	54.9	51.2

(Table continues on p. 40.)

TABLE 1A.4 *Continued*

Panel B: African Americans			
	LASUI Raw	LASUI Weighted	L.A. County Eligible
Age			
Twenty-one to thirty	23.2	28.5	27.6
Thirty-one to forty	27.5	26.7	25.9
Forty-one to fifty	18.6	18.4	17.4
Fifty-one to sixty	12.3	11.8	12.6
Sixty-one to seventy	10.5	7.8	9.3
Seventy-one to eighty	6	5.7	5.2
Eighty-one plus	1.9	1.2	1.9
Total	1,119	346	630,015
Education			
< high school	19	11.7	25.1
High school	33	32.6	24.9
Some college	37.1	40	35.9
B.A.	8.7	9.1	9.5
M.A., Ph.D., Prof.	2.2	6.4	4.5
Total	1,119	346	630,015
Occupation			
Managerial, professional, specialist	21.8	24.1	22.7
Technical, sales, support	36.5	40.5	36.5
Service	25.2	22.5	17.3
Farm, forest, fish	0.6	0.5	0.8
Craft, repair	6.1	4.8	8.4
Operators, fabricators, laborers	9.6	7.6	14.1
Total	783	273	479,538
Nativity			
Native-born	96.2	92.4	95.1
Foreign-born	3.8	7.6	4.9
Sex			
Men	34.8	43	45.4
Women	65.2	57	54.6

TABLE 1A.4 *Continued*

Panel C: Latinos			
	LASUI Raw	LASUI Weighted	L.A. County Eligible
Age			
Twenty-one to thirty	40.8	38.3	39.5
Thirty-one to forty	30.1	28.6	28.1
Forty-one to fifty	14.8	16.1	14.9
Fifty-one to sixty	8.6	11.1	8.6
Sixty-one to seventy	3.6	4.1	5.5
Seventy-one to eighty	1.2	0.9	2.5
Eighty-one plus	0.8	0.7	1.0
Total	988	1,195	1,921,170
Education			
< high school	57.8	50.1	59.5
High school	22.3	23.9	18.0
Some college	13.3	17.6	16.9
B.A.	5.3	6.7	3.7
M.A., Ph.D., Prof.	1.3	1.8	1.8
Total	988	1,195	1,921,170
Occupation			
Managerial, professional, specialist	9.8	11.9	10.7
Technical, sales, support	19.7	20.9	22.3
Service	22	21.1	18.2
Farm, forest, fish	1.4	1.1	2.4
Craft, repair	14.3	14.9	15.5
Operators, fabricators, laborers	32.9	30.1	30.9
Total	814	1,013	1,542,816
Nativity			
Native-born	19.7	26.3	29.6
Foreign-born	80.3	73.7	70.4
Sex			
Men	47.9	47.8	51
Women	52.1	52.2	49

(Table continues on p. 42.)

TABLE 1A.4 *Continued*

Panel D: Asians			
	LASUI Raw	LASUI Weighted	L.A. County Eligible
Age			
Twenty-one to thirty	16.3	21.9	24.4
Thirty-one to forty	27.8	22.2	27.2
Forty-one to fifty	24.4	26.1	18.7
Fifty-one to sixty	10	11.4	13
Sixty-one to seventy	10.8	11.1	10.3
Seventy-one to eighty	8.2	6.0	4.8
Eighty-one plus	2.5	1.2	1.6
Total	1,055	240	375,633
Education			
< high school	17.6	15.1	19.1
High school	23.8	20.8	19.5
Some college	19.8	19.8	26.1
B.A.	29.4	32	23.9
M.A., Ph.D., Prof.	9.3	12.2	11.4
Total	1,055	240	375,633
Occupation			
Managerial, professional, specialist	31.8	40	34
Technical, sales, support	38.1	33	38
Service	12.1	15.6	9.8
Farm, forest, fish	0.4	0.3	1.4
Craft, repair	7.2	5.7	7.5
Operators, fabricators, laborers	10.4	5.4	9.3
Total	720	170	288,373
Nativity			
Native-born	12.3	11.5	24.3
Foreign-born	87.7	88.5	75.7
Sex			
Men	48	46.7	47.3
Women	52	53.3	52.7

Source: Los Angeles Study of Urban Inequality 1994.

Notes

1. Los Angeles County, one of California's original 27 counties, was established February 18, 1850. Los Angeles County is one of the nation's largest counties, with 4,083 square miles, an area some 800 square miles larger than the combined area of the states of Delaware and Rhode Island. Los Angeles County includes the islands of San Clemente and Santa Catalina. It is bordered on the east by Orange and San Bernardino counties, on the north by Kern County, and on the west by Ventura County, and on the south by the Pacific Ocean. Its coastline is 76 miles long. It has the largest population (9.8 million in January 1999) of any county in the nation, and is exceeded by only eight states. Approximately 29 percent of California's residents live in Los Angeles County. There are 88 cities within the county, each with its own city council. We use the terms *Los Angeles* and *Los Angeles County* interchangeably.
2. The National Advisory Panel was chaired by Robinson Hollister. The other panel members were Mary R. Jackman, Jorge Chapas, Frank Levy, Seymour Sudman, and Franklin D. Wilson.
3. Social scientists have not reached complete consensus on how to define and use the terms *race* and *ethnicity*. Commonsense usage tends to understand race as biologically based differences between human social groups, differences that are typically observable in terms of skin color, hair texture, eye shape, and other physical attributes. Ethnicity tends to be understood in more cultural terms, pertaining to such factors as language, religion, and national origin. For most social scientists, the critical aspect of concepts of race and ethnicity for social, cultural, political, and economic interactions is that both are fundamentally social constructions. Throughout this volume we conceive of race as a special case of an ethnic distinction (See and Wilson 1989). We recognize that racial and ethnic categories and labels vary over time and place in meaning and in salience. We use the terms *white*, *black* or *African American*, *Asian* or *Asian American*, and *Hispanic* or *Latino* and *Latina*. It is important to stress that each of these broad social categories conceals important subgroup differences based in nativity, national ancestry, class, gender, and other social cleavages.
4. The greater "metropolitan Los Angeles" area in this context refers to a conglomeration of smaller cities that fills a sixty-mile circle around the downtown (civic center) hub, including all or parts of four counties (Orange, Riverside, San Bernardino, and Ventura).
5. The *Bracero Program*, a contractual agreement between the United States and Mexico, allowed for Mexican nationals to serve as guest workers in the United States from 1942 through 1964. During this period, close to 4.6 million braceros participated in this arrange-

ment, many of them settling and establishing ties in the United States. After the program ended, thousands sought permanent resident alien status and/or settled permanently in the United States without documentation.

6. County level data on immigration is unavailable for 1994. The decennial census is able to capture this population every ten years during the census count, however, we have opted to use the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) records for 1994 for accuracy. The INS, however, does not collect data for Los Angeles by county but rather by the Los Angeles-Long Beach Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA). The Los Angeles-Long Beach MSA is not identical, although similar, to Los Angeles County with regard to geographic expanse and population totals (see table 1.5).
7. These data represent estimates of the resident unauthorized immigrant population residing in the United States as of October 1992. No estimates of the unauthorized immigrant population were undertaken for the years 1993, 1994, and 1995.

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A DEMOGRAPHIC PORTRAIT OF LOS ANGELES COUNTY, 1970 TO 1990

David M. Grant

UNDERSTANDING inequality at the local level in Los Angeles County is a relatively complicated matter, due to the twin forces of demographic and economic restructuring. Indeed, few if any cities on the national or world stage can match the rapid recasting of Los Angeles's social and economic landscape. The Los Angeles Study of Urban Inequality (LASUI) was designed to capture the increasingly complex reality of urban inequality on the eve of the twenty-first century. Eliciting respondents' experiences and views on racial and ethnic attitudes, labor market dynamics, and housing segregation, this survey allows competing hypotheses about the causes and dimensions of inequality to be rigorously tested. Before turning to these analyses, this chapter seeks to provide some of the recent historical context of inequality and demographic change in Los Angeles County.

Population Characteristics

More than any other single factor, Los Angeles has been transformed by rapid and large population change. This change has been driven by several demographic forces: Asian and Latino immigration, white out-migration, and differential fertility rates among native and foreign-born residents (Johnson, Oliver, and Roseman 1989; Waldinger and Bozorgmehr 1996). Between 1970 and 1990, the county's total population increased by nearly two million people while its white population decreased by 1.4 million. Of the four major racial groups, whites were the only group to undergo a decline (see figure 2.1). White population loss was due to out-migration, an older age structure, and a relatively low fertility rate. In addition, it may be related to immigration. Since 1980,