1. Introduction

Any person who lived in Southern California before 1960 but moved away for forty years might have difficulty recognizing parts of it today. In that time the population has more than doubled. Land between towns that was once empty or farmed is now occupied so that many places appear to have merged, and old downtowns of many cities have been rebuilt or remodeled. On the metropolitan fringe, shopping centers and gated tracts of new homes now replace open country. All the cities, suburbs, and small towns have become better interconnected by phones, fax machines, freeways, and commuter trains. Southern California has also seen a major loss of older heavy industry (steel, automobiles, tires, etc.) and an increase in apparel manufacturing, high-tech development facilities, large retail stores, and new office buildings. Less evident would be the underlying employment shifts that reflect urban economic restructuring.[1]

What may be the most striking change of all is the people. Since the late 1960s immigrants and their children have reshaped the region's demographic composition, have simulated its economy and politics, and have adapted culturally and economically. The population that was once overwhelmingly White, with roots in the Midwestern and Eastern United States, now looks very different and captures the diversity of peoples on this planet.

Purpose of the Book

This book takes the changes observed in the ethnic make-up of Southern Californians and shows how these have played out in different places. We do this by mapping and interpreting ethnic group distributions as of 2000 and changes that occurred during the 1990s. In our concern with tying down general processes to specific places, we are acting very much as geographers. The perspective of geography emphasizes places—the meaning of their relative locations, their changing character and its significance, and

the interconnections that weave them together as a functioning region and as a broad spatial pattern.

Changing Faces, Changing Places, then, becomes a window on the continuing evolution of the different peoples and places in urban Southern California. It builds upon our earlier volume, *The Ethnic Quilt: Population Diversity in Southern California*.[2] However, the present book tells a different story, one focusing more on recent ethnic changes in the cities and suburbs of the massive Los Angeles metropolitan area. Its maps make use of Census 2000 data to portray the most up-to-date distributions of ethnic groups that are possible. Even more useful are this book's maps of ethnic change in neighborhoods during the nineties. No such change maps were included in *The Ethnic Quilt*. Nearly all references cited in *Changing Faces, Changing Places* are different from and more recent than those used for *The Ethnic Quilt*. We hope students, scholars, and other researchers will find such recently available sources of value. On the other hand, *The Ethnic Quilt* remains the more complete source for historical details of ethnic neighborhood settlements, for comparative analyses of the socioeconomic characteristics of ethnic populations, and for explanations of immigration since 1970.

Apart from understanding recent change in Southern California for its own sake, we expect that many of our findings are applicable in a general way to other large metropolitan areas in the United States. The urban changes occurring here also characterize many other metropolitan areas, but the very large absolute numbers of Latinos and Asians in our region are exceptional. Such large populations may make incipient trends and patterns more visible or evident here than in other metropolitan areas where those numbers are smaller. This means also that what has been happening here regarding ethnic relations and patterns is likely to happen elsewhere. Thus, the patterns and findings of this book and other research on Southern California may provide glimpses into the future of metropolitan America.[3]

The Los Angeles Metropolitan Area

An interconnected area. Nearly half of all the 34 million people in California live in the area treated in this book—a five-county area including and surrounding Los Angeles. The five counties of Los Angeles, Orange, Riverside, San Bernardino, and Ventura are collectively a single massive metropolitan area, technically named by federal officials the Los Angeles-Riverside-Orange County Consolidated Metropolitan Statistical Area (CMSA). We often refer to this same area as "Southern California," "the Los Angeles metropolitan area," or "the Los Angeles CMSA."

The oldest and largest component of the five-county region is Los Angeles County, within which lies the city of the same name, the second largest city in the United States. The four outlying counties represent essentially the outer suburbs of Los Angeles County.

Suburbanization (or spatial decentralization) around Los Angeles and other older towns and cities has been taking place for over a century. Many of these formerly independent places have grown together so that little vacant land remains between them. These same decentralizing and coalescing processes have been occurring around nearly all other medium-sized and large American cities, though often not to the degree found in Southern California. Altogether, the population of the five-county Los Angeles area grew by 12 percent during the 1990s, slightly faster than the 11-percent average for the nine U.S. metropolitan areas of over five million.

People have typically moved to the suburbs to escape problems of cities such as higher crime, to find newer and cheaper single-family houses and better schools, and, in some cases, to avoid increasing numbers of poorer or different people in their neighborhoods. Most have been pleased with life in the suburbs. Residents of Orange and Ventura Counties are, on average,

more satisfied with their localities than people who live in older suburbs like the San Fernando Valley or the older portions of Los Angeles City.[4] On the other hand, those who move to more distant places like Palmdale and Victorville in the Mojave Desert or Temecula and Moreno Valley in Riverside County must often put up with very long daily commutes to work in return for the lower housing prices in those outer areas.

Although most residents of the four surrounding counties probably do not think of themselves as part of this massive metropolitan area, they are in many ways tied together with Los Angeles County. Concerts, sports events, other types of entertainment and recreation, and jobs draw people from all over the region. Major television and print-media organizations cover events across Southern California, and people visit friends and relatives on other sides of the region. Numerous businesses have branch offices in different counties but often use firms in Los Angeles County for business and professional services such as auditors, attorneys, and investment banking. All this is recognized by the federal government and by the many scholars who treat these five counties together as we do—as a single metropolitan area.[5]

Such interconnections among the five counties can be illustrated by patterns of commuting. Although these data are based on 1990, the patterns have probably changed little (Figure 1.1). The daily flows between Los Angeles and Orange Counties are exceptionally large in both directions. Over one hundred fifty thousand people make a daily trip from homes in Riverside and San Bernardino Counties to jobs in Los Angeles County, and half that number come in from Ventura County.

Comparing L. A. to other metropolitan areas. Until about thirty years ago most people writing about Los Angeles viewed it as an exceptional place, where the people and their attitudes and behaviors were different from those in other parts of the country. However, the growth of various social science disciplines, including urban geography, has prompted more comparative quantitative analysis of the characteristics of different places. The net effect has been to show that Los Angeles is not really so exceptional as was once thought. It is one of many large metropolitan areas. Whether the topic is commuting time to work, occupational structure, income growth rates, or suburban job growth, research findings do not usually show it to be an extreme case. Thus, where appropriate, we compare L.A. to other metropolitan areas, as we do frequently in our section on ethnic residential separation in chapter 7.

In its urban development over the last thirty years Los Angeles illustrates widespread patterns and processes.[6] As journalist Joel Garreau observed, "Every single American city that *is* growing, is growing in the fashion of Los Angeles, with multiple urban cores."[7] Over the country the dispersal of houses, industry, shopping centers, and office buildings into the adjacent countryside has resulted in massive sprawl extending far beyond older built-up areas. Population and employment decentralization have characterized nearly all large metropolitan areas in the United States.[8]
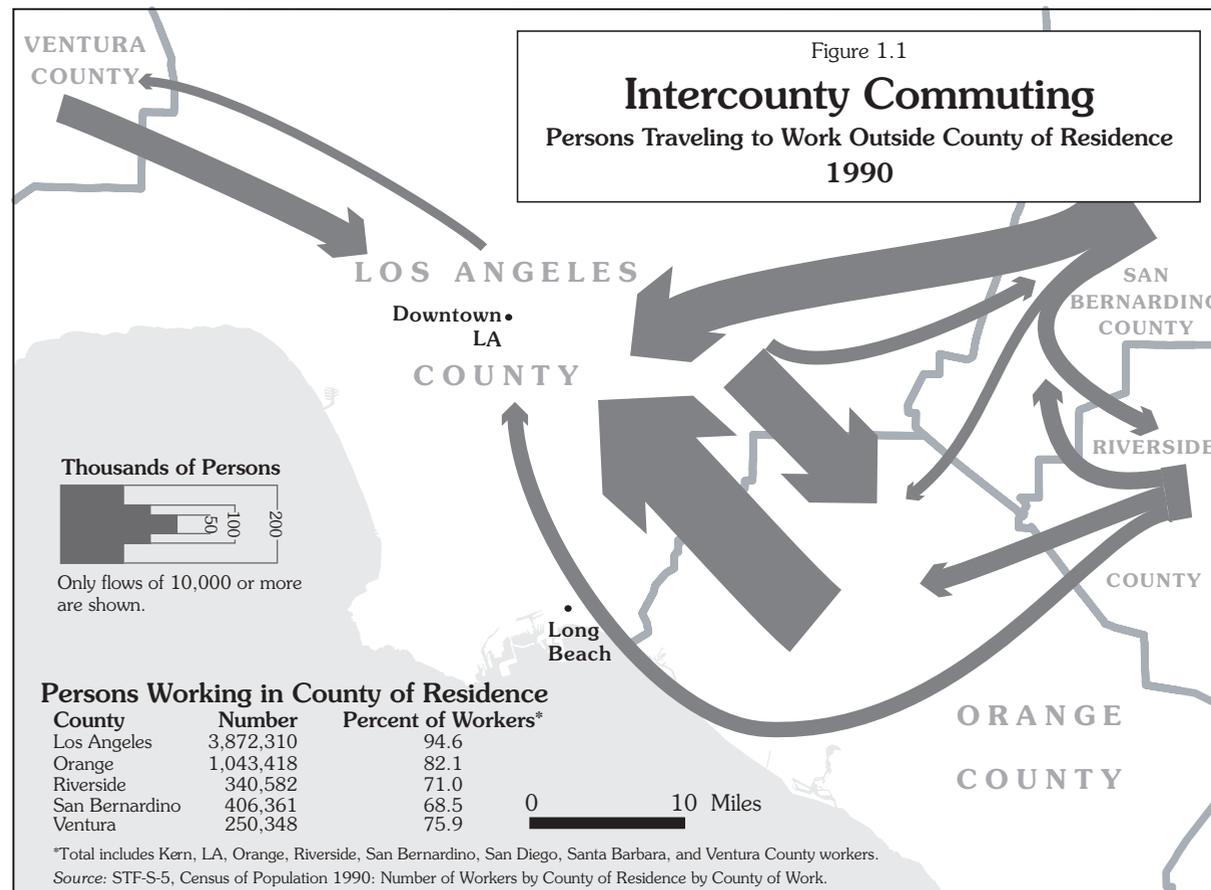
To illustrate locally, 71 percent of all the people in the five-county region lived in Los Angeles County in 1970, but by 2000 the comparable figure had dropped to 58 percent. The percentage of all the region's private-sector employment that was located in Los Angeles County dropped from 76 percent in 1972 to 64 percent in 1992.[9] Comparing rates of population and employment concentration in the Los Angeles CMSA demonstrates that residences are slightly more suburbanized than employment. However, the difference is not large and jobs may be deconcentrating more rapidly than people. Although differences in job-population proportions demonstrate the need for commuting into Los Angeles County, each county has an intricate and changing mix of housing areas and employment of different types.

Because new focuses of business and employment in "edge cities" have often appeared in outlying areas, today's metropolitan areas are often thought of as multi-centered or polycentric.[10] There are perhaps two dozen edge cities in Southern California including Century City, the Los Angeles Airport (LAX) area, Pasadena, Glendale, Warner Center in the San Fernando Valley, Irvine Spectrum in Orange County, and Ontario Center in San Bernardino County.[11] Certainly, the old notion of a single downtown or business center in a central city surrounded by its suburbs is out of date for Los Angeles and almost all other large metropolitan areas.

Our Approach

Interpretation of ethnic patterns. We interpret the mapped patterns in terms of various processes of economic and cultural change, population concentration and deconcentration, and ethnic group interrelations as these have been studied in geography, history, and the social sciences. An important characteristic of people is their socioeconomic status or social class. Ethnic groups differ greatly in average status with respect to educational attainment, occupation, and income. Thus, both social status and ethnic identity are keys to understanding residential locations of individuals and groups.

One recurring theme in *Changing Faces, Changing Places* concerns the relative residential concentration or dispersal of ethnic groups. The leading theoretical explanation of such patterns relates the cultural and economic assimilation of ethnic groups to their spatial assimilation. In essence, people with better English-language skills, education, and greater familiarity with the dominant culture (more assimilated culturally) are more likely to work in occupations that provide higher incomes (more assimilated economically), and people with these two characteristics tend to choose to move outside ethnic neighborhoods (more assimilated spatially). Familiarity with research on these matters led to our measurement of changing ethnic enclaves and guided other aspects of our interpretation.[12]

Figure 1.1

Intercounty Commuting
Persons Traveling to Work Outside County of Residence
1990

Thousands of Persons

Only flows of 10,000 or more are shown.

Persons Working in County of Residence

County	Number	Percent of Workers*
Los Angeles	3,872,310	94.6
Orange	1,043,418	82.1
Riverside	340,582	71.0
San Bernardino	406,361	68.5
Ventura	250,348	75.9

*Total includes Kern, LA, Orange, Riverside, San Bernardino, San Diego, Santa Barbara, and Ventura County workers.
Source: STF-S-5, Census of Population 1990: Number of Workers by County of Residence by County of Work.

VENTURA COUNTY

LOS ANGELES COUNTY

Downtown LA

SAN BERNARDINO COUNTY

RIVERSIDE COUNTY

Long Beach

ORANGE COUNTY

0   10 Miles

Areal coverage in maps and tables. In this book we portray the latest ethnic distributions and recent changes for the largest portion of urban and suburban Southern California. Because most of the newer suburban neighborhoods are located in those outlying counties, we wanted our maps to cover the most important parts of those counties.

Los Angeles and Orange Counties have complete coverage, but only the more densely populated portions of Riverside and San Bernardino Counties are included on our maps. In order to preserve a sufficient scale to show detailed patterns across the entire map, we had to omit more distant, less populated areas. Thus, places farther north or east in the desert (e.g., Barstow, Banning, Hemet, Indio, and Palm Springs) are not shown. Maps also do not cover a narrow, sparsely populated zone along the western edge of Ventura County. However, when tables of population numbers and statistical results are reported for specific counties, we include the entire population of the counties.

No other counties in Southern California are covered. Although the San Diego and Santa Barbara areas are part of most people's conception of Southern California, those areas are too peripheral to be included. Moreover, San Diego—separated from Orange County by open hilly country and the Camp Pendleton Marine Base—is a very large and distinct metropolitan area in its own right.

Map preparation and design. Census 2000 data used in this book were downloaded from the Census Bureau's web site. Information needed for Southern California census tracts was extracted from the P.L. 94-171 Redistricting File and Summary File 1 for California. These data were joined to census tract boundary files in Environmental Systems Research Institute's (ESRI) ArcView 3.2 geographic information system (GIS) software. Resulting choropleth and dot maps were exported from Illustrator as *eps* files and then incorporated with the text in the Quark XPress 5.0 desktop publishing program.

The mapped data are shown by census tract, an areal unit of about 4000 persons created by the Census Bureau. Both choropleth and dot maps are used. Choropleth maps show by color the percentage that an ethnic group represents within each tract's total population. The tracts' percentage values are ranked from highest to lowest and that range is then divided into classes or categories that generally represent similar proportions. Depending on the nature of the percentage distributions, maps will have either five or six percentage categories.

We wished to highlight those tracts where the group was most strongly represented because in most cases these high-percentage tracts identify ethnic enclaves and institutional focuses for the group. For maps of Whites, Mexicans, Central Americans, percent owner-occupied housing, and diversity the highest category

represents the top five percent of the tracts, the next category represents the next five percent, and the third category represents the next ten percent. For maps of Blacks, American Indians, Asians and Pacific Islanders, the five specific Asian groups, and persons of two or more races, the highest two categories represent the top five percent of the tracts. This is because the highest five percent of tracts covered such a large range of ethnic percentage values that the usual five-percent class was best split into two classes.

Because Census 2000 permitted respondents to mark more than one race, we made certain decisions regarding the treatment of mixed-race populations. Although proportionately small, the mixed-race numbers were apportioned fractionally into the component single-race groups for purposes of mapping. In the "New mixed-race data" section of chapter 2 we explain our straightforward but appropriate way to handle the dilemma posed by these data.

With respect to specific Asian groups, because the Chinese, Korean, Japanese, and Vietnamese are principally located in the more densely settled sections of Los Angeles and Orange Counties, their distributions are presented on quarter-page maps. In contrast, Filipinos are found in much greater numbers in Riverside, San Bernardino, and Ventura Counties, so that a full-page map is used for their distribution.

Dot maps are used to reveal increases or decreases in ethnic populations over the last decade. Tracts that realized a net gain were allocated a red dot for every 100 persons gained since 1990. Those that had a loss are shown by one blue dot for every 100 fewer persons in 2000. This method of mapping by red and blue dots clearly reveals where ethnic changes have occurred.

On the map of total population (Figure 3.1), we added shaded relief to indicate the major areas of hills and mountains. Knowing the locations of these less populated areas is important in understanding distributions. Shaded relief was not used on other maps because it would result in too many mixed and blurred colors.

That same map also uses three different dot values to better reveal the density of the underlying population since a single dot value typically results in either areas of solid, overlapping dots or large empty areas. Some experimentation led to our choice of break points of 10,000 and 25,000 persons per square mile between the different dot colors. This yielded a satisfactory dot pattern that also reveals where the population density is especially high.

Geographical terminology. In this book the Los Angeles metropolitan area always refers to the five-county region identified earlier in this chapter. Because some cities and counties have the same name, our references to county names always include the word "county". Thus, "Los Angeles, Riverside, and

San Bernardino" refer to those cities. Like most local residents, we sometimes use "L.A." to refer to the city of Los Angeles.

The distinction between "older" as opposed to "newer" suburbs is useful in that it usually relates somewhat to differences in location, average housing cost, and ethnic composition. We consider suburbs that were built before about 1970 to be older ones. Use of 1970 as an approximate division between old and new makes sense because both economic restructuring and increased immigration began about that time.

Enclaves. The term "enclave" means a residential clustering or concentration of an ethnic population. We focus on enclaves because their relative strength is an important characteristic of both the ethnic group and the locality. In chapters 4, 5, and 6 we compare the percentage of each ethnic group that resided in enclaves in 1990 and 2000 as indicators of trends toward either increased spatial concentration or deconcentration for the group.

Residents of enclaves are not necessarily of lower economic status or less culturally assimilated than people living outside enclaves, although this has certainly been the typical situation in the United States, both for recent immigrants and for Blacks. Rather, some ethnic enclaves may be created voluntarily by the residents so as to promote the social, cultural, and economic benefits that come with larger group settlements.[13]

There is no consensus as to how such enclaves should be measured.[14] For smaller ethnic groups we defined enclaves as all census tracts in which the group is represented at three times or more its average percentage in the total five-county population. For the two largest groups—Latinos and Whites—we measured ethnic concentration by the percentages of the group residing in each of five categories of varying ethnic proportions within the total tract population.

Ethnic identity labels. In this book we generally use the federal government's categories and terminology for ethnic groups. The categories are socially meaningful today, and most ethnic category labels are easily understood. The widely used name "Latino" is now included by the government as a synonym for the term "Hispanic". Similarly, "African American" is now an official equivalent of "Black". For each of these groups the two terms are interchangeable, although we generally use "Latino" and "Black".

Most Whites do not identify themselves as such or with the older term "Caucasian". Rather, they say that they are simply Americans. Sometimes they identify with their religious heritage or with one or more national heritages, usually in Europe or the Middle East. However, because Whites are numerically large and have held most economic power, they are an especial-

ly important ethnic group and are treated as an ethnic group in this book. To keep other ethnic labels from becoming too cumbersome, we use "Pacific Islander" rather than the new federal government term, "Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander".

The Census Bureau uses the term "ethnic" to refer particularly to groups included in the Hispanic or Latino tabulations and the term "race" to refer to the other categories we use in this book. However, we use the term "ethnic" to describe all the different populations in this book.

Because this book is oriented to ethnic identity rather than to immigration or country of birth, labels for groups include those born in the United States and others from another country. For example, "Mexican", "Black", and "Vietnamese" include both immigrants and members of the group born in the United States. When we need to distinguish immigrants from the American-born people in an ethnic group, the former are called "foreign-born" and latter, the "U.S.-born."

Acknowledgements

We appreciate the many individuals around Southern California who found *The Ethnic Quilt* useful and interesting and mentioned that they wished we could produce an update using the Census 2000 data. Their encouragement helped us carry out this new project. We hope that this book comes up to their expectations.

We asked experts on the various topics or ethnic groups covered in this book to read portions of our material and suggest improvements. Our thanks go to William A.V. Clark, Wei Li, Paul Robinson, Mary Pardo, Roberto Lovato, Joseph Holloway, and Karren Baird-Olson for giving us their insights in the form of this valuable feedback. Several excellent writers and editors in our CSUN Department of Geography helped us improve and correct earlier versions of the chapters. We appreciate very much the help that Bill Bowen, Darrick Danta, Robert Hoffpauir, Julie Laity, and Elliot McIntire provided in this regard. With respect to our concerns of Census 2000 data quality in neighborhoods, we were pleased to be able to work with Jeffrey Beckerman, demographer in the Los Angeles City Planning Department, and Javier Minjares of the Southern California Association of Governments (SCAG), and we thank them for assisting us.

Most photographs in our book were taken by Maria D. Ivey, who kindly used her expertise to provide us with photos of people in various places. David Deis of the Department of Geography Cartography Lab helped us with the shaded relief for the map of population distribution. Libby Roseman contributed the phrase "changing faces" for part of our book's title. A mini-grant from the Research and Sponsored Projects Office of CSUN helped defray the cost of color printing of the maps. We continue to appreciate the support of the CSUN Center for Geographical Studies, our publisher. For the help generously provided by all of these, we are very grateful.

Lastly, we thank our loving wives, Nancy and Carol, for their continued support despite the long hours away from them that were required in order to research and produce this book.

Notes

1. The restructuring that Los Angeles and other metropolitan areas experienced from the late 1960s through the 1980s involved several components. The most important changes were the elimination of most high-paying manufacturing jobs that had been held by workers without advanced education and the creation of new jobs in services and in electronics and computer-related manufacturing. Service-sector employment became bifurcated into high-paying positions (in finance, law, insurance, health care, entertainment, real estate, etc.) for those with the required skills and low-paying jobs (in retail sales, lawn maintenance, office cleaning, dishwashing, and similar services) for those lacking sufficient education. These job shifts reflect technological improvements, the growing importance of well-educated workers, and an increasingly globalized economy. The first and perhaps still the best examination of urban economic restructuring in Los Angeles is Soja, Morales, and Wolff (1989).

2. Allen and Turner (1997). Another difference between the 1997 book and this one is the analyses of comparative ethnic socioeconomic status, or social class, in *The Ethnic Quilt.* No Census 2000 data on income, educational attainment, or occupation or other long-form census data were available to us in time for inclusion in this book. We indicate the 2000 geography of status or class only by a map of homeownership rates for of all households and a table of homeownership rates for the major ethnic groups. Because ethnic-class relationships and comparative positions usually do not change much during a decade, we refer interested readers to our analyses of 1990 census data in our earlier book.

3. In the last twenty years there has probably been more research and writing on Los Angeles than on any other metropolitan area in the country. A good introduction by a historian to much of the recent literature on Los Angeles is Engh (2000).

4. Kelley (1999).

5. This same five-county region is one of eighteen very large metropolitan areas in the United States that resulted from the coalescing of once separate metropolitan areas. Referring to it as the Los Angeles-Riverside-Orange County Consolidated Metropolitan Statistical Area (CMSA) distinguishes it from the Los Angeles–Long Beach Primary Metropolitan Statistical Area (PMSA), which includes only Los Angeles County. In federal data on primary metropolitan areas, Riverside and San Bernardino Counties are combined into a single PMSA, but Orange and Ventura Counties each constitute their own separate PMSAs.

6. To illustrate the comparative nature of much research on Los Angeles, employment decentralization in the Los Angeles CMSA was found to be quite typical of CMSAs (Gordon and Richardson 1996). Numerous articles in scholarly journals compare Los Angeles with other metropolitan areas. A recent detailed study of metropolitan Los Angeles shows how its spatial patterns illustrate much wider urban processes (Soja 2000). Similarly, a book edited by Waldinger (2001) contains chapters that compare Los Angeles with other large metropolitan areas with regard to the situation and progress of immigrants.

7. Garreau (1991), 3.

8. Gordon and Richardson (1998), 104.

9. Gordon and Richardson (1998), 105.

10. Clark (2000); Gottdiener and Kephart (1991); Gordon et al. (1986).

11. Garreau (1991), 430-431; Giuliano and Small (1991).

12. The traditional spatial assimilation model was most thoroughly explained by Massey (1985) and is widely used in urban ethnic research, especially in sociology. We tested the traditional model in Southern California as of 1990 and suggested modifications based on that test (Allen and Turner 1996b).

13. Our perspective that enclaves may be either advantageous and positive or disadvantageous and negative is consistent with Marcuse (1997), Kempen and Ozuekren (1998), and Logan, Alba, and Zhang (2002). In contrast, social scientists have traditionally viewed enclaves as necessarily bad: enclaves reflect poverty, low levels of education, constraints on housing mobility, and sometimes White discrimination against minorities. Also, the concept of "enclave" as used here does not imply any necessary ethnic business activities in the area, as it does in certain sociology contexts.

14. Our methods of measuring enclaves are similar to those developed by Poulsen, Forrest, and Johnston (2002).