Homeownership and Residential Overcrowding of Immigrant Migrants: Southern California as a Stepping Stone for Assimilation?

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Abstract

New immigrants continue to flock to Southern California and replace settled immigrants who migrate to other parts of the United States. Even though migration is integral to immigrant assimilation having great impacts on housing markets, we know little about how immigrant migrants have fared. This paper uses microdata from the 2000 census and studies two housing outcomes of immigrant migrants—homeownership and residential overcrowding. Overall, when immigrants migrate away from Southern California, they not only show an absolute improvement over those who replace them, but also see progress relative to native-born, non-Hispanic white migrants. Immigrant migrants see assimilation at work, as they improve housing outcomes in tandem with their higher English proficiency and longer U.S. residence. While endowment differences help explain immigrants' housing deficits relative to native-borns', the two housing measures yield diverging results. Immigrants experience a significant increase in homeownership through migration, but only a small reduction in overcrowding. Residential assimilation appears more complex than previously revealed. While migration away from immigrant gateways is a stepping stone for assimilation, the progress is uneven.

Keywords: Assimilation, Homeownership, Immigrant, Migration, Overcrowding.

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Introduction

America's Immigrant population is not only growing rapidly and having significant turnover in immigrant gateways, but also greatly affecting housing markets and urban communities (James, Romine & Zwanzig, 1998). Southern California (SC), including both Los Angeles and San Diego metropolitan areas, is a typical immigrant gateway which receives a disproportionally large number of new immigrants (Clark, 2003). While new immigrants continue to flock to the region, an increasing number of settled immigrants are leaving SC and moving to other parts of the United States (Funkhouser, 2000; Frey, 2002; Singer, 2004). Even though migration is integral to assimilation and has great impacts on housing markets, we have little knowledge about how immigrant migrants have fared and whether they become more resemblant of their native-born counterparts after leaving immigrant gateways.

There have been a large number of studies on the housing outcomes and residential assimilation of immigrants or foreign-born residents (e.g., Alba & Logan, 1992; Krivo, 1995; Clark, 2003; e.g., Yu & Myers, forthcoming). Immigrants tend to have lower homeownership rates and higher levels of residential crowding than native-born residents. The literature disagrees on the persistence of the housing gaps (Coulson, 1999; Painter, Gabriel & Myers, 2001;

Borjas, 2002) and begs the question whether immigrants have housing deficits when they migrate. If immigrants improve their housing outcomes through migration, the housing gaps would shrink among migrants who left immigrant gateways. In this case, the literature may have underestimated the progress of immigrant assimilation. In addition, as Painter (2000) demonstrates, immigrants are more mobile than native-born residents and are over represented in renter samples. The traditional housing choice model may have the problem of sample selection bias which works against immigrants.

The present paper uses decennial census Public Use Microdata Samples (PUMS) to examine two housing outcomes—homeownership and residential overcrowding—between native-born and immigrant migrants who moved between 1995 and 2000. The two migrant groups compared are those who moved to SC and those who left the region.

Four sets of inter-related questions are examined. First, to what extent are immigrant and native-born migrants different in their housing outcomes? How much of the difference can be explained by their differences in endowment, such as age, income, and education? Second, for immigrants who left SC, to what degree have they improved their housing outcomes? Third, have the two housing outcomes—homeownership and residential overcrowding—been improved

simultaneously and at the same level? Fourth, have Asian and Latino immigrants had the same level of progress?

Results of this study reveal that assimilation is the main theme of immigrant migrants, as they improve housing outcomes in tandem with their higher English proficiency and longer U.S. residence. After controlling for other confounding factors, new immigrants who migrated to SC from foreign countries had the lowest homeownership probabilities and highest prevalence of residential overcrowding. In contrast, when immigrants left SC, they had both better housing outcomes and significant improvements relative to native-born migrants. While immigrants still have worse housing outcomes than native-born residents after migration, endowment differences explain part of the differences. However, the progress of assimilation is uneven. The two housing measures yield diverging results. Immigrants saw a significant increase in homeownership through migration, but only a small reduction in overcrowding. Acculturation decreases overcrowding, but does not increase homeownership. There are also diverging outcomes between Asian and Latino immigrants. Although Latinos had worse housing outcomes than Asians, they improved more rapidly. Migration is an important step in assimilation, which appears to be a multifaceted process.

Homeownership and residential overcrowding

The first measure—homeownership—is a hallmark of the middle class and a symbol of the American Dream. Research shows that homeowning not only generates positive externalities (Rohe & Stewart, 1996; Green & White, 1997; Aaronson, 2000), but also has long-lasting effects on the well-being of residents and on the life-opportunities of future generations (Boehm & Schlottmann, 1999; Conley, 2001; Rohe, Van Zandt & McCarthy, 2002). Therefore, homeownership is of significant policy concern and is fundamental to the "ownership society" agenda of the Bush Administration (2004). However, immigrants and minorities have significantly lower homeownership rates than the national average. If this trend persists, it will negatively affect national homeownership. Moreover, the literature has shown that economic factors are usually the most important determents of homeownership attainment (e.g., Wachter & Megbolugbe, 1992; Krivo, 1995; Gabriel & Rosenthal, 2005). Therefore, achieving homeownership is a leap forward in immigrants' *economic integration* and *residential assimilation* into the host society (Alba & Logan, 1992; Myers & Lee, 1998).

The second housing outcome in this analysis is residential overcrowding. While crowding is an objective indicator of household density measuring the number of occupants per room in a given household, *overcrowding* is used in

public policy as a normative standard to quantify the prevalence of crowding (Myers, Baer & Choi, 1996). More specifically, the subjective evaluation refers to households as overcrowded if household density is above a predetermined threshold. The threshold has shifted along with expanding housing availability and the changing understanding of crowding (Baer, 1976). This study follows the common practice of defining overcrowding, using 1.0 person per room as the overcrowding threshold.

While overcrowding is a key criterion in allocating federal housing subsidies (Fisher, 1959; Grigsby & Rosenburg, 1975; Fisher, 1976; Baer, 1990), the causes and consequences of overcrowding are not well understood (Baldassare, 1979; Koebel & Murray, 1999). Crowded housing is perceived to lower the quality of life and have deleterious effects on the surrounding communities. However, empirical findings are mixed on the effects (Booth & Cowell, 1976; Booth & Edwards, 1976 ; Ahrentzen, 2003). In general, immigrants have larger families than native-born residents. For immigrants, living together may also be more socially acceptable. By living in crowded conditions and pooling resources, immigrants can gain access to more favorable neighborhoods and achieve homeownership (Ahrentzen, 1996; Hemmens, Hoch & Carp, 1996; Yu & Myers, forthcoming). In contrast to the economic determinants of homeownership

attainment, social factors are more responsible for the higher levels of overcrowding among immigrants households (Angel & Tienda, 1982; Choi, 1993; Myers, Baer & Choi, 1996; Evans, Lepore & Allen, 2000). Therefore, overcrowding is used as a measure of *social adaptation* in this paper.

Previous studies

Short term gaps or persistent housing deficits

Most researchers agree that immigrants have worse housing outcomes than native-born, non-Hispanic white residents (whites), while they disagree on the persistence of the housing gaps and the extent to which the gaps can be explained by the unique characteristics of immigrants.

Krivo (1995) and Coulson (1999) discover that household attributes and metropolitan characteristics are responsible for the low homeownership rates of immigrants. However, immigrants still have significant housing gaps after accounting for other relevant factors. Borjas (2002) reveals that immigrants had a widening homeownership gap from 1980 to 2000, which is largely due to their residential location choice and changes in national origins over the past two decades. Immigrants from Latin American tend to have the largest homeownership gaps that can not be explained by other confounding factors.

On the other hand, Alba and Logan (1992) use homeownership as an indicator of residential assimilation. Their findings support the assimilation perspective, since racial/ethnic differences in homeownership are substantially attenuated once other confounding factors are controlled for. English proficiency, as a measure of acculturation, is a potent determinant of homeowning. Myers and Lee (1996; 1998) track both aging and assimilation in estimating the housing trajectories of immigrants in SC. Both Asian and Latino immigrants have experienced a steady progress in their housing outcomes, even though Latino immigrants were relatively slow to reduce overcrowding.

Recent studies have shown that the literature has failed to account for the fact that new immigrants are more mobile and tend to cluster in immigrant gateways (Painter, Gabriel & Myers, 2001; Painter, Yang & Yu, 2003). After controlling for this sample selection bias, most immigrants catch up rapidly in immigrant gateways and would have homeownership probabilities similar to native-born white residents in a decade or two after their arrival in the U.S. The literature, however, has not looked into immigrant migrants and whether they have worse housing outcomes than native-born households who made similar moves. If immigrants become more adapted over time, they should not only

improve their housing outcomes over time, but also shrink housing gaps with their native-born counterparts after leaving immigrant gateways.

Competing views on the domestic migration of immigrants

The housing outcomes of immigrant migrants are also linked to a broader intellectual debate on the effects of immigrants on the host society. Most new immigrants initially settle in immigrant gateways. Through migration, settled immigrants will move on and disperse across the metropolitan United States (Newbold, 1999b).

There are competing views, however, regarding the effects of migration. On one side, studies suggest that migration has the potential to create "barbell economies" and lead to "demographic balkanization" in the United States (Frey, 1995, , 2002). In addition, migration may hinder the progress of assimilation and perpetuate economic disparities (Frey, 1996). This conclusion is based on the finding that immigrant migrants have lower socioeconomic status than native-born residents in migration destinations. Such discrepancies appear to persist after immigrants migrated from their initial settlement in immigrant gateways.

On the other side of the debate, many researchers hold more positive views, suggesting immigrant migration may not necessarily lead to economic fragmentation (Ellis & Wright, 1998; Newbold, 1999a). Immigrant migration is an

important intermediate step in the assimilation process (Funkhouser, 2000; Greenwood, Klopfenstein & McDowell, 2002).

Another debate is on the theory of *assimilation*. Alba and Nee (1997; 2003) have defended a multidimensional conception of assimilation, such as proposed by Gordon (1964), and highlight assimilation as a process or direction, rather than an end state achievement. Overall, they define assimilation as a process by which ethnic differences attenuate and eventually disappear. Despite some weaknesses, the theory of assimilation seems to still be the main theoretical framework under which sociological research is conducted on racial/ethnic inequality and immigrants' incorporation into the host society.

The counter argument is *stratification* or *segmentation* which refers to the persistency of the differences across ethnic groups and between immigrant and native-born residents. Empirical findings unusually highlight the challenges that face ethnic minorities and immigrants in their incorporation into the U.S. society (Zhou, 1997; South, Crowder & Chavez, 2005). The concept of stratification and segmentation is also used to depict the diverse possible outcomes of the adaptation process (Portes & Zhou, 1993).

Despite much research on immigrant migration, little effort has been directed to assess the housing outcomes of immigrant migrants. Although

immigrant migrants are likely to have inferior housing outcomes than native-born migrants, migration may enhance the upward mobility of immigrants in housing markets and reduce the differences between immigrants and native-born residents.

Limitations of existing studies

Most studies on the housing outcomes of immigrants have either used a national sample or focused on specific metropolitan areas. Studies that use *national* samples tend to show that, relative to native-born residents, immigrants have large, long-lasting gaps in housing outcomes (e.g., Coulson, 1999; Borjas, 2002). This conclusion may be problematic, since immigrants cluster in selected gateway metropolitan areas and most new immigrants begin their American journey in these gateways. Different from those of native-born residents, immigrants choose gateways as their initial settlement for ethnic support. However, immigrant gateways tend to have high housing prices and low homeownership rates. It is, therefore, not surprising that immigrants have lower homeownership and live in more crowded conditions than average Americans, most of whom live outside gateways.

On the other hand, many studies have focused on specific metropolitan areas where there are large immigrant populations (e.g., Alba & Logan, 1992;

Painter, Gabriel & Myers, 2001). These studies tend to show that immigrants experience strong upward mobility in the housing market. However, there are potential limitations with this kind of studies, because the study areas are not closed and people are migrating to and away from the study areas. If in-migrants are systematically different from out-migrants, residential turnover could confound research findings.

Among immigrants, in-migrants to SC may indeed be different from out-migrants. First, compared with in-migrants, out-migrants are older and more likely to be settled immigrants with families. Second, migrants are self-selected. Out-migrants are in general more adapted to the U.S. and less reliant on ethnic supports and immigrant networks (Kritz & Nogle, 1994). Third, immigrants, who tend to be first-time homebuyers, are most likely to suffer from housing affordability problems in SC (Sweeney, 2000; Mohan, 2004; Simon & Hart, 2004). Immigrants are able to improve their housing opportunities by moving to places of lower housing prices and higher homeownership rates. To address these issues, this study focuses on inter-metropolitan migrants only.

Data and the geography of the study area

This analysis relies on data from the 5 percent Public Use Microdata Sample (PUMS) file of the 2000 decennial censuses downloaded from Integrated

Public Use Microdata Series (Ruggles & Sobek, 2003). The samples are limited to those householders that are aged between 18 and 74 and in four major racial/ethnic groups. The sample households are classified into four racial/ethnic groups, which are non-Hispanic white, non-Hispanic black, non-Hispanic Asians and Pacific Islanders (Asians), and Latinos (Hispanics). Multiracial residents and those who do not belong to the aforementioned groups are excluded. About 4.8 percent of all household observations are excluded by this restriction.

The paper investigates housing outcomes of recent movers or households that changed their residence in the five years leading up to the 2000 census. The sample includes both immigrant and native-born migrants. A key issue in the analysis is how to measure the progress of immigrant migrants. It is unfair to compare the housing outcomes of migrants with their housing status prior to migration, since migrants need to take time to make adjustment to their new place. In the short run, migrants usually have a much lower homeownership rate than before. Nor is it suitable to compare migrants who moved away from SC with those who moved within the region. Intra-metropolitan movers are *intrinsically different* from inter-metropolitan movers (Rossi, 1955; Quigley & Weinberg, 1977). Intra-metropolitan movers have better knowledge of local housing markets and need little adjustment after their moves.

To address these concerns, this analysis makes a number of comparisons. First, I use in-migrants to SC as reference and examine how out-migrants have fared. Second, I compare immigrant migrants with native-born migrants. Third, I look at the extent Asian and Latino immigrant migrants are different from each other and different from white migrants. Fourth, I investigate how migration origin/destination has affected the housing outcomes of migrants. I not only assess the absolute changes in housing outcomes between the two groups of migrants, but also measure the progress of immigrants relative to those of native-born migrants and native-born, non Hispanic white migrants. Since this study focuses on migrants, sample selection is no longer a concern.

For out-migrants from SC, their migration destinations are separated into two groups. The first group is other immigrant gateways. In addition to the two gateway metropolitan areas in Southern California, the other six gateways include Greater Boston, Chicago, Miami, New York, San Francisco, and Washington metropolitan areas. These metropolitan areas not only have a large immigrant population but also are the largest migration destinations for new immigrants. In addition, these metropolitan areas usually have high housing cost and low homeownership rates.

The second group of migration destination is heartland metropolitan areas, which include 50 metropolitan areas and have large number of in-migrants from Southern California. (See Appendix 1 for a full list of the metropolitan areas included in the study.) In contrast to immigrant gateways, heartland metropolitan areas are usually smaller in size, having lower housing prices and higher homeownership rates. About 87 percent of all immigrant migrants who left SC moved to these two groups of metropolitan areas in the late 1990s. This selection excludes seasonal foreign-born migrant workers from the sample.

Analysis

Table 1 reports population sizes by immigrant status and geographical locations in 2000. There are large differences in the absolute and relative sizes of population across the regions. Immigrants are very much clustered in the eight gateway metropolitan areas, in which live 56 percent of all U.S. immigrants and only 26 percent of the U.S. population. Said differently, 25 percent of all residents in the gateway metropolitan areas are immigrants, 14 percentage points higher than the national average. In addition, about one in four residents in gateway metropolitan areas is an immigrant. In contrast, the number for the whole U.S. is only one in ten.

Most new arrivals choose gateways as their initial settlement, where they can find ethnic communities and their compatriots to facilitate their early transition into the new country. However, there are differences between gateway metropolitan areas. Only 18 percent of all immigrants in SC came in the 1990s, 16 percentage points lower than the average rate of the other six gateway metropolitan areas. This was due to a slowdown in the arrival of new immigrants to SC in the late 1990s (Park, Myers & Ryu, 2004). While SC attracted relatively small numbers of new immigrants in recent years, it still has a huge immigrant population. The immigrant share of total population in SC is 30 percent, which is significantly higher than that average rate in all gateways.

(Table 1 about here)

In contrast to immigrant gateways, metropolitan areas outside gateways have experienced a significant growth in immigrant populations in recent years. New ethnic communities are bourgeoning to accommodate the growing immigrant population. While the immigrant population is growing rapidly, it is still a relatively small share of the total population. New immigrants are only one percent of the total population outside gateways.

Migration from and to Southern California

There was a significant residential turnover in SC in the late 1990s. Out-migrants slightly outnumbered in-migrants by about 31,000 households (See Figure 1).

(Figure 1 about here)

With respect to the racial/ethnic composition of migrants, there are large differences across groups. Whites were the largest group followed by Latinos. Blacks were the smallest of the four racial/ethnic groups. Asians were the only group in SC that had a net gain as a result of migration. Asian in-migrants to SC outnumbered out-migrants by two to one, which led to a net gain of 42,000 Asian households. Figure 1 also shows a similar number of Asian and Latino in-migrants, but a much larger exodus of Latinos from the region. Different from Latinos, most Asians were foreign-born and came to the United States recently.

Table 2 reveals large variations between native-born and foreign-born migrants in terms of migration origins and destinations. Most immigrants, who recently moved to SC, came directly from foreign-countries. As an immigrant gateway, SC receives a large number of new immigrants. Of immigrants who recently moved to SC, 65 percent were new immigrants who arrived in the U.S.

between 1990 and 2000. As a comparison, only 28 percent of immigrants who left the region were new immigrants.

(Table 2 about here)

Homeownership rates and the level of overcrowding

Table 3 reports the housing outcomes of two sets of migrants—those who moved to SC and those who left the region between 1995 and 2000. Migrants are separately grouped into native-born and foreign-born. The table compares out-migrants with in-migrants to SC, revealing significant increases in homeownership rates among out-migrants, but almost no change in the prevalence of overcrowding.

Among in-migrants to SC, immigrant migrants had the lowest homeownership rate (13.7 percent) and the highest rate of overcrowding (29.4 percent) if they came directly from foreign countries. Migrants who left SC saw significant improvement over those who recently moved in. In particular, migrants to outside gateways seem to have better outcomes than migrants to other gateways. This is not surprising given gateways tend to have higher housing prices and lower homeownership rates.

While immigrant migrants have a large increase (9.6 points) between in-migrants and out-migrants, the increase is no longer large when compared with

that of native-born migrants (8.1 points). Counter-intuitively, Table 3 also shows that, among immigrant migrants, out-migrants were one point higher in their crowding rates than in-migrants to SC. The rates reported here are only raw numbers.

(Table 3 about here)

While Table 3 presents overall changes in housing outcomes by immigrant status, the preliminary conclusion drawn from the table may be misleading. This is because there are large differences in racial/ethnic composition between in-migrants and out-migrants. Therefore, it is necessary to focus on individual ethnic groups for more specific comparisons.

The literature has suggested that assimilation must be measured with reference to the basic assimilation goal (Gordon, 1964). Since the literature has largely considered native-born, non-Hispanic whites as the reference group, I include this group in Table 4. In addition, this table includes Asian and Latino immigrants, since most immigrants belong to these two ethnic groups.

Table 4 reports the rates of homeownership and overcrowding of three migrant groups, which include native-born, non-Hispanic whites, Asian immigrants and Latino immigrants. Compared with in-migrants to SC, Asian and Latino immigrants who left the region saw 7 and 13 percentage point increases in

homeownership rates respectively. In contrast, white migrants had a 10.5 point increase. While mirroring the homeownership results in Table 3, Asian and Latino immigrants experienced 5.2 and 2.6 percentage point reduction in overcrowding rates. As a comparison, white migrants had extremely low rates of overcrowding (2 percent). Despite much improvement, immigrants still have lower homeownership rates and substantially higher prevalence of overcrowding than native-born whites after leaving SC.

(Table 4 about here)

These observations drawn from Tables 3 and 4 may not reveal the whole picture, since they are aggregate values and not controlled for other confounding factors, such as socioeconomic status, human capital, and housing prices. The key issue is the extent to which the housing differences can be explained by the unique characteristics of immigrants, such as relative newness, low socioeconomic status, and living in high housing cost areas. The following section controls for these confounding factors.

Housing choice model

This part of the analysis uses multivariate models to compare housing outcomes of different migrant groups, while controlling for factors that are relevant to housing choices. Assume that there exists a latent variable H_i which

measures the propensity to own (set to one if the household lives in owner-occupied housing, and zero otherwise) or the propensity to live in overcrowding housing (set to one if the household lives in overcrowded housing, and zero otherwise). The two housing outcome variables are separately regressed on a vector of demographic, economic and other factors affecting the housing decision, as represented in the following equation.

$$H_i = X_i \beta + \varepsilon_{1i},$$

where X_i is a vector of socioeconomic and demographic characteristics, β is its associated coefficient vector, and i represents each household in the sample. I use logit regression to estimate the probabilities of homeowning or overcrowding.

Independent Variables

A number of factors are in play behind the housing choices of immigrants. Following the voluminous literature, I include a number of independent variables in the model. The variables are demographic factors (age group, race-ethnicity, marital status, household compositions, migration origin and history), economic factors (household income, education level of the householder), and variables to capture local housing market conditions (housing price and rent).

This paper uses PUMA (Public Use Micro Area) in migration destinations as the geographical unit of local housing market. PUMA is the smallest geography available in the census PUMS (Public Use Microdata Sample). Each PUMA is a large residential district encompassing at least 100,000 residents, and this has been shown to be highly usable in delineating residential district and local housing market (e.g., Allen & Turner, 1996; Painter, Yang & Yu, 2003, , 2004). Following Gyourko and Linneman (1996), housing price and rent are measured at the PUMA level. High housing prices discourage homeownership, while low rent increase rentership. Previous studies have also shown that gateways are detrimental to homeownership (e.g., Krivo, 1995; Coulson, 1999; Borjas, 2002). It is unclear, however, whether the negative effects still exist after controlling for housing price and rent.

Also included are factors associated with assimilation. First, the models use immigrant status and immigrants' duration of stay in the United States. At first arrival, one of the major challenges that immigrants face is the lack of preparedness for the U.S. housing market. As the length of stay in the U.S. extends, immigrants will improve economically and progress in the housing market. Different from previous studies (e.g., Alba & Logan, 1992; Krivo, 1995; Coulson, 1999), however, I treat duration as a set of dummy variables at five or

ten year intervals. Such a setting is more refined in capturing the non-linearity of the assimilation process. In addition, I include English proficiency that describes whether the head of the household speaks only English at home, speaks English well, or not well. More acquainted immigrants usually speak English well, which enables them to negotiate mortgage deals, extend their residential choices beyond ethnic enclaves, and expand their housing opportunities after migration. In addition, speaking only English at home suggests a high degree of acculturation to the United States (Massey, 1985; Alba & Logan, 1992; Alba, et al., 1999). If assimilation is at work, immigrants should improve their housing outcomes commensurate with their English proficiency and duration of stay in the U.S.

Summary statistics

Table 5 presents summary statistics of the variables used in the regression models. The first three columns report all movers, native-born movers, and immigrant movers respectively. Overall, 30 percent of the households in the full sample own their homes, which is significantly lower than the average homeownership rate of non-movers. Comparing columns 2 and 3, immigrants have lower homeownership rates, significantly higher prevalence of overcrowding, and a larger household size. Compared with native-born migrants, immigrants also tend to be Asians and Latinos, younger, less educated

and married households with lower English proficiency and lower income and wealth. These differences may help explain some of the housing gaps between native-born and immigrant households.

(Table 5 about here)

The last two columns of Table 5 respectively summarize those who recently moved to SC and those who recently left the region. Compared with in-migrants, out-migrants are 10 percentage points higher in homeownership rates and slightly lower in the prevalence of overcrowding. On average, out-migrants also have higher English proficiency, larger household size, more workers, and lower housing prices and rent. It is unclear the extent to which the housing outcomes are affected by these confounding factors.

Multivariate results

Tables 6 and 7 present logit estimates for the models of homeownership attainment and the prevalence of overcrowding respectively. There are three columns in each of the two tables. The three columns respectively report the results in households that recently moved to SC (in-migrants), in households that recently left SC to other gateways or to selected metropolitan areas outside gateways (out-migrants), and in the full sample (including both in-migrants and out-migrants). Within each column, there are three sets of information reported:

logit coefficients, statistical significance of respective coefficient, and odds ratio relative to the reference group (omitted category). The reference household is chosen to be white, married, aged 25-34, with a high school diploma, and a non-immigrant. For immigrants, the reference group is Latino immigrants who came to the U.S. between 1995 and 2000 and who spoke English well.

Estimation of homeownership

Table 6 reports the results of homeownership attainment, which are largely consistent with the tenure choice literature (e.g., Coulson, 1999; e.g., Painter, Gabriel & Myers, 2001; Borjas, 2002). Among demographic and economic variables, higher ages, being married, having larger households, higher household income and investment income, higher levels of education, all increase the likelihood of owning a home. Meanwhile, living in areas of high housing prices and lower rents decreases homeownership probabilities. Compared with white migrants, minority and immigrant migrants are less likely to own a home. Latino immigrants have lower homeownership probabilities than Asian immigrants.

(Table 6 about here)

Findings reveal strong upward mobility among immigrants and lend support to the assimilation perspective. Immigrants have lower homeownership

probabilities than native-born migrants, but the differences attenuate with immigrants' duration of U.S. residence. More specifically, after controlling for race/ethnicity and other factors, the negative effect of being an immigrant gradually lessens and then disappears among immigrants who have been in the United States for about 15-20 years.

Also consistent with the assimilation perspective is the finding that English proficiency is positively associated with homeownership among immigrants (Alba & Logan, 1992; Krivo, 1995). Column 3 of Table 6 shows that the odds of being homeowners in immigrants who do not speak English well are only 64 percent of those immigrants who speak English well. However, for immigrants, speaking only English *does not* further increase homeownership probabilities over speaking English well. In other words, acculturation does not automatically translate into further economic integration.

Now, let us look at migration variables. Migration origin is a determinant of immigrant's homeownership; immigrants moved directly from foreign-countries have the lowest homeownership. Their odds of being homeowners are significantly lower than the odds of those who moved from within the U.S. (column 3). New immigrants are penalized in the housing market for coming directly from foreign countries, even after controlling for other confounding

factors such as their newness, low socioeconomic status, and the housing market conditions.

Migration destination also matters in homeownership attainment; migrating to other gateways is detrimental to homeownership. In other words, for the two groups of out-migrants, those who migrated to other immigrant gateways have lower homeownership probabilities than those who moved to outside gateways. Presumably, housing markets in immigrant gateways are not conducive to homeowning, given their high housing price and low availability of owner-occupied housing, a situation similar to that in SC. These results are notable, because the model has controlled for housing price and rent.

Furthermore, Asian immigrants have lower homeownership probabilities than Latino immigrants when they left SC. This finding is remarkable, because Asian immigrants in general have significantly higher homeownership rates than Latino immigrants. One possible explanation is that Latinos are more matured in SC than Asians and start to leave the region in large numbers. Evidently, Asian in-migrants to SC significantly outnumbered Asian out-migrants. The contrary is true for Latino immigrants.

Estimation of residential overcrowding

Table 7 shows the logit estimates of migrants' overcrowding rates. The results are again largely consistent with the literature (e.g., Krivo, 1995; Myers & Lee, 1996; Rosenbaum & Friedman, 2004). Higher ages, being not married, having higher household income and investment income, higher levels of education, lower house prices, and higher rents all decrease the likelihood of overcrowding.

(Table 7 about here)

Somewhat different from the results of homeownership attainment, minority and immigrant migrants are much more likely to live in overcrowded conditions than native-born whites. Latino immigrants have an extremely high prevalence of overcrowding. Column 3 shows that immigrants' odds of living in overcrowding conditions are 3.69 times higher than the odds of native-born migrants. Although the differences gradually attenuate as immigrants' duration in the U.S. extends, the gaps exist even among those have been in the U.S. for several decades.

Different from the homeownership result is the fact that acculturation facilitates social adaptation and reduces overcrowding rates. As expected, speaking English well does substantially decrease the probability of overcrowding among immigrants. In stark contrast to the finding in the tenure

choice model, speaking only English further decreases the probability of overcrowding over speaking English well.

While migrants from foreign countries have the highest level of overcrowding, migration destination does not seem to matter much in residential crowding. Evidently, no migration destination variables are statistically significant. Different from the tenure choice model, the results presented here provide weaker support for the assimilation perspective and social adaptation may take much longer than economic integration.

The progress of migrants' homeownership

Results shown in Tables 6 and 7 raise an important question: to what extent out-migrants from Southern California improve their housing outcomes relative to in-migrants? It is difficult to address this question in the framework of complex equations, given the difficulty of explaining interactions and logit coefficients. I therefore use a process of standardization to control for differences among groups in the determinants of housing outcomes. The decomposition technique has been used in the study of labor market discrimination (Oaxaca, 1973), intra-metropolitan household location (Gabriel & Rosenthal, 1989), and housing outcomes (Wachter & Megbolugbe, 1992; Coulson, 1999; Bostic & Surette, 2001). This method attributes the endowments (such as income, human

capital, household structure, housing prices and rent, and immigrant status) of the whole sample to each of the households in specific groups. For example, in the sample of immigrant migrants, I use the coefficients from the immigrant migrant sample and attribute the endowment of the whole sample to those households. In the comparison, native-born migrants are used as the reference group. To the extent that the measured gaps in homeownership and overcrowding are due to gaps in the endowment of immigrant migrants, the simulated gap should close.

Tables 8 and 9 show the results of this method for attributing the income, the education, and all characteristics of the whole migrant sample to individual groups. For a better comparison, simulated values in Tables 8 and 9 are presented in the same categories as those in Tables 3 and 4. Table 8 separately reports for foreign-born and native-born migrants, while Table 9 shows three specific migrant groups: whites, Asian immigrants, and Latino immigrants. In these two tables, native-born migrants and native-born white migrants are the reference groups respectively. Both tables separately report in-migrants to SC and out-migrants.

(Tables 8 and 9 about here)

I first compare the results between Table 3 and Table 8. After taking endowment differences into consideration, homeownership differences between native-born in-migrants and native-born out-migrants drop from 8.1 points to 1.9 points. In other words, native-born migrants have a similar propensity for homeownership no matter where their migration destination is. It is therefore appropriate to use native-born migrants as reference. In contrast, immigrant migrants still had a 7.3 point increase in their predicted homeownership rates. Immigrant migrants not only had an increase in homeownership rates on an absolute basis, but also a significant improvement relative to that of native-born migrants. This finding seems to suggest that migration has facilitated immigrant assimilation and that SC is stepping stone for immigrant assimilation. In the next section, we disaggregate foreign-born migrants and further test the results.

Table 9 shows more specific migrant groups and uses native-born white migrants as the reference group. The results show that Latino rates are much higher than their actual rates in Table 4. In other words, endowment gap, to a large degree, explains why Latino immigrants have a low homeownership rates. Latino immigrants would have significantly higher homeownership rates than their actual numbers, if they had the same endowment as other groups.

Results again show that migration helps improve immigrant's homeownership. Compared with in-migrants, native-born white out-migrants had little changes in homeownership. In contrast, Asian and Latino migrants saw 5.5 and 7.9 point increases respectively. Latino immigrants had a bigger improvement than Asian immigrants. Consistent with Tables 3 and 4, immigrants to SC from foreign countries had the lowest homeownership, while migrants to outside gateways had a higher homeownership rates than those who moved to other gateways.

Changes in the prevalence of overcrowding

Tables 8 and 9 show little change in overcrowding rates between in-migrants and out-migrants. While immigrants migrated to SC from foreign-countries have the highest prevalence of overcrowding, migration destinations do not seem to matter in overcrowding. Latino immigrants had significantly higher probabilities of living in overcrowded condition than Asian immigrants. Based on the measure of residential overcrowding, migration does not appear to help much in immigrant assimilation.

Summary of findings

Overall, what is the assessment of immigrant migrants with respect to their housing outcomes? The results suggest that in general immigrants have worse housing outcomes than native-born migrants. Accounting for housing markets and endowment differences explains part of the housing gaps between native-born and immigrant migrants.

So, does out-migration lead to assimilation or stratification among immigrants? Results suggest that out-migration from SC is an important step of assimilation, ameliorating the housing differences between immigrant arrival cohorts and between native-born and immigrant households. Immigrants who left SC have higher homeownership than those who replaced them. Also supporting the assimilation perspective is the finding that immigrants improve their housing outcomes rapidly, commensurate with their higher English proficiency and longer duration of stay in the country.

The two housing measures yield different results on the prospects of assimilation. First, the homeownership gaps between native-born and immigrant households disappear among immigrants who have lived in the United States for one or two decades. In contrast, immigrants, especially Latino immigrants, have a high prevalence of residential overcrowding. Such gaps exist even among those

who have been in the U.S. for several decades. Second, immigrants experience a much larger increase in homeownership rates than the reduction of overcrowding. Third, acculturation, indicated by speaking only English, further reduces overcrowding, but it does not increase immigrants' homeownership rates over speaking English well.

There are new findings. Among out-migrants from SC, Latino immigrants had a higher homeownership than Asian immigrants. This may also explain why Asian immigrants have a significantly higher homeownership probabilities than Latino immigrants in SC (Painter, Gabriel & Myers, 2001; Painter, Yang & Yu, 2003). It is possible that well-off Latinos are more likely to leave SC. The literature may have underestimated the progress of Latino assimilation.

Conclusions

Immigrants are playing an increasingly important role in the metropolitan United States. Through internal migration, the impact of immigration will spread far beyond immigrant gateways. This study has investigated immigrant migrants and compared in-migrants to Southern California with out-migrants from the region. Immigrant migrants are also compared with native-born migrants in their housing outcomes.

Research findings have revealed a positive role of migration in immigrant assimilation. Endowment differences help explain the housing deficits of immigrants in general and Latino immigrants in particular. Higher English proficiency and longer duration in the U.S. would significantly improve the homeownership probabilities of immigrants. Research results also support SC as a stepping stone for immigrants' assimilation in the housing market. However, the progress is uneven. Although immigrants experience significant increases in homeownership, they still have high levels of residential overcrowding after migration. There are also diverging outcomes between Asian and Latino immigrants. Latinos started from initially lower level and had larger improvement than Asian immigrants who made the same move. The contrasting findings confirm that assimilation is a dynamic and multilayered process. Different aspects of assimilation may occur simultaneously, but at varying paces. It is possible that immigrants have quickly integrated with the U.S. society in economic front, while still having a strong affinity with their country of origin on social issues. In this sense, economic integration appears to proceed faster than social adaptation.

The research contributes to the assimilation literature, by emphasizing the need to focus on the temporal dimension of assimilation and recognize migration

as an important stage in immigrant assimilation. Contrary to some previous studies, the results suggest that migration does not inhibit assimilation. Assimilation occurs across space, over time, and when upwardly mobile immigrants migrate away from immigrant gateways.

Immigrant dispersion to the heartland could help mitigate the growing imbalance of population distribution in the U.S. While some regions have a large growth in immigrant population, other regions are struggling to retain their attractiveness as affluent native-born residents flee to the outer suburbs and migrate to the sun-belt. It may be a viable strategy for those localities to attract immigrant migrants to combat the problem of depopulation.

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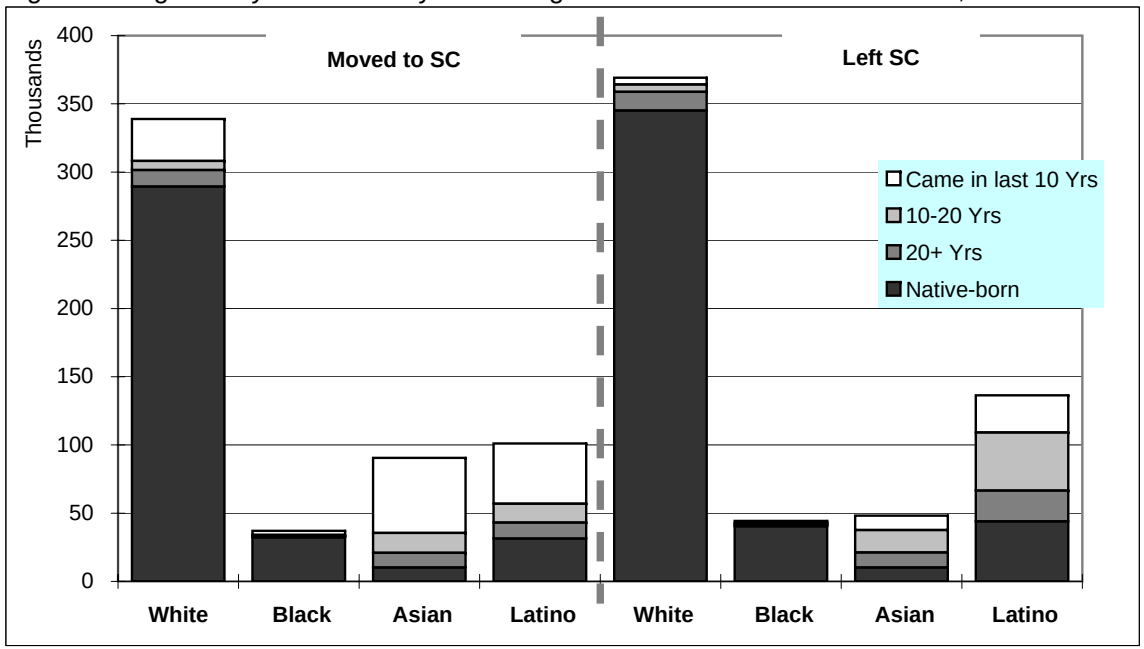
Figure 1 . Migrants by race/ethnicity and immigrant status in Southern California, 2000



Note: Migrant households refer to those households that moved between 1995 and 2000.

Householder age is limited between 18 and 75.

Source: 2000 Census PUMS 5% Microdata

Table 1 . Population by immigrant status and geographical locations, 2000

Geography	New arrivals* Number	%	Total immigrants Number	%	Total population Number	%	% new arrivals of total immigrants	% immigrant of total population	% new arrivals of total population
Immigrant gateways									
Southern California	997,805	13	5,673,869	18	19,187,478	7	18	30	5
Other immigrant gateways**	4,006,654	53	11,811,332	38	54,700,318	19	34	22	7
Outside gateways***	2,577,482	34	13,622,688	44	207,534,110	74	19	7	1
United States	**7,581,941**	**100**	**31,107,889**	**100**	**281,421,906**	**100**	**24**	**11**	**3**

Source: Census 2000 SF3

Note: * New arrivals refer to immigrants who came in the U.S. in the last 5 years or between 1995 and 2000.

** Other gateways refer to 6 metropolitan areas, which are Boston-Worcester-Lawrence, MA-NH-ME-CT CMSA, Chicago-Gary-Kenosha, IL-IN-WI CMSA, Miami-Fort Lauderdale, FL CMSA, New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-CT-PA CMSA, San Francisco-Oakland-San Jose, CA CMSA, and Washington-Baltimore, DC-MD-VA-WV CMSA.

Table 2 . Number of migrant households by migrantion origins and destinations and immigrant status

Migration destinations	Native-born	Foreign-born	Total	% foreign-born of total
Moved to Southern California	**390,984**	**207,866**	**598,850**	**35**
From foreign countries	29,596	137,403	166,999	82
From within the US	361,388	70,463	431,851	16
Left Southern California	**467,322**	**154,935**	**622,257**	**25**
To other gateways	80,765	35,234	115,999	30
To outside gateways	386,557	119,701	506,258	24

Source: Census 2000 5% PUMS - Sample Data

Note: Householder age is limited between 18 and 75.

Table 3. Homeownership rates and the prevalence of residential overcrowding by immigrant status and migration destinations

	Homeownership rates		**The prevalence of overcrowding** (>1.0 person/room)	
Migration destinations	Native-born	Foreign-born	Native-born	Foreign-born
Moved to Southern California*	**30.9**	**20.1**	**3.2**	**24.8**
From foreign countries		13.7		29.4
From within the US		32.4		16.1
Left Southern California**	**39.0**	**29.7**	**3.4**	**25.7**
To Other Gateways	31.4	24.7	3.1	21.2
To Outside Gateways	41.9	32.0	3.5	27.8

Source: Census 2000 5% PUMS - Sample Data

Note: For a full list of metropolitan areas, refer to Appendix 1.

* Include households who moved from within the U.S. and from foreign countries.
** Include households who moved away from Southern California and moved to other gateways or selected metropolitan areas outside gateways

Table 4. Homeownership rates and the prevalence of residential overcrowding of native-born whites, Asian immigrants, and Latino immigrants by migration destinations

	Homeownership rates			**The prevalence of overcrowding** (>1.0 person/room)		
Migration destinations	Native-born White*	Asian immigrant**	Latino immigrant***	Native-born White	Asian immigrant	Latino immigrant
Moved to Southern California****	**33.1**	**23.8**	**13.3**	**2.0**	**22.3**	**39.1**
From foreign countries		16.7	9.2		27.5	42.5
From within the US		37.0	22.5		12.5	31.2
Left Southern California****	**43.6**	**30.5**	**27.2**	**2.0**	**17.1**	**36.5**
To Other Gateways	34.9	28.7	19.2	1.9	14.6	36.5
To Outside Gateways	46.9	31.9	29.5	2.0	19.0	36.5

Source: Census 2000 5% PUMS - Sample Data

Note: For a full list of metropolitan areas, refer to Appendix 1.

* Native-born White refer to those who were born in the U.S. and who are white only of non-Hispanic origin.

** Asian immigrant refer to those who were born in a foreign country and who are Asian or Pacific Islander only and who are of non-Hispanic origin.

*** Latino immigrant refer to those who were born in a foreign country and who are of Hispanic origin and may be of any race.

**** Include households who moved from within the U.S. and from foreign countries.

***** Include households who moved away from Southern California and moved to other gateways or selected metropolitan areas outside gateways.

Table 5. Variable Summary Statistics (Migrants of Southern California)

	Full Sample	Native-born	Foreign-born	Moved to Southern California	Left Southern California
Ownership Rate	0.312	0.349	0.234	0.271	0.374
Overcrowding Rate	0.105	0.033	0.256	0.110	0.096
Age Groups					
Age 18-24	0.134	0.139	0.123	0.147	0.114
Age 25-34	0.351	0.345	0.362	0.365	0.328
Age 35-44	0.254	0.242	0.279	0.239	0.277
Age 45-54	0.141	0.141	0.141	0.134	0.152
Age 55-64	0.074	0.080	0.062	0.070	0.081
Age 65-74	0.046	0.053	0.033	0.045	0.048
Marital Status					
Not Married, Male Head Of Household	0.274	0.281	0.258	0.284	0.258
Not Married, Female Head	0.262	0.290	0.204	0.269	0.251
Education					
No High School Diploma	0.140	0.061	0.309	0.129	0.158
High School Dip. W/ College	0.452	0.504	0.340	0.430	0.485
College Degree or Better	0.408	0.435	0.351	0.442	0.357
Household conditions					
Number Of People In Household	2.228	2.016	2.679	2.155	2.340
Number Of Workers In Household	1.087	1.090	1.083	1.045	1.152
Household Income (10,000s)	5.975	6.563	4.727	5.784	6.267
Interest, Dividend, and Rental Income (1000s)	2.447	3.005	1.264	2.440	2.459
Housing price and rent					
The 25th Percentile Housing Price (log)	11.834	11.823	11.856	11.949	11.657
Puma Median Rent (log)	6.602	6.607	6.593	6.628	6.564
English proficiency					
Not Speaking English Well	0.030	0.001	0.092	0.038	0.017
Speaking English Well	0.253	0.109	0.559	0.259	0.243
Speaking English Only at Home	0.644	0.884	0.134	0.623	0.676
Migration origins					
Moved from foreign countries	0.172	0.045	0.439	0.284	
Immigrants	0.140		0.439	0.233	
Asian Immigrants	0.054		0.171	0.091	
Other Immigrants (Non Asian and Non Latino)	0.033		0.102	0.054	
Moved from within the U.S.	0.431	0.531	0.217	0.716	
Immigrants	0.069		0.217	0.115	
Asian Immigrants	0.028		0.088	0.047	
Other Immigrants (Non Asian and Non Latino)	0.018		0.057	0.030	
Migration destinations					
Moved to other gateways	0.112	0.115	0.105		0.281
Immigrants	0.034		0.105		0.084
Asian Immigrants	0.017		0.039		0.042
Other Immigrants (Non Asian and Non Latino)	0.007		0.020		0.016
Moved to outside gateways	0.287	0.309	0.239		0.719
Immigrants	0.076		0.091		0.393
Asian Immigrants	0.015		0.018		0.191
Other Immigrants (Non Asian and Non Latino)	0.011		0.013		0.161
White	0.592	0.780	0.191	0.593	0.590
Black	0.066	0.086	0.022	0.062	0.071
Asian	0.134	0.032	0.352	0.161	0.095
Latino	0.208	0.102	0.435	0.185	0.244
Immigrants	0.320	0.000	1.000	0.351	0.273
Came To U.S. In The Past 5 Yrs.	0.122	0.000	0.380	0.190	0.018
Came To U.S 5-10 Years Ago	0.046	0.000	0.143	0.037	0.059
Came To U.S 10-15 Years Ago	0.046	0.000	0.144	0.034	0.065
Came To U.S 15-20 Years Ago	0.037	0.000	0.115	0.027	0.052
Came To U.S 20-30 Years Ago	0.044	0.000	0.139	0.037	0.055
Came To U.S More Than 30 Years Ago	0.025	0.000	0.079	0.027	0.023
Number of Observations	44,504	30,299	14,205	26,763	17,741

Table 6. Logit Estimation Results: Homeownership Attainment

Variable	Moved to Southern California			Left Southern California			Full Sample		
	Coeff.		Odds Ratio	Coeff.		Odds Ratio	Coeff.		Odds Ratio
Intercept	5.162	***		1.626	**		2.443	***	
Age 18-24	-0.861	***	0.423	-0.987	***	0.375	-0.910	***	0.402
Reference: Age 25-34		----			----			----	
Age 35-44	0.738	***	2.094	0.467	***	1.596	0.628	***	1.873
Age 45-54	1.113	***	3.031	0.727	***	2.070	0.949	***	2.583
Age 55-64	1.377	***	3.969	1.200	***	3.321	1.330	***	3.779
Age 65-74	1.816	***	6.169	1.579	***	4.852	1.757	***	5.796
Reference: Married		----			----			----	
Not Married, Male Head of Household	-1.011	***	0.364	-1.168	***	0.311	-1.093	***	0.335
Not Married, Female Head	-0.871	***	0.418	-0.967	***	0.379	-0.924	***	0.395
No High School Diploma	-0.368	***	0.688	-0.256	***	0.774	-0.302	***	0.732
Reference: High School Dip. W/ College		----			----			----	
College Degree or Better	0.214	***	1.239	0.349	***	1.418	0.256	***	1.296
Number of People in Household	-0.004		0.995	0.063	***	1.062	0.035	***	1.035
Number of Workers in Household	-0.078	**	0.928	-0.031		0.972	-0.064		0.938
Household Income (1000s)	0.090	***	1.094	0.084	***	1.087	0.087	***	1.091
Interest, Dividend, and Rental Income (1000s)	0.002		1.002	0.004	*	1.004	0.003	**	1.003
The 25th Percentile Housing Price (log)	-2.121	***	0.120	-0.769	***	0.450	-1.416	***	0.243
Puma Median Rent (log)	2.816	***	16.717	0.866	***	2.683	1.975	***	7.207
Moved from Foreign Countries	0.037		1.038				0.046		1.047
Immigrants (Reference: Non immigrant)	-0.300	*	0.741				-0.390	**	0.677
Asian Immigrants	-0.208		0.813				-0.227		0.797
Other Immigrants (Non Asian and Non Latino)	-0.165		0.848				-0.163		0.849
Moved from within the U.S.		----						----	
Moved to Other Gateways					----		-0.135	**	0.874
Immigrants (Reference: Non immigrant)							-0.193		0.824
Asian Immigrants							-0.124		0.883
Other Immigrants (Non Asian and Non Latino)							0.040		1.041
Moved to Outside Gateways				0.505	***	1.656	0.245	***	1.278
Immigrants (Reference: Non immigrant)				0.000		1.000	-0.129		0.879
Asian Immigrants				-0.463	*	0.629	-0.684		0.505
Other Immigrants (Non Asian and Non Latino)				0.034		1.035	0.088		1.092
Race (Reference: non-Hispanic White)		----			----			----	
Black	-0.445	***	0.633	-0.675	***	0.512	-0.615	***	0.541
Asian	-0.055		0.947	-0.187		0.829	-0.128		0.880
Latino	-0.186	*	0.830	-0.434	***	0.648	-0.328	***	0.721
Immigrants (Reference: Non immigrant)	-0.523	***	0.593	-0.2024		0.815	-0.388	**	0.678
Asian Immigrants	0.121		1.129	-0.1461		0.864	0.073		1.076
Other Immigrants (non Asian and non Latino)	-0.108		0.897	-0.3245		0.723	-0.261		0.770
Immigrant Status (Reference: Come To U.S. in the Past 5 Yrs.)		----			----			----	
Came To U.S. 5-10 Years Ago	0.346	***	1.377	-0.2163		0.807	0.152		1.164
Came To U.S. 10-15 Years Ago	0.638	***	1.855	0.10587		1.117	0.458	***	1.581
Came To U.S. 15-20 Years Ago	0.830	***	2.255	0.427	*	1.540	0.714	***	2.041
Came To U.S. 20-30 Years Ago	0.729	***	2.036	0.374	*	1.456	0.630	***	1.877
Came To U.S. More Than 30 Years Ago	0.362	**	1.424	0.654	**	1.952	0.557	***	1.746
Immigrants not Speaking English Well	-0.380	**	0.684	-0.495	**	0.610	-0.458	***	0.632
Reference: Immigrants Speaking English Well		----			----			----	
Immigrants Speaking Only English	0.111		1.108	0.046		1.051	0.111		1.106
Number of Observations	26,763			17,741			44,504		
Pseudo-R^2	0.257			0.213			0.240		
Log likelihood	-11,669			-9,252			-21,049		

*p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001

Table 7. Logit Estimation Results: Residential Overcrowding

Variable	Moved to Southern California			Left Southern California			Full Sample		
	Coeff.		Odds Ratio	Coeff.		Odds Ratio	Coeff.		Odds Ratio
Intercept	-3.963	***		-4.827	***		-4.040	***	
Age 18-24	0.113		1.107	0.170		1.185	0.118	*	1.103
Reference: Age 25-34		----			----			----	
Age 35-44	0.388	***	1.478	0.331	***	1.392	0.364	***	1.439
Age 45-54	0.434	***	1.551	-0.066		0.936	0.255	***	1.290
Age 55-64	-0.183		0.837	-0.217		0.805	-0.220	***	0.802
Age 65-74	-0.828	***	0.436	-1.733	***	0.177	-1.075	***	0.341
Reference: Married		----			----			----	
Not Married, Male Head Of Household	-0.988	***	0.371	-0.663	***	0.515	-0.866	***	0.420
Not Married, Female Head	-0.923	***	0.397	-0.469	***	0.626	-0.756	***	0.470
No High School Diploma	0.422	***	1.526	0.483	***	1.621	0.454	***	1.577
Reference: High School Dip. W/ College		----			----			----	
College Degree or Better	-0.578	***	0.561	-0.796	***	0.451	-0.637	***	0.528
Household Income (1000s)	-0.051	***	0.950	-0.012		0.988	-0.037	***	0.963
Interest, Dividend, and Rental Income (1000s)	-0.014	*	0.986	-0.004		0.996	-0.008	**	0.992
The 25th Percentile Housing Price (log)	0.759	***	2.117	0.406	**	1.469	0.605	***	1.830
Puma Median Rent (log)	-1.212	***	0.302	-0.537		0.629	-0.935	***	0.393
Moved from Foreign Countries	0.414	**	1.512				0.392		1.480
Immigrants (Reference: Non immigrant)	-0.405	*	0.667				-0.310		0.734
Asian Immigrants	0.356	**	1.427				0.436		1.546
Other Immigrants (Non Asian and Non Latino)	0.296		1.344				0.475		1.608
Moved from within the U.S.		----						----	
Moved to Other Gateways					----		0.085		1.089
Immigrants (Reference: Non immigrant)							0.151		1.163
Asian Immigrants							0.053		1.055
Other Immigrants (Non Asian and Non Latino)							-0.439		0.644
Moved to Outside Gateways				0.048		1.050	0.085		1.089
Immigrants (Reference: Non immigrant)				-0.081		0.922	0.095		1.100
Asian Immigrants				0.192		1.211	0.250		1.284
Other Immigrants (Non Asian and Non Latino)				-0.112		0.894	-0.520		0.595
Race (Reference: Non-Hispanic White)									
Black	0.691	***	1.996	0.639	***	1.893	0.662	***	1.967
Asian	0.952	***	2.590	1.430	***	4.163	1.181	***	3.196
Latino	1.093	***	2.983	1.412	***	4.103	1.252	***	3.503
Immigrants (Reference: Non immigrant)	1.736	***	5.674	1.275	***	3.580	1.515	***	4.688
Asian Immigrants	-0.395		0.673	-0.536		0.585	-0.241	**	0.624
Other Immigrants (non Asian and non Latino)	0.032		1.032	-0.119		0.888	0.298		1.074
Immigrant Status (Reference: Come To U.S. in the Past 5 Yrs.)		----			----			----	
Came To U.S 5-10 Years Ago	-0.3612	***	0.699	0.089		1.092	-0.288	***	0.761
Came To U.S 10-15 Years Ago	-0.3828	***	0.695	0.150		1.159	-0.246	**	0.778
Came To U.S 15-20 Years Ago	-0.6131	***	0.555	0.042		1.037	-0.408	***	0.670
Came To U.S 20-30 Years Ago	-0.6509	***	0.532	0.052		1.049	-0.451	***	0.643
Came To U.S More Than 30 Years Ago	-0.6623	***	0.527	-0.834	**	0.431	-0.806	***	0.455
Immigrants not Speaking English Well	0.5067	***	1.660	0.285	*	1.329	0.405	***	1.562
Reference: Immigrants Speaking English Well		----			----			----	
Immigrants Speaking Only English	-0.761	***	0.467	-4.573	***	0.596	-0.737	***	0.479
Number of Observations	26,763			17,741			44,504		
Pseudo-R^2	0.280			0.267			0.271		
Log likelihood	-6,748			-4,155			-10,969		

*p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001

Table 8. Predicted rates of homeownership and residential overcrowding by immigrant status and migration destinations

	Homeownership rates		**The prevalence of overcrowding** (>1.0 person/room)	
Migration destinations	Native-born	Foreign-born	Native-born	Foreign-born
Moved to Southern California*	**32.1**	**23.3**	**6.1**	**24.6**
From foreign countries		20.6		26.2
From within the US		28.5		22.7
Left Southern California**	**34.0**	**30.6**	**5.5**	**22.9**
To Other Gateways	29.7	27.7	5.6	23.3
To Outside Gateways	36.0	32.6	5.3	22.5

Source: Census 2000 5% PUMS - Sample Data

Note: * Include households who moved from within the U.S. and from foreign countries

** Include households who moved away from Southern California and moved to other gateways or selected metropolitan areas outside gateways

Table 9. Predicted rates of homeownership and residential overcrowding of native-born whites, Asian immigrants, and Latino immigrants by migration destinations

	Homeownership rates			**The prevalence of overcrowding** (>1.0 person/room)		
Migration destinations	Native-born White*	Asian immigrant**	Latino immigrant***	Native-born White	Asian immigrant	Latino immigrant
Moved to Southern California****	**33.8**	**22.2**	**21.7**	**3.3**	**23.9**	**31.1**
From foreign countries		20.9	19.0		25.7	34.6
From within the US		29.3	25.4		23.2	26.9
Left Southern California****	**34.9**	**27.7**	**29.6**	**2.9**	**21.9**	**28.9**
To Other Gateways	31.6	28.8	27.4	3.0	21.3	30.0
To Outside Gateways	38.1	25.7	31.6	2.8	22.2	28.0

Source: Census 2000 5% PUMS - Sample Data

Note: * Native-born White refer to those who were born in the U.S. and who are white only of non-Hispanic origin.

** Asian immigrant refer to those who were born in a foreign country and who are Asian or Pacific Islander only and who are of non-Hispanic origin.

*** Latino immigrant refer to those who were born in a foreign country and who are of Hispanic origin and may be of any race.

**** Include households who moved from within the U.S. and from foreign countries

***** Include households who moved away from Southern California and moved to other gateways or selected metropolitan areas outside gateways

Appendix 1. Metropolitan areas included in this study

Other immigrant gateways:

MSA/ CMSA FIPS CODE	Metropolitan Area Names
1122	Boston-Worcester-Lawrence, MA-NH-ME-CT CMSA
1602	Chicago-Gary-Kenosha, IL-IN-WI CMSA
4992	Miami-Fort Lauderdale, FL CMSA
5602	New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-CT-PA CMSA
7362	San Francisco-Oakland-San Jose, CA CMSA
8872	Washington-Baltimore, DC-MD-VA-WV CMSA

Largest migration destinations (metropolitan areas) outside gateways:

MSA/ CMSA FIPS	Metropolitan Area Names	MSA/ CMSA FIPS	Metropolitan Area Names
160	Albany-Schenectady-Troy, NY MSA	5960	Orlando, FL MSA
200	Albuquerque, NM MSA	6162	Philadelphia-Wilmington-Atlantic City, PA-NJ-DE-MD CMSA
520	Atlanta, GA MSA	6200	Phoenix-Mesa, AZ MSA
640	Austin-San Marcos, TX MSA	6442	Portland-Salem, OR-WA CMSA
680	Bakersfield, CA MSA	6480	Providence-Fall River-Warwick, RI-MA MSA
1620	Chico-Paradise, CA MSA	6520	Provo-Orem, UT MSA
1760	Columbia, SC MSA	6720	Reno, NV MSA
1922	Dallas-Fort Worth, TX CMSA	6760	Richmond-Petersburg, VA MSA
2082	Denver-Boulder-Greeley, CO CMSA	6840	Rochester, NY MSA
2162	Detroit-Ann Arbor-Flint, MI CMSA	6922	Sacramento-Yolo, CA CMSA
2320	El Paso, TX MSA	7120	Salinas, CA MSA
2840	Fresno, CA MSA	7160	Salt Lake City-Ogden, UT MSA
3320	Honolulu, HI MSA	7240	San Antonio, TX MSA
3362	Houston-Galveston-Brazoria,TX CMSA	7460	San Luis Obispo-Atascadero-Paso Robles, CA MSA
3600	Jacksonville, FL MSA	7480	Santa Barbara-Santa Maria-Lompoc, CA MSA
3760	Kansas City, MO-KS MSA	7602	Seattle-Tacoma-Bremerton, WA CMSA
4100	Las Cruces, NM MSA	7840	Spokane, WA MSA
4120	Las Vegas, NV-AZ MSA	7920	Springfield, MO MSA
4880	McAllen-Edinburg-Mission, TX MSA	7040	St. Louis, MO-IL MSA
4890	Medford-Ashland, OR MSA	8120	Stockton-Lodi, CA MSA
4940	Merced, CA MSA	8280	Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL MSA
5120	Minneapolis-St. Paul, MN-WI MSA	8520	Tucson, AZ MSA
5170	Modesto, CA MSA	8780	Visalia-Tulare-Porterville, CA MSA
5560	New Orleans, LA MSA	8960	West Palm Beach-Boca Raton, FL MSA
5720	Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News,	9340	Yuba City, CA MSA

Note: ABBREVIATIONS: MSA= Metropolitan Statistical Area CMSA= Consolidated Metropolitan Statistical Area