VAST CHANGES AND AN UNEASY FUTURE

Racial and Regional Inequality in Southern California

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The Civil Rights Project
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Executive Summary

One of the largest and most complex urban areas in the world is in the midst of a sweeping demographic transformation, from which we can infer a future population of children growing up with radically different opportunities. This great international megalopolis stretches 150 miles from the northern reaches of metropolitan Los Angeles, through San Diego, across the border and into the greater Tijuana. In particular, this area encompasses the six counties comprising the Southern California region--Los Angeles, San Diego, San Bernardino, Riverside, Orange, and Ventura counties--in addition to the Baja region of Mexico on the other side of the border. This huge region we have called "Lasanti", possesses an international boundary constituting the largest economic differential of any border in the world. It is a mega-region characterized by an increasing geographic divide, accentuated by the major migration of blacks and Latinos to suburban areas in Southern California with municipal economies that are less robust producing very different intergenerational patterns of opportunity. The change in the region's racial composition is massive and the population growth of young people (that the region has counted on for many years) has waned. The great majority of the babies born in the Southern California region are members of minority groups, suggesting that the region's destiny is in the hands of a rapidly growing and economically stratified population.

The region's educational systems will shape the majority of the next generation of workers, and vies versa. It is therefore essential that we nurture the region's human capital, and attend to its changing needs. As illustrated by the data in this report, the region's youth have a significantly higher poverty rates than the region's adults, so many of those future workers will grow up in poverty. Poverty limits access to housing in stable neighborhoods, which, in turn, limits access to good schools, setting in motion a vicious cycle of intergenerational poverty. Complacency on the part of policymakers is likely to lead not only to enhanced inequality and increased internal stratification, but also to sever social and economic decline.

Major Findings in this report include:

Change and poverty in the population of children

- A population decline of 275,000 children by 2010 from its peak in 2003
- A 1.3 million increase in Hispanic children (0-14) from 1990 to 2010, a 51.5% increase.
- A more than three times higher child poverty rate for black (33.5%) and Hispanic (30.2%) children than that of whites (8.9%).

Change in Migration

- A more than 10% decline of legal migration in Los Angeles County since 2008, with that sharpest decreases in the Inland Empire counties of Riverside (over 18%) and San Bernardino (over 13%).
- A 5.7% decrease in L.A. County's undocumented population between 2001 and 2009; conversely Riverside and San Bernardino County saw increases of 75.6% and 34%, respectively.
- A decline of more than 10% in legal migration in Los Angeles County since 2007, with sharper reductions occuring in the two Inland Empire Counties, with Riverside experiencing a decline of over 18% and San Bernardino a decrease of over 13%.
- LA County's undocumented population has decreased (2001-2009) by 5.7% while Riverside and San Bernardino County saw increases of 75.6% and 34%, respectively.

Declining birth rates

- A 12.3% reduction in LA County birthrates from 2007 to 2010.
- A decrease in births across Baja California to 1.7 children for every woman of childbearing age (ages 15 to 49), compared to 1.9 children in 2000.

Decrease in white toddler population

- A decline in Orange County's white toddler population (0-5) from 36.5% to 28.1% of the total toddler population between 2000 and 2010.
- A decrease in Orange County's white population from almost 90% of the total population in 1970 to 43.5% in 2010.
- A twenty-two time increase in Orange County's Asian Population since 1970, while the Hispanic population has increased over 700% in the same time frame.
- A reduction of 28% the Inland Empire Counties white toddler population.

Increase in minority population

- A more than two million decrease in white residents in LA County since 1970.
- 47.8% of the total population over 40 years of age in urbanized Southern CA is white, 25.8% is under 40. By contrast, 30.2% of the population over 40 is Hispanic, compared to 48% of the total that is under 40 years old.
- Riverside County has seen an almost 600% increase in its black population in the last 40 years.

International immigration, changes in birth rates and internal migration patterns interact in increasingly complex ways to create massive demographic

transformation and deep divisions in metropolitan societies. Given the trends presented in this report, it is clear that there is a serious risk to equality of opportunity in this great region. Inequality runs deep, and the diversity of peoples and economies in Lasanti presents a multifaceted and complicated portrait of inequality. If policymakers are interested in preparing the next generation of skilled workers to ensure a healthy and vibrant economy, they must insist that these patterns be changed.

Vast Changes and an Uneasy Future: Racial and Regional Inequality in Southern California

Introduction

"Lasanti," one of the world's largest and most complex urban regions, stretches 150 miles from the northern reaches of metropolitan Los Angeles, south through San Diego, and across the U.S.-Mexico border into greater Tijuana, encompassing the six Southern California counties and the northern Baja California area of Mexico.[1] The region has been defined by massive growth since the beginning of the 20th century and has developed considerable economic and global influence. However, Lasanti is also characterized by deep and widespread poverty, and it is in the midst of sweeping transformations. There is an increasing geographic divide along racial and social class lines within this huge region, along with a major migration of blacks and Latinos to areas with less robust economies that are recovering more slowly from the heavy battering of the Great Recession. The racial composition of the region's youth is overwhelmingly minority, and the expanding number of young people the region has counted on for many years appear to be ending.[2]

The region's destiny is increasingly in the hands of the Latino and Asian populations that are growing, as their children in time will make up the region's majority. Many of these people so far have only a tangential connection to the U.S. system of government, and immigration patterns suggest a continuing polarization among racial and ethnic groups. In the face of a severe decline in job opportunities, improvements in the Mexican economy and an escalation of deportations of undocumented workers and families, the Mexican immigration to the United States—the largest group in history from a single country—has come to a near standstill. Meanwhile, the region's Latino youth population by far outnumbers any other racial/ethnic group. This group is without question at the forefront of the region's ongoing transformation. However, the aging white population, consisting mostly of baby boomers, is an equally important factor, as it still dominates politics, and the coming wave of retirements will create a need for first- and second-generation immigrants to take their place in the workforce.

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[1] The Southern California mega-region known as Lasanti—a word invented to reflect the region's urban centers, and is a combination of Los Angeles, San Diego, and Tijuana—is comprised of the combined metropolitan statistical areas of Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana (Los Angeles and Orange counties), Ventura-Oxnard (Ventura County), Riverside-San Bernardino (Riverside and San Bernardino counties), and San Diego-Chula Vista-San Marcos (San Diego County). Lasanti also includes Mexico's five Baja municipalities: Tijuana, Ensenada, Mexicali, Tecate, and Rosarito Beach.

[2] All statistics are based on author's calculations of U.S. Census data, unless otherwise indicated.

These demographic shifts are already being felt politically and economically, and they are sure to continue to reverberate in a dramatic way through the region's education systems, as there will be a continual transformation of the school-age population. While many school systems in the region already have begun to adapt to student populations of different cultural backgrounds who speak a variety of languages at home, the data make clear that school systems across the region stand on the front lines of the region's demographic changes. As such, this research explores the extent of this demographic transformation among the various population segments in the Lasanti megalopolis. This report seeks to facilitate discussion on the most basic questions concerning opportunities for the region's future generations.

Although the region is continuous geographically, areas within its borders are experiencing very different development trajectories, which have been accentuated by the economic shock of the Great Recession. The coastal areas suffered much less than others and are recovering much more rapidly.[3] On the other hand, the Inland Empire,[4] previously the area in Lasanti that was experiencing the most rapid growth, was transformed from having a rapid increase in minority home ownership to one of the areas in the nation with the most extreme collapse in the housing market and the construction industry.[5] If these trends are not reversed and education levels are not raised, it will create a serious risk to the future of what have been upwardly mobile families and communities.

The remarkable growth of the Southern California region has been fed by the migration of large clusters of some racial/ethnic groups, particularly immigrants. However, both of these factors appear to be changing rapidly, which means there soon will be fewer young people and entry-level workers, thus it will become much more critical to develop the educational potential of the region's youth, as worker shortages are not likely to be resolved by immigration.[6] The rapid growth of the Mexican side of the complex has been fed by its profound connection with the U.S. economy, but its birth rate has also plummeted. Most of the next generation of workers will be shaped by the region's education systems, thus it is essential that the region's human capital be nurtured, including through education.

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[3] Kfir Mordechay, "Fragmented Economy, Stratified Society, and the Shattered Dream." Los Angeles: Civil Rights Project/Proyecto Derechos Civiles, 2011. Available at: http://civilrightsproject.ucla.edu/research/metro-and-regional-inequalities/lasanti-project-los-angeles-san-diego-tijuana/fragmented-economy-stratified-society-and-the-shattered-dream/labormkt-report-12-20-11-final-corrected.pdf.

[4] The Inland Empire is an area that has gone from orange groves to a vast exurb, and where open fields and farmland have been replaced with expansive suburban malls and housing tracts reaching across desert and mountains.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Shannon K. O'Neil, *Two Nations Indivisible: Mexico, the United States, and the Road Ahead*. New York: NY: Oxford University Press, 2013.

One-third of all children in Los Angeles County live in poverty, thus many future workers will grow up poor. Poverty limits access to housing in stable neighborhoods and to educational and job opportunities, which hinders young people's development and restricts their potential. Additionally, the region's schools are highly segregated by ethnicity, race, poverty, and language, and they produce very unequal educational outcomes, with the worst outcomes among Latinos, who represent the majority of the region's students.[7] The educational attainment for the Latino populations in both Southern California and the Mexican area of Lasanti is alarmingly low and inadequate in terms of helping students attain middle-class status. In other words, the region faces a clear and immediate challenge and must either develop its human resources or face social and economic decline.

This study addresses the sweeping demographic transformation of this complex region. It provides an analysis of data from the U.S. Census Bureau, the American Community Survey, the Mexican census, and additional data sources. The findings cover the following issues:

- The decline of the regional white toddler and total youth population
- The changing age structure of the population by race and ethnicity
- The region's growing Latino and Asian population
- Declining fertility rates across the region
- The sharp drop in immigration
- Racial differentials in poverty rates among children and adults
- The disparity of educational attainment by geography, race, and ethnicity

It is important to note that due to limitations of the data sources, the data only allowed the tracking of increases and/or decreases of populations over time. Since we cannot follow people over the same time and control for other factors, no causal connection can be proved. The American Community Survey and the Decennial Census are both cross-sectional, as opposed to longitudinal, meaning that they collect data from a national sample of people only once, rather than collecting data from the same people multiple times. Ultimately, the goal is to tell the story of a region transformed by demography and by streams of migration into and within its many subregions. This report provides an overview of demographic information on Southern California dating back to the beginning of the 20th century, using summary statistics from the U.S. Census Bureau. The report emphasizes the last decade in

[7] Gary Orfield, Genevieve Siegel-Hawley, and John Kucsera, "Divided We Fail: Segregated and Unequal Schools in the Southland." Los Angeles: Civil Rights Project/Proyecto Derechos Civiles, 2011. Available at: http://civilrightsproject.ucla.edu/research/metro-and-regional-inequalities/lasanti-project-los-angeles-san-diego-tijuana/divided-we-fail-segregated-and-unequal-schools-in-the-southfield/Divided-We-Fail-final-rept-v3-03-18-11.pdf.

particular, a time in which the region was at the center of a spectacular housing boom, followed by a severe and deep recession. Some information is presented for the six-county Southern California area, which comprises almost 70 percent of the Lasanti region, while some is presented for the entire region. The analysis in this report will make it clear whether it is referring to either the entire Lasanti region or to Southern California only.

This report is primarily about the urban complex area of Southern California, but also presents some basic characteristics of Mexico's Baja California, which is part of a vast continuous megalopolis. It is structured as follows. First we describe the rise of the Lasanti region, from its humble origins at the beginning of the 20th century to its current stature as one of the world's largest and most diverse regions. We then present fertility rates within the region on both sides of the border and detail the regional variations across Lasanti, profiling the past, present, and future of each of its counties. Next we present data on regional immigration trends (legal and illegal) at the national, state, and county levels. Finally, we offer our conclusion and the implications of the region's demographic transformation.

The Rise of the Lasanti Region

Like every other major urban area or mega-region, the Lasanti region rose from humble origins to achieve the scale and status of an urban megalopolis. The rise of this region is one of the most fascinating stories in the United States' history of dramatic change. The nation's other great cities and regions all had some crucial geographic advantage, usually a natural port connected to a river and other waterways that make a city the central focus of a vast area. New York and Chicago, for example, grew out of the realization that they had a commanding position in the emerging inland transportation network. While Chicago controlled access from the Great Lakes to the Mississippi River basin, New York City was situated on one of the world's best harbors.[8]

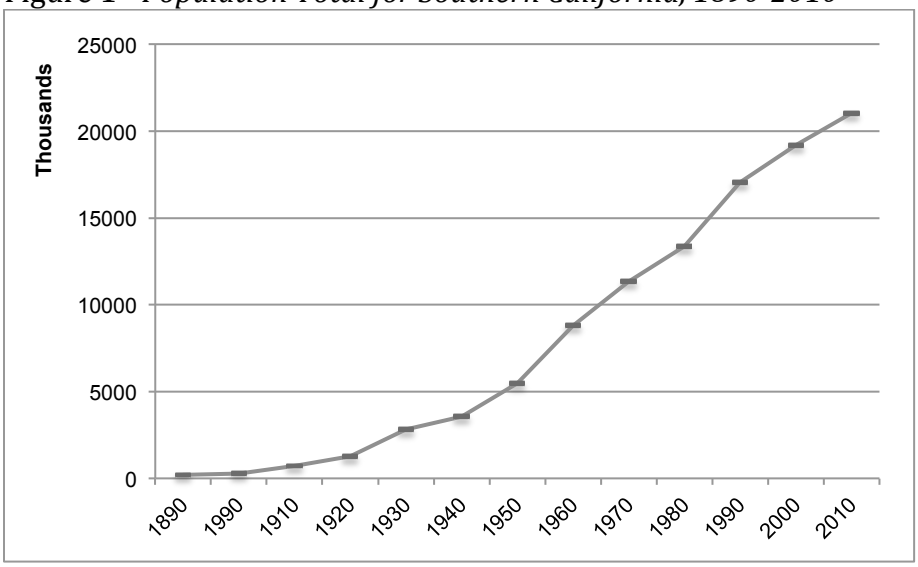
Los Angeles, by contrast, was founded in 1781 by the Spaniards, in the middle of an empty, semi-arid coastal plain, where isolated native communities were dependent on a river that was unnavigable, and challenged by droughts and floods. These stubborn natural burdens help explain why Los Angeles remained a quiet agricultural town long after California was annexed by United States in 1848. The town's most significant commodity was the malnourished cattle it sold to the booming gold-rush city of San Francisco.[9] At the beginning of the 20th century, Los Angeles was still a small city. Its development ultimately hinged on its selection as

[8] Robert M. Fogelson, *The Fragmented Metropolis: Los Angeles, 1850-1930*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967.
[9] Fogelson. *The Fragmented Metropolis*.

the western terminus of a great transcontinental railroad, the creation of a highly successful artificial harbor, and access to a massive water supply that came from the Colorado River and other sources. The city also served as a crucial link to Asia during World War II and then as a center for postwar industrial and commercial development. Soon after, Los Angeles became the epicenter of the U.S. population's westward movement from the Midwestern and southern states, and then of the great migration of Latinos and Asians into the U.S. following the 1965 immigration reform. The LA area often was growing faster than the entire Midwest.[10]

The 19th-century city is now lost amid the massive urban agglomeration of close to 21 million people (Figure 1), which is surpassed in population only by "BosWash"—the northeastern corridor between Boston and Washington, D.C. Adding in the extensive urbanization across the border in Tijuana brings the total to more than 24 million. In 1960, the population of the Southern California portion of Lasanti was 9 million; today it has more than doubled, with 1 of every 13 Americans living in the Southern California region. If Southern California were to form its own state, it would have 31 representatives in the House, be more populated than New York, and be the second most populous state, after Texas.

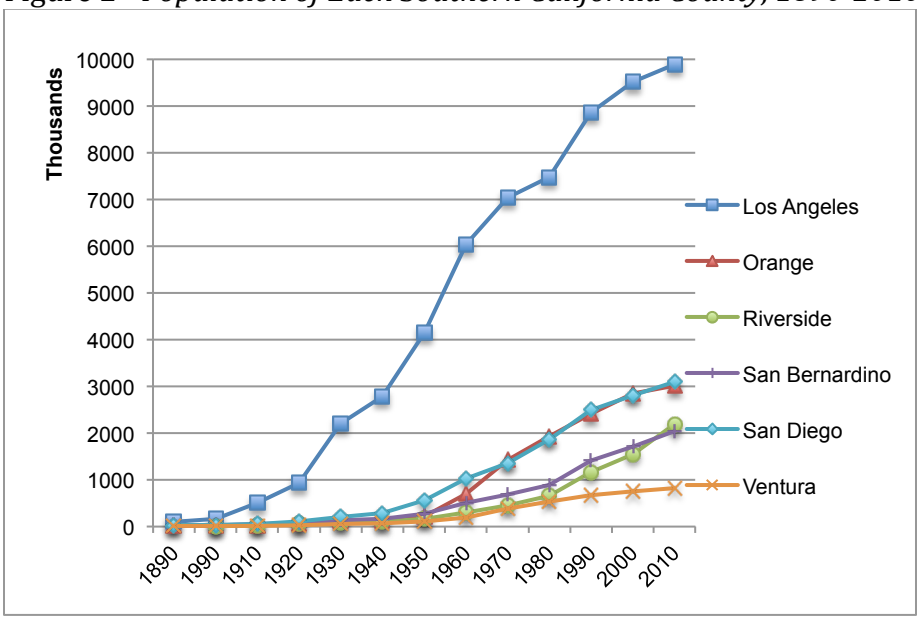
Figure 1 - *Population Total for Southern California, 1890-2010*



Source: U.S. Census Bureau

[10] Ibid.

Figure 2 - *Population of Each Southern California County, 1890-2010*



Source: U.S. Census Bureau

Table 1 - *Five Largest Cities in Each Southern California County, 2010*

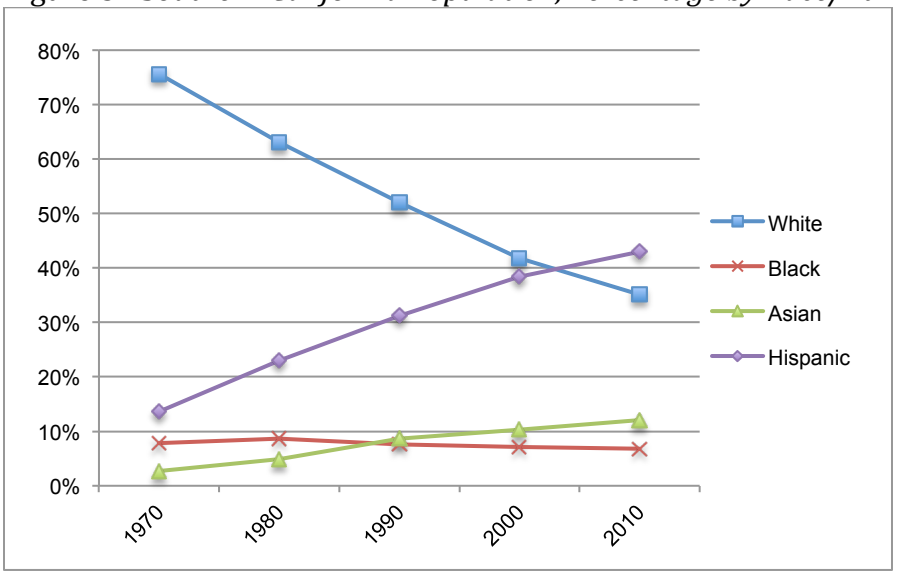
LA County	Pop.	SD County	Pop.	Ventura County	Pop.	SB County	Pop.	RS County	Pop.
Los Angeles	3,792,621	San Diego	1,307,402	Oxnard	197,899	San Bernardino	209,924	Riverside	303,871
Long Beach	462,257	Chula Vista	243,916	Thousand Oaks	126,683	Fontana	196,069	Moreno Valley	193,365
Glendale	191,719	Oceanside	183,095	Simi Valley	124,237	Rancho Cucamonga	165,269	Corona	152,374
Santa Clarita	176,320	Escondido	143,911	Ventura	106,433	Victorville	115,903	Murieta	103,466
Lancaster	156,633	Carlsbad	105,328	Camarillo	65,201	Rialto	99,171	Temecula	100,097

Source: U.S. Census Bureau

Racial Change

In the mid-20th century, the population of the Southern California sector of the Lasanti region was more than 90% white. In fact, until the early 1980s, it was fair to characterize Southern California as a diverse but predominately white area. Less than a decade later, the whole region became minority-majority (1992), and parity was reached in the proportions of whites and Hispanics in Lasanti by the early 2000s. This shift represents a rapid increase in the region's Hispanic population, from 23% to 38%, an increase of more than twice that of the Asian population (approximately 10%; see Figure 3). By 2000, as illustrated in Figure 3, Lasanti was less than 42% white and barely 7% black. By 2010, whites had become the minority, while the number of Asians continued to grow and Hispanics had become the clear majority. The stark increase in the Latino and Asian populations across the region is one of the clearest findings from the 2010 Census.

Figure 3 - *Southern California Population, Percentage by Race/Ethnicity, 1970-2010*[11]



Note: Numbers calculated by author, based on data provided by the Census Bureau
Source: U.S. Census Bureau

Figure 3 demonstrates that the demographic story of southern California in the latter half of the 20th century was characterized by a slight decline in the number of white residents, slow but fairly constant growth in the number of black residents, and an explosion of new Asian and Hispanic residents. The southern California region had a million fewer white residents in 2010 than in 1970, and 1.5 million fewer than at its peak in 1990. From 1990 to 2010, whites dropped from over half of the population in Southern California (52.0%) to just over a third (35.1%); however, whites still had the highest overall numbers until the early 2000s and they still maintain a solid presence in the region, nearly 8 million. Meanwhile, the black population has seen a proportional decline as well, albeit more gradual, from 7.6% in 1990 to 6.8% in 2010. The stagnation of the region's white population as revealed by these numbers is a very different story than the population proportions shown in Table 2 would suggest.

Table 2 - *White Population Stagnation, Explosive Hispanic and Asian Growth: Southern California Population totals by Race/Ethnicity, 1970-2010*

	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic	Two or more	Total
1970	8,577,641	879,133	306,458	1,537,210	n/a	11,338,713
1980	8,419,409	1,158,208	659,584	3,066,918	n/a	13,359,364
1990	8,856,194	1,302,707	1,467,947	5,318,558	n/a	17,029,545
2000	8,010,923	1,370,632	1,976,509	7,375,134	317,782	19,187,478
2010	7,368,113	1,420,363	2,535,277	9,020,179	968,906	20,972,319

Note: Numbers calculated by author, based on data provided by the U.S. Census Bureau
Source: U.S. Census Bureau

The Demographics of Southern California's Youth

The racial demographics of the Lasanti region have changed dramatically over the past 30-40 years, and the changes in the racial composition of the region's youth will be far more dramatic in the future. The growth of immigrant communities, among other factors, has resulted in fundamental and complex demographic, economic, and educational changes throughout the region. The current senior generation in Southern California looks like California before the great international migrations, whereas the youngest generation looks more like Latin America. Adding to the complexity of this region are the rapidly shifting racial demographics, not only of its communities but of the schools as well. Data on the school-age population provides insights into where the region is now and where it is headed. The data confirm the beginning of a transformation into a truly multiethnic minority school-age population that will continue to pour into our grade schools, high schools, and beyond in the coming decades.[12] The region's schools are now among the most racially, ethnically, and linguistically diverse in the nation. However, individual districts and schools are becoming highly segregated by social class and race. Issues of racial segregation in the schools continue to raise questions about equal access to resources and opportunities.

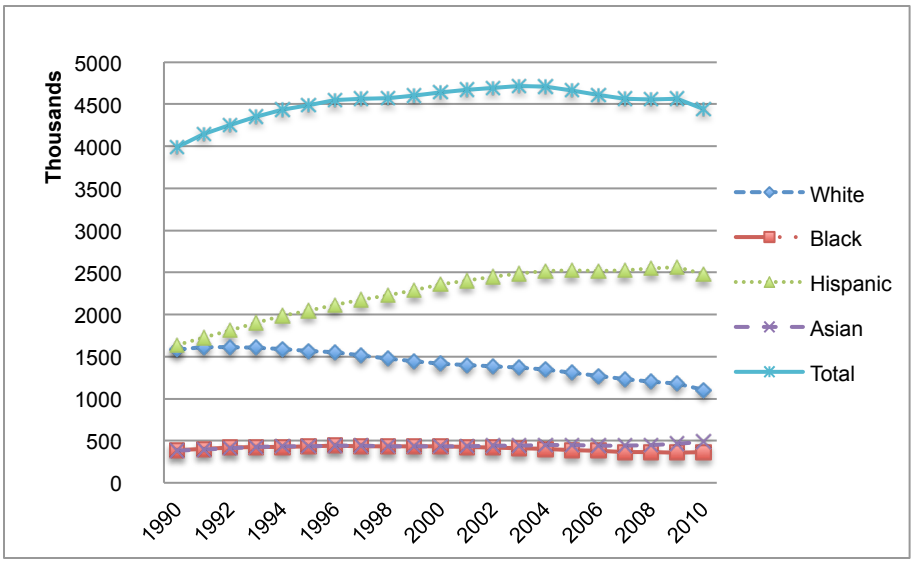
A central fact among Southern California's children is that this population appears to have peaked in 2003 and has since been in decline; even the number of Latinos is going down in the most recent data (Figure 4). How will a declining youth population and burgeoning older population impact the region's labor force, housing market, and health-care system? Older people spend and invest less, which shrinks the pool of capital available for new businesses that create new jobs.[13] Most

[12] Erica Frankenberg with Genevieve Siegel-Hawley, "Are Teachers Prepared for Racially Changing Schools?" Los Angeles: Civil Rights Project/Proyecto Derechos Civiles, 2008. Available at: http://civilrightsproject.ucla.edu/research/k-12-education/integration-and-diversity/are-teachers-prepared-for-racially-changing-schools/frankenberg-are-teachers-prepared-racially.pdf
[13] Lee, Ronald, and Andrew Mason. "Fertility, Human Capital, and Economic Growth over the Demographic Transition." *European Journal of Population* 26 (2010): 159-82. Available at:

important, a shrinking labor force means fewer workers contribute to the payroll taxes that finance senior care, essentially creating what demographers have referred to as a soaring senior ratio.[14] The number of children in the region declined by nearly 275,000 from 2003 to 2010, and it is hard to foresee a youth population boom in the near future.

While the Hispanic population is in decline, it still by far outnumbers any other racial/ethnic group (see Figure 4). Even in Orange County, traditionally known for its prototype white suburbs, Hispanics make up the largest block of school-age children. This suggests that any local or state initiatives that have to do with education need to reach out to this population. Whatever the future holds for this mega-region, it is certain to include more Hispanics.

Figure 4 - *Number of Children under Age 14 in Southern California, by Race/Ethnicity, 1990-2010*



Source: U.S. Census Bureau

Broken down into ten-year increments, Figure 5 shows a Hispanic population in the region that is shaped like a pyramid, with the youngest population being significantly larger than the older populations. Whites are the highest share of the population age 40 and up, which reflects how the baby boom of the 1950s still

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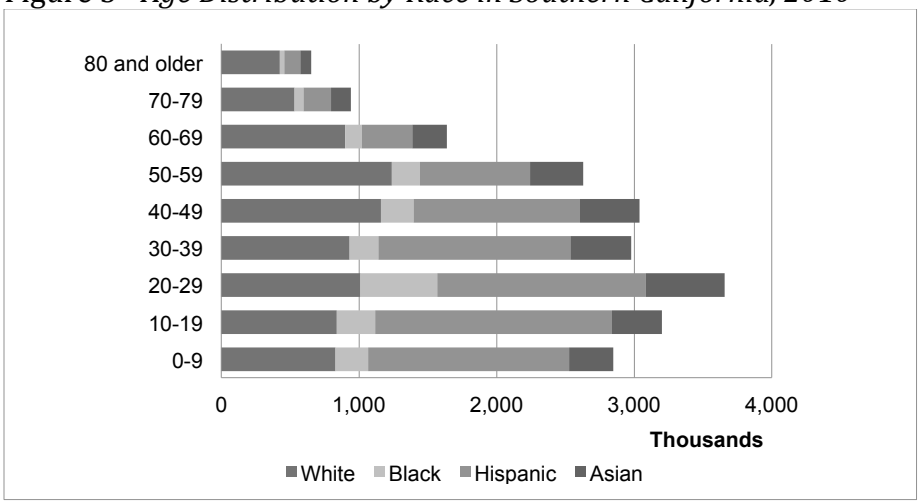
http://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s10680-009-9186-x#page-1

[14]John Pitkin and Dowell Myers, "Generational Projections of the California Population by Nativity and Year of Immigrant Arrival." In *California Demographic Futures: Third In a Series of Projections*. Los Angeles: University of Southern California, Sol Price School of Public Policy, Population Dynamics Research Group, 2012. Available at: http://www.usc.edu/schools/price/futures/pdf/2012_Pitkin-Myers_CA-Pop-Projections.pdf.

echoes amid Southern California's white population in 2010. Whites make up the majority of the over-50 population and the vast majority of the over-70 population. While these disparities in racial/ethnic composition by age group could reflect a number of causes, from life expectancy and immigration to the presence of a retirement cluster, they clearly demonstrate that more Hispanic children are being born in the region and that the white and Asian populations are older on average than their black and Hispanic counterparts.

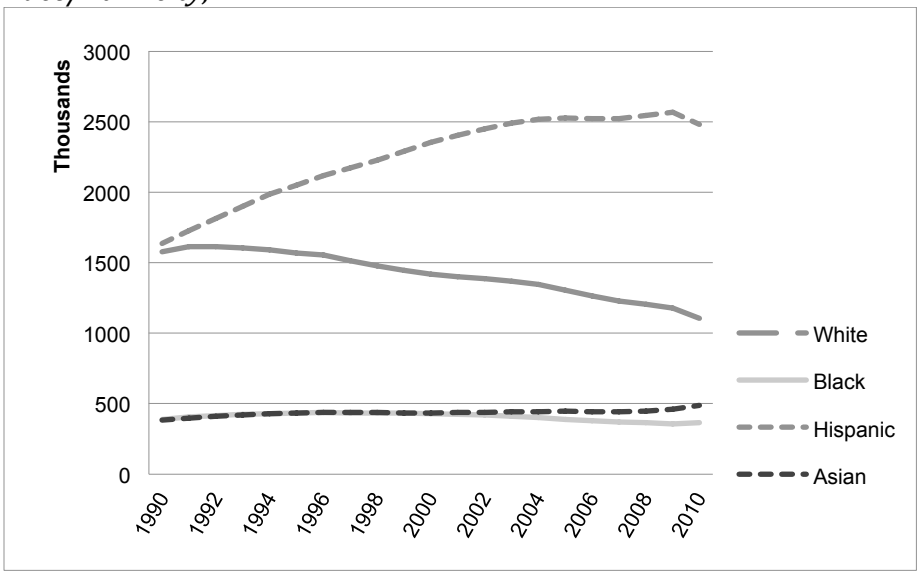
Figure 5 - *Age Distribution by Race in Southern California, 2010*



Note: Numbers calculated by author, based on data provided by the Census Bureau
Source: U.S. Census Bureau

The racial and ethnic composition of Southern California's child population has shifted in the last 20 years. Figure 6 indicates that the region has become increasingly Hispanic and decreasingly white, while the Asian population has increased slightly and is now at almost half the number of whites. In addition, the black population has been stagnating as a percentage of the total. As indicated on Figure 6, while the number Hispanic and white children was similar in 1990, by 2010 there was more than a 1.3 million person difference.

Figure 6 - *Number of Children under Age 14 in Southern California Region, by Race/Ethnicity, 1990-2010*



Source: U.S. Census Bureau

Tracking the Toddlers

It is critical to understand the changing characteristics of the Lasanti region's children, as it provides a portrait of its demographic future. The great majority of babies born in the region are members of minority groups (see table 3), which represents an unprecedented shift across the region that is reshaping schools, workplaces, and the electorate. The trend toward a greater percentage of minority births has been building for years, mainly as the result of the large waves of immigration over the past three decades. Hispanics make up the majority of the region's immigrants, and they tend to be younger and have more children than their non-Hispanic white counterparts.[15] In each of the six Southern California counties, white toddlers not only are the minority, but they have also declined in absolute numbers. Orange County, for example, an area that once typified the white suburban dream, has seen its white toddler population decrease by 24,900, more than 23%, from 2000 to 2010. In the Inland Empire counties, Riverside and San Bernardino have seen a decline of 28.1% and 27.6%, respectively. In Los Angeles County, white toddlers now constitute less than one-sixth (16.4%) of the total toddler population, a decline of 24,947 since 2000 (see table 3). These changes are just the tip of the iceberg, as there will be a continual transformation of the region's school-age population (5 to 17) and these shifts will reverberate through the education system.

[15] Jeffrey S Passel, Gretchen Livingston, and D'Vera Cohn. "Explaining Why Minority Births Now Outnumber White Births." Washington DC: Pew Research Center, 2012. Available at: http://www.pewsocialtrends.org/2012/05/17/explaining-why-minority-births-now-outnumber-white-births/

Table 3 - *Majority-Minority Toddler Populations, Percentage of Whites under Age 5*

Southern CA Counties	2000	2010	Absolute Decline
Los Angeles	18%	16.40%	-24,947
Orange	36.50%	28.10%	-24,900
San Diego	39.20%	33.20%	-9,993
Ventura	N/A	30.10%	N/A
San Bernardino	28.60%	20.70%	-7932
Riverside	33.40%	24%	-1667

Note: Due to a small sample size, Ventura County population numbers are missing for 2000
Source: Author's calculation of U.S. Census data, population estimates

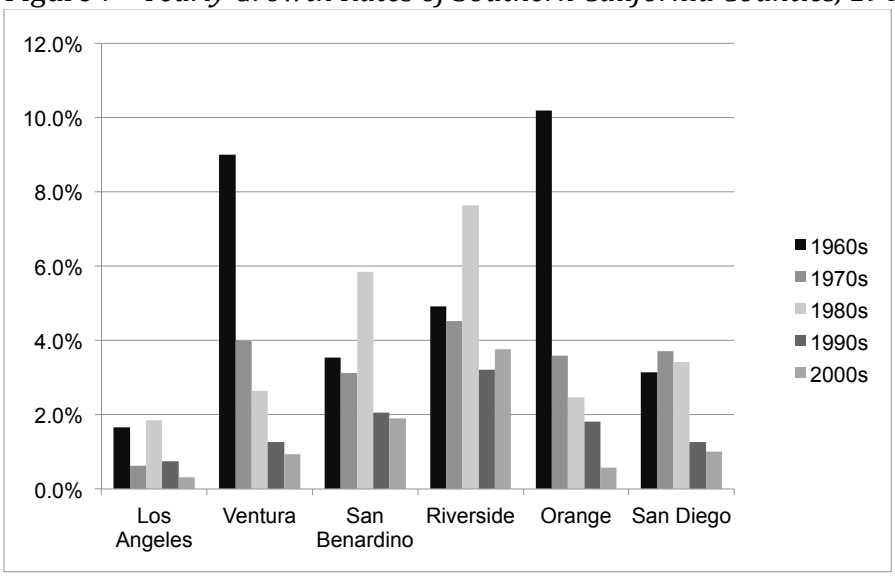
Intraregional Shifts: Not All Counties and Sub-regions of Southern California Have Seen Equal Growth

While significant demographic shifts have changed the population landscape of the six-county Southern California area over the last 50 years, the changes affected each county at different times and in different ways. To understand the development of the Lasanti region, one must understand these counties and their key cities to comprehend the speed with which some areas changed and how broadly, while others did not change at all.

Figure 7 demonstrates that yearly growth rates have varied widely in each decade and in each county. Los Angeles has not had average growth of more than 2% per year in the last 50 years, while San Bernardino and Riverside counties have not had annual growth of less than 2% per annum. While it appears that growth in San Diego, Ventura, and Orange counties has started to slow to levels comparable to Los Angeles, Riverside County's population continues to expand (Figure 7).

Ventura and Orange counties began to expand rapidly in the 1960s. Their proximity to job centers in Los Angeles County and great reservoirs of undeveloped land undoubtedly fueled much of that growth. In the 1980s and 1990s, the greatest percentage change in the region's population occurred in the Inland Empire counties of San Bernardino and Riverside. As Los Angeles, Ventura, and Orange counties neared the saturation point, the growth shifted out to Riverside and San Bernardino counties. Riverside County continued its nearly 4% rate of growth into the 2000s, fueled by the housing boom (Figure 7).

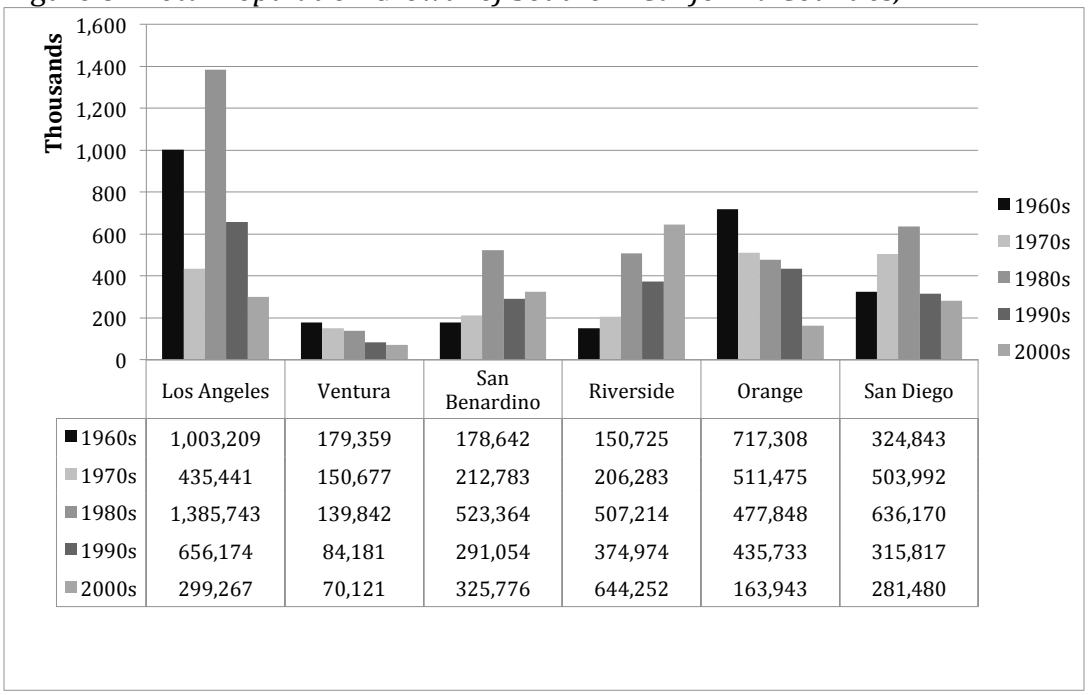
Figure 7 - *Yearly Growth Rates of Southern California Counties, 1960-2010*



Source: Numbers calculated by author, based on data provided by the Census Bureau

While yearly percentage increases demonstrate the pace at which a community changes, actual growth in numbers can tell at different story. As a global economic and cultural powerhouse, it should not be surprising that Los Angeles County's population has increased by an average of about 800,000 residents per decade since the 1960s (see Figure 8) and that it has added the most new residents in every decade except the 1970s, when Orange, San Diego, Riverside, and San Bernardino counties all added more (Figure 8).

Figure 8 - *Total Population Growth of Southern California Counties, 1960-2010*



	Los Angeles	Ventura	San Benardino	Riverside	Orange	San Diego
1960s	1,003,209	179,359	178,642	150,725	717,308	324,843
1970s	435,441	150,677	212,783	206,283	511,475	503,992
1980s	1,385,743	139,842	523,364	507,214	477,848	636,170
1990s	656,174	84,181	291,054	374,974	435,733	315,817
2000s	299,267	70,121	325,776	644,252	163,943	281,480

Source: Numbers calculated by author, based on data provided by the Census Bureau

The Lasanti region is unlikely to stop growing in the coming decades, as illustrated in Table 4.[16] As the U.S. population approaches 400 million by 2050, Southern California is projected to grow 30%, according to the California Department of Finance. Despite their size difference, Los Angeles and Riverside counties are expected to grow by similar amounts over the next 40 years, nearly two million people each. San Diego and Orange counties were tied as the second largest counties in 2010, but by 2050 Riverside County is likely to be the second largest, barely ahead of San Diego and well ahead of Orange.

Table 4 - *Growth of Southern California Region: Riverside County Population Doubles*

	2010	2020	2030	2040	2050
Los Angeles	9,825,496	10,500,679	11,138280	11,451,688	11,567,914
Ventura	825,246	885,196	956,324	1,025,693	1,085,882
San Bernardino	2,038,445	2,283,798	2,588,990	2,885,687	3,159,003
Riverside	2,191,449	2,626,222	3,145,948	3,678,119	4,137,882
Orange	3,016,606	3,220,788	3,385,762	3,509,352	3,565,648
San Diego	3,104,084	3,391,010	3,665,358	3,891,793	4,081,292
Southern CA Total	21,001,326	22,907,693	24,880,663	26,442,332	27,597,621

Note: All population projections are based on preexisting trends, and although demographic trends tend to change slowly, they can change.
Source: California Department of Finance, 2013

Poverty: Variation by Race and Ethnicity

The racial and ethnic composition of the Lasanti region is strongly related to its poverty rates (Table 5), particularly among minority children. Poverty limits access to housing in stable neighborhoods, hinders children's development, and restricts their potential opportunities, especially in the schools. The federal government determines poverty rates using thresholds issued each year by the U.S. Census Bureau. The thresholds represent the annual amount of income required to minimally support families of various sizes.[17]

The poverty rate for all people in the region masks the considerable variation between racial/ethnic groups. The rates for blacks and Hispanics greatly exceed the

[16] *State of California, Department of Finance, Report P-1 (County): State and County Total Population Projections, 2010-2060.* Sacramento, California, January 2013. Available at: http://www.dof.ca.gov/research/demographic/reports/projections/P-1/

[17] The core of the methodology used to calculate the thresholds, established in the mid-1960s, was based on the estimated cost of an "economy food plan"; it has not changed in the 50 years since. The thresholds are updated annually, accounting for inflation, using Consumer Price Index.

regional average. In Los Angeles County, for example, both blacks and Hispanics have a poverty rate more than double that of whites. Furthermore, children represent a disproportionate share of the poor across the region, and the differentials in the county's poverty rates for those under 18 are even starker. Both blacks and Hispanics have poverty rates more than three times higher than whites (33.5%, 30.2%, and 8.9%, respectively). Blacks and Hispanics in all six counties have significantly higher overall poverty and child poverty rates, while Asians and whites have the lowest rates. The same patterns can be found for both per-capita income and median household income across the Lasanti region (Table 5).

Table 5 - *Income and Poverty by Race/Ethnicity in Each Southern California County*

County	Race/ Ethnicity	Per Capita Income	Median Household Income	Percent of Total in Poverty	Percent of Under 18 in Poverty
Los Angeles	White	$45,083	$68,322	10.00%	8.90%
Los Angeles	Black	$23,176	$41,501	22.70%	33.50%
Los Angeles	Hispanic	$14,498	$43,420	22.60%	30.20%
Los Angeles	Asian	$27,790	$60,695	12.90%	13.10%
Orange	White	$44,775	$100,024	3.60%	4.40%
Orange	Black	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Orange	Hispanic	$15,855	$49,866	17.00%	22.40%
Orange	Asian	$28,723	$80,558	10.20%	11.20%
Riverside	White	$32,617	$73,018	6.10%	10.20%
Riverside	Black	$21,731	$60,832	16.00%	21.80%
Riverside	Hispanic	$13,415	$46,782	19.70%	24.80%
Riverside	Asian	$25,096	$76,179	10.30%	10.80%
San Bernardino	White	$29,394	$58,405	7.10%	10.60%
San Bernardino	Black	$19,432	$45,548	18.60%	31.40%
San Bernardino	Hispanic	$13,532	$48,347	20.20%	29.80%
San Bernardino	Asian	$27,139	$75,186	5.80%	8.20%
San Diego	White	$38,040	$84,329	7.00%	10.90%
San Diego	Black	$2,894	$50,755	15.50%	20.60%
San Diego	Hispanic	$15,775	$44,154	18.10%	20.90%
San Diego	Asian	$29,024	$84,164	7.60%	10.90%
Ventura	White	$42,507	$98,710	2.70%	3.40%
Ventura	Black	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Ventura	Hispanic	$16,236	$52,770	17.60%	21.50%
Ventura	Asian	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a

Note: Poverty levels are not adjusted for California's particularly high cost of living
Source: Census American Community Survey, 2010

Falling Birth Rates

Demographers often argue that falling fertility rates underlie many of the nation's most challenging problems. The basic idea is that once a country's fertility rate falls consistently below replacement levels,[18] its age profile begins to shift and the population of old people begins to exceed that of young people. As the older cohort dies off, the overall population begins to shrink, with potentially enormous economic, political, and social consequences.[19]

The year 2007, in a period of prosperity with record high housing values and family wealth, recorded a record number of births in the nation's history: 4,316,233 (number of births should not be confused with birth-rates, which has been in decline for several decades).[20] Since that time, births have been declining; LA County, for example, had a decline of over 12 percent (see Figure 9). The steepest decline since the onset of the Great Recession was seen among Mexican American women and Mexican-born women (23%).[21] There also has been a sharp drop in Mexico's birth rates, which is certain to affect future immigration.[22]

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[18] Replacement fertility refers to the total fertility rate at which newborn girls would have an average of exactly one daughter over their lifetimes. That is, women (or adults), have just enough total babies to replace themselves.

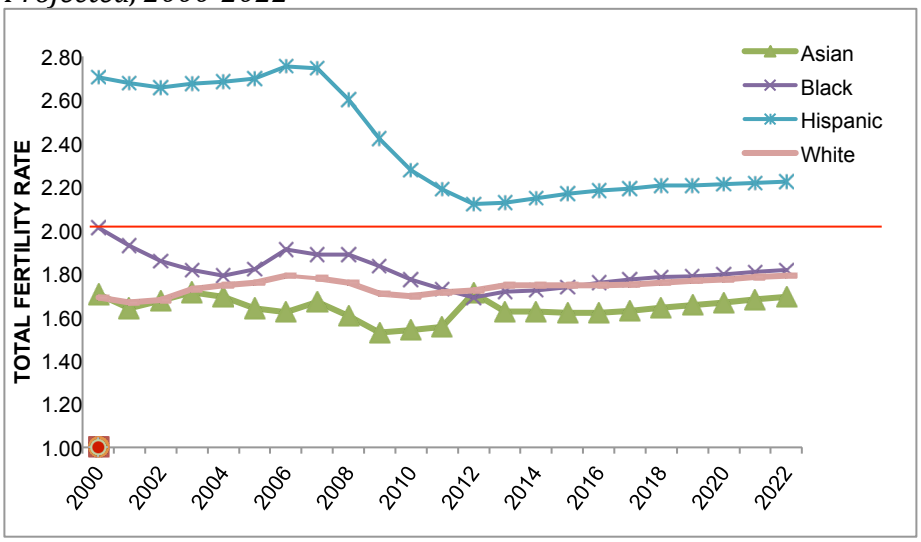
[19] Jonathan V. Last, *What to Expect When No One's Expecting: America's Coming Demographic Disaster*. New York: NY: Encounter Books, 2013.

[20] Martin JA, Hamilton BE, Sutton PD, et al. Births: Final data for 2007. National vital statistics reports; vol. 58 no. 24. Hyattsville, MD: National Center for Health Statistics. 2010. Available at: http://www.cdc.gov/nchs/data/nvsr/nvsr58/nvsr58_24.pdf

[21] Gretchen Livingston and D'Vera Cohn, "U.S. Birth Rate Falls to a Record Low; Decline Is Greatest among Immigrants." Washington, DC: Pew Research Center, 2012. Available at: http://www.pewsocialtrends.org/files/2012/11/Birth_Rate_Final.pdf.

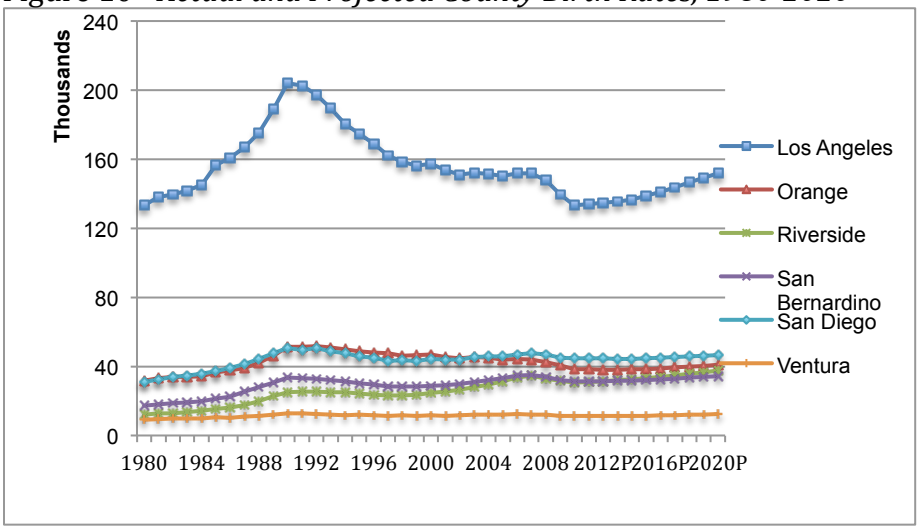
[22] Other states with large Hispanic populations also have seen similar stark reductions in the number of births, including 7.3% in California, 7.5% in Texas, and a dramatic 15.9% in Florida. Martin JA, Hamilton BE, Sutton PD, et al. Births: Final data for 2007. National vital statistics reports; vol. 58 no.

Figure 9 - *Total Fertility Rates of Racial/Ethnic Groups in California, Historical and Projected, 2000-2022*



Note: Actual birthrates are from 1980-2012 and projected for the following years. Red horizontal line represents the 2.1 "replacement level" or number of births needed to keep the population stable.
Source: State of California, Department of Finance, Demographic Research Unit

Figure 10 - *Actual and Projected County Birth Rates, 1980-2020*



Note: Actual birthrates are from 1980-2010 and projected for the following years.
Source: State of California, Department of Finance, Demographic Research Unit

As noted in Figure 10, fertility rates are expected to continue to decline slightly in California before leveling off. According to the Pew Research Center, Hispanics have been hit the hardest during the Great Recession in terms of jobs lost

and decline of wealth, which in large part explains why this group has experienced the largest decline in fertility rates in the last four years.[23] The projections noted in Graph 10 suggest that the fertility rates may never bounce back to pre-recession levels even after the economy recovers. Nonetheless, as the economy rebounds and women have the children they postponed immediately after the Great Recession, there is projected to be an uptick in birth rates.

Regional Variations in Urban Demographic Structure

The changing urban demographics across the Lasanti region have led to sharp divisions in the population's educational, social, and racial profile. Over the last 30 years, changes in the structure of the economy have increased the level of poverty and disadvantage, particularly among racial minorities in the urban core and a growing number of suburban communities. Understanding these social and economic changes is essential to understanding the sweeping demographic transformation of this complex urban region.

A growing geographical divide along racial and social class lines is evident across the Lasanti region. Within this megalopolis, there are three regions which are developing with very different trends and with vastly different racial and age structures, producing different intergenerational patterns of opportunity. In Southern California, the coastal and inland portions of the region have experienced increasingly divergent fortunes, accentuated by the economic shock of the Great Recession. Housing overstretch was most exaggerated in the Inland Empires, where foreclosure rates above 50 per 1000 households were ubiquitous.[24] Working families concentrated in the inland areas of the region were the hardest hit by the Great Recession. Many of these communities suffered a double blow of job loss and home loss, with unemployment rates hitting 20% or more in some places.[25]

Even as the economy continues to rebound, the Southern California region continues to be a tail of two economies, where new industry growth such as foreign trade, and high-tech-based industries have become primarily coastal region economic engines, driving a localized economic boom.[26] Meanwhile, an hour's drive inland is a region with stubbornly high unemployment and a persistent housing crisis. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, Riverside and San Bernardino

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[23] Livingston, "In a Down Economy."
[24] Husing, John E. "Inland Empire Quarterly Economic Report." Riverside, CA: Western Riverside Council of Governments, 2013.
[25] Kfir Mordechay, "Fragmented Economy, Stratified Society, and the Shattered Dream." Los Angeles: Civil Rights Project/Proyecto Derechos Civiles, 2011. Available at: http://civilrightsproject.ucla.edu/research/metro-and-regional-inequalities/lasanti-project-los-angeles-san-diego-tijuana/fragmented-economy-stratified-society-and-the-shattered-dream/labormkt-report-12-20-11-final-corrected.pdf
[26] The UCLA Anderson Forecast For The Nation and California. 2013, 4th Quarter.

counties January 2014 unemployment rate was 8.9%, down from 11.5% a year earlier. On the more prosperous west side of the regions vertical divide, in San Diego County and Orange County, the jobless rates are 6.4% and 5.2%, respectively. Recent housing data suggests that the median home price in Riverside and San Bernardino County was 38% and 40% below its housing bubble peak.[27] In Los Angeles County, prices are 23% under their bubble peak, while in Orange County that figure stands at 16%.[28] The regional disparities have played out in all kinds of ways. According to Zillow estimates, as of December 2013, the median home value in San Bernardino and Riverside County was $231,600 and $275,200, respectively. Along the coastal regions of San Diego and Orange County, the values were $439,800 and $609,200. Housing location and housing wealth are central to family success and mobility, in large part because of the way they interact to create education advantages.

Some of the most dramatic demographic and economic changes in the past generation have occurred in the two Inland Empire Counties. During the boom times of the 1990s and 2000s, many middle-class workers who lived along the coast moved inland, seeking affordable housing. Many African American and Latino families from the inner city and elsewhere, together with many whites completely priced out of the older communities rushed to communities where they could buy homes. A massive construction boom created a buoyant labor market for low-skill workers and drew in many, especially from Mexico and Central America. The boom generated a large migration by black middle-class families from the urban core into the Inland Empire counties. Homes were available with no down payment and credit history, in what would become a virtually unregulated housing boom. Prices soared, encouraging speculation and trading up to bigger homes. Finally, when the Great Recession crashed upon the country, nowhere was the shock harder felt than the Inland Empire. Massive foreclosures, collapse of the construction industry and the job market, sharp cuts in government funds, and the closing of many businesses had a devastating impact which continues to reverberate across the sub-region. By contrast, communities all along the region's coastline have largely bounced back from the recession, some are even in midst of a robust boom with high-tech and export businesses growing and tourism coming back. In fact, some communities along the coast are in the midst of a housing boom, with many home prices above their pre-recession highs.[29]

Adjacent to the U.S. border is a distinct region whose very existence depends on its relationship with southern California. The growth of Tijuana and the

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[27] Shan Li and Andrew Khouri, "California economy continues uneven recovery, UCLA says," The Los Angeles Times, December 5th, 2013.
[28] Ibid.
[29] Andrea Chang and Andrew Khouri, " Silicon Beach housing prices surge as techies move in," The Los Angeles Times, November 13th, 2013.

surrounding regions of the Mexican state of Baja California is impossible to understand without recognizing its deep interdependence with the mushrooming urban complex across the border. Geographically, these separate nations share an almost 2,000-mile long border and have links through a long history of migration, tourism, and familial and cultural ties. In addition to their shared border, economic conditions in Baja are important to the United States. Because of proximity, investment interactions, trade relations, and other political and social features are affected by the relationship between the two regions. Without a doubt, these two regions share the same destiny. The greater Tijuana area is very distant from Mexico's population, transportation, and governmental centers but very close and a huge and dynamic part of the U.S. economy.

Riverside County Overview: 600% Population Growth, Black Growth, Latino Surge

Of all the counties in the Lasanti region, Riverside County has grown the most in recent decades. This county makes up part of the Inland Empire, where open fields and farmland have been replaced with expansive suburban malls and Levittown-type housing tracts. In the last decade, more people moved into or were born in Riverside County than in LA County, an increase fueled in large part by the area's spectacular housing boom. This is particularly impressive, considering that the county barely had 300,000 residents in 1960; today that many new residents move in during a slow decade. Despite the county's grudgingly slow pace of economic recovery and persistently high unemployment,[30] its growth patterns are expected to continue, with Riverside projected to become the second most populous county—not just in the region but in the state—by 2060.[31]

Unlike other counties in the Lasanti region, this Inland Empire county has seen a nearly 600% increase in its black population in the last 40 years (see Table 6). This reflects a major decentralization of the West's largest black population. While the Hispanic and Asian populations both grew more, the growth of the black population in Riverside and throughout the Inland Empire is significant. Many areas of traditional black settlement in Los Angeles County have become heavily Latino, which has helped spark a large outward movement of black middle-class families.

Some of the nation's highest housing prices and the cost of living are likely among the major reasons the black population has shifted away from California's larger metropolitan areas to smaller, less expensive cities in the Inland Empire

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[30] Kfir Mordechay, "Fragmented Economy, Stratified Society, and the Shattered Dream." Los Angeles: Civil Rights Project/Proyecto Derechos Civiles, 2011. Available at: http://civilrightsproject.ucla.edu/research/metro-and-regional-inequalities/lasanti-project-los-angeles-san-diego-tijuana/fragmented-economy-stratified-society-and-the-shattered-dream/labormkt-report-12-20-11-final-corrected.pdf

[31] California Department of Finance, 2013.

counties.[32] This largely explains the decline in the black population in both Los Angeles County and Los Angeles itself over the last three decades. Riverside's white population has also doubled. While the Hispanic population is now the majority, whites still make up 40% of the population and their numbers continue to increase, albeit at a slower rate than Hispanics (Figure 11).

Riverside County also benefits from the dwindling space in the expensive coastal counties and has become a center for families priced out of Orange and LA counties. The number of Hispanic school-age children is increasing, while black numbers have stagnated as a proportion of the total and white students are increasingly less likely to live in Riverside County (see Figure 13). Like many of the other Southern California counties, Riverside has seen a recent increase the number of school-age Asian children.

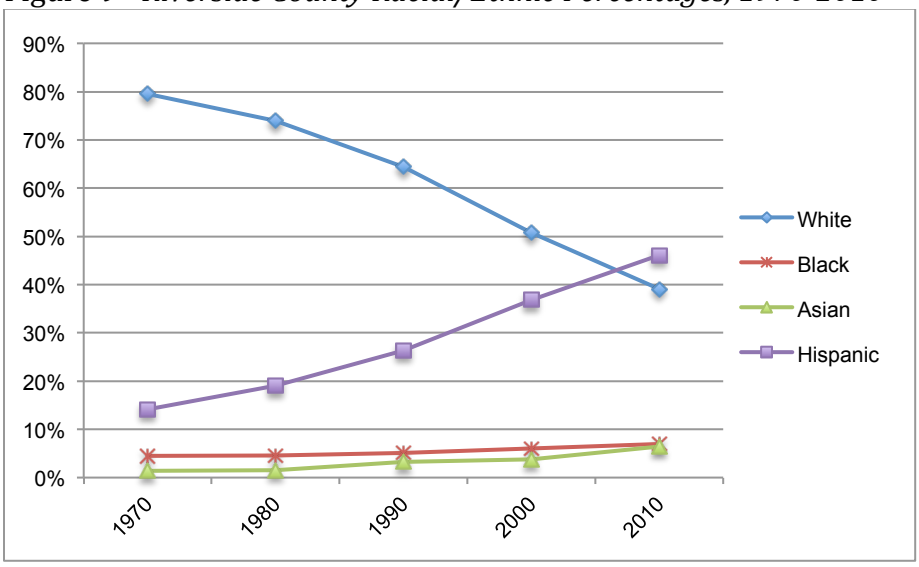
Table 6 - *Riverside County Race/Ethnicity Population Totals, 1960-2010*

	Total Population	**White**	**Black**	**Asian**	**Hispanic**
1960	306,191	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
1970	456,916	363,248	20,561	6,397	64,425
1980	663,199	490,767	30,507	9,948	126,671
1990	1,170,413	753,746	59,691	38,624	308,989
2000	1,545,387	785,057	92,723	58,725	568,702
2010	2,189,641	895,637	140,543	130,468	995,257

Source: U.S. Census Bureau

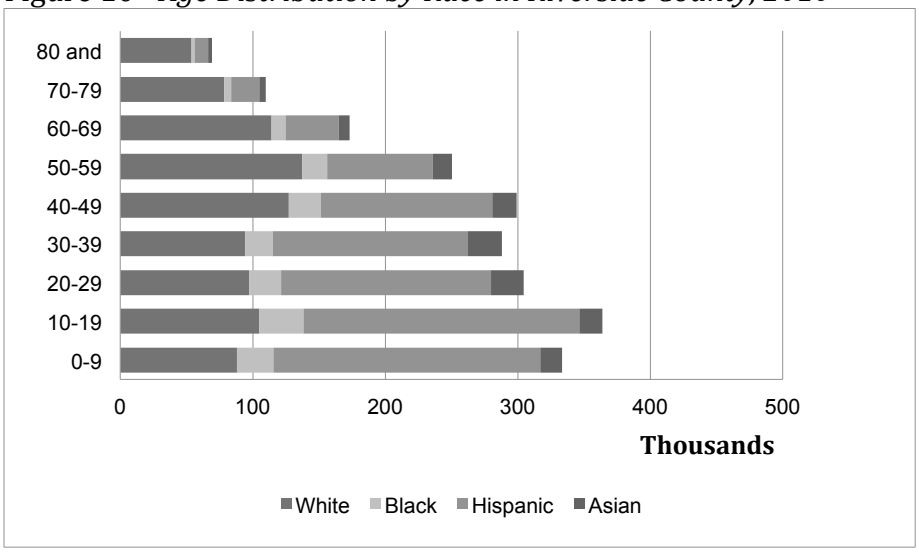
[32] Steven Raphael and Michael A. Stoll, "The State of Black California." Los Angeles: UCLA School of Public Affairs, 2008. Available at: http://www.asmdc.org/speaker/pdf/State_of_Black_California_Full_Report.pdf.

Figure 9 - *Riverside County Racial/Ethnic Percentages, 1970-2010*



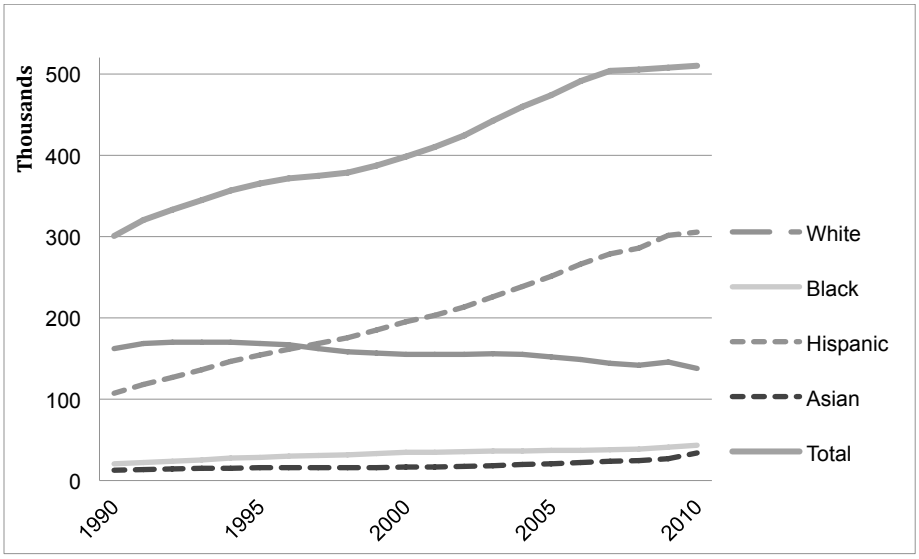
Source: U.S. Census Bureau

Figure 10 - *Age Distribution by Race in Riverside County, 2010*



Source: U.S. Census Bureau

Figure 11 - *Number of Children under Age 14 in Riverside County, by Race/Ethnicity, 1990-2010*

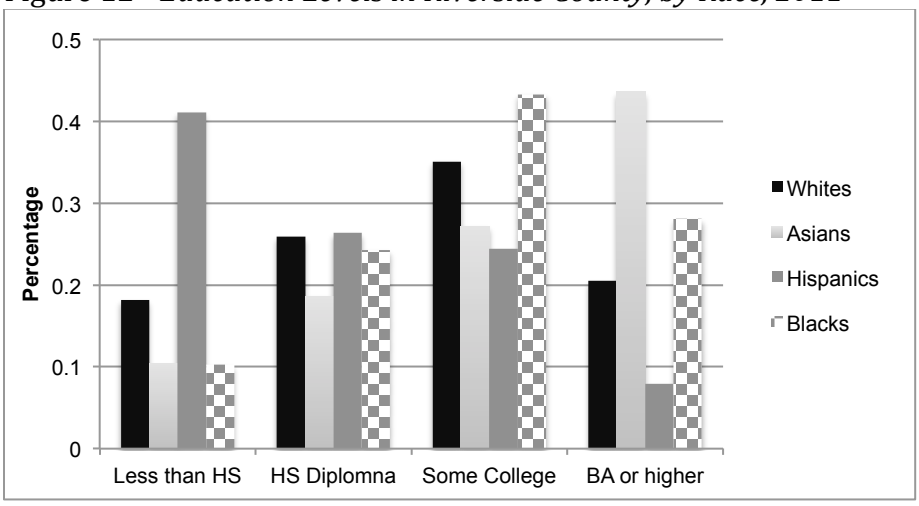


Source: U.S. Census Bureau

Education Gaps

As in the other Southern California counties, Riverside County's Hispanics have the lowest levels of formal education, with over 40% not having completed high school (Figure 14). Asians in Riverside County also follow regional trends, having the highest percentage of college graduates (44%). Interestingly, blacks have the next highest percentage (8%), which deviates from the other counties, where whites have a significantly higher rate of college graduates compared to blacks. Obviously the region is witnessing a large scale sorting out of whites by social class. Riverside County has a higher percentage of whites than blacks who have not completed high school (18% versus 10%). This is explained in part by the fact that more educated whites live in counties with more robust economies, and middle-class blacks have migrated from traditionally black, central-city neighborhoods in Los Angeles into the newer suburbs, particularly during the previous decade's housing boom.

Figure 12 - *Education Levels in Riverside County, by Race, 2011*



Notes: Data is based on author's estimates and is for those age 25 and older.
Source: Census American Community Survey, 2011 (3-year estimates)

San Bernardino County Overview: Quadrupled Population, Black Surge, Latino Growth

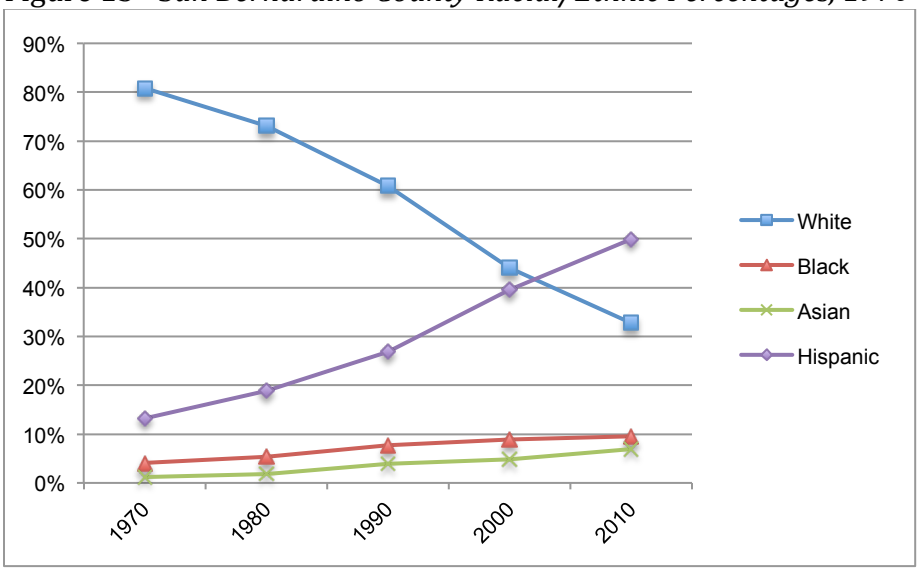
Sprawling San Bernardino County, also part of the vast Inland Empire, has seen tremendous growth in the last 40 years. While it used to be one of the whitest counties in the region, it is now one of the most diverse. As the county's population quadrupled between 1960 and 2010, the Hispanic population multiplied by ten, the black population by eight, and the Asian population by fifteen (Table 7). The white population peaked in 1990—it once made up over 80% of the county population—and since then has been in decline, a case of racial migration fueling "white flight." From 1990 to 2010, the white population decreased by 19% and now is less than one-third of the total (Figure 15). Like its Inland Empire neighbor Riverside County, San Bernardino is a location that offers more affordable housing. It has attracted more blacks than other counties, although the numbers are not nearly as astounding as the intraregional Hispanic migration. Like Riverside County, despite the real estate and labor market declines that have been so pronounced in the area and the severe foreclosure crisis, there is no sign that San Bernardino's population is declining.

Table 7 - *San Bernardino County Racial/Ethnic Population Totals, 1960-2010*

	Total Population	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic
1960	503,591	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
1970	682,233	551,926	27,972	8,187	90,055
1980	895,016	654,257	47,436	16,110	169,158
1990	1,418,380	862,375	109,215	55,317	380,126
2000	1,709,434	752,151	152,140	82,053	676,936
2010	2,035,210	700,214	181,862	128,603	1,001,145

Source: U.S. Census Bureau

Figure 13 - *San Bernardino County Racial/Ethnic Percentages, 1970-2010*

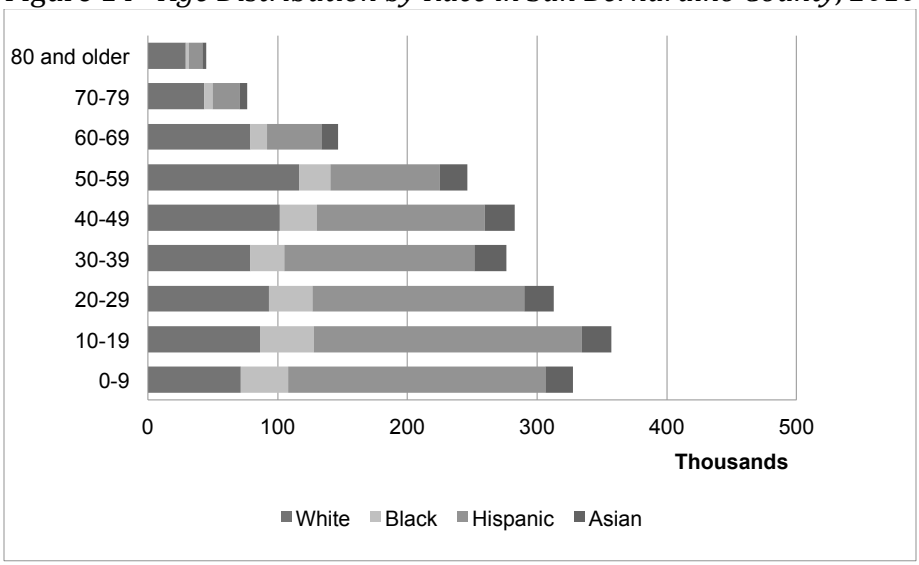


Source: U.S. Census Bureau

As noted in Figure 17, Hispanic school-age children have been a plurality in San Bernardino since 1996 and now a significant majority is Latino. There are two white students for every one black schoolchild in San Bernardino County, a uniquely low ratio for Southern California, which is generally less black than the rest of the nation. San Bernardino County already has the highest proportion of African Americans in the region and is one of the few counties whose black population is expected to increase over the next 40 years.[33]

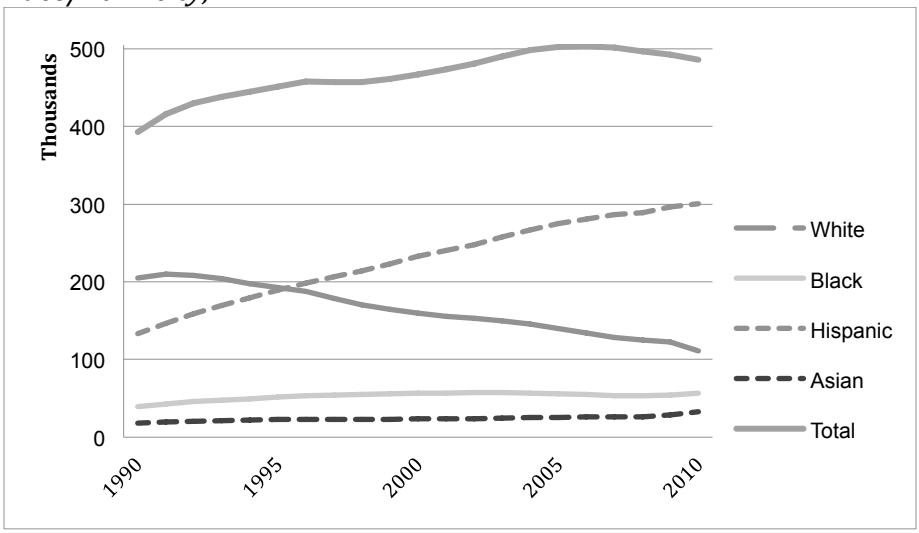
[33] *State of California, Department of Finance, Report P-1 (Race): State and County Total Population Projections, 2010-2060.* Sacramento, California, January 2013. Available at: http://www.dof.ca.gov/research/demographic/reports/projections/P-1/

Figure 14 - *Age Distribution by Race in San Bernardino County, 2010*



Source: U.S. Census Bureau

Figure 15 - *Number of Children under Age 14 in San Bernardino County, by Race/Ethnicity, 1990-2010*

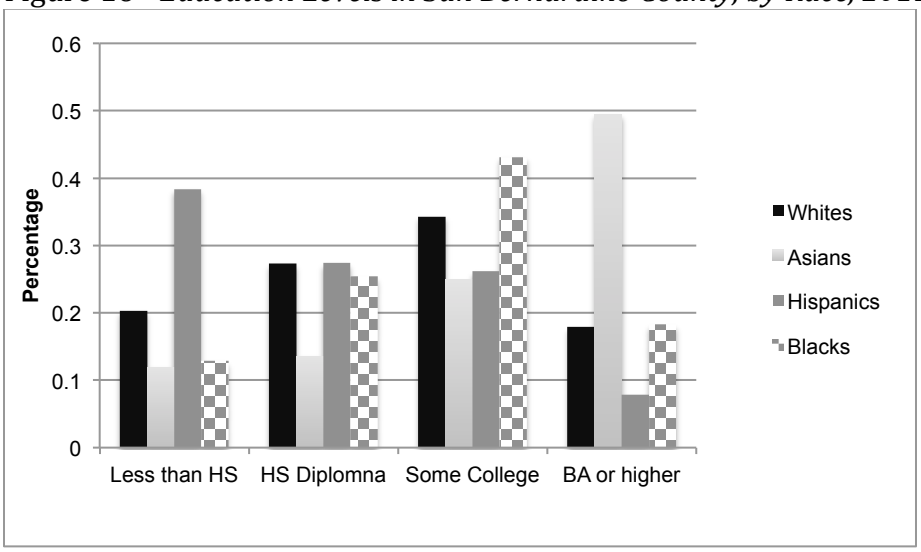


Source: U.S. Census Bureau

Education Gaps

In 2011, among San Bernardino County residents age 25 and over, almost 50% of Asians had bachelor's degrees or higher, and nearly 70% had at least attended college; 21.3% of blacks had a bachelor's degree or higher, and 75% either had a community college degree or had attended college; 18% of Whites had a bachelor's degree or higher, and 52% had attended college; and, finally, 8% of Hispanics had a bachelor's degree or higher, and had 34% attended college (see Figure 18).

Figure 16 - *Education Levels in San Bernardino County, by Race, 2011*



Notes: Data is based on author's estimates and is for those age 25 and older.
Source: Census American Community Survey, 2011 (3-year estimates)

Los Angeles County Overview: White Decline, Black Stagnation, Asian Growth, Latino Majority

The city of Los Angeles experienced its most explosive population growth during the boom of the 1920s, when the automobile became widely used as a means of transportation.[34] During that decade, the population of LA County more than doubled, growing an impressive 136%. Two decades later, during World War II, Los Angeles became a center for the production and shipping of war supplies and fighter planes. Thousands of African American and European Americans from the South and Midwest migrated to the West to fill factory jobs, helping to establish the city's position as an industrial and financial powerhouse.[35]

Today Los Angeles County is the largest in the Lasanti region and it hosts the primary centers of commerce, culture, and academia. The county is the main driver of regional growth and leads the U.S. in manufacturing output and employment.[36] As noted in Table 8, in 1960 the county held two-thirds of the region's nine million population and contained the only highly urbanized area of Southern California outside of San Diego. The fast-growing county population was primarily white,

[34] Martin Wachs, "Autos, Transit, and the Sprawl of Los Angeles: The 1920s." *Journal of the American Planning Association* 50, no. 3 (2007): 297-310.
[35] Ruth Wallach, Dace Taube, Claude Zachary, Linda McCann, and Curtis C. Roseman, *Los Angeles in World War II*. Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2011.
[36] Nancy D. Sidhu, Kimberly Ritter, and Ferdinando Guerra, "Manufacturing: Still a Force in Southern California." Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Economic Development Corporation, 2011. Available at: http://laedc.org/reports/Manufacturing_2011.pdf.

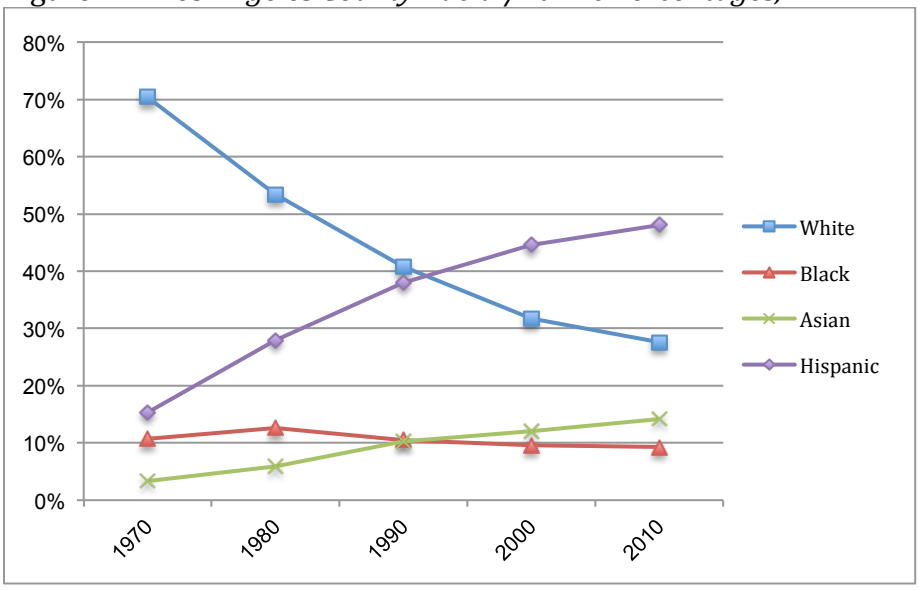
including Los Angeles, which was 15% Latino, 11% black, and had a small minority of Asian Americans (see Figure 19). Within LA County as in the greater region there are marked economic differences between the very affluent regions near the coast and those further inland, which include the great early centers of Latino settlement in the West.

Table 8 - *Los Angeles County Racial/Ethnic Population, 1890-2010*

Year	Total	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic
1890	**101,454**	95,033	1,817	n/a	n/a
1900	**170,298**	163,975	2,841	n/a	n/a
1910	**504,131**	483,474	9,424	n/a	n/a
1920	**936,455**	894,507	18,738	n/a	n/a
1930	**2,208,492**	1,949,882	46,425	n/a	n/a
1940	**2,785,643**	2,660,042	75,209	n/a	n/a
1950	**4,151,687**	3,877,940	217,881	n/a	n/a
1960	**6,038,711**	5,453,866	461,546	n/a	n/a
1970	**7,041,980**	4,957,554	753,492	232,385	1,077,423
1980	**7,477,421**	3,992,943	942,155	441,168	2,086,200
1990	**8,863,164**	3,616,171	930,632	912,906	3,368,002
2000	**9,519,338**	3,017,630	909,097	1,151,840	4,245,625
2010	**9,889,056**	2,729,379	856,874	1,346,865	4,687,889

Source: U.S. Census Bureau

Figure 17 - *Los Angeles County Racial/Ethnic Percentages, 1970-2010*



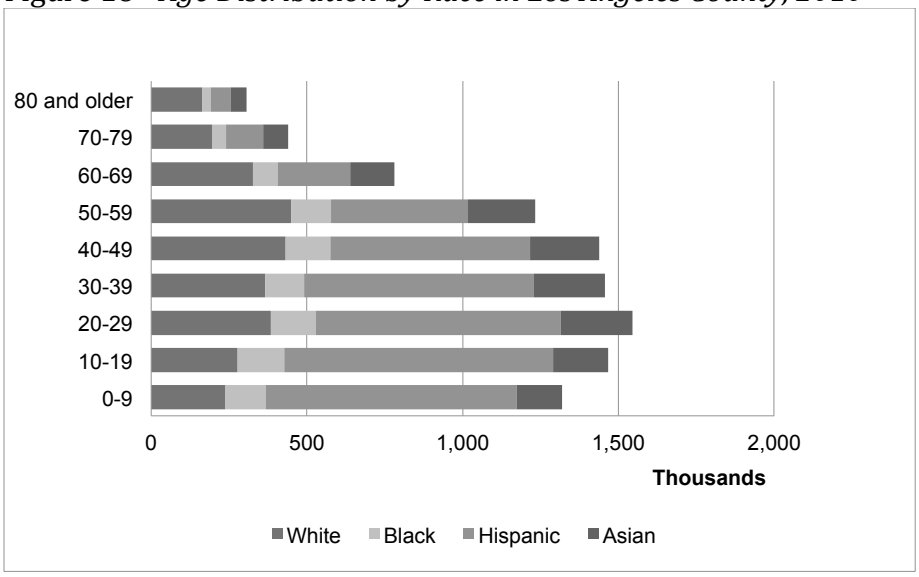
Source: U.S. Census Bureau

As of 2010, almost 50% of the residents of Southern California lived in Los Angeles County, which is still the center of the region if no longer the only focal point. In the last 50 years, as illustrated in Figure 19, the county population has been

transformed from 70% white to 70% minority. The cultural melting pot of Los Angeles County has seen not only a percentage decrease in white residents, but a loss of more than two million white residents since 1970, even though the county population has grown significantly. During the last 50 years, the Asian and Hispanic populations have quadrupled, while the black population has increased by 100,000 (see Figure 19). In fact, in 1970, the Asian population was half the black number, and by 2010 Asians outnumbered blacks by almost twofold.

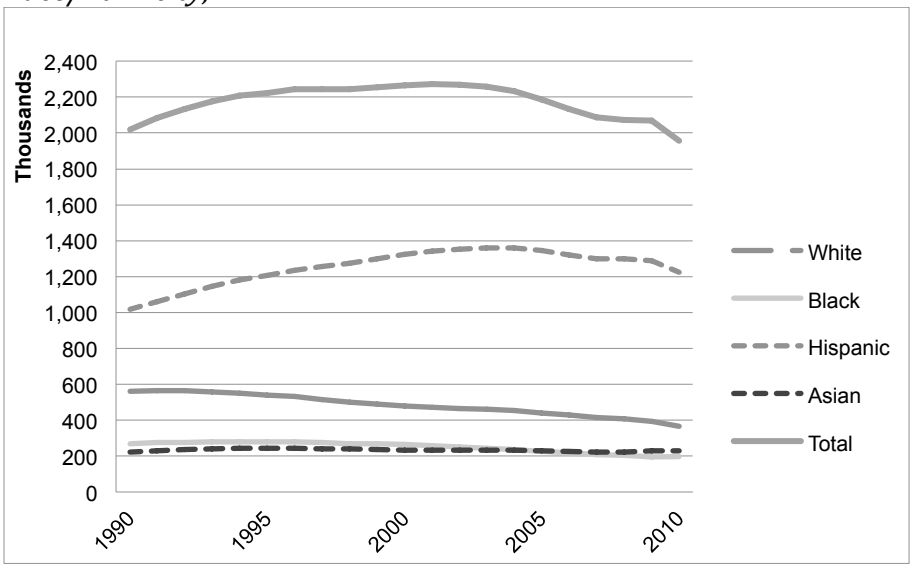
While the county population is majority Hispanic, this is not true across all ages. Figure 20 shows parity among whites and Hispanics over age 50, and that the majority of people over 70 are white. Figure 21 demonstrates that the tremendous numeric growth has occurred in the number of children in Hispanic families and the number of Hispanic immigrants, though 2006 saw the beginning of a sharp decline. The number of Asians has increased since 2008, while the number of black children has stagnated and that of white children has decreased. Nevertheless, Figure 19 and Figure 21 demonstrate that by 2030 the region will become increasingly Hispanic and white Angelenos will be outnumbered by Hispanics and Asians.

Figure 18 - *Age Distribution by Race in Los Angeles County, 2010*



Source: U.S. Census Bureau

Figure 19 - *Number of Children under Age 14 in Los Angeles County, by Race/Ethnicity, 1990-2010*

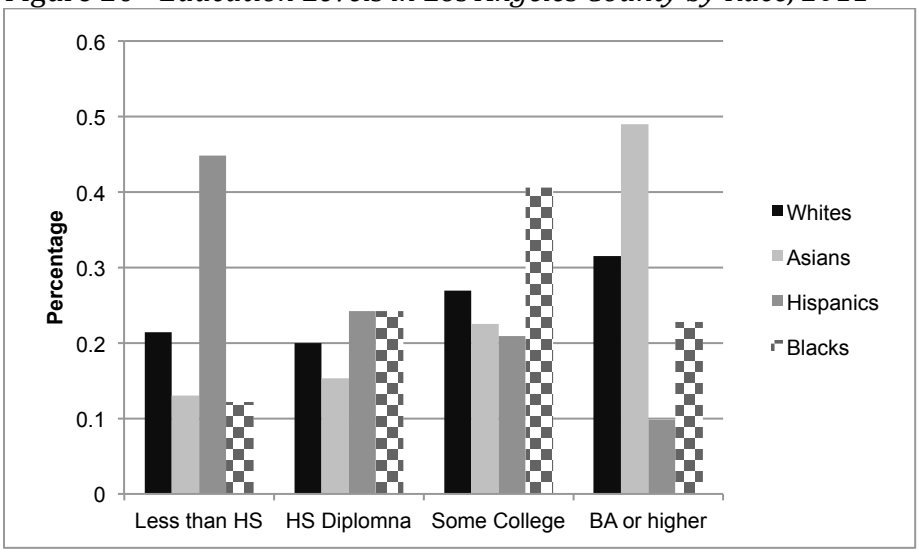


Source: U.S. Census Bureau

Education Gaps

The latest educational attainment data for LA County confirms what ongoing research has shown, that is a stubbornly persistent education gap across racial groups. Asians have by far the highest percentage of bachelor's degree or higher (49%), followed by whites (31%) and blacks (22%). Hispanics have the lowest level of formal education; fewer than 10% of all Hispanics in the county have a bachelor's degree or higher, and almost 45% have not completed high school (Figure 22).

Figure 20 - *Education Levels in Los Angeles County by Race, 2011*



Notes: Data is based on author's estimates and is for those age 25 and older.
Source: Census American Community Survey, 2011 (3-year estimates)

San Diego County Overview: Tripled Population, White Majority, Growth in Number of Latinos, Asians

Since World War II, military and related businesses have played a leading role in San Diego's local economy. However, the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War lead to a considerable downsizing of the military presence in the city. San Diego has since become a center of the emerging biotech and clean energy industries and is home to global telecommunications giant Qualcomm.[37] The popular port city, also the region's great natural port, has seen its population triple in the last 50 years. As shown in Table 9, San Diego County gained over 850,000 Hispanics, 400,000 whites, more than 300,000 Asians, and 100,000 African Americans in those 50 years. Although adjacent to the U.S.-Mexico border, San Diego was the only majority white county in the Lasanti region in 2010. According the California Department of Finance, the highly developed county is expected to continue to grow at a fast rate and have 31% more people by 2050.

Table 9 - *San Diego County Racial/Ethnic Population Totals, 1890-2010*

Year	Total	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic
1890	34,987	33,211	376	n/a	n/a
1900	35,039	32,048	406	n/a	n/a
1910	61,665	58,514	684	n/a	n/a
1920	112,248	107,911	1,190	n/a	n/a
1930	209,659	186,208	2,886	n/a	n/a
1940	289,348	279,628	4,444	n/a	n/a
1950	556,808	532,967	17,030	n/a	n/a
1960	1,033,011	976,071	39,397	n/a	n/a
1970	1,357,854	1,137,882	61,103	28,515	123,565
1980	1,861,846	1,381,490	102,402	85,645	279,277
1990	2,498,016	1,633,702	149,881	184,853	514,591
2000	2,813,833	1,561,677	157,575	250,431	751,293
2010	3,095,313	1,553,774	158,213	336,091	991,348

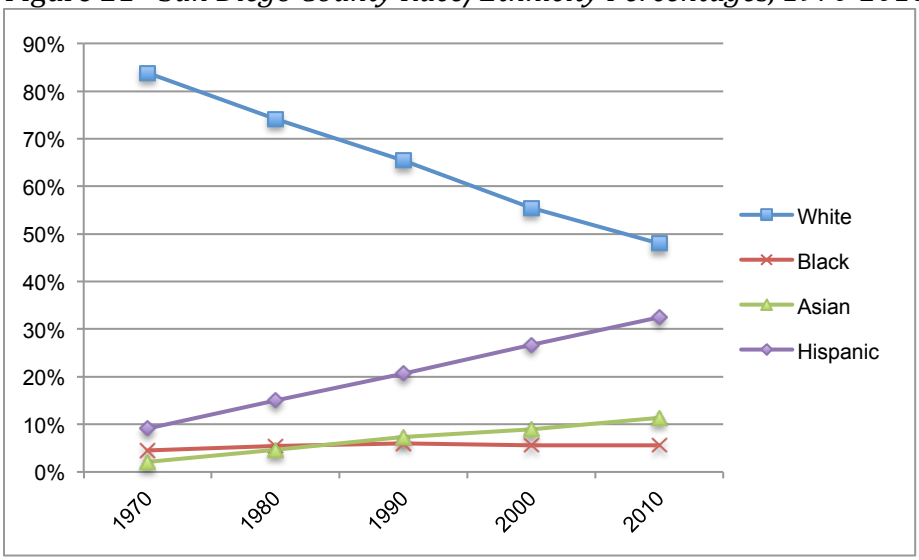
Source: U.S. Census Bureau

Two million people have moved to San Diego County in the last 50 years. While the population of San Diego city has almost doubled in the last 20 years, the Hispanic population has more than doubled, adding over 450,000 people, and the Asian population has tripled, with an increase of 150,000 (Figure 23). The city has

[37] "Clean Tech Leadership Strategy: Economic Growth Services." San Diego: CA: Office of the Mayor, 2010. Available at: http://www.sandiego.gov/environmental-services/pdf/sustainable/cleantech.pdf

been majority Hispanic since 2000, while the nominal black population has increased only slightly and the white population has decreased. The border city of Chula Vista now has about a quarter million residents.

Figure 21 - *San Diego County Race/Ethnicity Percentages, 1970-2010*



Source: U.S. Census Bureau

Although the county has the lowest percentage of Latinos in the Lasanti region, San Diego has similar numbers of white and Hispanic school-age children (see Figure 25). Hispanics, Asians, and African Americans are greatly outnumbered by whites in the 40 and older age group (Figure 24), which suggests that the city is also considered a retirement cluster[38] as it has become destination for older whites. The county is expected to remain the least Hispanic in the region in 2050 and to have a plurality of white residents at that time.

[38] Fred Brock, "Baby Boomers' Second Act," *New York Times*, 2011. Available at: http://www.nytimes.com/ref/realestate/greathomes/GH-Retire.html.

Figure 22 - *Age Distribution by Race in San Diego County, 2010*

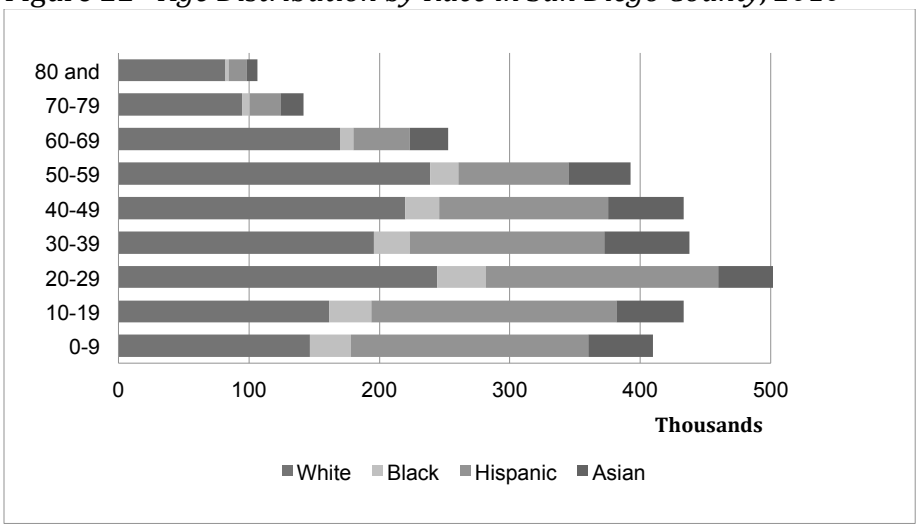
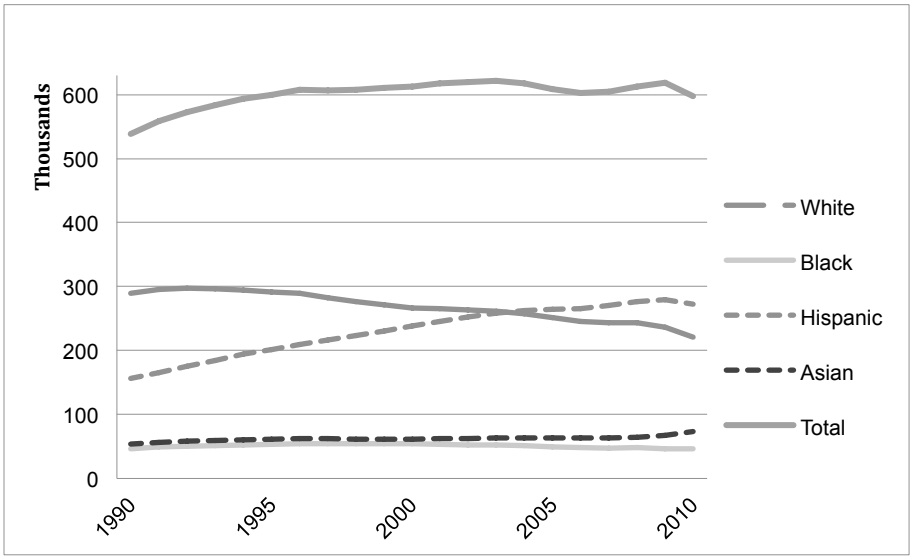


Figure 23 - *Number of Children under Age 14 in San Diego County, by Race/Ethnicity, 1990-2010*

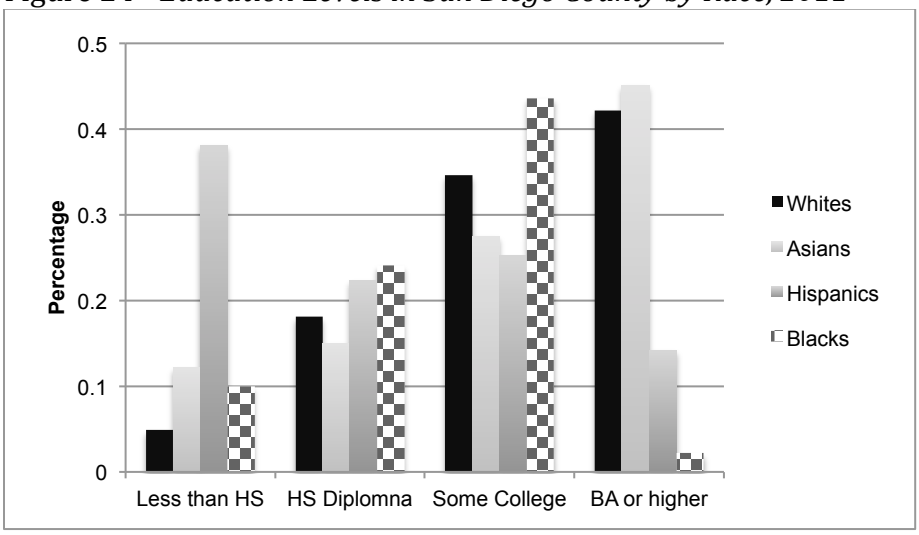


Source: U.S. Census Bureau

Education Gap

The educational differentials in San Diego County are clearly illustrated in Figure 26. The percentage of Hispanics who have not completed high school (39%) far exceeds all other racial and ethnic groups: Asians (12%), blacks (10%), and whites (4%). The percentage of Asians and whites who hold bachelor's degrees or higher by far exceed those of blacks and Latinos (45% and 42%, respectively, compared to 2% and 14%, respectively).

Figure 24 - *Education Levels in San Diego County by Race, 2011*



Notes: Data is based on author's estimates and is for those age 25 and older.
Source: Census American Community Survey, 2011 (3-year estimates)

Ventura County Overview: Quadrupled Population but Slow Growth Overall: Latino Growth, White Decline

The region's smallest in both size and population, Ventura County is also an area that grew tremendously during the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s (Table 10), primarily because much of the county is within commuting distance of Los Angeles. The county's population is increasingly diverse, but only in the last two decades has it become strongly Hispanic (see Figure 27); it has not seen the growth of Asian families that Orange County did during that period.

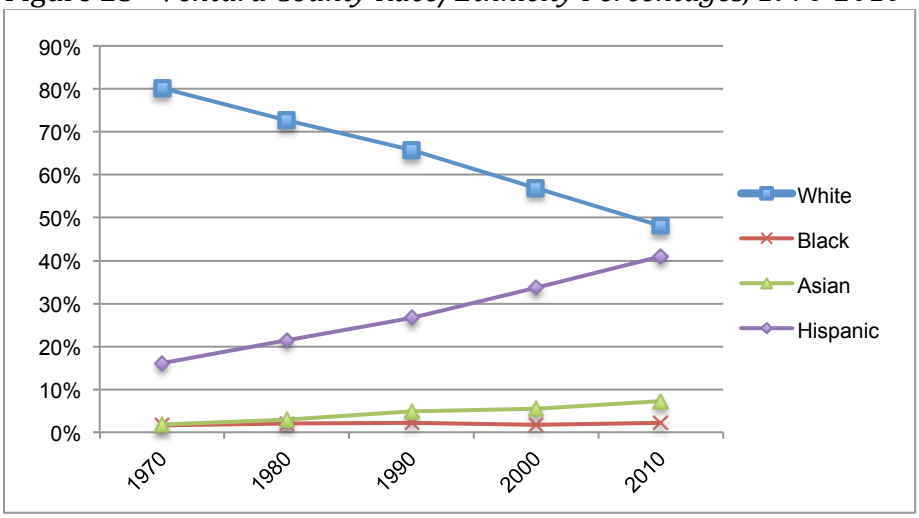
Ventura County's Latino population increased by more than 30% over the last decade; in 2010, 41% of all residents were Latinos (Figure 27). This is a trend seen across California, where Latinos increased from 32% of the total population to 38% from 2000 to 2010.

Table 10 - *Ventura County Racial/Ethnic Population, 1960-2010*

	Total Population	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic
1960	199,138	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
1970	378,497	303,555	6,056	6,813	60,938
1980	529,174	384,709	10,583	15,875	113,772
1990	669,016	440,213	14,718	32,782	177,958
2000	753,197	428,569	13,558	40,673	253,074
2010	823,318	411,604	15,163	67,091	331,567

Source: U.S. Census Bureau

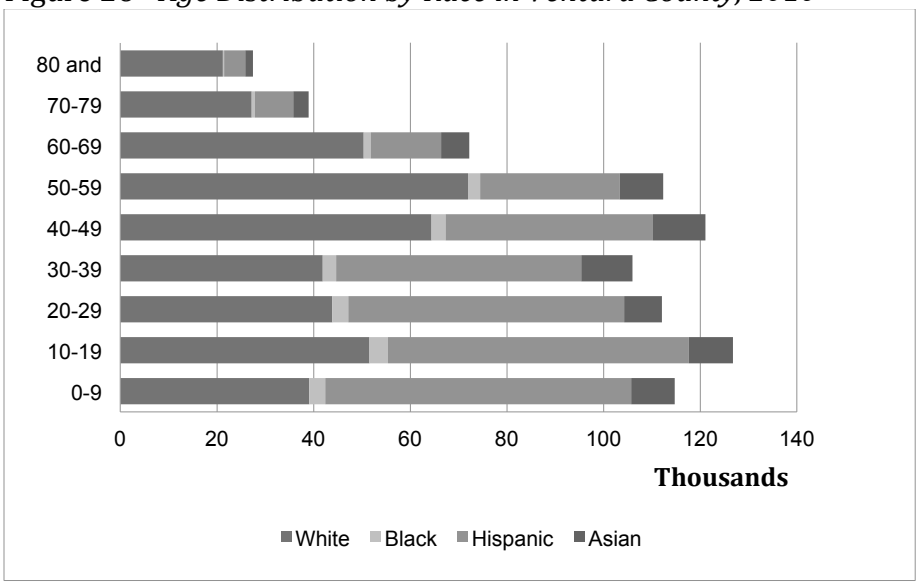
Figure 25 - *Ventura County Race/Ethnicity Percentages, 1970-2010*



Source: U.S. Census Bureau

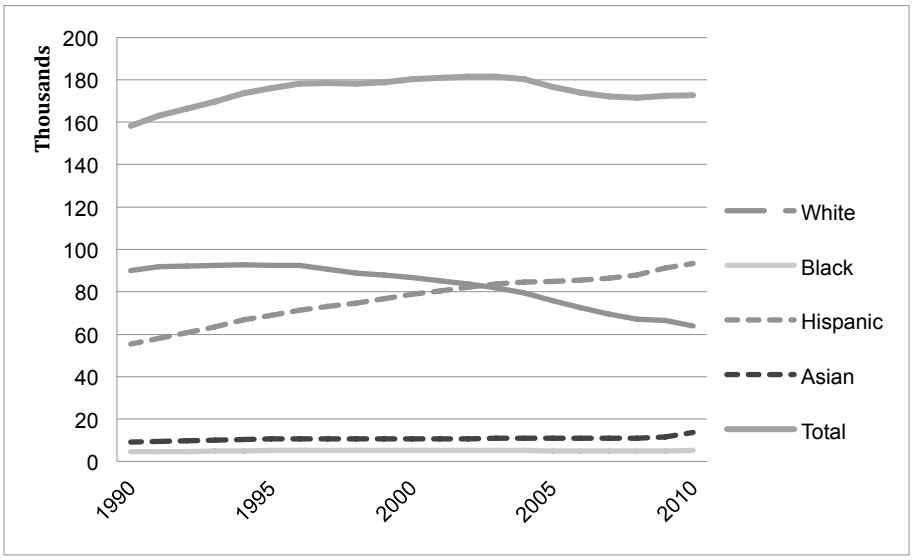
The county's under-40 population is majority Hispanic, and Hispanic school-age children in Ventura County recently became the majority (see Figure 28 and 29). While the county has less than a million people, it is expected to grow by another 32% in the next 40 years, according projections from the California Department of Finance. The white population is expected to continue to decline, as it has been doing for some time, while the Hispanic population is expect to continue to rise.

Figure 26 - *Age Distribution by Race in Ventura County, 2010*



Source: U.S. Census Bureau

Figure 27 - *Number of Children under 14 in Ventura County by Race/Ethnicity, 1990-2010*

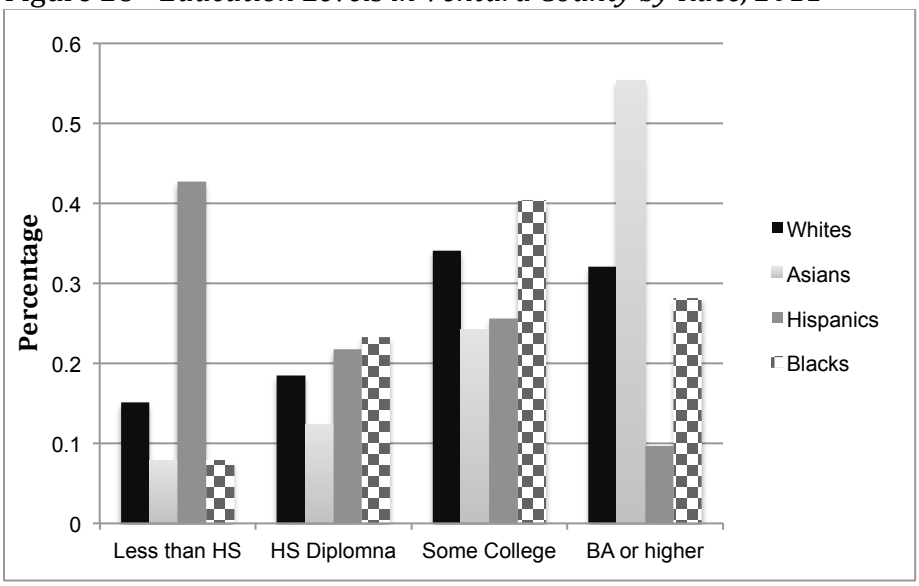


Source: U.S. Census Bureau

Education Gaps

Like Los Angeles and San Diego counties, Ventura County's Hispanics have by far the lowest levels of formal education. Close to 43% of Hispanics have not completed high school, followed by whites at 15%. The percentage of Asians that hold a bachelor's degree or higher (55%) is the greatest of any group across the Southern California region, followed by whites (32%) and blacks (28%) (see Figure 30).

Figure 28 - *Education Levels in Ventura County by Race, 2011*



Note: Data is based on author's estimates and is for those age 25 and older.
Source: Census American Community Survey, 2011 (3-year estimates)

Orange County Overview: 300% Growth, White Decline, Asian Growth, Latino Growth

Home to Disneyland, Orange County's lifestyle long typified the suburban California dream. While this ideal once conjured up an image of the 1970s white family, this is no longer the typical demographic in Orange County. Just as white families were drawn from Los Angeles to Orange County by the hundreds of thousands from the 1960s to the 1980s, Asian and Hispanic families are now flocking to the county in droves. More than a third of the county's population is Hispanic, and Asians make up nearly one-fifth—an increase of nearly 40 percent in the last decade (Figure 31). The Asian population in 2010 was 22 times greater than the 25,000 who lived in Orange County 40 years earlier, and the Hispanic population increased over 700% in the same timeframe, to more than million (see Table 11). The white population in the county peaked in 1990 and has since been in decline, while the black population increased slightly from an extremely low number; Orange County has the smallest share of African Americans in the region. A county that was almost 90% white in 1970 has become a melting pot that is a center of Hispanic culture and has a rapidly growing Asian population.[39]

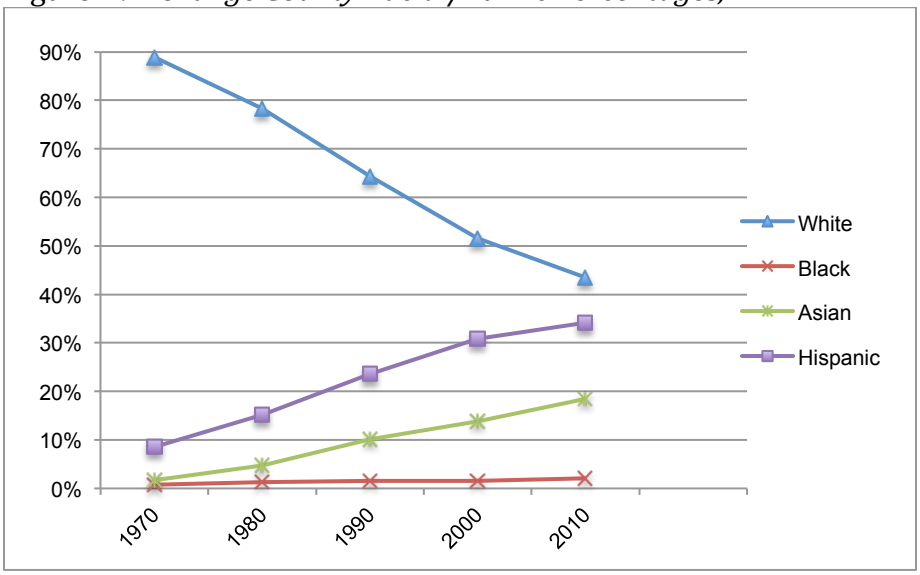
[39] Jennifer Medina, "New Suburban Dream Born of Asia and Southern California," *New York Times*, April 29, 2013. Available at: http://www.nytimes.com/2013/04/29/us/asians-now-largest-immigrant-group-in-southern-california.html

Table 11 - *Orange County Racial/Ethnic Population Totals, 1960-2010*

	Total Population	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic
1960	703,925	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
1970	1,421,233	1,263,476	9,949	24,161	120,805
1980	1,932,708	1,515,243	25,125	90,837	291,839
1990	2,410,556	1,549,988	38,569	243,466	568,891
2000	2,846,289	1,465,839	45,541	392,788	879,503
2010	3,010,232	1,309,451	50,744	537,804	1,012,973

Source: U.S. Census Bureau

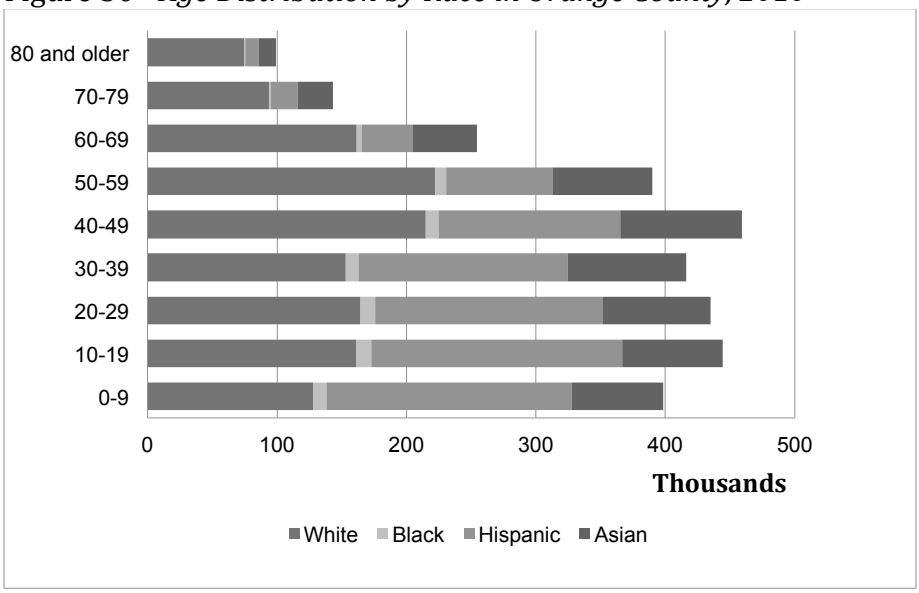
Figure 29 - *Orange County Racial/Ethnic Percentages, 1970-2010*



Source: U.S. Census Bureau

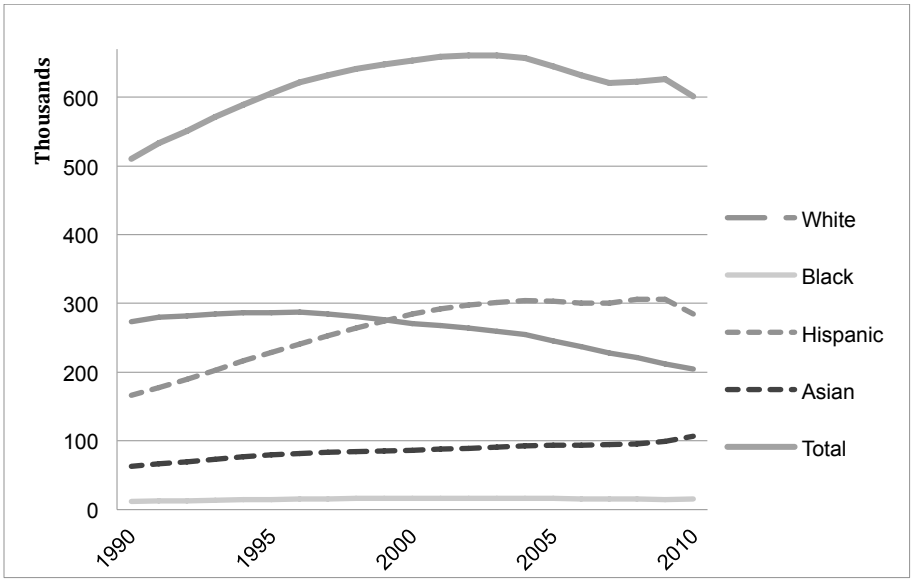
The diversity of the county is not reflected at all age levels. Older Orange County residents are overwhelmingly white, as is the case in several of the other Southern California counties (Figure 32). Unlike other counties, however, Hispanic children only surpassed white children in Orange County in 1999 (see Figure 33). The population of Asian children continues to increase, and it is expected that there will be more Asians than whites in Orange County by 2050. At that point, the county will have nearly four million residents, 60% of them Latino and fewer than 1% black, if existing trends continue.

Figure 30 - *Age Distribution by Race in Orange County, 2010*



Source: U.S. Census Bureau

Figure 31 - *Number of Children under Age 14 in Orange County, by Race/Ethnicity, 1990-2010*



Source: U.S. Census Bureau

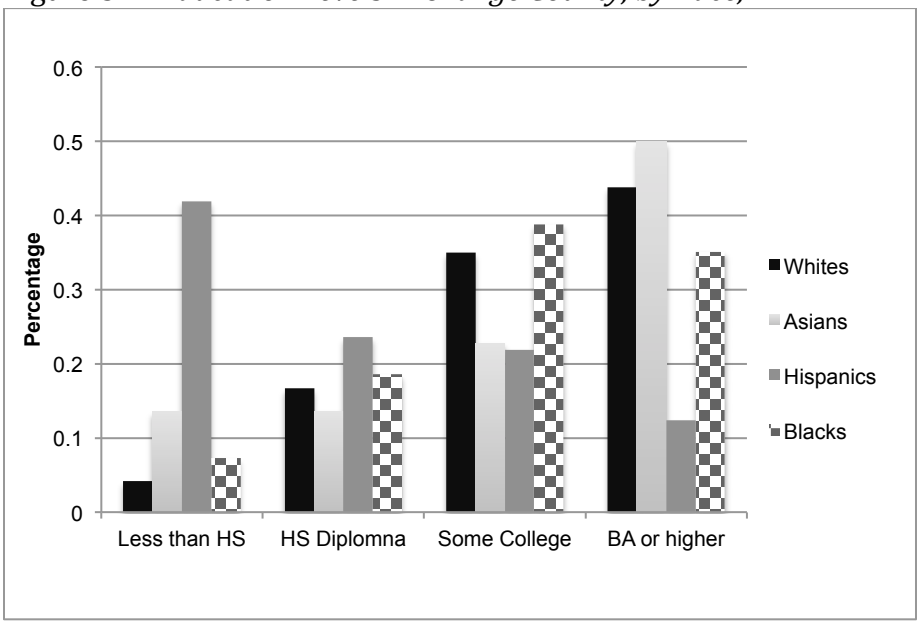
Orange County has long attracted white transplants from Los Angeles and Long Beach and now attracts many of their middle- and upper-middle-class Asian and Hispanic peers from the cities and from abroad. The county has now entered a period of modest growth, and its tourism industry, anchored by Disneyland and

other amusement parks, will likely continue to drive economic activity and demographic growth in the area.[40]

Education Gaps

Of the six Southern California counties, Orange County has the highest proportion of residents with a college degree. At 50% and 43%, respectively, the percentage of Asian and white college graduates far exceeds that of other racial and ethnic groups, while 35% of blacks in the county hold a bachelor's degree or higher—the highest rate for blacks in the Lasanti region. Hispanics have the lowest levels of educational attainment in the county (see Figure 34).

Figure 32 - *Education Levels in Orange County, by Race, 2011*



Note: Data is based on author's estimates and is for those age 25 and older.
Source: Census American Community Survey, 2011 (3-year estimates)

Baja California Overview: Population Growth, Fertility Rate Decline

The growth of Tijuana and the surrounding regions of the Mexican state of Baja California is impossible to understand without recognizing its deep interdependence with the sprawling urban complex across the border. As Prof. Miguel Angel Vázquez Ruiz, observed, "Baja California is perhaps the part of Mexico whose development has depending most on the nearness to the U.S economy."[41] Early development in the area included mining, farming and cotton crops connected

[40] The UCLA Anderson Forecast For The Nation And California. 2013, 1st Quarter.
[41] Miguel Angel Vázquez Ruiz, Los grupos de poder económico en el Norte de México," in Norma Klahn, Petro Castillo, Alejandra Álvarez, and Federicao Manchón, *Las Nuevas Fronteras del Siglo XXI,* Mexico D.F.*:* Jornada Ediciones, 2000, pp. 904

to the U.S. market. It was the passage of prohibition in the U.S. following World War II that created a surging tourist industry and spurred development of the rural borderlands into a substantial city.[42] As the city grew, U.S. investment and economic demand played a decisive role. For many years there was a relatively open border with the United States- not needing to show identification or change money until they were well past the urbanized area. There was very large migration back and forth and strong cultural and media connections, especially with the surging Mexican American population of California.

The enactment of NAFTA, the North American Free Trade Agreement, brought down most of the economic barriers along the border and spurred a large increase in the factories (maquiladoras). This had been greatly stimulated by Mexican laws in the l960s and l970s that offered large tax benefits to factories close to the border that exported all of their production. This offered U.S. businesses the opportunity to build factories a stone's throw from the U.S. border with low wage labor and very low taxes. As a result, many businesses responded, creating a base that was to explode after NAFTA came into operation in l994, creating huge savings for firms that moved their production across a border that no longer had import fees.[43] By 1980 the municipalities on the California border had nearly 50,000 employees working in manufacturing and nearly 20,000 in the assembly of goods.[44] There are, of course, large multiplier effects of manufacturing jobs. Though the maquiladora wages were low by U.S. standards, they were far higher paying than many jobs in the Mexican economy. This, together with a large tourist industry created forces of economic growth that drew migrants from across Mexico to the country's far Northwestern border. This was the period of a very large migration from the U.S. to Mexico as well, with California as the leading destination both for legal and undocumented immigration. Many undocumented workers in the U.S. were legalized and given a path to citizenship in *The Immigration Reform and Control Act of l986*.[45] The intense interdependence of the two sides of the great urban complex is apparent at the immense Tijuana border crossing area, the busiest in the world.

The major population areas along the California-Mexico border are San Diego-Tijuana and Mexicali. Baja California has only one major city, Tijuana, and smaller outlying cities such as Rosarito and Ensenada on the Pacific Coast and Tecate to the east. The region is one of the major transit centers into the U.S., with significant immigration from across Mexico and Central America. According to the

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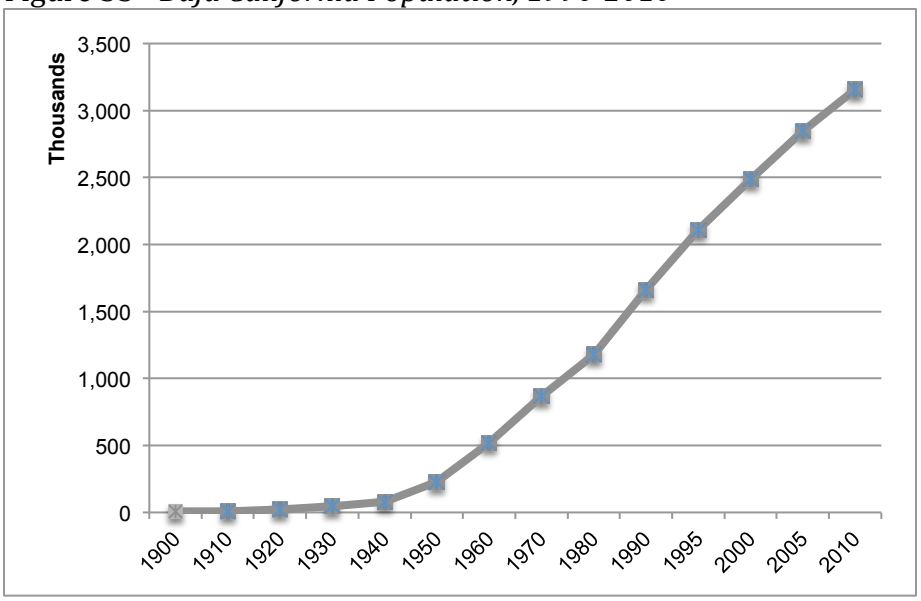
[42] Ibid.
[43] Manuel Perló, Efectos espaciales de las internacionalization de la economia méxicana," in Guillermo Boils, ed., *Mexico: Problemas Urbana Regionales*. Mexico City: García Valadéz editors, 1987, 289-338.
[44] Ibid., p. 326.
[45] (IRCA), Pub.L. 99–603, 100 Stat. 3445, enacted November 6, 1986.

2010 Mexican census,[46] Baja California has a population of 3,155,070 (Figure 35), an annual growth rate of 2.75%, and a median age of 26. The average number of years of schooling for people 15 and older was 9.3 years in 2010, up from 7.7 years two decades earlier, placing Baja in eighth place among the 32 Mexican states.

Each municipality in Baja California had significant average annual population growth over the last decade (2000-2010; see Table 12). Rosarito grew the most (3.5%), followed by Tecate (2.6%), Tijuana (2.5%), Ensenada (2.3%), and Mexicali (2.0%); all were above Mexico's overall average of 1.4%. By contrast, the population across the border in San Diego County grew at an annual rate of 1% during the same period.

Figure 33 - *Baja California Population, 1990-2010*



Source: INEGI

[46] Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía (INEGI) is the Mexican Census

Table 12 - *Baja California Five Municipality Population, 2010*

Municipality	Population, 2010	2000-2010 +/-
Tijuana	1,560,007	2.50%
Mexicali	936,826	2.00%
Ensenada	466,814	2.30%
Tecate	101,079	2.60%
Rosarito	90,668	3.50%

Source: INEGI

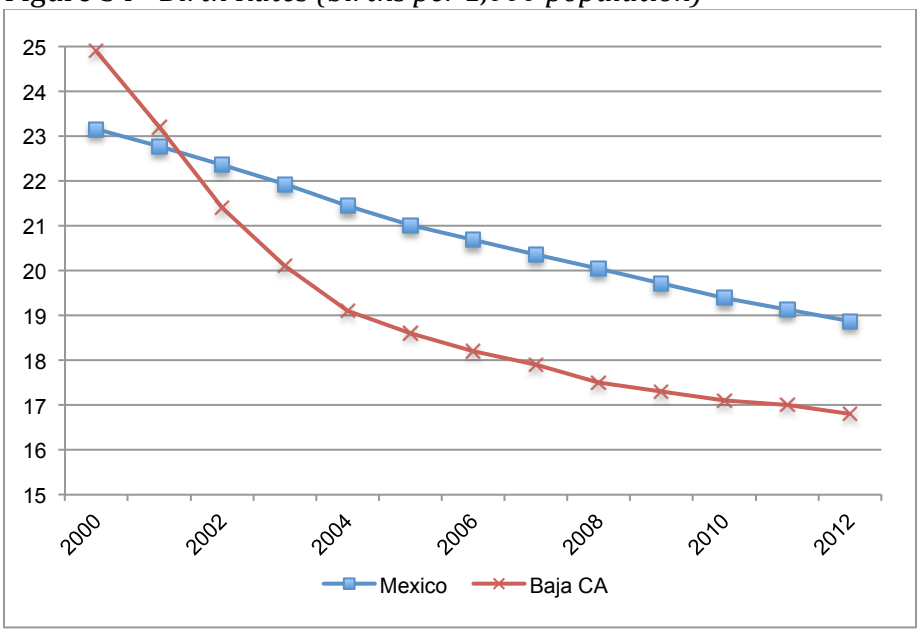
The decline in fertility rates in Baja California did not begin until the mid-1960s. At the beginning of the 20th century, families across Mexico typically had around seven children, and that number held well into the early 1960s. During the last 40 years, however, Baja California has seen a stark decrease in the number of births, with the 1990 census counting 2.1 children for every woman of childbearing age (15 to 49). The figure was 1.9 in 2000 and 1.7 a decade later, well below reproduction levels (Figure 36). This trend could have a profound impact on the United States, which, in recent years, has absorbed close to half of each new Mexican generation.[47] According to recent projections, by 2050 there will be 20% fewer Mexicans in their twenties than there are now,[48] which suggests that industries in the United States that have relied on migrant labor (documented or otherwise) will have a dramatically decreased labor supply, as will the many *maquiladora* factories on the Mexican side of the Lasanti region.[49] Figure 37 clearly illustrates Baja's declining youth population.

[47] "When the Niños Run Out," *The Economist*, 2010. Available at: http://www.economist.com/node/15959332

[48] Ibid.

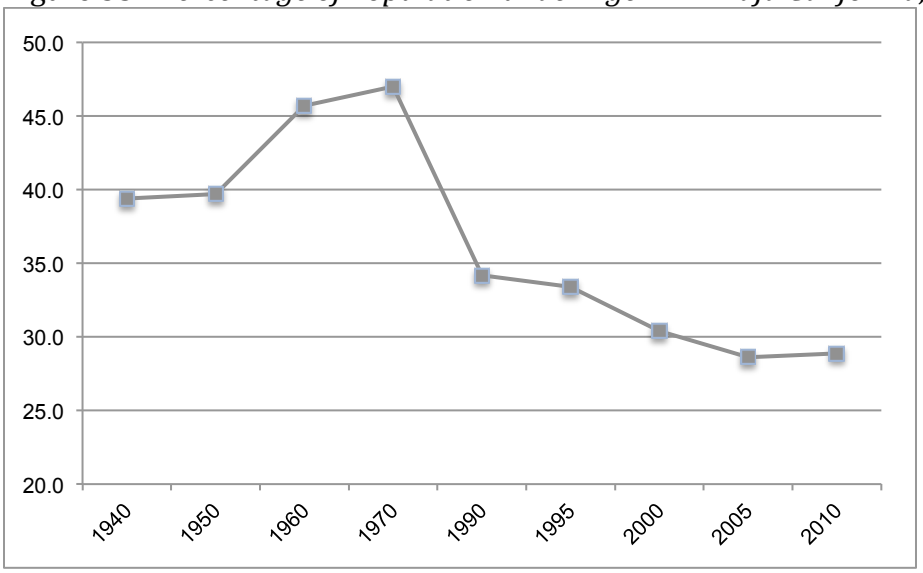
[49] Kfir Mordechay, "Fragmented Economy, Stratified Society, and the Shattered Dream." Los Angeles: Civil Rights Project/Proyecto Derechos Civiles, 2011. Available at: http://civilrightsproject.ucla.edu/research/metro-and-regional-inequalities/lasanti-project-los-angeles-san-diego-tijuana/fragmented-economy-stratified-society-and-the-shattered-dream/labormkt-report-12-20-11-final-corrected.pdf

Figure 34 - *Birth Rates (births per 1,000 population)*



Source: INEGI

Figure 35 - *Percentage of Population under Age 14 in Baja California, 1940-2010*[50]



Source: INEGI

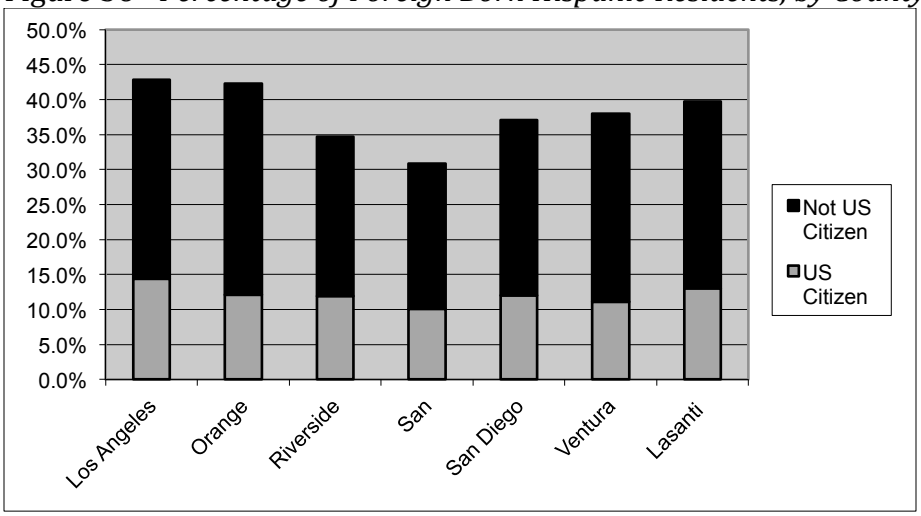
Immigration and Race

Much of the recent debate in Congress over immigration has focused on Hispanics. California, and Southern California in particular, has been viewed for

[50] Population estimates for 1980 are not available.

decades as the focal point of Hispanic migration. Yet foreign-born Hispanics represent less than 40% of the total Hispanic population in the Lasanti region (Figure 38). Moreover, the vast majority of foreign-born Hispanics in Southern California are not U.S. citizens (see Figure 38). Meanwhile, 66% of the region's Asian population is foreign born (see Figure 39 and 41), the majority of whom are U.S. citizens. In fact, immigration from Latin America has dropped so precipitously that Asians now outnumber Hispanics in new arrivals into the U.S. and in the Lasanti region. According to the latest census data, about 430,000 Asians accounted for 36% of all new immigrants who arrived in the U.S. in 2010, compared to about 370,000 Hispanics, or 31%. Just three years earlier, before the Great Recession, the numbers were reversed: about 390,000 Asians immigrated to the U.S. in 2007, compared with 540,000 Hispanics.[51] Asian immigrants tend to arrive with higher educational skills that are much better fits for the current U.S. job market. Those who are undocumented are much more likely to be overstaying visas rather than walking across the border. Latinos and the border have been heavily targeted in the immigration enforcement and large-scale deportations in the Obama Administration.

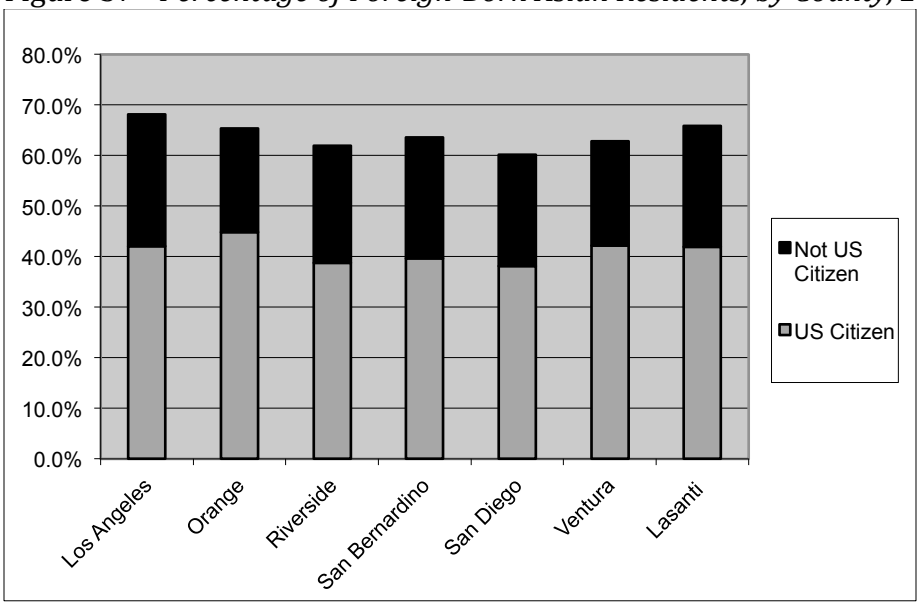
Figure 36 - *Percentage of Foreign Born Hispanic Residents, by County, 2010*



Source: Census American Community Survey, 2010
Note: The 2010 Decennial Census did not include questions on the foreign-born population. After 2000, data on the foreign born are available only through the American Community Survey and Current Population Survey.

[51] "The Rise of Asian Americans." Washington, DC: Pew Research Center's Social & Demographic Trends, 2012. Available at: http://www.pewsocialtrends.org/files/2013/04/Asian-Americans-new-full-report-04-2013.pdf.

Figure 37 - *Percentage of Foreign-Born Asian Residents, by County, 2010*

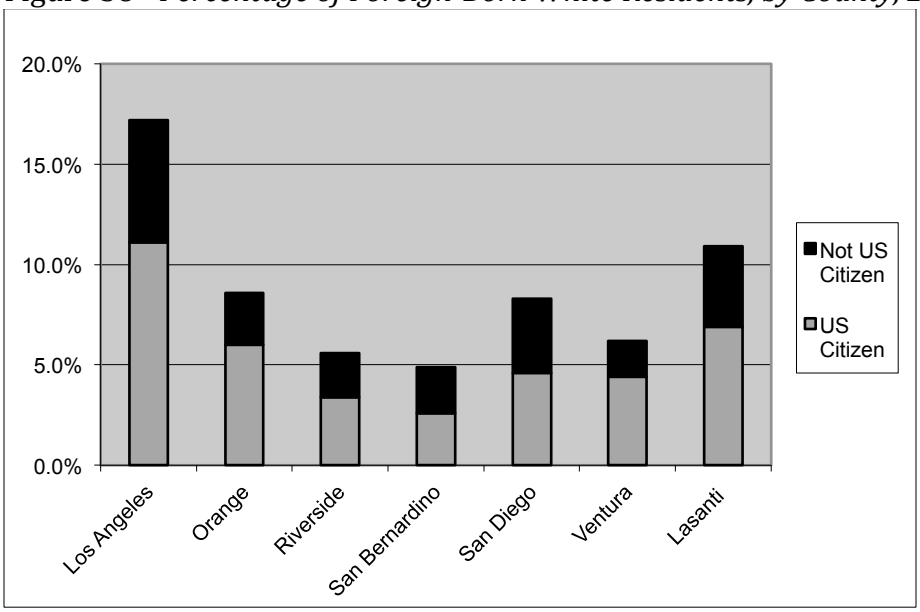


Source: Census American Community Survey, 2010
Note: The 2010 Decennial Census did not include questions on the foreign-born population. After 2000, data on the foreign born are available only through the American Community Survey and Current Population Survey.

Although much of the current conversation on immigration is centered on Latinos and Asians, the latest census data shows a large and growing white immigration, which is often ignored. European-born immigrants, who once made up the largest U.S. immigrant group, have seen their numbers decline in the United States over the past 50 years. Yet metropolitan LA continues to be an attractive destination for well-off European (Figure 40) and Middle Eastern immigrants. In LA County for example, the majority of the white foreign-born population is from Europe (181,211), most from the United Kingdom and Russia. As of 2010, over 17% of LA County's white population was foreign born, the majority of whom are U.S. citizens. European immigrants account for just over 5% of the county's total immigrant population,[52] and across the U.S. European-born immigrants are less likely to live in poverty than any other group.[53]

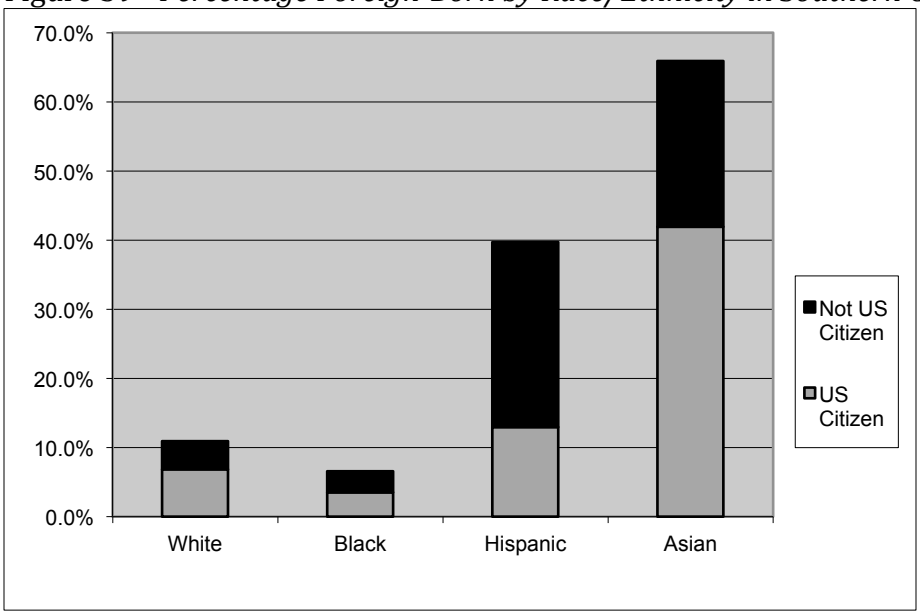
[52] Other metro areas with European immigrant populations greater than 110,000 include the Boston-Cambridge-Quincy area of Massachusetts, with 149,000 (3%); California's San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont area, with 128,000 (3%); Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach, Florida, with 123,000 (3%); the Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington metro area, with 113,000 (2%); and Washington, D.C.-Arlington-Alexandria, Virginia, with 112,000 (2%). Joseph Russell and Jeanne Batalova, "European Immigrants in the United States." Washington, DC: Migration Policy Institute, 2012. Available at: http://www.migrationinformation.org/usfocus/display.cfm?ID=901.
[53] U.S. Census, 2010.

Figure 38 - *Percentage of Foreign-Born White Residents, by County, 2010*



Source: Census American Community Survey, 2010
Note: The 2010 Decennial Census did not include questions on the foreign-born population. After 2000, data on the foreign born are available only through the American Community Survey and Current Population Survey.

Figure 39 - *Percentage Foreign-Born by Race/Ethnicity in Southern California, 2010*



Source: Census American Community Survey, 2010
Note: The 2010 Decennial Census did not include questions on the foreign-born population. After 2000, data on the foreign born are available only through the American Community Survey and Current Population Survey.

Immigration and the Great Recession

Legal immigration to the Lasanti region has slowed considerably since the Great Recession began. Each of the six counties saw a sharp decline in the number of legal immigrants from 2008 to 2010, with some counties experiencing a slight increase in 2011. Los Angeles County, for example, has seen a decline of more than 10% from 2008 to 2011. However, the sharpest declines occurred in the two Inland Empire counties, with Riverside experiencing a decline of over 18% and San Bernardino a decline of over 13%. This suggests that legal immigration may be tied to immediate economic opportunity. The anemic growth of jobs in the construction industry and other blue-collar jobs that tend to have large concentrations of immigrants explains at least in part why the region now has fewer opportunities for immigrants.[54]

California has more undocumented immigrants than any other state, or about 25% of the nation's 10.8 million (see Figure 44). Undocumented immigrants are estimated to make up 7% of the state's population and 9% of its labor force.[55] County-level estimates of undocumented immigrants are difficult to obtain because immigrants cannot be counted directly. However, the Public Policy Institute of California has produced careful estimates of the size of the unauthorized immigrant population at the county level. Table 13 shows that the undocumented population decreased in four of the six Southern California counties between 2001 and 2009, the exceptions being Riverside and San Bernardino counties, which saw increases of 75.6% and 34%, respectively. The epic housing boom and proliferation of construction jobs explain this increase at least in part.[56] Ventura County saw its undocumented population increase by 64.6%. Of the six counties, Orange saw the most significant decrease in raw numbers (76,000) and proportion (almost 22%).

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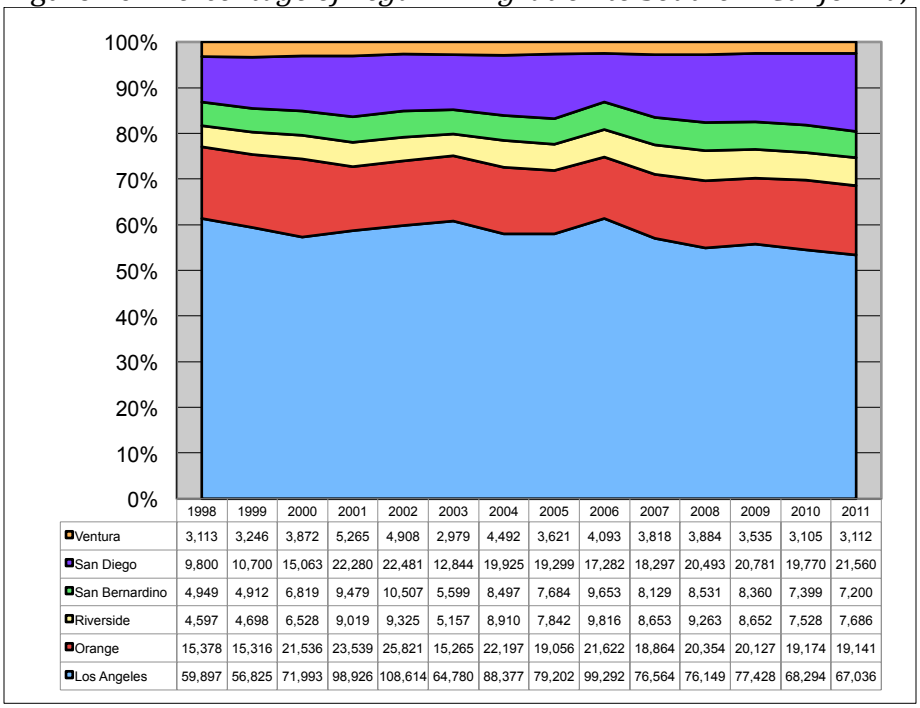
[54] Douglas Massey, "Immigration and the Great Recession." Stanford: CA: Stanford Center on Poverty and Inequality, 2012. Available at: https://www.stanford.edu/group/recessiontrends/cgi-bin/web/sites/all/themes/barron/pdf/Immigration_fact_sheet.pdf

[55] Laura Hill and Hans Johnson, "Unauthorized Immigrants in California: Estimates for Counties." San Francisco: Public Policy Institute of California, 2011. Available at: http://www.ppic.org/content/pubs/report/R_711LHR.pdf.

[56] Anna Gorman and Rich Connell, "Latinos Who Flocked to the Once-Burgeoning Inland Empire are Hard-Hit in Economic Downturn," The Los Angeles Times, August 02, 2009. Available at: http://articles.latimes.com/2009/aug/02/local/me-immig2

Figure 40 - *Percentage of Legal Immigration to Southern California, 1998-2011*



	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
Ventura	3,113	3,246	3,872	5,265	4,908	2,979	4,492	3,621	4,093	3,818	3,884	3,535	3,105	3,112
San Diego	9,800	10,700	15,063	22,280	22,481	12,844	19,925	19,299	17,282	18,297	20,493	20,781	19,770	21,560
San Bernardino	4,949	4,912	6,819	9,479	10,507	5,599	8,497	7,684	9,653	8,129	8,531	8,360	7,399	7,200
Riverside	4,597	4,698	6,528	9,019	9,325	5,157	8,910	7,842	9,816	8,653	9,263	8,652	7,528	7,686
Orange	15,378	15,316	21,536	23,539	25,821	15,265	22,197	19,056	21,622	18,864	20,354	20,127	19,174	19,141
Los Angeles	59,897	56,825	71,993	98,926	108,614	64,780	88,377	79,202	99,292	76,564	76,149	77,428	68,294	67,036

Source: California Department of Finance

Table 13 - *Unauthorized Immigrant Estimates, 2001-2009*[57]

Southern CA Counties	2001	2009	Change 2001-2009	%+/-
Los Angeles	924,000	871,000	-53,000	-5.7%
Riverside	78,000	137,000	59,000	+75.6%
San Bernardino	100,000	134,000	34,000	+34%
San Diego	189,000	179,700	-9,300	-4.9%
Orange	349,000	273,000	-76,000	-21.8%
Ventura	48,000	73,900	25,900	+64.6

Source: Public Policy Institute of California

This regional population shift is part of a trend unfolding across the nation, in particular the stark drop in immigrants from Mexico, which began about five years ago. This decline led to the first significant decrease in the unauthorized Mexican population in at least two decades, which accelerated at the onset of the Great Recession in 2008.[58] As of 2011, some 6.1 million unauthorized Mexican

[57] Hill and Johnson, "Unauthorized Immigrants in California."
[58] Jeffrey Passel, D'Vera Cohn, and Ana Gonzalez-Barrera, "Net Migration from Mexico Falls to Zero—and Perhaps Less." Washington, DC: Pew Research Center, 2012. Available at: http://www.pewhispanic.org/2012/04/23/net-migration-from-mexico-falls-to-zero-and-perhaps-less/.

immigrants were living in the U.S., down from a peak of nearly 7 million in 2007.[59] As noted in Figure 43, in the five-year period from 2005 to 2010, a total of 1.4 million Mexicans immigrated to the United States, a more than 50% reduction from the five-year period from 1995 to 2000, suggesting that net migration from Mexico has fallen to zero, or perhaps slightly below.[60] There has been a massive deportation to Mexico in recent years. In the 2013 fiscal year alone, 369,000 U.S. residents were deported by federal authorities, 65% of them from Mexico. All of the top ten countries for deportation were in Latin America.[61]

It is unclear if the wave of Mexican immigration will rise again as the regional and national economy recovers, or if this new equilibrium is here to stay. The plummeting immigration figures appear to be the result of many factors, including the feeble U.S. job and housing markets, a rise in deportations, heightened border controls, and the growing costs and dangers associated with illegal border crossings.[62] It is also largely associated with the long-term decline in Mexico's birth rate. In 1970, the typical Mexican woman gave birth to 6.8 babies, and millions of them journeyed to the U.S. for work when they entered their twenties. Mexico's current birthrate, 2.1, is rapidly approaching that of the United States. Mexico's changing demographic landscape and improved economic prospects suggest that fewer Mexicans are seeking work in the United States.[63]

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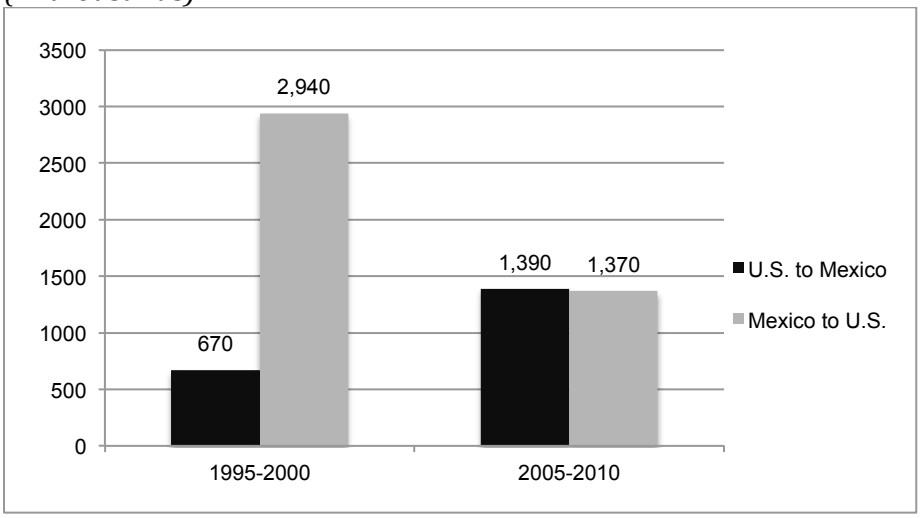
[59] Ibid.
[60] Ibid.
[61] New American Media, "U.S. Deported Around 369,000 Immigrants in 2013," Feb. 14, 2014.
[62] Ibid.
[63] Philip E. Wolgin and Ann Garcia, "What Changes in Mexico Mean for U.S. Immigration Policy." Los Angeles: Center for American Progress, 2011. Available at: http://www.americanprogress.org/issues/immigration/news/2011/08/08/10203/what-changes-in-mexico-mean-for-u-s-immigration-policy/.

Figure 41 - *Migration Flows between the U.S. and Mexico, 1995-2000 and 2005-2010 (in thousands)*

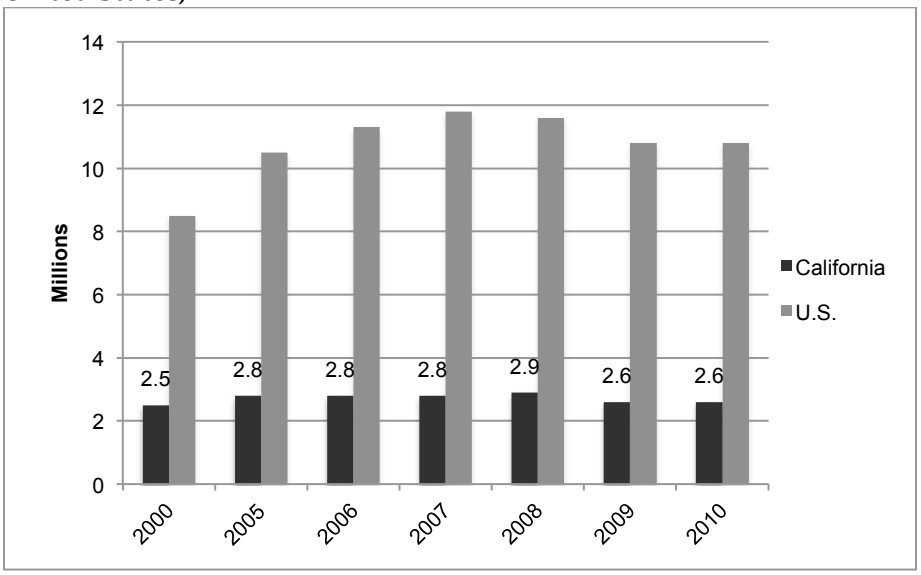


Source: Pew Research Center

The number of unauthorized immigrants peaked at almost 12 million in 2007, and the decline since then has been the first to occur after two decades of steady growth. The decline has been driven mainly by a decrease of all new immigrants from Mexico, the single largest group of migrants in the U.S. At the peak in 2000, 770,000 immigrants arrived in the U.S. from Mexico, the vast majority of them illegally. By 2010 the inflow had dropped to about 140,000, a 700% decrease in a just a decade, the majority of them arriving as legal immigrants, according to Pew Hispanic Center estimates.[64]

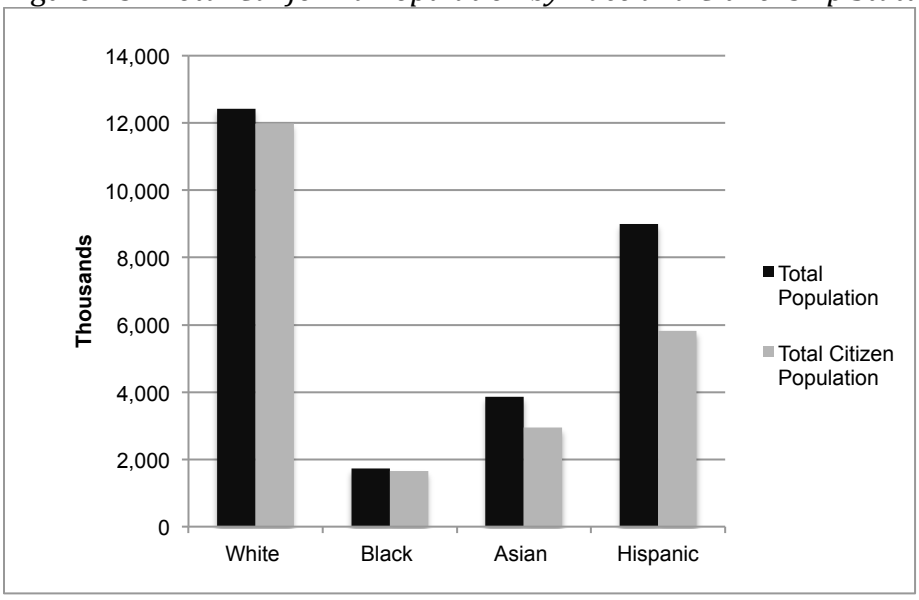
[64]Passel et al., "Net Migration from Mexico Falls to Zero."

Figure 42 - *Estimated Number of Unauthorized Immigrants in California and the United States, 2000-2010*



Source: U.S. Department of Homeland Security

Figure 43 - *Total California Population by Race and Citizenship Status, 2010*



Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Survey

Conclusion

The central story that emerges from this analysis is the remarkable growth of the Lasanti region, which has been fed by decades of mass migration and the establishing of large families, particularly among immigrant populations. However, both of these forces appear to be changing rapidly, as birth rates and immigration

continue to decline, particularly among Mexicans. The stark walls across Southern California and large-scale deportations to Mexico reflect current U.S. policy.

In addition, the expected retirement of the region's large baby boomer population will create urgent labor needs among private and public employers, opening many opportunities for new workers.[65] However, current trends suggest that there will be fewer young people and entry-level workers, and it is not likely that labor shortages will be resolved by immigration. Thus it will become much more critical to develop the educational potential of the region's youth.

The majority of the next generation of workers, many of whom are growing up in persistent poverty, will be shaped by the region's education systems. However, the burgeoning minority population in the region has extremely low levels of educational attainment and is unprepared to meet the demands of an increasingly globalized economy. This is particularly true of the Latino population in Southern California and among Mexicans in the greater Tijuana area. The Lasanti region's schools are highly segregated by race, poverty, and language. This results in very unequal educational opportunities and outcomes, particularly for the Latino majority and the neglected black and Indian populations. It is therefore essential that we nurture and develop the region's human resources, or we risk facing social and economic decline.

Whites are already the minority group in Southern California, having been surpassed by the growing Hispanic population, and Asians have a more significant presence than in the recent past. The region's toddlers illustrate the extent of the decline of the white population and provide a portrait of where the region is headed, as the great majority of the babies born in the region are members of minority groups. Yet even with the rapidly increasing minority youth population, particularly Latinos, the number of the young people in the region appears to be declining. This suggests that within several decades the population will be proportionally older and experiencing an overall decline. Despite the decline in fertility rates and slower population growth, the region is still growing and is a long way from grappling with the demographic crisis other developed nations face.

A growing geographical divide along racial and social class lines is evident within these six counties, having created isolating economic and social prospects for those living inland from those on the coast, producing very different intergenerational patterns of opportunity. The suburban areas of the region are now home to more diverse populations in terms of age, ethnicity, and socioeconomic

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[65]Anthony P. Carnevale, Nicole Smith, and Jeff Strohl. "Recovery: Projections of Jobs and Education Requirements through 2020." Washington DC: Georgetown University Center on Education and Workforce, 2013. Available at: http://www9.georgetown.edu/grad/gppi/hpi/cew/pdfs/Recovery2020.FR.Web.pdf

status. The black population in Southern California, the largest in the western United States, is in a cycle of ominous social and economic decline.[66] Many of the traditionally black areas in Los Angeles County have become heavily Latino. In addition, there has been a large migration by black middle-class families from the urban core into the Inland Empire counties where they are concentrated together with the least educated white populations. These areas have less robust economies that are recovering significantly slower than the coastal regions.

Baja California also has experienced rapid change. Once the center of immigration to the U.S. from across Mexico and Central America, Baja has seen a dramatic decrease in immigration after four decades of surging growth. This can be explained in part by a 40-year decline in Mexico's fertility rates, particularly in Baja California, where birth rates are well below reproductive levels. At least 10% of the growth in the U.S. labor supply in recent years has been composed of Mexican immigrants, suggesting that the industries that have relied on migrant labor will have a significant decline in their labor supply unless policy changes.[67] There is still a great deal of poverty and desire to immigrate within Mexico but obtaining official permission is extremely difficult and crossing illegally has become much more expensive and risky.

The lessons drawn from this report are not the unique to the Lasanti region's population centers. Many of the key elements discussed in this report on the social and economic consequences that accompany stark demographic transitions can provide broad lessons for much of the nation. Demographic changes in this massive region provide merely a glimpse of where much of the country will be headed in the coming decades. As the demographic landscape of the nation continues to shift, its metropolitan areas are fueling America's transition to a majority-minority country. These changes are not unique to Southern California, as Hawaii, New Mexico, Texas, and the rest of California have already passed that threshold at the state level. Further, the toddler populations in 36 of the country's top 50 metropolitan areas have passed the majority-minority threshold, with LA County leading the way.[68] Of these leading areas, eight have surpassed the 75% minority mark for their toddlers.

International immigration, changes in birth rates, and internal migration patterns interact in increasingly complex ways to create massive demographic

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[66] Steven Raphael and Michael A. Stoll, "The State of Black California." Los Angeles: UCLA School of Public Affairs, 2008. Available at: http://www.asmdc.org/speaker/pdf/State_of_Black_California_Full_Report.pdf.

[67] Jeffrey Passel, and D'Vera Cohn, "A Portrait of Unauthorized Immigrants in the United States ." Washington, DC: Pew Research Center, 2009. Available at: http://www.pewhispanic.org/2009/04/14/a-portrait-of-unauthorized-immigrants-in-the-united-states/

[68] U.S. Census, 2010

transformation and deep divisions in metropolitan societies. The dual purpose of this report is to capture these relationships in the Lasanti region, one of the world's great metropolitan complexes, and explain that the region's destiny is in the hands of a rapidly growing and economically stratified population. Social change has been moving at great speed in Southern California, challenging the population and local institutions to adapt to a new urban reality. The diversity of people and economies in the Lasanti region presents a multifaceted and complicated portrait of inequality. If policymakers want to prepare the next generation of skilled workers and ensure that the nation will have a healthy and vibrant economy, they must insist that these patterns of inequality be changed.