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## Race or Class? Testing Spatial Assimilation Theory for Minorities in Los Angeles

*Abstract:* This paper examines whether socio-economic status influences residential outcomes (e.g. proximity to Whites) equally across minority groups. Using tract-level data from 2000 U.S. Census for Los Angeles County, California, this paper investigates the relationship between high income status of a neighborhood and proximity to Whites by mapping residential distribution of major racial groups in comparison to residential patterns of affluent minorities in Los Angeles. The findings have implications for theories of residential segregation and locational attainment.

*Keywords:* Residential segregation, socio-economic status, spatial assimilation theory, minorities in the United States.

### Introduction

Neighborhood has been considered as a central element in the social identities of its residents (Sampson, Morenoff and Gannon-Rowley 2002), and its influence on the life chances of its residents has been traditionally emphasized in studies of minorities (Sampson, Morenoff, and Earls 1999; South and Crowder 1999). The inequalities among residential neighborhoods in the United States based on characteristics such as racial-ethnic origins and income constitute one of the most important topics in the social science literature. In fact, racial-ethnic inequalities, especially in regions receiving large immigration, is demonstrated by many studies that focus on the residential distribution of minorities within metropolitan areas (South, Crowder, Pais 2011; Logan and Zhang 2012). This relationship has been usually explored through the conceptual framework of segregation, that is, the degree to which a minority group resides in neighborhoods that are distinct from those in which majority racial group is found (Alba, Logan and Stults 2000).

Residential segregation by race-ethnicity is considered important in that it is viewed as the principal structural factor responsible for the persisting urban poverty and racial inequality in the United States (Massey and Dentón 1993). Research, in this regard, has focused mainly on Black-White residential segregation, and reflected a portrait of “American apartheid” (Massey and Dentón 1993). More recently, literature has started addressing other minority groups (e.g. Hispanics and Asians) in addition to Blacks in large metropolitan areas in the United States. These studies have examined the degree to which these minorities are residentially segregated from the White majority and consistently documented that, al-

though there is some decline in the historical patterns of racial residential segregation over the last few decades (Iceland and Sharp 2013), overall, Blacks are exceptionally more segregated than other minorities in their residential proximity to Whites (Logan 2011; Clark and Blue 2004; Iceland and Wilkes 2006; Alba, Logan and Crowder 1997; Logan, Stults and Farley 2004; Massey and Dentón 1993).

Other research pointed to the limitations of the studies about segregation in that they did not take into account socioeconomic factors which might influence neighborhood location and explain some of the observed segregation between Whites and minorities. Rather than focusing on segregation, research in this tradition, has focused on the problem of “locational attainment,” that is, the impact of human and economic capital in gaining access to advantageous neighborhoods (e.g. Pais, South, and Crowder 2012; Alba, Logan and Stults 2000; Logan and Zhang 2012). According to this model of spatial assimilation, with increased income and education, members of minority groups are able to live in whiter and more affluent neighborhoods (e.g. Alba et al. 1999; Logan, Alba and Leung 1996). In this respect, many studies have shown that that minorities with lower levels of socioeconomic status (e.g. income, education, and occupational status) are more segregated from Whites compared to minorities with higher levels of socioeconomic status (Fischer 2003; Iceland and Wilkes 2006; Iceland et al. 2005; Clark 2007; Clark and Blue 2004).

Using tract-level data from 2000 U.S. Census, this study tests applicability of spatial assimilation model for major racial groups (non-Hispanic Whites, non-Hispanic Blacks, Hispanics, and Asians) in Los Angeles County, California, one of the traditional immigrant gateways in the country and has received a large share of contemporary immigration. To address this question, this study investigates whether socio-economic status (e.g. income) influences residential outcomes (e.g. proximity to Whites, access to more affluent neighborhoods) equally or even similarly across minority groups. More specifically, this study examines the relationship between high income status of a neighborhood and proximity to Whites by mapping residential distribution of major racial groups in the United States in comparison to affluent minorities in Los Angeles.

### Theoretical Background and Research Questions

Neighborhood research has consistently found that neighborhoods in the United States are segregated along socio-economic and racial lines (Omi and Winant 2014; Wilkes and Iceland 2004; Massey and Dentón 1993; Wilson 1987). A large body of research attempted to explain the persistence of residential segregation as to whether it is driven by racial attitudes and preferences or social class characteristics. In other words, the focus of the debate is the question of whether the persistent residential segregation in America is “color-blind” or “race conscious.”

#### Class Based Explanations

From a class based perspective, residential segregation is the outcome of racial differences in economic status. One of the most influential accounts of this perspective is *spatial assim-*

*ilation theory*. One of the main assumptions of this theory is that differences in locational attainments between racial and ethnic groups are attributable to differences in socioeconomic status. From this perspective, socio-demographic characteristics of neighborhoods are important because they directly indicate residents' access to desirable resources, such as neighborhood amenities and quality of schools. Because these amenities and resources are largely concentrated in often white and affluent neighborhoods, the model essentially posits that members of minority groups will try to convert human and financial capital into geographical proximity with Whites. Thus, the key argument of this theory is that residential inequalities by race are primarily due to the group differences in socioeconomic status and once minorities acquire necessary human capital they will leave minority neighborhoods for often white and more affluent neighborhoods with desirable amenities (Charles 2003).

Empirical evidence regarding the applicability of this class based explanation is mixed. Studies show that while it works well for Asians and Hispanics for whom advanced socioeconomic status is associated with residential integration with Whites (e.g. Adelman 2005; Fischer 2003; Massey and Fischer 1999), the power of socioeconomic resources in residential attainment for Blacks is relatively weaker (J. R. Logan et al. 1996; Massey and Dentón 1993; Alba and Logan 1993); and even the middle class Blacks remain segregated from the white majority (Pattillo-McCoy 1999).

Employing a class perspective, Wilson (1987) relates the persistence of racial residential segregation to two factors; joblessness and exodus of middle class blacks from inner city. Accordingly, he argues that the decline in the demand for low skilled jobs had a greater impact on blacks than on whites because substantially larger proportion of blacks are low skilled, resulting in growing proportion of jobless adults in inner city communities.

Another factor contributing to current residential patterns among African Americans is social deterioration of ghetto neighborhoods. According to Wilson (1987), because of the exodus of more advantaged families, the proportion of relatively well to do families and prime age working adults has decreased sharply in inner city ghetto since 1970s. This situation in turn has deprived ghetto of key structural and cultural resources such as residents with high income who sustain neighborhood services, and role models for neighborhood children, transforming inner city neighborhoods into areas of concentrated poverty. Wilson argues that problems of inner city black people should be considered from an economic perspective. If they are seen as racial problems by policy makers, they are viewed only as requiring race based solutions such as welfare reforms without creating jobs, and thus perpetuating racial residential segregation.

### **Race Based Explanations**

The empirical challenges to the class based explanations led to the development of another theoretical model, the place stratification model (Alba and Logan 1993; Logan and Molotch 2007). This theory posits that even in the presence of economic resources, significant disadvantages in residential outcomes will remain between Blacks and Whites. According to this theory, the key reason for Blacks' residential segregation is racial prejudice of Whites that leads to their avoidance of black neighbors, and institutional discriminatory practices in the

housing market that constrains blacks' residential attainment despite their socioeconomic gains. From this perspective, a key explanation of persistent residential segregation is racial attitudes and preferences. Although Whites' attitudes towards Blacks became more liberal in recent years, research suggests that the overall aversion toward living among blacks remains strong (Farley and Frey 1994).

Some scholars suggest that residential preferences of Whites are not driven by racial prejudice per se but by factors associated with black neighborhoods (e.g. low property values, low quality schools) (Harris 1999). Also known as racial proxy hypothesis, this perspective suggests that Whites are not avoiding black neighborhoods but rather they prefer to live in neighbors with high-income and education levels, qualities that are lacking among black neighborhoods. On the other hand, using a video experiment to test the effects of race and social class in residential preferences, Krysan et al. (2009) found that racial attitudes plays the primary role in housing choices. In this experiment, participants were shown videos of neighborhoods that varied in neighborhood racial composition but were identical in every aspect of neighborhood quality. While African Americans preferred racially mixed neighborhoods; for Whites, the most desirable neighborhoods were all-white neighborhoods. The results of their study demonstrate that the strongest predictor of white residential preferences was negative stereotypical beliefs towards blacks. Similarly, Farley and Frey (1994) found that Whites who endorse negative stereotypes towards blacks were less likely to say they would consider moving into integrated neighborhoods, and more likely to consider fleeing those neighborhoods. In this context, as Krysan and colleagues (2009) suggest, residential preferences are racialized in that what matters for residential decisions is not the quality of black neighborhoods but rather, whites' negative stereotypes about Blacks, contributing to the persistence of residential segregation.

## Why is it Important to Study Residential Segregation?

### Economic Consequences of Residential Segregation

Residential segregation perpetuates racial inequality in economic status. Massey and Dentón (1993), in their classical study *American Apartheid: Segregation and Making of the Underclass* point to the fact that residential segregation systematically imposes social isolation on blacks from mainstream society which guarantees their economic isolation as well. This economic isolation is "cumulative" and "self-perpetuating": because blacks have few connections outside the ghetto, "they are less likely to be employed in the mainstream economy jobs" that white society provides (p. 161); and this in turn, reduces the number of their connections to other people and institutions, which further undermines their employment chances. This does not imply that ghetto residents have less motivation to work than whites. Rather, with limited access to job information systems and a lack of successful role models, many blacks are disadvantaged in the competition for employment, particularly given the declining base of low-skill jobs in central cities (Kasarda 1990). Thus, for African Americans, racial segregation enables the transmission of poverty from generation

to generation, and is therefore, a primary structural factor behind the perpetuation of the underclass.

### Social Consequences

Segregation limits the contact between minorities and whites and isolates minorities from many networks and institutions of mainstream society. The geographic isolation leads to social isolation as it confines poor minorities to neighborhoods where “poverty is endemic, joblessness is rife, schools are poor” (Massey & Dentón 1993; Massey & Mullan 1984; Wilson 1987), thereby limiting their chances for social mobility, undermining their social and economic well-being.

Furthermore, concentrated poverty intensifies physical and social decay in segregated neighborhood, a process that becomes self-reinforcing and irreversible, and may contribute to a variety of negative outcomes including crime and disorder (Sampson and Groves 1989; Shaw and McKay 1942).

In explaining negative social consequences of segregation, Wilson (1987) draws attention to the “flight” of relatively advantaged blacks from those neighborhoods, which results in poor neighborhoods with few role models. In this context of limited resources and institutions, residents come to mistrust neighbors, increasingly stay indoors and off the streets, limit social contacts with close friends and family, and generally retreat from public participation in the community. This withdrawal weakens informal processes of social control that ordinarily help to maintain a neighborhood’s stability (Morenoff et al. 2001; Sampson and Groves 1989). If left unchecked, this process ultimately generates additional indicators of social disorder (e.g., welfare dependency, single parenthood, family disruption).

In addition, physical and social disorder in segregated neighborhoods lead to negative mental health outcomes. Research suggests that daily exposure to decay and disorder in one’s neighborhood is distressing (Aneshensel and Sucoff 1996; Ross et al. 2000; Ross 2000; Ross and Mirowsky 2001). Dangerous encounters and signs of incivility on the streets produce anxiety and fear. In the long run, chronic exposure to threat and harassment may take its toll in feelings of depression, feeling run-down, demoralized, lethargic, and hopeless about the future (Aneshensel and Sucoff 1996). Research also shows that segregated neighborhoods are replete with physical and social disorder and there is a lack of social and economic resources in such neighborhoods to buffer the stress emanating from disorder, which may in turn lead to poor mental health (Ross and Mirowski 2001).

Overall, the body of research attempted to explain the persistence of residential segregation as to whether it is driven by racial attitudes and preferences or social class characteristics. In other words, the focus of the debate is the question of whether the persistent residential segregation in America is “color-blind” or “race conscious.”

A limitation to these models is that they mainly focuses on black-white segregation. Less is known about the differences between Latinos, Asians, and Blacks in their spatial proximity/segregation to Whites, and whether the residential segregation is due to race effects or differences result from group differences in their socio-economic status. According to the spatial assimilation model, residential mobility is a direct outcome of economic advancement. In this regard, since minorities, many of whom are from immigrant back-

grounds, are constrained by unfamiliarity with the mainstream culture and language, at the beginning, they are expected to settle together. But as they advance in terms of economic status and acculturation to the English language and American culture, they are expected to convert these resources into “upgrading from central city slums to suburbs” and eventually into residential integration with majority members (Alba and Logan 1992; Massey 1995).

With regard to Latinos and Asians in the United States, spatial assimilation theory thus far has been supported by research that have found that for immigrant minorities higher economic resources and acculturation (e.g., language skills, length of stay in the United States and immigrant generational status) generally facilitate migration into neighborhoods with large white populations (e.g. Alba, et al. 2000; Adelman 2005; Fischer 2003). However, residential patterns of contemporary immigrants suggest that for Asians and Latinos residential segregation from Whites is increasing (Charles 2003; Alba et al. 2000; Brown and Chung 2006). The substantial residential segregation along with the increase in the number of ethnic communities (Wen et al. 2009; Logan et al. 2002) calls into the question whether minorities are actually converting their resources of human capital (e.g. education, income) into achieving residence in non-Hispanic White areas. In this regard, if there is a substantial presence of affluent minority residents in White majority neighborhoods in Los Angeles, California, then the central argument of the spatial assimilation theory would be verified.

In light of this discussion, in this study, I seek to answer two questions: (1) What is the spatial proximity to Whites across minority groups in Los Angeles County? (2) Does income explain the differences in spatial proximity to Whites across minority groups as suggested by spatial assimilation model?

## Data

To address these research questions, I use tract-level data from the Summary File 3 (SF3) in 2000 U.S. Census for LA County to map residential distribution of major racial groups (i.e. non-Hispanic Whites, non-Hispanic Blacks, Hispanics, and Asians) in comparison to residential patterns of affluent minorities in Los Angeles. Summary File 3 (SF3) includes some of the richest demographic data available on U.S. residents (US Census Bureau 2000).

## Methods

The methods for this study include thematic mapping. I utilize ArcGIS 9.3.1 to make several thematic maps to examine the residential distribution of minority groups’ spatial proximity to Whites across minority groups across census tracts in Los Angeles in general and affluent minorities in particular.

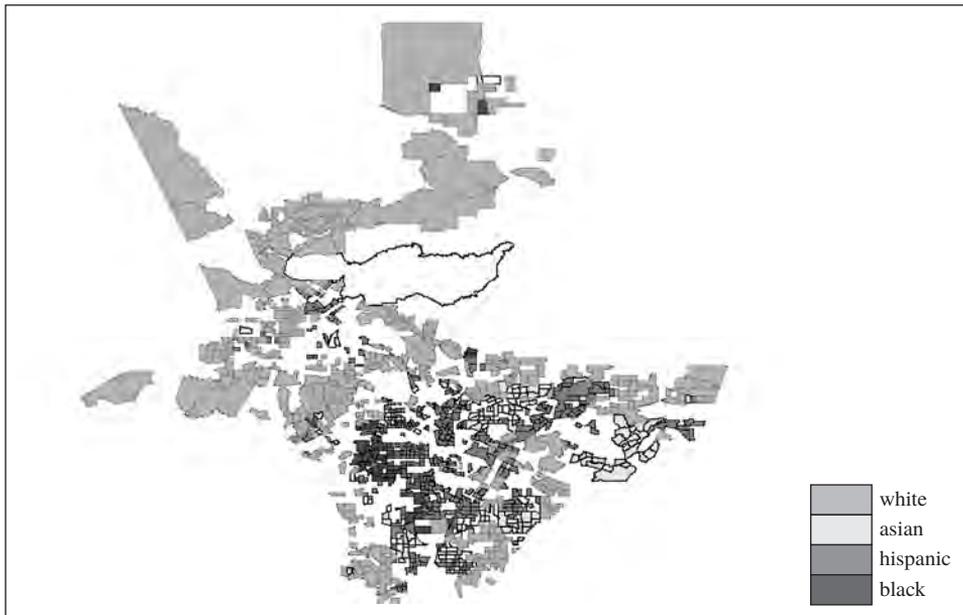
To do this, first, I calculated relative proportions of each group to total population in order to map racial residential distribution in Los Angeles census tracts. Secondly, I mapped median income distribution across LA tracts and overlaid it on racial distribution map. Third, I mapped tracts with affluent minorities and overlaid this map on racial distribution map to examine spatial proximity to whites.

## Results

I analyze spatial patterns of racial distribution at the census tract level. Based on the definition from other studies (i.e. [Wen, Lauderdale and Kandula 2009](#)), I define a minority neighborhood with 25 percent or more of its residents belonging to a single minority group (i.e., Asian, Hispanic, Blacks). [Figure 1](#) shows the high percentage of groups at the tract level.

Figure 1

Racial Distribution in Los Angeles

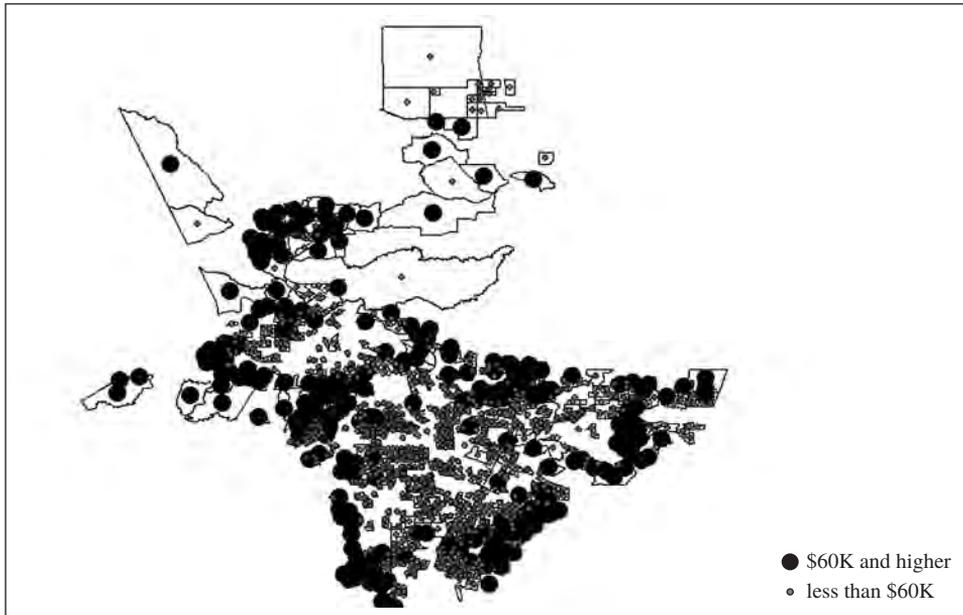


As shown in [Figure 1](#), high percentages of Whites appear to concentrate on the far west and north and northeast sides, high percentage of Hispanics and particularly Blacks are clustered around inner city while high percentages of Asians are clustered mostly around southeast sides of the LA county. These spatial-clustering patterns indicate that minorities are not evenly distributed throughout the city. In fact, they are clearly residentially segregated from the White majority.

In [figure 2](#), black points indicate census tracts with median income \$60,000 and higher. Evidently, high income is concentrated greatly in White majority census tracts. Similarly, high income distribution overlaps with Asian residential areas. Yet, the high income distribution does not indicate almost any areas with Hispanic and Blacks.

As seen in [Figure 2](#), the spatial-clustering patterns indicate that higher percentages of Whites and Asians tend to reside in areas with high income distribution. On the other hand, higher percentages of Hispanics and especially Blacks tend to reside in areas with low income distribution, suggesting that income is not evenly distributed throughout the county.

Figure 2  
 Median Income Distribution in Los Angeles



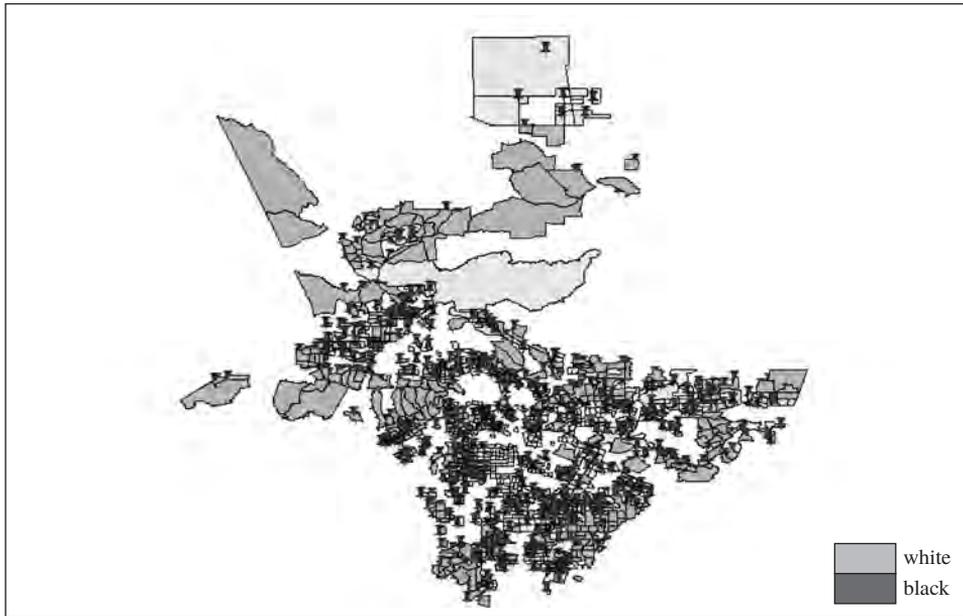
These findings are also supported by Census 2000 data that prove racial and ethnic disparities such that the median household income for whites in Los Angeles is almost twice that for the city's Latinos and Blacks. Specifically, median income for Whites is \$51,516; \$37,186 for Asians, whereas it is \$27,310 for Blacks and \$28,759 for Hispanics. Poverty rates reflect a similar and even clearer racial distribution. Poverty rate for Whites is 10.1 percent; for Asians, it is 17 percent, whereas it is 28 percent for Blacks and 29.6 percent for Hispanics (US Census Bureau 2000). Both income distribution and poverty rates in Los Angeles point to the disadvantage faced by all minorities, particularly Blacks and Hispanics, relative to Whites.

Lastly, I examine the residential patterns of affluent minorities and investigate their spatial proximity to Whites to test the spatial assimilation model's claim that minorities convert their financial capital into close proximity to Whites.

As seen in Figure 3, in contrast to previous map which showed Blacks as highly segregated from Whites and concentrated largely around city center, the distribution of affluent Blacks shows dispersal from the city center to surrounding county sides, mostly white suburbs. Still, there is very low presence of affluent Blacks in the north, west, and southeast sides of the LA County. Thus, Blacks with \$60,000 and higher income are, to some extent, able to convert their financial capital to proximity to Whites. But, Black-White residential integration is still very limited in some parts of the region with White majority.

Figure 4 shows the distribution of affluent Asians across census tracts. Similar to affluent Blacks, they are more dispersed around the county sides compared to the previous map

Figure 3  
**Residential Distribution of Affluent Blacks**



which showed that Asians are mostly clustered around southeast sides of LA County. Although their residential integration with Whites is quite limited in the north where Whites are very much isolated, affluent Asians are clearly more integrated with White majority across the region compared to affluent Blacks. Overall, Asians, to a large extent, are able to convert their financial capitals into geographical proximity to Whites.

Figure 5 reveals that, similar to both affluent Blacks and Asians, affluent Hispanics are more dispersed around the region compared to the previous map which showed them mostly clustered around the city center and to the east side of the LA County. This suggests that Hispanics can convert their financial capital into spatial integration with Whites. However, similar to affluent Blacks, their presence is very limited in the north, west, and southeast sides of the LA County, suggesting that compared to affluent Asians, affluent Hispanics and affluent Blacks are less able to convert their financial capital to spatial proximity to Whites.

### Discussion and Conclusions

In summary, these findings suggest three important trends: (1) race is a strong predictor of residential distribution in Los Angeles; (2) high income is largely concentrated in White majority census tracts; and (3) affluent Hispanics and affluent Blacks are less able to convert their financial capital to spatial proximity to Whites compared to affluent Asians. Taken together, these trends have implications for theories of residential segregation and locational attainment.

Figure 4  
Residential Distribution of Affluent Asians

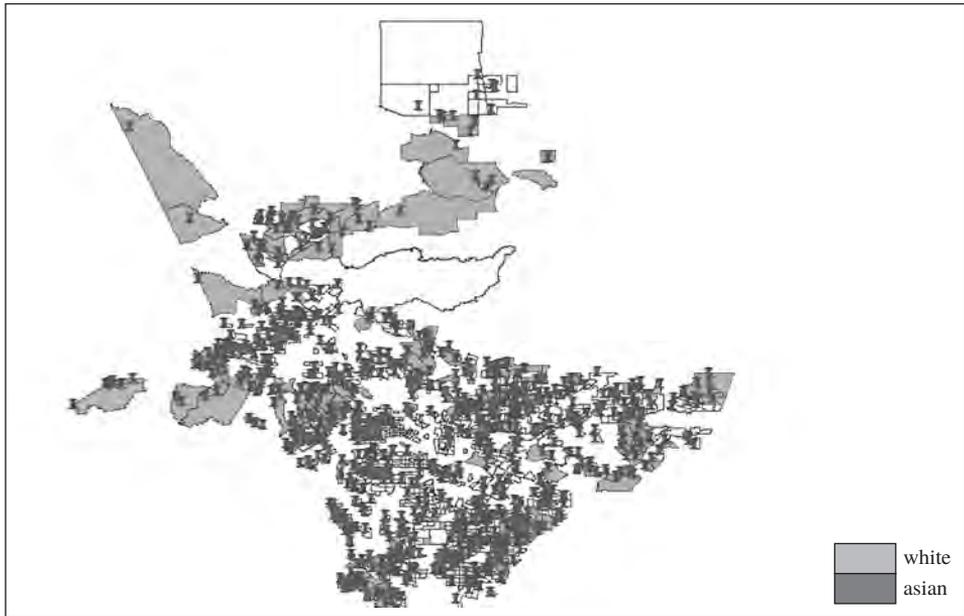
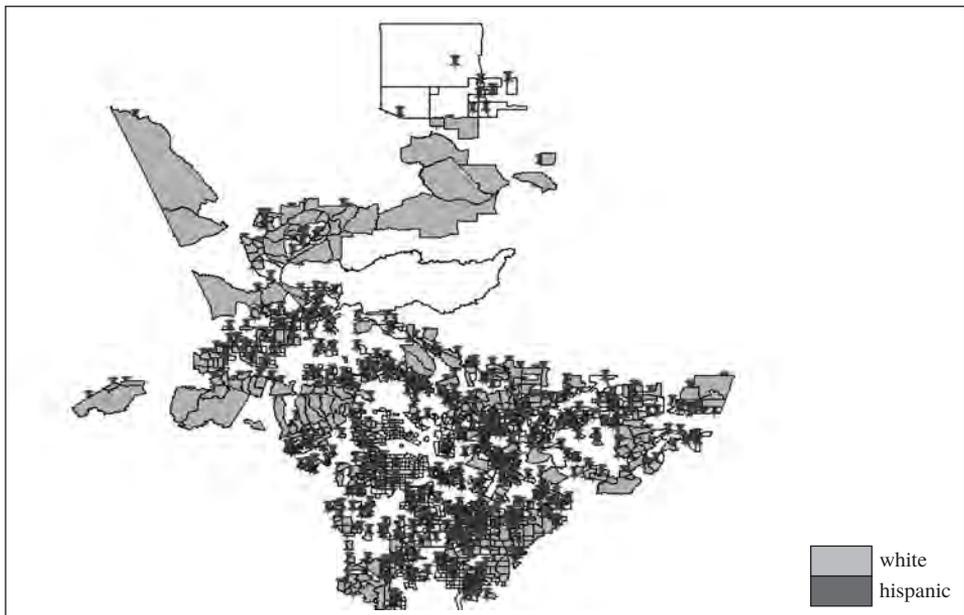


Figure 5  
Residential Distribution of Affluent Hispanics



In regard to the first trend, the findings show that spatial-clustering patterns of minorities are not evenly distributed throughout the city. In fact, they are clearly residentially segregated from the White majority. Similarly, the second trend shows that income is not evenly distributed throughout the city. These spatial-clustering patterns indicate that higher percentages of Whites and Asians to some extent tend to reside in areas with high income distribution. On the other hand, higher percentages of Hispanics and especially Blacks tend to reside in areas with low income distribution. These results are consistent with the place stratification theory that demonstrates an expansion of Black and Latino ethnic enclaves in inner city areas and “materially disadvantaged ghettos” (Wilson 1987), that are home to foreign-born, poor, low-wage labor workers with limited English fluency (Portes and Zhou 1993). This theory suggests that minorities living in these poor ethnic areas with restricted resources follow a trajectory of downward assimilation (e.g., dropping out of school, being unemployed) (South et al. 2005; Portes et al. 2005).

These two trends are also consistent with place stratification theory’s claim that race is a predictor of residential outcomes as evidenced by clear Black-White residential segregation patterns across LA neighborhoods. Likewise, the fact that high income is concentrated greatly in White majority, and to some extent in Asian residential areas, whereas Blacks and Hispanics are disadvantaged in neighborhoods with low economic resources also supports the argument of the race effect that racial prejudice, in fact, might be the force behind these patterns of residential segregation. In addition, these findings are in line with earlier research in that Blacks are more segregated than other minorities in their residential proximity to Whites (Logan 2011; Massey 2009; Clark and Blue 2004; Iceland and Wilkes 2006; Alba, Logan and Crowder 1997; Logan, Stults and Farley 2004; Massey and Dentón 1993).

In regard to the third trend, the findings indicate that while all minority groups show improvement in residential integration with Whites with increased financial capital, affluent Asians have a clear advantage over affluent Blacks and affluent Hispanics in converting this capital into geographical proximity to Whites. These findings are mainly consistent with spatial assimilation model in that with increased income, members of minority groups are able to live in Whiter and more affluent neighborhoods, and thus class is a key factor in residential segregation (Fischer 2003; Iceland and Wilkes 2006; Iceland et al. 2005; Clark 2007; Clark and Blue 2004).

One possible explanation as to why socioeconomic status (i.e. income) only partially explains residential proximity to Whites could be that for minorities socioeconomic success does not necessarily imply leaving ethnic communities as suggested by spatial assimilation theory (Wen et al. 2009; Zhou and Kim 2003). Research shows that today more minorities reside in affluent neighborhoods; yet, they are not necessarily more integrated with whites (Alba et al. 2000; Logan et al. 2002). Notably, the case of Asians in some parts of the United States contradicts the predictions of spatial assimilation theory in that their socioeconomic affluence has not necessarily led to their residential proximity to Whites. In fact, Asian immigrants have formed many ethnic enclaves in suburban areas, often called “ethnoburbs” (Wen, Lauderdale, and Kandula 2009; Li 1998), that are home to individuals with high levels of education and income.

On the other hand, consistent with the spatial assimilation theory, our results indicate that higher percentages of Hispanics and especially Blacks tend to reside in areas with

low income distribution, in areas called as “materially disadvantaged ghettos” by Wilson (1987). Thus, as suggested by spatial assimilation perspective, socioeconomic resources minorities possess are the main cause of the types of areas they live in. Thus, while immigrant groups with high human capital levels settle in areas characterized by substantial social and economic resources, groups with low human capital attributes reside in poor ethnic communities with limited resources, generating an environment that is disadvantageous in many regards (White, Haas and Williams 2012; Dai 2010; Diez and Mair 2010; Thoits 2010; Logan, Zhang, and Alba 2002).

Overall, the findings of this study suggest that although some part of the spatial assimilation model needs to be revised in regard to Blacks and Hispanics’ residential integration with Whites in some parts of the region, central features of this model remain relevant for residential outcomes of minorities in the Los Angeles County.

### **Limitations to Current Study and Future Directions**

This study has some limitations. First, because my analysis focused on residential segregation in a particular location in the United States—Los Angeles, California, I was not able to capture whether similar patterns of segregation exist in other metropolitan areas. Thus, caution should be exercised in generalizing the results of this study to other places in the United States. Future studies should investigate the relationship between high income status of a neighborhood and residential proximity to Whites with a broader range of locations. Nonetheless, given that Los Angeles County is the second largest metropolitan area in the United States and is one of the largest immigrant gateways in the country, the findings of the present study deserve consideration in studies of residential segregation in the United States.

Second, we should also exercise caution in extending the findings of this study to minorities in other countries. Research has shown that context matters in residential segregation patterns of minorities. For instance, Kim (2005) have found that Asians in Canada are more residentially segregated from Whites, compared to Asians in the United States (Kim 2005). This suggests that studies should pay particular attention to residential segregation patterns of minorities across different locations, and investigate the possible mechanisms that explain the differences such as the conditions of minorities in their countries of residence.

Third, this paper studies minorities in the United States in a “panethnic” manner (Kim and White 2013). That is, this study used broad categories of Blacks, Asians, and Hispanics and did not examine the subgroup differences within these groups in their residential proximity to Whites. Research suggests that there are differences within groups and these broad labels obscure the diversity of experiences within these groups (Yanow 2003; White et al. 2003; Kibria 1998; South, Crowder and Chafez 2005; Lobo, Flores and Salvo 2007). On the other hand, other studies have found panethnic grouping to be meaningful for residential segregation (Kim and White 2013, Kim 2005). Indeed, in their study of residential segregation among major racial and ethnic groups in the twenty largest metropolitan areas in the United States, Kim and White (2013) have found support for panethnic hypothesis, sug-

gesting that there is greater residential proximity within groups sharing a panethnic marker compared to those that “do not share the group marker” (Kim and White 2013). The authors argue that residential concentration patterns of minorities may be the result of heightened panethnic identity which is reinforced by institutional practices such as collecting of racial and panethnic information through the census, leading to internalization of these racial and panethnic markers by the minorities (Kim and White 2013). Future research might further investigate the relationship between heightened panethnic identity and residential segregation patterns as suggested by Kim and White (2013), and examine other possible outcomes of panethnic behavior such as attitudes toward intermarriage, social networks, etc.

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