

1. *The Concept and the Data*

In some ways the people of the United States constitute a society of free individuals and their families. However, a great deal of our lives involves formal and informal connections with other people. Consciously or subconsciously, our opinions and feelings about other individuals are often based on their probable group affiliation.

Many of us derive part of our personal identity from a larger and often loose affiliation based on race, religion, language, national origin, or other heritage—what most people call ethnicity. A person may also feel an affiliation based on occupation, political philosophy, avocation, residence, or class. For some people this shared sense of belonging is weak or nonexistent, but for others it is extremely important. There is abundant evidence that people generally form their closest ties with others who are like themselves.¹ Thus, to understand society we must see it not only as an irregular collection of individuals and families but also as a set of larger groups, some of which are based on shared ethnic identities.

Many Southern Californians attempt to cope with the diversity of ethnic groups by trying to appreciate the cultures they represent. This perspective emphasizes learning about the traditional cultures of others—their distinctive foods, dances, religions, special holidays, and so forth. This is the view stressed by the schools and the media. It is also the underlying foundation for nearly all efforts to improve relations among groups. Its utility was illustrated after the 1992 riots by efforts to help Korean merchants and black residents of South Central Los Angeles recognize how their two groups view each other differently.

A focus on cultural awareness is insufficient, however, for it merely scratches the surface of relationships among ethnic groups. In stressing the equal value of all cultures, the cultural

perspective ignores group differences in political power, educational attainment, and economic position. It also seems blind to the importance of where different people live and the type of work they do as factors in ethnic group perceptions and relationships.

Perhaps the most basic flaw of the cultural perspective is its implicit denial of the underlying competitive relationship among groups. An important but often unacknowledged motivation behind the creation and maintenance of ethnic group categories is competition for economic resources and status.²

The Central Concept: Structure

We base this book on a structural perspective rather than a cultural one. Structure can be thought of as the fundamental form or pattern by which people differentiate themselves and others.³ It is the basic composition of society—the underlying arrangement of individuals and groups. Individuals interact and conduct their work and play from their position within the structure. Groups are aggregations of individuals who share a position in the structure, although some individuals may be but dimly aware of their places.

In emphasizing structure, we assume that people are conditioned in important ways by their ethnic identities and their geographical and economic positions in the larger society. Group similarities and differences in those positions are important in understanding intergroup relations. Admittedly, aspects of culture such as a predisposition to enter some lines of work much more than others or a special emphasis on education or homeownership do help shape the structural position of a group. People—with their values, lifestyles, and prejudices—are a part of the life of their

group, and their group is embedded in the structural matrix of society as a whole.

A structural perspective, like a cultural perspective, tempers but does not deny the importance of individual decisions. Although one's place in the structure will affect one's opportunities, people are not forced by the structure into achieving certain levels of education, lines of work, income levels, or residential locations. Structure is an influence on or predisposition rather than a determinant. The many individuals who make occupational, political, and lifestyle choices that are atypical of their friends and relatives are demonstrating a very real freedom to choose.

Thus, our book describes and explains how ethnic groups fit together into the larger society, economy, and geography—the structure—of Southern California. Although our main goal is to investigate the structure in order to better understand people and places in this region, we also believe that knowledge of different groups' structural positions is a prerequisite to any realistic reduction of tensions between them.

The Three Dimensions of Structure

The structure of population in any region can best be conceived of as having three basic dimensions: ethnic identity, social class or socioeconomic status, and geographical distribution. These dimensions are often called the ethnic structure, the class or socioeconomic structure, and the spatial structure.

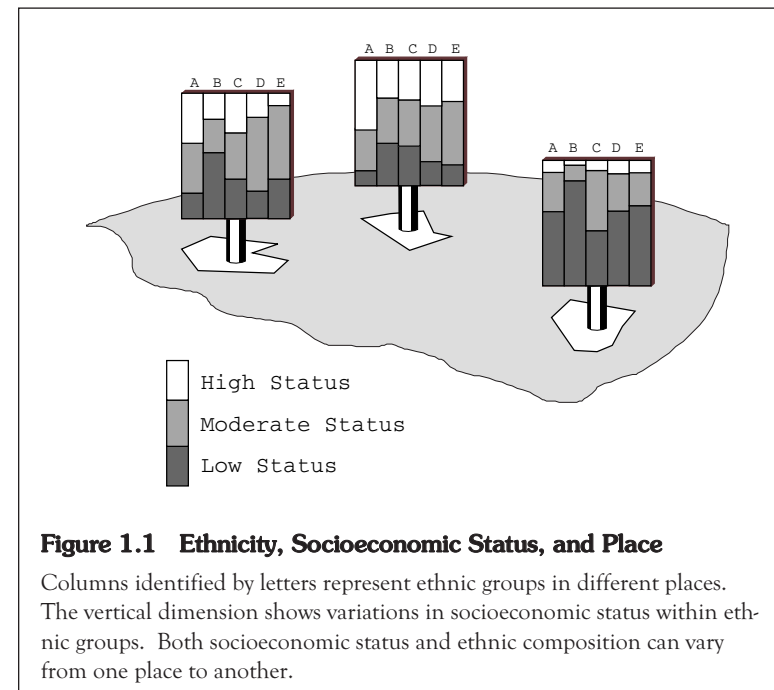
Although structure is an abstraction, it can be conveniently diagrammed in such a way that it is more easily grasped (Fig. 1.1). The first two dimensions are represented by a rectangle. The horizontal dimension represents identities, each of which is represented by a vertical column. The vertical dimension represents socioeconomic status. On the graph each column is divided into smaller segments to differentiate people by status. Geographical distribution can be thought of as the location of rectangles on a horizontal plane.

In this way it is possible to differentiate a poor Thai immigrant from a middle-class Salvadoran along both the status and the ethnic dimensions. Ethnic composition and status vary sub-

stantially from place to place, and residential and work locations affect potential contact among people of different ethnic identities and classes. For these reasons the spatial patterns or distributions of ethnic groups and socioeconomic status must be added.

Ethnic structure. Ethnic structure is the ethnic composition of an area—the proportions of people in various ethnic groups. Ethnic identity and its corollary, ethnic group, are difficult to define but nonetheless indispensable. It is best to explain these terms simply and then characterize them briefly. Ethnic identity can be thought of as a sense of peoplehood, having its roots in one's ancestry or family heritage and likely to continue into the future.⁴ An ethnic population is the collection of people within the larger society who share a specific identity.

In the United States identities and groups have usually been defined in terms of the country of origin of a person or a person's ancestors. However, racial or religious affiliation may also be a basis for ethnic identity. Thus, blacks and whites are really large ethnic groups, within each of which can be nested other



identities such as Jamaican or Irish. Identities based on race or physical appearance are different from those based on religion or country of origin, however, in that they are not necessarily voluntary. People of color in the United States have long known that white society has given them a separate racial identity, whether they wish it or not.

Class structure. The stratification of society according to economic and closely related characteristics is recognized in the concept of social class or socioeconomic status. A higher position on the status scale is generally preferred over a lower position, and position is usually indicated by general type of occupation or level of income. Status can also be described by characteristics like educational attainment or specific occupation because these can be significantly related to income. Thus, individuals who belong to an ethnic group can range from very high to very low in status, and the average status of entire ethnic groups can be compared.⁵

Spatial structure. In the context of this book, spatial structure is the areal pattern or distribution of socioeconomic status and ethnic groups. However, understanding the spatial structure usually involves more than just mapping spatial patterns. It requires knowing both the processes by which patterns were created and the characteristics of various places that may relate to the patterns. Such place descriptions include type of land use, terrain, general appearance and age of houses and apartments, proportion of single-family houses, and statements about the most typical people who live there. Other basic characteristics of places are their ethnic and class composition. In this way, all three dimensions of structure are closely interconnected.

Relative ease of access to other places is also an important characteristic of any place and may be an appropriate part of the characterization of an area. The presence of nearby shopping centers and business districts, prestigious residential areas, beaches, and mountain amenities are part of a place's geographical situation. Conversely, proximity to unattractive land uses such as railroad yards, industrial corridors, or slum areas is also significant.

Ethnic compartmentalization. The concept of structure is a useful way to understand probable patterns of social differentiation and association. People can be imagined as living much of their lives in a social compartment defined by ethnic identity, social class, and residential location (Fig. 1.1). To say that society is compartmentalized is to acknowledge that most people's regular and more personal associations are with others in the same compartment as their own.

Measuring Structure with U.S. Census Data

Each of the three dimensions of structure has variables that describe and measure it. Within the ethnic dimension, each ethnic group is a variable. The dimension of status is most commonly measured by educational attainment, occupation, and income. These allow individuals and groups to be located or ranked vertically in the structure. The spatial dimension of structure locates people geographically. In contrast to the ethnic and class dimensions, the location of people changes frequently during an average day or week. Despite this, the location of residence normally defines the spatial pattern of groups.

The best source of information on ethnic identity, socioeconomic status, and residential location is the U.S. census of 1990. The bulk of the data summarized in our tables, graphs, and maps originated in Summary Tape Files (STFs) 1, 3, and 4 and in the PUMS file for California. We generally used the STF data to describe the population living in census tracts, whereas PUMS data were tabulated by PUMA, a region of at least 100,000 persons.

Wherever possible, we used the complete count (STF 1) or nonsample data rather than STF 3 and STF 4, which are based on a 12.7 percent sample of the Southern California population.⁶ The PUMS file is a 5 percent sample of all households and individuals.⁷ PUMS data made it possible for us to obtain information on an ethnic population in much more detail than we could have from any published volumes or from other computer files. They also enabled us to determine, for instance, the characteristics of a specific age or educational

group within an ethnic population. For 1960 data, we used various published volumes as sources of data.

Data on Ethnic Populations

Census questions as data sources. The 1990 census questionnaire included four questions related to ethnic identity. We make use of all four in this book. The first two items—race and Hispanic origin—were asked of all respondents; the third and fourth—ancestry and country of birth—were part of the more detailed form of the questionnaire completed only by the 12.7 percent sample.

In answering the race question, respondents had to select the race they considered themselves to be from a list of fifteen categories. The categories included white, black, American Indian, and several Asian countries and Pacific Island groups, as well as “other race.” If no appropriate racial group was listed, people could write in smaller Asian and Pacific Islander groups in a blank space. Many people reported their identity in this way, and we make use of these data. The second question, on Hispanic origin, was completely separate. It was designed to identify the specific countries of origin of people who considered themselves of Spanish or Hispanic origin, either by filling in the circle opposite a label such as Mexican or Cuban or by writing in the name of another country.

Together, these two items on the census questionnaire are particularly important in categorizing people ethnically. This is because neither was based on a sample and because a great number of national origins were tabulated from the write-in spaces. Also, only a cross-tabulation from the two questions can provide the most appropriate category for the dominant ethnic group in Southern California—non-Hispanic whites.

The third question regarding ethnic identity asked people to write in their ancestry or ethnic origin. The responses were particularly useful in characterizing specific European and Middle Eastern national identities within the larger white race population, as well as specific African and West Indian origins within the black race population. The best measure of ancestry as an

indicator of identity and population size is the first ancestry reported by any individual, which is the basis for the ancestry data used in this book.

Lastly, the question about place of birth is a source of specific information on the foreign-born within specific ethnic groups. The responses also allowed us to investigate subgroups within the larger ethnic populations of Armenians, Chinese, and Indonesians.

Selection of white ethnic identities. To a large extent, people of European origin have assimilated into a single English-speaking, Americanized white society. Although some individuals retain a strong sense of ethnic identity for an ancestral homeland in Europe, intermarriage and distance from the immigrant experience have resulted in weakened, blurred, and multiple senses of ethnic identity. For this reason, we do not generally distinguish among European ethnic groups. Instead, we characterize people of European heritage as racially white but not Hispanic. The non-Hispanic restriction is important to distinguish the European-origin whites from the more recently arrived and culturally distinct groups from Latin America. Various ethnic groups from the Middle East are also white, but each should be identified separately.

Within the broad non-Hispanic white population, we also distinguish two groups of European origin because of their exceptional significance. First, the English-ancestry group contains few immigrants but large numbers whose ancestors arrived from England a century or more ago. This group is important because it includes the descendants of the people who once defined the mainstream or core culture in America and controlled it economically as a power elite: white Anglo-Saxon Protestants. Although most people of English ancestry have never been connected with any social or economic elite, others are wealthy and remain highly influential. Because the group is large, it effectively represents traditional, English-speaking American culture and appropriately includes some “old,” high-status families.

The second European-origin group is people of Russian ancestry. We selected Russian ancestry because it is a useful surrogate for the Jewish population, an important ethnic group which

is at the same time a religious group. Because of concern over religious privacy and potential religious discrimination, the U.S. Congress decades ago prohibited the Bureau of the Census from asking any question concerning religion in decennial censuses. Nevertheless, the status and locations of Jews in Southern California can be approximated by using ancestry data for people of Russian ancestry. This association is substantiated by a mid-1970s national survey which showed that 70 percent of Americans of Russian ancestry were Jewish.⁸

The Jewish component of the Russian-ancestry population in Southern California in 1990 should be even greater. Since World War I many thousands of Jews have moved to Los Angeles from New York and other eastern cities where their parents and grandparents had settled after emigrating from Russia. Jews have also constituted a high proportion of Russian émigrés to Los Angeles since the mid-1970s. As a result, we estimate that people of Jewish heritage or faith constitute about 85 to 90 percent of the people of Russian ancestry in Southern California.⁹

Russian ancestry is not a good indicator of the total numbers of Jews because many Jews have family origins in countries other than Russia. However, the tendency of Jews to cluster residentially near other Jews without much regard to national origin and to share socioeconomic characteristics means that Russian ancestry is an appropriate substitute for describing the Jewish population.

Quality of the data. Not all residents were enumerated by the census, and the resulting undercount was greater for blacks and Hispanics than for whites and Asians.¹⁰ Analyses of the coverage of past censuses suggest that the undercount was also greater among poorer people and those who are not legal residents of this country.¹¹ For this reason the estimated national undercount of 4 to 6 percent among blacks and Hispanics probably means that poorer blacks and Hispanics are less well represented, so that the socioeconomic status of these groups appears slightly higher in census data than it should be.

The undercount of illegal residents may have been smaller in 1990 than in 1980 because many such people had already applied to legalize their status under the amnesty provisions of the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986. In 1990 they were

presumably less fearful of divulging their presence. Nevertheless, a significant undercount in Southern California must have occurred. Because Mexico has been by far the largest source of illegal immigration, the actual status of Mexican immigrants is probably lower than what is indicated by census data. Similarly, their numbers in various low-status work specializations (see chapter 8) are probably greater than the census data show.

Because inconsistency in people's responses to the race, Hispanic-origin, and ancestry questions may have weakened the data, the Bureau of the Census reinterviewed a national sample of individuals. Results showed a high consistency of responses for race and Hispanic origin, but only moderate consistency for an American Indian identity. With respect to ancestry, immigrants are understandably consistent in their responses. However, ethnic intermarriage and some loss of a sense of origins on the part of the U.S.-born resulted in Russian and English ancestries being reported with only moderate consistency. Moderate consistency means that group characteristics may not appear as distinctive as they would be if the groups were more clearly and tightly defined.¹²

Inconsistencies typically occurred when people with multi-ethnic family backgrounds were forced to choose a single identity for the race and Hispanic-origin questions. The resulting census data give the impression of sharply defined ethnic populations where, in fact, an unknown proportion of people have mixed backgrounds and identities.

The prohibition against identifying people's religion also limits data on people from the Middle East, where religious groups within most countries are separate socially but cannot be distinguished in census data. Religious data would help identify Muslims, Christians, and Jews—especially significant subgroups among Egyptians, Lebanese, Syrians, and Iranians.

Data on Socioeconomic Status

The foundation of status rests theoretically on educational attainment, because occupation and income are largely dependent on education. Although decades ago a high-school education typi-

cally led to a good job, by 1990 a decline in such jobs, together with a generally rising level of education, meant that the basic standard of educational attainment is now a college education. Thus, our key measure of educational status is the percentage of those individuals aged 25 and older who are graduates of a four-year college or university.

Occupations are not easily ranked on the basis of status or prestige, but people in the managerial and professional occupations generally have more education and earn more money than do those in other occupations.¹³ This means that the best occupational measure of status is the percentage of workers who are employed as managers (also referred to as executives and administrators) and professionals. We sometimes call these “upper-level, white-collar” workers.

In chapter 8 we use highly detailed occupation and industry categories to describe work specializations or niches—but without regard to status. Ethnic groups, especially newer immigrant groups searching for opportunities in the United States, can be differentiated by their concentrations in certain types of businesses and occupations, which are a form of ethnic compartmentalization.

A third aspect of work is the type of ownership of the employing organization. We group all workers into three categories: private wage and salary workers, government workers, and self-employed workers. Unpaid workers in a family business are included in the self-employed category. These distinctions can be important in comparisons of ethnic groups because groups often differ in the degree to which members are in business for themselves, and some groups have exceptionally high or low proportions of government workers.

The major purpose of work is the earning of money. This suggests that income is probably the most important indicator of status. Both median household income and median personal income are useful variables. Because families share incomes and because many key decisions are made by households rather than individuals, household income is the most widely used income variable. It is the total income reported by all people living together in a housing unit, such as a single-family dwelling or an apartment.¹⁴ Differences among ethnic groups in the average number of workers in a household can distort household-income compar-

isons. For this reason the median personal income of individual men and women is also valuable.

Whereas income measures money received during a single year, homeownership is an indicator of longer-term wealth. We use the percentage of households that own their homes as a basic measure of economic status.

The timing of the taking of the census is significant in measuring socioeconomic status. Monthly economic indicators show that the April 1 census date was just prior to a major recession. This means that the census measures the results of economic growth during the 1980s, but it does not reveal any features of the recession of the 1990s.

The Permeable Walls of Ethnic Compartments

We have suggested that the residents of Southern California can be viewed as occupying various specific compartments in the larger structure—compartments defined by ethnic identity, socioeconomic status, and place. The concept of structure seems to emphasize the walls or boundaries between ethnic groups. However, in many cases people cross these boundaries. Close contact between people of different ethnic identities may lead to weaker or more permeable social boundaries between groups and, ultimately, to the merging of some groups and the disappearance of some identities.

In the remainder of this chapter we explain the processes that lead to closer contact among ethnic groups. There are no data to measure the permeability of boundaries between classes within an ethnic population. However, we can measure the potential for interaction among groups by language ability and other variables, which we discuss as acculturation. Rates of intermarriage between groups can show the social integration of groups (the permeability of compartments).

Acculturation

Acculturation, or cultural assimilation, is normally a first step in the process of immigrant or minority adjustment to the culture of the dominant group.¹⁵ It means the adoption, at least

partially, of the leading group's ways of thinking and behaving. The most important aspect of acculturation is language, because improved skills in the common language open up other avenues of assimilation, such as education and a greater range of employment possibilities.

With a few exceptions concerning Spanish speakers, most communication among different ethnic groups in Southern California takes place in the English language. This means that an ethnic group's average English ability compared with that of other groups is an excellent indicator of the possibilities of interaction. More important, the group that wields most economic influence and sets the cultural tone is U.S.-born, English-speaking whites. As people spend more time in this country and or have more contact with those whites, they come to understand more of the culture represented by whites and typically adopt aspects of it. The economic payoff expected from acculturation, in terms of a better job or higher income, is usually a powerful motivating force.¹⁶

We recognize that in contemporary Southern California there are aspects of acculturation that are detrimental to individuals and families and that many people resist it.¹⁷ However, we stress the language aspect of this pervasive and powerful process because fluency in standard English speech is so widely acknowledged as important for most economic success.

People who use a language other than English at home at least some of the time were asked on the census questionnaire to rate their ability to speak English as not at all, not well, well, or very well. The extent of an ethnic group's acculturation is best measured by the most demanding of these criteria: the percentage of adults who speak only English in their home or who speak English very well even if other languages are also spoken.

Individuals and ethnic groups that arrived in this country earlier than other groups tend to be more acculturated.¹⁸ Two variables that indirectly measure the relative recency of immigration suggest the probability of acculturation. The first is the percentage of adults (aged 25 and older) who are immigrants (born outside the United States), and second is the percentage of the foreign-born who arrived during the 1980s.

In addition, we calculated the median personal income for the foreign-born compared with the U.S.-born in an ethnic group. Although ostensibly a measure of status, we use it to suggest the

extent of an assimilation lag between immigrants and the U.S.-born within any one ethnic group.

Social Integration and Structural Assimilation

Social integration—the breakdown of compartmentalization—occurs much more slowly than does acculturation. This is because social integration is characterized by close personal ties, friendships that continue beyond the workplace, frequent social gatherings, and possibly marriage between people in different groups.¹⁹ It means entering into the cliques and institutions of another ethnic group.

The most common form of social integration is structural assimilation. This is the name given to the integration of a minority group with the dominant ethnic group in an area. In the case of Southern California and the United States, structural assimilation occurs when members of other ethnic groups enter into the social group of non-Hispanic whites. Both cultural and structural assimilation become less necessary if economic power and influence become less concentrated within the white group. This has already been demonstrated by the success of some Asian immigrants relying on Asian capital.

It is usually the children of immigrants, rather than the immigrants themselves, who achieve substantial structural assimilation. They often speak English with little or no accent and feel comfortable doing so, and they often form close friendships at school and elsewhere because of shared interests rather than shared ethnic identities.

The degree to which ethnic groups are structurally assimilated into white society or closely connected socially with other groups can be measured by rates of intermarriage. Because it is so deeply personal and reflects at least strong personal connections between individuals in different groups, intermarriage is a very stringent measure of social integration.

Census data from the PUMS file permit us to examine the ethnic identities of married couples. This is the basis for our measurement of the extent of social integration between ethnic groups and our assessment of the relative unity or separateness of Southern California's multiethnic society.

Ethnic-Identity Labels

In this book the non-Hispanic white group, sometimes called “Anglos,” is generally called “whites” where it is clear that the reference excludes Hispanics. Although “emerging majority” might be the more appropriate term in this region for the aggregate of all other groups, we use the traditional terms “minorities” and “minority groups” for everyone other than non-Hispanic whites. “Japanese,” “Chinese,” and “Filipino,” for example, include people regardless of country of birth. To distinguish those born in the United States from others, the former are called “U.S.-born,” or the word “American” is added to the ethnic label. Others are referred to as “foreign-born” or “immigrants.” The term “immigrant” does not imply either legal or illegal status with respect to U.S. immigration law.

People of any Spanish heritage or origin, regardless of nationality, are described as “Latino,” “Hispanic,” or “of Hispanic origin.” In this book the terms are interchangeable. Following Bureau of the Census practice, however, we generally use “Hispanic” when referring to the size or other characteristics of these populations as described in U.S. census data. “Latino” is often used in other contexts. Consistent with Census Bureau terminology on the questionnaire, specific Hispanic groups are described by their national origin, such as “people of Mexican origin.” These labels include all people in the ethnic group, regardless of country of birth.

Because the Mexican-origin population includes large numbers of both immigrants and U.S.-born, we often call the former “Mexicans,” “Mexican immigrants,” or “Mexican-born people.” Those born in the United States are either “U.S.-born people of Mexican origin” or “Mexican Americans.” Changes in census terminology and ethnic-group preferences mean that labels for ethnic groups can be confusing. We have tried to use labels that are short, widely accepted, and not laden with political connotations. African Americans are referred to as “blacks,” although in earlier census data they were “Negroes.” Similarly, although the 1960 census identified Latinos by means of distinctive Spanish surnames rather than a “Hispanic origin,” we ignore this minor

change and refer to the group in both 1960 and 1990 as “Latino” or “Hispanic.”

Where maps or measures of ethnic groups based on the sample ancestry data are used, we always identify the group as an ancestry group.

Fitting It All Together

Subsequent chapters are designed to show how ethnic groups are positioned within the larger socioeconomic and spatial structures of Southern California. In the next chapter we describe and explain the basic spatial structure of the region into which the ethnic groups are placed, and in chapters 3, 4, and 5 we focus on the differing spatial structures or distributions of the groups. Other chapters deal with the placement of ethnic groups along the socioeconomic dimension of the regional structure. Thus, the three dimensions of structure and the varying permeability of its compartment walls are valuable concepts for organizing our thinking about the patterned relationships among ethnic groups, class, and place.

Notes

1. Blau (1994), 17, 21.
2. Competition for jobs, housing, and higher income is not necessarily expressed in terms of ethnic groups. However, to the extent that people provide more help to those in their own group than to others outside the group as all attempt to maintain and improve their status, the indirect cumulative effect is to produce competition among ethnic groups. Some ethnic groups are roughly equal to each other in status; others may be higher or lower. Competitive tensions among ethnic groups fluctuate in pattern and strength due to shifts in group numbers, labor-market niches, and economic expansion or contraction in a local area (Olzak and Nagel 1986; Nagel 1995). Competition may appear to be absent during periods of economic growth. The best recent study of varied ethnic networks and niches in the inherently competitive job market is Waldinger (1996). At the same time, a basic, persistent conflict which is indirectly one of ethnic competition is that

between the economically dominant (and mostly white) class and other classes and minority groups that are less powerful (Feagin and Feagin 1994). Elaborations of these ideas and additional perspectives on relations between ethnic groups can be found in Rex and Mason (1986); Omi and Winant (1986); and Stanfield (1995).

3. Our emphasis on people as members of groups and comparative group structures is derived theoretically from Gordon (1964) and Blau (1994).

4. Gordon (1964), 23–24, 29. Ethnic identities may change over time because they reflect ongoing social-psychological processes that are responsive to cultural shifts in the wider society. Identities and labels that are salient at any one time are not immutable, even though they may appear so.

5. Technically, the socioeconomic structure of any ethnic group or place should be defined by the distribution of people in several categories of educational status or income. However, because our purpose is primarily to compare the relative status of different groups, we simplify and describe the group's socioeconomic structure by a single measure, usually some median or percentage value.

6. U.S. Bureau of the Census (1991, 1993d).

7. U.S. Bureau of the Census (1992).

8. These were the findings of a general social survey conducted in the 1970s and reported in Archdeacon (1983), 238.

9. The Russian-ancestry population in Southern California includes people who are neither practicing Jews nor Jewish by heritage. Nearly all of these have a Christian family heritage, but the paucity of Russian Orthodox churches and other Russian-oriented congregations in Southern California argues that they constitute a very small proportion of the area's Russian-ancestry population. Because there were an estimated 639,000 Jews in the five-county Southern California area in 1990 (Kosmin and Scheckner 1991), Jews among the 197,000 persons of Russian ancestry must constitute at least a quarter of the total Jewish population of Southern California.

10. A special section in an issue of the *Journal of the American Statistical Association* is the most authoritative source concerning the estimated undercount in 1990 (Schenker 1993).

11. Passel and Woodrow (1984); Fein (1990).

12. McKenny et al. (1993).

13. Stevens and Cho (1985); Farley and Allen (1987). Other occupations, such as sales, clerical, technical, administrative support, machine operator, and precision production, have roughly similar educational standards and pay; and occupations that may be lowest in status are handlers, helpers, laborers, and private-household workers. However, these occupations vary so much in job requirements and pay that they are almost impossible to differentiate in status.

14. Although some households consist of just one person, about 70 percent of households in Southern California contain a family (two or more related people), and 52 percent of all households contain married couples (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1991).

15. The clearest conceptual discussion of acculturation and structural assimilation is found in Gordon (1964), chapters 3 and 4.

16. Acculturation is not necessarily required for economic success or high income in those businesses in which markets and employees are restricted to a single ethnic group—what is sometimes called an ethnic economy.

17. Many people resist acculturation emotionally because it seems to imply at least a corresponding loss of group's culture and identity. However, this is not necessarily the case. People who are fully acculturated can conform to the culture of English-speaking whites when they wish, such as in work and public situations. At the same time, they usually retain their ethnic identity and aspects of the ethnic culture with which they are more comfortable, typically expressing these with close friends and families in private or ethnic settings.

18. Borjas (1990); Portes and Rumbaut (1990), 201–9; LaLonde and Topel (1992); Myers (1995).

19. Gordon (1964), 70–71, 80–81. Gordon refers to intermarriage as marital assimilation and sees it as following inevitably from structural assimilation.