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Behind the Model Minority: An Examination of Ethnicity, Place, and Arrests among Asian Youth in Los Angeles Neighborhoods

Author

Tam, Christina

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Behind the Model Minority:

An Examination of Ethnicity, Place, and Arrests among Asian Youth in Los Angeles Neighborhoods

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
Requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in Social Welfare

by

Christina Tam

2016

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Behind the Model Minority:

An Examination of Ethnicity, Place, and Arrests

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by

Christina Tam

Doctor of Philosophy in Social Welfare

University of California, Los Angeles, 2016

Professor Bridget Freisthler, Chair

Background and Aims. Asian ethnic groups are accompanied by diverging migration histories, cultural values, and lived experiences, and these factors play a role in their children's juvenile justice involvement. While immigrant groups initially settled in ethnic enclaves, they will relocate to ethnoburbs as they achieve higher socioeconomic status. Ethnic enclaves may protect ethnic minority youth against delinquency, but it is currently unknown if residing in an ethnoburb is related to offense type. First, this study determined whether these two ethnic neighborhoods can be differentiated for five Asian ethnic groups. Guided by the spatial assimilation model, I then explored the relationship between ethnicity, ethnic neighborhood, and offense type.

Methods. This study employed secondary data analysis of administrative data from the Los Angeles Probation Department and the American Community Survey collected by the United States Census Bureau. Primary individual interviews confirmed the locations of ethnic neighborhoods in Los Angeles County. The sample consisted of 980 youth nested within 183 zip codes. Multinomial regression models assessed key relationships; a multilevel approach was used for investigating neighborhood-level effects.

Results. Ethnic enclaves and ethnoburbs were classified with a categorical tree using percent ethnicity, percent poverty, and population density, and key informants confirmed these neighborhoods for their respective ethnicities. Koreans have the highest probability of being arrested for a violent crime, Chinese for weapons, Southeast Asian for property, and Japanese for substance and other types of offenses. Compared to living in non-ethnic neighborhoods, living in an ethnoburb was associated with higher risks of being arrested for weapons and substance offenses relative to violence. Finally, youth who live in ethnoburbs that match their ethnicity are at higher risk for being arrested for a weapons offense.

Conclusions. That there are ethnic differences in offense type speak to the cultural underpinnings that are associated with each group within the Asian racial category, thus challenging the model minority stereotype that Asians are free of social problems. Because living in an ethnoburb was related to offense type, and especially for youth whose ethnicity matches that of the neighborhood, future research should explore the mechanisms that may explain this association.

The dissertation of Christina Tam is approved.

Laura S. Abrams

Todd M. Franke

Andrew Fuligni

Bridget Freisthler, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

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VITA

EDUCATION

MSW	University of California, Los Angeles	2011
BA	University of California, Irvine Majors: Psychology and Criminology, Law & Society	2008

HONORS AND AWARDS

Franklin D. Gilliam, Jr., Social Justice Award	2016
UCLA Graduate Research Mentorship Fellowship	2014-2015
UCLA Graduate Summer Research Mentorship Award	2013
Professor Harry H. L. Kitano Fellowship	2012
UCLA Graduate Summer Research Mentorship Award	2012
Michael S. Dukakis Fellowship	2012-11

PUBLICATIONS

Tam, C. C., Abrams, L. S., Freisthler, B., & Ryan, J. P. (2016). Juvenile Justice Sentencing: Do Gender and Child Welfare Status Matter? *Children and Youth Services Review.* doi: 10.1016/j.childyouth.2016.02.028

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RESEARCH EXPERIENCE

Graduate Student Researcher 2014-2016
University of California, Los Angeles Department of Social Welfare; Evaluating the Geography of Medical Cannabis Dispensaries on Crime, Price, and Use (Bridget Freisthler, PI), NIDA R01-DA032715

Graduate Student Researcher 2011-2013
University of California, Los Angeles Department of Social Welfare; Social Support and Desistance in the Transition to Adulthood among Formerly Incarcerated Youth (Laura S. Abrams, PI)

Graduate Student Researcher 2012
University of California, Los Angeles Center for Civil Society; Human Services Organizations in Poor Neighborhoods (Zeke Hasenfeld, PI)

Research Associate 2011
Prevention Research Center, Pacific Institute for Research and Evaluation; Social Mechanisms of Child Abuse and Neglect (Bridget Freisthler, PI), NIAAA P60-AA006282

Research Assistant 2008-2009
University of California, Irvine Department of Criminology, Law & Society; Effects of Parental Incarceration, (Sara Wakefield, PI).

Research Assistant 2008
UC Irvine Department of Psychology & Social Behavior and Department of Criminology, Law & Society; Human Memory Laboratory (Elizabeth Loftus, PI)

PRACTICE EXPERIENCE

Outreach & Engagement Specialist 2013-2015
Western Youth Services, Anaheim, CA

Evaluation Consultant 2013-2015
Ryman Arts Foundation, Los Angeles, CA

MSW Intern 2010-2011
City of Santa Monica - Human Services Division, Santa Monica, CA

Intern 2010
Office of the Mayor - Department of Homeland Security and Public Safety, Los Angeles, CA

MSW Intern 2009-2010
Harbour Area Halfway Houses, Long Beach, CA

Office Manager 2008-2009
Orange Coast Psychiatric Associates, Mission Viejo, CA

Intake Specialist 2007-2008
South Coast Therapists, Fountain Valley, CA

Undergraduate Intern 2007
U.S. Department of Justice Bureau of Prisons, Long Beach, CA

ACADEMIC SERVICE

Student Representative, Faculty Search Committee, UCLA Social Welfare 2014-2015
Student Representative, Doctoral Committee, UCLA Social Welfare 2013-2014

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

According to the U.S. Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP), over 1.3 million juveniles were arrested in 2012 (Puzzanchera, 2014). Juveniles, or young people under age 18, were involved in about 1 in 10 of all arrests in the U.S. (Puzzanchera, 2014). Juvenile delinquency is typically defined as illegal behaviors that minors commit, and delinquent offenses may range from violent crimes such as assault to acts that would be only deemed illegal for young people under age 18 (e.g., truancy, running away, alcohol use). Of all arrests in 2012, most (68%) were referred to juvenile court, where a judicial body ultimately makes a decision on the youth's fate, 22% were released, 8% were referred to criminal court, and all others were referred to another police or welfare agency (Puzzanchera, 2014). Juvenile incarceration as a result of an arrest consists of out-of-home placement in secure correctional facilities such as probation camps, group homes, and detention centers. Youth who become incarcerated are less likely to obtain a high school diploma or equivalent (Harlow, 2003), are less likely to obtain and maintain gainful employment (Bullis, Yovanoff, Mueller, & Havel, 2002), and are more likely to have poor mental health (Moffitt, Caspi, Harrington, & Milne, 2002) and difficult family endeavors including violence against women and children (Moffitt et al., 2002) and divorce (Sampson & Laub, 1990) in their adult lives.

Scope and Nature of Juvenile Arrests among Asians

There is a higher proportion of juvenile arrests among all arrests of Asian Americans compared to other racial categories, including Whites and African Americans (Puzzanchera, 2013). This detail becomes more significant when considering the rate at which the Asian population is growing: Asian groups in the U.S. increased 43% between the years 2000 and 2010 (Hoeffel, Rastogi, Kim, & Shahid, 2012), and its population is projected to double by the year

2060—increasing to 8% of the total population (U.S. Census Bureau, 2012). While Latinos are also one of the fastest growing groups in the U.S., accounting for more than half the population growth in the U.S. between 2000 and 2010 (Passel, Cohn, & Lopez, 2011), their population growth compared to that of Asians is vastly different. The increase in the Latino population is largely fueled by births, whereas the Asian population growth is driven primarily by immigration (Brown, 2014).

Hence, the numbers of Asian American second-generation, or U.S. born children of immigrants, youth are expected to increase in the next several decades. Groups that migrate to the U.S. have different experiences of acclimating to their new communities, which may subsequently affect how their children adapt to the immediate familial and neighborhood context and larger society. These adaptation experiences may play out in various behavioral outcomes, which include delinquent offending that could lead to arrest. In particular, Southeast Asian youth and their families (including those of Cambodian, Hmong, Laotian, and Vietnamese descent) arguably have the most difficult endeavors in adjusting to living in the U.S. compared to other Asian groups, which will be further detailed below.

Southeast Asians make up approximately 15.2% of the overall Asian population in the U.S. (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010a) but they constitute the majority of Asian arrests (Krisberg, 2005). Further, youth aged 5 to 17 comprised 18.3% of the total Asian population and 17.5% of the overall U.S. population while the percentages for this age group for Cambodian (21.5%), Hmong (30.7%), Laotian (22.6%), and Vietnamese (19.5%) exceed that of the overall Asian category (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010a). Accordingly, the higher representation of juveniles within these ethnic groups warrants further research on the disparate offending outcomes for these youth. Because of the small numbers of Asian youth in the juvenile justice system

(Krisberg, 2005), the Southeast Asian population is rarely studied and little is known about correlates of their risk behaviors. Their parents' refugee status as a result of their migration circumstances places Southeast Asian families in an even more unique position that warrants exploration, since their experiences widely differ from those of their East Asian immigrant counterparts (e.g., Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and Filipino groups).

Asians in the Juvenile Justice System

The lack of discourse on juvenile justice involvement among Asians is due to several reasons. Generally, Asian Americans in the U.S. are perceived to be fairly successful and seldom encounter social issues such as crime and delinquency, unemployment, and school dropout, thus lending support to the "model minority" stereotype (Lee & Zhou, 2015). Overall, nearly 50% of Asians 25 years and older attained a college degree or higher, which far surpasses the educational attainment of other racial/ethnic groups and the population average of the U.S. (Cook, Chung, & Tseng, 2013). Similarly, Asians enjoyed higher annual incomes compared to the overall U.S. population (Cook et al., 2013).

However, with over 25 ethnicities that make up the Asian population who reside in the U.S. (Uba, 1994), there is room for considerable variation among groups. Compared to race, which is generally based upon physical characteristics, ethnicity refers to the group to which an individual belongs as a result of shared geographical and ancestral origins, cultural traditions, and languages (Bhopal, 2004). East Asians make up the largest ethnicities within the Asian overall count (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010a), and therefore they skew the estimates for the higher than U.S. average educational and occupational attainment. Upon disaggregating the overall race data by ethnicity, it becomes apparent that groups such as Southeast Asians do not fare as well. On the other spectrum of educational achievement were ethnic groups with high

proportions of adults who did not receive a high school diploma, including Cambodian (38.4%), Laotian (34.2%), Hmong (39%), and Vietnamese (28%) groups (Cook et al., 2011).

While studies overall may point to the lack of juvenile offending and arrests for those who fall under the Asian racial category (e.g., Griffin, Botvin, Scheier, Doyle, & Williams, 2003; Snyder & Sickmund, 2006; Sugimoto-Matsuda, Hishinuma, & Chang, 2013), further investigation yields the finding that Southeast Asians indeed make up a large proportion of Asian youth who are in the juvenile justice system. Although the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) does not disaggregate specific ethnic groups among arrests, some data have illustrated that Vietnamese youth make up a disproportionately high number of arrestees in Alameda and San Francisco counties in California (Le, Arifuku, Louie, & Krisberg, 2001), and that Laotian and Cambodian youths from the Central Valley area are overrepresented in the California Youth Authority population (Umemoto, Ong, Arifuku, Peacock, & Glesmann, 2006). With regard to prevalence in the types of offending in comparison to other groups, there is some evidence indicating that Southeast Asians are more likely to commit violent offenses such as aggravated assault and robbery relative to Chinese youth (Le & Wallen, 2006). There is no up-to-date literature that illustrates the overrepresentation of Southeast Asians in the juvenile justice system, and yet the aforementioned figures on these groups comprising the highest proportion of juvenile arrests among Asians allude that it is still a concern. These figures are particularly compelling in contrast to the popular perception of Asians as the model minority.

Subgroup Differences among Asians

There exists considerable variation among Asian subgroups in the United States. It is important to garner an understanding of the circumstances under which certain Asian subgroups migrated to the U.S, as this may lend insight into the disparities in economic and social outcomes

between these ethnic groups. Each group to the U.S. is accompanied by its own set of distinct languages, cultural values, practices, and migration histories. In particular, this dissertation study makes a distinction between East and Southeast Asian ethnic groups.

Different ethnic groups experience a range of migration trajectories from their home countries and into the U.S., and there may be different forces behind their migration patterns and settlement into and across neighborhoods that might be related to youth outcomes and arrests. For example, East Asians have mostly settled in U.S. neighborhoods as voluntary migrants for several generations, while Southeast Asians were more likely to have immigrated to the U.S. as refugees more recently without choice and preparation for living in a new environment. As a result of parents' experiences as refugees, there is likelihood that the parent-child relationship may be compromised and thus youth become indirectly affected and resort to serious violence (Spencer & Le, 2006).

Asian American groups live in various types of neighborhoods across U.S. metropolitan areas, which is largely dependent upon the length of time in which they established communities within the larger area. Therefore, some groups are more likely to reside in certain types of ethnic neighborhoods. After initial settlement into ethnic neighborhoods (i.e., communities where there is a clear presence of an ethnic economy and a higher than average population of this ethnic group who reside in the area), a secondary migration to more affluent ethnic communities that reflect economic success is likely to occur. Two types of ethnic communities, the ethnic enclave and the ethnoburb, are respectively reflective of the aforementioned. These neighborhoods are distinct from one another such that they are comprised of vastly different racial/ethnic makeup, indicators of socioeconomic status, and location—which will be further detailed below. In

particular, exploring the composition of these ethnic neighborhoods may provide insight on ethnic group differences in arrest among juvenile justice youth.

Neighborhood Context of Juvenile Offending among Ethnic Minorities

Generally, and historically, new immigrants to the U.S. will settle in ethnic enclaves and eventually move out to ethnoburbs. Broadly defined, ethnic enclaves are the original context of immigrant reception, have high ethnic concentration within a densely populated area, have characteristic cultural identity and economic activity, and are generally low-income (Li, 2009). As groups assimilate and make socioeconomic gains and establish networks outside of these areas, where they live tends to change over time (e.g., Alba & Nee, 2003). One new area to which groups will relocate is the ethnoburb: As groups live here for generations and achieve economic success, they will have established and moved out to the ethnic suburb if they still wish to remain close to those who share their ethnicity—which tends to be higher income and less populated (Li, 2009). However, a single ethnic group still makes up a very small percentage of residents in a diverse neighborhood. Newer immigrants are also able to bypass the ethnic enclave as the community of reception and settle in ethnoburbs, since it is likely that they already have established networks there. Thus, the ethnoburb is more diverse in income.

There might be differences in how a youth reacts to his or her environment (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Because the ethnic enclave is comprised of a majority of co-ethnics (i.e., individuals sharing the same ethnicity), this neighborhood may protect against offending behaviors since it tends to be more insular and upholds cultural values (e.g., familism, hard work, respect) as a result of ethnicity being apparent in these youths' everyday lives (Vo-Jutabha, Dinh, McHale, & Valsiner, 2009; Zhou & Xiong, 2005; Zhou & Bankston, 2006). This may also lend support into the documented negative or no relationship between immigrant neighborhoods and

arrests (e.g., Desmond & Kubrin, 2009). I argue that the presence of informal social control in ethnic enclaves, or the pressure that the community indirectly imposes on the youth (Hirschi, 2002), works to protect against offending. On the other hand, because co-ethnics do not comprise the majority group in an ethnoburb, informal social control is lacking in these neighborhoods. Further, the racial/ethnic composition of an ethnoburb suggests that there is a greater likelihood of inter-group interactions and is more socioeconomically stratified compared to the enclave (Li, 2009). Hence, the youth has more contact with U.S. born and diverse populations, and they become more prone to engaging in offending behaviors. The theory of social distance may be an underlying mechanism within ethnoburbs that explain the presence of juvenile offending: Diversity and inequality within neighborhoods limits interactions (Blau, 1977, 1987), and offending occurs against groups that are not like the individual.

In sum, as subgroups relocate and settle into new neighborhoods, ethnic minority youth may become exposed to certain risks in the ethnic neighborhood that are currently unexplored. Further, the types of offending may vary across neighborhoods, depending on the availability of economic resources and presence of inequality among its residents (e.g., Hipp, 2007). Income inequality is related to violence such as homicide (Morenoff, Sampson, & Raudenbush, 2001; Hipp, 2007), but it is unknown how its presence may play out among young people in ethnic neighborhoods. Despite an ethnic group comprising a smaller proportion of residents within these neighborhoods, it is possible that the salient presence of ethnicity may also be protective against offending. It is currently unknown if and how residing in an ethnoburb is related to youth arrests and other social outcomes. This dissertation study built upon the extant literature on ethnic disparities in juvenile offending by classifying ethnic enclaves and ethnoburbs to test their association with youth arrest type among Asian groups.

Study Purpose and Overview

This study first determined a way to differentiate between the two ethnic neighborhoods using a classification system and subsequently examined the relationship between ethnic neighborhoods (e.g., ethnic enclaves, ethnoburbs) and types of juvenile arrests for five Asian ethnic subgroups in Los Angeles County by zip code. Further, comparisons on arrest type were made across ethnic group and ethnic neighborhood type. Guided by the spatial assimilation model, this study assumed that immigrants and their children spatially integrate into more diverse neighborhoods as they achieve upward socioeconomic mobility (Alba & Nee, 2003). Therefore, while groups initially resided in ethnic enclaves given that their networks are located in these neighborhoods, they will disperse to other areas across Los Angeles that are reflective of higher socioeconomic status (e.g., ethnoburbs) over time and subsequent generations.

Not all groups that comprise the overarching Asian racial category are similar, and the current study encompasses the context of juvenile offending among Asian groups. In considering their complex histories and socioeconomic circumstances, this dissertation allowed for a more nuanced understanding of ethnic subgroups. The current study contributed to the existing literature in two manners: by disaggregating arrests via ethnicity and by investigating specific contexts with which youth interface in the ever-evolving immigrant neighborhood. Further, this added to the limited understanding of the ecological context of juvenile delinquency among Asian subgroups, which had been overlooked in previous studies of racial/ethnic disparities in juvenile offending. Because ethnic groups are generally categorized under one racial umbrella, the assumption that Asians are free of social problems becomes perpetuated. Finally, introducing the ethnoburb to the study of social problems will further the scholarly discourse on whether certain *types* of ethnic and socioeconomically diverse neighborhoods might

be associated with juvenile offending among ethnic minority groups. The current study made a first attempt to operationalize the ethnoburb based upon previous literature on this neighborhood construct and to test the relationship between ethnic neighborhoods and arrest by charge type.

This dissertation study employed a large administrative dataset from the Los Angeles Probation Department that is inclusive of all first arrests of Asian youth from the years 2000 to 2009. Zip code data for juvenile arrests across Los Angeles County are linked to the American Community Survey (2011) collected by the U.S. Census, along with address information for features that are present in an ethnic enclave versus an ethnoburb setting (i.e., ethnic professional businesses such as accounting firms and physician's offices and ethnic non-profit organizations). Primary interviews with key informants confirmed the locations of ethnic neighborhoods in Los Angeles. Following the overarching framework of spatial assimilation, the following questions were addressed:

(1) Can ethnic enclaves and ethnoburbs be differentiated for five Asian ethnic groups (i.e., Chinese, Korean, Japanese, Filipino, Southeast Asian) using a classification process via quantitative data and individual interviews?

(2) What are the ethnic group differences in charge type (i.e., violence, weapon, property, substance, other) for arrested Asian youth?

(3) What is the relationship between ethnic neighborhood type and the charge for which an Asian youth is arrested?

(4) Is there an effect of matching individual ethnicity with neighborhood ethnicity on the charge type for which an Asian youth is arrested?

Organization of the Current Study

Chapter 1 briefly outlined the scope and nature of juvenile arrests among Asians, critiqued our current understanding of ethnic minority settlement into U.S. neighborhoods as they are driven by their migration histories, and presented the study overview and purpose. Chapter 2 reviews the current literature of the relationship between race/ethnicity, neighborhoods, and juvenile arrests. Chapter 3 introduces the study's conceptual model guided by spatial assimilation theory and concludes with the associated research questions and hypotheses. Chapter 4 details the methodology for the study, which includes data sources and study sample and analytic approaches. The results are presented in Chapter 5, which are organized by research question. I conclude with Chapter 6, which discusses the overall findings, strengths and limitations of the study, and implications for future research and practice.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter introduces the literature on racial and ethnic disparities in the juvenile justice system, and in particular the role of place-based research on arrests for racial/ethnic minority groups. Specifically, this section will review the literature on (a) Asian representation in the juvenile justice system, (b) racial/ethnic differences in neighborhoods related to arrest by offense type, and (c) neighborhood structural characteristics on racial/ethnic differences in arrests by offense type.

Race and Ethnicity within the Juvenile Justice System

The overrepresentation of racial minority groups in the U.S. juvenile justice system is a prevalent social problem, and yet still little is known about certain groups. The bulk of the research on racial minority overrepresentation (defined as specific racial or ethnic groups having higher percentages in the juvenile justice system than they have in the general population) remains heavily focused on Latino and Black youth. This is warranted given that, while Blacks comprised 17% of the youth population in the U.S. in 2010, this population made up 31% of all juvenile arrests (Sickmund & Puzzanchera, 2014). Although there are no precise numbers of Latino youth in the juvenile justice system nationwide, Latinos comprised 36.6% of the overall population of California (U.S. Census Bureau, 2008) while Hispanic youth made up 52.9% of all juvenile arrests in 2008 (California Department of Justice, 2009).

It is also worth noting that juvenile arrests make up a higher proportion of overall arrests for Asian juveniles (at 14%) compared to Whites (11%) and Blacks (13%) (Puzzanchera, 2013). Of those arrested, Asian juveniles make up the highest proportion within their racial category compared to other groups with respect to property index crimes (29%), including larceny-theft (i.e., theft of personal property) (30%) and arson (52%) (Puzzanchera, 2013). It is possible that

race differences in offending may be attributed to various mechanisms related to domains in the youths' lives (Loeber, Farrington, Stouthamer-Loeber, & White, 2008). When disaggregated (or broken down) by ethnicity among Asians, Southeast Asians (those of Cambodian, Laotian, Hmong, or Vietnamese descent) are overrepresented in juvenile justice system (Krisberg, 2005; Umemoto et al., 2006). In a time period during which crime rates were decreasing overall (e.g., arrests for Black youth decreased by 30%) from 1977 to 1997, arrests for Southeast Asians increased by 726% (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 1997), which coincides with these groups' arrival to the U.S. More specifically and within California, while felony property arrests (i.e., relating to the theft or destruction of property) increased by 8% overall in the 1990s, Asian youths exhibited a 36% increase in felony property arrests, which is also the highest among any race (National Council on Crime and Delinquency, 2001). There is a low prevalence of arrests among Asians (Knoll & Sickmund, 2012), but Southeast Asians have the highest reports of these outcomes within this racial category (Krisberg, 2005). Yet Southeast Asian ethnic groups are often overlooked and are perceived to attain success much like their East and South Asian counterparts (Yang, 2004).

Ethnic Group Representation and the Model Minority

Asian ethnic group overrepresentation within the juvenile justice system is understudied for several reasons. First, historically in the United States, Asian American educational and socioeconomic achievement has far surpassed all other racial groups including non-Hispanic Whites. These differences in achievement support the "model minority" stereotype, or the perception that Asians are successful in achieving upward mobility free of problems in mental health and crime (Lee, 1994). For example, among a cohort of high school graduates in 2006, nearly 30% of Asian American students were enrolled in a highly selective four-year college

compared to 17% White, 4% Black, and 5% Hispanic students (Bozick & Lauff, 2007). Similarly, the 2010 U.S. Census reported that the median household income for Asian Americans is much higher compared to non-Hispanic Whites, Hispanics, and Blacks (U.S. Census Bureau, 2011). However, 27.3% Hmong, 21.6% Cambodian, 16.4% Laotian, and 15.2% Vietnamese live below the poverty line compared to the U.S. average of 15.3% and 12.4% of Asians overall (Southeast Asian Resource Center, 2011). Thus there is great diversity within the category of "Asian American," with some ethnic groups faring considerably worse than others. Because of the model minority myth, many groups that warrant attention become overlooked.

The second reason for the scarcity of empirical data on Asians in the juvenile justice system is their overall small numbers within the general population. National data on youth by ethnicity in the juvenile justice system do not exist, and significantly more empirical attention is devoted to Latino and Black populations. Both of these groups are numerically much larger, representing 17% and 13%, respectively, of the total U.S. population compared to 5.3% Asians (U.S. Census Bureau, 2013). Coupled with preexisting notions of high achievement, Asians rarely become the focus of studies that examine risk outcomes among youth.

The third reason for the lack of research on Asians in the juvenile justice system is the aggregate nature of data collection. The majority of the available research and statistics indicate that Asians, as a whole, are less prone to delinquent behaviors (c.f. Griffin, Botvin, Scheier, Doyle, & Williams, 2003; Snyder & Sickmund, 2006; Sugimoto-Matsuda, Hishinuma, & Chang, 2013). The Chinese, Filipino, and Japanese are among the biggest Asian groups in the U.S. (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010a) and they are relatively more successful compared to other racial/ethnic groups; when data for varying ethnic groups are categorized together, variation becomes lost. In one study, however, Choi and Lahey (2006) sought to challenge the model

minority stereotype by using the Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health (Add Health) to investigate the rate at which Asian American youth present problem behaviors relative to other racial and ethnic groups. These behaviors included school record indicators of suspension/expulsion and self-reports of aggression (e.g., serious physical fighting, threatening someone with a weapon), non-aggressive delinquency (e.g., property offenses, theft), and substance use. Asian American youth (n = 1,248) actually do not report fewer delinquent behaviors compared to White youth (n = 9,644); rather, Asian youth report slightly higher numbers of aggressive offenses compared to White youth, although they are less likely to be aggressive compared to Black (n = 3,794) and Hispanic youth (n = 3,230). Although Choi and Lahey's (2006) finding contradicts other studies suggesting that Asians youth do not offend or offend at much lower rates than other groups (Griffin et al., 2003; Snyder & Sickmund, 2006; Sugimoto-Matsuda et al., 2013), disaggregating the race data by ethnicity may point to a better understanding of particular groups that are more likely to report offending compared to others. Ethnicity is accompanied by diverging migration histories, settlement contexts, and cultural values. Grouping all Asians together paints a misleading picture of their involvement with the juvenile justice system and risks for other poor outcomes. Thus, variation among subgroups becomes obscured when data on ethnicity are not collected or Asians are grouped as a whole.

To further expand upon racial group comparisons and to examine within group differences among Asians, Choi (2008) used the Add Health dataset and found that Filipino (n = 1,579), "Other" Asians (n = 660), and multiethnic Asians (n = 497) are at higher risk for problem behaviors (e.g., fighting, stealing, vandalism) compared to Chinese (n = 749), Korean (n = 664), and Vietnamese (n = 499) youth. In particular, aggressive offenses were higher for Korean, Filipino, other Asians, and multiethnic Asians compared to Chinese, and Filipinos reported

higher nonaggressive offenses (including stealing and property damage) compared to Chinese (Choi, 2008). However, it should be noted that respondents did not specify which "Other" Asian ethnicity with which they identified, but it is likely that this designation included Cambodian, Laotian, and Hmong youth (Choi, 2008). The finding that Vietnamese respondents reported less offending behaviors was unexpected: Choi (2008) speculated that this subgroup's culture may buffer the risks of problem behaviors, but this construct was not measured in the study. Although a national study, the Add Health still excluded youth who dropped out of school and thus this study was not representative of all young people, particularly those at risk for involvement with the juvenile justice system.

There is no debate that Asian ethnic subgroup differences with respect to delinquency exist. In particular, Filipinos and Southeast Asians appear to show and report more offending behaviors compared to other ethnic Asians (Krisberg, 2005; Choi, 2008). Although Filipino youth have relatively higher occupational and economic achievement outcomes (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010a) compared to Southeast Asians, this ethnic group also has high rates of delinquency. In comparing risk behaviors in 216 Chinese youth to 387 Filipinos, Willgerodt and Thompson (2006) used Add Health to investigate the relationship between generational status and delinquency for the two groups. The association was present in Filipino youth only, such that second generation (i.e., born in the United States) Filipinos reported participating in more delinquent acts (including property crime and theft) compared to first generation (i.e., foreign-born) youth (Willgerodt & Thompson, 2006). The authors further compared rates of delinquency between Chinese and European Americans (n = 400) and found no difference between the groups. Thus, in addition to migration history, generation status may affect rates of offending among Asian ethnicities. However, because this specific study examined other risk

outcomes such as somatic symptoms, depression, and substance use in addition to delinquency, it is unknown how offending types vary across groups.

Offending behaviors for Filipino youth have been compared to other East Asians such as the Japanese. In the state of Hawai'i, Mayeda and colleagues (2006) used self-reported prevalence of delinquency within the last six months of students randomly selected from the public school system. The overall main effect of ethnicity was significant with respect to Filipino youth (n = 110) having reported higher rates of delinquency compared to the Japanese (n = 33). The group differences in delinquency were captured via "Overall Deviant Behavior" (inclusive of all behaviors ranging from petty offending to serious violence) and "Minor Delinquency" (e.g., truancy, running away, breaking curfew, cheating) (Mayeda, Hishinuma, Nishimura, Garcia-Santiago, & Mark, 2006), and therefore differentiations were not made between groups for delinquency type in this study. This study also suffered from a small sample size and was not representative of all students across the state.

In the only empirical study to date that compared offending types among Southeast Asians to another Asian group, Le and Wallen (2006) investigated the prevalence of self-reported serious violence among a sample of Southeast Asian (112 Cambodian, 67 Laotian, 85 Vietnamese) and Chinese (n = 64) youth. These youth were recruited from schools and community organizations that serve Asian youth in the Bay Area, California. The serious violence measure included aggravated assault, gang fights, rape, and robbery (Le & Wallen, 2006). Rates of serious violence were higher among Southeast Asians compared to Chinese; additional correlates of offending behaviors included cultural factors such as second-generation status and intergenerational conflict between parents and youth (Le & Wallen, 2006). The same dataset showed that Chinese youth reported the highest prevalence for pirating computer

software programs (Le & Arifuku, 2005). While this study provided a glimpse into differences in the types of offending among Asian ethnic subgroups, more recent research using a separate dataset is necessary to expand the generalizability of these findings.

Hence, coupled with the smaller numbers of certain Asian groups and the assumption that they are the model minority, progress on understanding delinquency and criminal offending types and patterns among subgroups has been limited. Further compounding the model minority myth is that demographic and survey data collection continue to group all Asian Americans under the category "Asian/Pacific Islander" despite their divergent histories, cultural values, and patterns of settlement in the U.S. Because Southeast Asian families' unique histories may have implications for future generations, it is vital to examine this subgroup outside the shroud of the overall Asian category since aggregated data may yield misleading and/or inconsequential findings.

Summary and limitations. Overall, certain Asian subgroups, such as Filipinos and Southeast Asians, have a higher prevalence of offending behaviors compared to other Asian ethnic groups and even racial categories. However, these studies are not without their limitations. The Add Health data are older, with youth having been surveyed in 1995. Immigration to the U.S. and population growth has shifted drastically in the past two decades. Most of these studies are also school-based and rely on self-reports, and therefore there is no information garnered on those who dropped out and are more likely to report behaviors related to delinquency. Further, only certain ethnic group comparisons are made and most studies do not parse the types of offending that may explain differences between ethnic groups. The available evidence suggests that some Southeast Asian groups (i.e., Cambodian, Hmong, Laotian), Koreans, and Filipinos are more likely to report violent offending compared to Chinese (Choi,

2008; Le & Wallen, 2006), and that Filipinos report higher rates of delinquency compared to Japanese overall (Mayeda et al., 2006). The current study attempts to rectify representation by using a sample of all arrested Asian youth in a diverse metropolitan region and to compare the types of arrests by zip code (in the aggregate and by ethnicity) across all the major Asian ethnic groups in lieu of using comparisons of only a few.

History of Asian Subgroups to the United States

To understand the correlates of juvenile offending among Asian youth in the U.S., it is important to also understand the contexts under which these groups immigrated and the circumstances under which they currently live. Where these youth and their families live may provide insight into the neighborhood factors that may be related to arrest disparities and offending patterns. With more than 32 distinct Asian ethnic subpopulations (Wong, 1982), there are notable differences and variation in risks for the types of offending for which they are arrested. The Chinese, Korean, Japanese, Filipino, and Vietnamese are among the largest Asian subgroups in the U.S. (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010a), all of whom are included in this study.

Japanese. The Japanese population began to migrate to the U.S. in large numbers towards the latter part of the 19th century and faced discrimination and internment during World War II (Chan, 1991). Having resided in the U.S. for more than a century, Japanese Americans were historically among one of the largest Asian American communities. However, partly due to its aging population at home (Kinsella & He, 2009) and no desire to leave a nation in which its quality of life is similar that of the U.S. (Glatzer, 2012), migration to the U.S. has diminished. Coupled with the highest rates of intermarriage among all Asian Americans, Japanese representation has been on the decline since the 2000 Census. Overall, the Japanese has established a successful community for themselves, with over 40% obtaining a college degree

(U.S. Census Bureau, 2010a). Of all Asian subgroups, the Japanese is the only group that is majority U.S.-born, compared to all other Asian ethnic groups that are majority foreign-born (Pew Research Center, 2013).

Chinese. The Chinese population is another group that has been established in the U.S. for over a century. Like the Japanese, the Chinese migrated to the U.S. in search of opportunity and the "American Dream." Having worked as laborers on the U.S. transcontinental railroad in the 19th century, the Chinese suffered from legal racial discrimination for decades (Chan, 1991) before becoming the largest Asian subgroup as of the 2010 U.S. Census. Similar to the Japanese, the Chinese have high educational and occupational attainment rates, far surpassing even other racial/ethnic groups (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010a). However, the Chinese group differs from the Japanese in that Chinese nationals seek educational opportunities abroad and thus now make up 25% of international student enrollment at U.S. universities (Ruiz, 2014).

Koreans. Korean migration to the U.S. began at the turn of the 20th century in three phases (Chan, 1991). Ultimately, Koreans were also in search of opportunity for a better life and educational prospects. While Korean sends the third largest number of international students to the U.S. after China and India, many return to Asia (Ruiz, 2014). However, of those who obtain permanent residency, Korean Americans were more likely to be college graduates and least likely to live in poverty compared to other foreign-born groups (Zong & Batalova, 2014).

Filipinos. Filipinos comprise the second largest Asian subgroup (U.S. Census, 2010) but also have a different background in the U.S. compared to their East Asian counterparts. The Philippines was a Spanish territory until its cession to the U.S. in the beginning of the 20th century. It was then that mass migration occurred. Although recognized as U.S. nationals at the time, Filipinos are oftentimes discriminated against and mistaken for other groups, such as

Latinos and Pacific Islanders. In 1946, the Philippines became recognized as an independent nation (Bonus, 2000). Unlike the Japanese, Chinese, and Korean Americans, second-generation Filipinos tend to exhibit lower educational and occupational achievement compared to their parents (Zhou, Lee, Vallejo, Tafoya-Estrada, & Xiong, 2008) and there is also some documentation that they are also overrepresented among Asian arrests (Choi, 2008). One of the reasons for generational differences in delinquency between Chinese and Filipino groups may be associated with the unique circumstances of migration and contexts in which these groups live. For example, the socioeconomic statuses of Chinese and Filipino immigrants to the U.S. were vastly different. The goals of the 1965 Immigration Act sought to admit two distinct groups of Filipinos: Families who reunified and working professionals (Espiritu & Wolf, 2001). Thus, socioeconomic status remained diverse among this ethnic group. On the other hand, the Chinese population was less likely to migrate to the U.S. via family sponsorship and overall had higher median incomes compared to overall native-born and immigrant households (Hooper & Batalova, 2015).

Southeast Asians. While it is known that Southeast Asian youth are overrepresented in the juvenile justice system, they are also a relatively newer group to the U.S. compared to East Asians, making up about 15% of the total Asian population (Southeast Asian Resource Center, 2011). The more recent growth in numbers of Asian Americans in the U.S. was accompanied by a wave of Southeast Asian migrants in the 1970s following the Indochina Wars when the Vietnamese, Cambodian, and Laos governments fell to communism. Classified as refugees under the Indochina Migration and Refugee Assistance Act of 1975 or the Refugee Act of 1980, the experiences of migration from Southeast Asia differ from those of voluntary immigrants (e.g., East Asians). The majority of these groups were uprooted from their homes and

experienced immense trauma and political unrest. As a result of their migration circumstances, Southeast Asians continue to experience mental health issues stemming from the trauma experienced decades ago (Marshall, Schell, Elliott, Berthold, & Chun, 2005). Further, there is some documentation linking parent refugee status with serious violence (e.g., battery, robbery) for Vietnamese youth (Spencer & Le, 2006). In other words, it is possible that Vietnamese parents' experiences with trauma may indirectly affect their relationships with their children, such that parents may become disengaged as a result of the stress and these youth are therefore more likely to associate with delinquent peers (Spencer & Le, 2006).

Summary. The East Asian groups in this study include the Chinese, Korean, Japanese, and Filipino ethnicities. These groups, for the most part, have had a history with the U.S. for over a century. They emigrated from their respective home countries in search for economic and social opportunities for their families, oftentimes with education and work experience (Chan, 1991). These groups have had their share of struggles with racial discrimination—such as the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, the American colonization of the Philippines at the turn of the 20th century, and internment of Japanese Americans during World War II (Chan, 1991; Espiritu & Wolf, 2001). Despite historical challenges, these ethnic groups for the most part have made their way up the socioeconomic and educational ladder, achieving professions that even far surpass that of non-Hispanic Whites.

For the purposes of this study, Southeast Asians are inclusive of individuals of Cambodian, Vietnamese, and Laotian descent. Unlike their East Asian counterparts, most Southeast Asians migrated to the U.S. as refugees after the mid-1970s under forced and dire circumstances. Many were victims of the Indochina Wars and witnessed unthinkable atrocities as a result of political turmoil in their home countries. They were faced with no option but to

relocate to other regions across the world, including the U.S. While East Asians expected to learn the English language and to assimilate (i.e., adapt) by picking up Western values and customs, Southeast Asians did not anticipate learning new practices and a language that are essentially foreign to them. Additionally, while East Asians have vast social networks in the U.S. due to generations of settlement, Southeast Asians had to establish new communities in the last several decades.

It is important to focus on Southeast Asian youths with respect to their offending behaviors given the contexts of their families' resettlement and experiences of acclimating to living in the U.S. Researchers have suggested that children initially become predisposed to conflict and aggression in risky home environments, and that these familial factors are affected by ecological influences such as their parents' struggle with poverty, unemployment, and poor mental health (Woolfenden, Williams, & Peat, 2002; Repetti, Taylor, & Seeman, 2002). The presence of parent-child conflicts in Southeast Asian families is a significant predictor of delinquency (e.g., Choi, He, & Harachi, 2008) and there is some evidence suggesting that Southeast Asians exhibit more serious violence compared to Chinese youth (Le & Wallen, 2006). Southeast Asians are among the most recent Asian groups to have migrated to the United States, and most of them are trauma-exposed refugees who continue to suffer from mental health issues such as depression and post-traumatic stress disorder (Marshall et al., 2005). There is also evidence that this trauma may be transmitted to their children (Field, Om, Kim, & Vorn, 2011) and may play a role in the youths' offending outcomes. How this unfolds might be a consequence of interactions with forces within the neighborhoods in which they currently live. Due to the various settlement timelines and patterns for ethnic groups, the neighborhoods in which groups live will inevitably change. As groups assimilate and attain socioeconomic

success, they will move out of the neighborhoods in which they originally settled (Jargowsky, 2009) given that they have more choices in where to locate their families. The next section reviews the literature on the role of neighborhoods and racial/ethnic disparities in arrests.

The Role of Neighborhoods in Arrests among Ethnic Groups

The most recent research that explores offending among Asian youth, and especially Southeast Asians, focus on individual and family-level factors (Le, 2002; Le & Stockdale, 2005; Le & Stockdale, 2008; Spencer & Le, 2006). However, incorporating the neighborhood context gives insight into the ways in which environmental factors may be related to offending. The environment with which he or she interacts shapes the youth, and the neighborhood is especially essential to studies of delinquency. The places where youth live may determine the likelihood that an individual engages in delinquent behaviors and becomes arrested (e.g., Sampson, 1997, Leventhal & Brooks-Gunn, 2000).

Immigrants have historically settled in neighborhoods in close proximity to the native-born poor (Portes & Zhou, 1993), but the areas with higher concentrations of co-ethnics (i.e. individuals of the same ethnicity) are negatively related to crime and delinquency (Desmond & Kubrin, 2009). However, youth who live in ethnic enclaves (i.e., a geographic area with high ethnic concentration), which also tend to be poor and are located in the inner-city, do not report more problem behaviors than youth who live elsewhere (Wright & Rodriguez, 2014; MacDonald, Hipp, & Gill, 2012; Desmond & Kubrin, 2009). Second and later generation U.S.-born individuals are more prone to delinquency and other risk behaviors compared to their immigrant counterparts (e.g., Bersani, Loughran, & Piquero, 2013). Termed the *immigrant paradox*, time spent and generations in the U.S. are negatively related to optimal developmental outcomes (e.g., Garcia Coll & Marks, 2012). As children of immigrants assimilate to and adopt

"American" cultures and values, it is likely that they may lose touch with cultural values and practices of their ethnicity as they increase contact with the Western cultural ideals of self-reliance, autonomy, and personal achievement (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006). Youth with higher levels of acculturation, i.e., the process by which an individual engages in intercultural contact and adapts to the culture of the host society (Berry, 2005), exhibit higher levels of offending relative to those who are less acculturated (Smokowski, David-Ferdon, & Stroupe, 2009; Le, 2002). Although the mechanisms behind this relationship remain unclear, it is possible that, as youth become acculturated, they will become detached from their ethnic cultural values that uphold notions that do not support offending behaviors (Portes & Zhou, 1993). Neighborhoods with high concentrations of immigrants seem to uphold the immigrant paradox.

Immigrant Concentration and Types of Juvenile Arrests

Contrary to the popular belief that immigration is related to high rates of crime (Rumbaut & Ewing, 2007) neighborhoods with a greater concentration of immigrants is related to less crime and delinquency (e.g., Desmond & Kubrin, 2009; Ousey & Kubrin, 2009; MacDonald et al., 2012). Less is known about immigrant concentration and youth arrest, and more specifically juvenile offending type. Neighborhoods with high immigrant concentration are sometimes characterized as ethnic enclaves. Although oftentimes relatively more poor than the average neighborhood in the region (Logan, Zhang, & Alba, 2002), ethnic enclaves were the original contexts of reception for newly arrived immigrants to the U.S. (Alba, Logan, & Stults, 2000). Consequently, co-ethnics that reside in these areas for generations create a hub for social networks and employment opportunities, ethnic economies (i.e., businesses owned by co-ethnics), and a distinct cultural identity in these neighborhoods (Sanders, 2002). The youths'

consistent exposure to their ethnicity (Vo-Jutabha et al., 2009) may be protective against offending.

Studies that examined the relationship between immigrant concentration and youth arrests specifically are limited, but the few that do lend support to the discourse that there is either no or a negative association between the two. Using a sample of over 12,000 youthful offenders in Arizona, Wright and Rodriguez (2014) found that there is no relationship between returning to neighborhoods of high immigrant concentration (as measured by percent foreign-born and linguistic isolation) and reoffending. One caveat of this study in the context of this review, however, is that these youth had already been arrested and were being followed for two years after their first referral to juvenile court. Because these youth were already under the scrutiny of the juvenile justice system, they may also have had a higher likelihood of reoffending. In this study, immigrant concentration and poverty were highly correlated ($r = .71$) and therefore it should be noted that the presence of poverty was not associated with reoffending (Wright & Rodriguez, 2014). Further, it is important to note that immigrant concentration was likely to be comprised of mainly Mexican immigrants given Arizona's proximity to Mexico.

With a combination of official police records and self-reported offending from the Project on Human Development in Chicago Neighborhoods (PHDCN), Kirk (2008) sought to further understand racial/ethnic disparities between neighborhood indicators and frequency of youth arrest. The PHDCN randomly sampled 80 neighborhood clusters from 343 clusters (i.e., combination of neighboring census tracts with homogenous census indicators) in Chicago (Sampson, Raudenbush, & Earls, 1997). For Blacks and Whites only, percent foreign born in a neighborhood cluster was positively associated with arrest (as measured by frequency of arrest by person-year), and that the interaction between percent foreign-born and self-reported

offending was negatively associated with arrest for Mexican youth only (Kirk, 2008). A significant relationship did not exist between percent foreign-born and arrest for Mexican youth. These findings support other research that broadly examined the relationship between immigrant neighborhoods and the presence of crime and delinquency for ethnic minorities that yielded a negative association between the two constructs (Desmond & Kubrin, 2009; MacDonald et al., 2012). However, it is unknown if these covariates are significant for Asian youth, since they were likely to be categorized under "Other Race" in the PHDCN and how patterns might differ by offending type given that arrests were captured in the aggregate and self-reported offending was based on an overall scale.

Some findings counter the protective effects of living in a co-ethnic neighborhood, or a neighborhood with racially/ethnically similar residents (Zhou & Bankston, 2006). Frank and Bjornstrom (2011) used the PHDCN and Los Angeles Family and Neighborhood Survey (L.A.FANS) data to compare the effects of different communities on delinquency. In both Chicago and Los Angeles, native-born Latinos were at an increased risk of problem behaviors such as running away, belonging to a gang, or having carried a gun when they reside in disadvantaged neighborhoods with other co-ethnics, and Blacks were at lower risk when they live in heterogeneous neighborhoods (i.e., with Whites) (Frank & Bjornstrom, 2011). In contrast, Latino youth with immigrant parents who live in neighborhoods with high concentrations of non-Latino Whites is significantly associated with less problem behaviors (Frank & Bjornstrom, 2011). These findings tend to counter the argument that co-ethnic neighborhoods are protective for second generation and later children of immigrant families (Portes & Zhou, 1993). However, these results should be interpreted with caution since arrests were not assessed in this study; it is possible that arrests do not capture the extent to which youth

are involved in delinquent behaviors (Thornberry & Krohn, 2000) and hence youth in these surveys may report more offending behaviors than what is officially recorded. Much like other research, this study does not distinguish between different types of problem behaviors that racial/ethnic groups report.

Much of the available research on the relationship between neighborhoods of high concentration of foreign-born and/or co-ethnic residents and youth offending seldom consider that there are co-ethnics who reside outside of these types of communities. Where co-ethnics tend to live will change over time: They will have migrated out of urban enclaves and into less densely populated areas as groups will have been established in the U.S. for some time. Current studies on residence with co-ethnics may not consider that there are different forces within suburban areas compared to ethnic enclaves that could be related to individual outcomes and, in particular, delinquency.

Ethnoburbs and youth outcomes. Despite the lack of or negative relationship between immigrant concentration and delinquency for youth, neighborhoods may still be associated with offending behaviors and arrests. Specifically, as groups assimilate and establish networks outside of these areas, where they live tends to change over time. For immigrant groups, this means they may move from an ethnic enclave to an ethnoburb. An ethnoburb is a suburban area with a higher than regional average of a certain ethnic minority population (Li, 1998a). As groups live in the U.S. for generations and climb up the socioeconomic ladder, they will have established and moved out to the ethnic suburb if they still wish to remain close to those who share their ethnicity—which tends to be higher income and consists of detached single-family homes (Li, 1998a). However, a single ethnic group still makes up a small percentage of residents in a diverse neighborhood. For those whose respective ethnic group has been

established in the U.S. for awhile, newer migrants can now bypass the ethnic enclave and settle in ethnoburbs as well. Thus, the ethnoburb is also more diverse in income (Li, 2009).

The ethnic suburban setting is indicative of higher socioeconomic status, whereas enclaves are mainly located in low-income, inner-city areas (Li, 1998a). A certain ethnic group does not constitute the majority, but there is still a clear presence of this group based on the ethnic economy (i.e., businesses run by co-ethnics) and is still higher than the regional average (Li, 2009). Compared to the ethnic enclave, there is a higher percentage of professional businesses compared to service-oriented businesses (Li, 2009). It is possible that economic stratification may further isolate low-income minorities (Hipp, 2007). Also, heterogeneous racial makeup within the neighborhood may contribute to arrests in the area. Ethnic heterogeneity is positively associated with neighborhood crime (Bellair 1997; Sampson & Groves, 1989). However, since non-profit placement may be located in areas with diverse populations (Douglas, 1987; Weisbrod, 1988), youth organizations may indicate that there is less offending, and thus arrests overall, in a neighborhood given that youth have services to which to turn (Gardner & Brooks-Gunn, 2009; Newman, Fox, Flynn, & Christeson, 2000). It is currently unknown how ethnic minority youth located in ethnoburbs are related to their outcomes, especially in arrests and offending type.

Summary and limitations. Although traditional enclaves are characterized by poverty, neighborhoods with higher concentrations of co-ethnics are negatively associated with crime and delinquency. However, the first major limitation of this prior research is that the concentration of immigrants within neighborhoods is not examined by ethnicity. Latinos generally comprise the majority of the immigrant population compared to Asians, and they are the groups that are usually included in multivariate models examining offending; thus it is unknown how living in

ethnic enclaves for other ethnicities may be related to offending. Different mechanisms may be at play within Latino neighborhoods compared to those neighborhoods that are majority immigrant Asians, whose culture and ethnic makeup are vastly different than that of the latter racial group. Currently not much is known about neighborhood correlates of delinquency for different ethnic groups. Extending beyond immigrant concentration, exploring the ethnic composition of the immediate neighborhood and beyond the context of the ethnic enclave may be important for the ways in which immigrants adapt to their environments and integration with other groups (see Berry et al., 2006). Finally, studies that disaggregate juvenile arrests by offense type in order to fully understand the racial/ethnic disparities in neighborhood research remain limited. The prevalence of offense type for subgroups may lend insight into certain neighborhood factors that may be risks for specific ethnic groups.

Racial/Ethnic Differences in Arrests within Neighborhoods

Going beyond immigrant concentration to investigate the racial/ethnic makeup of a neighborhood may yield insight into the relationship between ethnic composition and juvenile arrests. This next section reviews the literature on studies that investigate neighborhood racial composition and juvenile arrests and offending type, followed by a discussion on the neighborhood structural characteristics that may contribute to racial/ethnic disparities on juvenile arrests.

Racial/ethnic composition of neighborhoods and arrests. Over and above immigrant concentration, there are few studies that investigate the racial/ethnic composition of neighborhoods as they are related to juvenile offending, and findings are generally mixed. In their multilevel, longitudinal study with the PHDCN, Sampson, Morenoff, and Raudenbush (2005) found no support for the interaction between neighborhood level predictors of self-

reported violence with race/ethnicity. Sampson et al. (2005) controlled for percentage neighborhood ethnic composition of each group (e.g., Black, Mexican, Puerto Rican) and differentiated between Latino ethnic groups, although immigrant concentration was not assessed in this study. Other studies of place disparities in offending show that more racially separated areas (i.e., residential segregation) have higher rates of violent crime (Massey, 1995; Shihadeh & Flynn, 1996), but Blacks are more likely to live in impoverished neighborhoods (Wilson, 2012; Massey, Gross, & Shibuya, 1994) and therefore it becomes difficult to tease out race from neighborhood poverty. Finally, there is evidence of a positive association between ethnic heterogeneity (e.g., an index of mixed racial groups) and violent crime such as homicide (Altheimer, 2007) and robbery (Smith, Frazee, & Davison, 2000). This construct is generally positively related to crime and delinquency because it weakens communication and interaction within neighborhoods (Sampson & Groves, 1989) due to greater diversity of cultural values and norms, but it is unknown whether the diversity of ethnic subgroups is related to juvenile arrests.

The majority of the research on racial/ethnic composition of neighborhoods and crime and arrests has focused on Black youth due to their overrepresentation in the juvenile justice system. Because Black youth are more likely to reside in poor, or disadvantaged, neighborhoods relative to other racial/ethnic minority groups, this is likely to contribute to the differences in arrest (Kirk, 2008) due to these youths' lack of resources within these settings. Because of the positive correlation between poor neighborhoods and percentage of Black residents, I now turn to the literature on the neighborhood and structural context of racial/ethnic disparities in offending.

Structural characteristics and juvenile arrests. In addition to the racial/ethnic composition of a residential neighborhood, other structural factors are related to racial and ethnic

differences in juvenile arrests and offense type. Criminologists and social scientists have long considered disadvantage, in part characterized by poverty, to contribute to crime and delinquency (Sampson, Morenoff, & Gannon-Rowley, 2002). Concentrated disadvantage is related to offending disparities across groups (McNulty & Bellair 2003; Sampson et al., 2005). Many co-ethnics, especially groups with recent waves of migration to the U.S., continue to reside in poorer neighborhoods (Logan et al., 2002). However, there are mixed findings regarding the effects of concentrated disadvantage on delinquency (Patchin, Huebner, McCluskey, Varano, & Bynum, 2006; Sampson et al., 2002). In particular, the effect of disadvantage on adolescent crime and violence remains small (Sampson et al., 2002; Leventhal & Brooks-Gunn, 2000). The neighborhood correlates related to offending seem to remain similar for all youth, regardless of race, but some groups tend to live in more disadvantaged settings and therefore they are more likely to become arrested (McNulty & Bellair, 2003; Kirk, 2008; Chauhan, Reppucci, & Turkheimer; 2009; Deustch, Crockett, Wolff, & Russell, 2012). Similarly, Black and White youth who do not live in disadvantaged neighborhoods reported similar levels of delinquent behaviors (Peeples & Loeber, 1994), and Black boys who grew up in suburban settings were less likely to be arrested for drug offenses and to participate in delinquent behaviors overall (Keels, 2008).

Income inequality related to arrests. With the introduction of the ethnoburb, or neighborhoods where its residents are more diverse in income (Li, 1998a), there is a possibility that these locations are related to youth arrests. The limited research on the association between income inequality and juvenile arrests remains mixed. Sampson (1985) used the Gini index to calculate income inequality for Black and White groups in 53 of the largest cities across the U.S. His results indicated that White poverty had a strong positive influence on White violence, while

overall income inequality had no influence on violence for this group. The opposite effect was found for Black youth: Poverty had no relationship with violent crime, whereas overall inequality was positively associated with violence (Sampson, 1985). For Black and White adults, however, inequality was positively related to offending for both groups (Sampson, 1985). In another study, within race inequality (i.e., for Blacks and Whites) was positively related to youth homicide arrests, but there was no significant relationship for between-race inequality and juvenile homicide arrests (Messner, Raffalovich, & McMillan, 2001). Levitt and Lochner (2001) find similar results for homicide victimization among juveniles: While the cross-sectional analyses yielded significance for income inequality, it becomes less robust when analyzed longitudinally. It is possible that significant relationships may emerge for certain types of arrests, but this gap has yet to be addressed.

Overall, there seems to be a consensus on the positive association between neighborhood income inequality and crime. For instance, Hipp (2007) used a large sample of Census tracts in 19 cities to test for the relationship between inequality and crime rates as reported by local police departments. Regardless of the income distribution between and within racial/ethnic groups, overall inequality (as measured by the Gini index) within the neighborhood was positively associated with all types of crime (Hipp, 2007). Similarly, Brush (2007) estimated the effect of income inequality on crime across U.S. counties and yielded a positive association between the two variables. However, this relationship becomes negative when assessed over a ten-year period (Brush, 2007). Currently, the state of the literature yields mixed findings on the relationship between neighborhood poverty and juvenile delinquency and arrests, and thus it is possible that overall inequality is more criminogenic than poverty (Sampson, 1985). In the case

of the ethnoburb, it is currently unknown whether the bifurcation of income within these ethnic neighborhoods is related to juvenile arrests.

Summary and limitations. The available literature on neighborhood characteristics and juvenile arrests indicates that immigrant concentration is largely negatively related to juvenile arrests, but less is known about the ethnic composition of these neighborhoods. The majority of these studies utilize Latino concentration in these constructs given that they constitute a majority of larger, urban areas. In studies that assess for ethnic/racial composition, they are largely based upon overall racial categories and find that mixed neighborhoods are positively associated with offending and arrests. Overall, much research on juvenile offending and arrests is focused on racial disparities as they are related to neighborhood disadvantage, of which findings on the effect of disadvantage are mixed. Juvenile arrests is generally associated with percentage of Black residents, but it becomes difficult to tease out the types of neighborhoods in which Blacks live that tend to be poor. Further, studies that differentiate between types of offending and utilize official juvenile arrest data are limited. Less is also is known about socioeconomic stratification within neighborhoods and how that might relate to ethnic differences in juvenile offending, especially within an ethnic neighborhood setting. Using more detailed measures provides a deeper look into the ethnic and cultural differences that may arise between groups under the same racial category.

Summary of the Literature

On the surface, Asian youth as a whole are underrepresented in the juvenile justice system. Yet, disaggregation by ethnicity paints a completely different story: Southeast Asians are more likely to be arrested compared to East Asians, and this could likely be an artifact of their migration as voluntary immigrants or refugees. Further, East Asians tend to be more

established in the U.S. compared their Southeast Asian counterparts. As a result, groups who have been established for generations will move out of ethnic enclaves and into more integrated neighborhoods and ethnoburbs. While the literature points to a negative or no relationship between immigrant enclaves (which also tend to be lower income) and juvenile offending and arrests, this relationship remains unclear for those who live in ethnoburbs. In particular, much less is known about offending types by race and ethnicity in neighborhoods of varying ethnic composition and socioeconomic statuses. Although one particular ethnic group may hold a dominant presence in an ethnoburb, these neighborhoods are generally more mixed in racial/ethnic composition compared to an ethnic enclave. Finally, the diversity in income levels in this ethnic neighborhood might suggest that there is a relationship between living in an ethnoburb and arrest type, but this complicated makeup of various racial/ethnic groups, U.S. born residents, and prevalence of a single ethnic group that does not necessarily comprise the majority of the neighborhood composition make it an interesting inquiry for study. Since more established ethnic groups are likely to reside in ethnoburbs (e.g., Chinese), this study made an attempt to further debunk the model minority myth by examining juvenile arrest by offense type for ethnic subgroups in their respective neighborhoods.

CHAPTER 3: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter details the theories guiding the hypothesized relationships between ethnicity, ethnic neighborhoods, and arrests by charge type and number among Asian youth. First, I discuss the overarching framework—spatial assimilation—that explains immigrant integration into the host society. Then, I present two theories that explain the possible mechanisms within the ethnic enclave and ethnoburb by which youth may participate in delinquent behaviors and subsequently become arrested for certain types of offenses they incur: social control and social distance. Finally, I present the conceptual framework for the current study, concluding with research questions and hypotheses.

General Framework of Immigrant Incorporation in the United States

Spatial assimilation. The classical explanation for immigrant integration posits that ethnic minorities adopt a linear pathway to achieving full integration in the host society (Gordon, 1964, 1978). The overarching framework that explains the integration of groups in space is *spatial assimilation*. Spatial assimilation is the process by which immigrants and their children spatially integrate while achieving upward socioeconomic mobility (Alba & Nee, 2003), assuming that ethnic minorities hold the desire to fully assimilate into the dominant culture. Much like European Americans of past generations, Asians are assumed to have initially migrated to the U.S. with few economic and social resources. As they reside in the receiving country for generations, these groups will adopt the attitudes and cultural values of the dominant group(s). As generations of an ethnic group spatially disperse to more affluent neighborhoods, they either become integrated into ethnoburbs or into mixed neighborhoods—where ethnicity is not as salient relative to the ethnic enclave.

Ethnic enclaves serve as the first context of reception for new immigrant groups to the host society. These neighborhoods are where newly-arrived and under-resourced immigrants establish ethnic economies (i.e., immigrant or minority businesses that coexist with the general economy) to employ other co-ethnics (Bailey & Waldinger, 1991). While immigrants may first live in enclaves, they will eventually disperse throughout the region as they assimilate and attain higher education and professional-level occupations (Li, 2009). In essence, co-ethnics will have integrated into other types of neighborhoods. For Asians in particular, scholars find that these groups are suburbanizing and thusly are more likely to live in integrated settings (Clark, 2006). Residential integration assumes that members of both the minority and majority groups are in close proximity to one another, with access to the same institutional resources (Logan & Alba, 1993). Consistent with the conceptualization of the ethnoburb, Asians made up less than 20% of their respective populations living in the suburbs, as characterized within Census tracts (Clark, 2006).

As it was initially conceptualized, spatial assimilation assumes that as minority groups gain economic capital and adapt to life in the host society, they will seek to attain housing in neighborhoods that are as desirable as those attained by the majority group (i.e., Whites) (Massey & Denton, 1985). More recently, Iceland and Scopilliti's (2008) study provided broad support for this theory; higher levels of residential segregation (i.e., separation of groups) were related to lower income and limited English language ability. However, this is no longer the norm for some groups as more foreign-born populations are directly locating into suburban areas. Alba and colleagues found this to be especially true of Asians who immigrate to the U.S. with relatively high levels of human and economic capital (Alba, Logan, Stults, Marzan, & Zhang, 1999).

White, Biddlecom, and Guo (1993) established that the effect of immigrant status is indeed overshadowed by ethnicity: While socioeconomic achievements were translated into residential assimilation, duration of residence in the U.S. may not influence assimilation. In particular, White et al. (1993) concluded that Chinese, Filipino, Korean, and Vietnamese groups who arrived before 1975 were more likely to live in neighborhoods with higher proportions of non-Hispanic Whites compared to those who arrived between 1975 and later. Though this study is fairly dated, it can be applied to the distinction of East and Southeast Asians residing in certain neighborhoods. We may assume that Chinese, Filipino, Korean, and some Vietnamese groups are more likely to live in ethnoburbs compared to Southeast Asian refugees who arrived to the U.S. after 1975 since the former will have had generations to achieve economic and educational successes and establish networks outside of ethnic enclaves. When considering their histories of migration, East Asians will have successfully integrated into the host society and are more spatially assimilated compared to Southeast Asians.

While cross-sectional research tends to support the classical assimilation theory, this is less true in longitudinal studies. Alba and colleagues (2000) estimated separate models for each major racial group (i.e., Whites, Blacks, Asians, and Latinos) in five metropolitan areas across the U.S. and concluded that, over a ten-year period, the percentage of non-Hispanic Whites declined in Asian and Hispanic neighborhoods. Hence, diversity was increasing in affluent neighborhoods (Alba et al., 2000). This tends to lend evidentiary support to the ethnoburb construct, such that these neighborhoods are more racially and ethnically diverse and more affluent compared to traditional ethnic enclave settings. Further, and in contrast to the classical assimilation theory, Asian Americans are not integrating into majority White neighborhoods.

The classical theory assumes that ethnic groups will *want* to achieve proximity to non-Hispanic Whites, but evidence shows that Asian groups tend to live in more integrated neighborhoods as they achieve socioeconomic success. Wright, Ellis, and Parks (2005) argued that the desired residential destination of co-ethnics is not necessarily that of the White suburb. Instead, the authors proposed a modified version of this theory by measuring whether dispersion of eight foreign-born groups (including Filipinos, South Koreans, Chinese, and Vietnamese) results in proximity to non-Hispanic Whites or other groups (Wright et al., 2005). Overall, older cohorts of some groups tend to be more dispersed than those who arrived to the U.S. more recently; for Chinese and Filipino groups in particular, they were living in more racially/ethnically integrated neighborhoods (Wright et al., 2005). With a diverse metropolitan area such as Los Angeles where non-Hispanic Whites do not constitute the majority of the population (27.8%) (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010a), perhaps we can begin to consider spatial assimilation as gaining a "better" and more desirable location to live, where the mainstream does not necessarily equate to attaining success that mirrors that of non-Hispanic Whites. Therefore, non-White neighborhoods are not associated with being inferior.

East and Southeast Asians are at different points of their assimilative trajectory. I argue that East Asians have spatially assimilated into mixed and ethnic suburban neighborhoods over generations since their initial migration to the U.S. in the 19th century. As they gain economic mobility and establish social ties, their residential tenure branches to other neighborhoods outside of the traditional ethnic enclave. Further, more recent East Asian migrants are able to bypass the traditional enclaves given that their social networks are not only constrained to this ethnic neighborhood. In essence, spatially assimilated groups now have a choice with regards to where they live. Southeast Asians, on the other hand, continue to strive towards upward

economic and social mobility since their arrival in the 1970's. As the U.S. Census (2010a) indicates that most Southeast Asians report lower educational attainment and income statuses compared to East Asian groups, it is likely that most Southeast Asian groups are living in ethnic enclaves and are not as widely dispersed throughout the Los Angeles County region as their counterparts, or they will have moved to other low-income neighborhoods with a more diverse racial/ethnic composition.

Given that more spatially assimilated groups will have dispersed networks, youth in ethnoburb settings will inevitably become exposed to more diverse groups with varying racial/ethnic backgrounds, cultures, and socioeconomic statuses. Further, the immigrant paradox suggests that second and later generation youth are more likely to report offending behaviors (Smokowski et al., 2009; Zhou & Xiong, 2005), likely due to exposure to risks in integrated neighborhoods that may be mitigated in ethnic neighborhoods. The role of informal social control—when individuals conform to norms and expectations—in inhibiting offending behaviors, through the everyday exposure to the youths' culture and ethnicity, will be further expounded below. In contrast, social distance (i.e., the perceived degree of space between an individual and a member of another social group) is more apparent in ethnoburb settings, where youth do not enjoy the protective effects of their culture and come into contact with others unlike them. As a result, interaction between residents becomes limited and more serious offending is likely to occur in ethnoburbs compared to enclaves.

Explaining Arrests in Ethnic Neighborhoods

As previously explicated, the racial/ethnic and socioeconomic composition of a neighborhood plays a role in youth offending and the type of charge for which youth are arrested. In particular, the theories of social control and social distance are two mechanisms that

explain the relationship between neighborhood composition and arrests for ethnic groups and differences between groups.

Social disorganization theory. In order to begin to understand informal social control, I lay out the foundational, overarching theory that encompasses the process of informal social control: social disorganization. Generally, social disorganization provides the explanation that links neighborhood characteristics (i.e., structural factors) to crime and delinquency. More specifically, Shaw and McKay (1969) presented three structural factors, low economic status, ethnic heterogeneity, and residential mobility (e.g., turnover), which disrupt community social organization. With adequate social organization, individuals feel a sense of cohesion with others in the neighborhood; hence, members of the neighborhood may collectively supervise and control group dynamics within the community (Sampson & Groves, 1989). This includes informal social control. While the current study does not capture this specific social process that may be positively related to youth arrests, it measures a few key structural characteristics that theoretically begets control.

Decreased norms contribute to low informal social control in high crime neighborhoods, and ethnic heterogeneity is one factor that contributes to this process. Classical Chicago School theorists argued that immigration is related to crime because it generates racial and ethnic diversity (Shaw & McKay, 1969), but scholars have more recently refuted this claim. Shaw and McKay (1969) conjectured that immigration is one element that contributes to social disorganization, which is defined as decreased influence of social norms and rules upon individuals within a group. The presence of diverse groups invites the presence of mixed cultural values and language incompatibility within the neighborhood, which includes an oppositional culture. Hence, immigrant concentration is used in measures of disorganization

(e.g., Burchfield, 2009). Researchers challenged this claim by arguing that immigration, in fact, revitalizes communities (Martinez, 2006). This is especially true for Latino neighborhoods, where residents may enjoy economic and social ties with other co-ethnics (Ramey, 2013).

Informal social control. Central to social disorganization theory are mechanisms that reduce crime and disorder, and this includes *informal social control*. Theorists argue that informal control mediates the relationship between structural factors (such as disadvantage) and crime and offending within the neighborhood. In other words, low-crime areas display a uniformity and consistency in conventional values and attitudes (Shaw & McKay, 1969), which may be more present within an ethnic enclave compared to integrated neighborhoods, or ethnoburbs. In essence, weak informal control leads to higher rates of crime. In the ethnic immigrant neighborhood, however, strong familial and neighborhood institutions are present: Informal mechanisms of social control include enclave economies that provide stable employment to co-ethnics (Lee & Martinez, 2002), thereby revitalizing poor areas and enhancing ties in the community.

To explain the negative relationship between ethnic neighborhoods and crime and delinquency, informal social control may be at play. Social control theory posits that delinquency is the result of unmonitored social control, such as neighborhood in the context of this discussion (Hirschi, 2002). In the neighborhood context, informal social control is defined as the likelihood that neighbors would intervene on behalf of others when youth misbehave. It is theorized that, for co-ethnic youth to engage in offending behaviors, their cultures have increasingly less influence over them, and therefore the influence of other groups (e.g., U.S. born and other racial/ethnic groups) become more pronounced. Eastern cultures may tend to emphasize the Confucian values of familism, hard work, and respect (Lu, Gilmour, & Kao,

2001), and adherence to cultural values may help to protect against engaging in delinquent behaviors (Portes & Zhou, 1993).

The claim that immigrant communities consist of informal controls is supported by several studies. At the block group level, Desmond and Kubrin (2009) used foreign-born and English proficiency as indicators for immigrant concentration to test for its relationship to self-reported youth violence. Compared to non-Asian youth, Asians in immigrant communities reported fewer acts of violence. Similarly, Wolff, Baglivio, Intravia, and Piquero (2015) reported that concentrated disadvantage was positively associated with recidivism but there was a negative effect of immigrant concentration on recidivism. These findings were also reported in a study that MacDonald and Saunders (2012) executed; they delved deeper into the apparent paradox of youth living in immigrant neighborhoods that are also disadvantaged but have lower exposure to violence compared to youth who live in similar, nonimmigrant contexts. They argued that supports within co-ethnic neighborhoods might be protective in that basic expectations about life outcomes are upheld within these communities (MacDonald & Saunders, 2012). Additionally, Ousey and Kubrin (2009) argued that the presence of two-parent households in immigrant neighborhoods—since immigrant families are likely to be more traditional compared to native-born households—was protective for youth, given that weakened family structure and disruption is highly correlated with crime (e.g., Cottle, Lee, & Heilbrun, 2001; Demuth & Brown, 2004). However, it is less clear whether family structure is related to the type or severity of juvenile delinquency.

Identification with one's ethnic culture is protective against delinquent behaviors. For example, Vo-Jutabha and colleagues (2009) qualitatively investigated the experiences of youth living in an area with a high foreign-born population (i.e., ethnic enclave) compared to those

outside these communities and concluded that ethnicity and collective cultural expectations were apparent in these youths' everyday lives (Vo-Jutabha et al., 2009). Similarly, Zhou (2009) qualitatively compared two cohorts of Vietnamese youth in New Orleans and discovered that the more recent cohort was more likely to be U.S. born and to engage in delinquency (e.g., using substances, being stopped by the police). Zhou (2009) conjectured that later generation youth were less attached to their ethnic community, which contributed to these delinquent behaviors.

Zhou and Bankston (2006) argued that enclaves help these youth to uphold cultural values that are conducive to upward social mobility. The preexisting co-ethnic community may provide a model for these youths' assimilation, unlike their counterparts who may be exposed to norms of the marginalized youth in their respective disadvantaged communities (Portes & Zhou, 1993). In this instance, the youths' preservation of their native language and cultural values may be protective against offending behaviors. Immigrant communities are generally less tolerant of deviant behaviors (Sampson & Bartusch, 1998) and are more likely to exert higher degrees of authority over youth living in these areas compared to others (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). It appears as though the mechanisms that underlie the relationship between residing with co-ethnics and offending revolve around exposure to ethnic cultural values that may contribute to upholding youths' inclinations to succeed. However, a major limitation in studies of immigrant neighborhoods and youth offending continue to largely rely on Latino communities.

Another correlate that may be related to informal control within the immigrant community is that of social ties. Neighborhood ties (e.g., neighbor familiarity, organization participation) is positively related to informal control (Burchfield, 2009). Because of the relatively large presence of co-ethnic businesses that employ other co-ethnics within an immigrant neighborhood, it is possible that neighborhood ties are robust. Ties may also be

stronger in ethnic enclaves because of shared languages, practices, and values within the majority group. Generally, ties (such as borrowing items from neighbors or helping out other residents) decrease assault rates, but they do not mediate the relationship between structural characteristics and crime rates (Warner & Rountree, 1997). In particular, neighborhood ties operate differently depending on the ethnic makeup of the neighborhood: While ties are negatively related to assaults in predominantly White neighborhoods, there is no effect in predominantly minority or racially mixed neighborhoods (Warner & Rountree, 1997). However, this relationship remains unclear for other types of offenses.

The current study included structural characteristics within a social disorganization framework that may generate or work against informal social control—percent ethnicity and neighborhood concentrated disadvantage. In sum, informal social control is prevalent within immigrant communities, namely ethnic enclaves in which the majority of the population is comprised of co-ethnics. The presence of cultural values and authority over youth in these areas helps to protect against offending. In line with the modified spatial assimilation theory, I expect that newer groups to the U.S. (i.e., Southeast Asian migration after 1975) are more likely to reside in enclaves and therefore their youth are less likely to become arrested for more serious offending. On the contrary, ethnic minority youth who live in lower-income and diverse, or majority non-immigrant areas are more likely to become arrested for serious offenses in Los Angeles County. This includes the ethnoburb, which may lack the social ties to facilitate informal control. Additionally, social distance may be operating within these neighborhoods, the theory that I turn to next.

Social distance. In addition to the possibility of the absence of informal social control in ethnoburbs, *social distance* may explain the positive relationship between neighborhoods of

greater ethnic/racial integration and more serious juvenile offending and arrests. Social distance theory posits that, when neighborhoods are more diverse, there tends to be less interaction between these groups and thus less cohesion within the space (Blau, 1977, 1987). A fundamental concept in sociology, social distance is based upon status differences among individuals (Poole, 1927). Individuals form an awareness of similarity or difference based on race/ethnicity, socioeconomic status, gender, or religion. In the context of the current study, this perceived distance is based on socioeconomic status. Along the lines of economic inequality, classes are created that in turn foster social distance (Tucker, 1978). Hence, when households are more alike (e.g., they fall into the same income range), their social distance is smaller because of shared interests, similar tastes, commonalities in culture, mutual acceptance, and in-group solidarity. In contrast, higher-status households are more different than the former and will thusly minimize interaction (Fossett, 2006). When there is a greater presence of income inequality within the same area, it is predicted that there will be less social interaction between residents (Talen, 2006; Hipp & Perrin, 2009) and may even result in hostility in the form of violence (i.e., homicides) (Morenoff et al., 2001; Hipp, 2007).

Class-based social distance may also influence the income and racial composition of neighborhoods. The Moving to Opportunity (MTO) program demonstrated this through its assignment of randomly selected families from distressed, urban neighborhoods to less impoverished areas in several metropolitan areas. Participants of this social experiment who were placed in higher-socioeconomic status neighborhoods may have experienced greater discomfort and subsequently moved out of these neighborhoods and into areas with lower levels of affluence (Clampet-Lundquist & Massey, 2008). However, in the Gautreaux program, another similar study where poor families from inner-city Chicago neighborhoods were placed

into more integrated and affluent suburbs, almost no families moved back to communities similar to the ones they left (Keels, Duncan, DeLuca, Mendenhall, & Rosenbaum, 2005). It should be noted that while the mean income is relatively higher in these neighborhoods, the presence of overall income inequality is unknown. Because the neighborhood is overall higher in income, there was a negative relationship with violent crime (Keels et al., 2005). Hence, income and racial/ethnic composition may influence social distance, and vice versa, which is related to with whom residents will choose to interact in the neighborhood.

Cultural values and practices are mixed within the ethnoburb compared to the ethnic enclave. When individuals are more alike, such as in the case of the enclave, they are more likely to interact with one another since they are more likely to share similar values and customs (i.e., with the majority of the enclave comprised of a single ethnic group). In addition to the ethnoburb being more racially and ethnically diverse, income levels are more mixed compared to the ethnic enclave. Income inequality is positively related to crime (Hipp, 2007). The notion of social distance comes into play when members of a neighborhood on opposite ends of socioeconomic status views one another as being an "outsider," consequently limiting interaction between the two. Offending occurs under the lack of social connectedness: The individual who does not connect with his or her neighbors will feel free to engage in harmful behaviors regardless of consequences to the neighborhood. The current study took into account income inequality to contribute to social distance within the neighborhood.

As such, because ethnoburbs are characterized by diversity in income and racial/ethnic composition, I hypothesized that youth who live in these areas will be arrested for more serious (i.e., violent) offenses. It is in these neighborhoods that interactions between residents are more limited compared to residents in an ethnic enclave, who are more likely to share cultural values,

languages, and practices. Hence, youth who live in ethnoburbs that correspond with their ethnicity will not enjoy the protective effects offered by the enclave, and thus I hypothesized that they will incur more serious offenses compared to those who live in a non-ethnic neighborhood. On the contrary, youth who live in ethnic enclaves that match their ethnicity are hypothesized to be arrested for less serious offenses.

Conceptual Framework for the Current Study

Figure 1. Conceptual Framework

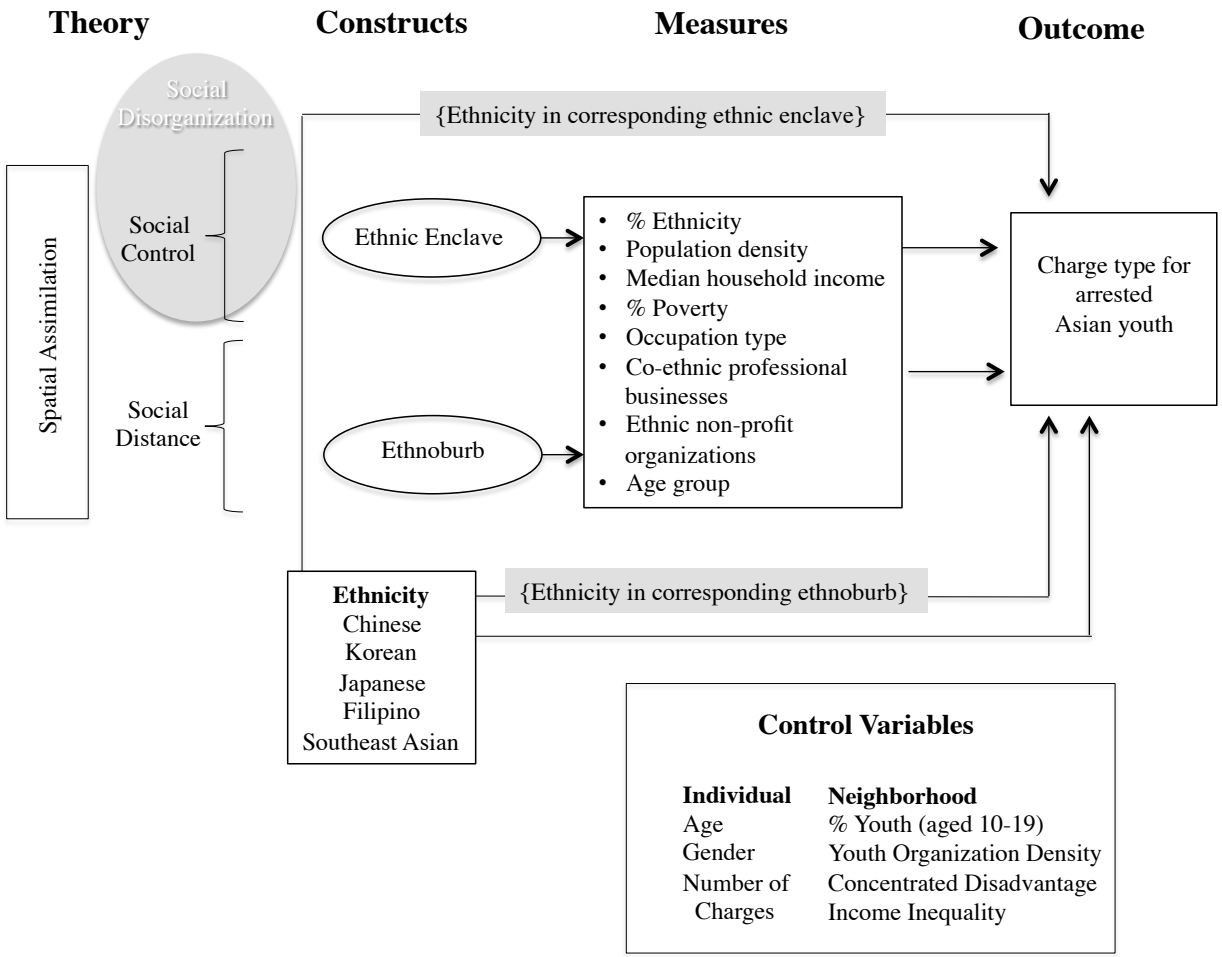


Figure 1 shows the conceptual framework for the current study. Ethnic groups immigrate to and settle in the U.S. throughout various time periods. Following the spatial assimilation hypothesis, East Asians such as the Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, and Filipinos initially settled in ethnic enclaves and eventually dispersed to more racially and ethnically integrated neighborhoods, such as the ethnoburb, as they gain socioeconomic success. On the other hand, the first waves of migration to the U.S. for Southeast Asians (Cambodians, Laotians, Hmong, and most Vietnamese) occurred much later compared to East Asians. Therefore, they are more recently established and hence are more likely to continue to reside in enclaves. Because Southeast Asian groups have lower socioeconomic status in comparison to other racial/ethnic groups, they are also more likely to live in low-income areas alongside the native-born poor.

Operating within a larger framework of social disorganization, the mechanisms of informal social control play out within the ethnic enclave setting to protect co-ethnic youth against violent offending, whereas decreased interaction through social distance is more prevalent within ethnoburbs. In addition to the youths' everyday exposure to their ethnicity, because that the majority of the neighborhood residents are co-ethnics, neighborhood ethnic ties are reinforced and therefore neighbors are more likely to look out for one another. In the ethnic suburb, however, there is a greater diversity of income and racial/ethnic groups. This contributes to a mix of cultural values, languages, and practices across the neighborhood and decreased ties. Therefore, there is no set standard of norms and values within the ethnoburb and subgroups are less likely to interact with one another, leading to increased instances of more serious offending among co-ethnic youth. Finally, the individual's ethnicity may also be directly related the severity of the offense for which he or she is arrested. As it stands, Southeast Asian youth are more likely to be arrested for all types of offenses compared to their East Asian counterparts

(Krisberg, 2005; Umemoto et al., 2006), possibly because they are more likely to live in low-income neighborhoods overall.

In sum, as Asian American ethnic groups spatially assimilate in the host society over generations, their choice of ethnic neighborhood may expand from the ethnic enclave to the ethnoburb. Accordingly, different forces within these respective neighborhoods might explain the presence of different types of offending. These forces include social control and social distance, which in tandem contribute to the ecological systems with which the Asian youth interacts. Finally, correspondence of the individual's ethnicity with the ethnicity of the neighborhood in which the youth lives may predict the severity of his or her charge type at arrest.

Research Questions and Hypotheses

RQ1. Can ethnic enclaves and ethnoburbs be differentiated for five Asian ethnic groups using a classification process via quantitative data and individual interviews?

H1a: Ethnic enclaves and ethnoburbs will be classified using the same sets of quantitative data to differentiate the two.

H1b: Themes that emerge from qualitative interviews with key informants from ethnic communities will inform the use of quantitative data to classify ethnic enclaves and ethnoburbs within zip codes.

H1c: Individual interviews with key informants from ethnic communities will confirm locations of ethnic neighborhoods across Los Angeles County zip codes stemming from the classification process.

RQ2. What are the ethnic group differences (i.e., Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Filipino, Southeast Asian) in charge type (i.e., violence, weapons, property, substance, other) for those Asian youth arrested?

H2a: Southeast Asian youth are arrested for more severe charge types compared to all East Asian (i.e., Chinese, Korean, Japanese, Filipino) youth.

H2b: Filipino youth are arrested for more severe charge types compared to Chinese, Japanese, and Korean youth.

RQ3. What is the relationship between ethnic neighborhood type, regardless of individual ethnicity, and the charge type for which an Asian youth is arrested?

H3a: Asian youth who live in ethnic enclaves will be arrested for less severe charges.

H3b: Asian youth who live in ethnoburbs will be arrested for more severe charges.

RQ4. Is there an effect of corresponding individual ethnicity with neighborhood ethnicity on the charge type for which an Asian youth is arrested?

H4a: Youth who live in an ethnoburb that is the same as his/her ethnicity (e.g., Chinese ethnoburb for Chinese youth) will be arrested for more severe charges compared to other youth.

H4b: Youth who live in an ethnic enclave that is the same as his/her ethnicity will be arrested for less severe charges compared to other youth.

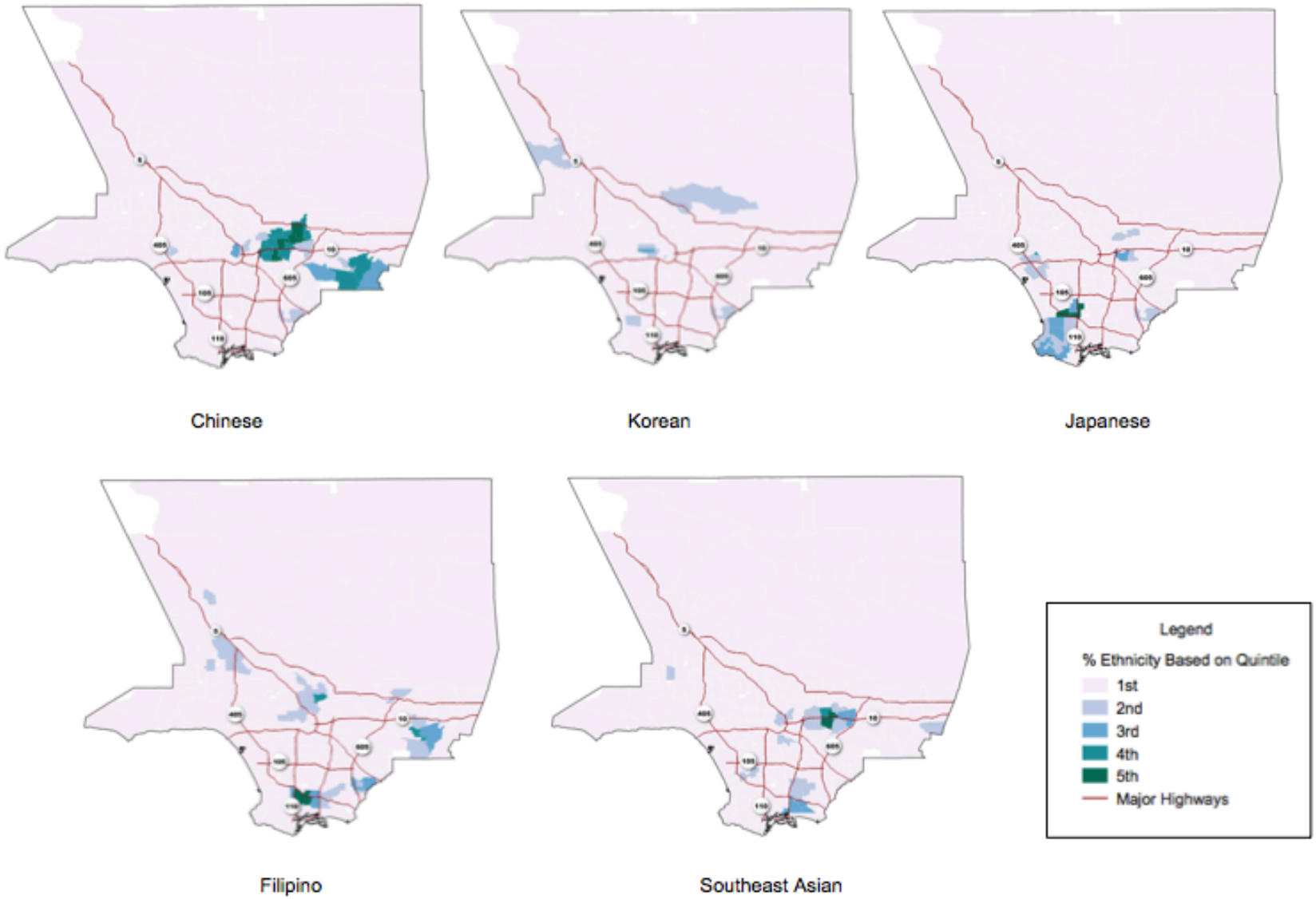
CHAPTER 4: METHODS

This study employed secondary data analysis of administrative data to: 1) determine if ethnic enclaves and ethnoburbs can be differentiated for five Asian ethnic groups using a classification process, 2) explore ethnic differences in charge type for arrested Asian youth, 3) test the relationship between living in an Asian ethnic neighborhood, regardless of own ethnicity, and charge type, and 4) investigate the relationship between own ethnicity within same ethnic neighborhood (either ethnoburb or ethnic enclave) and charge type. This study also utilized primary individual interviews to address the first aim; the results of this aim established the foundation for the subsequent research aims.

Study Site

The current study was conducted in Los Angeles County. Los Angeles County is an ideal location given that it comprises one of the most densely populated and diverse urban areas in the United States with one of the biggest juvenile justice systems in the nation. According to the U.S. Census, there were over 9.8 million residents in Los Angeles County in 2010, of whom 14.6% were between the ages 10 to 19. Of the total population, 13.7% were Asian. The median household income was $55,909. The American Community Survey (2011) estimated that nearly 36% of the total Los Angeles County population was foreign-born. The total Asian population was comprised of approximately 28.2% Chinese, 15.7% Korean, 7.9% Japanese, 24% Filipino, and 9.3% Southeast Asian (including Cambodian, Hmong, Laotian, and Vietnamese). Figure 2 shows the distribution of Asian ethnic subgroups across Los Angeles zip codes using equal interval quintiles to illustrate the variation of these ethnic groups across the county.

Figure 2. Asian Ethnic Group Distribution in Los Angeles County Zip Codes (N = 272)



Study Design

The present study is comprised of several components. First, quantitative data were extracted from several sources to determine an initial classification process for two types of ethnic neighborhoods. As part of this initial analysis for Aim 1, I then used semi-structured, qualitative interviews with key informants from ethnic communities to generate descriptions of the ethnic neighborhoods and to confirm the quantitative classifications. Next, the Los Angeles Probation Department provided individual level data to investigate the relationship between ethnicity and charge type for which an Asian youth is arrested. Then, I used a multilevel design to explore the association between ethnic neighborhood types and arrest patterns among Asian youth. The individual data were linked to public use files from the U.S. Census Bureau and other sources of archival data, in which the zip code approximates the neighborhood. Finally, I used the previously classified zip codes to designate neighborhood types to each individual in order to examine the effect of own ethnicity and same ethnic neighborhood on charge type.

At the neighborhood area level, zip codes are the primary unit of analysis. The sample consisted of 272 zip codes that had their centroid within Los Angeles County. Fifteen zip codes representing administrative buildings and universities were excluded from the study, including the zip code for Catalina Island. The ethnoburb was originally conceptualized as a combination of several municipalities rather than at a smaller neighborhood unit (e.g., Census tract) (Li, 1998), hence rendering the zip code appropriate to provide enough variation as a unit of analysis. However, zip codes are larger units of analyses compared to other government-assigned boundaries such as Census tracts; hence, we are not able to observe how a certain characteristic is spread across large regions such as zip codes and there is less variation in the composition of neighborhood areas across Los Angeles County.

Research Question 1: Classifying Ethnic Enclaves and Ethnoburbs

Administrative zip code and archival data were extracted to determine the methodology for ethnic enclave and ethnoburb classifications. I examined the distribution of each variable across zip codes to determine whether these indicators may be classified to differentiate between the two types of ethnic neighborhoods. Using an iterative process, I first made an initial attempt to classify these zip codes into ethnic neighborhoods and then triangulated these findings with key community informants through semi-structured interviews. I conducted interviews with ethnic informants for which ethnic enclaves or ethnobutrbs were uncertain. Triangulation is a powerful tool that draws upon various methodologies to study the same phenomenon (Denzin, 1970) in order to introduce greater validity to the findings. The qualitative data confirmed the presence ethnic enclaves or ethnoburbs in various zip codes across Los Angeles County.

All zip code data were extracted from the American Community Survey (ACS) (U.S. Census Bureau, 2011) representing an average of the years 2007 to 2011. The ACS provides the best available data that includes ethnicity at the zip code level (i.e., Zip Code Tabulation Area) and most closely matches the years during which Asian youth were arrested. The ACS is an ongoing statistical survey administered by the United States Census Bureau. This survey collects information that was previously in the long form of the decennial Census (including language proficiency, educational attainment, income, migration, and housing characteristics). The Census Bureau randomly selects over 3.5 million addresses yearly to be included in the ACS. Each address is not selected more than once over a five-year period, and has a one in 480 chance of becoming selected in a month (U.S. Census Bureau, 2015). Approximately 295,000 addresses are contacted each month in the U.S. with a mailer to inform the residents that they are selected to participate in the survey. Instructions for completing the survey online are mailed following

this notice, and residents are also given the option to complete a paper questionnaire to be mailed in upon completion. For those addresses that do not complete the survey within a six-week timeframe, residents are contacted via phone to complete the survey in this manner. Finally, Census field representatives will conduct personal visits to the residential addresses for those who do not complete the survey online or over the telephone (U.S. Census Bureau, 2015). In 2011, the noninterview (i.e., online or questionnaire mailer) response rate for the ACS was 97.6% (U.S. Census Bureau, 2015).

Archival data were extracted from online databases for business profiles and non-profit organizations. The public database, ReferenceUSA, provided all business information. ReferenceUSA holds records of over 24 million businesses across the United States, and is designed as a reference tool for students, job seekers, and researchers. This database is comprised of over 5,000 public sources and over 24 million phone calls are placed per year to verify business information. Primary and public sources include Yellow Page directories, Business White Pages, business journals and trade directories, Secretary of State filings, and business journals (Goldhamer, n.d.). In addition to the company name, this database is comprised of type of business, business size, geography, financial data, and detailed executive information (e.g., name, title, gender, ethnicity). The National Center for Charitable Statistics (NCCS) provided information on ethnic-specific and youth non-profit organizations. The NCCS is a national repository of data on all information related to the nonprofit sector. Data from tax forms and activities related to the charitable organizations are available through NCCS.

Qualitative design. This process of classifying ethnic neighborhoods for the five specific Asian subgroups is new and exploratory. Hence to refine this process more clearly, I conducted a series of semi-structured qualitative interviews with key informants within the

ethnic neighborhoods were conducted. With a semi-structured format, I sought discussion that would elicit information not provided by the quantitative data (Whiting, 2008). These interviews enhanced the quantitative results and triangulated the findings for the final operationalization of ethnic enclaves and ethnoburbs.

Research Questions 2 – 4: Ethnicity, Neighborhood, and Charge Type

Administrative probation data. This study used de-identified administrative data from the Los Angeles County Probation Department. At the time of the youths' detention following arrest, the intake officer collects demographic information (i.e., gender, race/ethnicity, birthdate) and the youths' residential address. All charges for which the youth was arrested were also recorded. Because of the confidential nature of the data, the Los Angeles Probation Department provided only the residential zip codes for the youth. The administrative data were linked with public use files from the ACS (2011).

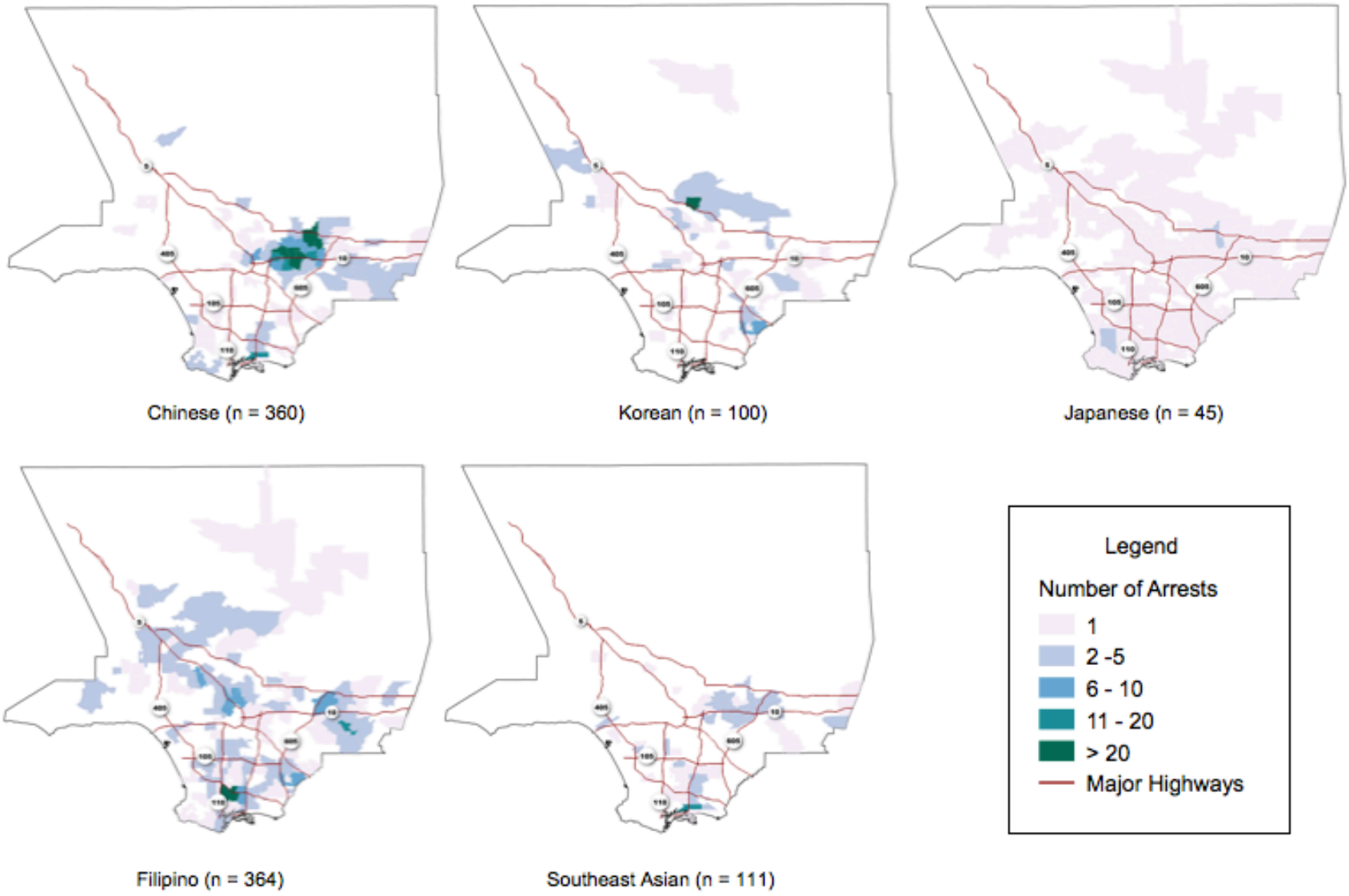
Sample

Quantitative sample. The entire universe of Los Angeles County arrests from 2000 to 2009 was reduced from over 450,000 observations due to restrictions placed on the age range (i.e., adolescents and young adults), limiting to first time arrests, and racial/ethnic groups other than Asian. Specifically, this study examined Asian youth aged 11 to 20 who were arrested for the first time from 2000 to 2009 (N = 980). These youth had no prior arrests within the Los Angeles County system. Due to the small number of recorded Asian arrests in each year, all records for Asian arrests were collapsed across the ten years. Because of the small numbers within each Southeast Asian ethnic category, individuals who were coded as Cambodian, Laotian, or Vietnamese were collapsed into Southeast Asian (11.33%, n = 110). The other ethnic

groups included Chinese (36.73%, n = 360), Japanese (4.59%, n = 45), Korean (10.20%, n = 100), and Filipino (37.14%, n = 364).

Out of 272 zip codes in Los Angeles County, Asian youth in this sample resided in 183 at the time of their arrest in the time period across the years 2000 and 2009. Figure 3 shows the distribution of youth arrests per zip code by ethnicity.

Figure 3. Arrests by Asian Ethnicity in Los Angeles Zip Codes, 2000-2009 (N = 980)



Qualitative sampling and recruitment. I chose to interview key informants for those ethnic groups where the presence of ethnic neighborhoods appeared to be uncertain. These included the Korean, Filipino, Vietnamese, Cambodian, and Japanese communities. The Chinese community was omitted from these interviews given that Li (2009) had previously identified ethnoburbs in Los Angeles based on her observations. From the NCCS database, I purposively selected non-profit organizations that represented the corresponding ethnic groups. If sampling from the nonprofit database was insufficient (i.e., there were few to no organizations in a particular ethnic group from which to select), I turned to existing organizations not on the nonprofit list or by conducting an Internet search (i.e., for the Filipino and Southeast Asian communities). In all, 1 Filipino, 2 Korean, 2 Japanese, and 2 Southeast Asian (i.e., Cambodian and Vietnamese) organizational leaders and community stakeholders were interviewed for this study.

Qualitative Procedure

Participants were contacted via telephone for a face-to-face interview (see Appendix A for initial contact script). The executive director for each organization was targeted for the interview. If the executive director was not available, I established another point of contact (e.g., program manager) within the organization. The initial contact via telephone established that the executive director (or another potential interviewee) was available for a brief, in-person interview. At that time, I provided the potential interviewee an overview of the current study and set up a time and convenient meeting place. The advantages of a face-to-face interview are that rapport is more easily established compared to a telephone interview, it elicits more complex questions, and the researcher is able to obtain more detailed responses (Irvine, Drew, & Sainsbury, 2013).

Upon meeting with the key informant at the established appointment time and place, I provided another overview of the study and obtained verbal consent. The interview consisted of two parts, with the first part encompassing the informants' perspectives on defining ethnic enclaves and ethnoburbs for their own ethnic community, and the second in identifying and confirming their respective ethnic neighborhoods across Los Angeles County (see Appendix B for interview guide). Following probing the informants for their definition of enclaves and ethnoburbs, I provided a map printout of the established ethnic neighborhoods (based on initial classifications) across Los Angeles County that corresponded with their individual ethnicities. We reviewed each zip code with a neighborhood designation to confirm whether these locations encompass the previously identified ethnic neighborhood. In the case of a discrepancy between what the informant believed to be an ethnic neighborhood and what was not presented on the map, and vice versa, I recruited additional nonprofit leaders within the same ethnic group to garner more information to confirm or refute these locations.

Each semi-structured interview lasted approximately 45 to 60 minutes long, was digitally recorded, and was voluntary. All information shared was confidential. All interviewees were compensated with a $25 gift card for their organization. Because these interviews do not meet federal standards for human subjects research, approval from the university's Institutional Review Board was not necessary.

Quantitative Measures

Outcome Variable

Charge category. This study uses the charge category from first arrests to examine the relationship between ethnicity, ethnic neighborhood, and charge. Reflecting five charges, this categorical variable is the dependent variable. From most severe to the least, this categorical

variable reflected charge classifications of violent offenses (e.g., assault, robbery), weapon offenses (e.g., possession of a weapon), property offenses (e.g., vandalism, burglary), substance offenses (e.g., possession of marijuana, minor with alcohol), and other offenses (e.g., loitering, driving without a license). Most youth in the study had incurred a property (48.78%) charge, followed by a weapon charge (20.51%), violence charge (14.49%), substance charge (10.71%) and other charge (5.51%).

It is important to assess for first arrests due to the reason that, once youth are arrested for the first time, they have the greatest risk of becoming further entrenched in the system and having high likelihood of becoming incarcerated and experience poor outcomes in the transition to adulthood (Chung, Little, & Steinberg, 2005). In cases where there were instances of multiple charges for each individual, the data were coded to reflect the most severe charge for the given arrest, as sentencing is typically associated with the most serious charge (Strom, Smith, & Snyder 1998). Of the analytic sample, 31.33% (n = 307) youth had more than one charge.

Independent Variables

Ethnicity. The independent individual variable of interest at the individual level is ethnicity. The ethnicity of the arrested youth was recorded as Chinese, Korean, Japanese, Filipino, Cambodian, Laotian, or Vietnamese. Because of the small numbers within each Southeast Asian ethnic category, individuals who were coded as Cambodian, Laotian, or Vietnamese were collapsed into Southeast Asian (11.33%, n = 110). The other ethnic groups included Chinese (36.73%, n = 360), Japanese (4.59%, n = 45), Korean (10.20%, n = 100), and Filipino (37.14%, n = 364).

Compared to the overall percentages of these ethnic groups across Los Angeles County, the ACS 2011 reported that the Asian designation with the above groups only was comprised of

34.25% Chinese, 9.17% Japanese, 18.11% Korean, 27.74% Filipino, and 10.65% Southeast Asian (including Cambodian, Laotian, and Vietnamese). While Japanese and Korean youth were underrepresented in the sample of youth arrests compared to the overall population in Los Angeles, Filipinos were overrepresented.

Number of charges. The number of charges was designated for each individual at the time of arrest. The average number of charges per arrested youth was 1.56 (SD=1.32), ranging from 1 to 27 charges per youth.

Gender. The gender of the offending youth was recorded as male or female. The majority of the sample of arrested youth was male (73.88%, n = 724).

Age at arrest. The birth date of each youth was recorded at the time of intake following arrest. The age at arrest was calculated using the youth's recorded birth date and the arrest date. The mean age of youth at arrest was 15.77 (SD = 1.48).

Descriptive statistics for measures at the individual level are provided in Table 1.

Table 1

Descriptive statistics for Asian youth ages 11-20, Los Angeles Probation Department 2000-2009 (N = 980)

	%(n) / M(SD)
Gender	
Male	73.88 (724)
Female	26.12 (256)
Ethnicity	
Chinese	36.73 (360)
Korean	10.20 (100)
Japanese	4.59 (45)
Filipino	37.14 (364)
Southeast Asian	11.33 (111)
Charge Category	
Violence	14.49 (142)
Weapon	20.51 (201)
Property	48.78 (478)
Substance	10.71 (105)
Other	5.51 (54)
Arrest Age	15.77 (1.48)
Charge No.	1.56 (1.32)

Neighborhood area variables. The main neighborhood independent variable of interest is ethnic neighborhood type, which was derived using a classification process to differentiate between ethnic enclaves and ethnoburbs. Procedures for determining classifications within zip codes are further detailed below, using several neighborhood area-level variables.

Neighborhood typologies. Ethnic enclaves are the original context of immigrant reception and thusly are generally more low-income, have a high population density, and their economy is biased towards the service sector (Li, 2009). However, as an ethnic group attains higher education and socioeconomic status, they will relocate to a more diverse, less populated area with others who share their ethnicity where professional businesses tend to dominate the ethnic economy (Li, 2009)—the ethnoburb. The following variables were used to determine the classification method for these two ethnic neighborhoods.

Ethnicity. Ethnicity information from the ACS was joined to the zip codes to produce the percentage ethnicity per zip code. The total percentages for each ethnic group were derived from the total number of each ethnicity divided by the total population in each zip code. The average percent of each ethnicity across the 272 zip codes across Los Angeles County are as follows: Chinese (3.67%, SD = 7.92%), Korean (2.56%, SD = 5.14%), Japanese (1.19%, SD = 1.93%), Filipino (2.98%, SD = 3.62%), and Southeast Asian (1.1%, SD = 1.86%). The Southeast Asian category was created using percentages Cambodian, Vietnamese, Laotian, and Hmong due to their overall small populations in the county and to correspond with the ethnicity categories created by the arrest data.

Population density. Square miles per zip code were extracted from the U.S. Census Bureau gazetteer (2010b). A gazetteer is a directory that contains information on physical features and social statistics within geographical boundaries. I downloaded the 2010 gazetteer file for zip code tabulation areas. Population density per square mile was created by using total population in the area divided by the total square miles per zip code. Across Los Angeles County zip codes, the mean number of residents per square mile was 8,846 (SD = 6,765), with a range from 10 to 50,788 residents.

Percent families in poverty. Percent poverty for the past 12 months was recorded for each household. The average percentage of families in poverty across 272 zip codes in Los Angeles County was 11.64% (SD=9.16%).

Median household income. Median household income for the past 12 months was recorded for each household. The average for median household income across Los Angeles County was $74,987 (SD = $35,836).

Co-ethnic professional businesses. These data were extracted from the public database ReferenceUSA. Several criteria were used to extract business addresses. Businesses were restricted to locations within Los Angeles County, including both verified and unverified locations. ReferenceUSA staff had not contacted unverified locations to confirm their status, but these locations do not include those businesses that are closed or suspected to be out of business. I limited the listings to only companies that are privately owned, or those companies that are smaller and non-public[1]. For executive ethnicity, I selected for "Far Eastern" and "Unknown."

To identify a firm's primary business function, I searched via business type through North American Industry Classification System (NAICS) and Standard Industrial Classification (SIC) codes. The federal government developed these codes and are used by the U.S. Office of Management and Budget (OMB) and other statistical agencies. The 2 to 6 digit NAICS provides a greater level of detail about an organization's activity compared to the SIC. The OMB adopted usage of the NAICS in 1997 (Department of Revenue, n.d.). Because SIC codes are not available after 2004, NAICS codes were used to generate the lists from the corresponding databases. I used NAICS codes for "Professional, Scientific, and Technical Services," (e.g., legal services, accounting) "Offices of Physicians," and "Offices of Dentists."

Following data extraction, I coded for East and Southeast Asian ethnicity based on executive surname using Lauderdale and Kestenbaum's (2000) validated list of Chinese, Korean, Japanese, Filipino, and Vietnamese groups. Lauderdale and Kestenbaum (2000) created their lists based on Social Security Administration records that include country of birth. Following compilation, these lists were evaluated using an independent file of Census records. These surname lists are thus far the most valid in research in identifying Asian ethnicity (Fiscella &

[1] Private (non-public) companies are not available to be traded on the open market (i.e., companies will have to reach a certain amount of revenue and prestige in order to become public).

Fremont, 2006). I used the 50 most common surnames to identify co-ethnic businesses by the listed business owner names. Because validated lists for other Southeast Asian subgroups (i.e., Cambodian, Hmong, Laotian) were not available, I conducted a web search for the most common Cambodian, Hmong, and Laotian surnames to create my own compilation (e.g., Duffy, 2004; Fong & Chuang, 2004). I used these most common surnames to select for these names within the business listings. Following co-ethnic identification, there were 11,661 total businesses. All businesses were geocoded (i.e., located X, Y coordinates) using ArcGIS 10.3 and aggregated to the zip code level. The geocoding rate for co-ethnic professional businesses was 100%.

Following geocoding of the business data, I selected by ethnicity to determine the number of businesses per zip code by ethnicity. I plotted the businesses by ethnicity and aggregated these points to the zip code to produce a total number of businesses per zip code. The number of co-ethnic businesses within Los Angeles County ranged from 0 to 243 (Chinese), 399 (Korean), 27 (Japanese), 2 (Filipino), and 66 (Southeast Asian) per zip code.

Ethnic non-profit organizations. Where non-profit organizations are located generally depend on multiple forces. For ethnic non-profits in particular, they may be located in areas where there is a high population of co-ethnics (Joassart-Marcelli, 2013) because they tend to service those who need supports in acclimating to life in their new communities (Massey, Alarcon, Durand, & Gonzalez, 1990). It is also possible that ethnic non-profits are more likely to be located in ethnoburbs as they are created to maintain ethnic heritage (Hung, 2007). However, they are least likely to be located in suburban areas due to lack of funding to those areas (De Graauw, Gleeson, & Bloemraad, 2013) and smaller ethnic concentrations (Joassart-Marcelli, 2013).

I used a compilation of 990 digitized tax forms (Deitrick, 2014) pulled from the NCCS that included organizational name and address information. Using the National Taxonomy of Exempt Entities (NTEE) codes, I searched for organizations that fell under "Cultural and Ethnic Awareness" and "Ethnic and Immigrant Centers." I also performed a search of organizational names that included ethnic identifiers (e.g., Khmer, Cambodian) following Hung's (2007) method to extract these non-profits and excluded pan-ethnic organizations, which are inclusive of all Asian groups. Organizations were geocoded and aggregated to the zip code level by ethnicity. Addresses that had a post office box were verified through an Internet search for a physical address. If an organization did not have a physical address, they were geocoded to the zip code that corresponded to the post office box. The geocoding rate for ethnic non-profit organizations was 100%.

Following geocoding, I selected by ethnicity to determine the number of ethnic non-profit per zip code by ethnicity. I aggregated these organizations by ethnicity to the 183 zip codes where youth were arrested. The total number of ethnic non-profit organizations per zip code ranged from 0 to 4 (Chinese), 5 (Korean), 3 (Japanese), 1 (Filipino), and 3 (Southeast Asian).

Occupation. Resident occupation for those employed aged 16 and over included: 1) Management, business, science, and arts occupations, and 2) Service occupations (e.g., food service workers, hairdressers, childcare workers). The ACS (2011) provided these data. Approximately 18% of Los Angeles County residents held a managerial or professional occupation, while 7.56% residents held an occupation in the service sector.

Age group. While ethnoburban residents are more likely to be middle-aged, ethnic enclaves are more balanced with regards to the age distribution within these neighborhoods (Li, 1998b). The ACS also provided the data for age group. Age group percentage information was

downloaded and summed to create groups for ages 20 to 39, 40 to 59, 60 to 79, and over 79 years. Across the 272 zip codes, the means per area were as follows: Age range 20 to 39 years was 29.66% (SD = 5.70%), age range 40 to 59 years was 27.69% (SD = 3.81%), age range 60 to 79 years was 12.64% (SD = 3.45%), and 80 years and above was 3.23% (SD = 1.39%).

Neighborhood control variables.

Youth organization density. I searched for organizations in the NCCS that were categorized as "Youth Development". The geocoding rate for youth organizations was 100%. Youth organization density was calculated using the total number of youth organizations divided by the total square miles per zip code. The density of non-profit youth organizations ranged from 0 to 3.57 per zip code ($M = 0.21$, SD = 0.47).

The following control variables were extracted from the 2007 to 2011 ACS estimates for zip codes across Los Angeles County and joined to the zip code data.

Youth population. Controlling for the youth population (ages 10 to 19) explains the possibility of a higher number of certain charge categories in a zip code. I summed the categories of individuals aged 10 to 14 and individuals aged 15 to 19 and divided this number by the total population to create the variable for percent youth population. The average of percent youth population was 13.69% (SD=3.54%).

Concentrated disadvantage. I used population totals for percent on public assistance, female-headed families, percent unemployed, and percent Black to create an index for concentrated disadvantage, an indicator for social disorganization (i.e., relative neighborhood poverty) for which Sampson et al. (1997) previously operationalized. Percentage poverty and less than age 18 were omitted from this factor analysis given that these variables were included

as other measurements for this study. Further, the ACS breakdown for age is 10 to 14 and 15 to 19, therefore rendering it impossible to construct the age variable.

On average and in the past 12 months across Los Angeles County, 5.8% of the total population reported being on public assistance (SD = 5.59%), 14.58% were female-headed households (SD = 6.87%), 9.53% individuals over age 16 were unemployed (SD = 2.92%), and 8.16% were Black (SD = 5.59%). Because of multicollinearity between the variables, a factor score was derived for these indicators. The range for the concentrated disadvantage index was -1.27 to 3.67, with a higher score indicating greater relative poverty.

High inequality. The Gini coefficient is a measure commonly used to assess for income inequality within an area (Yitzhatki, 1979). Hence, this index is another indicator for social distance, or lack of cohesion and interaction between residents (Blau, 1977, 1987). The index is based on residents' net income and ranges from 0 to 1, where 0 indicates that all income levels are equal within the zip code and 1 signifies complete inequality. Due to the low variation within this variable, I created a dichotomous indicator for high inequality, whereby high inequality was designated for those zip codes in which their index falls above one standard deviation above the average (M = .44, SD = .06). Within Los Angeles, 42 (15.44%) zip codes had high inequality.

Descriptive statistics for neighborhood variables across the 272 zip codes in Los Angeles County are provided in Table 2.

Table 2
Descriptive Statistics for Neighborhood Area Variables for Zip Codes, American Community Survey (2011) (N = 272)

	Min	Max	Mean / % (n)	SD
Ethnic Neighborhood Variables				
Percent Ethnicity				
Percent Chinese	0.000	52.29	4.14	8.84
Percent Korean	0.000	57.79	2.52	5.16
Percent Japanese	0.000	16.51	1.25	2.03
Percent Filipino	0.000	32.61	3.16	3.73
Percent Southeast Asian	0.000	17.01	1.16	1.95
Population density (per square mile)	10	50,788	8,846	6,765
Percent Families in Poverty	0.00	62.90	11.64	9.16
Median Household Income	17,279	216,500	74,987	35,836
Occupation				
Percent Management and Professional	2.239	39.708	16.984	8.742
Percent Service	2.349	18.146	8.203	2.764
Businesses				
Chinese	0	243	20.05	33.64
Korean	0	399	14.63	33.88
Japanese	0	27	1.64	3.12
Filipino	0	2	0.09	0.30
Southeast Asian	0	66	6.31	8.33
Percent Age Group				
Ages 20-39	12.200	49.900	29.660	5.700
Ages 40-59	18.800	40.600	27.690	3.810
Ages 60-79	4.700	24.700	12.640	3.450
Ages 80+	0.900	7.100	3.230	1.390
Neighborhood Controls				
Percent youth population (ages 10-19)	0.50	27.20	13.69	4.46
Youth organization density (per square mi)	0.00	3.57	0.21	0.47
Concentrated Disadvantage	-1.27	3.67	0.00	0.92
Percent on public assistance	0.00	30.90	5.78	5.59
Percent female-headed households	0.00	38.92	14.58	6.87
Percent unemployed Percent Black	0.00	20.90	9.53	2.92
Percent youth population (ages 10-19)	0.00	85.40	8.16	12.79
High Inequality	n/a	n/a	15.44 (42)	n/a

Data Analysis

The purpose of the current study was to 1) determine if ethnoburbs and ethnic enclaves can be differentiated using a classification system, 2) explore Asian ethnic differences in offense type, 3) test the relationship between ethnic neighborhood type, regardless of individual ethnicity, and offense type for arrested Asian youth, and 2) explore the relationship of own

ethnicity within the corresponding ethnic neighborhood and offense type. Analyses procedures to test each specific research question are detailed below.

Research Question 1

The first research question asked whether a classification process is able to determine where ethnic enclaves and ethnoburbs emerge in Los Angeles. In doing so, I extracted administrative and public data from various sources (i.e., American Community Survey, NCCS, business directories) based on previous literature designations for the two types of neighborhoods. Then, I examined the distribution of these variables across Los Angeles zip codes and determined whether they matched predefined ethnic enclaves and ethnoburbs (e.g., Cambodia Town, San Gabriel Valley Chinese ethnoburbs) based upon municipality boundaries. If not, then this variable was discarded. The result is a list of variables that could be potentially classified into initial groupings to indicate an ethnic enclave, ethnoburb, or neither type of ethnic neighborhood. The initial classifications utilized percent ethnicity, median household income, and population density. These ethnic neighborhoods were then presented at the interviews in order to confirm or refute these classifications.

Qualitative data analysis. All interviews were transcribed verbatim and uploaded into Dedoose, a cross-platform, web-based application. Following the application of three designations of neighborhoods (i.e., ethnic enclave, ethnoburb, non-ethnic neighborhood) to neighborhood descriptions within the transcripts, I used a deductive coding approach to identify characteristics found within the three types of neighborhoods. Patterns and themes were extracted from the interviews to provide a deeper understanding of ethnic neighborhoods, as well as to compare characteristics for ethnic enclaves and ethnoburbs. Emergent themes were used to inform the iterative process in selecting certain quantitative variables to use for neighborhood

classifications. Descriptive comparisons were made between informant identification of ethnic neighborhoods and initial zip code classifications.

Iterative data analysis. Any discrepancies between the initial typologies of zip codes and interviews were used to inform the quantitative classification of zip codes. Should an informant declare that an ethnic neighborhood is missing in the initial classification, or that an ethnic neighborhood does not belong, I reexamined each variable used in the differentiation between the two typologies to determine if another cutoff in the distribution is more appropriate or to discard the variable completely. This was done until each variable used for differentiating between an ethnic enclave and an ethnoburb accurately classified each zip code for the five Asian ethnic subgroups.

In generating a description of the ethnic neighborhoods for the five Asian subgroups across Los Angeles County, I was able to address this study's subsequent hypotheses to answer questions on the relationship between ethnic neighborhood type and charge for which a youth is arrested. These ethnic neighborhood classifications by zip code were joined to the individual level data using QGIS 2.14.

Research Question 2

Research question 2 assessed for ethnic group differences in charge type on the individual level. This was modeled using multinomial logistic regression. Given that charge category is the categorical dependent variable of interest, a multinomial logistic regression model was used to estimate the effects of the key explanatory variables on charge type. For the dependent variable, charge type, violence was the base outcome. Among ethnic groups, Southeast Asian was the reference group. Coefficients were exponentiated to obtain relative risk ratios. To correct for multiple comparisons among ethnic groups and to mitigate the risk for

Type I error, I employed the Holm Bonferroni sequential approach (Abdi, 2010). After ordering all the p-values from highest to lowest, each hypothesis was rejected sequentially: The original alpha ($p < .05$) was divided by the number of comparisons, n. Following this rejection, the next comparison used a correction of .05 divided by n - 1. This was repeated until no more hypotheses were rejected (Holm, 1979).

Research Question 3

The third question asked, "Are ethnic neighborhoods associated with charge type for arrested Asian juveniles?" Each zip code was designated as containing an ethnic enclave, ethnoburb, or neither type of neighborhood, regardless of the ethnicity of the neighborhood. Given the nature of the neighborhood classifications, a zip code cannot be an enclave and an ethnoburb (i.e., both types of neighborhoods have different population densities and cutoffs for percent poverty). Given that the data consisted of a two-level hierarchy with individuals nested within zip codes, this relationship was tested using multilevel regression analyses, with multinomial logistic regression to model for charge type. The categorical nature of the dependent variable did not warrant a test for spatial autocorrelation. Following model estimation, coefficients were exponentiated to obtain relative risk ratios. I used the Holm Bonferroni sequential approach to correct for multiple comparisons between neighborhood types.

Multilevel multinomial regression. Unlike traditional single-level models, multilevel models allow an estimation of the variance of some outcome at the individual level and the community level (Goldstein, 1995). In the context of this study, the observation (i.e., individual) falls into groups, or clusters, within each zip code. It is essential to account for correlation among individual units within the same cluster; hence, dependence can be explicitly modeled within a multilevel analysis. In this instance, youth who live in the same zip code may be more

similar than those who live outside of these areas. These models also allow the unbiased estimation of cross-level effects, such as those examined between the individual-level variables and community characteristics (Raudenbush & Bryk, 2002).

In the current study, individuals are clustered, or aggregated, within 183 zip codes. Thus, the level 1 unit is the individual and the level 2 unit is the zip code. Although 26.2% of the zip codes were singletons (i.e., in which some zip codes only have single arrests), model convergence was not an issue (Bell, Ferron, & Kromrey, 2008).

Level 1 model. The level 1 equation to model for charge type is:

$$log\left(\frac{\pi_{ij}^{(s)}}{\pi_{ij}^{(t)}}\right) = \beta_{0j}^{(s)} + \beta_{1j}^{(s)}x_{1ij} + \ldots + \beta_{2j}^{(s)}x_{nij} \quad (1)$$

Where:

i indexes the individuals and *j* the zip codes;

π_{ij} is the expected value (proportion) of the charge category for individual *i*, within zip code *j*;

X_{ij} is Matrix of individual *i* characteristics in zip code *j*;

β_{0j} is the intercept; and

β_{1j} and β_{2j} are the regression coefficients for the independent individual youth variables (x_1 and x_n) in the model, and *s* ranges from 1 to *t – 1*.

The above formula clarifies that there are separate intercept parameters and different regression coefficients for each logit.

Level 2 model. Level 2 models are referred to as between-unit models since they describe the variability between zip codes (Gill, 2003). The level 2 equations are:

$$\beta_{0j} = \alpha_{00} + \alpha_{01}G_J + \varepsilon_{0j} \quad (2)$$

$$\beta_{1j} = \alpha_{10} + \alpha_{11}G_j + \varepsilon_{1j} \quad (3)$$

Where:

β_{0j} is the intercept for the *j*th zip code;

β_{1j} is the slope for the *j*th zip code;

α_{00} and α_{10} refer to the overall mean intercept adjusted for individual-level predictors: these are the grand mean of the scores on the dependent variable (the log odds of charge category) across all the zip codes when all the predictors are equal to 0;

α_{01} and α_{11} refer to the overall regression coefficient between the log odds of charge category relative to the zip code intercept;

G_j refers to the level 2 predictors in each zip code *j*; and

ε_{0j} and ε_{1j} are random effects of the zip code unit adjusted for individual level factors on the intercept.

The Level 1 coefficients are predicted by the Level 2 variables.

The reduced model was:

$$log\left(\frac{\pi_{ij}^{(s)}}{\pi_{ij}^{(t)}}\right) = \alpha_{00} + \alpha_{10}x_{nij} + \alpha_{01}G_j + \alpha_{11}G_j x_{nij} + \varepsilon_{1ij}x_{nij} + \varepsilon_{0ij} \quad (4)$$

Research Question 4

Finally, the last research question tested the effect of individual ethnicity within a corresponding ethnic neighborhood on charge type. This was implemented using the previously detailed multilevel multinomial with the individual-level variable stepped in to the equation. The variable was calculated by creating a new dummy variable for ethnoburb and ethnic enclave indicating an ethnic match between the individual and his or her recorded zip code containing the neighborhood. For example, a Chinese youth living in a Chinese ethnoburb was coded as ethnoburb = 1 and enclave = 0. Finally, coefficients were exponentiated to obtain relative risk ratios.

Missing Data

Those records that were either missing zip code data or had recorded zip codes outside of Los Angeles County (n = 421, 30.05% of all Asian arrests) could not be used for the multilevel analyses, and therefore I conducted a missing data analysis to examine patterns that may have affected the results. Bivariate analyses were run between the predictor or outcome variables and the missing data, with results of these analyses displayed in Table 3.

Table 3

Missing data analysis for individual predictor variables, Los Angeles Probation Department 2000-2009

	Missing Data (n = 421)		Analytic Sample (n = 980)			
	n	*% / M(se)*	*n*	*% / M(se)*	x^2/ t	*p*
Gender					6.46	0.011
Male	283	67.22	724	73.88		
Female	138	32.78	256	26.12		
Ethnicity					5.72	0.221
Chinese	138	32.78	360	36.73		
Korean	60	14.25	101	10.31		
Japanese	21	4.99	45	4.59		
Filipino	151	35.87	364	37.14		
Southeast Asian	51	12.11	110	11.22		
Charge Category					17.43	0.002
Violence	54	12.83	142	14.49		
Weapon	57	13.54	201	20.51		
Property	238	56.53	478	48.78		
Substance	36	8.55	105	10.71		
Other	36	8.55	54	5.51		
Arrest Age	421	16.20(0.07)	980	15.77(0.05)	4.99	< 0.001
Charge No.	421	1.39(0.04)	980	1.56(0.04)	-2.43	0.015

Overall, there were no statistically significant associations by ethnicity and those missing zip code information. Individuals missing zip code information were significantly associated with regards to age, such that those with no location information or reside outside of Los Angeles County were older ($p < 0.001$).

There were also significant associations ($p < .01$) in chi-squared tests between those who have zip code information or reside within Los Angeles County and charge category: There was

a greater percentage of youth arrested for property offenses who are missing zip code information and/or have zip codes recorded outside of Los Angeles compared to the analytic sample, in which a greater percentage of youth are arrested for weapon-related offenses. There was also a statistically significant association between the numbers of charges for those with Los Angeles zip codes compared to those without. Gender associations also emerged with regard to those missing zip code information ($p < 0.05$), such that the analytic sample consists of more males compared to the group missing zip code information.

CHAPTER 5: RESULTS

Research Question 1: Ethnic Neighborhoods in Los Angeles

Neighborhood Classifications

Ethnic neighborhoods across Los Angeles County were identified using a predetermined set of variables that differentiated between ethnic enclaves and ethnoburbs. To classify ethnic neighborhoods (i.e., ethnic enclave, ethnoburb, or neither), I utilized a classification (decision) tree to establish cutoffs based on distributions of several criteria across zip codes, in conjunction with previous literature on established ethnic enclaves and ethnoburbs, in Los Angeles County. Using an iterative process, I additionally triangulated these classifications and locations of ethnic neighborhoods with select interviews from key community stakeholders. The final criteria for establishing neighborhood typologies included percent ethnicity, population density, and percent families in poverty[2]. These variables were the common denominator in defining ethnic neighborhoods (e.g., a salient presence of an ethnic group). Ethnic neighborhood typologies were created for each ethnic group in this study (i.e., Chinese, Filipino, Japanese, Korean, Southeast Asian).

Two other methodologies that were considered for classifying zip codes into neighborhood types, latent class analysis (LCA) and cluster analysis, were not deemed appropriate to use with the data or in yielding two neighborhood types only. There is a risk that LCA may not capture "emerging" ethnic neighborhoods (i.e., ethnoburbs). Given that a function of LCA estimates the probability that a zip code will most strongly fall into a certain class (i.e.,

[2] Other variables that were considered for this classification process included co-ethnic professional businesses, age range, occupation, ethnic non-profit organizations, and race. These variables were omitted either due to their initial classification failing to yield known ethnic neighborhoods (either through interviews or previous literature) or limitations within the measures themselves.

two classes will be predetermined for the two types of ethnic neighborhoods) based on zip codes that are the most similar on their variable characteristics, there is a chance that zip codes will fall outside of a predetermined class (McCutcheon, 1987)—hence overlooking zip codes that do not meet the probability into falling into a certain class but may represent an ethnoburb. Further, LCA assumes that the final number of classes (i.e., neighborhood types) is usually not predetermined prior to analysis when the goal of this research study is to classify zip codes into enclaves, ethnoburbs, or non-ethnic neighborhoods only (McCutcheon, 1987). A three-class model may not be the best fit using information criteria. On the other hand, the classification tree approach uses a deliberate selection of criteria based on existing literature on the classification of ethnic neighborhoods. Additionally, the methodology for cluster analysis groups zip codes that are more similar to one another than others; in essence, this method searches for "hot spots" that cluster polygons (i.e., zip codes) together (Kaufman & Rousseeuw, 2009). Hence, variation on neighborhood type between individual zip codes would not have been captured.

The steps in classifying a zip code that contains an ethnic neighborhood are as follows. I used the universe of 272 zip codes within the boundaries of Los Angeles County to calculate regional averages and relative indicators for key characteristics. Previously established ethnic enclaves and ethnoburbs were used as reference points to assess the accuracy of the classifications that the categorical tree yielded. I confirmed the presence of a Chinese enclave and Chinese ethnoburbs in its alignment with previous literature (Li, 2009), as well as through the identification of other well-known ethnic neighborhoods. Given that previously identified ethnic enclaves and ethnoburbs fall within municipality boundaries, I confirmed the accuracy of the categorical tree designations when a zip code is within a city's boundaries. For example, Li

(2009) indicated that El Monte was part of a Chinese ethnoburb; therefore, I was able to capture this ethnoburb when the categorical tree classified a zip code as a Chinese ethnoburb. This method also yielded several known enclaves (e.g., Koreatown and Cambodia Town) and ethnoburbs (e.g., Filipino in Carson, Japanese in Torrance). There are currently no true Japanese enclaves given that this population has now been settled in the U.S. for several generations. Further, immigration from Japan is light (Glatzer, 2012). For zip codes where the presence of ethnic neighborhoods was uncertain, I verified the data through the key informant interviews.

First, in examining the distribution of percent ethnicity across Los Angeles County zip codes, I selected for those that fall above one standard deviation of the ethnic population average. In previous work, ethnic enclaves were originally conceptualized as having a majority percent ethnicity (Li, 1998). However, known ethnic enclaves in Los Angeles (e.g., Cambodia Town, Chinatown) did not meet this criterion despite interviews and history confirming that these areas were enclaves. The percentage ethnicity in an ethnoburb is still greater than one standard deviation from the average; thus I selected for those zip codes with a greater than one standard deviation percent ethnicity above the regional average for both enclaves and ethnoburbs.

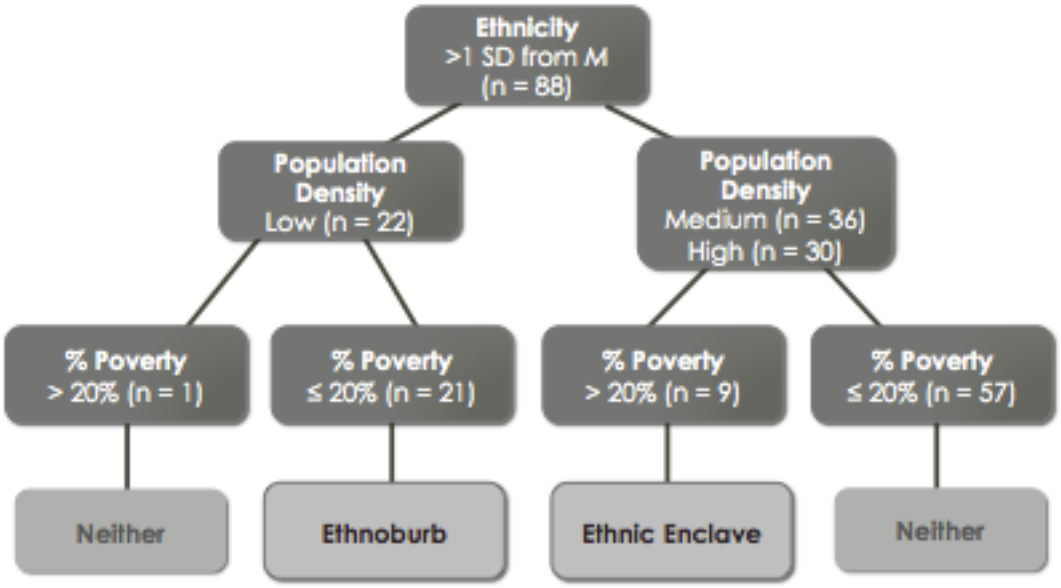
Ethnic enclaves and ethnoburbs are varied in population density, such that enclaves are high density and ethnoburbs are medium density (Li, 2009). With this consideration, I used the population density variable across Los Angeles zip codes and parsed high population density from low and medium by establishing cutoffs based on terciles of equal count. Given that Los Angeles is a comparatively densely populated area relative to other regions of the U.S., using terciles enables for the top one-third of zip codes to be designated as the most densely populated in Los Angeles and remains higher than the regional average of 8,847 residents per square mile.

I also examined other ways to break down this category through examining the distribution based on standard deviation and natural breaks in the data using GIS; however, these categorizations failed to capture the high population density that encompasses many enclaves that were confirmed through the interviews. I created a categorical variable to signify low (range = 0 to 5,514 persons), medium (range = 5,514 to 10,676 persons), and high (range = 10,656 to 50,778 persons) population density per square mile across the universe of zip codes in Los Angeles County. This procedure meant that there was an equal distribution of zip codes across the three population density categories: A total of 91 zip codes fell into the low population density category, 90 were designated as medium density, and 91 were high density.

Following the conceptualization that ethnic enclaves are generally low-income and ethnoburbs tend to be higher in income (Li, 1998), I created a categorical variable signifying that a zip code was low-income. Low-income was initially defined as those zip codes with average household incomes less than $25,000. However, due to the fact that this low-income designation did not capture known ethnic enclaves and misclassified known Chinese ethnoburbs (e.g., El Monte) despite employing various cutoffs in the income range, I opted to utilize percent families in poverty. I examined the range of percent families in poverty across municipalities within zip codes and designated a zip code with higher than 20% of families in poverty as low-income (the regional average being 11.64%). I designated 20% as the cutoff given that this captures a zip code in El Monte that was previously designated as a Chinese ethnoburb (i.e., 19.5% families in poverty) (Li, 2009). Additionally, I verified with a Filipino informant that Panorama City is an ethnic enclave; this cutoff in the distribution also captures the Panorama City zip code as low-income (i.e., 22.5% families in poverty). There were 41 zip codes (15.07%) designated as low-income in Los Angeles County.

The classification tree in determining ethnic neighborhood typologies is depicted in Figure 4 below.

Figure 4. Classification Tree in Determining Ethnic Neighborhood Typologies in Los Angeles Zip Codes



Several changes were made in the classification criteria based on the areas informants believed to be ethnic neighborhoods, which are detailed in Table 5. The initial classification process was done for only those zip codes where youth were arrested, but this did not capture the true range of the variability in the indicators. After confirming through the initial attempt that Korean and Japanese ethnoburbs did not emerge in Glendale and Gardena, respectively, I opted to use all zip codes within Los Angeles County. Additionally, Japanese ethnoburbs were confirmed in the Cerritos and San Marino areas, and Vietnamese ethnoburbs in San Gabriel Valley areas and in eastern parts of Los Angeles County. Finally, Panorama City was confirmed as a Filipino ethnic enclave, which verified the need to fit the indicator data to yield this area as an enclave. Instead of median household income, I opted for percentage poverty to capture low income within enclaves that encompasses Panorama City. Percentage of areas confirmed as

ethnic neighborhoods through the quantitative classification process are displayed below in Table 4, along with informant ethnicity and their pseudonyms. For areas where I was unable to confirm the presence of ethnic neighborhoods through the classification tree, I noted possible reasons for non-confirmation.

Table 4
Key Informant Confirmations

Pseudonym	Ethnicity	% Confirmed through Initial Classification	Changes Made	Notes for Non-Confirmation
Alan	Filipino	100	Used % poverty	N/A
John and Esther	Korean	67	Used all LA zip codes	• Stevenson Ranch classified, and Valencia is directly south • Torrance is classified (verified with Grace), and Palos Verdes is adjacent
Peter	Vietnamese (Southeast Asian)	100	N/A	N/A
Emiko	Japanese	75	Used all LA zip codes	• Cerritos confirmed with Aileen
Grace	Korean	78	Used all LA zip codes	• Granada Hills and Reseda are considered a part of the San Fernando Valley, and Northridge (classified and Esther identified) is adjacent to these locations
Elizabeth	Cambodian (Southeast Asian)	100	N/A	N/A
Aileen	Japanese	100	N/A	N/A

Following this iterative process with key informants to verify usage of certain quantitative indicators the final categorical tree yielded 83 ethnoburbs and 10 ethnic enclaves across Los Angeles County zip codes (see Table 5 for specific ethnic neighborhood typologies). All other zip codes that do not fit these criteria were classified as a non-ethnic neighborhood.

Table 5
Ethnic Neighborhood Typologies in Los Angeles Zip Codes

Ethnic Neighborhoods	n
Ethnic Enclaves	
Chinese	1
Filipino	2
Japanese	0
Korean	3
Southeast Asian	4
Ethnoburbs	
Chinese	16
Filipino	19
Japanese	19
Korean	12
Southeast Asian	17

Key Informant Interviews

The following themes emerged as indicators that differentiated ethnic enclaves from ethnoburbs. Following presentation of these results, I explain how these themes also verify the selection of certain quantitative variables for the classification tree.

Ethnic enclaves. The three themes that emerged from characterizing ethnic enclaves were *"Markers of the urban community," "Proxy for the homeland"*, and *"A common understanding within the networks."*

Markers of the Urban Community. In describing their respective enclaves, interviewees cited markers of the urban community that characterized these neighborhoods. These characteristics included perceptions of high crime, low-income residents, and a high population and business density. Due to the high density of residents and businesses, accessibility between destinations is far easier for the enclave's residents as well. The common thread among the Vietnamese, Filipino, and Korean older adults was that they either elected to stay in the enclaves or move back to these communities following retirement. As Alan noted, convenience was key in these communities:

> A lot of them [older adults] don't drive. So buses, they can get to wherever they need to go. Basic needs services: food, water, clothing; it's just a bus away. Unlike if they moved to the suburbs... There, it's harder.

Grace also noted, "there's a recent phenomenon where a lot of the baby boomers who moved into the suburbs and have their big houses are actually moving back into Koreatown… But now that the kids are out... They're selling their big house… They're moving into these luxury condos in Koreatown because they like the convenience of being able to walk or be really close to everything."

Proxy for the Homeland. The second theme that emerged with regards to enclaves was that these communities act as a proxy for the respective ethnic groups' homelands. Not only are these neighborhoods the first context of reception for many ethnic groups upon immigration, the pervasiveness of their respective cultures remain. The quality of ethnic specific restaurants is "a little bit better" and more abundant compared to those found in ethnoburbs (Grace), many residents converse in the native language and are more than likely monolingual, and accessibility to ethnic goods and services are abundant.

Elizabeth told a story about an older woman who recently moved back to Cambodia Town despite moving away for her daughter to care for her. She spoke of the availability of ethnic grocery stores in the enclave: "She gets to have the food, in terms of the grocery stores, she's able to buy the fresh fruits and things like that that are more culturally appropriate for her whereas there, they're big American grocery stores." Compared to living outside of the enclave where she has no access to ethnic food, this older Cambodian woman is able to travel easily within the neighborhood to access those culturally appropriate goods and services.

John supported this view in his experience of Koreatown as the area where people travel for Korean-specific goods and services:

John: I think maybe it's now more characterized by the merchants and the businesses that make up the Koreatown. So a lot of restaurants of course, and other shops like traditional Korean clothes shops or things like that.

Interviewer: So a lot of Korean service sectors is what you're pointing at?

John: Yes. So Korean traditional food, clothes. Just cultural things.

As an ethnic enclave, not only is there a salient presence of the respective ethnicity, but there are also elements that are characteristic of the culture are present within this community. John suggested that Korean businesses, restaurants, and even traditional shops that are indicative of cultural elements are found within this enclave.

Overall, the cultural characteristics coalesce into one common element across ethnic groups: The familiarity of the homeland. Emiko talked about how the Japanese community tends to venture to Little Tokyo "…for that familiarity to their homeland... to have a sense of connection." Alan confirms this in defining the Filipino enclave in his perception that this

neighborhood is "characteristic of the ethnicity… not necessarily just of the Filipino-American experience, but also looking back to the homeland."

A Common Understanding within the Networks. The ethnic enclave is largely characterized by a strong sense of cohesion and networks among community members. Key informants speak to residents having a large base of friends who share their ethnicity and to have a common understanding of shared experiences. The availability of social services also contributes to a sense of community: One pattern that arose among key informants with regards to the enclave was the availability of social services for the ethnic population. Particularly striking is that informants for the Japanese, Korean, and Cambodian populations all indicated that their respective communities travel to the enclaves from outside communities to access social services that cater to their respective ethnic groups.

Further, Emiko observed that, although the true enclave does not exist anymore in the Japanese community (i.e., there are few Japanese residents), the sense of community far surpasses that of what is found within the Japanese ethnoburbs in the South Bay area. She said: "So you get yourself involved, and so you see there a lot of Shin-Isseis [first generation immigrants] that are very active in the community in Little Tokyo because they chose to be and they wanted to be a part of that movement or be part of that community." This spills over to organizing within the non-profit community serving the Japanese:

> If you look at the leadership of some of the non-profit boards in Little Tokyo, you'll see some crossover names because they're that committed to the community, that they help steer each organization and help… You'll see that there is a lot of like, collaboration. A lot of support that each organization gives to each other.

Unsurprisingly, interviewees identified churches as indicators of a robust ethnic network. Although ethnic churches are becoming more common outside of the enclave, the church within the original context of immigrant reception fostered a sense of common experiences and acted as a home base for networks. In his observations of the Filipino community, Alan remarked:

> Filipinos are Catholics. It's in their blood. The religion is part of their lives. The religion is part of their existence. Their world-- their paradigm is based on family and church. So a lot of them really stick it out because this is their home parish. You know, the Catholic Church is around here... are inundated with the Filipinos because it becomes their home. It becomes their social networking and their family units eventually... so they really stick it out. They stay.

Elizabeth, a leader for the Cambodian community, aptly summarized this sentiment: "…The connections... the networks that are here are very valuable because you have common experiences and a common understanding of who you are."

Ethnoburbs. Three themes surrounding the ethnoburb also emerged from speaking with key informants: *"Achieving the 'American Dream,'" "Assimilating into the Dominant Culture",* and *"A Self-Supporting Ethnic Community."*

Achieving the 'American Dream'. One major theme pertaining to ethnoburbs was that families who end up in the ethnic suburbs have achieved a relatively higher income compared to those who live in the enclaves and moved to the suburbs for a better quality of life and schools for their children. With regard to the South Bay, a prominent Japanese ethnoburb, Aileen spoke of the visibility of Japanese corporations and professionals (e.g., doctors), landowners, and overall higher economic neighborhoods. Additionally, home ownership is an indicator that one has reached the American dream.

Elizabeth stated that she grew up to believe that purchasing a house to care for her family was the end goal:

> There's this narrative. Even I grew up with this; it's like, 'okay, you get a good job, you buy a house, and you take care of your family.' And so instilled in my brain is like, 'I want to have a good job where I can buy a house and then my mom can live with me, or my other family members can live with me.'

Here, Elizabeth talked about the Cambodian cultural expectation that achieving a good career and obtaining a house for the family equated to success. Grace held a similar sentiment with respect to the Korean population:

> Koreatown is one of the more park-poor areas in the country, so it's not a great place for kids. And when people think of the suburbs, they think about the house with the picket fence and things like that. You're not going to get that in Koreatown.

In the dense urban areas where Koreatown and other ethnic enclaves are located, the community may perceive that a better quality of life for the family is available in the ethnoburbs.

Assimilating into the Dominant Culture. According to the key informants, the ethnoburb carries three indicators signifying assimilation into the dominant culture. Grace stated, "So when I think of them [the Korean population] becoming more acculturated, that means that they are able to adapt more to kind of mainstream American society." The 'mainstream American society' generally refers to that of the dominant American culture that is inclusive of the English language, food, and interacting with other racial/ethnic groups. These elements are detailed below.

Key informants cited comprehension of the English language as an indicator that the individual has assimilated (and accordingly, lives in the ethnoburb). According to Alan, assimilation is related to language:

> I think it's a lot to do with the language. We [the second generation] speak English pretty well. So we're not afraid to venture out of the enclave, whether it's called Filipinotown or whatever because we don't fear that, if we move away, there will be that language barrier.

Alan described the individual being able to grasp the English language and move away from the native language-speaking community. In the ethnoburb, in particular, both Emiko and Aileen cited that the Japanese suburban community in the South Bay offers bilingual services (in both English and Japanese) and language programs to cater to the new immigrants and older generations.

Another indicator of assimilation is food. In addition to ethnic restaurants being not as "good" (according to a few interviewees) in the ethnoburb compared to the enclave, Esther mentioned that, "we [the assimilated] are accustomed to the American style so we can eat anything, you know? We can eat anything." The assimilated individual would have branched out to enjoying cuisines aside from the food of their own ethnicity—a familiar taste to the ethnic palate.

Informants also referenced interaction with other ethnic/racial groups and sharing cultural elements as a characteristic of assimilation and living in the ethnoburb. When asked to expand on his perspective of the Filipino culture "bleeding out" to influence other cultures, Alan explained:

> If huge populations of Filipinos are in one area, how does this culture affect the other cultures… that live within the proximity of it--if not in the middle of it? So does that

> mean [it affects] their decision-making just in terms... just in a daily basis. If I wanted to buy takeout, will I directly call pizza, or you know, we're in such a Filipino area, let's go taste Filipino food… And I see other ethnicities… I've talked to a lot of them. 'I live here in the area. I mean, both my neighbors on each side are Filipinos. My kids go to the Filipino school and all the other friends are Filipinos.' And there's that sharing of culture. 'Well wait a minute... How do you cook this particular fish?' 'Oh let me tell you. This ingredient. Oh, wait a minute, what about in your culture? How do you do it?' So there's that sharing.

In the quote above, Alan recalled his interactions with other race/ethnicities and how non-Filipino individuals would talk about their Filipino neighborhoods and eventually they would share ethnic recipes. In essence, the constant interaction of different racial/ethnic groups may influence the individual to make the decision to cook a Filipino dish for dinner.

A Self-Supporting Ethnic Community. The third theme that emerged to highlight a feature of the established ethnoburb is that of the "*self-supporting ethnic community*". Peter explained his belief that the ethnoburb is "self-sufficient that I think that's what becomes a community on it's own, even though it's not heavily populated." Despite the relatively smaller ethnic population, the ethnoburb becomes self-run:

> They [the ethnic community in the ethnoburbs] have Vietnamese store and shop. So they start to decide, 'hey, I'm sufficient here. I don't need to go down to Westminster [a Vietnamese ethnic neighborhood in Orange County] anymore.' So they can be independent. They can function every shop they have… They are small, but they are self-run… So not every pocket will survive if they don't have a well-rounded community. For

example, you have doctor, you have lawyer, you have business, you have everything that is needed in the community, or it would not survive.

In essence, the ethnoburb will have access to all ethnic businesses and services within the neighborhood without having to travel outside of the area.

With regard to the Korean ethnoburb in relation to the Koreatown enclave, Grace shared the following:

> The suburbs are becoming fairly self-sufficient themselves because they have their own hair salon and church and markets so that way, for folks that don't want to come to Koreatown, they can stay in their own neighborhoods and they have that kind of self-sufficiency there.

The Korean and Vietnamese (akin to what Peter was explained above) have established their own self-sufficient communities within the ethnoburb that they no longer have to venture outside of the neighborhood to other ethnic communities in order to get their needs met.

In sum, ethnic residents within the established ethnoburb are able to work, play, and access services within the smaller geographic area. With the presence of these self-sufficient ethnic communities, immigrants are now able to settle directly into the ethnoburb, and not the ethnic enclave as it was the case before. According to Emiko, the Japanese ethnoburb "just laid the foundation to really be a welcoming ground for recent Japanese immigrants."

Non-ethnic neighborhoods. Unexpectedly, several informants also talked about non-ethnic neighborhoods. These areas could best be characterized as *"Between Two Worlds"*. While the ethnic neighborhood (whether an enclave or an ethnoburb) offers goods and services in the residents' native ethnicity, those who reside in non-ethnic neighborhoods face the challenges of having to seek out these ethnic goods and services. Much of this entails having to

travel to an ethnic neighborhood to stock up on ethnic food for several weeks at a time or to access social services in the individual's native language. Again, Elizabeth spoke of her example of an older Cambodian woman who chose to move back to the enclave because her quality of life was poor outside of the ethnic neighborhood:

> She lived there [in the non-ethnic neighborhood] for about three months and was just every day she was taking the bus for over an hour to come here to Long Beach. And so she realized, you know, even though she loves her family and she's being taken care of, that she'd rather live here than have that commute back and forth… They [the older adults] travel back to Long Beach for the temple, for the grocery store, for the networks here.

For many, access to ethnic goods and services remain crucial for their well-being. If it is not present within the immediate area, then the individual will travel to the next ethnic neighborhood to immerse him or herself in the culture.

The aforementioned themes for both ethnic enclaves and ethnoburbs helped to inform the use of quantitative data to differentiate between the two types of neighborhoods. More specifically, '*Markers of an Urban Community'*, a theme that emerged from informant perspectives of the ethnic enclave, hinted at the usage of the population density variable to lay out the range in differentiating between ethnic enclaves (high density) and ethnoburbs (medium density). The theme that accompanied the ethnoburb, "*Achieving the 'American Dream,'"* speaks to the nature of Asian families achieving higher socioeconomic status to ensure a better quality of life: While ethnic enclaves had higher percentage poverty among families, ethnoburbs were in zip codes that had below 20% poverty.

Finally, although not presented in the original hypotheses, the themes of "*A Common Understanding within the Networks"* and *"Assimilating into the Dominant Culture"* emerged to provide support for the study's conceptual framework and associated theories of social control and social distance, respectively, within enclaves and ethnoburbs. More specifically, while ethnic enclaves had greater community cohesion to facilitate control, ethnoburbs were more diverse in race and ethnic makeup that may contribute to social distance among neighbors.

Following neighborhood classifications within zip codes in Los Angeles County, Table 6 shows the distribution of the types of ethnic neighborhoods where Asian youth reside, based on their recorded zip code.

Table 6

Ethnic neighborhood type for Asian youth ages 11-20, Los Angeles Probation Department 2000-2009 (N = 980)

	Neighborhood Type		
	Ethnoburb	**Enclave**	**Neither**
Ethnicity %(n)***			
Chinese	61.94 (223)	6.67 (24)	31.39 (113)
Korean	51.00 (51)	5.00 (5)	44.00 (44)
Japanese	51.11 (23)	0.00 (0)	48.89 (22)
Filipino	37.36 (137)	3.02 (11)	59.62 (217)
Southeast Asian	33.33 (37)	24.32 (27)	42.34 (47)
Total	47.96 (470)	6.84 (67)	45.20 (443)

*** p <.001

Chi-squared analyses ($x^2(8, N = 980), = 121.72$) showed that there were significant associations ($p < .001$) between the ethnic groups across neighborhood type.

Research Question 2: Individual Ethnicity and Charge Type

Unadjusted Analyses

Table 7 shows the results for the relationship assessed between individual ethnicity and charge type, using unadjusted multinomial logistic regression analyses. Southeast Asian is the

reference group for ethnicity, given that I previously delineated that this subgroup has a different migration trajectory compared to the others and hence may have different outcomes.

Table 7

Restricted comparisons of individual ethnicity for charge type[1] at first arrest for Asian youth ages 11-20, Los Angeles Probation Department 2000-2009 (N = 980)

	Weapon		Property		Substance		Other	
	RRR	95% CI	RRR	95% CI	RRR	95% CI	RRR	95% CI
Ethnicity (ref: Southeast Asian)								
Chinese	1.73	[0.79, 3.79]	0.75	[0.38, 1.46]	1.39	[0.57, 3.38]	1.40	[0.45, 4.39]
Korean	0.42	[0.16, 1.07]	0.35 **	[0.17, 0.74]	0.32	[0.10, 1.00]	0.60	[0.16, 2.31]
Japanese	2.07	[0.46, 9.29]	1.48	[0.39, 5.68]	4.67 *	[1.04, 20.94]	2.80	[0.42, 18.69]
Filipino	0.91	[0.41, 2.00]	0.85	[0.44, 1.64]	0.67	[0.27, 1.68]	0.95	[0.30, 3.01]
Constant	1.29	[0.64, 2.59]	4.50 ***	[2.52, 8.03]	0.79	[0.36, 1.73]	0.36 *	[0.13, 0.99]

Note: [1]Reference=Violence

***$p < .001$ **$p < .01$ *$p < .05$

With regards to charge type, Korean (RRR = 0.35, $p < .01$) youth had a lower risk of being arrested for weapons crimes compared to Southeast youth and relative to violent crimes. Compared to Southeast Asians, Japanese youth had a higher risk (RRR = 4.67, $p < .05$) of being arrested for a substance offense relative to violence. Each additional year in age was associated with higher risks of being arrested for substance (RRR = 1.42, $p < .001$) and other (RRR = 1.40, $p < .01$) offenses relative to violent offenses. Finally, being male was associated with a higher risk of being arrested for a weapons offense (RRR = 2.18, $p < .01$) compared to females, but with a lower risk of being arrested for any other type of offense (RRR = 0.40, $p < .01$) relative to violent ones.

Multivariate Analyses

The unrestricted model in Table 8 shows the effect of ethnicity on charge type among arrested Asian youth while adjusting for age, gender, and number of charges. Relative risk ratios are presented from the multinomial logistic regression models to indicate an increased or decreased risk of a group falling into a certain charge category (i.e., the dependent variable) compared to a reference group. If the risk ratio is close to 1, there is little difference in risk

between groups. A risk ratio of greater than or less than 1 suggests an increased or reduced risk, respectively, of a certain charge type (relative to violence) for ethnic groups compared to the reference, Southeast Asians.

Table 8

Comparisons of individual ethnicity for charge type[1] at first arrest for Asian youth ages 11-20, Los Angeles Probation Department 2000-2009 (N = 980)

	Weapon		Property		Substance		Other	
	RRR	95% CI	RRR	95% CI	RRR	95% CI	RRR	95% CI
Ethnicity (ref: Southeast Asian)								
Chinese	1.69	[0.77, 3.72]	0.74	[0.38, 1.45]	1.29	[0.53, 3.17]	1.36	[0.43, 4.32]
Korean	0.41	[0.16, 1.06]	0.34 **	[0.16, 0.73]	0.28 *	[0.09, 0.88]	0.57	[0.14, 2.22]
Japanese	2.07	[0.46, 9.34]	1.44	[0.37, 5.55]	4.02	[0.89, 18.26]	2.89	[0.43, 19.53]
Filipino	0.99	[0.45, 2.18]	0.84	[0.43, 1.61]	0.63	[0.25, 1.59]	0.81	[0.25, 2.59]
Individual Controls								
Age at Arrest	0.92	[0.79, 1.06]	1.04	[0.92, 1.19]	1.42 *	[1.17, 1.92]	1.40 *	[1.10, 1.78]
Male	2.18 *	[1.26, 3.78]	0.97	[0.63, 1.49]	1.12	[0.61, 2.05]	0.40 *	[0.20, 0.77]
Number of Charges	1.03	[0.89, 1.20]	0.95	[0.81, 1.10]	1.01	[0.84, 1.22]	1.05	[0.86, 1.28]
Constant	2.52	[0.23, 27.37]	2.62	[0.33, 20.77]	0.00 *	[0.00, 0.06]	0.00 *	[0.00, 0.15]
LR χ^2 (v. restricted)	36.05 ***							

Note: [1]Reference=Violence

***$p < .001$ **$p < .01$ *$p < .05$

Korean youth had a lower risk of being arrested for both property (RRR = 0.34, $p < .01$) and substance (RRR = 0.28, $p < .05$) offenses compared to Southeast Asians and relative to violent offenses. Post-hoc analyses show that the less restrictive model fit the data significantly better than the main effects only model ($p < .001$).

Because Research Question 2 assesses for ethnic group differences in charge type, I estimated the full model with each ethnic subgroup as the reference category. Table 9 shows the pairwise comparisons for the fully adjusted model between ethnic groups for offense type relative to a violent offense. Holm's p-values are displayed to correct for multiple comparisons in mitigating the risk for Type I errors.

Table 9

Pairwise comparisons of offense type relative to a violent offense by Asian ethnicity (N = 980)

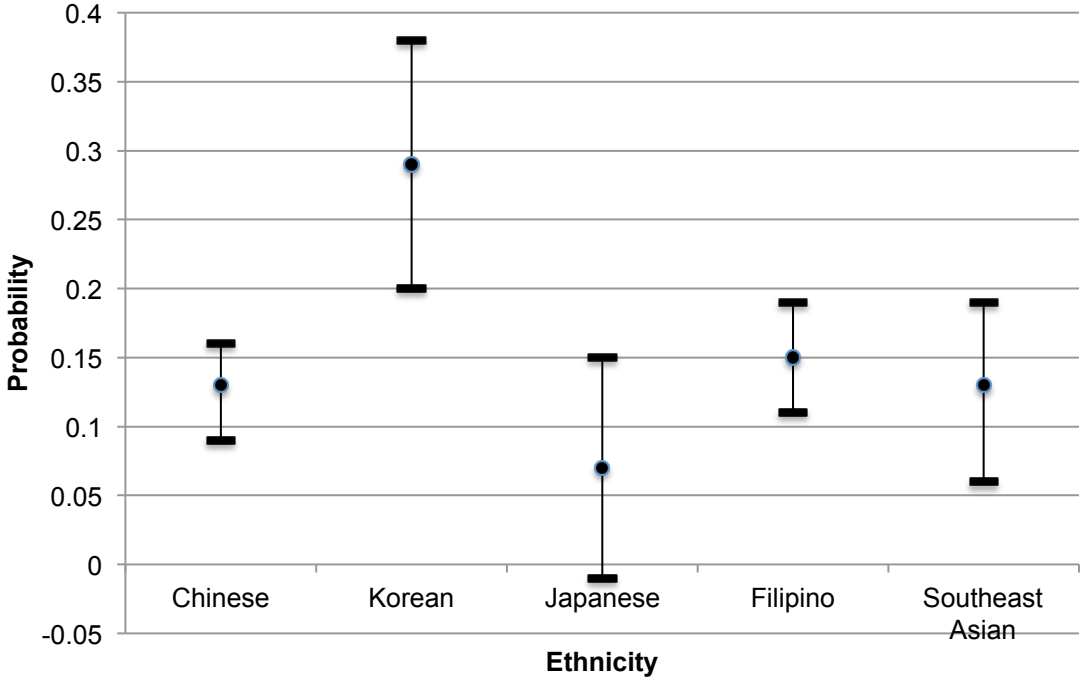
	Weapon			Property			Substance			Other		
	RRR	*p*	Holm's *p*	RRR	*p*	Holm's *p*	RRR	*p*	Holm's *p*	RRR	*p*	Holm's *p*
Southeast Asian v.												
Chinese	1.69	0.191	ns	0.74	0.381	ns	1.29	0.576	ns	1.36	0.600	ns
Korean	0.41	0.067	ns	0.34	0.005	0.006	0.28	0.029	ns	0.57	0.413	ns
Japanese	2.07	0.344	ns	1.44	0.595	ns	4.02	0.071	ns	2.89	0.277	ns
Filipino	0.99	0.974	ns	0.84	0.590	ns	0.63	0.332	ns	0.81	0.721	ns
Filipino v.												
Chinese	1.71	0.041	ns	0.89	0.607	ns	2.04	0.025	ns	1.68	0.176	ns
Korean	0.42	0.020	ns	0.41	0.002	0.005	0.44	0.089	ns	0.70	0.504	ns
Japanese	2.10	0.294	ns	1.73	0.393	ns	6.34	0.008	ns	3.57	0.143	ns
Japanese v.												
Chinese	0.82	0.774	ns	0.51	0.300	ns	0.32	0.099	ns	0.47	0.383	ns
Korean	0.20	0.030	ns	0.2	0.030	ns	0.07	0.001	0.005	0.20	0.082	ns
Korean v.												
Chinese	4.10	0.001	0.005	2.17	0.009	ns	4.69	0.001	0.006	2.41	0.095	ns

Note: Controlling for age, gender, number of charges

After correcting for multiple ethnic group comparisons, several significant relationships remained. Compared to Korean youth, Chinese youth had a higher risk of being arrested for a weapons offense (RRR = 4.10, $p < .001$). Koreans had a higher risk of being arrested for a property offense compared to both Southeast Asians (RRR = 0.34, $p = .005$) and Filipinos (RRR = 0.41, $p = .002$). Korean youth had a lower risk of being arrested for a substance offense compared to Japanese (RRR = 0.07, $p = .001$), and Chinese youth had a higher risk of being arrested for a substance offense compared to Koreans (RRR = 4.69, $p = .001$).

Figure 5 shows the predictive margins for being arrested for a violent offense among the five ethnic groups, holding all other variables constant at their means.

Figure 5
Predicted Probabilities for Youth Arrest for a Violent Offense among Asian Ethnic Subgroups

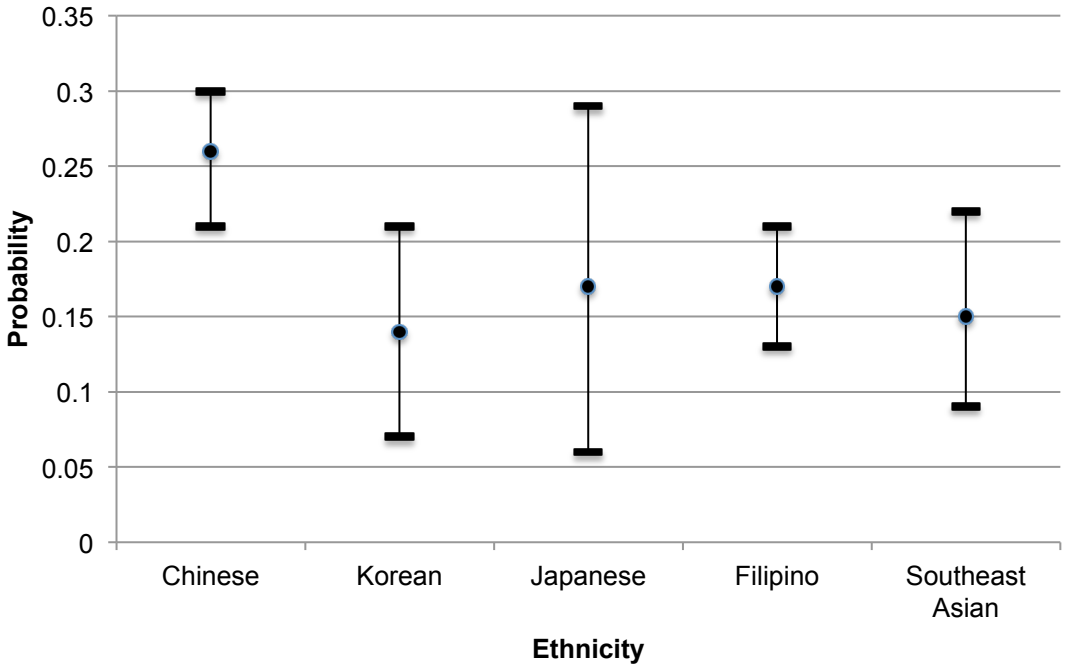


Note: All error bars represent 95% confidence intervals.

Korean youth have the highest risk, at 29% predicted probability (95% CI [.20, .38]), of being arrested for a violent crime. Filipinos have a 15% probability (95% CI [.11, .19]), Chinese (95% CI [.09, .16]) and Southeast Asians (95% CI [.06, .19]), both have a 13% probability, and Japanese youth have a 7% probability (95% CI [-.01, .15]) of being arrested for a violent offense.

Finally, ethnic group comparisons with offense types other than violence as the reference category (i.e., weapon, property, substance, other) are found in Appendix C. The predictive probabilities of being arrested for other types of offenses are displayed in Figures 6 through 9.

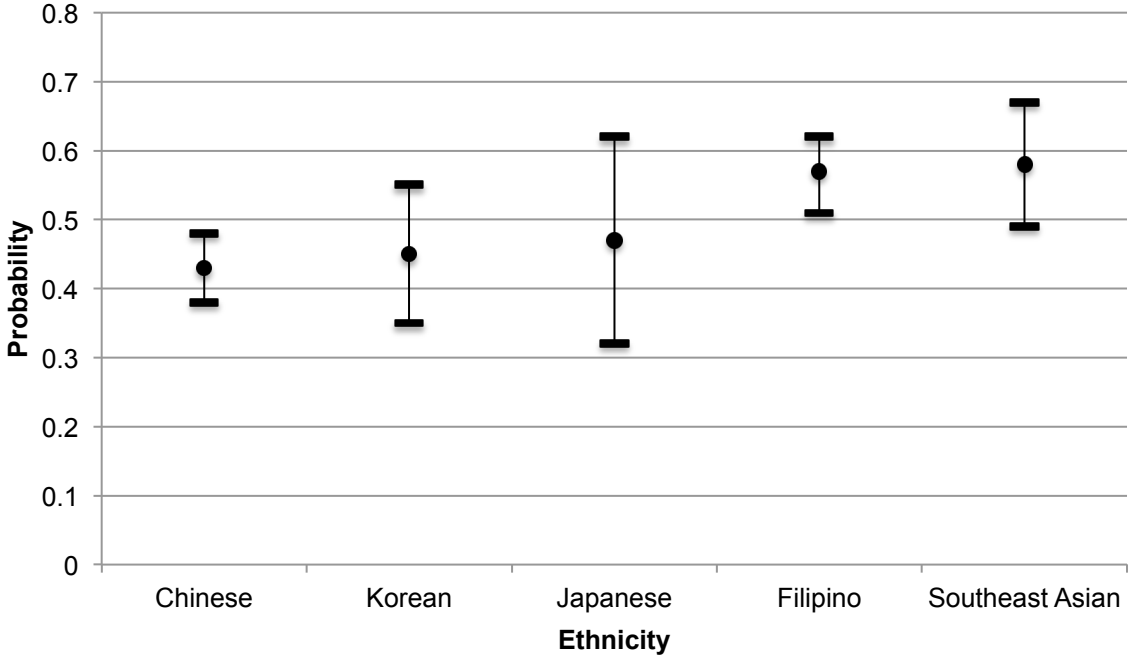
Figure 6
Predicted Probabilities for Youth Arrest for a Weapons Offense among Asian Ethnic Subgroups



Note: All error bars represent 95% confidence intervals.

Chinese youth have the highest predicted probability (26%, 95% CI [.21, .30]) of being arrested for a weapons offense. Japanese (95% CI [.06, .29]) and Filipino (95% CI [.13, .21]) youth have similar probabilities at 17%, and Southeast Asians have a 15% probability (95% CI [.09, .22] of being arrested for a weapons offense. Korean youth have the lowest probability (14%, 95% CI [.07, .21]).

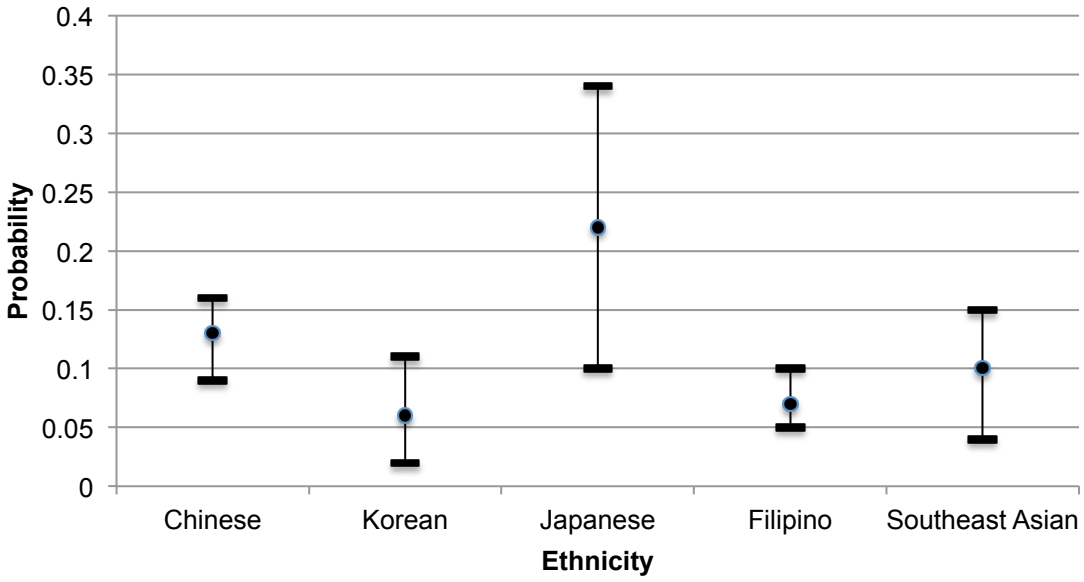
Figure 7
Predicted Probabilities for Youth Arrested for a Property Offense among Asian Ethnic Subgroups



Note: All error bars represent 95% confidence intervals.

With regards to risk for being arrested for a property offense, Southeast Asian youth have the highest predicted probability, at 58% (95% CI [.49, .67]). Filipino youth have a 57% probability (95% CI [.51, .62]); Japanese youth have a 47% probability (95% CI [.32, .62]); Korean youth 45% (95% CI = [.35, .55]), and Chinese youth 43% (95% CI = [.38, .48]) of being arrested for a property offense.

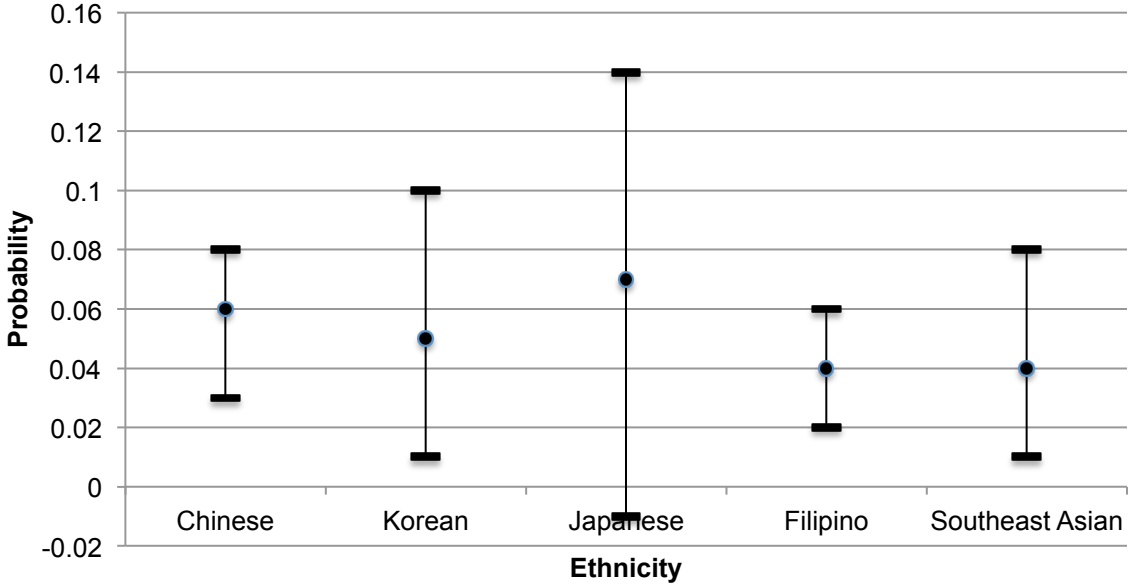
Figure 8
Predicted Probabilities for Youth Arrest for a Substance Offense among Asian Ethnic Subgroups



Note: All error bars represent 95% confidence intervals.

Japanese youth had the highest predicted probability, 22% (95% CI [.10 .34]), of being arrested for a substance offense, followed by Chinese youth (13%, 95% CI [.09, .16]). Southeast Asian youth have a 10% probability (95% CI [.04, .15]) of being arrested for a substance offense, followed closely by Filipino and Korean youth at 7% (95% CI = [.05, .10]) and 6% (95% CI [.02, .11], respectively.

Figure 9
Predicted Probabilities for Youth Arrest for an Other Offense among Asian Ethnic Subgroups



Note: All error bars represent 95% confidence intervals.

Overall, all five groups have very low probability of being arrested for any other type of offense, ranging from 4% (Filipino and Southeast Asian) to 7% predicted probability for Japanese youth.

Research Question 3: Ethnic Neighborhoods and Charge Type

Unadjusted Analyses

Table 10 displays the results for the relationship assessed between ethnic neighborhood type and the dependent variable of interest, charge type, using unadjusted multilevel, multinomial logistic regression analyses. Violence charge was the base category for the dependent variable and the non-ethnic neighborhood was the reference group for neighborhood type.

Table 10

Restricted comparisons of ethnic neighborhood for charge type[1] at first arrest for Asian youth ages 11-20, Los Angeles Probation Department 2000-2009

	Weapon			Property			Substance			Other		
	RRR		95% CI	RRR		95% CI	RRR		95% CI	RRR		95% CI
Neighborhood Type[2]												
Ethnoburb	1.89	*	[1.11, 3.22]	1.30		[0.80, 2.10]	2.15	*	[1.18, 3.91]	1.01		[0.49, 2.08]
Ethnic Enclave	2.39		[0.71, 8.04]	2.32		[0.75, 7.13]	1.37		[0.31, 6.03]	2.38		[0.57, 9.97]
Constant	1.11		[0.78, 1.60]	3.20	*	[2.34, 4.38]	0.56	**	[0.36, 0.85]	0.40	***	[0.25, 0.64]

Note: [1]Reference=Violence

[2]Reference=Neither

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

Relative to violent crimes, Asian youth who live in ethnoburbs had a higher risk (RRR = 1.89, $p < .05$) of being arrested for a weapons offense compared to those who live in non-ethnic neighborhoods. Further, the relative risk of youth living in ethnoburbs being arrested for a substance offense, relative to violence, would be expected to increase by a factor of over 2 ($p < .05$) compared to those who live in non-ethnic neighborhoods.

Multivariate Analyses

The correlation matrix for neighborhood covariates linked with the individual data in the multivariate models is presented in Table 11.

Table 11

Correlation matrix for neighborhood predictors

	1	*2*	*3*
1. Youth Population (ages 10-19)	1		
2. Youth Organization Density	-0.196	1	
3. Concentrated Disadvantage	0.551	0.013	1

The following results consider neighborhood characteristics, concentrated disadvantage and high inequality, within the ethnic neighborhood models in predicting charge type. Table 12 controls for neighborhood characteristics only, and results for the model incorporating all neighborhood controls are shown in Table 13.

Table 12

Charge type[1] regressed on neighborhood characteristics at first arrest for Asian youth ages 11-20, Los Angeles Probation Department 2000-2009

	Weapon		Property		Substance		Other	
	RRR	95% CI	RRR	95% CI	RRR	95% CI	RRR	95% CI
Neighborhood Type[2]								
Ethnoburb	1.90 *	[1.08, 3.33]	1.35	[0.81, 2.25]	2.17 *	[1.15, 4.12]	1.01	[0.47, 2.15]
Ethnic Enclave	2.74	[0.77, 9.74]	2.39	[0.75, 7.65]	1.50	[0.31, 7.11]	2.53	[0.54, 11.80]
Neighborhood Characteristics								
Disadvantage	0.95	[0.69, 1.32]	1.02	[0.77, 1.35]	0.98	[0.67, 1.42]	0.97	[0.63, 1.50]
High Inequality	3.89	[0.75, 20.06]	3.75	[0.79, 17.74]	3.28	[0.54, 19.98]	1.45	[0.12, 17.37]
Constant	1.06	[0.72, 1.54]	2.99 *	[2.15, 4.16]	0.53 **	[0.34, 0.83]	0.39 ***	[0.24, 0.64]

Note: [1]Reference=Violence

[2]Reference=Neither

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

Table 13

Charge type[1] regressed on all neighborhood covariates at first arrest for Asian youth ages 11-20, Los Angeles Probation Department 2000-2009

	Weapon		Property		Substance		Other	
	RRR	95% CI	RRR	95% CI	RRR	95% CI	RRR	95% CI
Neighborhood Type[2]								
Ethnoburb	2.04 *	[1.18, 3.52]	1.43	[0.88, 2.32]	2.32 **	[1.24, 4.33]	1.05	[0.49, 2.25]
Ethnic Enclave	2.61	[0.77, 8.83]	2.31	[0.77, 6.94]	1.41	[0.31, 6.46]	2.50	[0.58, 10.80]
Neighborhood Characteristics								
Disadvantage	1.21	[0.83, 1.77]	1.27	[0.92, 1.76]	1.23	[0.79, 1.91]	1.17	[0.69, 1.98]
High Inequality	3.20	[0.64, 16.14]	3.12	[0.68, 14.37]	2.73	[0.46, 16.31]	1.20	[0.10, 14.34]
Neighborhood Controls								
Youth Population (ages 10-19)	0.90 *	[0.81, 1.00]	0.91 *	[0.83, 0.99]	0.91	[0.81, 1.02]	0.92	[0.80, 1.07]
Youth Organization Density	0.27 *	[0.09, 0.79]	0.49	[0.49, 0.21]	0.29	[0.08, 1.02]	1.34	[0.41, 4.37]
Constant	5.33 *	[1.20, 23.70]	12.35 *	[3.28, 46.59]	2.43	[0.44, 13.51]	1.09	[0.14, 8.79]
LR χ^2	13.40							

Note: [1]Reference=Violence

[2]Reference=Neither

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

When adjusting for neighborhood characteristics in Table 12, the relative risk for Asian youth living in ethnoburbs for being arrested for a weapons offense would be expected to increase by a factor of 1.90 ($p < .05$) relative to a violent offense compared to those who do not live in an ethnic neighborhood. Similarly, the relative risk for those in ethnoburbs in being arrested for a substance offense relative to a violent one would be expected to increase by a factor of 2.17 ($p < .05$).

In the full neighborhood model adjusting for youth population and youth organization density, results show that the relative risks for youth who live in ethnoburbs being arrested for weapons ($p < .05$) and substance offenses ($p < .001$) are expected to increase by about a factor of 2 compared to those who live in non-ethnic neighborhoods. A greater youth population is associated with a lower risk of being arrested for weapons (RRR = 0.90, $p < .05$) and substance offenses (RRR = 0.91, $p < .05$), and the presence of youth organizations is also related to a lower risk (RRR = 0.27, $p < .05$) of being arrested for a weapons crime relative to a violent crime. However, inclusion of these neighborhood control variables does not significantly fit the model better.

The final model below in Table 14 adjusts for individual characteristics in examining the main effect of living in an ethnic neighborhood on charge type.

Table 14

Effect parameters of the determinants of charge type[1] at first arrest for Asian youth ages 11-20, Los Angeles Probation Department 2000-2009

	Weapon		Property		Substance		Other	
	RRR	95% CI	RRR	95% CI	RRR	95% CI	RRR	95% CI
Level 1								
Ethnicity (ref: Southeast Asian)								
Chinese	1.59	[0.69, 3.67]	0.75	[0.37, 1.53]	1.12	[0.44, 2.89]	1.59	[0.48, 5.24]
Korean	0.46	[0.16, 1.27]	0.42 *	[0.19, 0.95]	0.28 *	[0.08, 0.98]	0.74	[0.17, 3.09]
Japanese	2.41	[0.51, 11.27]	1.80	[0.45, 7.10]	4.16	[0.88, 19.76]	3.87	[0.55, 27.19]
Filipino	1.06	[0.46, 2.44]	0.96	[0.48, 1.91]	0.63	[0.24, 1.65]	0.97	[0.29, 3.19]
Individual Controls								
Age at Arrest	0.90	[0.78, 1.05]	1.03	[0.91, 1.18]	1.41 **	[1.16, 1.71]	1.39 **	[1.10, 1.77]
Male	2.08 **	[1.19, 3.66]	0.92	[0.59, 1.42]	1.08	[0.58, 2.01]	0.39 **	[0.19, 0.76]
Number of Charges	1.05	[0.90, 1.22]	0.96	[0.83, 1.12]	1.02	[0.84, 1.23]	1.06	[0.87, 1.30]
Level 2								
Neighborhood Type[2]								
Ethnoburb	1.72 *	[1.00, 2.95]	1.40	[0.88, 2.25]	1.89 *	[1.01, 3.53]	0.93	[0.43, 2.02]
Ethnic Enclave	2.27	[0.67, 7.72]	2.77	[0.95, 8.09]	1.28	[0.27, 5.99]	2.91	[0.68, 12.56]
Neighborhood Characteristics								
Disadvantage	1.15	[0.78, 1.69]	1.16	[0.84, 1.61]	1.21	[0.78, 1.90]	1.15	[0.68, 1.94]
High Inequality	4.30	[0.86, 21.40]	2.90	[0.65, 13.05]	3.02	[0.51, 17.87]	0.95	[0.08, 11.42]
Neighborhood Controls								
Youth Population (ages 10-19)	0.94	[0.85, 1.04]	0.92	[0.84, 1.00]	0.94	[0.83, 1.05]	0.93	[0.81, 1.08]
Youth Organization Density	0.31 *	[0.11, 0.86]	0.48	[0.22, 1.08]	0.26 *	[0.07, 0.95]	1.21	[0.37, 4.02]
Constant	6.79	[0.40, 115.35]	8.43	[0.73, 97.70]	0.01 **	[0.00, 0.29]	0.01 *	[0.00, 0.59]

Note: [1]Reference=Violence

[2]Reference=Neither

**$p < .01$ *$p < .05$

The full model shows that, compared to Southeast Asians, Korean youth had lower risks of being arrested for property (RRR = 0.42, $p < .05$) and substance (RRR = 0.28, $p < .05$) offenses relative to violent offenses. Additionally, compared to youth who live in non-ethnic neighborhoods, those in ethnoburbs had higher risks of being arrested for weapon (RRR = 1.72, $p < .05$) and substance (RRR = 1.89, $p < .05$) offenses relative to violent ones. After adjusting for multiple comparisons between neighborhood types, no relationships remained significant. The pairwise comparisons of arrest by ethnic neighborhood type for offense type relative to a violent offense are displayed in Appendix D.

Research Question 4: Ethnicity Corresponding to Ethnic Neighborhood

I used previously classified zip codes to determine the ethnic match between the individual and ethnic neighborhood type. Table 15 shows the final categorizations and bivariate comparisons for the youth who live in an ethnic enclave or ethnoburb that matches his or her ethnicity and charge type.

Table 15

Bivariate comparisons of same ethnicity in ethnic neighborhood for charge type for Asian youth ages 11-20, Los Angeles Probation Department 2000-2009 (N = 980)

	Violence	Weapon	Property	Substance	Other	TOTAL
	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)
Same Ethnicity in Ethnoburb*						
Yes	12.77 (47)	27.73 (91)	45.65 (168)	12.23 (45)	4.62 (17)	100 (368)
No	15.52 (95)	19.97 (110)	50.65 (310)	9.80 (60)	6.05 (37)	100 (612)
Same Ethnicity in Enclave						
Yes	7.46 (5)	20.90 (14)	58.21 (39)	5.97 (4)	7.46 (5)	100 (67)
No	15.01 (137)	20.48 (187)	48.08 (439)	11.06 (101)	5.37 (49)	100 (913)

Note: * $p < .05$

Chi-squared analyses for same ethnicity in ethnoburb ($\times^2(4, N = 980), = 9.60$) showed that there were significant associations ($p < .05$) between those who live in an ethnoburb that matches their ethnicity and those who do not. There were no significant associations between

those who live in an ethnic enclave that matches their ethnicity and those who do not ($\times^2(4, N = 980), = 5.78$).

Unadjusted Analyses

Table 16 shows the unadjusted model of the effect of corresponding ethnicity and ethnic neighborhood on charge type for arrested Asian youth.

Table 16

Unadjusted effect of corresponding ethnicity and ethnic neighborhood on charge type[1] at first arrest for Asian youth ages 11-20, Los Angeles Probation Department 2000-2009 (N = 980)

	Weapon		Property		Substance		Other	
	RRR	95% CI	RRR	95% CI	RRR	95% CI	RRR	95% CI
Same Ethnicity in Ethnoburb	1.82 *	[1.15, 2.86]	1.19	[0.79, 1.77]	1.54	[0.91, 2.61]	1.02	[0.51, 2.02]
Same Ethnicity in Ethnic Enclave	2.63	[0.91, 7.58]	2.59	[0.99, 6.77]	1.29	[0.33, 4.99]	2.81	[0.76, 19.36]
Constant	1.07	[0.80, 1.42]	3.01 **	[2.37, 3.82]	0.62 **	[0.45, 0.87]	0.36 **	[0.24, 0.53]

Note: [1]Reference=Violence

***$p < .001$ **$p < .01$ *$p < .05$

The restricted model shows that youth who live in ethnoburbs that correspond with his or her ethnicity have a higher risk of being arrested for a weapons offense (RRR = 1.82, $p < .05$) compared to those who do not live in a neighborhood corresponding to his or her ethnicity, relative to a violent offense.

Multivariate Analyses

Table 17 below displays results for the full model including all neighborhood and individual covariates. Because of collinearity between the variables indicating neighborhood type and corresponding ethnicity with neighborhood, such that all 67 youth who lived in ethnic enclaves also lived in a neighborhood that matches his or her ethnicity, I estimated the full model without neighborhood type at level 2.

Table 17

Full model of the effect of corresponding ethnicity and ethnic neighborhood on charge type[1] at first arrest for Asian youth ages 11-20, Los Angeles Probation Department 2000-2009

	Weapon		Property		Substance		Other	
	RRR	95% CI	RRR	95% CI	RRR	95% CI	RRR	95% CI
Same Ethnicity in Ethnoburb	1.80 *	[1.07, 3.06]	1.44	[0.90, 2.30]	1.49	[0.81, 2.73]	1.11	[0.51, 2.41]
Same Ethnicity in Ethnic Enclave	2.22	[0.66, 7.52]	2.74	[0.94, 7.98]	1.21	[0.26, 5.59]	3.02	[0.70, 12.98]
Level 1								
Ethnicity (ref: Southeast Asian)								
Chinese	1.56	[0.67, 3.60]	0.75	[0.37, 1.52]	1.14	[0.44, 2.94]	1.56	[0.47, 5.14]
Korean	0.46	[0.17, 1.28]	0.42 *	[0.19, 0.96]	0.28 *	[0.08, 0.94]	0.76	[0.18, 3.17]
Japanese	2.54	[0.54, 11.91]	1.85	[0.47, 7.33]	4.20	[0.88, 19.93]	3.99	[0.57, 28.10]
Filipino	1.05	[0.46, 2.42]	0.96	[0.48, 1.90]	0.62	[0.24, 1.60]	0.99	[0.30, 3.26]
Individual Controls								
Age at Arrest	0.91	[0.78, 1.05]	1.04	[0.91, 1.18]	1.41	[1.16, 1.72]	1.39 **	[1.10, 1.77]
Male	2.06 *	[1.17, 3.62]	0.91	[0.59, 1.41]	1.08 **	[0.58, 2.00]	0.38 **	[0.19, 0.75]
Number of Charges	1.04	[0.89, 1.22]	0.96	[0.82, 1.12]	1.01	[0.84, 1.22]	1.06	[0.86, 1.30]
Level 2								
Neighborhood Characteristics								
Disadvantage	1.14	[0.78, 1.65]	1.15	[0.84, 1.58]	1.11	[0.72, 1.70]	1.20	[0.72, 2.00]
High Inequality	4.32	[0.87, 21.46]	2.90	[0.22, 1.07]	2.91	[0.49, 17.15]	0.96	[0.08, 11.53]
Neighborhood Controls								
Youth Population (ages 10-19)	0.94	[0.85, 1.04]	0.92	[0.84, 1.00]	0.95	[0.85, 1.07]	0.92	[0.80, 1.07]
Youth Organization Density	0.30 *	[0.11, 0.84]	0.48	[0.22, 1.07]	0.28 *	[0.08, 0.99]	1.19	[0.36, 3.94]
Constant	6.71	[0.40, 113.4(	8.51	[0.73, 98.62]	0.01 **	[0.00, 0.25]	0.01 *	[0.00, 0.67]

Note: [1]Reference=Violence

***$p < .001$ **$p < .01$ *$p < .05$

In the full model investigating the effects of corresponding individual ethnicity with neighborhood on charge type, several main effects remained significant. First, Asian youth who live in an ethnoburb that corresponds with his or her ethnicity had a higher risk of being arrested for a weapons offense relative to a violent one (RRR = 1.80, $p < .05$). Further, compared to Southeast Asian youth, Korean youth had a lower risk of being arrested for property (RRR = 0.42, $p < .05$) and substance (RRR = 0.28, $p < .05$) offenses relative to violent offenses.

CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The current study examined the relationship between individual ethnicity, ethnic neighborhood type, and charge type for which an Asian youth is arrested. Additionally, this study differentiated between the ethnic enclave and ethnoburb for five Asian ethnic subgroups using a quantitative classification process and confirmation from community stakeholder interviews. Classifying ethnic enclaves and ethnoburbs provided the foundation to address the relationships between ethnicity, ethnic neighborhood, and offense type. Hence, the subsequent research questions explored: 1) Ethnic group differences in offense type, 2) The relationship between neighborhood type and offense type, and 3) The relationship between living in an ethnic neighborhood that corresponds to one's ethnicity and offense type.

Major Findings

1. Ethnic enclaves and ethnoburbs were differentiated using administrative variables for percent ethnicity, percent poverty, and population density. Using a classification tree with these indicators yielded 10 ethnic enclaves and 83 ethnoburbs in Los Angeles zip codes among the five Asian ethnic groups.
2. Compared to other ethnic groups, Korean youth had the highest probability of being arrested for a violent offense. Chinese youth had the highest probability of being arrested for a weapons offense. Southeast Asian and Filipino youth had, similarly, the highest probabilities of being arrested for a property offense. Japanese youth had the highest probability of being arrested for a substance and other types of offenses.
3. Living in an ethnoburb was related to higher risks of incurring charges related to weapons and substances relative to a charge related to violence (the most serious type of charge).

4. Compared to all other youth, those who live in an ethnoburb corresponding with his or her ethnicity had a higher risk of being arrested for a weapons offense relative to a violent one.
5. There was no relationship between living in an ethnic enclave and charge type, regardless of whether a youth of the same ethnicity lived in the enclave.

Research Question 1: Can ethnic enclaves and ethnoburbs be differentiated for five Asian ethnic groups using a classification process via quantitative data and individual interviews?

A classification tree yielded 10 ethnic enclaves and 83 ethnoburbs in Los Angeles zip codes, of which known ethnic enclaves and ethnoburbs (e.g., Cambodia Town, Chinese ethnoburbs in San Gabriel Valley, Filipino ethnoburb in Carson) were among these classifications. After discarding several variables for generating this classification system, the remaining variables used for the tree were administrative indicators for ethnicity, poverty, and population density. Interviews with ethnic community informants confirmed the usage of population density and income variables for the categorical tree in identifying where ethnic neighborhoods lie across Los Angeles County: In ethnic enclaves, the themes related to an urban environment and community cohesion emerged, coinciding with existing literature on this type of ethnic neighborhood (Zhou, 2005; Li, 2009). In the ethnoburb, emergent themes related to the American dream and assimilation provided support to the notion that families move to these areas with higher racial and ethnic diversity relative to enclaves following greater socioeconomic attainment (Li, 1998).

Overall, informants confirmed the presence of ethnic neighborhoods in, on average, 91% of areas across Los Angeles County. Doing so provided further support in making a first attempt to operationalize the ethnoburb. The interviews also provided support for the study's conceptual

framework. The theme of community cohesion emerged from conversations surrounding the ethnic enclaves, lending support to the idea of social control through ethnic neighborhood ties and sharing common experiences. On the other hand, residents are exposed to various cultures and experiences in ethnoburbs, given their racial/ethnic diversity. As such, the notion of social distance is more likely to occur in these neighborhoods.

Using the same variables for the two types of ethnic neighborhoods may make for a more straightforward identification of the typologies along the spectrum of ethnic neighborhoods. In operationalizing the ethnoburb, the current state of the research will be able to move away from solely exploring the enclave effect, given that many immigrants now reside in these "newer" ethnic neighborhoods. Compared to the ethnic enclave, neighborhood composition and characteristics are vastly different in the ethnoburb (Li, 2009) and it is important to understand the mechanisms underlying these types of neighborhoods that may be related to youth behavioral outcomes.

Overall, more Southeast Asian ethnic enclaves emerged in zip codes compared to the other ethnic groups; Southeast Asian groups are relatively newer immigrants to the U.S. (i.e., the majority of Cambodians and Vietnamese population immigrated in the 1970s and after) and tend to have low income and low educational attainment compared to other Asian groups (Cook et al., 2011; Southeast Asian Resource Center, 2011). Thus, Southeast Asians are likely to still be residing in ethnic enclaves. However, there were still more zip codes that contained Southeast Asian ethnoburbs compared to Chinese and Filipino ethnoburbs. This may be the case given that the Southeast Asian group was comprised of several ethnicities, including the Vietnamese. Even so, Vietnamese refugees had different experiences that accompanied their migration to the U.S. For example, the first wave of Vietnamese refugees consisted of government and military

officials and the business elite who were more highly educated compared to the later waves. Hence, this group anticipated the move and their host destinations to some degree (Nguyen & Henkin, 1982). Consequently, and given these roots, the Vietnamese population is more likely to be found in ethnoburbs in the San Gabriel Valley compared to other Southeast Asian groups.

With regards to the four other Asian ethnic subgroups, there are more ethnoburbs that emerged across Los Angeles compared to their respective ethnic enclaves. There are currently no true Japanese enclaves since this population has now been settled in the U.S. for several generations. Further, immigration from Japan is sparse (Glatzer, 2012); the Japanese ethnoburbs in the South Bay area of Los Angeles are self-sufficient such that they offer bilingual services to new immigrants in the area (Aileen, personal communication, May 13, 2016). While the Japanese community considers Little Tokyo in downtown Los Angeles to be an ethnic enclave, it is not a true ethnic enclave in the sense that the Japanese community that lives there remains a small percentage. In essence, Little Tokyo has become a cultural hub, or a destination for all things Japanese—whether it is for food, ethnic services and organizations, or cultural events.

Research Question 2: What are ethnic group differences in charge type for those Asian youth arrested?

Contrary to the proposed hypothesis, Southeast Asian youth did not have a higher risk of being arrested for more severe (i.e., violent, weapons) offenses compared to other ethnic groups. In fact, Korean youth had the greatest risk of being arrested for violent crimes. This study also hypothesized that Filipino youth would have a greater risk of incurring serious charges compared to Chinese, Korean, and Japanese youth: This hypothesis was partially met; Filipino youth had a higher probability of incurring a violent offense at arrest compared to Chinese and Japanese youth. Further, Chinese youth had the greatest risk of incurring a weapons offense compared to

other ethnic groups. Compared to other ethnic groups, Filipino and Southeast Asian youth had the highest probabilities of being arrested for property crimes. In terms of the least serious charges, Japanese youth had the greatest risk of being arrested for substance and other types of offenses (e.g., truancy) compared to other ethnic groups. Exploring Asian ethnic group differences in charge type provides a more nuanced understanding of the opportunities that may be afforded to these young people to perpetrate these offenses. Additionally, it invites an imperative discussion of how culture and family history may bear on offense type.

The finding that Korean youth had the highest probability to be arrested for violence is in alignment with prior research suggesting that Koreans are more likely to report violent and aggressive offending (Choi, 2008; Le & Wallen, 2006) compared to some groups. This may perhaps be explained by their family histories of mandatory enlistment in military service (Cho, 2007), and therefore this result may be explained by their cultural and ethnic backgrounds. Although there is limited empirical data on violence among Asian subgroups, there is evidence pointing to the effect of combat exposure on violence perpetration among Vietnam War veterans (Rohlfs, 2010). Further, given the prospect of adolescent violence perpetration being linked to exposure to violence (Gorman-Smith, Henry, & Tolan, 2004), it is possible that potential exposure in the home environment may be associated with these arrests related to violence among young Korean people. Finally, there is some literature citing the positive relationship between intergenerational conflict between parents and children and violent behaviors (Le & Stockdale, 2008). Having experienced the stressors of financial difficulty upon immigration, the older Korean generation may have a greater appreciation for Korean traditional values (Hyun, 2001) that may be related to an increased conflict between parents and their children.

That Chinese youth had the highest probability of being arrested for weapons offenses is a puzzling finding. These youth may have access to financial resources that gain them access to weapons. There is a high correlation between weapons offenses and substance use (Bailey, Flewelling, & Rosenbaum, 1997; Ferguson & Cricket Meehan, 2010); given that weapons charges were top-coded, it is possible that these youth may also be charged with a substance offense—since neighborhood disadvantage has been found to be related with lower rates of use (Snedker, Herding, & Walton, 2009). Juvenile delinquency continues to be a growing social problem in China since the Cultural Revolution of 1966 (Dong, 2015); many youth from the world's most populous country are relocating to the U.S. (Farrugia, 2014), and consequently the American juvenile justice system may see increasing Asian involvement.

These results point to the discussion that, perhaps, it becomes important to think about not the severity, but rather the types of offenses for which these youth were arrested. For example, that Southeast Asian youth had the highest probability of being arrested for property crimes may be indicative of crimes of opportunity. Of all the ethnic subgroups that were compared in this study, Southeast Asians have the highest levels of poverty and low educational attainment (Cook et al., 2011; Southeast Asian Resource Center, 2011). Hence, it is possible that these youth come from low-income families and may be committing property offenses related to theft. In essence, it is important to consider not the severity of offenses, but the opportunities to which these youth may have access and their low-income backgrounds to commit certain types of offenses. It is important to note that Filipino youth had a predictive probability of being arrested for a property offense that is very similar to Southeast Asians: While the finding on Filipino youth and property offenses is consistent with prior literature (e.g., Choi, 2008), the reasons for this remain unclear. Finally, because the hypotheses that Southeast Asian and

Filipino youth were to be arrested for the most severe offenses were not supported, it is important to begin to shift the general perceptions that bifurcate Asian American youth into two groups, as either the Chinese model minority or the Southeast Asian gang member (Choi, 2007).

That Japanese youth had greater risks of being arrested for a substance-related crime compared to Koreans and Filipinos relative to violence was not too surprising. Asians have generally been compared as an aggregate group to other racial/ethnic groups in substance use among adolescents (e.g., Chen & Jacobson, 2012), and much less is known about ethnic group differences. However, some have concluded that, while Filipino youth reported higher rates of substance and alcohol use compared to Southeast Asians or Chinese (Harachi et al., 2001), there are very few to no studies on comparing Japanese to other groups (Hong, Huang, Sabri, Kim, 2011). Irrespective of age, though, Kumi-Price and colleagues (2002) reviewed several epidemiological studies and found that Japanese Americans had substance use and abuse rates similar to those of Whites, while Vietnamese (i.e., Southeast Asians) had the lowest levels. It may be argued that Japanese Americans, compared to other ethnicities, are the most acculturated when considering their tenure in the U.S. While studies have mainly focused on Latino adolescents, evidence suggests that acculturation stress (i.e., family conflict) is indirectly and positively related to substance use (Buchanan & Smokowski, 2009). In a study specifically among Chinese and Southeast Asian youth, Le, Goebert, and Wallen (2009) found that individualism (a value associated with Western and U.S. culture) was indirectly and positively related to substance use among Southeast Asian youth.

The state of the research has yet to make ethnic group comparisons across all five of these Asian groups with regards to youth arrest. Doing so illustrates not only the falsehoods of the model minority, but suggests that exploring these differences by ethnicity provides a more

complex picture of the cultural underpinnings and lived experiences prior to migration and resettlement in the U.S. that accompany each group. Using a sociohistorical lens offers a richer understanding of and reveals the potential mechanisms related to crime type that are ripe for further investigation.

Research Question 3: What is the relationship between ethnic neighborhood type and the charge for which an Asian youth is arrested?

Ethnoburbs

The results for research question 3 provided partial support for the associated hypotheses; compared to those who live in non-ethnic neighborhoods and relative to violence, which is the most serious charge for which a youth may become arrested, youth who reside in ethnoburbs had a higher risk of being arrested for a crime related to weapons and substance after adjusting for other neighborhood factors. While a weapons-related charge is still considered a more serious offense compared to property, substance, and other types of lower-level offenses, the result that youth who live in ethnoburbs were also likely to be arrested for substance-related crime was unexpected considering that it is considered a lower level offense compared to the severity of a violent crime.

However, there is support from a previous study having found that neighborhood disadvantage was negatively related to alcohol and marijuana use (Snedker et al., 2009). In line with this, the finding related to substance may not be completely unanticipated, then: In more affluent neighborhoods, youth may have access to prescription drugs through the Internet (Littlejohn, Baldacchino, Schifano, & Deluca, 2005). However, that youth in ethnoburbs had higher risks of being arrested for substances compared to those in non-ethnic neighborhoods may be explained by a lower population density in the former, since this was the only difference

observed between two types of neighborhoods compared (i.e., all but one non-ethnic neighborhood where Asian youth were arrested had high/medium population density and less than 20% poverty): One study found that a higher rate of early marijuana use was reported among suburban youth compared to those from urban areas (Abbey, Jacques, Hayman, & Sobeck, 2006). Further, more visible crimes such as violence may not be captured in ethnoburbs compared to areas with higher population density given that law enforcement may be more likely patrol these areas since there may be increased opportunities for crime (Cohen & Felson, 1979). Hence, youth may not be apprehended for violent crimes in the relatively less densely-populated ethnoburb and are charged for crimes that are less visible, such as those related to weapons and substance.

With regards to the result related to ethnoburbs and weapons, it is possible that these youth are involved in gang activity, given the association between gang membership and gun and other weapon ownership (Bjerregaard & Lizotte, 1995). Due to a limitation that these data were not complete in the arrest records, the analyses did not differentiate between the categories of weapons offenses. It has been noted that gang membership among Chinese youth from suburban families in the San Gabriel Valley, Los Angeles is on the rise (Pih & Mao, 2005).

In line with the notion of social distance, or the idea that racial/ethnic diversity is related to fewer interactions between neighbors (Blau, 1977, 1987), these youth may be arrested for weapons offenses to protect themselves from other groups. Though not as serious an offense as violence, a weapons offense may be indicative of feeling unsafe and the need for self-defense in anticipation of violence (Brennan & Moore, 2009). Inequality is positively related to crime and violence (Hipp, 2007), and ethnoburban residents may be viewing their neighbors as "outsiders," whether it is based on race/ethnicity or socioeconomic status. While still an ethnic neighborhood

by definition, the salient presence of culture and ethnicity may not be a protective mechanism (i.e., via social control) within the ethnoburb—whereas the higher density population found within the non-ethnic neighborhoods may facilitate greater interaction between residents.

Ethnic Enclaves

With respect to the ethnic enclave, results provided no support for the relationship between living in this type of ethnic neighborhood and charge type. This is consistent with some studies suggesting a lack of a relationship between immigrant concentration and crime (e.g., Feldmeyer, 2009). The current study makes a contribution to the extant literature on the immigrant enclave effect on juvenile arrests and offending patterns by investigating, specifically, the enclave effect for Asian youth. Despite the lack of a relationship between living in an ethnic enclave and offense type, this finding still suggests that protective mechanisms operating under social control may be at play: Despite living in a lower-income neighborhood, which is also an indicator for social disorganization (Shaw & McKay, 1969), informal social control through the ethnic group's adherence to traditional values and norms are upheld (MacDonald & Saunders, 2012) since youth arrests of any type were not associated with living in this type of ethnic neighborhood. In lieu of exploring this effect for youth who have already been arrested, further study on whether living in this ethnic neighborhood is related to Asian juvenile arrest rate is necessary.

This dissertation study made a first attempt to classify two types of Asian ethnic neighborhoods across several ethnicities and to operationalize the ethnoburb for additional study. While existing literature points to a negative relationship between living in a neighborhood with high immigrant concentration and youth arrests and crime (e.g., Desmond & Kubrin, 2009; Ousey & Kubrin, 2009; MacDonald et al., 2012), teasing apart these types of ethnic

neighborhood areas will allow for a deeper look into whether there are specific characteristics underlying these immigrant neighborhoods that explain the previously established negative relationship. In sum, differentiating between ethnic enclaves and ethnoburbs allows for moving away from investigating the effect of living in an ethnic community in general and into further exploring the characteristics within different types of ethnic neighborhoods that may be related to youth arrests and other outcomes.

Research Question 4: Is there an effect of corresponding individual ethnicity with neighborhood ethnicity on the charge type for which an Asian youth is arrested?

There was partial support for the last two hypotheses stating there to be an effect on charge type for youth who live in their corresponding ethnic neighborhoods. In other words, youth who live in ethnoburbs that match their ethnicity had a higher risk of being arrested for charges related to weapons offenses relative to violent ones. Further, there was no relationship between youth who live in their respective ethnic enclaves and charge type. No prior work has explicitly examined ethnic enclave residence and ethnicity, and the reduced variation within the neighborhood area likely contributed to the lack of findings since the enclave is generally a much smaller area than the zip code (Logan et al., 2002).

There are several possible explanations for the finding on corresponding ethnicity of the ethnoburb and weapons offenses: Given the presence of social distance (due to a diverse racial/ethnic and socioeconomic makeup) within the ethnoburb, it is possible that these youth may be carrying weapons for protection against other groups. Since the ethnoburb is relatively more affluent than the enclave, it is possible that these youth (or their parents) have the financial means to access and store firearms in their homes. Parents of these ethnoburban communities moved to these suburbs for the well-being of the family and their children's educational success

(Grace, personal communication, April 4, 2016); another possible explanation is that these youth are in search for power and a sense of identity (Fagan & Wilkinson, 1998) in the face of pressure to achieve academically (Lee & Ying, 2000) among their co-ethnic peers and community members but do not become involved in more serious offenses related to violence.

Strengths and Limitations

Strengths

This study has several notable strengths. First, this dissertation allowed for a standardization of ethnic neighborhoods across several different ethnic groups using a few select variables: percent ethnicity, poverty, and population density. Qualitative interviews provided further support in the usage of these variables. In making a first attempt to operationalize the ethnoburb, we can begin to investigate the role that living in this type of neighborhood might play on individual level outcomes. Beginning to investigate the ethnoburb takes the academic discourse on ethnic neighborhoods a step further from investigating ethnic enclaves and communities with high immigrant concentration and into an exploration of the social forces present in ethnoburbs that may be related to various outcomes. Doing so provides a more in-depth investigation of ethnic neighborhoods. In line with this thinking, this also study allowed for an exploration of the enclave effect for Asian American youth, given that much of the literature on this topic is focused on Latinos.

Another strength of this study utilized the different types of crime for which youth are arrested, rather than using a general delinquency index or exploring solely violence (e.g., Choi, 2008; Le & Wallen, 2006; Willgerodt & Thompson, 2006). This allowed for a more nuanced inquiry of which crime types might be related to ethnic differences or ethnic neighborhood type, given that various mechanisms within these communities may be related to arrest and offense

patterns. Investigating arrest type also allowed for a deeper investigation behind the factors that may be related to a certain offense for a specific ethnic group, especially since migration contexts and cultural history and heritage may have a bearing on certain types of offenses.

Multiple ethnic group comparisons were also made possible in this dissertation study, when previously only several Asian ethnic groups were compared on delinquency outcomes (e.g., Choi, 2008; Mayeda et al., 2006; Willgerodt & Thompson, 2006). Previous studies, when grouping all Asian groups together, noted that this group as a whole is not prone to juvenile delinquency. Disaggregating Asian ethnic groups to explore arrest patterns tell a different story. Given the rising numbers of these groups in the U.S., this growing social problem becomes difficult to ignore. Migration histories (from abroad and locally) and lived experiences are related to how individuals from diverse ethnic groups adjust to living in their respective communities; this study dispels the minority myth that Asian Americans are free of social problems when, in fact, doing so risks ignoring those groups who may be most in need of targeted translational research.

Finally, the creation of the conceptual framework for this study allowed for another way of thinking about neighborhoods and how they may be associated with migration context and behavioral outcomes for immigrant ethnic subgroups. Given that immigrant groups who have been living in the U.S. for generations do not tend to stay in ethnic enclaves, this allows for exploring another type of ethnic neighborhood that may not be as protective as scholars claim that immigrant communities are (Desmond & Kubrin, 2009; MacDonald & Saunders, 2012; Ousey & Kubrin, 2009).

Limitations

There are several limitations to note for the quantitative analyses that inhibit the overall generalizability of these findings. An inherent limitation of this study lies in the probation dataset itself. While the charges for which the youth were arrested were recorded, the variation within each category remains large. For instance, a violent crime may range anywhere from a simple assault to homicide. Unfortunately, the majority of the data on whether an offense was a felony or misdemeanor—to give a better sense of the offense severity—was missing. Further, it is important to note that arrest data are completely different from crime reports in general, and official arrests do not account for actual offending behavior, but of judicial processing and policing. There is a chance that, since ethnoburbs are less densely populated compared to the non-ethnic neighborhoods in these analyses, they may have a smaller likelihood of being patrolled compared to a more densely-populated neighborhood given the opportunities for crime (Cohen & Felson, 1979)—hence missing crime that actually occurs on the streets. The use of official administrative data is limited in the sense that they do not capture delinquent behaviors in general, but rather only those youth who were arrested. For example, there may be more police activity in certain neighborhoods and young people in these areas are more likely to be picked up as opposed to others who are able to avoid the authorities altogether. Hence, these administrative data only captures a certain subset of youth who engage in delinquent behaviors (Thornberry & Krohn, 2000).

Second, there are missing data on race and ethnicity for 3.62% of the arrest database, as well as zip code information for over a quarter of those Asian youth noted. Of the entire universe of all first time arrests from 2000 to 2009 (N = 171,886), 3.62% (n = 6,220) of the entire sample was recorded as "Other" race and 0.34% (n = 583) was recorded as "Unknown." Because the race/ethnicity of these individuals were not identified, these missing data could

potentially affect the validity of the study results such as producing a Type II error, when certain offenses may be committed by a youth in an ethnic neighborhood whose race/ethnic background is not recorded and subsequently not included in the analyses (Sheskin, 2004). Given that charge category was statistically significant on the missing data analysis, such that youth missing zip code data had a greater percentage of arrests for property crimes and the analytic sample had a greater percentage of arrests for crimes involving weapons, the analytic results may not accurately capture the exact locations of the charges for which youth are arrested. This is especially important since Asians have a greater prevalence of committing property offenses relative to other racial/ethnic groups (Puzzanchera, 2013). Perhaps, with a slightly larger sample size, this study would have been able to identify other ethnic neighborhoods in which these youth live and to be able to test the interaction between individual ethnicity and neighborhood on charge type.

Additionally, zip codes are larger units of analyses compared to other government-assigned boundaries such as Census tracts. Therefore, we were not able to observe how a certain characteristic is spread across these large areas and there is less variation of the composition of neighborhoods across Los Angeles County. With regards to ethnic neighborhoods in particular, it is possible that there may be more than one ethnic neighborhood in a zip code that this study was not able to capture. A future study may use a finer ecological unit of analysis; incorporating a diversity index may provide another criterion for the categorical tree in identifying an ethnoburb, and the lack of variation within zip codes did not allow for the use of this variable. However, being that Li (1998) originally conceptualized that the ethnoburb encompasses several municipalities, perhaps using the zip code was an appropriate starting point.

Another limitation included having to aggregate several data sources for this study. First, utilizing collapsed data on all Asian arrests across the years poses a limitation as neighborhoods and their compositions change over time. However, the ACS administrative data were also a composite across several years and thus there is some overlap in arrests and neighborhood composition in that regard. Second, Southeast Asians were grouped together; the Vietnamese population is still vastly different from the Cambodian population in terms of migration waves and educational and socioeconomic attainment, despite both groups being refugees. However, this was necessary due the low numbers of each ethnic group, both within the ACS and the probation data. Combining the Southeast Asian ethnicities may explain the higher number of ethnoburbs for this group: The first wave of Vietnamese immigrants included educated professionals who were able to find economic success in the U.S. (Nguyen & Henkin, 1982) and establish their own ethnoburbs.

A final limitation concerns the usage of percent poverty in classifying ethnic enclaves, which may affect the quantification of and interpretation of ethnic neighborhoods. By using an arbitrary cutoff of 20% poverty to designate any zip codes that fall above this percentage as an ethnic enclave, it is possible that there are enclaves within zip codes that have 20% poverty or lower. Given that the ethnic enclave and ethnoburb were previously theoretical concepts, basing these neighborhood areas upon quantitative classifications may limit the exploration of enclaves to lower income neighborhoods and ethnoburbs as higher income neighborhoods only, when it is entirely possible that ethnic neighborhoods may be differentiated without the usage of a poverty or income indicator. However, this initial operationalization incorporates an income indicator based upon previous scholars' designations and definitions. Future research in establishing ethnic neighborhoods in other metropolitan areas should confirm whether using this indicator is

indeed appropriate and consistently identifies known ethnic enclaves and ethnoburbs while using the classification tree developed in this study.

Implications for Social Work Practice and Policy

This study plays a role in challenging the model minority stereotype with implications for social welfare programming and policy. First, it is crucial for practitioners to understand that each Asian ethnic group is accompanied by its own set of challenges and lived histories. For instance, while some groups such as the Japanese have assimilated into the American culture through four generations in the U.S., their experiences widely differ from that of the Cambodian second generation youth whose parents recently escaped the Khmer Rouge of the 1970s. Southeast Asian youth may be grappling with two different cultures while the Japanese youth and his and her parents are completely enmeshed in American society. Therefore, it would be advantageous to provide training for practitioners and educators to understand the nuanced differences between ethnic subgroups and how their family histories and contexts may contribute to disparities in offending. Caseworkers may need to further probe into why some Asian ethnic youth are prone to certain types of offenses versus others in order to understand the circumstances that brought them to perpetrate said offense. In further bringing awareness to ethnic group differences in various types of offending, this allows for programming in specific ethnic group organizations to pinpoint the ecological and familial risks associated with committing a particular crime.

These findings on ethnic group differences also have implications for targeted interventions with cultural considerations: For example, because Korean youth have a greater risk for being arrested for violent offenses, youth development programs in Korean communities should offer life skills workshops on problem-solving and conflict management given that these

prevention efforts effectively reduced violence and delinquency among school-aged youth (Botvin, Griffin, & Nichols, 2006). Further, it would be worthy to implement education in Korean American history in the U.S. for Korean youth to better understand the familial circumstances that led them to where they are today. One exemplar is Khmer Girls in Action, a community based organization in Cambodia Town that recognized the prevalence of law enforcement contact and school expulsion among young Cambodians; this organization implemented an educational program that builds on Khmer American identity and empowers these adolescents to give back to their ethnic community through civic engagement (Khmer Girls in Action, n.d.). Giving these youth a safe outlet to engage with peers who share similar experiences (Strobel, Kirshner, O'Donoghue, & McLaughlin, 2008) may alleviate some of the pressures and tensions that are present at home and are associated with youth violence (Ferguson, San Miguel, & Hartley, 2009).

Second, in considering the ethnoburb setting where Asian youth are being arrested for weapons and substance-related offenses, policymakers may fund community-based programming where youth of diverse backgrounds and socioeconomic statuses are able to engage in pro-social activities (e.g., sports clubs and after-school programs) to reduce perceptions of social distance. This enables neighbors to interact, when they otherwise would not, while achieving a common goal or enjoying a community-based social event. While scholars have written about the potential protective effects of these ethnoburbs in their availability of educational resources (e.g., Zhou, 2009), it is important that adolescents are provided youth development opportunities outside of academics that foster a sense of belonging and community cohesion that may be found in ethnic enclave communities to reduce substance use (Durlak et al., 2007; Tebes et al., 2007) and other acts linked with delinquency, including

weapons possession. It would be especially crucial to target those ethnic Asian youth who live in their respective ethnoburbs who were arrested for a weapons offense or may be at risk for doing so. These youth may feel disconnected from their communities and feel unsafe as a result. Overall, should ethnoburbs matter, there exist myriad implications for urban and city planning efforts to foster a greater sense of cohesion from organized community functions such as cultural events to foster awareness of ethnic differences to even more safe public spaces within these areas.

Directions for Future Research

The findings from this dissertation suggest several possible directions for future studies. First, given some of the limitations within the current study, it would be valuable to replicate these quantitative findings using finer units of neighborhood areas and a sample that spans over a smaller range of time (i.e., as this study used arrests across a ten-year span) in order to capture neighborhood characteristics that are more reflective of a finite time period. Doing so will allow for greater generalizability of these findings to the populous of Los Angeles County. Using a finer neighborhood area unit of analysis, such as a Census tract, would allow for a more stringent test of whether an enclave or ethnoburb within the smaller area is indeed related to offense type, or if there are other ecological confounders present in the zip code areas that were not originally captured. Should a bigger sample size be made available, a prospective next step would be to test the moderating effect of ethnicity on the relationship between living in an ethnic neighborhood and offense type. This may set the stage for more targeted interventions for ethnic groups that reside in certain neighborhoods.

There are several other additions to this study on the investigation of ethnic group differences and the relationship between living in a certain type of ethnic neighborhood and

arrest patterns that are worthwhile to pursue. First, it would be helpful to explore the circumstances under which a youth is arrested for a certain offense type. For example, a weapons charge may span within a range of possessing a handgun to handling a small object that a law enforcement officer deems to be threatening. In further exploring charge type, we can make a more pointed determination as to *why* they were arrested (e.g., carrying a firearm for protection, as opposed to bringing a knife to school to show off to peers). Second, it would be helpful to explore other individual correlates of offending type, such as family structure, peer influences, and academic achievement, as they may be mechanisms that explain existing associations and are key for other cultural interpretations. Third, including the presence of other racial/ethnic groups in the ethnic neighborhood may lend some insight into other possible ecological explanations for arrests. The current study could not test for racial/ethnic composition that may contribute to social distance, and this would be a natural line of future inquiry. Finally, given previous explanations that acculturative dissonance between parents and children is positively related to delinquency and other behavioral outcomes (Choi et al., 2008; Le & Stockdale, 2008), it would be worthwhile to explore the mediating effects of family processes on the relationship between living in a certain ethnic neighborhood and offense type to better understand the pathways between these associations.

In establishing common denominators for differentiating between ethnic enclaves and ethnoburbs for five Asian subpopulations, it may be worthwhile to use this framework to investigate where these ethnic neighborhoods might exist for Latino subpopulations as well. Aside from Asian Pacific Islanders, Latinos are the fastest growing minority group in the nation (Passel et al., 2011). While the enclave effect has been studied for this group in particular, Latino ethnoburbs have emerged across Los Angeles—thus prompting further inquiry on

whether living in a Latino ethnoburb matters for youth. Pursuing these questions will continue to encourage the disaggregation of racial data for revealing subgroup differences and to consider cultural contexts that may affect each group's spatial patterns in order to garner a better understanding of social problems.

APPENDIX A: Initial Contact Script

1. Verify organizational Executive Officer

   "Hi, my name is Christina Tam and I am calling from the UCLA Department of Social Welfare. I am conducting a brief interview of nonprofit leaders in Los Angeles County. Does Mr./Ms. _____ still work at this organization?

   [If YES]: "Thank you. May I speak with Mr./Ms. _____?" *GO TO 2*
   [If NO]: "May I ask who has taken his/her place? May I speak with him/her regarding the interview?"
   [If UNAVAILABLE]: "When would be a good time to call back?"

2. Explain project and ask to schedule brief interview

   "Hi, Mr./Ms. _____, my name is Christina Tam and I am calling from the UCLA Department of Social Welfare. I am conducting a study of nonprofits located in ethnic neighborhoods across Los Angeles County and I would like to speak with you briefly to better understand the neighborhood in which your organization is located. You were selected to participate in my study because your agency has been established for quite some time. The interview takes about 35-45 minutes, and I can meet with you at your organization at your convenience. Your participation is completely voluntary, and all information reported will remain entirely confidential. Is there a time convenient for you in the next week or so when we can meet?"

   [If YES]: → *SCHEDULE APPOINTMENT*

   [If NO TIME]: "If you are too busy, could you recommend another person who may be able to speak with me and has been with the organization for awhile? A vice president or program manager familiar with your agency's operations can also participate." → *OBTAIN NAME AND CONTACT OF ALTERNATE PERSON*.

   [If NO, TERMINATE CONTACT]: "Thank you for your time. Have a nice day."

APPENDIX B: Interview Guide

[Explain project and obtain oral consent] "Thank you, Mr./Ms. _____, for taking the time out of your busy schedule to meet with me briefly for my research project on ethnic neighborhoods. Your participation is completely voluntary. The purpose of this research is to garner a better understanding of the ethnic group(s) you serve, along with the composition of the neighborhood surrounding your agency and how it may have changed over time. As I had indicated previously over the phone, this interview will take about 35-45 minutes and will be digitally recorded. Everything you share with me will remain completely confidential."

1. How long have you been working with this population (e.g., ethnic group?)
    a. If worked elsewhere, where? (Obtain cross-streets if within Los Angeles County)
2. Neighborhood characteristics surrounding [non-profit]
    a. How would you define this neighborhood's boundaries?
    b. Tell me about…
        i. The makeup of this area, e.g., mostly industrial, residential? If residential, would you say there are more apartments or houses?
        ii. Who are the people you see when you venture outside your organization? (e.g., younger? Older? Ethnicities—is there generally a mix of people, or majority of [ethnic group]?)
        iii. Characteristics of businesses in the area? (e.g., are they mostly service-oriented? Professional-type? A mix?)
    c. What do you think makes this neighborhood unique?
    d. In what ways has this neighborhood changed in the last five years or so? (e.g., turnover of residents, more construction in the area)

3. How would you define an ethnic enclave? Ethnoburb?
4. Where are other ethnic enclaves and ethnoburbs for this ethnic group located in Los Angeles?

APPENDIX C: Pairwise Comparisons of Offense Types by Asian Ethnicity

Table 18

Pairwise comparisons of offense type relative to a weapons offense by Asian ethnicity (N = 980)

	Violence			Property			Substance			Other		
	RRR	*p*	Holm's *p*	RRR	*p*	Holm's *p*	RRR	*p*	Holm's *p*	RRR	*p*	Holm's *p*
Southeast Asian v.												
Chinese	0.59	0.191	ns	0.44	0.006	ns	0.76	0.528	ns	0.80	0.703	ns
Korean	2.42	0.067	ns	0.83	0.642	ns	0.67	0.505	ns	1.37	0.658	ns
Japanese	0.48	0.344	ns	0.70	0.471	ns	1.94	0.278	ns	1.39	0.698	ns
Filipino	1.01	0.974	ns	0.85	0.587	ns	0.64	0.327	ns	0.82	0.733	ns
Filipino v.												
Chinese	0.58	0.041	ns	0.52	0.001	0.005	1.19	0.557	ns	0.98	0.961	ns
Korean	2.39	0.020	ns	0.98	0.950	ns	1.04	0.939	ns	1.67	0.364	ns
Japanese	0.48	0.294	ns	0.82	0.663	ns	3.03	0.036	ns	1.70	0.474	ns
Japanese v.												
Chinese	1.22	0.774	ns	0.63	0.292	ns	0.39	0.064	ns	0.58	0.450	ns
Korean	5.02	0.032	ns	1.2	0.737	ns	0.34	0.106	ns	0.98	0.984	ns
Korean v.												
Chinese	0.24	<0.001	0.005	0.53	0.052	ns	1.14	0.789	ns	0.59	0.332	ns

Note: Controlling for age, gender, number of charges

Table 19

Pairwise comparisons of offense type relative to a property offense by Asian ethnicity (N = 980)

	Violence			Weapon			Substance			Other		
	RRR	*p*	Holm's *p*	RRR	*p*	Holm's *p*	RRR	*p*	Holm's *p*	RRR	*p*	Holm's *p*
Southeast Asian v.												
Chinese	1.35	0.381	ns	2.29	0.006	ns	1.74	0.133	ns	1.84	0.244	ns
Korean	2.93	0.005	0.006	1.21	0.642	ns	0.81	0.684	ns	1.65	0.434	ns
Japanese	0.69	0.595	ns	1.44	0.471	ns	2.79	0.042	ns	2.00	0.374	ns
Filipino	1.20	0.590	ns	1.18	0.587	ns	0.76	0.478	ns	0.97	0.952	ns
Filipino v.												
Chinese	1.13	0.607	ns	1.93	0.001	0.005	2.30	0.002	0.005	1.90	0.062	ns
Korean	2.44	0.002	0.005	1.02	0.950	ns	1.06	0.895	ns	1.71	0.292	ns
Japanese	0.58	0.393	ns	1.21	0.663	ns	3.67	0.003	0.006	2.07	0.282	ns
Japanese v.												
Chinese	1.95	0.300	ns	1.59	0.292	ns	0.63	0.259	ns	0.92	0.898	ns
Korean	4.22	0.030	ns	0.8	0.737	ns	0.29	0.026	ns	0.83	0.802	ns
Korean v.												
Chinese	0.46	0.009	ns	1.89	0.052	ns	2.16	0.082	ns	1.11	0.831	ns

Note: Controlling for age, gender, number of charges

Table 20

Pairwise comparisons of offense type relative to a substance offense by Asian ethnicity (N = 980)

	Violence			Weapon			Property			Other		
	RRR	*p*	Holm's *p*	RRR	*p*	Holm's *p*	RRR	*p*	Holm's *p*	RRR	*p*	Holm's *p*
Southeast Asian v.												
Chinese	0.77	0.576	ns	1.31	0.528	ns	0.57	0.133	ns	1.05	0.930	ns
Korean	3.63	0.029	ns	1.50	0.505	ns	1.24	0.684	ns	2.05	0.357	ns
Japanese	0.25	0.071	ns	0.51	0.278	ns	0.36	0.042	ns	0.72	0.698	ns
Filipino	1.58	0.332	ns	1.56	0.327	ns	1.32	0.478	ns	1.28	0.695	ns
Filipino v.												
Chinese	0.49	0.025	ns	0.84	0.557	ns	0.44	0.002	0.005	0.83	0.635	ns
Korean	2.30	0.089	ns	0.96	0.939	ns	0.94	0.895	ns	1.61	0.458	ns
Japanese	0.16	0.008	ns	0.33	0.036	ns	0.27	0.003	0.006	0.56	0.430	ns
Japanese v.												
Chinese	3.11	0.099	ns	2.54	0.064	ns	1.60	0.259	ns	1.47	0.586	ns
Korean	14.58	0.001	0.005	2.9	0.106	ns	3.46	0.026	ns	2.86	0.223	ns
Korean v.												
Chinese	0.21	0.001	0.006	0.88	0.789	ns	0.46	0.082	ns	0.51	0.281	ns

Note: Controlling for age, gender, number of charges

Table 21

Pairwise comparisons of offense type relative to an other offense by Asian ethnicity (N = 980)

	Violence			Weapon			Property			Substance		
	RRR	*p*	Holm's *p*	RRR	*p*	Holm's *p*	RRR	*p*	Holm's *p*	RRR	*p*	Holm's *p*
Southeast Asian v.												
Chinese	0.73	0.600	ns	1.24	0.703	ns	0.54	0.244	ns	0.95	0.930	ns
Korean	1.77	0.413	ns	0.73	0.658	ns	0.60	0.434	ns	0.49	0.357	ns
Japanese	0.35	0.277	ns	0.72	0.698	ns	0.50	0.374	ns	1.39	0.698	ns
Filipino	1.24	0.721	ns	1.22	0.733	ns	1.03	0.952	ns	0.78	0.695	ns
Filipino v.												
Chinese	0.59	0.176	ns	1.02	0.961	ns	0.53	0.062	ns	1.21	0.635	ns
Korean	1.43	0.504	ns	0.60	0.364	ns	0.59	0.292	ns	0.62	0.458	ns
Japanese	0.28	0.143	ns	0.59	0.474	ns	0.48	0.282	ns	1.78	0.430	ns
Japanese v.												
Chinese	2.12	0.383	ns	1.73	0.450	ns	1.09	0.898	ns	0.68	0.586	ns
Korean	5.10	0.082	ns	1	0.984	ns	1.21	0.802	ns	0.35	0.223	ns
Korean v.												
Chinese	0.42	0.095	ns	1.70	0.332	ns	0.90	0.831	ns	1.95	0.281	ns

Note: Controlling for age, gender, number of charges

APPENDIX D: Pairwise Comparisons of Offense Types by Ethnic Neighborhood Type

Table 22

Pairwise comparisons of arrest by ethnic neighborhood type for offense type relative to a violent offense

	Weapon			Property			Substance			Other		
	RRR	*p*	Holm's *p*	RRR	*p*	Holm's *p*	RRR	*p*	Holm's *p*	RRR	*p*	Holm's *p*
Ethnoburb v.												
Ethnic Enclave	0.28	0.676	ns	1.97	0.244	ns	0.68	0.641	ns	3.13	0.159	ns
Neither	0.58	0.049	ns	0.71	0.160	ns	0.53	0.046	ns	1.07	0.856	ns
Ethnic Enclave v.												
Neither	0.44	0.189	ns	0.36	0.063	ns	0.78	0.752	ns	0.34	0.566	ns

Note: Controlling for ethnicity, age, gender, number of charges, disadvantage, high inequality, youth population, youth organization density

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