SOCIOSPATIAL SEGREGATION AND CLUSTERING IN URBAN AREA

Deniz CENGİZ
Dr. Öğr. Üyesi
Kilis 7 Aralık Üniversitesi, İnsan ve Toplum Bilimleri Fakültesi
dcengiz@kilis.edu.tr
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8954-7883
DOI: 10.31834/ortadoguvegoc.1481222

Öz

Bu çalışma, ulusaşırı göçlerle birçok ülkede gözlenen sosyo-mekânsal kümelenme ve buna bağlı gelişen sosyo-mekânsal ayrışmayı farklı boyutlarıyla teorik bir perspektiften incelemektedir. Göçmenler, yeni geldikleri kentlerde genellikle hemşerilik, etnik köken veya inanç gibi ortak özellikler aracılığıyla belirli mekânsal alanlarda bir araya gelerek kümelenme eğilimi gösterirler. Bu sosyo-mekânsal kümelenme, göçmen grupların kentin diğer sakinlerinden mekânsal olarak ayrışmasına yol açmaktadır. Sonuç olarak, kentsel alanda farklı toplumsal grupların yaşadığı sosyo-mekânsal ayrışma desenleri ortaya çıkmaktadır.

Bu çalışmada, farklı etnik, inançsal veya kültürel yapılara sahip toplumsal grupların kentlerde oluşturduğu sosyo-mekânsal kümelenme ve ayrışma olgusunun, literatürdeki tartışmalar üzerinden kapsamlı bir değerlendirmesi sunulmuştur. Sosyo-mekânsal ayrışmanın olumlu ve olumsuz yönleri irdelenmiş, bu ayrışmanın kent yaşamına etkileri üzerine tahliller yapılmıştır. Ayrıca, kentte farklı toplumsal grupların bu tür sosyo-mekânsal tercihlerini etkileyen arka plan süreçleri analiz edilerek, bu tercihlerin toplumsal dinamikler üzerindeki etkileri ele alınmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Sosyomekânsal ayrışma, Kümelenme, Kentsel mekân

Abstract

This study examines socio-spatial clustering and the ensuing socio-spatial segregation, observed in many countries with transnational migration, from a theoretical perspective across different dimensions. In urban settings, immigrants

often gather in specific spatial units based on shared characteristics such as hometown ties, ethnicity, or religious beliefs. This socio-spatial clustering results in the spatial segregation of immigrant groups from other urban residents, leading to distinct patterns of socio-spatial separation among different social groups in urban areas.

This study provides a comprehensive evaluation of the phenomenon of socio-spatial clustering and segregation formed by social groups with various ethnic, religious, or cultural backgrounds in cities, drawing from discussions in the literature. Both the positive and negative aspects of socio-spatial segregation are analyzed, with insights into its impacts on urban life. Additionally, the study investigates the background processes influencing these socio-spatial preferences among different social groups in cities, examining how these preferences affect social dynamics.

Keywords: Sociospatial segregation, Clustering, Urban area

Introduction

Space is inherently a social construct that frames the way ideas and meanings are conceptualized and experienced. Definitions of space shape individuals' relationships and interactions within it, while the construction of space is deeply influenced by social power dynamics (Kaya, 2013). Spatial concentration has long been a key topic in discussions of space, as social groups tend to cluster in urban areas based on factors such as income, social status, beliefs, or ethnicity (Duncan and Duncan, 1955; Massey and Denton, 1988; Folch and Rey, 2014). When a particular social group is densely represented within a specific area, this spatial concentration often leads to separation or segregation from other social groups in the city, highlighting the concept of spatial segregation. Bógus (2013) defines spatial segregation as the physical separation of a migrant group that, while integrated into urban life, remains concentrated in certain districts, distinguishing them from other residents of the city. This segregation is shaped not only by the internal dynamics of the group but also by external pressures and societal factors (Gregory et al., 2009).

Early discussions of spatial segregation and concentration emerged within the urban sociology of the Chicago School, as

scholars sought to explain settlement patterns in American cities in the early 20th century (Gregory et al., 2009; Bógus, 2013). Migrants typically foster intergroup interaction by learning the language and adapting to the host society's norms, facilitating smoother integration and enabling movement to neighborhoods where other ethnic groups reside (Gregory et al., 2009). Park (1926), a key figure in human ecology theory, described this process as a "cycle of race relations," linking integration closely with migrant groups' involvement in economic, social, and political processes. His theory outlines four stages of integration: (1) initial contact and building relationships with other groups, (2) competition with these groups for resources, (3) gradual integration into the public sphere, and (4) assimilation or adaptation, whether voluntary or enforced (Beshers, 1962; Hamnett and Cross, 1998; Wessel, 2000; Grannis, 2002; Fielding, 2004; Li and Wu, 2006; Firidin-Özgür, 2006; Castles and Miller, 2008). Numerous studies have analyzed these stages, focusing on factors such as income level, social and occupational status, lifestyle, and educational background (Ogden and Winchester, 1975; Morrill, 1991; Murdie and Borgegard, 1998; Ellis et al., 2004; Li and Wu, 2006; Castles and Miller, 2008; Musterd and Ostendorf, 2009; Knox and

Pinch, 2010; Wong and Shaw, 2011; Wang et al., 2012; Lin and Gaubatz, 2017).

The rapid urban transformations driven by transnational migration often present integration challenges for immigrants, stemming from socio-economic and cultural differences. These challenges frequently result in the clustering, differentiation, or polarization of less-integrated populations within specific urban areas (Knox and Pinch, 2010). Such socio-spatial differentiation, encompassing clustering, segregation, and polarization, has a significant impact on urban issues, particularly in Western cities (Knox and Pinch, 2010). There are various theoretical explanations for spatial segregation and clustering, especially in cities with high concentrations of transnational migrants or refugees. A central aspect of group identity formation often involves defining the "other" through discriminatory or stereotypical judgments, constructing identity within a framework of "us" versus "them" (Knox and Marston, 2014; Van Dijk et al., 2015).

Urban environments exert a significant influence on socio-cultural groups within society, reshaping them within a complex urban context. Consequently, cities frequently foster clustering of social groups in specific areas, often based on factors such as income, social status, lifestyle, and

neighborhood affiliations (Beshers, 1962; Wirth, 2002; Li and Wu, 2006). As socio-cultural and economic differences intensify, urban segregation deepens, producing significant socio-spatial differentiation (Yörükan, 1968). Clustering often emerges from a desire to protect group identity or lifestyle, as perceived threats from other groups encourage "in-group cohesion." This process strengthens cultural and social bonds within the group. Four primary motivations drive social groups to cluster in urban spaces: defense, mutual support, preservation of cultural heritage, and establishing an area of resistance (Knox and Pinch, 2010). Historical examples, such as the medieval Jewish ghettos in European cities, demonstrate these clustering motivations. Likewise, minority clusters offer networks for mutual support and cultural preservation, exemplified by neighborhoods like Harlem in New York, a prominent area for minority cultural expression.

Clustered spaces may also serve as centers for dissent, providing physical locations for political expression and group solidarity. For instance, ethnic clusters in cities often attract political attention due to their concentrated voting potential, as seen in African American neighborhoods in U.S. cities or Kurdish communities in Turkish metropolises. These areas represent spaces of influence, shaping local and national elections and impacting urban policy considerations.

Economic Class Dimension of Spatial Segregation

Spatial segregation encompasses multiple dimensions, with economic class playing a significant role. Beyond income level alone, Jürgen (1998) identifies systemic inequalities and discrimination in education and income as key factors that shape the extent of segregation. He argues that explaining the processes that generate social segregation requires a multi-layered approach, with both micro and macro-level influences and an intermediary level linking them (Firidin-Özgür, 2006). According to Jürgen (1998), while residential segregation and its resulting spatial inequalities reflect macro-level influences, factors such as lifestyle, income level, and ethnic identity operate at the micro level. Within this framework, social segregation can be divided into two primary categories: one based on religious or ethnic identity and the other on income level and social status. Segregation rooted in religious or ethnic identity emerges from group-based discrimination, while income- and status-based segregation aligns closely with employment, educational opportunities, and lifestyle patterns (Firidin-Özgür, 2006). Such ethnic or religious segregation often stems from the majority's exclusion of minorities, either through overt or covert processes of assimilation. Meanwhile, economic

segregation reflects personal choices as well as the influence of local and national policies (Firidin-Özgür, 2006).

The dynamics that produce socio-spatial segregation in urban environments are most frequently examined through the lens of low-income communities and marginalized urban populations, including immigrants and refugees (Musterd and Ostendorf, 1998; Andersen, 2003). Key indicators of urban socio-spatial differentiation include labor market participation, occupational clustering, and income levels (Knox and Pinch, 2010). Andersen (2003) contends that segregation is driven not only by social inequality but also by spatial differentiation. Urban populations tend to self-segregate by income, with high- and low-income groups stratifying vertically within the urban space (Hancıoğlu, 2015). This stratification is marked by the rise of gated communities and fortified enclaves, where high-income and middle-class residents live in spatial separation, enjoying privileged lifestyles within elite environments (Caldeira, 1996; Bali, 1999; Marcuse and Van Kempen, 2000; Enlil, 2003; Hancıoğlu, 2015). By contrast, marginalized urban groups often include single-parent households, the unemployed, the poor, individuals with low educational attainment or illiteracy, and certain ethnic groups facing exclusion. These groups reflect the

defining characteristics of urban socio-spatial segregation (Knox and Pinch, 2010).

With neoliberal restructuring and new social and economic conditions in capitalist cities, social and cultural segregation has intensified, widening the income gap in major urban areas. This divide results in an urban landscape fragmented into high- and low-quality "islands," where quality of life is strongly tied to factors such as ethnicity, citizenship, immigration status, occupation, demographics, education, and income level (Knox and Pinch, 2010). Consequently, as the disparity between lower- and higher-income groups widens in urban spaces, class polarization permeates the city, and high-income groups increasingly gain privilege. Ethnic diversity, the profile of incoming migrants, and family size interact to shape the socio-spatial organization of urban areas (Knox and Pinch, 2010). For migrant groups, individual initiatives often contribute to the clustering process, reinforcing solidarity and opening employment opportunities within the ethnic community, thereby easing integration into an economy otherwise controlled by the host society.

Ethnic businesses, especially those established by immigrants in countries like England and Germany-such as restaurants, bakeries, butcheries, markets, and clothing shops-serve as

cultural and economic hubs that strengthen social solidarity. These businesses help to preserve and showcase the culinary and clothing traditions of communities like Asian immigrant groups, offering services tailored to the community while supporting its members economically and culturally (Knox and Pinch, 2010). Thus, the spatial organization of these businesses not only caters to the cultural needs of the group but also bolsters group cohesion and provides a degree of independence from the dominant society's market conditions, creating a resilient framework for community identity and solidarity

The Role of Economic Class in Spatial Segregation

Spatial segregation manifests in multiple dimensions, with economic class being one of the most prominent. Jürgen (1998) identifies factors like income inequality and disparities in education as primary drivers of segregation, arguing for a layered analytical model to fully grasp the dynamics of social segregation. This model involves both macro-level Forces-such as systemic inequalities and social structures-and micro-level factors, such as individual lifestyle choices, income levels, and housing decisions, which together mold the spatial configuration of urban segregation (Firidin-Özgür, 2006). Consequently, social segregation can be broadly

categorized into two forms: segregation based on religious or ethnic identity and segregation based on income level and social status.

Economic segregation typically stems from income disparities that influence access to critical resources, including education, employment, and housing. Jürgen (1998) observes that while ethnic and religious segregation often arises from discrimination and exclusion, economic segregation is more intricately tied to lifestyle and employment conditions, which directly shape residential patterns and mobility. Additionally, social segregation is often reinforced by governmental policies, both local and national, that further deepen divisions within the urban space (Firidin-Özgür, 2006).

Urban areas populated by lower-income groups-such as immigrants, refugees, or other disadvantaged populations—frequently display distinct patterns of socio-spatial segregation, creating visible social and spatial divides (Musterd and Ostendorf, 1998; Andersen, 2003). Indicators of this socio-spatial differentiation include labor market participation, occupational clustering, and income distribution (Knox and Pinch, 2010). Andersen (2003) argues that segregation is driven not only by income differences but

also by spatial distinctions. High-income groups and middle-class residents often establish exclusive residential spaces, such as gated communities or luxury enclaves, which serve as physical representations of their elevated status and lifestyle preferences (Caldeira, 1996; Bali, 1999; Marcuse and Van Kempen, 2000; Enlil, 2003; Hancıoğlu, 2015). These spaces are typically fortified with security measures and amenities that create a sense of exclusivity, underscoring the spatial and symbolic distance from lower-income neighborhoods.

As cities undergo neoliberal restructuring, economic and social segregation intensifies, further widening the divide between income groups. This transformation results in a fragmented urban landscape composed of "islands" that differ significantly in quality of life. These islands are often defined by a range of factors-such as citizenship, immigration status, occupation, and education-which become markers of social and spatial exclusion (Knox and Pinch, 2010). As a result, socio-spatial differentiation deepens, generating urban environments that mirror the class-based stratification within society. Wealthier groups enjoy enhanced privileges and security within their exclusive neighborhoods, while marginalized populations remain confined to lower-quality housing, frequently lacking basic services and infrastructure. Ethnic diversity, migration flows, and family structures

further influence the spatial organization of cities, often reinforcing these class-based divides (Knox and Pinch, 2010).

In response to these dynamics, many immigrant communities develop ethnic businesses, including restaurants, bakeries, and clothing stores, which not only provide economic support but also function as hubs of cultural preservation. These enterprises help sustain the community by offering goods and services that reflect shared traditions and heritage, contributing to a sense of belonging and cultural continuity. Such businesses create self-sustaining ethnic enclaves within urban settings, allowing community members to circumvent some of the economic barriers posed by the dominant society (Knox and Pinch, 2010). However, these enclaves often remain spatially segregated from the more affluent areas inhabited by higher-income groups, highlighting the persistent socio-economic and cultural divisions within urban spaces.

Ethnic enclaves often serve not only economic functions but also social and cultural roles, promoting solidarity and mutual support among group members. This clustering reinforces social networks and allows immigrant groups to navigate an urban environment that might otherwise be inhospitable. By supporting each other through employment opportunities

and shared resources, these communities resist full assimilation into the broader socio-economic fabric, creating resilient networks that thrive independently from the host society's economic and cultural structures. Despite the limitations imposed by socio-spatial segregation, ethnic businesses enable these communities to cultivate a sense of place and identity within the city, fostering resilience and cohesion amidst broader patterns of urban inequality.

Degree of Spatial Segregation and the Invasion Process

Spatial segregation refers to the uneven distribution of minority groups across different areas within a city, often leading to high concentrations of these groups in specific neighborhoods or districts (Yüceşahin, 2017). One of the primary metrics for assessing segregation levels is the dissimilarity index, a measure comparable to the Gini index used for income inequality. This index ranges from 0, which represents perfect integration, to 100, indicating complete segregation (Knox and Pinch, 2010). In the United States, for instance, census data reveal persistently high segregation levels for African American communities, with dissimilarity index values often surpassing 80 in many urban areas. Other minority groups, such as Puerto Ricans, Asians, and Mexicans, show somewhat lower levels of segregation, typically around

60 on the index (Knox and Pinch, 2010). In European cities, segregation levels are generally lower, though there are notable exceptions; for example, in certain areas of the United Kingdom, segregation values for the Bangladeshi community can approach 80. Particularly in smaller spatial units-such as neighborhoods or even streets-extreme segregation levels with index values nearing 90 have been recorded (Knox and Pinch, 2010).

Segregation is not homogenous within minority communities, and internal variations can influence the degree and nature of segregation across neighborhoods. For instance, in British cities, subgroups within larger communities-such as Muslims and Hindus, Gujarati speakers and Punjabi speakers-often show distinct residential patterns, sometimes even in public housing units (Knox and Pinch, 2010). This phenomenon, referred to as layered segregation, introduces additional complexity into urban spaces, as neighborhoods become internally differentiated along religious, linguistic, or cultural lines, further intensifying the intricacy of socio-spatial landscapes.

The concept of "invasion" often accompanies spatial segregation and refers to the process by which a growing concentration of a minority or ethnic group within a

neighborhood triggers the departure of original residents. This migration of previous residents, known as "succession," accelerates as the minority group reaches a certain threshold, leading to a demographic shift in which the new group becomes the predominant population in the area. This "invasion-succession" cycle has been extensively studied by researchers in the Chicago School of urban sociology. Scholars like Park (1925) used ecological metaphors to describe these patterns, likening the influx of new groups in urban neighborhoods to the introduction of a new species into an ecosystem. As the incoming group establishes a presence, longstanding residents may feel displaced and seek housing elsewhere, leading to an intensification of spatial segregation and a reshaping of community structures (Bolt et al., 2008).

An important concept in this context is the "tipping point," a threshold at which the demographic balance in a neighborhood prompts significant residential mobility. Although the specific tipping point can vary, studies in the U.S. have found that when a minority population reaches around 30% within a neighborhood, many original residents begin to leave en masse (Knox and Pinch, 2010). This tipping point highlights the complex social and cultural dynamics that influence migration patterns within cities, as

communities continually reshape residential areas in response to evolving demographics. Thus, understanding spatial segregation, along with the processes of invasion and succession, is essential for analyzing the transformative effects of demographic diversity on urban landscapes. As cities become more multicultural and diverse, these dynamics play an increasingly central role in the spatial organization and socio-cultural evolution of urban environments.

The Role of Urban-Rural Politics in Spatial Segregation

In urban contexts, the demographic concentration of specific social groups often creates a formidable political force, enabling these communities to secure formal representation and wield substantial influence over urban policy decisions (Knox and Pinch, 2010). Through this collective presence, communities such as African Americans and Asian Americans in the United States actively participate in municipal and state politics, leveraging their numbers to advocate for policies that address the unique needs of their neighborhoods. In some cases, these ethnic and minority groups establish political "power spaces" by forming a strong, unified voting identity within specific urban areas, further amplifying their impact on political and social dynamics (Knox and Pinch, 2010).

However, residential segregation is not merely an outcome of demographic clustering but is also shaped by structural inequalities in the housing market. These inequities often restrict ethnic and minority groups to particular, limited urban spaces, effectively narrowing their residential choices and reinforcing patterns of spatial segregation. In the United Kingdom, for example, minority groups face numerous obstacles within the public housing sector. They are often subject to restrictive policies and poor housing conditions, pushing them into less desirable areas. This forced clustering not only limits access to high-quality urban spaces but also perpetuates socio-economic disparities between minority communities and the broader society (Knox and Pinch, 2010).

In Europe, the spatial segregation of minority communities is increasingly viewed as an obstacle to social integration and national cohesion, even in countries known for their commitment to multiculturalism, such as the United Kingdom and the Netherlands. Policymakers express concern that the physical separation of ethnic minorities restricts their full participation in society, exacerbating social exclusion. In some cases, neighborhoods with high concentrations of marginalized groups become difficult to monitor or police effectively, creating potential refuges for individuals engaged in illicit activities. For example, during the 20th century, the

concentration of Irish communities in British cities such as Birmingham and London provided operational bases for the Irish Republican Army (IRA) during periods of political unrest (Knox and Pinch, 2010).

The political dynamics of urban and rural segregation reveal underlying issues of inequality, class stratification, and systemic exclusion that extend far beyond immediate residential patterns. Spatial segregation is often reinforced by a complex interplay of socio-economic, ethnic, ideological, cultural, and religious factors, each contributing to the distinct configurations of the urban landscape (Alver, 2010). According to Marcuse (2001), a significant driver of spatial segregation is the social exclusion of migrant communities by established groups. This exclusion manifests physically as different social groups, defined by distinct cultural, economic, and socio-political characteristics, become concentrated in specific urban zones. For members of minority communities, this spatial exclusion can foster feelings of alienation from the broader urban environment, creating a reluctance to engage with the dominant culture and deepening divides with other social groups. Such isolation often leads to disconnection, potential conflict, or forms of cultural resistance as these communities seek to assert their identity in the face of exclusion (Parekh, 2002).

Spatial segregation, therefore, is more than just a pattern of settlement; it reflects the entrenched social and economic divides that define urban societies. The concentration of marginalized communities within designated areas not only limits their opportunities for upward mobility but also reinforces social hierarchies, impacting everything from local governance to access to resources and public services. As cities become increasingly diverse, addressing the challenges posed by spatial segregation will be essential for fostering inclusive, cohesive urban communities that embrace the full participation of all residents.

Theoretical Discussions on Integration (Culturization-Social Integration)

Berry (2006), who studies acculturation, has explored the strategies that ethno-cultural communities adopt when they come into contact with the host society (Berry, 1992; 1998; 2001). In this context, Berry (2001) argues that acculturation can be experienced in different ways, both at the individual and group levels. These strategies, which operate at the socio-cultural level, consist of a combination of two basic dimensions: the preference for maintaining one's culture and identity, and the preference for establishing relationships

with the local society and other cultural groups (Göregenli & Karakuş, 2014).

In multicultural societies, ethnic cultural groups can be observed living alongside others while maintaining the core of their own culture, which constitutes their differences (Şeker, 2006). For instance, ethnic cultural groups such as the Breton communities in France and the Basque communities in Spain, or the French living in Canada, descendants of ancient migration, have successfully preserved their cultural structures (Berry & Sam, 1997). Refugees and newcomers, however, often face more difficulties in the acculturation process and encounter psychological risks (Berry, 1998). The emergence and diversification of acculturation among cultural groups in multicultural societies can be attributed to three factors: displacement, readiness, and continuity (Berry & Sam, 1997).

Immigrants or members of a minority group may adopt an assimilation strategy when they prefer to interact with the host community/culture instead of maintaining their own cultural identity within the society in which they are integrating (Göregenli & Karakuş, 2014). Faist (2003) considers assimilation as the final stage or one of the possible outcomes of the integration process. In other words,

individuals who adopt the assimilation strategy prefer to merge their cultural identity in the dominant society's "melting pot." Berry (2001) states that minority group members may prefer the separation strategy when they refrain from interacting with mainstream society and exhibit behaviors aimed at maintaining and protecting their cultural identity. If they continue in this manner, it indicates they have adopted an integration strategy. During the integration process, both the host society and the members of the immigrant/ethnic group tend to accept or respect each other's truths while preserving their differences (Turut & Özgür, 2018).

An individual who opts for a separation strategy avoids building relationships with the host cultural community, draws cultural boundaries, and distances themselves from other cultural communities. Consequently, they cluster with other group members in a specific location, creating a living space that is spatially separated from others. Conversely, individuals who adopt an integration strategy strive to be part of a broad social network within the host society while also maintaining their cultural integrity and adapting it to the host society (Şeker, 2006). According to Berry (1992), individuals acculturate according to the strategy they choose based on their attitudes and behaviors within their cultural

environment. He states that minority group members prefer the strategy of marginalization when their interaction with other cultures is limited and their desire to maintain their cultural identity is minimal (Berry, 2001).

These strategies may vary depending on individual preferences and the characteristics of the society, and can differ from person to person, society to society, or through the interaction of strategies between two societies (Berry, 2006). For example, Şeker's (2006) study titled "Acculturation Processes in a Sample of Migrants to the City" indicates that immigrants coming to Izmir from Southeast and East Anatolia wish to protect and maintain their own cultural identity while also interacting with new cultural groups. It has also been observed that immigrants from Bulgaria predominantly follow an assimilation strategy.

In ethno-cultural communities, orientations toward protecting cultural heritage and identity increase the community's resistance against assimilation, preventing their cultural identity from being absorbed by the host society. At the same time, these orientations reduce the degree of marginalization among members of the ethno-cultural group by allowing them to maintain their cultural identity. Furthermore, these strategies enhance motivation for

integration and reduce separation from the host society. In large societies, while these tendencies toward preserving cultural heritage and identity contribute to the construction of a multicultural society in urban areas, they also decrease the level of cultural loss within the melting pot. Conversely, any approach involving exclusion fosters segregationist behavior, while tendencies toward integration facilitate the formation of a multicultural structure in urban environments.

An acculturation model is expected to come into play when an ethnic or immigrant group interacts with other communities. This acculturation process can lead to changes within the communities involved, including a network of psychological, biological, cultural, and physical changes as well as new social relationships (Berry et al., 1987). Psychological changes generally refer to alterations experienced by group members in their behavior or mental states. Biological changes occur when the host society encounters new diseases or modifies its dietary habits. Cultural changes involve transformations in beliefs, language, ideological worldviews, and economic contexts. Physical changes result from exposure to a new location, different demographics, and unfamiliar environments. New social relationships encompass the in-group and out-group

interactions of the immigrant/ethnic group (Göregenli & Karakuş, 2014).

In general, different cultural communities are mobile within the spatial environment for various reasons. Factors such as the pursuit of better living conditions or forced migration due to natural disasters and wars lead to migration. This mobility allows for interaction among different cultures. Individuals, groups, and communities representing diverse cultural structures influence each other's cultures based on their interactions, leading to intercultural flows and transitions. This phenomenon is known as acculturation, which refers to the social, cultural, and psychological changes experienced by members of a community sharing a common culture as a result of contact with other cultural communities (Berry, 1998; Bilgin, 2003; Şeker, 2006).

According to Esser (2000), who conducted research on the social integration of cultural groups immigrating to Germany and introduced the theory of social integration to the literature, the dimensions constituting social integration include acculturation, identity, interaction, and socio-economic factors. He argues that these dimensions represent a political position that will evolve over time, leaning towards assimilation as generations renew themselves (Şahin, 2010).

Esser (2000) states that acculturation, socio-economic and political positions, interaction, and identity are the fundamental elements determining the realm of social integration, collectively constituting its four dimensions. In this context, social integration occurs depending on these four dimensions and the interactions among them (Esser, 2000; Şahin, 2010). Acculturation, the first dimension of social integration, refers to the interaction of the ethnic society with the settled society's culture regarding their beliefs, language, and traditions. The socio-economic-political position encompasses income levels, ideologies, political differences, and rights that exist between the settled society and the immigrant society. Interaction represents the set of relationships formed through contact between two groups belonging to different cultures. Identity is framed in the context of belonging to the social structure in which the individual exists and gains meaning as it relates to the society to which the individual feels they belong (Şahin, 2010).

These dimensions emphasized by Esser create four distinct aspects of integration, akin to Berry's context. These are segregation, assimilation, multiple integration, and marginalization. In this framework, when immigrant communities act to protect their cultural identity, this leads to segregation; when adaptation to the settled society's

culture prevails, it results in assimilation; when they maintain their own culture while adapting to the settled culture, it is termed multiple integration; and when they reject both their own and the settled culture, it is marginalization. Among these strategies, social integration is most manifest as assimilation and segregation (Esser, 2000). It can be observed that Berry and Esser point to two distinct theories in the mutual interaction process of two cultural communities.

Berry's acculturation theory aligns with Esser's social integration theory. Although Berry (2001; 2006) asserts that immigrant/ethnic groups prefer separation, assimilation, integration, and marginalization strategies during the acculturation process, Esser contends that immigrant/ethnic groups adopt separation, assimilation, multiple integration, and marginalization strategies in the context of social integration. Notably, while both theorists agree that immigrant/ethnic groups may prefer assimilation and marginalization strategies in their interactions with the host society, Berry's concept of integration is distinct from Esser's notion of multiple integration. Additionally, the separation strategy articulated by Berry parallels Esser's separation. However, the strategies of separation and integration

proposed by both theorists ultimately lead to the same outcome for immigrant/ethnic groups.

Indeed, it is evident that immigrant/ethnic groups favoring the preservation of their cultural identity tend to concentrate in specific areas within the city, thereby separating themselves from the host society. An individual member of an ethno-cultural community may sometimes adopt a strategy independent of their group based on their experiences during the acculturation process and personal interests. In such cases, the group member might conclude that a strategy they have discovered, based on their experiences, better meets their needs than the strategy previously adopted (Kim, 1988). However, individuals may prioritize the preservation and continuity of cultural identity within their ethnic group (private sphere) over their workplace or political environments (public sphere) (Berry & Sam, 1997; Zick et al., 2001; Arends-Toth & Van de Vijver, 2004; Navas et al., 2005; Navas et al., 2007; Göregenli & Karakuş, 2014).
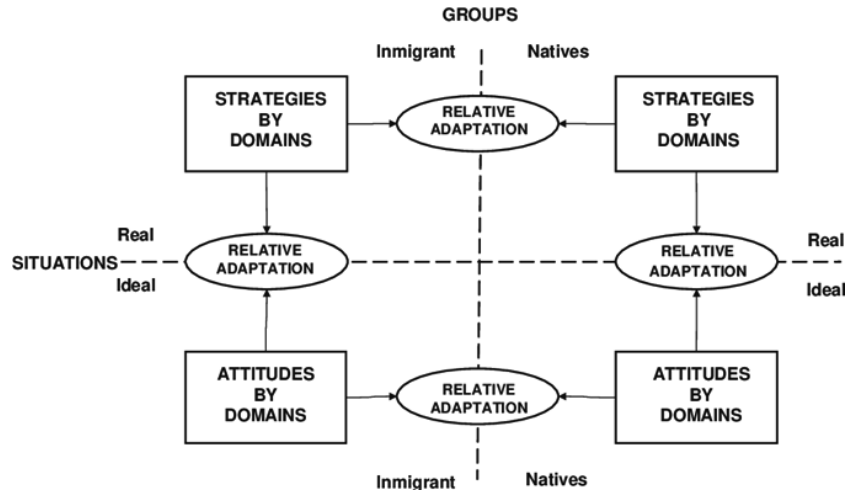
Figure 1: Relative Acculturation Extended Model (RAEM) (Navas et al., 2005)

Navas et al. (2005) argue that the strategies and levels of preference for acculturation among ethno-cultural individuals depend on their environment and lifestyle (Figure 1). They named the model they developed the Relative Acculturation Extended Model (RAEM). This model posits that although ethno-cultural groups have coexisted with different communities for an extended period, the focus should be on aspects that remain stable or can change quickly. In this regard, Navas et al. (2005) stated that community members adopt multiple strategies depending on the changing conditions of the acculturation process, with a dialectical process occurring between them (Göregenli & Karakuş, 2014). For example, a study found that Moroccan ethno-

137

cultural groups who immigrated to Spain adopted the assimilation strategy in public spheres while employing the separation strategy in their private lives (Navas et al., 2007).
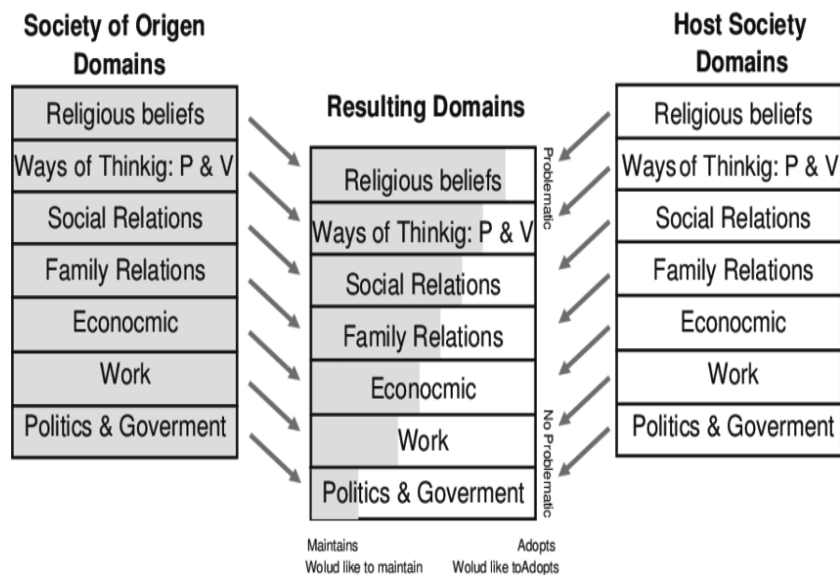

Figure 2: Acculturation process of immigrants as relative adaptation between the origin society and host society in different domains (Navas et al., 2005)

The adaptation process is complex and relative. The same strategies may not always be employed, and interactions with other cultures may be preferred in different domains. Consequently, the socio-cultural space is divided into areas where various acculturation strategies and attitudes can be chosen. This idea is not novel; many researchers studying acculturation have acknowledged that individuals can adopt different acculturation strategies, emphasizing the

importance of segmenting the overall acculturation context into different domains. The innovation introduced by RAEM is significant for understanding how immigrants adapt to their new environments and how the host society perceives this adaptation (Navas et al., 2005). Based on the classification by Leunda (1996), RAEM identifies seven secondary areas (Navas et al., 2005). As illustrated in Figure 2, these areas include:

1. Political and Governmental System: This area regulates power relations and formally guarantees social order.

2. Labour or Work: This encompasses employment and professional interactions.

3. Economic Sphere: This includes the distribution of goods, economic transactions, and consumption habits.

4. Family: This sphere relates to reproduction, children, marital relations, and the cultural transmission of rules and values.

5. Social: This involves social relationships and networks based on friendships maintained outside the family.

6. Ideological: This represents the world through ideological, philosophical, or religious lenses, incorporating beliefs, traditions, principles, and values.

As in any system, the various domains are interrelated, meaning that any change in one area will impact the others. Consequently, adaptation strategies within these domains cannot be uniform. Instead, individuals may follow the patterns of their heritage culture in some cases while embracing innovations and contributions from the host society's culture in others.

		Non-Dominant Group Acculturation Attitudes			
		Integration	Assimilation	Seperation	Marginalization
Host	**Integration**	Consensual	Problematic	Conflictual	Problematic
Community	**Assimilation**	Problematic	Consensual	Conflictual	Problematic
Acculturation	**Seperation**	Conflictual	Conflictual	Conflictual	Conflictual
Attitudes	**Marginalization**	Conflictual	Conflictual	Conflictual	Conflictual

Figure 3: Interactive Acculturation Model (Bourhis et al., 1997)

The "Interactive Acculturation Model" proposed by Bourhis et al. (1997) highlights integrationist, transformational integrationist, individualist, assimilationist, segregationist, and exclusionist tendencies between immigrant groups and the settled society. This model assesses the acculturation

tendencies favored by ethno-cultural and immigrant communities in the host society alongside the host society's expectations of these groups and the intergroup interactions that emerge from these acculturation tendencies (Göregenli & Karakuş, 2014).

Bourhis et al. (1997) expanded upon Berry's (1992) approach by introducing individualism and transformation-integration strategies, emphasizing the significance of individual evaluations. According to this model (Figure 3), the expectations of the host society, ethnic group, or immigrant communities regarding the acculturation process manifest in six different ways:

1. **Integrationist Approach:** Immigrants maintain their heritage culture while adopting fundamental characteristics of the dominant culture, establishing a bicultural life.

2. **Transformational Integration Approach:** Settled societies may change some of their cultural elements to integrate with immigrant groups.

3. **Individualism:** This approach highlights individual orientations, independent of group identity, where the immigrant acts independently from their group.

4. Assimilation Approach: This involves abandoning the heritage culture in favor of adopting the cultural elements of the settled society.

5. Separation Approach: Immigrants maintain their cultural identity without adopting the culture of the settled society.

6. Exclusion Approach: This attitude, displayed by the host society, implies ignoring immigrants to uphold its own culture and disregarding the potential for immigrant adaptation to the established culture (Bourhis et al., 1997).

Bourhis et al. (2016) generally view integrationist, transformational integrationist, and individualist approaches as accepting, while rejecting assimilationist, exclusionist, and segregationist approaches. The Host Community Acculturation Scale, developed to measure these tendencies, was applied in the Quebec region of Canada, revealing that university students whose mother tongue is French exhibited high individualistic and integrationist tendencies towards French immigrants, alongside high discriminatory, exclusionary, and assimilationist orientations towards Haitian immigrants (Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001; Göregenli & Karakuş, 2014).

Additionally, in a study by Arends-Toth and Van de Vijver (2004) on "Acculturation Models in Turks and the Dutch," it was observed that Turks immigrating to the Netherlands adopted a separation strategy in private spheres and integration in public spheres, while the Dutch host society maintained an assimilationist approach towards immigrants in all aspects of their lives, equating culture in both the public and private spheres (Göregenli & Karakuş, 2014).

Conclusion

In conclusion, socio-spatial segregation represents a complex and often nuanced phenomenon in the settlement patterns of ethnic groups within urban environments. Initially, this segregation can serve as a vital support system for newly arrived migrants, providing a sense of community, mutual assistance, and cultural preservation. First-generation migrants commonly settle in densely populated, segregated urban areas where they are geographically close to one another, fostering social networks that offer valuable resources and support as they navigate their new host society (Peach, 1996b). This clustering, when voluntary, can reinforce cultural bonds, as seen among certain Pakistani Muslim communities in the UK, where close family ties

encourage neighborhood-based living arrangements (Peach, 2007).

However, as migrant communities advance through generations, many begin a gradual spatial dispersion from city centers to suburban areas, indicating a shift in their integration journey. This centrifugal movement underscores the role that time, generational change, and socio-economic mobility play in transforming the spatial and social dynamics of ethnic communities. For instance, second- and third-generation migrants often experience increased interaction with the host society and broader social structures, which can reduce reliance on ethnic clustering and foster integration into more diverse neighborhoods.

Despite its potential benefits in preserving cultural identity and offering solidarity, socio-spatial segregation often bears negative connotations and presents significant challenges. Ethnic clusters in neighborhoods like Harlem in New York, Brixton in London, and Kreuzberg in Berlin are frequently associated with poverty, crime, and social isolation, fostering stereotypes and public mistrust that impede integration efforts (Peach, 1996a). When segregation is enforced—due to systemic barriers in housing or discrimination-it restricts minority groups' access to resources, quality housing, and

employment opportunities, perpetuating social and economic inequities. This isolation not only obstructs migrants' ability to engage with the broader society but also deepens divisions that challenge social harmony (Bolt et al., 2010; Özgür, 2019).

To cultivate inclusive urban environments that balance cultural diversity with social cohesion, it is essential to understand and address the multifaceted dynamics of socio-spatial segregation. Policies should aim to support integration efforts that respect cultural identities while promoting equitable access to resources, housing, and opportunities for all urban residents. By actively working to dismantle barriers to integration and enhance the quality of life in ethnically concentrated areas, cities can mitigate the adverse effects of segregation, reduce social divides, and create communities where diversity and inclusion reinforce one another. Ultimately, fostering inclusive urban spaces requires a balanced approach that values the benefits of cultural clustering while addressing the structural challenges that contribute to enduring socio-spatial divides.

References

Aksu, G. (2013). *Kentsel yoksulluk bağlamında mekânsal ayrışma Tokat Sulusokak örneği* (Unpublished master's

thesis). İnönü Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Siyaset Bilimi ve Kamu Yönetimi Anabilim Dalı.

Alver, K. (2010). *Siteril hayatlar: Kentte mekânsal ayrışma ve güvenlikli siteler*. Ankara: Hece Yayınları.

Arends-Toth, J. V., & Van de Vijver, F. J. R. (2004). Dimension and domains in models of acculturation: Implicit theories of Turkish-Dutch. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 28, 19-35.

Bali, R. N. (1999). Çılgın kalabalıktan uzak. *Birikim*, 123, 35-46.

Berry, J. W., Kim, U., Minde, T., & Mok, D. (1987). Comparative studies of acculturative stress. *International Migration Review*, 21, 491-511.

Berry, J. W. (1992). Acculturation and adaptation in a new society. *International Migration*, 30, 69-85.

Berry, J. W. (1998). Intercultural relations in plural societies. *Canadian Psychology*, 40(1), 12-21.

Berry, J. W. (2001). A psychology of immigration. *Journal of Social Issues*, 57, 615-631.

Berry, J. W. (2006). Contexts of acculturation. In D. L. Sam & J. W. Berry (Eds.), *The Cambridge handbook of acculturation psychology* (pp. 27-42). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Berry, J. W., Kim, U., Power, S., Young, M., & Bujaki, M. (1989). Acculturation attitudes in plural societies. *Applied Psychology: An International Review*, 38, 185-206.

Berry, J. W., & Sam, D. L. (1997). Acculturation and adaptation. In J. W. Berry, M. H. Segall, & Ç. Kağıtçıbaşı (Eds.), *Handbook of cross-cultural psychology: Social behaviour and applications* (Vol. 3, pp. 291-326). Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

Beshers, J. M. (1962). *Urban social structure*. New York: The Free Press of Glencoe.

Bilgin, N. (2003). *Sosyal psikoloji sözlüğü*. İstanbul: Bağlam Yayıncılık.

Bógus, L. M. M. (2013). Urban segregation: A theoretical approach. Retrieved from http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download;jsessionid=5AEFFC22D66E6309489A899FE0658DB1?doi=10.1.1.581.780&rep=rep1&type=pdf

Bolt, G., Van Kempen, R., & Van Ham, M. (2008). Minority ethnic groups in policy: The Dutch housing market, spatial segregation, relocation dynamics and housing. *Urban Studies*, 45(7), 1359-1384.

Bolt, G., Özüekren, A. Ş., & Phillips, D. (2010). Linking integration and residential segregation. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 36(2), 169-186.

Bourhis, R. Y., Moise, L. C., Perreault, S., & Senecal, S. (1997). Towards an interactive acculturation model: A social psychological approach. *International Journal of Psychology*, 32, 369-386.

Bourhis, R. Y., & Montreuil, A. (2016). Methodological issues related to the host community acculturation scale (HCAS) and the immigrant acculturation scale (IAS): An update. UQAM Working Paper, Département de Psychologie, Université du Québec à Montréal.

Caldeira, T. P. R. (1996). Fortified enclaves: The new urban segregation. *Public Culture*, 8(2), 303-328.

Castles, S., & Miller, M. J. (2008). *Göçler çağı*. İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları.

Cook, S. (2015). *Rural-urban migration and social exclusion among Cambodian youth* (Unpublished master's thesis). Utrecht University.

Duncan, O. D., & Lieberson, S. (1959). Ethnic segregation and assimilation. *American Journal of Sociology*, 64, 364-374.

Duncan, O. D., & Duncan, B. (1955). A methodological analysis of segregation indices. *American Sociological Review*, 20, 207-217.

Ellis, M., Wright, R., & Parks, V. (2004). Work together, live apart? Geographies of racial and ethnic segregation at

home and at work. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 94*(3), 620-637.

Enlil, Z. M. (2003). 1980 sonrası İstanbul'da toplumsal ayrışmanın mekânsal izdüşümleri. *Mekân İstanbul,* 8, 84-89.

Esser, H. (2000). Integration and ethnic stratification: Towards emerging ethnic classes in Europe. *Project conclusions, integration and ethnic stratification, ethnic economy and social exclusion, Germany.*

Faist, T. (2003). *Uluslararası göç ve ulusaşırı toplumsal alanlar* (Trans. A. Z. Gündoğan-Can Nacar). İstanbul: Bağlam Yayıncılık.

Fielding, A. J. (2004). Class and space: Social segregation in Japanese cities. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers,* 29(1), 64-84.

Firidin-Özgür, E. (2006). Sosyal ve mekânsal ayrışma çerçevesinde yeni konutlaşma eğilimleri: Kapalı siteler, İstanbul, Çekmeköy örneği. *Planlama,* 4.

Folch, D. C., & Rey, S. (2014). The centralization index: A measure of local spatial segregation. *Papers in Regional Science,* 95(3).

Göregenli, M., & Karakuş, P. (2014). Göç araştırmalarında mekân boyutu: Kültürel ve mekânsal bütünleşme. *Türk Psikoloji Yazıları,* 17(34), 101-115.

Grannis, R. (2002). Discussion: Segregation indices and their functional inputs. *Sociological Methodology,* 32, 69-84.

Gregory, D., Johnston, R., Pratt, G., Watts, M., & Whatmore, S. (2009). *The dictionary of human geography* (5th ed.). Chichester: Wiley.

Hamnet, C., & Cross, D. (1998). Social change, social polarization and income inequality in London, 1979-1993. *Geojournal,* 46, 39-50.

Hancıoğlu, F. (2015). Kentsel mekânda "öteki"nin ayrışması Cihangir örneğinde "LGBT" kimliğin mekânsal ayrışma

deneyimi (Unpublished master's thesis). İnönü Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Malatya.

Harrison, M., Law, I., & Phillips, D. (2005). *Migrants, minorities and housing: Exclusion, discrimination and anti-discrimination in 15 member states of the European Union.* Vienna: EUMC.

Jürgen, F. (1998). Social inequality, segregation and urban conflict: The case of Hamburg. In S. Musterd & W. Ostendorf (Eds.), *Urban segregation and welfare state* (pp. 168-190). Routledge

Kaya, A. (2014). Türkiye'de göç ve uyum tartışmaları: Geçmişe dönük bir bakış. İdeal Kent Dergisi, 14, 11-28.

Kaya, İ. (2013). Coğrafi düşüncede mekân tartışmaları. Possible Düşünme Dergisi, 4, ISSN: 2147-1622.

Kim, U. (1988). Acculturation of Korean immigrants to Canada (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario.

Knox, P., & Marston, S. A. (2014). Human geography: Places and regions in global context. Essex: Pearson.

Knox, P., & Pinch, S. (2010). Urban social geography. London: Pearson Education Ltd.

Li, Z., & Wu, F. (2006). Socio-spatial differentiation and residential inequalities in Shanghai: A case study of three neighbourhoods. *Housing Studies*, 21(5), 695-717.

Lin, S., & Gaubatz, P. (2017). Socio-spatial segregation in China and migrants' everyday life experiences: The case of Wenzhou. *Urban Geography*, 38(7), 1019-1038.

Littlewood, P., Glorieux, I., Herkommer, S., & Jönsson, I. (1999). Social exclusion in Europe: Problems and paradigms. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Marcuse, P., & Van Kempen, R. (2000). Globalizing cities: A new spatial order. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Marshall, G. (1999). Sosyoloji sözlüğü. Ankara: Bilim ve Sanat Yayınları.

Massey, D., & Denton, N. A. (1988). The dimensions of residential segregation. *Social Forces*, 67(2), 281-315.

Maydell-Stevens, E., Masgoret, A. M., & Ward, T. (2007). Problems of psychological and sociocultural adaptation among Russian speaking immigrants in New Zealand. *Social Policy Journal of New Zealand*, 30, 178-198.

Morrill, R. L. (1991). On the measure of geographical segregation. *Geography Research Forum*, 11, 25–36.

Murdie, R. E., & Borgegard, L. E. (1998). Immigration, spatial segregation and housing segmentation of immigrants in metropolitan Stockholm, 1960-95. *Urban Studies*, 35(10), 1869-1888.

Musterd, S., & Ostendorf, W. (1998). Urban segregation and the welfare state: Inequality and exclusion in western cities. New York: Routledge.

Musterd, S., & Ostendorf, W. (2009). Residential segregation and integration in the Netherlands. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 35(9), 1515-1532.

Navas, M., Garcia, M., Sanchez, J., Rojas, A., Pumares, P., & Fernandez, J. (2005). Relative acculturation extended model. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 29, 21-37.

Navas, M., Fernandez, R., Rojas, A. J., & Garcia, M. C. (2007). Acculturation strategies and attitudes according to the relative acculturation model (RAEM): The perspectives of natives versus immigrants. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 31, 67-86.

Ogden, P. E., & Winchester, S. W. C. (1975). The residential segregation of provincial migrants in Paris in 1911. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 65, 29-44.

Özgür, E. M. (2019). Mülteciler/göçmenler, ikametgâh ayrışması ve bütünleşme: Türk kentleri bağlamında bir değerlendirme. Ege University First International Symposium on Arts and Humanities (EGE-ISAH),

International Migration and Migrant Experience Throughout History, İzmir.

Parekh, B. (2002). Çokkültürlülüğü yeniden düşünmek: Kültürel çeşitlilik ve siyasal teori (Trans. B. Tanrıseven). Ankara: Phoenix Yayınevi.

Park, R. E. (1926). The urban community as a spatial pattern and moral order. In E. W. Burgess (Ed.), Urban community. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Peach, C. (1996a). Good segregation, bad segregation. *Planning Perspectives*, 11(4), 379-398.

Peach, C. (1996b). The meaning of segregation. *Planning Practice and Research*, 11(2), 137-150.

Peach, C. (2007). Sleepwalking into ghettoisation? The British debate over segregation. In K. Schönwälder (Ed.), Residential segregation and the integration of immigrants: Britain, the Netherlands and Sweden (Discussion Paper No. SP IV 2007-602).

Sherif, M., Harvey, O. J., White, B. J., Hood, W. R., & Sherif, C. W. (1961). Intergroup conflict and cooperation: The Robber's Cave experiment. Norman: University of Oklahoma Institute of Intergroup Relations.

Şahin, B. (2010). Almanya'daki Türk göçmenlerin sosyal entegrasyonunun kuşaklar arası karşılaştırması: Kültürleşme. *Bilig*, 55, 103-134.

Şahin, T. (2009). Sosyal dışlanma ve yoksulluk ilişkisi (Unpublished Social Assistance Expertise Thesis). T.C. Başbakanlık Sosyal Yardımlaşma ve Dayanışma Genel Müdürlüğü, Ankara.

Şeker, D. (2006). Kente göç etmiş bir örneklemde kültüre uyum (Kültürlenme) süreçleri. Uluslararası İnsan Bilimleri Dergisi. ISSN: 1303-5134.

Turut, H., & Özgür, E. M. (2018). Bir kente göçün hikâyesi: Süreçler, bütünleşme ve aidiyet. *Coğrafi Bilimler Dergisi*, 16(1), 153-180.

Tümtaş, M. S. (2012). Kent, mekân ve ayrışma: Kentsel mekânda ayrışma dinamikleri. Ankara: Detay Yayıncılık.

Ulutaş-Ünlütürk, Ç., & Kamber, A. (2016). İç göç ve mekânsal dışlanma. *Anadolu Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*.

Wang, D., Li, F., & Chai, Y. (2012). Activity spaces and sociospatial segregation in Beijing. *Urban Geography*, 33(2), 256-277.

Ward, C., & Kennedy, A. (1999). The measurement of sociocultural adaptation. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 23, 659-677.

Ward, C., & Rana-Deuba, A. (2000). Home and host culture influences on sojourner adjustment. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 24, 291-306.

Wessel, T. (2000). Social polarisation and socioeconomic segregation in a welfare state: The case of Oslo. *Urban Studies*, 37(11), 1947-1967. http://www.jstor.org/stable/43196472

Wong, D. W. S., & Shaw, S. L. (2011). Measuring segregation: An activity space approach. *Journal of Geographical Systems*, 13, 127-145.

Van Dijk, T., Wilson, J., Fairclough, N., Graham, P., Çoban, B., Ataman, B., Springer, S., Nail, T., & Köse, D. (2015). Söylem ve ideoloji (2nd ed.). İstanbul: Su Yayınları.

Van Kempen, R. V., & Özüekren, A. Ş. (1998). Ethnic segregation in cities: New forms and explanations in a dynamic world. *Urban Studies*, 35(10), 1631-1656.

Yörükan, A. (1968). Şehir sosyolojisinin teorik temelleri. Ankara: İmar ve İskân Bakanlığı Yayınları.

Yüceşahin, M. M. (2017). Uluslararası göç, kimlik ve mekânsal kümelenme ayrışma. *Süleyman Demirel Üniversitesi İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Fakültesi Dergisi*, 22, Göç Özel Sayısı, 1303-1315.

Zick, A., Wagner, U., Van Dick, R., & Petzel, T. (2001). Acculturation and prejudice in Germany: Majority and minority perspectives. *Journal of Social Issues*, 57, 541-557.