

RICE UNIVERSITY

**Interracial Friendships in the U.S: A Better Understanding of Presence
and Variation**

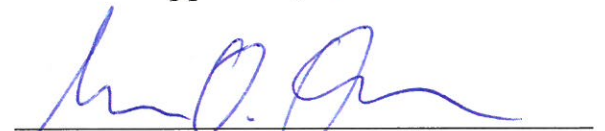
by


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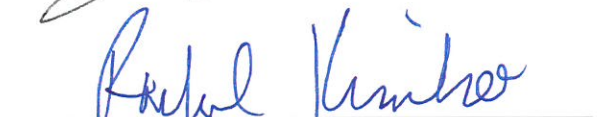
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Abstract

Objective. Previous studies have examined interracial friendships, typically within educational settings, without taking in to account the variation of interracial friendship. I address the void in the literature regarding the presence and variation of adult interracial friendship variation using four racial hierarchy theories: bi-racial divide (White/non-White and Black/non-Black), the tri-racial divide, and the melting pot. Hypotheses regarding friendship selection and variation are derived from the four racial theories.

Methods. Using the Portraits of American Life Study from 2006 (n=2610) and 2012 (n=1314), I conduct multivariate analyses to test my hypotheses. *Results.* Adult interracial friendships are quite rare and those that do form rarely survived during the six years period between surveys. For the brief time that adult interracial friendships are established, they often develop within the tri-racial structure. Whites are the least likely to engage in interracial friendship, while racial minorities are more likely to engage in interracial friendships with Whites. Additionally, those of medium skin tone have higher proportions of interracial friendships than those of lighter or darker skin complexion. Finally, except for blacks, respondents in tracts with higher levels of racial homogeneity are less likely to name a friend of a different race. *Conclusions.* The limited and unstable nature of interracial friendship composition is problematic because it inhibits bridging capital, that is, the ability for racial equality to occur through the passing of social capital between racial groups.

KEY WORDS: RACE, FRIENDSHIP, NEIGHBORHOOD

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I. Introduction

Granovetter (1973) and Putnam (2000) argue that the scope and variety of social networks are important for life chances. Success in life depends with whom you are friends and with whom you associate. Putnam distinguishes between two types of social capital: bonding capital and bridging capital. Bonding capital allows people to connect around common interests and share a level of reciprocity in support and resources. Bonding social capital solidifies near-homogeneous groups and excludes others. Bridging capital allows individuals from different groups to ease group relations and share information across group boundaries. Interracial friendships are important because they house opportunities for both bonding and bridging capital, giving way for larger opportunities to reduce racial inequality (Emerson and Smith 2000; Granovetter 1973; Putnam 2000; Pettigrew 1971; Yancey 1999).

Friendship consists of compatibility, transparency, acceptance, and reciprocity in the areas of care, commitment, trust, and dependability (Tesch and Martin 1983), and is a cornerstone in the sociology of life, bringing happiness and meaningfulness. Friendship interactions are more emotionally valuable than those with strangers and typically consist of quality communication, including constructive ways of expressing disagreement, and increased disclosure (Jormakka, 1976; Duck, Rutt, Hurst & Strejc, 1991; Gottman 1983; Rotenberg 1986). How are friendships—a cornerstone of a healthy social life—impacted by race? One might suppose that with the proliferation of studies on race and race relations in the United States well-researched answers would be plentiful. However, this is not the case.

Reasons for this include the changing nature and complexity of racial stratification. The colorline has long been contested within the United States. Starting out as a division between Blacks, Indian and Whites (DuBois 1903; Blank, Dabady, and Citro 2004), the influx of non-White immigrants over the years and the changing of segregation laws from legal to illegal has dramatically changed the colorline. There are four different theories to explain the colorline: White/non-White divide, Black/non-Black divide, tri-racial divide, and melting pot theory. The White/non-White divide highlights Whites choosing to self-segregate from non-Whites (Iceland 2004), while the Black/non-Black divide reveals non-Blacks purposefully excluding Blacks due to their lower racial status in America (Yancey 2003). The tri-racial divide introduces three categories, White, Honorary White, and the Collective Black, splitting the Hispanic and Asian racial groups by ethnicity and skin tone into either the Honorary White or Collective Black categories (Bonilla-Silva 2004). Thus, race, ethnicity, and skin tone work together as agents of divide. Lastly, the melting pot theory paints a picture of races melting together resulting in a society where race is no longer stratifies (Alba and Nee 2003).

The colorline, for all theories, presents itself within formal institutions, including schools and churches (Orfield, Kucsera, and Siegel-Hawley 2012; Emerson and Smith 2000), influences the choices of where people live (Emerson, Yancey, and Chai 2001), who we marry (Raley and Bratter 2004), and even dictates the basic form of human relationships: friendship (Pettigrew and Tropp 2011). While it is widely understood that increased contact, for example within educational settings, with persons of a different race reduces racial prejudice (Pettigrew and Tropp 2006), it remains unclear how adult friendships form and evolve outside of educational environments.

This study seeks to understand better how our racial hierarchy is translated into friendships by examining how common interracial friendships are and determining what leads to the variation of interracial friendships. The bi-racial (White/non-White divide and Black/non-Black divide), tri-racial and melting pot theories are tested by using the 2006 and 2012 waves of the panel Portraits of American Life Study (PALS). The results offer answers to the question of how friendships are impacted by race.

II. Literature Review

I briefly outline the theories helpful to frame this study—bi-racial color line theories, tri-racial theory, and melting pot theory—while demonstrating how the theories are applied within the existing literature on interracial friendships. However, it should be noted that White – Black interracial youth or adolescent friendship variation within educational institutions are favored within the literature (Hallinan and Williams 1987; Rude and Herda 2010; Currarini, Jackson, and Pin 2010) leaving Hispanics and Asians as a larger unknown. Although there are obvious shortcomings of focusing on Black and White adolescents and classroom environments, their framework is important when considering adult friendship variation.

Bi-Racial Theory

The bi-racial divide takes two forms, White/non-White and Black/non-Black. Within the White/non-White societal divide, Whites self-select out of the possibility of mixed-race private spaces (e.g., housing and religious communities). This is a result of racial minorities understood to be “Other.” This is present within Iceland’s study that found as racial diversity increased within a metropolitan area, whites segregated at a higher rate (2004). To the untrained eye the Black/non-Black divide looks similar to that of the

White/non-White divide. However, in this case Blacks are perceived by Whites as “stigmatized,” effectively alienating Blacks from significant opportunities to acquire and build assets (Loury 2002). Yancey speaks to the Black/non-Black divide pointing out that Blacks fair worse in income, wealth, education, housing, and health than any other minority group in the United States thus placing Blacks at a historical disadvantage (Yancey 2003). Blacks have not chosen this trajectory as Whites have chosen theirs. Blacks have not chosen to exclude Whites. Whites have excluded Blacks. When examining residential preferences, Whites are comfortable living with Hispanics and Asians but express strong disinterest in living with Blacks, and this despite Black preferences to live with Whites (Emerson, Chai, and Yancey 2001). Acting upon this disinterest locks Blacks out of geographically bounded assets such as quality education and healthy neighborhood environments and perpetuates the Black/non-Black divide (Massey and Denton 1998; Quillian 2012).

In addition to Allport’s (1954) optimal contact conditions (come from similar status backgrounds, pursue common goals, draw institutional support, and have shared interests), the presence of interracial friendships largely depends on interracial exposure. In a school setting this is a function of both the racial makeup of the school as a whole, and within the classrooms. Lower percentages of racial minorities in larger school settings lead to “other-ing” by Whites, decreasing the chances of interracial friendship formation, while a more even distribution of racial minorities to Whites in small school settings yield more interracial friendships (Currarini, Jackson, and Pin 2010). Racial exposure to different race individuals within racially mixed neighborhoods also increases interracial friendships (Emerson, Kimbro, and Yancey 2002). While these are

encouraging findings, given the level of racial segregation at the neighborhood level, Whites choosing to self-segregate, and schools being zoned to specific neighborhoods, the ability to create a racially mixed environment at both the neighborhood and school level proves to be increasingly challenging, thus hinting at very little interracial friendships for Whites (Massey and Denton 1998; Emerson, Chai, and Yancey 2001). At the same time, with Whites practicing self-segregation, there is greater opportunity for non-Whites to become friends with other non-whites.

On the other side, the Black/non-Black divide does not allow for many interracial friendships with Blacks. As previously stated within the Black/non-Black theory, Black segregation is not a “choice” for Blacks, but rather the ramification of non-Blacks choosing to self-segregate. The residential segregation patterns that are present within the United States show that Blacks are segregated at higher rates than any other race (Massey and Denton 1998; Iceland 2004). Blacks are also the least preferred race that non-Blacks would choose to share a neighborhood with (Emerson, Chai, and Yancey 2001). Given that interracial friendship largely depends on exposure to different races (Emerson, Kimbro, and Yancey 2002), the residential segregation patterns and racial preferences for Blacks could result in a Black/non-Black divide in that Blacks will have very little interracial friendships while non-Blacks will have more interracial friendships than their Black peers. The pattern of Black adolescents having less interracial exposure has already been detected in a study by Kao and Joyner on adolescent interracial relationships which are attributed to Blacks having less participation in friendship activities than their White, Hispanic, and Asian peers (2004).

Tri-Racial Hierarchy Theory and America as a Melting Pot

Starting in the 1970s, the United States witnessed an immigrant surge such that by 2012 immigrants comprised 13.0 percent of the population, a rate not seen since 1920. Unlike the immigrants of 1960, when 74.5 percent were from Europe, since 1970 the immigrants from Africa, the Americas and Asia have comprised 88.2 percent of all immigrants.¹ Given increased immigrants of color, some scholars have deviated from the bi-racial divide and instead view America through either the tri-racial lens or the melting pot view. Bonilla-Silva posits the United States is moving towards a Latin American structure of race: White, honorary White, and the collective Black (2004). Within this tri-racial structure, Hispanics and Asians are divided by ethnicity and largely placed into either the honorary White or collective Black groups. The “collective black” racialization of darker-skinned Hispanic immigrants has been found as they seem deprived of resources at similar levels as Blacks, while lighter toned Hispanics escape this marginalization and achieve the honorary White status (Frank, Akresh, and Lu 2010).

Interracial friendships within the tri-racial structure, to the extent that it is correct, will take place at higher rates for Asians and Hispanics. Asians’ and Hispanics’ classification as honorary White or collective Black will determine where the interracial friendships will take place. For those that fall within the honorary white category they will most likely have interracial friendships that consist of White individuals. This is because, according to the theory, honorary Whites will consistently aspire for White acceptance, one form of which is friendships with whites. For those classified as collective Black, their interracial friendships will take place with Blacks. The pattern of honorary Whites befriending Whites and the collective Black befriending Blacks has

¹ Data are from Migration Policy Institute (<http://www.migrationpolicy.org/>), where “persons illegally residing in the United States” are counted.

been found within Hispanic adolescents by Hispanics choosing friends of the same race rather than the same ethnicity, especially for those who identified as Black Hispanics, thus breaking apart the Hispanic group by race (Kao and Vaquera 2006). Asians, however, tend to choose friends within their same ethnicity (Kao and Joyner 2006). Within the tri-racial theory it could be hypothesized that Asians and Hispanics will also tend to have interracial friendships between each other because they share similar places within the tri-racial hierarchy of honorary White or collective Black. Also given their middle status, Asians and Hispanics could very well be proportionally split between interracial friendships with Blacks and Whites.

Others interpret the Hispanic and Asian division as Americans melting together across race rather than creating a new racial hierarchy. The process of assimilation allows for racial minorities and immigrants to be mainstreamed into society (Gans 2005). The assimilation process results in blurred racial lines and allegedly translates into declining racial income gaps and increasing multiracial marriages. The result is a growing multiracial population (Alba and Nee 2003). Friendships within the melting pot context would then defy the boundaries of race.

Studies have hinted at the overall instability of interracial friendships. Within the elementary setting, interracial friendships are less stable, even when controlling for school demographics, friend attitudes and behaviors (Rude and Herda 2010). Regardless of positive interracial contact, maintaining interracial friendships outside of the educational institution proves to be difficult. A study of Whites who attended a racially diverse high school found that the majority of them, upon adulthood, self-segregated to homogenous White neighborhoods, and this despite having close friends of a different

race while in high school (Wells, Holme, Revilla, and Atanda 2009). If we understand these friendships to be organizationally-based, then this finding is not surprising. Reitzes (1953) found that interracial contact is rarely maintained beyond the task (or organizational setting) at hand.

Level of education, age, and being born outside of the United States has been shown to affect racial prejudice which could influence the motivations of pursuing an interracial friendship. Education has been shown to be a liberalizing factor in that those who pursue a higher education will harbor less racial stereotypes (Hyman and Sheatsley 1956; Kluegel and Smith 1986). Content within the classroom will contest racial stereotypes and thus break them down leading to lower racial prejudice. This in turn could possibly lead to increased flexibility to have an interracial friendship. Age has also been shown to be a liberalizing factor in that those who are younger will harbor less racial prejudice due to the racial progression of society (Smith 1981). Taken together, those who are young with a higher education could possibly have a fair amount of interracial friendships. Foreign birth and racial attitudes is largely contingent upon the racial hierarchy (Bonilla-Silva 2004). With the increase of Asian and Hispanic immigrants, it has been shown that Asian and Hispanic immigrants more readily adopt racial attitudes of Whites by holding negative stereotypes about Blacks and downplay the role of racial discrimination towards Blacks (Bobo and Johnson 2000). For these groups, foreign birth could have a negative impact towards having interracial friendships with Blacks but a positive impact towards having interracial friendships with Whites.

Opportunity for contact with those of a different race can also be understood as a preference. This is best exemplified in residential patterns. Blacks are the most

segregated racial group in the United States (Iceland 2004), thus decreasing the opportunity for non-Blacks to have contact with Blacks, however this opportunity is a result of preference in that non-Blacks are not interested in living with Blacks (Emerson, Chai, and Yancey 2001) thus reducing the opportunity for Black/non-Black contact.

Moving Forward

This study seeks to address two gaps within the literature. The majority of the literature focuses on friendships between Whites and Blacks, offering at best a murky picture of friendship outside of the White–Black divide (Pettigrew and Tropp 2006; Pettigrew and Tropp 2011; Oliver and Wong 2003; Irizarry 2012). The literature is also unclear about the factors that are present within adult cross-racial friendships. Such factors we must understand if we are to move forward in our overall understanding of interracial friendship in the modern day, U.S. context.

The Portraits of American Life Study (PALS) (Emerson and Sikkink 2012) dataset provides a national longitudinal component along with the necessary detail to address these gaps pertaining to adult friendship quality in ways that the General Social Survey and Add Health do not. In particular PALS collects data on the same adults asking various questions about friendships as well as the skin tone of the respondent. Given the level of detail within PALS, I am able to ask the following question: Where does the color line fall within adult friendship choices?

Hypotheses

Four hypotheses—some of which are competing, others not—are derived from the three theories, two from the bi-racial theory, one from the tri-racial hierarchical theory (with two components) and one from the melting pot theory.

1. Bi-Racial Theory:

- White/Non-White—The interracial friendship divide is between Whites and racial minorities. Adult interracial friendships will rarely include Whites; however interracial friendships will occur between minorities.
 - Black/Non-Black—Interracial friendship divide is between Blacks and non-Blacks. Adult interracial friendships will rarely include Blacks; however interracial friendships will occur between non-Blacks.
2. Tri-Racial Hierarchy Theory:
 - Whites, honorary Whites, and collective Blacks will choose friends within their respective group.
 - Honorary Whites will name more White friends than collective Black friends. Asians and Hispanics of lighter skin tones, compared to darker toned Asian and Hispanics, will name more White friends and less Black friends.
 3. The Melting Pot: cross-race friendships are proportionate across the races.

III. Methods

The Portraits of American Life Study (PALS) is a national panel data set for adults, the first wave of which was gathered in 2006 (n=2610) and the second wave in 2012 reinterviewed 1314 respondents, a follow-up rate of just over 50% (53% of those not deceased or incapacitated by 2012). PALS has a clustered sampling design that oversamples for Blacks, Asians, and Hispanics. I account for this design by employing the survey command (svy) in Stata 12.0 along with appropriate weights. This will also allow for inferences to be made about the population. Because my focus is on friendships, respondents who did not name any friends were dropped from the analysis (n=106). PALS respondents were asked to name up to six of their closest friends followed by their demographics and interests. Respondents were allowed to name family members as friends. In naming friends first by name, and then being asked a series of questions about each named friend, accuracy is increased over other methods (Smith 1999). By merging

the 2005 American Community Survey (ACS) and the 2010 ACS, I am able to include additional contextual data. This paper seeks to answer three straightforward questions for which we do not yet have answers:

- 1) How common are adult interracial friendships?
- 2) What factors are associated with having adult interracial friendship?
- 3) Does the relevance of these factors depend on the race of the person being friended?

The first question is answered with descriptive data, found in Table 2, Table 3 and Figures 1 – 4. Answers to the second and third questions help inform our theoretical understanding of interracial friendship variation (Table 4 and Table 5). Before offering the descriptive statistics for question one, I describe the dependent and independent variables used in this paper.

Dependent Variables and Method

Surveyed respondents were asked to think of and then name, either with a first name or initials, up to six of their closest friends. A series of questions was then asked about each friend, including race. My first question focuses on the presence of interracial friendships. Given the distribution of different race friends, this variable ranges from zero to one, with one representing at least one interracial friendship. Here logistic regression will be employed. Data permits the third question to be race-specific. Therefore the variable is binary (0, 1) representing a person having a different race friend can be partitioned into different race White, Black and Hispanic. Unfortunately, sample size limitations prevent the same for different race Asian and Other. Logistic regression analysis is used in predicting different race White, Black and Hispanic friends.

Independent Variables

Explanatory variables include measures for race, skin tone, education, sex, income, geography, political affiliation, church attendance, and friend order.

Respondent's race is categorized into White, Black, Hispanic, Asian, and Other. Asian includes Pacific Islander. Small sample size resulted in combining those who self-identify as mixed race, Native American, or Other into the "Other" designation. Skin tone of the respondent was determined by the interviewer and ranges from one, the lightest of the light, to seven, the darkest of the dark. This rating was assigned by the interviewer during the in-home 2006 interview. The interviewers used a visual skin tone guide to create their rating.

In order to broadly account for propinquity, I include racial demographic information on respondents' tracts and metropolitan areas. I include percent of same race of the respondent within a tract and percent of same race as the respondents within a metropolitan area are for 2012 in order to see if racial demographics of residential settings influence current interracial friendship behavior. For predicting interracial Black and Hispanic friendship, the tract racial demographic is categorical instead of continuous. The category break down for tracts is: <25% same race, 25%-49% same race, 50%-74%, and 75%+. White presence within tracts is included in predicting interracial Black and Hispanic friendships to measure level of exposure to Whites, which according to the theories outlined out previously, are on the opposite spectrum of the racial hierarchy of Blacks and Hispanics making it potentially more difficult to befriend a Black or Hispanic individual while living in a majority White tract. The same can be said regarding including percent Black with a tract when predicting interracial White friendships.

Church attendance is also taken into account and ranges from never (1) to at least once a week (4).

To best capture the “credentialing world” of education, I measure education not in number of years, but by four levels: high school degree,² some college or vo-tech, college degree, and more than a college degree. Age is measured in number of years and ranges from 24 to over 80 and is partitioned into three categories, less than 35, 35 – 55 and 56 and over. Income is used as a continuous variable.³ Two geography measures are used: 1) region (Northeast, Midwest, South, and West) and 2) a “center city” variable, defined by the Census, which has three categories: urban, suburban, and rural. Finally, the number of friends identified is used to sequence the ordering of interracial friends as a measure of stability.

IV. Results

The descriptive and inferential statistics offered in the Tables and Graphs allow us to answer our three questions. First, how common are adult interracial friendships? And along those lines, how are the racial hierarchy theories present?

Despite all the legislative initiatives, discussions and debates, scholarship and classes, and societal changes of the last half century, as of 2012 (Table 2 Panel B) very few Americans name at least one interracial friend, except for Asians. This offers important initial evidence against the melting pot theory. For Whites, having close friends of another race is exceedingly rare. Racial minorities engage in interracial friendships with Whites at a higher rate than with their minority peers, likely explained by the racial

² 97 respondents had less than a high school degree and were included in this category, “high school degree”

³ For those respondents who did not provide their income within the survey, they were assigned the median family income of their 2012 tract.

distribution within the population (see Table 1 for the distribution). Because Whites are the largest demographic group (see Table 1), insofar as there are White/non-White friendships, a higher percentage of people within non-White groups will have interracial friendships. Asians have the most interracial friends, at least in part because they are the smallest demographic group. When minorities have interracial friendships, they tend to be with Whites rather than with people of other minority groups, offering evidence against the presence of a White/non-White divide. However, as noted above, Whites have few interracial friendships, which the different relative sizes of the groups notwithstanding calls into question friendship reciprocity. About 4 percent or less of Whites are friends with any specific racial minority.

Comparing friendship selection by race in 2006 and 2012 (Table 2, Panel A and B), we see, with a few exceptions, that the overall trend is that interracial friendships are slightly *decreasing* rather than increasing. This is striking, especially since PALS follows the same respondents. Interestingly, Blacks and Asians report increased interracial friendships with Whites from 2006 to 2012 but Whites report decreased interracial friendships with Blacks and slightly increased with Asians. The most substantial increase, almost 8 percent, is for Asians with White friends. Variation within Asian ethnic background could be playing a role in the increase of Asian and Black interracial friendship, providing evidence for the existence of the collective Black within Bonilla-Silva's tri-racial theory (Bonilla-Silva 2004). At the same time, the most substantial decrease for having at least one interracial friendship is with Others, which decreases by over 40 percent from 2006 to 2012. Others, who are at the center of the melting pot

because they include those of mixed race, are becoming less of a racial bridge and bring into question the melting pot theory.

While the literature has established that interracial friendships suffer from instability (Rude and Herda 2010; Wells, Revilla, and Atanda 2009), neither the nuances by race nor the magnitude of instability is well known. Panel C on Table 2 is the most important information I present to show the rarity of stable interracial friendships. Given that I have data on friendships for the same people in 2006 and 2012, I examine what percent of people name an interracial friend in both years. The interracial friend does not have to be the same person in 2006 and 2012. The respondent simply has to have at least one interracial friendship in both 2006 and 2012. The table then shows the racial breakdown of the percent of the friendship choices by race from respondents who named friendships in both 2006 and 2012. Even though these friendship choices are not necessarily the same exact friend, Panel C on Table 2 clearly illustrates the phenomenon of instability of racial composition of interracial friendship selection (and if we had required the interracial friend be the same person across the two survey years, the instability would be even greater). Whites, Blacks, and Hispanics name a friend of a minority race in both 2006 and 2012 *less than 1 percent of the time*, indicating a profound reality: precious few adult Americans have close interracial friendships that last even 6 years. The friendship composition of minorities who engage in interracial friendships with Whites have the most stable interracial friendships composition relative to other interracial friendships compositions, with, for example, 19 percent of Asians naming White friends in both 2006 and 2012, but even here the figure is much lower than if we look at just one year. While interracial friendships suffer from instability, having friends

of one's own race is consistent. Over 95 percent of respondents naming a friend of their same race in 2006 also did so in 2012. Together interracial instability and intra-racial stability directly challenge the notion that we live in a post racial America.

Table 3 shows the friendship distribution by the skin tone of the respondent, in order to further test the tri-racial theory. Respondents of a lighter skin tone name the least interracial friendships compared to their medium and darker toned peers (see Table 3). Lighter skinned respondents name Hispanics at a higher rate than their darker skinned peers. The finding regarding Hispanic interracial friendship is not entirely surprising, given that according to the tri-racial divide outlined by Bonilla-Silva (2004), Hispanics are split between the honorary Whites and the collective Black, allowing for those Hispanics who are classified as honorary White to associate with those of lighter skin tones. The majority of the racial friendship mixing occurs within medium toned respondents, who could be classified as honorary Whites according to Bonilla-Silva's scheme. For those respondents who are medium toned, the majority of the friendships are with Whites. Those respondents who have a dark tone rarely have interracial friendships, yet interracial friendships of dark toned respondents are not as rare as respondents who have a light skin tone. There is clearly a hierarchy when it comes to interracial friendship selection: medium toned respondents are the most likely to have friendship across race, dark toned respondents are less likely, and lighter toned respondents are the least likely. While the tri-racial divide is hinted at within the racial breakdown of friendships by race, examining friendship by the respondents' skin tone provides additional evidence of a tri-racial divide given the racial friendship distribution for those who are medium skinned, the isolation of those with darker skin, and the self-selection of those with lighter skin.

-Table 1, Table 2, and Table 3 here-

In order to provide further detail on interracial friendships, these friendships are partitioned by the 2012 tract breakdowns of the respondents' same race and interracial friendships by their age group. Figure 1 shows that about 50 percent of respondents who reside in tracts that are made up of less than 25 percent of their own race have at least one interracial friendship. This supports the notion of propinquity. Contact with high numbers of different-race individuals is associated with increased interracial friendships.

Propinquity also explains why interracial friendships decline as homogeneity within the tract increases. In differentiating interracial friendships by race, there are striking differences. Figure 2 shows that interracial White friendships and interracial Hispanic friendships are present at higher rates in tracts with less than 25 percent of respondent's own race. For interracial Black friendships, they are significantly more likely to be present for those who reside in tracts with 25 percent-49 percent of their same race than those who reside in tracts with 50 percent-74 percent of their same race.

Age also plays an important role. Respondents younger than 56 years have an interracial friend at higher rates than those who are over 56 years of age. Note that there is no statistical difference between those who are younger than 35 and those are between the ages of 35 and 55 in having a friendship with someone of a different race. If race relations improve over time, within this measure those who are less than 35 should have significantly more interracial friendships those who are between the ages of 35 and 55. Seeing that this trend is not found within the data on this measure, it may call into question the commonly held view, at least by whites, that race relations continue to improve with each generation.

-Figure 1, Figure 2, Figure 3 here-

Now that we understand that interracial friendships are rare and that the racial makeup of tract and age appear to be important factors in cultivating interracial friendships, we turn to the second (Table 4) and third (Tables 4 – 5) questions: What factors are associated with having an adult interracial friendship? And does the relevance of these factors depend on the race of the person being friended? In explaining 2012 interracial friendships, Table 4 estimates the log odds of having 0 or 1 plus interracial friendships and the log odds of having 0 or 1 plus interracial White friendships based on a series of theoretically suggested independent variables. Predicting interracial friendships and interracial White friendships were paired together due to the similarities of their models. Model 1 of predicting interracial friendship shows that there is an individual race effect in that racial minorities are significantly different than Whites in having an interracial friendship. The individual race effect is quickly explained away in Model 3 when geographic variables are introduced, providing support for propinquity at the tract level. Tracts seem at the heart of interracial friendship formation. As shown within the full model, as the percent of a respondent's same race increases within the tract, it significantly decreases the odds of having an interracial friend by 92 percent, indicating that there is a race effect at the neighborhood level. Age is also significant for Models 2-4. Those 56 and older are significantly different from those younger than 35 and have 69 percent lower odds of having an interracial friend than those younger than 35. This supports the notion of higher racial tolerance within the younger generation, at least once other factors are controlled.

-Insert Table 4 here-

While there was a significant individual race effect for Model 1 predicting interracial friendship, the same cannot be said in Model 1 predicting interracial White friendships. In Model 1 Asians are significant, but that is explained away by demographic characteristics of the respondent in Model 2. Others become significant in Model 3 when including geographic indicators of where the respondent lives. The odds of Others having an interracial White friend is 93 percent lower than their Black peers, indicating a high level of racial isolation in friendship selection. In this case Others, which includes mixed race individuals, are not aiding in the divide between Whites and Blacks, as the melting pot theory would suggest providing further evidence that the melting pot theory is not helpful in explaining interracial friendship formation. As skin tone becomes increasingly darker, respondents have 25 percent (Model 4) lower odds of having an interracial White friend, thus supporting aspects of both the Black/non-Black divide and the tri-racial theory. Geographic indicators for predicting interracial White friendships behave similar to predicting interracial friendships: racial demographics at the tract level shapes interracial White friendship formation.

Table 5 predicts interracial Black friendship and interracial Hispanic friendship. In predicting interracial Black friendship, the Asian variable is at first significant, but that effect disappears when respondent demographics are introduced. Within Model 4, Others reduce the odds of having an interracial Black friend by 93 percent compared to Whites and Hispanics reduce the odds of having an interracial Black friend by 90 percent compared to Whites. In examining the full model, education and age are significant predictors. Those with a college degree reduce their odds of having an interracial Black friend by 77 percent compared to those with a high school degree. Those who are

between 35 and 55 and those who are 56 and older have 74 percent and 89 percent lower odds, respectively, than those who are less than 35 to have an interracial Black friend. Again this supports the idea of the younger generation having more racial tolerance than their older peers.

Interestingly, racial demographics of tracts are not a significant predictor of interracial Black friendship, as previously found in predicting interracial friendship in general and interracial White friendship. However, metropolitan racial demographics are significant. As racial homogeneity of the respondent's same race increases within the metropolitan area, it reduces the odds of having an interracial Black friend by 98 percent.

-Insert Table 5 here

There is a potential race effect and education effect in predicting interracial Hispanic friendships (see Table 5, Model 2) but those effects are explained away when geographic indicators are introduced into the model. Lack of Hispanic ethnic distinction could aid in this understanding while at the same time showing the middle status of Hispanics along the White and Black spectrum. The full model shows that as income increases, the odds of having an interracial Hispanic friend decreases by 11 percent.

Region plays a significant role in explaining whether a respondent has an interracial Hispanic friend. Specifically, living in the Midwest and West significantly increases having an interracial Hispanic friend relative to the Northeast. This is understandable because Hispanics are less concentrated in the Northeast. Also living in the suburbs significantly reduces the odds of having an interracial Hispanic friend by 56 percent compared to those who live in the city. Living in a tract that is 75 percent or more of the respondent's race reduces the odds of having an interracial Hispanic friend by 71

percent compared to those living in tracts with less than 25 percent of their same race. Also, as the respondents' race increase within the metropolitan area, the odds of having an interracial Hispanic friend decreases by 95 percent. Overall, Hispanics seem to be experiencing our racialized society differently compared to Blacks. This could in large part be due to ethnic differences within Hispanics, causing a large amount of variation within the Hispanic category, which would again support Bonilla-Silva's tri-racial theory (Bonilla-Silva 2004).

In general, the statistical behavior of predicting having an interracial White friend, interracial Black friend, and an interracial Hispanic friend is disparate. This shows that statistical understanding for having interracial friends in 2012 is not enough to answer the question "What leads to an interracial friendship?" because what leads to an interracial friendship varies by race of the friend and how race plays out in America. I find race operating organizationally: the racial composition of the tract-itself not a race-neutral event- shape the likelihood of interracial friendship.

Discussion

In this work, I attempted to outline the very basis of race relations-friendships. I have attempted to do so by showing racial patterns within friendship selection and identifying factors associated with interracial White friendship, interracial Black friendship, and interracial Hispanic friendship. Having an understanding of friendships patterns sheds light on the current racial lines present within society while also providing insight to racial stratification of bonding and bridging capital. The results provide us an additional layer of understanding for current racial inequality and also an improved awareness as to where racial inequality is headed.

Analyses of adult interracial friendship distribution show that racial lines are indeed shifting from the initial bi-racial state (DuBois 1902) to a tri-racial state (Bonilla-Silva 2004). Given that Whites rarely have friends who are not White, yet when minorities have interracial friendships they are with Whites, the White/non-White hypothesis is not supported. Although Blacks are about 12% of the population, they do not have many friends outside of their race. However, given that non-Blacks are not friends with other non-Blacks at a higher rate, the second hypothesis of Black/non-Black divide cannot be supported. Also, the fourth hypothesis of friendships being equally present across racial lines is clearly rejected, due to the sheer number of same race friendships and limited interracial friendship selection. However, given that Asians are friends with both Whites and Blacks at higher rates, Hispanics having White and Hispanic friends at higher rates, and Asians and Hispanics having the most stable interracial friendships with Whites, the third hypothesis of interracial friendships existing within the tri-racial theory is supported. The tri-racial divide is further supported with respondents of medium skin tone having friends of different races at higher proportions.

While the tri-racial divide is supported, it is important to note how rare interracial friendships are in this nation. Interracial friendships have actually decreased slightly from 2006 to 2012, despite the general public's view that we live in a post-racial society, indicating that we are far from such a society. The finding of interracial friendship decreasing is crucial given that interracial friendships contribute to bonding and bridging capital across race, which hold the tools for racial equality. Given that interracial friendships are decreasing, it can be inferred that bonding and bridging capital across race are also decreasing, thus leading to an increase in racial inequality. At the same time the

instability of interracial friendships is problematic, leaving what little bonding and bridging capital across race that is present on shaky ground. Given the rareness and instability of interracial friendships, the goal of achieving racial equality through social capital looks bleak.

When predicting the few interracial friendships that are present, analysis shows that the individual race of the respondents is not significant, but instead there is a neighborhood race effect in that the racial demographics shape interracial friendship selection, thus ruling out all hypotheses for predicting interracial friendships. In exploring interracial friendship variation, I found that as racial homogeneity increases within the tract, respondents have lower odds of having an interracial friendship. This broadly hints at propinquity at the neighborhood level and also potentially having positive exposure to other races, adding further evidence to past studies on this topic (Emerson, Kimbro, and Yancey 2002; Pettigrew and Tropp 2011). Yet, this study brings out an important nuance that previous studies have not found: racial homogeneity at the neighborhood level is only significant in predicting interracial friendship in general, interracial White friendship, and interracial Black friendship, but not interracial Hispanic friendship. Instead the number of whites within a tract is significant for Hispanics, adding a level of complexity in interracial friendships.

The implications of this study are important. First, given the racial differences in predicting interracial White, Black, and Hispanic friendships, research simply on interracial friendship without the detail of race, ethnicity, and skin tone, gives an incomplete picture of friendship selection. The racial hierarchy, specifically the tri-racial divide, shapes interracial friendship distribution patterns, and should be taken into

account when considering interracial friendship. Second, given that interracial friendship variation is in part influenced by the residential demographics of the respondent, steps towards residential integration should be revisited to increase interracial friendships, given that our current school segregation patterns have reverted to that of the 1950s and 1960s (Orfield and Eaton 1996; Orfield, Kucsera, and Siegel-Hawley 2012). Increased tract integration could potentially yield more interracial friendships, thus providing a better opportunity for bonding and bridging capital to take place across race.

Given that Others are least likely to be friends with individuals outside of their race, further research should investigate why a group that incorporates mixed race individuals is self-segregating at such a high rate. Examining specific timing of interracial friendships would be beneficial along with understanding what causes them to end at such a high rate. Also, given that ethnic breakdowns within the categories of Asian and Hispanic were not able to safely be made, further research should investigate where interracial friendship falls by race within specific ethnic categories to further confirm the hypothesis of the tri-racial hierarchy. Additionally, researchers should look into the presence and strength of bonding and bridging capital within interracial friendships compared to same race friendships. Understanding social capital by friendship selection is now the challenge.

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Table 1
Weighted descriptive statistics of respondents from the 2012 Portrait of American Survey

	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian	Other
Skin Tone	1.09 (0.35)	2.7 (0.54)	1.5 (0.55)	1.8 (0.56)	1.5 (0.68)
Education					
High School	42.4%	62.8%	60.5%	7.3%	41.9%
Some College	20.8%	19.4%	23.11%	33.9%	29.9%
College Degree	22.6%	10.9%	11.6%	20.3%	15.6%
More than	14.2%	6.9%	4.78%	38.5%	12.6%
College					
Male	35.0%	4.2%	5.9%	2.1%	1.0%
Age (Continuous)	52.3 (15.6)	49.1 (14.0)	44.3 (13.7)	45.9 (15.4)	43.2 (14.9)
Age (Categorical)					
<35	18.1%	17.1%	31.3%	13.0%	32.7%
35-55	38.2%	48.9%	46.0%	58.8%	39.1%
56+	43.7%	34.0%	22.7%	28.2%	28.2%
Income	\$50,000-\$59,999	\$30,000-\$34,999	\$35,000-\$39,000	\$60,000-\$69,999	\$40,000-\$49,999
	(\$15,000-\$19,000)	(\$15,000-\$19,000)	(\$15,000-\$19,000)	(\$15,000-\$19,000)	(\$15,000-\$19,000)
Foreign Born	4.0%	3.5%	47.6%	86.1%	35.6%
Region					
Northeast	16.3%	28.5%	6.0%	38.1%	11.9%
Midwest	27.8%	23.6%	15.2%	13.3%	6.9%
South	31.6%	42.8%	32.7%	21.6%	44.1%
West	24.4%	5.2%	46.1%	27.1%	37.1%
Center City					
Urban	12.0%	51.5%	47.3%	20.7%	29.0%
Suburban	74.2%	46.0%	52.1%	79.1%	71.0%
Rural	13.8%	2.6%	0.6%	0.1%	0.0%
Church	3.0 (2.02)	3.9 (1.95)	3.5 (1.99)	3.1 (1.9)	2.81 (2.06)
Attendance					
Number of Friends Selected	4.4 (1.26)	4.6 (1.4)	4.1 (1.5)	3.9 (1.4)	4.0 (1.2)
2012 Percent Same Race in Tract (Continuous)	75.0% (22.5%)	46.9% (31.7%)	50.0% (30.7%)	37.1% (24.6%)	2.9% (2.4%)
2006 Percent Same Race in Tract (Categorical)					
<25%	1.7%	33.3%	24.4%	56.5%	45.6%
25%-49%	8.2%	7.7%	19.8%	36.0%	0.0%
50%-74%	18.8%	25.5%	18.1%	5.6%	0.0%
75%	71.2%	33.5%	37.7%	2.0%	54.4%
2012 Percent White in Tract	75.0% (22.5%)	35.2% (28.3%)	30.0% (28.1%)	37.4% (28.1%)	46.6% (30.9%)
2012 Percent Black in Tract	6.8% (12.0%)	46.9% (31.7%)	8.01% (12.6%)	5.9% (7.7%)	9.2% (14.0%)
2012 Percent Same Race in Metro	63.9% (17.5%)	20.4% (11.2%)	32.9% (15.1%)	13.0% (7.2%)	2.3% (0.6%)

Source: Portrait of American Life Study 2012 (n=1223)

Table 2
Multiple Interracial Friendships by Respondent

Panel A. 2006			Racial Composition of Friends ^{bc}				
Respondent's Race	n ^a	% Interracial Friendship	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian	Other
White	208	15.1%	--	4.9%	5.9%	3.1%	5.0%
Black	91	21.1%	12.2%	--	2.4%	1.4%	3.0%
Hispanic	128	29.9%	21.5%	4.2%	--	1.4%	5.8%
Asian	65	42.4%	30.7%	3.6%	11.4%	--	5.0%
Other	53	47.7%	32.2%	13.4%	20.8%	7.7%	--
Panel B. 2012			Racial Composition of Friends ^{bc}				
Respondent's Race	n ^a	% Interracial Friendship	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian	Other
White	86	11.0%	--	4.0%	3.5%	3.5%	2.4%
Black	48	21.3%	17.6%	--	3.3%	1.0%	1.5%
Hispanic	56	25.6%	23.2%	2.0%	--	1.0%	4.4%
Asian*	38	66.4%	39.4%	7.3%	11.0%	--	1.5%
Other	24	4.2%	27.2%	5.0%	7.3%	12.8%	--
Panel C. 2006 & 2012			Racial Composition of Friends ^{bc}				
Respondent's Race	n ^a	% Interracial Friendship	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian	Other
White	53	5.9%	--	1.4%	0.3%	0.5%	0.3%
Black	27	11.3%	5.8%	--	0.0%	0.3%	0.4%
Hispanic	40	16.7%	9.3%	0.3%	--	0.0%	0.0%
Asian	25	29.4%	19.0%	2.2%	5.8%	--	0.0%
Other	20	40.7%	7.9%	0.0%	2.5%	7.0%	--

Source: Portrait of American Life Study 2012 (n=1223), 2006 (n=2435)

Panel A Note: Comparing actual to expected friendships within the friendship race; Weighted to the population; White Friend Chi-Square = 848.44, $p < 0.000$; Black Friend Chi-Square=931.99, $p < 0.000$; Hispanic Friend Chi-Square= 791.19, $p < 0.000$; Asian Friend Chi-Square=764.89, $p < 0.000$; Other Friend Chi-Square=528.01, $p < 0.000$; Opportunity ratios show the same pattern

Panel B Note: Comparing actual to expected friendships within the friendship race; Weighted to the population; White Friend Chi-Square = 805.27, $p < 0.000$; Black Friend Chi-Square=977.99, $p < 0.000$; Hispanic Friend Chi-Square= 861.27, $p < 0.000$; Asian Friend Chi-Square= 796.51, $p < 0.000$; Other Friend Chi-Square=715.99, $p < 0.000$; Opportunity ratios show the same pattern

Panel C Note: Comparing actual to expected friendships within the friendship race; Weighted to the population; White Friend Chi-Square = 1000.00, $p < 0.000$; Black Friend Chi-Square=1100.0, $p < 0.000$; Hispanic Friend Chi-Square=1100.0, $p < 0.000$; Asian Friend Chi-Square=1000.0, $p < 0.000$; Other Friend Chi-Square=1100.0, $p < 0.000$

Panel C Note 2: This table does not measure naming the same friends in 2006 and 2012, but simply the percentages naming friends of various racial groups in both survey years, even if the specific friends in that racial grouping changed.

^a Unweighted

^b Respondent can choose up to six friends allowing them to have more than one interracial friendship

^c Confidence intervals available on Table 6 in Appendix A

*Given the low raw number of 2012 Asian interracial friendships, 2012 Asian weighted friendship percentages were calculated as follows: I first calculated for 2006 the ratio between the unweighted and weighted percentages. I then applied that same ratio to 2012 by multiplying the ratio by the 2012 unweighted estimate. Because the 2006 full sample had nearly double the number of Asians and thus more stable estimates, using this method prevented over-inflation of the 2012 population weight.

Table 3
2012 Interracial Friendship by Respondent Skin Tone

Respondent's Skin Tone	n^	% Interracial Friendship	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian	Other
Light	144	14.3%	--	4.5%	12.2%	4.5%	4.2%
Medium	68	26.5%	53.5%	18.1%	--	--	--
Dark	40	19.0%	28.0%	--	5.0%	7.2%	4.4%

Source: Portrait of American Life Study 2012 (n=1223)

Note: Comparing actual to expected friendships within the friendship race; Weighted to the population; White Friend Chi-Square = 407.70, $p < 0.000$; Black Friend Chi-Square= 619.21, $p < 0.000$; Hispanic Friend Chi-Square= 79.42, $p < 0.000$; Asian Friend Chi-Square= 87.08, $p < 0.000$; Other Friend Chi-Square= 4.56, $p < 0.000$; Opportunity ratios show the same pattern

Respondent's race by skin tone: 89% of whites are classified as light; 80% of blacks are classified as dark; 47% of Hispanics are classified as medium and 51% of Hispanics are classified as light; 76% of Asians are classified as medium and 22% are classified as light; 63% of Others are classified as light and 25% are classified as medium.

Table 4
Logistic Regression Predicting Interracial Friendship and Interracial White Friendship

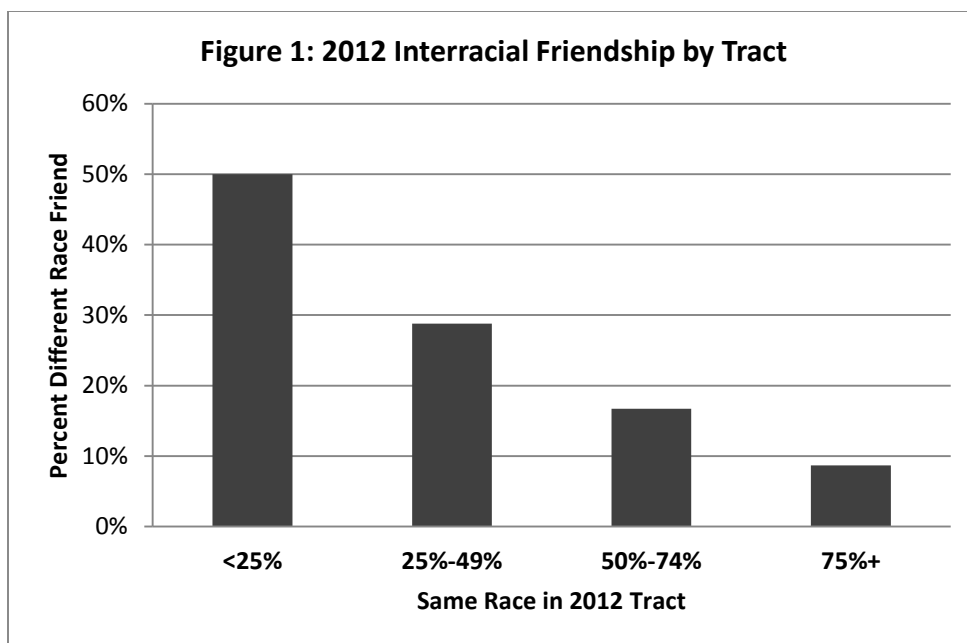
Characteristics of Respondent	Interracial ^a				White ^b			
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Race								
White	Ref	Ref	Ref	Ref	--	--	--	--
Black	3.42 (1.84)*	3.66 (2.09)*	0.56 (0.46)	0.56 (0.46)	Ref	Ref	Ref	Ref
Hispanic	3.12 (1.09)*	2.86 (1.14)*	0.69 (0.34)	0.69 (0.34)	0.84 (0.44)	0.79 (0.49)	0.58 (0.38)	0.57 (0.37)
Asian	19.34 (7.47)*	21.73 (10.24)*	1.90 (1.03)	1.89 (1.04)	3.07 (1.24)*	2.58 (1.71)	0.89 (0.63)	0.87 (0.61)
Other	6.47 (3.43)*	6.11 (3.23)*	0.19 (0.17)	0.19 (0.18)	1.00 (0.75)	0.86 (0.72)	0.07 (0.07)*	0.07 (0.07)*
Skin Tone	0.90 (0.09)	0.88 (0.10)	0.93 (0.12)	0.92 (0.11)	0.84 (0.09)	0.82 (0.10)	0.75 (0.10)	0.75 (0.09)*
Education (<i>High School ref</i>)								
Some College		1.26 (0.36)	1.29 (0.34)	1.29 (0.33)		1.14 (0.34)	1.42 (0.50)	1.36 (0.47)
College Degree		0.83 (0.39)	0.90 (0.40)	0.91 (0.39)		0.56 (0.28)	0.56 (0.31)	0.57 (0.31)
More than College		0.99 (0.56)	1.04 (0.54)	1.03 (0.54)		0.75 (0.49)	0.75 (0.48)	0.72 (0.46)
Male		1.25 (0.33)	1.09 (0.29)	1.11 (0.30)		1.13 (0.33)	1.24 (0.39)	1.27 (0.38)
Age (Categorical) (<i><35 ref</i>)								
35-55		0.83 (0.21)	0.70 (0.20)	0.69 (0.19)		1.69 (0.74)	1.49 (0.75)	1.45 (0.71)
56+		0.39 (0.14)*	0.33 (0.13)*	0.31 (0.13)*		0.69 (0.32)	0.75 (0.40)	0.66 (0.37)
Income		1.00 (0.04)	0.98 (0.03)	0.98 (0.03)		1.11 (0.05)*	1.08 (0.04)	1.07 (0.04)
Foreign Born			0.84 (0.33)	0.86 (0.33)		0.65 (0.33)	0.82 (0.42)	0.80 (0.41)
Region (<i>Northeast ref</i>)								
Midwest			0.96 (0.43)	0.97 (0.42)			0.46 (0.33)	0.46 (0.32)
South			0.87 (0.37)	0.87 (0.36)			0.45 (0.20)	0.44 (0.21)
West			1.06 (0.42)	1.06 (0.40)			0.74 (0.32)	0.72 (32)
Center City (<i>Urban ref</i>)								
Suburban			1.33 (0.38)	1.31 (0.37)			1.38 (0.69)	1.33 (0.66)
Rural			--	--			--	--
2012 Percent Same Race in Tract			0.08 (0.05)*	0.08 (0.04)*			0.05 (0.04)*	0.04 (0.04)*
2012 Percent Black in Tract			--	--			0.39 (0.39)	0.34 (0.34)
2012 Percent Same Race in Metro			0.15 (0.15)	0.15 (0.15)			2.02 (3.59)	1.97 (3.47)
Church Attendance			1.04 (0.05)	0.98 (0.05)			1.13 (0.08)	1.08 (0.09)
Number of Friends Selected				1.19 (0.11)				1.19 (0.15)
Constant	0.15 (0.03)	0.20 (0.09)	4.25 (3.86)	2.66 (2.12)	0.55 (0.34)	0.26 (0.21)	1.45 (1.83)	1.00 (1.29)

Source: Portrait of American Life Study 2012; Note: weighted to the population; *= $p < 0.05$; logistic regression; ^a n=1064 observations; ^b n=1165 observations

Table 5
Logistic Regression Predicting Interracial Black Friendship and Interracial Hispanic Friendship

Race of Interracial Friend Characteristics of Respondent	Black ^a				Hispanic ^b			
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Race								
White	Ref	Ref	Ref	Ref	Ref	Ref	Ref	Ref
Black	--	--	--	--	1.75 (1.06)	1.69 (0.96)	0.14 (0.16)	0.14 (0.16)
Hispanic	0.44 (0.29)	0.27 (0.24)	0.09 (0.07)*	0.10 (0.09)*	--	--	--	--
Asian	6.28 (2.69)*	4.48 (3.08)*	0.46 (0.54)	0.50 (0.63)	8.47 (4.75)*	4.81 (3.43)*	0.51 (0.48)	0.49 (0.47)
Other	1.14 (0.96)	0.68 (0.71)	0.06 (0.08)*	0.07 (0.09)*	2.46 (1.34)	1.46 (1.02)	0.07 (0.11)	0.07 (0.11)
Skin Tone	1.10 (0.16)	1.12 (0.16)	1.19 (0.19)	1.17 (0.19)	0.87 (0.14)	0.81 (0.12)	0.92 (0.16)	0.91 (0.15)
Education (<i>High School ref</i>)								
Some College		1.37 (0.43)	1.55 (0.56)	1.54 (0.56)		2.37 (0.99)*	1.97 (1.08)	1.97 (1.07)
College Degree		0.27 (0.21)	0.24 (0.17)	0.23 (0.17)*		1.00 (0.64)	1.31 (0.91)	1.29 (0.88)
More than College		0.74 (0.63)	0.97 (0.73)	0.94 (0.72)		1.01 (0.62)	1.37 (0.93)	1.33 (0.87)
Male		0.35 (0.24)	0.31 (0.21)	0.32 (0.22)		1.90 (0.78)	1.15 (0.52)	1.17 (0.53)
Age (Categorical) (<i><35 ref</i>)								
35-55		0.32 (0.13)*	0.28 (0.12)*	0.26 (0.12)*		1.17 (0.70)	0.84 (0.53)	0.86 (0.53)
56+		0.16 (0.10)*	0.12 (0.07)*	0.11 (0.07)*		0.89 (0.42)	0.54 (0.28)	0.52 (0.28)
Income		1.06 (0.04)	1.01 (0.05)	1.01 (0.05)		0.87 (0.04)*	0.90 (0.05)*	0.89 (0.05)*
Foreign Born		1.35 (0.77)	1.35 (0.92)	1.43 (0.97)		2.93 (2.02)	2.15 (1.95)	2.33 (2.10)
Region (<i>Northeast ref</i>)								
Midwest			1.44 (0.88)	1.50 (0.94)			10.37(8.00)*	10.67 (8.41)*
South			0.99 (0.57)	1.02 (0.57)			4.16 (3.02)	4.21 (3.10)
West			0.30 (0.18)*	0.31 (0.18)			6.84 (5.15)*	7.03 (5.26)*
Center City (<i>Urban ref</i>)								
Suburban			3.38 (2.43)	3.23 (2.36)			0.46 (0.18)*	0.44 (0.18)*
Rural			--	--			--	--
2012 Percent Same Race in Tract (<i><25% ref</i>)								
25%-49%			3.68 (2.53)	3.65 (2.58)			0.35 (0.24)	0.34 (0.24)
50%-74%			1.34 (1.17)	1.46 (1.35)			0.80 (0.39)	0.80 (0.39)
75%+			1.22 (0.92)	1.21 (0.93)			0.30 (0.15)*	0.29 (0.15)*
2012 Percent White in Tract			2.04 (2.50)	2.24 (2.63)			0.34 (0.27)	0.35 (0.27)
2012 Percent Same Race in Metro			0.01 (0.03)*	0.02 (0.03)*			0.05 (0.05)*	0.05 (0.05)*
Church Attendance			0.93 (0.08)	0.87 (0.10)			1.09 (0.11)	1.06 (0.13)
Number of Friends Selected				1.23 (0.23)				1.10 (0.18)
Constant	0.04 (0.02)	0.09 (0.08)	0.48 (0.87)	0.22 (0.39)	0.04 (0.02)	0.09 (0.06)	0.63 (0.99)	0.47 (0.72)

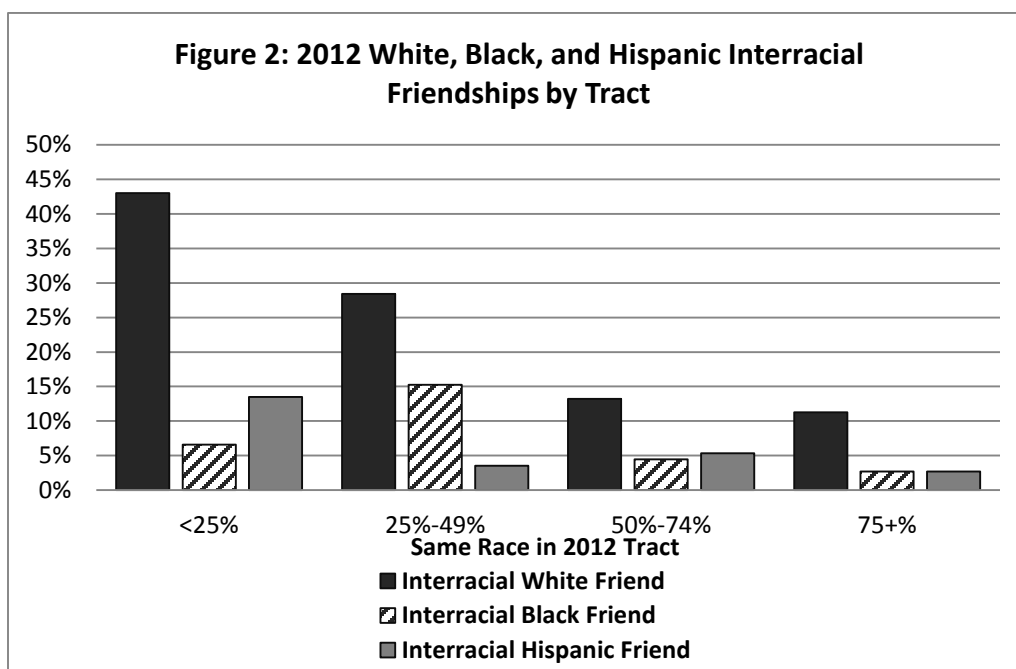
Source: Portrait of American Life Study 2012; Note: weighted to the population; *= $p < 0.05$; logistic regression; ^a n=1080 observations; ^b n=1069 observations



Source: Portrait of American Life Study 2012 and American Community Survey 2010

Note: Weighted to the population; ANOVA significance at $p < 0.05$;

All groups significantly different from each other (Scheffe post-hoc test $< .05$) except the second from the third group, and the third from the fourth group.



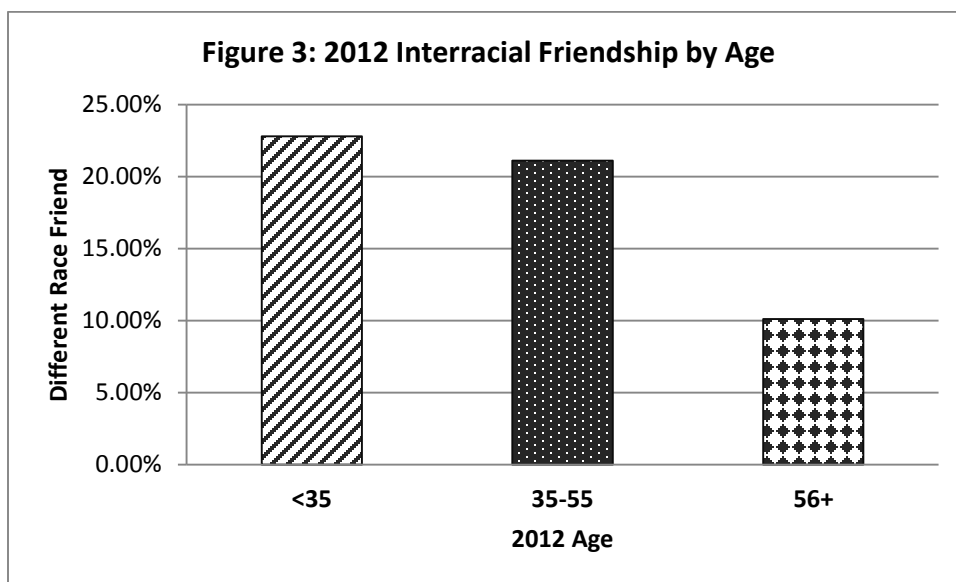
Source: Portrait of American Life Study 2012 and American Community Survey 2010

Note: Weighted to the population; ANOVA significance at $p < 0.05$;

For different race white friend, groups 1 and 2, 1 and 3, and 1 and 4 are significantly different from each other (Scheffe post-hoc test $p < .05$).

For different race black friend, groups 2 and 3 are significantly different from each other (Scheffe post-hoc test $p < .05$).

For different race Hispanic friend, groups 1 and 3 are significantly different from each other (Scheffe post-hoc test $p < .05$).



Source: Portrait of American Life Study 2012 and American Community Survey 2010

Note: Weighted to the population; ANOVA significance at $p < 0.05$; Groups 1 and 3, and groups 2 and 3 are significantly different from each other (Scheffe post hoc test $p < .05$).