Race Matters: The Racial Classification of Children in Latino/Non-Latino White, Black, and Asian Intermarriages

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Draft of paper prepared for presentation at the 2012 Population Association of America Annual Meeting in San Francisco, CA.

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ABSTRACT

Using data from the 2008-2010 American Community Survey, I investigate the racial classification of children in Latino/non-Latino white, black, and Asian intermarriages. Findings reveal that many Latino/non-Latino couples mark "some other race" as one of the races when classifying their children as multiracial. Moreover, results show that parental races significantly impact how part-Latino children are racially classified. When parents share the same race, over 95% of children are classified as the same race as parents. When parental races differ, the racial classification of children varies by race of Latino parent and type of Latino intermarriage. In addition, sex and Hispanic origin of household head influence the racial classification of part-Latino children. Lastly, age of child is negatively associated with a multiracial classification. Implications of results are discussed.

INTRODUCTION

Since 1970, rates of Latino intermarriage and reports of their "part-Hispanic" offspring have been on the rise in the United States (Lee and Edmonston, 2005). In 1970, about 600,000 Latinos were married to non-Latinos. By 2000, 1.8 million Latinos had a non-Latino spouse. The proportion of all married couples involved in Latino intermarriage has tripled from 1% in 1970 to over 3% in 2000. Moreover, between 1970 and 2000, the number of children living in Latino/non-Latino households has increased from 800,000 to 2 million. As the largest minority group and one of the fastest growing segments of the U.S. population, Latinos and their impact on marriage with non-Latinos will most certainly be felt in the coming future. Despite these demographic trends, very little attention has been paid to the offspring of Latino intermarriage. Furthermore, while studies have examined the *ethnic* identity of people of partial Latino ancestry (Jimenez, 2004; Qian, 2004), no research has yet to fully investigate the *racial* identity of part-Hispanics or "part-Latinos."

The lack of attention paid to the racial identity of the offspring of Latino intermarriage stems in part from the current *racial* classification of Latinos in the United States. The Census defines Latinos as an *ethnic* group that can *be of any race*. As a result, Latino is not included as a category in the *race* question. Instead, the Census has a separate question on "Hispanic origin" (See Figure 1). Due to the classification of Latinos as an ethnic group, many researchers encounter conceptual and methodological challenges to studying multiracial identity among part-Latinos. To begin with, the Census does not permit multiple responses to the *Hispanic origin* question. Respondents are either Hispanic or non-Hispanic, thereby making it difficult to identify the offspring of Latino intermarriage. Despite instructions soliciting a single response to the Hispanic origin question, research by Ramirez (2005) finds that over 1 million respondents

marked multiple origins in the 2000 Census. Among these respondents, about 700,000 indicated that they were both Hispanic and non-Hispanic in the Hispanic origin question.

Unlike the Hispanic origin question, the Census does permit multiple responses to the *race* question. While the Census allows respondents to mark more than one racial category, some scholars question whether Latinos who report two or more races in the race question are in fact the offspring of Latino intermarriage. Because many Latinos can trace their ancestry to multiple origins (e.g., American, African, European, etc.) (Menchaca, 2001), some Latinos who select more than one racial category may be "mestizos" or "mulatos" (Amaro and Zambrana, 2000). Given these conceptual and methodological challenges to studying multiracial identity among people of partial Latino ancestry, many researchers omit Latinos who select two or more races in the race question from their analysis of the multiracial population (Bratter, 2007; Campbell, 2009; Campbell and Eggerling-Boeck, 2006; Doyle and Kao, 2007a; Doyle and Kao, 2007b; Harris, 2002; Harris and Sim, 2002; Roth, 2005). The decision to exclude Latinos from research on multiracial people is problematic because Latinos comprise about a third of the "two or more races" population in the United States (Jones and Smith, 2001).

As a result of the current classification of Latinos as an ethnic group, Harris and Sim (2002) argue that the study of multiracial identity among Latinos can only be adequately considered in surveys using a combined race and Hispanic origin question. Very few surveys, however, combine race and Hispanic ethnicity together. Most surveys adopt the Census design, relying on the separate race and Hispanic origin question format. Moreover, changes in the Census classification system are unlikely in the immediate future; the 2010 Census also retain separate questions on race and Hispanic origin. In the mean time, the size of the part-Latino population will continue to grow, making their presence felt. Already in California, the offspring of Latino intermarriage make up more than two thirds of multiethnic/multiracial births (Tafoya,

2002). Thus, regardless of question format, there is a need to study the racial identify of people of partial Latino ancestry, as their racial identity is crucial to understanding their experience with assimilation in the United States and placement within the U.S. racial stratification system.

Therefore, what is the racial identity of the offspring of Latino intermarriage? Moreover, how do part-Latinos respond to the separate race and Hispanic origin question format? To answer these questions, I examine the racial classification of children in Latino/non-Latino white, black, and Asian intermarriages. Using the 2008-2010 American Community Survey (ACS), I analyze racial labels that Latino/non-Latino couples assign their part-Latino children, based on responses to the race question. In addition, I assess the impact of parental race on the racial reporting of children in Latino/non-Latino households. Previous research suggests that the identity formation of part-Latinos may differ by whether the Latino parent is white, black, or another race (Northrup and Bean, 2007). Furthermore, studies find that the racial classification of mixed race children vary considerably by type of interracial marriage (Bratter, 2007; Qian, 2004). Finally, I test a number of factors known to affect how mixed race children are racially classified. In doing so, I look to investigate how parents of Latino intermarriage racially classify their part-Latino children according to the current Census classification format.

There are a number of theoretical implications to the study of the racial classification of children in Latino intermarriage. First, parental classification may demonstrate ways in which parents view and consequently socialize their offspring. The fostering of particular racial identities may very well impact how children of partial Latino ancestry racially identify later on as they transition into adolescence and adulthood (Rockquemore et al., 2006). As such, socialization may not only involve the transmission of norms and values, but also that of racial identity. Second, how children are labeled by their parents may be telling of how they are classified by others, which in turn may affect how part-Latino children identify themselves

(Khanna, 2010). Third, parental classification may reveal how parents make sense of the current classification format for their mixed heritage children. Fourth, the racial labels that Latino/non-Latino couples assign their offspring may be contextualized by their "racial environment," or racially specific norms that guide parental classification (Bratter, 2007). These include child and parental characteristics, family structure, and cultural and structural influences.

METHODOLOGY

Data for this research comes from the 2008-2010 American Community Survey (ACS) (Ruggles et al., 2011). The 2008-2010 ACS is a multi-year, 3% sample of the U.S. population, containing all households and persons from single-year, 1% ACS files from years 2008-2010. The weights for the multi-year file yield estimates for the entire 3-year period. The purpose of using the multi-year file is twofold. To begin with, multi-year estimates are particularly useful for researchers studying small populations. By combining three 1% ACS files, researchers are able to increase the sample size of their population of interest. Just as important, the 2008-2010 ACS file accounts for changes to the race and Hispanic origin question format. While categories in the race and Hispanic origin questions did not change, the ACS in 2008 began instructing respondents that "Hispanic origins are not races" in their surveys, so as to comply with 2010 Census instructions (See Figure 1). Given that racial identity is highly contextualized and even influenced by slight variations in question format and instructions (Campbell and Rogalin, 2006), I restrict my data to ACS files from years 2008-2010.

Whereas using multi-year estimates are ideal for studying small populations, there are several challenges to this database. To begin with, there is no way to ensure a biological link between parents and children. Furthermore, there is no information on who is specifically reporting race for family members. Following the design of previous researchers using Census

data (Bratter, 2007; Roth, 2005), I make a number of restrictions to increase the likelihood that the child is the biological offspring of both parents. Only families where either the mother or father is listed as the head of household (omitting subfamilies and co-resident families) and where the child is listed as "natural born[1] (omitting stepchildren and adopted children) are included in the sample. Cases where the race of the child does not match the race of either parent are also omitted[2], except for cases where the child is classified as "some other race" or multiracial. To increase the possibility that parents are classifying their children, only children under the age of 15 are selected. Finally, households where either the race of parents or children were allocated by the Census are deleted.

For this study, Latino/non-Latino households are restricted to single-race Latinos married to non-Latino whites, blacks, and Asians. Furthermore, one child from each household is selected at random to avoid the strong association between races given to siblings (Xie and Goyette, 1997). The dependent variable in this study is the racial classification of the offspring of Latino intermarriage. For multivariate analysis, the race of child is a three-category variable reflecting the likelihood of classifying part-Latino children as 1) Same race as the non-Latino parent, 2) Different race as the non-Latino parent, and 3) Multiracial, depending on the type of Latino intermarriage assessed. In Latino/non-Latino white households, for instance, children are coded as either white, non-white, or multiracial. To capture how the racial assignment of part-Latino children may be contextualized by their racial environment, I include the following independent variables: Race and Hispanic origin of Latino parent, nativity status of parents,

[1] Similar to the 2000 Census, the ACS distinguishes natural born children from adopted and stepchildren, though only in relation to the head of household (Roth, 2005).
[2] For example, a household with a "white" Latino parent married to a non-Latino black parent with a non-Latino Asian child.

educational attainment of parents, sex and Hispanic origin of household head, language spoken at home, local racial and ethnic composition, region, and age of child[3].

Race of Latino parent is coded as a three-category variable of "Same race as non-Latino parent," "Different race as non-Latino parent," and "Some other race," based on type of Latino intermarriage examined (e.g., Black, non-black, and some other race in Latino/non-Latino black households). With Hispanic origin of Latino parent, categories "Mexican" (reference), "Central American," "South American," "Caribbean," and "Hispanic, not specified" (includes Spanish) are created. Nativity status for parents is constructed as a dummy variable (1 = foreign born, 0 = U.S. born). For sex and Hispanic origin of household head, categories of "non-Latino father" (reference), "Latino father," "non-Latina mother," and "Latina mother are constructed, where head of household is defined as the first person listed in the Census. Educational attainment of parents are measured categorically as "Both parent equally educated" (reference), "Latino parent less educated," and "Latino parent more educated." Languages spoken at home are categorized as "English only" (reference), "Spanish," and "Other foreign languages," and "Both Spanish and other foreign languages."

To create local racial and ethnic composition variables, standardized percentages of the total population identified as the race of the non-Latino parent (i.e., white, black, or Asian depending on type of intermarriage analyzed) within each Public Use Microdata Area[4] (PUMA) are used. For Latino/non-Latino Asian households, for example, I calculate the proportion of the total population identified as Asian divided by the standard deviation for the Asian proportion across all PUMAs. Similar measures for the total population identified as Latino or multiracial

[3] For the Latino/non-Latino Asian household sample, I also include a variable for Asian origin of Asian parent, with categories of "Filipino" (reference), "East Asian," "Southeast Asian," "South Asian," and "Other Asian origin groups."

[4] PUMA is the smallest geographic unit available for which racial and ethnic composition information can be compiled. Each PUMA consists of a county or several counties, but a county with more than 200,000 inhabitants is divided into two or more PUMAs.

within PUMA are also included. Region is measured as "Northeast," "South" (reference), "Midwest," and "West." Finally, age of child is coded as "0-4" (reference), "5-9," and "10-14." For multivariate analysis, total household income (measured in units of $10,000) and dummy variables for sex of child (1 = male, 0 = female), Hispanic origin of child (1 = yes, 0 = no), and non-metropolitan status (1 = yes, 0 = no) are included as control variables.

To examine the likelihood of classifying part-Latino children with one racial label over others, multinomial logistic regression models are used. For this study, odds ratios are presented. An odds ratio above or below 1.00 signifies an increase or decrease, respectively, in the odds of assigning a child a particular racial label relative to other labels. While this research design investigates the racial classification of the offspring of Latino intermarriage, it should be noted that the study is limited to children in intact, married Latino/non-Latino households. Studies demonstrate that interracial couples are more likely than same race couples to divorce (Bratter and King, 2008). As a result, mixed race children who live with only one parent are likely to experience race differently than those who live with both parents. Therefore, further research is needed to examine the racial reporting of mixed heritage children growing up outside of intermarriage. Additionally, due to the increasing prevalence of interracial cohabitation and out of wedlock births (Simmons and O'Connell, 2003), it is also important to investigate the racial classification of the offspring of interracial cohabitation.

RESULTS

Racial Classification of Part-Latino Children

Table 1 presents the distribution of race of child by type of Latino/non-Latino household. Results indicate considerable variation in how Latino/non-Latino couples racially classify their part-Latino children. For Latino/non-Latino white households, the overwhelming majority of

children are classified as white (84.9%), followed by white and "some other race" (7.4%) and "some other race" (6.0%). Among Latino/non-Latino black households, just over half are classified as black (52.9%), followed by black and "some other race" (15.8%) and black and white (14.9%). Whereas most of the children in Latino/non-Latino white and black households are labeled white and black respectively, a slight majority of children in Latino/non-Latino Asian households are classified as Asian and white (28.2%), followed by Asian (28.0%) and Asian and "some other race" (23.2%). Overall, Latino/non-Latino white couples are the most likely to classify their offspring as the same race as the non-Latino parent (i.e., white), while Latino/non-Latino Asian couples are the most likely to provide a multiracial classification for their children.

It should be noted that differences in the racial reporting of part-Latino children can be attributed in part to the race of the Latino parent as well as the racial distribution of Latinos married to non-Latino whites, blacks, and Asians. When the Latino parent shares the same race as the non-Latino parent, over 95% of children are classified as the same race as parents across all Latino intermarriages (See Table 2). When parental races differ, there is much greater variation in how part-Latino children are racially classified. In terms of the racial distribution of Latinos married to non-Latinos, close to 80% of Latinos in Latino/non-Latino white households are white (77.3%), followed by "some other race" (20.0%). As for Latino/non-Latino black households, most Latinos are white (37.3%), followed by "some other race" (32.4%) and black (27.6%). With Latino/non-Latino Asian households, the overwhelming majority of Latinos are either white (55.6%) or "some other race" (33.9%); very few are Asian (7.7%). Put differently, the majority of Latinos married to non-Latino whites are "white" Latinos, whereas those married to non-Latino blacks and Asians are "non-black" and "non-Asian" Latinos, accordingly.

Multivariate Analysis

Overall, the racial reporting of part-Latino children appears to vary by race of Latino parent and type of Latino intermarriage. To assess the impact of parental races and other racial environment factors on the likelihood of assigning a child one racial label relative to others, I employ multinomial logistic regression analysis. Furthermore, I limit my analysis to cases where parental races differ. Although this excludes cases where the Latino parent shares the same race as the non-Latino parent, over 95% of part-Latino children in these households are classified as the same race as parents, thus severely restricting the variation on the dependent variable. Therefore, race of Latino parent is confined to "Different race as non-Latino parent" and "Some other race" (reference).

Latino/non-Latino White Households

Multivariate analysis reveals that for Latino/non-Latino white households, the race of Latino parents significant influences how part-Latino children are racially classified, holding all other factors constant. Households with "non-white" Latino parents are more likely than those with "some other race" Latino parents to classify their offspring as white or multiracial (vs. non-white). In terms of the Hispanic origin of Latino parents, Puerto Rican parents, compared to Mexican parents, increase the odds of labeling their child multiracial (vs. non-white). Moreover, households where Latino parents did not provide a specific origin (i.e., Hispanic, not specified) are less likely to designate their children as white or multiracial (vs. non-white). While having foreign born Latino parents increase the likelihood of a white or multiracial (vs. non-white) designation for their children, households with foreign born non-Latino parents increase the odds of a white label. Relative to other households, those headed by non-Latino fathers are more likely to classify their children as white and multiracial (vs. non-white).

Compared to parents with equal education, households where the Latino parent has less education than their non-Latino spouse are more likely to report their part-Latino children as white or multiracial (vs. non-white). On the other hand, when the Latino is more educated, children are more likely to be classified as white (vs. multiracial). As for language spoken at home, speaking a non-Spanish foreign language, as opposed to English only, decreases the odds of Latino/non-Latino white couples labeling their child as white (vs. multiracial). With neighborhood racial composition, proportions white and multiracial are positively associated with white (vs. non-white) and multiracial (vs. non-white) designations, respectively. Regional patterns indicate that relative to households in the South, those in the Northeast are more likely to classify their children as white and multiracial (vs. non-white). Moreover, households in the Midwest are more likely to report multiracial (vs. non-white), while those in the West are more likely to indicate white or multiracial (vs. non-white). Lastly, age of child is negatively associated with a multiracial (vs. non-white) assignment.

Latino/non-Latino Black Households

Unlike Latino/non-Latino white households, multivariate analysis shows that the race of Latino parents does not appear to impact the racial reporting of part-Latino children, once all other factors are accounted for. With regards to the Hispanic origin of Latino parents, Puerto Rican parents, relative to Mexican parents, are less likely to designate their children as black (vs. multiracial). Moreover, having a Central American parent decreases the odds of multiracial and black (vs. non-black) labels. Finally, both Caribbean parents and those who provided a generic Hispanic origin (i.e., Hispanic, not specified) are negatively associated with reporting their children as black (vs. non-black) and multiracial (vs. non-black), respectively. In terms of the nativity status of non-Latino parents, foreign born parents increase the likelihood that their child will be classified as multiracial (vs. black). As for the sex and Hispanic origin of household

head, households headed by Latino parents are less likely to report their children as black and in the case of Latina mothers, less likely to provide a multiracial (vs. non-black) label.

Relative to parents with same educational attainment, households where the Latino parent is more educated than their non-Latino spouse are more likely to classify their children as multiracial (vs. non-black). In terms of language spoken at home, speaking both Spanish and another foreign language, as opposed to speaking only English, decrease the odds of assigning their child a black or multiracial (vs. non-black) designation. For the racial and ethnic composition of neighborhoods, households living in areas with higher concentration of multiracial are more likely to provide a black or multiracial (vs. non-black) classification for their part-Latino children. Furthermore, proportion Latino is negatively associated with a multiracial label (vs. black). With region, households in the Midwest are more likely than those in the South to report their children as multiracial. For households in the Northeast, the odds of a black (vs. multiracial) assignment decrease. Lastly, with respective to the age, older children are negatively associated with a multiracial classification.

Latino/non-Latino Asian Households

As for Latino/non-Latino Asian households, findings for multivariate analysis show that like Latino/non-Latino white households, the race of Latino parents has a significant impact on how part-Latino children are racially classified. "Non-Asian" Latino parents, relative to "some other race" Latino parents, are negatively associated with an Asian assignment. With the Hispanic origin of Latino parents, households with Puerto Rican parents are more likely than those with Mexican parents to classify their child as Asian or multiracial (vs. non-Asian). Furthermore, having a "Hispanic, not specified" parent increases the odds of a multiracial (vs. non-Asian) classification. When the Asian origin of non-Latino parents is considered, Chinese parents, compared to Filipino parents, are more likely to report their children as multiracial (vs.

non-Asian). Moreover, Japanese parents increase the likelihood of an Asian or multiracial (vs. non-Asian) label, whereas the odds decrease with Korean and South Asian parents.

With the sex and Hispanic origin of household head, households headed by non-Latino fathers are more likely to classify their part-Latino child as Asian or multiracial (vs. non-Asian). When compared to non-Latino father, non-Latina mothers are also less likely to provide an Asian (vs. multiracial) classification. In terms of language spoken at home, speaking a non-Spanish foreign language or multiple foreign languages (including Spanish), as opposed to only speaking English, increases the likelihood of reporting children as multiracial (vs. non-Asian). With racial and ethnic composition of neighborhoods, proportion Asian is positively associated with a multiracial (vs. non-Asian) designation, while the exact opposite is the case for proportion Latino. Whereas households in the Northeast are less likely than those in the South to label their children as Asian (vs. non-Asian), households in the West are more likely to report a multiracial (vs. non-Asian) classification. Finally, the impact of age on child on the racial assignment of part-Latino children is negatively associated with a multiracial designation.

Combined Latino/non-Latino White, Black, and Asian Households

To account for how the racial reporting of part-Latino children may differ by the race of non-Latino parents or type of Latino intermarriage, I run multinomial logistic regression for the entire Latino/non-Latino white, black, and Asian household sample. Findings demonstrate that the race of non-Latino parents does significantly affect the the racial assignment of children. Across Latino intermarriage, households with non-Latino black parents are more likely than those with non-Latino white parents to classify their children as the "same race" as them (vs. "different race"). In other words, non-Latino black parents are more likely to label their children as black (vs. non-black) than non-Latino white parents are to assign a white (vs. non-white) classification. While non-Latino Asian parents, relative to non-Latino white parents, are

negatively associated with a "same race" (vs. "different race") designation, these differences are not statistically significant. With respect to other racial labels, households with non-Latino black and Asian parents are much more likely than households with non-Latino white parents to provide a multiracial assignment.

IMPLICATIONS

The 2000 Census garnered considerable media and scholarly attention, as it marked the first time in Census history to enumerate the multiracial population by allowing people to check more than one race. Despite significant growth in research on multiracial people, very little scholarship has focused on the offspring of Latino intermarriage. While studies have examined the *ethnic* identity of people of partial Latino ancestry (Jimenez, 2004; Qian, 2004), no research has fully investigated the *racial* identity of part-Latinos. This lack of attention paid to part-Latinos in multiracial discourse stems in part from the current classification of Latinos in the United States, where Latinos are defined as an "ethnic" group and thus, not included as an option in the race question. As a result of today's racial and ethnic classification system, many researchers omit Latinos from their examination of multiracial identity. As one of the fast growing segments of the U.S. population, there is a need to study part-Latinos, including assessing their racial identity based on the current categorization system.

In this study, I examined the racial classification of the offspring of Latino/non-Latino white, black, and Asian intermarriages, focusing on how Latino/non-Latino couples racially classify their part-Latino children. Furthermore, I assessed the impact of parent races and type of intermarriage on the racial reporting of children in Latino/non-Latino households. Lastly, I tested factors known to influence how mixed heritage children are racially classified. Using data from the 2008-2010 American Community Survey, findings indicate that Latino/non-Latino

white households are the most likely to classify their children as white, whereas Latino/non-Latino Asian households are most likely to provide a multiracial classification. Moreover, multivariate analysis demonstrates that parental races, household head characteristics, and age of child are all significant predictors of how part-Latino children are racially labeled by their parents. Based on these findings, what are the theoretical implications of this study?

To begin with, parental classification may signal the ways in which children are racially socialized. Different forms of "racial socialization" may foster certain racial identities, which in turn can impact how part-Latino children come to view themselves as they grow older (Rockquemore et al., 2006). Results may suggest that the majority of children in Latino/non-Latino white and black households are socialized as white and black respectively, while those in Latino/non-Latino Asian households are raised as multiracial. In addition to racial socialization, how Latino/non-Latino couples designate their children may be an indication of how they are seen by others, which may very well affect the racial identity of part-Latino children (Khanna, 2010). Given that the majority of children in Latino/non-Latino white and black households are racially classified as white and black accordingly, this may reflect that these children may be seen as such. As for the majority of children in Latino/non-Latino Asian households being classified as multiracial, these children may in fact appear "phenotypically ambiguous" to others.

Aside from indications of racial socialization and physical appearance, the racial classification of mixed heritage children may also represent how parents interpret or make sense of the current racial and ethnic classification format. Findings reveal that many Latino/non-Latino couples mark "some other race" as one of the races when classifying their children as multiracial. In fact, these responses were either the second or third largest racial labels given by parents across all Latino/non-Latino households. The high prevalence of "some other race" labels may indicate that many Latino/non-Latino couples see a lack of fit for their children based

on racial options available in the current race question. These findings are in line with previous research on Latino racial identity, where many Latinos do not feel that "standard" racial categories provided in the race question describe themselves adequately (Campbell and Rogalin, 2007). As a result, many Latinos mark "some other race" or skip the race question altogether. Further research is necessary to ascertain the meaning behind "some other race" labels that Latino/non-Latino couples provide when classifying their children as multiracial.

Finally, parental classification of their mixed heritage offspring may be contextualized by their racial environment (Bratter, 2007). How Latino/non-Latino couples racially designate their children may be guided by social, cultural, and structural factors. Results show that parental races matter in the racial reporting of part-Latino children, thereby supporting previous research that the identity formation of part-Latinos may differ by race of Latino parents and type of Latino intermarriage (Bratter, 2007; Northrup and Bean, 2007; Qian, 2004). Multivariate analysis also revealed that sex and Hispanic origin of household head significantly predicted the racial labeling of children in Latino/non-Latino households. This may point to the need to consider who is filling out the survey when investigating the racial classification of part-Latino children. Lastly, age of child appeared to be negatively associated with a multiracial classification. This may signify the pressure of parents and children to conform to single-race classifications over time. Based on these theoretical implications, future research should consider not only the racial environment in which mixed heritage children grow up in, but also the mode of data collection, including who is filling out the race question and what categories are available.

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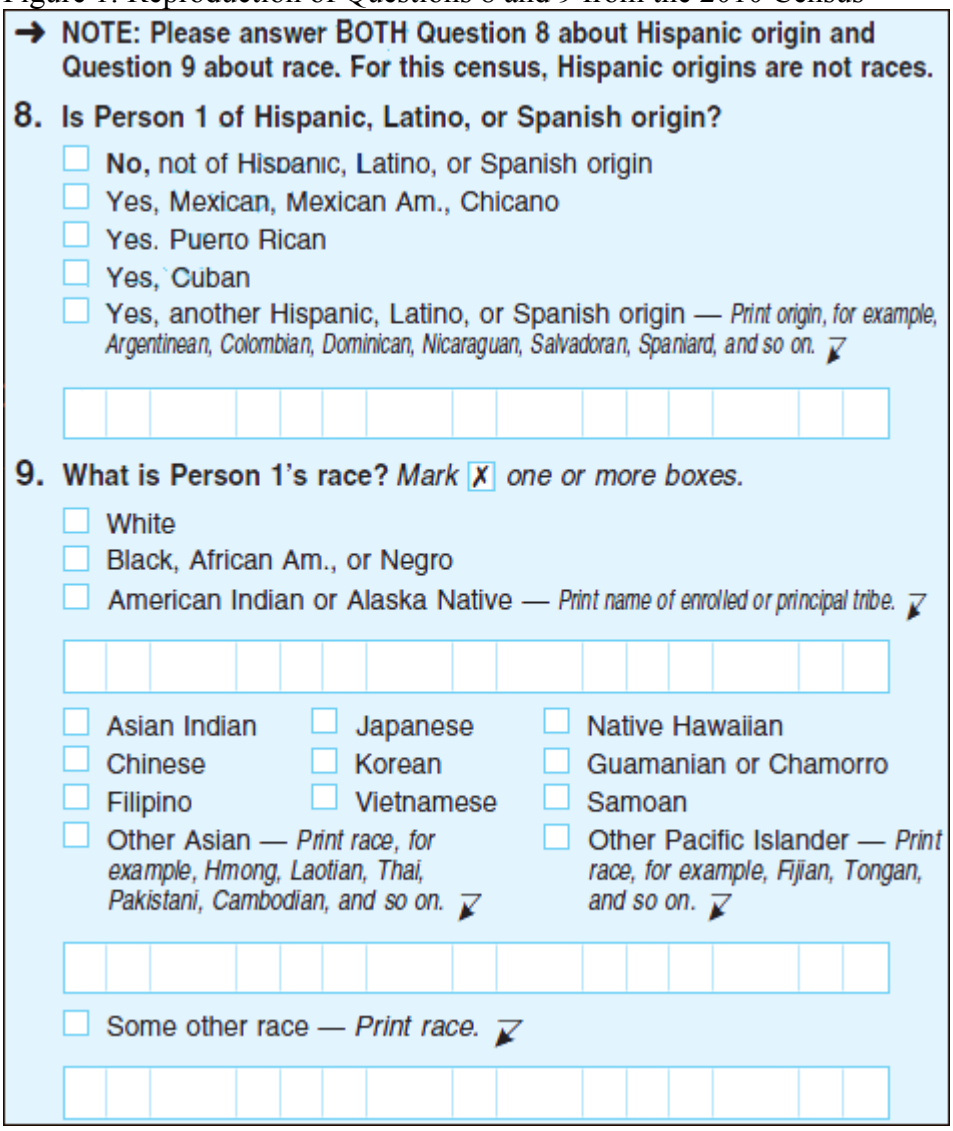
Figure 1: Reproduction of Questions 8 and 9 from the 2010 Census



➜ **NOTE: Please answer BOTH Question 8 about Hispanic origin and Question 9 about race. For this census, Hispanic origins are not races.**

8. Is Person 1 of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin?

- ☐ **No,** not of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin
- ☐ Yes, Mexican, Mexican Am., Chicano
- ☐ Yes, Puerto Rican
- ☐ Yes, Cuban
- ☐ Yes, another Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin — *Print origin, for example, Argentinean, Colombian, Dominican, Nicaraguan, Salvadoran, Spaniard, and so on.*

9. What is Person 1's race? *Mark* ☒ *one or more boxes.*

- ☐ White
- ☐ Black, African Am., or Negro
- ☐ American Indian or Alaska Native — *Print name of enrolled or principal tribe.*

- ☐ Asian Indian
- ☐ Chinese
- ☐ Filipino
- ☐ Other Asian — *Print race, for example, Hmong, Laotian, Thai, Pakistani, Cambodian, and so on.*
- ☐ Japanese
- ☐ Korean
- ☐ Vietnamese
- ☐ Native Hawaiian
- ☐ Guamanian or Chamorro
- ☐ Samoan
- ☐ Other Pacific Islander — *Print race, for example, Fijian, Tongan, and so on.*

- ☐ Some other race — *Print race.*

Table 1: Distribution of Race of Child by Type of Latino/non-Latino Household

Latino/non-Latino White Households (N = 23,094)		Latino/non-Latino Black Households (N = 1,539)		Latino/non-Latino Asian Households (N = 932)	
Race	Weighted %	Race	Weighted %	Race	Weighted %
White	84.9%	White	6.8%	White	11.0%
Black	0.1%	Black	52.9%	Black	0.2%
American Indian	0.4%	American Indian	0.1%	American Indian	-
Asian	0.1%	Asian	0.1%	Asian	28.0%
Pacific Islander	0.0%	Pacific Islander	-	Pacific Islander	0.2%
Some other race	6.0%	Some other race	8.0%	Some other race	6.3%
Multiracial		Multiracial		Multiracial	
White and black	0.4%	Black and white	14.9%	Asian and white	28.2%
White and AI	0.4%	Black and AI	0.7%	Asian and black	0.6%
White and Asian	0.3%	Black and Asian	0.6%	Asian and AI	0.9%
White and PI	0.0%	Black and PI	0.1%	Asian and SOR	23.2%
White and SOR	7.4%	Black and SOR	15.8%	White and SOR	0.2%
Asian and SOR	0.0%	Asian and SOR	0.0%	Asian, white, SOR	1.1%
White, black, SOR	0.0%	Black, white, SOR	0.0%	Asian, AI, SOR	0.1%
White, AI, SOR	0.0%				
Overall		Overall		Overall	
White	84.9%	Black	52.9%	Asian	28.0%
Non-white	6.6%	Non-black	14.9%	Non-Asian	17.7%
Multiracial	8.5%	Multiracial	32.1%	Multiracial	54.3%
Total	100.0%	Total	100.0%	Total	100.0%

Source: 2008-2010 American Community Survey (Ruggles et al., 2011).

Table 2: Distribution of Race of Child by Race of Latino Parent and Type of Latino/Latino Household

Latino/non-Latino White Households (N = 23,094)

	Race of Child			Distribution	
Race of Latino Parent	White	Non-White	Multiracial	N*	%
White	99.5%	0.1%	0.4%	17,767	77.3%
Black	39.4%	12.4%	48.2%	195	0.8%
American Indian	35.5%	28.2%	36.2%	346	1.3%
Asian	19.5%	22.0%	58.5%	135	0.5%
Pacific Islander	42.9%	-	57.1%	13	0.0%
Some other race	35.1%	29.7%	35.2%	4,638	20.0%
Overall					
White	99.5%	0.1%	0.4%	17,767	77.3%
Non-white	33.8%	21.8%	44.3%	689	2.7%
Some other race	35.1%	29.7%	35.2%	4,638	20.0%
Total	84.9%	6.6%	8.5%	23,094	100.0%

Latino/non-Latino Black Households (N = 1,539)

	Race of Child			Distribution	
Race of Latino Parent	Black	Non-Black	Multiracial	N*	%
White	35.9%	21.3%	42.9%	567	37.3%
Black	99.3%	0.2%	0.5%	435	27.6%
American Indian	53.6%	3.6%	42.9%	26	1.9%
Asian	-	9.1%	90.9%	15	0.8%
Pacific Islander	-	-	100.0%	3	0.1%
Some other race	34.5%	21.0%	44.5%	493	32.4%
Overall					
Black	99.3%	0.2%	0.5%	435	27.6%
Non-black	36.0%	20.1%	21.0%	611	40.0%
Some other race	34.5%	21.0%	44.5%	493	32.4%
Total	53.0%	14.9%	32.1%	1,539	100.0%

Latino/non-Latino Asian Households (N = 932)

	Race of Child			Distribution	
Race of Latino Parent	Asian	Non-Asian	Multiracial	N*	%
White	19.5%	20.9%	59.6%	563	55.6%
Black	30.0%	10.0%	60.0%	11	1.1%
American Indian	21.4%	7.1%	71.4%	12	1.6%
Asian	95.8%	4.2%	-	69	7.7%
Pacific Islander	-	100.0%	-	1	0.2%
Some other race	26.9%	15.8%	57.3%	314	33.9%
Overall					
Asian	95.8%	4.2%	-	69	7.7%
Non-Asian	19.8%	20.6%	59.6%	549	58.4%
Some other race	26.9%	15.8%	57.3%	314	33.9%
Total	28.0%	17.7%	54.3%	932	100.0%

Source: 2008-2010 American Community Survey (Ruggles et al., 2011).

*Unweighted count.

Table 3: Logistic Regression for Race of Child in Latino/Non-Latino White Households (N = 5,327)

	Non-White vs. White		Multiracial vs. White		Multiracial vs. Non-White	
Independent Variables	Odds	SE	Odds	SE	Odds	SE
Race of Latino Parent ("Some other race" ref.)						
Non-white	0.65**	0.13	1.16	0.11	1.78***	0.12
Hispanic Origin of Latino Parent (Mexican ref.)						
Puerto Rican	0.79	0.15	1.09	0.13	1.37*	0.13
Central American	0.78	0.16	0.96	0.13	1.23	0.14
South American	1.00	0.15	0.97	0.14	0.97	0.14
Caribbean	1.13	0.21	0.87	0.21	0.77	0.20
Hispanic, not specified	1.60**	0.17	1.21	0.16	0.75*	0.14
Nativity of Latino Parent (U.S. born ref.)						
Foreign born	0.79*	0.10	0.98	0.09	1.25*	0.09
Nativity of Non-Latino Parent (U.S. born ref.)						
Foreign born	0.55**	0.20	0.63**	0.18	1.15	0.19
Head of Household (Non-Latino father ref.)						
Latino father	1.78***	0.10	1.31**	0.10	0.73**	0.09
Non-Latina mother	1.78***	0.11	1.30**	0.10	0.73**	0.10
Latina mother	1.77***	0.13	1.39**	0.12	0.78*	0.11
Education of Parents (Both equally educated ref.)						
Latino parent less educated	0.78**	0.09	0.90	0.09	1.16+	0.08
Latino parent more educated	0.86	0.10	0.85+	0.10	0.98	0.09
Language Spoken at Home (English only ref.)						
Spanish	1.01	0.09	1.00	0.09	0.99	0.08
Other foreign language	1.40	0.44	2.47**	0.35	1.76	0.38
Spanish and other foreign language	1.46	0.30	1.40	0.27	0.96	0.27
Percent White in Area						
Standardized	0.90*	0.05	0.96	0.05	1.07	0.04
Percent Multiracial in Area						
Standardized	0.96	0.05	1.07	0.05	1.11*	0.05
Percent Latino in Area						
Standardized	1.04	0.05	1.05	0.04	1.01	0.04
Region (South ref.)						
Northeast	0.60**	0.15	0.79+	0.13	1.32*	0.14
Midwest	0.98	0.12	1.17	0.11	1.20+	0.11
West	0.77**	0.10	0.96	0.09	1.26**	0.09
Age of Child (0-4 ref.)						
5-9	1.12	0.09	0.93	0.09	0.83*	0.08
10-14	1.16	0.10	0.92	0.09	0.80**	0.09
Model X^2 = 1514.437						
-2 LL = 10138.676						
Pseudo R^2 = 0.130						

Source: 2008-2010 American Community Survey (Ruggles et al., 2011)

Note: Sample excludes Latino parents whose race was reported as white. Model controls for household income, non-metropolitan status, child's gender, and child's Hispanic origin.

+ = $p < 0.10$; * = $p < 0.05$; ** = $p < 0.01$; *** = $p < 0.001$

Table 4: Logistic Regression for Race of Child in Latino/Non-Latino Black Households (N= 1,104)

	Non-Black vs. Black		Multiracial vs. Black		Multiracial vs. Non-Black	
Independent Variables	Odds	SE	Odds	SE	Odds	SE
Race of Latino Parent ("Some other race" ref.)						
Non-black	1.01	0.20	0.93	0.16	0.92	0.18
Hispanic Origin of Latino Parent (Mexican ref.)						
Puerto Rican	0.70	0.27	0.47***	0.22	0.67	0.25
Central American	2.00*	0.32	0.51*	0.29	0.26***	0.31
South American	0.98	0.41	0.60	0.35	0.61	0.38
Caribbean	2.53*	0.42	1.49	0.35	0.59	0.34
Hispanic, not specified	1.53	0.40	0.63	0.35	0.41*	0.38
Nativity of Latino Parent (U.S. born ref.)						
Foreign born	0.84	0.23	1.10	0.19	1.32	0.21
Nativity of Non-Latino Parent (U.S. born ref.)						
Foreign born	1.54	0.32	1.86*	0.27	1.21	0.27
Head of Household (Non-Latino father ref.)						
Latino father	3.01***	0.31	1.98**	0.26	0.65	0.27
Non-Latina mother	1.00	0.34	1.36	0.25	1.36	0.32
Latina mother	2.87***	0.22	1.60**	0.18	0.56**	0.20
Education of Parents (Both equally educated ref.)						
Latino parent less educated	0.91	0.21	1.18	0.18	1.30	0.20
Latino parent more educated	0.68	0.24	1.06	0.20	1.57*	0.22
Language Spoken at Home (English only ref.)						
Spanish	1.39	0.21	1.04	0.17	0.75	0.20
Other foreign language	0.19	1.34	0.85	0.72	4.49	1.30
Spanish and other foreign language	8.07***	0.57	1.81	0.58	0.22**	0.47
Percent Black in Area						
Standardized	0.90	0.10	0.98	0.08	1.10	0.09
Percent Multiracial in Area						
Standardized	0.63**	0.16	0.95	0.09	1.51**	0.15
Percent Latino in Area						
Standardized	0.95	0.10	0.85+	0.08	0.89	0.10
Region (South ref.)						
Northeast	1.32	0.28	1.66*	0.24	1.26	0.26
Midwest	0.83	0.35	1.55+	0.26	1.86+	0.33
West	1.14	0.26	1.13	0.21	0.99	0.24
Age of Child (0-4 ref.)						
5-9	1.32	0.23	0.75	0.18	0.57**	0.21
10-14	1.37	0.23	0.64*	0.19	0.47***	0.22
Model X^2 = 286.763						
-2 LL = 2040.047						
Pseudo R^2 = 0.123						

Source: 2008-2010 American Community Survey (Ruggles et al., 2011)

Note: Sample excludes Latino parents whose race was reported as black. Model controls for household income, non-metropolitan status, child's gender, and child's Hispanic origin.

+ = $p < 0.10$; * = $p < 0.05$; ** = $p < 0.01$; *** = $p < 0.001$

Table 5: Logistic Regression for Race of Child in Latino/Non-Latino Asian Households (N = 863)

	Non-Asian vs. Asian		Multiracial vs. Asian		Multiracial vs. Non-Asian	
Independent Variables	Odds	SE	Odds	SE	Odds	SE
Race of Latino Parent ("Some other race" ref.)						
Non-Asian	2.16**	0.26	1.68*	0.20	0.78	0.22
Hispanic Origin of Latino Parent (Mexican ref.)						
Puerto Rican	0.36**	0.39	0.66	0.30	1.85+	0.34
Central American	0.81	0.46	1.26	0.35	1.57	0.38
South American	1.51	0.48	1.86	0.40	1.23	0.35
Caribbean	0.75	0.57	1.06	0.48	1.41	0.44
Hispanic, not specified	0.73	0.50	1.61	0.39	2.22+	0.42
Asian Origin of Non-Latino Parent (Filipino ref.)						
Chinese	0.52	0.45	1.19	0.30	2.30*	0.39
Japanese	0.37*	0.48	0.84	0.31	2.25+	0.43
Korean	3.24**	0.45	1.34	0.41	0.41**	0.33
Southeast Asian	1.88	0.39	1.63	0.32	0.87	0.32
South Asian	2.66*	0.38	1.25	0.33	0.47*	0.31
Other Asian origins	0.96	0.56	0.62	0.43	0.64	0.50
Nativity of Latino Parent (U.S. born ref.)						
Foreign born	1.52	0.30	1.24	0.24	0.82	0.25
Nativity of Non-Latino Parent (U.S. born ref.)						
Foreign born	0.71	0.29	0.92	0.24	1.29	0.24
Head of Household (Non-Latino father ref.)						
Latino father	3.40***	0.33	1.42	0.24	0.42**	0.28
Non-Latina mother	4.42***	0.41	2.38**	0.32	0.54+	0.32
Latina mother	2.54**	0.36	0.75	0.29	0.29***	0.32
Education of Parents (Both equally educated ref.)						
Latino parent less educated	0.78	0.27	0.77	0.21	0.99	0.23
Latino parent more educated	0.79	0.33	0.90	0.27	1.15	0.27
Language Spoken at Home (English only ref.)						
Spanish	0.91	0.34	1.37	0.27	1.50	0.28
Other foreign languages	0.59	0.40	1.08	0.31	1.83+	0.34
Spanish and other foreign language	0.75	0.33	1.18	0.27	1.57+	0.27
Percent Asian in Area						
Standardized	0.78	0.16	1.01	0.11	1.29+	0.15
Percent Multiracial in Area						
Standardized	1.18	0.14	1.00	0.11	0.85	0.12
Percent Latino in Area						
Standardized	1.13	0.12	0.93	0.10	0.82+	0.10
Region (South ref.)						
Northeast	2.56*	0.42	1.73	0.36	0.68	0.32
Midwest	1.06	0.49	1.26	0.43	1.19	0.40
West	0.72	0.31	1.23	0.25	1.71*	0.26
Age of Child (0-4 ref.)						
5-9	1.07	0.29	0.97	0.23	0.91	0.24
10-14	0.88	0.29	0.50**	0.23	0.57*	0.25

Model X^2 = 190.064
-2 LL = 1469.538
Pseudo R^2 = 0.115

Source: 2008-2010 American Community Survey (Ruggles et al., 2011)
Note: Sample excludes Latino parents whose race was reported as Asian. Model controls for household income, non-metropolitan status, child's gender, and child's Hispanic origin.
+ = $p < 0.10$; * = $p < 0.05$; ** = $p < 0.01$; *** = $p < 0.001$

Table 6: Logistic Regression for Race of Child in Latino/Non-Latino Households (N = 7,294)

	Diff. Race vs. Same Race		Multiracial vs. Same Race		Multiracial vs. Diff. Race	
Independent Variables	Odds	SE	Odds	SE	Odds	SE
Race of Latino Parent ("Some other race" ref.)						
Different race as non-Latino spouse	0.87	0.09	1.16+	0.08	1.33***	0.08
Hispanic Origin of Latino Parent (Mexican ref.)						
Puerto Rican	0.68**	0.12	0.84+	0.10	1.23+	0.10
Central American	0.93	0.13	0.90	0.11	0.96	0.12
South American	1.02	0.13	0.96	0.12	0.94	0.12
Caribbean	1.32	0.17	1.08	0.16	0.82	0.15
Hispanic, not specified	1.46**	0.14	1.15	0.13	0.79+	0.12
Race of Non-Latino Parent (White ref.)						
Black	0.84+	0.11	1.32**	0.09	1.58***	0.10
Asian	1.27	0.16	2.39***	0.13	1.89***	0.13
Nativity of Latino Parent (U.S. born ref.)						
Foreign born	0.80**	0.08	1.00	0.07	1.25**	0.07
Nativity of Non-Latino Parent (U.S. born ref.)						
Foreign born	0.93	0.14	0.97	0.12	1.04	0.12
Head of Household (Non-Latino father ref.)						
Latino father	2.02***	0.09	1.40***	0.08	0.70***	0.08
Non-Latina mother	1.77***	0.09	1.34***	0.08	0.76**	0.09
Latina mother	2.01***	0.10	1.34**	0.09	0.67***	0.09
Education of Parents (Both equally educated ref.)						
Latino parent less educated	0.81**	0.08	0.95	0.07	1.17*	0.07
Latino parent more educated	0.86+	0.09	0.92	0.08	1.07	0.08
Language Spoken at Home (English only ref.)						
Spanish	1.07	0.08	1.02	0.07	0.95	0.07
Other foreign languages	0.73	0.27	1.25	0.21	1.70*	0.23
Spanish and other foreign language	1.41+	0.19	1.32+	0.16	0.94	0.16
Percent Multiracial in Area						
Standardized	0.93+	0.05	1.02	0.04	1.11*	0.04
Percent Latino in Area						
Standardized	1.06	0.04	1.00	0.03	0.95	0.03
Region (South ref.)						
Northeast	0.81+	0.12	0.99	0.11	1.22+	0.11
Midwest	0.99	0.11	1.23*	0.10	1.25*	0.10
West	0.78**	0.09	1.04	0.08	1.33***	0.08
Age of Child (0-4 ref.)						
5-9	1.06	0.08	0.87*	0.07	0.82**	0.07
10-14	1.07	0.08	0.77***	0.08	0.72***	0.07
Model X^2 = 1778.180						
-2 LL = 14025.846						
Pseudo R^2 = 0.113						

Source: 2008-2010 American Community Survey (Ruggles et al., 2011)
Note: Sample excludes Latino parents whose race was reported as the same race as the non-Latino spouse. Model controls for household income, non-metropolitan status, child's gender, and child's Hispanic origin.
+ = $p < 0.10$; * = $p < 0.05$; ** = $p < 0.01$; *** = $p < 0.001$