

10/17/2000

Intermarriage: Profiles of the Most Common Interracial Combinations Using 1990 Census Data

by Rose M. Kreider  
Rose.Kreider@census.gov

These results presented at the  
Southern Demographic Association annual meeting  
New Orleans, LA  
October 28, 2000

This paper reports the results of research and analysis undertaken by Census Bureau staff. It has undergone a more limited review than official Census Bureau publications. This report is released to inform interested parties of research and to encourage discussion. The views expressed in this paper are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily represent the views of the US Census Bureau.

NOTE: This research was done before I began working at the Census Bureau. Readers should note that I do not use race and ethnicity in the same way as the Bureau.

Rates of racial intermarriage have increased in the United States, especially since legal barriers were removed in 1967. Using census data, Stevens and Tyler (1998) estimate that the percentage of all marriages which were interracial (not including Hispanics as a separate category) increased from .4 percent in 1960 to 2.9 percent in 1990.<sup>1</sup> The most recent data available—the March 1998 Current Population Survey, show that 5 percent of all married couples are interracial (Population Today 1999). Between 1980 and 1990, interracial marriage increased within all gender, educational and racial groups, but especially among the more highly educated (Qian 1997).

As interracial marriages increase in the US, it is important to know whether these couples differ from endogamous couples. Race is a defining factor of the structure of American society--determining membership in advantaged and disadvantaged socioeconomic groups (Lee and Fernandez 1998). Understanding interracial marriages is key to understanding racial interaction. Endogamy serves to reinforce racial boundaries and intergroup distance (Merton 1941). Indeed, it would be difficult to maintain barriers between groups if most children were interracial (Kitano, Yeung, Chai and Hatanaka 1984).

In interracial marriages and families, people of different racial groups choose to relate to each other on a different basis than they might when they encounter each other as coworkers or neighbors. They must communicate and work together in a variety of spheres and far more intimately than in any other setting. This interaction allows opportunities for people to rethink the way they relate to people of different races. Luke and Luke (1998) find that interracial

---

<sup>1</sup> Estimates in other work fall well in line with these numbers (Porterfield 1982a in Cretser and Leon 1985; Spanier 1983; Besharov and Sullivan 1996).

couples are more likely to negotiate nontraditional gender roles, and that spouses more often find themselves forced to deal with unfamiliar cultural practices and expectations than in endogamous matches. Spouses in interracial marriages must work to create new ways of relating to members of another racial group since their relationship to that group necessarily changes when they become part of their spouse's family.

But while it is helpful to compare all interracial couples with all endogamous couples, to see if the groups differ, lumping all interracial couples together masks the variety present in the various racial combinations. It also tells us nothing about what proportion of interracial couples are of a particular combination. Many people tend to think of black-white couples when they think of interracial couples, but these are among the least common matches. Grouping all types of interracial couples together does not accurately reflect the structure of race relations as we know it. Relations between the racial majority (whites) and other race and ethnic groups (Hispanics) differ considerably depending on the particular history of the groups. While African Americans were exploited largely for their labor, American Indians were exploited primarily for their land. (Cornell 1990). When we lump various types of interracial couples together, we miss the way contextual and other differences in group relations have affected intermarriage between these groups.

While many studies of intermarriage are primarily concerned with the reasons people marry across groups boundaries, I do not pursue this topic here. My goal is to provide profiles of intermarried couples in the US, first comparing all intermarried couples with all endogamous couples, and then looking at the most common particular combinations. This paper adds to the literature by looking at various types of interracial marriages in the US and comparing them with

endogamous couples of each race involved in the particular combination, on demographic, family and socioeconomic characteristics.

## **Data**

I use the 5 percent 1990 Census of Population Public Use Microdata Sample (PUMS) data to provide a profile of interracial couples. The 1990 PUMS data is the largest data set available to look at interracial marriage in the United States, and allows a descriptive look at various types of interracial combinations. Although Census data provide only basic demographics, even this sort of information is not currently published about interracial couples using a nationally representative sample.

Records contains information about each person in the household. This makes it possible to match coresident husbands and wives. Forms are generally filled out by the householder. This aspect of Census data is important for this study since race and ethnic origin of individuals may have been identified by the householder, although we may assume that the person filling out the form may also have asked other individuals what race they consider themselves. The sample I use is of married couples where one of the spouses is the householder, and the other spouse is reported as present (n=2,664,553 unweighted).

### **Which Marriages are Interracial?**

I define an interracial marriage as a marriage in which the spouses are identified as falling into different categories where the choices are: American Indian, Asian, Black, White, Hispanic and Other. Hispanic origin is asked as a separate question from race; I have coded race of the spouses so that Hispanic origin overrides the race reported for that spouse. If an individual

reported that he or she was white in the question that asked for race, but reported that they were of Hispanic origin, I code him or her as Hispanic. So the categories I use are non-Hispanics of all races, and a Hispanic category which may include persons of any race.

### **What Proportion of Marriages Are Interracial: Methodological Issues in Estimating Intermarriage**

There is no one measure of the prevalence of intermarriage, since it differs by race and sex. Methodological issues in measuring rates of intermarriage include the difficulty in getting incidence measures and the issue of choice of an appropriate base for determining rates of intermarriage. Other issues are whether Hispanics should be considered a separate category since Hispanics are usually considered an ethnic rather than a racial group, and the question of which married couples should be included in the sample and whether this makes a difference for the estimates of the prevalence of interracial marriage.

First I look at the issue of incidence versus prevalence. Most of the data sources do not allow a look at the incidence of intermarriage, or how many individuals have ever been part of a mixed marriage, but only at the prevalence at a given point in time, or how many individuals are currently in mixed marriages. The incidence of intermarriage could be quite different than the prevalence if dissolution rates are higher among intermarried couples. With cross sectional data, such as census data, we get only a snapshot of the more stable marriages--that is, a measure of prevalence (Sandefur and McKinnell 1986).

With regard to the appropriate base for calculating intermarriage rates, Monahan stresses the need to use the number of minority marriages as the denominator when considering the percent of marriages which are interracial. This gives a clearer picture of what the rate of

interracial marriage means for the smaller group. Also, due to the preponderance of white endogamous marriages numerically, the proportion of all marriages contracted that are mixed is very small in any given year (Monahan 1971b; Monahan 1976a).

The categories included when defining interracial marriage affect the prevalence estimates, so that if marriages in which one partner is of Hispanic ethnicity and the other is non-Hispanic are considered same race marriages, the prevalence of interracial marriage would appear lower. In the 1990 PUMS, 2.1 percent of married couples, spouse present, would be considered interracial without counting marriages in which only one spouse is Hispanic as intermarriages. Including Hispanic as a racial category more than doubles the percent intermarried: 4.5 percent of all reported marriages (spouse present) are interracial, using the 1990 5% PUMS.

The estimate of 4.5 percent intermarried includes only marriages in which one of the spouses is the householder. This overlooks a small percentage of married couples who live in the household of another person or couple, e.g., with one of the spouse's parents. There are 30,720 married couples in the 5% PUMS who live in subfamilies. 1,746, or 5.7 percent of these are interracial.

### **Prevalence of Intermarriage in the 1990 PUMS**

I use a sample of married, spouse present couples from the 1990 Census. The sample of married, spouse present couples in the 5 percent sample of the 1990 PUMS is 2,664,553, (unweighted) with 4.5 percent, or 111,244 (unweighted) of these couples being intermarried based on the definition described above. Even with such a large sample size, the smallest

intermarried groups contain 15 couples-American Indian and Other couples. Table 1 shows unweighted sample sizes for each type of couple.

In Table 2 we see the percent of marriages which are interracial in 1990 by sex. The table presents the percent of husbands of each racial or ethnic group who are intermarried, as well as the corresponding percentages for wives of each group. American Indians have the highest percentages intermarried, at roughly 60 percent for both men and women, followed by Other women at 50 percent. About 44 percent of husbands who marked their race as Other are intermarried. About one quarter of Asian women are married out, as are roughly one fifth of Hispanics of either sex. Black men are more likely to be intermarried than black women, although both have relatively low rates of intermarriage. Whites have the lowest percentage intermarried of any of the groups, at about two and one half percent. Whereas black women are only about one third as likely to be intermarried as black men, Asian women are more than twice as likely to be intermarried as Asian men.

Another way to calculate a rate of intermarriage is to consider as the base the number of marriages involving at least one member of a particular racial group. For example, for the row marked "white" in Table 2, for the column marked marriages, the denominator is the number of marriages which include at least one white spouse, and the numerator is the number of marriages involving one white spouse and one spouse from any other racial group. So, 4.8 percent of all white marriages are interracial. The percentages are higher for all other racial groups. Taking the total number of marriages involving at least one spouse who is black as the base, and dividing it by the number of interracial marriages in which one spouse is black, we find that 8.3 percent of all black marriages are interracial. The corresponding percentages for the other racial groups are:

75.2 percent of all American Indian marriages are interracial, 31.5 percent of all Asian marriages, 32.2 percent of all Hispanic marriages, and 64.1 percent for marriages involving individuals who marked their race as Other. Since many people who marked their race as Other are probably of mixed race, it is not surprising that the intermarriage rates are so high for this group, since the literature tells us that mixed race people are more likely to be in interracial marriages (Lieberson and Waters 1988; Labov and Jacobs 1998).

Yet another way to consider the prevalence of interracial marriages is to look at which combinations are the most common among all interracial marriages in the United States. The PUMS is the only data set large enough to look at interracial marriages in this way. In 1990, the five most common interracial combinations, as a percentage of all interracial marriages, and with the race of the husband listed first, were: 1. White-Hispanic (26.5%); 2. Hispanic-white (24.6%); 3. White-Asian (13.4%); 4. White-American Indian (7.0%); 5. American Indian-white (6.5%). The fact that each of these combinations contains one white spouse is a product of the fact that whites are a numerical majority in the United States, so that even though they are not the racial group most likely to marry out, most interracial marriages will involve a white spouse.

As mentioned previously, intermarriage is commonly seen by sociologists as an indicator of social distance, with groups who intermarry at higher rates having less social distance between them (Muhsam 1990; Lee and Yamanaka 1990). The Index of Intermarriage Distance has sometimes been used to quantify this distance between groups by providing a measure of the extent of intermarriage between two groups. The Index, or Q, is calculated as follows:

$$Q = 10 \times \log_{10} [N_A \times N_B / \frac{1}{2}(N_{AB} + N_{BA})^2]$$



where  $N_A$  is the number of endogamous marriages in group A and  $N_B$  is the number of endogamous marriages in group B;  $N_{AB}$  is the number of marriages with a husband of group A and a wife of group B and  $N_{BA}$  is the number of marriages with a husband of group B and a wife of group A.<sup>2</sup> The Index of Intermarriage Distance is zero for any group with itself, thus controlling for the effect of group size--the tendency for relatively small groups to intermarry more since they are in effect surrounded by other groups. A higher value of Q means the distance between the two groups is greater--that there is less intermarriage between the groups than if Q were closer to zero (Lee and Fernandez 1998).

Looking at Table 3 below, we can see that the Index ranges from 20.5 between whites and American Indians to 40.2 between Blacks and Asians. The only other set of groups for which the Index is nearly as low as between whites and American Indians is for whites and Hispanics (22.6). The Index is highest (40.2) for Blacks and Asians, but there are three other combinations with Index values nearly as high as for Blacks and Asians. These combinations are: 1. Whites and blacks, (39.7) 2. American Indians and Asians (39.7) and 3. Blacks and American Indians (38.0). Overall, blacks show the greatest distance from other groups, (see row 2 in Table 3) as we might expect, given that race as it is constructed in the US sets blacks furthest from the majority group (whites) based on skin color as well as a long history of slavery and legally sanctioned segregation.

### **Characteristics of Interracial Couples and Spouses**

---

<sup>2</sup> Squaring, and then taking half of the total number of interracial marriages between the two groups, and dividing this number into the product of the number of endogamous marriages for each group, gives a result, which when taking its log to compress the range of values, and multiplying it by 10 gives the value of Q.

This section compiles findings from the current literature about “typical” characteristics of interracial couples, as compared with endogamous couples. Table 4 lists these “typical” characteristics, along with the sources for these findings, and the sample each study used. Past studies suggest that partners in intermarriages are more likely to marry at later ages ( Monahan 1971a; Cretser and Leon 1985; Rankin and Maneker 1988; Sung 1990; Tucker and Mitchell-Kernan 1990), are more likely previously married (Schmitt 1965; Monahan 1971a; Cretser and Leon 1985; Tucker and Mitchell-Kernan 1990; Sung 1990), are better educated (Spickard 1989; Sung 1990; Heaton and Albrecht 1996; Qian 1997), have higher occupations and socioeconomic status, (Monahan 1976b; Shinagawa and Pang 1988; Lee and Yamanaka 1990; Sung 1990; Heaton and Albrecht 1996) and are more likely to be of mixed ancestry (Alba and Golden 1986; Labov and Jacobs 1998).

Interracial couples have a larger age gap between spouses (Schmitt 1965; 1969) and a larger difference in occupational status than endogamous couples (Burma, Cretser and Seacrest 1970; Monahan 1976b). They are more likely to live in the Western region of the US, (Heer 1974; Tucker and Mitchell-Kernan 1990; Lee and Yamanaka 1990) and in urban areas (Monahan 1971a; Tucker and Mitchell-Kernan 1990; Lee and Yamanaka 1990). Interracial couples have been found to have lower fertility (Glick 1970; Heer 1974; Shinagawa and Pang 1988; Sung 1990; Eschbach 1995) and to be more likely to be childless (Heer 1974; Rankin and Maneker 1988).

These characteristics differ somewhat depending on the particular interracial combination being considered, and on the location of the sample. For example, Glick (1970) found that intermarried blacks in black-white couples in the 1960 Census had higher education than

endogamous blacks, but that intermarried whites had lower education than endogamous whites. Kalmijn (1993) also supports the idea that more highly educated whites are less likely to intermarry. On the other hand, using 1980 and 1990 Census data and controlling for compositional factors, Qian (1997) found that the odds of interracial marriage increased with educational levels, although he also found that in couples where educational attainment differed, spouses with high education who are from minority (lower status) racial groups marry higher status spouses, i.e. whites, who have lower education.

Contradicting most of the literature on how interracial couples differ from same race couples on occupational status and income, Schmitt (1965; 1971) found that in Hawaii, the higher the socioeconomic status (median family income, median earnings, occupational status and home ownership) the less intermarriage. However, he recognizes that this is the reverse of the relationship normally found for the continental United States. Several other demographic characteristics of intermarried couples in Hawaii were opposite of what has been found on the mainland--intermarried couples were more likely to live in nonmetro areas and were more likely to be teens. Schmitt attributes these anomalies to the fact that Hawaii's history, geography and ethnic composition are all very different from the continental United States.

The findings on area of residence are not always consistent. Most studies find interracial couples more often live in the West and in metro areas, but Heer (1974) found that black-white couples were more likely to live outside urban areas in the West. Whether interracial couples are more likely to live in metro areas also differs by couple type. For example, Cready and Saenz (1997) found that intermarried African Americans were more likely to live in metro areas, but that intermarried Mexican Americans were less likely to live in metro areas.

Fertility in interracial couples may fall between the rates for endogamous couples of each race involved in the combination. For example, fertility in white-black marriages was found to be 20 percent lower than for endogamous blacks, but still 10 percent higher than the fertility of endogamous whites. In 1960, the highest fertility rates were those of couples where the wife was classified as “other” and was married to a white man, which most likely reflects the fact that Hispanics, who tend to have higher fertility than whites, tended to fall into the “other” category in 1960 (Glick 1970).

### **Profile of Interracial Couples, as Compared with Endogamous Couples,**

#### **1990 5 Percent PUMS**

The purpose of the following section is to provide a profile of interracial couples, in 1990 in the US and their distinctive characteristics as compared with endogamous couples before turning in subsequent chapters to the question of marital disruption among interracial couples. Based on measures available in census data, I discuss age, education, cultural differences, and fertility and labor force characteristics, comparing all interracial couples with all endogamous couples.<sup>3</sup> Then, in order to get a clearer picture of some of the particular combinations within the overall category of interracial marriages, I discuss marriages between whites and each of the other major racial groups. I have chosen to narrow the focus to particular racial combinations of mixed marriages in this way since whites are the largest racial group in the US in 1990, and the

---

<sup>3</sup> I do not include couples where both spouses marked Other as their race since it is ambiguous whether to consider these couples endogamous or interracial.

majority of interracial marriages (91.7 percent) have at least one white spouse.<sup>4</sup>

When considering all interracial married couples compared with all endogamous married couples in 1990, one of the larger differences between interracial and endogamous couples is that spouses in interracial couples tend to be younger--the median age is 7 years younger for those who marry out, compared with those who marry someone of the same race. (See Table 5.) Since the PUMS data are providing a snapshot of married, spouse present couples in 1990, we might expect that interracial couples would be younger on average since more recent cohorts are more likely to intermarry (Shinagawa and Pang 1988; Lee and Yamanaka 1990). When we compare the age distribution of wives, we find that 53.2 percent of endogamous women are age 44 or younger, while 73.3 percent of women in interracial couples are age 44 or younger. (See Figure 1). Because the age distribution of interracial couples is weighted so heavily toward younger ages, I standardize on the wife's age distribution for measures which we expect to be affected by age--fertility, labor force participation and income.

Two studies done in Hawaii (Schmitt 1965; Schmitt 1969) found that interracial couples had a larger age gap between spouses, but this is not the case in the PUMS data.

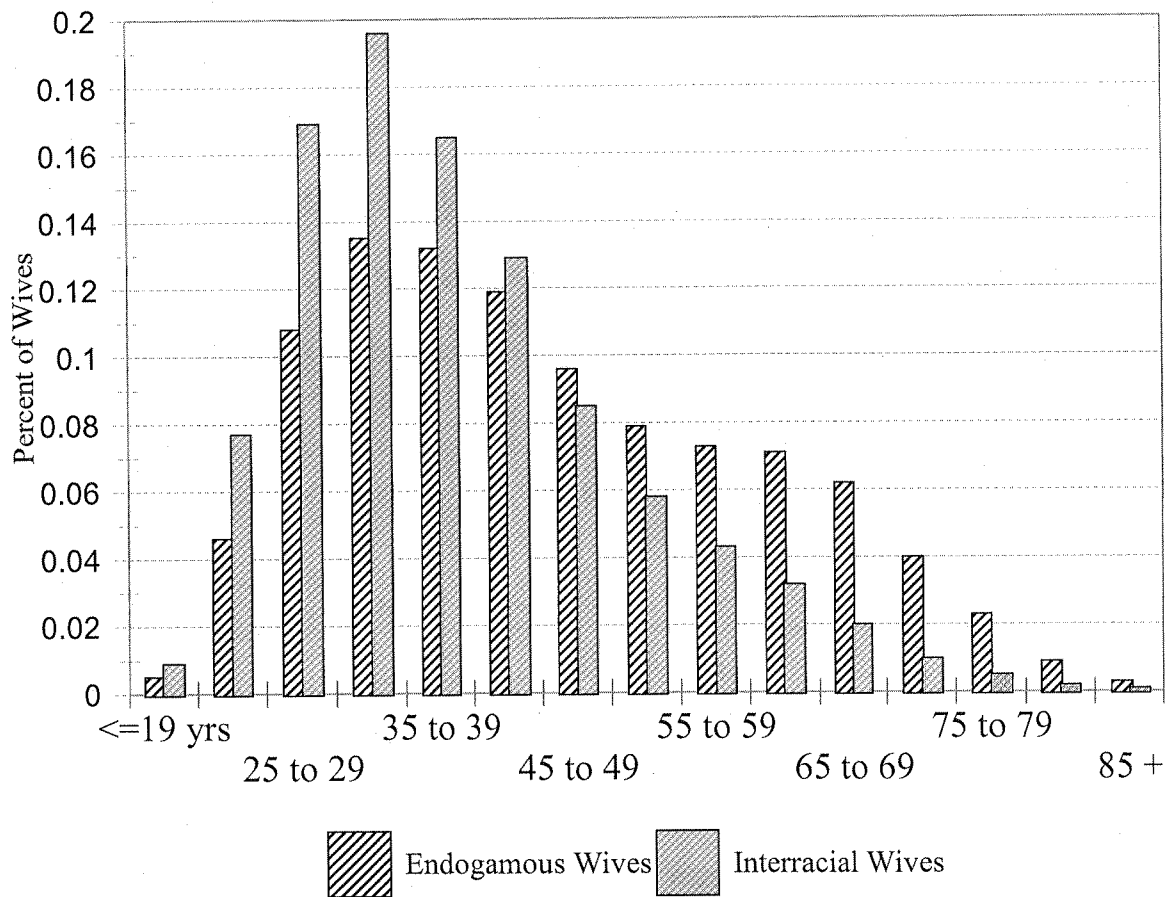
---

<sup>4</sup> For parallel tables for intermarried couples in which neither spouse is white, contact the author.

Husbands in endogamous couples are 2.6 years older on average, than their wives. The corresponding number for interracial couples is substantively the same, at 2.7 years.

Finding a spouse of a different race depends in part on the opportunity for social interaction between racial groups. These opportunities are greatly affected by group size as well as by residential segregation. Asian Americans and Hispanics are more likely to live in white neighborhoods than African Americans, especially Asians and Hispanics with higher educational attainment (Massey and Denton 1987; Zhou and Logan 1991). Several studies have found that

Figure 1 Age Distribution of Wives, by Couple Type, 1990 5% PUMS



interracial couples tend to be better educated than their endogamous counterparts (Spickard 1989; Sung 1990; Qian 1997). Table 5 shows that interracial spouses are slightly better educated than endogamous spouses. Qian (1997) takes a detailed look at educational attainment and interracial marriage for younger couples, and finds that before controlling for group size and the size of the various educational groupings, as well as the sex ratio of the racial groups, the percentage of whites who are intermarried, by educational level, does not vary much. However, after controlling for some of the above factors, more highly educated people are more likely to intermarry. Since whites are the largest racial group, their pattern is most likely driving the pattern of small differences in educational level between endogamous and interracial spouses that we see in Table 5. (See Qian (1997) for log-linear models which address these problems, and show increasing likelihood of interracial marriage for higher educational levels.)

Interracial couples tend to be less homogamous culturally. I consider two measures from the PUMS which attempt to get at cultural differences between the spouses—whether both spouses are foreign born, and whether spouses report speaking the same language at home.

The first variable to measure cultural differences indicates whether both spouses were born in the US, or if they were born elsewhere, whether they were both born abroad. If only one spouse was born in the US, the variable is equal to one. This is the variable called “citizenship difference” in Table 5. If both spouses were born in the US, or if both were born abroad, the variable is zero. While only four percent of endogamous couples were not both born in the US or both born abroad, 35 percent of interracial couples were not. Since interracial partners are more likely to differ on whether they were foreign born, a higher percentage include a foreign born husband (10 %) or wife (20 %) than endogamous couples (2 %). We see that wives in interracial

couples are especially likely to be foreign born. This is probably related to the fact that one of the most frequent interracial combinations is white husband--Asian wife; many of these husbands are American servicemen who served in Asia. A small percentage of both endogamous and interracial couples include spouses who are both foreign born: 6.6 percent for endogamous and 3.8 percent for interracial couples. For interracial couples from abroad, race may mean something different in the context in which they met and married.

The second indicator of possible cultural differences is the language difference variable. This variable indicates the percentage of couples where the spouses report using different languages at home. If one spouse reports using only English at home, but the other reports using another language, e.g. Spanish, this couple is given a value of one for the language difference variable. If both spouses were reported to use a language other than English at home, but they reported using two different languages, these couples are also coded one for the language difference variable. If both spouses report the same non-English language, they receive a value of zero for the variable. Only four percent of endogamous couples reported that the spouses used different languages at home, while 33 percent of interracial couples reported using different languages at home.

Another set of characteristics we expect interracial couples to have, based on the literature, is that they are more likely to live in the West and in metro areas (Monahan 1971a; Heer 1974; Tucker and Mitchell-Kernan 1990; Lee and Yamanaka 1990). While 19 percent of endogamous couples live in the West, 43 percent of interracial couples reside there. Sixty eight percent of endogamous couples live in metro areas, as compared with 80 percent of interracial couples. Racial diversity is high in the West, particularly in California. Metro areas also tend to



be more diverse ethnically and racially than rural communities. In addition, the West and metro areas may also have more relaxed norms about who should be married to whom. This means that people in the West and in metro areas may have more opportunities to interact with individuals of different racial groups, and that they may choose to live in these areas since they and their children are more likely to be accepted and to be able to find other interracial families.

As the literature indicates (Heer 1974; Rankin and Maneker 1988), interracial couples tend to have fewer children. Using 1970 Census data, Heer found that black-white marriages ranged from 2.0 to 2.2 children ever born, on average, while endogamous black couples had 2.9 children and endogamous white couples had 2.3 children. In the 1990 PUMS data, we find that interracial couples reported an average of 1.8 children ever born, as opposed to 2.1 for endogamous couples. (See Table 5.) Since we might expect that younger couples would have fewer children, it is instructive to compare children ever born after standardizing for the age distribution of the wife. When we standardize on the age distribution of intermarried wives, we find that interracial couples have 1.8 children and endogamous couples have 1.9. So, when differences in the age distributions of the wives in the two types of couples are taken into account, the difference is greatly reduced. (See Table 6)

However, the children ever born measure, while it is basically the best we can do with PUMS data, is not a very accurate measure of fertility. Previous studies report that a higher proportion of interracial couples are childless. In Heer's (1974) study using 1970 Census data, he found that the percent childless ranged from 24 to 29 percent for interracial couples, while 19 percent of black endogamous couples were childless, and 17 percent of white endogamous couples had no children. In Rankin and Maneker's sample of 1977 California divorce cases, 50

to 55 percent of black-white marriages were childless, as compared with 40 percent of black marriages and 50 percent of white marriages. In the PUMS, we find that 19.8 percent of endogamous couples have no children, while 26.9 percent of interracial couples are childless, a gap of seven percentage points. Of course, since interracial couples are younger on average than endogamous couples, and younger couples may not have begun childbearing, we need to adjust for age. After standardizing on the intermarried wife's age distribution, we see that 26.9 percent of interracial couples are childless, as compared with 22.5 percent of endogamous couples, a gap of four percentage points.

Another way to compare endogamous and interracial couples is to look at what these matches mean for the labor force participation of women. The data available in the 1990 PUMS allow us to compare the labor force participation of women in order to see whether women who marry out work more than women in endogamous marriages. Since we know that interracial couples are slightly better off economically than endogamous couples, and that the spouses in mixed marriages are younger, we might expect that women in interracial couples would work more. This is indeed the case. Women who marry out are more likely to work, and they work more hours, so that the earnings difference (husband's earnings minus wife's earnings, if they both reported earnings)<sup>5</sup> between spouses is slightly smaller than for endogamous couples: \$14,320 for interracial couples and \$17,003 for endogamous couples. (See Table 7) Intermarried women are more likely than endogamous women to have worked for pay at least some hours in 1989, although 27 percent report working no hours for pay in 1989. The corresponding figure for

---

<sup>5</sup> Cases where a spouse reports a negative wage and salary income are missing, since these are likely to be special cases of farmers or business owners.

endogamous women is 37 percent. Of course, interracial women are younger, on average, and so are more likely to be in the labor force. Women in interracial marriages who do report working at least 1 hour work 100 hours more on average than endogamous women: 1,920 median hours per year as compared with 1,820. But when we standardize on the intermarried wife's age distribution, for those women who reported positive hours, we find that endogamous women work 1,856 hours per year, which cuts the gap in half. So while intermarried women appear to work more hours than endogamous women, this is due to the fact that they are younger than endogamous women.

Another way to look at what outmarriages mean for women economically is to look at the percent of combined earnings which the wife contributes (wife's earnings/husband's plus wife's earnings). There is really no difference by couple type; endogamous women contribute 34 percent of combined earnings, and interracial women contribute just over 35 percent. Standardizing for the age distribution of the wife narrows the difference even further. (See Table 6.)

As we saw in Table 3, several studies have shown that interracial couples are better off economically than endogamous couples and have higher occupational status (Monahan 1976b; Shinagawa and Pang 1988; Lee and Yamanaka 1990; Sung 1990). Table 7 shows several measures of economic well being and occupational levels. Interracial couples, overall, are a bit better off than endogamous couples. In terms of socioeconomic status, interracial couples have a slightly higher median household income (\$1,100 higher). Looking at median earnings for husbands and wives separately, we see that husbands' median earnings are \$1,000 lower for those who are intermarried, but wives' median earnings are \$1,000 higher for those who marry out. So

the higher median household income of interracial couples may be largely due to higher earnings of the wife. This is probably partly due to the fact that interracial couples are younger, and so the women are more likely to be in the labor force, as we saw in Table 7. After standardizing on the age distribution of interracial wives, we find that mean annual household income for endogamous couples would be \$40,908, as compared with \$41,199 for interracial couples, which brings the gap to less than \$500. If we consider the percentage of couples which have at least one spouse in a professional or managerial occupation, it is roughly the same for interracial and endogamous couples—about 44 percent. The picture for occupation differs widely across particular racial combinations, which we will consider in a later section. The average here is driven by the majority group--whites, for whom these patterns hold. The overall picture painted here is that interracial couples are only slightly better off than the vast majority of couples, white endogamous couples. However, interracial couples may be substantially better off than black endogamous or American Indian endogamous couples.

Another factor which may affect the difference in women's labor force participation in the two types of couples is the fact that women who marry out have fewer children. Of course, it is difficult to specify the causal direction of the relationship between number of children and labor force participation. That is, do the women in interracial couples have fewer children because they are higher earners and work more, or do women work more hours because they have few children? Since census data are cross sectional, they do not offer the opportunity to explore the causal direction between labor force participation and childbearing in interracial couples. All we can gather from the data available is that children ever born is negatively correlated with the total hours the woman worked per year (-.186), with women who have more children reporting they

worked fewer hours. The correlation is slightly stronger for women in interracial marriages (-.194).

In the next section, I discuss (separately) intermarriage between majority group whites and other racial groups. I have chosen to do this rather than to discuss each particular combination since most interracial marriages in the US involve a white person (91.7%); since showing all possible combinations quickly becomes unwieldy; and because some combinations are represented by very small sample sizes in the data. (See Table 1.)

### **White-Hispanic Couples**

White-Hispanic couples were the most common interracial combination in the US in 1990—51 percent of all intermarried couples.<sup>6</sup> Hispanics are one of the fastest growing minorities in the US, partly due to high levels of immigration and partly due to high birth rates. Hence, we might expect that these intermarriages would continue to be the most common. These matches have high socioeconomic status when compared with endogamous Hispanic couples. (See Tables 8 and 9.) Spouses in white-Hispanic marriages are much better educated and are much more likely to be in a professional or managerial occupation than endogamous Hispanics, although they are about as likely as endogamous whites to be in these occupational groups. White-Hispanic couples have a much higher household income than endogamous Hispanic couples: about \$10,000-\$12,000 more. They also have higher household income than endogamous whites. Of the two types of white-Hispanic couples, those in which the husband is white have a higher median income—by \$5,000, which we might expect since white men earn

---

<sup>6</sup> This percentage remained about the same for 1998, at 52 percent (Population Today 1999).

more on average than Hispanic men or white women. Contributing to their higher socioeconomic status, Hispanic wives who are married to white husbands are much more likely to report doing paid work than endogamous Hispanic women, and work about 100 hours more per year, on average.

Interestingly, even though one quarter of white-Hispanic couples were not both born in the US or both born abroad, only 12-15 percent report using different languages at home. Hispanics married to whites are more likely to report speaking only English (wives 50%, husbands 57%) than both Hispanics married to nonwhites (wives 41%, husbands 45%) and than endogamous Hispanics (about 9 percent). While about the same percentage of white-Hispanic couples live in the West and in metro areas as endogamous Hispanic couples, these mixed couples are much more likely to live in the West and in metro areas than endogamous white couples, which is consistent with the fact that a high proportion of Hispanics live in the West. White-Hispanic couples report having about one child fewer on average than endogamous Hispanic couples, and about .4 less than endogamous white couples. These mixed couples are more likely to be childless (26%) than both Hispanic (16%) and white endogamous couples (20%).

### **White-Asian Couples**

White husband-Asian wife marriages are the next most common type of interracial marriage in the US, at 18.6 percent of all interracial marriages.<sup>7</sup> There are almost three times as many (14,975) white husband-Asian wife couples in the 5% PUMS as Asian husband-white wife

---

<sup>7</sup> In 1998, 19 percent of all interracial couples were white-Asian (Population Today 1999).

couples (5,544). Many of the white husband--Asian wife couples are quite likely marriages between US servicemen who served in Asia and foreign born women. In 70 percent of these couples, the wife is foreign born while the husband is not. Sixty three percent of the white husbands in these couples report that they are, or have been in the armed forces, as compared with 46 percent of the husbands in endogamous white couples. Thirty four percent of these men report they served during the Vietnam era, as compared with 12 percent of the men in endogamous white couples, and 11 percent report that they served during the Korean War, while eight percent of the endogamous white men report serving in that period. So, since the white husbands in white-Asian couples have served more often than white men in endogamous couples, it does appear that many of the white husband Asian wife couples are between US servicemen and women from the countries where they served. Also, twenty percent of these couples report using different languages at home, while only nine percent of Asian husband white wife couples use different languages at home. This may be related to the fact that migration streams for intermarried Asian men and women are quite different. Intermarried Asian men are much more likely to have been born in the US than intermarried Asian women, which also supports the idea that many of these women are war brides.

Figure 2. Year of Immigration for Asian Spouses in White-Asian Couples

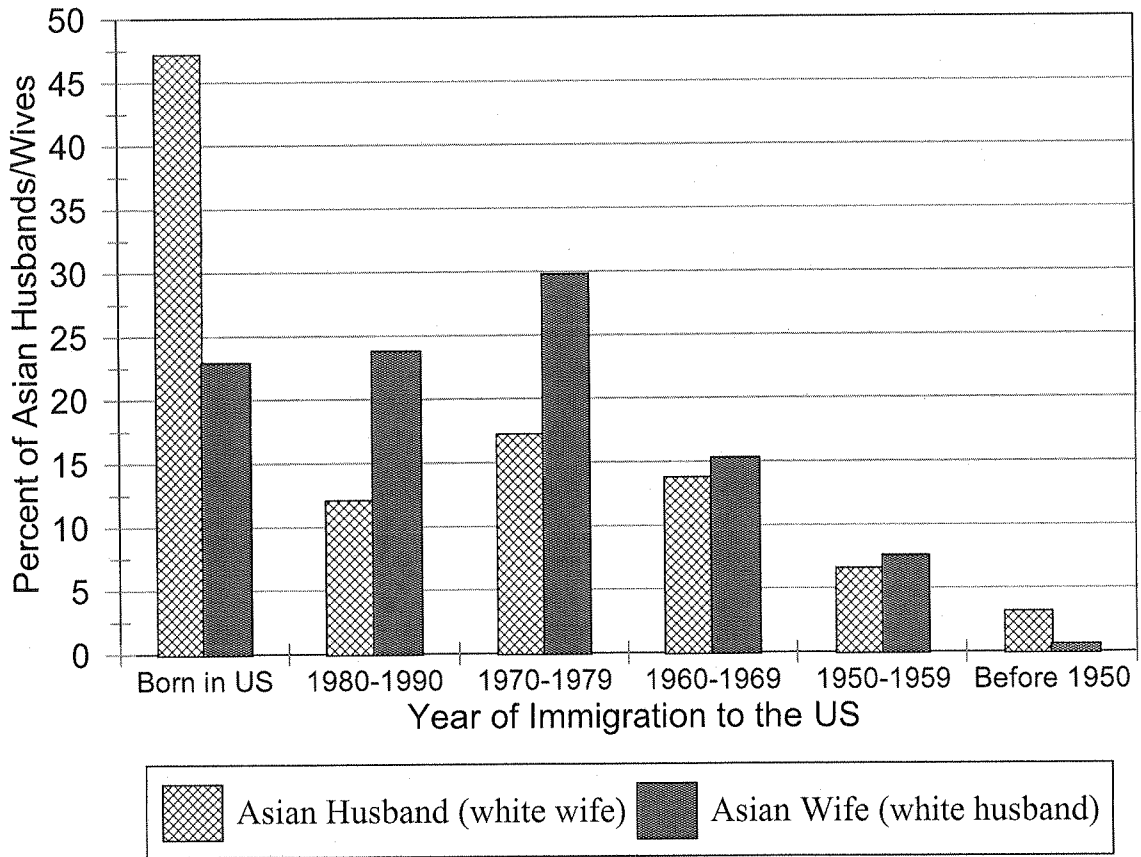


Figure 2 shows the year of immigration for intermarried Asian men and women, by decade. While less than one quarter of the women were born in the US, nearly half of the men are native born. The decade during which the highest percentage of intermarried Asian men and women entered the US was the 1970s, during the Vietnam era.



White-Asian couples are very highly educated and are more likely to have a spouse in a professional or managerial occupation than both endogamous Asian couples and endogamous white couples. (See Tables 10 and 11.) Asian husband white wife couples have especially high socioeconomic status. Median household income for these couples is nearly \$8,000 higher than for endogamous white couples, and almost \$3,000 higher than for endogamous Asian couples. Over half of white-Asian couples have at least one spouse in a professional or managerial occupation. Wives in white-Asian couples are more likely to have paid work than endogamous wives, but they work roughly 100-200 hours less than endogamous Asian wives.

White-Asian couples fall between endogamous whites and endogamous Asians in terms of where they live. They are more likely than whites to live in the West and in metro areas, but somewhat less likely than Asians to live in these areas. A very high percentage of endogamous Asians live in the West (55%) and in metro areas (94%). White-Asian couples follow the overall pattern in terms of childbearing behavior. They are more likely to be childless than either group of endogamous couples, although the difference is not large. They also have about .5 to .7 fewer children on average.

### **White-American Indian Couples**

After white-Asian couples, white-American Indian couples are the next most common type of interracial couple, accounting for 13.4 percent of all interracial marriages in the US in 1990.<sup>8</sup> Similarly to white-Hispanic marriages, these spouses are well educated--much better educated than endogamous American Indian spouses, although somewhat less well educated than

---

<sup>8</sup> This dropped slightly to 12 percent by 1998 (Population Today 1999).

endogamous whites. (See Tables 12 and 13.) Spouses in white-American Indian marriages are somewhat (six percentage points) more likely to be in a professional or managerial occupation than endogamous American Indians. This may be due in part to the fact that many endogamous couples live on or near reservations, on which government jobs are common (Snipp 1989). Like white-Hispanic couples, white-American Indian couple's median household income is much higher than endogamous American Indian couples--\$7,000-\$8,000 higher, although unlike white-Hispanic couples, it is lower than for endogamous white couples (\$6,000-7,000 lower). The large gap in household income between white-American Indian and endogamous American Indian couples is partly due to the fact that white-American Indian couples are much more likely to live in metro areas (56%) than endogamous American Indian couples (27%). Also, endogamous American Indian men have substantially lower median annual earnings than intermarried Indian men. Partly because of this, endogamous American Indian women contribute a somewhat higher percentage of the couple's combined earnings than for endogamous whites or the intermarried couples. At the same time, endogamous American Indian women are less likely to be in the labor force than intermarried women and they work roughly 200 hours less per year on average.

White-American Indian couples rarely report a difference in the languages they speak at home (3%), and they are a little less likely to have been born in different countries than endogamous white couples. Interestingly, a higher percentage of endogamous American Indian couples report using different languages at home (6.8%) than endogamous whites, reflecting high rates of intermarriage among various tribal and language groups within the larger American Indian racial category.

As we saw in the comparison between endogamous and interracial couples overall, we expect that intermarried couples will have fewer children and a higher percentage childless. While white-American Indian couples do have about one less child ever born than endogamous Indian couples, there is little difference between the number of children ever born to endogamous white couples and white-American Indian couples. A slightly higher percentage of these mixed couples are childless (21%) than both endogamous whites (20%) and endogamous American Indians (17%). This may be due in part to the fact that intermarried American Indians are less likely to identify a tribal affiliation and so are probably less tied to a culture which would have a higher norm for fertility.

But while intermarried American Indian couples are similar to each other, there are some marked gaps between them and endogamous white couples, e.g. lower mean household income, and a lower percentage with at least one spouse in a professional or managerial occupation. One factor affecting socioeconomic differences between American Indian-white couples and endogamous white couples is the increase in the number of people self-identifying as American Indian since the 1970 census. More than 62 percent of the increase in the American Indian population enumerated by the decennial census from 1970 to 1980 was due to people who newly identified themselves as American Indian (Eschbach et al 1998). About 35 percent of the increase in the American Indian population between 1980 and 1990 can be attributed to changes in self-identification (Passel 1996:84). Eschbach (1993) shows that the growth in self-identification as American Indian 1960-1980 was especially large in California and in the East. The changes in who identifies themselves as American Indian have coincided with a convergence between whites and American Indians in socioeconomic status (Tienda and Jensen 1988:28). As

a result, it is difficult to sort out whether improvements in socioeconomic status are due to people of higher socioeconomic standing being more likely to be newly identified as American Indian or due to increases in income, education, and occupational status which are occurring for American Indians who have long identified themselves as such. In a detailed examination of this issue with regard to changes in educational attainment between 1970 and 1990, Eschbach et al (1998) conclude that about 33 percent of the increases in educational attainment in this period were due to changes in racial self-identification.

As was true for white-Hispanic couples, there is little difference between the two types of intermarried couples for most measures. This is not true of white-Asian or white-Black marriages. One reason white-Hispanic and white-American Indian couples are so similar regardless of which spouse is which race may be that intermarriage is balanced with regard to gender. Intermarriage between whites and Hispanics and between American Indians and whites has a long history and is relatively common. Indeed, the level of intermarriage between American Indians and other groups was such that by 1910, the Census Bureau reported that 40 percent of the Indian population was mixed race. By 1950, a census taken by the Bureau of Indian Affairs reported that over half of the Indian population was mixed race (Snipp 1997).

In contrast, white-Asian and white-Black matches each have occurred under very particular circumstances. In the case of white-Asian marriages, many of them were due to white servicemen marrying women from the Asian countries where they served. White-black intermarriage has certainly been affected by the extreme social distance between whites and blacks and the history of slavery in the United States. The gender imbalance in outmarriage for blacks also affects differences between white husband--black wife marriages and black husband--

white wife marriages.

### **White-Black Couples**

Lastly, I look at black-white marriages. (See Tables 14 and 15.) These marriages are among the least common combinations, at 8.2 percent of all interracial marriages.<sup>9</sup> As we saw previously based on the Index of Intermarriage Distance, the social distance between blacks and other racial groups is higher than among the other racial groups as indicated not only by low rates of intermarriage (See Table 3) but also by higher levels of residential segregation than for non-black Hispanics and Asians (Massey and Denton 1993). Studies of attitudes toward racial residential integration have also found that whites want greater social distance between themselves and blacks than other groups. Looking at Table 14, we can see that wives in white-black couples are more likely to be foreign born than husbands. Five percent of white-black couples do not speak the same language at home. Also, the fact that the percentage of couples with a difference in place of birth (15%) is smaller than that of interracial couples overall (29%) tells us that most black-white couples in the US have met and married here. This is due in part to the fact that the vast majority of both white and black populations in the US have been born in the US, which is not the case for the Asian or Hispanic population in the US.

Black-white couples are somewhat more educated than endogamous whites, and much better educated than endogamous black spouses. Forty percent of white husband black wife couples have at least one spouse with a Bachelor's degree, which is much higher than for all

---

<sup>9</sup> By 1998, black-white marriages rose to 9 percent of all interracial couples (Population Today 1999).

other comparison groups. Half have at least one spouse in a professional or managerial occupation, which is much higher than the corresponding percentage for endogamous blacks—33 percent, and slightly higher than for endogamous whites—46 percent. Black husband white wife couples also have a high percentage with at least one spouse in a professional or managerial occupation—43 percent—which is close, but lower than the percentage for endogamous whites but much higher than for endogamous blacks. But even though spouses in black husband white wife couples are highly educated and are quite likely to be in professional and managerial occupations, their household incomes fall between those for endogamous blacks (\$25,000) and endogamous whites (\$34,000), falling closer to that for endogamous whites. One reason the incomes of these couples are not closer to that of endogamous white couples would appear to be lower husband's earnings, since the earnings of intermarried wives are slightly higher than those for endogamous black and white couples. A higher percentage of the intermarried women work for pay and they work about 100 hours more per year than endogamous white women, but slightly less than endogamous black women.

A high percentage of black-white couples live in metro areas: 82 percent of black husband-white wife and 87 percent of white husband-white wife couples. Black-white couples report having fewer children ever born than either group of endogamous couples (.5-.7 less). About a third of black-white couples are childless in contrast with roughly one fifth of endogamous whites and one quarter of endogamous blacks.

## **Conclusion**

The profile of various interracial combinations provided by the 1990 PUMS supports

some of the findings in the literature that details typical characteristics of interracial couples. Overall, interracial couples containing one white spouse have a higher socioeconomic status than endogamous couples of the same race as the minority group spouse. They are younger than endogamous couples, less culturally homogamous and more likely to be childless. They are often more likely to live in metro areas, and in the Western region of the US than endogamous white couples.

At the same time, this analysis shows that interracial couples differ among themselves about as much as endogamous couples of various racial groups. Interracial couples may have certain typical characteristics on average, but there is a lot of variety hidden within the averages. For example, while American Indian-white and black-white mixed marriages are a bit better off economically than endogamous Indian or black couples, they are not, on average, better off than endogamous white couples, which is the case for white husband-Hispanic wife couples and Asian-white couples. The socioeconomic and family characteristics of particular interracial combinations are affected by the context and history of the interaction between the two racial groups involved. Circumstances particular to a racial group, such as high immigration for Hispanics, or marriage of white US servicemen to Asian women, or extreme social distance for Blacks have large effects on the frequency of intermarriage with whites and the characteristics of the intermarried couple. Inasmuch as intermarriage mixes two cultural or racial groups, it is important to know the context and history of the interaction of those groups in order to understand why particular interracial combinations are better off economically than their endogamous counterparts, or why they are better educated, less culturally homogamous, or tend to live in a particular region of the US.

Table 1 Number of Cases for Each Racial Combination, 5% PUMS 1990

Race of Husband	Race of Wife					
	White	Black	American Indian	Asian	Hispanic	Other
White	2,216,736	2,133	8,530	14,975	29,901	233
Black	6,208	145,071	377	1,035	1,630	87
American Indian	8,178	195	7,064	170	507	15
Asian	5,544	168	111	52,312	1,105	40
Hispanic	26,604	958	691	1,074	131,470	249
Other	245	47	15	47	172	656

Source: 1990 5% PUMS. Unweighted.

Table 2 Percent Intermarried, by Gender and Race/Ethnicity 5% PUMS 1990

Race	Percent Intermarried		
	Husband	Wife	Marriages*
White	2.6	2.3	4.8
Black	6.2	2.4	8.3
American Indian	59.0	61.4	75.2
Asian	11.9	24.5	31.5
Hispanic	18.8	20.1	32.2
Other	44.1	49.9	64.1

\*Marriages with one spouse of the specified racial group.

Source: 1990 5% PUMS, weighted by the householder's person weight.



Table 3 Index of Intermarriage Distance

	White	Black	American Indian	Asian	Hispanic
White	0	39.7	20.5	27.4	22.6
Black		0	38.0	40.2	37.6
American Indian			0	39.7	31.1
Asian				0	34.6
Hispanic					0

Source: 1990 5% PUMS. There are too few cases in most of the cells for marriages involving those who marked their race as "Other" to calculate the Index.

Table 4 Characteristics of Spouses in Interracial Marriages--Compilation of Findings

Characteristics	Sample	Source
Older Age at Marriage	Marriage registration data in New York for 1964-65	Monahan 1971a
	10% random sample of all 1977 CA divorce cases, black-white only	Rankin and Maneker 1988
	1980 Census 1 and 5% PUMS for New York City, NY marriage applications for 1972 and 1982	Sung 1990
	1980 Census 5% Public Use Sample for Los Angeles County	Tucker and Mitchell-Kernan 1990
Previously Married	Marriages contracted in HA for 24-month periods ending Dec 31 1957 and Dec 31 1968	Schmitt 1965
	Marriage registration data in New York 1964-65	Monahan 1971a
	1980 Census 5% Public Use Sample for Los Angeles County	Tucker and Mitchell-Kernan 1990
	1980 Census 1 and 5% PUMS for New York City, NY marriage applications for 1972 and 1982	Sung 1990
Better Educated	Japanese/American, Jew/non-Jew, Black/white, author's sample	Spickard 1989
	1980 Census 1 and 5% PUMS for New York City, NY marriage applications for 1972 and 1982	Sung 1990
	1980 and 1990 PUMS, black-white couples	Heaton and Albrecht 1996
	1980 and 1990 Census 5% PUMS, native born married couples aged 20-29, excluding Amer. Indians	Qian 1997
Higher Occupational Status and SES	1980 and 1990 PUMS, black-white couples	Heaton and Albrecht 1996
	Marriage records for Philadelphia 1969-1970	Monahan 1976b
	1980 Census 5% PUMS, Asian Americans and their spouses	Lee and Yamanaka 1990
	1980 Census 1 and 5% PUMS for New York City, NY marriage applications for 1972 and 1982	Sung 1990
	1980 Census 5% PUMS for CA, Asian Americans	Shinagawa and Pang 1988

**Table 4 continued**

<b>Characteristics</b>	<b>Sample</b>	<b>Source</b>
Mixed Ancestry	CPS November 1979, persons with European ancestry, and American Indians	Alba and Golden 1986
	Marriage Records for HA 1990	Labov and Jacobs 1998
Larger Age Gap Between Spouses	Marriages contracted in HA for 24-month periods ending Dec 31 1957 and Dec 31 1968	Schmitt 1965
	Hawaii--marriages 1961-63 and divorces 1964-66	Schmitt 1969
Larger Difference in Occupational Status	Marriage records for Philadelphia 1969-1970	Monahan 1976b
Live in the West	1960, 1970 Census, black-white only	Heer 1974
	1980 Census 5% Public Use Sample for Los Angeles County	Tucker and Mitchell-Kernan 1990
	1980 Census 5% PUMS, Asian Americans and their spouses	Lee and Yamanaka 1990
Live in Urban Areas	Marriage registration data in New York 1964-65	Monahan 1971a
	1980 Census 5% Public Use Sample for Los Angeles County	Tucker and Mitchell-Kernan 1990
	1980 Census 5% PUMS, Asian Americans and their spouses	Lee and Yamanaka 1990
Lower Fertility	1960 Census 5% PUMS	Glick 1970
	1960, 1970 Census, black-white only	Heer 1974
	1980 Census 5% PUMS for CA, Asian Americans	Shinagawa and Pang 1988
	1980 Census 1 and 5% PUMS for New York City, NY marriage applications for 1972 and 1982	Sung 1990
	1990 Census 5% PUMS, parents of children <18 who lived in 2-parent families of which at least 1 parent was American Indian	Eschbach 1995
Higher Proportion Childless	1960, 1970 Census, black-white only	Heer 1974
	10% random sample of all 1977 CA divorce cases, black-white only	Rankin and Maneker 1988

Table 5 Demographic, Cultural and Family Characteristics, by Couple Type.

	Endogamous	Interracial
<b>Demographic Variables</b>		
<b>Age</b>		
Median Husband's Age	45	38
Median Wife's Age	42	35
Age Difference	2.6	2.7
<b>Education</b>		
% at least one spouse has an Associate's degree or higher	38.7	44.1
% at least one spouse has a Bachelor's degree or higher	30.2	32.9
% at least one spouse has a Master's degree or higher	12.7	13.7
<b>Cultural Differences</b>		
Language Difference	4.2	33.0
Citizenship Difference	4.4	34.9
% only Husband foreign born	2.1	9.6
% only Wife foreign born	2.2	19.5
% both spouses foreign born	6.6	3.8
<b>Family</b>		
Children Ever Born	2.12	1.75
% Childless	19.8	26.9
<b>Residence</b>		
% West	19.2	43.0
% Metro	68.1	79.7

Source: 1990 5% PUMS. Weighted by the householder's person weight.

Table 6 Selected Characteristics by Couple Type, Standardized on the Intermarried Wife's Age Distribution

	Endogamous	Interracial	Standardized*
Children Ever Born	2.12	1.75	1.92
% Childless	19.8	26.9	22.5
Mean Annual Household Income	\$ 40,804	\$ 41,199	\$ 40,908
Wife's Percent of Couple's Combined Earnings	34.1	35.5	35.8
Median Annual Hours Worked for Wives, if worked $\geq$ 1 hour in 1989	1,820	1,920	1,856

Source: 1990 5% PUMS. Weighted by the householder's person weight.

\* Numbers in this column are for endogamous couples, which have been standardized on the intermarried wife's age distribution.

Table 7 Economic Characteristics, by Couple Type

	Endogamous	Interracial
% at least one spouse Prof/Mgr	43.7	44.2
Median Annual Household Income	\$ 32,900	\$ 34,000
Mean Annual Household Income	\$ 40,804	\$ 41,199
Median Husband's Earnings	\$ 28,000	\$ 27,000
Median Wife's Earnings	\$ 13,000	\$ 14,000
Mean Earnings Difference	\$ 17,003	\$ 14,320
Wife's Percent of Couple's Combined Earnings	34.1	35.5
% of wives reporting 0 hours worked in 1989	36.6	27.1
Median Annual Hours Worked for Wives, if worked >=1 hour in 1989	1,820	1,920

Source: 1990 5% PUMS. Weighted by the householder's person weight.

Table 8 Demographic, Cultural and Family Characteristics, for White-Hispanic Couples, by Couple Type.

	Endogamous White	White Husb Hispanic Wife	Hispanic Husb White Wife	Endogamous Hispanic
<b>Demographic Variables</b>				
<b>Age</b>				
Median Husband's Age	46	38	37	40
Median Wife's Age	43	36	34	37
Age Difference	2.6	2.6	2.6	2.7
<b>Education</b>				
% at least one spouse has an Associate's degree or higher	40.3	45.9	40.6	17.3
% at least one spouse has a Bachelor's degree or higher	31.6	34.5	29.4	10.8
% at least one spouse has a Master's degree or higher	13.4	13.3	11.9	4.5
<b>Cultural Differences</b>				
Language Difference	3.4	15.3	11.8	15.3
Citizenship Difference	3.8	25.9	23.3	15.3
% only Husband foreign born	1.8	2.9	20.3	8.7
% only Wife foreign born	2.0	23.0	3.0	6.6
% both spouses foreign born	2.2	4.2	2.3	46.9
<b>Family</b>				
Children Ever Born	2.1	1.76	1.76	2.63
% Childless	19.7	26.1	26.3	15.7
<b>Residence</b>				
% West	17.5	45.2	44.2	43.3
% Metro	65.6	82.9	82.9	87.5

Source: 1990 5% PUMS. Weighted by the householder's person weight.

Table 9 Economic Characteristics, for White-Hispanic Couples, by Couple Type

	Endogamous White	White Husb Hispanic Wife	Hispanic Husb White Wife	Endogamous Hispanic
% at least one spouse Prof/Mgr	46.0	46.0	43.1	21.6
Median Annual Household Income	\$ 34,000	\$ 39,970	\$ 34,586	\$ 24,680
Median Husband's Earnings	\$ 29,416	\$ 30,000	\$ 26,602	\$ 18,000
Median Wife's Earnings	\$ 13,000	\$ 14,000	\$ 14,284	\$ 10,000
Mean Earnings Difference	\$ 18,293	\$ 16,931	\$ 13,412	\$ 9,732
Wife's Percent of Couple's Combined Earnings	33.2	33.8	36.0	36.4
% of wives reporting 0 hours worked in 1989	36.8	28.2	25.7	43.2
Median Annual Hours Worked for Wives, if worked $\geq$ 1 hour in 1989	1,820	1,920	1,872	1,820

Source: 1990 5% PUMS. Weighted by the householder's person weight.



Table 10 Demographic, Cultural and Family Characteristics, for White-Asian Couples, by Couple Type.

	Endogamous White	White Husb Asian Wife	Asian Husb White Wife	Endogamous Asian
<b>Demographic Variables</b>				
<b>Age</b>				
Median Husband's Age	46	40	38	43
Median Wife's Age	43	38	36	40
Age Difference	2.6	2.5	3.0	3.6
<b>Education</b>				
% at least one spouse has an Associate's degree or higher	40.3	56.1	65.1	59.9
% at least one spouse has a Bachelor's degree or higher	31.6	45.0	55.0	52.0
% at least one spouse has a Master's degree or higher	13.4	19.4	29.8	25.6
<b>Cultural Differences</b>				
Language Difference	3.4	19.9	9.2	16.0
Citizenship Difference	3.8	71.0	44.4	6.0
% only Husband foreign born	1.8	1.1	41.3	2.4
% only Wife foreign born	2.0	69.9	3.1	3.6
% both spouses foreign born	2.2	4.3	6.4	81.6
<b>Family</b>				
Children Ever Born	2.1	1.51	1.60	2.16
% Childless	19.7	30.7	30.5	18.1
<b>Residence</b>				
% West	17.5	49.9	52.2	54.9
% Metro	65.6	82.3	86.2	94.0

Source: 1990 5% PUMS. Weighted by the householder's person weight.

Table 11 Economic Characteristics, for White-Asian Couples, by Couple Type

	Endogamous White	White Husb Asian Wife	Asian Husb White Wife	Endogamous Asian
% at least one spouse Prof/Mgr	46.0	51.1	58.1	49.1
Median Annual Household Income	\$ 34,000	\$ 37,700	\$ 41,924	\$ 38,800
Median Husband's Earnings	\$ 29,416	\$ 30,000	\$ 32,400	\$ 28,000
Median Wife's Earnings	\$ 13,000	\$ 14,605	\$ 15,671	\$ 16,000
Mean Earnings Difference	\$ 18,293	\$ 16,278	\$ 19,837	\$ 13,250
Wife's Percent of Couple's Combined Earnings	33.2	34.5	34.2	39.4
% of wives reporting 0 hours worked in 1989	36.8	29.0	24.5	34.9
Median Annual Hours Worked for Wives, if worked $\geq$ 1 hour in 1989	1,820	1,938	1,824	2,040

Source: 1990 5% PUMS. Weighted by the householder's person weight.

Table 12 Demographic, Cultural and Family Characteristics, for White-American Indian Couples, by Couple Type.

	Endogamous White	White Husb American Indian Wife	American Indian Husb White Wife	Endogamous American Indian
<b>Demographic Variables</b>				
<b>Age</b>				
Median Husband's Age	46	41	41	43
Median Wife's Age	43	38	38	40
Age Difference	2.6	2.6	2.7	2.9
<b>Education</b>				
% at least one spouse has an Associate's degree or higher	40.3	30.5	31.1	19.6
% at least one spouse has a Bachelor's degree or higher	31.6	19.9	20.3	10.6
% at least one spouse has a Master's degree or higher	13.4	7.2	7.7	3.9
<b>Cultural Differences</b>				
Language Difference	3.4	2.9	2.8	6.8
Citizenship Difference	3.8	2.5	2.9	1.1
% only Husband foreign born	1.8	1.5	.8	.5
% only Wife foreign born	2.0	1.1	2.1	.6
% both spouses foreign born	2.2	.2	.2	1.9
<b>Family</b>				
Children Ever Born	2.1	2.12	2.02	3.06
% Childless	19.7	21.4	21.1	17.1
<b>Residence</b>				
% West	17.5	33.9	31.9	52.9
% Metro	65.6	55.4	56.0	27.3

Source: 1990 5% PUMS. Weighted by the householder's person weight.

Table 13 Economic Characteristics, for White-American Indian Couples, by Couple Type

	Endogamous White	White Husb American Indian Wife	American Indian Husb White Wife	Endogamous American Indian
% at least one spouse Prof/Mgr	46.0	34.1	34.5	28.7
Median Annual Household Income	\$ 34,000	\$ 27,905	\$ 27,000	\$ 18,900
Median Husband's Earnings	\$ 29,416	\$ 23,793	\$ 22,000	\$ 16,000
Median Wife's Earnings	\$ 13,000	\$ 11,000	\$ 11,000	\$ 9,900
Mean Earnings Difference	\$ 18,293	\$ 13,728	\$ 11,743	\$ 8,364
Wife's Percent of Couple's Combined Earnings	33.2	33.5	35.9	38.3
% of wives reporting 0 hours worked in 1989	36.8	32.6	29.6	42.3
Median Annual Hours Worked for Wives, if worked $\geq$ 1 hour in 1989	1,820	1,785	1,840	1,600

Source: 1990 5% PUMS. Weighted by the householder's person weight.

Table 14 Demographic, Cultural and Family Characteristics, for White-Black Couples, by Couple Type.

	Endogamous White	White Husb Black Wife	Black Husb White Wife	Endogamous Black
<b>Demographic Variables</b>				
<b>Age</b>				
Median Husband's Age	46	37	38	44
Median Wife's Age	43	36	35	41
Age Difference	2.6	2.6	3.5	2.9
<b>Education</b>				
% at least one spouse has an Associate's degree or higher	40.3	49.4	41.4	28.6
% at least one spouse has a Bachelor's degree or higher	31.6	40.5	30.0	20.3
% at least one spouse has a Master's degree or higher	13.4	18.3	13.2	8.0
<b>Cultural Differences</b>				
Language Difference	3.4	4.8	4.8	1.5
Citizenship Difference	3.8	15.3	15.5	2.5
% only Husband foreign born	1.8	6.5	4.9	1.6
% only Wife foreign born	2.0	8.8	10.5	.9
% both spouses foreign born	2.2	3.8	1.3	5.0
<b>Family</b>				
Children Ever Born	2.1	1.54	1.60	2.3
% Childless	19.7	34.6	30.9	23.9
<b>Residence</b>				
% West	17.5	27.2	26.7	8.6
% Metro	65.6	87.3	82.4	77.4

Source: 1990 5% PUMS. Weighted by householder's person weight.

Table 15 Economic Characteristics, for White-Black Couples, by Couple Type

	Endogamous White	White Husb Black Wife	Black Husb White Wife	Endogamous Black
% at least one spouse Prof/Mgr	46.0	50.6	42.6	33.2
Median Annual Household Income	\$ 34,000	\$ 31,200	\$ 30,000	\$ 25,000
Median Husband's Earnings	\$ 29,416	\$ 25,644	\$ 22,000	\$ 21,000
Median Wife's Earnings	\$ 13,000	\$ 15,000	\$ 15,000	\$ 14,894
Mean Earnings Difference	\$ 18,293	\$ 11,650	\$ 7,983	\$ 7,966
Wife's Percent of Couple's Combined Earnings	33.2	37.8	41.0	40.7
% of wives reporting 0 hours worked in 1989	36.8	23.3	20.2	30.0
Median Annual Hours Worked for Wives, if worked $\geq$ 1 hour in 1989	1,820	1,924	1,960	1,976

Source: 1990 5% PUMS. Weighted by householder's person weight.

## REFERENCES

- Alba, Richard D. and Reid M. Golden. 1986. "Patterns of Ethnic Marriage in the United States" *Social Forces* 65:1:202-223.
- Besharov, Douglas J. and Timothy S. Sullivan. 1996. "The Interracial Generation: From Mixed Marriages, the Offspring of Hope." *The Washington Post*: July 21.
- Burma, John H. Gary A. Cretser and Ted Seacrest. 1970 "A comparison of the occupational status of intramarrying and intermarrying couples: a research note" *Sociology & Social Research* 54: 508-519.
- Cornell, Stephen. 1990. "Land, labour and group formation: Blacks and Indians in the United States" *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 13:3:368-388.
- Cready, Cynthia M. and Rogelio Saenz. 1997. "The Nonmetro/metro Context of Racial/ethnic Outmarriage: Some Differences between African Americans and Mexican Americans" *Rural Sociology* 62:3:335-362.
- Cretser, Gary A. and Joseph J. Leon. 1985. "Racial, Religious, and National Origin Intermarriage in the US: Review of Selected Theory, Method, and Research" *International Journal of Sociology of the Family* 15:3-30.
- Eschbach, Karl. 1993. "Changing Identification among American Indians and Alaska Natives" *Demography* 30:4:635-652.
- Eschbach, Karl. 1995. "The enduring and vanishing American Indian: American Indian population growth and intermarriage in 1990" *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 18:1:89-108.
- Eschbach, Karl, Khalil Supple, and C. Matthew Snipp. 1998. "Changes in Racial Identification and the Educational Attainment; of American Indians, 1970-1990" *Demography* 35:1:35-43.
- Glick, Paul. 1970. "Intermarriage Among Ethnic Groups in the US" *Social Biology* 17:292-298.
- Heaton, Tim B. and Stan L. Albrecht. 1996. "The Changing Pattern of Interracial Marriage" *Social Biology* 43:3-4:203-217.
- Heer, David M. 1974. "The Prevalence of Black-White Marriage in the United States, 1960 and 1970" *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 36:246-258.
- Kalmijn, Matthijs. 1993. "Trends in Black/White Intermarriage" *Social Forces* 72:1:119-146.

- Kitano, Harry, Wai-Tsang Yeung, Lynn Chai and Herbert Hatanaka. 1984. "Asian American Interracial Marriage" *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 46:179-90.
- Labov, Teresa and Jerry A. Jacobs. 1998. "Preserving Multiple Ancestry: Intermarriage and Mixed Births in Hawaii" *Journal of Comparative Family Studies* XXIX:3:481-502.
- Lee, Sharon M. and Marilyn Fernandez. 1998. "Trends in Asian American Racial/Ethnic Intermarriage: A Comparison of 1980 and 1990 Census Data" *Sociological Perspectives* 41:2:323-342.
- Lee, Sharon M. and Keiko Yamanaka. 1990. "Patterns of Asian American Intermarriage and Marital Assimilation" *Journal of Comparative Family Studies* XXI:2:287-305.
- Lieberson, Stanley and Mary Waters. 1988. *From Many Strands: Ethnic and Racial Groups in Contemporary America*. Russell Sage Foundation: New York.
- Luke, Carmen and Allen Luke. 1998. "Interracial Families: difference within difference." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 21:4:728-754.
- Massey, Douglas and Nancy Denton. 1987. "Trends in the Residential Segregation of Blacks, Hispanics, and Asians: 1970-1980." *American Sociological Review* 52:802-825.
- Massey, Douglas and Nancy Denton. 1993. *American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Merton, Robert. 1941. "Intermarriage and the Social Structure: Fact and Theory" *Psychiatry* 4:361-374.
- McLanahan, Sara, and Gary Sandefur. 1994. *Growing Up With a Single Parent: What Hurts, What Helps*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Monahan, Thomas P. 1971a. "Interracial Marriage in the US: Some Data on Upstate New York" *International Journal of the Sociology of the Family* 94-105.
- Monahan, Thomas P. 1971b. "Interracial Marriage and Divorce in Kansas and the Question of Instability of Mixed Marriages" *Journal of Comparative Family Studies* 2:107-120.
- Monahan, Thomas P. 1976a. "An Overview of Statistics on Interracial Marriage in the United States, with data on its extent from 1963-1970" *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 38:223-231.
- Monahan, Thomas P. 1976b. "The Occupational Class of Couples Entering into Interracial Marriage" *Journal of Comparative Family Studies* 7:175-192.



Muhsam, Helmut. 1990. "Social Distance and Asymmetry in Inter-marriage Patterns" *Journal of Comparative Family Studies* XXI:3:307-324.

Passel, Jeffrey S. 1996. "The Growing American Indian Population, 1960-1990: Beyond Demography" pp. 79-102 in *Changing Numbers, Changing Needs: American Indian Demography and Public Health*, edited by Gary Sandefur, Ronald Rindfuss and Barney Cohen. Washington DC: National Academy Press.

"Speaking Graphically" 1999. *Population Today*. Washington DC: Population Reference Bureau. 27:2:6.

Porterfield, Ernest. 1982a. "Black-American Inter-marriage in the United States," pp. 17-34 in Gary A. Cretser and Joseph J. Leon (eds.) *Inter-marriage in the United States*. New York: The Haworth Press.

Qian, Zhenchao. 1997. "Breaking the Racial Barriers: Variations in Interracial Marriage Between 1980 and 1990" *Demography* 34:2:263-276.

Rankin, Robert P. and Jerry S. Maneker. 1988. "Correlates of Marital Duration and Black-White Inter-marriage in California" *Journal of Divorce* 11:2:51-67.

Sandefur, Gary D. and Trudy McKinnell. 1986. "American Indian Inter-marriage" *Social Science Research* 15:347-371.

Schmitt, Robert C. 1965. "Demographic Correlates of Interracial Marriage in Hawaii" *Demography* 2:463-473.

Schmitt, Robert C. 1969. "Age and Race Differences in Divorce in Hawaii" *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 28:48-50.

Schmitt, Robert C. 1971. "Recent Trends in Hawaiian Interracial Marriage Rates by Occupation" *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 33:373-374.

Shinagawa, Larry Hajime and Gin Yong Pang. 1988. "Intraethnic, Interethnic and Interracial Marriages Among Asian Americans In CA, 1980" *Berkeley Journal of Sociology* 33:95-114.

Snipp, C. Matthew. 1989. *American Indians: The First of this Land*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Snipp, C. Matthew. 1997. "Some Observations About Racial Boundaries and the Experiences of American Indians" *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 20:4:667-689.

Spanier, Graham B. 1983. "Married and Unmarried Cohabitation in the United States: 1980" *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 45:277-288.

Spickard, Paul. R. 1989. *Mixed Blood Intermarriage and Ethnic Identity in Twentieth-Century America*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Stevens, Gillian and Michael K. Tyler. 1998. "Ethnic and Racial Intermarriage in the United States: Old and New Regimes" paper presented at the Population Association of America annual meeting. April 4: Chicago.

Sung, Betty Lee. 1990. "Chinese American Intermarriage" *Journal of Comparative Family Studies* XXI:3:337-352.

Tienda, Marta and L. Jensen. 1988. "Poverty and Minorities: A Quarter-Century Profile of Color and Socio-Economic Disadvantage." Pp 23-61 in *Divided Opportunities: Minorities, Poverty and Social Policy*, edited by Gary D. Sandefur and Marta Tienda. New York: Plenum Press.

Tucker, M. Belinda and Claudia Mitchell-Kernan. 1990. "New Trends in Black American Interracial Marriage: The Social Structural Context" *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 52:209-218.

Zhou, M. and J.R. Logan. 1991. "In and Out of Chinatown: Residential Mobility and Segregation of New York City's Chinese." *Social Forces* 70:387-407.