Assimilating Blackness?: Multiple-Race Identification and African American Mate Selection

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Abstract

I investigate the influence of multiracial identification on assortative mating by race for the African American population. Using 2000 1% Public Use Microdata File of the U.S. Census, I compare mate selection patterns of the single race non-Hispanic Black population to the multiple race population whose selected "Black" at least once. I employ multinomial logistic regression models to explore how likely a respondent selects Black (single race) spouses compared to non-Hispanic Whites and Multiracial Blacks. The results show Black persons who selected at least one other race are more likely than their single race counterparts to have White spouses, they are far more likely to have multiracial spouses. These analyses also show that neither of these tendencies are explained by other identity choices such as alternative races or ancestry responses, structural assimilation of the multiracial population, or regional location near other interracial couples. These results indicate that a "Black" identity is still salient in the mate selection of multiracial Blacks. Although some marital assimilation is occurring, multiracial persons appear to engage in more marital homogamy with other multiracial persons.

Introduction

American spouses are more likely to be similar on race (racial homogamy) than class, ethnicity, or religion (Gordon 1964a; Qian 1997, Rosenfeld 2001; Kalimin 1998). Changing patterns of homogamy have been a signpost of the changing nature of race and its influence on social interactions. Among all racial groups of color, African Americans have had the highest rates of homogamy (Qian 1997) and the lowest rates of interracial marriage, indicating a persistent divide in the marriage market between "Blacks" and other groups (Sanjek 1994). The forces that maintain the patterns of low levels of interracial marriage among African Americans represent conditions of social distance (e.g. social class stratification, inter-group contact opportunities, racial attitudes) that limit the potential of crossing of lines of racial stratification in the marriage market (Porterfield 1982; Root 2001; Romano 2003; Kalmijn 1993; Cready and Saenz 1997). The new "check all that apply" race question on the U.S. Census form introduces a more fluid notion of racial classification (Harris 2002) but what this will mean for actual relationships remains to be seen (Perlmann and Waters 2002). One such relationship, marriage, will undoubtedly be affected as this new classification scheme will alter the meaning of both homogamy and interracial marriage.

To begin to explore the impact of this change, this paper examines what this will look like for a population whose rates of homogamy have routinely been high—African Americans. This paper has three goals. First, I document the differences in racial mate selection between multiple and single race non-Hispanic Black population. Second, I explore whether or not selecting more than one race operates as one of the conditions that reduce social distance by increasing the chances of selecting a non-"Black" spouse.

Third I explore whether or not conditions that are associated with increasing the likelihood of intermarriage explain the influence of multiple race reporting.

The Elusive Nature of Marital Assimilation and Multiracial Identity for African Americans

Though theoretically intermarriage across boundaries of race or ethnicity is a form of marital assimilation (see Rosenfeld 2001; 2002), the assimilation of offspring-their choice of identity and marital behavior-- is a crucial driving force determining if such assimilation can occur (Gordon 1964b). Studies of European identity have noted how centuries of intermarriage across ethnic lines and the ethnic identities of the increasingly mixed offspring have lead to an ethnic identity that is chosen rather than assigned (Waters 1990; Alba and Golden 1989). Race, however, stands as the ascribed status and identity that has not ceased to be salient as a social identity. This is most true for the African American population despite a long history of Black-white interaction that has produced both African Americans and Whites have some degree of non-Black and non-White ancestry (Goldstein 1999; Perlmann and Waters 2002: 5). In spite of a growing multiracial population of various ancestries (see Goldstein and Morning 2000, Morning 2003), race has never ceased to segment the marriage market, especially between African Americans and other groups.

Recent estimates indicate that 8% of African American couples involve non-Black spouses. These levels are those among Asians, Native Americans, or Hispanics (Eschbach 1995; Gurak and Fitzpatrick 1982; Lee and Yamanaka 1990 Rosenfeld 2002; Qian 1997) indicating a sharper marital division between Blacks and non-Blacks. These trends coincide with differing identity options of the multiracial offspring. Where Native American intermarriage is nearly normative, it's partially due the large number of "part-

Indians" who claim Native Ancestry and are included in these figures (Eschbach 1995). Although intermarriage varies widely by ethnicity and nativity (Lee and Yamanka, Qian 1999), Asians-White children are more likely to identify as White than Black-White children (Xie and Goyette 1997). Black interracial intermingling, the results was not mixed race class that represented a shade of a gradual "Whitening" of the Black population as was the case in Brazil (see Nobles 2000) and that commonly married into the White and Black populations (Telles 1993). Rather, "Black" came to represent a racial category and identity that encompassed all persons of African Origins, not matter how distant or mixed (Davis 1991). Intermarriage as a sub-process of assimilation did not apply to racial intermarriage by the Black population in the same way it had for European ethnic groups. Mixed race offspring were legally, socially, and culturally bound to a "Black" identity as were their offspring.

In spite of this, scholars have explored the many dynamics of multiracial identity of the Black population. Previous studies on multiracial identification note the varied ways persons of multiracial ancestry identify themselves (Rocquemore and Brunsma 2002), despite the fact that they would more than likely be labeled "Black" on a census form. These identities reflect both individual sense of self and a sense of their sense of how their identity is constructed by others. These authors, and many others, maintain that the growing multiracial population is signaling the changing nature of race itself and its relevance for social interactions (Pearlmann and Waters 2002). However, how does the multiracial population interact? Will changes in racial classification alter the meaning of race for the African American population? Specifically, how relevant is such a classification, being multiple race, for social behaviors such as intermarriage? In order to

explore the role of multiple race identification in inter-group marriages, the very nature of intermarriage for this population must be clarified.

"Ethnic Marital Options": Framing the Spousal Selection of the multiple race Population

The little intermarriage that did occur did not promote any re-drawing of the boundaries of race for the Black population. The composition of those who intermarried, however, outlined the conditions that facilitated contacts between Blacks and Whites. Several studies have emphasized the role of structural assimilation, or the growing social parity between minority and majority members, on inter-group contacts. Blacks who have attained high levels of education are more likely to have non-Black spouses (Heaton and Albrecht 1996; Qian 1997; Kalmijn 1993). Although this is also interpreted as evidence of trading a "racial" caste privilege for a social class privileges (see Davis 1941), the implication remains the same – social class mobility can lead to greater intergroup contact. Other studies have identified region and urban residence as a similar condition that facilitated greater contact. Residence within an urban or non-Southern area increases the likelihood of interracial marriage for African Americans (Cready and Saenz 1997; Kalmijn 1993).

The question as to whether multiple-origins increases the likelihood of an intermarriage, depends on how "intermarriage" is defined, specifically what constitutes a cross of a line of race when at least one person is claiming more than one racial group. The central issue here is what this identity will mean for the salience of "Black" identity in the marriage market. Therefore, any marriage between a person who selects "Black" with a person who is not African American under the traditional definition (i.e. non-Hispanic and selecting only one race) is defined as being intermarried. This signifies an

adherence to "one-drop" designation in personal identity while other options are available. A given Black identified person maybe intermarried in various ways—such marriages could involve persons of various multiple ethnicities, non-Black single race backgrounds, as well as all Hispanic sub-groups.

There are several outcomes to consider. The first is that regardless of what is claimed by the individual, their social experiences and social interactions will still be more similar to that of the non-Hispanic Black (single race) population. Therefore, the mate selection patterns of the multiple race population that selected Black among other races should not differ significantly from the single race population. Claiming multiple race identity on the census thereby has little consequence for assortative mating by race, and thus does not elevate the likelihood of being married to any non-Black person.

The second outcome is that multiple race identity does coincide with experiences and interactions that elevate the likelihood of intermarriage, specifically to a non-Hispanic White person. Claiming a multiple race identity has been viewed as an indicator of a desire to assimilate into majority. Therefore selecting multiple racial origins would indicate greater social proximity to the White population, and thus facilitate marriages. From another standpoint, the multiple race persons selecting "Black" may also have selected "White" as a racial background. Therefore, marriages to whites are not evidence of a departure from Black origins, but rather sharing common "White" background.

The third outcome is that spousal selection of multiple race identification will neither represent a process toward assimilation or maintenance of strictly defined racial barriers. Rather, assortative mating patterns will represent a greater diversification of a

"Black" identity. Under this prediction, multiple race reporting persons may more likely to select other Black persons that adopt a more fluid notion of race, either persons who also select multiple races or who select "Black" and "Hispanic".

Research Questions

This analysis has three research aims. The first is to compare the patterns of mate selection of the non-Hispanic Black population that selected only one race with the multiple-race reporting population that is non-Hispanic and selected Black in addition to at least one other race. These individuals will be referred to as "multiracial Black" population. This is merely a descriptive label, not intending to assert the salience or priority of one racial identity over others. Specifically, I will focus on explore how likely the spouses of these two groups are non-Hispanic White or multiracial Black, compared to having a non-Hispanic Black spouse (single race) spouse. The second aim is to assess whether or not the conditions that facilitate interracial marriage similarly facilitate selecting a multiracial spouse. The third aim to investigate if any of these factors explain the role of multiple-race reporting on race of spouse.

Data

The data for this research comes from the 2000 1 % Public Use Micro data Sample (PUMS) (U.S. Dept. of Commerce 2003). I have drawn a sample of non-Hispanic married adults who have selected Black at least one on the race question and whose spouses currently live in the same household. These individual-level data were converted into a couple level file that included the characteristics of husbands and wives on one record. Past analyses restricted the age range of the individuals in order to narrow the focus to persons who are likely first married and are members of cohorts that were of

marrying age at least by the mid 1960's when intermarriage was legal. Due to the restrictive sample size of the 2000 1% file and the small number of mixed race couples involving Black partners, these analyses do not limit the sample by age, although age is introduced as a control variable. The total sample includes 38,923 Black men, 8% of which who have non-Black wives and 36,371 Black women, 3%. Have non-Black husbands.

Variables

Mate Selection. The dependent variable is type of union measured is with a categorical variable with four outcomes representing the races of the spouses (1) non-Hispanic White spouse (selected only one race) (2) non-Hispanic Black (multiple race/Hispanic) (3) Other Race (4) Non-Hispanic Black spouse whose only selected one race, the base category.

Multiracial Identity. Respondents who selected at least one other race besides "Black" or selected "Black" and "Hispanic" are labeled multiracial in this analysis. The sample includes only non-Hispanic respondents and their spouses. Therefore, analyses done on men include non-Hispanic men and potentially Hispanic wives. I also employ a control for selecting "White" in addition to "Black" in order to account for the role of racial similarity in selecting a White partner.

Control Variables. I employ several controls for characteristics that affect interracial marriage probabilities in the areas of socioeconomic status, regional location, nativity, and stated ancestry. To measure socioeconomic status, I constructed the following education categories – less than high school, high school graduate, some college, and college degree or more from the years of schooling variable. This

operationalization of education is preferable to single measure of years of schooling as it captures the relationship between level of education (i.e. graduating from High school, attaining a college education) and interracial marriage rather than number of years.

Region of residence and ancestry is captured through the variables of region and coding the first stated ancestry variable in the PUMS file. The levels are the same as in this data file—(1) Northeast (2) Midwest (3) South and (4) West. To capture the elevated chances of being intermarried when one lives in the non-South, each region is employed in the multivariate analysis with South as an omitted category. Ancestry is used to measure the role of primary cultural identity. Persons who selected multiple races may indicate the most "salient" identity in their indications of the first ancestry. Although descriptive tables show a wider variety of ancestry options, I categorize individuals into one of three categories, either not reporting any ancestry, reporting an ancestry that is outside of the Black American labels (African American, Black, Negro, Colored), and those who reported a Black American label. I also employ a control for nativity to account for foreign born persons who are selecting country of origin.

Methods

In order to estimate the likelihood of specific mate selection options as a function of the individual characteristics, I employ multinomial logistic regression models for males and females separately with the four mate selection categories described above. This analysis is most appropriate to assess the probability of one outcome while holding the others constant. I report exponenteniated logistic coefficients, or odds ratios, to assess the likelihood of one event relative to another. An odds ratio above 1.00 indicates an increase in the likelihood of selecting a certain type of spouse relative to a single race

Black spouse, and an odds ratio below 1.00 indicates a decrease in the likelihood. For this analysis, I report two contrasts-- likelihood of marrying a White person relative to a single race Black and the likelihood of marrying a multiracial Black person relative to a single race Black person.

Limitations

A few caveats to this analysis should be noted. The first is that without information on the timing of events such as age at marriage, limits any causal interpretations of the relationship between the characteristics and the outcome. Therefore these characteristics are not considered causally linked to the act of marrying someone of a particular background.

A second concern is the focus on the characteristics of one spouse at a time, perhaps implying that the characteristics of one take precedence over another. Therefore, it may seem that these analyses examine how likely an African American person chooses to intermarry, but that spouse is not choosing them. Log linear models can speak to this issue by observing traits of husbands and wives simultaneously and estimating the frequency of certain marriage pairs over others¹ and have been used for intermarriage research quite frequently (see Qian 1997; Rosenfeld 2002). The primary limitation of log linear models for this analysis is the number of covariates that can be used in the analysis. In order to maximize the descriptive value of the results, logistic regression models are employed to demonstrate the likelihood of interracial marriage as a function of a wide range of variables.

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¹ See Kalmijn 1998 for discussion of the merits of log linear modeling in intermarriage research.

Results

Descriptive Statistics

Table 1 shows the distribution of sample characteristics for multiracial Blacks, single race Blacks, and the total Black population. Each distribution is presented for males and females separately. Multiple-race reporting strongly divides patterns of spousal selection in a way that supports the third scenario presented above. The majority of multiracial Black population is married to Blacks who identify in a variety of ways compared to the single race population whose spouses are mostly single race persons. Forty three percent of the multiracial men have multiracial wives and 21% have single race wives, compared to 90% of the single-race men have wives that selected only one race and only 2% have wives that selected multiple races. Similar patterns appear for women, with a greater tendency toward marriages to single race Black husbands for both multiracial and single race Blacks. Supporting the second scenario, a larger percentage of multiracial Blacks are married to non-Hispanic Whites compared to single race Blacks. Among the single race population, 5% of the males and 2 % of the females have White spouses while 21% of the multiracial males and 18% of the multiracial females have White spouses.

Other characteristics show that the multiracial population has distinctive composition relative to Black (single race) population. Multiracial men and women tend to be younger. They are more likely to have a college education or more, live outside of the South, and are foreign born. Many of these characteristics of the multiracial Black population are similar to the characteristics of the interracially married Black population

in terms of higher average education and regional location (see Heaton and Albrecht 1996).

How does the multiracial population identify? The next panel shows the distributions of other races selected for the multiracial population and the responses to the first ancestry question. More than 30% of either men or women have chosen either a White or Other (includes Native American) as one of their additional races. Multiracial Blacks also show have a weaker tendency toward selecting "Black American" (e.g. African American, Colored, Negro, Black) labels as primary entry to the ancestry question. Seventy-four percent of the single race males and females indicate this identity compared to only 24% of the multiple race males and females.

Multivariate Results

Table 2 (shown in two Panels – A for males and B for females) displays the results of the multivariate analyses. How do the patterns of mate selection for the multiple race population differ from the single race population? Model I, the base model shows the odds ratio of selecting either a White spouse or a multiracial Black spouse relative to selecting a non-Hispanic Black spouse (the other contrast is available from the author by request). As indicated by the previous table, multiple-race reporting strongly shapes assortative mating patterns for the Black population. Multiracial Blacks are more likely than their single race counter-parts to have White wives (OR=18.39) and husbands (OR=18.38) and they highly likely to have multiracial Black wives (OR=136.08) or husbands (OR=61.42). This confirms the second and third scenario's of mate selection that multiple race reporting appears to facilitate contacts with the White population in

addition to diversifying Black identity as many multiracial Blacks marrying are each other.

Can either tendency be explained by other patterns of identity selection-- selecting "White" as one of the races or selecting a non-Black ancestry? The results of Model II show that this partially explains the effect of multiple-race reporting for both men and women, particularly in relation to having a White spouse. The odds ratio for have a White wife is reduced by more than half (OR=7.86) and the odds ratio for having a White husband are reduced substantially as well (OR=3.34). Therefore, part of the tendency toward having White spouse is due to sharing a "White" identity. This effect appears stronger for women, whose odds of having a White husband increase by 14 times if they selected "White" compared to men whose odds of having a White wife increase by 4 times. Interestingly, selecting a "White" identity is positively associated with having a multiracial husband (OR=2.19, p < .001) but not a multiracial wife (OR=0.81, p=.283) indicating possible gender differences in the ways "Whiteness" operates in the marriage market.

Are these tendencies toward specific spouse due to educational attainment? If the multiple race identification represents a progression toward assimilation of identities, might this be due to structural assimilation, that is having a higher level of education than the single-race Black population? Controls for education are added in Model III.

Although education is positively associated with marriages to Whites and multiracial Blacks, the effect of selecting multiple races remains almost unchanged in Panel B and the effect increases somewhat in Panel A, indicating that education might be suppressing the total effect of selecting more than one race on intermarriage. These results suggest

that these tendencies are not due to structural assimilation of the multiracial population, rather other forces may be operating to increase contact opportunities.

What role does region of residence or living in rural area play? The fact multiple-race persons are concentrated in the same part of the country that houses many interracial married African Americans, the Western United States, may mean that these populations may be one and the same, or that factors that draw so many interracially married African Americans to the West are similar to those that attract multiracial persons. I introduce the effects of region and residence in a rural area in Model IV. As predicted, living in a non-Southern region increases the likelihood that the spouse is either White or multiracial Black and these effects explain some of the tendencies toward having White or multiracial spouses. This may indicate that contextual issues of place play an important role in where these couples meet and where they tend to live.

Conclusions and Future Implications

These analyses show that selecting multiple races and multiracial identity strongly shapes the patterns of assortative mating by race for the African American population. There are three key findings. First, multiracial Black persons are more likely than the single-race population to select a White spouse and multiracial Black spouse, according to the results from the multinomial logistic regressions models. Secondly, these results show that conditions that facilitate marriage to non-Hispanic Whites (e.g. education beyond high school, living outside of the South, selecting more than one race, selecting a non-Black ancestry) are similar to those that are associated to married to multiracial Blacks. Lastly, these conditions that facilitated intermarriage did not explain the role of

multiple race reporting. In the final models for both men and women, the effect of selecting more than one race remained positive and strong for both types of spouses.

These results have several implications for studies on interracial marriage among the African American population. It is likely that a nontrivial proportion of intermarrying Blacks of the past were actually multiracial persons who were unable to be counted. Although the multiracial population was more likely than the single race population to select a White spouse, clearly a "Black" identity remains a salient component to the mate selection patterns. In one sense, it seems that multiracial Blacks are more likely to engage in a more diversified Black identity in the selection of spouses, confirming the third scenario. In another sense, this may indicate that multiracial persons who select other multiracial persons are engaging simply in a type of homogamy of a shared Black multidimensional identity. This goes to the heart of how to define intermarriage when the groups are no longer exclusively single race. If "like" is still marrying "like", how is the similarity between the spouses defined and when does it apply? Certainly a bi-racial person of Black and White background marrying a White person is also engaging in homogamy of sorts as well. In Model II for both men and women, part of the effect of selecting multiple races on having a White spouse is the fact that one of those races was White.

Future research should investigate the level of inter-group opportunities inscribed in space. Ultimately, these results strongly suggest that the lines that bar inter-group contacts are potentially stronger for those of single race backgrounds than for those of multiracial identification. Although Blacks of multiple races are more likely to have White spouses, this could be a factor of residing in areas affording greater contacts with

Whites. This could be measured on the metropolitan, county, or the neighborhood level.

Another implication concerns whether or not dynamics of multiracial population indicate a type of assimilation. The fact that these patterns are related to factors of identity (i.e. ancestry and other races selected) instead of social class mobility (i.e. education) indicates the power of identity in shaping social interactions.

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Table 1. Descriptive Statistics

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Variables	Black (Single Race) 1	Multiple Race Black	Total	Black (Single Race)	Multiple Race Black	Total
Sample Size (n)	37,209	1,084	38,293	35,340	1,031	36,371
Race of Partners						
Non-Hispanic White (alone)	5.15	21.45	5.62	2.13	18.75	2.61
Non-Hispanic Black (alone)	90.96	21.26	88.96	95.93	43.64	94.42
Black Multiracial/Hispanic	2.51	43.08	2.85	1.09	30.28	1.93
Other Races	1.38	14.22	2.57	0.85	7.33	1.04
Mean Age	47.96	43.97	47.85	45.61	41.28	45.49
Education						
Less than High School	23.88	17.55	23.69	19.06	20.94	19.12
High School	30.55	23.35	30.35	29.03	24.22	28.89
Some College	29.26	35.31	29.43	32.90	34.48	32.94
College Degree or More	16.32	23.79	16.53	19.01	20.36	19.05
Region of Residence						
Northeast	14.92	31.54	15.4	15.01	30.82	15.46
Midwest	16.17	12.89	16.08	15.86	12.96	15.77
South	59.73	34.41	59	61.06	34.87	60.30
West	9.17	21.06	9.51	8.06	21.25	8.44
Lives in U.S. Territory	0.02	0.09	0.02	0.02	0.10	0.02
Other Races Selected ²						
White	n/a	34.2	n/a	n/a	35.33	n/a
Asian Native Hawaiian/ Pacific	n/a	12.7	n/a	n/a	13.44	n/a
Islander	n/a	4.47	n/a	n/a	4.48	n/a
Other	n/a	38.23	n/a	n/a	36.20	n/a

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics

		Male			Female	
	Black (Single Race) ¹	Multiple Race Black	Total	Black (Single Race)	Multiple Race Black	Total
Ancestries (first reported)						
European (Includes Spain,						
Former Soviet Union)	0.70	8.30	0.92	0.73	10.26	1.01
West Indies	5.20	23.20	5.72	5.11	20.11	5.55
Central And South America	0.38	2.32	0.43	0.39	3.23	0.47
Africa, Southwest Asia	5.04	14.70	5.32	4.39	11.11	4.58
Asia and Pacific Islands	0.10	5.40	0.25	0.15	5.9	0.32
African American, Negro, Colored, Black	74.99	24.55	73.54	74.01	24.99	72.59
Other Entries	2.56	11.37	2.81	2.53	11.37	2.78
Not Reported	11.04	10.15	11.01	12.69	13.04	12.7
Nativity						
Foreign Born	9.51	43.84	10.50	9.23	41.23	10.16
U.S. Born	90.59	56.16	89.50	90.77	58.77	89.84

¹ Respondents are non-Hispanic

² Categories not mutually exclusive, percentages do not add up to 100%

Multiple Race Reporting and Assortative Mating in 2000

Panel A. Males Model II Model II Model III	Model 1		Model II	, comma (comma	Model III		Model IV	Λ
	White vs. Black	Multiracial vs. Black	White vs. Black	Multiracial	White vs. Black	Multiracial	White vs. Black	Multiracial
Constant	-1.26 ***	-3.36 ***	-1.31 ***	-3.58 *** 0.14	-1.93 ***	-3.94 ***	-2.22 ***	4.04 ***
Age	00.0 00.0	0.08 ***	0.00	%** 86.0 0.00	0.97 ***	0.00	0.97 ***	%** 86.0 0.00
Multiracial	18.39 ***	136.08 ***	7.86 ***	100.38 ***	8.00 ***	101.45 ***	7.53 *** 0.15	97.87 ***
"White"			4.92 ***	0.81	4.36 ***	0.75	4.03 ***	0.72 + 0.20
Non-Black ancestry	>		1.96 ***	1.65 ***	1.99 ***	1.67 ***	1.90 ***	1.57 ***
No reported ancestry	ry		1.01 0.08	1.11 0.13	1.12 0.08	1.19 0.13	1.13	1.18
Foreign Birth			0.48 ***	1.39 **	0.45 ***	1.34 * 0.12	0.43 ***	1.13
High School					1.34 ***	1.14 0.11	1.26 ***	1.08
Some college					2.01 ***	1.52 ***	1.67 ***	1.37 * 0.11
College degree or better	oetter				2.31 ***	1.57 ***	1.93 ***	1.41 * 0.12
Northeast							2.08 ***	2.28 ***
Midwest							2.72 ***	1.34 * 0.12
West							4.94 ***	2.88 ***
Rural							0.95 0.14	0.77
$\frac{\mathrm{X}^2}{\text{-2 LL}}$ Pseudo R^2	4063.41 *** -15403.928 0.1165		4412.88 *** -15229.193 0.1265		4655.62 *** -15107.83 0.1335		5887.45 *** -14491.91 0.1688	

Multiple Race Reporting and Assortative Mating in 2000

Panel B. Females Model II Model III Model III	Model	I	Model II	П	Model III	III	Model IV	IV
	White vs.	Multiracial	White vs.	Multiracial	White vs.	Multiracial	White vs.	Multiracial
	Black	vs. Black	Black	vs. Black	Black	vs. Black	Black	vs. Black
Constant	-2.06 ***	-3.53 ***	-2.35 ***	-3.56 ***	-2.96 ***	-4.01 ***	-3.24 ***	-4.00 ***
	0.12	0.15	0.12	0.15	0.17	0.20	0.18	0.20
Age	*** 96.0	*** 86.0	*** 96.0	*** 86.0	*** 96.0	*** 86.0	*** 96.0	*** 86.0
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Multiracial	18.38 ***	61.42 ***	3.34 ***	46.24 ***	3.54 ***	46.75 ***	3.05 ***	43.12 ***
	0.10	0.09	0.17	0.12	0.17	0.12	0.18	0.12
"White"			14.98 ***	2.19 ***	13.42 ***	2.08 ***	12.78 ***	2.12 ***
			0.22	0.18	0.22	0.18	0.22	0.18
Non-Black ancestry			4.25 ***	1.66 ***	4.33 ***	1.69 ***	4.08 ***	1.64 ***
			60.0	0.12	0.09	0.12	60.0	0.12
No reported ancestry	>-		1.65 ***	0.97	1.91 ***	1.06	1.94 ***	1.06
			0.10	0.14	0.11	0.14	0.11	0.14
Foreign Birth			0.48 ***	0.64 ***	0.48 ***	0.66 ***	0.45 ***	0.57 ***
			0.12	0.14	0.12	0.14	0.12	0.14
High School					1.20	1.15	1.17	1.10
					0.13	0.14	0.13	0.14
Some college					1.88 ***	1.62 ***	1.69 ***	1.53 **
					0.12	0.13	0.12	0.13
College degree or better	etter				2.66 ***	1.73 ***	2.43 ***	1.61 ***
					0.13	0.14	0.13	0.14
Northeast							1.91 ***	1.77 ***
							0.10	0.11
Midwest							2.19 ***	0.99
							0.10	0.14
West							4.27 ***	1.71 ***
							60.0	0.13
Rural vs. Urban							1.22	0.55 *
							0.18	0.29
X^2	2634.67 ***		3097.52 ***		3216.06 ***		3565.72	
-2 LL	-8564.1585		-8332.734		-8273.47		-8098.63	
Pseudo R ²	0.1333		0.1567		0.1627		0.1804	