

Intergenerational Transmission of Race, 1960 to 2010

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1. *Introduction*

Virtually all research on the racial identification of multiracial individuals has used data from 1990 or later, yet multiracial individuals have existed since long before then. American Indians, Alaska Natives, and Native Hawaiians, for example, are small indigenous groups who have been forming interracial unions for many generations. These groups are among the people who are least likely to give exactly the same race response when asked their race(s) in different contexts or on different surveys. In this project, I focus on these groups as well as more commonly studied groups (e.g., whites, blacks, and Asians) to summarize how children of interracially married parents are racially labeled on Census forms and how that has changed between 1960 and 2010. To provide the most accurate estimates, I use dense restricted-use census data housed in the Census Research Data Centers. This research provides a rich background for the expansion of knowledge about multiracial identification to more types of people and to more historical contexts.

2. *Prior research*

With the ability to mark multiple races on the Census 2000 race question, many interracially married people report their children as both their own race and their spouse's race. However, not all do so. I aim to understand why some interracially married people report their children as multiracial on the Census and/or ACS, but others report their children as monoracial. Patterns in the intergenerational transmission of racial identity fundamentally affect the measured sizes of all race groups.

A variety of research studies, described below, have examined the intergenerational transmission of racial identity using 1990 public use census microdata. These interesting research projects were limited by small sample size and limited geographic information available in the public use microdata. Prior studies also focused specifically on the racial identification of the children of interracially married individuals. Some Census Bureau employees have done similar research on the intergenerational transmission of racial identity (Jones and Smith 2003), but my proposed research covers a longer time span and is able to go substantially deeper.

Analysts have used qualitative and quantitative methods to explore factors related to having a particular racial identity at a particular moment and/or providing a particular race report in a particular survey. Much of this research, especially the quantitative work, has focused on predictors of reporting one single race group versus another (without regard to ancestry reports).

A series of quantitative analyses using data from the 1990 census (which only allowed a single race response) have identified predictors of the single race reported for a biracial child of an interracially married Asian (Xie and Goyette 1998), American Indian/Alaska Native (Liebler 2001, 2004b), black (Campbell 2002; Roth 2005), Native Hawaiian (Kanaiaupuni and Liebler 2005), Pacific Islander (Liebler and Kanaiaupuni 2003/4), or white (Qian 2004).

The current research sets the stage for a substantial expansion of prior research by providing

basic information about the intergenerational transmission of racial identification over the course of fifty years using the best available data: restricted-use census and ACS data from 1960 onward, accessed via the Minnesota Census Research Data Center (MnRDC). I propose to expand the analyses beyond prior work to also include the race and ancestry reported for children of multiracial people (who can be identified as multiracial through their own response to the ancestry question, as well as the race question in 2000 and later).

In this research, I expand on prior work in several ways. I use decennial census data from 1960 through 2010, plus American Community Survey data from 2005-2010, thus dramatically expanding the historical scope of knowledge on the subject. I use ancestry reports as well as race reports (1980 and later), thus providing a more complete description of the identification of children of intermarriage. And I base my results on large sample sizes by using restricted-use data, thus improving the accuracy of the estimates.

3. Methodology

Data: This study covers the period 1960 to the present. Since 1960, census responses have been provided by someone in the household rather than an enumerator. This change was particularly important for the reporting of race because enumerators were asked to follow guidelines for the racial identification of multiracial children; parents reporting their child's race, on the other hand, have been free to choose for themselves.

Improving understanding of why some children of interracial married people are reported to be single race, but others are not, requires restricted data from the census and ACS. I have gained permission to use the data and will be analyzing the data in the Minnesota Research Data Center (MnRDC) over the coming months. The larger census sample sizes available through the RDC are also vital to this research which focuses on very small populations (multiracial people and interracial married couples). The much larger sample sizes available in the restricted data will dramatically improve my ability to include detailed measures in multivariate analyses without compromising the robustness of the analysis.

Preliminary results, presented below, provide a first look at the changing patterns of racial identification of biracial children in the past 50 years. The preliminary results are based on public use microdata, accessed via ipums.org. The decennial census microdata from 1960 are a 1% sample of the population. I use both 1% "metro" samples from the 1970 decennial census to get a 2% sample from that year. For 1980, 1990, and 2000, I use the 5% public use microdata. The American Community Survey is a 1% sample of the US population in 2005 and later.

Sample selection and key variables: For the analysis of the race and ancestry responses given for children of mixed heritage, I use parents' race and ancestry reports to identify mixed-heritage children. For the preliminary analyses, I focus on children ages 0-9 who are living with interracial married single-race parents. The primary variables of interest in these data are the race question and ancestry question, described below.

The race question has changed considerably in the past 50 years, dramatically expanding the reporting options for individuals with mixed racial heritage. The Census in 1960 and 1970 asked

respondents to report one race and did not ask about their ancestry or ethnic origin. In 1980, the Census Bureau began collecting ancestry data using an open-ended question asking “What is this person’s ancestry or ethnic origin?”, but it only permitted singular race responses. The Census 2000 and the American Community Survey allowed individuals to report multiple races and also asked about their ancestry. In sum, the key variable (child’s race/ancestry response) has two categories in 1960 and 1970 (parent A’s race or parent B’s race), four categories in 1980 and 1990 (A’s race and A’s ancestry, A’s race and B’s ancestry, B’s race and A’s ancestry, or B’s race and B’s ancestry), and five categories in 2000 and beyond (adding the possibility of races A *and* B). In addition, I present other race responses in the Appendix tables as fodder for future analyses.

To decide whether an ancestry report suggests a particular racial heritage, I follow the Bureau of Labor Statistics and prior research (see Goldstein and Morning 2000, 2002; Gullickson and Morning 2010). The following ancestry responses are considered “white” ancestry: white, Caucasian, or any non-Spanish European group. “Black” ancestry responses are black, African American, or any sub-Saharan African group. “American Indian” ancestry includes North, Central, and South American Indians, whether or not the respondent named a tribe. “Chinese” ancestry includes ancestry responses of Chinese, Cantonese, Manchurian, Mandarin, Mongolian, Tibetan, Hong Kong, or Macao. And “Japanese” ancestry includes Japanese, Ryukyu Islander, and Okinawan responses.

4. Preliminary Results

To illustrate the type of results that this research will provide, I present a series of figures. These are preliminary in that they focus only on young children (ages 0-9) and were compiled using the relatively sparse public use data. Even with these limitations, however, these charts provide new information about variations in children’s race/ancestry identification across time and racial heritage. The estimates provided by the restricted-use data will be more accurate, will include Native Hawaiians and other small groups who are not identifiable in the public data, and will allow for rare race responses which are not listed in the public data.

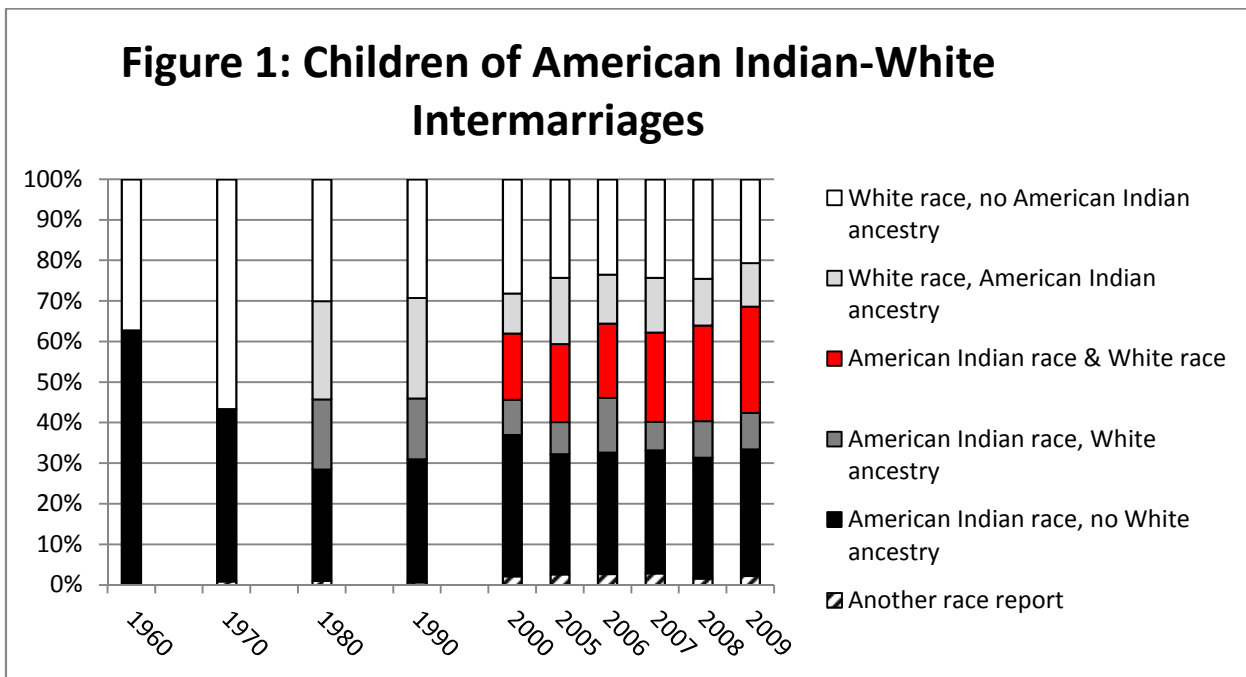
In Figure 1, I show the race/ancestry responses provided for children (ages 0-9) who have one coresident single-race American Indian parent and one coresident single-race white parent; these parents are assumed to be married but in some cases have been labeled as “mother” or “father” using other information.¹ In the following figures, I present parallel results for the children of interracial married black-white couples (Figure 2), Chinese-white couples (Figure 3), Japanese-white couples (Figure 4), American Indian-black couples (Figure 5), Chinese-black couples (Figure 6), Japanese-black couples (Figure 7), and Chinese-Japanese couples (Figure 8). Appendix A provides the numbers that are illustrated in Figures 1-8. All numbers and percentages are weighted to represent the US population of the time.

In 1960 and 1970, children of interracial married parents were reported as monoracial. In the figures below, single heritage responses (which have also been possible in recent years) are presented

¹ The ipums.org/usa descriptions of variables MOMRULE and POPRULE explain how such cases come to be identified in the data. For more information, see: http://usa.ipums.org/usa-action/variables/POPRULE#description_tab .

in black and white. Once the ancestry question was added in 1980, parents were able to indicate a secondary heritage (i.e., ancestry), though were still asked to choose a single race for their children. I use gray in the figures below to represent responses that have a primary response (the single race of one parent) and a secondary response (an ancestry response that reflects the other parent’s race). Beginning in 2000, another response possibility opened – the possibility of reporting both parent’s races equally. If a child of interracial parents is reported to have the race of each parent (and no other races), this child is represented by the red portion of the figure. A common presumption is the bars will be entirely red in the years that this is possible. As the figures below reveal, however, this is never entirely the case, and is more common among some interracial pairings than others.

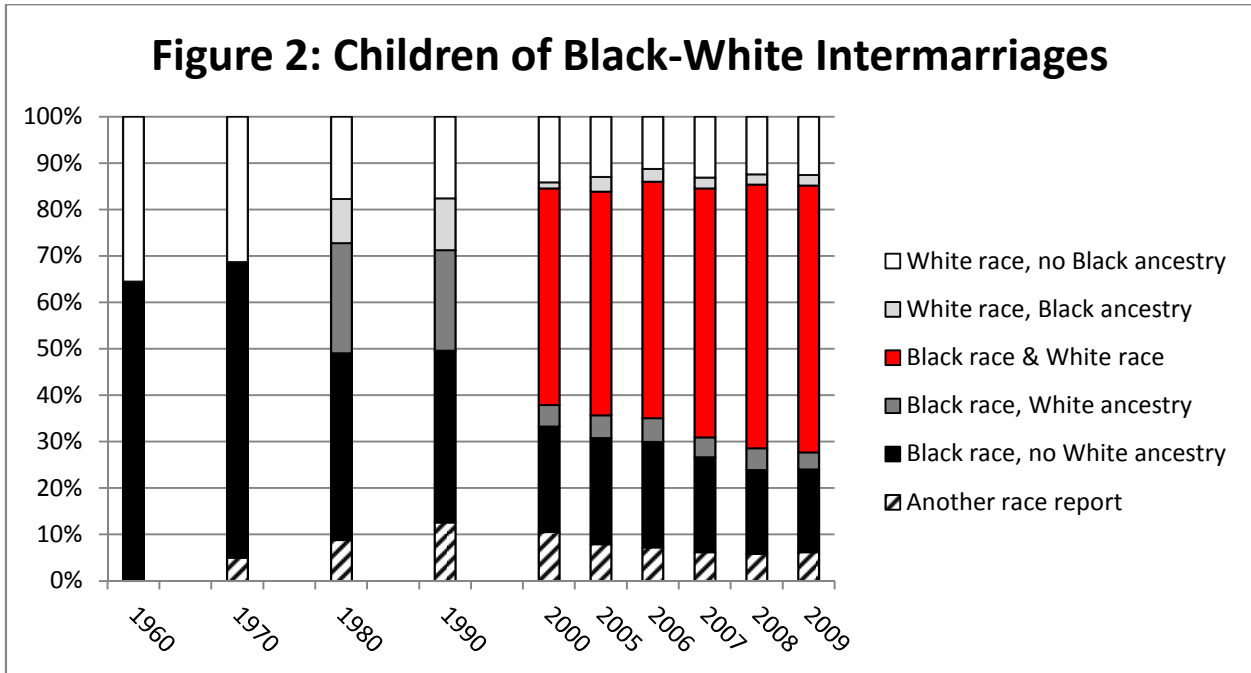
Figure 1 shows the race responses given between 1960 and 2009 for young children (ages 0-9) who live with an American Indian parent and a white parent. Less than half of the children have been reported to be racially American Indian (1970-1990) or single-race American Indian (2000-2009) over the course of the period. Instead, a substantial number have been reported as racially white. Also, even in the most recent data, only about half of these American Indian-white children have been reported to have mixed heritage at all; the solid black and solid white portions of the bars are quite large. Comparison with the other figures, below, shows that these children are especially unlikely to be reported the two races of their parents – there is little red in Figure 1.



I present the race responses given for children of black-white interracially marriages in Figure 2. It is common for researchers and non-researchers to assume that the “one drop rule” has been imposed upon virtually all part-black people. This assumption has only begun to in the past few years. Figure 2 tells a different story; in fact, reporting black race has become *more* common since 1960. One-quarter to one-third of children with one black parent and one white parent have been reported as

racially white in each census between 1960 and 1990. The more recent option to mark multiple races has reduced this proportion to about one-eighth.

The multiple race response option is used for about half of black-white children and has been increasingly popular over the years covered by the ACS data. Black-white interracially married couples are less likely than ever to provide a race report that is inconsistent with their own racial background (depicted in the striped sections labeled “another race report”).



At the beginning of the period of study, Chinese-white children were less likely to be reported as racially white than were black-white children (Figures 2 and 3). Between 1970 and 1990, however, about half of the Chinese-white children were reported racially white (Figure 3). In most years, around one-tenth of the children were not reported to be Chinese OR white OR Chinese and white; other race reports have become less common since multiple race response were introduced, but they remain almost as popular as the single-race Chinese response.

In comparison to Chinese-white children, Japanese-white children (shown in Figure 4) were more likely to be reported as racially white in the late 20th Century. In the 21st Century these two sets of children have become more similar in their pattern of race response, with just over one-half reported as biracial, one-sixth reporting white race only, and one-ninth reporting Chinese or Japanese race only.

Figure 3: Children of Chinese-White Intermarriages

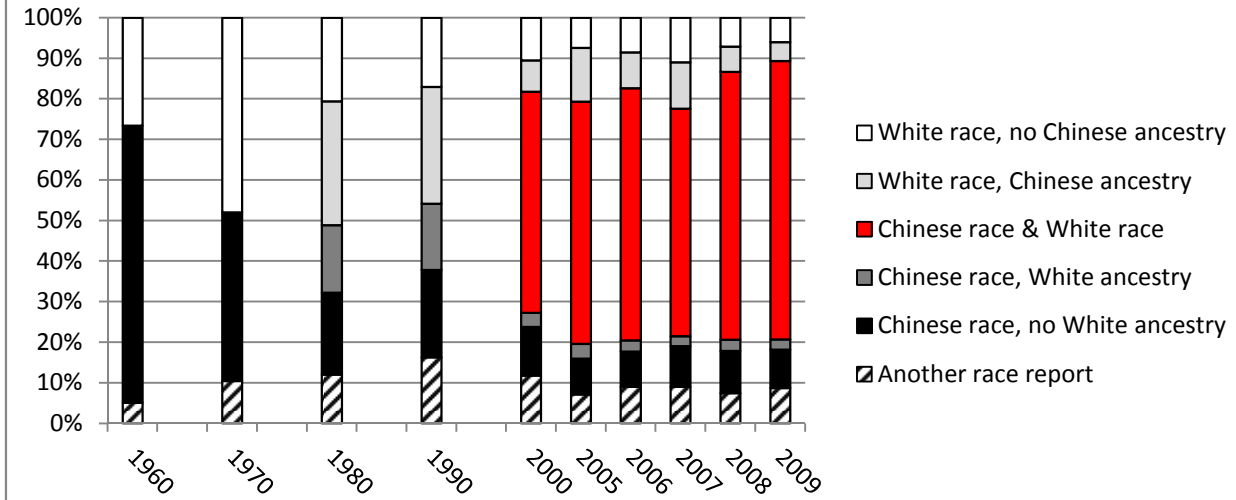
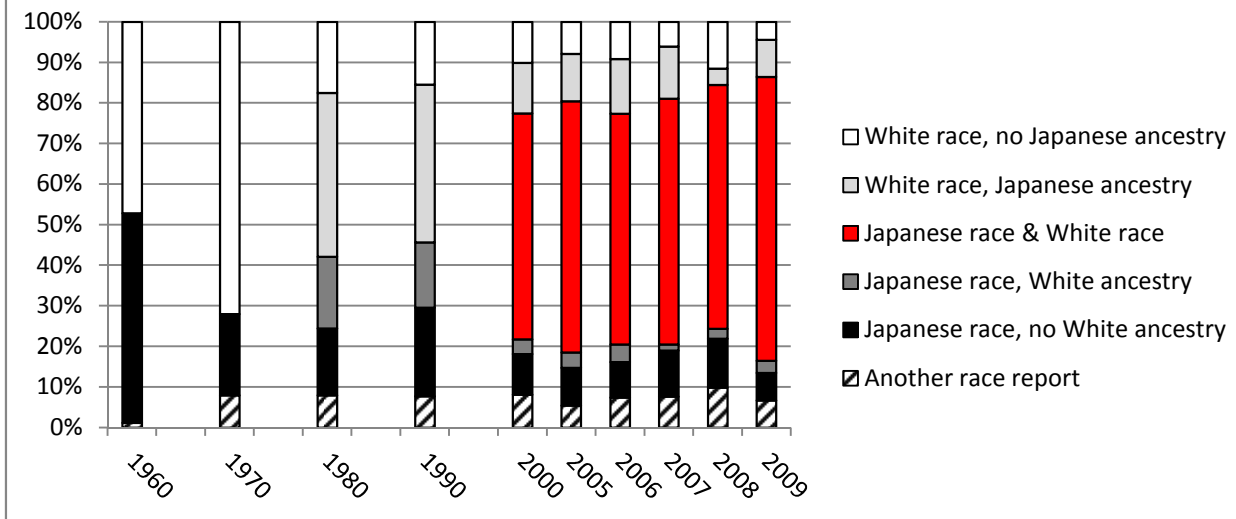


Figure 4: Children of Japanese-White Intermarriages



Figures 5 through 8 show the race responses of children from rarer types of intermarriage: black-American Indian, black-Chinese, black-Japanese, and Chinese-Japanese. The low number of cases increases the random error in each estimate and reduces the interpretability of the charts. In the final version of this paper, I will present results that are based on much denser samples and thus are substantially more accurate and interpretable. With these dense and detailed samples (found only in the Census Research Data Centers), I will also be able to include results about Pacific Islanders and other small groups that are thus far excluded. Figures 5-8 are included here for illustration only.

Figure 5: Children of Black-American Indian Intermarriages

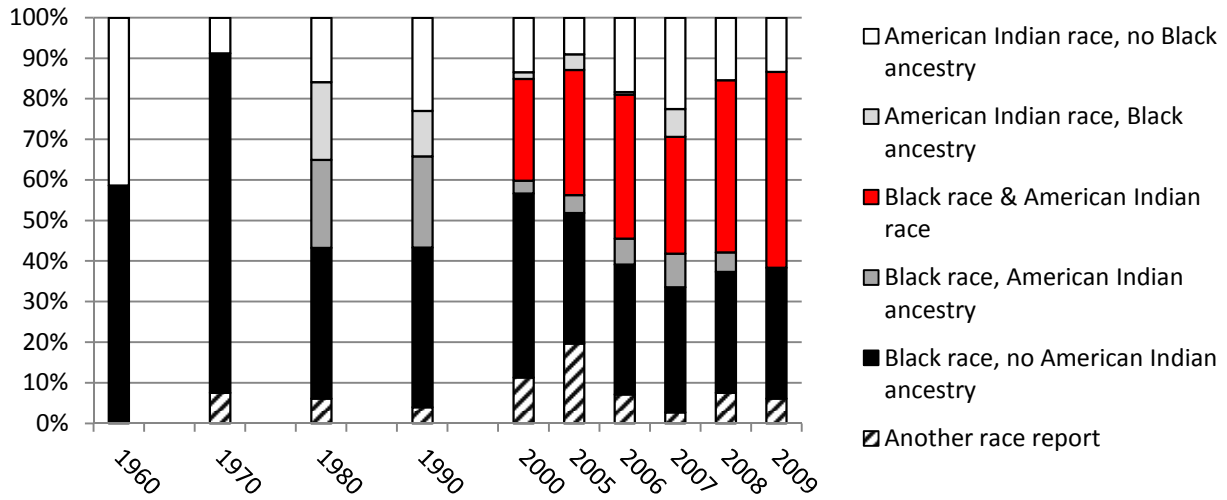


Figure 6: Children of Chinese-Black Intermarriages

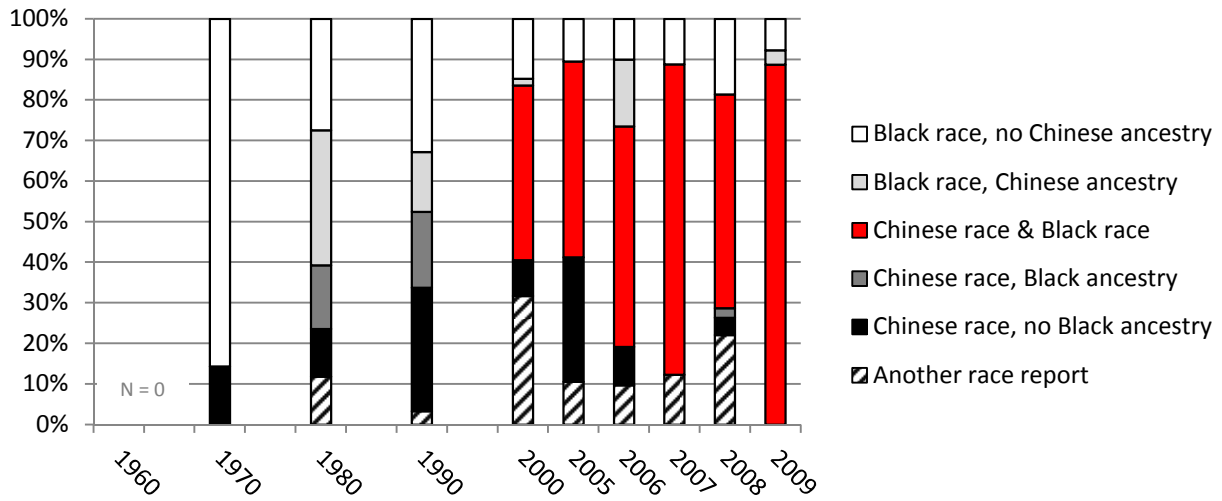


Figure 7: Children of Japanese-Black Intermarriages

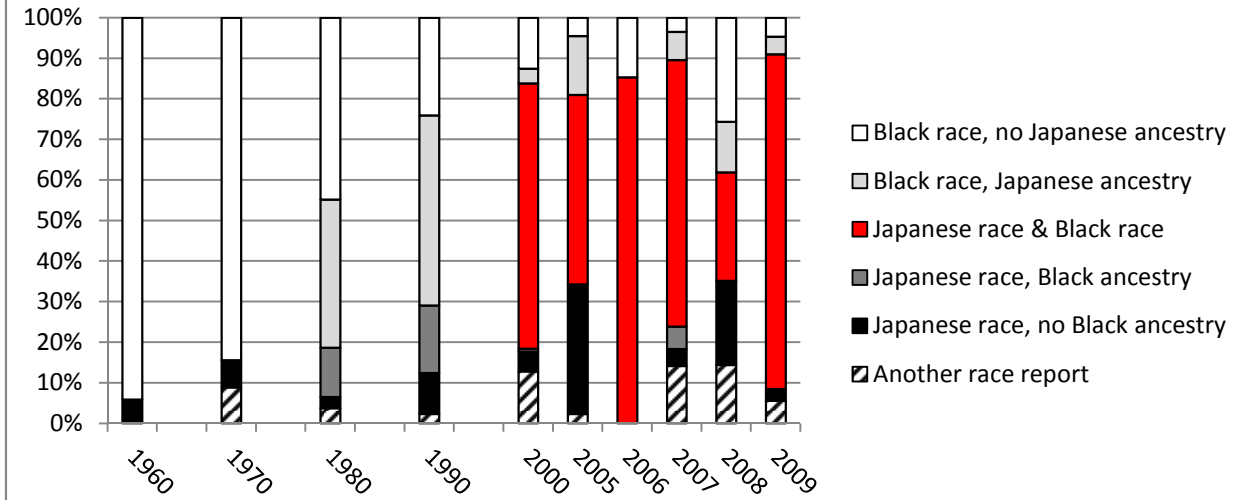
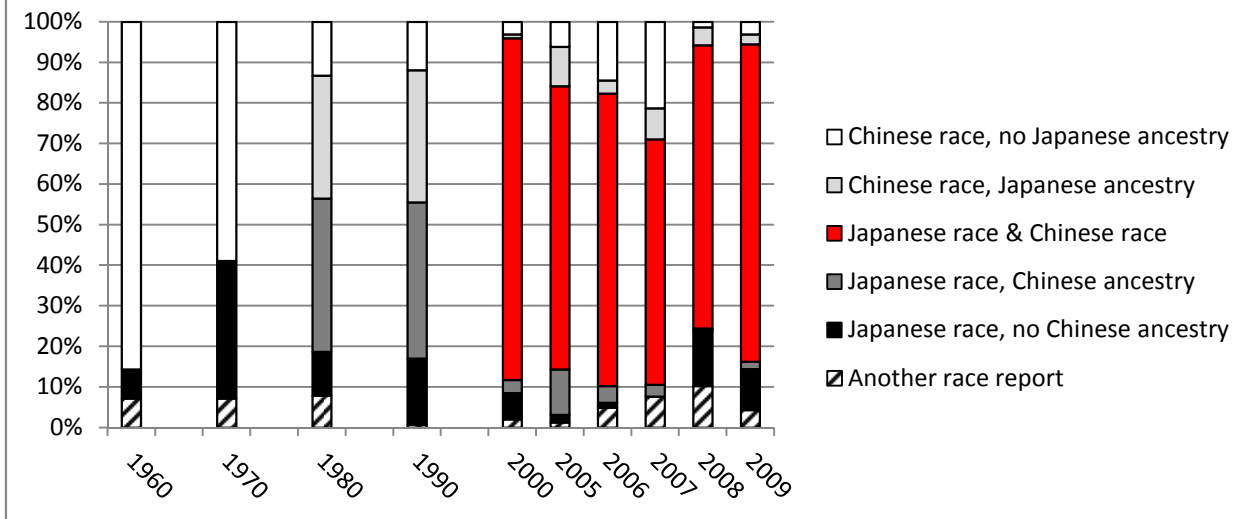


Figure 8: Children of Japanese-Chinese Intermarriages



5. Preliminary Conclusions

The preliminary results show that there has been change over time in patterns of multiracial children’s race responses, and that there are substantial differences in response patterns between different parental race pairings. Final results will provide a rich backdrop to future research aiming to predict the racial identification of children of interracial parents. I will use the best available data to describe the changing race response patterns over half a century and across a much wider variety of parental race pairings than has been previously studied.

6. References

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Appendix Table 1: Children of American Indian-White Inter marriages

<u>Race Response</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>2000</u>	<u>2005</u>	<u>2006</u>	<u>2007</u>	<u>2008</u>	<u>2009</u>
Am. Ind. race, no White ancestry	18,028	34,200	51,260	61,763	60,905	44,416	39,718	42,782	37,584	41,809
Am. Ind. race, White ancestry			32,260	30,621	15,115	11,875	17,869	9,909	11,319	11,957
Am. Ind. race & White race					28,466	28,838	24,289	31,046	29,684	35,018
White race, Am. Ind. ancestry			45,100	50,407	17,183	24,435	15,934	19,007	14,494	14,384
White race, no Am. Ind. ancestry	10,656	45,450	55,960	59,447	49,021	36,369	31,090	34,227	30,878	27,567
Other race response:										
Black/Negro	0	100	120	202	263	250	549	1,157	534	384
Chinese	0		0	11	54	83	0	65	0	76
Japanese	0		20	0	16	0	0	0	0	0
Other Asian or Pacific Islander		0	140	366	171	79	0	258	0	146
Other race	0	600	1,700	802	757	842	681	1,024	142	394
Two [other] major races					2,119	2,303	1,772	996	1,041	1,777
Three or More Major Races					362	432	592	607	351	228
Total	28,684	80,350	186,560	203,619	174,432	149,922	132,494	141,078	126,027	133,740

Appendix Table 2: Children of Black-White Inter marriages

<u>Race Response</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>2000</u>	<u>2005</u>	<u>2006</u>	<u>2007</u>	<u>2008</u>	<u>2009</u>
Black race, no White ancestry	33,796	32,300	44,960	58,662	58,541	73,236	69,867	65,675	59,602	57,011
Black race, White ancestry	18,616	0	26,420	34,252	11,878	15,655	15,624	13,646	15,378	11,666
Black race & White race					120,097	153,805	156,538	171,482	187,085	183,570
White race, Black ancestry			10,640	17,661	3,481	10,203	8,339	7,645	7,176	7,231
White race, no Black ancestry		15,900	19,780	27,916	36,380	41,492	34,605	41,905	41,051	40,270
Other race response:										
American Indian	0	50	320	432	208	136	228	217	207	347
Chinese	0	50	0	26	42	96	0	136	220	77
Japanese	0		20	26	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other Asian or Pacific Islander		50	160	392	80	1,360	0	462	734	828
Other race	0	2,400	9,280	19,047	17,159	20,729	17,180	14,675	13,948	14,184
Two [other] major races					3,902	1,361	3,911	2,715	2,705	2,688
Three or More Major Races					5,728	1,479	752	1,478	1,343	1,640
Total	52,412	50,750	111,580	158,414	257,496	319,552	307,044	320,036	329,449	319,512

Appendix Table 3: Children of Chinese-White Inter marriages

<i>Race Response</i>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>2000</u>	<u>2005</u>	<u>2006</u>	<u>2007</u>	<u>2008</u>	<u>2009</u>
Chinese race, no White ancestry	5,386	5,150	4,800	9,131	6,290	6,791	6,525	7,437	7,915	7,382
Chinese race, White ancestry			3,980	6,947	1,795	2,741	2,114	1,791	2,118	1,995
Chinese race & White race					28,561	45,554	46,936	41,533	50,349	53,422
White race, Chinese ancestry			7,280	12,214	4,049	10,111	6,676	8,419	4,738	3,635
White race, no Chinese ancestry	2,098	5,950	4,920	7,226	5,512	5,688	6,447	8,148	5,432	4,681
Other race response:										
Black/Negro	0	0	20	0	0	0	55	0	198	46
American Indian	0	0	20	0	41	0	0	0	0	0
Japanese	0	0	40	36	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other Asian or Pacific Islander		150	340	6,525	1,133	1,550	1,712	1,459	418	693
Other race	399	1,150	2,460	350	2,640	2,013	2,475	2,533	2,866	3,463
Two [other] major races					1,753	1,862	2,498	2,690	2,018	2,535
Three or More Major Races					622	0	92	0	213	43
<i>Total</i>	7,883	12,400	23,860	42,429	52,396	76,310	75,530	74,010	76,265	77,895

Appendix Table 4: Children of Japanese-White Inter marriages

<i>Race Response</i>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>2000</u>	<u>2005</u>	<u>2006</u>	<u>2007</u>	<u>2008</u>	<u>2009</u>
Japanese race, no White ancestry	17,429	9,550	6,780	12,038	4,755	4,715	4,205	5,052	5,849	3,065
Japanese race, White ancestry			7,280	8,914	1,725	1,916	2,058	679	1,171	1,354
Japanese race & White race					26,534	31,281	27,111	26,892	29,028	31,675
White race, Japanese ancestry			16,640	21,474	5,924	5,918	6,427	5,688	1,962	4,129
White race, no Japanese ancestry	15,923	34,400	7,220	8,533	4,825	3,992	4,377	2,705	5,574	2,011
Other race response:										
Black/Negro	0	0	40	37	13	275	81	0	0	59
American Indian	0	0	0	128	0	0	0	0	0	0
Chinese	0	50	20	16	266	0	73	597	333	313
Other Asian or Pacific Islander		100	460	3,579	505	784	655	445	1,007	641
Other race	399	3,650	2,760	510	1,499	458	909	988	782	752
Two [other] major races					1,200	1,103	1,605	1,176	2,623	0
Three or More Major Races					384	119	179	160	0	0
<i>Total</i>	33,751	47,750	41,200	55,229	47,630	50,561	47,680	44,382	48,329	43,999

Appendix Table 5: Children of Black-American Indian Inter marriages

<u>Race Response</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>2000</u>	<u>2005</u>	<u>2006</u>	<u>2007</u>	<u>2008</u>	<u>2009</u>
Black race, no Am. Ind. ancestry	992	3,350	2,440	3,320	3,591	2,307	2,398	2,899	2,010	2,807
Black race, Am. Ind. ancestry			1,420	1,898	245	317	480	780	328	0
Black race & Am. Ind. race					1,985	2,212	2,660	2,704	2,861	4,189
Am. Ind. race, Black ancestry			1,260	941	132	273	42	647	0	0
Am. Ind. race, no Black ancestry	699	350	1,040	1,940	1,063	648	1,374	2,116	1,040	1,157
Other race response:										
White		200	180	239	139	30	131	0	213	109
Chinese		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Japanese		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other Asian or Pacific Islander		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other race		100	220	95	161	188	108	0	241	219
Two [other] major races					447	521	153	98	53	200
Three or More Major Races					150	674	142	156	0	0
Total	1,691	4,000	6,560	8,433	7,913	7,170	7,488	9,400	6,746	8,681

Appendix Table 6: Children of Black-Chinese Inter marriages

<u>Race Response</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>2000</u>	<u>2005</u>	<u>2006</u>	<u>2007</u>	<u>2008</u>	<u>2009</u>
Black race, no Chinese ancestry	0	300	280	487	184	232	227	74	694	215
Black race, Chinese ancestry			340	218	20	0	372	0	0	97
Black race & Chinese race					536	1,068	1,231	505	1,962	2,450
Chinese race, Black ancestry			160	277	0	0	0	0	88	0
Chinese race, no Black ancestry	0	50	120	452	109	679	213	0	158	0
Other race response:										
White	0	0	40	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
American Indian	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Japanese	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other Asian or Pacific Islander		0	0	48	0	0	129	0	0	0
Other race	0	0	80	0	148	234	90	81	506	0
Two [other] major races					225	0	0	0	316	0
Three or More Major Races					21	0	0	0	0	0
Total	0	350	1,020	1,482	1,243	2,213	2,262	660	3,724	2,762

Appendix Table 7: Children of Black-Japanese Intermarriages

<i>Race Response</i>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>2000</u>	<u>2005</u>	<u>2006</u>	<u>2007</u>	<u>2008</u>	<u>2009</u>
Black race, no Japanese ancestry	1,598	1,900	960	473	287	125	300	162	455	155
Black race, Japanese ancestry			780	922	84	400	0	320	222	145
Black race & Japanese race					1,496	1,291	1,744	3,038	474	2,758
Japanese race, Black ancestry			260	326	16	0	0	254	0	0
Japanese race, no Black ancestry	100	150	60	200	112	882	0	193	368	98
Other race response:										
White	0	50	20	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
American Indian	0		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Chinese	0		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other Asian or Pacific Islander		0	0	0	53	64	0	0	0	0
Other race	0	150	60	45	112	0	0	294	184	0
Two [other] major races					58	0	0	203	72	186
Three or More Major Races					70	0	0	159	0	0
Total	1,698	2,250	2,140	1,966	2,288	2,762	2,044	4,623	1,775	3,342

Appendix Table 8: Children of Chinese-Japanese Intermarriages

<i>Race Response</i>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>2000</u>	<u>2005</u>	<u>2006</u>	<u>2007</u>	<u>2008</u>	<u>2009</u>
Chinese race, no Japanese ancestry	1,196	1,650	640	724	178	362	729	1,102	80	140
Chinese race, Japanese ancestry			1,460	1,973	56	564	164	395	268	112
Chinese race & Japanese race					4,837	4,080	3,637	3,121	4,185	3,584
Japanese race, Chinese ancestry			1,820	2,329	183	655	209	154	33	84
Japanese race, no Chinese ancestry	100	950	520	989	371	107	64	0	819	462
Other race response:										
White	0	100	100	0	23	0	0	0	0	0
American Indian	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Black/Negro	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	341	0
Other Asian or Pacific Islander		0	80	40	44	73	0	0	270	198
Other race	100	100	200	0	0	0	0	392	0	0
Two [other] major races					51	0	243	0	0	0
Three or More Major Races					0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	200	1,150	900	1,029	489	180	307	392	1,430	660