

The Racial and Ethnic Identity of Latin American Immigrants in Census 2000

by

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U S CENSUSBUREAU

INTRODUCTION

In 2000, over half of the total foreign-born population residing in the United States was from Latin America and almost half identified as Hispanic (Malone et al., 2003).¹ Much research has been conducted to try to determine the meaning of race responses reported by Hispanics. In 2000, 42 percent of Hispanics reported only Some Other Race (SOR) in answer to the race question (Grieco and Cassidy, 2001). It is evident that some Hispanics do not identify with the major race categories. Hispanics' views of race and ethnicity are rooted in Latin American culture (Office of Management and Budget, 1997; Rodriguez, 2000). As the Interagency Committee for the Review of the Racial and Ethnic Standards of the Office of Management and Budget noted, "Conceptions of race in Latin America...are based more on ethnicity, national origin, and culture than appearance" (Office of Management and Budget, 1997).

Based on data from the 1990 census, Rumbaut (1996:33) concluded "most new immigrants from the Americas were self-reported as nonwhite" and "racially mixed." Based on analysis of the five-percent public use micro sample (PUMS) data from Census 2000, Tafoya (2004:7) determined that foreign-born Latinos are more likely to identify as SOR than are natives (46 and 40 percent respectively), with the exception of Cuban-born respondents. Rumbaut is not alone in his speculation of the meaning of SOR responses among Latinos (Arce et al., 1987; Rodriguez 1991). One reason many researchers assume some groups are racially mixed is that large proportions of their race responses were classified as "Other Race" in census data collections. However, most of the responses in the Other Race category were in fact countries of origin, and very few were indicators of racial mixture. One explanation for national origin responses to the race question is the presence of several nationality descriptors (e.g. Chinese, Filipino, Japanese, Korean, Vietnamese, etc.) that may suggest to respondents that they should report their nationality as well (del Pinal and Lapham, 1993; Lieberson and Waters, 1988; Tienda and Ortiz, 1986).

¹ Latin America encompasses Central America (including Mexico), South America, and the Caribbean.

Rodriguez (2000:130-1) identifies three reasons why Hispanics identify as Some Other Race: 1) they are using it as a way to indicate that they are “mixed-race”; 2) they misunderstood the question of race; and 3) they have a different understanding of race and view it “as culture, national origin, ethnicity, or nationality or a combination of these and skin color.” The first two explanations fail to consider the validity of the race responses for Hispanics, so Rodriguez (2000:131) favors the third explanation. Tafoya (2004:3) suggests that the choice of race by Latinos in the United States is related to their sense of belonging rather than skin color.

Differences in socio-economic status and attitudes between native-born Hispanics who identify as White and those who identify as Some Other Race “... suggests they experience racial identity as a measure of belonging: Feeling white seems to be a reflection of success and a sense of inclusion” (Tafoya, 2004:3). Similarly, as suggested by Portes, Zhou, Bankston, and Gibson (cited by Bean, Stevens and Wierzbicki, 2003:107-8), Latino immigrants may have adopted a path of “selective assimilation” or “accommodation without assimilation,” which may lead to more flexibility in racial identification. Racial identification occurs at several levels: reactive, symbolic, and selective. Reactive identification may likely result from repeated discrimination and subsequent hardening of oppositional attitudes. Better socioeconomic prospects in the immigrant community may lead to selective identification, while symbolic identification arises among those who are already largely incorporated culturally and economically. Tafoya’s (2004) research seems to support these hypotheses.

In order to avoid introducing interactions due to nativity into her analysis, Tafoya (2004) limited her analysis to U.S.-born Latino householders. On the other hand, this paper analyzes the responses to race and Hispanic-origin questions by Latin American foreign-born respondents from all sample forms collected in Census 2000. Unlike other research, we have the sample size needed to examine the reporting patterns by country of birth. Similarly, we were able to disaggregate the Some Other Race responses into categories that reflect the country of birth, general Hispanic responses, Mestizo or mixed-race responses, and other origins. We were

specifically interested in the respondents who did not answer the race and the Hispanic-origin questions, or who answered them in an unexpected manner. We also examined the ethnic origins of these respondents as reported in the ancestry question. In this study, we analyze the foreign-born Latin American population, which includes respondents born in Central America, South America, and the Caribbean. Not all places of birth are shown because some did not have a sufficiently large sample.² Suriname was combined with French Guiana because the number of foreign-born was not sufficient to show both separately.

DATA SOURCES

During Census 2000, every person and housing unit in the U.S. was asked basic demographic and housing questions (for example, race, age, and relationship to householder). A sample of these people and housing units received the long form, which asked more detailed questions about items such as income, occupation, and housing costs. The sampling unit for Census 2000 was the housing unit, including all occupants. The long form was distributed to about 1-in-6 housing units in the U.S. For people living in group quarters, the sampling unit was the person and the sampling rate was 1-in-6. For more information on sample design, see Chapter 8 (Accuracy of the Data) of the 2000 Census of Population and Housing Technical Documentation at www.census.gov/prod/cen2000/doc/sf3.pdf.

This study used Census 2000 long form (sample) data to examine how respondents born in Latin America reported race, Hispanic origin, and ancestry. The foreign-born Latin American population includes people born in Central America, South America, and the Caribbean who were not citizens of the U.S. or who became U.S. citizens by naturalization.³ We included respondents in this group only if they reported place of birth and citizenship data; allocated data were not used. We also examined the responses of respondents from both Spanish- and non-Spanish-

² Countries or places with too few observations include Anguilla, Aruba, British Virgin Islands, Cayman Islands, Guadalupe, Martinique, Montserrat, Netherland Antilles, St. Barthelemy, and Turks and Caicos.

³ Puerto Ricans are U.S. citizens at birth and are not considered foreign-born. Respondents born in Puerto Rico and living in the U.S. are included in this study only for comparison purposes.

speaking countries, because sometimes respondents from non-Spanish-speaking countries identify as Hispanic and respondents from Spanish-speaking countries do not identify as Hispanic. In the latter case, we were interested in the ancestry reported to try to determine the ethnicity of the respondent.

RESULTS

Race Reporting in Census 2000

Table 1 shows the distribution of reported race in Census 2000 by the foreign-born population from Central America. A relatively high proportion of respondents from the Spanish-speaking countries either did not answer the race question (about 7 percent or more) or identified in a way that left them classified as Some Other Race (about 23 percent or more).⁴ These responses, in effect, do not correspond to any of the other Office of Management and Budget (OMB) categories.⁵

Few Central American respondents selected two or more races. More than half of Costa Ricans and Nicaraguans, while one-quarter of Panamanians reported themselves as White.⁶ About 40 percent of Panamanians reported themselves as Black, as did about seven percent of Costa Ricans and over five percent of Hondurans. For Salvadorans, Guatemalans, and Mexicans the modal reporting category was Some Other Race (SOR), while it was White for Costa Ricans, Nicaraguans, and Hondurans. The modal category for Panamanians was Black, and of all the Spanish-speaking Central Americans, Panamanians had a racial distribution most similar to Belizeans, albeit with proportionately fewer Blacks and proportionately more Whites.⁷

⁴ In a later section, we examine what is being reported that becomes classified as Some Other Race.

⁵ The five Office of Management and Budget (OMB) race categories are: 1) White; 2) Black or African American; 3) American Indian or Alaska Native; 4) Asian; and 5) Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander. See <http://www.whitehouse.gov/omb/fedreg/1997standards.html> for more information.

⁶ All comparisons made in this paper have been statistically tested and are significant at the 90-percent confidence level unless noted otherwise.

⁷ The difference between the proportions of Panamanians and Belizeans was statistically significant for the Some Other Race and Two or More Races categories.

Table 1. Percentage Distribution of Reported Race by Country of Birth in Central America, 2000

Country of Birth	Number in thousands	No Answer %	White %	Black %	Some Other Race %	Two or More %	All others*
Spanish-Speaking							
Mexico	7,969.4	10.7	42.2	0.4	45.3	0.2	1.1
Costa Rica	63.9	6.8	61.1	7.2	23.4	0.6	0.9
El Salvador	699.5	11.3	36.3	0.4	50.6	0.3	1.2
Guatemala	411.3	10.0	38.3	0.9	46.8	0.7	3.3
Honduras	243.9	9.1	43.8	5.3	39.0	1.0	1.9
Nicaragua	194.4	7.9	56.1	1.5	32.5	0.6	1.3
Panama	88.0	7.0	25.8	40.1	22.6	1.3	3.2
Non Spanish-Speaking							
Belize	34.8	4.1	10.7	60.3	18.6	2.6	3.7

* The "All others" category includes American Indian and Alaska Native, Asian, and Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander race codes.

Source: Authors' tabulations of the 2000 Census of Population and Housing sample data.

Table 2 shows the equivalent data for South Americans. Their non-response rates to the race question tend to be less than was the case for Central Americans and ranged from 2.8 percent for Uruguayans to 8.6 percent for Ecuadorians. Overall, proportionately fewer South Americans reported in the SOR category. Unlike the Central Americans generally, proportionately more South Americans from Spanish-speaking countries reported that they were White, ranging from about 87 percent of Argentineans to about 49 percent of Peruvians.

South Americans from Guyana, French Guiana, and Suriname were much more likely to report as Black (35 percent or more) and all other races (27 percent or more) than were those from Spanish-speaking countries. Brazilians predominately reported as White (77.6 percent), followed by SOR (15.0 percent) and Black (2.4 percent).

Table 2. Percentage Distribution of Reported Race by Country of Birth in South America, 2000

Country of Birth	Number in thousands	No Answer %	White %	Black %	Some Other Race %	Two or More %	All others*
Spanish-Speaking							
Argentina	114.4	3.1	87.3	0.1	8.2	0.2	1.0
Bolivia	47.3	7.2	61.6	0.2	28.3	0.7	1.9
Chile	74.3	5.3	75.0	0.2	18.4	0.2	0.8
Colombia	457.1	6.9	65.3	1.3	25.0	0.6	0.8
Ecuador	257.6	8.6	51.2	0.7	37.3	0.8	1.6
Paraguay	10.8	6.3	65.2	0.2	22.1	1.8	4.4
Peru	250.6	7.9	49.3	0.7	37.4	1.0	3.6
Uruguay	22.8	2.8	87.8	0.2	8.9	0.1	0.2
Venezuela	98.0	4.9	71.7	2.1	18.7	0.9	1.6
Non Spanish-Speaking							
Brazil	193.4	1.9	77.6	2.4	15.0	1.0	2.0
Guyana	182.0	1.4	2.1	47.0	14.8	4.8	29.9
Suriname / French Guiana	5.1	2.9	16.8	35.0	11.2	7.6	26.6

* The "All others" category includes American Indian and Alaska Native, Asian, and Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander race codes.

Source: Authors' tabulations of the 2000 Census of Population and Housing sample data.

Table 3 shows similar data for foreign-born respondents from selected Caribbean countries as well as respondents born in Puerto Rico.⁸ Respondents from the Spanish-speaking Caribbean showed a diversity of race reporting. Approximately 88 percent of Cubans reported as White, and relatively few reported SOR (5.9 percent) or Black (2.8 percent). Very few Cubans did not report a race (2.5 percent) and their race reporting distribution was more like that of Argentineans and Uruguayans, than that of Dominicans and Puerto Ricans.⁹ Dominicans, on the other hand, were much more likely to report SOR (52 percent) and Black (over 9 percent) and less likely to report White (23 percent).

⁸ Respondents born in Puerto Rico are U.S. citizens and are, therefore, not foreign born but are shown for comparison with respondents from Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and other Caribbean countries.

⁹ The difference between the proportions of respondents from Cuba and Argentina was statistically significant for each category. The difference between the proportions of respondents from Cuba and Uruguay was statistically significant for the Black, Some Other Race, and Two or More Races categories. Respondents born in the Dominican Republic will be referred to as "Dominicans." Respondents born in Dominica will be referred to as "Dominica Islanders" to differentiate them from Dominicans.

A very high percentage of Dominicans did not report the standard OMB groups (52 percent reported as SOR and more than 12 percent did not report a race). In contrast, respondents born in Puerto Rico (and living in the U.S.) were more likely not to answer the race question (14.3 percent) or to report White (47.7 percent), and were less likely to report SOR (32.6 percent) or Black (3.6 percent), than were Dominicans. Interestingly, Christenson (2003) found that over 80 percent of the residents of Puerto Rico reported as White, 8 percent as Black, and about 5 percent failed to answer the race question in Census 2000 (del Pinal, 2004:37-38).¹⁰ Thus, the residents of Puerto Rico had a reporting pattern more like Cubans than Island-born Puerto Ricans in the U.S.

Table 3 also shows that respondents from the non-Spanish-speaking Caribbean had more complete reporting of race than those from Spanish-speaking origins. The preponderance of the former reported Black (73 percent or more). With the exception of respondents from the Bahamas, Dominica, and Trinidad & Tobago, 92 percent or more of respondents from the other non-Spanish-speaking Caribbean countries reported Black. About 87 percent from the Bahamas reported Black and nearly 9 percent reported White. Almost 6 percent of those from Trinidad & Tobago reported two or more races and 11 percent reported all other races. About 9 percent of Dominica Islanders reported White and almost 12 percent reported SOR.¹¹

Respondents from Haiti, which shares the island of Hispaniola with the Dominican Republic, had a very different reporting pattern than Dominicans.¹² Haitians were much more likely to answer the race question and were about ten times more likely to report as Black than

¹⁰ These percentages include imputed values for race for respondents that did not answer the race question in Puerto Rico.

¹¹ It is possible that some respondents from the Dominican Republic were classified as Dominica Islanders and vice versa, because of the difficulty in interpreting write-in entries in place of birth and Hispanic origin. For example, a write-in of Dominican was interpreted as the Dominican Republic, but might have meant Dominica Island instead. A write-in of Dominica was interpreted as Dominica Island but could have meant Dominican Republic.

¹² The difference between the proportions of Haitians and Dominicans reporting two or more races was not statistically significant.

were Dominicans. Very few Haitians reported SOR, while Dominicans had the highest SOR reporting (51.6 percent) in Latin America and the Caribbean.¹³

Table 3. Percentage Distribution of Reported Race by Country of Birth in the Caribbean, 2000

Country of Birth	Number in thousands	No Answer %	White %	Black %	Some Other Race %	Two or More %	All others* %
Spanish-Speaking							
Cuba	781.8	2.5	88.2	2.8	5.9	0.3	0.3
Dominican Republic	589.2	12.4	23.1	9.4	51.6	1.6	1.8
<i>Puerto Rico**</i>	1,307.0	14.3	47.7	3.6	32.6	0.9	1.0
Non Spanish-Speaking							
Antigua & Barbuda	15.5	1.0	1.4	96.1	0.2	1.0	0.2
Bahamas	23.7	0.8	8.7	87.3	0.5	1.8	0.9
Barbados	45.2	1.0	2.6	94.1	0.5	1.2	0.5
Dominica	13.2	3.2	9.0	73.1	11.8	1.6	1.3
Grenada	24.7	1.1	1.3	94.4	0.5	1.7	1.1
Haiti	351.7	1.0	0.7	96.2	0.3	1.5	0.4
Jamaica	471.4	1.1	1.4	93.1	0.5	2.3	1.5
St. Kitts-Nevis	9.3	1.1	1.0	96.4	0.2	1.0	0.2
St. Lucia	11.5	1.3	0.9	93.1	0.3	3.2	1.2
St. Vincent & Grenadines	16.4	0.9	2.0	92.0	0.9	3.2	1.0
Trinidad & Tobago	169.7	1.4	3.5	76.1	2.0	5.9	11.1

* The "All others" category includes American Indian and Alaska Native, Asian, and Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander race codes.

** Respondents born in Puerto Rico are included only for comparison purposes. Puerto Ricans are U.S. citizens at birth and are not considered foreign-born.

Source: Authors' tabulations of the 2000 Census of Population and Housing sample data.

What is the meaning of "Some Other Race" (SOR) reporting?

Some scholars interpret reporting of SOR to mean an expression of "mixed-racial" identity on the part of respondents. In this section, we elaborate more on the responses that constitute the SOR category. Table 4 shows the distribution of SOR responses for respondents from countries with substantial reporting of that category."

¹³ Only Salvadorans come close with 50.6 percent SOR. The proportion of Dominicans that reported SOR was not significantly different from the proportion of Salvadorans that reported SOR.

Table 4. Percentage Distribution of “Some Other Race” Response Type by Country of Birth in Central America and the Caribbean, 2000

Country of Birth	Number in thousands	Checkbox %	Country %	Region %	General Hispanic %	Mestizo or Mixed-Race %	All others*
Mexico	3,612.4	0.7	56.6	5.7	33.7	1.8	1.5
Costa Rica	14.9	1.2	32.4	14.1	48.3	1.3	2.6
El Salvador	353.7	1.0	25.9	18.4	48.8	2.4	3.6
Guatemala	192.4	1.1	29.9	17.9	45.6	2.2	3.3
Honduras	95.0	1.1	27.9	14.2	48.7	4.9	3.3
Nicaragua	63.2	0.8	25.1	17.2	49.2	4.1	3.6
Panama	19.8	1.5	36.9	13.4	42.6	3.4	2.3
Cuba	46.1	1.1	37.8	6.7	45.0	7.5	1.9
Dominican R.	303.9	1.0	31.9	10.7	45.6	4.2	6.6
<i>Puerto Rico**</i>	425.5	1.1	48.1	6.1	42.2	1.0	1.5
Belize	6.5	1.3	52.5	9.0	21.9	9.4	5.9

* The “All others” category includes SOR codes that do not fit into the above categories.

** Respondents born in Puerto Rico are included only for comparison purposes. Puerto Ricans are U.S. citizens at birth and are not considered foreign-born.

Source: Authors’ tabulations of the 2000 Census of Population and Housing sample data.

Looking first at respondents born in Mexico, over 3.6 million respondents gave an SOR response. Of those, less than one percent (0.7) of Mexicans marked the SOR checkbox and did not write in a response. Nearly 57 percent of Mexicans wrote in “Mexico” or “Mexican” as their SOR response and about 6 percent wrote in a regional term such as “Central American” or “Latin American.” About 34 percent of Mexicans who reported SOR described their race with a general Hispanic response such as “Hispanic,” “Latino,” or “Spanish.” Less than 2 percent of Mexicans described their SOR response as “Mestizo” or some other terms indicating a mixed-racial identity.

Compared to Mexicans, other Central Americans from Spanish-speaking countries were less likely to report a country as their SOR response and more likely to report a region and a general Hispanic term. Excluding Costa Ricans, respondents from Spanish-speaking Central American countries were slightly more likely to report being Mestizo than respondents from

Mexico.¹⁴ Mexicans, while not significantly different from Costa Ricans or Panamanians, were slightly less likely to report all other terms.¹⁵ Respondents born in Belize were more likely than respondents from the other Central American and Caribbean countries, except Mexico, to report a country (53 percent).¹⁶ Compared to other Central Americans, Belizeans were more likely to report Mestizo (9 percent) and all other terms (6 percent).¹⁷ Nearly 22 percent of Belizeans identified with general Hispanic terms. Cubans and Dominicans most identified with general Hispanic responses, followed by country responses, while just the opposite was true for Puerto Ricans. Cubans were more likely to identify as Mestizo (7.5 percent) than Dominicans and Puerto Ricans.

Table 5 shows respondents from selected South American countries. The modal response among respondents from Spanish-speaking South America was general Hispanic followed by country and region. In Brazil and Guyana, country reports were about 75 percent or more. About 5 percent of Brazilians used general Hispanic terms and very few (about 3 percent) used Mestizo to describe themselves. More Guyanese described themselves as mixed (5 percent) than Brazilians and about 15 percent used other terms.

¹⁴ The proportion of Mexicans that reported being Mestizo was not significantly different from the proportion of Costa Ricans reporting the same.

¹⁵ The "All others" category includes SOR codes (Aryan, Cayenne, Brown, Indian, Multiple SOR) that do not fit into the checkbox, country, region, general Hispanic, and Mestizo categories.

¹⁶ The proportion of Belizeans that reported their country of birth as their SOR response was not significantly different from the proportions of Mexicans and Puerto Ricans that reported their country of birth.

¹⁷ The proportion of Belizeans that reported all other terms was not significantly different from the proportions of Costa Ricans, Salvadorans, Guatemalans, Hondurans, and Nicaraguans reporting the same.

Table 5. Percentage Distribution of “Some Other Race” Response Type by Country of Birth in South America, 2000

Country of Birth	Number in thousands	Checkbox %	Country %	Region %	General Hispanic %	Mestizo or Mixed-Race %	All others*
Argentina	9.4	2.5	36.7	14.8	42.8	1.3	1.7
Bolivia	13.4	0.9	26.9	15.4	48.3	5.8	2.7
Chile	13.7	1.3	35.2	18.6	42.6	1.3	0.9
Colombia	114.5	1.0	25.4	15.7	49.9	5.3	2.7
Ecuador	96.0	0.7	26.3	15.1	47.0	7.5	3.4
Paraguay	2.4	0.7	34.2	16.2	44.9	3.1	0.8
Peru	93.8	1.2	28.5	14.1	43.9	9.0	3.2
Uruguay	2.0	0.5	32.3	18.4	47.3	0.2	1.3
Venezuela	18.3	1.8	26.3	18.9	47.4	3.3	2.4
Brazil	29.1	2.1	80.0	9.3	4.8	2.6	1.2
Guyana	26.9	2.1	75.0	2.0	0.8	4.7	15.4

* The “All others” category includes SOR codes that do not fit into the above categories.

Source: Authors’ tabulations of the 2000 Census of Population and Housing sample data.

Hispanic-Origin Reporting in Census 2000

Next we turn to Hispanic-origin reporting in Census 2000. Table 6 shows the distribution of Hispanic origin of respondents from selected countries of Central America and the Caribbean. The Hispanic-origin question in Census 2000 had five check box response categories corresponding to: 1) Not Hispanic; 2) Mexican; 3) Puerto Rican; 4) Cuban; and 5) Other Hispanic which was accompanied with a write-in area. Table 6 suggests that respondents born in Mexico, Puerto Rico, and Cuba (all of whom had checkbox categories on the form) had little trouble identifying a category, with more than 93 percent selecting their place of birth. The percentage of respondents from Spanish-speaking countries who did not answer the Hispanic-origin question ranged from 1.5 percent of Cubans to 5.5 percent of Panamanians and those who responded that they were Not Hispanic ranged from 0.6 percent of Mexicans to 14.7 percent of Panamanians. While the percentages in this table are not large, they represent about 295,000 respondents who did not answer and about 107,000 who said they were not Hispanic.¹⁸

¹⁸ About 93 percent of the non-respondents were eventually coded as Hispanic in the editing and imputation phases of data processing.

Table 6. Percentage Distribution of Hispanic Origin Responses by Country of Birth in Central America and the Caribbean, 2000

Country of Birth	Number in thousands	No Answer %	Not Hispanic %	Country %	General Hispanic %	All others*
Mexico	7,969.4	2.5	0.6	93.2	3.6	0.1
Costa Rica	63.9	3.1	3.9	70.5	20.3	2.2
El Salvador	699.5	3.8	1.4	66.3	26.0	2.4
Guatemala	411.3	4.4	2.0	66.3	24.4	3.0
Honduras	243.9	4.2	2.5	66.1	24.9	2.3
Nicaragua	194.4	2.7	1.5	69.1	25.3	1.3
Panama	88.0	5.5	14.7	60.8	16.9	2.0
Cuba	781.8	1.5	0.6	97.1	0.4	0.3
Dominican R.	589.2	2.9	1.2	79.3	15.9	0.7
<i>Puerto Rico**</i>	1,307.0	1.9	2.5	93.7	1.0	1.0
Belize	34.8	7.4	61.7	16.6	12.3	2.1

* The "All others" category includes non-general Hispanic codes that are not the country of birth.

** Respondents born in Puerto Rico are included only for comparison purposes. Puerto Ricans are U.S. citizens at birth and are not considered foreign-born.

Source: Authors' tabulations of the 2000 Census of Population and Housing sample data.

Respondents from the Spanish-speaking countries who did not have checkbox categories on the form still overwhelmingly wrote in a country origin (ranging from 61 percent of Panamanians to 79 percent of Dominicans) but also had high proportions reporting generic Hispanic responses (ranging from about 16 percent of Dominicans to about 26 percent of Salvadorans). About 62 percent of Belizeans, who were not treated as Hispanics in the Census tabulations, identified themselves as non-Hispanic. Another 17 percent identified "Belize" as their Hispanic origin and an additional 12 percent provided general Hispanic identifiers.¹⁹

Table 7 shows the distribution of Hispanic-origin responses of respondents born in South America. As was the case for respondents born in Spanish-speaking Central America, most respondents born in Spanish-speaking South America responded with their place of birth (ranging from about 63 percent for Uruguayans to 74 percent for Colombians). Proportions of respondents that used general Hispanic identifiers ranged from about 15 percent of Argentineans to 28

¹⁹ These respondents who identified "Belize" as their Hispanic origin were recoded as not Hispanic in the editing phase of data processing.

percent of Bolivians. The proportion that did not answer the Hispanic-origin question ranged from about 2.3 percent of Colombians to about 4.2 percent of Paraguayans. The proportions identifying as “not Hispanic” ranged from 1.5 percent of Ecuadorians to 14.9 percent of Argentineans. The respondents from Argentina (14.9 percent), the southern cone countries (Paraguayans 11.4 percent, Uruguayans 8.9 percent, and Chile 5.7 percent), and Venezuela (7.7 percent) had the highest proportions “not Hispanic”.²⁰ Again these percentages are not large, but they do represent about 39,000 respondents who did not answer and about 53,000 who said they were not Hispanic.²¹

Table 7. Percentage Distribution of Hispanic Origin Responses by Country of Birth in South America, 2000

Country of Birth	Number in thousands	No Answer %	Not Hispanic %	Country %	General Hispanic %	All others* %
Argentina	114.4	4.1	14.9	65.2	14.5	1.4
Bolivia	47.3	3.4	3.9	63.5	28.1	1.1
Chile	74.3	3.3	5.7	68.3	20.7	2.0
Colombia	457.1	2.3	1.7	74.3	20.7	0.9
Ecuador	257.6	3.1	1.5	70.0	24.3	1.2
Paraguay	10.8	4.2	11.4	58.2	24.5	1.6
Peru	250.6	3.3	2.9	69.4	23.5	0.9
Uruguay	22.8	3.5	8.9	63.3	22.5	1.8
Venezuela	98.0	2.8	7.7	69.4	17.9	2.2
Brazil	193.4	4.1	35.0	53.7	6.8	0.4
Guyana	182.0	5.1	94.1	0.0**	0.7	0.2

* The “All others” category includes non-general Hispanic codes that are not the country of birth.

** Respondents reporting Guyana as their Hispanic origin were recoded as not Hispanic in editing.

Source: Authors’ tabulations of the 2000 Census of Population and Housing sample data.

Ancestry Reporting in Census 2000

Although the ancestry question in Census 2000 was a write-in question allowing multiple responses, we coded up to two ancestry responses. Table 8 shows the distribution of the first ancestry reported by the foreign-born population from Central America and the Caribbean, as well

²⁰ The proportion of respondents born in Paraguay was not statistically different from the proportions of Argentineans and Uruguayans. The difference between the proportions of Venezuelans and Uruguayans was not statistically significant.

²¹ About 76 percent of the non-respondents were eventually coded as Hispanic in the editing and imputation phases of data processing.

as respondents born in Puerto Rico. Proportions of respondents that did not answer the ancestry question ranged from 3.8 percent for Mexico to 12.8 percent for Puerto Rico. Respondents born in Puerto Rico were more likely not to answer the ancestry question. The modal category among respondents from Spanish-speaking Central America and the Caribbean, as well as Puerto Rico, was country. Over 60 percent of respondents from these countries reported their country of birth as their ancestry. Respondents born in Mexico (5.2 percent) and the Dominican Republic (5.8 percent) were less likely than respondents born in the other Spanish-speaking Central American and Caribbean countries to report general Hispanic terms as their first ancestry. Costa Rica (4.3 percent), Panama (4.5 percent), and Cuba (7.6 percent) reported the largest proportions of European or Spaniard responses.²² For Cuba, the majority of the European responses were Spaniard. The proportions reporting in the All others category ranged from less than 1 percent for Mexico to about 16 percent for Panama. Panamanians were more likely to report all other terms than the other Spanish-speaking countries.²³

Table 8 also shows that the modal category for respondents born in Belize was country (61 percent), followed by all other terms. Approximately 19 percent of Belizeans reported in the All others category. Over half of the Belizean respondents reporting in the All others category reported a Black or African American ancestry.

²² The proportion of Costa Ricans who reported European or Spaniard responses was not significantly different from the proportion of Panamanian respondents reporting the same.

²³ Jamaican, African American, and Chinese accounted for over 50 percent of the reported first ancestries included in the All others category for respondents born in Panama.

Table 8. Percentage Distribution of First Ancestry Responses by Country of Birth in Central America and the Caribbean, 2000

Country of Birth	Number in thousands	No Answer %	Country %	European or Spaniard %	General Hispanic %	All others*
Mexico	7,969.4	3.8	90.4	0.4	5.2	0.3
Costa Rica	63.9	5.0	66.9	4.3	18.3	5.4
El Salvador	699.5	6.2	74.2	1.0	17.6	1.1
Guatemala	411.3	5.9	73.5	1.5	17.1	2.0
Honduras	243.9	6.6	72.1	1.7	17.2	2.4
Nicaragua	194.4	5.6	75.9	2.1	14.9	1.6
Panama	88.0	6.5	61.5	4.5	11.6	15.9
Cuba	781.8	7.4	72.9	7.6	10.7	1.3
Dominican R.	589.2	5.4	87.2	0.7	5.8	1.0
<i>Puerto Rico**</i>	1,307.0	12.8	71.2	2.9	10.7	2.4
Belize	34.8	7.6	60.8	3.8	8.7	19.1

* The "All others" category includes African, Asian, and North American countries, as well as Central American, South American, and Caribbean countries that are not the country of birth.

** Respondents born in Puerto Rico are included only for comparison purposes. Puerto Ricans are U.S. citizens at birth and are not considered foreign-born.

Source: Authors' tabulations of the 2000 Census of Population and Housing sample data.

Table 9 shows similar data for respondents born in selected South American countries. With the exception of Argentina, country was the modal response category for respondents born in the Spanish-speaking countries of South America. The modal category for Argentineans was European and Spaniard. Respondents born in Argentina (38.2 percent) and Uruguay (40.8 percent), although not significantly different from each other, were less likely to report country of birth as the first ancestry. Argentineans (42.7 percent) and Uruguayans (35.1 percent) were more likely to report in the European or Spaniard category. Venezuela-born respondents were more likely to report all other terms (8.2 percent).²⁴

Approximately 63 percent of Brazilians reported their country of birth and 28 percent reported in the European or Spaniard category. Respondents born in Guyana were more likely to not answer the ancestry question (14.1 percent) than the other South Americans. The modal

²⁴ Approximately 22 percent of the ancestries reported by Venezuelans in the All others category were countries in North Africa and Southwest Asia. Colombian and Cuban each accounted for about 15 percent of this category.

category for the Guyanese was country followed by all other terms. Over half of the Guyanese respondents in the All others category reported countries in South Asia.²⁵

Table 9. Percentage Distribution of First Ancestry Responses by Country of Birth in South America, 2000

Country of Birth	Number in thousands	No Answer %	Country %	European or Spaniard %	General Hispanic %	All others*
Argentina	114.4	4.6	38.2	42.7	11.0	3.5
Bolivia	47.3	3.9	71.9	6.4	15.9	1.9
Chile	74.3	4.4	64.9	12.7	15.0	2.9
Colombia	457.1	4.2	81.2	2.7	10.8	1.1
Ecuador	257.6	5.0	78.8	2.7	12.5	1.1
Paraguay	10.8	7.4	57.5	13.0	17.7	4.5
Peru	250.6	4.0	73.5	6.8	13.0	2.6
Uruguay	22.8	5.1	40.8	35.1	17.0	2.0
Venezuela	98.0	3.5	59.1	15.2	14.0	8.2
Brazil	193.4	3.7	62.6	28.2	1.7	3.8
Guyana	182.0	14.1	60.6	1.3	1.1	22.9

* The "All others" category includes African, Asian, and North American countries, as well as Central American, South American, and Caribbean countries that are not the country of birth.

Source: Authors' tabulations of the 2000 Census of Population and Housing sample data.

Ancestry of Respondents with No Response to the Hispanic-Origin Question.

For those respondents who did not answer the Hispanic-origin question, Table 10 shows the distribution of the first ancestry reported by the foreign-born population from Central America and the Caribbean, as well as respondents born in Puerto Rico. The proportion of respondents from Spanish-speaking countries who did not answer the ancestry question was about 10 percent or more. Puerto Ricans were more likely to not answer the ancestry question (23.1 percent). More than half of these non-respondents to the Hispanic-origin question reported their country of birth as their first ancestry.²⁶ Dominicans and Mexicans were more likely to report country than respondents from the other Spanish-speaking countries. Although these respondents did not answer the Hispanic origin question, more than 10 percent (excluding Mexicans and Dominicans)

²⁵ Asian Indian and East Indian were the largest groups reported in this category.

²⁶ The proportions of Belizeans, Costa Ricans, Panamanians, and Puerto Ricans who reported their country of birth were not significantly different from 50 percent.

reported general Hispanic terms.²⁷ Costa Ricans and Panamanians reported the largest proportions of all other terms.²⁸ About 11 percent of Cubans reported themselves as European or Spaniard, as did about 6 percent of Costa Ricans.

The modal category for Belizeans who did not respond to the Hispanic-origin question was country (52.3 percent). Approximately 15 percent of respondents from Belize reported a general Hispanic term as their first ancestry. As with respondents from Costa Rica and Panama, Belizeans reported a large proportion in the “All others” category.²⁹

Table 10. Percentage Distribution of First Ancestry Responses by Country of Birth in Central America and the Caribbean, No Response to Hispanic Origin, 2000

Country of Birth	Number in thousands	No Answer %	Country %	European or Spaniard %	General Hispanic %	All others*
Mexico	198.0	9.9	82.3	0.8	6.4	0.6
Costa Rica	2.0	9.9	51.1	6.4	19.9	12.6
El Salvador	26.8	15.8	63.2	1.0	18.6	1.4
Guatemala	18.0	14.8	61.5	2.1	18.1	3.5
Honduras	10.2	16.7	58.5	1.8	16.5	6.6
Nicaragua	5.3	15.1	59.1	3.1	17.8	4.8
Panama	4.9	12.1	53.4	3.3	10.6	20.6
Cuba	12.1	17.1	55.9	11.3	12.5	3.2
Dominican R.	17.2	13.2	75.0	1.1	8.3	2.4
<i>Puerto Rico**</i>	24.6	23.1	51.4	3.3	13.4	8.8
Belize	2.6	13.8	52.3	4.7	14.9	14.5

* The “All others” category includes African, Asian, and North American countries, as well as Central American, South American, and Caribbean countries that are not the country of birth.

** Respondents born in Puerto Rico are included only for comparison purposes. Puerto Ricans are U.S. citizens at birth and are not considered foreign-born.

Source: Authors’ tabulations of the 2000 Census of Population and Housing sample data.

²⁷ The proportion of Panamanians who reported general Hispanic terms was not significantly different from 10 percent.

²⁸ Approximately 40 percent of Costa Ricans and Panamanians reporting other terms reported Jamaican as their first ancestry. The proportion of Costa Ricans reporting all other terms was not significantly different from the proportions of Panamanians, Hondurans, Nicaraguans, or Puerto Ricans reporting the same.

²⁹ The proportion of Belizeans reporting all other terms was not significantly different from the proportions of Costa Ricans, Panamanians, Hondurans, or Puerto Ricans reporting the same.

Table 11 shows the same data for respondents born in selected South American countries. About 7 percent or more of respondents from South America did not answer the ancestry question. The modal category for South Americans, except Argentinians and Uruguayans, was country.

Table 11. Percentage Distribution of First Ancestry Responses by Country of Birth in South America, No Response to Hispanic Origin, 2000

Country of Birth	Number in thousands	No Answer %	Country %	European or Spaniard %	General Hispanic %	All others*
Argentina	4.7	9.0	28.5	48.7	10.2	3.7
Bolivia	1.6	16.6	58.0	9.6	12.4	3.4
Chile	2.5	8.6	52.8	18.5	13.6	6.5
Colombia	10.5	13.2	63.9	5.1	13.8	4.1
Ecuador	7.9	15.7	63.0	4.1	15.1	2.0
Paraguay	0.5	14.2	47.8	9.6	24.7	3.8
Peru	8.2	9.2	60.2	11.3	14.1	5.2
Uruguay	0.8	17.3	23.4	45.1	13.7	0.5
Venezuela	2.7	9.5	35.8	21.3	15.9	17.5
Brazil	8.0	6.5	50.7	34.2	3.5	5.0
Guyana	9.2	22.0	56.2	0.6	2.7	18.5

* The "All others" category includes African, Asian, and North American countries, as well as Central American, South American, and Caribbean countries that are not the country of birth.

Source: Authors' tabulations of the 2000 Census of Population and Housing sample data.

A high proportion of Argentinians (48.7 percent) and Uruguayans (45.1 percent) reported European or Spaniard ancestry, with the majority of responses being European other than Spaniard. Guyanese respondents were less likely to report a European or Spaniard first ancestry, while respondents born in Argentina, Brazil, and Uruguay were more likely to report in the European or Spaniard category.³⁰ The proportion of respondents from the Spanish-speaking countries of South America who reported general Hispanic terms was about 10 percent or more.

³⁰ The proportion of Guyanese respondents who reported European or Spaniard ancestries was not significantly different from the Paraguayan respondents. The proportion of Uruguayans who reported European or Spaniard ancestries was not significantly different from the proportions of Argentinians and Brazilians.

Venezuelan (17.5 percent) and Guyanese (18.5 percent) respondents were more likely to report in the All others category.³¹

Ancestry of Non-Hispanic Respondents.

For those respondents who reported being non-Hispanic, Table 12 shows the distribution of the first ancestry reported by the foreign-born population from Central America and the Caribbean, as well as respondents born in Puerto Rico. The proportion of respondents who did not answer the ancestry question ranged from 6.6 percent for Belize to 23.4 percent for El Salvador. In every country except Panama, Cuba, and Puerto Rico, the highest proportion of non-Hispanic respondents reported in the country category. Mexicans (61.2 percent), Dominicans (60.7 percent), and Belizeans (63.2 percent), while not significantly different from each other, reported a country at a higher rate than other respondents from Central America and the Caribbean.³² The modal category for Panamanians (42.6 percent) and Cubans (32.0 percent) was All others.³³ The proportion of Costa Ricans who reported in the All others category was relatively high at 31.8 percent.³⁴ Respondents born in Puerto Rico were much more likely to report in the European or Spaniard category, with most of the ancestries reported being European other than Spaniard. Although the respondents discussed here reported themselves as non-Hispanic, the proportion that reported general Hispanic codes ranged from 2.6 percent for Panamanians to 19.0 percent for Guatemalans.

³¹ The largest ancestry group that Venezuelans reported in the All others category was Cuban (22 percent), followed by other South American (21 percent) and North African and Southwest Asian ancestries (18 percent).

East Indian, Asian Indian, and West Indian accounted for about 65 percent of the reported first ancestries included in the All others category for respondents born in Guyana.

The proportion of Venezuelans that reported in the All others category was not significantly different from the proportions of Guyanese or Paraguayans reporting in that same category.

³² The proportion of Dominicans reporting their country of birth was not significantly different from the proportion of Salvadorans doing the same.

³³ For Panamanians, African American or Black and Jamaican ancestries accounted for approximately 60 percent of the terms in the All others category. Of respondents born in Cuba reporting other terms, the majority reported Jamaican and Chinese ancestries.

³⁴ Jamaican was the largest ancestry reported by Costa Ricans in the All others category.

Table 12. Percentage Distribution of First Ancestry Responses by Country of Birth in Central America and the Caribbean, Non-Hispanic Respondents, 2000

Country of Birth	Number in thousands	No Answer %	Country %	European or Spaniard %	General Hispanic %	All others*
Mexico	51.7	14.3	61.2	12.4	5.4	6.7
Costa Rica	2.5	8.3	34.3	15.3	10.3	31.8
El Salvador	10.1	23.4	51.7	3.4	18.4	3.2
Guatemala	8.2	16.9	44.9	6.4	19.0	12.8
Honduras	6.1	14.7	40.2	12.2	14.6	18.3
Nicaragua	2.9	14.9	46.0	9.0	13.2	16.9
Panama	12.9	9.2	34.6	11.0	2.6	42.6
Cuba	5.0	10.3	28.8	22.0	6.9	32.0
Dominican R.	7.2	12.0	60.7	4.8	7.3	15.2
<i>Puerto Rico**</i>	32.1	18.1	6.9	45.8	3.6	25.6
Belize	27.3	6.6	63.2	3.8	6.1	20.2

* The "All others" category includes African, Asian, and North American countries, as well as Central American, South American, and Caribbean countries that are not the country of birth.

** Respondents born in Puerto Rico are included only for comparison purposes. Puerto Ricans are U.S. citizens at birth and are not considered foreign-born.

Source: Authors' tabulations of the 2000 Census of Population and Housing sample data.

Table 13 shows the same data as Table 12 for respondents born in selected South American countries. For non-Hispanic respondents from Spanish-speaking South American countries, excluding Colombia and Ecuador, the modal category was European or Spaniard. For Colombians and Ecuadorians, the modal category was country, followed by the European or Spaniard category. Paraguayans (27.9 percent), Peruvians (27.8), and Venezuelans (28.4 percent) were more likely to report in the All others category.³⁵ The proportion of non-Hispanic respondents born in Ecuador were most likely to report general Hispanic terms (15.8 percent).³⁶

³⁵ Approximately 78 percent of Paraguayans who reported other terms reported Korean as their first ancestry. The largest ancestry groups reported by Peruvians in this category were Japanese (42 percent) and Chinese (35 percent). For Venezuelans, Chinese and Lebanese ancestries accounted for over 40 percent of the terms reported in the All others category.

No significant difference existed between the proportions of respondents reporting in the All others category for the respondents born in Paraguay, Peru, and Venezuela. The proportion of respondents from Paraguay that reported in the All others category was not significantly different from the proportions of respondents from Bolivia or Chile.

³⁶ The proportion of Ecuadorians reporting general Hispanic terms was not significantly different from the proportions of Bolivians, Columbians, and Peruvians reporting the same.

Brazilians (63.3 percent) and Guyanese (61.0 percent) were more likely to report their country of birth as their first ancestry than respondents from the other South American countries. About 28 percent of Brazilians reported a European or Spaniard ancestry. The majority of these responses were European other than Spaniard. Respondents born in Guyana (1.4 percent) were less likely to report in the European or Spaniard category than respondents born in the other South American countries. A large proportion of Guyanese (23.1 percent) reported other terms.³⁷

Table 13. Percentage Distribution of First Ancestry Responses by Country of Birth in South America, Non-Hispanic Respondents, 2000

Country of Birth	Number in thousands	No Answer %	Country %	European or Spaniard %	General Hispanic %	All others*
Argentina	17.0	6.9	13.4	67.9	2.1	9.8
Bolivia	1.8	7.6	22.9	42.3	13.0	14.1
Chile	4.2	9.4	23.7	48.2	6.2	12.5
Colombia	7.8	12.9	43.6	21.5	12.0	10.0
Ecuador	3.8	15.0	42.4	19.1	15.8	7.7
Paraguay	1.2	7.0	14.4	45.6	5.1	27.9
Peru	7.4	7.0	27.2	29.6	8.4	27.8
Uruguay	2.0	11.4	15.2	62.9	4.6	5.8
Venezuela	7.6	4.6	9.2	54.9	2.9	28.4
Brazil	171.7	3.5	63.3	28.2	1.2	3.8
Guyana	171.2	13.6	61.0	1.4	1.0	23.1

* The "All others" category includes African, Asian, and North American countries, as well as Central American, South American, and Caribbean countries that are not the country of birth.

Source: Authors' tabulations of the 2000 Census of Population and Housing sample data.

CONCLUSION

This study examined the race, Hispanic origin, and ancestry reporting patterns of Latin American foreign-born respondents in Census 2000. For sake of comparison, we showed island-born Puerto Ricans although they are not foreign-born. Examination of country-by-country data shows that there is considerable variability in the type of race responses. For respondents from Spanish-speaking Central American countries, including Mexico, a large proportion of responses

³⁷ The largest groups reported by the Guyanese in the All others category were Asian Indian (29 percent), East Indian (23 percent), and West Indian (15 percent).

to the race question was either White or SOR. The majority of Costa Ricans and Nicaraguans reported as White. On the other hand, only Salvadorans reported slightly more than 50 percent SOR. The main reason our findings differ from those of other researchers is that we tabulated imputed responses separately – the level of non-response to race ranges from about 7 to 11 percent.

Similarly, the modal category for respondents from Spanish-speaking South American countries was White. Only Peru had fewer respondents reporting as White. Proportionately fewer South Americans reported in the SOR category than Central Americans, and non-response to race was also lower, ranging from about 3 to 9 percent. Among Spanish-speaking Caribbean countries, the majority of respondents from Cuba was White and from the Dominican Republic was SOR. About 12 percent of Dominicans did not respond to race, compared with less than 3 percent of Cubans. Respondents born in Puerto Rico had a high non-response rate (about 14 percent), and proportionately more reported as White than SOR.

For respondents from non-Spanish speaking countries, the modal category was Black, with the exception of Brazil, where about 78 percent reported White and only about 2 percent reported Black. Very few respondents from the non-Spanish-speaking Caribbean reported SOR. Non-response was lower on average than was the case among Spanish-speaking countries. Few respondents born in Latin America selected two or more races, but this seemed to occur more so among respondents from Spanish-speaking countries. This finding runs contrary to the expectation that “multiracial identifications” may be more likely among Latino immigrants (Bean, Stevens and Wierzbicki, 2003:107).

Responses that constituted the SOR category for selected Central American, South American, and Caribbean countries were disaggregated. Very few respondents reported Mestizo or other mixed race terms, but a high proportion of Latin American-born respondents reported their country of birth or reported a general Hispanic term. This finding tends to support the Rodriguez (2000:131) hypothesis that Latinos view race as “culture, national origin, ethnicity, or nationality or a combination of these.”

In answering the Hispanic-origin question, a large proportion of respondents born in Spanish-speaking countries in Central America, South America, and the Caribbean responded with their country of birth. In excess of 93 percent of respondents from Mexico, Cuba, and Puerto Rico selected their place of birth. This is not surprising given that Mexican, Cuban, and Puerto Rican were each checkbox responses on the questionnaire, while other groups had to write their response on the questionnaire. It is less clear why the balance preferred not to answer the Hispanic origin question (1.5 to 2.5 percent), selected general Hispanic terms (0.4 to 3.6 percent), said they were not Hispanic (0.6 to 2.5 percent), or gave a different Hispanic ethnicity (0.1 to 1.0 percent). Substantial proportions of Latin Americans from Spanish-speaking countries did not respond to Hispanic-origin question (1.5 to 5.5 percent) or reported that they were not Hispanic (0.6 to 14.9 percent) – almost 15 percent of Panamanians and Argentineans reported that they were not Hispanic. About 61 percent of Brazilians and about 31 percent of Belizeans reported Hispanic although they are not officially considered Hispanic.³⁸

Looking at the first ancestry response, the great majority of respondents selected their country, with the exception of Argentina. Argentineans were a bit more likely to report Spaniard or a European first ancestry. Examining the second ancestry reported did not change the results. Among respondents who did not answer the Hispanic-origin question, the highest proportion reported their country of birth as their first ancestry, with the exception of Argentineans and Uruguayans. Respondents born in Argentina and Uruguay were more likely to report Spaniard or a European ancestry. Among respondents born in Central America and the Caribbean who reported that they were not Hispanic, the highest proportion of respondents reported their country of birth, with the exception of Panamanians, Cubans, and Puerto Ricans. The majority of Mexicans, Salvadorans, and Dominicans reported in the country category. For South America, a plurality of Colombians and Ecuadorians reported country of birth. This suggests that respondents who reported their country of birth probably did not identify with the terms in the

³⁸ During the editing process of Census 2000, respondents who reported Brazil or Belize as the response to Hispanic origin were made not Hispanic.

question (i.e., “Spanish/Hispanic/Latino”) but did identify with their country of origin. The modal category for Panamanians and Cubans was All others, and for respondents from the remaining South American countries, it was European or Spaniard.³⁹ The majority of Argentineans, Uruguayans, and Venezuelans reported a European or Spaniard first ancestry. This suggests that large proportions of these respondents identified with other ancestries, although many still identified with their country of origin.

In sum, we found very little support for the notion that respondents born in Latin America identify as multiracial or of mixed-race. Rather, the consistent theme is that they identify as White, as their national origin, or generally as Hispanic or Latino in race. They identify primarily with their national origin in the Hispanic-origin and ancestry questions. Small, but meaningful, proportions of Latin Americans did not answer the Hispanic-origin question or reported as not Hispanic. When we examined the ancestry reporting, we found that they still tended to report their country of origin, or a general Hispanic response, or in some cases European and other ancestries.

³⁹ For Panamanians, African American or Black and Jamaican ancestries accounted for the majority of the terms reported in the “All others” category. Of respondents born in Cuba reporting other terms, the majority reported Jamaican and Chinese ancestries.

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