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INTERMARRIAGE AND INTEGRATION OF ASIANS IN THE U.S. AND CANADA[1]

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ABSTRACT

We analyzed the 5 percent PUMS from the 2000 U.S. census and complete census data from the 2001 Canadian census to compare intermarriage and social integration of Asians in the United States and Canada. The majority of married Asians in both the U.S. and Canada are inmarried but the Asian intermarriage rate is higher in the U.S. Intermarriage is more likely among younger and more highly educated Asians in both countries. Japanese and Filipinos in both countries are more likely to intermarry, and in the U.S., Koreans are also more likely to intermarry. U.S. and Canadian-born Asians are two to five times more likely to be intermarried than foreign-born Asians, and native-born Asian women are more likely than native-born men to intermarry. The findings indicate that intermarriage among Asians in both the U.S. and Canada is already part of Asians' marital patterns. For some native-born Asians, intermarriage is more common than inmarriage. We expect intermarriage among Asian Americans and Canadians will increase, with important implications for future ethnic demographic trends and social integration of Asians.

INTRODUCTION

In recent decades, the Asian populations in Canada and the United States have grown rapidly, largely because of the "new immigration", which refers to large-scale immigration of non-Europeans to North America from the late 1960s on. People of Asian descent are now the largest ethnic minority in Canada and make up about 10 percent of Canada's population of thirty million in 2001 (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2001; Statistics Canada 2003). In the United States, Asians are about 4 percent of the total population (U.S. Census Bureau 2001) and are the second fastest growing minority in the United States after Hispanics (Kent et al. 2001; Lee 1998). Both countries are among the leading destinations for large numbers of Asian immigrants in recent years. Yet there are important differences between Canada and the U.S., for example, in their immigration policies, other public policies related to immigrants, and social, economic, and political contexts and processes (Lipset 1990; Reitz 1998) that warrant a comparative study. The Asian population is also a larger proportion of Canada's population. Will Asians in Canada be more integrated into Canadian society than Asians in the United States into U.S. society? What characteristics are associated with integration in each country? Will these be the same or different? Comparative analyses can provide insights about race, immigration, immigrants, and integration in different social contexts.

On a more general level, this paper addresses current debates about race and immigration in many societies. As a country's immigrant population grows, particularly the population of immigrants considered racially and culturally different, questions about their integration and role in the host society are increasingly heard. Canada and the U.S. have long histories of immigration and racial and ethnic diversity. The new immigration evokes familiar questions about immigration and immigrants (Borjas 1990; Cornelius et al. 2002; Simon and Lynch 1999). Foremost among these questions is that of whether racially and ethnically distinct new immigrants can be integrated into the host societies.

BACKGROUND: THEORY AND RESEARCH

Since the majority of Asians in the U.S. and Canada are foreign born, questions about the Asian experience are inevitably framed as an immigration issue. However, Asians are also racial minorities in both the U.S. and Canada. Beliefs and attitudes about immigration, immigrants, and race have long shaped public opinion and policy in the U.S. and Canada. In the U.S., for example, while popular ideology

celebrates America's immigrant roots, large-scale immigration has often provoked negative reactions tinged with racism (Dinnerstein and Reimers 1988; Higham 1972). Attitudes about race and immigration often overlap. Many U.S. and Canadian immigration laws were written in response to racial ideology (Li 1998; U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service 1991). These immigration laws were used to regulate the racial and ethnic composition of the U.S. and Canadian populations by limiting or excluding immigrants considered racially and ethnically undesirable.

There is an extensive theoretical and empirical literature on immigration, immigrant integration, and race and ethnicity in sociology and other fields. Until recently, this literature was dominated by U.S.-based research related to majority/minority relations and assimilation theories about European immigrants and European ethnic groups (Alba 1990; Gans 1962; Gordon 1964; Handlin 1972; Herberg 1960; Park 1930). Research on race relations in the U.S. was typically framed as a Black/White issue (see for example, the classic studies by Gunnar Myrdal 1944). This is not surprising given the racial and ethnic composition of immigrant flows in the past, and a population that was basically categorized into two groups, Whites and Blacks.

The New Immigration

The U.S. and Canada are once again being transformed as a result of the new immigration. Because the majority of today's immigrants -- Asian (in the U.S. and Canada) and Hispanic (in the U.S.) -- are seen as racially or ethnically distinct from the majority populations in both countries, the new immigration has rekindled interest in the race/immigration relationship. Familiar questions and anxieties about immigration and immigrants have resurfaced. There are numerous studies of the new immigration in the U.S. and Canada, including analyses of the changing characteristics of new immigrants, immigration and diversity, and the demographic, fiscal, and social impact of new immigrants (Edmonston and Passel 1994; Farley 1996; Halli et al. 1990; Jasso and Rosenzweig 1990; Smith and Edmonston 1997). There are also studies of specific new immigrant groups such as Koreans (Min 1996), Cubans and Mexicans (Portes and Bach 1985), Vietnamese (Gold 1992), and West Indians (Waters 2000) in the U.S. and Chinese (Skelton 1994) and South Asians in Canada (Qadeer 1999)

The integration or incorporation of new immigrants is a major thrust of research on the new immigration. There are many ways to study the integration of racial minorities, immigrants, and immigrants

who are racial minorities. Researchers have analyzed spatial assimilation of racial minorities and immigrants, using residential segregation/integration as the indicator of integration (Fong 1996; Massey and Denton 1987, 1993). The economic integration of immigrants and racial minorities has been examined using employment, occupation, earnings, and poverty measures (Bloom et al. 1995; Boyd 1984, 1997; Lee 1994, 1999).

Intermarriage and Social Integration

This paper focuses on social integration of Asians in Canada and the United States by examining intermarriage rates and patterns. Intermarriage has a special place in the sociology of race relations and identity. Social norms and practices are traditionally strongly endogamous in most societies. People typically marry within socially defined groups, including race, caste, religion, class, etc. In the case of racial endogamy, endogamy maintains racial group boundaries and perceived racial purity. Racial endogamy also implies that individual and family racial identities are maintained across generations since each generation inherits the racial identity of its predecessor.

Racial intermarriage represents a reduction of what Bogardus (1959) termed "social distance" between racial groups. Intermarriage signifies the weakening and changing meaning of racial identity as racial boundaries are crossed (Edmonston et al. 2002). Gordon (1964) considered intermarriage to be the single best indicator of assimilation because family ties now cross-cut racial lines. It further blurs racial boundaries and identity as the new generation no longer mirrors the racial identities of the previous generations (Root 1996; Stephan and Stephan 1989; Waters 1998).

Racial intermarriage is a particularly appropriate indicator of social integration of Asians in Canada and the U.S. given that past anti-miscegenation laws were applied to Asians. As racial minorities, intermarriage between Asians and other groups, particularly Whites, can be expected to be low, given the strength of racial barriers against intermarriage. However, previous studies of intermarriage among Asian Americans suggest that intermarriage rates are relatively high and may be increasing. There are important variations by age, education, specific Asian ethnic group, and nativity (Hwang and Saenz 1990; Lee and Fernandez 1998; Lee and Yamanaka 1990; Qian 1997). If previous findings are confirmed, Asian Americans' intermarriage patterns and rates will be key indicators of changing marital norms that challenge

endogamy. The continued erosion of racial boundaries will also contain important implications for changing racial identities of future generations.

Research on racial intermarriage in Canada is limited because of data constraints (see below, section on data), although there are studies that show fairly extensive European ethnic and religious intermarriage (Richard 1991; Larson and Munro 1985). Our examination of intermarriage among Asians in Canada will be a pioneering effort.

DATA AND METHODOLOGY

This is a quantitative study using census data from the U.S. and Canada. A quantitative analysis using census data is the most appropriate research design because census data are the only source of comparable data available for a comparative analysis. The alternative of collecting primary data through random surveys of Asians in the two countries is not feasible, given the absence of sampling frames, expense, etc. In addition, since the Asian populations in Canada and the U.S. are still small, in absolute as well as relative terms (particularly in the U.S.), only census data provide adequate sample sizes for reliable analysis. Census data also allow sub-group comparisons across Asian ethnic groups, such as Chinese, Asian Indian (or South Asian, as they are labeled in Canada), Vietnamese, Filipino, Japanese, etc., which is essential given the diversity of the Asian populations in both countries (Lee 1998; Samuel 1994).

We confine our analysis to persons who reported as single origin Asian to the U.S. and Canadian census questions on race (see Exhibits 1 and 2).[i] The number of categories, definitions, and use of racial data differ in the U.S. and Canada. We recoded the data as needed to produce as comparable categories as possible for the comparative analysis, but also note differences and how we adjusted the data.

U.S. Data

Data on Asian Americans are based on the 2000 U.S. census 5 percent public-use micro-sample (PUMS). The 5 percent PUMS is the most appropriate for studying intermarriage among Asian Americans because it is large enough to yield sufficient samples for sub-group analyses of the Asian American population. The question on marital status is asked only of persons aged 15 and older. A married couple file was constructed by extracting all couples where at least one partner was reported as single origin Asian, including married couples that were in subfamilies.[ii] We retained all cases that met this criterion. The unweighted sample size was 118,664 couples.

Canadian Data

The question on marital status is also asked only of persons aged 15 and older in the Canadian 2001 census. For the Canadian data, we included couples that are currently legally married and living together. Couples where at least one spouse reported single Asian origin are identified and included for analysis.[iii]

The groups listed as visible minorities in Canada are not identical to those identified in the United States, reflecting country differences in the collection of data as well as in the conceptualization and social significance of "color". In the U.S. census, the White population includes those identifying as Arabs or as West Asians as well as a large percentage of the "Hispanic" population who identify as White on the race question.

In order to undertake comparative research, the Canadian data on race were adjusted to approximate the United States procedures and categories. Persons identifying themselves as Arab or West Asian were reassigned to the White Canadian population, as were those who declared themselves to be Latin American.

Data requirements also necessitated the analysis of data on the census master database, housed at Statistics Canada. Although public use micro data files from the 2001 Canadian census are scheduled to be released in the fall, 2004, they differ in content and in format from those of the U.S. 2000 PUMS. Instead of a large flat file that contains household, family and individual characteristics, three separate and non-compatible files exist at the individual, family and household level in Canada. In past census micro data files, the family file in principle permits analyzing characteristics of couples. However, the absence of data on specific Asian groups in the family file, comparable to those found in the U.S. PUMS, requires use of the master census database.

Variables

The dependent variable is intermarriage. We defined the following marriage and couple types. In-married Asian couples refer to couples where both partners report the same Asian ethnic background (for example, a Chinese/Chinese couple). Intermarried Asian couples refer to couples where the two partners report either different races or Asian ethnic groups (for example, a Japanese/White couple or a Chinese/Asian Indian couple).

We examine different couple types along selected sociodemographic characteristics, including individual characteristic such as nativity, age, gender, education, and specific Asian ethnicity (for example, Chinese, Filipino, Japanese, Korean, Asian Indian) and several contextual measures. The primary contextual variable is at the national level: all relationships between independent and dependent variables are compared between the U.S. and Canada. Additional contextual variables such as geographical region of country and metropolitan area are also examined.

FINDINGS

Descriptive Findings

- Tables 1 and 2 About Here -

Most Asian Couples are In-Married but Intermarriage is More Common in the U.S.

The majority of married Asians in both the U.S. and Canada are married to someone of the same Asian ethnic background: almost 70 percent in the U.S. and 86 percent in Canada (see Tables 1 and 2). In-marriage is therefore more common among Asians in Canada.

Asians in the U.S. are twice as likely to be intermarried, where about one in three couples are intermarried compared with less than 15 percent in Canada. In both countries, Asians who are intermarried are most likely to be married to a White partner. In the U.S., 22 percent of Asian couples consist of Asian/White couples, and in Canada, over 11 percent are Asian/White couples. In both countries, inter-ethnic Asian and Asian/Minority couples are relatively uncommon but both types are more common in the U.S. than Canada.

Intermarried Couples Have Higher Family Incomes

In the U.S., inter-ethnic and Asian/White couples have higher mean family incomes than in-married couples, and Asian/Minority couples have the lowest mean family income. None of the couples fall below the poverty threshold although we note that Asian/White couples have incomes that are almost twice the poverty threshold, the highest of all couple types.

In Canada, couples that are in-married have the lowest family income and the highest percentages below Canada's low income cut-offs[iv] whereas Asian/White couples have the highest average family income and the lowest percentages below the low income cut-off (just as in the U.S.). Much of this reflects the fact that in-married couples are mostly foreign born, having arrived after the legislative changes of the

1960s and 1970s that changed criteria of admissibility from national origins to those of family reunification, economic contributions, and humanitarian based principles.

Native-Born Asians and Women are More Likely to be Intermarried

The importance of nativity, along with other socioeconomic factors, on intermarriage is highlighted in Tables 1 and 2. In both the U.S. and Canada, native-born Asians are more likely to be intermarried. In the U.S., 43 percent of native-born Asian husbands and 52 percent of native-born Asian wives are intermarried; comparable figures for Canada are 42 percent of Canadian-born Asian husbands and 45 percent of Canadian-born Asian wives.

Foreign-born Asian wives in the U.S. have higher intermarriage rates than foreign-born Asian husbands: 21 percent versus 9 percent. In Canada, foreign-born Asian wives are also more likely to be intermarried than foreign-born Asian husbands (9 percent versus 5 percent). Nativity and gender appear to affect intermarriage in important ways. We examine these effects further (see below).

Younger Persons are More likely to be Intermarried

Age reveals a clear gradient in the U.S., with higher percentages in-married among older age groups for both husbands and wives (see Table 1). The propensity to in-marry, compared to intermarry, among younger persons is less evident in Canada, although the pattern is similar, with increasing percentages in-married among older age groups for both men and women (see Table 2).

Education Shows Complex Relationship with Intermarriage

In both countries, those with less than a high school education are most likely to be in-married, a pattern that is similar for both men and women. As education increases, intermarriage also increases but the increase is not linear. The percentage inmarried increases for the two highest education categories in both the U.S. and Canada.

Residence

The highest percentage of in-married Asian couples in the U.S. is found in the Northeast and the lowest percentage is in the South. We also note that metropolitan areas that traditionally had large Asian communities and relatively high intermarriage rates also have the lowest percentages of in-married Asian couples. These metropolitan areas include Honolulu and Seattle (see Table 1).

In Canada, the percentage in-married is lowest for those living in either the Atlantic Provinces and territories[v] and in non-CMA areas while conversely, percentages of Asian/White couples are highest in these areas. Such trends are consistent with the smaller populations of Asians in these areas, and the reduced chances of finding a marriage partner within their own group.

A Closer Look: Comparing Specific Asian Ethnic Groups by Nativity and Gender

- Tables 3 and 4 About Here -

The diversity of the Asian populations in both the U.S. and Canada requires further examination of couple types by specific Asian ethnic group, by nativity and gender, as shown in Tables 3 and 4. For many groups in Canada, the numbers are too small to permit confidence in, and release of, the findings for the native born, as noted in Table 4. We found general patterns and some exceptions to the general patterns. The comparisons between the U.S. and Canada produced findings that were also surprisingly similar in several ways.

First, the foreign-born are more likely to be inmarried for all groups, with one exception: foreign-born Japanese women in the U.S.

Second, with the exception of Asian Indians (U.S.) and South Asians (Canada), Asian men are more likely than Asian women to in-marry, or put another way, Asian women are more likely to intermarry, a finding observed in both countries. This gender differential holds regardless of nativity. For example, looking at Table 3, we see that 32 percent of U.S. born Filipino women are inmarried compared with 42 percent of U.S. born Filipino men. Among foreign-born Filipinos, 89 percent of the men are inmarried versus 66 percent of women. In Canada, 44 percent of Canadian-born Filipino women are inmarried compared with almost 60 percent of Canadian-born Filipino men, while among foreign born Filipinos, 95 percent of the men and 76 percent of the women are inmarried.

Third, in both countries, Asian Indians or South Asians differ from other Asian groups in the following ways: (i) among U.S. born Asian Indians, roughly equal proportions (60 percent) of both men and women are inmarried, and (ii) among the foreign born, slightly more women are inmarried. In Canada, South Asian women are slightly more likely to be inmarried, regardless of nativity.

Another interesting finding is that different Asian ethnic groups display different propensities to inmarry or intermarry. Since the foreign born generally have high (and higher, compared to the native

born) in-marriage rates (except for foreign born Japanese women in the U.S.), we compared the native born groups. In the U.S., Filipinos and Koreans have the highest intermarriage rates, with over half of both men and women intermarrying. Less than one-third of U.S. born Filipino and Korean women are inmarried; indeed, over half of U.S. born Korean women are married to Whites. For these two Asian groups, intermarriage is more common than inmarriage. Chinese, Asian Indians, and Japanese have higher inmarriage proportions, but less than half of U.S.-born Chinese women were inmarried. Given the heterogeneity of the South East Asian and other Asian group, the high proportions intermarried among the native born are not surprising.

Data suppression for many native-born groups in Canada limits the comparisons. However, we note that Canadian-born Japanese men and women and Filipino women have the highest intermarriage proportions, with over half of each group intermarried. Most intermarried Japanese and Filipino women have White spouses. Canadian-born Chinese have relatively high intermarriage proportions – slightly more than half of Chinese women are intermarried, of whom 44 percent are married to Whites. South Asians have the lowest intermarriage proportions, with over 75 percent of both men and women being inmarried.

Logistic Regression Findings

Some of the variations in the group specific proportions inmarrying or intermarrying reflect socio-demographic characteristics specific to each Asian ethnic group. We estimated a logistic regression model of intermarriage to further examine and compare intermarriage among Asians in the two countries. A multivariate logistic regression reveals the impact of sociodemographic characteristics and the variations in intermarriage that remain for the specific Asian groups after controlling for these characteristics. The dependent variable collapses the categories found in the descriptive analysis to "inmarried" versus "inter-married", with inmarried referring to persons in Asian groups whose spouses also are in the same Asian group. The model predicts the likelihood of being intermarried, that is, of experiencing intermarriage outside of the persons' own Asian group. Descriptive findings discussed above showed that most of this intermarriage reflects marriage to Whites for Asians in both the U.S. and Canada.

We used indicator coding in the model and the Southeast Asian and Other Asian group[vi] is the reference category. Thus, our results indicate the greater or lesser odds of other Asian groups to intermarry compared to the intermarriage propensities of Southeast Asians.[vii] Our comparative perspective dictates

this strategy, rather than the use of contrast coding in which results are expressed as deviations from the (unweighted) average propensity for intermarriage. An average, of course, is determined not only by both the relative propensity of each group, but also by the proportionate size of each group. Thus, if the internal composition of the Asian population differs between Canada and the United States, the average propensity and related deviations might be affected, quite possibly resulting in misleading comparisons.[viii] Using indicator coding in which one group is assigned as the reference group prevents the latter possibility.

Logistic regression coefficients are usually interpreted in terms of odds ratios which are obtained from the parameter estimates by computing e^{β}. For example, if the odds ratio for female (with reference to male) is 1.5, this indicates that the predicted odds of intermarriage for females are 50% higher than the odds for males (Allison 1991; Hosmer and Lemeshow 2000).

- Table 5 About Here -

The multivariate analysis confirms the robustness of descriptive findings. Findings for the U.S are shown in Table 5. Younger Asians are more likely to intermarry: compared to the reference category of persons aged 50 and older, we note a consistent pattern of increased odds of intermarriage as we move from those in their 40s to 30s to the below 30 age groups. Asians who were younger than 30 years old, for example, were almost twice as likely to be intermarried than those 50 and older.

Compared to those with less than a high school education, all other educational categories had higher odds of intermarriage. The relationship is not monotonic – persons with a Bachelor's degree were 11 percent more likely to be intermarried, compared with 50 percent among those with some college and 33 percent for those with post-Bachelor's education.

The likelihood of being intermarried increased with mean family income, or put another way, the odds of being intermarried were lower among the lower income groups, compared with the reference category.

A comparison across Asian ethnic groups revealed that Japanese, Filipino, and Korean Americans were more likely to intermarry while Chinese and Asian Indians were less likely to be intermarried, compared to the reference category of Southeast Asians and Other Asians. Intermarried Asians were also more likely to be in regions other than the reference category, the northeast: in particular, intermarriage was more likely among Asians who lived in the Midwest or the south.

Finally, the effects of nativity and gender were especially large: native-born Asian men and women were over 2 to 3 times more likely to be intermarried than their foreign born counterparts. Native-born Asian women in particular were more than three times as likely to be intermarried than the reference category of foreign-born Asian women.

- Table 6 About Here -

Findings for Canada are shown in Table 6. Just as in the U.S., the odds of intermarriage were higher for Asians in Canada who were under age 50, for those who were Canadian born, for women (net of birthplace), and for those who lived in the less populated Atlantic Provinces and territories, relative to Ontario. Compared to those who did not have a high school diploma, the odds of intermarriage were higher for those who had a college degree and beyond. Finally, the odds of intermarriage declined as family income declined (conversely, those with the highest levels of family incomes had the highest odds of being inter-married).

In the descriptive statistics, those who were of Southeast Asian origin were among those groups with fairly low percentages inter-marrying although the Chinese, Korean, and South Asian groups had the lowest percentages inter-married, at least for the foreign born. This pattern persists, even when statistical adjustments were made for differences between groups in socioeconomic characteristics. As shown in Table 6, compared to those reporting Southeast Asian origin (the reference category), the odds of intermarriage, net of all demographic and socio-economic factors, were highest for those reporting Japanese origin, followed by those reporting Filipino origin. Compared to the reference category, the odds of intermarriage were lower for Koreans, Chinese, and South Asians. Endogamy, measured here as having a spouse who is in the same single origin Asian group, was highest for the South Asian group and lowest for the Japanese origin group, net of all other factors.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The dramatic growth of the Asian population in both the U.S. and Canada is relatively recent, as a result of the "new immigration" beginning in the late 1960s. Yet within the relatively short span of about forty years, we see that intermarriage has become an established option in marital patterns among Asian Americans and Canadians. While endogamy is still the most prevalent aggregate marital pattern, one in three married couples in the U.S. with at least one Asian partner is intermarried. Intermarriage among

Asians in Canada is lower, at 14 percent, reflecting important sociodemographic differences between the Asian populations in the two countries. Given the diversity of the Asian populations, it is not surprising that we also found that among some Asian ethnic groups, such as native-born Japanese and Filipino Americans and Canadians, and Korean Americans, intermarriage is the norm with over half of married couples being intermarried while other groups such as Asian Indians or South Asians and Chinese have lower intermarriage rates. However, in both countries, the effects of age, gender, nativity, and education are remarkably similar, suggesting that intermarriage will continue to increase as the proportion native-born, younger and better-educated expands in the Asian populations in both countries.

Comparative analyses involving two different populations in societies that while similar in many ways are also distinct pose unique challenges, including data comparability and the need to be sensitive to sociocultural and historical differences in understanding and interpreting findings. One key difference between the U.S. and Canadian Asian populations is the relative size of the Asian populations and particular ethnic composition, as we have noted earlier. In addition, while both populations are dominated by the foreign-born, the Asian Canadian population is more heavily dominated by recent immigrants. The ethnic group differences by gender and nativity are particularly intriguing. Why is intermarriage more common among Japanese and Filipinos in the U.S. and Canada and Korean Americans compared to other Asian ethnic groups? Different histories of immigration and settlement may partly explain the differentials – for example, the Japanese have longer histories in the U.S. and Canada, and Filipinos have closer linguistic and cultural ties to the U.S. But Koreans are also relatively new arrivals in the U.S. and Asian Indians/South Asians also come from English-speaking backgrounds. To understand ethnic differentials in intermarriage, the effects of nativity and gender have to be considered. In the multivariate analyses, we found that the native-born (both men and women) and women (both native and foreign born) are more likely to intermarry, but we did not include a three-way interaction term in the model. Still, even after considering the interactive effects of gender and nativity, distinct ethnic group effects remain. Different data, perhaps from qualitative research on cultural preferences in terms of mate selection and gender roles, may help in interpreting these differences.

Another set of interesting findings were the regional/provincial effects on intermarriage. In both the U.S. and Canada, intermarriage among Asians was more likely in areas where the Asian population is

smaller relative to the overall population. For example, the proportion Asian is highest in the province of Ontario in Canada; compared to Ontario, intermarriage among Asians in other provinces was consistently higher (but the increased odds were smallest in British Columbia with its relatively high Asian population proportion). In the U.S., the West has the highest Asian proportion of the population, and the increased odds of intermarriage in the West is only 4 percent more than the reference region of the Northeast, far smaller than the almost 50 to 80 percent higher odds for the Midwest and South with their smaller proportions of Asians. The regional/provincial effects reflect the effects of many factors, not just the relative sizes of the Asian populations, but do suggest that intermarriage for a minority population is more likely in areas where the minority population is relatively small.

Many of the findings on Asian American intermarriage are consistent with previous research on Asian American intermarriage. This analysis also produced new findings on Asian intermarriage in Canada. Intermarriage appears to be a well-established marital pattern among Asian Americans, and looks to become a similar path for Asians in Canada. Given the significance of intermarriage as a key indicator of social integration as people cross racial and ethnic boundaries to form marriages and families, the findings reported here suggest that the social integration of Asian Americans and Canadians appears to be progressing.

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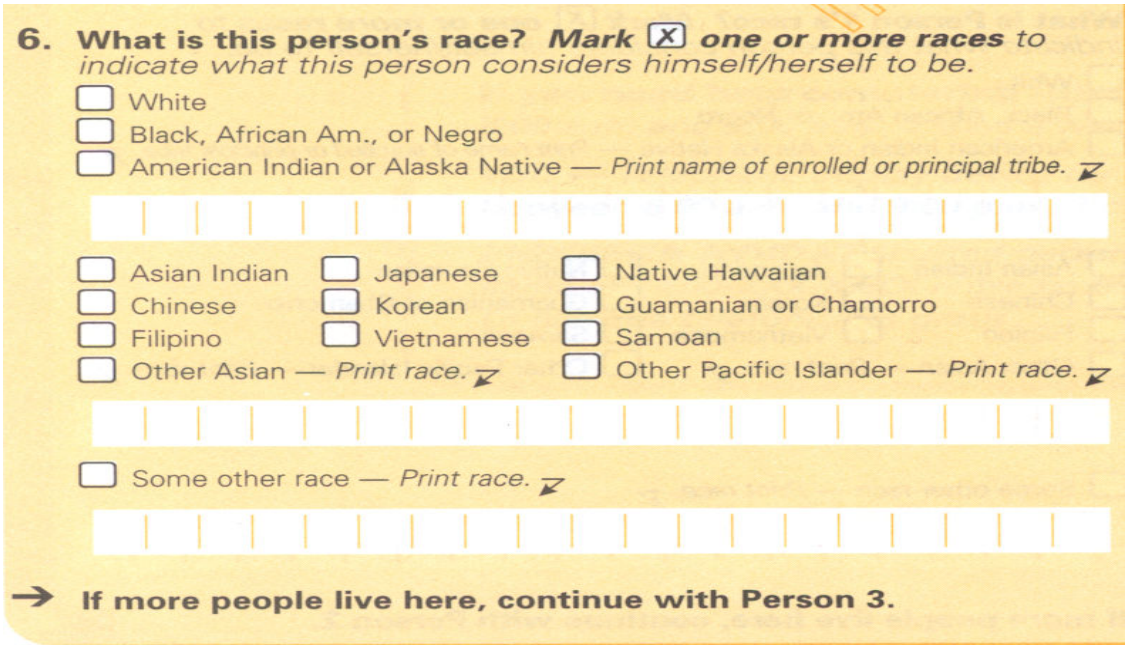
Exhibit 1: U.S. 2000 Census Question on Race



6. What is this person's race? *Mark* ☒ *one or more races* to indicate what this person considers himself/herself to be.

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

- ☐ Asian Indian
- ☐ Chinese
- ☐ Filipino
- ☐ Other Asian — *Print race.*
- ☐ Japanese
- ☐ Korean
- ☐ Vietnamese
- ☐ Native Hawaiian
- ☐ Guamanian or Chamorro
- ☐ Samoan
- ☐ Other Pacific Islander — *Print race.*

- ☐ Some other race — *Print race.*

→ **If more people live here, continue with Person 3.**

Source: U.S. Census Bureau.

Exhibit 2: Canadian 2001 Census Question on Membership in Visible Minority Groups.

19 Is this person: Mark "⊗" more than one or specify, if applicable *This information is collected to support programs that promote equal opportunity for everyone to share in the social, cultural and economic life of Canada.*	05 ○ White 06 ○ Chinese 07 ○ South Asian (e.g., East Indian, Pakistani, Sri Lankan, etc.) 08 ○ Black 09 ○ Filipino 10 ○ Latin American 11 ○ Southeast Asian (e.g., Cambodian, Indonesian, Laotian, Vietnamese, etc.) 12 ○ Arab 13 ○ West Asian (e.g., Afghan, Iranian, etc.) 14 ○ Japanese 15 ○ Korean Other –Specify 16 ☐

Source: Canadian 2001 Census 2b Form. See:
www.statcan.ca:8083/English/census2001/pdf/infoquest.pdf

Table 1: Asian Couple Types by Selected Characteristics, U.S., 2000

	In-Married Couples[1]	Inter-Ethnic Couples[2]	Asian/White Couples[3]	Asian/Minority Couples[4]	Total
All Couples (N)	1,771,038	79,109	556,320	145,460	2,551,928
All Couples, Percent	69.4	3.1	21.8	5.7	100.0
Mean Family Income ($)	81,283	91,311	91,858	72,226	83,385
Poverty Status[5]	181.3	189.3	193.8	185.3	184.5
Nativity, Percent					
Husbands					
Native-Born	56.9	11.2	24.4	7.5	100.0
Foreign Born	90.9	2.3	4.6	1.8	100.0
Wives					
Native-Born	47.7	8.2	34.9	9.2	100.0
Foreign Born	78.7	2.7	15.3	3.3	100.0
Age Group, Percent					
Husbands					
Below 30	77.6	4.8	13.0	4.5	100.0
30-39	84.7	4.3	8.3	2.7	100.0
40-49	86.7	4.0	6.9	2.4	100.0
50 & Over	89.8	3.1	5.0	2.0	100.0
Wives					
Below 30	74.9	3.6	16.1	5.4	100.0
30-39	73.0	3.7	19.0	4.3	100.0
40-49	74.2	3.5	18.3	4.1	100.0
50 & Over	78.4	2.6	16.0	3.0	100.0
Education, Percent					
Husbands					
Less than HS	92.8	2.7	2.0	2.5	100.0
High School Grad.	87.4	3.5	5.5	3.6	100.0
Some College[6]	81.6	4.7	9.9	3.8	100.0
Bachelor's Degree	85.7	4.7	7.6	1.9	100.0
Post-Bachelor's	87.4	3.2	8.1	1.3	100.0
Wives					
Less than HS	83.1	2.4	11.2	3.3	100.0
High School Grad.	72.2	2.8	19.6	5.4	100.0
Some College	68.0	3.9	22.5	5.6	100.0
Bachelor's Degree	75.7	3.9	17.2	3.1	100.0
Post-Bachelor's	77.1	3.1	17.3	2.5	100.0
Region of Residence, Percent					
Northeast	78.8	1.9	15.4	3.9	100.0
Midwest	68.0	2.0	26.0	4.0	100.0
South	63.8	2.2	27.9	6.0	100.0
West	68.3	4.1	20.9	6.6	100.0
Metropolitan Statistical Areas (MSAs), Percent					
Atlanta	76.5	2.1	17.2	4.2	100.0
Boston	77.0	2.1	17.8	3.1	100.0
Chicago	77.8	2.4	16.3	3.6	100.0
Honolulu	60.8	12.1	13.9	13.1	100.0
Los Angeles	76.5	3.6	15.0	4.9	100.0
New York	83.4	1.8	10.8	4.0	100.0
Miami	62.9	2.0	24.3	10.9	100.0
San Francisco	76.9	3.7	15.2	4.2	100.0
Seattle	61.3	3.5	29.8	5.4	100.0
Washington DC	72.4	2.4	21.5	3.7	100.0
All Others	60.1	2.6	30.5	6.9	100.0

[1] Refers to couples where both partners report the same Asian ethnic background, for example, Korean/Korean couples.
[2] Refers to couples where both partners are Asian, but of different Asian ethnic background, for example, Chinese/Japanese couples.
[3] Refers to couples where one partner is Asian, the other is White.
[4] Refers to couples where one partner is Asian, the other is a minority race, for example, Filipino/Black couples.
[5] Poverty level=100.
[6] Includes all post-high school (secondary) education training as well as some college.

Table 2: Asian Couple Types by Selected Characteristics, Canada, 2001

	In-Married Couples[1]	Inter-Ethnic Couples[2]	Asian/White Couples[3]	Asian/Minority Couples[4]	Total
All Couples, Count	1,036,800	15,800	136,900	19,200	1,208,600
All Couples, Percent	85.8	1.3	11.3	1.6	100.0
Mean Family Income, Can.$	59,210	75,380	89,140	71,230	63,000
Percent below Poverty Line	22.5	13.6	8.1	13.8	20.6
Nativity, Percent					
Husbands					
Canadian Born	58.4	4.0	34.8	2.8	100.0
Foreign Born	94.8	1.2	3.4	0.6	100.0
Wives					
Canadian Born	54.7	2.0	41.7	1.6	100.0
Foreign Born	91.1	1.6	6.9	0.4	100.0
Age Group, Percent					
Husbands					
15-29	80.3	2.1	15.1	2.5	100.0
30-39	82.6	1.8	13.8	1.9	100.0
40-49	85.9	1.3	11.2	1.6	100.0
50 & Over	88.6	0.9	9.3	1.3	100.0
Wives					
15-29	84.5	1.6	11.7	2.2	100.0
30-39	82.5	1.7	14.0	1.8	100.0
40-49	85.9	1.2	11.4	1.6	100.0
50 & Over	89.5	0.9	8.4	1.2	100.0
Education, Percent					
Husbands					
<HS	92.2	1.0	5.7	1.2	100.0
HS degree	82.0	1.2	13.8	3.0	100.0
Post HS education[5]	80.3	1.7	15.8	2.2	100.0
Bachelors Degree	84.1	1.5	12.9	1.5	100.0
Post Bachelors Degree	84.7	1.1	13.0	1.2	100.0
<HS	92.8	0.9	5.1	1.2	100.0
HS degree	85.3	0.5	12.0	2.2	100.0
Post HS education	80.3	1.7	16.0	2.1	100.0
Bachelor's Degree	80.9	1.7	15.6	1.8	100.0
Post Bachelor's Degree	82.1	1.1	15.6	1.2	100.0
Region of Residence, Percent					
Atlantic Prov & Territories	57.5	1.7	38.6	2.1	100.0
Quebec	84.4	1.2	13.2	1.2	100.0
Ontario	87.6	1.2	9.3	1.8	100.0
Prairie Provinces	80.7	1.5	16.0	1.8	100.0
British Columbia	85.7	1.4	11.8	1.1	100.0
Major Census Metropolitan Areas (CMAs), Percent					
Montreal	86.3	1.2	11.4	1.2	100.0
Toronto	89.7	1.2	7.3	1.9	100.0
Vancouver	87.9	1.4	9.5	1.1	100.0
Other major CMAs	80.8	1.6	16.0	1.6	100.0
All Other Areas	65.6	1.1	31.6	1.8	100.0

Notes on couple types and education are as in Table 1.

Table 3: Couple Type by Nativity, Gender, and Asian Ethnicity, U.S., 2000

	In-Married	Inter-Ethnic	Asian/White	Asian/Minority	Total %
Japanese					
Husbands					
U.S. Born	64.2	11.1	19.4	5.3	100.0
Foreign Born	79.3	4.5	13.5	2.7	100.0
Wives					
U.S. Born	57.7	7.6	27.3	7.3	100.0
Foreign Born	44.4	3.3	46.2	6.1	100.0
Chinese					
Husbands					
U.S. Born	57.7	13.6	24.1	4.6	100.0
Foreign Born	93.4	2.8	2.9	0.8	100.0
Wives					
U.S. Born	47.5	10.0	37.4	5.1	100.0
Foreign Born	87.2	2.3	9.1	1.4	100.0
Filipino					
Husbands					
U.S. Born	41.8	7.6	34.7	15.9	100.0
Foreign Born	88.7	1.8	6.8	2.7	100.0
Wives					
U.S. Born	32.0	5.6	44.6	17.8	100.0
Foreign Born	65.9	2.4	25.5	6.2	100.0
Korean					
Husbands					
U.S. Born	47.4	12.6	32.7	7.4	100.0
Foreign Born	94.9	1.5	2.8	0.9	100.0
Wives					
U.S. Born	30.6	10.4	52.4	6.6	100.0
Foreign Born	70.9	2.5	23.2	3.4	100.0
Asian Indian					
Husbands					
U.S. Born	59.4	2.9	29.5	8.3	100.0
Foreign Born	90.5	1.5	5.7	2.3	100.0
Wives					
U.S. Born	59.2	2.6	28.6	9.6	100.0
Foreign Born	93.0	1.2	3.3	2.5	100.0
South East Asian & Other Asians[1]					
Husbands					
U.S. Born	37.2	23.9	25.5	13.4	100.0
Foreign Born	88.3	5.2	4.4	2.1	100.0
Wives					
U.S. Born	31.2	18.2	38.6	11.9	100.0
Foreign Born	80.5	4.6	11.7	3.2	100.0

[1] Vietnamese, Other Southeast Asian, and Other Asians.

Table 4: Couple Type by Nativity, Gender, and Asian Ethnicity, Canada, 2001

	In-Married Couples	Inter-Ethnic Couples	Asian/White Couples	Asian Couples Minority Couples	Total
Japanese					
Husbands					
Canadian Born	48.3	5.3	45.9	(b)	100.0
Foreign Born*	80.9	5.0	13.2	(b)	100.0
Wives					
Canadian Born	46.1	3.9	49.7	(b)	100.0
Foreign Born*	48.4	8.1	42.8	(b)	100.0
Chinese					
Husbands					
Canadian Born	60.6	6.0	32.1	1.3	100.0
Foreign Born*	96.2	1.3	2.1	0.4	100.0
Wives					
Canadian Born	52.8	2.7	43.7	(b)	100.0
Foreign Born*	94.6	0.9	4.1	0.4	100.0
Filipino					
Husbands					
Canadian Born	58.5	(b)	34.6	(b)	100.0
Foreign Born*	94.8	1.1	3.5	0.6	100.0
Wives					
Canadian Born	44.2	(b)	50.7	(b)	100.0
Foreign Born*	75.7	3.3	20.2	0.8	100.0
Korean					
Husbands					
Canadian Born	(a)	(a)	(a)	(a)	(a)
Foreign Born*	97.0	1.0	1.9	(b)	100.0
Wives					
Canadian Born	(a)	(a)	(a)	(a)	(a)
Foreign Born*	90.2	2.1	7.4	(b)	100.0
South Asian					
Husbands					
Canadian Born	75.2	(b)	22.8	(b)	100.0
Foreign Born*	94.6	0.8	4.3	0.3	100.0
Wives					
Canadian Born	78.0	(b)	20.0	(b)	100.0
Foreign Born*	96.1	0.2	3.4	0.3	100.0
South East Asian					
Husbands					
Canadian Born	(a)	(a)	(a)	(a)	(a)
Foreign Born*	91.7	3.8	3.5	1.1	100.0
Wives					
Canadian Born	(a)	(a)	(a)	(a)	(a)
Foreign Born*	85.8	4.3	8.4	1.5	100.0

* Includes non-permanent residents, which includes but is not limited to those currently in Canada on a temporary basis for purposes of study, refugee claimant status, and temporary employment under NAFTA or under other arrangments.
(a) not reported. Population estimates for the group are less than 750.
(b) not reported. Population estimates for the cell are less than 200.

Table 5: Logistic Regression, Asian Intermarriage, U.S., 2000
(Reference category for each variable is underlined)

Variable	Logit B	S.E.	Wald	Sig.	Odds Ratio Exp(B)
Age (in years)					
Below 30	0.652	0.005	19072.376	0.000	1.919
30-39	0.565	0.004	25542.521	0.000	1.760
40-49	0.406	0.004	13202.290	0.000	1.501
50 and older			31285.481	0.000	
Education					
H.S. Graduate	0.265	0.005	3057.707	0.000	1.303
Some College	0.408	0.005	7953.024	0.000	1.504
Bachelor's	0.106	0.005	521.223	0.000	1.111
Post-Bachelor's	0.281	0.005	2945.054	0.000	1.325
Less than H.S.			11566.589	0.000	
Family Income (US$)					
Below 15,000	-0.654	0.007	8691.071	0.000	0.520
15,000-29,999	-0.347	0.005	4520.013	0.000	0.707
30,000-44,999	-0.097	0.004	471.845	0.000	0.907
45,000-59,999	-0.007	0.004	2.375	0.123	0.993
60,000-74,999	0.007	0.004	2.278	0.131	1.007
75,000-99,999	-0.011	0.004	7.634	0.006	0.989
100,000 and over			13608.649	0.000	
Asian Ethnicity					
Japanese	0.572	0.005	12242.078	0.000	1.773
Chinese	-0.354	0.004	6747.939	0.000	0.702
Filipino	0.550	0.004	17502.166	0.000	1.734
Korean	0.203	0.005	1730.504	0.000	1.225
Asian Indian	-0.851	0.005	27201.938	0.000	0.427
SE Asians and Other			110315.87	0.000	
Region					
Midwest	0.388	0.005	5918.693	0.000	1.474
South	0.586	0.004	18483.704	0.000	1.797
West	0.039	0.004	99.007	0.000	1.040
Northeast			31662.039	0.000	
Nativity and Sex					
Native Born Male	0.886	0.005	30756.672	0.000	2.426
Foreign Born Male	-0.905	0.003	81625.839	0.000	0.405
Native Born Female	1.205	0.005	62042.645	0.000	3.337
Foreign Born Female			203749.94	0.000	
Constant	-1.981	0.006	99874.601	0.000	0.138
-2 Log likelihood	3777612.505				
Nagelkerke R Square	0.192				

Table 6: Logistic Regression, Asian Intermarriage, Canada, 2001
(Reference category for each variable is underlined)

Variable	Logit B	S.E.	Wald	Sig.	Odds Ratio (Exp(B)
Age (in years)					
Below 30	0.618	0.015	1721.3242	0.000	1.854
30-39	0.673	0.010	4488.299	0.000	1.961
40-49	0.306	0.010	892.11357	0.000	1.358
50 plus			4845.6184	0.000	
Education					
High School	0.565	0.029	391.82399	0.000	1.759
Some College	0.766	0.010	5483.0472	0.000	2.152
Bachelor's degree	0.680	0.011	3584.6505	0.000	1.973
Post Bachelor's	0.712	0.014	2491.6494	0.000	2.038
Less than H.S.			5904.9865	0.000	
Family Income (CAD)					
<15,000	-1.288	0.018	5117.8888	0.000	0.276
15,000-29,999	-1.043	0.015	4919.710	0.000	0.353
30,000 - 44,999	-0.888	0.013	4606.6956	0.000	0.412
45,000 - 59,999	-0.679	0.013	2903.0313	0.000	0.507
60,000 - 74,999	-0.430	0.012	1188.2129	0.000	0.650
75,000 - 99,999	-0.239	0.012	430.856	0.000	0.787
100,000 & higher			10308.282	0.000	
Asian Ethnicity					
Japanese	0.943	0.020	2181.8138	0.000	2.567
Chinese	-0.829	0.015	3224.4387	0.000	0.437
Filipino	0.149	0.015	93.019	0.000	1.160
Korean	-0.493	0.023	457.114	0.000	0.610
South Asian	-1.021	0.015	4709.3555	0.000	0.360
Southeast Asian			25139.867	0.000	
Provinces					
Atlantic prov. & terr.	1.548	0.030	2587.2015	0.000	4.702
Quebec	0.383	0.015	642.754	0.000	1.466
Prairie Provinces	0.342	0.011	997.271	0.000	1.407
British Columbia	0.134	0.009	221.976	0.000	1.143
Ontario			3635.2563	0.000	
Nativity & Sex					
Native Born Male	1.415	0.016	7518.3054	0.000	4.115
Foreign Born Male	-0.533	0.008	4109.7912	0.000	0.587
Native Born Female	1.614	0.015	10858.297	0.000	5.023
Foreign Born Female			24428.375	0.000	
Constant	-2.216	0.018	15771.059	0.000	0.109
-2 Log likelihood	538310.702				
Nagelkerke R Square	0.210				

[i] The Canadian Census collects data on ethnic origins of its population and allows the reporting of single and multiple origins. The U.S. Census collects data on race and until the 2000 Census, did not permit the reporting of more than one race. Because the multiple origin population in both countries is highly heterogeneous, it is difficult to categorize multiple origins persons as inmarried or intermarried. Small samples also meant that findings for multiple origins persons would be unreliable, particularly for the Canadian data. We therefore decided to confine our analysis to single origin Asians.

[ii] For the U.S. data, we included subfamilies with a married couple in the data set. It is important to include married couples living within subfamilies for the analysis of intermarriage. Although the proportion of married couples that are in subfamilies is not large (about four percent of all married couples in 2000 were in subfamilies), these couples are typically younger and are more likely to be foreign-born. Compared to married couples that are the main household family (or live in households with only one family), married couples in subfamilies are more likely to be intermarried. In 2000, for example, 7.2 percent of all married couples in a main family were intermarried; the comparable figure for married couples in a subfamily was 8.5 percent. Intermarried couples living in subfamilies comprise 4.8 percent of all intermarried families in 2000. If researchers did not search for and include married couples living in subfamilies, subsequent analysis would distort the overall figures for intermarried couples and would exclude a distinctive and important group of married couples.

[iii] This question is used to define "visible minorities", or persons of color, in Canada (see Exhibit 2).

[iv] Canada does not have a poverty line comparable to that used in the United States. Instead, "Low Income Cutoffs", or LICOs, are income thresholds, determined by analysing family expenditure data, where low income families will devote a larger share of income to the necessities of food, shelter and clothing than the average family would. To reflect the differences in the costs of necessities among different community and family sizes, LICOs are defined into five categories of community size and seven categories of family size. For further details, see: dissemination.statcan.ca/Daily/English/040309/d040309c.htm.

[v] The territories were combined with the Atlantic Provinces as the small population in the former mean that trends could not be displayed specifically for the territories.

[vi] In the U.S. data, there are separate categories for Vietnamese and Other Asians (including Southeast Asians and other groups); however, these are not available in the Canadian census. We decided to combine Vietnamese with Other Asians into a Southeast Asian and Other Asian category for the U.S., and use this as the reference category for the U.S. This allowed us to compare the effects of a similar number of specific Asian ethnicities (that is, Japanese, Chinese, Filipino, Korean, and Asian Indian/South Asian) on intermarriage in both data sets.

[vii] Note that this group is heterogeneous and have relatively high intermarriage rates.

[viii] For example, of those in our Canadian Asian population, 41 and 36 percent are Chinese and South Indian, respectively. In the United States Asian population under analysis in this paper, the percentages stand at 25 and 18 percent for the Chinese and Asian Indian populations, respectively.