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Hispanic Intermarriage and Identity:

Trends and Implications for the Latino and U.S. Populations

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Abstract

Rapid growth of the Hispanic population in recent decades has been mainly attributed to immigration and higher fertility. The role of Hispanic intermarriage and Hispanic identification by children of intermarried Hispanics has received less attention. We examined public-use microdata from the 1970, 1980, 1990, and 2000 censuses in a trend analysis of Hispanic intermarriage and reported Hispanic identity of children of intermarried Hispanics. We then applied new findings on rates of Hispanic intermarriage and reported Hispanic identity of children to a projection model of Hispanic population change from 2000 to 2025. Findings from the population projections suggest that Hispanic intermarriage and identification has three important implications for understanding Hispanic and U.S. population change. First, the Hispanic population would be larger when intermarriage and Hispanic identification by children of intermarried Hispanics are considered compared to a baseline model that assumes no intermarriage. Second, failure to consider Hispanic intermarriage and identification may lead to erroneous conclusions about components of Hispanic population growth. Finally, the growth in numbers and proportions of people with partial Hispanic origins will increase scholarly and popular discussions about the meaning of Hispanic ethnicity and identity.

INTRODUCTION

The U.S. Hispanic or Latino population has grown substantially in recent decades.[1] In 1950, less than 3 percent of the U.S. population was of Hispanic origin[2] but by the 2000 census, almost 13 percent identified as Hispanic. The Hispanic population has recently overtaken the African/Black American population as the largest minority population in the U.S., growing by over 60 percent in the 1990s, compared with a 13 percent growth for the total U.S. population (Ramirez, 2004).

Immigration and higher than average fertility are two key factors in the recent growth of the Latino population. In 2000, while about 11 percent of the U.S. population were foreign born, 40 percent of Hispanics were foreign born. There are large variations by specific Hispanic group: for example, almost all Puerto Ricans are native born (given Puerto Rico's status) but 40 percent of Mexicans, 70 percent of Cubans, and 75 percent of Central and South Americans are foreign born. Most foreign born Hispanics are relatively recent arrivals, with almost half entering the U.S. between 1990 and 2000 (Ramirez, 2004). The contribution of higher fertility is indicated by the total fertility rate (TFR): in 2001, TFR was 2.03 for all women and 2.75 for Hispanic women. Again, there are variations across Hispanic groups. Of the main Hispanic groups, Mexican women had the highest TFR at 2.93 while Cubans had the lowest at 1.79 (Hamilton et al., 2003).

Another factor in the growth of the Hispanic population that has been less studied is the role of marriage between Hispanics and non-Hispanics and Hispanic identification by children of intermarried Hispanics. Intermarriage is an important factor in population

[1] According to federal government guidelines, Hispanics (or Latinos) include people of Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, South or Central American, or other Spanish culture or origin, regardless of race.
[2] Historical estimates of the Hispanic population prior to 1970 are from Passel and Edmonston (1994: 43). The 1970 census was the first census to include a separate question on Hispanic origin (see Gibson and Jung , 2002 and Gratton and Gutmann, 2000 for other estimates of the Hispanic population prior to 1970).

change for racial and ethnic populations because the choice of racial and ethnic identification by children of racially or ethnically married parents can affect the relative sizes of different racial and ethnic populations as well as characteristics of the population (Edmonston et al., 2002; Snipp, 1997). The significance of intermarriage lies in the growth of the population with multiple origins. A growing multiple origin population creates a momentum toward further mixing of the population as multiple origin people tend to be less bound by endogamous norms. The current situation of extremely high levels of intermarriage among groups that are collectively categorized as non-Hispanic Whites illustrates this process well (Alba and Nee, 2003; Lieberson and Waters, 1988).

The process of racial and ethnic identity has been shown to be fluid and influenced by many factors, including social context and individual characteristics such as age and education (Eschbach, 1995; Lieberson and Waters, 1993; Passel, 1997; Snipp, 1997). Thus, predicting how multiple origin people would identify racially or ethnically is not simple. However, a growing population of people with multiple origins may encourage identification with multiple groups. In the case of people with partial Hispanic origins, identification as Hispanic may be quite high, given current guidelines on collecting racial and ethnic data that consider race and Hispanic origin (or ethnicity) as distinct, separate, and non-competitive concepts (Office of Management and Budget, 1997). Choosing Hispanic identity does not, therefore, imply the surrendering of other identities, including a particular racial identity.

Hispanic Intermarriage

There has been a remarkable expansion of research on intermarriage in recent years, including research on Hispanic intermarriage (see the reviews by Kalmijn 1998,

1993 and Lee and Bean, 2004, and specific studies of intermarriage by Fu 2001; Lee and Fernandez 1998; Qian 1997). Intermarriage across racial lines is considered a key indicator of ethnic group assimilation because it is associated with decreasing social distance, declining racism and prejudice, and changing racial boundaries. However, federal guidelines on racial/ethnic statistics consider Hispanic origin as ethnic origin distinct from race, and Hispanics can be any race, including white (Office of Management and Budget, 1997). From this perspective, intermarriage between Hispanics and non-Hispanics is different from racial intermarriage, for example, between blacks and non-blacks or Asians and non-Asians, and is more appropriately described as ethnic intermarriage.

Stevens and Tyler (2002) studied intermarriage among Hispanic/Spanish-origin men and women and reported high and fairly stable levels of endogamy (between 80 to 82 percent) for both genders between 1970 and 1990. Several studies focused on intermarriage among Mexican Americans, the largest Hispanic group. A trend analysis using marriage data for a rural county in Texas suggests that even in an area where barriers to intermarriage are high, Mexican American intermarriage has significantly increased since 1970 (Cazares et al., 1984). Schoen et al. (1989) examined marriage and 1970 PUMS data for California to test hypotheses derived from social exchange theory on intermarriage among primarily Mexican-origin Hispanics. Findings generally supported the social exchange theory: women married up educationally while men exchanged educational achievement for non-Mexican and native-born spouses. Nativity was an important factor in whether Mexicans in California were more likely to be exogamous, with higher intermarriage among the native-born. Other researchers also

found that native-born Hispanics and those with higher socioeconomic statuses (measured by education or occupation) were more likely to marry non-Hispanics (Gilbertson et al., 1996; Gurak and Fitzpatrick, 1982; Schoen and Cohen, 1980).

In another study of Mexican American intermarriage, Anderson and Saenz (1994) analyzed 1980 census data. Strong structural effects on the likelihood of intermarriage between Mexican and Anglos were observed, particularly the impact of opportunities for contact. The importance of context was also highlighted in two other studies. Using 1990 census data, Cready and Saenz (1997) reported that, unlike African Americans, Mexican Americans who lived in metropolitan areas were not more likely to intermarry. The differential effects of metropolitan residence may be due to the recency of Mexican American urbanization.

Studies that compared intermarriage rates in several Hispanic groups have been usually limited to areas with sufficient numbers of several Hispanic groups, such as the New York metropolitan area (Gilbertson et al., 1996; Gurak and Fitzpatrick, 1982). Gilbertson et al.'s study was a replication of Gurak and Fitzpatrick's earlier study and examined marriage data in New York City. The researchers found very high intermarriage with non-Hispanics among Cubans, Mexicans, and Central and South Americans, levels that increased in the second generation, while Puerto Ricans and Dominicans showed a distinct pattern of lower intermarriage rates with non-Hispanics but high marriage rates with each other, and little evidence of increased intermarriage with non-Hispanics by generation.

While there is a fairly extensive research literature on Hispanic intermarriage, less is known about how intermarriage may influence Hispanic population growth and

change.[3] We begin by examining Hispanic intermarriage and the reported Hispanic identity of children of intermarried Hispanics over the last three decades. We then apply new findings on rates of Hispanic intermarriage and identification as Hispanic of inter-Hispanic children to a population projection model to 2025 to assess how Hispanic intermarriage and identification may affect future Hispanic population growth and composition.

DATA

We analyzed public-use microdata samples (PUMS) from the U.S. decennial censuses for 1970, 1980, 1990, and 2000 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2003).[4] We address two specific questions: (i) What are the trends and patterns of Hispanic intermarriage in the United States; and (ii) What is the reported Hispanic identification of children 18 years and younger who are living with inter-Hispanic couples? We define Hispanic intermarriage as marriage between a Hispanic individual and a non-Hispanic partner. These couples are also referred to as inter-Hispanic couples. We use the term "inter-Hispanic couples" interchangeably with "intermarried Hispanics". Hispanic identity is based on answers to census questions on Hispanic origin.

The U.S. Census Bureau has a variety of microdata samples available for recent decennial censuses. We used the largest publicly available census data sets to maximize counts of inter-Hispanic couples. For the 1970 census, we used three one-percent samples in order to have an overall three-percent sample of households. For the 1980,

[3] See Edmonston and Passel (1994) and Edmonston et al. (2002) for exceptions.
[4] While census data are appropriate for a trend analysis of Hispanic intermarriage and reported identification, there are well-known disadvantages of using census data in intermarriage research; for example, census data reflect prevalence of intermarriage, not the occurrence or conditions associated with intermarriage.

1990, and 2000 censuses, we used the five-percent public use samples.[5] Publicly available sample files include information for households and all persons in the household. We excluded persons living in group quarters, such as nursing homes, military barracks, prisons, and dormitories. These publicly available microdata do not reveal names, addresses, or identification for small areas because the U.S. Census Bureau, by law, must protect the confidentiality of its data. For each household record, we examined information for all persons in the household, including subfamilies in the households (that is, we include any subfamilies in addition to the main household family).

For all households, we first searched for all married couples, and second, where at least one partner reported Hispanic origin (these we refer to as Hispanic couples). We checked to make sure that the husband and wife both reported themselves as married and that they reported themselves as related to each other as spouses. The married couples in our data files therefore include *all* married couples, and all married couples where at least one partner is Hispanic.[6] Couples were categorized as follows: non-Hispanic (neither partner is Hispanic) or Hispanic (where at least one partner reported Hispanic origin). Hispanic couples were further divided into (i) inmarried Hispanic (both partners report

[5] The 1970 census was the first to include a separate question on Hispanic origin but only a sample was asked about their Hispanic origin. A 15 percent sample was asked if they were "Spanish American" and a separate 5 percent sample was asked to choose whether their origin or descent was Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Central or South American, or other Spanish. In subsequent censuses, everyone was asked whether they were Hispanic/Spanish or not, and if they were, whether they were Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, or other Spanish/Hispanic. See Gibson and Jung (2002) and Guzman (2001) for further details of the 1970 census questions on the Hispanic population.

[6] It is necessary to include married couples living in subfamilies in studying intermarriage. While the proportion of married couples that are in subfamilies is not large (about 4% in 2000), these couples are typically younger and more likely to be foreign-born. Married couples in subfamilies are also more likely to be intermarried. In 2000, for example, 7.2% of all married couples in a main family were intermarried compared with 8.5% of married couples in subfamilies. Excluding married couples in subfamilies would distort the overall figures on intermarried couples and exclude a distinctive and important group of married couples.

Hispanic origin) and (ii) inter-Hispanic (one partner is Hispanic and the other is non-Hispanic). Unweighted samples of couples are as follows:

Year	All Couples	Non-Hispanic	Inmarried Hispanic	Inter-Hispanic
1970	400,113	331,576	49,816	18,721
1980	437,196	333,384	53,946	49,866
1990	518,999	386,732	68,309	63,958
2000	690,923	477,348	112,585	100,990

For the study of reported Hispanic identity of children in inter-Hispanic families, we limit analysis to children 18 and younger who were reported as living in the same household as the inter-Hispanic couple.[7] Unweighted samples of children are as follows: 24,366 (1970); 60,535 (1980); 71,102 (1990); and 102,916 (2000). Applying appropriate weights make the samples and results representative of the total populations.

FINDINGS

Overall Trends

- Figure 1 About Here -

In 1970, a little over 1 percent of all married couples were inter-Hispanic. Inter-Hispanic couples as a proportion of all married couples increased to about 2 percent in 1980, over 2 percent in 1990 and over 3 percent in 2000 (see Figure 1). This gradual trend of increase reflects both the growth of the Hispanic population as well as increases in Hispanic intermarriage.

[7] Not all children living with an inter-Hispanic couple are natural sons and daughters of the couple. In 2000, for example, about 93 percent of children living with a married couple where both partners were Hispanic were natural sons and daughters of the couple, compared with 88 percent for children living with a married inter-Hispanic couple.

When we limit comparisons to Hispanic couples only, we found that intermarriage has been fairly stable over the thirty-year period, fluctuating around the 25 percent level (see Figure 1). In 1970, 23 percent of Hispanic couples were inter-Hispanic; this increased slightly to 25 percent in 1980, to 26 percent in 1990, and was 25 percent in 2000. The general trend is positive, however. Overall trends shown in Figure 1 are affected by the changing age and nativity composition of the Hispanic population as well as changes in other factors influencing Hispanic intermarriage.

Differences by Hispanic Origin Groups and Gender

The Hispanic population is diverse along many dimensions, including national origins. In the 2000 census, about 60 percent of Hispanics report Mexican origin. The second largest group was the "Other Hispanics" category, at 16 percent. Other large Hispanic groups include Puerto Ricans (10 percent), Cubans (4 percent), Central Americans, a category that includes several groups such as Costa Ricans and Nicaraguans (5 percent), and South Americans, another category that includes several national origin groups, at 4 percent (Ramirez, 2004). The 1970, 1980, and 1990 censuses did not collect as detailed information on specific Hispanic origin, so we are limited to comparing the main groups -- Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Cubans, and "Other Hispanics" – in the trend analysis. Given different histories of settlement in the U.S. (for example, Puerto Ricans are U.S. citizens by virtue of Puerto Rico's status as a U.S. territory while other Hispanics are immigrants or descended from immigrants, and Cubans are refugees-turned-immigrants whose entry into the U.S. differ from that of most other Hispanic

immigrant groups) and socioeconomic status, a comparison of inter-Hispanic marriage across groups may be informative.[8]

- Table 1 About Here -

For all Hispanics, intermarriage increased gradually from 1970 to 1990 before decreasing in 2000: about 13 percent of married Hispanic men and women in 1970 were intermarried; this increased to 15 percent in 1980 and 1990, but decreased to 14 percent in 2000. Hispanic women have become slightly more likely to be intermarried: in 1970, Hispanic men and women were equally likely to be intermarried (at about 13 percent), while in 2000, over 15 percent of married Hispanic women were intermarried compared with 13 percent of Hispanic men.

Comparisons by specific Hispanic group show that in 1970, only the residual category of "other Hispanics" had intermarriage rates that were above the overall Hispanic intermarriage rate (20 percent compared with 13 percent). Intermarriage rates for the other three groups – Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans – were about 10 percent or lower, with Cubans' intermarriage rate being the lowest at 8 percent. Mexicans' intermarriage rates increased between 1970 and 1990, reaching a peak of 14 percent in 1990, but declined to 12 percent in 2000. Intermarriage among "other Hispanics" increased between 1970 and 1980, but decreased from a peak of 25 percent in 1990 to 17 percent in 2000. Intermarriage rates among Puerto Ricans and Cubans increased throughout the thirty year period. The increase was particularly large among Puerto Ricans: in 1970, 10 percent of Puerto Ricans were intermarried while in 2000, Puerto Ricans had the highest intermarriage rate at 21 percent. Declines in intermarriage

[8] In the comparisons of Hispanic intermarriage rates across specific Hispanic group, the unit of analysis is the individual, that is, married Hispanic men and women.

among Mexicans and "other Hispanics" counterbalanced by increased intermarriage among Puerto Ricans and Cubans produced the 1 percent decrease in percent intermarried among Hispanic men and women shown in the table.

Women of "other Hispanic" origins have become more likely to intermarry. In 1970, men and women in this category were equally likely to be intermarried (about 20 percent) but in 2000, 19 percent of women were intermarried compared with 15 percent of men. For the other Hispanic groups, gender differences in intermarriage have always been absent or fairly small. For example, in 2000, 12 percent of Cuban men were intermarried compared with 13 percent of Cuban women. Thus, the trend of increased intermarriage among Hispanic women described above is mainly due to higher intermarriage rates among women of "other Hispanic" origins compared with men in this category.

Differences across Hispanic groups raise interesting questions about potentially uneven marital integration or assimilation of different Hispanic groups. That Puerto Ricans would have the highest intermarriage rates by 2000 is not surprising, given that Puerto Ricans are mostly native born (given Puerto Rico's political status). Between 1970 and 2000, Cubans' intermarriage rate had increased by 50 percent (from 8 to 12 percent) while Mexicans' intermarriage rate increased by 20 percent (from 10 to 12 percent), suggesting that Cubans' rate of marital assimilation into the non-Hispanic population has been faster. In addition, intermarriage among Mexican men and women had increased from 1970 to 1990 but decreased between 1990 and 2000, reversing the trend of increased intermarriage.

In the following section, we examine characteristics of intermarried Hispanic men and women. We limit the examination to Hispanics as a whole to facilitate the trend analysis and comparisons.[9]

Age

- Figures 2 and 3 About Here -

We compare intermarriage by age for Hispanic husbands and wives, as shown in Figures 2 and 3, respectively. In 1970, the proportion intermarried among men declined with age except for men aged 60 and older; among women, age had a linear negative relationship with intermarriage. The age gradient is observed for both husbands and wives from 1980 on. The negative relationship between age and intermarriage was particularly clear in 1980. In 1990 and 2000, we still observe the negative relationship between age and intermarriage for both men and women (except for the younger than thirty group). Age differences probably reflect cohort differences in acceptability of intermarriage, changing nativity patterns by age, as well as secular trends of increased intermarriage in general.

Education

- Figures 4 and 5 About Here -

Education is generally positively associated with intermarriage (see Figures 4 and 5). Among Hispanic men and women, the proportion intermarried increased with education, a pattern that was very clear in 1970. The 1980 comparisons are somewhat anomalous for those with some college education but in 1990 and 2000, intermarriage

[9] Since this paper's main objective is to obtain new findings on Hispanic intermarriage and identification of children of intermarried couples to Hispanic population projections, we do not compare specific Hispanic groups in the following analyses. However, given differences in intermarriage rates by Hispanic group, such comparisons are certainly needed to produce more detailed information on intermarried Hispanics across Hispanic groups.

displays the expected pattern and increases with education. For example, in 2000, only 5 percent of Hispanic men and women with less than a high school education were married to non-Hispanic partners, compared with about 15 to 17 percent of high school graduates, 23 percent of men and 27 percent of women with some college education, and 28 percent of men and 35 percent of women with a college degree or higher education. Intermarriage proportions were greater among Hispanic women with some college or more, suggesting that education's relationship to intermarriage is stronger for Hispanic women.

Nativity

- Figure 6 About Here -

Nativity differentials in inter-Hispanic marriage are substantial and have widened over time (see Figure 6). In 1970, about 18 percent of native-born Hispanic men and women were intermarried, compared with about 4 percent of foreign-born men and women. In 1980, about 20 percent of native-born Hispanic men were intermarried compared with 7 percent of foreign born men, and twice the proportions of native born Hispanic women were intermarried compared with foreign born women (19 percent versus 10 percent).

Intermarriage among native-born Hispanics increased further from 1980 on, widening the gap with foreign-born Hispanics: in 1990, about 22-23 percent of native-born Hispanic men and women were intermarried, compared with 7 percent of foreign born men and 9 percent of foreign born women. In 2000, the proportions intermarried among native born men and women were around 25 percent, while among foreign born men and women, the proportions declined from 1990 to 6 percent among men and 8

percent among women. Thus, over time, increased proportions of native born Hispanic men and women were intermarried while proportions intermarried declined among the foreign born. Thus, nativity continues to be a major factor in Hispanic intermarriage, consistent with earlier studies (Gilbertson et al., 1996).

Reported Hispanic Origin of Inter-Hispanic Children

Descriptive analyses of Hispanic intermarriage trends and patterns suggest that a significant proportion of Hispanic couples, about one-fourth, are intermarried. Inter-Hispanic couples tend to be native-born, younger, and more educated. By 2000, slightly more inter-Hispanic couples consisted of a Hispanic woman married to a non-Hispanic husband. These trends raise important questions about the role of inter-Hispanic family formation on the growth and composition of the Hispanic population, specifically, what proportion of children of inter-Hispanic couples are reported or identified as Hispanic. [10]

- Figure 7 About Here -

In 1970, about 43 percent of children in inter-Hispanic families were reported as Hispanic (see Figure 7). The proportion of children in inter-Hispanic families identifying as Hispanic increased to about 66 percent in 1980, and has fluctuated around the 62 to 63 percent level since then. Given the rapid growth of the Hispanic population over the thirty year period, it is not surprising that the number of inter-Hispanic children who were reported as Hispanic has also grown, from less than 400,000 in 1970 to almost 1.4 million in 2000. We further examined characteristics of inter-Hispanic children who were reported as Hispanic with 2000 data.

[10] Census data on children's reported Hispanic identity do not inform us whether: i) the child chose the identity himself or herself; ii) the person who filled out the census form chose the identity; or c) the choice was based on discussion between the child and the person who filled out the form.

We first compared sons and daughters of inter-Hispanic parents by gender and Hispanic origin of parents, as shown in Table 2.

- Table 2 About Here -

Overall, 63 percent of children of inter-Hispanic parents were reported as Hispanic in 2000, and sons and daughters were equally likely to be reported as Hispanic. However, when we compared sons and daughters' reported Hispanic identity with the Hispanic parent's gender, we note that the highest rate of reported Hispanic identity was for inter-Hispanic children whose fathers were Hispanic, at 67 percent (there was no difference by child's gender). For inter-Hispanic children with Hispanic mothers, 61 percent of daughters and 58 percent of sons were reported as Hispanic. Thus children of Hispanic fathers were more likely to be reported as Hispanic, regardless of child's gender, while daughters of Hispanic mothers were slightly more likely to be reported as Hispanic compared to sons. Inter-Hispanic sons with non-Hispanic fathers were least likely to be reported as Hispanic (although even for this group, close to 60 percent were reported as Hispanic origin).

- Table 3 About Here -

We were uncertain whether parental education would show differences in the likelihood of children being reported as Hispanic. On one hand, assimilation theories suggest education is a positive factor in ethnic minorities' assimilation, and therefore lower maintenance of ethnic identity. On the other hand, better educated ethnic minorities may be more secure in asserting their ethnicity, and may also be more knowledgeable of potential advantages associated with identifying as Hispanic. As shown in Table 3, there is an overall decreasing trend of reported Hispanic identity for

inter-Hispanic children as parental education increased. For example, about two-thirds of inter-Hispanic children with mothers and fathers who had less than high school education were reported as Hispanic. This decreased to about 60 percent for children whose parents had more than a Bachelor's degree.

Table 3 also shows inter-Hispanic children's reported Hispanic identity by parental nativity. Surprisingly, inter-Hispanic children of U.S.-born parents were more likely to be reported as Hispanic – about 65 percent, regardless of whether it was the mother or father who was U.S.-born. Among children with foreign-born parents, those with foreign-born fathers were more likely to be reported as Hispanic, particularly among children whose Hispanic fathers were not naturalized U.S. citizens. For these children, about 64 percent were reported as Hispanic. Children whose Hispanic mothers were foreign-born and had become naturalized U.S. citizens were least likely to be reported as Hispanic (53 percent).

Next, we looked at whether there were regional differences in reported Hispanic identity of children (see Table 4). Children living in the western region of the country were most likely to be reported as Hispanic (68 percent), followed by children in the Midwest (66 percent). Inter-Hispanic children in the northeast were least likely to be reported as Hispanic, at 56 percent.

- Table 4 About Here -

Hispanic Intermarriage and Potential Effects on Population Change

Descriptive results indicate that the majority of children of partial Hispanic origin were reported as Hispanic in the 2000 census. Between 50 to almost 70 percent of inter-Hispanic children were reported as Hispanic, depending on parental educational level,

gender and Hispanic origin of children and parents, nativity of parents, and region of residence. Combined with relatively high Hispanic intermarriage rates, these trends represent potentially important factors in the growth of the Hispanic population through natural increase.

- Table 5 About Here -

In recent decades, natural increase has played a growing role in Hispanic population growth, from 20 percent of Hispanic population growth during the 1970s to one-third in the 1980s, and almost 50 percent during the 1990s (see Table 5). The contribution of natural increase includes the impact of Hispanic intermarriages and identification of children of inter-Hispanic couples as Hispanic. However, it is difficult to retroactively unpack the relative contributions of inter-Hispanic marriage and Hispanic identification of children born to inter-Hispanic couples because we do not have accurate births and deaths data by inter-Hispanic marriage status. Instead, we apply our new findings based on 2000 census data on Hispanic intermarriage rates and reported Hispanic identity of children of inter-Hispanic couples to a population projection model to project the Hispanic population to 2025 and discuss the relative contributions of these two processes on future Hispanic population growth.

Population Projections of Hispanic Population to 2025

We use a simulation approach for illustrating the potential effects of Hispanic intermarriage and the reported Hispanic identification of descendants on population changes. Most population projections are conducted for prospective analysis in order to examine the implications of plausible and credible demographic assumptions and to provide projections for planning or social policy discussions. In this paper, we use

population projections from a simulation perspective. The simulations are designed to generate results on the future changes in the Hispanic population for 2000 to 2025 implied in an assumed time path for fertility, mortality, international migration, Hispanic intermarriage, and reported Hispanic self-identification. We select demographic parameters consistent with current observed levels for a specific heuristic purpose: to examine the demographic consequences that flow from the assumed conditions. Given the consistency with observed current conditions, the projections have a useful prospective character for the next five or ten years. We do not argue, however, that these population projections are based on plausible assumptions for the next twenty-five years, the period for which we report results.

The population projection reported includes two features that have been used in earlier work (described most recently in Edmonston et al., 2002). First, it explicitly considers the role of immigrant generation by describing the population in terms of first-generation immigrants, the second-generation (sons and daughters of immigrants), and members of the third and higher generations. Second, it does not assume that all members of a population group, considered as the Hispanic-origin population, will have descendants who inherit and retain ethnic membership in the group. The population projection model varies group membership by assuming inter-Hispanic marriage and subsequent multiple ethnic membership with possible self-identification as Hispanic-origin.

Projection Assumptions

The base population was defined for April 1, 2000, the date of the 2000 U.S. Census of Population. The 2000 population projection starts with the age-sex

composition for the Hispanic population, for foreign and native-born. Because we need data for the base population for the first, second, and third generations, we use data from the March supplement of 1999, 2000, and 2001 Current Population Surveys to provide age-sex distributions by immigrant generations. We adjust the reports for the second and third-plus generations, by age and sex, to equal the population counts for the native-born in the 2000 census. We rely on the 2000 decennial census for population counts, by age and sex, for the foreign-born.

- Table 6 About Here -

Table 6 presents information for the demographic assumptions for the population projection. National fertility estimates for 2000 (Hamilton et al., 2003) report an estimated total fertility rate (TFR) of 2.7 for the Hispanic population. We estimate levels for the first, second, and third-plus generations based on our earlier work (Edmonston et al., 2002). We also assume decreases in the TFR for the first and second generations that are consistent with the overall TFR declines assumed in U.S. Census Bureau population projections (Hollman et al., 2000). We assume improvements in life expectancy at birth, for males and females, which are similar to those assumed for Hispanics in U.S. Census Bureau projections. Life expectancy at birth is assumed to be the same for the first, second, and third-plus generations. Immigration and emigration levels for the Hispanic population are similar to the overall levels of international migration for Hispanics in U.S. Census Bureau population projections. We assume that the levels of immigration and emigration produce a substantial net immigration for the first generation, a modest emigration for the second generation, and zero net immigration for the third-plus generation. Finally, Hispanic intermarriage rates, by generation and by age of women,

are derived from our analysis of 2000 decennial census data.[11] Overall, we assume about five percent intermarriage among immigrants (first generation), 19 percent for the second generation, and 32 percent for the third-plus generation.

Projection Results

- Table 7 About Here -

The Hispanic-origin population was over 35 million in 2000. Given the demographic assumptions described above and no Hispanic intermarriage, the Hispanic population increases to 67.3 million in 2025 (see panel A, Table 7). The 32.0 million increase in the Hispanic population is fairly evenly distributed by immigrant generation: the first generation grows by 10.1 million, the second generation increases by 11.4 million, and the third-plus generation gains 10.4 million.

If Hispanic intermarriages are taken into account, we need to make assumptions about the proportion of offspring who might report Hispanic-origin. If 50 percent were to report or identify as Hispanic, then the population projection would yield the same results as those assuming no Hispanic intermarriage. If the proportion was less than 50 percent, then the population would increase more slowly than under the no Hispanic intermarriage assumption. We found that about 63 percent of children of inter-Hispanic couples were reported as Hispanic. Panel B in Table 7 reports the population changes associated with

[11] We estimated the percent inter-Hispanic marriage by age for the second and third-plus generations based on the percent inter-Hispanic marriage by age for native-born Hispanics (from our analysis of 2000 census data) and Current Population Survey (CPS) data on the generational composition of the native-born population. We assumed a linear fit to the percent intermarried by age, between the foreign-born and native-born, and then interpolated the estimate for the second and third-plus generations. For example, if CPS data showed equal proportions of second and third-plus generation Hispanic residents, we assumed that the native-born population was centered at 2.5 generations. We fit a straight line between the foreign-born inter-Hispanic marriage rate (centered at 1.0 generation) and the same rate for the native-born population (centered at 2.5 generations in this hypothetical example). We then interpolated the rate for 2.0 (the second generation) and for 3.0 (third-plus generation). This simple approximation helps to adjust for generational differences in the native-born Hispanic population by age and includes an approximation for generational differences in Hispanic intermarriage.

an assumption that there is Hispanic intermarriage and that 63 percent of the descendants identify as Hispanic-origin.

There are several noteworthy findings. The first generation has the same population growth as under the "no Hispanic intermarriage" assumption because the first generation is purely the product of net immigration and mortality. Children born to the first generation are second-generation residents. The second-generation grows more rapidly than the second generation in the no Hispanic intermarriage model. By 2025, the second-generation is more than 200,000 larger (see Panel D), or 1 percent (see Panel F) than in the no intermarriage model. The third-plus generation grows much more rapidly than in the no intermarriage model. This occurs because Hispanic intermarriages are more common among the second and third-plus generation. Also, in the long-term, as more descendants self-identify as Hispanic, they have children as well and multiply the eventual effects. Overall, the Hispanic population projection – assuming Hispanic intermarriage and self-identification levels of descendants of intermarried Hispanics similar to findings based on 2000 decennial census data – for 2025 is almost one million persons larger than under an assumption of zero Hispanic intermarriage.

We can illustrate longer-term effects of inter-Hispanic marriage in an additional way. Suppose all descendants of Hispanic intermarriages report or identify as Hispanic. This demonstrates the potential upper bound of descendants, even if not all actually self-identify as Hispanics. It indicates the potential number of persons who have some Hispanic-origin. Panel E of Table 7 shows that there is considerable future growth under these assumptions.

As before, the growth of the first generation is the same as under the no Hispanic intermarriage assumptions because the foreign-born are not affected by inter-Hispanic marriage assumptions. In 2025, the second generation is 1.7 million greater (see Panel E), or 8 percent (see Panel G) than under the no Hispanic intermarriage assumptions. We can calculate the total number of offspring easily because it is twice the difference between Panel C and Panel A. In other words, there is a projected 3.4 million offspring of inter-Hispanic couples (one partner is a Hispanic-origin immigrant). Based on Panel B, 1.9 million (1.7 million plus 0.2 million) are reported or identified as Hispanic-origin if we assume that 63 percent would choose to do so. This means that 1.5 million persons in the second-generation have one Hispanic-origin parent but would not self-identify as Hispanic if the identification level is 63 percent. The third generation is 4.2 million greater, or 19 percent, than under the no inter-Hispanic marriage assumptions. Following similar calculations as above, we estimate that there are 8.3 million persons in the third plus generation in 2025 who have one Hispanic-origin parent, that about 5 million report or identify as Hispanic under the 63 percent assumption, and that 3.3 million do not report or identify as Hispanic.

Components of Hispanic Population Change

The processes of Hispanic intermarriage and Hispanic identification by children of inter-Hispanic parents complicate the analysis of the components of population change. This is a complexity that has been examined most extensively for the population dynamics of the American Indian population (Passel, 1996; Snipp, 1997). The process of inter-ethnic marriage and changing levels of ethnic self-identification means that fertility, mortality, and migration assumptions provide an inadequate and inaccurate accounting of

demographic changes. If there are high rates of inter-ethnic marriage for ethnic group X and if a high proportion of the offspring of inter-ethnic couples identify with group X, then population X grows more rapidly than expected, given fertility, mortality, and migration assumptions. In this case, if the analyst did not make appropriate assumptions about inter-ethnic marriage and ethnic self-identification, it might be mistakenly assumed that either fertility or international migration was greater than assumed.

- Table 8 About Here -

We illustrate the effects of assumptions about Hispanic intermarriage and self-identification as Hispanic using results from the previous population projection simulation (see Table 8). Table 8 reports the total population size for 2000 to 2025, assuming (a) no Hispanic intermarriage, (b) Hispanic intermarriage and 63 percent self-identification as Hispanic among offspring of inter-Hispanic unions, and (c) Hispanic intermarriage and 100 percent self-identification as Hispanic among offspring of inter-Hispanic unions. The second panel of Table 8 notes the population changes, for five-year periods, for each of the three assumptions. The third panel shows the difference between the second and third assumptions, relative to the assumption of no Hispanic intermarriage.

What does each of these three assumptions imply for the components of population change? First, the assumptions of net immigration (shown in the fourth panel) are the same for each of the three models. But, the levels of natural increase – calculated as total population change minus net immigration – differ for the three models. Under the assumption of no Hispanic intermarriage, the Hispanic population would be observed

to experience a natural increase of 22.2 million between 2000 and 2025, or that 69 percent of total population increase is due to natural increase.

Under the assumption of Hispanic intermarriage and 63 percent of offspring of inter-Hispanic unions self-identifying as Hispanic, the Hispanic population in 2025 would be observed to be 23.2 million, or about one million more than under the no intermarriage assumption. Under this assumption, 70 percent of the overall 2000-2025 population change would be due to natural increase. If a demographic analyst were unaware that there were Hispanic intermarriages and that 63 percent of offspring were self-identified as Hispanic, these "extra" one million persons would present a puzzle. They might incorrectly be assigned to "higher fertility" or "greater net immigration", for example.

Under the assumption of Hispanic intermarriage and 100 percent of offspring of inter-Hispanic unions self-identifying as Hispanic, natural increase between 2000 and 2025 would be observed to be 28.1 million, or about 6.6 million more than under the no Hispanic intermarriage assumption. Under this assumption, 74 percent of overall 2000-2025 population change would be due to natural increase.

Inter-ethnic marriages and the varying proportions of the offspring of those unions who self-identify with a particular ethnic background have noticeable effects on population change. We have illustrated their effects here for the Hispanic-origin population, but we emphasize that these are processes of broader importance for any racial or ethnic group characterized by substantial levels of intermarriage.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In recent years, the Hispanic population has been the fastest growing population and is the largest minority group. The relatively high intermarriage rate and rate of reported identification as Hispanic by children of intermarried Hispanics has important implications for thinking about future growth of the Hispanic population and its characteristics. Since younger, better-educated, and native-born Hispanics are more likely to marry non-Hispanics, we can expect the rates of Hispanic intermarriage to increase further as the Latino population makes educational advances and a larger proportion of the Latino population are U.S.-born.

This research was motivated by the scarcity of information on the potential effects of Hispanic intermarriage and identification of children of intermarried Hispanics on Hispanic population growth and change. Our analysis of Hispanic intermarriage and identification of children of intermarried Hispanics found a fairly stable and relatively high level of intermarriage over the last thirty years. Given historically low levels of intermarriage between whites (the dominant European-descended U.S. population) and other groups, the Hispanic intermarriage rate of about one-fourth can be considered relatively high. We also found that large proportions of children of intermarried Hispanics are reported as Hispanic. In recent years, close to two-thirds of inter-Hispanic children are reported as Hispanic.

When we applied the new findings on rates of Hispanic intermarriage and reported identification of children of intermarried Hispanics to a Hispanic population projection model for 2000 to 2025, we observed that Hispanic intermarriage and identification rates have noticeable effects on Hispanic population growth. Intermarriage increases the size of the Hispanic population through the addition of people who have one

Hispanic parent and who choose to identify as Hispanic. If the effects of intermarriage and identification are not considered in analysis of components of Hispanic population change, the additional population may be incorrectly attributed to higher fertility by Hispanics (assuming that all Hispanics are endogamous) or to higher net immigration that was missed in immigration estimates. It is therefore important that Hispanic intermarriage and identification be considered in order to correctly understand Hispanic population growth and implications for the U.S. population.

While the population projections have produced new insights on Hispanic population growth and components of population change, we should note that the results are limited in at least two ways. First, we do not have data on fertility of intermarried Hispanic women versus endogamous Hispanic women. Depending on relative fertility of the two groups, the contributions of Hispanic intermarriage to population change would differ. Second, in the analysis of reported Hispanic identity of children of intermarried Hispanics, we only examined children 18 and younger who lived with their parents. We do not know if older inter-Hispanic children are more or less likely to identify as Hispanic.

Hispanic intermarriage and identification also affects the Hispanic population in other ways. Since native-born, better-educated Hispanics are more likely to intermarry, intermarriage is expected to contribute to deeper socioeconomic inequality between Hispanic groups. In addition, our examination of intermarriage rates across Hispanic groups shows that there are differences between the largest Hispanic group, Mexicans, and other Hispanic populations. Given the significance of intermarriage as an indicator of reduced social distance and prejudice towards minority populations, further research

comparing different Hispanic groups is needed. Finally, while not large, a non-trivial proportion of Hispanics are part-Hispanics. Almost all of the part-Hispanic population is white non-Hispanic/ Hispanic. As the part-Hispanic population grows absolutely and proportionately, the meaning of Hispanic ethnicity and identity is likely to become increasingly complex and fluid. Being Hispanic appears to have become an "ethnic option", a choice that was previously available only to White ethnics (Waters, 1990). Discussions about Hispanic ethnicity and identity will undoubtedly be further complicated by debates over affirmative action and protection of minorities. Trends in Hispanic intermarriage and identification will therefore have important consequences on the future size and characteristics of the Hispanic population and what it means to be Latino/Hispanic. As the numbers and proportions of people with partial Hispanic origins grow, so will discussions about the meaning of Hispanic ethnicity and identity, with important implications for racial and ethnic diversity in the United States.

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Table 1: Percent Intermarried, Hispanic Husbands and Wives, by Hispanic Group: 1970, 1980, 1990, and 2000

Year	Hispanic Group	Husbands	Wives	Both
1970	All Hispanics	12.6	13.0	12.8
	Mexican	9.6	10.5	10.0
	Puerto Rican	10.5	9.1	9.8
	Cuban	8.0	7.8	7.9
	Other Hispanic*	19.7	20.3	20.0
	N in Inter-Hispanic Marriages	288,866	298,934	587,800
1980	All Hispanics	14.2	15.0	14.6
	Mexican	11.6	11.7	11.6
	Puerto Rican	14.1	13.7	13.9
	Cuban	8.2	8.2	8.2
	Other Hispanic*	23.7	27.0	25.4
	N in Inter-Hispanic Marriages	448,200	478,540	926,740
1990	All Hispanics	14.4	15.8	15.1
	Mexican	13.3	14.2	13.8
	Puerto Rican	18.7	18.0	18.3
	Cuban	11.3	12.0	11.6
	Other Hispanic*	16.9	21.2	19.0
	N in Inter-Hispanic Marriages	578,440	645,116	1,223,556
2000	All Hispanics	13.1	15.1	14.1
	Mexican	11.2	12.4	11.8
	Puerto Rican	20.5	21.5	21.0
	Cuban	11.8	12.8	12.2
	Other Hispanic*	15.1	19.4	17.3
	N in Inter-Hispanic Marriages	842,204	998,862	1,841,066

* Other Hispanics are a heterogeneous group, and includes South and Central Americans such as Costa Ricans, Salvadorans, and Peruvians.

Source:
Authors' analysis of 1970, 1980, 1990, and 2000 PUMS.

Table 2: Percent Inter-Hispanic Children Reported as Hispanic, 2000

	All Children	Daughters	Sons
Hispanic Mother	59.4	61.4	58.4
Hispanic Father	66.9	66.5	67.3
Total (%)	62.9	63.3	62.6
(N)	1,322,169	648,219	673,950

Table 3: Percent Inter-Hispanic Children Reported as Hispanic by Parental Education & Nativity, 2000

	Mother		Father	
	Percent	N	Percent	N
Education				
< High School	64.6	172,336	66.6	197,314
High School Grad.	63.8	354,561	63.3	323,115
Some College	63.3	518,378	63.9	482,349
Bachelor's Degree	60.5	195,122	60.5	203,003
Post-Bachelor's	60.3	81,772	56.9	116,388
Nativity				
US-Born	64.8	1,105,186	63.7	1,089,210
Foreign-Born	55.1	216,983	59.5	232,959
Naturalized	52.5	110,714	55.5	111,575
Not US Citizen	58.1	106,269	63.8	121,384

Table 4: Percent Inter-Hispanic Children Reported as Hispanic by Region, 2000

Region	Percent	N
Northeast	56.4	155,940
Midwest	66.3	188,344
South	58.0	378,449
West	67.6	599,436
Total	63.0	1,322,169

Table 5: Components of Growth of Hispanic Population, 1970 to 2000

Year	Hispanic Population (000's)	Population Change from Prior Decade (000's)	Net Immigration from Prior Decade (000's)	% Increase due to Net Immigration	Natural Increase from Prior Decade (000's)	% Increase due to Natural Increase
2000	35,306*	12,952	6,990	54.0	5,962	46.0
1990	22,354**	7,750	5,525***	67.0	2,525	33.0
1980	14,604**	4,988	4,013***	80.0	975	20.0
1970	9,616**	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.

Source:
* Guzman (2001)
** Passel and Edmonston, 1994: Table 2.3
*** Passel and Edmonston, 1994: Table 2.4

Table 6. Demographic Assumptions for Population Projection of Hispanic-Origin Population, 2000 to 2025

	Immigration Generation		
	1st Generation	**2nd Generation**	**3rd+ Generation**
Year	*Total Fertility Rate*		
2000	3.17	2.70	2.04
2005	3.15	2.68	2.04
2010	3.13	2.66	2.04
2015	3.11	2.64	2.05
2020	3.09	2.61	2.05
2025	3.07	2.59	2.05
Year	*Life Expectancy at Birth, Females*		
2000	83.6	83.6	83.6
2005	84.3	84.3	84.3
2010	84.9	84.9	84.9
2015	85.5	85.5	85.5
2020	86.1	86.1	86.1
2025	86.6	86.6	86.6
Year	*Life Expectancy at Birth, Males*		
2000	77.2	77.2	77.2
2005	78.0	78.0	78.0
2010	78.8	78.8	78.8
2015	79.5	79.5	79.5
2020	80.2	80.2	80.2
2025	80.9	80.9	80.9
Year	*Annual Volume of Net Immigration*		
2000	530,000	-62,000	0
2005	491,633	-62,000	0
2010	456,043	-62,000	0
2015	423,030	-62,000	0
2020	392,407	-62,000	0
2025	364,000	-62,000	0
Age	*Hispanic Intermarriage Rates (in percents)*		
15-19	2.6	10.8	19.0
20-24	3.5	15.2	27.0
25-29	5.8	19.5	33.3
30-34	6.2	22.2	38.2
35-39	7.1	22.6	38.0
40-44	7.5	21.6	35.8
Mean (all ages)	5.5	18.7	31.9

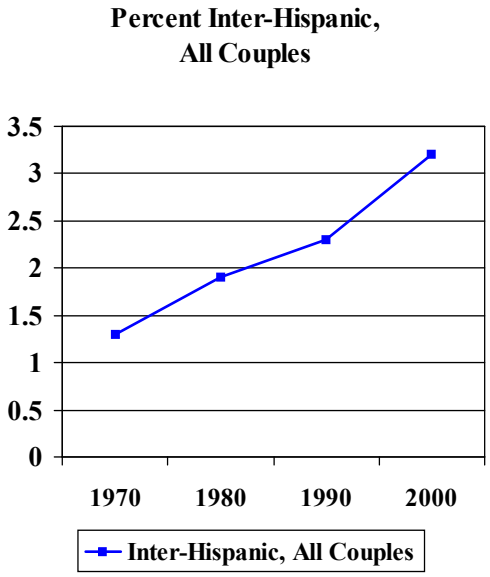
Table 7. Population Projections for Hispanic Population Under Different Assumptions of Hispanic Intermarriage and Hispanic Self-Identification of Descendants of Inter-Hispanic Marriages, 2000 to 2025

		Immigrant Generation		
	Total	1st	2nd	3rd+
A. No Hispanic Intermarriage (Baseline Assumptions)				
2000	35,305,818	14,157,817	10,002,653	11,145,348
2005	41,504,901	16,733,226	12,185,568	12,586,107
2010	47,904,881	19,045,455	14,565,199	14,294,227
2015	54,370,192	21,089,645	16,951,705	16,328,843
2020	60,834,299	22,860,563	19,238,429	18,735,307
2025	67,286,537	24,348,219	21,392,402	21,545,916
B. Hispanic Intermarriage and Identification = 0.63				
2000	35,305,818	14,157,817	10,002,653	11,145,348
2005	41,651,894	16,733,226	12,223,348	12,695,320
2010	48,219,096	19,045,455	14,644,373	14,529,268
2015	54,872,400	21,089,645	17,072,965	16,709,790
2020	61,550,045	22,860,563	19,400,666	19,288,815
2025	68,254,341	24,348,219	21,593,997	22,312,125
C. Hispanic Intermarriage and Identification = 1.00				
2000	35,305,818	14,157,817	10,002,653	11,145,348
2005	42,205,927	16,733,226	12,342,984	13,129,718
2010	49,630,382	19,045,455	15,100,526	15,484,401
2015	57,264,067	21,089,645	17,880,870	18,293,553
2020	65,076,092	22,860,563	20,562,033	21,653,496
2025	73,167,266	24,348,219	23,105,989	25,713,057
D. Population in Panel B - Population in Panel A.				
2000	0	0	0	0
2005	146,993	0	37,780	109,213
2010	314,215	0	79,174	235,041
2015	502,208	0	121,260	380,948
2020	715,746	0	162,238	553,509
2025	967,804	0	201,595	766,209
E. Population in Panel C - Population in Panel A.				
2000	0	0	0	0
2005	701,026	0	157,416	543,610
2010	1,725,500	0	535,327	1,190,173
2015	2,893,875	0	929,165	1,964,710
2020	4,241,793	0	1,323,604	2,918,189
2025	5,880,729	0	1,713,588	4,167,141
F. Population in Panel D/Population in Panel A				
2000	0%	0%	0%	0%
2005	0%	0%	0%	1%
2010	1%	0%	1%	2%
2015	1%	0%	1%	2%
2020	1%	0%	1%	3%
2025	1%	0%	1%	4%
G. Population in Panel E/Population in Panel A				
2000	0%	0%	0%	0%
2005	2%	0%	1%	4%
2010	4%	0%	4%	8%
2015	5%	0%	5%	12%
2020	7%	0%	7%	16%
2025	9%	0%	8%	19%

Table 8. Population Projections of Hispanic Population with Assumptions about Hispanic Intermarriages and Hispanic Self-Identification of Offspring of Inter-Hispanic Marriages, 2000 to 2025

Year	No Intermarraige	Intermarriage and Identity = 0.63	Intermarriage and Identity = 1.00
		Population (in 1000s)	
2000	35,305	35,305	35,305
2005	41,505	41,652	42,206
2010	47,905	48,219	49,630
2015	54,370	54,872	57,264
2020	60,834	61,550	65,076
2025	67,286	68,254	73,167
		Population Change (in 1000s)	
2000-05	6,200	6,347	6,901
2005-10	6,400	6,567	7,424
2010-15	6,465	6,653	7,634
2015-20	6,464	6,678	7,812
2020-25	6,452	6,704	8,091
2000-2025	31,981	32,949	37,862
		Excess Population Change (in 1000s) Relative to Population Change for No Intermarriage Assumption	
2000-05	0	147	701
2005-10	0	167	1,024
2010-15	0	188	1,169
2015-20	0	214	1,348
2020-25	0	252	1,639
2000-2025	0	968	5,881
		Net Immigration Assumptions	
2000-05	2,340	2,340	2,340
2005-10	2,148	2,148	2,148
2010-15	1,970	1,970	1,970
2015-20	1,805	1,805	1,805
2020-25	1,510	1,510	1,510
2000-2025	9,774	9,774	9,774
		Natural Increase (in 1000s)	
2000-05	3,860	4,007	4,561
2005-10	4,252	4,419	5,276
2010-15	4,495	4,683	5,664
2015-20	4,659	4,873	6,007
2020-25	4,942	5,194	6,581
2000-2025	22,207	23,175	28,088
		Percent Population Change Due to Natural Increase	
2000-05	62%	63%	66%
2005-10	66%	67%	71%
2010-15	70%	70%	74%
2015-20	72%	73%	77%
2020-25	77%	77%	81%
2000-2025	69%	70%	74%

Figure 1. Trends in Hispanic Intermarriage: 1970, 1980, 1990, and 2000



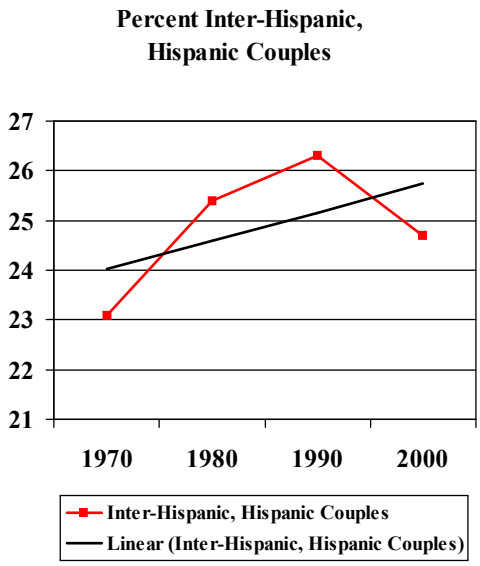


Figure 2. Percent Intermarried by Age, Hispanic Husbands: 1970, 1980, 1990, and 2000

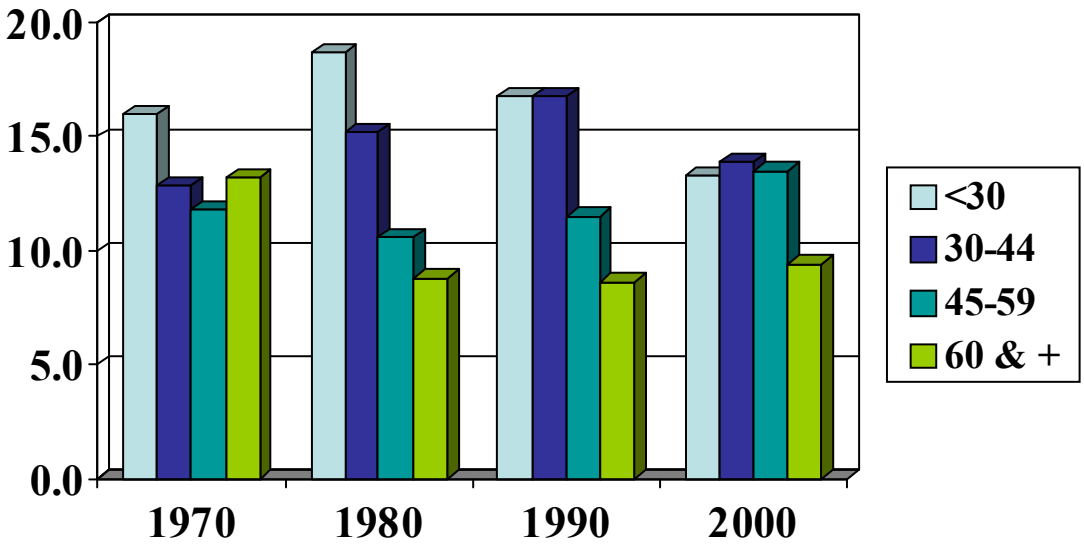


Figure 3. Percent Intermarried by Age, Hispanic Wives: 1970, 1980, 1990, and 2000

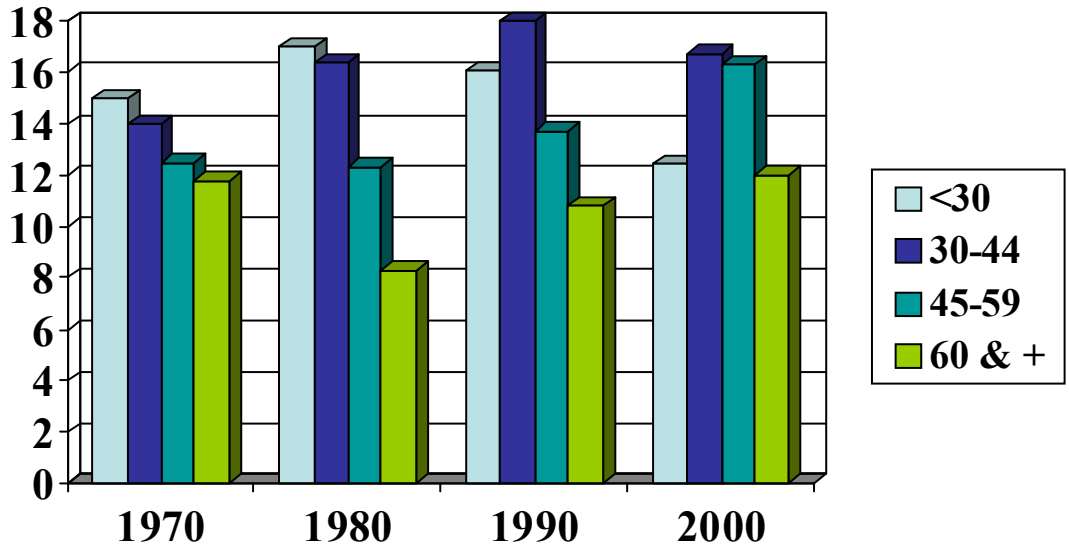


Figure 4. Percent Intermarried by Education, Hispanic Husbands: 1970, 1980, 1990, and 2000

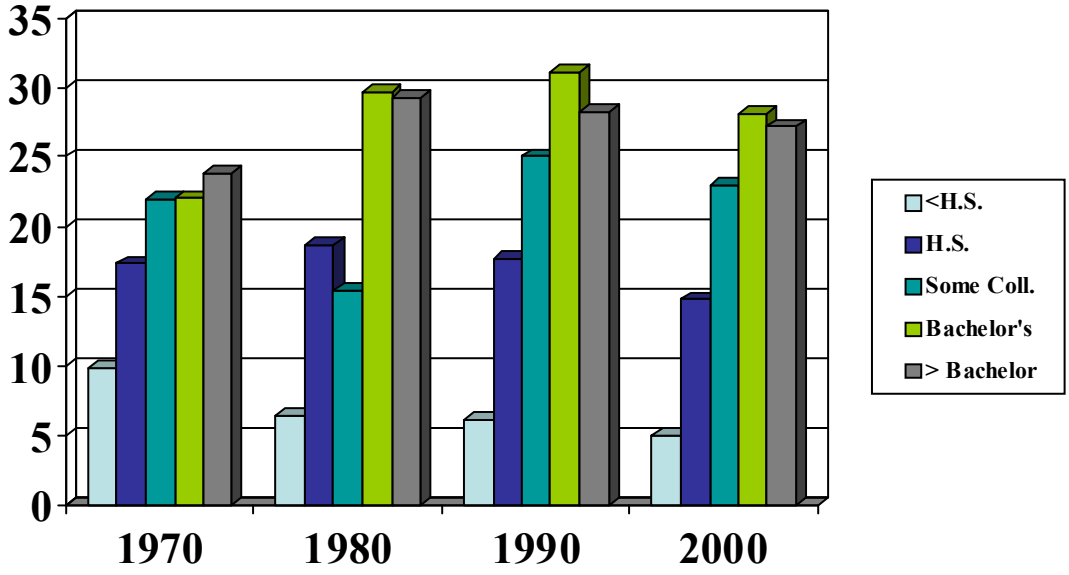


Figure 5. Percent Intermarried by Education, Hispanic Wives: 1970, 1980, 1990, and 2000

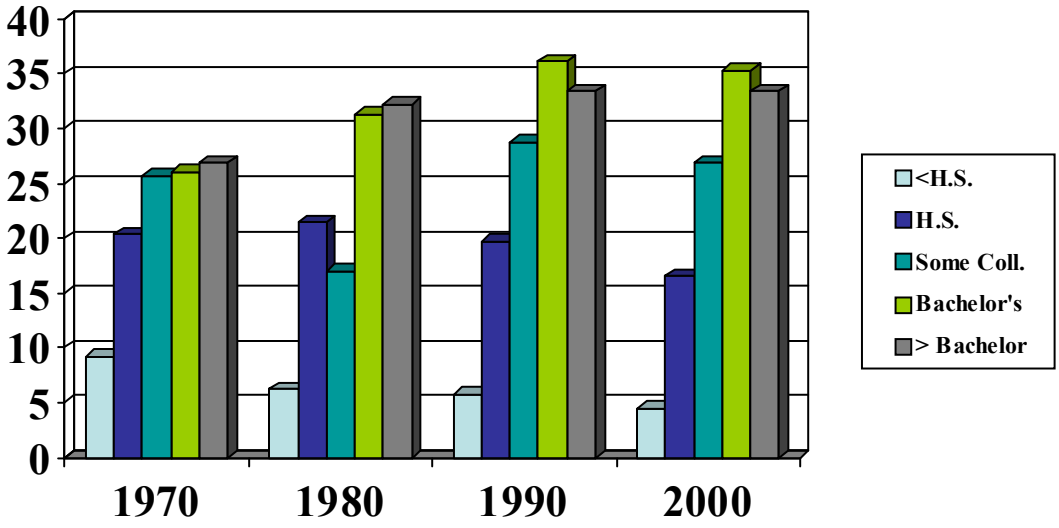


Figure 6. Percent Intermarried by Nativity, Hispanic Husbands and Wives: 1970, 1980, 1990, and 2000

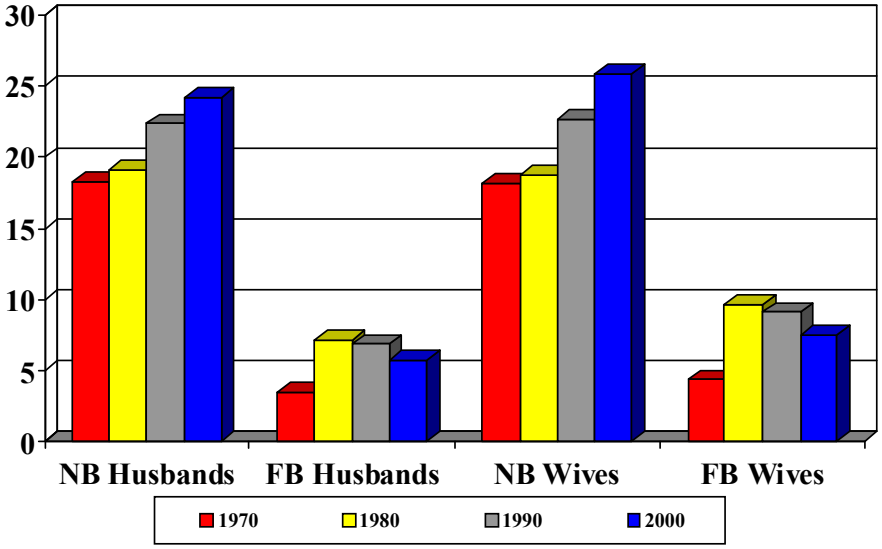


Figure 7. Percent and Count of Children Reported as Hispanic: 1970, 1980, 1990, and 2000