

*Who Is Hispanic? Hispanic Identity among African Americans, Asian Americans, Others, and Whites**

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Hispanics are now the largest minority group in the United States and their presence is likely to continue to expand. Little is known, however, about the correlates of Hispanic identity or the processes that are involved in its maintenance. We investigate these issues by ascertaining and then seeking to understand the various associations between reported racial identities and Hispanic ethnicity using data from the Current Population Surveys. Restricting the sample to individuals who are known to have demographic origins in Latin America, our results indicate that persons with African or Asian racial identifications are substantially less likely than whites or Others to also identify as Hispanic. Relative to the first generation, Hispanic identification declines and the racial differences increase in the second generation. The exceptions in this regard are Others for whom racial and Hispanic identifications are the most highly associated for both the first and second generations. These findings are interpreted as reflecting various social processes that are involved in the development and maintenance of racial and ethnic identities. Our results provide insight into the complex, social nature of Hispanic identification in modern America.

Introduction

Hispanics are now the largest minority group in the United States, having recently overtaken African Americans in population size. According to the U.S. Census Bureau, there were approximately 41.3 million Hispanics constituting 14 percent of the total American population in 2004 (Bernstein 2005). Their presence in the United States is expected to increase in the future because their immigration and fertility rates are higher than other minority groups. According to projections by the U.S. Census Bureau (2004), the number of Hispanics will surpass 100 million or one-quarter of the projected total population by 2050.

As defined in official U.S. statistical reports, Hispanics constitute an ethnic group that is based on a cultural heritage or a social identity associated with Latin American countries. Hispanics may identify themselves as being of any racial group at least as the latter are classified by the U.S. Census Bureau. African and Asian Americans may therefore be officially counted as Hispanic when they report that they have cultural origins with Latin America. In practice, however,

Hispanic African Americans constitute just 2.0 percent of Hispanics while Hispanic Asian Americans represent only .3 percent of Hispanics (U.S. Census Bureau 2001).¹ Given that the vast majority of Hispanics identify themselves as white or “Some Other Race,” the stipulation that Hispanics may also identify themselves as African or Asian appears to be an inconsequential technicality. This is exemplified by the fact that a special report on the Hispanic population recently issued by the U.S. Census Bureau (2001) does not even mention Hispanic African Americans or Hispanic Asian Americans.

Relatively little is known about the demographic correlates of Hispanic identity. The few studies that examine the ethnic identity of immigrants from Latin America focus on specific groups and the likelihood that they subscribe to a particular ethno-national identity rather than investigating the chances that they identify as a pan-ethnic Hispanic (Duncan and Trejo 2005; Padilla 1985; Rogler, Cooney, and Ortiz 1980). Furthermore, these studies often center on one geographical location. No nationally representative study has focused on the sources of Hispanic identity among immigrants from Latin America in general (Padilla 1985).

In order to improve our understanding of this neglected issue, we use a nationally representative data set to investigate how demographic factors are associated with Hispanic identity. In particular, we are interested in determining how racial identities as they are officially recognized in the United States are associated with Hispanic identity. To do so, we study persons who have demographic origins in Latin America in order to (1) determine the overall association between racial identity and Hispanic ethnicity; (2) investigate how this relationship differs by generational status; and (3) assess how other demographic factors (including age, gender, region, metropolitan residence, and education) are associated with Hispanic ethnicity and how they may affect the net association between racial identity and Hispanic ethnicity.

Theoretical Perspectives on Racial and Ethnic Identity

“Phenotypic Appearance” and the Formation of Racial and Ethnic Identity

According to Kibria (2000), the dominant group in a society often attempts to define race and ethnicity based on stereotypical categorizations of phenotypic appearances as understood by the dominant group. In the course of social interaction with the dominant group, the presentation of one’s race and ethnicity may involve some negotiation based on cues obtained from others regarding their perceptions of one’s racial and ethnic appearance (Kibria 2000; Lyman and Douglas 1973; Nagel 1994). Particularly for minorities whose phenotypic appearances often do not allow them the latitude of the ethnic options permitted for those that resemble whites (Alba 1990; Kibria 2000; Waters 1994), the

dominant group often promotes social conceptions about stereotypic categories of physical characteristics that entail taken-for-granted assumptions about the person encountered. These assumptions may be somewhat adjusted during the course of interaction with others, but phenotypic appearance nonetheless forms an important backdrop against which individuals negotiate their understanding of themselves and their associations with others (Kibria 2000).

For example, in her study on the racial and ethnic identity of second-generation African American immigrants in New York, Waters (1994) reports that immigrants from the Caribbean often found that their ethno-nationalities were seldom acknowledged during their interactions outside the ethnic communities. Their African American identity was further solidified because of residential segregation that hampered their ability to move elsewhere. Similarly, Asian Americans are often expected by others to know about aspects of pan-ethnic Asian culture (Kibria 2000). Thus, the dominant group often attempts to ascribe racial and ethnic identity to persons on the basis of phenotypic appearances that are further assumed to be associated stereotypic social conceptions about the person encountered.

Regarding social interaction relating to racial and ethnic identity, African Americans are usually assumed to be non-Hispanic because Hispanic African Americans are such a tiny proportion of African Americans in the United States (Waters 1994). Furthermore, non-Hispanic African American issues are deeply embedded in U.S. history, culture, and politics (e.g., slavery; the Civil War; Martin Luther King, Jr; affirmative action), whereas Hispanic African American issues and individuals are largely unknown. The development of any consciousness about Hispanic African Americans as a separate group is further reduced by the fact that they are not usually understood in American culture to be physically distinguishable from non-Hispanic African Americans. For Hispanic African Americans, their racial identity may thus overshadow their ethnic identities in their social interactions (Waters 1994).

In terms of either absolute numbers or relative frequencies, Hispanic Asian Americans are even more unusual among Asian Americans. In contrast to African Americans, most Asian Americans are foreign-born (i.e., born in Asia), are at least somewhat familiar with a foreign (i.e., Asian) language, and are often recent immigrants from Asia (Xie and Goyette 2004). Consciousness about Asian Americans as having a legitimate place as Americans in the United States seems to have been developing in recent years (Okimoto 1994), but this increasing awareness does not seem to include the concept of a Hispanic Asian American.² That is, Asian Americans are not commonly seen as Hispanics. In our own personal experiences, most Americans are typically surprised—if not amused—to learn that an Asian American can also be Hispanic and be fluent in Spanish.³

According to Cooley's ([1902] 1983) idea of the looking-glass self, one's self-conception is influenced by how one believes that one is seen by others. That is, to a certain extent, the *self* is a social construction. While there is undoubtedly variation in the degree of impressionability across individuals, consistent messages received over a long period of time should tend to have significant effects on one's self-conception, including one's racial and ethnic identity. Because of their physical appearances that typically diverge from the stereotypical conception of what Hispanics are supposed to look like in the United States, African and Asian Americans are generally assumed in social interactions to be non-Hispanic. Encountering these expectations consistently over time should tend to reduce the formation of Hispanic identity among African and Asian Americans.

Other Factors Involved in the Formation of Racial and Ethnic Identity

Some individuals are "mixed" in the sense of having parents who are socially defined as being of different races or ethnicities. For example, some individuals have one parent who was born in Latin America while the other parent is non-Hispanic and was born in the United States. We hypothesize that, in these cases of a "mixed" Hispanic heritage, individuals will be more likely to identify as Hispanic when their father (rather than their mother) is of Latin American nativity. The last name of children typically derives from their father's last name. Children of "mixed" Hispanic heritage are more likely to have a Latin American (i.e., Spanish-origin) last name when their father (rather than their mother) is from Latin America. Last names are generally seen as being an overtly perceived (albeit imperfect) indicator of ethnic background. The looking-glass nature of the self suggests that having a Spanish last name will increase the probability that the individual will identify as Hispanic owing to repeated social encounters with that expectation. In terms of the formation of Hispanic identity, having a father who was born Latin American will have a larger net association than having a mother who was born in Latin America.

Generational status also influences the likelihood that persons will identify as Hispanic. Individuals who were born and raised in Latin America will be more likely to have greater preference for Spanish, Latin foods, and other Latin cultural items. Such individuals will probably be more likely than second-generation immigrants to identify with the cultural heritage of their countries of origin. For the second generation, their knowledge of their Latin American heritage is often limited to their parents' verbal accounts or to short trips to Latin America. Their weaker familiarity with their Latin American cultural heritage will decrease the likelihood that second-generation immigrants are viewed by others as Hispanic which in turn diminishes the formation of Hispanic identity.

Another factor shaping identity is the level of consciousness about Hispanics in the local area of one's residence. If there is more of a substantial ethnic community in one's area, then there is likely to be more consciousness or recognition of that ethnic group in that particular state (e.g., Native Hawaiians in Hawaii, Amish in Pennsylvania, Athabascans in Alaska, Osage in Oklahoma). Social interaction with others in one's local area will thus be more likely to involve the expectation or recognition of one's ethnic identity to the extent that there are a substantial number of other persons in the area who share that ethnic identity. Xie and Goyette (1997) report results that are, net of other factors, consistent with this general hypothesis in the case of the racial identification of biracial Asian American children. For our analysis, we predict that the probability of identifying as Hispanic, net of other factors, will be higher in states that have a large Hispanic population.

Some Costs and Benefits Associated with Racial and Ethnic Identity

Another social psychological perspective of some value to this inquiry is the dramaturgical approach of Goffman (1959). Whereas the key insight of the looking-self is that the views of others affect one's view of oneself, the main implication of the presentational self is essentially the reverse: individuals seek to influence the views of others about oneself by strategically revealing only those aspects of oneself that the individual wishes to have known (Goffman 1959). One's self-perceived positive aspects tend to be emphasized and exaggerated while one's self-perceived negative aspects are omitted or hidden. The psychological processes generating such presentational behavior may occur with varying degrees of consciousness ranging from the subliminal to the cognitively deliberate. The particular content of the presentation of oneself will vary depending upon which aspects of oneself are deemed to be most positive or useful to reveal for a given social interaction.

The presentational self does not specifically address the issue of ethnicity. This perspective does, however, suggest that the identification with a particular ethnicity can be affected by the perceived costs and benefits for the individual who engages in such presentation of one's self. In contemporary America with its increasingly "multicultural" ethos four decades after the passage of the historic Civil Rights Act of 1964, the direct costs of being a racial minority are sometimes argued to be lower than in the early part of the twentieth century (Wilson 1980). For this reason, whites may now actually obtain some potential benefits from identifying as Hispanic. Identifying with a particular ethnic group may be psychologically gratifying for some whites, particularly when they selectively engage in what they consider to be the more appealing aspects of that ethnicity (Waters 1994).⁴ For many whites in contemporary America, ethnicity may be becoming an "ethnic option" that "adds spice to an otherwise bland

post-industrial existence” (Coleman and Rainwater 1978:111) and “gives a sense of heritage and roots to a highly mobile population” (Waters 1994:7). As noted by Waters (1990:7), “if people no longer perceive a threat to their individual life chances from ethnic discrimination, their ethnic identity can be used at will and discarded when its psychological and social purpose is fulfilled.” In addition, a second source of potential benefit for whites to identify as Hispanic is the possibility of improved educational or employment opportunities that may derive from affirmative action policies.

As discussed above, Hispanic identity among African and Asian Americans is generally an unfamiliar concept in the United States. The costs of presenting one’s Hispanic ethnicity for these nonwhite groups are the consequent encounters involving disbelief, ridicule, and resistance. In terms of the psychological benefit of the “added spice to an otherwise bland post-industrial existence,” African and Asian Americans already have a strong minority identity as nonwhites so the marginal benefit of overlaying it with another minority identity may be minimal. For African Americans, there is no added benefit in terms of affirmative action because African Americans are already included in that policy. Although Asian Americans are usually not covered by affirmative action, they may benefit, as Asians, from the positive stereotype of being the so-called “model minority” (Min 1995) that might be jeopardized if they adopted a Hispanic ethnicity which is a group with lower average socioeconomic status. In identifying as Hispanic, Asian Americans might face resistance in that they could be accused of falsely making the claim in order to become eligible for affirmative action.

In sum, Goffman’s (1959) presentational self does not explicitly state any specific hypotheses regarding ethnic identity. Using that general framework and considering the various costs and benefits that are involved in contemporary American society, however, we argue that whites benefit from identifying as Hispanic because of the psychological reward of being a minority and the potential social reward of becoming eligible for affirmative action. By contrast, African and Asian Americans receive few if any additional benefits or face significant costs in identifying as Hispanic. These considerations will tend to increase the likelihood of Hispanic identity among whites relative to African and Asian Americans.

Segmented Assimilation: Racial and Ethnic Identity among African and Asian Immigrants

Waters (1999) provides a qualitative study of African American immigrants from the West Indies. Her research finds that, despite the fact that West Indian immigrants strongly identified themselves as “black,” a substantial portion attempted to distance themselves from the traditional African American community by simultaneously identifying themselves as West Indians, Jamaicans,

or “immigrants.” According to Waters, the need for this differentiation stems from their belief that assimilation into “Black America” may result in downward social mobility.

This ethnic identification pattern can also be observed among second-generation immigrants and immigrant children who migrated to the United States at an early age from the West Indies. Waters (1999) observed that the majority of the subjects whom she interviewed stressed their ethnicity or identified themselves as “immigrants” so as to distinguish themselves from the traditional African American community. The need to emphasize their ethnicity was particularly salient among interviewees of middle-class backgrounds (Waters 1999). These findings may be interpreted as suggesting that West Indians promoted their ethnic identity so as to reduce their chances of experiencing the discrimination, negative stereotypes, and/or the downward social mobility that are often associated with being a member of the traditional African American population.

Waters’ (1994, 1999) results are consistent with recent discussions of segmented assimilation theory. According to the latter, inner-city African Americans live in highly segregated, low-income neighborhoods where schools are underfunded with few middle-class economic opportunities. In this context, inner-city African American youth are perceived to have developed an “oppositional culture” with “adversarial outlooks” (Hirschman 2001; Portes and Rumbaut 2001; Portes and Zhou 1993). This subculture is said to discourage educational achievement, and is therefore seen as reducing adolescents’ chances for upward social mobility. Segmented assimilation theory, therefore, posits that the selective retention of the immigrants’ culture of origin can have a protective effect for second-generation children. Water’s (1994, 1999) findings indicating that West Indians distance themselves from traditional “Black America” is consistent with the basic assumption of segmented assimilation theory, that is, that immigrant parents strategically foster the acculturation and identity of their children so as to enhance their chances for upward social mobility in the context of a highly unequal contemporary America. On the basis of Waters’ segmented assimilation approach, we deduce that African Americans will tend to have a positive motivation to identify as Hispanic as presenting oneself as an “immigrant” African American is seen as preferable to being a “conventional” African American because of improved chances for upward mobility.

On the other hand, segmented assimilation literature on Asian Americans argues that immigrant Asian Americans seek to selectively maintain aspects of their traditional Asian heritage (Zhou and Bankston 1998) so as to avoid developing “lower class” attitudes and behaviors. Given the positive stereotype of the “model minority” Asian immigrant, we interpret the segmented assimilation view to predict that Asian Americans will be less likely to identify as Hispanic because of the positive benefits of being seen as “Asian” relative to being

Table 1
Summary of Several Factors Associated with Hispanic Identity by
Racial Category

Factor	Whites	Blacks	Asians
Social expectation based on phenotype	Positive	Negative	Highly negative
Psychological gratification/ethnic option	Positive	Zero	Zero
Affirmative action	Positive	Zero	Positive
Segmented assimilation considerations	(No prediction)	Positive	Negative
Total expected net association	Positive	Small or zero	Negative

associated with the “oppositional culture” of the inner city (Portes and Zhou 1993).

Table 1 summarizes factors regarding implications for the association between Hispanic ethnicity and racial identity. Whereas demographers often discuss various “push” and “pull” factors that influence whether an individual is observed to migrate, Table 1 summarizes the socioeconomic, social, and psychological factors that we have considered in terms of their influences on observing particular associations between racial identity and Hispanic ethnicity. A white racial identity is hypothesized to have the highest level of Hispanic ethnicity because this association is facilitated by several key factors: whites’ phenotype is usually more compatible with social expectations about being Hispanic; for whites, psychological gratification may follow from being a minority; and in the case of whites, the lure of becoming eligible for affirmative action represents another possible incentive. By contrast, as shown in Table 1, Asian American racial identity is predicted to have the lowest level of Hispanic ethnicity. The Asian phenotype is highly incompatible with American social expectations about being Hispanic. Psychological gratification is limited given that Asians are already recognized as a minority and although affirmative action represents a possible incentive for Asians, it is offset by the segmented assimilation consideration of being viewed as the “model minority.”

For individuals who identify as African American, the propensity to also identify as Hispanic is generally expected to be intermediate between the levels

for whites and Asian Americans. Whereas the factors listed in Table 1 are primarily positive for whites and primarily negative for Asians, the factors are more mixed or negligible for African Americans. They do not obtain any added psychological benefit from the “ethnic option” of becoming a Hispanic, and they are already eligible for affirmative action. While the segmented assimilation consideration of being seen as an “immigrant” or an “ethnic black” is potentially positive, this is offset by the negative influence of having a phenotype that is inconsistent with social expectations about being Hispanic.

Hispanic Ethnicity and Racial Identity as “Some Other Race”

Many Hispanics seem to view themselves as constituting a distinctive racial category because 42.2 percent reported that they were “Some Other Race” in the 2000 Census in which Hispanic was not included as a separate race. Persons who have notably high levels of commitment to their Hispanic cultural heritage may see themselves as being part of a separate racial group and would therefore choose to identify as “Some Other Race” in surveys using racial classifications that do not include Hispanics as a specific category. In short, persons who identify as “Some Other Race” are very likely to identify as Hispanic if they have Latin American origins.

This pattern may in part derive from racial discourses in Latin American countries. Since the beginning of the twentieth century, many Latin American countries have identified themselves as nations of *mestizos* (i.e., “mixed” people) (De La Fuente 1999). This ideology is so prevalent that only a handful of Latin American countries even include questions about race in their censuses. Having been exposed to this discourse, immigrants with Latin America origins may encounter difficulty in identifying with any specific racial category in the U.S. system that does not include *mestizo* or some related group.

Hypotheses

On the basis of these considerations, we hypothesize that individuals who racially identify as white or “Some Other Race” will be more likely than Asian Americans to identify as Hispanic. Because the Hispanic identification has the smallest benefits and the largest costs for Asian Americans, they will be the least likely to identify as Hispanic. African Americans will have a propensity that is intermediate between whites and Asian Americans. The association between “Some Other Race” and Hispanic identity is hypothesized to be particularly high because, in this case, ethnic identity is directly tied to this specific racial identity among persons with demographic origins in Latin America.

Second, we hypothesize that persons will be more likely to identify as Hispanic if both of their parents were born in Latin America compared with persons with only one parent born in Latin America even after we control for

other sociodemographic variables in the model. Among persons with only one parent born in Latin America, those with Latin American paternity are predicted to have higher odds of identifying as Hispanic than those with Latin American maternity. Third, we hypothesize that first-generation immigrants from Latin America will be more likely to identify as Hispanic compared to the second generation. Regarding the effects of age, younger persons are expected to be more likely to identify as Hispanic owing to a greater awareness of multiculturalism in the United States in recent years. Persons residing in metropolitan areas or in California, Florida or the Southwest are predicted to be more likely to identify as Hispanic because of the greater presence of that demographic.

Data and Methods

Data

For this analysis, we use data from the Current Population Survey (CPS). Since 1994, the CPS has included information on the racial identity of the respondent (including white, African American, Asian American, or Native American), the Hispanic ethnic identity of the respondent, the country where the respondent was born, the country where the respondent's parents were born, and other demographic variables such as gender, age, and schooling. The CPS is important for the study of Hispanic identity because this demographic data set includes information about parental place of birth.

We pool together CPS data from 1994, 1996, 1998, 2000, and 2002. The complex sampling design of CPS includes a rotational scheme in which part of the sample in any given year is interviewed again in the successive year (Kostanich and Diplo 2002). We therefore pool together only the even years of the CPS so as to ensure that each year refers to independent samples. Pooling together these five years substantially increases the sample size which is critical when studying small minority populations such as Hispanic Asian Americans.⁵

We restrict our sample to include only individuals who were born in Latin America or who have at least one parent born in Latin America. That is, we limit the analysis to persons who have immediate demographic origins that are Hispanic: either they or their parents were born in Latin America. Persons who do not have either type of demographic origin in Latin America are deleted from the statistical analysis. Given demographic origins in Latin America, however, persons with any racial identity (except Native Americans) are included in the analysis. We use Census Bureau definitions defining Hispanics as an ethnic group that refers to persons who have a cultural heritage or social identity associated with Latin American countries regardless of racial identity. Because the association of the latter variable with Hispanic ethnicity is our primary

theoretical interest, we are better able to focus on this relationship by removing from the analysis persons whose Latin American origins are unknown.⁶

We further limit the analysis to persons who are at least 25 years of age because adults have more stable racial and ethnic identities (Harris and Sims 2002). We exclude Native Americans from our study owing to their extremely small sample size, and because the racial and ethnic identities of Native Americans appear to be more fluid owing to factors such as intermarriage (Passel 1997) that cannot be very well taken into account using the CPS data. Applying these restrictions, our total sample size is 45,778.

Variables and Statistical Model

The dependent variable for the statistical model is dichotomous and refers to whether or not the respondent self-identifies as Hispanic.⁷ The covariates for this logistic regression model refer to various demographic characteristics. They include generational status (first generation [i.e., born in Latin America] versus second generation [i.e., born in the United States] as the reference category); highest level of schooling completed (high school, some college, college graduate, master's degree, Ph.D./professional degree versus less than high school as the reference category); age grouped into 10-year categories (25 to 34, 35 to 44, 45 to 54, 55 to 64 versus greater than 64 years as the reference category); region of residence (California, Florida, Southwest [i.e., Arizona, New Mexico, Texas] versus other regions as the reference category); metropolitan residence versus nonmetropolitan residence as the reference category; and gender (female versus male as the reference category). Also included in the model are four independent variables indicating parents' place of birth including neither parent born in Latin America; mother Latin America and father U.S.; mother U.S. and father Latin America; mother U.S. and father U.S., versus the reference category of mother Latin America and father Latin America.

For the 1994 CPS, racial categories include white, African American, Native American, Asian or Pacific Islander, and Other. Beginning in 1996, however, the racial category for Other was eliminated. We do not include Native Americans in our analysis, but we do retain the Other category because they are a large group that are directly associated with Hispanic identity. We therefore define the Other racial category as referring to respondents who identified as an Other in the 1994 CPS or who did not identify with any of the racial categories that were provided in the CPS in 1996 and later years. That is, for our analysis, persons in the Other racial category refer to persons who specifically identified as an Other in the 1994 CPS or who are coded as having a "missing" racial identification in the 1996 and later CPS files.

Logistic regressions are estimated for each racial category separately (i.e., African Americans, Asian Americans, Others, and whites). Although identifying

as Hispanic is formally the dependent variable of our regression models, we emphasize that we do not make any *a priori* assumptions about Hispanic identity being causally determined by racial identity or that the latter is determined prior to Hispanic identity.⁸ Our objective is only to assess the associations between Hispanic and racial identities both before and after multivariate controls. We therefore do not interpret the coefficients of the logistic regression as representing causal effects. Although we could have used a log-linear statistical model (which does not formally distinguish between dependent and independent variables) that would have provided substantively identical statistical results, we chose to use logistic regression because of its greater ease of interpretation and wider familiarity to a broader audience.

Empirical Results

The descriptive statistics for each racial group are shown in Table 2.⁹ Our samples consist of 1,081 African Americans, 187 Asian Americans, 7,542 Others, and 36,964 whites. Table 2 also shows that the first generation is larger than the second generation except for Asian Americans. In regard to parents' place of birth, having both parents born in Latin America is the most prevalent combination. Nonetheless, there is some variation by race, and Asian Americans are the least likely to have both parents born in Latin America (53%) while Others are the most likely to have both parents born in Latin America (92%). African Americans are more likely to reside in the Northeast and are the least likely to reside in the Southwest, Florida, or California while whites are the most likely to reside outside of the Northeast. The age distributions and the prevalence of metropolitan residence are similar across all of these racial groups.

Consistent with other research on Asian Americans in general (Xie and Goyette 2004), our sample of Latin-origin Asian Americans tends to have high levels of educational attainment with 27 percent being college graduates and an additional 12 percent having a graduate degree. In contrast to other results on racial differences, however, Latin-origin African Americans have higher average levels of educational attainment than Latin-origin whites and Latin-origin Others. Latin-origin African Americans are less likely to have dropped out of high school and are more likely to be college graduates than Latin-origin whites and Others.

Table 2 also shows the overall rates of Hispanic identification by racial group, and these rates are illustrated in Figure 1. Among both whites and Others, the rate of Hispanic identification is 93 percent. However, only 61 percent of African Americans identify as Hispanic while among Asian Americans, Hispanic identification drops dramatically to 24 percent. These racial differences are notable given that the entire sample refers only to persons who were born in Latin America or who have at least one parent who was born in Latin America.

Table 2
Descriptive Statistics by Race, Current Population Surveys 1994, 1996, 1998, 2000, 2002

Variable	Whites (N = 36,964)		Blacks (N = 1,081)		Asians (187)		Others (N = 7,542)	
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.
Hispanic identification								
Hispanic	92.75%	25.92%	60.96%	48.84%	27.47%	44.75%	93.36%	24.89%
Generational status								
First	76.24%	42.56%	63.81%	48.08%	40.45%	49.21%	81.50%	38.83%
Parents' place of birth								
Both parents Latin	85.92%	34.78%	71.90%	44.97%	53.19%	50.03%	91.85%	27.36%
Mother Latin, father U.S.	5.48%	22.77%	10.13%	30.19%	3.93%	19.49%	2.70%	16.21%
Mother U.S., father Latin	6.16%	24.04%	7.83%	26.88%	0.59%	7.65%	3.65%	18.76%
Educational attainment								
Less than high school	49.08%	49.99%	32.07%	46.70%	16.92%	37.60%	48.72%	49.99%
High school	24.40%	42.95%	29.33%	45.55%	22.36%	41.78%	25.07%	43.34%
Some college	15.95%	36.61%	23.25%	42.26%	22.53%	41.89%	16.09%	36.74%
College graduate	7.46%	26.28%	10.21%	30.29%	26.54%	44.27%	7.40%	26.17%
Master's degree	1.80%	13.29%	3.53%	18.45%	8.65%	28.19%	2.00%	14.02%
Ph.D.	1.31%	11.37%	1.61%	12.60%	3.00%	17.10%	0.72%	8.48%

(Continued)

Table 2
(Continued)

Variable	Whites (<i>N</i> = 36,964)		Blacks (<i>N</i> = 1,081)		Asians (187)		Others (<i>N</i> = 7,542)	
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.
Age (years)								
25–34	34.87%	47.66%	32.51%	46.86%	34.81%	47.76%	39.60%	48.91%
35–44	27.33%	44.57%	28.79%	45.30%	30.50%	46.16%	28.21%	45.01%
45–54	15.86%	36.53%	17.35%	37.88%	14.88%	35.68%	17.15%	37.69%
55–64	10.48%	30.63%	10.12%	30.18%	8.90%	28.55%	8.34%	27.65%
65+	11.45%	31.85%	11.23%	31.59%	10.92%	31.27%	6.71%	25.02%
Area of residence								
California	35.34%	47.80%	7.67%	26.62%	35.82%	48.08%	23.33%	42.30%
Florida	12.82%	33.44%	14.64%	35.37%	6.07%	23.95%	7.52%	26.37%
Southwest	20.53%	40.39%	3.16%	17.50%	9.46%	29.35%	11.63%	32.06%
Northeast	12.61%	33.20%	44.23%	49.69%	14.33%	35.13%	25.22%	43.43%
Other regions	15.00%	35.71%	28.40%	45.11%	31.89%	46.73%	24.85%	43.22%
Metropolitan residence								
Metro	93.14%	25.27%	97.51%	15.58%	93.30%	25.06%	92.09%	27.00%
Gender								
Female	49.82%	50.00%	55.99%	49.66%	59.92%	49.14%	49.08%	49.99%

Note: Statistics are computed using weighted data. Analysis is restricted to individuals who were born in Latin America or who have at least one parent who was born there.

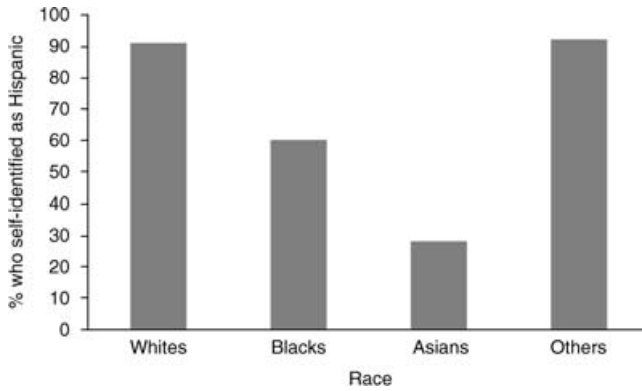


Figure 1

Percentage Who Self-Identify as Hispanic by Race among Persons Who Have Demographic Origins in Latin America.

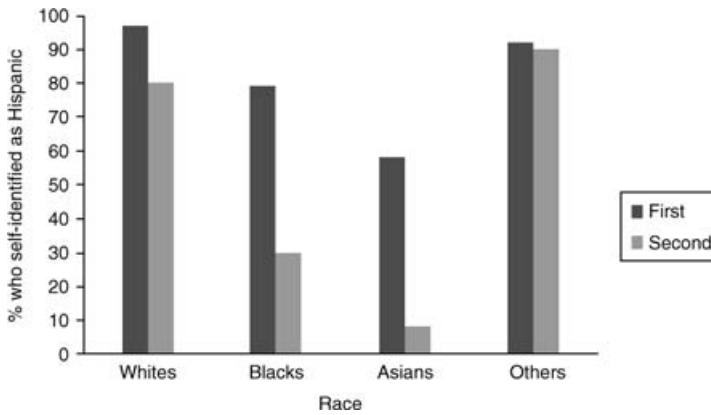


Figure 2

Percentage Who Identify as Hispanic by Race and Generational Status among Persons Who Have Demographic Origins in Latin America.

Figure 2 shows the rates of Hispanic identification by race and generational status. With the exception of Others, second-generation rates are substantially less than first-generation rates.¹⁰ Among whites, 97 percent of the first generation and 80 percent of the second generation identify as Hispanics. Among African Americans, 78 percent of the first generation but only 30 percent of the second

generation identifies as Hispanic. Among Asian Americans, the decline is dramatic with 56 percent of the first generation but only 8 percent of the second generation identifying as Hispanic.

The one exception to this generational decline applies to those that racially identify as Others. Among Others, 94 percent of the first generation and 91 percent of the second generation identify as Hispanic. This contrast with previous racial groups is consistent with our earlier discussion indicating that persons with demographic origins in Latin America who identify as Other may be doing so because they view their Hispanic identity as being comparable to a separate racial group. Thus, even among second-generation respondents, the choice to identify as an Other is intrinsically tied to being Hispanic.

Generally speaking, racial contrasts in Hispanic identity are greater within the second generation. In the first generation, the range has a high of 97 percent among whites and a low of 56 percent among Asian Americans. In the second generation, the range has a high of 91 percent among Others and a low of 8 percent among Asian Americans. Whether these racial associations in Hispanic identification may be statistically explained by other demographic characteristics (e.g., having both parents born in Latin America) may be investigated using logistic regression.

Logistic Regression Results for Whites

Table 3 shows the logistic regression coefficients as odds ratios. As expected, first-generation immigrants from Latin America are more likely to identify as Hispanic than second-generation immigrants from Latin America. In the case of whites, Table 3 shows that being a first-generation immigrant increases the odds of Hispanic identification by 175 percent (i.e., 2.75 to 1.00) net of the other social and demographic factors.

Regarding parents' place of birth, whites whose parents were not born in Latin America are the least likely to identify as Hispanic. Although these individuals were themselves born in Latin America, they had 89 percent lower odds of Hispanic identification compared to otherwise similar individuals whose parents were both born in Latin America. The odds of Hispanic identification are 81 percent lower for individuals who had a father born in Latin America and a mother born in the United States but 86 percent lower for individuals who had a father born in the United States and a mother born in Latin America. To determine if this differential is statistically significant, we calculated the *F*-test statistic to test the null hypothesis that the coefficient for having a mother born in Latin America (and a father born in the United States) is equal to the coefficient for having a father born in Latin America (and a mother born in the United States). The large *F*-statistic in Table 3 indicates that this null hypothesis may be rejected at any conventional level of significance.

Table 3
Results of Logistic Regression on the Likelihood of Hispanic Identification by Race

	Whites		Blacks		Asians		Others	
	exp(B)	B/S.E.	exp(B)	B/S.E.	exp(B)	B/S.E.	exp(B)	B/S.E.
Intercept	5.35	14.49*	1.58	.82	.10	-1.82	26.81	9.90*
Generational status (second generation)								
First Generation	2.75	15.56*	2.64	4.62*	4.51	2.76*	.93	-.48
Parents' place of birth (both parents born in Latin America)								
No parents born in Latin America	.11	-24.16*	.14	-6.84*	.03	-3.33*	.17	-7.53*
Mother Latin, Father U.S.	.14	-25.04*	.13	-6.97*	1.38	.35	.48	-2.55*
Mother U.S., Father Latin	.19	-20.71*	.16	-5.56*	.00	-.02	.58	-2.02*
Educational attainment (less than high school)								
High school	.57	-7.73*	.60	-2.33*	.48	-1.01	1.01	.07
Some college	.46	-9.93*	.56	-2.44*	.51	-.96	1.05	.30
Bachelor's degree or above	.30	-14.95*	.30	-4.76*	.09	-3.07*	.67	-2.39*
Age (65 years or above)								
25-34	2.41	10.62*	2.56	3.36*	3.29	1.35	1.01	.06
35-44	2.09	8.69*	2.08	2.65*	2.10	.82	1.15	.59
45-54	1.64	5.41*	2.06	2.40*	.17	-1.78	1.00	.00
55-64	1.88	6.07*	1.60	1.42	.31	-.91	.96	-.15

(Continued)

Table 3
(Continued)

	Whites		Blacks		Asians		Others	
	exp(B)	B/S.E.	exp(B)	B/S.E.	exp(B)	B/S.E.	exp(B)	B/S.E.
Region of residence (other regions)								
California	4.21	19.11*	.90	-0.33	.35	-1.67	1.49	2.53*
Southwest	8.41	22.75*	1.37	0.64	.65	-.43	1.73	2.61*
Florida	1.98	8.30*	1.90	2.40*	.58	-.55	.99	-.04
Metropolitan residence (nonmetropolitan)								
Metropolitan residence	1.45	4.74*	1.11	.22	9.88	2.56*	.77	-1.25
Gender (male)								
Female	1.06	1.04	.99	-.09	1.70	1.09	.92	-0.75
Test of equality								
MLFU=MUFL	15.2562	$p < .0001$.0011	$p = .98$.0003	$p = .98$.1765	$p = .67$

Note: * $p < .05$ (two-tailed test).

Another set of findings refers to the association between respondents' region of residence and Hispanic identity. Table 3 shows that there are large net associations between these measures of geography and Hispanic identification. All individuals who reside in areas with a high presence of Hispanics (i.e., California, the Southwest, and Florida) have higher odds of Hispanic identification compared to those individuals who reside outside these regions. Our results indicate that living in the Southwest increases the odds of Hispanic identification by 741 percent, whereas living in California and Florida increases the odds of Hispanic identification by 321 percent and 98 percent, respectively. Living in a metropolitan area also increases the odds of Hispanic identification by 45 percent.

Other notable results from Table 3 for whites show that younger whites are much more likely to identify as Hispanic than older whites. For instance, an adult between the ages of 25 and 34 years has 141 percent higher odds of Hispanic identification compared to those between the ages of 65 years or above. This trend may reflect the greater consciousness of and positive attitudes toward minority membership among younger persons who have grown up in the post-Civil Right era.¹¹ On other hand, persons with higher levels of educational attainment are substantially less likely to identify as Hispanic (relative to persons who do not have a high school degree). These negative net effects of education may perhaps be related to higher levels of intermarriage among Latin-origin persons with higher socioeconomic attainments (Duncan and Trejo 2005).

Logistic Regression Results for African Americans

Table 3 also shows the results for the logistic regression for African Americans. In the case of African Americans, the largest net association is evident for generational status. The odds of Hispanic identification are 164 percent higher for first-generation immigrants than for second-generation immigrants net of the other demographic factors.

Regarding parents' place of birth, African Americans who have both parents born in Latin America are much more likely to identify as Hispanic. Not having any parents born in Latin America decreases the odds of Hispanic identification by 86 percent while having a father born in Latin America and a mother born in the United States decreases the odds of Hispanic identification by 84 percent. Having a father born in the United States and a mother born in Latin America decreases the odds of Hispanic identification by 87 percent. In the case of African Americans (contrary to whites), the *F*-statistic is not statistically significant in regard to the equality of the coefficients for having a mother born in Latin America (and a father born in the United States) and for having a father born in Latin America (and a mother born in the United States). These results suggest that, in the case of African Americans, racial identity overshadows ethnic

identity leaving no room for people to assess the individuals' ethnic identity based on their surnames.

Living in Florida increases the odds for Hispanic identification by 90 percent for African Americans, while the coefficients for living in the Southwest and for living in California are not statistically significant. We interpret this finding as deriving from the higher presence of Hispanic African Americans in Florida that traditionally has had a notable presence of immigrants from Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Dominican Republic because of geographic proximity. In addition, Table 3 indicates that younger African Americans are much more likely to identify as Hispanic. An adult between the ages of 25 and 34 years has 156 percent higher odds of Hispanic identification compared to those between the ages of 65 years or above. Lastly, Table 3 shows that African Americans with higher levels of educational attainment are substantially less likely to identify as Hispanic. Compared to the reference category of persons without a high school degree, the odds for Hispanic identification are 40 percent lower for individuals who have only a high school degree and 70 percent lower for individuals who have a college degree.

Logistic Regression Results for Asian Americans

As is the case for each of the other racial groups, being a first-generation immigrant substantially increases the odds of Hispanic identification (i.e., 351%) among Asian Americans. This effect for Asian Americans is, however, substantially larger than the effect for other racial groups. Among Asian Americans, the reduction in Hispanic identification between first and second generations is far greater than for any of the other racial groups. The results in Table 3 indicate that this generational decline is not due to the other demographic factors controlled for in the logistic regression but is inherent to Asian Americans.

Table 3 further indicates that neither parent born in Latin America decreases the odds of Hispanic identification by 97 percent. In contrast to whites and African Americans, the coefficients for high school graduation and for some college are not statistically significant. The only educational category that is statistically significant is college graduation. We find that the odds of Hispanic identification are reduced by 91 percent for individuals with a college degree. Highly educated Asian Americans may have more to gain from the "model minority" status than less educated Asian Americans.

Another notable finding in Table 3 includes the net effect of metropolitan residence on increasing Hispanic identity. In the case of Asian Americans, the largest net effect is obtained from this measure. The odds of Hispanic identification increase by 888 percent with metropolitan residence. Because most recent immigrants still locate in traditional port-of-entry metropolitan

areas, we suspect that Hispanic Asian Americans are also highly concentrated around these areas (Frey 1996).

Logistic Regression Results for Others

Table 3 also shows the results for the logistic regression for those that racially identify as Other. Contrary to the Hispanic identification patterns of whites, African Americans, and Asian Americans, the likelihood of identifying as Hispanic does not appreciably change with generational status among Others. Among persons with demographic origins in Latin America, those who identify as "Some Other Race" typically have a very high level of commitment to their Hispanic cultural heritage and may view their ethnic identity as being comparable to a racial category. Given that this sort of view implies the most inherent simultaneity in the racial response of "Some Other Race" and Hispanic identity, the lack of a decline in the second generation is not surprising for this group.

As for the patterns associated with parents' place of birth, Table 3 shows that having a mother born in Latin America and a father born in United States reduces the odds of Hispanic identity by 52 percent. Having a mother born in the United States and a father born in Latin America reduces the odds by 42 percent. The *F*-statistic for this difference is not, however, statistically significant. We interpret this result as indicating that, because individuals with a strong commitment to their Hispanic heritage select into the Other category, the likelihood of identifying as Hispanic is not affected by the possession of a Spanish surname.

In the case of Others, region of residence exhibits strong correlations with Hispanic identification. Individuals residing in the Southwest and California have 73 percent and 49 percent higher odds, respectively, of Hispanic identification. The coefficient for Florida, however, is not statistically significant. Regarding the net association with education, college-educated Others are less likely to identify as Hispanic. This pattern is consistent with that for each of the other racial categories shown in Table 3.

The Net Association of Race with Hispanic Identification

In order to calculate net racial differences in the chances of identifying as Hispanic, we use logistic regression results to compute predicted probabilities based on the estimated coefficients (given in Table 3) evaluated at some particular set of values on the covariates (Powers and Xie 2000:49). In this way, we obtain an estimated probability of identifying as Hispanic for each of the four racial categories (i.e., whites, African Americans, Asian Americans, and Others). The net association between race and Hispanic identification then refers to the differences between these probabilities (for any given set of values on the covariates).

The results for whites are shown in Table 4, based on 15 different sets of values on the independent variables in evaluating the probability. Set 1 refers to a second generation (i.e., U.S. born) male high school graduate, 35 to 44 years of age, living in a metropolitan area outside of California, the Southwest and Florida, whose parents were born in Latin America. As shown in Table 4, the estimated probability that a white with these characteristics identifies as Hispanic is 90 percent. Set 3 refers to the same characteristics as Set 1 except that it specifies that respondent's mother was born in Latin America and the respondent's father was born in the United States. Set 4 refers to the same characteristics as Set 1 except that it specifies that the respondent's mother was born in United States while the respondent's father was born in Latin America. For Set 3, the estimated probability of Hispanic identification decreases substantially to 56 percent. For Set 4 the estimated probability decreases to 64 percent. As expected, in the case of whites with a "mixed" heritage, those with fathers born in Latin America are more likely to identify as Hispanic than those with mothers born in Latin America.

Table 5 shows the estimated probabilities of Hispanic identification for African Americans based on the same 15 sets of values on the covariates. For Set 1, the probability of identifying as Hispanic is 69 percent. If a respondent were to have a Latin American-born mother and a U.S.-born father (i.e., Set 3), then the probability that the respondent identified as Hispanic decreased to 23 percent. If a respondent possessed the same characteristics in Set 1 except that he was first-generation instead of second-generation (i.e., Set 2), the estimated probability for Hispanic identification increased to 85 percent. This latter value constitutes the highest probability obtained from the 15 sets for African Americans.

Table 6 shows the estimated probabilities of Hispanic identification for Asian Americans based on the same 15 sets of values. For Set 1, the probability of identifying as Hispanic is 49 percent. If the respondent possessed the same characteristics in Set 1 except that he resided in a nonmetropolitan area (i.e., Set 15), then the estimated probability for Hispanic identification decreased from 49 to 9 percent. Individuals with the characteristics of Set 1 except that they are first-generation (i.e., Set 2) have an 81 percent probability of identifying as Hispanic. This constitutes the highest probability for Asian Americans.

Table 7 shows the estimated probabilities of Hispanic identification for Others based on the 15 sets of values. For Set 1, Table 7 shows that the probability of identifying as Hispanic is 96 percent. Table 7 shows that the estimated probabilities vary little between the sets ranging from a low of 92 percent for Set 3 to a high of 98 percent for Set 13. This relatively constant pattern of probabilities is consistent with the expectation that, among persons with direct demographic origins in Latin America, those who identify as Other have a strong commitment to their Hispanic heritage.

Table 4
 Estimated Probabilities of Hispanic Identification Given Values on Independent Variables, Whites

Parameter	B	S.E.	Generational status		Parents' place of birth		Educational attainment			Age			Place of residence			Metro	
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13		14
Intercept	1.68	.12	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Generational status (second generation)																	
First generation	1.01	.06	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Parents' place of birth (mother Latin, father Latin)																	
No parent born in Latin America	-2.20	.09	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mother Latin, father U.S.	-2.00	.08	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mother U.S., father Latin	-1.65	.08	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Educational attainment (less than high school)																	
High school	-.56	.07	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Some college	-.77	.08	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bachelor's or above	-1.19	.08	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

(Continued)

Table 4
(Continued)

Parameter	B	S.E.	Generational status		Parents' place of birth		Educational attainment			Age			Place of residence			Metro	
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
Set																	
Age (65 years or above)																	
25–34	.88	.08	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
35–44	.74	.08	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
45–54	.49	.09	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
55–64	.63	.10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Region of residence (outside of CA, the Southwest, FL)																	
California	1.44	.08	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Southwest	2.13	.09	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Florida	.68	.08	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Metropolitan residence (nonmetropolitan)																	
Metropolitan residence	.37	.08	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
Gender (male)																	
Female	.05	.05	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Predicted probabilities			90.2%	96.2%	55.5%	63.8%	88.3%	83.1%	94.2%	91.4%	87.9%	89.3%	81.6%	97.5%	98.7%	94.8%	86.4%

Table 5
 Predicted Probabilities of Hispanic Identification Given Values on Independent Variables, African Americans

Parameter	B	S.E.	Generational		Parents' place of birth		Educational attainment			Age			Place of residence		Metro	
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12		13
Intercept	.46	.56	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Generational status (second generation)																
First generation	.97	.21	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Parents' place of birth (mother Latin, father Latin)																
No parent born in Latin America	-2.00	.29	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mother Latin, father U.S.	-2.02	.29	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mother U.S., father Latin	-1.85	.33	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Educational attainment (less than high school)																
High school	-.51	.22	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Some college	-.58	.24	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bachelor's or above	-1.22	.26	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

(Continued)

Table 5
(Continued)

Parameter	B	S.E.	Generational		Parents' place of birth		Educational attainment			Age			Place of residence			Metro		
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	
Set			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	
Age (65 years and above)																		
25-34	.94	.28	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
35-44	.73	.28	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	
45-54	.72	.30	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	
55-64	.47	.33	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	
Region of residence (outside of CA, the Southwest, FL)																		
California	-.11	.32	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	
Southwest	.31	.49	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	
Florida	.64	.27	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
Metropolitan residence (nonmetropolitan)																		
Metropolitan residence	.11	.49	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
Gender (male)																		
Female	-.01	.16	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Predicted probabilities			68.9%	85.4%	22.7%	25.7%	67.3%	52.0%	78.6%	73.1%	68.7%	62.9%	51.5%	66.5%	75.2%	80.8%	66.5%	

Table 6
 Predicted Probabilities of Hispanic Identification Given Values on Independent Variables, Asian Americans

Parameter	B	S.E.	Generational		Parents' place of birth		Educational attainment			Age			Place of residence			Metro	
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13		14
Intercept	-2.35	1.29	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Generational status (second generation)																	
First generation	1.51	.55	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Parents' place of birth (mother Latin, father Latin)																	
No parent born in Latin America	-3.65	1.10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mother Latin, father U.S.	.32	.91	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mother U.S., father Latin	-14.26	718.30	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Educational attainment (less than high school)																	
High school	-.73	.72	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Some college	-.68	.70	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bachelor's or above	-2.43	.79	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

(Continued)

Table 6
(Continued)

Parameter	B	S.E.	Generational		Parents' place of birth		Educational attainment			Age			Place of residence			Metro	
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
Set																	
Age (65 years and above)																	
25–34	1.19	.88	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
35–44	.74	.91	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
45–54	-1.78	1.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
55–64	-1.16	1.27	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Region of residence (outside of CA, the Southwest, FL)																	
California	-1.04	.63	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Southwest	-.43	1.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Florida	-.54	.99	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Metropolitan residence (nonmetropolitan)																	
Metropolitan residence	2.29	.90	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
Gender (male)																	
Female	.53	.49	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Predicted probabilities			48.9%	81.2%	56.9%	0.0%	50.2%	14.8%	66.5%	60.0%	7.1%	12.5%	31.3%	25.2%	38.3%	35.7%	8.8%

Table 7
 Predicted Probabilities of Hispanic Identification Given Values on Independent Variables, Others

Parameter	B	S.E.	Generational		Parents' place of birth		Educational attainment			Age			Place of residence			Metro	
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
Intercept	3.29	.33	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Generational status (second generation)																	
First generation	-.07	.15	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Parents' place of birth (mother Latin, father Latin)																	
No parent born in Latin America	-1.77	.24	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mother Latin, father U.S.	-.72	.28	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mother U.S., father Latin	-.55	.27	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Educational attainment (less than high school)																	
High school	.01	.14	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Some college	.05	.16	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bachelor's or above	-.40	.17	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

(Continued)

Table 7
(Continued)

Parameter	B	S.E.	Generational		Parents' place of birth		Educational attainment			Age			Place of residence			Metro		
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	
Age (65 years and above)																		
25-34	.01	.22	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
35-44	.14	.23	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	
45-54	.00	.24	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	
55-64	-.04	.27	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	
Region of residence (outside of CA, the Southwest, FL)																		
California	.40	.16	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	
Southwest	.55	.21	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	
Florida	-.01	.20	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
Metropolitan residence (nonmetropolitan)																		
Metropolitan residence	-.27	.21	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
Gender (male)																		
Female	-.08	.11	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Predicted probabilities			96.0%	95.7%	92.0%	93.2%	96.1%	94.1%	95.9%	95.5%	95.4%	95.2%	95.4%	97.3%	97.6%	95.9%	96.9%	

Table 8
Racial Differences in the Estimated Probability of Hispanic Identification
Given Values on Independent Variables

Specification	Whites versus Blacks	Whites versus Asians	Whites versus Others	Blacks versus Asians	Blacks versus Others	Others versus Asians
Generational status						
1	21.3%	41.4%	-5.7%	20.0%	-27.1%	47.1%
2	10.8%	15.0%	0.5%	4.2%	-10.3%	14.5%
Parents' place of birth						
3	32.9%	-1.4%	-36.5%	-34.2%	-69.4%	35.1%
4	38.1%	63.8%	-29.4%	25.7%	-67.5%	93.2%
Educational attainment						
5	21.0%	38.1%	-7.9%	17.1%	-28.8%	45.9%
6	31.1%	68.3%	-10.9%	37.2%	-42.0%	79.2%
7	15.6%	27.7%	-1.7%	12.1%	-17.3%	29.4%
Age (years)						
8	18.3%	31.4%	-4.0%	13.1%	-22.4%	35.5%
9	19.2%	80.8%	-7.5%	61.6%	-26.7%	88.3%
10	26.4%	76.7%	-6.0%	50.4%	-32.3%	82.7%
11	30.0%	50.3%	-13.8%	20.2%	-43.9%	64.1%
Place of residence						
12	31.0%	72.3%	0.2%	41.4%	-30.7%	72.1%
13	23.5%	60.4%	1.1%	36.9%	-22.4%	59.3%
14	14.1%	59.1%	-1.1%	45.1%	-15.2%	60.3%
Metropolitan						
15	19.9%	77.6%	-10.5%	57.7%	-30.3%	88.1%

Note: Specification references correspond to those used in Tables 4, 5, 6, and 7.

Table 8 shows the differences between pairs of racial categories in their estimated probabilities of identifying as Hispanic. We refer to these differences as the net association between race and Hispanic identification. They are equal to the absolute differences (for a particular set of values on the independent variables) between the bottom rows of Tables 4, 5, 6, and 7. As is evident in the discussion above, Set 2 refers to the first generation while the other sets refer to the second generation.

The results shown in Table 8 indicate that the smallest racial differentials in Hispanic identification are among the first generation (i.e., Set 2). For this group, whites and Others are virtually the same while African Americans and Asian Americans are less likely to identify as Hispanic. As expected, Asian Americans are the least likely to identify as Hispanic among these racial categories for the first generation. The absolute difference between first-generation Asians and whites or Others is about 15 percentage points which, though substantial, is not as large as most of the absolute differences among the second generation.

Referring to the second generation, Set 1 in Table 8 indicates that relative to the first generation (i.e., Set 2), the white-African absolute difference in the rate of Hispanic identification is approximately twice as large (i.e., 21.3 percentage points among the second generation versus 10.8 percentage points among the first generation). The white-Asian differential is even greater (i.e., 41.4 percentage points among the second generation versus 15.0 percentage points among the first generation). On the other hand, the differential between second-generation whites and Others is small (i.e., -5.7 percentage points indicating that Others are slightly more likely to identify as Hispanic).

Notable differentials among the second generation are shown by the other sets in Table 8. Among those with a Latin-born father and a U.S.-born mother (i.e., Set 4), the white-African differential in the likelihood to identify as Hispanic is 38.1 percentage points. The white-Asian differential in the likelihood to identify as Hispanic is even greater (i.e., 63.8 percentage points as shown in Table 8). Among second-generation persons with a college degree (i.e., Set 6) the white-African differential is 31.1 percentage points while the white-Asian differential is over twice as large (i.e., 68.3 percentage points). For most of the sets, the differences between whites and Others are small. For example, for Set 12 (which refers to residence in California) the absolute differential as shown in Table 8 is .2 percentage points. The only sets where the absolute differential between whites and Others are substantial are for persons of "mixed" heritage (i.e., Sets 3 and 4) in which case Others are more likely to identify as Hispanic.

Because the racial differences in Hispanic identification are smaller for whites and Africans compared to the racial differences between whites and Asian Americans, it follows that African Americans are more likely than Asian Americans to identify as Hispanic. Because Others are slightly more likely to identify as Hispanic than whites, and because whites are more likely to identify as Hispanic than African Americans and Asian Americans, it also follows that Others are the most likely to identify as Hispanic among these racial groups. These general patterns of the association between racial identity and Hispanic ethnicity are evident for both the first and the second generation although the racial differences are greater for the second generation among whom the particular

magnitudes vary depending on which other demographic variables are considered in the contrasts.

Discussion and Conclusions

The foregoing results indicate that a variety of social and demographic variables are associated with the probability of identifying as Hispanic. Even after restricting the sample to persons who have direct demographic ties to Latin America (i.e., are either first- or second-generation), there is considerable variability in the chances of reporting Hispanic ethnicity. At one extreme, the probability of identifying as Hispanic is about 96 percent for first-generation Others (see Set 2 in Table 7). At the other extreme, the probability of identifying as Hispanic is about 9 percent for second-generation Asian Americans in nonmetropolitan areas (see Set 15 in Table 6).

In general, younger persons tend to be more likely than older persons to identify as Hispanic. This finding may derive from the greater acceptance of a multicultural ethos during the formative years of individuals in later cohorts. The only exceptions to this pattern are Others for whom the close association between racial identity and Hispanic ethnicity is apparent across all of these age cohorts. Indeed, among Others, the effects of all of the other demographic variables tend to be small or statistically insignificant.

While there is no effect of gender for any of these racial categories, lower levels of Hispanic ethnicity are evident among college-educated persons. Understanding the sources of this pattern requires further research, but we suggest that college-educated persons may be more likely to have multiethnic and multiracial heritages stemming from intermarriage (e.g., Duncan and Trejo 2005; Trejo 2003). Such persons may be less likely to identify as Hispanic but our analysis does not adequately identify them because our data do not include information on multiethnic and multiracial identities.

We have been able to control for persons who have a “mixed” heritage only in terms of having one Latin-born parent and one U.S.-born parent. Our findings do show that these persons have lower chances of identifying as Hispanic than do persons whose parents are both Latin born.¹² In the case of whites, our results also show that the chances of identifying as Hispanic are slightly larger among those whose father (rather than mother) is Latin-born. This pattern suggests the significance of last names for the development of ethnic consciousness among whites. Among the other racial groups, however, this pattern was not evident implying that the “ethnic options” are probably more limited for nonwhites as is suggested in the ethnographic studies reviewed earlier.

Whites who reside in regions that have traditionally been seen as having high concentrations of Hispanics—including California, Florida, and the

Southwest—have substantially higher probabilities of identifying as Hispanic. This finding may derive from a greater awareness of Hispanic ethnicity because of the larger numbers of Hispanics in those areas. These regional effects are absent for African and Asian Americans, however, because popular consciousness about these groups usually does not recognize them as Hispanic. For African and Asian Americans, their racial identities tend to overshadow their Hispanic ethnicity except among the first generation.

The findings regarding race generally indicate that Others have the highest propensity to identify as Hispanic. The close association between Hispanic ethnicity and Other racial identification is clearly evident for both the first and second generations and is relatively impervious to the influence of other demographic variables. Among this group, identifying as an Other in terms of race is almost synonymous to identifying as Hispanic, at least among persons with clear demographic origins in Latin America (see Table 7).

Although whites tend to be slightly less likely to identify as Hispanic than Others, they typically have significantly higher probabilities than African or Asian Americans. Whites may derive some psychological and social advantages by embracing the “ethnic option.” In addition, becoming eligible for affirmative action (either for oneself or for one’s children) has potential socioeconomic incentives in terms of educational or job opportunities.

For African Americans (see Set 2 in Table 5), Hispanic identity among the first generation is quite strong (i.e., 81%). In contrast to Others and whites, however, Hispanic identity among second-generation African Americans declines significantly (see Table 5 and Table 8). The probability of Hispanic identity among second-generation African Americans depends on the influence of other demographic variables but the probabilities are greater than 50 percent for all sets except for persons of “mixed” heritage (i.e., Sets 3 and 4). Among the latter group, Hispanic ethnicity declines precipitously (see Table 7).

Among Asian Americans, the probability of identifying as Hispanic is the lowest among all of these racial groups. As shown in Table 8, the lower propensities of Asian Americans to identify as Hispanic are especially dramatic for the second generation particularly relative to whites and Others. The only group for whom the racial differentials are not large is the first generation (i.e., Set 2 in Table 8). After controlling for the other demographic variables, the rate of Hispanic identification for first-generation Asian Americans (i.e., 81% in Table 6) is not dramatically lower than for first-generation whites (i.e., 96% in Table 4). Among the second generation, however, Hispanic ethnic identity among Asian Americans clearly does not persist to the same extent as among Others, whites or even African Americans.

In closing, we reiterate that our objective has not been to argue that Hispanic identity is causally determined by race, but rather to investigate the

association between racial and Hispanic identities and to assess how these associations vary by other factors. In detailing the variety of these associations, our results underscore the social nature of Hispanic identity even among persons who have direct demographic origins in Latin America. Our discussion has made liberal use of various theoretical perspectives in order to account for the observed associations revealed by the statistical analyses, but we acknowledge that these percentage differentials in Hispanic identity refer only to general tendencies. Our statistical models inherently allow for stochastic error that recognizes that additional factors not discussed here are also involved in the maintenance of Hispanic identity. Furthermore, the statistical analyses are not meant to directly test any of our proposed theoretical processes regarding the development of Hispanic identity that are instead enlisted primarily as hypothetical tools that may be more fully investigated in future research. Nonetheless, despite these caveats, we argue that the foregoing results clearly demonstrate that racial identities are not independent of Hispanic ethnicity, and that the latter tends to be least developed and persistent among persons who have African American or Asian American identities.

ENDNOTES

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¹We assume that both racial identity and Hispanic identity are based on subjective identification. We use the term "Hispanic African American" to refer to individuals who identify both as Hispanic and African American, but we do not make any assumptions about either identity being "prior" or that these identities are clearly determined by any specific genealogical or other characteristics that could be thought to be objectively defined. This same qualification applies to our use of the term "Hispanic Asian American." Furthermore, our analysis is based on U.S. data in which racial and Hispanic identities are entirely based on self-reports.

²As discussed by Appadurai (1996), increased globalization often leads to far more complex ethnic identities in modern societies, but popular consciousness about these complexities does not always keep pace with actual patterns of immigration and transnationalism. For example, the first author has Korean parents and was born in South Korea, but moved to Panama as a youth. At various times in her life, she has lived in South Korea, Panama, and the United States, fostering a complex ethnic identity which people sometimes have found difficult to simplistically label using existing categories. A broader theoretical analysis of these issues is developed by Appadurai (1996).

³For example, we have had a Mexican American colleague describe to us laughingly how he was once so surprised to meet "an Asian" who could speak Spanish "just like a Mexican." (Ironically, this colleague was a professor in Mexican American studies.) We have also heard of

undergraduate students who were both skeptical and surprised to learn that their Spanish instructor was “an Asian” with an Asian last name.

⁴As analyzed by Passel (1997), the huge growth in the Native American population during the 1960s and 1970s derived not from natural increase but from persons changing their racial identification from white to Native American.

⁵We do not include the 2004 CPS because its racial categories were substantially altered. Given our research concerns, we require data that have a consistent classification of the categorization of race.

⁶Because the CPS lacks information on grandparents’ place of birth, our study excludes third and higher generations.

⁷The actual question is “Are you one of the following: Hispanic, Latino, or of Spanish origin?” which is asked in the CPS survey soon after the race question.

⁸In our data, racial identity is prior to Hispanic identity only in the highly limited sense that the sequence of questions in the CPS inquires first about racial identity and then asks about Hispanic identity.

⁹Following Winship and Radbill (1994), we apply sampling weights in the calculation of descriptive statistics but not in the estimation of regression models.

¹⁰This generational differential is unlikely to be explained by age because, given our sampling restriction to persons who are least 25 years old, the mean age for the first generation is nearly identical to that for the second generation.

¹¹Although these results regarding the net effects of age are multivariate in that they are conditional on the other control variables that are included in the statistical model, we note that the bivariate relationship between age and Hispanic ethnicity is also clearly negative (i.e., older persons are less likely to report an Hispanic identity).

¹²In the case where the U.S.-born parent identifies as Hispanic, our measure of being “mixed” is more in terms of generational status than Hispanic ethnicity.

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