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Hispanic Intermarriage, Identification, and U.S. Latino Population Change*

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Objective. This article examines the neglected role of Hispanic intermarriage and identification on Hispanic population change and Hispanic ethnicity. *Methods.* A trend analysis of Census data produced rates of Hispanic intermarriage and identification as Hispanic by children of intermarried Hispanics. These rates are applied to a projection model of Hispanic population change to 2025. *Results.* Hispanic intermarriage has been fairly stable and high, at about 14 percent. Almost two-thirds of children of intermarried Hispanics are identified as Hispanic. The Hispanic population in 2025 is larger by almost 1 million when Hispanic intermarriage and identification rates are included in population projections. *Conclusions.* Failure to consider Hispanic intermarriage and identification may lead to erroneous conclusions about components of Hispanic population growth. Intermarriage and the propensity of “part-Hispanics” to identify as Hispanic will be significant contributors to future Hispanic population growth, with implications for the meaning of Hispanic ethnicity and ethnic-based public policies.

The U.S. Hispanic or Latino population¹ has grown substantially in recent decades. In 1950, less than 3 percent of the U.S. population was of Hispanic origin² but in the 2000 Census, almost 13 percent of U.S. residents identified as Hispanic. Hispanics have become the largest minority population in the United States, growing by over 60 percent in the 1990s, compared with a 13 percent growth rate for the total U.S. population (Ramirez, 2004). Immigration and higher-than-average fertility are two key contributors to rapid

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¹According to current federal government guidelines, Hispanics (or Latinos) include people of Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, South or Central American, or other Spanish culture or origin. Hispanics are considered an ethnic group, and can be any race (Office of Management and Budget, 1997).

²Historical 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 note 5).

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growth of the Latino population: in 2000, 40 percent of Hispanics were foreign born compared to about 11 percent of the U.S. population (Ramirez, 2004) and the total fertility rate (TFR) was 2.03 for all women but 2.75 for Hispanic women (Hamilton, Sutton, and Ventura, 2003).³

Another factor in the growth of the Hispanic population that has received less study is the role of marriage between Hispanics and non-Hispanics and the propensity for children of intermarried Hispanics to identify as Hispanic. Inter marriage is an important factor in population change for racial and ethnic populations because the choice of racial and ethnic identification by children of racially or ethnically intermarried parents can significantly affect the relative sizes of different racial and ethnic populations as well as population characteristics (Edmonston, Lee, and Passel, 2002; Snipp, 1997). Previous research on Hispanic inter marriage suggests that inter marriage between Hispanics and non-Hispanics is higher than racial inter marriage between whites and blacks, the two largest racial populations, but lower than inter marriage between whites and smaller racial groups such as American Indians. In 2000, about 14 percent of Hispanics were inter married, compared with 7 percent of blacks and 57 percent of American Indians (Lee and Edmonston, 2005). Certain characteristics are associated with higher inter marriage among Hispanics, such as younger age, higher education, metropolitan residence, and being born in the United States (Lee and Edmonston, 2005; Stevens and Tyler, 2002).

There is a fairly extensive research literature on Hispanic inter marriage and a growing body of research on the racial and Hispanic identification of children of inter married couples (Qian, 2004; Xie and Goyette, 1997); however, less is known about the *consequences* of inter marriage on Hispanic population growth and change operating through the choice of Hispanic identity of children of inter married Hispanics.⁴ In an important paper on the growth of white ethnic populations in the United States, Hout and Goldstein (1994) described the contributions of natural increase, inter marriage, and ethnic preference in self-reported ethnicity on ethnic population growth. The authors noted that white ethnic groups, such as Irish and Italians, have experienced substantial growth because of relatively high rates of ethnic inter marriage and the propensity of individuals to identify themselves as Irish or Italian Americans. Hout and Goldstein (1994:79) conclude: "We will not be surprised if the various Hispanic groups follow the Italian pattern in years to come."

This article is a logical extension of previous work such as Hout and Goldstein's (1994). The purpose of this article is to demonstrate empirically the possible consequences of Hispanic inter marriage and Hispanic identi-

³The most recent fertility estimates for the Hispanic population by nativity are for California in 1998, by Hill and Johnson (2002). The TFR for all Hispanic women in California was 2.8, very similar to the U.S. national average for Hispanic women; it was 3.2 for foreign-born Hispanic women and 2.3 for native-born Hispanic women.

⁴See Edmonston and Passel (1994) and Edmonston, Lee, and Passel (2002) for exceptions.

fication of children of intermarried Hispanics for the future size and composition of the Hispanic population. We begin by examining trends in Hispanic intermarriage and reported Hispanic identity of children of intermarried Hispanics. Findings on rates of Hispanic intermarriage and Hispanic identification of children of intermarried Hispanics are applied to a population projection model to the year 2025 to assess the impact on future Hispanic population growth and composition. We discuss implications of the findings for understanding Hispanic population change, the meaning of Hispanic ethnicity, and public policies related to race and ethnicity.

Data on Hispanic Intermarriage and Identification

We analyzed public use microdata samples (PUMS) from the U.S. decennial censuses for 1970, 1980, 1990, and 2000 to establish Hispanic intermarriage and identification rates. We define Hispanic intermarriage as marriage between a Hispanic individual and a non-Hispanic partner. Hispanic identity is based on answers to the Census question on Hispanic origin.

We used the largest publicly available Census data sets to maximize counts of intermarried Hispanics. For the 1970 Census, we used three 1 percent samples in order to have an overall 3 percent sample of households.⁵ For the 1980, 1990, and 2000 Censuses, we used the 5 percent public use samples.

For all households, we searched for all married couples (including married couples in subfamilies) where at least one partner reported Hispanic origin. Couples were divided into endogamous Hispanic (both partners report Hispanic origin) or inter-Hispanic (one partner is Hispanic and the other is non-Hispanic). We selected a random sample of one-third of the endogamous couples and included all inter-Hispanic couples. For the analysis of reported Hispanic identity of children in intermarried Hispanic families, we limit analysis to children 18 and younger who were reported as living in the same household as the inter-Hispanic couple.⁶ Hispanic identity of children is based on answers

⁵The 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. Data on Hispanics from the 1970 Census are therefore not directly comparable with data from later Censuses.

⁶Analysis is limited to children 18 years and younger because children older than 18 years are more likely to have left the parental home. Not all children living with an inter-Hispanic couple are natural sons and daughters of the couple. In 2000, about 93 percent of children living with a married couple where both partners were Hispanic were biological children of the couple, compared with 88 percent for children living with a married inter-Hispanic couple. In addition, because of adoption, divorce, and remarriage, some children may not be living with their biological parents. The effects of these processes on the Hispanic identification of inter-Hispanic children appear to be modest, however. In 2000, more than 98 percent of children living with two Hispanic parents were identified as Hispanic. Of children living with two non-Hispanic parents, only 0.4 percent were identified as Hispanic.

TABLE 1
Unweighted Sample Sizes of Couples and Children

Year	Endogamous Hispanic Couples	Inter-Hispanic Couples	Children
1970	49,816	18,721	24,366
1980	53,946	49,866	60,535
1990	68,309	63,958	71,102
2000	112,585	100,990	102,916

to the Hispanic origin question on the Census for each child 18 and younger.⁷ Unweighted sample sizes of couples and children are shown in Table 1.

Findings

Hispanic Intermarriage Rates

Hispanic intermarriage rates are fairly high and stable. The proportion of married Hispanics that are married to non-Hispanics has fluctuated around 13 to 15 percent in recent decades. In 1970, 13 percent of married Hispanics were married to non-Hispanics; this increased to 15 percent in 1980 and 1990, and decreased slightly to 14 percent in 2000. Further analysis of 2000 Census and other data shows that Hispanic intermarriage rates vary by nativity and age (see Table 2).⁸ The fairly stable overall Hispanic intermarriage rates in recent decades result, in part, from high levels of Hispanic immigration: relatively low rates of intermarriage among foreign-born Hispanics (first generation) have counterbalanced higher rates of intermarriage among native-born Hispanics, particularly among third- and higher-generation Hispanics.

Hispanic Identification Rates

The stable and relatively high rate of Hispanic intermarriage raises important questions about the role of inter-Hispanic family formation on the

⁷Census data on children's reported Hispanic identity do not inform us whether: (1) the child chose the identity himself or herself; (2) the person who filled out the Census form chose the identity; or (3) the choice was based on discussion between the child and the person who filled out the form.

⁸We estimated the Hispanic intermarriage rates by age for the second and third-plus generations based on the intermarriage rates by age for native-born Hispanics (from analysis of 2000 Census data, not shown separately) and Current Population Survey data on the generational composition of the native-born Hispanic population (analysis not shown separately). 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. 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, which are also used in the population projections.

TABLE 2
Hispanic Intermarriage Rates by Age and Generation

Age	1st Generation	2nd Generation	3rd+ Generation
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 (ages 15–44)	5.5	18.7	31.9

growth and composition of the Hispanic population. To what extent do children of intermarried Hispanics identify as Hispanic? What are the implications of Hispanic identification for future Hispanic population change?

We found that in 1970, about 43 percent of children in inter-Hispanic families were reported as Hispanic.⁹ 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.¹⁰ Identification as Hispanic is therefore relatively high and quite stable since 1980. Given the rapid growth of the Hispanic population over the 30-year period under study, 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.

Potential Effects on Hispanic Population Change

The combined trends of fairly high and stable Hispanic intermarriage rates and Hispanic identification by children of intermarried Hispanics represent potentially important factors in the growth of the Hispanic population through natural increase. 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 3).¹¹

⁹See note 5. The direct comparability of Hispanic data on children in the 1970 Census with later Censuses may be even less than for data on adults, and may be a factor in the large difference between the 1970 Hispanic identification rate and later Censuses.

¹⁰In further analysis (not shown), we examined how Hispanic identification of children may vary by several characteristics. We found no difference in the rate of Hispanic identification by gender of child. However, children with a Hispanic father are more likely to be identified as Hispanic (67 percent) compared with children with a Hispanic mother (60 percent). Since Hispanic men and women are equally likely to intermarry, the overall rate of 63 percent Hispanic identification is a reasonable estimate and is consistent with Qian's (2004) finding using 1990 Census data.

¹¹Table 3 is based on decennial Census counts for the Hispanic population, vital statistics for births and deaths for each decennial Census period to produce natural increase, and net

TABLE 3
Components of Growth of Hispanic Population, 1970 to 2000

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

^aRamirez (2004).

^bPassel and Edmonston (1994:Table 2.3).

^cPassel and Edmonston (1994:Table 2.4).

^dNot applicable.

The contribution of natural increase includes the impact of Hispanic intermarriages and identification as Hispanic of children of intermarried Hispanics. 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 birth and death data by inter-Hispanic marriage status. However, a measure of the relative impact of Hispanic intermarriage and identification on *future* Hispanic population growth can be gauged by applying our findings on Hispanic intermarriage rates and reported Hispanic identity of children of inter-Hispanic couples to a population projection model to project the future Hispanic population.

Population Projections of Hispanic Population to 2025

We use a projection approach to illustrate the potential effects of Hispanic intermarriage and the reported Hispanic identification of descendants on population changes. The projections 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 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. We make assumptions about fertility, mortality, and immigration that closely resemble those made in the U.S. Census Bureau's current population projections. The results reported

immigration is calculated as the residual of decennial Census population changes minus natural increase.

here are therefore comparable to official U.S. projections, and represent highly plausible future trends in the Hispanic population.

The population projection model includes two features that have been used in previous research.¹² First, it explicitly considers the role of *immigrant generation* by describing the population in terms of first-generation immigrants, the second-generation (children of immigrants), and the third and higher generations, an important feature for populations with high proportions of immigrants such as Hispanics. Second, it does not assume that *all* members of a population group, in this case, Hispanics, will have descendants who inherit and retain ethnic membership in the group. Instead, the model varies group membership by assuming Hispanic intermarriage and subsequent multiple ethnic membership of descendants, including possible identification as Hispanic. This is another important feature given the fairly high Hispanic intermarriage and identification rates described earlier and the role of intermarriage and ethnic attachment on ethnic population growth shown in other studies (Hout and Goldstein, 1994; Snipp, 1997).

Projection Data and 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-plus generations, we used data from the March supplement of the 1999, 2000, and 2001 Current Population Surveys to provide age-sex distributions by immigrant generations, since decennial Census data can distinguish only between the foreign-born (first) and native-born (second and higher) generations.

We estimate fertility levels for the first, second, and third-plus generations based on earlier work by Edmonston, Lee, and Passel (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's Hispanic population projections (Hollman, Mulder, and Kallan, 2000). We assume improvements in life expectancy at birth for males and females that 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

¹²See Edmonston and Passel (1992) for technical details on the projection model and Edmonston, Lee, and Passel (2002) for an application of the model using earlier Census and other data.

immigration for the first generation, a modest emigration for the second generation, and zero net immigration for the third-plus generation.

We make two additional assumptions that are not made in the U.S. Census Bureau's population projections to illustrate variations in future Hispanic population change. First, Hispanic intermarriage rates, by generation and age, are derived from our analysis of 2000 decennial Census and Current Population Survey data (see note 8). Second, Hispanic identification rates for children born to inter-Hispanic couples are based on our analysis of 2000 Census data reported earlier. To show the effects of Hispanic identification, we compare three scenarios: (1) 50 percent of children born to inter-Hispanic couples are identified as Hispanic;¹³ (2) 63 percent, or the observed proportion in our analysis, are identified as Hispanic; and (3) 100 percent of children born to inter-Hispanic couples are identified as Hispanic.

Projection Results

The Hispanic-origin population was over 35 million in 2000. Assuming no Hispanic intermarriage, the Hispanic population would increase to 67.3 million in 2025 (Table 4, Panel A, second column, last line). The 32 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 (Table 4, Panel A, last line).

Taking into account Hispanic intermarriage and identification as Hispanic by children of intermarried Hispanics, the first scenario considered is that 50 percent of the offspring are identified as Hispanic. In this case, the population projection would yield the same results as one assuming no Hispanic intermarriage, as explained earlier (see note 13).

In the second scenario (Table 4, Panel B), we apply the 63 percent Hispanic identification rate reported earlier. Overall, the Hispanic population projection for 2025—assuming Hispanic intermarriage and a 63 percent Hispanic identification rate—is almost 1 million people larger than under an assumption of zero Hispanic intermarriage (Table 4, Panel D, second column, last line). In this scenario, the U.S. Hispanic population in 2025 would be 1 percent larger and would contain about 1 million people who have some Hispanic ancestry and who chose to identify as Hispanic. It

¹³The assumption that 50 percent of children born to inter-Hispanic couples identify as Hispanic produces the same result as the assumption that there is no Hispanic intermarriage. In the following Tables 4 and 5, we label this scenario as “No Hispanic Intermarriage” for convenience. Assuming all other factors are constant, the assumption of Hispanic intermarriage with 50 percent Hispanic identification rate for the children will have the same future population results as the assumption of no intermarriage. The two assumptions, however, will have *different* Hispanic-origin characteristics for the offspring, but in terms of the projection assumptions, the number of offspring identified as Hispanic will be the same.

TABLE 4

Population Projections for Hispanic Population Under Different Assumptions of Hispanic Intermarriage and Hispanic Identification of Children of Inter-Hispanic Couples, 2000 to 2025

	Total	Immigrant Generation		
		1st	2nd	3rd+
<i>A. No Hispanic Intermarriage (Baseline Assumptions)^a</i>				
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
<i>B. Hispanic Intermarriage and Identification = 0.63</i>				
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
<i>C. Hispanic Intermarriage and Identification = 1.00</i>				
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
<i>D. Population in Panel B – Population in Panel A</i>				
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
<i>E. Population in Panel C – Population in Panel A</i>				
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
<i>F. Population in Panel D/Population in Panel A</i>				
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%

Continued

TABLE 4—continued

	Immigrant Generation			
	Total	1st	2nd	3rd+
<i>G. Population in Panel E/Population in Panel A</i>				
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%

^aThe no intermarriage assumption produces equivalent population projections to an assumption of intermarriage and identification = 0.50 (see note 13).

also implies that there would be about 570,000 people with some Hispanic ancestry who chose not to identify as Hispanic.

In terms of generational composition of the Hispanic population, the first generation has the same population growth as under the zero Hispanic intermarriage assumption because the first generation is purely the product of net immigration and mortality. The second generation grows more rapidly than the second generation would under the zero Hispanic intermarriage scenario. By 2025, the second generation is more than 200,000 larger (Table 4, Panel D, fourth column, last line), or 1 percent larger (Table 4, Panel F, fourth column, last line) than in the zero intermarriage scenario. The third-plus generation also grows much more rapidly. This occurs because intermarriage is more common among the second and third-plus generation, as shown earlier. Also, in the long term, as more descendants of intermarried Hispanics identify as Hispanic, they have children as well and multiply the eventual effects. Therefore, under the second scenario, the Hispanic population would be larger, ethnically more diverse through incorporating the non-Hispanic ethnicities of intermarried Hispanics' spouses, and would have a larger majority that is native born.

The third scenario (Table 4, Panel C) assumes that all descendants of Hispanic intermarriages identify as Hispanic and demonstrates the potential upper bound of descendants of intermarried Hispanics. Compared with the baseline scenario of no intermarriage, the Hispanic population would be almost 6 million larger (Table 4, Panel E, second column, last line), or 9 percent larger (Table 4, Panel G, second column, last line). This is a substantial difference that will further change the racial and ethnic composition of both the U.S. and Latino populations, with broader and larger social and political ramifications than those implied under the second scenario described above. The growth of the first generation is the same as under the zero Hispanic intermarriage assumptions because the foreign born are not affected by Hispanic intermarriage assumptions. However, the second generation would be almost 2 million (Table 4, Panel E, fourth column, last

line), or 8 percent, larger (Table 4, Panel G, fourth column, last line), and the third generation would be over 4 million (Table 4, Panel E, last column and line), or 19 percent, larger (Table 4, Panel G, last column and line) than under the zero Hispanic intermarriage assumptions.

In the third scenario, the role of intermarriage in ethnically diversifying the Hispanic population would be quite remarkable, as significant proportions of the Hispanic population would include persons who also have non-Hispanic ancestries. In addition, the Hispanic population would be transformed from one with a substantial foreign-born component to one where two-thirds are native born.

Components of Hispanic Population Change

As the projection results indicate, the processes of Hispanic intermarriage and Hispanic identification by children of intermarried Hispanics complicate analysis of the components of Hispanic population change. This is a complexity that has been examined most extensively for the population dynamics of the Native-American population by Passel (1996) and Snipp (1997) and for the Irish-American population by Hout and Goldstein (1994). The process of ethnic intermarriage and changing levels of ethnic identification means that fertility, mortality, and migration assumptions (the three basic demographic processes used in explaining population change) provide an inadequate and possibly inaccurate accounting of ethnic group demographic changes. In the case of high rates of intermarriage and identification with an ethnic group, if the demographic analysis did not make appropriate assumptions about intermarriage and ethnic identification, it might be mistakenly assumed that either fertility or international migration was greater than assumed.

We further illustrate the effects of assumptions about Hispanic intermarriage and identification as Hispanic using results from the previous population projections. Table 5, Panel A, reports the total Hispanic population numbers for 2000 to 2025, under three scenarios: (1) no intermarriage; (2) Hispanic intermarriage and 63 percent identification as Hispanic among offspring of intermarried Hispanics; and (3) Hispanic intermarriage and 100 percent identification as Hispanic among offspring of intermarried Hispanics. Panel B in Table 5 shows population changes, for five-year periods, for each of the three scenarios, and Panel C shows the difference between the second and third scenarios relative to the first scenario.

What does each of these three scenarios imply for the components of Hispanic population change? The assumptions of net immigration (Table 5, Panel D) are the same for each of the three scenarios. However, the levels of natural increase (Table 5, Panel E), calculated as total population change minus net immigration, differ for the three scenarios. Assuming no Hispanic intermarriage, the Hispanic population experiences a natural increase of

TABLE 5

Components of Hispanic Population Change Under Different Assumptions about Hispanic Inter-marriage and Hispanic Identification of Children of Inter-Hispanic Couples, 2000 to 2025

Year	No Inter-marriage ^a	Inter-marriage and Identity = 0.63	Inter-marriage and Identity = 1.00
<i>A. Population (in 000s)</i>			
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
<i>B. Population Change (in 000s)</i>			
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
<i>C. Excess Population Change Relative to Population Change for No Inter-marriage Scenario (in 000s)</i>			
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
<i>D. Net Immigration Assumptions (in 000s)</i>			
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	9,773	9,773	9,773
<i>E. Natural Increase (in 000s)</i>			
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	22,208	23,176	28,089
<i>F. Percent Population Change Due to Natural Increase</i>			
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%

^aThe no inter-marriage assumption produces equivalent population projections and components of population change to an assumption of inter-marriage and identification = 0.50 (see note 13).

22.2 million between 2000 and 2025 (Table 5, Panel E, second column, last line); that is, 69 percent of total population increase is due to natural increase (Table 5, Panel F, second column, last line).

In the second scenario, the Hispanic population in 2025 would be 23.2 million, or about 1 million more than in the first scenario (Table 5, Panel E, third column, last line). In this case, 70 percent of the overall 2000–2025 population change would be due to natural increase (Table 5, Panel F, third column, last line). If a demographic analyst were unaware that there were Hispanic intermarriages and that 63 percent of offspring of intermarried Hispanics were identified as Hispanic, the “extra” 1 million Hispanics would present a puzzle. They might incorrectly be attributed to “higher fertility” or “greater net immigration,” for example.

In the third scenario, assuming Hispanic intermarriage and 100 percent identification as Hispanic by children of intermarried Hispanics, natural increase between 2000 and 2025 would be 28.1 million (Table 5, Panel E, last column and line), or about 6.6 million more than under the zero Hispanic intermarriage scenario. In this case, almost three-fourths, or 74 percent, of overall 2000–2025 population change would be due to natural increase (Table 5, Panel F, last column and line).

Limitations of Study

The population projections have produced new insights on Hispanic population growth and components of population change; however, we note that the results are limited in several ways. First, this research focused on married couples. The results here assume that identification of children from nonmarital inter-Hispanic unions is similar to inter-Hispanic marital unions.¹⁴ Second, 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. Third, 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. If older

¹⁴The rapid rise in cohabitation rates in recent decades is well documented. Racial or ethnic variations in cohabitation appear small (Bumpass and Lu, 2000). Although there are children in cohabiting households (Seltzer, 2004) and this analysis would miss any children 18 and younger living in a household with a cohabiting inter-Hispanic couple, “cross-sectional statistics indicate that only a small proportion of children live in cohabiting households at any one point in time” (Smock, 2000:11). For example, data from the 1990 Census suggest that “just 3.5% of all children” were living with cohabiting parents (Smock, 2000:11). However, more recent birth statistics report that in 2002, 43 percent of births to Hispanic mothers were to unmarried women (Martin et al., 2003), but we do not know what percentage of these births are inter-Hispanic. The population projections assume that children of Hispanics in inter-Hispanic nonmarital unions are as likely as children of inter-Hispanic marital unions to identify as Hispanic.

inter-Hispanic children are more prone to identify as Hispanic, the estimated impacts of Hispanic intermarriage and identification would be larger than those described above. Despite these data limitations, this study provides new findings on a neglected and increasingly important aspect of Hispanic population change.

Summary and Conclusion

In recent years, the Hispanic population has grown the fastest and has replaced African Americans as the nation's largest minority group. This article examined the role of Hispanic intermarriage and Hispanic identification of children of intermarried Hispanics in Hispanic population change. The study 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.

When we applied findings on Hispanic intermarriage and reported Hispanic 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 were identified as Hispanic. Including the effects of Hispanic intermarriage and identification also implies a more rapid transition of the Hispanic population to one with a substantial majority who are native born. 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. Given controversies surrounding immigration, legal and illegal, and the high proportions of illegal immigrants from Mexico, erroneous conclusions about the components of Hispanic population change may fuel anti-immigration sentiments and lead to misguided changes in immigration policies.

While not yet large, a nontrivial and growing proportion of Hispanics are "part-Hispanics." Assuming current levels of Hispanic intermarriage and identification as Hispanic by children of intermarried Hispanics, the Hispanic population in 2025 would be larger by almost 1 million people. As the "part-Hispanic" population grows absolutely and proportionately, Hispanic intermarriage rates may further increase because people of multiple origins are more likely to intermarry (Lee and Edmonston, 2005). Hispanic intermarriage may also increase because of other social changes associated with intermarriage, including increased Hispanic educational attainment, growth of the native-born Hispanic population (Lee and Edmonston, 2005), and dispersal of the Hispanic population

(Suro and Tafoya, 2004). The future Hispanic population will therefore include growing numbers and proportions of people with partial and more distant ties to Hispanic ethnicity.

However, more distant ties to Hispanic ancestry does not necessarily imply lower propensity to identify as Hispanic. The proportion of “part-Hispanics” who choose to identify as Hispanic may actually increase from the already current high level of almost two-thirds as the Hispanic population continues its rapid growth and Latino influence spreads in the United States, including wider use of Spanish and greater diffusion of Hispanic cultural elements in society. In addition, as long as Hispanic status is not a competing base of identity with race (since Hispanics can be any race, Hispanics can identify as Hispanic as well as racially, see note 1), choosing Hispanic identity may be a relatively easy and even advantageous option for people with some Hispanic origin. These trends suggest that the role of Hispanic intermarriage and identification in future Hispanic population change may become even more evident and significant than indicated by the results reported in this article.

Hispanic intermarriage and the tendency for children of intermarried Hispanics to identify as Hispanic will undoubtedly alter the meaning of Hispanic ethnicity and identity. Almost all the “part-Hispanic” population is white non-Hispanic/Hispanic.¹⁵ At the same time, the choice of Hispanic identity appears to be already an “ethnic option” similar to the white European ethnic options discussed by Waters (1990), since over one-third of inter-Hispanic children included in this research were not reported as Hispanic. Hispanic as an ethnic option contains important implications for the meaning of Hispanic ethnicity and race/ethnic-based public policies. Given that Hispanics are included in most federal programs designed to aid minority and disadvantaged groups, the issue of what does Hispanic mean and who is Hispanic is closely linked to federal programs targeting racial and ethnic inequities. As long as Hispanic identity is self-reported, no distinctions can be made between “full Hispanics” and “part-Hispanics.” However, as the numbers and proportions of people with partial Hispanic origins grow, questions of how to divide resources among growing numbers of claimants who are diverse in their ethnic origins and ancestries can only increase.

Hispanic intermarriage has been a fairly common and stable feature for several decades. Children of intermarried Hispanics are also more likely to be identified as Hispanic, demonstrating that attachment to Hispanic ethnicity and identity is fairly strong. These trends for the Hispanic population may not promise to yield growth rates as dramatic as for Irish Americans (Hout and Goldstein, 1994), but as shown in this article, they surely indicate that intermarriage and propensity to identify as Hispanic will be significant components of future Hispanic population growth.

¹⁵Analysis not shown in this article but available from the authors.

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