Will "Multiracial" Survive to the Next Generation?
The Racial Classification of Children of Multiracial Parents

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This paper explores how likely multiple race classification, and thus multiracial identity, will be transmitted from parents to children. Using 5% PUMS file of the 2000 U.S. Census, I examine the likelihood of a multiracial classification for children in "traditional" interracial families (two single race parents) compared to families where at least one parent is multiracial. The analyses are conducted on separate samples of multiracial households. I examine the impact of presence of a multiracial parent relative to a two single race parents in households where one parent is White, one parent is Black, one parent is Asian, or one parent is American Indian. In general, presence of a multiracial parent increased the likelihood of multiracial classification when the multiracial parent did not "share" a race with their single race spouse, but this tendency varies depending on the racial composition of the household. Overall, the results suggest that multiracial identity may be passed on to the next generation but mostly in contexts of heightened racial difference.

Introduction

Enumerating the racially mixed population depends on having both appropriate measurement instruments that can capture this racial identity and the inclination of the public to identify itself as "multiracial"(Nobles 2000). Census 2000 marked a watershed moment in the measurement of racial identity, as individuals were afforded the opportunity to self-identify as "multiracial" through selecting multiple races (Office and Management and Budget 1997;(Lee & Edmonston 2005, Perlmann & Waters 2002). However, less than three percent of U.S. residents choose this option as of 2000 (Jones & Smith 2001, Lee & Bean 2004), suggesting that, as a social identity, "multiracial" has yet to be embraced as a category that is meaningful to the general public. For interracial families and some racially mixed individuals, this classification strategy holds a very serious significance, as it marks the ability to identify one's race in terms that embrace a range of heritages (Spencer 1997, Williams 2006). However, the meaning of this "new" racial identity within a larger structure of racial and ethnic categories has yet to be established (Perlmann & Waters 2002). Certainly "multiracial" is here for now, but will the identity resonate for future generations whose parents and perhaps grandparents are multiracial?

This paper addresses this core question by examining the racial classification of children in households headed by multiracial parents as compared to those in "traditional" interracial households that are composed of two persons of contrasting single race backgrounds. I focus specifically on the likelihood that children in these households are classified with multiple races to assess if "multiracial" symbolizes an identity that can be transmitted from one generation to the next. The significance of

allowing parents to select multiple races for their children, as well as allowing individuals to choose such as identity for themselves, is that it frees the mixed race person from the obligation of singular identities. However, not all parents employ this option when classifying their children (Roth 2005), nor do all racially mixed individuals consistently identify themselves as "multiracial" (Harris & Simm 2002, Herman 2004, Rockquemore & Brunsma 2002). This indicates that capturing racial identity is not merely a question of "objectively" reporting one's background, but also an issue of subjectively selecting an identity that is relevant to one's social experience. For parents that identify as multiracial, does "multiracial" symbolize a social experience to be passed on to their children or is it only an identity that is used to describe the children of intermarried couples?

I address three research questions with the forthcoming analyses. First, how are children of multiracial parents classified relative to children of interracially-married single race parents? Second, does the presence of a multiracial spouse enhance or depress the propensity that one's child will have a multiple race label? I test for this in three types of interracial families, those that are headed by White/non-White parents, Black/non-black parents, Asian/non-Asian parents, and American Indian/non-American Indian parents. Third, how is this propensity affected by the "racial overlap" between mothers and fathers? The question of how children of multiracial parents are classified is complicated by the fact that while both parents may be racially different, they also may "share" a race in ways that single race parents do not. Therefore, I examine how likely children of parents who "share" races are classified with multiple races in comparison to children of multiracial parents who do not have races in common with their spouse.

Theoretical Perspectives on Identifying Mixed Race Children

Although classification is conceptually distinctive from identity (Wijeyesinghe & Jackson 2001), understanding the different ways mixed-race children are *classified* can lend important insight into how they are socially *identified.* Similar to racial and ethnic intermarriage, the identification of their mixed offspring reveals the salience of group distinctions and the flexibility of group boundaries (Alba & Nee 2003). According to classic assimilation theory, as ethnic groups become increasingly incorporated into the fabric of structural, cultural, and political institutions, the distinctions between groups should disappear(Gordon 1964). This end point is dependent upon groups engaging in *martial assimilation* or the frequent selection of spouses across these lines, as well as an *identificational* assimilation, or the ability of the offspring to identify with either group, but to have full access and ability to be perceived as a member of the majority (Davis 2006, Gordon 1964). A long-standing critique of this perspective is its inability to explain patterns of incorporation of racially distinctive groups during the 20th century (Bashi & McDaniel 1997, Bonilla-Silva 1997, Lee & Bean 2004), and thus may not be adequate to explain identification of racially mixed off-spring. The choices available are indicative of broader norms of racial identity, but how strictly individuals adhere to these norms is linked to the degree of social distance between these groups (Davis 1991, Spickard 1992).

The most well-established norm of racial identification, hypo-descent, is specific to mixture between majority and minority groups. Reflecting the social distance based on majority and minority distinctions, hypo-descent stipulates that racially stratified societies will ultimately place children of racially ambiguous parentage with that of the lower

status parent (Davis 1941). This norm is central to the American system of racial stratification privileges "white" above non-white and where white is defined as a "pure race" through the absence of mixture (Zack 1993).

Although designed to characterize a variety of white/non-white mixes, this pattern is most consistently applied to persons of Black and white backgrounds (see Cornell & Hartmann 1998, Davis 1991, Haney Lopez 1996). This approach, commonly referred to as the "one-drop" rule, provides that persons are legally, administratively, and politically defined by their African descent, no matter how distant this background is in their genealogy (Davis 1991, Lee 1993, Omi & Winant 1994, Williamson 1980). Although initially imposed upon the African-origin population during the Reconstruction Era, the rule has evolved into a marker of Black cultural and political affinity (Davis 1991, Williamson 1980) and attempts to challenge it have been interpreted as weakening the collective Black power-base (Nobles 2000). The rule has directly shaped experiences of mixed-race families (Chito Childs 2006, Dalmage 2000) by outlining the expectation that mixed-race individuals are primarily viewed as "Black" and it is in the best interest of parents to prepare them for this experience (Chito Childs 2006, O'Donoghue 2004, Twine 1999). Ultimately, the self-reported classification of mixed race children of Black ancestry tends to conform to the rule more so than other types of mixtures conform to their respective forms of hypo-decent (Brunsma 2005, Qian 2004).

An alternate norm of racial identification predicts that racial mixture can result in greater flexibility in racial assignment and ultimately results in the ability to "move-up" the racial ladder into status similar to the majority. This approach characterizes offspring between racial groups who frequently interact demonstrating that these racial boundaries

are easier to cross. Davis (2006) asserts that for these groups "..when the proportion of minority ancestry becomes one-fourth or less in the next generation of mixture, the children are accepted unambiguously as assimilating Americans." (p.26). This pattern characterizes the identification of persons of partial Asian and Native American and Hispanic heritage. Xie and Goyette (1997) for example, describe that children of one Asian and one non-Asian parent experience optional race, as an analog to optional or symbolic ethnicity afforded to Europeans (Gans 1979, Waters 1990) as these mixed race individuals experience more flexibility in their racial assignment and may be defined as white as well as Asian. These authors link this pattern to the social mobility and relative proximity this group experiences relative to other racial minorities (Xie & Goyette 1997). This approach called, "Assimilating Minority Status" (Davis 2006) is similar to Gordon(1964)'s notion of *identificational assimilation* in that it predicts an incorporation of minority background through the removal of racial distinction.

Taken together, these two patterns outline diverging though parallel outcomes depending on the parental race. Both assert that racial mixture it self does not challenge the organization of racial categories it is merely absorbed into a predominately biracial structure of racial stratification that delineates whites from non-whites. The primary endeavor of this work is to test if this contention holds within the contemporary context of racial identification. Demographic shifts in racial composition, increases in the rate of interracial interaction, and changes in measurement of racial identity have raised new questions as to what racial mixture means to organization of racial categories within the post-civil rights era (Bonilla-Silva 2004, Edmonston et al. 2002, Lee & Bean 2004, Qian & Lichter 2007). Chief among these questions are how will racially mixed individuals

identify themselves, what will this mean to the current composition of racial groups (Perlmann & Waters 2002), and how will they experience the current context of minority/majority social distance (Bonilla-Silva 2004). Alternatively, will the relatively recent discussion of multiracial identity lead to any substantive change in how we think about race (Spencer 2004)? In light of the small proportion of Americans that indicating multiple races (Jones and Smith 2001), what social relevance does it actually carry?

To address this, I examine how or if multiracial identity, reflected in selecting more than one race, is an identity that can be passed on from parents to children. Routinely, it has been examined as an identity that emerges within context of intermarriage between two unmixed parents(Daniel 1996). We do not know it this is an identity that sustains across generations. This analysis establishes if families that include multiracial parents view multiracial identity differently than traditional interracial families. To begin to address this question, I provide a brief overview of patterns and correlates of racial classification in interracial families and then outline how this may apply to the scenario of classification in multiracial parent-headed families.

Overview of Patterns of Racial Classification in Racially Mixed Families

Largely in responses to changes in mechanisms of data collection on race, several studies have explored the dynamics of multiracial identity (Brunsma 2005, Campbell & Eggerling-Boeck 2004, Harris & Simm 2002, Herman 2004, Roth 2005). Work focusing exclusively on patterns of classification find children of intermarried couples identify with a range of single race options, including both "white" and non-white options (Eschbach 1995, Qian 2004, Xie & Goyette 1997) as well as with labels that imply a multiracial identity (Brunsma 2005, Harris 2002, Harris & Simm 2002, Roth 2005). This

reflects the diversity of way mixed-race people identify themselves that may maintain expectations of hypo-descent and the one-drop rule (Herman 2004, Twine 1999), challenge them by embracing whiteness within a body marked as "non-white" (Rockquemore & Arned 2002, Twine 1997), connate a bridging of racial communities or ignore race altogether (Renn 2004, Rockquemore & Brunsma 2002).

Prior work on the way children are labeled in interracial households overwhelmingly focuses on the propensities toward classifying a child with a non-white label relative to majority (e.g. white) labels (Davis 2006, Eschbach 1995, Harris & Simm 2002, Kana'iaupuni & Liebler 2005, Qian 2004, Roth 2005, Xie & Goyette 1997). For example, children of intermarried Asian/non-Asian parents are nearly as likely to be classified with a non-Asian label as with an "Asian" label demonstrating a condition of "optional race" for part-Asian children (Xie and Goyette 1997), meanwhile children of American Indian/white intermarried couples exhibit a similar pattern, but this is strongly moderated by geographic location within an "Indian State" (Eschbach 1995). Children of Black/non-Black couples represent a stark contrast as they are substantially more likely classified as "Black" when faced with forms that allow only one race be selected (Qian 2004; Herman 2004). However they are increasingly favoring a multiracial form of classification (Brunsma 2005, Roth 2005). These patterns signify the differences in relative social distance and emphasis placed on racial distinctions. While differences between Asians and Whites or American Indians and whites seem to blur, those between whites and Black remain relatively firm.

These broader patterns are mediated and moderated by structural conditions that organize how racial identity develops within a household. Parental gender, family

socioeconomic status, geographic location, and local concentration of ethnic/racial populations represent salient influences that impact how a child in an interracial household is classified. Minority status is more readily transmitted through the father as opposed to the mother (Qian 2004; Xie & Goyette 1997) although this can vary depending on who is the household head (Roth 2005). The impact of family socioeconomic status is variable as ethnic identity is tends to be transmitted in families headed by well-educated parents (Waters 1990) and is positively associated with an Asian identity for part-Asian children (Xie & Goyette 1997). Although education is also negatively associated with Black ethnic identification (Broman et al. 1988, Demo & Hughes 1990) and positively associated with rejecting the norms of the one-drop rule, within interracial families (Roth 2005). Racial identification also reflects local ethnic concentration and place-specific attitudes toward intermarriage. High concentrations of racial or ethnic populations tend to encourage labeling in a way that is consistent with that community (Eschbach 1995, Kana‘iaupuni & Liebler 2005). Similarly, interracial interaction is generally suppressed in regions with contentions racial histories therefore region may also impact how racial classification of mixed race children.

Does this process happen with multiracial parent headed families in the same way that it occurs in traditional interracial families? Do they experience more or less flexibility in assigning race than their single race counterparts? How do they experience these structural arrangements when classifying their children? The next section outlines the ways offspring from interracial marriages may be situated in racial classification relative to their single race counter-parts.

Multiracial Families: A New Look.

How might families headed by multiracial individuals differ from other interracial families? Rockquemore, Laszloffy, and Noveske (2006) theorize that "Unless a parent is also mixed race, the majority of mixed race children learn about race from one or more adults who cannot completely understand their racial reality (Rockquemore, Laszloffy, and Noveske 2006:207). Following this logic, multiracial parents are better able than interracial couples of singular racial identity to "understand the racial reality" of their children, but does this insight necessarily translate into embracing a multiracial identity? Despite the presence of racially mixed individuals throughout American history, racial statistics have not consistently reflected their size or composition (Anderson & Fienberg 1999, Lee 1993, Morning 2003)[1]. Although very little recent information has been collected on families headed by multiracial individuals, recent changes in the collection of racial data hold the promise that their family formation can be traced more carefully.

An initial expectation is that the identification of children of multiracial parents does not differ significantly from other families composed of racially different individuals. Both types of families include children with multiracial genealogies and thus could be classified with multiracial labels. However, the likelihood of labeling a child as multiracial varies considerably by type of racial interaction that characterizes the family. *Which* racial lines are crossed are strongly indicative of the degree of social distance that exists between these two groups (Qian & Lichter 2007) which ultimately results in the degree of flexibility their children experience in their identification.

Interactions involving the four major non-Hispanic racial groups (Whites, Blacks, Asians, and American Indians) are influenced by distinctive set of norms that may impact

[1] The Census has enumerated the African descent mixed race population with various categorizations (i.e. Mulatto, Quadroon, Octoroon) in the censuses of 1850-1890 and then from 1900 to 1920 (Morning 2003, Anderson and Fineburg 1999).

multiracial parents whose marriages involve these groups. Families that cross the white/non-white divide face the norm of hypo-descent that explicitly denies access to a white racial identity. If multiracial parents with white spouses are construed as "interracial" couples, they may experience a similar inability to affix a white label to their offspring. On the other hand, families bridging the Black/non-Black divide are pulled by the norm of the one-drop rule towards a Black classification. Intermarriages involving African Americans remain infrequent relative to other white/non-white pairing reflecting a higher degree of social distance experienced by this population (Qian & Lichter 2007). Multiracial parents with Black spouses are similarly imbedded within this experience and thus their children might also have the same range of identity options. Interracial interactions involving Asians American Indians, particularly with whites, are relatively more frequent reflecting a greater degree of marital assimilation (see Qian and Lichter 2007; Qian 1997) and a wider array of racial options for mixed race offspring (Qian 2004, Xie & Goyette 1997). As such multiracial individuals married to Asians or American Indians may also experience greater latitude in how they classify their children.

An alternate scenario is that multiracial parents will be more invested in endorsing a multiracial label not only because it allows for accurately reflecting the totality of their child's racial backgrounds, but it signals a transmission of their racial identity. Adults who identify as multiracial likely perceive racial difference within families as a norm (Kilson 2001, Renn 2004) and thus may view a multiracial identification as the most "optimal" way for their children to resolve this dissonance. The likelihood of this scenario depends on the type of racial difference within a household, and specifically how a multiracial background interfaces with the race of the

other parent. A complicating component of the presence of a multiracial parent is that fact that he or she may "share" a race with their spouse in ways that interracial couples composed of two singular racial backgrounds do not. Families involving parents of "shared" racial backgrounds may not experience the same issues surrounding the process of racial socialization and racial identification that is commonly experienced by interracially married parents (Rockquemore et al. 2006, Twine 1999). In this case, is the way to "make sense of their racial reality" mean classifying a child with that common race? Put another way, would a child be assigned the common race and therefore becomes "unmixed"? In light of this possibility, a test of how readily a multiracial identity can be transmitted from parents to children must separate families where races over-lap between parents from those where family members have no race in common.

DATA AND METHODS

Data

The data for this research comes from the 2000 5 % Public Use Micro data Sample (PUMS) (U.S. Bureau of the Census 2003). I constructed a family-level file of multiracial families where information on mothers, fathers, and a randomly selected child are all on one record. "Multiracial families" refers to both traditional interracial families, composed to two singe race persons of contrasting racial backgrounds as well as families that include at least one person who selected more than one race (Heard & Bratter 2006). I narrow my analyses to non-Hispanic families because limitations of the census in capturing the degree of mixture for "part-Hispanic" persons. This limitation points to the larger and more complicated issues of understanding "Race" for Latino populations (Rodriguez 2000). Others have detailed this limitation in census data and other surveys

(See Harris 2002, for discussion) and elected to limit analyses of multiracial identity to respondents to non-Hispanic persons. Although this omitted 35% of my original cases, I narrowed my sample to the segment of the multiracial families that engage consistent usages of race and ethnicity when labeling themselves and their children.

I selected multiracial families where the child's racial classification would most likely reflect the parents' intentions for that child's racial identity. I first limited my analysis to families where the child is most likely the biological offspring of the parents. A serious limitation in the use of the PUMS is that there is no way to ensure that the child is the biological kin of both parents. Prior work employing census data has applied several restrictions that increase the likelihood that the child's information comes from a biological descendant of the husband and the wife (Qian 2004, Roth 2005, Xie & Goyette 1997). First, I included families where either the mother or the father was listed as the householder (omitting all sub-families or co-resident families) and where the child is listed as "natural born" as opposed to "step-child" or" adopted child". I also omitted cases where the child's race/ethnicity did not match either of the parents outside of when the child is classified as "other" or using multiple races, to limit the possibility of analyzing children who are the products of a previous marriage[2]. Lastly, I selected only families with a child that is under the age of 10 as of the census interview to increase the possibility that parents are classifying their children. The total sample includes 27,469 families.

[2] What constitutes a racial non-match is more complex in households where at least one parent listed multiple races, as children may match component races of parents. I therefore omitted cases where children did not match either parent in households headed by two single race parents (94 cases). For households where at least one parent listed multiple races, I allowed cases where the child matched at least one component race of the parent, and omitted those cases where not apparent match occurred (222 cases).

For the multivariate analysis, I standardize their racial environments experienced by single race and multiracial parents by examining the following sub-sets of families: (1) where one parent is White (N=21,451), (2) where one parent is Black (N=6,381), where one parent is Asian (N=7,159) and (3) where one parent is American Indian (N=4,501). This approach allows for a comparison of how parental multiracial identity interfaces with specific racial environments among couples who are faced with similar racial options. In addition, it allows for a straight-forward analysis of the role of sharing specific racial backgrounds between multiracial and single race parent.

Note on Terminology

Within this analysis, I use a variety of terms to describe racial and ethnic background. The most salient contrast is being drawn between those that classify themselves or their children with single races or with multiple races. To ease interpretation, I use SR to describe single race classification and MR, which is synonymous with multiracial, to describe a multiple race classification. Additionally, I examine the role of being an MR relative to an SR parent in a variety of racial environments which are defined as being or not being a member of a specific group. I will refer to the race that defines the sample (White, Black, Asian, or American Indian) as the *focal race*.

MEASURES

Race/Ethnic Classification. The U.S. Census provides several indicators of race and ethnic origin along with the choice to select multiple races. To initially identify multiracial families, I combined information on Hispanic origin and racial classification to produce the following categories (1) Non-Hispanic White, (2) Non-Hispanic African American (3) Non-Hispanic American Indian (4) Non-Hispanic Asian / Pacific Islanders

(5) Non-Hispanic Others, and (6) Non-Hispanic Multiracial (all persons selecting multiple races). All Hispanic persons are omitted from the analysis, including children of non-Hispanic who are labeled as having Hispanic origin. This grouping is consistent with prior analyses seeking to identify interracial couples (see Roth, 2005; Qian 2004).

Child's Racial Classification. To examine the likelihood of classifying a child with multiple races as opposed to other available options, I created three different measures that reflect the options available given which type of family is assessed. For families where one parent is white, child's racial classification is coded as "1" for MR, "2" a non-white SR, "3" Some Other Race(SOR) [3], and "4" White. I created a similar dependent measure for children of families where one parent is Black, Asian, or American Indian. For the multinomial analyses, category 4 is the reference category to which all other categories are contrasted.

Parent's Racial Background. In the multivariate models, I test the effects of a multiracial background for families where there is only one multiracial parent. In these models, I employ three categorical measures of parental racial identity, all of which contrast families with one MR parent to families with two SR parents.. I begin with a covariate for whether a families has a MR parent (1= MR parent present, 0=otherwise), where SR families are the reference. I expand this into a three category variables which adjusts for parental gender by adding separate effects for the whether the multiracial parent is a mother or a father. Finally I add further complexity by introducing a five category variable indicating if the family includes a multiracial parent that shares a racial

[3] I included a category for those classified as "Some Other Race" to reflect that this can be considered an identity that signifies a multiracial background or at least a rejection of single race identities. Roth (2005) made a similar determination, referring to "Other" as an interracial identity. This is however distinctive from selecting multiple races as this may also be similar to classifying a child with a non-racial, or transcendendant identity (see Rockquemore and Brunsma 2002) as opposed to biracial identity.

identity with their single race spouse (entered separately for when the multiracial parent is a mother or a father), with single race families as the reference category .

Predictors of Child's Racial Identity. I employ several controls for characteristics that affect racial classification. These measures reflect family socioeconomic status, child's characteristics, parent's immigrant status, family structure, and geographic location. To measure socioeconomic status, I employ covariates representing the education of the parent who is a member of the focal race and a separate list of covariates for the parent that is not a member of that focal race. Using the years of schooling variable, this parent's education was categorized as follows: (1) less than high school, (2) high school graduate, (3) some college, and (4) college degree or more.

I use two measures of immigrant status: (1) non-English language use and (2) nativity. Language use is measured with a dichotomous variable indicating if a member of the family speaks any language other than English, regardless of their ability. Nativity is captured with two dichotomous variables, one for the nativity of the parent who is a member of the focal race and one for the parent that is not a member of that race. This variable indicates "1" if the parent is foreign born, and "0" otherwise. I also include two measures of geographic location. The first are covariates representing region of residence, with the categories North, Midwest, West, and South and South is assigned as the reference category. To examine the impact of local ethnic concentration, I constructed standardized scores of percent white, black, MR, and Asian at the PUMA level (see Roth 2005). The resulting effects show how a standard deviation change in the

percentage of a certain racial population impacts racial classification[4]. I choose the PUMA because it is the smallest geographic entity documented in the PUMS[5].

Family structure is captured with a measure of racial identity of household head. This is a dichotomous variable which takes on the value of 1 when the multiracial parent is the household head and 0 otherwise.

METHODS

I examine the likelihood of classifying a child with multiple races (MR) as opposed to a single race (SR) category within four types of multiracial families: one where a White parent is present, where a Black parent is present, where an Asian parent is present, and where an American Indian parent is present. Although this approach excludes families where both parents are multiracial, this is justified as these families rarely employ single race labels, thus severely restricting the variation on the dependent variable.

Within these families classification may take several forms. To examine how likely a child will be classified as MR as opposed to focal SR option, holding all other options constant; I employ multinomial logistic regression models. (Agresti 2002). To ease interpretation, I report odds ratios as opposed to logistic regression coefficients. They indicate proportionate increases or decreases in the likelihood of MR classification. An odds ratio above 1.00 indicates an increase in the odds of classifying a child with multiple races and an odds ratio below 1.00 signifies a decrease in the odds of that classification.

Results

Descriptive Statistics

[4] As described by Roth (2005), this formulation of ethnic concentration better assess changes in racial composition than percentages while adjusting for the national-level distribution.

[5] PUMA's are geographic entities that include no less than 100,000 persons (see U.S. Census Bureau 2003, 2-3).

Table 1 shows the descriptive statistics of the sample in the first column and the rate of multiple race (MR) classification for the corresponding category in the adjacent row. Out of the 27,469 multiracial families in the sample, slightly more than half are traditional single race interracial families, or composed of parents with contrasting single race (SR) backgrounds (57.56%), meanwhile the remaining families have a MR mother (15.4%), father (14.86%), or have two MR parents (12.18%). Overall, 51.21% of families have a child classified with multiple races; however, this is overwhelmingly more common in families where both parents are MR(89.76%) or when a MR parent is the householder (66.93%). The rate is lowest in "traditional" interracial families (44.56%) and not substantially higher in families where either only the mother is MR(49.83%) or only the father is MR(46.90%). In families where at least one parent is SR, the rate of MR classification is inversely related to the size of the racial group. MR classification highest among families where that parent is either Asian/ Pacific Islander (57.22%) or American Indian (51.39%) and lowest among the largest segment of families where one parent is African American (42.26%) or White (XX%).

Child's characteristics, family socioeconomic standing, immigrant status, and geographic location also shape racial classification in multiracial families. MR classification is equally likely among boys and girls, more likely among those under 5. The rate of MR is positively related to parental education; however, the extent of MR classification consistently higher for MR parent across all levels of education, MR classification is highest among the small segment of families where both parents are foreign born (67.38%), where one parent speaks a non-English language (66.41%). MR classification is most prevalent in the Western United States (58.32%), and least common

in the South (46.68%). Finally, the average concentration within PUMAs shows that generally families are living in areas where over sixty percent of the population is white, twelve percent is African American and 4% are Asian and 4% are multiracial.

Racial Classification in Multiracial Households

Overall, multiracial parents appear somewhat more inclined than SR parents to classify their children with multiple races. Table 2 examines how this propensity varies by the race of their spouse. I present the unadjusted distributions of racial classification (listed across the columns) by the race of father (listed in the rows) and race of mother (listed in the panels). Overall, parents in multiracial families employ a variety of strategies, including MR classification, when identifying their children. With exception of families where both parents are multiracial, MR classification is common in SR interracial families than those families with MR parents. Of all the families where one parent is MR(10 combinations), only 4 classify their children as MR more than half of the time. These involve racial groups that have relatively flexible norms of racial identification, Asians and American Indians. Those involving a White parent (mother or father) employ MR classification nearly half of the time (48.25% vs. 48.87% respectively). Families where one parent is Black have the lowest tendency toward MR classification, where only 29.67% of the Black mother-MR father families employ MR classification and 42.90% of Black father – MR mother families employ MR classification.

How likely a family with one MR parent assigns a MR label is also related to the specific background of the MR parent and how it over-laps with the background of the SR parent? I show the distributions of child's racial classifications in families by the specific racial combinations where the mother is MR (see Table 3a) and where the father

is MR (see Table 3b). When mothers are MR (shown in Table 3a) assigning the single "shared" race in common is most prevalent in families where the mother is White/SOR[6] and the father is white (75.86%), the mother is White/Black and the father is Black (62.60%), or the mother is Black/Other races[7] and the father is Black (66.21%). However, several families who share races are either more likely to employ MR or as likely to classify their child as MR as they are their shared race. The majority of families where "Asian" is the shared race or where "white" is the shared race between White/Black – White father families adopt the MR label. Similarly, close to half of the families where "white" is the shared race when the mothers are White/Asian or White/American Indian assign their children with multiple races.

Table 3b shows the distributions of classification by father's MRbackground. Several studies report children are more likely to adopt their father's race than is mother's race (Xie and Goyette 1997; Qian 2004; Roth 2005). Is this true for MR fathers? Not necessarily, according to these unadjusted patterns. In families where "Black" or "Asian" is the shared race, father's MR status is taken by proportionately fewer children, whereas if "White" is the shared race for White/Some other race, or White/Black fathers there is a higher rate of MR classification (but lower if the father is White/Asian).

Insert Table 3b about here

These patterns suggest a complex interplay of race and the meaning of multiracial identity. Overall, traditional interracial couples appear more likely than MR parents to classify their child in a way that reflects their multiracial heritage. However, the salience of this identity for MR parents is highly dependent upon the specific racial context of the

[6] SOR refers to Some Other Race
[7] Other Races refers to all other non-white races

household and the ways their backgrounds interact with their spouses. Multiracial identity appears fairly salient for MR parent whose families cross the White/non-white line even when they have a "white" racial background in common. On the other hand, a "Black" racial identity appears more salient to MR parents whose spouses are Black, particularly if they also part-Black. Asian/non-Asian and American Indian/ non-American Indian families appear more inclined to employ MR classification whether one parent is MR or not. In the forthcoming analysis, I examine each racial context (i.e. White/non-white; Black/non-Black; Asian/non-Asian; American Indian/non-American Indian) separately to assess both the impact of parental multiracial identity overall, the role of gender of parent, and the role of having a common racial background. These models are adjusted for familial, structural, and geographic factors that have established links to the ways children are classified.

Multivariate Analyses

In tables 4 and 5, I present the results of multinomial models that assess the estimated odds of racial classification of children. Table 4 shows the results for the two types of families where norms of racial assignment are relatively strict—those where one parent is White (see panel A) and where one parent is Black (see panel B). Table 5 shows the results for groups whose norms are relatively flexible—those where one parent is Asian (see panel A) and where one parent is American Indian (see panel B). In each analysis, I estimate the odds that a child is classified as (1) MR, (2) a single race category that is not race of the focal parent (i.e. White, Black, Asian, or American Indian), or (3) "Some other race"[8] versus classification as (4) the focal race (i.e. White, Black, Asian, or

[8] I limit the presentation to the first two contrasts only; results for contrast with some other race are suppressed but available from author by request.

American Indian). To focus the discussion on the transmission of multiracial identity relative to single race category of the other parent, I only present the results of the first contrast-- the likelihood of a MR classification relative to classification as the SR focal category.

White / Non-white Interracial Families

Table 4 panel A shows the results of the multinomial logistic analysis conducted with families where one parent is white (n=21,451). According to Model I, when that white parent has a MR spouse, the odds of a MR classification are half (OR=0.54) of what they are when that white parent has a single race spouse. Model II shows the impact is consistent across families with MR father (OR=0.53) or the mother (OR=0.55). Racial background of MR parent moderates the extent of these differences. According to Model III, the odds of MR classification decrease even further if the mother (OR=0.51) or father (OR=0.47) lists "white" as a component race. By contrast, those whose races do not overlap are *more likely* than SR families to have a child who is assigned with multiple races and significantly so if the father is MR (OR=1.59).

This is evidence that in the midst of racial differentiation MR parents, particularly MR fathers, are more invested than their SR counter-parts to use a MR label and perhaps passed on a multiracial identity. However, when races over-lap, these families are *less* inclined to embrace a multiracial identity for their children and are conversely more likely to assign a white label. This may suggest that part-white MR parents whose spouses are White have greater access to a "white" identity than other MR parents.

Black / Non-Black Interracial Families

Panel B shows the results for Black / non-Black families. African Americans have the lowest rates of intermarriage (Qian 1997; Fu 2001; Qian and Lichter 2007), and some of the strictest norms of racial identification (Qian 2004). In this context, multiracial parentage produces conformity to patterns of the one-drop rule (i.e. Black identification) more so than transmission of a MR identity. According to Model I, families where one parent is MR and one parent is Black are nearly one-third as likely to employ MR classification (OR=0.39) as families where one parent is Black and the other is non-Black single race. Model II shows that families with a MR father (OR=0.26) and MR mother (OR = 0.42) are both significantly less likely to ascribe a MR identity than their SR counter-parts. Sharing a Black identity also moderates this pattern. Families where Black mothers have part-Black husbands are 80% less likely than single race Black/non-Black families to employ MR classification and those with part-Black wives are 70% less likely. The odds of MR classification for MR parents whose races do not over-lap are positive though not significant. This may be due to relatively small numbers of families in this category or it may show that that a MR classification holds essentially the same salience in for these families as it does for Black/non-Black SR families.

Asian / Non-Asian Interracial Families

Next, I show the results for Asian / non-Asian families in panel A of Table 5. Asians have some of the highest rates of intermarriage and more flexible patterns of racial identification. In this context, child's racial classification in families with MR parents is not vastly different from the classification in single race interracial families. Overall, families with an Asian parent and a MR parent differ from those Asian/non-Asian families with two single race parents by a substantial though not strongly significant

margin. According to Model I, relative to single race Asian / non-Asian families, those with a MR parent are less likely to classify their children as MR (OR=0.78, p=0.095) relative to the odds of employing an Asian label and Model II shows that neither families with MR mothers or fathers differ significantly from SR families.

These results mask important differences based on sharing racial background. Families with part-Asian fathers with Asian wives are 58% less likely than single race Asian/ non-Asian interracial families to use MR classification and those with part-Asian mothers and Asian husbands are 34% less likely. The odds of MR classification for families that do not share an Asian identity are positive but non-significant which likely reflects parceling out an already small group of MR parents (n=763)[9]. Sample size issues not withstanding, these results show that the salience of a MR classification for children is similar between Asian/non-Asian single race families and those with MR parents. We may attribute to this to the relatively strong propensity for Asian/non-Asian families to employ MR classification (see Table 2), instead of a low propensity for MR parents to pass on a multiracial identity.

American Indian / Non-American Indian Families

Finally, panel B shows the results for American Indian/non-American Indian families. American Indians have a relatively high rate of intermarriage with whites and highly flexible forms of racial identification of mixed-race offspring (Eschbach 1995). The impact of MR parents within this context diverges sharply from the other analyses. Compared to single race interracial families, those with a MR parent are nearly three times as likely ascribe a MR classification to their children (OR=2.96) meaning that

[9] Calculated by adding the number of Multiracial father-Asian mother families (425) to the number of Asian father – Multiracial mother families (338) listed in Table 2.

within this context, families with MR parents are more invested in employing MR classification than single race interracial families. This is consistent across families with MR mothers and fathers with the strongest effect observed among MR mothers (OR=3.35). How does racial over-lap impact this process? According to Model III, racial over-lap does not minimize the impact of a mother's MR background on the likelihood of a MR classification. Families with part-American Indian mothers and American Indian fathers are more than three times as likely (OR=3.18) as American Indian – non Indian (single race) families to assign their children with MR classification.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Although the multiple-race reporting population, and thus the most reliable estimate of the multiracial population, only stands at 2.4% (Jones & Smith 2001, Lee & Edmonston 2005, Tafoya et al. 2004), much has been made of the influence multiracial identity may have on the landscape of racial relationships (Bonilla-Silva 2004, Brunsma 2006, Lee & Bean 2004, Perlmann & Waters 2002). In the same way intermarriage is a common indicator of social distance between groups (Kalimjn 1998, Qian & Lichter 2007) so has racial classification of their offspring emerged as a solid indicator of the salience of racial boundaries (Perlmann & Waters 2002, Qian 2004). The current analysis provides an empirical test the salience of a multiracial identity though examining how children of multiracial parents are classified, and specifically the likelihood of ascribing a multiracial identity to children through the selection of multiple races. The results lend important insight into how parents who identify themselves as being on the "borderlands" of race navigate racial identity when socializing their children as members of specific racial groups.

The results reveal three key findings regarding the salience of multiracial identification. First, the family form where multiracial identity is most likely passed from parent to child is, not surprisingly, one that involves two multiracial parents. Nearly 90% of the families in this sample that include two multiracial parents label their child with multiple races. However, two-multiracial parent families represent a small slice of the sample (12%) and as such most married multiracial parents are coupled with single race individuals. Second, compared to single race interracial families, those with one multiracial parent generally tended toward the racial identity of the single race spouse, particularly if the multiracial parent shares that race with their spouse. The only exception was families with multiracial parents and Native American spouses, who overwhelmingly tended toward multiple-race identification. Third, I find evidence of a preference for a multiracial identity for families with multiracial parents' background did not over-lap between spouses, although this was significant for multiracial fathers with White wives. This pattern is merely suggestive for non-overlapping multiracial parent with Black or Asian spouses. The lack of significance may be an artifact of the small sample size or evidence that these families are more like their single race interracial counter-parts.

There are a few limitations that should be borne in mind when interpreting the results. First, census data do not indicate which parent is classifying the race. Therefore its unclear whose impressions of racial identity are being recorded. The variable nature of mixed-race identity suggest that which "box" one should check is neither obvious nor automatic for parents, therefore who is making the decision may be important part of how that decision is made. I attempted to address this by controlling for the race of the householder, however this covariate was non-significant. Second, the census provides no

information on the skin color or phenotype of the respondents. Phenotype has established links to how individuals conceptualize their identity (Renn 2004, Rockquemore & Brunsma 2002) as well as others view that individual. How a child appears likely impacts how they are classified above and beyond how invested a parent is in transmitting their own identity. Finally, this data captures a relatively early moment in the emergence of multiracial identity and thus may under-estimate the salience of multiracial identification within families. These analyses, however, provide an important benchmark for how multiracial parents may classify their children in the dawning of awareness of multiracial identities.

These results have important implications for the current understanding of the fluidity of racial boundaries and racial social distance. Multiracial parentage that racially over-laps with the other parent provides little to no challenges to the rigidity of these highly defined racial strata. Put simply, children are viewed as either "white", "Black", or "Asian". Countering expectation of hypo-descent, part-white multiracial parents have greater access to transmitting a white identity than their non-white mixed race counter-parts. This partially confirms arguments advanced by Bonilla-Silva (2004) that within the post-civil rights era, multiracial identity connotes a somewhat racial status which at times grants greater socioeconomic mobility and social proximity to the majority than is experienced by other minority groups. Qian and Lichter (2007) come to a similar conclusion in their recent analysis of intermarriage. They assert that "..overwhelming majority of biracial American Indian-White and Asian American-white individuals in the 2000 census probably identified themselves as white in 1990"(p.89). If these individuals

were, or could have been, previously defined as white, then labeling a child as "white" reflects the most salient racial identity to their experience.

The broader implication for the study of intermarriage and racial identity is that families that involve multiracial parents may not experience "race" in the same way as other interracial families who are more inclined to embrace multiracial labels and identities when socializing their children (Rockquemore et al. 2006). The fact that for many multiracial parent headed families a multiracial is not salient for how they label their children reflects that as adults "multiracial" likely does not pattern their lives in the same ways that identities as "white", "Black", or "Asian". With the exception of the calls to change the ways race is measured to enable enumeration of multiracial individuals (Williams 2006), no other movement has defined the political, economic, or social interests of this group which is crucial in the construction and maintenance of any ethnic community (Nagel 1994). Identification as multiracial characterizes a "symbolic" or "optional" ethnicity of sorts (Gans 1979; Waters 1990) that serves as a purely descriptive label, but does not pattern day-to-day experiences or social well-being in the way as other singular racial or ethnic affiliations. In labeling their children, multiracial parents likely endeavor to communicate that identity.

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Table 1. Distribution of Independent Variables and Percentage classified w/ Multiple Races (n=27,469)

	Percent / Mean	Percent as Multiple Races / Selecting Multiple Races
Total	100	51.21%
Parent's Racial Identity		
Both are Single Race	57.56	44.56
Mother only is Multiracial	15.4	49.83
Father only is Multiracial	14.86	46.90
Both are Multiracial	12.18	89.76
Single Race Parent's Race[1]		
White	88.22	46.81
Black	7.09	42.26
American Indian / Alaskan Native	0.98	51.39
Asian / Pacific Islander	3.41	57.22
Some Other Race	0.31	47.43
Racial Identity of the Householder[2]		
Mixed Race	64.54	66.93
Single Race	35.46	49.30
Child's Sex		
Male	51.15	50.91
Female	48.85	51.53
Child's Age		
0-4	53.26	53.40
5-9	46.74	48.72
Number of Children	1.56	
Sinlge Race Parent's Education[1]		
Less than High School	5.26	39.96
High School	19.62	43.36
Some College	37.61	46.09
College and Beyond	37.51	50.50
Total	100	
Multiracial Parent's Education[2]		
Less than High School	11.51	56.73
High School	25.53	61.83
Some College	34.76	59.29
College and Beyond	28.2	62.96
Total	100	

Source: U.S. Census 5% Pulbic Use Microdata Sample (U.S. Bureau of the Census 2003)
Note: Percents are weighted,

[1] Among households where one or both parents are single race

[2] Among households where one or both parents are multiple race

Table 1. Distribution of Independent Variables and Percentage classified w/ Multiple Races (n=27,469) Continued

	Percent / Mean	Percent as Multiple Races / Selecting Multiple Races
Nativity Status of Parents		
Both Native Born	71.28	47.14
Mother is foreign born	14.37	54.28
Father is foreign born	6.55	55.63
Both are foreign born	7.80	67.38
Parent's Language		
Speaks a Non-English Lanague at home	13.49	66.41
Region of Residence		
North	18.76	54.50
Midwest	21.54	49.90
South	39.36	46.68
West	20.34	58.32
Local Concentration (in PUMA)		
Percent White	66.32	
Percent Black	12.37	
Percent Asian	4.34	
Percent Multiracial	4.64	

Source: U.S. Census 5% Pulbic Use Microdata Sample (U.S. Bureau of the Census 2003)
Note: Percents are weighted,

[1] Among households where one or both parents are single race

[2] Among households where one or both parents are multiple race

Table 2. Distribution of Child's Racial Classification by Racial Combination of the Parents (27,469 families)

		Race of Child						
Race of Mother	**Race of Father**	White	Black	Amer.	Asian	Other	Multi.	N
White	Black	8.33	25.42	0.00	0.00	7.38	58.87	3,735
	American Indian	35.83	0.00	47.88	0.00	0.08	16.21	2,032
	Asian	24.42	0.00	0.00	18.90	2.26	54.41	1,804
	Other	52.28	0.00	0.00	0.00	33.53	14.19	128
	Multiracial	49.92	0.00	0.84	0.34	0.64	48.25	3,142
Black	White (NH)	15.19	21.50	0.00	0.00	8.70	54.60	1,090
	American Indian	0.00	59.36	10.80	0.00	1.75	28.09	43
	Asian	0.00	33.24	0.00	11.22	1.23	54.32	75
	Other	0.00	47.46	0.00	0.00	27.94	24.60	32
	Multiracial	0.48	68.75	0.00	0.20	0.90	29.67	358
American Indian	White (NH)	34.66	0.00	46.68	0.00	0.08	18.58	2,068
	Black	0.00	42.47	11.54	0.00	0.00	45.99	100
	Asian / P.I.	0.00	0.00	26.44	16.75	0.00	56.81	25
	Other	0.00	0.00	43.33	0.00	50.00	6.67	4
	Multiracial	4.26	0.00	47.36	0.91	0.00	47.46	113
Asian / P. I	White (NH)	27.46	0.00	0.00	14.31	3.85	54.38	4,084
	Black	0.00	31.97	0.00	7.12	3.20	57.71	346
	American Indian	0.00	0.00	36.32	13.09	0.00	50.59	32
	Other	0.00	0.00	0.00	12.21	67.33	20.46	13
	Multiracial	2.58	0.00	0.00	40.46	2.06	54.91	425
Some Other Race	White (NH)	58.47	0.00	0.00	0.00	30.42	11.10	130
	Black	0.00	50.00	0.00	0.00	29.79	20.21	50
	American Indian	0.00	0.00	25.58	0.00	34.88	39.53	3
	Asian / P.I.	0.00	0.00	0.00	57.49	29.97	12.53	17
	Multiracial	12.70	0.00	1.35	3.37	48.60	33.97	43
Multiracial	White (NH)	49.86	0.00	0.37	0.39	0.51	48.87	3,238
	Black	0.35	55.50	0.54	0.00	0.71	42.90	552
	American Indian	8.35	0.00	31.15	0.69	1.78	58.03	81
	Asian	2.04	0.00	0.70	32.84	0.34	64.08	338
	Other	4.64	0.00	0.00	4.03	15.73	75.60	21
	Multiracial	6.77	0.00	0.23	2.14	1.10	89.76	3,347

Source: U.S. Census 5% Pulbic Use Microdata Sample (U.S. Bureau of the Census 2003)
Note: Rows sum to 100%.

Table 3a. Racial Classification of Children of Multiracial Mothers Only by Race of Father and Racial Background of Mother (n=7,581 families)

		Race of Child						N
Race of Mother	**Race of Father**	White	Black	Amer.	Asian	Other	Multi.	
White-Some Other Race (n=1,688)	White (NH)	75.86	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.03	23.10	366
	Black	4.40	39.10	0.00	0.00	4.30	52.20	45
	American Indian	19.74	0.00	29.74	0.00	8.16	42.37	13
	Asian	4.37	0.00	0.00	12.88	0.00	82.75	21
	Other	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	100.00	11
	Multiracial	9.89	0.00	0.00	0.19	0.89	89.03	1232
White & American Indian (n=2,181)	White (NH)	50.74	0.00	0.46	0.00	0.00	48.80	1578
	Black	0.00	18.99	0.00	0.00	0.00	81.01	31
	American Indian	6.45	0.00	31.77	0.00	0.00	61.79	55
	Asian	12.11	0.00	3.94	13.24	0.00	70.70	16
	Other	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	100.00	0.00	1
	Multiracial	10.16	0.00	1.03	0.13	0.00	88.68	500
White & Asian (n=1,306)	White (NH)	48.60	0.00	0.00	0.63	0.34	50.43	764
	Black	0.00	20.97	0.00	0.00	0.00	79.03	29
	American Indian	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	100.00	4
	Asian	3.79	0.00	0.00	19.88	0.00	76.33	111
	Other	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	100.00	0.00	1
	Multiracial	11.20	0.00	0.00	4.41	0.00	84.40	397
White & African American (n=471)	White (NH)	39.80	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.14	59.06	215
	Black	0.00	62.66	0.00	0.00	0.00	37.34	173
	American Indian	0.00	0.00	100.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1
	Asian	0.00	0.00	21.05	43.86	0.00	35.09	5
	Other	100.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1
	Multiracial	7.58	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.53	89.89	76
African Ameican and Other Races (n=869)	White (NH)	17.72	0.00	1.61	0.00	4.64	76.04	77
	Black	0.00	66.21	1.25	0.00	0.50	32.04	239
	American Indian	0.00	0.00	63.73	0.00	0.00	36.27	5
	Asian	0.00	0.00	0.00	50.00	0.00	50.00	19
	Other	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	100.00	4
	Multiracial	0.08	0.00	0.46	0.49	2.17	96.79	525
Asians & Other Races (n=951)	White (NH)	28.19	0.00	0.00	3.70	1.80	66.30	201
	Black	0.00	28.61	0.00	0.00	0.00	71.39	32
	American Indian	0.00	0.00	0.00	48.00	0.00	52.00	3
	Asian	0.00	0.00	0.00	39.04	0.75	60.21	151
	Other	0.00	0.00	0.00	31.25	34.38	34.38	3
	Multiracial	0.86	0.00	0.00	8.08	1.63	89.43	561
All Other Multiracials (n=115)	White (NH)	38.90	0.00	8.52	0.00	0.00	52.58	37
	Black	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	31.67	68.33	3
	American Indian	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	100.00	1
	Asian	0.00	0.00	0.00	77.93	0.00	22.07	15
	Other	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0
	Multiracial	0.00	0.00	1.27	4.56	5.24	88.94	59

Note: Rows sum to 100%.

Table 3b. Racial Classification of Children of Multiracial Fathers by Race of Mother and Racial Combination of Fathers (n=7,431 families)

		Race of Child						N
Race of Father	**Race of Mother**	White	Black	Amer.	Asian	Other	Multi.	
White & Some Other Race (n=1,701)	White (NH)	66.59	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.13	33.28	390
	African American	0.00	33.18	0.00	0.00	0.00	66.82	18
	Native American	14.73	0.00	54.46	0.00	0.00	30.80	11
	Asian	4.67	0.00	0.00	12.31	0.00	83.03	36
	Other	19.56	0.00	0.00	0.00	66.44	14.00	18
	Multiracial	9.84	0.00	0.04	0.12	0.82	89.18	1,228
White & American Indian (n=2,161)	White (NH)	53.18	0.00	1.46	0.00	0.05	45.30	1,555
	African American	5.98	40.17	0.00	0.00	0.00	53.85	6
	Native American	4.33	0.00	57.72	0.00	0.00	37.95	71
	Asian	6.11	0.00	0.00	5.69	3.19	85.00	34
	Other	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0
	Multiracial	10.73	0.00	0.95	0.00	0.18	88.14	495
White & Asian (n=1,148)	White (NH)	53.61	0.00	0.00	0.84	0.23	45.32	617
	African American	17.26	18.78	0.00	0.00	0.00	63.96	8
	Native American	0.00	0.00	30.56	25.00	0.00	44.44	3
	Asian	5.85	0.00	0.00	25.27	1.23	67.65	126
	Other	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0
	Multiracial	11.64	0.00	0.00	3.87	0.00	84.49	394
White & African American (n=458)	White	32.66	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.45	64.89	269
	Black	0.00	67.98	0.00	0.00	2.91	29.11	77
	Native American	0.00	0.00	6.06	0.00	0.00	93.94	4
	Asian	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	100.00	9
	Other	38.60	0.00	0.00	0.00	19.30	42.11	5
	Multiracial	7.34	0.00	0.73	0.00	1.08	90.85	94
African Ameican and Other Races (n=964)	White	14.23	0.00	1.85	0.00	5.89	78.03	135
	Black	0.00	74.89	0.00	0.30	0.42	24.39	237
	Native American	0.00	0.00	21.12	0.00	0.00	78.88	11
	Asian	0.00	0.00	0.00	51.03	4.50	44.47	25
	Other	0.00	0.00	6.97	0.00	27.36	65.67	10
	Multiracial	0.11	0.00	0.45	0.73	2.23	96.49	546
Asians & Other Races (n=887)	White	25.11	0.00	0.00	3.54	1.36	69.98	150
	Black	0.00	48.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	52.00	9
	Native American	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	100.00	3
	Asian	0.00	0.00	0.00	56.93	2.81	40.26	176
	Other	0.00	0.00	0.00	15.28	36.68	48.03	9
	Multiracial	0.48	0.00	0.00	8.86	1.52	89.14	540
All Other Multiracials (n=112)	White	37.40	0.00	8.47	0.00	0.00	54.13	26
	Black	0.00	63.75	0.00	0.00	0.00	36.25	3
	Native American	0.00	0.00	35.63	0.00	0.00	64.38	10
	Asian	0.00	0.00	0.00	96.79	0.00	3.21	19
	Other	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	100.00	0.00	1
	Multiracial	0.00	0.00	0.00	3.81	7.81	88.38	53

Note: Rows sum to 100%.

TABLE 4: P Odds Ratios from Multinomial Logit Models of Multiple Race Classification relative to a White (Panel A) or Black (Panel B) Classification

Panel A. White/ Non-White (N/W) Families (N=21,451)	Model I	Model II	Model III
Intercept	0.07	0.07	0.10
Mother's Age	1.00	1.00	1.00
Racial Identity of Parents (ref. White – N/W Single Race parents)			
MR Parent	0.54***		
MR Father		0.53***	
Part White Father			0.47**
Part N/W Father			1.59**
MR Mother		0.55***	
Part White Mother			0.51***
Part N/W Mother			1.23
Household Head is MR	0.95	0.98	0.98
Panel B. Black / Non-Black (N/B) Families (N=6,381)	**Model I**	**Model II**	**Model III**
Intercept	0.40	0.38	0.36
Mother's Age	1.00	1.00	1.00
Racial Identity of Parents (ref. Black– N/B Single Race parents)			
MR Parent	0.39***		
MR Father		0.26***[a]	
Part-Black Father			0.20***
Part N/B Father			1.13
MR Mother		0.42***	
Part Black Mother			0.30***
Part N/B Mother			1.24
Household Head is MR	0.79	0.99	1.05

* p < .05 ** p < .01 *** p < .001

Note: Effects of background controls suppressed; Other Multinomial contrasts suppressed; Intercepts are reported as Logistic Coefficients

TABLE 5: P Odds Ratios from Multinomial Logit Models of Multiple Race Classification relative to an Asian (Panel A) or American Indian (Panel B) Classification

Panel A. White/ Non-Asian (N/A) Families (N=7,159)	Model I	Model II	Model III
Intercept	-0.18	-0.18	-0.10
Mother's Age	1.01*	1.01*	1.01+
Racial Identity of Parents (ref. White – N/A Single Race parents)			
MR Parent	0.78+		
MR Father		0.66	
Part Asian Father			0.42**
Part N/A Father			1.63
MR Mother		0.80	
Part Asian Mother			0.66*
Part N/A Mother			1.44
Household Head is MR	0.71*	0.82	0.90
Panel B. Indian / Non-Indian (N/I) Families (N=4,501)	**Model I**	**Model II**	**Model III**
Intercept	-1.19**	-1.17**	-0.84*
Mother's Age	1.01	1.01	1.01
Racial Identity of Parents (ref. Indian– N/I Single Race parents)			
MR Parent	2.96***		
MR Father		1.97+	
Part Indian Father			1.59
Part N/I Father			2.90+
MR Mother		3.35***	
Part Indian Mother			3.18***
Part N/I Mother			3.72*
Household Head is MR	0.73	1.01	1.07

* p < .05 ** p < .01 *** p < .001

Note: Effects of background controls suppressed; Other Multinomial contrasts suppressed; Intercepts are reported as Logistic Coefficients