Are Latinos Becoming White?

Determinants of Latinos' Racial Self-Identification in the U.S. [*]

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Though tarred with a sad history of misuse at the hands of scholars, politicians, and the lay public (Gould 1981; Omi and Winant 1994), the sociological concept of race has proved remarkably resilient in the United States. Current sociological definitions of race typically reject biological or genetic foundations in favor of viewing race as a socially constructed, ascribed characteristic of individuals based generally on phenotypic variation in skin color (Hirschman, Alba, and Farley 2000). Despite occasional proposals to dispense with the concept altogether (e.g., Loveman 1999), American social scientists have tended to favor the retention of race as category of social analysis, largely because of its continuing role in producing and maintaining social stratification (e.g., Bonilla-Silva 1997, 1999).

Scholars have long noted the empirical regularity that, with the early notable exception of the Irish, light-skinned native-born Americans of western and northern European descent have historically appeared at the top of virtually all socioeconomic ladders, including education, occupational prestige, income, and wealth. Both the Irish and later generations of Europeans from southern and eastern Europe struggled to climb such ladders to join their earlier-arriving counterparts. Historians of race have frequently argued that the path to socioeconomic achievement for many European immigrant groups was inextricably intertwined with the conversion from ethnic distinctiveness to common "unhyphenated White" racial group membership. Works by Ignatiev (1991), Brodkin (1994), and Guglielmo and Salerno (2003) trace this path for the Irish, Ashkenazic Jews, and Italians, respectively. These works suggest that racial group membership is a complex interplay between ascription and achievement; that is, under certain conditions

and for certain groups, processes of acculturation and assimilation may result in groups' *achieving* Whiteness.

A necessary (but not sufficient) condition for the achievement of a socially rewarded racial status is the self-identification with that status. Given the socioeconomic benefits that have historically accrued to light-skinned Europeans, it makes some intuitive sense that newer immigrant groups would follow the example of their turn of the 20th century predecessors in claiming Whiteness for themselves. In this paper we seek to understand the extent to which Latinos from Cuba, Mexico, and Puerto Rico self-identify as White versus three other racial classifications. In other words, we ask, if the Irish, Jews, and Italians became White, are Latinos following suit or pursuing an alternative path of racial and ethnic self-identification?

In most surveys and in the U.S. census, Latinos are first asked to self-identify as Latino (or Hispanic) or not, and then to "choose" a racial identity. Thus, American social scientists have defined Latinos as being not a racial group, but rather an ethnicity based largely in the relatively common cultural heritage of Spain and Portugal. Prior to 2000, the U.S. census allowed Latinos to choose a White, Black, Asian, American Indian, or "other" racial identity. Beginning in 2000, Latinos, like all other respondents to the census, were allowed to choose as many racial identities as they wished. In the 2000 Census, 48% of Latinos Identified as White, 2% as Black, less than 1% as Asian or Pacific Islander, about 1% as American Indian, and 6% as multiracial. Importantly, fully 42% of Latinos selected the "other" racial self-identification, indicating that many Latinos do not see themselves in the prevailing American racial nomenclature (U.S Bureau of the Census 2006, Table 10).

There is by now a large literature investigating questions of Latinos' racial and ethnic self-identification (e.g., Rodriguez and Cordero-Guzman 1992; Gomez 1998; Rodriguez 2000; Ono 2002; Landale and Oropesa 2002; Vaquera and Kao 2006). Despite the important contributions of this research, each of the prior studies we reviewed contains one or more important limitations, which we attempt to surmount in this paper. First, some prior research cannot estimate the effects of skin color on individuals' racial self-identification. We believe this is crucial for two reasons. First, though not perfectly correlated with racial self-identification, skin color is at least strongly related to individuals' definition of what race is (Brown, Dane, and Durham 1998). Indeed, skin color plays a prominent role in Bonilla-Silva's tri-racial scheme (Bonilla-Silva 2004, p. 934). Second, research has shown that skin color is related to assimilation outcomes, which themselves may be related to racial self-identification. For example, Massey and his colleagues (Massey 1985; Massey and Bitterman 1985; Massey and Denton 1989) have shown that Puerto Ricans have historically been more highly residentially segregated than other Latino groups, and they attribute this to the generally darker skin tone of Puerto Ricans. To the extent that spatial assimilation is an engine of White racial self-identification, we would expect that engine to work less well for darker-skinned Latinos.

A second limitation of much prior research is the inability to disaggregate the "other race" category, and therefore to treat all "other race" responses as statistically (if not always conceptually) identical. In the survey we analyze for this paper, the Latino National Political Survey (LNPS), the "other race" category has been disaggregated into three components: "Spanish" self-designations, such as Hispanic, Latino, Mestizo, or

Latin American, "Color" distinctions such as Brown, *Moron*, or *Triune*, and "Other" categories, such as Mulatto, North American, or Indian. Third, whereas some prior research has only investigated a single Latino group (Ono 2002; Landale and Oropesa 2002), we examine variation across three large Latino nationality groups in the choice of racial category. Finally, theory and prior research indicate that assimilation processes ought to be consequential for racial self-identification. In this paper we provide a fuller test of this hypothesis by including measures of four important types of assimilation: acculturation and socioeconomic, spatial, and structural assimilation (Alba and Nee 1999). In Landale and Oropesa's (2002, p. 234) words, "[assimilation]… defines the social context in which racial identities develop and change."

Theoretical Background

How White Ethnics became Unhypenated Whites

Throughout U.S. history the racial status and social location of immigrant groups have been varied and contested. Scholars have begun to compare and contrast the experience of Latinos to that of White Ethnics (who were once non-White) and ask to what extent Latinos will assimilate as the White Ethnics or remain separated as African-Americans are (Portes and Zhou 1993; 2005; Yancey 2006; Alba and Nee 1999). Waters (1990) presents two conflicting schools of thought regarding the experience of ethnic groups within the broader U.S. social order. Structural assimilation identifies a process where immigrants come to the U.S. as distinct ethnic groups and become folded into the mainstream culture and economy. Cultural pluralists, by contrast, emphasize the ways in which ethnic groups maintain unique identities and group boundaries. Waters rejects this

binary view, finding that most White ethnics' lives are both structured and integrated within the larger cultural patterns and economic system of the U.S. She also notes, however, that ethnic identities are maintained in symbolic and aesthetic terms but are subject to activation when expedient for the individual. She identifies Whiteness and suburban migration as important factors that facilitated assimilation, reporting that as White ethnics increasingly moved from segregated inner-city ethnic enclaves to more integrated suburbs they increasingly became assimilated. This is why residents of some White ethnic enclaves (such as certain Polish neighborhoods in Chicago or Orthodox Jews in New York) are not very assimilated but the larger ethnic groups (i.e., Polish-Americans and Jewish-Americans) are.

Waters' research in part inspired inquiry on precisely how groups who were not considered White at one time came to become White and see themselves as White. Books have been written about the Irish (Ignatiev 1991), Jews (Brodkin 1994), and Italians (Guglielmo and Salerno 2003) becoming White. While many important historical differences in the experiences of these groups exist, there are some common themes. All three groups had a period of heavy migration when they were slotted into a non-White category. After the migration stream slowed, upward mobility and cultural assimilation preceded their becoming White. They became White and accepted a White identity in a dialectic fashion by campaigning for inclusion in broader U.S. society, socially distancing themselves from Blacks, as well as the broader society assigning Whiteness to them.

The Latino Case

Latinos are a particularly interesting case study for several reasons: first, Latinos are a large and growing segment of the American population. As their numbers and

influence increase, they will affect the American racial structure. Indeed, Bonilla-Silva (2004, p. 931) has argued that the changing demography of the United States will cause the prevailing bi-racial order to shift to a more fluid system of three "loosely organized racial strata," which he terms "white, honorary white, and collective black." Second, Latin American notions of race have historically been based on a color continuum rather than a set of discrete categories (Landale and Oropesa 2002). For this reason, the boundaries between category membership are more permeable than among native-born Americans (though see Harris and Sim 2003), and this fluidity may cause American Latinos' racial self-identification to be particularly sensitive to outcomes of assimilation processes. Finally, and related to the previous point, Latinos' skin tones range from extremely dark, owing to the Portuguese and Spanish colonialists' participation in the African slave trade, to moderately dark, owing to intermarriage with native peoples of Central and South America, to extremely light, owing to the migration and settlement of Latin America and the Spanish Caribbean by populations from both southern and northern Europe. Clearly, then, Latinos as a whole face a much different set of circumstances than their counterparts from Ireland or Italy, who evinced far less variation in skin tone. Accordingly, we expect Latinos to choose from a variety of racial self-classifications; the purpose of this paper is to attempt to understand how they make those choices.

Data

The data for this paper come from the Latino National Political Survey (LNPS) (de la Garza et al. 1998). The LNPS was a face-to-face survey administered in 1989 and 1990

and was developed to measure the political attitudes and behaviors of three large Latino groups in the U.S.: Cubans, Puerto Ricans, and Mexicans. Respondents were selected via a multi-stage probability sampling design, in which primary sampling units (PSUs), Metropolitan Statistical Areas and rural counties, were selected within two strata of states: low and high Latino incidence states. Within PSUs, secondary sampling units (block groups or enumeration districts) were selected, and within these, blocks, households, and adult respondents (age 18 and older) were selected (ICPSR 1998). Sampling weights were generated to reflect this complex sampling design, and all data presented in this paper make use of those weights.[1]

The LNPS questionnaire was administered to about 2,800 Latino respondents by bilingual interviewers in either Spanish or English. About 60% of these interviews were conducted in Spanish (ICPSR 1998). In addition to questions about political attitudes and behaviors, a standard battery of demographic questions was included, as well as questions regarding experiences with discrimination and measures of assimilation. Finally, and crucially, interviewers rated the skin color of respondents. We describe our measures in more detail below.

Measures

Dependent Variable

LNPS interviewers asked Latino respondents if they considered themselves to be "white," "black," or "something else." If respondents replied "something else," they were asked to

[1] Winship and Radbill (1994:241) caution against using sampling weights in OLS regression models because weighting generates heteroskedasticity. They suggest that in cases where models cannot be specified so as to obviate the need for weights, researchers should use standard error estimators that account for heteroskedasticity. The Stata 8.0 procedure does this by estimating robust standard errors in regressions with sampling weights.

specify further. From these probed responses, LNPS coders created three additional "racial" categories. About 18% of respondents gave "Spanish" responses, including Hispanic, Latino, and Mestizo. About 14% gave "Color" responses, such as *Moron*, *Triune*, brown, olive, and tan. Finally, about 1% of respondents gave a "Race" response, such as Mulatto or Indian. From these responses we created a four-category racial self-identification dependent variable, with "White," "Spanish," "Color," and "Other" (including black, "Race" responses, and "Other," for respondents who did not specify further when probed) categories. The weighted distribution of these responses, as well as means and standard deviations for all variables used in the analysis, appears in Table 1. This distribution is remarkably close to the data from Census 2000 (see p. 3 above).

(Table 1 about here)

Independent Variables

Focal independent variables. Our analytical strategy is to examine the effects of three focal exogenous variables: skin color, nationality, and immigrant generation. We then introduce intervening variables that broadly capture processes of assimilation to see whether the effects of the focal variables can be understood by their relationship to these processes. For example, light-skinned Latinos might be more likely than dark-skinned Latinos choose a White racial self-identification. Part of this skin color effect may be due to the fact that light-skinned Latinos are more assimilated, and these assimilation processes lead them to self-identify as White. The residual skin color effect would then represent the effect of light skin that is not related to measures of assimilation.

We measured skin color on the basis of interviewer ratings of skin tone. These ratings range from "very dark" to "very light," which we collapsed into three dummy

variables representing “light,” “medium,” and “dark” skin tones. We measured nationality based on respondents’ self-identification as either Cuban, Puerto Rican, or Mexican. Finally, we measured immigrant generation via three dummy variables for foreign-born (1st and 1.5 generation), second generation (native-born but with at least one foreign-born parent), and 3rd or greater generation (native-born, and with two native-born parents). For the foreign-born, we also measured their duration of exposure to the U.S. by subtracting their year of arrival from 1990.

Intervening variables. The sociological concept of assimilation generally refers to the “process by which a group comes to resemble, on a variety of dimensions, some larger society of which it is a part” (Massey and Mullan 1984:836). Sociologists have specified various types of assimilation, and these types guide our selection of intervening variables. First, we measure acculturation by the English-language usage of the respondent. We categorized respondents into “English dominant,” “Bilingual,” or “Spanish dominant.” We measured socioeconomic assimilation via measures of family income, years of formal schooling, and, for the employed, their Nakao/Glenn occupational prestige score. We operationalized spatial assimilation as the Latino population density decile in the census tract in which the respondent lived. Finally, we operationalized structural assimilation via two measures. First, we created dummy variables for whether the respondent had an Anglo, Latino, or other race spouse. Second, we created a structural assimilation index (Cronbach’s $\alpha = .84$) that captured the extent to which respondents socialized with primarily Anglo versus Latino friends.

Control variables. In all models presented in Table 2 we control for the age and sex of respondents. In addition, we include dummy variables scored 1 if a respondent's income or density decile was imputed.

Methods

Our analysis proceeds in two steps. First, we present the weighted bivariate distributions of the four racial self-identifications by skin color, nationality, and immigrant generation (see Figure 1). This analysis gives a basic picture of the magnitudes of the differences across categories of our focal independent variables. We then estimate a series of multinomial logit equations to model the effects of our independent variables on the choice of racial self-identification. Although we include the "Other" category in our analyses, we do not present these findings. We do this in part because it is a rather catch-all category, and therefore somewhat difficult to interpret, and in part because relatively few respondents chose this category (see Table 1). The coefficients presented in Table 2 are estimates of the effects of one-unit changes in the independent variables on the log odds of choosing one racial category versus another, specified in the column headings of Table 2. In the odd-numbered models we omit the measures of assimilation in order to estimate the independent effects of skin color, nationality, and generation, controlling both for the other focal variables, plus age and sex. In the even-numbered models we include measures of assimilation both to estimate their effects and to observe the extent to which the effects of the focal independent variables change with the inclusion of the intervening variables.

Findings

Bivariate Distributions

Figure 1 presents the observed distributions of racial self-identification by categories of skin color, nationality, and immigrant generation. For skin color, note the expected finding that a "White" self-classification declines with respect to darkening skin color. It is worth noting, however, that full one-third of dark-skinned Latino respondents self-identify as White. This suggests the ambiguity in the meaning of "White" for Latinos. Certainly many dark-skinned Latinos are darker than many light-skinned African Americans, yet it would be surprising if anything close to one-third of the latter group would self-identify as White. We also note the somewhat greater tendency of dark-skinned Latinos to choose a "Color" relative to a "Spanish" self-identification. For respondents who did not choose "White," about 52% of light- and medium-skinned Latinos reported a Spanish label, compared to only 45% of dark-skinned Latinos. The equivalent percentages for a Color label were 34% for light- and medium-skinned Latinos and 43% for dark-skinned respondents.

(Figure 1 about here)

For nationality, Cubans overwhelmingly self-identify as White, at a rate of about 91%. Puerto Ricans (56%) and Mexicans (49%) are much less likely to choose this category. Conditioning on not choosing White, Mexicans were much more likely than the other groups to choose a Color identity. These conditional probabilities were 38% for Mexicans versus 17% for Cubans and 26% for Puerto Ricans. Similarly, although the probability of choosing White did not vary tremendously across immigrant generation, the conditional probability of choosing a Color identity was much higher for the foreign-

born (49%) relative to the 2nd (25%) or 3rd and greater (18%) generations. Conversely, the conditional probability of choosing a Spanish identity was about 70% for the 3rd and greater generation, compared to only 38% for the foreign-born. These findings suggest that "Color" labels are much more prevalent among immigrant Latinos, and that "Spanish" self-descriptions are much more characteristic of the native-born. This is not surprising, given research showing that "race" in much of Latin America is related to skin color, and that a pan-ethnic "Latino" identity is a product of the blending of multiple groups of Latinos in the United States.

Multiple Regression Analysis

Table 2 below presents coefficients and robust standard errors from multinomial logistic regressions of the four-category racial self-identification dependent variable on the independent variables. As noted above, we do not present findings for the choice of an "Other" racial self-classification; thus, our findings comprise three comparisons: White vs. Spanish, White vs. Color, and Spanish vs. Color. Therefore, the coefficients in each column represent the effects on the log odds of choosing one identity versus another, conditioning on having chosen one of the two in the comparison.

White versus Spanish. Regarding the White vs. Spanish distinction, note the positive effects of light and medium skin tone and Cuban national origin in Model 1. For persons whose characteristics make them otherwise equally likely to choose a White or Spanish identity, the probability of light-skinned Latinos' choosing White is 25% higher than for dark-skinned Latinos.[2] The Cuban effect is particularly large—Cubans' odds of

[2] This calculation follows the form $\frac{\Delta \Pr(Y=1)}{\Delta X} = \beta_X [P(1-P)]$, where β_X is a regression coefficient from a multinomial logit model and P is the probability that a respondent scores 1 on the dependent

choosing White over Spanish are more than 11 times greater than Mexicans' ($e^{2.44}$ = 11.44). The effects of immigrant generation are particularly interesting because they reflect a negative association with experience on U.S. soil and the adoption of Whiteness. Relative to the foreign-born, second- and third and greater generations of Latinos are less likely to choose a White identity over Spanish. Furthermore, for the foreign-born, the probability of choosing a White vs. Spanish identity declines with respect to duration in the U.S. The results of this relatively simple model, therefore, suggest that Latinos are not following the example set by previous generations of Irish, Polish, and Italian immigrants in adopting a White racial identity. Indeed, these findings point to the growth of a "Latino" *racial* identity.

In Model 2 we include measures of assimilation. Note that the effects of skin color and nationality are slightly intensified by the inclusion of assimilation variables; however, the effects of generation are cut in half and reduced to statistical nonsignificance. This suggests that assimilation processes are the mechanisms by which immigrant generation is translated into a higher probability of choosing Spanish vs. White. In particular, English language acquisition and family income are negatively related to the choice of White vs. Spanish, as well as marriage to a non-Latino, non-White partner. We do observe the predicted relationship between our structural assimilation index and an increased probability of choosing a White vs. Spanish identity. For persons whose other characteristics make them equally likely to choose a White vs. Spanish identity, the probability of choosing a White identity increases with respect to

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variable. For persons who are otherwise equally disposed to choose a White or Spanish identity (i.e., P = .50), then the effect of light versus dark skin = 1.11[.50(1-.50)] = .253 (Long 1999).

structural assimilation at a rate of 6.3% per unit change in the structural assimilation index (see footnote 2).

(Table 2 about here)

White vs. Color. Model 3 of Table 2 shows similar effects of skin color and nationality on the choice of a White versus Color racial category. Controlling for the other focal independent and control variables, light- and medium-skinned Latinos are more likely than dark-skinned Latinos to choose a White self-identification over a Color category. More specifically, for persons otherwise equally disposed to choose one or the other category, light-skinned Latinos' probability of choosing a White category is 27% higher than dark-skinned Latinos. Relative to Mexicans, Cubans' odds of choosing a White versus Color category are about 23 times greater ($e^{3.12} = 22.7$). Finally, each of the coefficients on our immigrant generation variables is positive and statistically significant at the .001 level, supporting the hypothesis that "Color" self-identifications are imported from Latin America by the foreign-born, and then gradually rejected with increasing exposure to American culture. The odds of foreign-born Latinos' choosing a White versus Color racial category are between 0.15 and 0.20 those of 2nd or 3rd and higher generations of Latinos ($1/e^{1.88} = 0.15$; $1/e^{1.63} = 0.20$), and the probability of choosing a White versus Color category increase with respect to years of exposure to U.S. culture at a rate of 1% per year of residence in the U.S., for persons otherwise equally disposed to choose one or the other category ($\beta_X [P(1-P)] = 0.04[0.50\{1-0.50) = 0.01$).

Controlling for our measures of assimilation in Model 4 slightly intensifies the effects of skin color and slightly reduces the effects of Cuban and Puerto Rican relative to Mexican nationality. As seen in our comparison of Model 1 to Model 2, the intervening

variables were most related to the effects of immigrant generation. We found that the gap between 2nd generation and foreign-born Latinos declined by 21% from Model 3 to Model 4 ([1.63 - 1.29] / 1.63 = 0.207) and the equivalent gap between 3rd and higher generation Latinos and the foreign born declined by 24%. The only assimilation variable that achieved significance at conventional levels was education. According to our estimates, for persons otherwise equally likely to choose a White or Color identity, the probability of choosing a White identity increases with respect to education at a rate of 2% per additional year of schooling (0.08[0.50(1 - 0.50) = 0.019).

Spanish versus Color. In Model 5 we estimate the effects of the focal independent variables on the choice between a Spanish and Color identity. Unlike in Models 1 through 4, we find no significant effects of skin color and nationality. Given the findings from Models 1 through 4, in which we have argued that a Spanish identity increasingly develops among Latinos with exposure to American culture and a Color identity increasingly fades, we expect to observe the largest effects of immigrant generation on the choice between these two identities. Indeed, relative to foreign-born Latinos, the odds of choosing a Spanish versus Color category are 9.5 times higher for 2nd generation Latinos and 15 times higher for 3rd and higher generations. As expected, the sizes of these gaps decline substantially (by about 30% for each gap) after introducing controls for assimilation processes. Acquisition of English and increasing education are particularly strongly related to the adoption of a Spanish versus Color self-classification. We also observe the expected effect of spatial assimilation. That is, Latinos who live in more densely populated Latino enclaves are more likely to choose a Color versus a Spanish identity. We also observe a similar negative effect of structural assimilation. This likely

reflects the powerful effect of structural assimilation in suppressing a Spanish identity, as seen in Model 2. In other words, the effect of structural assimilation appears to be more related to the rejection of a pan-ethnic "Spanish" identity than it is to foster a "Color" identity.

Conclusions

In this paper we inquired into the effects of skin color, nationality, and immigrant generation on Latinos' choice of racial self-identification, and the extent to which processes of assimilation could explain any observed effects of those three variables. We found that lighter skin and Cuban nationality were powerful predictors of the choice of White versus the other racial self-classifications, and that these effects were, if anything, intensified by the addition of the intervening assimilation variables. By contrast, increasing exposure to American culture, either by virtue of generation among the native born or duration in the U.S. among the foreign born, was related to the choice of a Spanish racial self-identification over the other two. These effects, however, were strongly mediated by the measures of assimilation.

These findings have several implications for research on the effects of continuing Latino immigration on the changing racial order in the U.S. First, as suggested by Bonilla-Silva (2004), a significant number of Latinos will claim White status by virtue of their light skin color and national origin. Counteracting this trend, however, will be the continuing difficulty of darker skinned Latinos to see themselves as White, and the tendency of native-born Latinos of increasing generation to adopt a Spanish racial self-identification.

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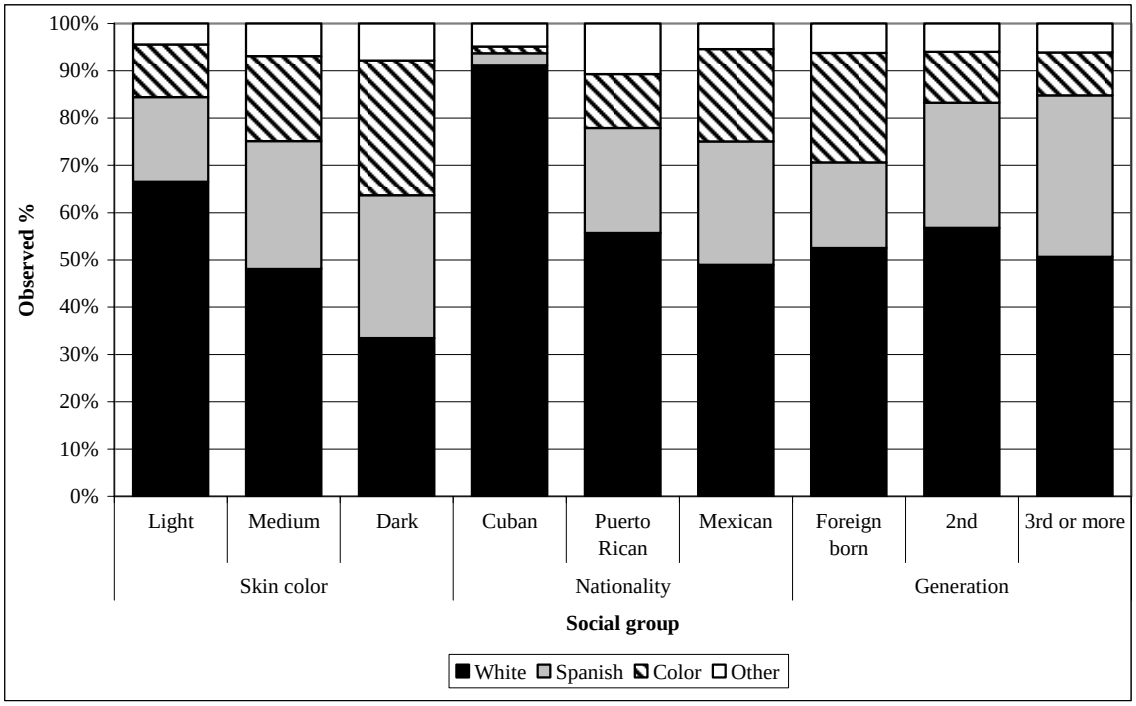
Table 1. Descriptions and Descriptive Statistics for the Variables Used in the Analysis: LNPS, 1990

Variables	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Dependent variable (racial self-identitfication)				
White	0.52	0.50	0	1
Color	0.24	0.43	0	1
Spanish	0.17	0.38	0	1
Other (including Black)	0.06	0.24	0	1
Indpendent variables				
Skin color				
Light	0.40	0.49	0	1
Medium	0.42	0.49	0	1
Dark	0.19	0.39	0	1
Nationality				
Cuban	0.07	0.25	0	1
Puerto Rican	0.15	0.35	0	1
Mexican	0.79	0.41	0	1
Immigrant generation				
Foreign-born (1st/1.5 generation)	0.55	0.50	0	1
2nd	0.18	0.38	0	1
3rd or more	0.27	0.44	0	1
Duration in U.S. (foreign-born only)	20.3	12.9	0	81
Assimilation				
Experienced discrimination	0.32	0.46	0	1
Acculturation				
English dominant	0.15	0.35	0	1
Bilingual	0.57	0.50	0	1
Spanish dominant	0.28	0.45	0	1
Socioeconomic assimilation				
Family income (in $000; logged in Table 2)	24.5	26.5	0	90
Education (in years)	9.3	6.0	0	17
Occupational prestige (Nakao/Treas scale ÷ 10)	2.5	2.6	0	9
Not in labor force	0.30	0.46	0	1
Spatial assimilation				
Homeowner	0.35	0.48	0	1
Renter	0.51	0.50	0	1
Other housing arrangement	0.14	0.35	0	1
Density decile	4.1	3.0	1	9
Structural assimilation				
White partner	0.08	0.27	0	1
Latino partner	0.52	0.50	0	1
Other-race/ethnicity partner	0.03	0.18	0	1
Single	0.36	0.48	0	1
Structural assimilation index	2.5	1.2	1	5
Control variables				
Age	38.6	21.4	18	89
Male	0.51	0.50	0	1

Notes: N = 2,817. Data are weighted.

Figure 1. Observed Distributions of Racial Self-Identification, by Skin Color, Nationality, and Immigrant Generation: LNPS, 1990



Note : N = 2,817. Data are weighted.

Table 2. Coefficients and Robust Standard Errors from Multinomial Logistic Regressions of Racial Self-Identitifcation on Skin Color, Nationality, Nativity, Assimilation, and Control Variables: LNPS, 1990

	White vs. Spanish				White vs. Color				Spanish vs. Color			
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5		Model 6	
Parameters	Coeff.	SE	Coeff.	SE	Coeff.	SE	Coeff.	SE	Coeff.	SE	Coeff.	SE
Constant	-0.25	0.28	2.06	1.07	-0.85 **	0.30	0.78	1.12	-0.61	0.33	-1.28	1.29
Skin color (vs. dark)												
Light	1.11 ***	0.20	1.18 ***	0.21	1.44 ***	0.22	1.47 ***	0.23	0.33	0.25	0.29	0.26
Medium	0.47 *	0.20	0.48 *	0.20	0.74 ***	0.21	0.80 ***	0.21	0.28	0.23	0.32	0.23
Nationality (vs. Mexican)												
Cuban	2.44 ***	0.36	2.47 ***	0.37	3.30 ***	0.53	3.12 ***	0.55	0.86	0.63	0.65	0.65
Puerto Rican	0.20	0.18	0.14	0.20	0.56 **	0.21	0.43	0.24	0.36	0.25	0.29	0.27
Immigrant generation (vs. foreign-born)												
2nd	-0.63 *	0.27	-0.30	0.32	1.63 ***	0.32	1.29 ***	0.36	2.26 ***	0.36	1.59 ***	0.41
3rd+	-0.82 **	0.25	-0.44	0.32	1.88 ***	0.29	1.43 ***	0.35	2.70 ***	0.34	1.86 ***	0.42
Duration in U.S.	-0.02 *	0.01	-0.01	0.01	0.04 ***	0.01	0.04 ***	0.01	0.06 ***	0.01	0.05 ***	0.01
Assimilation												
Experienced discrimination	—	—	-0.30	0.16	—	—	0.05	0.19	—	—	0.35	0.21
English dominant (vs. Spanish dominant)	—	—	-0.86 *	0.34	—	—	0.40	0.38	—	—	1.26 **	0.44
Bilingual (vs. Spanish dominant)	—	—	-0.45 *	0.23	—	—	-0.07	0.21	—	—	0.38	0.27
Ln(family income)	—	—	-0.25 *	0.10	—	—	-0.19	0.11	—	—	0.06	0.13
Imputed income	—	—	-0.36	0.27	—	—	-0.15	0.31	—	—	0.21	0.34
Education	—	—	-0.02	0.02	—	—	0.08 **	0.03	—	—	0.10 ***	0.03
Occupational prestige	—	—	0.05	0.08	—	—	-0.07	0.10	—	—	-0.12	0.11
Not in labor force	—	—	0.26	0.32	—	—	-0.10	0.40	—	—	-0.36	0.44
Homeowner	—	—	0.11	0.18	—	—	0.34	0.22	—	—	0.23	0.24
Other housing arrangment	—	—	-0.10	0.23	—	—	-0.03	0.28	—	—	0.08	0.31
Density decile	—	—	0.02	0.03	—	—	-0.06	0.04	—	—	-0.08 *	0.04
Imputed density decile	—	—	-0.16	0.21	—	—	-0.06	0.24	—	—	0.09	0.28
White partner (vs. Latino partner)	—	—	0.30	0.32	—	—	0.10	0.38	—	—	-0.20	0.42
Other-race/ethnicity partner (vs. Latino partner)	—	—	-0.74 *	0.34	—	—	0.42	0.57	—	—	1.15	0.59
Single	—	—	0.01	0.17	—	—	-0.12	0.20	—	—	-0.12	0.22
Structural assimilation index	—	—	0.25 *	0.11	—	—	-0.03	0.12	—	—	-0.29 *	0.13
Control variables												
Age	0.03 ***	0.01	0.02 *	0.01	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.01	-0.03 ***	0.01	-0.02	0.01
Male	-0.32 *	0.15	-0.18	0.16	-0.01	0.17	0.08	0.18	0.31	0.19	0.26	0.20

Notes: N = 2,788. Model degrees of freedom = 27 for odd-numbered models and 75 for even-numbered models. Pseudo R^2 = .094 for odd-numbered models and .121 for even-numbered models