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## America's Newcomers and the Dynamics of Diversity

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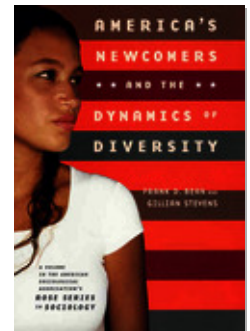
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## == Chapter 8 ==

# The Incorporation of Immigrants: Patterns of Marriage

THE INCORPORATION of immigrant groups into the mainstream of American life is a central element in the debates about immigration policy. Whether—and how rapidly—racial and ethnic groups who immigrate to the United States are incorporated into the social and cultural fabric of American society is a particularly important aspect of immigration. High levels of racial and ethnic intermarriage provide strong evidence of sociocultural incorporation because the familial relations between members of different racially or ethnically defined groups bespeaks the lack of barriers to social interaction between group members and the fading or acceptance of cultural differences. High levels of racial and ethnic intermarriage have therefore been called the litmus test of the social and cultural incorporation of racially or ethnically defined groups (Alba 1995).

The incorporation of immigrant groups into American society can also be hastened by marriage between the immigrant and native-born generations. Marriages between the first and later generations result in the quick political integration of the foreign-born spouses and children and may also be associated with a quicker introduction of the foreign-born spouse to participation in social arenas dominated by native-born Americans. Although often neglected in research and discussions concerning intermarriage, levels of intermarriage across generational lines may in fact be an underappreciated aspect of (and shortcut to) the integration of immigrant groups into American society.

In this chapter, we describe patterns of intermarriage of immigrants with respect to national origins, race, citizenship, and nativity. We include discussions of some of the reasons why intermarriage is

such an important barometer of incorporation, and how social and demographic contexts can modify patterns of intermarriage. To provide some background for the description and discussion of contemporary patterns of intermarriage, we first describe patterns of intermarriage with respect to national origins among immigrants and their descendants early in the twentieth century. We then discuss how elements of immigration policy have shaped patterns of marriage and intermarriage among immigrants during the latter part of the twentieth century.

## Background

Early in the twentieth century, concerns were raised about the ability of the nation to integrate the “disparate racial elements” introduced through immigration from southern and eastern European nations. Contemporaneous and recent analyses of marriage patterns between the various European nationalities in the 1920s showed high “caste-like” levels of in-group marriage and low levels of intermarriage (Drachsler 1920; Pagnini and Morgan 1990). By 1960, however, a generation or so later, levels of intermarriage among Americans of European descent were much higher and educational attainment appeared to be trumping national ancestry as the more important dimension in marriage choices (Kalmijn 1993a). By 1980, only twenty years later, intermarriage had become the expectation among Americans of European descent: native-born Americans of European descent were more likely to be out-married (married to a member outside their ethnic group) than to marry a person of matching or overlapping European origin (Lieberson and Waters 1988). The social and cultural barriers between the European national groups, each of which was considered in the early twentieth century to be racially distinct—had become almost nonexistent in the American context. The high levels of intermarriage, which increased over time and generation during the twentieth century, both reflected and accelerated the processes through which Americans of European descent became American—or, more accurately, became white Americans.

The Immigration Act of 1924 had distinguished the desirability of Europeans according to nationality and ranked them invidiously. It also had banned the immigration of persons of nationalities racially ineligible for citizenship, such as Chinese, Japanese, and South Asians. Although Mexicans were not prevented from entering, the implementation of various provisions of immigration policy such as the literacy test, the ban on contract labor, and the formation of the

Border Patrol in 1925 helped drive the level of documented immigration from Mexico down during the 1920s (Ngai 1999).

But the rigid racial architecture underlying the Immigration Act of 1924 began to unravel in the 1940s. Small quotas were allotted to immigrants of previously barred races and national origins and special provisions were enacted for the spouses and fiancées of American soldiers. The Immigration Act amendments of 1965 mandated evenly distributed quotas of 20,000 each to states in the Eastern Hemisphere (comprising Europe, Africa, Asia, and Australia) and thus undid the national-origins quotas, which had come to be viewed as an illiberal deviation from American democratic tradition. The 1965 act also carried over provisions from earlier legislation for easing the migration of parents, spouses, and children of American native-born citizens, naturalized American citizens, and permanent residents by allowing some of them to enter the country as "immediate relatives," a newly defined category exempt from the world-wide cap.

The 1965 act thus provided a framework that encouraged the entry of immigrants with close familial ties to people in this country. When Congress enacted the law, it apparently had not considered fully how the continuation of the family provisions might change the national origins of immigrants entering the United States. Each immigrant entering under a country-specific quota could open a path for non-quota immigration. A Korean bride, brought in by her U.S.-born husband, could become a naturalized citizen within three years and bring her parents and siblings as non-quota immigrants, who could then in turn bring in their spouses and children.

Some scholars argue that the new immigration streams are more racially distinct than earlier immigration streams (see, for example, Alba and Nee 1999). In 1998, less than 15 percent of legally admitted immigrants were of European national origin, while 30 percent were of Asian, 23 percent were of Mexican, and 13 percent were of Central or South American origin (U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service 2002b, table 2). Today, the largest immigration streams are of national origins that the 1924 National Origins Quota Act explicitly barred from the country or severely restricted because of these people's presumed inability to integrate into American society. The social and cultural integration of European immigrants entering the country in the first quarter of the century began in an era when immigrants from southern and eastern Europe were considered to be less desirable than those of northern and western Europe. However, high levels of intermarriage between Americans of various European nationalities in succeeding generations over the course of the mid-twentieth century were evidence of the diminution of social and cultural

distinctions among Americans of European descent. Will the same happen to the different national origin groups that arrived in the latter third of the twentieth century?

### **Implications of Intermarriage**

Intermarriage across racial or ethnic lines is considered a litmus test of assimilation because it affirms the dissolving of social and cultural barriers to the formation of formally acknowledged intimate relationships between members of socially or culturally distinct groups. Intermarriage also accelerates the dissolution or toleration of social and cultural distinctions in a variety of ways. The adults directly involved in mixed racial or ethnic marriages demonstrate and perhaps develop further sympathies with another socially defined racial or ethnic group. Moreover, their marriage affects the family relations of their relatives, whose social and kin networks now draw from at least two socially or culturally defined groups. Although racial intermarriage is increasing, it remains relatively rare in U.S. society. Still, about 20 percent of Americans have kinship networks that cross racial lines (Goldstein 1999). The effect of racially mixed marriages on the racial and ethnic composition of Americans' familial networks thus extends far into the general population.

Intermarriage also affects the social and cultural identities of the next generation, who now are of complex ancestry. In the case of intermarriage across racial or national-origin lines, putatively distinct physical markers of membership in one or the other group may be muted. Children are likely to learn some of the distinct mores and culture of both groups. In addition, culturally distinctive attributes may not be fully transmitted across generations. Children with only one parent who speaks a non-English language—a common occurrence in ethnically mixed marriages—are much less likely to learn that language than children with two non-English-language parents (Stevens 1985).

Intermarriage across racial and national-origin boundaries and the generation of offspring with complex lineages thus provide prima facie evidence of the blurring of racial and cultural distinctions in American society. By 1980, the increases in intermarriage over the course of the twentieth century had resulted in a large proportion of native-born Americans of European descent reporting two or more ethnic ancestries—in spite of the tendencies of parents to simplify their children's ancestries and in spite of the tendencies of young adults to focus on only one element of their ancestry after leaving their parents' home (Lieberson and Waters 1993). Contemporary levels and patterns

of ethnic and racial intermarriage and the prediction of future levels and patterns of intermarriage are therefore important considerations in the projections of the racial and ethnic composition of the American population (Edmonston and Passel 1999; Waters 2000).

Race, ethnicity, and national origin constitute, however, only one dimension (or overlapping dimensions) of intermarriage. Another facet of intermarriage is marriage across generations—particularly the marriage of first-generation immigrants to native-born, or later-generation, Americans. Early in the twentieth century, marriage between the foreign and “native” stock (in other words, native-born Americans) was considered evidence of integration of foreign groups into the American population (Bossard 1939; Carpenter 1927). Julius Drachler (1920) argued that a thorough-going assimilation of the foreign groups introduced through immigration would *require* frequent crossing of the generational divisions to fuse the foreign groups into the American population.

Cross-nativity marriages and their role in the social and cultural integration of immigrant groups disappeared from scholars' view in the middle of the twentieth century when levels of immigration sank. They may be, however, an important if underappreciated facet of the integration of immigrants and immigrant groups. For example, marriages between immigrants and native-born Americans are likely to be marked by the quicker social integration of the foreign-born spouse into social settings dominated by Americans than are marriages between two foreign-born spouses. A foreign-born person with a native-born spouse becomes eligible for naturalization more quickly than other immigrants. The offspring of marriages involving a native-born American parent are eligible for American citizenship whether the child is born in the United States or not. The children of cross-nativity marriages therefore are politically integrated with only minor efforts on their parents' part. Children with a native-born American parent are also very likely to learn English as a first (and only) language in childhood (Stevens 1985), and to identify themselves as American (Portes and Rumbaut 2001).

There are thus several reasons to investigate patterns of intermarriage and in-group marriage among immigrants. The levels of in-group marriage involving immigrants provide information on the extent of integration of new ethnic and racial groups in the United States and on the persistence of longstanding racial and ethnic designations in the American context. Patterns and levels of marriage within and between racial or national origin groups among the first generation also provides a baseline for the assessment of levels and patterns of in-group versus intergroup marriage in the native-born

generations. Patterns and levels of marriage across generational lines—especially between the immigrant and the native-born generations—show the speed with which some immigrants and their children are being fully integrated into American society.

### **Correlates of Intermarriage**

Levels and patterns of intermarriage are affected by more than the toleration or acceptance of socially or culturally defined groups in American society. Demographic and structural opportunities for people to meet potential partners with specific characteristics, preferences for partners with specific characteristics, and social institutions that encourage or discourage certain marriages are additional factors shaping patterns of intermarriage (Kalmijn 1998). Another factor is timing: immigrants may marry before entering the United States or some time after arrival. Patterns of intermarriage involving the immigrant generation are thus affected by demographic and structural factors operating in the immigrants' countries of origin as well as in the United States, by personal preferences for partners with specified attributes that were formed and perhaps modified in several different societies, and by the operation of social and familial institutions that may stretch around the world. Moreover, because it is possible that the act of marrying is linked to the act of immigrating, patterns of intermarriage are also affected by aspects of immigration policy and foreign relations.

It is particularly difficult to investigate the contribution of these factors on marriage patterns among persons who married before entry into the United States. The emphasis in this section is thus on how U.S. immigration policy may shape the marital characteristics of immigrants at time of entry and on patterns of intermarriage among immigrants currently residing in the United States.

### **Intermarriage and U.S. Immigration Policy**

Various facets of immigration policy and foreign relations have affected the marital characteristics of foreign-born persons entering the United States. In general, the Immigration Act of 1990 implicitly favors married immigrants because of the emphasis on family reunification (Jasso and Rosenzweig 1986). First, principal immigrants can apply for visas for accompanying immediate family members, including their spouse. Second, after arrival, permanent resident aliens may sponsor spouses (and children) for entry under the family second preference, which is numerically limited. Third, native-born U.S. citi-

zens, or permanent resident aliens who have become naturalized citizens, may sponsor their parents or spouses as "immediate relatives of U.S. citizens," a category that is not numerically limited.

Naturalized adult citizens may also sponsor married sons and daughters (family third preference), and adult brothers and sisters (family fourth preference). Christian Joppke (1999) further argues that many immigrants have used the family preference system in a step-wise fashion to sponsor their parents, who after naturalization can then easily sponsor their married sons and daughters. Immigrants entering the United States are therefore more likely to be married than native-born Americans of the same age (Greenwood and McDowell 1999; U.S. Census Bureau 2002a).

U.S. foreign relations have also affected the marriage characteristics of immigrants, especially female immigrants. The participation of men in major wars and conflicts outside the United States has often been accompanied by large numbers of marriages between American soldiers and civilians. The 1945 War Brides Act waived visa requirements for foreign nationals who married members of the American Armed Forces during World War II, and the 1946 Fiancées Act facilitated the admission to the United States of the fiancées of members of the American Armed Forces. Non-quota admission status was granted to the Chinese-national wives of American citizens in 1946, and in 1947, to wives of other nationalities then racially ineligible for admission (U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service 2002a). These legislative reforms are noteworthy because they laid the basis for Asian family immigration, which had been a near impossibility under the exclusionary provisions of the 1924 National Origins Quota Act.

Over the last several decades the United States has retained large military bases in the Republic of Korea and Japan, as well as relatively large bases in Germany and some other NATO countries (U.S. Department of Defense 2001). The presence of U.S. military bases scattered across the world has resulted in large numbers of women migrating to the U.S. as wives of American servicemen (Jasso and Rosenzweig 1990). Many of the foreign-born spouses sponsored by American citizens are thus spouses of military personnel. Research based on the 1980 census suggested the presence in this country of over 40,000 "war brides" from Japan, China, the Philippines, India, Korea, and Vietnam (Saenz, Hwang, and Aguirre 1994).

In addition, some of the persons entering the United States as the spouses or fiancé(e)s of U.S. citizens are the result of relationships begun under the auspices of marriage agencies. Such agencies, many of which use the World Wide Web to advertise the attractions of prospective spouses living in countries such as the USSR, the Philippines,



and Argentina, may be responsible for several thousand fiancées and newly married men and women entering the United States each year (Scholes 1999). Additional marriages between Americans living in the United States and persons living abroad are arranged or sponsored by families or national-origin communities in the United States because many foreign-born parents in these communities prefer for their native-born American sons and daughters to marry national compatriots and encourage them to do so (Foner 1997; Montero 1981).

Unfortunately, it is difficult to assess the detailed impact of policy on the patterns of intermarriage with respect to national origins, race, or nativity because of the general lack of data. Immigration and Naturalization Service data do not provide information on the national origins, race, or nativity of immigrants' spouses at time of arrival and the major cross-sectional surveys of immigrants currently living in the United States generally lack information on category of admission. It does seem plausible, however, that in many respects the emphasis on family reunification in U.S. immigration policy endorses the entry of immigrants who are married endogamously with respect to national origins, and the formation of marriages between foreign-born persons that are endogamous with respect to national origins. It also seems plausible that a large majority of marriages between foreign-born spouses and American citizens that are initiated by families and ethnic communities were encouraged for the specific purpose of ensuring marriages between persons of the same national and cultural background. On the other hand, it also seems likely that few of the marriages formed between foreign-born spouses (usually brides) and military personnel are endogamous, since so few military personnel are of the same national origin as the people of the country in which they are stationed. It also seems implausible that the majority of the relationships initiated under the auspices of marriage agencies are endogamous.

### **The Demographic Context of Marriages Occurring in the United States**

Many immigrants marry or remarry after entering the United States. The probability of immigrants marrying a native-born American versus someone of their own national origin is thus subject to the demographic and structural features of the American marriage market. One of the most important demographic phenomena affecting levels of intermarriage is the sex ratio within the country-of-origin immigrant stream. The sex ratio at birth is 105 males to 100 females for almost all ethnic and racial groups. Mortality rates during infancy

and childhood usually slightly favor females and so the sex ratio among young adults is usually about even.

For a variety of social, cultural, and economic reasons, however, migration streams, which are largely composed of young adults, often favor one or the other sex. For example, until the 1930s immigration to the United States was largely male; between the 1930s and 1978 and again during the 1990s, slightly more women than men were admitted to the country (U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service 2002a). In addition, the migration streams from specific countries are very likely to be dominated by one sex (Donato 1990), sometimes extremely so. For example, the Chinese who were recruited to build the U.S. railroads in the mid-1800s were almost exclusively men and most of the Irish brought in as domestic servants during the late 1800s were women. Recent immigration from the Philippines has been predominantly female and immigration from Vietnam has been predominately male (Goodkind 1997). The more extreme the sex ratio among migrants, the more likely it becomes that the migrants marrying in the United States will contract marriages with persons of other national origins (Pagnini and Morgan 1990).

Other important demographic predictors of the relative frequency of intermarriage in a given context include the relative sizes of the national-origin or racially defined groups. If all else is equal, the larger a group, the more likely its members will be to marry endogamously. Kalmijn (1998) hypothesizes that immigrants born in countries that have historically sent larger numbers of immigrants to the United States are thus more likely to marry native-born Americans of the same national origin because of the larger number of potential partners. In addition, the more a national-origin group is concentrated in a particular geographic locale, the lower the rates of intermarriage. Thus the geographic concentration of ethnic or racial groups or nativity groups, whether measured at the state, city, or neighborhood levels, is associated with lower levels of intermarriage (Lieberson and Waters 1988; Stevens and Swicegood 1987; White and Sassler 2000). Social segregation—the uneven participation of members of immigrants and ethnic or national-origin groups in major social institutions such as schools and places of employment—further lowers the probability of intermarriage between immigrants of different ethnic or racial origins and between immigrants and native-born Americans (Bozon and Héran 1987; Kalmijn and Flap 2001; Mare 1991; Schoen and Kluegel 1988).

In addition to demographic or structural considerations, social preferences also play a role. In general, people appear to be attracted to prospective marriage partners who have characteristics that are

similar to or match their own. In the United States, one of the most important dimensions of marriage markets is educational attainment (Lewis and Oppenheimer 2000; Mare 1991). Another is race (Kalmijn 1993b; Qian 1997). Length of residence in the United States is also a factor because in the American context this is strongly related to other processes of integration, such as the acquisition of English-language skills (Espenshade and Fu 1997; Stevens 1994), residential mobility and location (White and Sassler 2000), and thus the opportunity to meet and to attract potential marriage partners in an American setting.

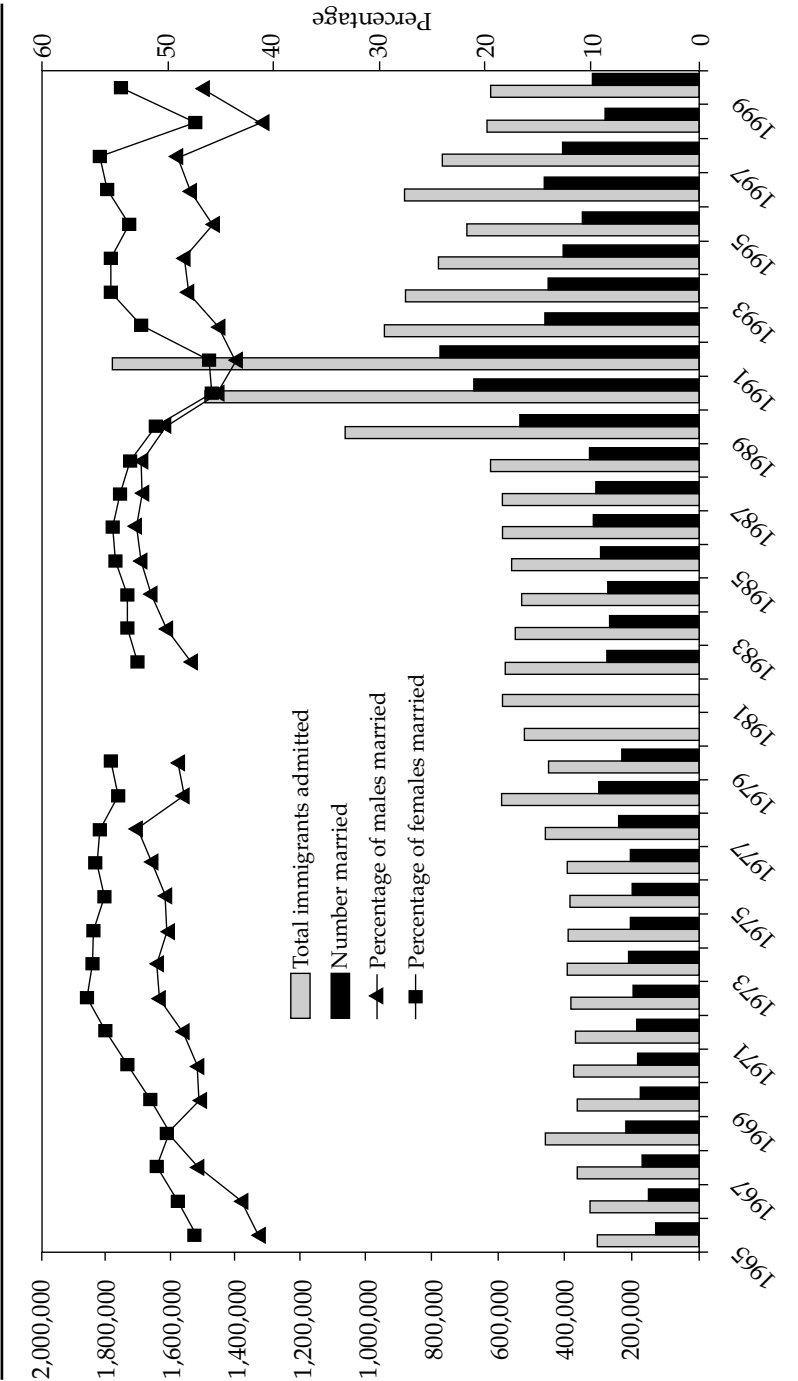
### **The Marital Characteristics of Immigrants at Time of Admission**

Because U.S. immigration policy favors married immigrants, a majority of immigrants—and an even larger proportion of adult immigrants—legally admitted to the country are married. Figure 8.1, based on data from the Immigration and Naturalization Service, shows the total number of immigrants admitted to the country, the number who were married, and the proportions of female and male immigrants who were married at the time of admission, for fiscal years 1975 to 1999. (Data on the marital status of immigrants admitted during 1980 and 1981 are not available.)

The percentages of immigrants who were married at the time they were admitted to the country increased between 1965 and the early 1970s and then vacillated around .50, ranging from a low of about .45 to a high of .55, until 1999. In every year, a higher percentage of female than of male immigrants were married at time of admission. The dip in the percentages of married immigrants admitted from 1989 to 1991 is probably accounted for by the slightly differing strategies used by immigrants admitted through the provisions of the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) of 1986. For example, Guillermina Jasso et al. (2000a) argue that for many of the couples residing illegally in the United States, just one spouse decided to pursue amnesty under IRCA as a means of safeguarding against the possible deportation of the entire family.

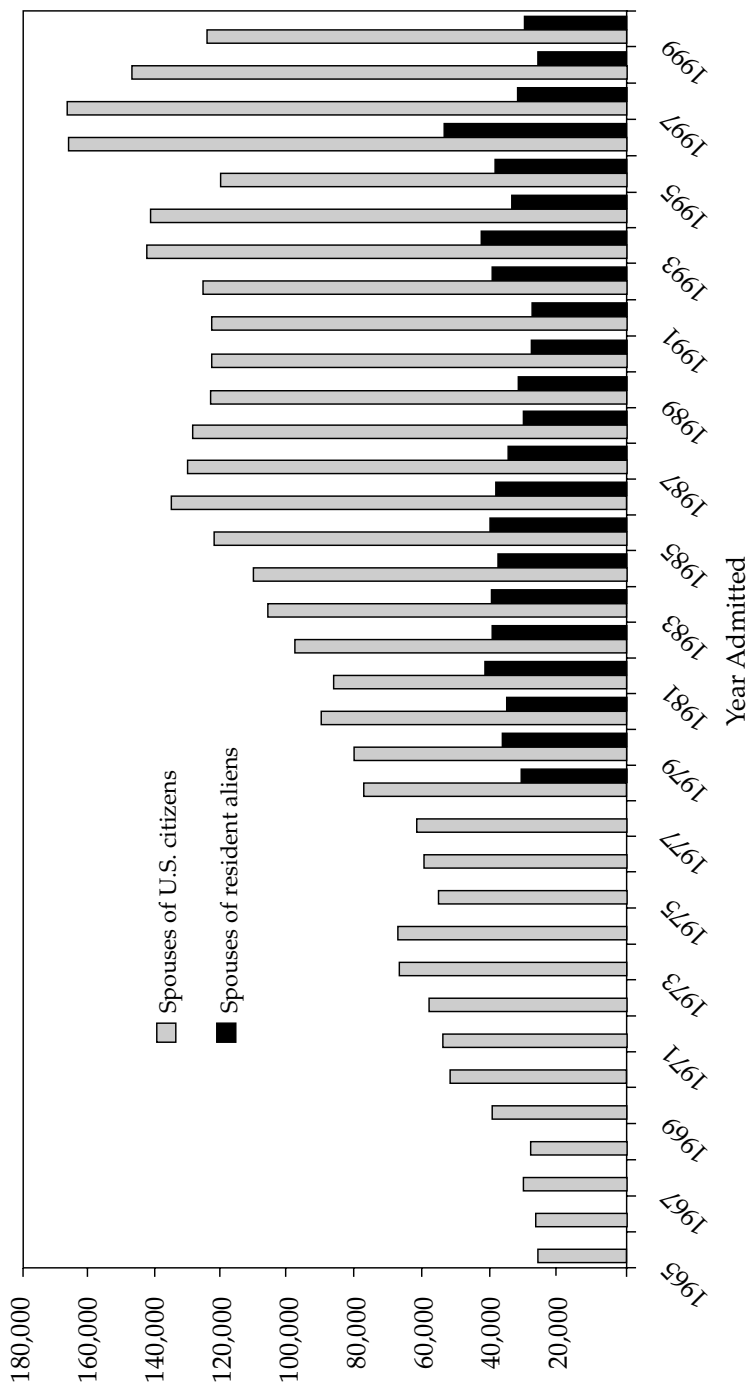
Unfortunately, detailed data on the marital and admission status of immigrants were not available until 1999. However, the Immigration and Naturalization Service does publish data showing the numbers of immigrants admitted to the country as spouses of U.S. citizens (who may be either native-born or naturalized) or as spouses of resident aliens (see figure 8.2). The numbers entering as spouses of resident aliens changed little during much of the 1980s but jumped in the

**Figure 8.1** Numbers and Percentages of Immigrants Married at Time of Admission to the United States, by Year Admitted and Gender, 1965 to 1999



Source: U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (2001).  
 Note: Information on marital status not available for 1980 and 1981.

**Figure 8.2 Numbers of Immigrants Legally Admitted to the U.S. as Spouses of U.S. Citizens or of Resident Aliens, 1965 to 1999**



Source: U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (2001).  
Note: Data on immigrants admitted as spouses of resident aliens not available before 1979.

mid-1990s. The probability of newly admitted immigrant spouses being sponsored by naturalized resident aliens may have increased in the 1990s as an outcome of policy enacted in the 1980s. Research based on interviews of immigrants from ten communities in Mexico further suggests that female migration in the mid-1990s reflected a process of family migration whereby wives migrated after their husbands obtained temporary amnesty under the provisions of IRCA (Donato 1993, 2001). Moreover, since these marriages were of longer than two years' duration, the newly admitted immigrant spouses were eligible for unconditional visas under the provisions of the 1986 Immigration Fraud Amendments Act.

The numbers of immigrants admitted as spouses of U.S. citizens increased steadily through the late 1970s until the mid-1980s, leveled off, and then peaked in 1996 and 1997. Research based on the New Immigrant Survey Pilot (Jasso et al. 2000b) suggests that about 40 percent of married immigrants aged eighteen and over who entered the U.S. or who adjusted their status to legal permanent resident in 1996 were sponsored by a native-born or foreign-born U.S. citizen. In many of these cases, the U.S. citizen appeared to be of Mexican origin and had been legalized under one of the provisions of the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act. IRCA-legalized aliens started becoming eligible to naturalize in fiscal year 1994, and consequently the mid-1990s immigrant entry cohorts included a large contingent of spouses of the IRCA-legalized and now naturalized migrants.

The Immigration and Naturalization Service data describing the marital characteristics of immigrants legally admitted to the country are, however, limited in several ways. They cover only immigrants who are legally admitted. With the exception of those who entered as the spouse of a U.S. citizen or of a permanent resident alien, no information is available describing the characteristics of the immigrant's spouse. We therefore turn to census data, which allow the description of the national origins, race, and nativity characteristics of married foreign-born persons and their spouses living in the United States in 1990. (Unfortunately, data from the 2000 census on the characteristics of married individuals are not yet available and other major surveys are too small to provide information about immigrants from specific countries of origin.)

### **Patterns of Inter-marriage: National Origins, Race, and Nativity**

There are numerous dimensions of intermarriage involving the immigrant generation. We focus first on national origin, which roughly

corresponds to country of birth or country of origin. Basing our analysis on national origin glosses over important minority populations within each country, such as the Ainu in Japan, the Catalans in Spain, or the Québécois in Canada and so some facets of intermarriage across ethnic or racial lines are obscured, but this focus is dictated by the information available in the census. A further point is that within American society groups have formed along national lines after arriving in the United States, and in addition, the national origins of immigrants may reflect Americans' perceptions and understanding of the immigrants' ancestry and race. It is therefore unlikely that a focus on national origins is misleading with respect to patterns of intermarriage as a barometer of the relationships between culturally and socially defined groups

Unfortunately, recent U.S. census data do not include information on timing of marriage, marital status at time of entry into the country, or number of times the person has married. It is therefore impossible to determine which marriages occurred before the foreign-born persons migrated to the United States, which marriages are closely linked to the act of migration, and which occurred after arriving in the United States. For example, some immigrants may have been married well before migrating to the United States, entered as a married immigrant, divorced their spouse, and then remarried in the United States. The data from the census do, however, provide a cross-sectional overview of the outcome of these processes and thus provide a basis for discussion of the implications of patterns of intermarriage involving the foreign-born generation.

### *National Origin*

Table 8.1 shows patterns of marriage by the national origins of married foreign-born men, and table 8.2 shows the same for married foreign-born women. The first line in table 8.1 shows, for example, that about 72 percent of married foreign-born men born in Portugal have wives who were born in Portugal, 9 percent have wives who were born in a foreign country other than Portugal, and about 19 percent have wives who were born in the United States. For each continent the countries of origin are ordered by the percentages of husbands with wives from the same foreign country. Among European countries, Portugal has the highest percentage of husbands with wives from the same country, and France has the lowest; only 15 percent of married male immigrants from France having wives from France.

Although the usual assumption is that most immigrants have spouses from the same country of origin—presumably because they

**Table 8.1 Percentages of Married Foreign-Born Men with Wives Born in the Same Country of Origin, a Different Foreign Country, or the United States**

Husband's Country of Origin	Wife's Place of Birth			Total
	Same Country as Husband	Different Foreign Country	United States	
Europe				
Portugal	72.1	8.7	19.2	100.0
USSR	61.9	15.0	23.2	100.0
Poland	55.3	16.9	27.8	100.0
Greece	53.3	9.8	36.9	100.0
Ireland	50.1	6.5	43.4	100.0
Italy	44.2	6.6	49.2	100.0
Hungary	42.6	19.8	37.6	100.0
Spain	31.6	24.3	44.1	100.0
Scandinavia	30.5	11.0	58.5	100.0
Czechoslovakia	28.9	22.2	48.9	100.0
United Kingdom	25.9	13.4	60.7	100.0
Switzerland	24.9	26.2	48.9	100.0
Germany	24.5	11.3	64.3	100.0
France	15.2	21.2	63.6	100.0
Asia				
Korea	93.0	3.3	3.7	100.0
Vietnam	91.8	5.2	3.0	100.0
Laos	91.5	6.2	2.3	100.0
Taiwan	88.1	8.4	3.5	100.0
India	82.6	9.9	7.5	100.0
Philippines	81.6	4.1	14.3	100.0
China	78.2	13.0	8.8	100.0
Pakistan	67.3	18.7	14.0	100.0
Iran	58.8	10.6	30.7	100.0
Japan	50.8	9.8	39.4	100.0
Iraq	47.6	31.1	21.3	100.0
North and South America				
Haiti	81.6	8.7	9.7	100.0
Cuba	74.5	9.1	16.5	100.0
Mexico	72.8	3.9	23.3	100.0
El Salvador	69.8	19.3	11.0	100.0
Dominican Republic	69.4	13.2	17.4	100.0
Guatemala	65.5	20.9	13.5	100.0
Colombia	65.5	15.7	18.8	100.0
Jamaica	64.5	10.1	25.5	100.0
Canada	25.4	7.3	67.4	100.0
Other country of origin	56.7	12.1	31.2	100.0
Total	61.4	9.5	29.1	100.0

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census (1995).



**Table 8.2 Percentages of Married Foreign-Born Women with Husbands Born in the Same Country of Origin, a Different Foreign Country, or the United States**

Wife's Country of Origin	Husband's Place of Birth			Total
	Same Country as Wife	Different Foreign Country	United States	
Europe				
Portugal	79.0	4.4	16.7	100.0
USSR	70.9	12.6	16.5	100.0
Greece	68.5	9.1	22.5	100.0
Poland	61.3	13.7	25.1	100.0
Italy	57.5	4.2	38.3	100.0
Hungary	53.4	14.0	32.6	100.0
Ireland	40.9	9.7	49.5	100.0
Czechoslovakia	33.9	15.9	50.2	100.0
Spain	30.5	17.2	52.3	100.0
Scandinavia	30.1	6.9	63.1	100.0
Switzerland	28.8	21.9	49.3	100.0
United Kingdom	20.2	10.3	69.5	100.0
Germany	16.4	9.4	74.2	100.0
France	10.4	14.1	75.6	100.0
Asia				
Laos	94.8	3.7	1.6	100.0
India	89.1	6.1	4.9	100.0
Iran	86.0	6.5	7.5	100.0
China	82.1	7.0	10.9	100.0
Vietnam	79.7	7.4	13.0	100.0
Iraq	77.8	16.7	5.6	100.0
Pakistan	77.3	20.1	2.5	100.0
Taiwan	67.6	15.0	17.4	100.0
Korea	65.3	4.5	30.2	100.0
Philippines	63.5	5.1	31.5	100.0
Japan	28.7	5.8	65.5	100.0
North and South America				
Haiti	89.5	3.5	7.0	100.0
Cuba	78.6	7.6	13.8	100.0
Mexico	76.3	3.8	19.9	100.0
El Salvador	69.0	18.2	12.8	100.0
Dominican Republic	68.8	12.2	18.9	100.0
Jamaica	67.1	13.1	19.7	100.0
Guatemala	60.8	20.6	18.7	100.0
Colombia	54.7	21.4	23.9	100.0
Canada	21.7	6.7	71.6	100.0
Other	56.1	11.5	32.4	100.0
Total	58.6	8.3	33.0	100.0

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census (1995).

entered the country together as young adults—the results presented in tables 8.1 and 8.2 show that this assumption is not fully warranted. Overall, only about 61 percent of foreign-born husbands and 59 percent of foreign-born wives living in the United States have spouses from the same country of origin, and some of these may have met and married their spouses after arriving in the United States. Moreover, there is a great deal of variation between continents, countries of origin within a continent, and the gender of the immigrant. Immigrants from Canada, a European country, or European region are in general less likely to have foreign-born spouses from the same country of origin than are immigrants from Asia or Central and South America.

Tables 8.1 and 8.2 also show that, in most cases, married foreign-born men from a specific country of origin are slightly less likely than their female compatriots to have a spouse from the same country of origin. For example, about 73 percent of Mexican husbands have Mexican wives while 76 percent of Mexican wives have Mexican husbands. That difference can be more extreme: only 48 percent of Iraqi husbands have Iraqi wives while over 78 percent of Iraqi wives have Iraqi husbands. In some cases the situation is reversed: over 90 percent of Korean husbands have Korean wives, whereas only 65 percent of Korean wives have Korean husbands. The same pattern holds for Japanese immigrants but at lower levels: Over 50 percent of Japanese husbands have Japanese wives but only 29 percent of Japanese wives have Japanese husbands.

Tables 8.1 and 8.2 also show that the origin-specific percentages of immigrants with spouses born in foreign-born countries that differ from their own are generally fairly low. These percentages are low for several reasons. The odds of the spouses from different foreign countries having met and married before migrating to the United States are low, and once in the United States, the odds of an immigrant's meeting and marrying an immigrant born in another foreign country are low because of linguistic and other cultural differences, the geographic segregation of different country-of-origin populations in the United States, and the relatively low numbers of foreign-born relative to native-born Americans in the United States.

### *Nativity*

The percentages of immigrants with native-born American spouses also vary widely. Immigrants born in a European country or Canada are more likely than those born in Asia or in Central and South America to have native-born American spouses. There are a variety of rea-

sons for this pattern. European and Canadian immigrants are more likely to have entered the United States already possessing skills in English (Stevens 1994). It is therefore easier for them to live in neighborhoods (Stevens and Garrett 1996), to go to schools, and to work in settings that are dominated by the English language and English speakers. The United States and Canada share an open border, and a very large percentage of Canadians live within one hundred miles of the United States. The ease of travel across the border allows numerous opportunities for Canadians to meet Americans and vice versa. Immigrants from Canada are therefore very likely to have been sponsored by a native-born American (Jasso and Rosenzweig 1989). In addition, because immigrants' countries of origin have shifted over time, immigrants from a European country are more likely to have lived in the United States for longer periods of time than immigrants from other countries and thus have had more time to meet and marry native-born Americans in this country, perhaps in a second or higher-order marriage.

It is also possible that race or national ancestry plays an important role. A large percentage of native-born Americans claim European descent. Racial cleavages between native-born Americans and immigrants of European or Canadian origins are therefore much less common than those between native-born Americans and immigrants born in Central or South America, Asia, or Africa. Moreover, because immigration streams in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were dominated by Europeans, contemporary immigrants from Europe encounter many more opportunities to marry a native-born American of the same national origin than do contemporary immigrants from Asia or Central and South America.

The statistics presented in table 8.3 are from logistic models predicting the logged odds of a foreign-born man or woman having a native-born American spouse. The table shows in a slightly more formal fashion some of the relationships that are apparent in the previous tables showing percentage distributions. The more formal models have the advantage of allowing an evaluation of these relationships net of education—one of the most important social dimensions in marriage choices—as well as length of residence in the United States, race, and continent of origin. The coefficients in model 1 for each sex shows the relationships between education, time period of immigration, and the odds of an immigrant's being married to a native-born American. The impact of education is clear for both sexes: more highly educated immigrant men and women are more likely than less-educated immigrant men and women to be married to native-born Americans.

**Table 8.3 Log Odds of a Married Immigrant Having a Native-Born Versus Foreign-Born Spouse, 1990**

	Men			Women		
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Constant	-2.714*	-2.702*	-2.237*	-2.852*	-2.666*	-2.097*
Years of education	.073*	.090*	.085*	.122*	.110*	.111*
Year of immigration						
After 1986	<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>
1985 to 1986	.239*	.330*	.342*	.050	.140	.114
1982 to 1984	.425*	.537*	.568*	.171*	.257*	.247*
1980 to 1981	.105	.196	.219*	-.035	.045	.046
1975 to 1979	.494*	.604*	.581*	.391*	.463*	.446*
1970 to 1974	.755*	.814*	.813*	.787*	.852*	.839*
1965 to 1969	1.049*	.968*	.948*	1.106*	1.063*	1.041*
1960 to 1964	1.523*	1.312*	1.259*	1.636*	1.490*	1.047*
1950s	1.954*	1.636*	1.550*	2.022*	1.738*	1.719*
Before 1950	2.746*	2.424*	2.350*	2.490*	2.125*	2.114*
Continent of origin						
Europe or Canada	—	.412*	—	—	.518*	—
Asia	—	-1.188*	—	—	-.302*	—
Central or South America	—	.172*	—	—	-.473*	—
Other	—	<i>a</i>	—	—	<i>a</i>	—
Ethnic origin						
White	—	—	.031	—	—	-.132
Black	—	—	-.419	—	—	-1.032*
Asian or Pacific Islander	—	—	-1.997*	—	—	-.899*
Hispanic	—	—	-.591	—	—	-.897*
Other	—	—	<i>a</i>	—	—	<i>a</i>
Model Chi-square	7,725	9,593	10,700	9,077	10,252	10,234
df	10	13	14	10	13	14

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census (1995).

*a*Omitted category.

\*Significant at .001 level.

The relationship between the time period when immigrants entered the United States and the odds of their being married to a native-born American, net of education, is strong and almost linear. The earlier a foreign-born person entered the country, the more likely he or she is to have a native-born spouse. The second model for each sex controls for continent of origin (Canada is placed in the same continental grouping as the European countries). The coefficients for year of immigration, net of time period of immigration, are slightly smaller but still significant. The third model for each sex replaces continent of origin with race or Hispanic origin as measured in the American context by the U.S. census. Again, the relationship between time of immigration and the odds of being married to a native-born American persists, although it is slightly weaker. The main conclusion is that the odds of an immigrant's being married to a native-born American increase the longer the person has been in the United States.

### *Race*

The coefficients in table 8.3 for continent of origin and for race or Hispanic origin in the second and third models for each sex show sex-specific patterns. Men and women born in Europe or Canada are significantly more likely to have native-born American spouses than are men and women from an Asian or Pacific Island country or a Central or South American country—but the difference is much larger for men. When continent of origin is replaced by American race or Hispanic categories, the sex-specific pattern is even more striking. In addition to the differences between Asian men and women, there are differences between black foreign-born men and black foreign-born women in the odds of marriage to a native-born American. Black foreign-born women are much less likely to have a native-born American spouse than are black foreign-born men.

The race-specific results suggest that race, as defined in the American context, affects patterns of intermarriage within the foreign-born generation. The results presented in table 8.3 show the logged odds that immigrants with various characteristics, including race, marry a native-born American; they do not consider the race of the spouse. Table 8.4 shows the cross-classification of race or Hispanic origin for foreign-born men and foreign-born women and their spouses and, for purposes of contrast, for native-born men and native-born women as well. Although foreign-born white (non-Hispanic) men and foreign-born white (non-Hispanic) women are very likely to have white spouses, they are slightly less likely than native-born white men and women to have white spouses. In addition, black (non-Hispanic) im-

migrant men and women are less likely to have black spouses than are native-born black men and women. White immigrants and black immigrants are thus partly responsible for the increases in intermarriage across the white-black divide in American society (see also Kal-mijn 1993b; Model and Fisher 2001). On the other hand, levels of racial endogamy are higher for foreign-born Asian men and women and for foreign-born Hispanic men and women than for their native-born counterparts.

The high levels of racial endogamy (or, conversely, low levels of racial intermarriage) in the United States are often considered evidence of persisting strong social and cultural barriers between the races, particularly between African Americans and others. The significant increases in racial intermarriage that have occurred over the last several decades (Stevens and Tyler 2002) suggest these barriers are diminishing. The results presented in table 8.4 suggest that the intermarriage patterns of immigrants are partially responsible for this statistical trend.

Nevertheless, a slight majority of immigrants have spouses of the same national origins as themselves (see tables 8.1 and 8.2) and thus are probably married endogamously with respect to race. Many, perhaps most, of these marriages occurred before the subjects immigrated to the United States and therefore say little about race relations in the United States. On the other hand, marriages between foreign-born and native-born Americans probably either occurred in the American context after the foreign spouse immigrated or were initiated by a native-born American. These marriages may therefore show particularly different patterns of racial endogamy and intermarriage.

Table 8.5 shows the cross-classification of racial or Hispanic origins for immigrant men and women with native-born American spouses. Recent research suggests that Asian immigrants in cross-nativity marriages are more likely to have white spouses than Asian immigrants with foreign-born spouses (Qian, Blair, and Ruf 2001). Table 8.5 shows that this pattern is not limited to Asian immigrants. Over 40 percent of Hispanic foreign-born wives in cross-nativity marriages have white spouses. Overall, higher percentages of immigrants in cross-nativity marriages have white spouses than immigrants in general. In general, the levels of racial endogamy are lower among cross-nativity marriages than among marriages involving two foreign-born spouses and marriages involving two native-born American spouses (see table 8.5). The relatively low levels of racial endogamy—particularly among black immigrants with native-born spouses—may reflect higher levels of acceptance of foreign-born than native-born blacks by native-born whites.

**Table 8.4 Patterns of Racial Intermarriage for Wives and Husbands by Nativity, 1990 Census**

Racial Origins	Origin of Spouse					Total
	White	Black	Asian or Pacific Islander	Hispanic	Other	
Foreign-born wives						
White non-Hispanic	96.37	0.83	0.69	1.89	0.22	100.00%
Black non-Hispanic	3.86	93.69	0.20	2.10	0.15	100.00
Asian or Pacific Islander	19.16	1.31	77.99	1.33	0.21	100.00
Hispanic	11.16	0.85	0.79	87.02	0.18	100.00
Other	26.84	7.61	5.77	15.81	43.97	100.00
Foreign-born husbands						
White non-Hispanic	94.79	0.27	1.13	3.59	0.22	100.00
Black non-Hispanic	4.43	91.11	1.09	3.15	0.22	100.00
Asian or Pacific Islander	5.36	0.16	92.42	1.85	0.21	100.00
Hispanic	7.02	0.38	0.48	91.81	0.32	100.00
Other	26.75	6.61	2.19	10.87	53.58	100.00
Native-born wives						
White non-Hispanic	98.07	0.31	0.14	1.13	0.36	100.00
Black non-Hispanic	1.45	97.54	0.05	0.79	0.17	100.00
Asian or Pacific Islander	58.36	3.61	34.08	3.32	0.63	100.00
Hispanic	32.50	2.06	0.39	64.59	0.46	100.00
Other	53.96	2.58	0.49	3.96	39.00	100.00
Native-born husbands						
White non-Hispanic	96.55	0.11	0.72	2.24	0.39	100.00
Black	3.94	93.40	0.58	1.85	0.24	100.00
Asian or Pacific Islander	23.57	0.58	70.74	4.51	0.59	100.00
Hispanic	19.49	1.02	0.72	78.27	0.50	100.00
Other	51.51	1.87	1.14	4.59	40.90	100.00

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census (1995).

Census data do not include information about parents' countries of birth and so cannot be used to distinguish patterns of intermarriage between the second generation and third (or later) generations, but the Current Population Surveys fielded in the latter part of the 1990s do. Table 8.6 is based on data from Current Population Surveys fielded in March from 1995 through 2001. The data are pooled to provide enough cases for analysis. The cell entries in the table are the sex-specific and race- or ancestry-specific percentages of marriages in which the respondent has a spouse of a different race or ancestry.

Table 8.6 shows the same pattern for foreign-born versus native-born white husbands and wives (although in more detail for the native-born generations) observed earlier in the census data. Foreign-

**Table 8.5 Patterns of Racial Inter-marriage for Foreign-Born Men and Women with Native-Born Spouses, 1990 Census**

	Race of Native-Born Spouse					Total
	White	Black	Asian or Pacific Islander	Hispanic	Other	
Foreign-born wives						
White non-Hispanic	95.69	1.37	0.49	2.10	0.35	100.00%
Black non-Hispanic	13.85	81.33	0.00	4.11	0.71	100.00
Asian or Pacific Islander	79.25	5.22	11.34	3.36	0.84	100.00
Hispanic	42.47	2.77	0.43	53.72	0.61	100.00
Other	51.34	15.39	0.00	21.21	12.06	100.00
Foreign-born husbands						
White non-Hispanic	95.95	0.35	0.33	2.98	0.38	100.00
Black non-Hispanic	12.96	81.97	0.99	3.42	0.66	100.00
Asian or Pacific Islander	60.36	1.60	28.67	7.78	1.59	100.00
Hispanic	28.85	1.13	0.42	68.36	1.25	100.00
Other	54.80	17.55	0.00	10.06	17.59	100.00

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census (1995).

born white husbands and foreign-born white wives are more likely than native-born white husbands and wives to have spouses of a different race or ancestry. Table 8.6 shows, in addition, that the difference in percentages of native-born white husbands and wives having spouses of different race or ancestry differs little between the second and the third generations.

For blacks, the patterns of intermarriage across generations appear to be sex-specific, although the small numbers of cases of second-generation black wives and black husbands make it difficult to reach any conclusions about a regular progression across the first, second, and third (and later) generations in levels of intermarriage. There are, of course, large numbers of third- and later-generation black Americans, and the number of foreign-born black immigrants in the United States has been growing steadily, albeit from a low base, since at least the 1970s. There has not, however, been enough time for black immigrants entering in the latter part of the twentieth century to have enough native-born children of marriageable age so that they would show up in statistical surveys in sizable numbers. This gap in the generations among black Americans is a reminder that second-generation Americans need not be the "children" of the current first generation (or the parents of the third generation), and that third generation Americans are not the children of the second generation. The small numbers of second-generation black husbands and wives thus



**Table 8.6 Percentages of Married Men and Women, by Generation and Race or Ancestry, with Spouses of a Different Race or Ancestry**

Generation	Race or Ancestry				
	White Non-Hispanic	Black Non-Hispanic	Asian or Pacific Islander	Hispanic	Other
<b>Wives</b>					
Foreign-born	4.25	5.33	17.59	10.49	—
Second generation	2.87	—	36.62	25.99	—
Third generation	2.62	3.08	40.46	31.17	60.8
Total	2.72	3.35	20.86	17.68	59.8
Number of cases	149,134	10,620	6,658	24,801	1,614
<b>Husbands</b>					
Foreign-born	5.97	6.22	6.22	7.68	—
Second generation	3.20	—	26.69	26.19	—
Third generation	3.11	7.18	29.47	30.94	59.74
Total	3.25	7.31	9.93	15.41	58.15
Number of cases	149,996	11,163	5,807	24,372	1,489

*Source:* Current Population Survey (1995 to 2001).

*Note:* — Percentage based on fewer than one hundred cases and therefore not presented.

provide a cautionary note in the reading of patterns over generations as unfolding over historical time when the data are limited to one time period.

The columns of percentages for wives and husbands of Asian or Pacific Island ancestry or of Hispanic ancestry all show the same pattern: an increase in the percentage of exogamous marriages between the first (foreign-born) generation and the second generation, and an additional, although much smaller, increase between the second and the third generations. The increasing levels of intermarriage across generations strongly suggests that the intermarriage patterns of Asians and of Hispanics will parallel those of European immigrants and their descendants over the course of the twentieth century.

## Summary and Conclusions

The social and cultural integration of racial and ethnic groups introduced into the American context by immigration is a complex process. The extent and rapidity with which it occurs has numerous im-

plications for relations between racial and ethnic groups; it may also change the understandings of race and ethnicity in the American context and perhaps the understanding of what it means to be "American." Levels of intermarriage across extant racial and ethnic boundaries are often considered a barometer of integration because levels (and patterns) of intermarriage reflect the strength of racially and ethnically based barriers to the formation of intimate social relationships and accelerate the loss of culturally important distinctions. In the European example, European national-origin groups, originally considered racially distinct in disparaging terms, intermarried in such rapidly increasing proportions over several generations that cultural and social distinctions were largely erased within a century. The native-born American population of European descent now lays claim to various European ancestries so inconsistently as to imply that European-derived national origins are optional or largely symbolic (Farley 1991).

Whether the same process of integration, as marked and accelerated by intermarriage, will take place and at the same pace for the racial and ethnic groups introduced by immigration streams in the last portion of the twentieth century is unknown. The European case was marked by a virtual cessation of immigration during the middle third of the century, and some scholars have argued that the hiatus aided the assimilation, both structural and cultural, of the invidiously ranked European groups. The integration of the European groups may also have been aided by a lack of physical distinctiveness and by opportunities for economic and structural integration specific to the time period (Massey 1995).

Definitive answers are lacking as to what will happen over time and over generations, but it is still instructive to consider intermarriage patterns as reflecting and generating processes of incorporation. At the individual level, intermarriage with respect to national origin and race affects the incorporation of individual immigrants and their children into American society. Moreover, intermarriage across nativity and citizenship categories directly affects the political, and probably social, incorporation of immigrants and their children. The effects on individuals extend through their family networks and thus into the wider American population. And as the analyses presented in this chapter show, patterns of intermarriage across nativity overlay patterns of intermarriage across national origin and racial lines. The description of patterns of intermarriage involving the immigrant population also shows that the integration of national origin and racial groups through intermarriage starts in the first generation and continues into the native-born generations. The "succession of generations" may be a major engine of the incorporation of culturally distinct groups, but for some groups, the process is kick-started by the

immigrant generation living through their lives in the American context.

Various aspects of immigration policy and foreign relations have some affect on the marital characteristics of immigrants at time of entry. The family reunification emphasis in U.S. immigration policy encourages the entry of immediate relatives—particularly spouses and fiancé(e)s—of successful applicants, of permanent residents, and of naturalized and native-born citizens. From the 1970s through the 1990s, about 50 percent of immigrants admitted to the country were married. Although the common image is one in which married immigrants admitted to the country are accompanied by their (also foreign-born) spouses, significant numbers of immigrants are admitted as spouses of U.S. citizens or permanent residents. In 1999, for example, of the 647,000 immigrants admitted, 330,000, or 51 percent, were married. Of the married immigrants, 115,000, or 35 percent, were principal immigrants and 57,000, or 17 percent, were derivative spouses. It is likely that many of these marriages were endogamous with respect to national origins and race. However, 128,000 (39 percent) of the married immigrants were spouses of U.S. citizens, and 29,000 (9 percent) were spouses of resident aliens (U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service 2002b).

Overall, during the last quarter of the twentieth century about a quarter of immigrants legally admitted to the country each year were admitted as the spouse of an American citizen. In many cases the American citizen sponsor was a foreign-born naturalized citizen. And again, in many of these cases, it seems likely that the spouse sponsored by the naturalized citizen may be of the same national origin as his or her sponsor, and thus married endogamously with respect to national origin, race, and nativity. The implementation of various aspects of immigration policy—especially the provisions of the Immigration Reform and Control Act—in tandem with the complex and iterative nature of migratory behavior also appears to have encouraged the formation or re-formation of immigrant couples of the same national origin and research suggests this is particularly the case for Mexicans (Dávila and Mora 2001). Yet census data on the marital characteristics of immigrants residing in the United States also show that almost a third of married foreign-born persons living in the United States have native-born American spouses. A good percentage of the spouses sponsored by U.S. citizens must therefore have been sponsored by native-born American citizens.

Immigration and foreign relations policy may have played an unintended role in the formation of the large numbers of cross-nativity marriages by providing the opportunities for native-born Americans, especially male military personnel, to meet prospective partners abroad

and to sponsor their entry into the country (Heaton and Jacobson 2000). The marketplace for foreign brides (and occasionally foreign grooms), possibly propelled by new technology, may also play a role in the arrival of foreign-born persons in the country. It seems plausible that many of these marriages cross boundaries of national-origin descent or race. (On the other hand, the apparently increasing probability that families or communities seek appropriate, that is, foreign-born, spouses from their country of origin as partners for American residents may result in some of these marriages being deliberately endogamous with respect to national origin or race.)

Most analyses of intermarriage have neglected the role of cross-nativity marriages. Yet marriage between the foreign-born and native-born generations allows the easier political integration of foreign-born spouses since the length of residence required for naturalization is shorter. The acquisition of U.S. citizenship for foreign-born children with an American citizen parent is almost guaranteed. Our analyses of census data also suggested that many immigrants contract marriages with native-born American citizens. In general, the longer an immigrant has lived in the United States (and thus the younger the age at immigration), the more likely he or she is to have a native-born American spouse. The relatively low levels of endogamy with respect to national origin (Stevens 2000) and the lower levels of racial endogamy in cross-nativity marriages than in other configurations suggest that the presumptive baseline of high levels of endogamy with respect to national origin in the foreign-born generation may be overstated.

The social and cultural integration of racial and national-origin descent groups introduced, and augmented, by immigration is a central consideration in debates about whom and how many to admit to the country. Theoretical frameworks and analyses considering the integration of social and culturally distinct groups have focused on processes of assimilation, including intermarriage, as they occur over time and generation. A common result is that the behaviors and experiences of the immigrant generation are used as a baseline against which progress of later generations is compared. To the extent that this comparison is warranted, the results presented here suggest that levels of intermarriage among Americans of Asian and of Hispanic descent increase through successive generations. Perhaps more important, the analyses presented here demonstrate that the processes of social and cultural incorporation, as indicated through intermarriage with respect to nativity, citizenship, and race, are well under way within the immigrant generation and that some of these processes have been facilitated, if inadvertently, by aspects of immigration policy.