Marriage Patterns among Latinos in New York City, 1990 – 2010

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The Center for Latin American, Caribbean and Latino Studies is a research institute that works for the advancement of the study of Latin America, the Caribbean, and Latinos in the United States in the doctoral programs at the CUNY Graduate Center. One of its major priorities is to provide funding and research opportunities to Latino students at the Ph.D. level.

The Center established and helps administer an interdisciplinary specialization in Latin American, Caribbean and Latino Studies in the Masters of Arts in Liberal Studies program.

The Latino Data Project was developed with the goal of making information available on the dynamically growing Latino population of the United States and especially New York City through the analysis of extant data available from a variety of sources such as the U.S. Census Bureau, the National Institute for Health, the Bureau of Labor Statistics, and state and local–level data sources.

All Latino Data Project reports are available at http://web.gc.cuny.edu/lastudies

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Executive Summary

This study examines marriage patterns among Latinos in New York City between 1990 and 2010. It focuses on changes in the percentages of Latinos married to other Latinos or married to people belonging to the three other major race/ethnic groups in New York City. These patterns were examined by sex and nativity (domestic-born versus foreign-born), and among the City’s five largest Latino national subgroups (Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Colombians, Ecuadorians, and Dominicans).1

The most significant finding was that the percentage of the City’s domestic-born Latina household heads who were married to non-Latino spouses increased dramatically over the twenty year period considered here.2 In 1990, 17.2% of domestic-born Latinas were married to a non-Latino spouse, whereas 34.0% were married to a non-Latino in 2010. The percentage of the City’s domestic-born Latino males married to non-Latino spouses rose marginally, from 22.2% 1990 to 25.4% in 2010.

An important finding was that domestic-born Latino men and women who married non-Latino spouses were most likely to marry non-Hispanic whites. Among domestic-born Latina women that rate increased substantially, from 10.7% in 1990 to 23.0% in 2010. Rates of marriages to non-Hispanic whites among domestic-born male heads of house rose slightly from 17.3% in 1990 to 19.0% in 2010.

By comparison, rates of marriage to non-Latino spouses among foreign-born Latinos and Latinas were stable and relatively low. Among men, that rate was 9.0% in 1990 and 8.5% in 2010. Among domestic-born Latinas, rates of marriage to non-Latino spouses were steady at 9.6% in 1990 to 10.1% in 2010.

Nativity was critical. About 21.1% of domestic-born Latinos married a non-Latino spouse in 1990, which increased significantly to 29.5% in 2010. By comparison, the City’s foreign-born Latinos had consistently low rates of intermarriage with people belonging to the other three major race/ethnic groups, at 9.1% in 1990 and 2010.

Among the City’s five largest Latino national subgroups there were some noteworthy differences in marriage patterns.

Marriage patterns among Puerto Ricans stand out from the other subgroups. Puerto Rican household heads had the highest rate of marriages to non-Latinos in 2010 (18.0%), a significant increase from 6.6% in 1990. Puerto Ricans’ rate of marriage to non-Hispanic blacks in 2010 (4.6%) was much higher compared to the other subgroups, which all had rates around 1%. Colombians also had increasing rates of marriage to non-Latino spouses: from 6.6% in 1990 to 15.2% in 2010.

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1 Consistent with Bergad and Klein’s (2010) study of Latino’s intermarriage rates in the United States, this report examines marriage patterns among married Latino household heads.

2 This finding is consistent with Bergad and Klein’s (2010) finding among Latino household heads in the U.S. population.
Marriage Patterns among Latinos in New York City

Mexican and Dominican household heads experienced declining rates of marriage to non-Latino spouses. Among Mexicans that rate was 18.0% in 1990 and 10.2% in 2010. Dominicans had the lowest rates of marriages to non-Latino spouses, and their rates declined from 4.3% in 1990 to 2.8% in 2010. This was in all likelihood related to the arrival of large numbers of foreign-born Mexicans and Dominicans over this time period, who were less likely to exhibit exogenous marriage patterns. Dominicans were the subgroup that was least likely to marry a non-Latino in 2010, followed closely by Ecuadorians, although rates of marriage to non-Latinos among Ecuadorians rose slightly from 4.8% to 7.0% between 1990 and 2010.

In every subgroup, the individuals who married a non-Latino spouse were more likely to marry a non-Hispanic white than they were to marry a non-Hispanic Black or Asian spouse. Marriage to Asians spouses was markedly low and similar among all Latino subgroups, on average 1.0% or less between 1990 and 2010.
Marriage Patterns among Latino Household Heads

Between 1990 and 2010 the percentage of Latino household heads in New York City who were married to non-Latino spouses rose modestly. In 1990, 11.1% of Latinos were married to a non-Latino spouse, which climbed to 14.0% in 2010. (See table 1, and figures 1 and 2).

Latinos who married non-Latinos were most likely to have a non-Hispanic white spouse in each census year considered here. Marriage to non-Hispanic white spouses increased from 7.4% in 1990 to 10.2% in 2010. Rates of intermarriage to non-Hispanic blacks did not change and were approximately 3.0% in 1990 and 2010. The proportion of Latinos who were married to Asians was low and steady between 1990 (0.6%) and 2010 (0.7%). These intermarriage patterns may be related to the population of New York City, where non-Hispanic whites were the largest race/ethnic group available for intermarriage.

Table 1
Percentage of Marriages among Latino Household Heads by Race/Ethnicity of Spouse
New York City, 1990 - 2010

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spouse Race/Ethnicity</th>
<th>1990</th>
<th>2000</th>
<th>2010</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Latino</td>
<td>88.9%</td>
<td>90.7%</td>
<td>86.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Hispanic White</td>
<td>7.4%</td>
<td>6.1%</td>
<td>10.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Hispanic Black</td>
<td>3.1%</td>
<td>2.4%</td>
<td>3.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
<td>0.7%</td>
<td>0.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Non-Latino</td>
<td>11.1%</td>
<td>9.3%</td>
<td>14.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: "All Non-Latino" is the total percentage of marriages to a non-Latino, calculated by summing the percentages of marriages to non-Hispanic white, non-Hispanic black, and Asian spouses.
Figure 1
Percentage of Marriages among Latino Household Heads by Race/Ethnicity of Spouse
New York City, 1990 - 2010

Figure 2
Percentage of Marriages to Latino and Non-Latino Spouses among Latino Household Heads
New York City, 1990 - 2010

Note: Each percentage is calculated by summing the percentages of marriages to non-Hispanic white, non-Hispanic black, and Asian spouses from Table 1.
Marriage Patterns among Latino Household Heads by Sex

Sex of the household head influenced marriage patterns. Among Latina women the percentage of marriages to non-Latino spouses climbed from 11.3% in 1990 to 17.2% in 2010. In contrast to women, among the total population of Latino male household heads there were stable rates of marriage to Latino and non-Latino spouses. About 11.3% of Latino men were married to a non-Latino spouse in 1990, which remained at 12.0% in 2010. As illustrated in figure 3, Latinas were more likely than Latinos to marry a non-Latino in 2010. (See table 2).

The incline in marriage rates between Latina women and non-Latino spouses may be due to Latinas’ increased educational attainment over the years considered here, compared with Latino men’s educational attainment. With higher levels of education Latinas may be less likely to find male Latino spouses with equivalent educational levels, as well as more likely to interact with non-Latinos, trends that could stimulate intermarriage.

![Figure 3](image)

**Figure 3**
Percentage of Marriages to Non-Latino Spouses among Male and Female Latino Household Heads
New York City, 1990 - 2010

Note: Each percentage is calculated by summing the percentages of marriages to non-Hispanic white, non-Hispanic black, and Asian spouses for each sex from Table 3.

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Latina women who married a non-Latino were most likely to have a non-Hispanic white spouse than a non-Hispanic black or Asian spouse in each census year considered in this report. Marriages between Latinas and non-Hispanic white spouses increased between 1990 (7.2%) and 2010 (12.2%). Rates of marriage between Latinas and non-Hispanic blacks changed little between 1990 (3.6%) and 2010 (4.7%). There was no change in the percentage of marriages between Latina household heads and Asian spouses. (See table 3 and figure 4).

Among Latino men, rates of marriage to non-Hispanic whites, non-Hispanic blacks, and Asians were low and did not change between 1990 and 2010, although Latino men who married a non-Latino were most likely to have a non-Hispanic white spouse in each year. (See figure 5).

Comparatively, in 1990 men and women had similar rates of marriage to non-Hispanic whites. However, in 2010 Latina household heads were more likely than Latino men to marry non-Hispanic white spouse or a non-Hispanic black spouse. Latinos and Latinas had similar rates of marriage to Asian spouses, at 1% or less in each census year.

In sum, Latinas showed relatively large increases in rates of marriage to non-Latino spouses between 1990 and 2010, especially marriages to non-Hispanic whites. By comparison Latino men had lower rates of marriage to non-Latinos, and those rates saw little change between 1990 and 2010.

### Table 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1990</th>
<th>2000</th>
<th>2010</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Male</strong></td>
<td>11.0%</td>
<td>9.3%</td>
<td>12.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Female</strong></td>
<td>11.3%</td>
<td>9.2%</td>
<td>17.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Each percentage is calculated by summing the percentages of marriages to non-Hispanic white, non-Hispanic black, and Asian spouses for each sex from Table 3.
Table 3
Percentage of Marriages among Male and Female Latino Household Heads by Race/Ethnicity of Spouse
New York City, 1990 - 2010

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Spouse Race/Ethnicity</th>
<th>1990</th>
<th>2000</th>
<th>2010</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Latino</td>
<td>89.0%</td>
<td>90.7%</td>
<td>88.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Non-Hispanic White</td>
<td>7.5%</td>
<td>6.4%</td>
<td>8.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Non-Hispanic Black</td>
<td>3.0%</td>
<td>2.1%</td>
<td>2.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
<td>0.8%</td>
<td>1.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Latino</td>
<td>88.7%</td>
<td>90.8%</td>
<td>82.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Non-Hispanic White</td>
<td>7.2%</td>
<td>5.1%</td>
<td>12.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Non-Hispanic Black</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
<td>4.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>0.5%</td>
<td>0.5%</td>
<td>0.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 4
Percentage of Marriages among Female Latino Household Heads by Race/Ethnicity of Spouse
New York City, 1990 - 2010
Marriage Patterns among Latino Household Heads by Nativity

Nativity was highly influential to patterns of marriage among Latinos household heads. The percentage of domestic-born Latinos who were married to non-Latino spouses increased substantially between 1990 and 2010. In 1990, 21.1% of domestic-born Latino household heads married non-Latino spouses, and that rate rose to 29.5% in 2010. As illustrated in figure 6, in all three census years domestic-born Latinos were substantially more likely than foreign-born Latinos to marry a non-Latino spouse. That gap grew between 1990 and 2010. Rates of marriage between foreign-born Latino household heads and non-Latino spouses were steady at 9.1% in 1990 and 2010. (See table 4).

The different patterns among domestic-born and foreign-born Latinos in marriage rates to non-Latinos may be because domestic-born Latinos had levels of education that were closer to the educational levels among other groups, especially non-Hispanic Whites. This relationship may increase the likelihood that domestic-born Latinos interact with non-Hispanic whites, and prompt increased frequency of intermarriages. Additionally, differences between domestic- and foreign-born Latinos in levels of acculturation may influence this pattern. Because domestic-born Latinos are more acculturated than foreign-born, they may be more likely to marry outside their racial/ethnic group.

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4 Puerto Ricans were included in these analyses. For Puerto Ricans ‘foreign-born’ means born on the island.
Figure 6
Percentage of Marriages to Non-Latino Spouses among Domestic-Born Latino Household Heads
New York City, 1990 - 2010

Note: Each percentage is calculated by summing the percentages of marriages to non-Hispanic white, non-Hispanic black, and Asian spouses for each group from Table 5.

Table 4
Percentage of Marriages to Non-Latino Spouses among Domestic-Born and Foreign-Born Latino Household Heads
New York City, 1990 - 2010

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nativity</th>
<th>1990</th>
<th>2000</th>
<th>2010</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Domestic-Born</td>
<td>21.1%</td>
<td>19.2%</td>
<td>29.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign-Born</td>
<td>9.1%</td>
<td>7.2%</td>
<td>9.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Each percentage is calculated by summing the percentages of marriages to non-Hispanic white, non-Hispanic black, and Asian spouses for each group from Table 5.
Domestic-born Latinos were more likely to marry non-Hispanic white spouses than were foreign-born Latinos. Rates of marriage between domestic-born Latinos and non-Hispanic whites climbed from 15.8% in 1990 to 20.9% in 2010. By comparison, the percentages of foreign-born Latinos who were married to non-Hispanic whites were stable, at 5.7% in 1990 and 6.7% in 2010. (See table 5, and figures 7 and 8). This trend may be due to increasing levels of education and also acculturation among domestic-born Latinos.

Between 1990 and 2010 domestic-born Latinos saw increased rates of marriage to non-Hispanic black spouses, whereas that rate was steady among foreign-born Latinos. In 1990, 4.0% of domestic-born Latinos and 2.9% of foreign-born Latinos were married a non-Hispanic black spouse. In 2010, 7.7% of domestic-born and 1.7% of foreign-born Latinos were married to non-Hispanic black spouses. This pattern may be related to the higher levels of acculturation among domestic-born Latinos, compared with foreign-born.

There were no changes in rates of marriage to Asian spouses among domestic-born or foreign-born Latino household heads, nor were there differences between the two groups. These rates were approximately 1% between 1990 and 2010.

In sum, domestic-born Latinos showed a dramatic increase in rates of marriage to non-Latino spouses between 1990 and 2010. The marriages that were exogenous were likely to be with a non-Hispanic white or non-Hispanic black spouse. Foreign-born Latinos had low and stable rates of marriage to non-Latinos between 1990 and 2010.

Table 5
Percentage of Marriages among Domestic-Born and Foreign-Born Latino Household Heads by Race/Ethnicity of Spouse
New York City, 1990 - 2010

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nativity</th>
<th>Spouse Race/Ethnicity</th>
<th>1990</th>
<th>2000</th>
<th>2010</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Domestic-Born</td>
<td>Latino</td>
<td>78.9%</td>
<td>80.8%</td>
<td>70.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Non-Hispanic White</td>
<td>15.8%</td>
<td>12.1%</td>
<td>20.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Non-Hispanic Black</td>
<td>4.0%</td>
<td>5.4%</td>
<td>7.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
<td>0.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign-Born</td>
<td>Latino</td>
<td>90.9%</td>
<td>92.8%</td>
<td>90.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Non-Hispanic White</td>
<td>5.7%</td>
<td>4.9%</td>
<td>6.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Non-Hispanic Black</td>
<td>2.9%</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
<td>1.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
<td>0.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 7
Percentage of Marriages among Domestic-Born Latino Household Heads by Race/Ethnicity of Spouse
New York City, 1990 - 2010

Figure 8
Percentage of Marriages among Foreign-Born Latino Household Heads by Race/Ethnicity of Spouse
New York City, 1990 - 2010
Marriage Patterns among Latino Household Heads by Sex and Nativity

Together sex and nativity had a strong influence on marriage patterns among Latino household heads. The most significant finding was that the percentage of the City’s domestic-born Latinas who were married to non-Latino spouses saw a dramatic increase between 1990 and 2010, from 17.2% to 34.0%. As illustrated in Figure 9, in 2010 domestic-born Latinas were significantly more likely than domestic-born men and foreign-born men and women to marry a non-Latino spouse. The percentage of the City’s domestic-born Latino males married to non-Latino spouses rose modestly, from 22.2% 1990 to 25.4% in 2010. (See table 6).

Foreign-born men and women had steady rates of marriage to non-Latinos, which were much lower than rates among domestic-born Latinos. The percentage of marriages between foreign-born men and non-Latino spouses was 9.0% in 1990 and 8.5% in 2010. Among foreign-born Latinas, rates of marriage to non-Latino spouses were 9.6% in 1990 to 10.1% in 2010.

The different patterns among domestic-born Latina women in marriage rates to non-Latinos may be because domestic-born Latina women have increasingly higher levels of education, which have become closer to the educational levels among other groups, especially non-Hispanic Whites. Domestic-born Latinas may not find domestic-born or foreign-born Latino male spouses with equivalent levels of education, and so seek out spouses with more similar educational attainment in other race/ethnic groups. Additionally, domestic-born Latinas’ distinctly higher rates of marriage to non-Latinos may be related to their level of acculturation. Because domestic-born Latinos are more acculturated than foreign-born, they may be more likely to marry outside their race/ethnic group.

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6 Puerto Ricans were included in these analyses. For Puerto Ricans ‘foreign-born’ means born on the island.
Table 6
Percentage of Marriages to Non-Latino Spouses among Latino Household Heads by Sex and Nativity of Household Head
New York City, 1990 - 2010

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Nativity</th>
<th>1990</th>
<th>2000</th>
<th>2010</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Domestic-Born</td>
<td>22.2%</td>
<td>19.9%</td>
<td>25.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Foreign-Born</td>
<td>9.0%</td>
<td>7.4%</td>
<td>8.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Domestic-Born</td>
<td>17.2%</td>
<td>17.6%</td>
<td>34.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Foreign-Born</td>
<td>9.6%</td>
<td>6.9%</td>
<td>10.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Each percentage is calculated by summing the percentages of marriages to non-Hispanic white, non-Hispanic black, and Asian spouses for each group from Table 7.
Domestic-born men and women married more non-Hispanic whites compared with foreign-born men and women between 1990 and 2010. (See table 7). Between those years male and female domestic-born Latinos had increased rates of marriage to non-Hispanic white spouses. About 17.3% of domestic-born males married non-Hispanic white spouses in 1990, which increased marginally to 19.0% in 2010. The percentages of domestic-born Latinas married to non-Hispanic whites was 10.7% in 1990, which soared to 23.0% in 2010. This increase among domestic-born Latinas again may be due to increasingly higher levels of educational attainment among domestic-born Latinas compared with domestic- and foreign-born males.\(^8\) (See figures 10 and 11).

The proportion of foreign-born men and women married to non-Hispanic whites changed very little between 1990 and 2010. Among foreign-born males that rate was 5.7% in 1990 and 6.2% in 2010. The rate of intermarriages between foreign-born Latinas and non-Hispanic whites was 6.1% in 1990 and 7.6% in 2010. (See figures 12 and 13).

Domestic-born females had increased rates of marriage to non-Hispanic black spouses. That rate increased from 5.2% in 1990 and 10.0% in 2010. The percentage of domestic-born men married to non-Hispanic black spouses saw a marginal rise between 1990 (3.7%) and 2010 (5.6%). In contrast to domestic-born men and women, the proportion of foreign-born males married to non-Hispanic blacks was 2.9% in 1990, which decreased to 1.2% in 2010. There was stagnancy in the percentages of foreign-born females who were married to non-Hispanic blacks (3.2% in 1990 2.5% in 2010).

The rates of intermarriage between Latinos and Asians was similar among domestic-born and foreign-born, male and female Latinos. These rates of intermarriage were less than 2.0% in each census year, with little change between 1990 and 2010.

In sum, among domestic-born Latinas rates of marriage to non-Latino spouses, especially non-Hispanic whites, increased dramatically between 1990 and 2010. Similarly, those rates rose modestly among domestic-born men. Regardless of sex, domestic-born Latinos were more likely to be married to non-Hispanic whites and also non-Hispanic blacks than were foreign-born Latino men and women. Rates of intermarriage to non-Hispanic blacks increased among domestic-born women, rose slightly among domestic-born men, declined among foreign-born men, and was steady among foreign-born women. There was little change in marriage patterns among foreign-born male and female Latinos between 1990 and 2010.

### Table 7

Percentage of Marriages among Latino Household Heads by Sex and Nativity of Household Head and by Race/Ethnicity of Spouse
New York City, 1990 - 2010

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Nativity</th>
<th>Spouse Race/Ethnicity</th>
<th>1990</th>
<th>2000</th>
<th>2010</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Domestic-Born</td>
<td>Latino</td>
<td>77.8%</td>
<td>80.1%</td>
<td>74.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Non-Hispanic White</td>
<td>17.3%</td>
<td>13.7%</td>
<td>19.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Non-Hispanic Black</td>
<td>3.7%</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
<td>5.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
<td>0.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign-Born</td>
<td>Latino</td>
<td>91.0%</td>
<td>92.6%</td>
<td>91.5%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Non-Hispanic White</td>
<td>5.7%</td>
<td>5.1%</td>
<td>6.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Non-Hispanic Black</td>
<td>2.9%</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
<td>1.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Domestic-Born</td>
<td>Latino</td>
<td>82.8%</td>
<td>82.4%</td>
<td>66.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Non-Hispanic White</td>
<td>10.7%</td>
<td>8.6%</td>
<td>23.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Non-Hispanic Black</td>
<td>5.2%</td>
<td>7.9%</td>
<td>10.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
<td>1.1%</td>
<td>1.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign-Born</td>
<td>Latino</td>
<td>90.4%</td>
<td>93.1%</td>
<td>89.9%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Non-Hispanic White</td>
<td>6.1%</td>
<td>4.1%</td>
<td>7.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Non-Hispanic Black</td>
<td>3.2%</td>
<td>2.4%</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>0.3%</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: No data were available for marriages between foreign-born female household heads and Asian spouses in 2010.

### Figure 10

Percentage of Marriages among Male Domestic-Born Latino Household Heads by Race/Ethnicity of Spouse
New York City, 1900 - 2010
Figure 11
Percentage of Marriages among Female Domestic-Born Latino Household Heads by Race/Ethnicity of Spouse
New York City, 1900 - 2010

Figure 12
Percentage of Marriages among Male Foreign-Born Latino Household Heads by Race/Ethnicity of Spouse
New York City, 1900 - 2010
Marriage Patterns among the Five Largest Latino National Subgroups in New York City

Mexican household heads had declining rates of marriage to non-Latino spouses between 1990 and 2010. To a lesser degree, Dominicans also saw a decline in overall rates of marriage to non-Latinos. These patterns were likely related to the arrival of large numbers of foreign-born Mexicans (81.9% above the age of 18 in 2010) and Dominicans (79.0% above the age of 18 in 2010) over this time period, who were less likely to exhibit exogenous marriage patterns.

Puerto Rican household heads experienced increased rates of marriage to non-Latinos over the twenty year period considered here. This trend may be due to high levels of domestic-born Puerto Ricans (61.9% above the age of 18 born in the U.S. in 2010). Colombians also saw increased percentages of marriages to non-Latinos between 1990 and 2010, which may be due to educational attainment. Colombians have the highest educational levels of the five Latino subgroups considered here, and so may seek out spouses from other race/ethnic groups with equivalent levels of education.

Among Ecuadorian household heads there was a small increase in the overall percentage of marriages to non-Latinos. However, that rate was relatively low, which may be attributable to higher levels of foreign-born individuals (83.0% above the age of 18 in 2010).

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9 Percentages in this section are calculated based on the total number of intermarriages for each respective Latino national subgroup.
Figure 13 and table 8 present percentages of marriages to non-Latino spouses for each group in 1990, 2000, and 2010.

Table 8
Percentage of Marriages to Non-Latino Spouses among Household Heads in the Five Largest Latino National Subgroups
New York City, 1990 - 2010

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Mexican</th>
<th>Puerto Rican</th>
<th>Colombian</th>
<th>Ecuadorian</th>
<th>Dominican</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>18.0%</td>
<td>9.9%</td>
<td>6.6%</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>6.6%</td>
<td>11.1%</td>
<td>7.6%</td>
<td>4.6%</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>10.2%</td>
<td>18.0%</td>
<td>15.2%</td>
<td>7.0%</td>
<td>2.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Each percentage is calculated by summing the percentages of marriages to non-Hispanic white, non-Hispanic black, and Asian spouses for each respective subgroup from Table 9.
The majority of Mexicans in New York City were married to other Latinos between 1990 (82.0%) and 2010 (89.8%). The increase in that rate between 1990 and 2010 can be explained by the arrival of more foreign-born Mexicans in New York City, as foreign-born individuals tend to marry other foreign-born persons. Mexicans who were married to a non-Latino were most likely to have a non-Hispanic white spouse. This percentage was 14.8% in 1990, which declined to 8.8% in 2010. Intermarriage rates with non-Hispanic black spouses were stable, at 2.0% in 1990 and 0.5% in 2010. Intermarriage between Mexicans and Asian spouses was 1.2% in 1990 and 0.9% in 2010, a steady pattern. (See figure 15).

Between 1990 (90.1%) and 2010 (82.0%) the percentage of Puerto Ricans married to Latino spouses declined. The decrease in Puerto Ricans’ marriage rates to Latinos may be explained by the higher percentage of Puerto Ricans born in the U.S. About 7.3% of Puerto Ricans were married to non-Hispanic white spouses in 1990, which increased to 12.8% in 2010. Rates of marriage between Puerto Rican household heads and non-Hispanic black spouses were 2.1% in 1990. In 2010 this percentage increased to 4.6%. Intermarriage rates between Puerto Ricans and Asian spouses was steady between 1990 and 2010, at less than 1%. (See figure 16).
Rates of marriage between Colombian household heads and Latino spouses declined between 1990 (93.4%) and 2010 (84.8%). The decrease in Colombians’ marriage rates to Latinos could be because Colombians tend to be the most educated Latino group when compared to the other four Latino subgroups.\footnote{Calcagno, J. (2013). *Latinas in New York City: A comparison of education and income, 1990-2010.* Retrieved from the Center for Latin American and Caribbean and Latino Studies at the Graduate Center, CUNY.} Higher levels of education increase the likelihood that Colombians will interact with and potentially marry outside of their race/ethnic group, especially to non-Hispanic whites. Among Colombians in New York City, intermarriage to non-Hispanic white spouses jumped from 5.8% in 1990 to 12.0% in 2010. The percentage of Colombians married to non-Hispanic black and Asian spouses was low and steady. Intermarriage between Colombians and non-Hispanic black spouses was 0.6% in 2000 and 1.6% in 2010.\footnote{No data were available for rates of marriage between Colombian and non-Hispanic blacks in 1990.} Rates of intermarriage between Colombians and Asian spouses were 0.8% in 1990 and 1.6% in 2010. (See figure 17.)
Ecuadorians had the second highest marriage rates to Latinos between 1990 (95.2%) and 2010 (93.0%). This may be explained by the high percentage of foreign-born Ecuadorians. Rates of intermarriage between Ecuadorians and non-Hispanic white spouses remained fixed between 1990 (4.4%) and 2010 (5.3%). Intermarriage rates between Ecuadorians and non-Hispanic blacks and Asians remained unchanging from 1990 to 2010, at less than 1% in each census year considered here. (See figure 18). By totaling the percentages of marriages to the other three race/ethnic groups, Ecuadorians had a small increase in the overall percentage of exogenous marriages.
Of all Latino subgroups, Dominicans had the highest rates of marriages to Latinos between 1990 (95.7%) and 2010 (97.2%). There was little change over the two decade period in marriage rates between Dominicans and Latinos, which could be related to the high percentage of foreign-born Dominicans in New York City. The rates of intermarriage between Dominicans and non-Hispanic whites was 2.1% in 1990 and 1.3% in 2010. Rates of marriage between Dominican and non-Hispanic blacks were also stagnant (1.8% in 1990 and 0.5% in 2010). Intermarriage rates between Dominicans and Asian spouses were 1% or less between 1990 and 2010. By summing the percentages of marriages to the other three race/ethnic groups it appears that Dominicans experienced a slight decline in the overall percentage of exogenous marriages.

Figure 19
Percentage of Marriages among Dominican Household Heads by Race/Ethnicity of Spouse
New York City, 1900 - 2010
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Spouse Race/Ethnicity</th>
<th>Mexican</th>
<th>Puerto Rican</th>
<th>Colombian</th>
<th>Ecuadorian</th>
<th>Dominican</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Latino</td>
<td>82.0%</td>
<td>90.1%</td>
<td>93.4%</td>
<td>95.2%</td>
<td>95.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Non-Hispanic White</td>
<td>14.8%</td>
<td>7.3%</td>
<td>5.8%</td>
<td>4.4%</td>
<td>2.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Non-Hispanic Black</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
<td>2.1%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
<td>0.5%</td>
<td>0.8%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>Latino</td>
<td>93.4%</td>
<td>88.9%</td>
<td>92.4%</td>
<td>95.4%</td>
<td>96.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Non-Hispanic White</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
<td>7.3%</td>
<td>6.6%</td>
<td>4.0%</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Non-Hispanic Black</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
<td>2.9%</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
<td>0.1%</td>
<td>1.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
<td>0.9%</td>
<td>0.3%</td>
<td>0.5%</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>Latino</td>
<td>89.8%</td>
<td>82.0%</td>
<td>84.8%</td>
<td>93.0%</td>
<td>97.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Non-Hispanic White</td>
<td>8.8%</td>
<td>12.8%</td>
<td>12.0%</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Non-Hispanic Black</td>
<td>0.5%</td>
<td>4.6%</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
<td>0.5%</td>
<td>0.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>0.9%</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
<td>1.1%</td>
<td>1.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9
Percentage of Marriages among Latino Household Heads in the Five Largest Latino National Subgroups by Race/Ethnicity of Spouse
New York City, 1990 - 2010
Summary of Key Points

- The percentage of the City’s domestic-born Latinas who were married to non-Latino spouses increased dramatically between 1990 (17.2%) and 2010 (34.0%).

- Domestic-born Latinas who married a non-Latino were most likely to have a non-Hispanic white spouse, and that rate increased substantially between 1990 (10.7%) and 2010 (23.0%).

- Domestic-born Latinas were significantly more likely than domestic-born men and foreign-born men and women to marry a non-Latino spouse.

- Domestic-born Latino men had marginally increasing rates of marriage to non-Hispanic whites, from 17.3% in 1990 to 19.0% in 2010.

- Among foreign-born Latino men, marriage rates to non-Latino spouses were steady, at 9.0% in 1990 to 8.5% in 2010; and among domestic-born Latinas, rates of marriage to non-Latino spouses were also stable, at 9.6% in 1990 to 10.1% in 2010.

- Among all Latinos, those who married a non-Latino were most likely to have a non-Hispanic white spouse, and that overall percentage increased from 7.4% in 1990 to 10.2% in 2010.

- The overall percentages of Latinos married to non-Hispanic blacks and Asians were stable between 1990 and 2010.

- Puerto Ricans and Colombians were increasingly likely to marry spouses of non-Latino race/ethnic groups, at 18.0% among Puerto Ricans and 15.2% among Colombians in 2010.

- Puerto Ricans’ rate of marriage to non-Hispanic blacks in 2010 (4.6%) was higher compared to the other subgroups, which all had rates around 1%.

- Dominicans and Ecuadorians were most likely to marry Latino spouses by 2010, at 97.2% among Dominicans and 93.0% among Ecuadorians.

- Mexicans had dramatically declining rates of marriage to non-Latino spouses, which dropped from 18.0% in 1990 to 10.2% in 2010.